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TRANSLATION

A Chronological Biography of Zen Priest Hakuin (*Hakuin Oshō Nempu*)

TRANSLATED BY NORMAN WADDELL

Part 2: Teaching Others

KYŌHŌ 12 (1727)
AGE 43 Layman Shōji had a fifteen-year-old daughter named Satsu. She was sharp as a tack, and possessed an exceptionally penetrating insight. Whenever her father went to practice at Shōin-ji she would accompany him and sit, from evening until dawn, in a state of total absorption. Before long she experienced an enlightenment. Afterwards her father saw her doing zazen on top of a bamboo chest. “What are you doing?” he shouted. “Don’t you know there’s a Buddhist image in that chest!” Satsu astounded him by replying, “Well, father, will you let me sit where there’s no Buddha?”¹

One day a person named Rimpin [“Completely Encompassed”] came for an interview.² He expressed the understanding he had achieved. The master tested him, asking, “Have you completely encompassed the great void?” Rimpin inscribed a circle in the air with his

* This is the second and concluding half of the *Hakuin Oshō Nempu*.

¹ Satsu, 1714–1789, daughter of Shōji Rokubei (Yūsai), one of Hara’s leading citizens. She married into the Watanabe family, proprietors of one of the main inns at the Hara post station. A well-known Zen saying cautions against both abiding where there is Buddha and remaining where there is no Buddha.

² Rimpin, n.d.

finger. "That's still only about half," said the master. Satsu, who was sitting off to the side, said, "A moment ago it was already completely encompassed." The master nodded his agreement.

A monk asked Satsu, "What is the principle of the words, 'Smashing a white rock inside a grain of mustard seed?'" Satsu picked up a teacup and threw it to the floor.

Another time the master gave her a koan and asked, "What is your understanding?" "Please master, could you repeat the koan once more for me?" she said. The master began to go over the koan again, but before he had finished speaking she suddenly placed her hands before her on the floor, made a deep bow, and said, "Thank you so much for troubling with me." "I'll have to watch myself," declared the master, "I've been done in by a snotnosed little girl."

KYŌHŌ 13 Laymen Ishii Gentoku and Sugisawa Sōshin came to the
(1728) master for instruction.³
AGE 44

KYŌHŌ 14 Datsu Jōza brought Furugōri Kentsū to see the master.
(1729) "This gentleman would like to study Zen," Datsu said.
AGE 45 "Please give him a koan."⁴

"Why bother with giving or taking at all?" replied the master. "It's all here, right under his nose, this very moment. Not a thing lacking."

"He's just a beginner," said Datsu. "Employ some of your skillful means." The master picked up his brush and wrote out the words: "What is the nature that sees, hears, thinks, and knows?"

Kentsū received the inscription with a bow and left. About a year later he experienced an enlightenment. He composed a verse to express his understanding and presented it to the master.

When I knocked over the cliff soaring ten thousand feet
Fire shot from my mattock, consuming the whole universe;
Reduced to ash myself, I surveyed the four quarters,
And saw tufts of rice yellowing in the fields as before.

³ Ishii Gentoku, 1671-1751, a physician. Sugisawa Sōshin (Sōzaemon), n.d.

⁴ Datsu, d. 1746 (also called Gedatsu, Datsu Jōza, Datsu Shuso) appeared before, Part One, Age 36. Furugōri Kentsū, 1695-1746.

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Kentsū's attainment was further tempered and refined by uplifting blows from the master's invincible iron hammer.

It was from this time that the monk Gedatsu and laymen Kentsū, Gentoku, and Sōshin formed a practice group to study under the master. They became known around Shōin-ji as "the Earl and Three Dukes of Hina village."

In autumn the master lectured on the *Kannon Sutra*.

KYŌHŌ 15 In spring the master lectured on a collection of texts he
(1730) had compiled for his students which he titled *Redolence*
AGE 46 *from the Cold Forest*.⁵

Winter. On the eighth of the eleventh month Shōju Rōjin's disciple Sōkaku Shuso died.⁶

A woman named Masa, the widow of a Mr. Sugiyama of Hina village,⁷ came to study at the prompting of Datsu Jōza. She threw herself into her practice with such singleminded devotion as to become totally oblivious of everything else. So absorbed did she become in her koan that when her young son would return from his daily calligraphy lessons he would find that his mother had forgotten to prepare his lunch. Feeling sorry for him, the neighbors would give him something to eat. One day when he returned from his lessons, Masa looked at him and said, "Whose little boy are you?"

"Momma!" the boy cried out. "What are you saying!" With that she recognized him, but before long she was deeply immersed in samadhi once again. Her strange behavior continued for several more days until suddenly she crossed the threshold into enlightenment. She went to the master and set forth her understanding to him. He gave her some koans to test her. She passed them without the slightest trouble.

One day the priest Unzan was lying behind the master taking a nap when Masa came to the door of the room and requested an interview.⁸ Unzan got up to leave but the master motioned him to stay. When

⁵ *Kanrin-ihō*. A collection of short texts Hakuin assembled from Zen and other Buddhist writings to instruct and encourage his students. It was published in 1769, after his death, by Tōrei.

⁶ Dōju Sōkaku. See Part One, Age 24. Shuso: senior monk.

⁷ Nothing else is known about her.

⁸ Unzan, a childhood friend of Hakuin, first appears in Part One, Age 35.

Masa entered the room, the master asked her, "What is the meaning of a dream about Bodhidharma coming from the West?" After Masa had set forth her understanding, the master ended the interview. She bowed and left the room.

"Who was that?" asked Unzan.

The master told him about the woman.

"I've never seen anyone so utterly pure and forthright. But she didn't give you the slightest opening," exclaimed Unzen in amazement.

KYŌHŌ 16 During the summer the master gave lectures on the *Four*
(1731) *Part Collection*, followed by lectures on the *Poems of*
AGE 47 *Cold Mountain*.⁹ Twenty-five people attended the meet-
ing. During the spring and autumn months, whenever the
master could find time he sequestered himself at a retirement retreat
owned by the physician Ishii Gentoku.

KYŌHŌ 17 In spring the master lectured on the *Record of Lin-chi* and
(1732) the *Blue Cliff Record*. Forty people participated in the
AGE 48 meeting. There was more than a score of monks residing
and practicing at Shōin-ji.

KYŌHŌ 18 In spring a priest named Kaishun of the Shingon sect
(1733) came for an interview. The master took a fire iron and
AGE 49 held it up in front of Kaishun's face. "If you feel the
slightest hesitation before this piece of iron," he said,
"you still aren't a truly enlightened man." Kaishun was dumbfound-
ed. Later when the master told his colleague Yōshun Shūdaku about
the exchange, Yōshun remarked, "Against you, even one of the fore-
most teachers of the esoteric school was at a loss."¹⁰

In autumn, the master lectured on *Precious Lessons of the Zen School* to over thirty participating monks.¹¹ He read Hayashi Razan's

⁹ *Shibu-roku*. A Japanese compilation of four works: the poems *Hsinhsin-ming* (*Shinjin-mei*) and *Chengtao-ko* (*Shōdō-ka*), the *Ten Oxherding Pictures*, and the *Tso ch'an i* (*Zazengi*). Hakuin's lectures on the *Poems of Cold Mountain* grew into the *Kanzan-shi sendai-kimon* (1746), one of his main commentarial works.

¹⁰ Kaishun, n.d. Yōshun Shūdaku, priest of Seiken-ji. See Part One, Age 33.

¹¹ *Ch'an-men pao-hsun* (*Zenmon-hōkun*). Cf. Part One, fn. 59.

*Study of Our Shintō Shrines.*¹²

KYŌHŌ 19 In spring the priest Shōzan of Taikō-an, a subtemple of
(1734) Tōfuku-ji, came with Ryōsai of Mikawa to study with the
AGE 50 master.¹³

During the summer, for Shōzan's benefit, the master gave talks on the *Blue Cliff Record*. Over twenty people attended. Among them were the senior monks Ryōsai and Ekyū, who made great strides in their practice and penetrated to a deep understanding of the master's words.¹⁴

KYŌHŌ 20 In spring the master lectured for Shōzan on the *Record of*
(1735) *Hsu-t'ang*.¹⁵ After the talks, Shōzan returned to Tōfuku-
AGE 51 ji. In summer the master lectured on *Precious Lessons of the Zen School*.

In autumn (the ninth month) he sent verses to Sempō Zenju and Kōgoku Genshū congratulating them on becoming temple priests.¹⁶

GEMBUN 1 In spring Etsū Shuso came to study.¹⁷ The master gave lec-
(1736) tures on the *Vimalakirti Sutra* that were attended by more
AGE 52 than thirty people. There were now eight monks residing at Shōin-ji.

In summer the master lectured on the *Blue Cliff Record*.

In autumn, thanks largely to the efforts of Chō of Tango and Tan of Bungo, the construction of a new Monks' Hall was completed at Shōin-ji. The master composed a verse to express his gratitude.

¹² *Honchō Jinja-kō*. By the anti-Buddhist Neo-Confucian Hayashi Razan, 1583–1657. Hakuin's criticism of this work is found in the one-volume *Supplement to Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns*.

¹³ Shōzan Reiyū, 1700–1763. Ryōsai Gemmyō, 1706–1786; the first monk to receive Hakuin's Dharma transmission.

¹⁴ Ekyū, n.d., received Dharma sanction from Shikaku Echū, an heir of the Sōtō priest Suzuki Shōsan, 1579–1655.

¹⁵ *Hsu-t'ang lu (Kidō-roku)*, which Hakuin often refers to as *Hsi-keng lu (Sokkō-roku)*. See below, fn. 26.

¹⁶ Sempō, n.d., served at the Seibon-ji in Hara; Kōgoku, n.d., at the Eishō-ji near Numazu.

¹⁷ Kanjū Etsū, 1699–1777, also appears below, Age 56. Shuso: senior monk.

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At the annual ceremony commemorating Bodhidharma's death, the master offered incense and read out a verse:

We had no place for monks so we built a fine new hall,
We're like a band of beggars gathering to a splendid feast.
North of the river six men matured into Dharma vessels;
Five fords and five bridges went up at Mount Shao-lin.¹⁸

The master often told his monks, "For the last three hundred and sixty years not one real person has passed by on the Great Eastern Road."

During the winter the master's lay student Uematsu Suetsuna established a new temple named Kannonzen-ji by constructing a small Zen Hall and kitchen on the former site of an old Hara temple.¹⁹ He asked the master to conduct services to consecrate the Buddhist images in the temple. The master wrote some Dharma instructions and a memorial inscription for the occasion, both of which still exist.²⁰

GEMBUN 2 In spring, the master lectured on the *Blue Cliff Record* at
(1737) the request of Rinzai-ji in Izu. (This marked the first time
AGE 53 the master responded to such an invitation from another
temple.) Over two hundred people attended. During the
meeting, the master overheard Ryōsai and Ekyū discussing the lec-
tures. They felt some of the interpretations he had offered on the text
were different from those he had given at previous lectures. He told
them, "The Dharma is like climbing a mountain or entering the sea;
the farther you go, the higher and deeper you get. On some points, I
felt differently this time." His words spurred the two monks to even
greater effort.

GEMBUN 3 Bunchū of Bizen arrived and began to study with the
(1738) master. He would later tell the other monks, "If that old
AGE 54 teacher of ours were lecturing from the high seat at a

¹⁸ "Six men north of the river": allusion to an anecdote found in *Precious Lessons of the Zen School*. "Five fords and bridges" presumably refers to the Five Schools of Chinese Zen deriving from Bodhidharma, who practiced at Mount Shao-lin.

¹⁹ Uematsu Suetsuna, 1701-71, was a wealthy citizen of Hara.

²⁰ They are included in Hakuin records, *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns* (*Keisō-dokuzui*), kan 7.

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great and important temple, the whole world would be beating a path to his door."²¹

GEMBUN 4 Autumn. In the eighth month the master acceded to a request from Layman Kokan (Mr. Akiyama) and gave talks (1739) at the layman's residence on the *Letters of Ta-hui*. During the meeting Tetsu of Kai, Jun of Izumo, and Kō of Bitchū served as attendants. Monks arrived one after another, among them Kyū of Rinsen-ji, Chū of Bizen, Sha of Bungo, Ro of Kai, and Totsu.²² The lectures, attended by more than thirty people, continued for over a month.

Following the meal commemorating the death anniversary of Bodhidharma, the monks at Shōin-ji got together and decided to make preparations for a lecture meeting on the *Record of Hsu-t'ang* the following spring. At first the master was strongly opposed to the idea, but the monks went ahead with the work anyway. As he watched how eagerly and diligently they strove toward their goal, and realized the strength of their commitment, his opposition softened.

He left the temple, taking his attendants Jun and Kō with him, and sought refuge in Kashima. He later went on to Takikawa, and after that was in Hina for a time. At Shōin-ji, the monks made good use of his absence. Taku, Tetsu, Sha, and Sū repaired the old temple roofs and sank a new well-shaft. Kyū and Chū made the rounds of lay parishioners to lay in a store of beans and wheat and beg vegetables to stock the kitchen. All the monks worked ceaselessly and selflessly, mending gaps and cracks in walls and making other repairs where they were needed. Meantime, Chū, Jun, and Kō staked off an area outside the temple and rehearsed the ceremonies for the upcoming meeting so

²¹ According to a note in Tōrei's manuscript version of the *Biography*, Bunchū, n.d., studied under Hakuin for many years and later resided at the Funi-an in Matsunaga (in present-day Numazu) and the Sōrin-an near Kyoto.

