

Chūsei Zenseki Sōkan and Issues in the Study of Medieval Zen

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KITANOSAN Shinpukuji Hōshōin 北野山真福寺宝生院, a special head temple (*bekkaku honzan* 別格本山) of the Chizan 智山 branch of the Shingon 真言 school (commonly known as Ōsu Kannon 大須観音), located in Naka 中 Ward in the center of Nagoya, is a popular religious center that is always filled with worshippers. In recent years, the Ōsu shopping street leading up to the temple has become a fashionable area attracting many young people. But among scholars of Japanese literature and history, Shinpukuji is known for the abundant collection of manuscripts kept in the temple's Ōsu Bunko 大須文庫 (Ōsu Library), that includes, among other things, a manuscript of the *Kojiki* 古事記, the first history of Japan, which was compiled in 712 and is designated as a national treasure. The temple is said to have been established by Nōshin 能信 (1291–1355) in 1333. Nōshin and his disciple Shin'yu 信瑜 (1333–1382), the second abbot of Shinpukuji, collected a number of manuscripts, not only of Shingon texts but also texts associated with Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara. Along with Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 (Kanazawa Library) at Shōmyōji 称名寺 in Yokohama, the Ōsu Bunko is famous for being a veritable storehouse of medieval manuscripts of high quality.

These valuable manuscripts have been studied by a research team led by Nagoya University professor Abe Yasurō, and the results of their study, edited by a team at the

THIS ARTICLE is based upon two previous pieces published in Japanese. The introductory paragraphs and the section entitled “Overview of Zen Texts at Shinpukuji” are from “Shinpukuji Ōsu Bunko shozō shahon kara mita chūsei Zen” 真福寺大須文庫所蔵写本からみた中世禅 in *Zen kara mita Nihon chūsei no bunka to shakai* 禅からみた日本中世の文化と社会, edited by Amano Fumio 天野文雄, pp. 395–99 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2016). The remainder of the article is based on “*Chūsei Zenseki sōkan* to chūsei Zen kenkyū no sho mondai” 『中世禅籍叢刊』と中世禅研究の諸問題 in *Chūsei Zenseki sōkan: Chūsei Zen e no shin shikaku; “Chūsei Zenseki sōkan” ga hiraku sekai* 中世禅籍叢刊：中世禅への新視角：『中世禅籍叢刊』が開く世界, edited by Chūsei Zenseki Sōkan Henshū Iinkai 中世禅籍叢刊編集委員会, pp. 7–30 (Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten, 2019).

National Institute of Japanese Literature (Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館) under the direction of Abe and Yamazaki Makoto, have been published as *Shinpukuji zenpon sōkan* 真福寺善本叢刊 (Good Texts from the Shinpukuji Series), with twelve volumes in each of the first and second series (Rinsen Shoten 1998–2006). Subsequently, during a more in-depth survey, which broadened the scope of its investigation to also include manuscript fragments, it became clear that the library contained a number of works related to Zen. As a result, plans were made to publish these works along with related texts held by other temples and libraries, especially the texts held by Shōmyōji that are quite similar in character to those in the Ōsu Bunko. The result was the *Chūsei Zenseki sōkan* 中世禅籍叢刊 (Medieval Zen Texts Series, hereafter cited as *Sōkan*) published between 2013 and 2018 in twelve volumes. The *Sōkan* is comprised of the following volumes: (1) *Eisai shū* 栄西集 (Collection of Eisai’s Writings), (2) *Dōgen shū* 道元集 (Collection of Dōgen’s Writings), (3) *Darumashū* 達磨宗 (Daruma School), (4) *Shōichiha* 聖一派 (Shōichi Branch), (5) *Mujū shū* 無住集 (Collection of Mujū’s Writings), (6) *Zenshū shingi shū* 禅宗清規集 (Collection of Zen Monastic Codes), (7) *Zenkyō kōshō ron* 禅教交渉論 (Treatises Related to the Interaction between Zen and Doctrinal Schools), (8) *Chūgoku zenseki shū* 1 中国禅籍集 1 (Collection of Chinese Chan Works, vol. 1), (9) *Chūgoku zenseki shū* 2 中国禅籍集 2 (Collection of Chinese Chan Works, vol. 2), (10) *Kikō zenseki shū* 稀覯禅籍集 (Collection of Rare Zen Works), (11) *Shōichiha zoku* 聖一派 続 (Shōichi Branch Continued), and (12) *Kikō zenseki shū zoku* 稀覯禅籍集続 (Collection of Rare Zen Works Continued). (A supplementary volume, *Chūsei Zen e no shin shikaku: “Chūsei Zenseki sōkan” ga hiraku sekai* 中世禅への新視角：『中世禅籍叢刊』が開く世界 [New Perspective on Medieval Zen: The World Opened Up by the *Chūsei zenseki sōkan*], consisting mostly of research articles, was published in 2019.) I was fortunate enough to have been able to help with this series.

The initial plan was for the *Sōkan* to be basically a continuation of *Shinpukuji Zenpon sōkan* with around five volumes. Although Shinpukuji is a *mikkyō* 密教 (esoteric Buddhist) temple, it was also known to house Chinese Chan texts and a handwritten copy of the “Daigo” 大悟 (Great Awakening) chapter of the *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼蔵 by Eihei Dōgen 永平道元 (1200–1253). In addition, as will be discussed below, Shinpukuji had transmitted the Anyōji 安養寺 lineage (*ryū* 流), which originated with Chikotsu Daie 癡兀大慧 (1229–1312), the Dharma heir of Enni Ben’en 円爾弁円 (1202–1280; also known as Shōichi Kokushi 聖一国師 [National Master Shōichi]) of the Shōichi 聖一 branch (*ha* 派) of Rinzai 臨濟 Zen. Since it was already known that manuscripts associated with the Anyōji lineage reflected a Zen-*mikkyō* blend, it was assumed that *Sōkan* would focus on these materials.

However, during the course of the research, it became clear that the Shinpukuji materials were related to Zen documents owned by Shōmyōji, and it seemed appropriate to include these items as well. The most significant Shōmyōji Zen documents had

already been published in *Kanazawa Bunko shiryō: Zenseki hen* 金沢文庫資料：禪籍編 (1974, reprinted by Rinsen Shoten in 2018). It now seemed worthwhile to publish some of the as-yet-unpublished Zen material, and to reexamine some of the already published documents. In the process, a number of important texts were discovered at Shinpukuji, and several new volumes were added, making a total of twelve volumes in the series. The volumes contain facsimiles of handwritten manuscripts, edited transcriptions, and overviews and explanations written by the editors. The volumes consist mostly of medieval manuscripts, but in some cases manuscripts or woodblock books from the Momoyama 桃山 (1568–1600) or Edo 江戸 (1603–1868) periods are included for reference. In the pages below, I will first give a brief summary of some of the most important Zen texts newly discovered in the Ōsu Bunko and then discuss some specific issues in the history of Zen in its early years in Japan with reference to these texts.

