The Myōtei Dialogues

A Japanese Christian Critique of Native Traditions

Edited by

James Baskind & Richard Bowring

BRILL

The Myōtei Dialogues

Numen Book Series

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

Text and Sources in the History of Religions

Series Editors

Steven Engler (*Mount Royal University, Calgary, Canada*)
Richard King (*University of Kent, UK*)
Kocku von Stuckrad (*University of Groningen, The Netherlands*)
Gerard Wiegers (*University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*)

VOLUME 151

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/nus-tshr*

The Myōtei Dialogues

A Japanese Christian Critique of Native Traditions

Edited by

James Baskind and Richard Bowring

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Scene of samurai in discussion with a Jesuit, taken from a Biombo Namban in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, Portugal. Direção-Geral do Património Cultural/Arquivo e Documentação Fotográfica, José Pessoa.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Myotei dialogues : a Japanese Christian critique of native traditions / Edited by James Baskind and Richard Bowring.
pages cm. — (Numen book series ; Volume 151)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-30246-4 (hardback : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-90-04-30729-2 (e-book) 1. Christianity and other religions—Japanese. 2. Shinto. 3. Confucianism. 4. Buddhism. 5. Christianity—Japan. I. Fabian, active 1583–1607. Myotei mondo. English. II. Baskind, James. Myotei dialogues in early Edo thought. III. Baskind, James. Emptiness and nothingness in Habian's critique of Buddhism. IV. Bowring, Richard John, 1947– Searching for God in Neo-Confucianism. V. Breen, John, 1956– Undermining the myths. VI. Krämer, Hans Martin. Habian's version of Christianity.

BR128.J35M96 2015
261.20952—dc23

2015032060

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual 'Brill' typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities.
For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0169-8834
ISBN 978-90-04-30246-4 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-30729-2 (e-book)

Copyright 2016 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.
Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Contents

Editors' Preface

This book contains the first complete English translation of Fukansai Habian's *Myōtei Dialogues* (*Myōtei mondō* 妙貞問答), one of the most important works of early Japanese Christianity. It should therefore be of interest not only to students of sixteenth and seventeenth century Japan but also to all those working in the general field of Christian missionary activity, particularly the spectacular exploits of the early Jesuits. *Myōtei Dialogues'* unique status lies in the fact that it was written not by a foreigner but by a Japanese convert; a convert who was not simply following the orders of a feudal lord but one who had made a conscious decision and was unusually well-versed in his own traditions. But this work serves another quite different function: in addition to revealing how a Japanese might best present the case for this new religion to an audience who shared his own non-Christian background, it also includes a series of devastating attacks on the three traditions that informed that very background: Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintō. To some, therefore, its value lies not so much in its pro-Christian arguments but in the picture it gives us of the state of Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintō in the early seventeenth century. In other words, it tells us how an educated Japanese standing on the periphery in 1605 might wish to define his own culture. In this sense it is a doubly interesting work of great richness. The fact that only three years after writing *Myōtei Dialogues* Habian chose to leave the Jesuits and thirteen years after that produce a much better-known tract entitled *Deus Destroyed* that attacked Christianity with a similar vehemence only adds to its importance.

A more detailed discussion of these matters will be found in the introductory essays that follow this preface. It is worth noting that *Myōtei Dialogues* was never published in printed form and its influence is a matter of pure conjecture. It was, in any case, eventually disowned by its author, and its very survival is a miracle of sorts. Indeed it was only with the discovery of the complete first fascicle in 1972 that the full text could be collated for the first time.

The immediate catalyst for this English translation was a project established by Professor Sueki Fumihiko of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) in Kyōto in 2008, one of the aims of which was to produce a facsimile of the first fascicle together with a transcription and a translation into modern Japanese; this has been recently published as Myōtei Mondō *o yomu–Habian no bukkyō hihan*.[1] At the beginning of the project a suggestion was made that the time was ripe for an English translation not just of the Buddhist section, but of the work as a whole. The book that you hold in your

1 Sueki 2014.

hands is a result of that suggestion coming to fruition. In the nature of things, there have been changes in the cohort of translators since the project was initially conceived, and the present editors would therefore like to express their thanks to Silvio Vita and Shimazu Eshō for their help in the earliest stages.

The translation follows what seems to have been the original division into three sections or fascicles: the first deals with Buddhism, the second with Confucianism and Shintō, and the third with Christianity. The two editors are jointly responsible for Buddhism and Confucianism; John Breen, Professor in the Department of Research Exchange, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyōto, for Shintō; and Hans Martin Krämer, Professor of Japanese Studies at the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg, Baden-Württemberg, for Christianity. Given the nature of the subject matter, the decision was made to use the traditional form of characters throughout.

Note to Reader

This book uses the Author-Date system for references, keyed to 'Works Cited' at the end. The following abbreviation is used throughout, both in the main text and the notes: T. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, 85 vols. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku. Tōkyō: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–34.

Introduction

∵

The *Myōtei Dialogues* in Early Edo Thought

James Baskind and Richard Bowring

The Text and Its History

Myōtei Dialogues, a major work of early Japanese Christianity written by Fukansai Habian (1565–1621), is dated 1605. This places it in that brief period between the establishment of a new shōgunate by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1603 and the expulsion of Christian missionaries that began in earnest in 1614. We know very little about who it was written for and even less about its early history, because it was never printed and soon disappeared. The earliest reference to its existence is in the anti-Christian tract *Haiyaso* 排耶蘇 (*c.*1650?) by the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657), but in fact it was not until 1917 that a manuscript emerged, discovered in the Jingū bunko 神宮文庫, the archive of the Ise Shrines. This copy contained fascicles two and three but lacked the first fascicle on Buddhism.[1]

Then in 1930 Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 (1873–1949) published a text to which he gave the title "Excerpts from a Description of Buddhism" (*Buppō no shidai ryaku-nukigaki* 佛法之次第略抜書), which he had found in a collection of papers held in the Library of Tōkyō Imperial University (Anesaki 1930). This collection, known as the *Yasokyō sōsho* 耶蘇教叢書, consisted of copies of documents seized by a Nagasaki commissioner who investigated a case of 'hidden Christians' discovered still practicing their faith on the island of Urakami as late as the 1790s. Included in that collection was part of the second fascicle of *Myōtei Dialogues* and a discussion of Buddhism that Anesaki identified as a version of the missing first fascicle. The final picture only emerged in 1972 when Nishida Nagao 西田長男 (1909–1981) announced the discovery of a manuscript copy in the Yoshida bunko 吉田文庫 in the holdings of Tenri University Library; this lacked a good deal of the section on Shintō but happened to contain the full text of the section on Buddhism that had been missing from the Jingū bunko copy. The complete text we have today was obtained by marrying the two.[2]

1 The discovery was announced the next year in an article by Sakamoto Kōtarō (Sakamoto 1918). *Haiyaso* was traditionally dated 1606 but see Paramore 2006 for a detailed explanation as to why this early date is wrong.

2 Nishida 1972. See Nishida 1974, pp. 13–14 for a consideration of why this text was not complete. For an in-depth analysis of all manuscripts, see Arai 2014.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2016 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307292_002

Myōtei Dialogues sets a bold agenda: it launches a full-scale attack on Buddhism, Shintō, and Confucianism from a Christian perspective followed by an attempt to prove why Christianity alone can offer a way of life that provides both an ethical mode of existence and a certain path to salvation. It is clear that the author was highly educated in all four traditions. It is also somewhat unusual in that it is presented in the form of a colloquial dialogue between two women. It is possible that this is simply a gesture to justify the use of vernacular Japanese rather than classical Chinese, but the epilogue contains the suggestion that it was written for women of rank in the capital who wished to know more about Christianity but who, for various reasons, found it difficult to attend the Catholic church (known as the Nanbanji 南蠻寺). But it is not a catechism by any stretch of the imagination, and the Buddhist section, in particular, places considerable demands on the reader. Unfortunately, there is no way of gauging *Myōtei Dialogues'* influence since, as we have seen, it must have been proscribed along with all other texts that mentioned Christianity within ten years of its appearance. This ban was so complete that even an anti-Christian text such as *Deceit Disclosed* (*Kengiroku* 顯偽錄) by the Jesuit apostate Christovão Ferreira (1580–1650) was kept out of circulation.[3] Obviously in such a climate the publication of a work like *Myōtei Dialogues* was out of the question.

Despite the lack of any demonstrable influence, the very fact that it was written at all is still of considerable importance. There are number of extant works that present Christian doctrine in Japanese, but *Myōtei Dialogues* is the only one that is from the hand of a Japanese Jesuit as opposed to a missionary. It is the only example we have of a Japanese convert writing to persuade a home audience that this new foreign religion was worth embracing. It also happens to provide in the process a remarkable example of a highly educated Japanese openly challenging everything he had been taught up to that point, a rare insight into how he wished to define the Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintō of his time. The ease with which he was able to handle the difficult and at times abstruse vocabulary of Buddhist doctrine and Confucian metaphysics gives this work an unusual degree of authority and authenticity; no missionary could have been expected to have had this depth of knowledge. The real audience of this work must have been his fellow seminarians, since it reads like an advanced textbook, designed to show how a series of anti-Christian positions could be refuted, as long as one had sufficient knowledge of the opposition, be it monk, priest or scholar. This had been tried many times in the past,

3 Christovão Ferreira recanted his faith under torture and became a Zen monk, taking the Japanese name Sawano Chūan. For a study see Cieslik 1974.

of course, but never before by someone with quite the same degree of inside knowledge and acumen as Fukansai Habian.

Who Was Habian?

Verifiable details concerning Habian's background before his conversion to Christianity are sparse. It is reasonably certain that he came from the Hokuriku area of Japan and spent part of his youth in a Zen monastery, where he received the name Eshun. Based on his use of Rinzai texts and the knowledge of secret kōan manuals that he reveals in *Myōtei Dialogues*, it is assumed that he moved to Kyōto and became a Rinzai monk at Daitokuji 大徳寺. In 1583, aged eighteen, both he and his mother became Christians.[4] He entered the Takatsuki *seminario* near Ōsaka to receive instruction in such subjects as Latin, Western music, and art. In 1586 he became a novice, or "brother" (*irmão* 伊留満), moving first to Usuki in Kyūshū and from there to the *collegio* in Amakusa, and subsequently to Nagasaki, where he was appointed instructor of Japanese in 1592. It was here that he became involved in a number of projects that included a translation of Aesop's *Fables* into Japanese and creating what is now known as the *Amakusa-ban Heike monogatari* 天草版平家物語. Printed in roman script in 1593, this was not, as is sometimes assumed, a straightforward translation of the *Tale of the Heike* into colloquial Japanese, but a colloquial rewriting of selected episodes chosen with the specific intention of illustrating key features of Japanese cultural traits. Produced for his non-Japanese students, it is probably the first work ever to attempt an explanation of Japanese culture to the outside.[5] It is thought that he also ran a seminar on Buddhism, which led to a tract entitled *Buppō* 佛法 (1601), no longer extant but thought to have formed the basis for the first fascicle of *Myōtei Dialogues*.

In 1603, Habian was selected to return to the capital. Under the eye of Gnecchi-Soldo Organtino (1533–1609), the Jesuit father whose role it was to see Christianity prosper in the capital region, it seems he came to make a name for himself as an "excellent preacher" and in particular an effective debater against Buddhist monks. In 1605 at the age of forty he produced *Myōtei Dialogues*. A list of those Jesuits present in the capital in 1607 mentions his name and in that same year he was part of a group that visited Ieyasu 家康 in Sunpu and went on to Edo to be granted an audience with Ieyasu's son Tokugawa Hidetada

4 The summary of Habian's life that follows is based on Ide 1978, pp. 51–55. For additional sources see Cieslik 1972; Anesaki 1930, pp. 465–496; and Schrimpf 2008.