²² Layman Kokan (Akiyama Michitomo, 1682-1740) was a wealthy farmer from the Mishima area. Tetsu; Kaigan Chitetsu, n.d.; Jun; Enkei Sojun, 1715-1767; Kō; Dai-kyū Ebō, 1715-1774. Kyū; Ekyū: Chū; Bunchū: Ro; Tengai Gen'i, n.d. Sha and Totsu have not been identified. The names of monks changed in the course of their careers; those given here and elsewhere in the *Biography* are generally ones they received at ordination. They often took new names after completion of their training.

they would be ready to advise the master as to the correct procedures.²³

GEMBUN 5 The lectures at Shōin-ji on Hsu-t'ang's records were held
(1740) in the spring and were attended by over four hundred peo-
AGE 56 ple. The master gave a series of introductory talks or
fusetsu at the opening of the lectures (a printed edition of
the text was later published).²⁴ Tsū of Ryōtan-ji acted as head monk,
Taku of Anyō-ji as steward, and Sai of Mikawa as senior monk. Yaku
of Bungo, Tō, and Ryū also took part.²⁵

The master opened the lectures by remarking, "If you wish to experience for yourselves all the different poisons in master Hsi-keng's (Hsu-t'ang) Dharma ocean, you should study the koan Su-shan's Memorial Tower. How wonderful, the way Hsi-keng's gold lies scattered and spread over the ten temples where he served. It's like throwing down one coin and getting two in return."²⁶

Then he said, "I know, compared with the great teachers of our school, I'm just a humble country parson. But don't any of you young monks have any doubts: if you step out of line and disturb the meeting, you'll have to deal with this staff of mine. The monks in charge have instructions to keep close watch on you."

This meeting established the master's reputation as the foremost Zen teacher in the land.

KAMPŌ 1 Seasoned monks—men with brows of steel and skulls of
(1741) bronze—now began filing in from all over the country.
AGE 57 They stayed in lodgings spread over a radius of three or

²³ The preparations for this meeting are described in detail in the preface to *Sokkō-roku kaien-fusetsu*. See my *Essential Teachings of Zen Master Hakuin* (Shambhala, 1994), p. 2-4.

²⁴ A complete translation of the work is found in *The Essential Teachings of Zen Master Hakuin*.

²⁵ Tsū; Kanjū Etsū: Taku, unidentified: Sai; Ryōsai. Yaku; Genyaku: Tō; Reigen Etō, 1721-1785: Ryū; Ishin Eryū, 1720-1769.

²⁶ Hakuin uses the literary name Hsi-keng (Sokkō) for the Sung priest Hsu-t'ang Chih-yu (Kidō Chigu). Hsu-t'ang served at ten temples during his career, with the division of his Zen records into ten books corresponding to the teachings he gave at each of the temples. The koan Su-shan's Memorial Tower may be found in Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust*, p. 288-89.

four leagues around Shōin-ji. The surrounding woods and hills were transformed into a great practice center. Among those who came was Jun of Dewa.²⁷

Spring. On the 13th of the first month there was a disturbance in the kitchen. Upon asking the cause the master learned it was a quarrel involving funds for an upcoming trip to Kai province where he had been invited to lecture. After personally investigating the matter, he was moved to write a verse:

The meeting had ended, we were cleaning things up,
Great effort by all concerned. How shameful it is!
If I run into Historian Ssu-ma during my travels,
I'll tell him lectures are not a teacher's true burden.²⁸

He gave talks on the *Blue Cliff Record* at Keirin-ji in Kai that were attended by over two hundred people. Jun, Betsu, Ryū, and Tō went along to supervise the meeting. One day a monk named Reigaku Zogen appeared for an interview.²⁹

"Where do you come from when you're born? Where do you go after you die?" asked the master.

Reigaku made no reply.

When a monk from Kyushu arrived and performed his greeting, the master said, "I heard you were back. They say you've been 'rambling extensively beyond the barrier.' What do you have to show for it?"

"You didn't hear?" said the monk. "I studied with a number of first-rate teachers. My awakening came as I was working on Pacifying the Mind—the koan barrier raised by the Second Patriarch. I have no doubts at all anymore. Everything is splendid. I'm filled with vim and vigor. 'Great peace and happiness.' 'Great emancipation.' 'Fire is hot. Water is cool.' What more is there to do or to seek? I've no desire to lec-

²⁷ Sojun Gengoku, d. 1771.

²⁸ The Chinese statesman and historian Ssu-ma Kuang (1018–1089). Probably a reference to a saying of Ssu-ma Kuang that Hakuin was fond of quoting: "Accumulate money for your descendents, they won't be able to keep it. Accumulate books for them, they won't read them. The best thing you can do is to increase your virtue, quietly, secretly, and pass along this method to them. It will endure for many ages."

²⁹ Betsu has not been identified; the rest of these monks have appeared before. Reigaku Zogen, n.d. Zogen: senior monk.

ture on the records of the patriarchs or amuse myself writing verses, as you do."³⁰

"What about the Second Patriarch's mind pacification?" asked the master.

"As long as you seek the mind, it is ungettable," said the monk.

"Scratching yourself behind the ear, your hand touches a Buddha's head. It can't be anyone but you. When will you be able to avoid bending your left elbow and touching a dog snout?" said the master.

The monk sat dumbfounded.

"Fa-yen said, 'A water buffalo comes in through the window. The head, horns and four hooves all make it through. Why doesn't the tail?'"³¹ What principle is expressed there?" asked the master.

The monk sat dumbfounded.

"A moment ago you told me 'fire is hot and water is cool,' but one of the ancients also said, 'Willows are not green, flowers are not red.' SEE!!

The monk sat dumbfounded.

KAMPŌ 2 In spring a Zen monk named Bonji came and requested an interview. He asked the master for a religious name, and performed the ceremony making him a disciple.³²
(1742)
AGE 58

In the fourth month Reigaku Zogen returned to resume his study. Again the master asked, "Where do you come from when you're born? Where do you go after you die?"

Reigaku raised a finger.

"You aren't there yet," said the master. "Say something else."

"Where do you come from when you're born? Where do you go when you die?" said Reigaku.

The master wrote a verse confirming Reigaku's realization.

During the summer the master lectured on *Precious Lessons of the Zen School* at the request of the Ryōtan-ji in Tōtōmi province.

That autumn, when the master was on his way back to Shōin-ji,

³⁰ "Pacifying the Mind" is Case 41 of the *Gateless Barrier* (*Wu-men kuan*; *Mumonkan*). For Hakuin words such as "great peace and happiness" would identify this person with the "do-nothing, Unborn Zen" that he strongly condemns.

³¹ *Gateless Barrier*, Case 38.

³² Bonji Zennin, n.d.

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Yaku Jōza went out to meet his palanquin.³³ Yaku had achieved a breakthrough and was eager to show the master a statement he had written setting forth his realization. The master took one look at it and denounced him angrily.

KAMPŌ 3 Spring. In the second month Tōrei Enji arrived and began
(1743) his study with the master. He was appointed as a special
AGE 59 unassigned attendant.³⁴ In the third month the master lectured on *Ta-hui's Arsenal*.³⁵ A monk who was residing temporarily at Shōin-ji asked him, " 'With a seasoned Zen teacher, there's no pecking in and pecking out. If there's any pecking in and pecking out, simultaneity is lost.' What principle does that elucidate?'"³⁶

"The chick inside the egg wants to peck his way out but doesn't, so the mother hen pecks," the master replied. "You should know that the mother's [teacher's] response to the chick [student] is inadequate."

The monk performed a bow.

"Peck!" said the master.

The monk gave a loud shout.

"Awakened!" said the master.

This exchange prompted the master to give a general talk (*fusetsu*) to the brotherhood.³⁷

Gōun of Shinano province came to study with the master. As a former student of the Sōtō priest Daibai,³⁸ Gōun had penetrated to an unusually deep realization. The master ended up assigning him several

³³ Yaku Jōza: Donsen Genyaku, known only as editor of Hakuin's *Talks Introductory to Lectures on the Record of Hsi-keng*.

³⁴ Tōrei Enji, 1712–1792, compiler of the *Chronological Biography*, was Hakuin's chief disciple and heir.

³⁵ *Ta-hui wu-k'u (Daie buko)*. A collection of Zen anecdotes and episodes with Ta-hui's comments.

³⁶ The phrase quoted by the monk is from Case 16 of the *Blue Cliff Record (Pi-yen lu; Hekigan-roku)*. It concerns the pecking that takes place when a baby chick about to emerge from its egg pecks the inside of the shell and the mother hen simultaneously pecks it from without. Descriptive of the Zen teacher's wonderful insight in knowing when a student is on the threshold of enlightenment and at just the right time using appropriate means to bring it about. The final words "Peck" and "Awakened" also appear in Case 16.

³⁷ Included in *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns, kan 2*.

³⁸ Gōun Soei, d. 1744. Daibai Keiryū, 1682–1757.

koans. During the give and take of subsequent interviews, in which he was subjected to the master's penetrating scrutiny, Gōun did not display the slightest uncertainty or hesitation. The master presented him with a verse:

Divine life-taking amulets and poison fangs of the Dharma
cave
Drain all the color from the universe; they smash the Great
Bear.
Deep personal commitment, half a lifetime of devoted effort
Has raised a lasting Nine-Tiger Barrier in southern Shinano.

Datsu of Ōmi province came to study.³⁹

In the ninth month the master's *Dharma Talks Introductory to Lectures on the Records of Hsi-keng* was published. In autumn monks and lay students of the master began renovating the temple kitchen. On the 25th day of the twelfth month work was completed and the cook moved into his new quarters.

KAMPŌ 4/ Spring. In the second month the master saw the newly-
ENKYŌ 1 published *Dharma Talks Introductory to Lectures on the*
(1744) *Records of Hsi-keng* for the first time. In the spring he
AGE 60 conducted belated ceremonies in observance of Bodhi-
dharma's death anniversary (usually held in the tenth
month) and Shakyamuni's enlightenment (held in the twelfth month),
which had not been observed at Shōin-ji the previous year.

In winter, while he was visiting Jishō-ji in Kai province, donations were gathered and a printing was made of the *Heart Sutra*. On the way home he lectured at Rinsen-an on *Old Ch'uan's Comments for the Diamond Sutra*.⁴⁰ As the hall at Rinsen-an was small and cramped, with spaces for only six students, it was not possible to accommodate a large

³⁹ Sōkei Chidatsu, 1704–1769. This monk was initially a student of Kogetsu Zenzai. He should not be confused with the Datsu (Gedatsu) of Muryō-an who appears elsewhere in the *Biography*.

⁴⁰ *Ch'uan-lao chin-kang ching (Senrō kongō-kyō)*. Zen-type comments and verse on the *Diamond Sutra* by the Sung priest Fu-chih Tao-ch'uan (Jifu Dōsen, n.d.). It became the model for Hakuin's commentary on the *Heart Sutra*, *Dokugo Shingyō* ("Poison Words for the Heart," *Eastern Buddhist*, XIII, 2, 1980).

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number of people. During the meeting the master instructed students with a story of a starving man at a tea shop.⁴¹

ENKYŌ 2 Spring. In the second month the master went at the request
(1745) of Jitoku-ji in Kai to lecture on the *Vimalakirti Sutra*.
AGE 61 Monks Chū and Yaku were in charge of the meeting, which
was attended by over three hundred people. In honor of
Buddha's birthday and also to commemorate the opening of the assembly, the master composed a verse:

The true transmission flowed forth daily from the gardens of
Amra;
Hanging up the poison drum, his true nature pierced the very
heavens;
Samadhi was present, clearly manifesting true emancipation—
A single blossom flowering the universe in absolute perfection.⁴²

During the meeting, on the third day of the third month, Zen master Rempō held a maigre feast to commemorate the death anniversary of his teacher Ranshitsu.⁴³