OVERVIEW OF ZEN TEXTS AT SHINPUKUJI

Plans for the publication of the *Sōkan* began as a result of the discovery of new works by Myōan Eisai (also pronounced Yōsai) 明庵栄西 (1141–1215) among the manuscripts in the Ōsu Bunko. Manuscripts of two of his works, *Mumyō shū* 無名集 (Unnamed Collection) and *Ingo shū* 隱語集 (Collection of Esoteric Idioms), had been previously discovered there and had been published in the third volume of the second series of *Shinpukuji Zenpon sōkan* (2006), entitled *Chūsei sentoku chosaku shū* 中世先徳著作集 (Collection of Writings by Virtuous Monks of the Medieval Period). In the course of this research, fragments of a previously unknown work by Eisai called *Kaihen kyōshu ketsu* 改偏教主決 (A Resolution Correcting One-Sided Views concerning the Teacher of the Dharma) were discovered. At first, only the first page of the work was found, but other fragments were discovered one after another, until there were a total of seventy-eight sheets in all. Moreover, while studying these materials, it was found that fragments of a different work called *Jūshū kyōshu ketsu* 重修教主決 (A Revised Resolution concerning the Teacher of the Dharma) were mixed in among these pages and, moreover, that a previously known work called *Kyōjigi kanmon* 教時義勘文 (Traditions Concerning Disputes about the Teachings and Time Periods) had been added to the end of the *Kaihen kyōshu ketsu*. In addition, it became clear that another manuscript by Eisai entitled *Shohi kuketsu* 諸秘口決 (Oral Transmissions of Various Secrets) is identical to *Kechien ippen shū* 結縁一遍集 (Collection of Texts Forming Karmic Connections) preserved at Manshuin 曼殊院, a Tendai 天台 temple in Kyoto.

Already in 2003, Professor Inaba Nobumichi of Nagoya University made the exciting discovery of letters in Eisai's handwriting on the back of *Yinming sanshisan guo ji*

因明三十三過記 (Record of Thirty-Three Logical Fallacies). This discovery was widely reported in the media. Eisai's newly discovered writings, which include letters as well as doctrinal treatises, are just as valuable as the previously discovered manuscripts. Moreover, since these new works by Eisai include texts related to Mikkyō, they have sparked renewed attention to Eisai's connections to esoteric Buddhism. The letters by Eisai were written towards the end of his life when he was serving as fundraiser for Tōdaiji, which had been burned down in 1180. In contrast, the newly discovered treatises were all composed earlier in northern Kyushu before he travelled to Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279) China for the second time in 1187 (Bunji 文治 3). Since it was during his second trip that Eisai encountered Zen and transmitted it to Japan, the newly discovered texts predate Eisai's involvement with Zen. The *Kaihen kyōshu ketsu* and *Jūshū kyōshu ketsu* were written in connection with a debate Eisai had with Songa 尊賀 (d.u.), a monk from Harayama 原山 in Dazaifu 大宰府. In this debate, Eisai maintained that it is the Buddha's self-nature body (*jishōshin* 自性身, or the Buddha as the Dharma nature itself) that preaches the Dharma, while Songa criticized this position and argued that it was the body of personal enjoyment (*jjuyū shin* 自受用身, one of the two types of *sambhogakāya* [*juyū shin* 受用身], or reward body). These works, along with the letters, are included in the first volume of the *Sōkan*, entitled *Eisai shū*.

The question as to in which body the Buddha preached the esoteric teaching later became a major issue in the Shingon school, with some maintaining that it was the self-nature body and others holding that it was the empowerment body (*kaji shin* 加持身, or the body of the Buddha that responds to sentient beings). Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226–1304) championed the latter position, and it was from this lineage that the Shingi Shingonshū 新義真言宗 of Kakuban 覚鑊 (1096–1144) arose. However, the germ of the controversy can already be seen in the debate between Eisai and Songa. The question of how Eisai's Mikkyō writings are related to his efforts to establish the Zen school and his activities as a fundraiser for the Tōdaiji is something that still remains unresolved. Be that as it may, I would also like to point out in passing the interesting fact that Eisai's *Ingo shū*, one of his works discovered earlier at Shinpukuji, uses the image of the union between man and woman to explain the unity of the Diamond and Womb mandalas.¹

Concerning the relationship between Zen and Mikkyō, it is interesting to look at the activities of Mujū Dōkyō 無住道暁 (1227–1312). Mujū was both a scholar-monk who studied the teachings of many different Buddhist schools and a diligent practitioner. Because he is famous as the author of *Shaseki shū* 沙石集 (*Sand and Pebbles*), a compendium of tales and narratives, he has until now mainly been studied from the

¹ Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 2006, pp. 446–48.

perspective of Japanese literature. However, a facsimile and transcription of a copy of Mujū's *Shōzai shū* 聖財集 (Collection of Sacred Assets, 1299), a Buddhist theoretical work kept in Tenri University Library, was published for the first time in the *Mujū shū*, the fifth volume of the *Sōkan*. In addition, another surprising fragment of Mujū's work has been discovered at Shinpukuji: notes of a lecture by Enni Ben'en that Mujū attended at Tōfukuji 東福寺, Enni's temple in Kyoto. The twelve sheets, comprising twenty-one pages, of this text that had been discovered by the time that *Mujū shū* was published (2014), were included in this volume by Abe under the title "Itsudai Mujū kikigaki" 逸題無住聞書 (Untitled Fragment of Mujū's Notes [on Enni Ben'en's Lecture]). Other fragments have been discovered since that time. Interestingly, they deal exclusively with esoteric Buddhism and not with Zen. As in the case with Eisai, they treat such issues as which body of the Buddha preaches the Dharma.

As noted above, the Shōichi branch associated with Enni has a close relationship with Shinpukuji. Enni's disciple Chikotsu not only established Anyōji (in Taki 多気 County, Mie Prefecture) but was also well versed in esoteric Buddhism. His lineage is called the Anyōji lineage. Nōshin, the founder of Shinpukuji, received transmission of three Mikkyō lineages (collectively known as the Ōsu *sanryū* 大須三流 [three Ōsu lineages]): the Jionji *kata* 慈恩寺方, which he received from Jissai 実濟 (d.u.), the Anyōji *kata* 安養寺方, which he received from Jakuun 寂雲 (d.u.), and the Takahata *kata* 高幡方, which he received from Gikai 儀海 (d.u.). Jakuun was Chikotsu's disciple, and it was for this reason that Mikkyō teachings were introduced to Shinpukuji.

Besides Mujū's notes on Enni's lecture, Shinpukuji possesses a large number of manuscripts belonging to the Shōichi branch/Anyōji lineage. They include lengthy lecture notes on Mikkyō texts, such as Enni's *Dainichikyōsho kenmon* 大日經疏見聞 (Observations on the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sutra*) and *Dainichikyō gishaku kenmon* 大日經義釈見聞 (Observations on the *Explanations of the Meanings of the Mahāvairocana Sutra*),² as well as Chikotsu's writings and records of his lectures. Although many of them are related to Mikkyō, there are few works dealing directly with Zen. Among the distinctive theories found in these texts, there is one that set forth the physiological theory of the five viscera (*gozō mandara* 五臟曼荼羅) influenced by the Sanbōin 三宝院 lineage of Daigoji 醍醐寺 in Kyoto. This lineage discusses extensively the theory of the five stages in the womb (*tainai goi setsu* 胎内五位説), which describes the stages through which the fetus conceived from the union of a man and a woman develops in the mother's womb.³ But these Mikkyō texts frequently refer to Zen, showing that Zen developed in close relationship with Mikkyō. In Chikotsu's case, it appears that Mikkyō is placed above Zen.

² CZS 12: 706–7.

³ On the theory of the five stages in the womb, see Dolce 2016.

According to the traditional understanding of Zen history, such fusion of Mikkyō and Zen ideas was considered to belong to an impure “mixed practice Zen” (*kenshū zen* 兼修禪) that accepted both Mikkyō and Zen practices that flourished in the age before a pure form of Zen was established. But, in view of the fact that the relationship between Zen and Mikkyō is subject to profound analysis in these texts, it can definitely be said that they are not simply transitional works preceding the establishment of a pure form of Zen. Rather, they tried to relate Zen to Mikkyō in a creative manner, not only in terms of their teachings but also in terms of their practice. These texts require us to radically transform our earlier understanding of the history of the Zen school.