5 Mayer 1985, p. 130.

徳川秀忠 (1578–1632), who had recently succeeded his father as shōgun.[6] As already mentioned, it used to be thought that in 1606 he engaged in a debate with the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan, but this has now been shown to be a fiction. The document that claims to be a record of this debate, Razan's anti-Christian tract, *Haiyaso* 排耶蘇, mentions both Habian and *Myōtei Dialogues* by name, but also makes much of Matteo Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義), a work that had been printed in Peking in 1603 and reprinted in Canton specifically for transmission to Japan in 1605. When Razan first went to Nagasaki in 1610, the description he gave of *Tianzhu shiyi* in his diary suggests that it was the first time he had seen the work. It is therefore highly unlikely that the supposed meeting with Habian took place; Razan used a considerable degree of poetic license when he set *Haiyaso* in the framework of a real-life discussion with Habian.[7]

Then, in 1608, Habian seems to have left the Jesuits and some time later embarked on a career of anti-Christian activity. The precise motivation for his eventual apostasy is not known. There were rumors that he was cohabiting with a woman at this time but there are also suggestions that he was unhappy at being denied full ordination as a priest.[8] It is also possible that he saw the way the political wind was blowing, but one must set against this the fact that he left the Jesuits well before 1614, when the suppression of Christianity finally became irreversible. By 1614 he was living in Nagasaki, helping the magistrates in their search for Christians. Because of his background, he was particularly suited to this role and came to the attention of the shōgun Hidetada. In 1620, aged fifty-five, he wrote the anti-Christian tract *Deus Destroyed* (*Hadaiusu* 破提宇子), commissioned by the Nagasaki Magistrate Hasegawa Gonroku 長谷川權六 (*c*.1549–*c*.1630) and the shōgun's representative in Nagasaki, Suetsugu Heizō 末次平藏 (?–1630). This was a relentless criticism of Christianity using precisely the same polemical technique that he had used in *Myōtei Dialogues*. It is possible that he felt driven to write it in an attempt to counteract rumors that he was still a Christian. Although it is by no means a point-by-point rebuttal of all the arguments that *Myōtei Dialogues* had made in favor of Christianity, it uses many of the same examples and treats as weaknesses precisely what the previous work had presented as strengths. He ridicules, for example, belief in

6 Elison 1973, p. 154. There is a suggestion that he might have used this occasion to present a copy of *Myōtei Dialogues* to the shōgun's advisers but this is not clear.

7 Paramore 2006 and 2009, pp. 66–69.

8 Baskind 2012, p. 309. See Elison 1973, pp. 154–156 for the Jesuit sources that describe his grievances in regards to the order.

a sentient, active creator who apportions out rewards and punishments after death.[9]

The sources do not reveal when and how Habian died. As for his legacy, despite his apostasy his persona was never able to divest itself entirely of his reputation as an apologist for the Christian mission. He appears in the 1639 chapbook *Tales of the Christians* (*Kirishitan monogatari* 切支丹物語) in the guise of an evil magician who represents Christianity in a debate with a Buddhist monk, and he crops up much, much later, in the novella *Rushiferu* (*Lucifer*, 1917), where the author Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892–1927) has him meeting up with the Devil with whom he ultimately identifies and with whom he commiserates.[10] He emerges yet again in the 1970s, this time as a champion of Japaneseness in the popular work of Yamamoto Shichihei, also known as Isaiah Ben Dasan.[11]

Recent Scholarship

The discovery of two fascicles of *Myōtei Dialogues* in 1917 did not immediately lead to much scholarship on the subject partly, one suspects, because of growing nationalist intolerance. Muraoka Tsunetsugu certainly praised its spirit of fearless criticism in a 1926 chapter on the significance of the work as a document of early Japanese Christianity,[12] and it was printed in a major collection of Japanese classics, *Nihon koten zenshū*, in 1927. A further printing in 1930, however, was subject to censorship.[13] In the same year Anesaki Masaharu briefly touched on the subject in his book on the persecution of Christianity but, for good reasons, avoided any critical engagement.[14] It was only after defeat in the Pacific War that scholars such as Ebisawa Arimichi 海老澤有道 (1910–1992) and Ide Katsumi 井手勝美 (1925–) felt able to deal with Habian and his work without fear of reprisal. In 1964 Ebisawa, one of the most prolific historians of

9 See Elison 1973, pp. 142–184 for a perspicacious comparison of these two works. Elison also provides a full translation of *Deus Destroyed* with commentary (pp. 259–291). Note that the announcement that the first fascicle of *Myōtei Dialogues* had been discovered came after Elison's book had gone to press. Paramore (2009) argues that there are, in fact, a good number of consistencies between the two texts.

10 For a translation of *Kirishitan monogatari* see Elison 1973, pp. 321–374, and for a recent study of Kirishitan literature in general, Leuchtenberger 2013.

11 Yamamoto 1975, 1978.

12 Muraoka 1926.

13 *Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō*, vol. 10, 1930.

14 Anesaki 1930.

Japanese Christianity, produced a modern Japanese translation of fascicles two and three together with the Buddhist passages discovered by Anesaki, edited another version in 1970, and produced the standard edition of the full text in 1993.[15] In 2009 Shaku Tesshū published a popular book on Habian that considers him in a variety of contexts from his early life to his role in contemporary spiritual movements. The very latest Japanese scholarship is represented by Sueki Fumihiko's edited volume Myōtei mondō *o yomu–Habian no Bukkyō hihan* which, as explained in the Editors' Preface, indirectly led to this present English translation.

Western scholars have also made a contribution to our understanding of Habian and his work. The Marist priest Pierre Humbertclaude (1899–1984), who taught French literature at Tokyo Imperial University and who wrote widely on Western intercourse with Japan and Japanese Christian literature, published a study and partial French translation of *Myōtei Dialogues* in two consecutive issues of the journal *Monumenta Nipponica* in 1938–1939. Unfortunately it omitted the Shintō section of the second fascicle, presumably because such an unveiled refutation of the founding Shintō myths would never have passed the censors. The German Jesuit Hubert Cieslik (1914–1988), another prolific historian of Japanese Christianity, published numerous works in German, English, and Japanese, among them "Notes on the life of Fukan Fabian," which provides an informative chronology.[16] In 1973 George Elison produced his masterly study of the image of Christianity in early modern Japan, *Deus Destroyed*, in which Habian figures prominently. This was followed by Oskar Mayer's thesis *Zur Genesis neuzeitlicher Religionskritik in Japan* of 1985, which treats Habian as a symbolic figure, not just for the sheer audacity of his criticism but also for a double conversion that prefigures the fate of those who eventually reverted to a facile nationalism in the 1930s.[17] More recently still Kiri Paramore's *Ideology and Christianity in Japan* (2009) subjects *Myōtei Dialogues* to sustained analysis, comparing it to other contemporary Japanese Christian writings, and showing how the persona of Habian continued to play a vital role throughout the Tokugawa period.

15 *Tōyō bunko*, vol. 14; *Nihon shisō taikei*, vol. 25; *Kirishitan bungaku sōsho*, vol. 30, respectively.

16 Cieslik 1972.

17 A short English version of Mayer 1985 can be found in Mayer 1994 but fails to do justice to the original thesis.

Dialogue in Context

As the title indicates, *Myōtei Dialogues* is set in the form of a discussion between two women, Myōshū and Yūtei, both living in seclusion. Myōshū is a follower of Pure Land Buddhism and Yūtei a Catholic recluse. It is, of course, possible that these characters may be based on women whom Habian had personally encountered during his missionary activity but in essence they are a transparent literary device. Myōshū is the foil, used by Habian to present a detailed analysis of Buddhism, Shintō, and Confucianism; Yūtei is the counter, used to provide a Christian perspective. Habian is, of course, careful to hide as much as he reveals and makes sure that the cards are fully stacked in his favor. One would expect no less. He can, after all, pick and choose what to discuss and what not to discuss and avoid those areas where the Christian position itself might come under awkward scrutiny. The question of the origin of God, for example, which is brought up by Myōshū at one stage, is simply sidestepped as being quite beyond discussion; the ineffable quality of buddha-nature, on the other hand, is subjected to withering sarcasm. The dialogue ends with Christianity prevailing and Myōshū resolving to receive baptism.

Dialogue or "question and answer" (*mondō* 問答) is a tradition common across cultures. In the West, the format is most readily associated with philosophical texts. The Socratic dialogues demonstrated that wisdom was best taught not axiomatically by an unquestioned authority, but rather presented in such a form that each participant (including the reader) is forced to decide on the validity of propositions through debate. This also allows the author to stand aloof from the text while at the same time inserting himself into the discussion, often making bold statements with greater impunity than would be the case in first-person narrative.

Dialogue has also enjoyed a long history in East Asia, finding one of its earliest expressions in the *Analects* 論語, in which Confucius is shown explaining his teachings via question and answer. Japan also provides many examples, starting with such works as the *Treatise on Distinguishing the Real from the Provisional* (*Ketsugon jitsuron* 決權實論) by Saichō 最澄 (767–822), and *Demonstrating the Goals of the Three Teachings* (*Sangō shīki* 三教指歸) by Kūkai 空海 (774–835). The latter in particular shares much in common with Habian's work in terms of both structure and conceit. It makes use of fictional characters, has a clear didactic and ideological agenda, and treats the whole range of contemporaneous thought from a single perspective. The one crucial difference is that while Kūkai quite naturally treats Buddhism as being the highest tradition, he does not do so to the exclusion of the other two. Habian, on the other hand, inheriting a tradition of Jesuit exclusivism, presents the Christian perspective as

being the only viable one and in the end dismisses Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintō as inferior and utterly ineffectual when it comes to salvation. There is no hint whatsoever that accommodation might be reached. Myōshū is given much to say, but Yūtei's counter arguments always win the day. This exclusivist aspect of Christian teaching in Japan was, of course, a major factor in the difficulties Jesuits encountered in their missionary efforts.

The Zen school, to which Habian is thought to have been affiliated, also makes extensive use of dialogue in its curriculum, where lively exchanges between master and disciple form the didactic paradigm of much of the tradition's kōan literature. This becomes evident in the section of *Myōtei Dialogues* that discusses Zen, where Habian has Yūtei present the content of a secret kōan manual (*missan* 蜜參) from Daitokuji 大徳寺 that develops as a dialogue within a dialogue. A Rinzai monk's training consisted in part of a highly formalized session with the master, investigating the depth of his understanding; the disciple's answers were met with an authoritative, but often stereotypical, response. In similar fashion, Habian's protagonists, although seemingly equal in their status as religious recluses, have a teacher/disciple relationship. Elison describes Myōshū as the "marionette."[18] Even regarding matters Buddhist, Yūtei is allowed to make assertions that are unchallenged, and when it comes to Christianity Myōshū is given little choice but to accept Yūtei's responses as being logical and theologically sound.

There is, of course, no necessary connection between dialogue and use of the vernacular, but in this case Habian chooses to sprinkle his discussions with a number of colloquialisms that help reflect the atmosphere of a fireside chat. The conversational style is consciously designed to be as approachable as possible, but against this we should set the complexity of the subject matter, a daunting erudition, and the use of highly specialized vocabulary. The combination is often disconcerting and certainly experimental in the context of Japanese philosophical discourse.

The Argument

A discussion of the main themes will be found in the essays that follow. Here it may be useful to divide *Myōtei Dialogues* into two (unequal) halves: the first half, in which Habian describes Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintō, and the second half, in which he provides an explanation of Christian teachings with

18 Elison 1973, p. 52.

the aim of converting the listener. As one might expect, the nature of the argument tends to differ depending on the subject matter.

Habian's treatment of Buddhism is a tour de force. He manages to cover all major schools and sects, explaining the structure of each teaching and showing where they are similar and where they differ. It is here that he provides what one might term "inside information," the kind of detail that foreign missionaries would have found difficult to access without a much better command of Japanese. His purpose is to examine the philosophical assumptions underlying Buddhism and show that they are not as convincing as those that underpin Christianity. Sometimes the criticism remains at a rather superficial level, as when Habian subjects traditional Buddhist cosmology to what he saw as a rational analysis and finds it difficult to avoid giving the impression that he has created a straw man for the purpose of ridicule. But the main underlying criticism is that no matter what kind of superstructure might be created in terms of provisional truth, the essence of Buddhist teaching is nothingness and emptiness. So how can it possibly operate as the foundation for an ethical life, much less offer a path to salvation for the individual? A culture that does not believe in a single, rational creator is by definition a misguided, lost culture, because it is precisely this all-mighty creator, personalized with both wisdom and intellect, who imparts meaning to all creation. There can be no accommodation with Buddhism, which, as Habian knows, is grounded in precisely the opposite belief: that axiomatically an absolute origin is by definition a chimera, since nothing can exist that lacks a prior cause. In this sense Habian's room for maneuver is limited. All he can do is describe and then condemn.