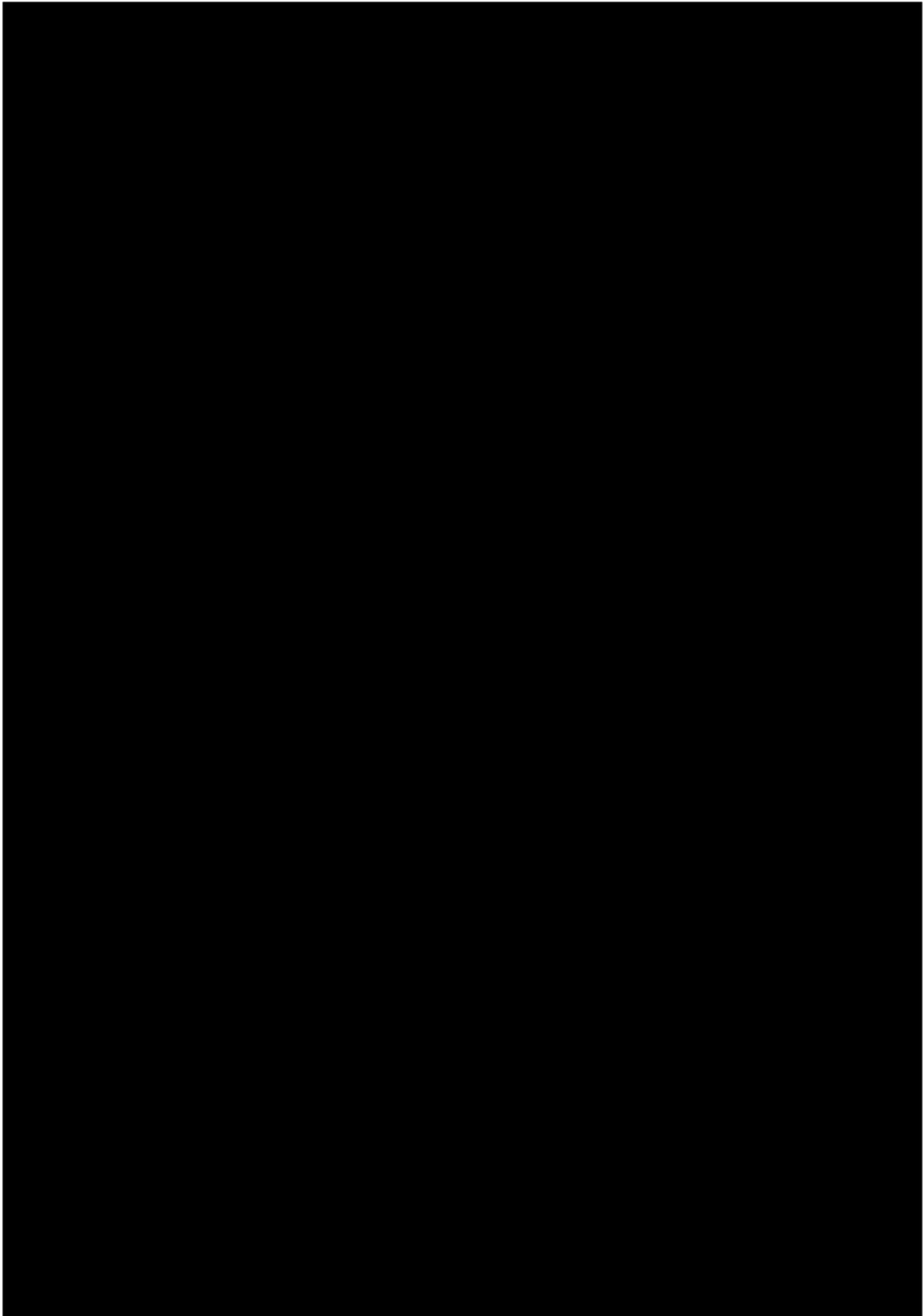
Inoue Hyōma, a samurai in the service of a high official in Edo, was deeply devoted to the recitation of the *Ten Phrase Kannon Sutra*. He had once had a printing of the sutra made for distribution. One day Hyōma fell into a lifeless swoon during which he descended into the realm of the dead and encountered Emma, the King of Hell, who said to him, "The attempts you have made to make the *Ten Phrase Kannon Sutra* known to your fellow men have been unsuccessful because your spiritual power is weak. At this very moment, however, there is in your world a priest by the name of Hakuin. He lives in your own country, in the southern part of Suruga province. If this Hakuin were to propagate the sutra, he would achieve a far greater success than any you could hope for. I want you to get him do this."⁴⁴

⁴¹ Found in *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns*, kan 2.

⁴² Amra is the site where the *Vimalakirti Sutra* was preached. Hanging up the poison drum is perhaps an allusion to Vimalakirti's celebrated silence.

⁴³ Rempō Chishō, n.d., and his teacher Ranshitsu Tōiku, d. 1743, both served at the Keirin-ji in Kai province.

⁴⁴ Nothing more is known about Inoue Hyōma. A section of Hakuin's work *Goose*



The Ten Phrase Kannon Sutra for Prolonging Life by Hakuin

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Hyōma then regained his senses. Since the order had come directly from the mouth of Emma himself, Hyōma wasted no time. He immediately wrote a letter asking the master for his help and had it carried to Shōin-ji. This is how the master first began his propagation of the *Ten Phrase Kannon Sutra*.⁴⁵ Later Hyōma paid a visit Shōin-ji and told Hakuin about his encounter with Emma.

ENKYŌ 3 Spring. In the second month Hakuin conducted a lecture (1746) meeting on the *Lotus Sutra* at the request of Genryū-ji in AGE 62 Suruga province. He gave an introductory talk (*fusetsu*) prior to the lectures. A letter arrived from Tōrei, who was living in the eastern outskirts of Kyoto. In it, Torei informed the master of his acceptance of the Dharma transmission the master had offered him. The master responded with a verse:

A golden carp tailing through the weeds of Ōmi's vast waters,
Surmounting countless perils, has broken past the Dragon
Gate;

Free at last to sport in the poison waves of the Buddha Ocean
He now performs the true charity—by giving not a drop to
others.⁴⁶

When the master expressed a desire to make his sanction of Tōrei public, several of his senior disciples tried to dissuade him. "If you can't bring yourself to believe in the man from reading his writings," he told them, "how are you going to understand what is written in the books about the ancient Zen masters?" None of those present dared to venture a reply.

In autumn printing was completed of the master's *Commentary on the Poems of Cold Mountain*.⁴⁷ Hakuin first saw a copy of the work

Grass (Yaemugura), titled *Miraculous Effects of the Ten Phrase Kannon Sutra for Prolonging Life (Emmei Jikku Kannon-gyō Reigen-ki)*, is devoted to accounts of people who were miraculously saved by reciting this short sutra (an autograph of the sutra by Hakuin is reproduced on the opposite page). Translated in Robert Aitken, *Encouraging Words* (Pantheon, New York), 1994, pp. 178.

⁴⁵ Found in *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns*, kan 2.

⁴⁶ Ōmi waters: Lake Biwa, in Ōmi province.

⁴⁷ *Kanzan-shi sendai-kimon*. See above, fn. 9.

when he visited the Hōrin-ji in Kai to conduct a meeting. While he was there he did a painting of the sixteen arhats, which he presented it to the abbot, Zen master Sesshū. In a verse he inscribed above the painting, he wrote:⁴⁸

Sixteen superior arhats, shining out like jewels among men,
 A waterfall plunging thousands of feet, as cold as ice.
 Who said the universal vow of salvation is ocean deep?
 Once worldly ties are cut, it's easy going all the way.

Eboku of Shimotsuke came to study. The master knew the first time he laid eyes on Eboku he was no ordinary student.⁴⁹ Layman Shōjō Dōmu also came to study. He arrived riding on an ox. He sought the master's instruction regularly after that.

When the meeting ended, Hakuin proceeded to Sekirin-ji in Kai province and lectured on the *Lotus Sutra*. On the way back to Shōin-ji he stopped over to teach at Nōjō-ji.

ENKYŌ 4 Spring. A vassal of the Daimyo of Owari named Oda (1747) Heijirō Nobushige, who was accompanying his lord on a trip to Edo,⁵⁰ slipped away from the procession when it reached Hara and sought an interview with the master. When the master asked Nobushige about his previous study, Nobushige replied, "I like visiting Buddhist teachers and receiving religious instruction from them. But as a result of those visits I've come down with a difficult malady."

"What malady would that be?" asked the master.

"Well I first went to a Zen teacher. He had me investigate my Mind-nature. Next I went to a Precepts teacher to inquire into the secrets of the esoteric school. He introduced me to the essentials of that tradi-

⁴⁸ Hakuin did at least two paintings of this description. One, "Sixteen Arhats and Kannon Bodhisattva Contemplating a Waterfall," still preserved at Hōrin-ji, is reproduced in Takeuchi Naotsugi, *Hakuin* (Chikuma, Tokyo, 1964), pl. 91. Sesshū Sōbai, n.d.

⁴⁹ The early name of Suiō Genrō, 1717-1789, one of Hakuin's chief disciples. He assumed the names Suiō and Genrō when he succeeded Hakuin at Shōin-ji (see below, Age 80).

⁵⁰ Nothing is known about this person.

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tion. Then I started to have doubts about the two teachings. Now when I engage in the Contemplation on the Letter A, my thoughts immediately fill with terrifying visions of hell. If I attempt to suppress them using the principle of the Mind-nature, the two standpoints conflict, causing me considerable distress. When I sleep, I'm plagued by bad dreams; when I'm awake, my mind is in a constant turmoil."

"Then why don't you find out who it is that fears hell so much!" scolded the master.

"But my trouble is," he replied, "I'm stuck in a state of emptiness."

The master thundered out a series of loud KHATS! "You half-baked wretch!" he said. "A samurai is supposed to be totally devoted to his master. Never a flinch or hesitation in the face of fire or other perils. He entrusts his life to the sword and spear without so much as stopping to scratch an itch or blink an eye. How could a samurai fear emptiness? Go down into the evil paths, right now, and take a good close look at all the different hells you see while you're there."

"You think it's appropriate for a Buddhist teacher to be telling students to enter the realms of hell?" said Nobushige.

The master laughed. "I've been there myself many times. Seen all eighty-four thousand hells. I haven't missed a single one!"

Nobushige, overjoyed, prostrated himself before the master.

"Please," he said, "write something to show me how to illuminate my mind."

"What I've got to offer is so infinitely vast," replied the master, "you couldn't possibly see it."

"But how can you refuse just a word or two?" said Nobushige. "Or even ten thousand volumes, were I to request them?"

The master paused, then said: "Look!! Go out the gate. Observe the endless procession of people passing up and down the street. Take in the inns along the sides of the road, the public lavatories, the tea-houses. Look at the great pine trees lining the approach to the post station. Look at the horses and donkeys moving up and down. Go on to Numazu, or to Shinagawa, or to Edo itself, watch the busy traffic streaming over the Ryōgoku Bridge, the great activity and commotion of the thousands of people milling around Sensō-ji Temple. Day or night, the turmoil and confusion never lets up. Yet would there be any time, as you were doing that, when you forgot yourself? Or any time when you did not forget yourself?"

Nobushige left, fully convinced by the master's teaching.

There was a serious famine this year, obliging the monks living in and around Shōin-ji to disperse. At the services for the death anniversary of Bodhidharma, the master wrote a verse:

Winds sweep in like angry seas, blasting field and garden,
Scattering my idle spirits and wild demons far and wide;
Twenty worthy men, monks with vitals sheathed in iron,
Chew on vegetable stalks, keenly savoring the adversity.

ENKYŌ 5/ In spring Yamanashi Harushige⁵¹ came to study with the
KAN'EN 1 master.* During the summer the master suddenly grasped
(1748) the inner meaning of the Reciprocal Interpenetration Be-
AGE 64 tween Apparent and Real.⁵² On the fifth of the eleventh
month the master took the monks living at Shōin-ji to a
ceremony at Rinzai-ji commemorating the two-hundredth death an-
niversary of National Master Honkō. At the request of the abbot
Kanjū Sōtetsu he delivered comments on the religious verses in the
Record of Hsi-keng.⁵³

After the meeting, a monk approached and asked for instruction. During his interview with the master, he said, "I've kicked Lin-chi's Three Barriers over on their back. I've gone seven steps beyond Hsuan-sha."⁵⁴

"Those aren't your words!" said Hakuin. "Whose are they?" "I read them in a discourse National Master Honkō delivered when he was installed as temple abbot,"⁵⁵ confessed the monk. Without think-

⁵¹ Yamanashi Harushige, 1707-1763; from a prominent family of sake-brewers.

⁵² The phrase, which occurs in the poem *Precious Mirror Samadhi* (*Pao-tsung san-meī; Hōkyō-sammai*), is a key concept in the doctrine of the Five Ranks. See Part One, fn. 41. Hakuin relates the circumstances surrounding this breakthrough in *Poison Stems in a Thicket of Thorns*, *kan 3*. Translated in *Zen Dust*, pp. 64-72.

⁵³ Honkō Kokushi; the honorific title of the Myōshin-ji priest Daikyū Sōkyū, 1468-1549. Rinzai-ji, Kanjū Sōtetsu's temple in Sumpu, Suruga province, was founded by a disciple of Daikyū.

⁵⁴ The "Three Barriers" are Lin-chi's Three Dark Gates and Three Essentials (*Sangen; Sanyō*). Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi* (Kyoto, 1975), p. 6. Hsuan-sha Shih-pei (Gensha Shibi, 835-908) was a disciple of Hsueh-feng I-ts'un (Seppō Gizon).

⁵⁵ A similar statement appears in Daikyū Sōkyū's Zen records, *Kentō-roku*, *kan 1*.

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ing, the master prostrated himself and lifted his arms up in reverence. “It’s like talking about salted plums and finding your mouth watering, or like knowing the taste of a certain dish by eating a morsel from the cooking pot. It’s a shame you’re unable to know everything that’s in that pot!”

*(Harushige, also known as Heijirō, was from the village of Ihara in Suruga province. Avaricious by nature and a confirmed womanizer, he had few redeeming qualities. One day when he was visiting his family temple the retired abbot said to him, “Yamanashi, you should have an image of Fudō Myōō carved in stone.⁵⁶ It would benefit people and would inspire practitioners with a spirit of courage and fearlessness.”

Harushige was agreeable to the idea and commissioned a stone carver to carve a statue of Fudō. He had it enshrined beside a waterfall at Mount Yoshiwara. He took his children to visit the spot one fine warm day. There wasn’t a cloud in the sky and the bright green leaves sparkled in the warm sun. The children wandered off gathering flowers, leaving Harushige alone at the edge of the waterfall. As he sat there watching the foam forming on the surface of the pool he was suddenly struck by the impermanence of the world and the brevity of human life. He saw some of the bubbles vanish under the falling water even as they formed, others floated a foot or two before disappearing, and some remained intact, moving over the water for fifty yards or more.

Just so, thought Harushige, was human life. He had grasped the Buddhist truth that all is suffering and that all suffering originates from human ignorance. He rose, his body trembling uncontrollably with fear, and returned home by himself. When he arrived he saw an old man sitting at the back of the house reading *The Dharma Words of Zen Priest Takusui*.⁵⁷ Glancing at the book, Harushige’s eyes came to

⁵⁶ The popular Buddhist deity Fudō Myōō (“The Immovable”), distinguished by his wrathful countenance and background of flame, eliminates obstacles and demons that hinder Buddhist practice.