In addition, an important work associated with the Daruma school was discovered in the Ōsu Bunko and included in the third volume of the *Sōkan* entitled *Darumashū*. This is also a text that was reconstructed from remaining fragments. Its original title is unknown but it has been given the provisional title of *Zenke setsu* 禪家説 (Explanation of the Zen School). Its author is unknown as well. This work is an anthology of texts describing the merits and methods of practicing *zazen*; it also contains three vernacular sermons. It can be characterized as an introduction to Zen for beginners. This text was catapulted to prominence because the name of Dainichibō Nōnin 大日房能忍 (fl. 1180s–1190s) appears at the end of a passage from the *Chuanxin fayao* 伝心法要 (Dharma Essentials of Transmitting Mind)⁴ by the Chinese Chan master Huangbo Xiyu 黄檗希運 (d. 850) that is quoted within its pages.⁵

Nōnin established the Daruma school after having attained enlightenment by himself without the instruction of any teacher. He preceded Eisai and is the originator of Zen in Japan. To escape the criticism that he is not an heir to any recognized transmission, in 1189, Nōnin sent two disciples to Song China to obtain a certificate of transmission (*inka* 印可)—in other words, proof of Dharma transmission—for him from Chan master Fozhao Zhuoan Deguang 佛照拙庵德光 (1121–1203). According to the postscript of the *Chuanxin fayao* cited in the *Zenke setsu*, the quotation from the work found in the *Zenke setsu* was taken from the very copy of the *Chuanxin fayao* that was brought to Japan from China and, after being supplemented by other texts, published by Nōnin with the financial aid of the nun Mugu 無求 (d. u.).⁶

Nōnin’s branch of Zen is frequently criticized as having taught that practice is unnecessary, causing it to fall into licentiousness. However, recent studies have questioned whether the Daruma school can be conflated with Nōnin’s Zen school. Moreover, there is also the question as to whether everything in *Zenke setsu* represents the teachings of Nōnin’s Zen. Despite these problems, it is certain that this text is closely

⁴ T no. 2012a.

⁵ CZS 3: 409.

⁶ CZS 3: 409.

related to Nōnin and his school. However, as stated above, the *Zenke setsu* actively encourages the cultivation of zazen. In no way does it teach that there is no need to undertake any practice. Hence, it becomes difficult to assume that Nōnin's branch of Zen maintained that practice is simply unnecessary. It is known that Nōnin's disciples eventually joined Dōgen *en masse* and came to constitute the mainstream of the latter monk's Zen community. Dōgen, it will be remembered, emphasized the need to practice zazen with diligence. There is still much that remains to be studied concerning Nōnin's branch, including its relation to the development of Dōgen's monastic community.

As this shows, the Zen-related manuscripts from Shinpukuji's Ōsu Bunko has called into question many of the commonly held views concerning the history of the Zen school in Japan. By the Muromachi 室町 period (1336–1573), the sectarian identities of the Buddhist schools became strong but these texts show that, during the Kamakura period (1185–1333), when the texts discussed above were written, the distinction among the various Buddhist schools had not yet been firmly demarcated from each other.

THE TRANSMISSION OF ZEN TO JAPAN

It is commonly said that Eisai established Rinzai Zen in Japan, and Dōgen brought Sōtō 曹洞 Zen to Japan. However, no researcher today is satisfied with such a simple story, although members of the Zen schools might accept this narrative as a matter of faith. Eisai, in his *Kōzen gokoku ron* 興禪護國論 (Treatise on Protecting the Country through the Propagation of Zen),⁷ writes about “Zen Buddhism,” not Rinzai Zen. Dōgen, for his part, believed that he was bringing the true Buddhist Dharma to Japan—not just Sōtō Zen. The “schools” (*shū* 宗) of the time were not sectarian institutions that constrained their members. Rather, the schools were sets of systematized theories and practices, like the eight schools of the Nara 奈良 period (710–794) such as Ritsu 律, Hossō 法相, et cetera. Importantly, there was no requirement to belong exclusively to one school.⁸ Instead, practitioners viewed the schools as something like departments in a university, and the ideal was to study in all the schools. However, it should be noted that in the case of the “five houses and seven schools” (*wujia qizong* 五家七宗) of Southern Chan in China at that time, “school” was a genealogical term that marked one's inherited lineage from a teacher. This was different from the situation in Japan.

In his *Kōzen gokoku ron*, Eisai sought official recognition for the new type of Zen that he had studied in China as a “Zen school” that would be added to the eight

⁷ T no. 2543.

⁸ Sueki 2017a, pp. 412–13.

existing schools. We can think of Eisai's request for recognition as being like his wanting to establish a new department within a comprehensive university. The Daruma school of Nōnin was probably something similar. In other words, Nōnin was not seeking to establish an independent and sectarian Daruma school. Rather, Nōnin viewed the Daruma school as having the same meaning as the Zen school.⁹

As noted above, in 1189, Nōnin sent two disciples to China to obtain a certificate of transmission for him. Therefore, for Nōnin's followers, 1189 marked the year that the Zen school (meaning the Daruma school) arrived in Japan. This is clearly stated in both *Zenke setsu* and *Jōtō shōgaku ron* 成等正覺論 (Treatise on Attaining Perfect Awakening).¹⁰ In particular, *Jōtō shōgaku ron*, which is part of a manuscript booklet, states:

Four hundred and eighty-four years after the spread of Buddhism to China, the teaching of Bodhidharma arrived for the first time in China. In Japan, six hundred and eighteen years after Shōtoku Taishi appeared in the world and worshipped the Dharma, the Dharma was transmitted to Japan for the first time in the Year of the Earth Rooster, the sixteenth year of the Song era, Chunxi 淳熙 [1189], on the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the fifth year of the imperial Bunji 文治 era [1185–1190].¹¹

In other words, Bodhidharma's transmission of Chan to China and the arrival of Nōnin's Daruma school in Japan are described as events of equal importance. Nōnin's disciples returned to Japan two years earlier than Eisai, who returned in 1191 (the second year of Kenkyū 建久), after having received a transmission certificate from Xu'an Huaichang 虛庵懷敞 (ca. 1125–1195). The Daruma school made much of the fact that Nōnin had received certification two years earlier than his rival, Eisai. For his part, Eisai criticized the Daruma school in *Kōzen gokoku ron* and asserted the orthodoxy of his own understanding of Zen.

After the time of Eisai, Zen continued to coexist with Mikkyō, Tendai, Ritsu, and other schools, and it was not an exclusive religious organization. In contrast, Nōnin's group had its own ritual system, which included worship of the relics of the Zen patriarchs, and that is probably one reason why it became more of a closed group. This might be the reason that the name "Daruma school" came to be used mainly for the Nōnin lineage. In addition, one of the reasons that Nōnin's followers were attracted to

⁹ I concur with Furuse Tamami's view that the Daruma school was not a specific sect. See Sueki 2017b, p. 419.

¹⁰ Vincent Breugem describes *Jōtō shōgaku ron* as "a transcript of a ritualized lecture . . . [that] succinctly itemizes the various steps in the ritual proceeding," with "the bulk of the text . . . made up by the actual lecture" (2012, p. 124).

¹¹ CZS 3: 426.

Dōgen might have been that Dōgen focused on transmitting a new style of Zen from China to Japan, rather than on integrating Zen with the traditional Japanese Buddhist schools.