Time and time again Habian also criticizes Buddhism for not offering a "true" afterlife. Afterlives there are in abundance, but they are all open-ended and lack persuasiveness precisely because throughout much of Buddhist doctrine these afterlives are revealed to be merely provisional truths. This lack of a "true" afterlife vitiates for the Christian any claim that Buddhism might have to offer salvation. And what of the criticism that Buddhism cannot provide a rationale for ethical action in this life? Buddhism certainly offered a next life, and indeed a next life where the results of one's actions in this life might have terrible consequences via the immutable law of causality. But Habian gives us very little discussion of the concept of karma, partly perhaps because it would have taken his argument too far afield. The fact remains that this too was "provisional." This is crucial because from a Christian perspective, without the implicit threat of permanent sanction and without the belief in the existence of a final arbiter who will pronounce judgment on the fate of the soul once and for all, the levers of control whereby the individual can be persuaded

are lacking. Try as he might, Habian cannot disguise this particular aspect of his adopted faith.

Habian's attitude to Confucianism, or more correctly Neo-Confucianism, is more forgiving, mainly because he recognizes here many elements that contribute to a humanist ethic and that improve the lot of man. But while he makes a gesture in this direction, in fact most of this section is spent explaining the concept of yin and yang and discussing the vision of the origin of the universe as presented in the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經). Where Confucianism fails, of course, is in its belief in spontaneous generation and its lack of interest in an afterlife. This section is quite remarkable for its prescience, in that it predates the rise of Neo-Confucian studies in Tokugawa Japan and is certainly the only Jesuit work in Japan to take Confucianism seriously. *Myōtei Dialogues* also stands in marked contrast to that other monument to Confucian–Christian dialogue, Matteo Ricci's *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, which has already been mentioned. Ricci's work was a dialogue between a Chinese intellectual and a missionary published in China in 1603, and it is highly unlikely that Habian had managed to obtain a copy in or before 1605. Even if he had by chance seen a manuscript draft, their agendas were poles apart. Ricci was looking for accommodation and did what he could to interpret a variety of passages and concepts from the Chinese classics in such a way as to suggest a commonality and a deep fundamental correspondence, his search leading him away from the likes of Zhu Xi and back to much older gods.[19] For Habian, in complete contrast, accommodation is simply not in the cards. He knew that the concept of spontaneous generation was fundamental to Chinese philosophy.

Shintō fares worst of all primarily because it is interested neither in salvation nor ethics. There may have been a tendency among the Jesuits to treat it as little more than "primitive," but Habian knew otherwise. He identifies three types of Shintō: two of them are intimately related to Buddhism and are not really to be treated as independent, but the third, Yoshida Shintō, defines itself in contradistinction to Buddhism and is interested in power and the manipulation of ancient myths of origin. He recognizes the disruptive potential of this group, not as an intellectual challenge so much as a political force. Here for the first time in Japanese history we encounter a no-holds-barred attack on Shintō, explaining myths as metaphors for procreation, revealing ancient sacred names to be little more than word play, and undermining its pretensions with ridicule. Nevertheless, Habian saw Yoshida Shintō in particular as a threat and decided that it needed a proper examination.

19 Ricci 1985; Paramore 2009, pp. 26–29.

Then we come to the final section and the discussion of Christian doctrine. The main refrain that we have heard up to this point has been largely a repetition of the self-evident claim that there must be a single creator, responsible for this world and everything in it. It is only now, when Habian turns to persuade rather than denigrate, that fundamental concepts of Catholic Christianity are revealed. But *Myōtei Dialogues* is not a catechism; there is hardly any discussion of Church practice and very few details of ceremony or ritual. Numerous catechisms produced by Jesuit missionaries were already in existence. Habian is more interested in the intellectual arguments, the theory of creation, the different types of living being, the special qualities of man, the existence of the soul and the intellect. He describes the nature of the "true" single afterlife in either Paradise or Hell (*inferno*), the primal scene of disobedience, the role that Jesus later played as the savior of mankind, and the reasons why acceptance of this truth via baptism is the only sure path to salvation. In the end, of course, Myōshū appears to be won over by the arguments but Habian is well aware that it is at least as much a matter of faith as of intellect. To a dispassionate observer these crucial matters might well appear equally untenable and can only be presented as something one must either reject or accept.

A number of catechisms produced for use in Japan do survive, of course, some of which Habian must have been exposed to during his training, and from the point of view of *Myōtei Dialogues* they make interesting comparisons. *Christian Doctrine* (*Dochirīna Kirishitan*), for instance, was derived from a European original entitled *Catechismus Christianae Fidei* dated 1566 and published in Japanese in Japan in two different versions (in 1591 and 1600).[20] Set in the form of a dialogue between master and disciple, it was produced under the watchful eye of the Inspector General of the East Indies, Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606). The differences between *Christian Doctrine* and *Myōtei Dialogues* are highly revealing. *Christian Doctrine* treats this world as being full of potential traps and essentially evil, explains salvation in terms of faith (*fides*) in God as mediated through the one Church, emphasizes the existence of Original Sin, and presents everlasting bliss in the afterlife as a gift from God that comes to us via the redemptive value of Christ's crucifixion. Habian has a completely different emphasis, preferring to explain salvation in terms of the attainment of knowledge by the individual thanks to God's gift of intellect (*anima rationalis*) and downplaying the vision of the world as an object of disgust.[21] He has his own agenda that springs from his own Japanese background. Whereas in the first two fascicles the emphasis has been on criticizing all traditions that do not

20 For further analysis of *Dochirīna Kirishitan* see Higashibaba 2001, pp. 50–75.

21 Paramore 2009, p. 22.

believe in a creator, here his mission is to present Christianity as the best key to a way of life that provides the kind of humanistic ethic that might have possibly been provided by Confucianism if it had ever accepted and developed the concept of a creator. The fact that he preferred to downplay the idea of God's grace, for example, must have been connected to an awareness that this had an uncomfortably close counterpart in the Pure Land Buddhist concept of *tariki* in its aspect of radical surrender to the Other Power of Amida.[22]

Another catechism that shows interesting differences is the *Compendium Catholicae Veritatis* by Pedro Gomez (1535–1600), who served under Valignano as head of the Jesuit sub-province of Japan from 1590 to his death in 1600.[23] As Paramore has shown, one of the major differences between this work and *Myōtei Dialogues* is in the status accorded to man. The *Compendium* divides man into three distinct types. In ascending order there are: those who experience the world merely through their senses (*sensibilis*) and do not use their intellect; those who do use their intellect (*anima rationalis*) but have not had the advantage of hearing the word of God; and lastly those who have the capacity for faith (*fides*), namely Christians. It is noticeable that Habian shows no sign whatsoever of recognizing this particular ranking, highlighting one instance of his departure from the orthodox. As one might expect, although the Japanese mind had no problem at all with the concept of hierarchy here on earth, it showed considerable resistance to the idea that such differences might be immutable; it was difficult enough to persuade them that man and nature were of a completely different order. The idea that one's ancestors might be damned to Hell for all eternity through a quirk of time and location rather than any particular fault of their own was also something that needed downplaying.[24]

22 The Japanese 'Amida' has been used throughout for consistency, despite the fact that 'Amitābha' might be considered preferable in certain contexts.

23 A Latin MS of this work was discovered in 1937 in the Vatican Library among the books that belonged to Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689), and a Japanese MS entitled *Kōgi yōkō* 講義要綱 and dated 1595 was discovered recently by Antoni Üçerler, SJ in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford. It does not contain the section on geography and astronomy (Girard 2011).

24 Paramore 2009, pp. 23–25.

The Outsider

The terms "native tradition" or "traditional culture" must, of course, be used with care because out of context they suggest the illusion of cohesiveness. What might seem to be simply "Japanese" from the outside shows radical internal differences the closer one gets, and because those "inside" often identify themselves with one strand to the exclusion of the others, it becomes increasingly problematic to recognize a quintessentially "Japanese" tradition. There were plenty of Buddhists who would have no truck with Shintō whatsoever, and later on in the Tokugawa period plenty of Confucian scholars showed nothing but scorn for Buddhism. One might have expected someone brought up in the Jesuit tradition whose aim was to prove the superiority of a fourth, alien set of beliefs to have dealt with Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintō as an amalgam, rejecting them in toto; but Habian, coming from the inside, could not bring himself to do this and instead maintained the differences and explained them in considerable detail. His approach in each fascicle is therefore tailor-made and although there is some small attempt to compare relative merits, by and large they are treated as separate entities. Nor does Habian ever refer to how these traditions often operated in practice on the ground as an organic system, each fulfilling a particular role in the spiritual and intellectual life of Japan. To have presented them in such a fashion would not have served his polemical purposes. He preferred to maintain them as distinct and criticize them one by one. This was, of course, a common tactic among apologists for each tradition, who had a vested interest in stressing their own superiority, so we do not need to link this especially to his training as a Jesuit. But to criticize all three from a fourth standpoint did involve him taking on the role of an "outsider" to some extent. We should not underestimate the strain such an achievement may have caused. Perhaps here lies another reason why in the end he felt obliged to abandon his experiment.

Emptiness and Nothingness in Habian's Critique of Buddhism

James Baskind

By the time of Xavier's arrival in 1549 Japanese Buddhism was facing new challenges in maintaining its political stability. "New movements" of the early Kamakura period founded by charismatic figures such as the Pure Land school by Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), the True Pure Land school by Hōnen's one-time disciple Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262), the Lotus school by Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282), as well as the founding of the Rinzai and Sōtō schools of Zen attributed respectively to Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215) and Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253), were being wracked in varying degrees by internal conflict, inter- and intra-denominational rivalries, and subject to an increasingly unstable political environment which made the acquisition of powerful and lasting patrons difficult.[1] By the time of Nobunaga's ascendency, the most powerful organization, the True Pure Land school (then known as the Ikkō or "Single Minded" school 一向宗), centered on Honganji, had come to amass extensive land holdings and large standing armies of monks and peasants that posed the last viable threat to his hegemony. By 1580 Nobunaga had eliminated this threat, and his policy of accommodation towards Christianity—intended in part as a foil against the power of the Buddhist temples—tended to push Buddhism even further to the periphery. When Habian converted to Christianity in 1583—the year following Nobunaga's assassination—it can be reasonably argued that Japanese Buddhism, after roughly a thousand years on native soil, was at a turning point.