⁵⁷ Discourses in Japanese (*kana-hōgo*) by the Rinzai monk Takusui Chōmo, d. 1740.

rest on a passage which said: "A true practitioner of the Way makes enlightenment alone his standard. Sometimes brave and courageous practitioners are able to realize enlightenment in several days or weeks. Such is the meaning of the Buddhist saying, 'the brave and fearless reach attainment in a single thought-instant; for the lax and indolent, it may take three kalpas.' "

Harushige now plucked up his courage, thinking to himself, "I'm certainly capable of making it through a week or two of Zen training."

He entered the bath quarters of his house and assumed a posture of meditation. His resolve when he sat down was steadfast, but before long his mind was conjuring up thoughts and discriminations of various kinds. Soon his arms and legs were aching; his mind was troubled by profound feelings of uneasiness. By midnight he was finally able to forget his body and mind. At first light, both his eyeballs seemed suddenly to burst from their sockets and fall to the floor. Soon after that he felt searing pain in the tips of his fingers. But he just clenched his teeth tightly, determined to sit his way through, and gradually things seemed to return to normal. He rose and looked around him but being unable to perceive any noticeable change from the previous day he left the room and started his daily routine. At the day's end he returned to the bath quarters and resumed his practice, sitting as resolutely the second night as he had the first. He soon entered a deep state of samadhi and remained that way through the night. He sat through a third night in the same manner. At dawn on the morning of the third day, upon returning to his work, he noticed that a change had taken place. Now everything he saw and heard and experienced seemed totally different. He went to the priest of a small nearby temple and told him what had happened. The priest was unable to help him, but advised him to visit the master.

Harushige hired a palanquin and set out for Shōin-ji. When the palanquin came to the summit of Satta Pass, a shining stretch of ocean came into view far below. At that moment, gazing out over the broad expanse, Nobushige sud-

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denly grasped the true aspect of things in the suchness of their particularity, and penetrated for the first time the meaning of the Buddha's words, "plants and trees and the land itself all attain Buddhahood."

Reaching Shōin-ji, he described what had happened to the master. The master confirmed his realization. Harushige continued his study under priest Kan'e Anju,⁵⁸ and was able to further deepen and refine his understanding.

One day he met a nun named Eshō.⁵⁹

"I'm an old woman," she said. "Would you please help me up without using your hands." Harushige didn't know what to reply. "You say you practice Zen!" she scolded. "Is that the best you can do?" The next day he grasped her meaning and she acknowledged his understanding. After that Harushige studied with several other priests and successfully passed a number of koan barriers.)

KAN'EN 2 (1749) At the end of the spring training session, the monks practicing at Shōin-ji requested that the master lecture on the AGE 65 Zen records of Daitō Kokushi.⁶⁰ He refused. "Thirty years ago in Mino province I accepted at face value some groundless remarks I heard someone make about *Daitō's Record*, and because of that I was led completely astray. Later, though, a single word or phrase from *Daitō's Record* was enough to start my teeth chattering and knees quaking. I would like to oblige you, if only to stop you from pestering me. But the sea is so vast, the waves are so high. I'd have trouble even making out the shore. It would be foolish to attempt such a task."

Encouraged by the master's words brothers Daku, Kun, Ju, Gyō, I, Ro, Ryū, and Jitsu got hold of a printed edition of *Daitō's Record*.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Probably the same Nichiren priest who appeared in Part One, Age 16. He lived in a small hermitage close to Shōin-ji.

⁵⁹ Eshō, d. 1764, was a student of Yōshun Shūdaku of Seiken-ji.

⁶⁰ *Daitō kokushi goroku*. Records of the Japanese priest Shūhō Myōchō, 1282-1337.

⁶¹ Daku; probably Ichidaku, n.d., compiler of *Kaian-kokugo*: Ju; Sempō Zenju; see Age 51: Gyō; Kōsai Egyō, d. 1776 (served at Sōgen-ji in Bizen): I; Baisō Chūi, n.d.: Ro; see Age 55: Ryū; see Age 56: Jitsu; Genshitsu Sōjitsu, d. 1782. Kun has not been identified.

Working together, they formulated a general plan for the master's lectures and worked out readings for the difficult passages. When they took the results of their labor to the master and begged him earnestly to reconsider, he was no longer able to refuse them. He proceeded to compose verse commentaries after the manner of the *Blue Cliff Record*, and wrote instructive prose comments modelled on those in the *Sanshō-gōyō* ("Essential Words for Careful Study") section of *Daitō's Record*. He titled the finished work *Dream Words from the Land of Dreams*.⁶² A strong appeal from Yūzan Zenichi, the priest of Ankoku-ji, was successful in persuading him to allow a printing of the work to be made.

In spring the master gave lectures on the *Record of Lin-chi* at the Monju-dō in Tadehara.

At the summer training session he lectured on the *Blue Cliff Record*. The Ōbaku priest Kakujū came and received instruction in the Sōtō school's Five Ranks.⁶³ Through Kakujū, who later became abbot of the Ōbaku headquarters temple at Mampuku-ji, Hakuin's Zen spread to the Ōbaku sect.

Winter. In the eleventh month Tōrei returned to Shōin-ji to resume his study. On the 25th day of the twelfth month the master presented Tōrei with a certificate naming him as his heir and the gold brocade robe symbolizing the Dharma transmission. There was a ceremonial feast, after which Tōrei departed for the Ummon-an in Iwatsuki, Musashi province. He was accompanied by the priest Gekkyū of Kai province.⁶⁴

KAN'EN 3 In spring Hakuin went in response to an invitation from
(1750) Daijō-ji in nearby Ihara village and lectured on the *Blue*
AGE 66 *Cliff Record*.

In autumn he went to Jōei-ji in Tōtōmi; while he was there he got his

⁶² *Sanshō gōyō*, kan 3 of *Daitō's Record*, consists of Daitō's lectures and comments on the *Record of Hsueh-tou (Setchō-roku)*. *Dream Words from the Land of Dreams (Kaian-kokugo)*, Hakuin's comments and verses on *Daitō's Record*, is his most important commentarial work. Yūzan Zenichi, n.d., a disciple of Hakuin, was head priest at Ankoku Jōei-ji in Tōtōmi province.

⁶³ Kakujū Jōchō, 1721-1791, became head abbot of Mampuku-ji in 1786. For the Five Ranks, see Part One, Age 24.

⁶⁴ Gekkyū Muin, n.d; later abbot of Keirin-ji in Kai province.

first look at the newly published *Dream Words from the Land of Dreams*.

In winter he was invited by Ryōkoku-ji in Harima province to deliver comments on the *Record of Hsu-t'ang*. One of the men attending the meeting posed the question: "Does life end with death? Or does it go on?"

"Does what just asked that question end?" replied the master. "Or does it keep going on?" The man could make no reply.

Eboku returned from Kumano to resume his study at Shōin-ji. The master's face flushed with anger as he reproached Eboku. "The noise around here bothered you so you ran off into the mountains and spent your time with the rocks and trees. You said you needed peace and quiet. Where did it get you?" He gave a loud 'Khat!'

Yotsugi Masayuki came from Kyoto to study with the master.⁶⁵

KAN'EN 4/ In spring Hakuin went to Bizen province in response to
HŌREKI 1 an invitation from Shōrin-ji in Okayama and lectured on
(1751) *Ch'uan-lao's Comments on the Diamond Sutra*. From
AGE 67 Shoren-ji he travelled to Hōfuku-ji in Iyama for lectures
on the *Four Part Collection*. He returned home by way of
Kyoto, where he stayed at the residence of Yotsugi Masayuki. While he
was there the painter Ike Taiga came to receive his instruction, as did
the courtesan Ōhashi-jo.^{66*}

He gave lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* at the Yōgen-in subtemple of Myōshin-ji.⁶⁷ The lectures were attended in secret by the abbesses of the imperial temples Hōkyō-ji and Kōshō-ji, and by Seijōkō-in, a daughter of the emperor. They were accompanied to the lectures by Hamuro Yoritane and Reizei Muneie, two high-ranking courtiers.

In winter Hakuin travelled to Daijō-ji in Ihara to continue lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* he had started on a previous visit. While he was there he drafted a short composition on the secrets of the Five Ranks.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Yotsugi Masayuki, n.d., was a wealthy Kyoto merchant.

⁶⁶ Ike Taiga, 1723-1776; one of the great *bunjin* painters of the Edo period. Nothing more is known about Ōhashi-jo.

⁶⁷ Yōgen-in was a Myōshin-ji subtemple to which Shōin-ji was affiliated.

⁶⁸ Probably the text in *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns*, kan 3; translated in *Zen Dust*, pp. 62-72.

One day he told the assembly of monks, "The Buddha's Dharma is like climbing a mountain: the farther you go, the higher you get. The important thing is not to retreat, not just remain where you are. From the time I entered Shōju's chambers and began to receive his instruction my mind felt disturbed and uneasy. Waking or sleeping, I couldn't shake that feeling. This winter I have reached my sixty-seventh year. Now, I often feel as if I'm strolling through the groves with master Yun-men." These words made a deep impression on all those present.

During the meeting the master was bothered by a carbuncle. It was treated by Gisei, a physician from Ejiri.

Hakuin visited Kōrin-ji, where he had been invited to lecture on the *Blue Cliff Record*. The priest Sohō of the Zakke-in subtemple at Myōshin-ji came and set forth his views on Zen.⁶⁹ Hakuin refuted them point by point. However Sohō remained unconvinced by the master's words.

*(Ōhashi was a daughter of a high official in the service of the Daimyo of Kōfu. His stipend was in excess of one thousand *koku*. Circumstances arose which forced him to leave his post and live as a *rōnin* or masterless samurai. He went with his family and youngest brother to Kyoto, where they moved from place to place without a fixed residence until their money ran out. Finally Ōhashi, unable to bear the sight of her parents' thin and haggard appearance, said, "Sell me to a brothel. If things work out in the future we may be able to come together again." "Any parent who sells his child to benefit himself is no better than an animal," they replied. "We would rather starve."

"You must think of it as a temporary expedient," Ōhashi told them. "If you don't, we must all die. Expedient means is not the same as true wisdom, but if it can help us out of our present difficulty, perhaps it is a kind of wisdom after all." Ōhashi's parents reluctantly agreed and she was sold to a Kyoto brothel. She became a skilled calligrapher and found enjoyment in the composition of waka poetry. Although she served her master diligently, thoughts of her former life

⁶⁹ Sōzan Sohō, 1722-1806, was a noted scholar-priest of Myōshin-ji.

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remained to plague her. "I was born into a good family. I was raised in a splendid residence, surrounded by fine silken hangings, with maidservants at my beck and call. Look at me now, reduced to this ignominious existence."

These sad thoughts weighed heavily on her mind over the passing days and months, until finally she developed symptoms of serious illness. Physicians who were consulted were powerless to help her.

Then one day she was visited by a customer from the noble classes. The man could see she was deeply troubled, so he asked what was bothering her. When she told him her story, he said, "I can understand the cause of your malady, but it will not be easy to cure it—not unless you can come up with a thousand in gold. It so happens, however, that I know of a way by which you can free yourself from your troubles completely. You probably don't believe that, do you?"

"Why shouldn't I believe it, if it's true?" she replied. "Please, tell me what I should do."

"It's simply a matter of detaching yourself from your seeing, hearing, feeling, and knowing," he said. "Those four faculties are ruled by the same master. If you concentrate yourself constantly, singlemindedly, on the two questions: Who is it that sees? Who is it that hears?—and continue to do so in all your daily activities, your true inborn Buddha-nature will suddenly manifest itself before your eyes. If you are to free yourself from this world of suffering, the only way to do it is for you to reach the point where you see into your true inborn nature."

She humbly accepted the advice and was soon doing her best to put it into practice.

During the Enkyō era [1744–1747] a series of violent storms swept the capital. In one twenty-four hour period lightning strikes were reported at twenty-eight different places. Ōhashi, who was deathly afraid of lightning, had all the doors and curtains secured and surrounded herself with young servants. She then assumed the lotus posture and, with a fierce determination, began doing zazen. The house was shaken by a sud-

den bolt of lightning that struck with a bright flash in the garden outside. Terrified, Ōhashi toppled over in a swoon.

Minutes later when she regained her senses she found that her seeing and hearing were completely different. She wanted very much to visit a Zen teacher and have him confirm the experience she had attained, but given her present situation it was not possible for her to leave the pleasure quarters.

Later, she met a man who purchased her from the brothel and made her his wife. The man died, and she remarried, this time to Layman Isso. Isso always took Ōhashi with him when he came to study with the master. Some years later Isso permitted Ōhashi to receive ordination as a nun. She assumed the religious name Erin.

After Erin died Layman Isso came and asked me [Tōrei] to make an offering of incense. As I approached the altar I could see no mortuary tablet for her, only a statue of the Bodhisattva Kannon. When I asked about the tablet, Layman Isso replied, "Erin attained enlightenment in a woman's form. In the form of a woman she preached the Dharma. I am sure she was an incarnation of Kannon. That's why I have enshrined a statue of the Bodhisattva here. I don't think there's anything wrong with that, do you?"

Without another word I offered the incense.

HŌREKI 2 In spring Hakuin lectured on the *Blue Cliff Record* at (1752) Shōin-ji, completing talks he had started previously. The AGE 68 hall filled with all four types of Buddhist disciples, monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen.

On the eighth day of the 4th month the new Muryō-ji was completed and the master was invited to celebrations which installed him as founder of the temple.* He thereupon appointed Tōrei to assist him as abbot.

Autumn. Hakuin went at the request of Kiichi-ji in Izu province to lecture on the *Record of Bukkō*.⁷⁰ Tsutsumi Yukimori travelled all the

⁷⁰ Bukkō is the honorific title of the Sung priest Wu-hsueh Tsu-yuan (Mugaku Sogen, 1226-1286), founder of the Engaku-ji in Kamakura. The *Record of Bukkō* was published in Japan.