Incidentally, it should be remembered that, centuries before either Nōnin or Eisai, the Chinese monk Daoxuan 道璿 (702–760) had already brought the Northern school of Chan to Japan during the Nara period.¹² Gyōhyō 行表 (722–799), a close disciple of Daoxuan, was the teacher of Saichō 最澄 (767–822), the founder of Japanese Tendai Buddhism. Accordingly, Saichō received transmission in the Northern school of Chan from his teacher, Gyōhyō. Moreover, during his time in China, in 804 Saichō received Dharma transmission from Xiaoran 儵然 (d.u.) in the Ox Head school of Chan, a separate lineage from either Southern or Northern Chan that is said to have originated with Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 (594–657). The legend that Bodhidharma traveled to Japan and encountered Prince Shōtoku developed during the Nara period, in connection with tales (*setsuwa* 說話) about Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子 (574–622). One of Saichō's disciples, Kōjō 光定 (779–858), characterized the Tendai Mahayana precepts as the One Mind (*isshin* 一心) precepts that had been brought to Japan by Bodhidharma (in *Denjutsu isshin kaimon* 伝述一心戒文 [Essays on the Transmission of the One Mind Precepts] written in 834).¹³ Annen 安然 (b. 841) formulated a theory of nine Buddhist schools by adding the Buddha Mind school (*Busshin shū* 仏心宗, i.e., Zen) to the usual eight schools.¹⁴ The earliest example of the term “Daruma school” appears in a handwritten copy of *Daruma osbō himitsu ge* 達磨和尚秘密偈 (Secret Verse of Venerable Bodhidharma), dated 1140 (Hōen 保延 6).¹⁵ Even earlier, *Onse ron* 厭世論 (Treatise on Renouncing the World), copied in 1073 (Enkyū 延久 5), says, “If you want to practice, then you should rely on the *Daruma Treasury* (Daruma zō 達磨藏).”¹⁶ Presumably, the *Daruma Treasury* is related to the Daruma school.¹⁷

During the Heian 平安 period (794–1185), a large number of important Chan texts were transmitted to Japan, including *Jueguan lun* 絶觀論 (Transcendence of Cognition), *Guanxin lun* 觀心論¹⁸ (Treatise on Contemplating the Mind), and other works brought back from China by Saichō.¹⁹ The Zen of Nōnin and Eisai was shaped by these sources. Many of the Chinese Chan scriptures at Shinpukuji were brought there

¹² Sueki 1993, pp. 150–51.

¹³ T no. 2379.

¹⁴ *Kyōjijō* 教時諍 (Disputes about the Teachings and Time Periods), T no. 2395a, and *Kyōjijōron* 教時諍論 (Treatise on *Disputes about the Teachings and Time Periods*), T no. 2395b.

¹⁵ CZS 3: 497.

¹⁶ CZS 12: 639.

¹⁷ See Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, “*Onse ron kaidai*” 『厭世論』 解題 (Overview of the Treatise on Renouncing the World), CZS 12: 764.

¹⁸ T no. 2833.

¹⁹ Ibuki 2001, pp. 182–83.

by Shin'yu from Tōnan-in 東南院, a sub-temple of Tōdaiji.²⁰ Among the holdings at Tōnan-in were many texts from Song China and Goryeo 高麗 dynasty (918–1392) Korea, including a number of Chan texts. Therefore, the Chan texts at Shinpukuji are not necessarily based on works that had been brought to Japan in much earlier times but are valuable sources of information about the reception of new continental Buddhism in *kenmitsu* 顯密 (exoteric-esoteric) temples after the Insei 院政 period (1086–1185).

THE INFLUENCE OF CHINESE CHAN TEXTS ON EARLY JAPANESE ZEN (1): *ZONGJING LU*

In the early era of Japanese Zen, what theories of the Chinese Chan masters were most emphasized? The great influence of *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄²¹ (Record of the Source Mirror) compiled by Yongming Yanshou 永明延寿 (904–976) is frequently noted, and *Zongjing lu* was used not only in Zen but also in other Buddhist schools.²² Although Yanshou was a monk of the Fayuan 法眼 school of Chan, he was well versed in the teachings of other schools. As Yanagi Mikiyasu writes, the massive *Zongjing lu*, consisting of one hundred rolls (or over five hundred pages in the Taishō edition), is “a work on a grand scale that integrates the doctrines and practices of the various schools of Buddhism with the One Mind teaching of Zen Buddhism at its core.”²³ Why was *Zongjing lu* so popular and so widely used? The following four reasons may be considered.

1. Use as a Buddhist Encyclopedia

Zongjing lu cites so many Buddhist scriptures that readers can use it as an anthology without having to consult the original scriptures. Eisai consulted the simpler *Dazang yilan ji* 大藏一覽集 (Collection of Passages from the Buddhist Canon), a handy anthology of passages from the Buddhist canon, when writing *Kōzen gokoku ron*.²⁴ But it is likely that at that time various other handbooks were used to access Buddhist scriptures. The one hundred volumes of *Zongjing lu* would have been useful as an anthology from a Zen perspective. But reading all one hundred volumes was a daunting task, and there were some helpful aids to make *Zongjing lu* more manageable. For example,

²⁰ See Abe Yasurō 阿部泰朗, “Chūsei kenmitsu jiin shōgyō ni okeru Chūgoku zenseki: Shinpukuji shōgyō chōsa kara no kōsatsu” 中世顯密寺院聖教における中国禪籍：真福寺聖教調査からの考察, CZS 9: 531–32.

²¹ T no. 2016.

²² For a concise study of recent research, see Yanagi Mikiyasu 柳幹康, “*Zongjing lu yao chu kaidai*” 宗鏡錄要処解題 (Overview of *Zongjing lu yao chu*), CZS 10: 631–34.

²³ Yanagi 2015, p. 376.

²⁴ Yanagida 1972, p. 475.

Zongjing lu yao chu 宗鏡錄要處 (Essential Passages of the *Record of the Source Mirror*) consists of notes on *Zongjing lu*.²⁵ In addition, there were lectures on *Zongjing lu* called *Zongjing lu zhujie duanjian* 宗鏡錄注解斷簡 (Fragments of a Commentary on the *Record of the Source Mirror*).²⁶

2. A Unifying Synthesis of the Various Buddhist Schools

The question of how to position Zen in relation to other Buddhist schools was a major issue in Japan in the medieval period. *Zongjing lu* takes the position that “Chan and the [canonical or doctrinal] teachings are in agreement” (*chan jiao yizhi* 禪教一致). In other words, according to *Zongjing lu*, Chan and the doctrinal teachings found in sutras, commentaries, and so forth, have the same purport. *Zongjing lu* does not reject other types of Buddhism or non-Zen practices and thus offers an appropriate model for synthesizing Zen with other forms of Buddhism. This is particularly evident in Enni’s lineage. Mujū, Enni’s direct disciple, wrote in *Shōzai shū* 聖財集, volume 2, that Yanshou’s *Zongjing lu*, which teaches that Zen and the teachings are in agreement, cited “the teaching of Guifeng [Zongmi] 圭峯 [宗密] (780–841) that the three schools and the three teachings are harmonious.”²⁷ Therefore, the teachings of Tōfukuji are largely based on *Zongjing lu*. The *Zongjing lu* of Chikaku Zenji 智覺禪師 [i.e., Yanshou], without any partiality toward either Chan or the doctrinal teachings, is a model for later generations.”²⁸ In this way, Mujū argued that his teacher Enni’s doctrine was largely in accord with *Zongjing lu*. However, Mujū noted that “*Zongjing lu* includes the teachings of the various schools, but it has no details about the esoteric school,” yet esoteric Buddhism was flourishing in Japan. Mujū’s point is extremely astute.