This is not to suggest for a moment that Habian was simply being opportunistic, but for the first time in a long period the way was certainly open for an alternative discourse to establish and sustain itself. While much of Habian's considerable Buddhist learning was, of course, acquired before his conversion to Christianity, his anti-Buddhist polemic was firmly based on Jesuit arguments that had already been formulated and used in discussions with Buddhist scholar monks, the Yamaguchi debate 山口の討論 of 1551 being a well-known

1 The term "school" is used here for the sake of convenience, but it should be noted that they were neither as discrete nor unified as they are today. Individual clergy often owed their allegiance not to some larger sectarian organization but rather to their own temple communities and teaching lineages. Bodiford 2006, p. 165.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2016 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307292_003

example. The central charge against Buddhism was its basis in nothingness.[2] The Yamaguchi debate, in which Cosme de Torres (1510–1570) and his translator Juan Fernández (1526–1576) engaged a number of Buddhist monks on such issues as the nature of God/the Absolute, the soul, salvation, the afterlife, man, ethics, and nature, laid the foundations for subsequent discourse. A defining exchange occurred when de Torres asked how one could become a saint, to which the Buddhists apparently responded by asserting: "There are no saints. There is absolutely no need to try to become one. That is to say, all existence comes from nothingness (*nada*) and returns to nothingness, so there is no method."[3] In another telling passage from the same letter, Fernandez relates how the Japanese monks explained that the first principle that gives rise to life eventually returns and disperses among the four great elements upon death, and that this principle knows nothing of good and bad, joy and sorrow, or life and death; it is merely "nothingness."[4]

Another seminal Jesuit text was Valignano's *Japanese Catechism* (*Nihon no katekizumo*). The first volume attempts to demonstrate the truth of the Creator Deity while refuting Japanese religious systems, discusses the doctrine of the Trinity, and asserts the truth of Christian teachings. The second volume treats the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments, Grace, eternal life, and the Final Judgment.[5] While Habian does not directly allude to this text, considering its early date (three years after Habian's conversion) it is likely that it formed part of his studies in the seminary. But while Habian clearly took his cue from pre-existing Jesuit anti-Buddhist discourse, he did not simply reproduce the same arguments. He knew too much about the subject, and in particular he knew far more than his fellow Jesuits about the long history of disagreements between rival Buddhist schools. It is this that gives *Myōtei Dialogues*

2 Maekawa 2014, p. 404, and Schurhammer 1964. For additional studies on the Yamaguchi Debate, see Toyosawa 1999 and 2002.

3 Schurhammer 1964, p. 129; Maekawa 2014, p. 404; Baskind 2014, p. 41.

4 Schurhammer 1964, pp. 129–130.

5 The genesis and history of this work is an interesting story in its own right. Fragments from an earlier stage of the work written in Japanese were discovered inside a folding screen in Evora, Portugal, in 1902. As Urs App points out, by comparing the Japanese text with the Latin version, we can observe how information about Buddhism was understood and transformed by the Jesuits (App 2012, p. 20). For a treatment of the Evora fragments, the transcribed text, photographic reproductions, and research on the place of the text in the East Asia mission, see Ebisawa and Matsuda, 1963; a complete Japanese translation of the Latin text of *Nihon no katekizumo* is available in Valignano 1969. It is not known for sure in what language the original text was written, although the 1581 annual report of the Jesuits records it as having been translated into Japanese (Komei 2009, p. 51).

its unique significance. In *Japanese Catechism* Valignano refutes the plausibility of the Pure Land vision of the afterlife largely on the grounds that it was described as involving the senses and was therefore too this-worldly. Having established that the post-mortem soul is only comprised of three powers, of memory, discriminating intellect, and will, he argues that the Pure Land's emphasis on corporeality, with its description of bodies of gold possessed of human characteristics, could not possibly be part of the purely spiritual reality that was the true afterlife.[6] Habian, on the other hand, prefers a completely different approach, interpreting the hyperbolic descriptions to be found in Pure Land scriptures, the unimaginable length of Amida's period of meditation and his fantastical physical dimensions, for example, as deliberate rhetorical exaggeration in the service of explaining the unexplainable, the Void.

Other texts produced within a decade of *Myōtei Dialogues* that can be seen as related to Habian's work include *Christian Doctrine* and Pedro Gomez's *Compendium Catholicae Veritatis*, both already touched on in the General Introduction.[7] The latter is in three parts: 1) *De Sphera*, which presents the contemporaneous European scientific understanding of astronomy and cosmology based on Aristotelian models 2) *De Anima*, which expounds upon the Aristotelian *anima* categories regarding the theory of the soul, and 3) *De Teologia* which spells out conservative Christian doctrine as established by the Council of Trent.[8] As Paramore has shown, *Christian Doctrine* was printed in two different versions, one in 1591 and one in 1600, and it is the second version that shares most in common with *Myōtei Dialogues* in that it attempts to promote Christianity by means of comparison with other religions.[9] But while this work reveals much of interest from a comparative perspective in its dialogue between a European Jesuit and a Japanese Christian regarding their respective understanding and interpretation of Christian doctrine, it does not treat the Japanese tradition in any depth. Neither does Gomez. As Gomez's text was

6 Valignano 1969, p. 52.

7 The full Latin title of this work is *Compendium Catholicae Veritatis, in gratiam Iapponicorum fratrum Societatis Iesu, confectum per Patrem Petrum Gómezium Vice-Provincialem Societatis Iesu in provincial Iapponica*. In Japanese the short title *Kōgi yōkō* 講義要綱 is used. For a study of one Japanese translation of this work and its role, see Girard 2011.

8 Loureiro 2004, p. 57.

9 Paramore 2009, p. 18. Paramore also notes distinct differences in the way the two texts present Christianity. Whereas *Christian Doctrine* presents a more orthodox and "superstitious" view in its emphasis on the supernatural and individual faith, *Myōtei Dialogues* tends to assign greater importance to human beings' own thoughts and actions, putting ethics and knowledge at the forefront of the discussion (op. cit., p. 21).

the definitive manual of theology used in the Jesuit colleges, one may assume that Habian was familiar with its content.[10]

The Significance of Habian's Ordering of Schools

As the historical Buddha receded further into the past and the scope of teachings ascribed to him expanded well beyond a single discourse, Chinese Buddhists found it necessary to create a system of classification and ranking of the teachings, a process known in Japanese as *kyōsō hanjaku* 教相判釋, in which the aspect or content of the teachings were judged and classified. The traditional explanation for the plethora of different teachings was that the Buddha had carefully tailored his message to fit the mental capacities and spiritual sophistication of his audience. Although not the earliest of these systems, the best-known instance of this practice in China is the classification into Five Periods and Eight Teachings 五時八教説 ascribed to Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), the formulator of Tiantai 天臺 (Jp. Tendai) Buddhism. As a general rule, these teachings usually proceeded from the shallow to the profound, showcasing the Buddha's well-planned use of skillful means in gradually bringing the aspirant to the highest understanding.[11] Another instance can be seen in Kūkai's *Himitsu mandara jūjū shinron* 秘密曼荼羅十住心論, where he lists the various stages of the mind from the lowest level, that of the "goat mind" when the mind is full of desires, through Confucianism, Daoism, the Hīnayāna schools of Buddhism, the provisional and middling Mahāyāna, all the way to the highest level, that of Shingon. At first glance it would appear that Habian has followed this order, as he starts his presentation with a critique of the physical impossibilities of Buddhist cosmology as described in the *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* 阿毘達磨倶舎論, a Hīnayāna text, proceeds to a discussion of Śākyamuni as Bodhisattva, basing himself on the account given in the *Genealogy of Śākyamuni* 釋迦譜, the

10 Ide Katsumi argues that Habian would have been exposed to both of these works during his time as a seminarian. See Ide 1995, p. 284 and Paramore 2009, p. 23. Kawamura regards Gomez's text as being the basis for *Myōtei Dialogues*' doctrinal discussions (Kawamura 2011, p. 183).

11 The exception to this is Zhiyi's first category which posits Huayan 華嚴 (Jp. Kegon) as the first period, followed by a "lower" classification of the Agon 阿含. According to Zhiyi, the difficult teachings of Huayan were presented first, but they proved to be too difficult for people to understand. The Buddha therefore decided to start his expedient teachings at the lower, more readily understandable level of the Agon and then move up the scale. For more on the history of classification in Chinese Buddhism see Mun 2005.

oldest Chinese biography of the Buddha,[12] and only then begins to identify the higher doctrinal concepts in each school with emptiness, nothingness, and the Void. The progression adheres to what could be considered a standard order, taking up the Eight Schools as a whole, followed by an individual discussion of Hossō and Sanron (classified as "provisional Mahāyāna"), Kegon, Shingon, Tendai (including Nichiren), Zen, and finally the Pure Land school. This order is "standard" in the sense that it more or less follows the example of its illustrious model, *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要 (1268), by Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321).

Gyōnen's work was produced as a primer of Japanese Buddhist history, not as a system of classification for the purposes of ranking or refuting any particular school, thus his ordering reflects little more than a historical progression, starting with the Six Schools of the Southern Capital (Nara), the Nanto rokushū 南都六宗, followed by Tendai and Shingon, the two great Buddhist institutions that came to flourish during the Heian period, followed by brief sections on Zen and Pure Land. That Gyōnen devotes so little space to the sections on Zen and the Pure Land teachings, which appear almost as an afterthought, serves to highlight their newness as discrete schools; they had yet to gain status at the time he was writing. But Habian's order, while apparently patterned on *Hasshū kōyō*, adds a deliberate and conspicuous change.[13] By the time of Habian, both culturally and institutionally the Zen and the Pure Land schools had come to the fore, thereby making them conspicuous targets. Both Xavier and Valignano, for example, saw Zen as their biggest political and intellectual rival, and when Valignano inherited the mantle from his difficult predecessor Padre Francisco Cabral (1529–1609), he instituted a policy of cultural accommodation in which he borrowed ecclesiastical terminology from the Zen school, which was, he observed, the "principal school of Japanese Buddhism."[14]

As the argument progresses, Habian's polemic takes on an increasingly strident tone, moving from "On the Buddhist Concept of the Triple Realm," where he simply dismisses Buddhist cosmology as impossible, using the accepted verities of Western learning, to "On the Birth of Śākyamuni as a Bodhisattva in Training," in which he ridicules the legend of Śākyamuni's birth and life as being both unethical (in that kicking his way out of his mother's side must have killed her) and characterized by supernatural events. Then, in the next four sections, he turns his attention to refuting the doctrines associated with each school in considerable detail. With the exception of Hossō, the ultimate

12 This work in five fascicles was produced sometime during the late fifth or early sixth century by the Chinese monk Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518). See Kamata 1998, p. 608.

13 A point made by both Sueki 2010, p. 72, and Maekawa 2014, p. 408.

14 Elison 1973, p. 62.

meaning of these doctrines is revealed to be based in emptiness and nothingness, but this argument appears only at the end of each section rather than being presented throughout. Tendai and Shingon can be considered as a group, as both schools still maintained considerable prestige and power, and it is at this point that Habian begins to strengthen his rhetoric, attacking concepts such as emptiness, nothingness, and the Void. In the final group, Zen and Pure Land, we arrive at what might be thought of as the summit, where he lays bare Zen's infatuation with nothingness and utterly dismisses any claim the Pure Land might have to offer salvation: "From the point of view of denying the existence of the afterlife, I doubt there is a school to beat it," he writes.

The last line of Habian's *Preface* "I wish to tread this path by moving gradually from the shallow to the profound" may seem to contradict this sense of progression, but this is a literary trope supposedly leading the reader further into Buddhist profundities. In fact as a convert he sees himself as exposing a series of increasing follies. Those schools that offered the greatest threat to the Christian message receive the strongest refutation.[15]

On the Buddhist Concept of the Triple Realm and On the Birth of Śākyamuni as a Bodhisattva in Training

Habian's presentation of Buddhist cosmology is largely drawn from the *Lokasthānābhidharma-śāstra* 立世阿毘曇論, and especially the second chapter on Jambudvīpa 南剡浮提品.[16] At this stage, Habian stays at the physical level: the hyperbolic descriptions of the size of Mt. Sumeru, the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, and the billion great chiliocosms, for example, are not treated as expressions of emptiness or the void but simply as impossible illogicalities. He then moves on to discuss the legends that deal with the rising, setting, and eclipses of the sun and moon, contrasting them with the "Christian" scientific understanding of the physical properties of revolving celestial bodies, and finally turns to the world's geography.