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way from Kyoto to attend.⁷¹ While he was there he informed Hakuin of efforts Yotsugi Masayuki had made to relieve starving peasants in northern Kyoto. As an expression of his approval, the master took up his brush and painted a picture illustrating the events, adding an inscription above the painting.

Winter. To celebrate the completion of the new Muryō-ji, Layman Chikan (Yotsugi Masayuki) gave Tōrei seven relics of the Buddha for enshrinement in the temple. He requested that master Hakuin deliver talks on the *Sutra of the Bequeathed Teaching*.⁷² At the request of Gyokurin-ji in Matsuzaki, southern Izu, the master conducted a ceremony to commemorate the casting of a large new temple bell.

*(Originally the old priest Dokuon Genri of Shinano province had restored the temple, and later his student Datsu Shuso had lived there. During the Enkyō era Hakuin's student Kairyū conceived a plan to rebuild the temple and install the master as its founder, but Kairyū died before his plan could be realized. A hundred pieces of gold which had been collected for the undertaking were entrusted to Ishii Gentoku, Furugōri Heishichi, and Sugiyama Sōzaemon, and in time the three of them, working together, succeeded in carrying the project through to completion.)⁷³

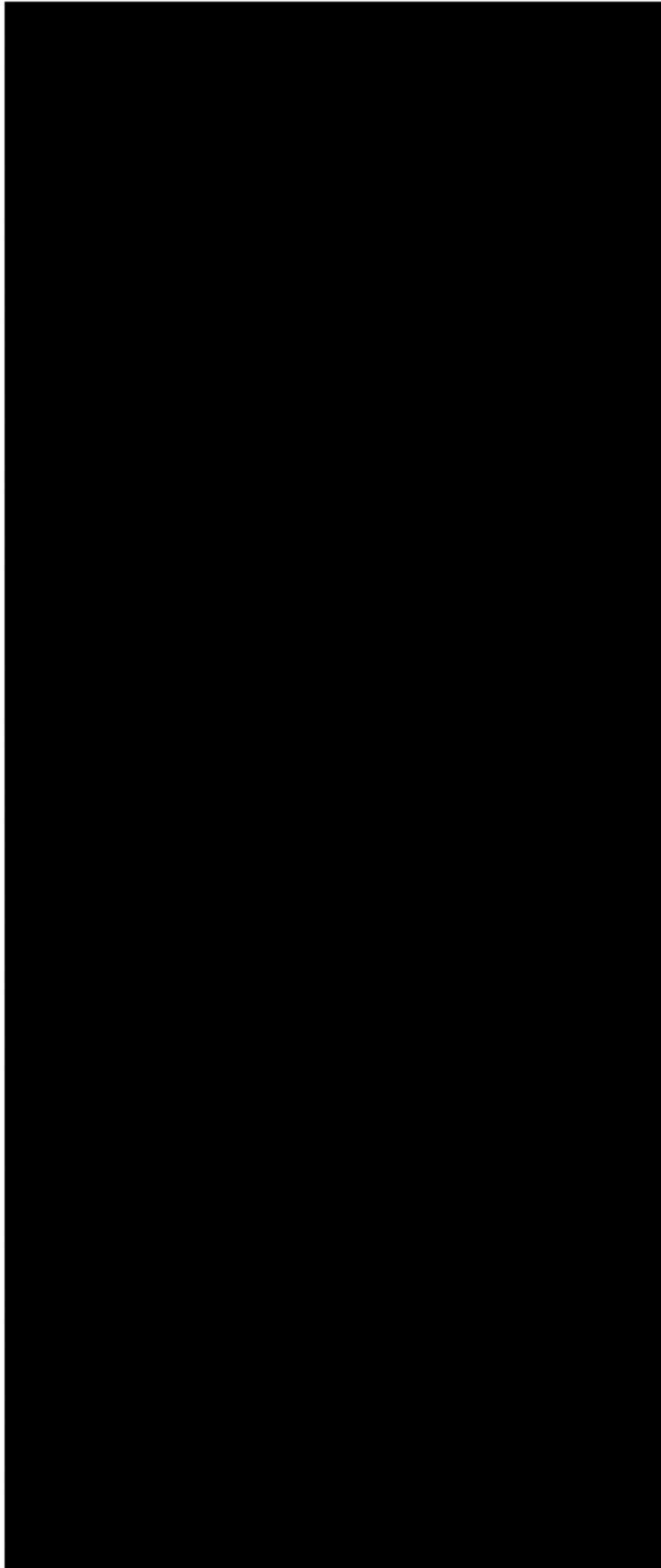
HŌREKI 3 Spring. In the second month Hakuin went to view the rel-
(1753) ics that had been enshrined at Muryō-ji. At the request of
AGE 69 Nōjō-ji in Kōfu he lectured on *The Eye of Men and Devas*
to over three hundred people. During the meeting he explained the essentials of the Five Zen Schools and had students concentrate their practice on the points he had set forth.

From Nōjō-ji he proceeded to the Tōkō-ji in Kai and lectured on *Poison Words for the Heart*, his commentary on the *Heart Sutra*. During the meeting at Tōkō-ji a ceremony and maigre feast was held to com-

⁷¹ Identified only as a relative of Yotsugi Masayuki.

⁷² *Yuikyō-gyō*. One of the works comprising the *Three Sutras of the Buddha-patriarchs*. See Part One, Age 22. A notation by Tōrei states that Yotsugi obtained the relics (*shari*) from temples in the Kansai area. See below, fn. 106.

⁷³ Dokuon Genri, n.d. Kairyū Ishō, d. 1747; one of Hakuin's four Dharma heirs. See Part One, Age 22, fn. 22.



Portrait of Shōju Rōjin by Hakuin

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memorate the thirty-third death anniversary of Shōju Rōjin. The master painted a portrait of Shōju and inscribed it with a verse:⁷⁴

He raised the single drop trickling from the celestial source
and threw it down,
Causing grief and suffering deep in the mountains of Iiyama;
Tired of kindling the flames of jealousy in his children,
He put an end to all giving, and became their mortal foe.⁷⁵

On the way home the master went to give talks at Fukuō-ji, Nanshō-in, and Jigen-ji. He was back at Shōin-ji for the winter *rōhatsu* training session.

HŌREKI 4 Students and disciples presented the master with congratulatory verses in celebration of his seventieth year.
(1754)
AGE 70

HŌREKI 5 Spring. Acceding to a request from Ryōshin-ji the master conducted a lecture meeting on the *Vimalakirti Sutra*.
(1755)
AGE 71 Lord Matsudaira, Awa-no-kami, the chief patron of the temple, came every day to listen to the lectures. He was completely won over by the master's teaching.⁷⁶

The master returned to Shōin-ji in the fifth month.

Autumn. In the ninth month Uematsu Suetsuna gave the Kannon-ji a standing figure of Akiba Gongen and asked the master to perform consecration rites for it.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Hakuin's teacher. See Part One, Age 24. A portrait of Shōju by Hakuin (illustrated on the opposite page) is still preserved at Shōin-ji.

⁷⁵ "Celestial source" translates T'ien-yuan (Tengan), the name of Hsu-t'ang Chih-yu's temple on Mount Ching. Iiyama, in Shinano province, is the site of the Shōju-an, Shōju Rōjin's hermitage.

⁷⁶ Matsudaira Shigenobu, 1712-1771.

⁷⁷ Uematsu Suetsuna has appeared before, Age 52. Akiba Gongen, the deity of the Akiba Shrine on Mount Akiba in Tōtōmi province, protects against fire. A supernatural being of the Tengu class, he is depicted in Hakuin's paintings (see illustration on page 117) as a fierce-looking winged monk or yamabushi riding upon a white fox with an aureole of flame at his back. The text calls him Akiba Sanshaku-bō, "The Three-shaku Monk (*bō*) of Mount Akiba"; three *shaku*, about 90 centimeters, is said to refer to the height at which he flies above the ground.

HÖREKI 6 In spring the master lectured on the *Shurangama Sutra* at (1756) Shōin-ji. Preparatory to the lectures he gave some instructions to the assembly (*jishu*).⁷⁸
 AGE 72

Summer. In the fourth month a ceremony and maigre feast was held at Kōrin-ji near the city of Sumpu to commemorate the 450th death anniversary of National Master Daiō; over two hundred people attended. The master was asked to offer incense and deliver comments on Daiō's recorded sayings. He made an incense offering, and said:

“When National Master Daiō made an offering of incense at a memorial service for his teacher Hsu-t'ang,⁷⁹ he remarked, ‘During the many years I served as old Hsu-t'ang's attendant, we were together constantly—face to face, eye to eye. So once each year in his memory I burn a stick of incense and offer a cup of tea, though I don't perform a woman's bow like master Yang-ch'i. These white turnips have always been associated with the master's native Chen-chou.⁸⁰ They are, I believe, the perfect offering in memory of the patriarch. Yet one thing I bitterly regret: that he was not pleased when the round pillar shook its head. Why? Every wheel that turns leaves tracks, yet leaving tracks is not the true and vital function of a wheel.’ ”

After the assembly the master went to Jiun-ji in Shimizu, where he delivered comments on the *Jewelled Mirror Samadhi*. He then lectured at Ihara on his commentary to the *Heart Sutra*.

He returned to Shōin-ji in the sixth month. A messenger arrived from the faroff Ryukyu Islands with a letter from the priest Tōgan Gen.⁸¹ Tōgan had dispatched the man all the way to Shōin-ji in order to request a certificate of enlightenment from the master.

In autumn the master lectured on *Ta-hui's Arsenal* at the request of

⁷⁸ *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns, kan 1.*

⁷⁹ Daiō Kokushi: the posthumous title of Nampo Jōmyō, 1235–1308. After studying in China with Hsu-t'ang Chih-yu he established Hsu-t'ang's Yang-ch'i (Yōgi) Zen lineage in Japan.

⁸⁰ In an address to his monks Yang-ch'i Fang-hui (Yōgi Hōe, 992–1049) mentions making “a woman's bow”; traditionally, this is explained as a bow made while seated. The turnips of Chen-chou figure in a well-known phrase by master Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen (Jōshū Jūshin). *Blue Cliff Record*, Case 30.

⁸¹ Although little is known about Tōgan Gen, n.d., he is named in Tōrei's epilogue as one of Hakuin's four Dharma heirs. (See p. 126).

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Jishū-ji in Kai. At the start of the meeting he gave some Dharma talks (*fusetsu*). While there he was again troubled by an inflamed carbuncle. It was treated by the physician Gisei and in several days the inflammation subsided.

A manuscript collection of the master's writings and sayings which had been compiled by his attendant Zenjo fell into the hands of a layman from Osaka named Kida Genshō. Kida secretly took the manuscript with him when he returned to Osaka and had it printed there. The work is titled *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns*.⁸²

HŌREKI 7 In spring, responding to teaching requests, the master set
(1757) out for Kōzen-ji in Shinano and Nanshō-in in Kai. He
AGE 73 stopped on the way at Nambu in Kai to give instruction
at the Kenchū-ji, and then proceeded directly to Nanshō-
in, where he lectured on *Dream Words from the Land of Dreams* and
delivered a Dharma talk (*fusetsu*). From there he went to Hōju-an
in Kai for several days of teaching, and then to Kōzen-ji, where he lec-
tured on the *Lotus Sutra* to an assembly of over three hundred people.
The meeting was sponsored by a Mr. Yamamura, the chief patron of
the temple.⁸³ After the lectures he responded to yet more teaching
requests, visiting Kaizen-ji and Ryōshō-ji in the city of Iida, and
Enryō-ji in Mie prefecture. He then returned to Shōin-ji.

HŌREKI 8 In spring the master was invited to lecture at Rurikō-ji in
(1758) Mino province. He decided to use the meeting to celebrate
AGE 74 in advance the one hundredth death anniversary of Nation-
al Master Gudō by giving a series of lectures on the *Blue
Cliff Record*.⁸⁴ The monks living at Shōin-ji showed scant enthusiasm
for the idea, but that made the master all the more determined. He
placed Kanjū of Rinsen-ji and Eboku in charge of the meeting, and
eventually the other monks came around and lent their support as well.

On his way to Mino province the master stopped over for several

⁸² Daishū Zenjo, 1720–1778, a long-time attendant of Hakuin, later served at Jishō-ji in Buzen province. Kida Genshō, n.d., was a wealthy Osaka merchant. *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns* (*Keisō-dokuzui*, 9 kan) was first published in 1758.

⁸³ Yamamura Kambei, n.d.; a local magistrate.

⁸⁴ Gudō Kokushi: Gudō Tōshoku, 1579–1661.

days to deliver talks at Shōrin-ji. Upon arriving at Rurikō-ji he composed a letter which he had distributed to temples far and wide. In it he wrote: "Having reached the one hundredth anniversary of master Gudō's death, I propose to deliver a series of lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record*. Anyone who feels a debt of Dharma gratitude to the National Master should come to Rurikō-ji, where he may offer incense and pay homage to his memory."

Senior priests Ryōsai, Tekkan, Reigen, Kūin, and Tenzui responded to the master's letter and came to take part in the meeting.⁸⁵ The master shared the teaching seat with his disciple Tōrei, who also delivered lectures. The master dispatched letters to senior priests in Gudō's teaching line urging them to arrange for an edition of master Gudō's Zen records to be published. Discussions were held and various opinions were voiced, but in the end they were unable to reach any decision on the matter.⁸⁶ The master was incensed at the lack of interest they displayed.