3. Emphasis on One Mind

A particular characteristic of *Zongjing lu* is that it not only asserts the unity of Chan and the doctrinal teachings but also emphasizes that One Mind is the foundation of all phenomena. This foundational element is also called “numinous awareness” (*lingzhi* 靈知), “numinous wisdom” (*lingzhi* 靈智), “numinous nature” (*lingxing* 靈性), and similar terms, and is described as “numinous awareness that is not obscured” (*lingzhi bu*

²⁵ CZS 10: 485–93.

²⁶ CZS 12: 619–23.

²⁷ The three schools of Zen are listed later in this article. The three teachings are: (1) the teaching of the hidden intent that depends upon the nature to explain the characteristics (*miyi yixing shuoxiang jiao* 密意依性說相教); (2) the teaching of the hidden intent that destroys characteristics to reveal the nature (*miyi poxiang xianxing jiao* 密意破相顯性教); (3) the teaching that reveals that the true mind is the same as characteristics (*xianshi zhenxin ji xing jiao* 顯示真心即性教). T no. 2016, 48: 614a19–21 (Yanshou, *Zongjing lu*); T no. 2015, 48: 402b17–20 (Zongmi, *Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu*).

²⁸ CZS 5: 439.

mei 靈知不昧). These terms were originally used by Zongmi in his *Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序²⁹ (Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources). This can be seen also in *Jisshū yōdō ki* 十宗要道記 (Essentials of the Ten Schools), which may be considered the work of Enni.³⁰ In the chapter on the Buddha Mind school (i.e., Zen), the term “buddhahood of numinous awareness” appears in the following passage: “The two [types of] awareness, true awareness and deluded awareness, have names but no substance. It is only the numinous mind that is aware. This is called the buddhahood of numinous awareness, and this is the proper way to discuss Zen.”³¹ In the same way, the Zen texts in the collection of Shōmyōji, such as *Kenshō jōbutsu ron* 見性成佛論 (Treatise on Seeing One’s Nature and Becoming a Buddha), *Kakushō ron* 覺性論 (Treatise on Awakening to One’s Nature), and *Hōmon taikō* 法門大綱 (Fundamentals of the Dharma Gates [i.e., Teachings]) also use the term “numinous awareness.”³² In contrast, Dōgen in *Bendōwa* 弁道話 (Talks on the Pursuit of the Way, 1231) and other writings explicitly criticizes the Daruma school’s notion of “numinous awareness” for mistakenly positing a permanent underlying consciousness.³³

4. Matching People’s Different Capacities for Awakening

Yanshou divides people’s capacities (*jigen* 機根) to pursue the Buddhist path into superior, high, average, and low. For people of superior capacity, the path is “sudden awakening followed by sudden cultivation” (*dunwu* 頓悟→*dunxiu* 頓修); for people of high capacity, the path is sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation (*dunwu*→*jianxiu* 漸修); for people of average capacity and lower capacity, the path is an awakening through understanding (*jiiewu* 解悟) followed by cultivation (*wu* 悟→*xiu* 修) or cultivation that leads to awakening through verification (*zhengwu* 証悟; *xiu*→*wu*).³⁴ The theories about people’s differing capacities raise questions about the relationship between Zen and Mikkyō. A Zen explanation of people’s various capacities appears in *Zenshū kukonki kuketsu* 禪宗九根機口訣 (Oral Teaching about the Nine Types of Capacities According to the Zen School), a scroll from Shinpukuji. This is a record by Nōshin of an oral transmission from Jakuun, a disciple of Chikotsu, in which he discusses nine levels of human capacity, from the highest to the lowest. It says, “Now, *Yuanwu xinyao* 圓悟心要 [Yuanwu’s Essence of Mind] states: ‘First of all,

²⁹ T no. 2015.

³⁰ See Wada Ukiko 和田有希子, “*Jisshū yōdō ki kaidai*” 『十宗要道記』 解題, CZS 4: 669–74.

³¹ See CZS 4: 593.

³² For complete and fully annotated English translations of these three texts, see Breugem 2012. Breugem describes *Hōmon taikō* as “a disjointed, anonymous compilation of memo-like entries appended to a lecture” (p. 181).

³³ For the criticism in *Bendōwa*, see T no. 2582, 82: 19b10ff.

³⁴ Yanagi 2015, p. 183.

as for discussing people's capacities, there are nine levels."³⁵ It states that Zen categorizes people's differing capacities into nine levels, from the highest of the high to the lowest of the low. In fact, however, this explanation is not found in *Yuanwu xinyao* and is probably inspired by *Zongjing lu*. It is very interesting to note that the superior capacity in *Zongjing lu* (referring to people who experience sudden awakening and then do sudden cultivation) has been dropped to the middle of the middle level in *Zenshū kukonki kuketsu*. Instead, the person of the very highest capacity is described as someone in the distant past who awakened on his own without a teacher, even before the time of the Buddha Bhīṣma-svara, the past Buddha mentioned in the "Bodhisattva Never Disparaging" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*.³⁶ So, the author is aware of the *Zongjing lu* scheme of the various human capacities but adds more levels. In addition, teachings about the various levels of human capacity appear in the vernacular sermons in *Zenke setsu* and other works.

Above, I have examined the influence of *Zongjing lu*, particularly on Enni's Shōichi branch of Zen. *Zongjing lu* had a great influence on Zen from the twelfth to the early fourteenth century, but afterward it was virtually ignored. The turning point was probably around the time of Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1283–1338), known as Daitō Kokushi 大燈国師. Up through to Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351), Daitō's slightly older contemporary, it was standard to accept the idea that Zen and the doctrinal teachings had the same purport and to accept the theory that people had varying capacities for awakening. But Daitō criticized Musō's style of Zen and promoted a "pure Zen."³⁷ In this way, all traces of *Zongjing lu* were erased. It is interesting to note that from that time onward the koan collection *Blue Cliff Record* (*Biyan lu* 碧巖錄; Jp. *Heikigan roku*, compiled in 1125) replaced *Zongjing lu* as the "number one book" of Rinzai Zen. The shift from *Zongjing lu* to *Blue Cliff Record* represents a critical turning point in the history of Japanese Zen.

THE INFLUENCE OF CHINESE CHAN BOOKS ON EARLY JAPANESE ZEN
(2): DAHUI PUJUE CHANSHI YULU (RECORDED SAYINGS OF CHAN MASTER DAHUI PUJUE) AND YUANWU XINYAO (YUANWU'S ESSENCE OF MIND)

Having discussed the influence of *Zongjing lu* above, I will now look at other influential Chan works. Nōnin's Daruma school emphasized the so-called Three Treatises of Bodhidharma (*Xuemaī lun* 血脈論 [Bloodstream Treatise], *Wuxing lun* 悟性論 [Treatise

³⁵ CZS 4: 569. The full title is *Foguo Keqin chanshi xinyao* 佛果克勤禪師心要 (Chan Master Foguo Keqin's *Essence of Mind*), X no. 1357.

³⁶ CZS 4: 569.

³⁷ Didier 2018.

on the Enlightened Nature], and *Poxiang lun* 破相論 [Treatise on Destroying Characteristics]), which perhaps were not actually written by Bodhidharma.³⁸ *Zenke setsu* quotes from *Damo dashi anxin famen* 達磨大師安心法門 (Bodhidharma's Teaching on Calming the Mind), which is one of the six texts that comprise *Xiaoshi liumen* 小室六門³⁹ (Bodhidharma's Six Gates) and are attributed to Bodhidharma.