In the next section "On the Birth of Śākyamuni as a Bodhisattva in Training," the afterlife is introduced. Myōshū proclaims: "in Buddhism it is enough if we have help to attain the afterlife," which Yūtei identifies as precisely the point where Buddhism fails to satisfy. We are given details of the Buddha's birth and life as found in the *Genealogy of Śākyamuni*, emphasizing the unfilial manner of his actions after birth and quoting the Chinese Zen master Yunmen

15 For a study of Habian's education see Baskind 2012.

16 T.32/1644.

雲門 (864–949), who claimed he would have "beaten him to death with his staff before feeding him to the dogs."[17] This is all to show that Śākyamuni was a mere human being, incapable of providing salvation to anyone; that would require someone special, "a Lord who stands above man." The lack of a fundamental distinction between the essence of deity and man was the third of the four main errors of Japanese religion listed by Valignano in his *Japanese Catechism*.[18]

The final exchange of this section has Myōshū making a valiant attempt to defend Buddhism by bringing up the concept of the "Middle Way" lying between the extremes of nihilism and eternalism. It is at this point that Habian introduces the term "void" that will now underpin the rest of his polemic. Śākyamuni is said to be void 虛空 because he is attributed with a limitless past, and this Void, known as "original state" *honbun* 本分 in Zen, and "thusness" *shinnyo* 眞如 in Tendai, is treated as being synonymous with emptiness, that from which all emerges and to which all returns. Any reference to anything being unbounded or immeasurable apart from the Christian God he immediately labels the Void and treats as nothingness. It is here that Habian begins to show his impressive command of the Buddhist scriptures and his ability to marshal an assortment of texts to underscore his contentions. In demonstrating that the body and mind are not two but merely synonymous with emptiness, for example, he quotes the passage "The mind of the self is itself empty; guilt and happiness have no real subject" from the *Meditation on Samantabhadra Sūtra*, and draws on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* to prove that buddha nature is nothing other than the Void 虛空ハ卽是佛性. The equivalence is then extended to the Middle Way via a quotation from Miaole[19] who comments on this passage from the sūtra by stating that the Void and buddha nature are synonymous with the Middle Way, which Yūtei then dismisses as simply being the Chinese term for "nothing." The final proof text that Habian uses is Ikkyū's *Amida hadaka monogatari* 阿彌陀裸物語. This belongs to the genre of *kana hōgo* or popular sermons that were aimed at a literate but non-clerical audience, in which the use of poetry and other literary devices were aimed at catching and holding the reader's attention.[20] The text demonstrates Ikkyū's

17 From the 雲門廣錄. Yunmen became renowned for his use of the staff in training. Although he founded the Yunmen tradition, which flourished for a period during the Song dynasty, by the Southern Song this dharma lineage had already died out. The lineage was not transmitted to Japan.

18 Valignano 1969, pp. 9–10.

19 Miaole 妙樂 is Zhanran 湛然 (711–782) the sixth patriarch of the Tiantai school. The text cited is the 法華玄義釋籤 (T.33/1717: 877).

20 Sanford 1980, p. 279.

understanding of non-duality, in which the seemingly opposing attainment of rebirth in the Pure Land through reliance on the Other Power of Amida (*tariki*) and the realization of enlightenment through self-power (*jiriki*) of Zen are treated as being two ways of expressing the same experience: "Although there are many paths among the foothills, there is only one moon above the clouds."[21] Habian appropriates this poem, the original purpose of which was to illustrate that the various paths to truth might seem to diverge but are in fact all equally valid, to prove that Buddhism is nothing more than nothingness "split into eight or nine different schools."

The Eight Schools, Hossō, Sanron, and Kegon

Habian next moves the discussion from the "shallow" and "superficial" teachings to the middling or "provisional Mahāyāna" of Hossō and Sanron, and finally to the "full Mahāyāna" of Kegon. Hīnayāna teachings receive only a cursory presentation while the main attack is reserved for the Mahāyāna. Prominent in these sections is the criticism that although Buddhism has a concept of rebirth, which in some cases includes rebirth into a form of Paradise, this is not the same kind of afterlife as conceived of by Christianity, from which there is emphatically no return and in which there is finality. Most of "On the Eight Schools" is devoted to demonstrating that this lack of a viable concept of an afterlife makes the importance placed on maintaining the precepts, for instance, illogical, since there is no ultimate reward that is being offered. He begins by quoting "since there is no life or death to be avoided, why do we have Buddhist precepts to observe?" but his own Zen training is more prominently on display when he draws from the *Jingde Transmission of the Lamp*,[22] a central text of Zen lore and the source for many of the kōan used in both Rinzai and Sōtō monasteries. He refers to an episode involving Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼 (745–828) to show that enlightenment is not necessarily dependent on keeping the precepts (although Yaoshan was, in fact, famous for his strict adherence to monastic discipline). He emphasizes that the Buddhist precepts are limited to the "outer aspect" of behavior and are unrelated to one's ultimate fate. It is also here that Habian first makes his case that Buddhism lacks the necessary philosophical basis for ethical action, drawing on the authority of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* to argue that since things are empty owing to a lack of self nature there is nothing that is inherently or ultimately "good

21 Ibid.

22 景德傳燈錄 (T.51/2076).

or bad." This was a constant refrain with all Jesuits on the East Asia mission. Ricci, for example, saw Buddhist teachings as being life-denying; the true source of all phenomenon (namely Deus) has a value "beyond all comparison" and to "employ despicable [words like] 'voidness' and 'nothingness' to represent it" goes against all reason.[23]

This association between an absence of a true sense of the afterlife and the ubiquitous "emptiness" of Buddhism also underpins Habian's discussion of Hossō. Within the vast ocean that is Buddhist phenomenological discourse that he only just touches on in this section, Habian latches onto "the two forms of non-self" 二無我 as being indicative of a denial of life after death. There is no self to receive suffering or joy because one is merely absorbed back into the void of thusness. It seems that Habian wishes to reduce the whole of Hossō to this void. Kobayashi Chigusa has pointed out the extent to which this discussion of Hossō draws on *Hasshū kōyō* for its wording and structure, and that its content owes much to the medieval commentary *Hossō nikanshō* 法相二巻抄 by Ryōhen 良遍 (1194–1252).[24] It is, of course, true that Habian relied on such aids, but in doing so he trod his own path, adapting his presentation of Buddhist doctrine to his own purposes, as well as choosing only those aspects of Christian doctrine that he felt best supported his aims.

Occasionally there seems to be a conflict between a desire to be encyclopedic on the one hand and an impatience on the other, stemming from the view that in the final analysis all schools, no matter how they appear to differ on the surface, are characterized by emptiness. This, in turn, means a denial of the afterlife, no hope of salvation, and no basis for ethical action in this life. Nowhere is this more obvious than in his treatment of the Sanron and Kegon schools. Sanron, as its name ("Three Treatise School"), suggests, is founded on the study of three texts: the *Madhyamaka-śāstra* 中論, and the *Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra* 十二門論 by Nāgārjuna (circa 150–250), and the *Śata-śāstra* 百論 by Nāgārjuna's disciple, Aryadeva (circa 170–270). While this school was formulated in China, it is based on Indian prajñāpāramitā and Mādhyamaka thought, which sees its primary emphasis on asserting the emptiness of things due to their dependently co-arisen nature.[25] Habian wastes no time in identifying this school with the well-known line "form is emptiness, emptiness is form," which he simply rejects as being "ridiculous" (勿体ナキ事). This is also his response in the next section on Kegon where he identifies the single absolute realm of reality 一法界 as being another name for the One Mind 一心, which is

23 Ricci 1985, p. 103.

24 Kobayashi 1979, p. 159.

25 Aoki 2001, p. 341.

in turn equated to "nothingness" 無. "They live," he writes, " in a world without Heaven or Hell."

Tendai and Shingon

It is perhaps fitting that the Tendai section receives the longest, most thorough treatment of all the Buddhist schools. Established during the Heian period, Tendai more or less served as the womb for the subsequent development of Japanese Buddhism. It also prided itself on being all-inclusive, which is perhaps why Habian devoted so much space to its exegesis.

Tendai is known for its interest in classifying the teachings. In contrast to Gyōnen's *Hasshū kōyō*, which lists the Five Periods and Eight Teachings as codified by Zhiyi, Habian reduces it to Five Periods and Four Teachings. He was, after all, intent on refuting Tendai as a whole rather than giving a finely-grained description of modes of realization or enlightenment. The Four Teachings share a common temporal axis and are more readily reducible to a single essence, in this case mind, in which all dharmas and the Dharma reside. Habian not only criticizes the concept of multiple buddha lands but picks out the highest of the four methods of teaching the doctrine, the Complete Teachings 圓教, as being synonymous with "One Mind". In the eyes of Jesuits, this concept of "One Mind" or "World Soul" was seen as a major problem. In the Evora fragments of *Japanese Catechism* the positing of the One Mind as being the source of Heaven and Earth is seen to be a colossal error, since if one equates this One Mind with buddha nature, the result is that all men are said to possess divine essence. The crucial distinction between the creator and what is created is thereby lost.[26] Christianity also had difficulty with Tendai relativism and the idea that the here and now was itself enlightenment: Habian phrases this as "the further you go, you discover that there is neither Buddha nor Dharma in the Buddha Dharma, and that the common man is the Buddha."

Shingon teachings were among the first bits of information on Japanese religion that reached the Jesuits. This was due to the testimony of Yajirō (?–1551), the former renegade, who first met Xavier in Malacca in 1547 and apparently tried to explain the basic teachings of his own school, namely Shingon. When Yajirō touched on the focus of Shingon devotion, the cosmic Buddha Dainichi 大日, mention of a god-like figure or "buddha" without beginning or end, limitless, eternal, and as the ultimate essence of the universe must have struck a cord with Xavier. We are told that under the impression that a form of the

26 Valignano 1969, p. 198.

Judeo-Christian God had reached Japan under a different name, Xavier walked the streets of Yamaguchi exhorting the populace to "pray to Dainichi!" (*Dainichi o ogami are*!). It was not long, however, before he learned that Dainichi was not the personal God of Christianity he thought he was, but rather the impersonal substratum, the "material beneath things" that corresponded to the *materia prima* of the Scholastics.[27] This prompted Xavier to order the Jesuit brother Juan Fernández to walk the streets urging people "Do not worship Dainichi!" (*Dainichi na ogami asso*!), who was now portrayed as a clever invention of the Devil.[28] Xavier cannot be blamed for initially perceiving an equivalence between these two entities, of course. Jesuit descriptions of Deus indeed echoed those of Dainichi, and in *Japanese Catechism*, for example, Valignano talked of Deus as being immanent everywhere, reminiscent of Dainichi as an underlying reality.[29]

Habian's critique deals with the central Shingon doctrines, including Dainichi, the six elements, the four maṇḍala, the three mysteries, the seed characters and meditation on the Sanskrit letter A. Dainichi cannot be the equivalent of Deus because his true nature is non-existence, the Void. Dainichi's limitless and eternal nature (as enlightenment) is expressed symbolically through the two maṇḍalas of the Diamond Realm (Vajradhātu) and Womb Realm (Garbhadhātu). Habian identifies the latter with the body and the former with the mind, which he takes in sum as amounting to "this one body." By locating both of these aspects of Dainichi in the delimited and finite body, he manages to reduce the ultimate principle of Shingon Buddhism to a perishable entity, empty, insubstantial, which is therefore incapable of offering salvation. To prove that these maṇḍala exist only in the body, Habian uses the famous quotation of Kūkai: "The Buddha Dharma is nowhere remote. It is in our mind, it is close to us . . . If not within the body, where can it be found?"[30] His subtext is that Shingon Buddhism lacks the promise of an afterlife because it is ultimately concerned with the physical, which is another way of saying it is emptiness. In the Christian worldview the soul is a spiritual entity the essence of which is eternal. In *Japanese Catechism* Valignano criticized the Pure Land vision of the afterlife precisely for this very reason: it placed emphasis on corporeality and sensual pleasures rather than presenting the soul as a purely

27 Schurhammer 1982, p. 225.

28 Ibid., p. 226.

29 Valignano 1969, p. 37.

30 This passage comes from Kūkai's 般若心經秘鍵 (T.57/2203: 11.a.10–11); see the translation in Hakeda 1972, p. 263.

spiritual medium.[31] Here too we find Habian's attack on Buddhism all the more impressive because of the superior, first-hand knowledge he brought to his subject. In this Shingon section Amida comes under scrutiny not in his Pure Land role as a savior of mankind (which made him a natural target) but in his esoteric aspect as the object of meditation on the letter A. If Amida was nothing but breath and empty wind, then he could hardly be seen as a major threat.