At the end of the meeting at Rurikō-ji he received invitations from Kakurin-ji, Zuiō-ji, Seitai-ji, and Bairyū-ji in Mino province. After visiting those temples he headed for Sōyū-ji in Takayama for talks on the *Blue Cliff Record*, stopping off along the way at Saigen-ji and Gyokuryū-ji. On route to Sōyū-ji his exasperation at the failure of his fellow priests to support a printing of Gudō's records prompted him to compose a work titled *Gudō's Lingering Radiance*.⁸⁷ When he arrived at Sōyū-ji he wrote out a fair copy of the text and showed it to the monks.

On route back to Shōin-ji he responded to teaching requests from Ryūmon-ji, Rinsen-ji, and Myōraku-ji. He then travelled south by small boat to Kuwana Castle and from there proceeded straight to Ryōgen-ji in Shiroko. He lectured there for over a month on *The Treatise of the Treasure Storehouse*,⁸⁸ and returned to Kuwana for several days

⁸⁵ Tekkan Dōshō, 1705–1788; Reigen Etō; Kūin Enko, 1704–1787; Tenzui Gentei, n.d. Kūin and Tenzui served terms as abbot of Myōshin-ji.

⁸⁶ Gudō's Zen records, *Hōkan-roku*, were not published until 1797.

⁸⁷ *Hōkan-ishō*. 1308 lines of seven-character verse in which Hakuin extols Gudō's contribution to Zen, then delivers scathing attacks on contemporary teachers.

⁸⁸ *Pao-tsang lun (Hōzō-ron)*, attributed to Seng-chao (Sōjō, 374–414), an early master of Madhyamika philosophy.

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of lectures at Tenshō-ji. More teaching requests arrived. He visited the training halls of Ryūju-ji and Hakurin-ji in southern Owari for several days, and lectured at Chizō-in in Tōtōmi on *Hsu-t'ang's Verse Comments on Old Koans*.⁸⁹

In winter he was back at Shōin-ji. Not far from the Mishima post station—it was no more than a bull's roar away—was a ruined temple named Ryūtaku-ji, which was under the jurisdiction of the Shingyō-ji.⁹⁰ A group of laymen and priests who had formerly studied under the master raised funds and purchased the site with the idea of rebuilding the temple and installing the master as its founder.

HŌREKI 9 During the New Year holiday a group including the priests
(1759) Kanjū of Rinsen-an, Reisen of Kezō-ji, and Kanzui of Den-
AGE 75 shu-ji came with Mr. Ōhito to offer respects to the master.
During their conversation with him they noted that plans for rebuilding Ryūtaku-ji were nearly ready, and they suggested that Tōrei be appointed as abbot of the new temple. The master was in agreement. It was decided that Layman Jōsan would travel to Kyoto and escort Tōrei back to Shōin-ji. The monk Dōgi was dispatched in advance to inform Tōrei of the plans.⁹¹

In the second month the master received an invitation to visit Edo from a physician named Handa. Handa wanted him to give the priests and laity of Edo a taste of the unique and marvelous working to be found in the Zen school.

The third month. Shibata Gikyō, a student of the master,⁹² obtained a manuscript of his unpublished writings. They had been collected in hopes they might later be added to his Zen records, *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns*, that had been published some years before. Shibata had the manuscript printed as a one-volume *Supplement to Poison Stamens*.

In the seventh month the master travelled to Edo and stayed at Rinsen-ji. People living around the temple composed a playful verse.

⁸⁹ *Hsu-t'ang ho-shang sung-ku (Kidō oshō juko)*.

⁹⁰ A Zen temple in Mishima.

⁹¹ Reisen Dōon, n.d., of Kezō-ji in Mikawa province; Kanzui Sōjō, d. 1789, of Den-shu-ji in Mishima; Mr. Ōhito, n.d.; Layman Jōsan, d. 1771; Dōgi, d. 1765. All were students of Hakuin.

⁹² Shibata Gikyō (Kenzaemon), n.d.

NORMAN WADDELL

A bonze of high repute
Is in the neighborhood,
Snared by our own Rinsen-ji;
Even in the countryside
Not everyone's a yokel!⁹³

On the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month the master opened a lecture meeting on the *Blue Cliff Record*. In an address to the assembly at the start of the lectures he said: "Whatever I hold up to elucidate for you—be it only a shard or pebble—is transformed into a piece of pure gold. Where I am now, even when I'm sitting and joking and chatting informally with people, I am turning the great Dharma wheel. LOOK!! LOOK!!"

He then began lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record*, the foremost text of the Rinzai school. They were attended by an outstanding group of Zen monks, as well as by a large contingent of high-ranking samurai. Crowded shoulder to shoulder into the hall, they sat trembling as they listened to the master speak. After the assembly the master went on to Tōen-ji to complete some lectures he had left unfinished at an earlier meeting.

When the master returned to Shōin-ji in the twelfth month he had acquired the ownership of the Shidō-an, the hermitage in Edo where the Zen teacher Shidō Munan had formerly resided.⁹⁴

HŌREKI 10 Spring, the second month. The master lectured on his
(1760) *Talks Introductory to Lectures on the Records of Hsi-*
AGE 76 *keng* at the site of the new Ryūtaku-ji training hall. A
ceremony was conducted during the meeting installing
the master as founder of the new temple. It was attended by over one
hundred people. Funds to cover the expense of the meeting were donated
by Ryūzan Dai-oshō of Kongō-in at Mount Hakone.⁹⁵

⁹³ "Snared" is a play on Hikikomi-chō, the Rinsen-ji's address, which appears in the poem. The last two lines—*yabu nimo kō no mono kana*—were a popular saying, to the effect that wonderful things are sometimes found where you least expect them. Hakuin was priest of a tiny rural temple.

⁹⁴ The teacher of Shōju Rōjin. See Tōrei's *Biography of Shidō Munan*, trans. Kobori and Waddell, *Eastern Buddhist*, III, 1970.

⁹⁵ Nothing is known about this priest.

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When Tōrei returned from Kyoto in the fourth month Hakuin immediately appointed him as his successor at Ryūtaku-ji. In autumn Tōrei undertook to have the registry of Ryūtaku-ji transferred to a new site. Mr. Kamiyama raised the funds for the transaction, Ōba Harushige handled the negotiations with the government officials, and Kanzui Hōin, the temple steward at Kongō-in, came with Mr. Ōba to fix the boundaries.⁹⁶

HŌREKI 11 In spring (the first month) the land transfer was completed. Ryūzan, the abbot of Kongō-in, came and certified the transaction. Many of those who had benefitted from the master's teaching now began arriving from all over Suruga province, as well as from the surrounding provinces of Izu, Tōtōmi, and Sagami. They began moving rocks and hauling earth to clear the land in preparation for the laying of the temple foundations. Each person brought his own supply of food to avoid drawing on the temple stores. Thanks to their concerted effort the work was successfully carried through to completion.

In the ninth month the master was invited to lecture at Ryūtaku-ji. When he ascended to the teaching seat, Tōrei came forward, performed a bow, and read out a verse:

Shariputra established the first temple in the grove of Gion;
His descendents, working together, erected the house of Zen.
Our own revered teacher now stands as the Shakyamuni of
his age,
May his Dharma-thunder startle the blind and ignorant of
today.

Hakuin's lectures, on *Hsueh-feng's Memorial Inscription*,⁹⁷ were attended by over a hundred people. Each person contributed a congratulatory verse. Den Jōza of Ise province presented a statue of the deity Idate to the master. The master celebrated the occasion with a verse:

⁹⁶ Kamiyama Chōzaemon, n.d.; Kanzui Hōin, n.d.; Ōba Harushige, n.d., was an official in the employ of the local magistrate.

⁹⁷ *Hsueh-feng t'a-ming (Seppō-tōmei)*. The text is found in Rikugawa Taiun, *Hakuin oshō shōden*, pp. 341-43.

To the north Prince Bishamon protects the Dharma,
 At the other three quarters Idaten stands guard;
 For this old and feeble monk there's nothing left to do,
 Just push the two wheels forward, and keep an eye on you.⁹⁸

After the meeting ended the master remained at Ryūtaku-ji for an extended stay. One day as he was walking in the temple garden, he remarked, "The ground here is firm and solid. How beautiful the mountains and forests are!" Taking his brush he wrote down the words, "I'd like for my body to be buried right here at this spot a hundred years from now."

The master took a statue of Akiba Gongen which he owned and personally enshrined it in the Ryūtaku-ji.⁹⁹ He wanted to insure the temple's protection long into the future.

HÖREKI 12 Autumn. In the eighth month the master spent several
 (1762) days at Daichū-ji in Numazu helping Tōrei conduct a lec-
 AGE 78 ture meeting on the *Heart Sutra*. Afterwards he paid a
 visit to Seiryō-ji in response to a request and lectured on
 the *Record of Hsu-t'ang*.

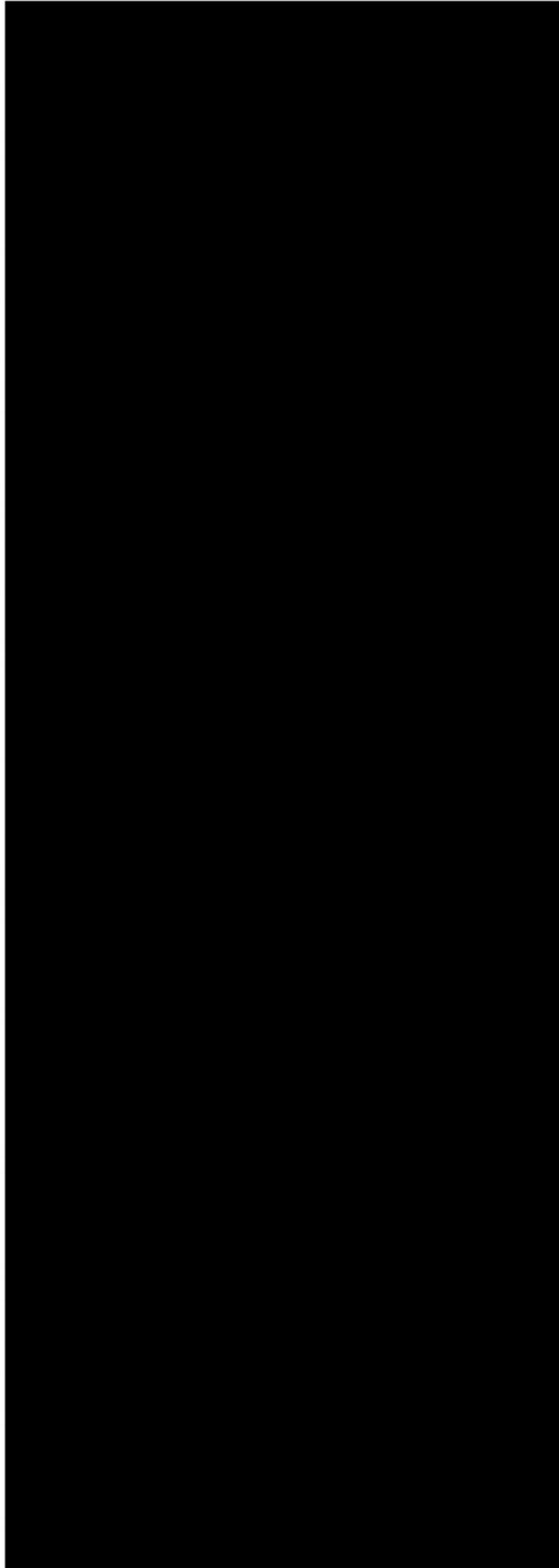
The monks decided to hold a final lecture meeting for the master at the Shōin-ji. They scheduled it for the spring of his eightieth year, the 14th year of Hōreki.

HÖREKI 13 Spring. The master was slightly indisposed over the New
 (1763) Year but he soon recovered. In the second month he lec-
 AGE 79 tured on the *Blue Cliff Record* at the request of Shōkō-ji
 in Numazu. Following that he gave talks over a period of
 days at five other Numazu temples: Ryōun-ji, Igen-ji, Eishō-ji, Jōin-ji,
 and Senryū-ji. He also visited Kōho-in in nearby Enashi to complete
 some unfinished lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record*.

In the third month he lectured to over two hundred people on the

⁹⁸ Bishamonten is one of the "Four-quarter" Kings (Shitennō). In Zen temples Idate-ten is enshrined as the god of the kitchen. The "two wheels" (*ni-rin*) are working to spread the Dharma and working to provide for one's own livelihood. Nothing is known about Den Jōza.

⁹⁹ See above, fn. 77; and the illustration on the opposite page.



**Akiba Gongen. Woodblock print
after a painting by Hakuin.**

Record of Sung-yuan at the request of Jiun-ji in Ejiri.¹⁰⁰ From spring onward a general debility brought on by illness and old age were increasingly evident. His former vitality and alertness were no longer there. Lecturing left him extremely tired, as though the immense energy he had been pouring into his teaching activity was now used up. By mid-winter the decline was even more pronounced. The monks feared that he might be unable to conduct the final lecture meeting the following spring.

The eleventh of the twelfth month. In the middle of the night the master summoned all the monks to him. "Come close," he told them. "I have just had the most remarkable dream. It has restored all my spirits. I now feel just the way I used to.

"I was sitting in a newly-built temple, in the right-hand wing where the retired abbot lives. Setsu Shuso of Ketsujō-ji and other old friends were sitting around me.¹⁰¹ Seated in a row opposite us were the distinguished priests Gudō, Daigu, Munan, and Shōju. Yōshun, Kogetsu, Haryō, and Jōzan were there too.¹⁰² One of the friends sitting near me sighed and said, 'It's not right for people of our inferior capacity, who have trouble bringing our lives into harmony with our religious understanding, to be sitting here opposite these eminent priests.' Setsu gave a wry smile and said, 'You only feel that way because of the two words we lack.' All those present, even the senior priests sitting across from us, were eager to learn what the two words were. When he told them—'Bravery and valor'—the whole room broke into applause. As I was reflecting on this it dawned on me that the people I was with were all deceased. I declared loudly, 'How can I agree to join this company!' and that's when I woke up. I want you all to fix this story in your minds. And you can stop worrying about me being able to complete that lecture meeting next spring!"