Since *Zenke setsu*, a work presumably connected to the Daruma school, is comprised of quotations and excerpts from various books, it shows us what kinds of sources were important for Nōnin's lineage. Among the most noteworthy sources are Huangbo's *Chuanxin fayao* and *Wanling lu* 宛陵錄⁴⁰ (Record of Wanling). Huangbo Xiyu is best known as the teacher of Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (Jp. Rinzai Gigen; d. 866), but Huangbo was also the teacher of the accomplished government official, Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870). It is thought that Pei Xiu compiled *Chuanxin fayao* and other works. In *Zenke setsu*, excerpts from *Chuanxin fayao* and *Wanling lu* are followed by Pei Xiu's "verses on the transmission of mind." The Shinpukiji manuscripts of *Chuanxin fayao* and other works that are excerpted in *Zenke setsu* are handwritten transcriptions of a publication by Nōnin, and the handwritten copies retain the colophon that appeared at the time of publication. Nōnin published this book based on the book given to him (through his disciples) by Zhuoan Deguang in 1189. Some of the longest excerpts in *Zenke setsu* come from *Chuanxin fayao* and *Wanling lu*, suggesting that these two works were regarded as sacred texts by Nōnin's school. In contrast, while *Zenke setsu* draws on the lineage of the Rinza school, it is striking that there is no mention at all of the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄 (Jp. *Rinzai roku*; Record of Linji), nor is there any description of Linji's words or actions. Like Nōnin's lineage, the lineages of Eisai and Enni also omit any mention of Linji. This is very intriguing. It is said that Lanxi Daolong 蘭溪道隆 (1213–1278), who traveled to Japan in 1253, brought with him a book called *Linji lu ti chang ji* 臨濟錄提唱記 (Exposition of the Record of Linji),⁴¹ so it is likely that the *Record of Linji* came into use in Japan around that time.

Also noteworthy are the excerpts under the heading *Dahui fayu* 大慧法語 (Dahui's Sermons), which come at the end of *Zenke setsu*.⁴² Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) was a towering figure in Song-dynasty *kanhua* 看話 Chan.⁴³ The first part of *Dahui fayu* found in the *Zenke setsu* is taken from *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄. This excerpt begins with the words: "A thousand doubts, ten thousand doubts,

³⁸ Ibuki 1994, p. 3.

³⁹ T no. 2009.

⁴⁰ T no. 2012b.

⁴¹ See Komazawa Daigaku Toshokan 1962, p. 520.

⁴² CZS 3: 420–21.

⁴³ *Kanhua* means "observing the word," with "the word" being a "keyword" (*huatou* 話頭) of a koan, e.g., that of *wu* 無 (Jp. *mu*). *Kanhua* Chan is essentially the same as *koan* Zen.

are all only a single doubt. If you break through that single doubt with *huatou* 話頭, then you will break through a thousand doubts, ten thousand doubts, all at once.”⁴⁴ Dahui meant that if you can penetrate the doubt of one *huatou*, you can thereby clear away all doubts and attain enlightenment. More concretely, he said, “As for the words of the buddhas, the words of the patriarchs, and the words of the old masters from all directions, although they might all be different, if you can penetrate the single ‘No!’ (Ch. *wu* 無; Jp. *mu*) of Zhaozhou’s koan [‘Does a dog have buddha-nature?’], then you can penetrate everything at once, and you will not need to ask anyone else.”⁴⁵ In other words, if you penetrate Zhaozhou’s *wu* koan, then you have penetrated all koans. Therefore, Dahui continues, if you keep asking people, “What are the words of the buddhas? What are the words of the patriarchs? What are the words of the old masters from all directions?” then “you will never become awakened for all eternity.”⁴⁶

The *mu* koan was employed by Yuanwu’s teacher, Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (d. 1104). But it was Yuanwu’s disciple Dahui who placed it at the core of *kanhua* Chan and established a systemized teaching method. Nōnin, it will be remembered, received his transmission certificate (by proxy) from Zhouan Deguang, a disciple of Dahui. Therefore, it would not be surprising if the *kanhua* Chan of Dahui’s lineage had been carried over into Nōnin’s lineage. If we look at the second part of the *Dahui fayū*, which is taken from *Yuanwu xinyao*, it says that if you wander aimlessly among various koans you will not achieve enlightenment. Instead, you should follow the “correct path of Caoxi 曹溪” (the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 慧能 [638–713], founder of the Southern school of Chan) and step toward true reality. The second quotation also says that you should make every effort to “practice and make offerings.”⁴⁷ The quotation from Yuanwu strictly cautions against getting caught up in words, and it is not clear whether koans were actually used in Nōnin’s lineage.

Overall, it is not clear to what extent koans were actually used in thirteenth-century Zen Buddhism, including in lineages other than Nōnin’s. In *Komoku shū* 枯木集 (Withered Tree Collection), vernacular sermons written by Chikotsu, it says, “We should focus our minds on one word, one character, and not be distracted by this word or that word. Only one word should be used, and you should focus your mind on it.”⁴⁸ In other words, Chikotsu taught that you should concentrate your mind on only one word. As for what that one word should be, he recommended “*mu*”: “You should focus on any single word, but the word ‘*mu*’ is [really] the one you should focus on.”

⁴⁴ CZS 3: 420; *Fofa jintang bian* 仏法金湯編 (Compilation of the Golden Decoctions of the Buddha Dharma), X 87, no 1628, 433c09–12.

⁴⁵ CZS 3: 421.

⁴⁶ CZS 3: 421.

⁴⁷ CZS 3: 421.

⁴⁸ All quotations in this paragraph are from Washio 1925–27, vol. 3, pp. 210–11.

In support of his advice, Chikotsu drew on the words of Dahui: “When you eat: *mu*. When you drink: *mu*. When you defecate: *mu*. When you urinate: *mu*. When you leave: *mu*. When you return: *mu*. When you lie down: *mu*. When you get up: *mu*. At every moment, set your mind on only this one word: *mu*. If you do it for a long time, you will not let go of [*mu*] even if you are sleepy or excited.” If you focus your mind entirely on *mu*, then you “should definitely clarify the conditions of the one great matter of life and death.” Furthermore, “from birth to death, you should guard just this one word, ‘*mu*,’” meaning that for your entire life, from birth to death, you should focus only on *mu*.

In this way, the focus of practice was entirely the *mu* koan. Other koans are mentioned, but they were not used in actual practice. It is very likely that the method of teaching with koans was not the same as the practices that developed in later generations. Incidentally, *Wumen guan* 無門關 (Jp. *Mumon kan*; Gateless Barrier), which later became the standard text for koan Zen, is said to have been brought to Japan in 1254 by Shinchū Kakushin 心地覺心 (1207–1298), who studied in China under Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183–1260), the author of *Wumen guan*. The fourteenth-century Tendai work *Keiran shūyō shū* 溪嵐拾葉集⁴⁹ (Collection of Leaves Gathered in the Storm in the Ravine) by Kōshū 光宗 (1276–1350) clearly mentions the use of koans in Zen.⁵⁰

Although it is not entirely clear whether koans were systematically used, there is a passage in Chikotsu’s *Komoku shū* that employs the cryptic or nonsensical language of Zen dialogues that is meant to express enlightenment (Dōgen labeled this style of discourse “illogical talk” in the “Scripture of Mountains and Rivers” [*Sansui kyō* 山水經] chapter of *Shōbōgenzō*). In an earlier section of the *Komoku shū*, there is a passage where language is used in order to, so to speak, smoke out the questioner. A question is asked: “What kind of delusion does the Zen school eliminate? What kind of enlightenment is obtained?” The answer offers some examples, including the teaching of the “one-finger” Chan of Juzhi 俱胝 (fl. ca. 9th c.) and the “shit-wiping stick” in *Wumen guan*.⁵¹ Then the dialogue continues:

Q. I can’t understand it at all.

A. When it is cold, the chicken flies up into a tree, and the duck enters the water.

Q. I can’t understand it all. Just explain the reasoning to me in detail and let me understand.

⁴⁹ T no. 2410.