Zen and the Pure Land

It is in the section on Zen that what are seen as the ills of Buddhism are given their most developed expression. Habian argues that it is precisely because all Buddhist schools agree on the fundamental tenet that the mind is ultimately empty that Buddhism can offer no hope for the afterlife. "Since they do not recognize a God on high to be feared, neither do they have a morality for this life worthy of the name" he asserts, indicating that the principle of reward and punishment does not operate without first establishing an omnipotent and transcendent arbiter. He then expands by arguing that "there is no God to chastise them when they do evil, nor is there anything to reward them when they do good. Is it not a travesty, the way they go about teaching that all is born from the Void and returns to the Void? Seen through Christian eyes, this kind of teaching can only be seen as an evil doctrine." That among all the schools of Japanese Buddhism Zen was the most nihilistic in character was an early refrain of the Jesuits, although in practice, of course, the complaint could be leveled at Buddhism as a whole. Xavier was shocked to find that Zen monks held to the view that the human soul is just like that of animals, disappearing into nothingness upon death.[32]

In *Japanese Catechism*, Valignano had described the practitioners of Zen as those who "throw away" all scriptures and commentaries and instead rely solely on the practice of meditation.[33] The great error of these meditators is that they deny the existence of the Pure Land, Hell, Heaven, or any individual, sentient life after death, and instead posit the "One Mind", timeless and omnipresent, from which everything emanates and returns.[34] "One Mind" in a Zen context means the fundamental basis or the thusness of reality. As Urs App has pointed out, this term is a central theme in the Zen text *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法

31 Valignano 1969, pp. 52, 66–67.

32 Sueki 2010, p. 62.

33 Valignano, 1969, p. 7.

34 Ibid.

要, which deals with the transmission of Mind, where it is described as the substance of all things and co-extensive with the Void. Valignano took this "One Mind" to be the fundamental principle of Japanese [Buddhist] doctrine, and for him it served as evidence that the same "absurd" monism that was found in the pre-Socratics had also made its way to Japan.[35] An assertion to this effect is found in the 1586 Latin version of *Japanese Catechism*, two decades before *Myōtei Dialogues*. Valignano saw this "One Mind" as implying that a monistic entity absorbed the soul back into nothingness, thereby denying the soul an afterlife where it might receive either reward or punishment. Habian avoids mention of a soul at this point, preferring to concentrate on the fact that nothingness is just the opposite of "somethingness," implying that a true afterlife is simply not conceivable in a Buddhist context.

The counterargument to this nihilistic description of Zen is presented via Myōshū in the form of a careful distinction between the emptiness of the Void as "emptiness as non-existence," and the emptiness of buddha-nature as "emptiness as truth." Yūtei's response to this is significant. Those who recognize this distinction are merely ordinary lay people; the more sophisticated Buddhist knows that these distinctions are mere skillful means. As the *Chuanxin fayao* explains: "The Dharmakāya is the Void, the Void is the Dharmakāya. The average person will either say that the Dharmakāya envelopes the Void or that the Void contains the Dharmakāya. They do not understand that the Dharmakāya *is* the Void and that the Void *is* the Dharmakāya."[36] The Dharmakāya as the underlying, all-pervading reality is more or less synonymous with the One Mind in this context, and in fact central Mahāyāna texts such as *The Awakening of Faith* 大乘起信論 explicitly treated them as identical. Valignano was well aware of this. Since the goal of practice was to manifest the One Mind which we all already possess, there is an implicit denial of all external authority, another reason why the Jesuits found this idea particularly inconvenient.

In the latter part of the Zen section Habian's wide command of sources is most clearly on display as he cites from the secret kōan manuals that were handed down in the various Rinzai lineages. These recorded the words of Zen masters that were employed in a pedagogic context and were passed down as a kind of textbook, largely consisting of selected kōan from well-known collections with the master's *agyo* 下語 or "capping phrase" appended.[37] As these sources were not readily available, Habian's use of them offers further support for him having been a Zen monk. The kōan that he cites, such as "The Meaning

35 App 2012, p. 71.

36 黃檗山斷際禪師傳心法要 (T.48/2012: 379).

37 Baskind 2012, p. 320. See also Kraft 1992, p. 5.

of the Patriarch's Coming from the West" 祖師西來意 and "The Cypress Tree in the Garden" 庭前柏樹子, were standard within the Rinzai kōan curriculum.

The Pure Land school posed a rather different set of difficulties for the Jesuits, given that it presented a clear, accessible, ontological and salvific discourse that posited an otherworldly locale for an afterlife attainable through complete surrender to a supra-mundane being, namely Amida Buddha. Prominent Jesuits of the East Asian mission were particularly wary of Pure Land teachings. Xavier was critical of the ease with which it appeared one could achieve salvation: "Simply by chanting 'Namuamidabut' they can be saved," he said.[38] In the *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* Ricci inveighed against Pure Land doctrine on the same grounds, arguing that if it was so easy to go from Hell to Heaven, "will this not prove an impediment to [the cultivation of] virtue and even encourage people to do evil?"[39] Valignano also took issue with the practice as being devoid of real meaning,[40] and in the background lay the specter of *sola fide* or "faith alone" that had been one of the central tenets of Luther.[41]

No doubt it was the idea of the Pure Land itself that attracted the attention of Jesuits, although, or perhaps because, they understood that it differed profoundly from the Christian afterlife. Valignano's critique concentrated on the insubstantiality of the body and the fact that satisfying sensual desires cannot possibly bring lasting happiness in any life, present or future. "People," he writes, "through all kinds of sensual desires, no matter how sweet, no matter how wealthy, or successful, even if one partakes of the finest foods and beverages, it is impossible to be fully satisfied, and one always demands more and something better."[42] Only the Universal, Deus, can ultimately satisfy. Memory, intellect and will survive death precisely because they are not tied to any one part of the body, and do not rely on the senses for their existence. A Pure Land that includes elements of sensual enjoyment such as pleasant scents and music is "utterly silly and illogical."[43] This negative appraisal of the body as a starting point for a doctrinal discussion is also seen in *Christian Doctrine*, which, because of its basis in the doctrine of Original Sin, also advances a pessimistic view of the world and the body.[44]

---

38 Schurhammer 1982, p. 268.

39 Ricci 1985, p. 397.

40 Schütte 1985, p. 84.

41 Valignano 1973, p. 31.

42 Valignano 1969, p. 66.

43 Ibid., p. 67.

44 Paramore (2009, p. 22) identifies this as the first of three key points on which *Myōtei Dialogues* and *Christian Doctrine* disagree. The other two he identifies are: a different

Habian, on the other hand, treads a rather different path. Because he had been educated as a Zen monk, he understood the Pure Land as being in essence a metaphor rather than a real place. For him the nature of both the Pure Land and Amida was void (or wind, as he also interprets it), and therefore by definition could not be equated to the Christian afterlife. "Rebirth is what the other schools call 'enlightenment,' another name for 'attaining the Dharma," he writes, to which he adds "and what is this 'enlightenment' and 'attaining the Dharma' in the other schools? It is 'thusness and non-discrimination' 眞如平等, ultimately the 'Realm of Void' 虛空法界, the realization that there are no gods, no buddhas, no Hell, and no Land of Ultimate Bliss."[45] The post-mortem state of the *nenbutsu* practitioner is described as being the experience of "the same nothingness to which those in other schools have already become awakened." He then turns to deal with the idea of a Pure Land in the West from a literal perspective, from the perspective of what he would consider a naïve believer. Habian argues against the belief of a physical Pure Land in a certain direction since "west" is a relative concept depending on where you are standing, and the idea of a fixed point "ten trillion buddha-lands to the west" is nonsense. After this he addresses the idea of the Pure Land as wholly metaphor. He interprets the hyperbolic descriptions of the length of Amida's meditation (five kalpas), as well as the astronomical dimensions of Amida himself as a way of expressing the void.

In the final lines of the Pure Land section we see the culmination of Habian's refutation of Buddhism. This particularly pointed denial of the Pure Land schools' post-mortem goals, which also serves as the crowning criticism of all the schools leading up to it, acquires its pungency by merit of the skillful way in which he has ordered his presentation. It so happens that Gyōnen also chose to end his work *Hasshū kōyō* with a discussion of the Pure Land school, but for rather different reasons. For Gyōnen it was a matter of chronology. For Habian it had greater significance. It was important to end with a dismissal of the claim that Pure Land Buddhism might offer true salvation after death, since for the man in the street it was precisely this school that seemed at first glance to promise a Japanese version of what the Christians had to offer. Only by emphasizing the metaphorical nature of this promise, could he reaffirm that this school was not in fact an anomaly but as Buddhist, and therefore as empty, as all the rest of them.

---

emphasis on how the afterlife is to be attained; and faith in God through Jesus Christ as opposed to Habian's emphasis on 'knowledge.'

45 See p. 122.

Searching for God in Neo-Confucianism

Richard Bowring

Anyone interested in the beginnings of Tokugawa Confucianism as an academic discipline, and in particular the influence of what we now call Neo-Confucianism, might well approach this section with considerable anticipation. 1605 is, after all, a very early date to find such a discussion in any context other than the closed one of a Buddhist monastery. Although it is true that the work of Bunshi Genshō 文之玄昌 (1555–1620), who was affiliated with a group in Kyūshū known as the Satsunan Gakuha 薩南學派 working on Song Confucian interpretations of the classics with the help of Chinese émigrés, was already producing results, 1605 predates by some margin the impact of such men as Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561–1619) and Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657), who are usually identified as the founders of this tradition. To expect untapped riches here, however, would be to misunderstand Habian's intent. He was not interested in giving a detailed exposition of either Neo-Confucian ethics or the complexities of the metaphysics of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1528) or anyone else. He was mainly concerned to show that Neo-Confucianism could not possibly measure up to Christianity either rationally or in practice as a Way to pursue. Although he had praise for the effect of its stress on ethics and the role it could play in ensuring an ordered society, when it came to questions of the origin and nature of the universe Neo-Confucianism failed to pass muster. It lacked the concept of a single creator and did not, therefore, offer much in terms of salvation for the individual. In this sense, Habian saw it as an adversary of a different order to Buddhism and, of course, Shintō. But this is not to say that Confucianism could simply be ignored as irrelevant. For the Christian, Neo-Confucianism was more in the nature of an opaque obstacle, actively discouraging an exploration of the spiritual side of life, and containing deep within it a concept, that of universal *qi* 氣 (material force), which rendered the Christian idea of man as unique in the world extremely difficult to comprehend.

Habian begins with a problem of terminology, which has to be dealt with at the very outset:

> In China they brand Buddhism and the like as heterodox and have an intense dislike of it, arguing that to follow such teachings is merely self-destructive. Instead they place great value on Confucianism, the Way of

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2016 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307292_004

> Heaven. So what is this "Way of Heaven?" Does Christianity differ from Confucianism too?

What might be seen on the surface to be a slightly odd statement can be explained by the fact that the Way of Heaven (*Tentō* 天道) could, depending on context, be applied to both Christianity and Confucianism. To the uninitiated, therefore, this might lead to the conclusion that they were one and the same thing, or at least closely related. This is a misconception that Habian has to address immediately. Once this has been done, the way is then open for an analysis of what we might term the Confucian version of the Way of Heaven. At this juncture he introduces into his presentation a complex discussion of the relationship between the Way, the *dao* 道, and the Great Ultimate, *taiji* 太極. Laozi, he tells us, saw the Way as giving rise to the Great Ultimate, which in turn splits into yin and yang and begins the whole process of creation. [Neo-]Confucianism, on the other hand, disregards this first distinction, sees the Great Ultimate as the origin, and defines the Way quite differently, as the process of continuous creation itself.

As we have seen in his long treatment of Buddhism, Habian is nothing if not a man for detail. By way of explaining Neo-Confucianism, he plunges us straight into a passage from Zhu Xi's *Collected Works*, which discusses a crucial line from the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*) in the light of an interpretation put forward almost a century earlier by the scholar Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101). Habian spends considerable time on the details of this debate, showing among other things an excellent knowledge of the sources and a good grasp of the issues at stake.