The master was keen and alert after that, and hardly ever had to rely on others for help of any kind.

¹⁰⁰ The Zen record of the Sung priest Sung-yuan Ch'ung-yueh (Shōgen Sūgaku, 1132-1202).

¹⁰¹ Setsu Shuso appeared before, Part One, Age 26.

¹⁰² Gudō Tōshoku, Daigu Sōchiku, Shidō Munan, Shōju Rōjin, Yōshun Shūdaku, Kogetsu Zenzai, and Jakuji Jōzan have all appeared before. Haryō Jinyū, 1686-1740, of Shimōsa province, was a friend of Hakuin dating from the period of his pilgrimage.

BIOGRAPHY OF HAKUIN

HÖREKI 14/
MEIWA 1
(1764)
AGE 80

Disciples of the master presented him with congratulatory verses in recognition of his eightieth birthday. On the fifteenth of the second month he lectured on the *Record of Daiō*. He acclaimed the great prescience of Daio's teacher Hsu-t'ang when he had declared that his "descendents would increase day by day in the land beyond the eastern seas [Japan]." ¹⁰³ The meeting, attended by over seven hundred people, was supervised by the abbots of Daijō-ji, Ryūshin-ji, and Bodaiju-in, as well as by priests Daichū, Ishin, Tōrei, and Eboku. ¹⁰⁴ The discipline was rigorous and the session was an unprecedented success. As it progressed, near the end of the month, the master became extremely tired and asked Ishin to share the teaching duties. Tōrei also helped, giving supplementary lectures on *Daiō's Memorial Inscription*. ¹⁰⁵

In the third month when the meeting ended Eboku left for Kyoto to receive the rank of First Monk (Daiichiza) from the Myōshin-ji. It was at this time that he changed his priest's name to Genrō and adopted the studio name Suiō. He returned to Shōin-ji in the seventh month. The master retired as abbot of Shōin-ji, turning the position over to Suiō.

MEIWA 2
(1765)
AGE 81

Spring, the first month. The master conducted a *shari-e* ceremony at Ryūtaku-ji. ¹⁰⁶ He and Suiō had a falling out. Suiō left Shōin-ji and went to stay at Kannon-ji. The master's compassionate old heart was much troubled by this turn of events. Efforts to console him by the senior priest at Fumon-ji helped ease the pain. ¹⁰⁷

In the third month the master fell ill and was confined to his bed at Shōin-ji.

Tōrei travelled to Edo where, in collaboration with others, he set

¹⁰³ Upon receiving Hsu-t'ang's sanction, Daiō transmitted the Zen of Hsu-t'ang's Yang-ch'i lineage (to which Hakuin also belonged) to Japan. These words, known in Japanese Zen as "Hsu-t'ang's prophecy," appear in a farewell verse he presented to Daiō when the latter was about to return to Japan.

¹⁰⁴ Daichū Eshin, d. 1781, priest of Kaizen-ji in Iida, Shinano province. For Ishin Eryū, see Age 56.

¹⁰⁵ The inscription is found at the end of the *Record of Daiō (Daiō-roku)*.

¹⁰⁶ A ceremony to enshrine *shari* (here, relics of the Buddha) in the new temple. Probably the same relics that had been enshrined at Muryō-ji some years before. See fn. 72.

¹⁰⁷ This priest has not been identified.

about the work of rebuilding Shidō-an, the temple where Shidō Munan had resided. In the sixth month he returned to Shōin-ji in order to escort the master to Edo for a viewing of the new building. Some of the monks at Shōin-ji blocked the way and prevented the master from leaving. That winter Tōrei sent a letter to the monks remonstrating with them for their behavior, but their opposition to the master's trip did not weaken. On the contrary, certain malicious members of the brotherhood used the letter to stir up further ill-will.

MEIWA 3 At the New Year the master hung out a notice to announce
(1766) he would no longer accept students for instruction. How-
AGE 82 ever the monks did not disperse. Toward the end of the first
month Tōrei sent his disciple Bunkyō to escort the master
to Shidō-an.¹⁰⁸ They set out for Edo on the road over Mount Hakone,
planning to stop over at the residence of Mr. Amano. Four of the
Shōin-ji monks who had led the opposition to the master's departure
came after them, surrounding the master's palanquin and forcing it to
stop. They attempted to make the porters return to Shōin-ji. It was a
reenactment of the scene that took place centuries ago in China when
Senior Monk Ming followed the Sixth Patriarch to Mount Ta-yu.¹⁰⁹

Bunkyō stepped forward and addressed them, "Brother monks, what possible justification could you have for such behavior?"

"Our teacher is old and his long struggle with illness has weakened him," they said. "You and these others come and try to carry him off to Edo. It is sure to make his condition worse. As his students, how can we stand by and let you, or anyone else, take him away?"

"The master's infirmity is only temporary," replied Bunkyō. "Besides, he himself has expressed a growing desire to go. Don't you realize that if you insist on defying his wishes in this way, you will be destroying affection and good will that has built up over many years? We will never allow you to turn this palanquin around. If you had the

¹⁰⁸ Bunkyō Koboku, n.d.

¹⁰⁹ An old Zen story that appears as a koan in the *Gateless Gate*, Case 23. After the Sixth Zen Patriarch Hui-neng (Enō) received the robe and bowl symbolizing the Dharma transmission, he went into hiding on Mount Ta-yu. He was pursued there by a senior monk named Ming (Myō Jōza) who was determined to take possession of the articles.

strength to yank these mountains up by their roots, the strength we would muster against you would be still greater by far.”

With bowed heads, the four monks silently turned and left.

The master's party proceeded to Edo. Their first stop was a guest-house owned by Mr. Iwanami. From there they went to stay with the nun Hōjuin-ni, and then moved into the Tōhoku-ji. On the eleventh day of the second month the master entered the gates of the Shidō-an. He was delighted to find the reconstruction work was almost completed. He stayed at Shidō-an, teaching daily, for almost six months. Tōrei occasionally helped by giving supplemental talks. The monks and lay followers at Shidō-an seemed to make daily progress in their study. A large number of high officials, among them Morikawa Hyōbu (Layman Zennō) and Ōzeki Shinano-no-kami, also came and received instruction from the master.

The sixth month. The master transcribed the notations inscribed in a copy of the *Blue Cliff Record* that Zen master Sekkō Sōshin had presented to his student Tōyō Eichō.¹¹⁰ He made these notations the subject of some lectures he delivered at the Chōju-ji in Edo. In the seventh month he received a request for lectures from the Fukuju-in in Mishima. Before leaving Edo he lectured at Tōhoku-ji in response to an invitation from that temple and from laymen Aoki and Ōmura.¹¹¹ On his way back to Suruga province he stopped over at Seiun-ji in Sagami and then proceeded to Fukuju-in where he gave lectures on the three levels of teaching expounded in the *Lotus Sutra*.¹¹² From there he went to Gyokusei-ji to complete some lectures left unfinished at a previous meeting.

In winter he was back at Shōin-ji.

¹¹⁰ Tōyō Eichō, 1428–1508, and his teacher Sekkō Sōshin, 1408–1504, were important Myōshin-ji priests of the Muromachi period.

¹¹¹ Nothing is known about Mr. Aoki. Mr. Ōmura, n.d., said to have been a relative of Zen master Shidō Munan, was proprietor of the Shirokiya, a well-known dry goods store in Nihonbashi, Edo.

¹¹² The Buddha is said to have preached the teaching contained in the first fourteen chapters of the *Lotus Sutra* three times to adapt it to the differing capacities—superior, mediocre, inferior—of his auditors.

MEIWA 4 Spring. A proposal to have the master conduct the winter
(1767) practice session at Ryūtaku-ji that year was discussed; dis-
AGE 83 agreements came to the fore, leading to a heated argument.

During the spring and summer months the master spent time relaxing and enjoying the waters at Kona hot springs on the Izu peninsula.

Winter. In the tenth month the master lectured at Ryūtaku-ji on *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns*. More than two hundred and fifty outstanding monks from all over the country converged on the temple to take part. A rigorous training schedule and strict observance of regulations enabled monks and laity to concentrate with great intensity on their practice. The master became extremely fatigued by his teaching duties and asked Tōrei to share the teaching seat. Tōrei gave supplementary lectures on the master's *Talks Introductory to Lectures on the Records of Hsi-keng*.

MEIWA 5 The master saw in the New Year at Ryūtaku-ji. On the first
(1768) day, he offered a celebratory verse:
AGE 84

Sauntering freely among the highest peaks at Dragon Marsh,
My old face uncommonly thick-skinned this New Year's
morning,
An elder monk of eighty-four, I welcome in yet one more
year;
And I owe it all—everything—to the Sound of One Hand
Barrier.¹¹³

When he finished the formal reading of the verse, he reverted to colloquial speech and declared in a loud voice, "I'm eighty-four this year. Never had such a wonderful New Year. It's all thanks to Tōrei. I'm really and truly grateful."

Tōrei brought some New Year's rice cakes for the master, but he took only two or three bites and left the rest for his students. Tōrei received them with reverence and withdrew.

¹¹³ "Dragon Marsh" translates the temple name Ryūtaku-ji. The Sound of One Hand is the famous koan Hakuin devised in his early sixties for beginning students. See Philip Yampolsky, *The Zen Master Hakuin* (Columbia Univ. Press), p. 113.

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At the end of the winter training session the master took once again to his sick-bed. The physician who examined him said, "You're too fond of sugar. Your illness is caused by the harmful effects of all the sweets you eat. We'll have to purge the sugar from your system." He gave the master a purgative and, after several visits to the privy, he seemed to feel better. The master's physician Sugiyama Yōsen sequestered him in a room and forbade him to have visitors.¹¹⁴ With the aid of unstinted sleep he was able to regain his strength.

In response to a request for lectures from nearby Tokuraku-ji he went and spoke on the *Supplement* to his *Poison Stamens in a Thicket of Thorns*.

In the sixth month a mortuary tablet for the emperor Reigen-in was brought and placed in Ryūtaku-ji.¹¹⁵ The following month the master conducted rites to enshrine the tablet. He read out a verse:

I bow in veneration to the tonsured emperor Reigen.
Who could have foreseen a jade tablet illumining this rustic
hall?
The lotuses in the garden announce the Buddhas' unobstruct-
ed virtue,
The pine trees at the gate breathe out the Bodhisattvas' time-
less age.

On the sixteenth of the seventh month the master returned to Shōin-ji.

In winter, he made excursions to Daijō-ji in Kawanishi and Jōen-ji in Yui. For three days at the former and five days at the latter he gave talks and taught on whatever moved his fancy. While he was at Jōen-ji, he became extremely fatigued. One of the monks said, "Wouldn't it be best to suspend your teaching activity until you feel stronger?"

"What is my fatigue, compared with the famine my monks and laymen suffer from?" the master replied.

A woman came forward and said, "If you stopped the flow of sweet dew from your lips, it would indeed be like taking food from the mouths of the starving. It would be like depriving a sick person of his physician. He would be confused, not knowing where to turn for help.

¹¹⁴ Yōsen, d. 1799. From Mishima, Yōsen and his wife were long-time students of Hakuin. They both received his "Dragon Staff" certificates of *kenshō*.

¹¹⁵ Emperor Reigen, 1654–1732.

However, in your present condition, if by any chance you did suffer a reverse tomorrow and entered Nirvana, to whom could we, your followers, turn for guidance? Even though we may not hear you preach the Dharma with words, if we can just gaze on your countenance and know that you are safe, what greater happiness could there be for us?" A faint smile formed on the master's lips.

In the eleventh month the master returned to Shōin-ji. It was evident that his condition was growing more serious.

On the sixth of the twelfth month the area was swept by a freak storm that sent lightning bolts crashing violently to earth. The next day the physician Furugōri came to examine the master's pulses.¹¹⁶

"What do you think?" asked the master.

"Nothing out of the ordinary," he replied.

"Can someone be called a skilled physician," the master chided, "when he can't even tell that his patient has only three more days to live?"

Furugōri just sat with his head bowed.

Old Mr. Yamanashi was allowed to visit.¹¹⁷ A go board was brought out, but after two or three moves, the master was forced to stop.

On the tenth day, the master called Suiō to his sickbed and entrusted him with his personal affairs after his death.

At daybreak on the eleventh, the master was sleeping very peacefully, lying on his right side. He made a single loud groan, "UNNN!" and passed away. The funeral was held on the fifteenth. A violent storm of wind and rain made it impossible to carry the master's body to the funeral pyre, so the cremation was postponed until the following day. Afterwards, a great many relics were found among the ashes, most of them were discovered where oil had been poured on the fire. They resembled particles of sand or tiny pebbles and were the color of precious blue gems. They were the true fruits of the master's meditation and wisdom. People flocked to the cremation site, more than a few of them behaving like the demons who thronged to the Buddha's cremation hoping to acquire precious relics from his remains. Because of

¹¹⁶ According to Katō Shōshun, the physician's name was Kokei. *Hakuin oshō nempu*, p. 291.

¹¹⁷ Identified only as an adopted son of Yamanashi Harushige, who appeared before, Age 64.

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this, the relics were divided into three lots and enshrined in stupas at the master's three temples: Shōin-ji, Muryō-ji, and Ryūtaku-ji.