⁵⁰ See CZS 7: 387 and elsewhere.

⁵¹ Washio 1925–27, vol. 3, p. 208.

A. River water is fresh, and seawater is salty.

Q. What is this? Are you crazy? Are you tricking me? Please explain the reasoning for this.

A. The *hakama* [trousers] from your mother. The pushcart from your father.⁵²

The exchange continues in this fashion until the questioner finally gives up. A similar dialogue appears in *Kenshō jōbutsu ron*.⁵³ The question, “Would you please explain the true teaching of the correct school?” is answered with, “When there is fighting at the foot of Stone Tiger Hill, and the reed-flowers sink to the bottom of the water, I will state the essential point (*mune* 旨) of this school.”⁵⁴ The dialogue continues. However, instead of a series of koan-like phrases as in Chikotsu’s *Komoku shū*, the dialogue is roughly intelligible. There is a question: “How can it be like this?” And the response is: “How can the mind be explained?” In the end, it shows the way to “spontaneous numinous awareness.”⁵⁵

Yuanwu’s writings, especially *Yuanwu xinyao*, seem to have been more emphasized than the writings of Dahui. This can be seen from the fact that the title *Yuanwu xinyao* appears in the abovementioned *Zenshū kukonki kuketsu*, even though the text itself is not actually quoted. It is also noteworthy that an excerpt appears in an important passage from Mujū’s *Itsudai Mujū kikigaki dankan*.⁵⁶

Next, I would like to touch upon the *Shi mohēyan lun* 釈摩訶衍論 (Jp. *Shaku makaen ron*; hereafter cited as *Shakuron* 釈論; Exposition of Mahayana),⁵⁷ although it is not a Zen text. Almost forgotten today, *Shakuron* was traditionally said to be Nāgārjuna’s commentary on *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (The Awakening of Mahayana Faith).⁵⁸ Kūkai 空海 (774–835) used *Shakuron* to teach the ten stages of spiritual development (*jūjū shin* 十住心). During the Khitan 契丹 (or Liao 遼) dynasty (916–1125), the text was considered important and commentaries were written on it. It was published in the extended version of the Goryeo canon, and it was imported to Japan in the eighth century. During the Insei and Kamakura periods, *Shakuron* attracted attention especially from the Shingon school, and it boomed in popularity.⁵⁹ In a biography of Chikotsu compiled on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of

⁵² Washio 1925–27, vol. 3, pp. 208–9.

⁵³ *Kenshō jōbutsu ron* is written mostly in Japanese and may be a vernacular Japanese version of a text originally written in Chinese (Breugem 2012, pp. 144, 208).

⁵⁴ CZS 10: 455–56.

⁵⁵ CZS 10: 457.

⁵⁶ CZS 12: 667.

⁵⁷ T no. 1668.

⁵⁸ T no. 1666.

⁵⁹ Sueki 2017a.

his death entitled *Buttsū zenji gyōjō* 仏通禪師行狀, it says, “To clarify how the Zen and doctrinal teachings are consistent with each other, he wrote a commentary on *Shaku makaen ron*.”⁶⁰ From this, we know that Chikotsu interpreted Zen and the doctrinal teachings through *Shakuron*. Chikotsu’s commentary on *Shakuron* is still preserved at Shinpukuji, but it has not yet been studied. *Shakuron* is probably the source for the paired concepts so often used by Chikotsu: the “gate of enlightenment” (*ukaku mon* 有覺門) and the “gate of non-enlightenment” (*mukaku mon* 無覺門), which refer to two aspects of the inherently existent enlightenment in sentient beings.⁶¹ It is not clear whether Enni used *Shakuron*. However, the fact that Enni’s diagrams of mind are mostly drawn from *Shakuron* offers concrete proof that Enni himself attached great importance to *Shakuron*.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIEVAL ZEN

The *Sōkan* volumes include a diverse assortment of Zen texts. In many cases, it is not always clear to which lineage a given text belongs. Among the texts, the ones from Shinpukuji clearly belong to the lineage of Chikotsu (of Anyōji), based on the colophons. In addition, *Jōtō shōgaku ron* and *Zenke setsu* are clearly works of the Daruma school because they assert that Zen was brought to Japan in 1189 (the year that Nōnin’s two disciples returned from China with his transmission certificate). However, there is much less certainty about the origin of many of the texts at Shōmyōji that are included in the tenth volume of this series. *Kenshō jōbutsu ron* and *Hōmon taikō* are possibly connected with the Daruma school, but there is no strong evidence to confirm the connection. In the beginning of the *Kenshō jōbutsu ron*, Bodhidharma is intentionally referred to as Bodaitara 菩提多羅, not Bodaidaruma 菩提達磨. The middle part does not use the name “Daruma school” but rather uses the terms “Zen school” or “Buddha Mind” school. Given that *Kenshō jōbutsu ron* is presumably a text of the Daruma school, there are some odd points that require further investigation.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the development of Zen became complicated. In addition to the Daruma school and the Shōichi branch of Zen, Shinchi Kakushin’s Hōtō 法灯 branch was also active. The arrival of Lanxi Daolong in Japan in 1246 added further complex interconnections. In particular, the Daruma school, the Shōichi branch, and the Hōtō branch are so similar that it is not always easy to distinguish among them. As mentioned above, *Kenshō jōbutsu ron*, *Kakushō ron*, and *Hōmon taikō* (all from Shōmyōji) are all similar in being based on *Zongjing lu*, in using the term “numinous awareness,” and in emphasizing the importance of reaching the essence of mind. Although we cannot definitely conclude that the three texts

⁶⁰ CZS 4: 577.

⁶¹ Katō 2016, pp. 12–13.

belong to the same lineage, we can say that, broadly speaking, they belong to the same network.

One of the major characteristics of Zen thought during this period was its close relationship with Mikkyō. Many scholars have been puzzled by the fact that the *Sōkan* volumes on Eisai and the Shōichi branch of Zen consist almost entirely of esoteric texts. However, the relationship with esoteric Buddhism was not necessarily the same for Eisai and for the Shōichi branch. In the case of Eisai, the works discovered at Shinpukuji all predate his second trip to China, and their content is pure Tendai Mikkyō (Taimitsu 台密), without any Chan/Zen elements. During his second visit to China, Eisai studied Chan, and upon his return to Japan he wrote *Kōzen gokoku ron* and sought official recognition for the Zen school. Afterward, although he did not abandon Mikkyō, Eisai seems to have aimed for an inclusive form of Buddhism that encompassed and integrated both Zen and Mikkyō. He did not write exclusively on esoteric Buddhism.⁶² There is no writing by Eisai that explicitly discusses the relationship between Zen and Mikkyō. However, considering the fact that in *Kaihen kyōshu ketsu* and other works Eisai strongly advocated the position that the self-nature body (*jiyōshin* 自性身; another name for the Dharmakāya 法身) preached the Dharma, it is possible that his placing the Dharmakāya in a pivotal position was connected to the practice of Zen meditation, through which the Dharmakāya itself is realized.

The Shōichi branch of Zen posed the question: Which is superior, Zen or Mikkyō? However, there was no clear answer. It seems that Enni regarded the highest stage as *mukaku-mujō* 無覚無成 (non-awakening non-attainment), which is not only Zen awakening but also the ultimate state of Mikkyō.⁶³ As for Enni's disciple Chikotsu, some of his writings are Zen-centered and others preach the supremacy of Mikkyō, so he did not necessarily judge that one was better than the other. According to *Keiran shūyō shū*, "Yōjōbō [Eisai]'s view was that Zen should be placed above Tendai and below Shingon."⁶⁴ In contrast, "Shōichibō 聖一房 [Enni] thought that Zen should be placed above both Tendai and Shingon."⁶⁵ On this point, the difference between Eisai and Enni is clear.