The passage in question is well known: 'One yin, one yang; that is what is called the Way' 一陰一陽之謂道. Both Su Shi and Zhu Xi agreed that the Great Ultimate was the Way of Heaven, but Su Shi had understood this phrase as referring to the state of affairs *before* any interaction of yin and yang had taken place, in other words, before anything had come into being. For Su Shi, therefore, the Way of Heaven referred to 'chaos undivided,' the Void to which we should aim to return. Zhu Xi regarded this as a heresy that threatened to reintroduce Buddhism through the back door. He interpreted the phrase as '*Now* yin, *now* yang; that is what is called the Way,' meaning that the process of constant interaction, the flow and flux of spontaneous generation, was in and of itself the Way. There was therefore no Great Ultimate to which one might return. This discussion was of particular interest to Habian, of course, because it clearly showed that orthodox Neo-Confucianism refused to entertain the idea of an origin that consciously created. For him, the Great Ultimate was merely another way of saying the Way, which signified process, not origination.

Having cleared this out of the way, Habian the Christian then attacks the concept of spontaneous generation. Yin and yang (whatever they may be) have no mind of their own so it is inconceivable that they could by accident produce or create anything, let alone the complex organisms that make up the world. It is interesting that at this point he prefers to avoid discussion of Principle (*li* 理), presumably because that would introduce a potential complication. To talk of Principle would be to introduce the idea that whatever is generated does not emerge entirely by accident but falls into a pattern. Not that this would answer for him the lack of a single creator, but it might have the effect of slightly diluting his criticisms. In the end, he sees no essential difference between Buddhism and Confucianism:

> Unless there is a creator with wisdom and virtue, not an iota of dust can come into being, let alone can such a Heaven, Earth, and Man as this emerge spontaneously from emptiness.

So instead of introducing Principle, Habian reverts to the question of the origin of things, which in turn leads him back to the *Book of Changes* and in particular what it has to say about origins in the shape of the first hexagram *qian* 乾, which is viewed through the prism of Zhu Xi's commentary, the *Fundamental Meaning of the Book of Changes* (*Yijing benyi*). Given what is said about this hexagram, can it perhaps be seen as a creator?

> How great the origin *qian* 乾! It provides all things with their beginning and thus controls Heaven. It sends clouds and brings rain; it causes things to flow into shape according to type; it greatly clarifies the beginning and end; and the positions of the six [lines] come about at the proper time. At the appropriate moment it rides the six dragons and so drives the Heavens. The Way of *qian* transforms and changes, and rectifies the nature and destiny of each and every one. It maintains the Great Peace and thus brings advantage and constancy. It stands out at the head of the multitude and all is at peace.

Habian, of course, refutes the idea that this concept is anything like that of a single deity with a creating consciousness:

> Everything that has shape and form must have a beginning. And if it has a beginning it cannot start of its own accord. Obviously, it will not come into being unless there is another source of energy. When you say that all things come from Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, where do you think

> this Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, sprang from? When you reach this stage, Confucianism is also forced to ground itself on a void, on spontaneous infinity. The reason for this is that they are unaware there is a creator of Heaven and Earth and so they have no option but to say that it arose spontaneously from the Void.

At this point Habian carefully avoids pushing the argument forward another stage to ask who created the creator, and instead moves off in the direction of another matter of controversy within Confucianism, the existence of ghosts and spirits. This debate has its origin in a statement in the *Analects*, where Confucius is supposed to have said: "Bounteous, indeed, is the moral force of the ghosts and spirits." Myōshū makes a vain attempt to argue that these might be seen as the creators of the world, but Yūtei makes short work of her suggestion, quoting from both Cheng Yichuan 程伊川 (1033–1107) and Zhang-Zai 張載 (1020–1077) to the effect that spirits are a function of yin and yang, not their origin. This then leads into an explanation of two Chinese terms for 'soul': the 'light soul' *hun* 魂, which wanders freely as spirit, and the 'dark soul' *po* 魄 that descends as ghost. Neither, of course, equates to the Christian idea of a personal soul that relates directly to a deity and that survives into the afterlife.

Habian then takes up the concept of *qi*, that basic matter and force which is common to all things in the universe but which is realized in different forms depending on the pattern: since it presupposes an essential and universal oneness, it must be treated as being antithetical to the Christian idea of the individual body and soul. Not all is doom and gloom, however. The influence of Confucianism has, he argues, by and large been benevolent. Habian quotes the first sentence of the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*) with approval, seeing in it an excellent blueprint for the organization of human society.

> So you could call something like Confucianism a "natural philosophy," and in that it maintains the Five Norms of benevolence, duty, propriety, wisdom and fidelity, innate in man by his very nature, even Christians give it high marks. Nevertheless, they argue it is in error because it treats Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, as the Great Ultimate and the Way of Heaven, because it does not admit of a creator, and because it argues that man, the animals and plants differ only as far as their *qi*-as-material is concerned, their natures being similar. Of the three teachings, Confucianism undoubtedly has much to recommend it. They say the three are one, but Buddhism and Daoism are not worth bothering about.

Here, as elsewhere, Habian's control of his material is impressive. He is on home turf; and it is in this section more than anywhere else that he compares favorably to his contemporary fellow Jesuit working in China, Matteo Ricci, who was convinced there was room for accommodation. Habian was well aware at the outset that there were few grounds for such optimism. His aim was to explain and then to reject.

Undermining the Myths: Habian's Shintō Critique

John Breen

"On Shintō" is a short but nonetheless remarkable document, and deserves wider acclaim. It is remarkable not least because it is the first known intellectual assault on the Japanese creation myths since they were committed to writing back in the eighth century. "On Shintō" also offers a trenchant critique of the Yoshida School of Shintō 吉田神道, whose growing authority in the late 16th and early 17th centuries derived, partly at least, from its espousal of the same creation myths.[1] There also surfaces here an intriguing political quality that may set it apart from *Myōtei Dialogues*'s other sections. This introduction is intended to offer some embellishment for each of these three observations, and so make sense of the sometimes obscure—but always fascinating—exchanges on Shintō between the two women Yūtei and Myōshū.

The Creation Myths

Myōshū is very much drawn to the kami Kunitokotachi. Kunitokotachi, she insists, is not only the first kami to appear in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, he is also the kami responsible for creating the cosmos.[2] Yūtei, who knows that Myōshū is here rehearsing a very Yoshida-type take on the myths, dismisses her statement as "preposterous." Yūtei directs Myōshū back to the *Nihon shoki* and proves it to be entirely silent on the matter of creator kami. Kunitokotachi is the object, not the instigator, of creation, insists Yūtei. She goes further: Kunitokotachi does nothing more or less than embody the principle of yin-yang. Yūtei insists the other kami, too, are trooped out simply to explain the workings of Chinese yin-yang theory. Izanagi is not really a divine being at all but the force of yin, while Izanami is the force of yang.

1 The Yoshida School was founded by Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼倶 (1434–1511) and by 1486 was more influential than Ise Shintō. It was therefore in a very strong position at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was given a major role in organizing Shintō institutions for the rest of the Tokugawa period. On Yoshida Shintō, see Breen and Teeuwen 2010, pp. 47–52.

2 The *Nihon shoki* or *Nihongi* (720), written in Chinese, was the first comprehensive history of Japan. Its early sections deal with the mythical period, the creation of the world and the founding of the Japanese state.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2016 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307292_005

Yūtei allows, then, that Chinese yin-yang theory propels the mythical narrative forward, but she proceeds to dismiss this theory as "entirely shallow, unworthy of consideration." Yūtei's striking conclusion is that the creation myths are in reality but a coded and crude account of sexual relations between a man and woman: a laughable attempt to explain how men and women couple to create children, who grow to become adults and create more children. In brief, the creation myths reveal nothing of the mysteries of the cosmos and nothing of the creation of Japan.

There follows an intriguing exchange between Yūtei and Myōshū on Amaterasu the Sun Goddess. Yūtei is amused to hear Myōshū assert that the sun is, in fact, a god worthy of veneration: she had always assumed the sun to be an inanimate, insentient object. It is precisely because the sun is inanimate, with no will of its own, that we can predict solar eclipses and plot the summer and winter solstices, she advises. "Pathetic fiction" is how she rebuts the story of the sun and the moon ascending the sacred pillar to Heaven. And as for the sun taking refuge in a cave, and so plunging the world into darkness, well, this is simply "utterly ridiculous." If the sun were an animate object capable of the actions attributed to it in the myths, then surely its offspring would be suns; multiple suns would inhabit the sky. But we can see that they do not. The sun is unique.

There is much more in this vein, but Yūtei draws this dialogue to a close in the most striking fashion. There is after all no such thing as Amaterasu the Goddess of the Sun; and since Amaterasu does not exist, there can be no god worshipped at the Ise shrines; and since there is no god worshipped in Ise, there can be no point to the Ise shrines.

If we step outside "On Shintō" for a moment, and locate Habian's myth-interrogation in the broader context of early modern intellectual history, we can see just how striking the position is that he adopts. There is a little-acknowledged tradition of myth-interrogation in the intellectual discourse of the Edo period that seeks to undermine the central narrative of the creation myths. It appears in the work of some of the most influential thinkers of Edo Japan from Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725), to Andō Shōeki 安藤昌益 (1703–1762), and beyond to Yamagata Bantō 山片蟠桃 (1748–1821).

Like Habian, these men all dismissed as preposterous any literal reading of the creation myths. But unlike Habian, each believed that embedded within the narrative nonsense were nuggets of historical truth waiting to be dug out. These men set themselves the task of exposing the nonsense, examining the truth and, indeed, according it value. For Hakuseki, for example, the kami protagonists who structure the myth-narrative were in reality human agents. He claimed no knowledge of them, of course, but he believed their names

yielded historical clues, enabling him to plot the geographical spheres of their influence. The kami Ame no minaka no nushi he identified as a prehistoric leader from the region of Naka, in the eastern province of Hitachi; the kami Kunitokotachi was similarly dominant in the district of Hitachi in the province of the same name. The Hitachi connection itself seems to have derived from Hakuseki's understanding that Takamagahara—the mythical habitat of the "Heavenly kami"—was none other than the coastal region of Hitachi province, still known in Hakuseki's day as Takamaura.

The no-less skeptical Andō Shōeki adopted a different strategy: kami names were not markers of specific human agents or spheres of influence; they signified, rather, different phases in the long historical process of Japanese state formation. So, for example, the kami Kunitokotachi was surely to be understood as the early historical phase of "state determination." Shōeki understood the kami Kuni satsuchi as a subsequent phase, during which boundaries between territories were drawn. And when the myths talked then of the kami Toyokunnu, they were simply recording the unfolding of a still later phase, in which rivers and their banks were cut through the landscape.

The late Edo thinker, Yamagata Bantō, shared with Hakuseki and Shōeki a contempt for a literal reading of the myths; he expended no energy in making sense of their names. He thought Hakuseki's theories absurd, and dismissed the *kokugaku* scholar Motoori Norinaga as a "mountain bandit." But Bantō had a genuine interest in Amaterasu. For Bantō, Amaterasu was not a divine being, but a great political leader—and a great male leader at that. After all, he wrote, what society would have sanctioned a woman wielding the sort of political power Amaterasu must have wielded? One consequence of the position Bantō adopted was that, for him, the Inner Shrine at Ise was to be treasured. It was to be treasured as the authentic mausoleum of that great man known in the myths by the name Amaterasu.