[EPILOGUE BY TŌREI]¹¹⁸

My teacher Hakuin was an imposing man. He combined the gaze of a tiger with the walk and movements of an ox. The extreme sharpness of his Zen activity made it difficult to approach him. Virtually tireless, he brought the same degree of care and compassion to whatever he did. In settling troubles, in rectifying wrongs, he worked with silent persuasion, private discipline. His actions—whether moving, standing, sitting or lying—were not to be fathomed by demons or nonBuddhists. The manner in which his teaching activities prospered recalled the days of the great Chinese master Ma-tsu. The adversity under which he lived and taught was reminiscent of the hardships faced by master Ta-hui.¹¹⁹

I have recorded in this biography a great many of the talks and lectures he gave on Zen records, sutras, and other texts in answer to requests from temples throughout the country. There are yet others, still talked about even today, whose dates I was not able to ascertain. The general talk (*fusetsu*) he gave at the Chōkō-ji in Kai province on the *Four Part Record* is one example; another is the lecture meeting at the Chōfuku-ji in Izu province on his commentary to the *Poems of Cold Mountain*. Also the meeting held at the residence of Layman Kokan. . . . or the lecture at Hōun-ji in Imaizumi on the *Record of Wu-tsu*.¹²⁰ Wherever he went to conduct these meetings, he never allowed the temple's stores to be drawn upon; provisions were obtained entirely through rounds of begging. Indeed, the standards observed throughout were those of the great Buddhist communities of old. Truly, they are a model to be held up for future generations.

Once an outbreak of smallpox ravaged the area, taking a heavy toll of human life. At its height, the master, sitting against a phoenix tree after an afternoon nap, was approached by an elderly man. The man kneeled down before him, made a deep bow, and asked him to

¹¹⁸ I have abridged the epilogue, eliminating a list of temple names and the text of the imperial decree conferring the Zen master title Shinki Dokumyō Zenji on Hakuin.

¹¹⁹ Ma-tsu Tao-i (Baso Dōitsu, 709–788). Ta-hui Tsung-kao (Daie Sōkō, 1089–1163).

¹²⁰ The Zen records of Wu-tsu Fa-yen (Goso Hōen, 1024–1104).

write a charm or talisman for use against the smallpox.

“What kind of charm do you mean?” said the master.

“Please write down the words Tokoura Daimyōjin,”¹²¹ said the man. The master took up his brush, wrote out the inscription the man had requested, and gave it to him.

“No one who comes and venerates this inscription will ever suffer from the smallpox,” said the old man. He then suddenly vanished.

It was like that with the master, who lived in the “sportive samadhi” of the perfectly enlightened man, constantly ministering to the needs and suffering of sentient beings. A great many other strange and unusual occurrences took place which I have not recorded.

His final utterance—“UNNN”—was in every way comparable to the great death cry of old Zen master Yen-tou.¹²² Ordinary people, upon hearing that the master did not compose a death verse, might get the wrong idea and think, “master Hakuin has lost a fine opportunity to make a final Zen utterance.” Wrong! Wrong! That “UNNN” was just the right utterance. It penetrated straight through the Heavens above. It pierced through the Yellow Springs below. Compared with the final instructions and death verses Zen monks usually leave behind them, I say that the master’s was superior to them all by ten-fold. Ahh! When he declared that he was the kind of man who appears only once in five hundred years, it certainly was no exaggeration.

Four heirs received his Dharma transmission: Kairyū Ishō, Tōrei Enji, Suiō Genrō, and Tōgan Gen.¹²³ His lay students were too numerous to count. Indeed, among those who are presently engaged in teaching Zen, there can hardly be a single one in all the land who did not once pass through the master’s burning forge.

¹²¹ Tokoura Daimyōjin (“The Great Deity of Tokoura”).

¹²² Yen-t’ou Ch’uan-huo (Gantō Zenkatsu). His death cries were said to have been audible for three leagues. The story appears in Part One, pp. 108–9.

¹²³ Presumably, these four priests are singled out from among Hakuin’s other Dharma heirs because they also were abbots at temples he had founded, putting them in the *garan-bō* or “temple-succession” line of Dharma transmission, whereby a teacher appoints a disciple abbot of a temple he has founded or otherwise has jurisdiction over. While this obviously holds true for Kairyū (Muryō-ji), Tōrei (Ryūtaku-ji), and Suiō (Shōin-ji), it can only be inferred in the case of Tōgan Gen of the Ryukyu Islands, about whom almost nothing is known (see fn. 81). It may be, as has been suggested, that he had established a Zen temple in the Ryukyus and, as is often the case, made his teacher (Hakuin) its honorary founder.

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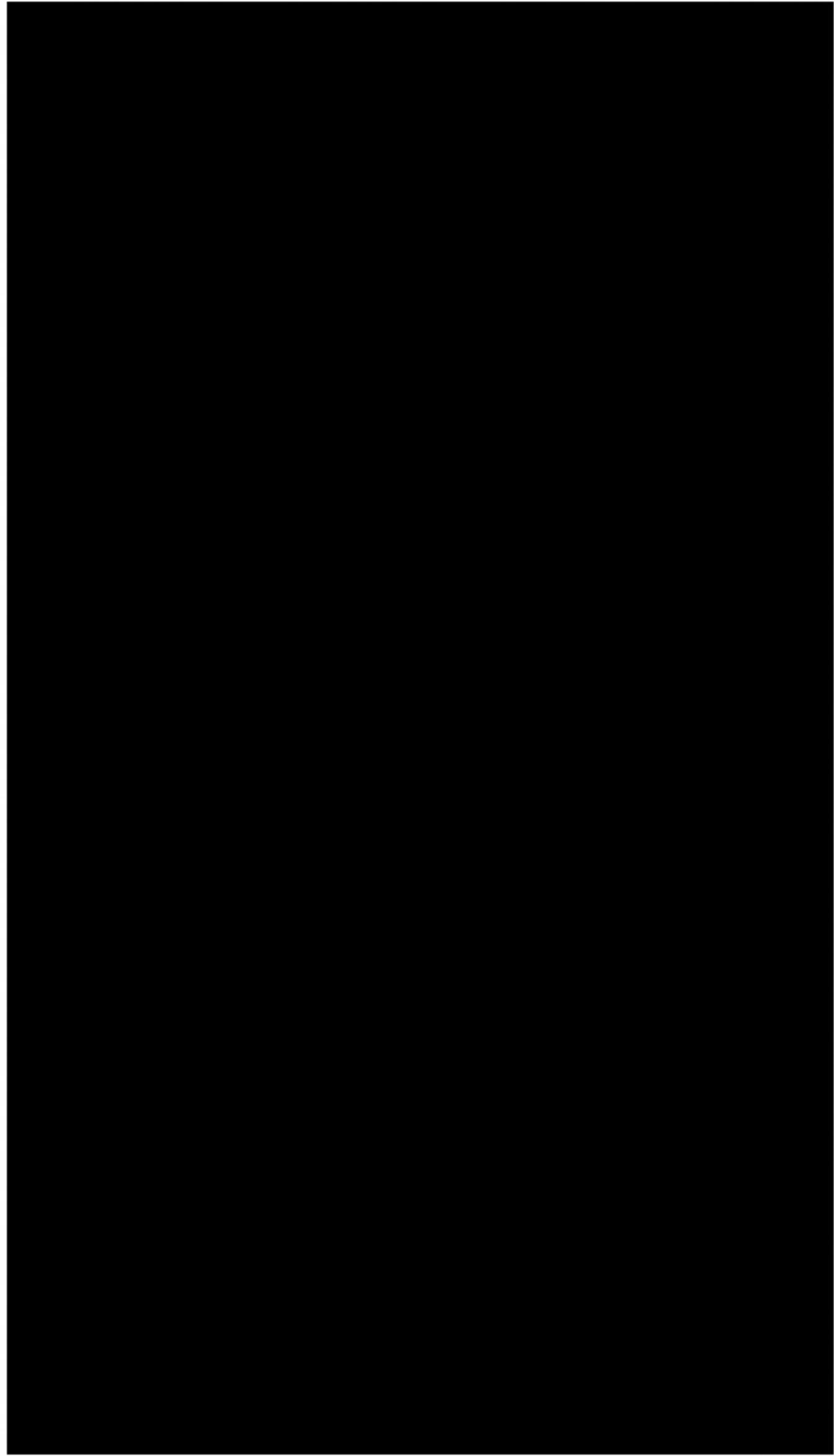
POSTSCRIPT BY TAIKAN BUNSHU

One day, while I was serving under master Tōrei, he brought out a religious biography of master Hakuin to show me. He asked me to make arrangements to have it printed. Before I was able to discharge my duty, master Tōrei passed away. I let matters rest after that, doing nothing about it, until the fiftieth anniversary of Hakuin's death, which fell in the fourteenth year of the Bunka era [1817]. A commemorative assembly was held at the Ryūtaku-ji that year and I was asked to deliver lectures on master Hakuin's Dharma Talks Introductory to Lectures on the Record of Hsi-keng. Priests and laity who attended the meeting requested earnestly that I proceed with the publishing of the biography. Recalling the instructions I had received many years before from my teacher, I began, in spite of my ignorance and unsuitability for the task, to go about preparing the work for the printer. After giving the text a thorough editing, I divided it into two parts. The first part covers the period of the master's practice leading up to his enlightenment, the second covers the period of his teaching career. I did this simply to show, as clearly and readily as possible, the circumstances of master Hakuin's progress to enlightenment. Because I lacked certain information and had no personal knowledge of the events, many omissions and other faults have no doubt crept into the work. I have nonetheless sent it off to have the blocks carved so that it can be shared with the world and I can at last fulfill my responsibility to my teacher.

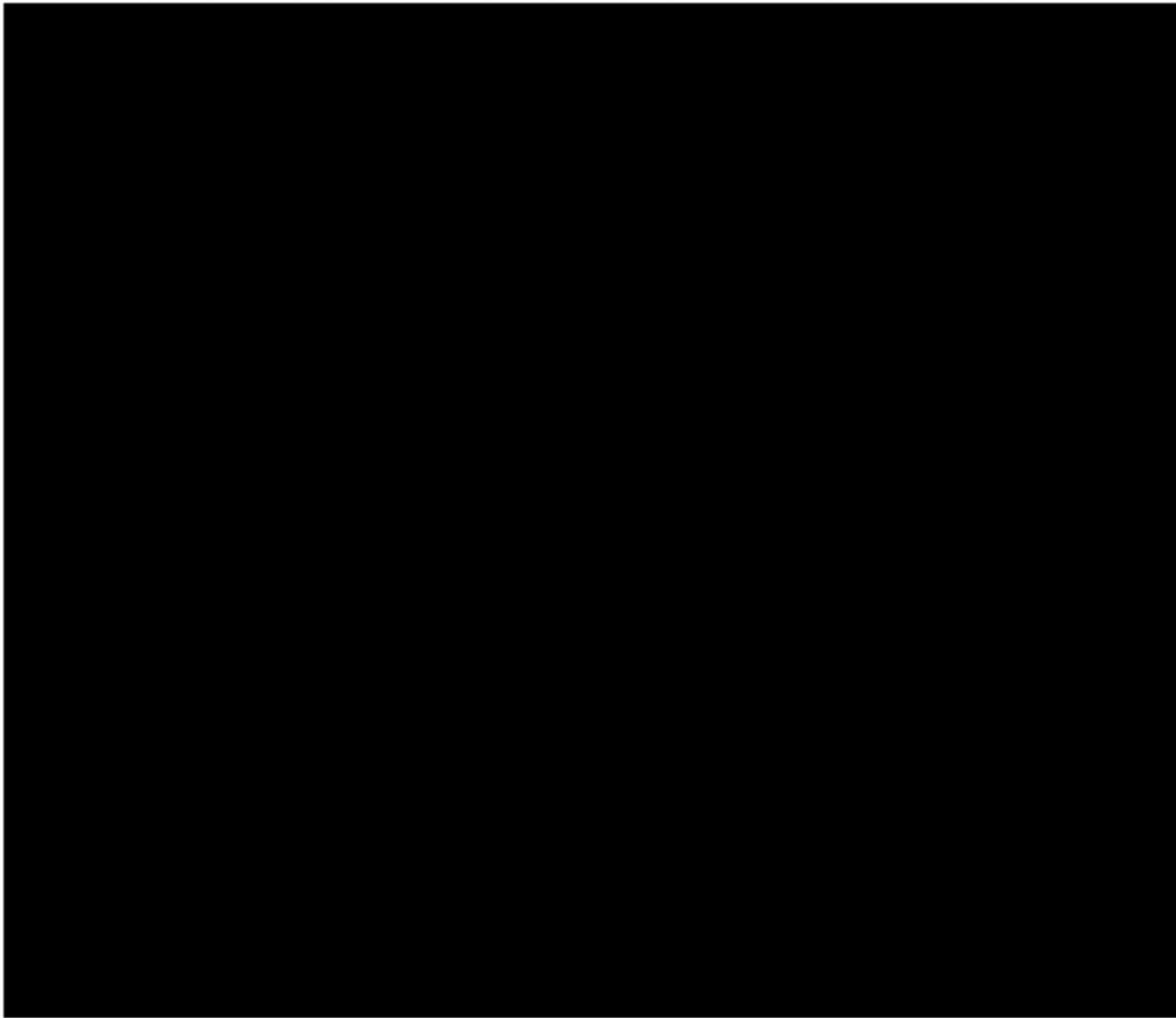
Pressing my palms together in gasshō, and offering incense, I respectfully inscribe this on the day of the Buddha's entrance into enlightenment, in the third year of the Bunsei era (1819).

Taikan Bunshu, resident of the Daibai-ji in Tamba province.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Taikan Bunshu, 1766–1842, studied with Tōrei at Ryūtaku-ji and received his Dharma sanction at the age of 28. He served at Nanzen-ji in Kyoto and at Daibai-zan Hōjō-ji in Tamba province.



*A map of places mentioned in the **Hakuin Biography***



Hara and surrounding areas