In any case, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was considered natural for monks to study in various schools and to pursue different practices concurrently. There were various tendencies. In the case of the Shōichi branch and the Daruma school, we have some idea about their trends and developments. But, outside of the better-known groups, there are some writings that advocate for the Zen school from

⁶² For Eisai's life and writings, see my "Eisaishū sōsetsu" 栄西集総説 (Overview of *Collection of Eisai's Writings*), CZS 1, pp. 503–14.

⁶³ See my "Shōichiha sōsetsu" 聖一派総説 (Overview of *Shōichi Branch*), CZS 4, pp. 597–626.

⁶⁴ CZS 7: 383; T no. 2410, 76: 531c28–29.

⁶⁵ CZS 7: 384; T no. 2410, 76: 532a17–18.

a unique perspective. One example is *Zenshū kōmoku* 禪宗綱目 (Outline of the Zen School) composed in 1255 by Shōjō 証定 (b. 1194), a disciple of Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232); Shōjō clearly uses the term “Zen school” in the title.⁶⁶ Another extremely interesting document discovered at Shinpukuji is a handwritten book entitled *Kyōgetsu yōmon shū* 教月要文集 (Collection of Essential Writings of the Moonlike Teachings).⁶⁷ While emphasizing Tendai teachings and the Tendai meditation method of cessation and observation (*shikan* 止觀; *sāmātha* and *vipāśyana*), *Kyōgetsu yōmon shū* also takes a Zen perspective on some topics. Based on *Zongjing lu*, *Kyōgetsu yōmon shū* divides Zen into three schools: the school that cultivates the mind by eliminating delusion (*xiwang xiuxin* 息妄修心), the school that relies on no support whatsoever (*minjue wuji* 泯絕無寄), and the school that directly reveals the nature of the mind (*zhixian xinxing* 直顯心性). This set of three schools is originally derived from Zongmi’s *Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu*. This is similar to the Shōmyōji texts mentioned above. In *Keiran shūyō shū*, we find the following passage: “There is a man called Dharma Master Gazen 我禪. . . . This man is also of the Zen school.”⁶⁸ “Dharma Master Gazen” refers to Shunjō 俊苒 (1166–1227), who established the Shingon temple Sennyūji 泉涌寺 in Kyoto and was well versed in the teachings of several schools of Buddhism, including the precepts. We see that *Keiran shūyō shū* counted Shunjō as a member of the Zen school. In sum, at that time the meaning of “Zen” had quite a broad scope.

This syncretic or comprehensive style of Zen declined in the fourteenth century, as the Zen sects became more defined and specialized. The transmission in the Shōichi/Anyōji lineage is emblematic of this shift. Chikotsu was a Dharma heir of Enni and studied Mikkyō as well as Zen. However, there is some doubt about whether Chikotsu received all of Enni’s esoteric teachings or whether perhaps he received the teachings but did not receive an esoteric consecration.⁶⁹ In addition, Chikotsu also transmitted the Tōmitsu Sanbō-in 東密三宝院 lineage. In other words, he transmitted three schools: Zen, Tendai esotericism (Taimitsu), and Shingon esotericism (Tōmitsu). The Anyōji lineage that was transmitted to Shinpukuji came from within the Tōmitsu Sanbōin lineage, with no Taimitsu certificate of esoteric initiation. On the other hand, Chikotsu’s certificate of esoteric initiation was also transmitted through the Anyōji lineage, and his was a Taimitsu (not Tōmitsu) certificate. Furthermore, Zen was transmitted separately. In other words, in Chikotsu’s era, Taimitsu, Tōmitsu, and Zen were integrated, but they were later separated into three distinct streams of Buddhism. In the first half of the fourteenth century, there was a

⁶⁶ On the *Zenshū kōmoku*, see Takayanagi 2014.

⁶⁷ CZS 7.

⁶⁸ CZS 7: 383.

⁶⁹ See Kikuchi Hiroki 菊地大樹, “Anyōji ryū injin kaidai” 『安養寺流印信』 解題 (Overview of *The Certificates of Esoteric Initiation in the Anyōji Lineage*), CZS 11: 659–69.

shift from a syncretic, combinatory style of Buddhist practice toward specialization in a single practice.

In connection with Chikotsu, there are lists of the audience members attached to “A Record of [the Lecture on] the Abiding Mind Chapter of *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-tantra*” (*Dainichikyō sho jūshinbon kikigaki* 大日經疏住心品聞書)⁷⁰ and other transcripts of his lectures.⁷¹ Some of the people in the audience were not Chikotsu’s direct disciples, so we know that the lectures were at least somewhat open, even though they were basically intended for students in his lineage. In addition, it is noteworthy that Enni’s lecture on *Dainichikyō sho* served as a starting point, and based upon his lecture similar lectures were later given by Chikotsu, Nōnin, and others.⁷² The fact that the records of the lectures by Enni, Chikotsu, and others have been preserved at Shinpukuji is related to the inherited succession of such lectures. Here we can see that there was a clear consciousness of succession within a particular tradition. Although this cannot be immediately equated with sectarianization, it is evident that, around the first half of the fourteenth century, the traditionally more open style of Buddhism was replaced by closed successions in separate branches of Buddhism.

However, even in that period, Zen was not necessarily divided into distinct sects. *Zenshū hōgo* 禪宗法語 (Sermons of the Zen School), kept at Shōmyōji, is a collection of various Zen-related teachings and sayings, including those of Myōe, Shinchi Kakushin, and Musō Soseki. Included among Myōe’s sermons is a dialogue (*mondō* 問答) with Eisai, in which Eisai describes Myōe as “a person who could be important for the reception and flourishing of this school.”⁷³ Eisai asked Myōe to become his disciple, but Myōe firmly refused. At issue here is the Dharma lineage of the Zen school, and the dialogue suggests that, fundamentally speaking, Myōe should have been a member of the Zen school. *Zenshū hōgo* was obviously edited by someone later than, and perhaps related to, Musō Soseki, but it is interesting that it presents a genealogy that differs from the commonly accepted version of Zen transmission. It was around that time, the middle of the fourteenth century, that the genealogy of the Zen certificate of Dharma transmission became fixed.

(Translated by Elizabeth Kenney and Robert F. Rhodes)

⁷⁰ The commentary itself (T no. 1796) is by Yixing 一行 (673–727) and is abbreviated (in the Japanese reading) as *Dainichikyō sho* 大日經疏.

⁷¹ See Katō Michiko 加藤みち子 and Itō Satoshi 伊藤聡, “Dainichikyō gishaku kenmon (maki nana, maki kyū <bubun>) kaidai” 大日經義釈見聞 (卷七・卷九<部分>) 解題 (Overview of *Observations on Explanations of the “Mahāvairocana Sutra”* [vols. 7 and 9, selections]), in CZS 12: 706–7.

⁷² CZS 12: 708–9.

⁷³ CZS 10: 509.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CZS *Chūsei zenseki sōkan* 中世禪籍叢刊. Edited by Chūsei Zenseki Sōkan Henshū linkai 中世禪籍叢刊編集委員会. 13 vols. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2013–19.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–35.
- X *Shinsan dainihon zoku zōkyō* 新纂大日本統藏經. Edited by Kawamura Kōshō 川村孝照, Nishi Yoshio 西義雄, and Tamaki Kōshirō 玉城康四郎. 90 vols. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1975–89.

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