The Yoshida Shintō School

One of Habian's primary purposes in writing "On Shintō" is to discredit the Yoshida School of Shintō; he seeks to expose it as a dangerous religious cult. The dialogue between Yūtei and Myōshū on Yoshida Shintō ranges over numerous issues. The Yoshida insistence on Kunitokotachi as a creator kami, the mystery of the so-called *shindai* or *kamiyo moji*, and the frankly fraudulent behavior of Yoshida priests are prominent among them.[3]

3 *Shindai moji* 神代文字 or "writing from the Age of the Gods" was the name given to a form of writing that was thought to predate the arrival of Chinese, and therefore "proof" of authentic

Myōshū fails to understand how Yūtei could possibly cast aspersions on the Yoshida family or, indeed, the creation myths they espouse, given the existence of this original Japanese script. After all, she explains, *shindai moji* comprise an inventory of 15,395 characters that are the legacy of the Age of the Gods; they existed long before Buddhism ever brought Chinese writing to Japan. These characters, presently in the possession of the Yoshida family, prove the authority of the Yoshida in kami matters, and demonstrate beyond doubt that there had been an Age of the Gods. Yūtei is incredulous, and retorts: "Lies and nothing but lies!" "If they really existed, surely the Yoshida would have shown us at least one. But they do not exist, and have never existed, and you will never encounter a single person—neither in the imperial court nor anywhere else—who has set eyes on them." Myōshū is silenced by this rebuttal.

It is Yūtei who then initiates an assault on the practices of Yoshida priests. Yoshida priests transform the dead into kami. They declare such and such a deceased person to have become a kami and they perform rites for them, duping society into believing the kami really existed. Yūtei proposes to Myōshū that, since this is so, we would all be better off directing our prayers to the Yoshida priests themselves, rather than to the kami. The kami, after all, are but a Yoshida invention! Yūtei then tells of a famous Yoshida priest, who informed a supplicant that he could personally answer all the supplicant's prayers, at which point, the supplicant said: "Please then rid me of the kami of poverty; send me the kami of good fortune!" To this the Yoshida priest responded that there were, after all, two kami not subject to his authority, and they happened to be the kami of poverty and good fortune.

There is some evidence that Jesuit missionaries had encountered Yoshida priests much earlier, a generation or so before *Myōtei Dialogues* was written. A famous dialogue took place in Nara back in the 1560s, involving Fr. Gaspar Vilela and a mysterious figure referred to in the sources as Gekidono. Gekidono may have been a senior Yoshida figure, but if he was, he appears to have exerted no influence on the missionaries' understanding of Japanese religion. Indeed, there are no references to Yoshida Shintō in extant missionary records prior to *Myōtei Dialogues* at all. But what is more interesting still in this context is that, before Habian wrote *Myōtei Dialogues*, the missionaries appear to have had no clear understanding of Shintō. Missionary records—letters and reports—are peppered with references to famous shrines, to their festivals and to many different kami, of course, but missionaries do not appear to have conceptualized these as Shintō. *Myōtei Dialogues* seems to mark the moment at which this

---

and indigenous Japanese writing. It was, of course, a myth, but this did not stop examples being invented throughout the Tokugawa period.

new knowledge dawned on them: there is Buddhism, there is Confucianism *and* there is Shintō.

"On Shintō" in History

This new understanding of Japan's religious landscape suggests, in turn, a landscape that is shifting. Habian is aware of this topographical instability, and it informs the political quality of "On Shintō." This quality is not explicit; it is implicit rather in the criticisms Habian directs at Yoshida Shintō and at the Ise shrines. In the early 1600s, the Yoshida were actively cultivating the Tokugawa regime. Tokugawa Ieyasu had responded by entrusting to the Yoshida the keeping of the cult of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. (The cult was centered on the Toyokuni mausoleum in Kyōto.) Then in 1604, Ieyasu charged Yoshida Kanemi 吉田兼見 (1535–1610) and his brother Bonshun 梵舜 (1553–1632) with organizing a grand event to celebrate Hideyoshi, on the seventh anniversary of his death. Habian had reason to be aware of the Yoshida family now as never before, and to regard them as potential foes of great power. When Habian criticizes the Yoshida for making kami out of men, who would not make the association with the cult of Hideyoshi?

And then there is the withering dismissal of the Ise shrines and their kami. This is interesting not merely as an illustration of Habian's trenchant wit. In 1603, the Tokugawa bakufu created the new post of Yamada bugyō. The Yamada bugyō was a magistrate based in the town of Yamada, where the Outer shrine of Ise was located. The magistrate was tasked with security in the nearby port of Toba, with the control of shipping in Ise Bay and with court cases that arose in and around Ise. But he was also responsible for the Inner and Outer shrines of Ise, for their security, their financial viability, and the performance of their rites. The most important Ise rite by far was the rebuilding of the Ise shrines every twenty years. Indeed, preparations were now well underway for the next rebuilding due in 1609. The Tokugawa appointment of the Yamada bugyō in 1603, and their underwriting of the shrine re-build were signs of their investing a new and enduring political significance in the Ise shrines and their rites. This is the historical context in which Habian has Yūtei declare there is *no point* to the Ise shrines, for the Ise kami simply do not exist.

Habian would have us believe that he wrote *Myōtei Dialogues* for the edification of women who had no direct access to the teachings of the missionary fathers. But it could be that his real motives for writing *Myōtei Dialogues*—not just "On Shintō"—lay elsewhere; that he was inspired rather by the shifts in Japan's political and religious landscape in the first years of the seventeenth

century. Habian identified Yoshida Shintō as a new foe; and he was concerned by the Tokugawa investment in Ise. It is worthy of note, in this regard, that Habian's interest in the Yoshida and in Ise was matched by the interest of the Yoshida and Ise priests in Habian, or at least in his book. How else might we make sense of the fact that the only surviving copies of *Myōtei Dialogues* were found in the archives of the Yoshida family in Kyōto, and at the Jingū bunko in Ise?

What was the legacy of "On Shintō?" As far as we know, the text was not read by any of the great intellectuals of early modern Japan; they neither referred to it nor even knew of its existence. Interestingly, an abbreviated version was in the possession of the hidden Christians of Urakami near Nagasaki, at least until the commissioner in charge of Nagasaki found it and confiscated it in the 1790s.[4] But what use the Christians made of it is unclear. It was not in fact until 1918 that *Myōtei Dialogues*, containing the complete "On Shintō," was discovered at the Jingū bunko in Ise. Knowledge of it quickly spread. As noted in the General Introduction, in the 1920s it was included in two collections, the *Nihon koten zenshū* and the *Zuihitsu bungaku senshū.* In 1930, it appeared in the multi-volume *Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō*. In the 1930s, the great Japanese intellectual Maruyama Masao read it in one or other of these editions. And to him, it was an inspiration. He wrote of *Myōtei Dialogues* as a whole that it was "the greatest masterpiece: a catechism written entirely by a Japanese," but he paid special attention to "On Shintō:" "As a merciless exposé of the creation myths," he wrote, "there has been nothing like it until now."[5]

4 See Arai 2014, p. 327 for further details.

5 Maruyama 1992, p. 245.

Habian's Version of Christianity

Hans Martin Krämer

The third fascicle of *Myōtei Dialogues*, expounding the virtues of Christianity, is only half as long as the first, with its eleven subsections devoted to refuting Buddhism. While this may partly reflect the fact that Habian had originally composed the Buddhist section as a separate treatise, it is also revealing for the overall nature of the book, which is less an exposition of Christian doctrine than a rejection of other systems of belief and worship. This emphasis on refutation is consistent with the historical image of Habian that we can ascertain from various sources: Habian appears as the Christian orator par excellence in disputations with Buddhists in the Christian literature;[1] he is the supposedly defeated opponent in a debate with the young Hayashi Razan, as recounted in *Haiyaso*; and even in the vulgar anti-Christian literature of later decades he is cast as engaging in debates with Buddhists.

What this means for the chapters on Christianity is not only that Habian continues his attack on Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shintō instead of concentrating on the qualities of Christianity, but also that his presentation of Christianity is rather brief, focusing as it does on just a few key points. The one central theme of this fascicle is without doubt salvation. The "Existence of the One True Lord" is highlighted in the first subsection because it is he who guarantees salvation. The nature of the afterlife and a fairly detailed discussion of the soul, i.e., the object of salvation, follow in the second to fourth subsections. While this issue clearly constitutes the main point, given the brevity of Habian's whole exposition, it is important to note not only those aspects of Christianity that Habian does deal with, but also those he omits or to which he gives short shrift.

Summary

After rejecting religions erected around human beings of the past (Śākyamuni and Hachiman, for example), Habian focuses the first subsection, "On the Existence of the One True Lord of Peace in this World and of Paradise in the Afterlife," on various proofs of the existence of God. He introduces the

1 See Elison 1973, Chapter Six.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2016 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307292_006

Christian God as a creator, arguing in conventional scholastic manner that as nothing can come about by itself there must have been a creator for all things in nature, as the metaphor of building a house from its individual components demonstrates. Having established this as an axiom, Habian has Yūtei explain that there can only be one God, that this God has no beginning and no end, and that he is immeasurable and immaterial yet real. In concluding this section, he introduces the notion of prime matter (*materia prima*) to illustrate that God not only created Heaven and Earth from existing materials but even created those materials themselves. This point is crucial to Habian because it is here that he contrasts the Christian cosmology with that of "Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, and Shintō," which "all believe that this *materia prima* had no origin but just existed and that all things emerged thanks to its force alone."

The next section, "On *Anima Rationalis*, Meaning that Which Survives in the Afterlife," which is by far the longest, again starts with a brief refutation of the Buddhist idea of the unity of all beings. Instead, stresses Yūtei, to understand why only human beings are subject to salvation it is crucial to understand that the souls of all animated beings have to be differentiated into three types: the *anima vegetativa* of plants, the *anima sensitiva* of animals, and the *anima rationalis* of man. Habian here employs the classic tripartition first introduced by Aristotle and emphasized within the tradition of the Church by Thomas Aquinas. Since only the *anima rationalis* survived in the afterlife, the attainment of salvation was only open to man. By defining humans essentially as those beings who "know the principles of things and have the wisdom to debate right or wrong," however, Habian, in a somewhat Confucian idiom, stresses the rational faculty as forming the ground upon which salvation was possible.[2] The rest of the second section is devoted to a lengthy refutation, based on scholastic thought, of the neo-Confucian notion that all things are endowed with an undivided principle, namely *li*, and only differ in their outward appearance because of different qualities of *qi*. He also discusses the concept of the immortal soul, contrasting it with the Buddhist concept of a cycle of transmigration.

In the brief third section, "That Paradise in the Afterlife is Called *Paraiso* and is in Heaven, and that Hell is Called *Inferno* and is Inside the Earth," Habian, now explicitly speaking "not so much on the basis of reason as according to tradition," introduces Heaven as the physical locus of salvation in Christianity and contrasts it with Buddhist notions of Paradise. Habian emphasizes the role

2 This point is also stressed by Paramore 2009, pp. 13–18.

of angels and the goal of "becoming one with the *anjo*," and he also explains Hell as the place of suffering determined by God for "Lucifer and all those *anjo* who had conspired with him." Indeed, adds Habian, the kami and buddhas worshipped in Japan are all really devils who reside in Hell.

After Yūtei has talked at length about the merits of salvation, in the fourth section "On How to be Saved and How Not to be Saved in the Afterlife," Myōshū inquires how it might be possible that salvation be denied by God. It is here that Habian introduces the notion of Original Sin and its redemption through the "pure, unsullied maid of great goodness called Maria" and the "Lord we call *Jesu Christo*." He stresses the authority of the Pope as deriving from one of the latter's disciples, exclaiming: "since there has never been any break in the succession, how could the correctness of these teachings ever be in doubt?" In more practical terms, receiving baptism and keeping the Ten Commandments, which are quoted in full, are the preconditions that Habian identifies for salvation.

The treatment ends with a discussion "On Various Doubts concerning Christian Teachings." Habian explains how Christian oaths may be effective in contrast to such "made in the name of the kami or the buddhas, because they [. . .] belong to an empty universe."[3] Another common argument raised against Christianity in sixteenth and seventeenth century Japan was of a political nature: "if everyone became Christian, the state would be in turmoil and King's Rule at an end." The Buddhist concept of "King's Rule" is taken apart by Habian through examples from Chinese and Japanese history, showing that Buddhism has historically failed to keep the realm peaceful. Myōshū's final question as to why Christianity arrived so late in Japan if it is such a superior law is answered by resort to the scholastic distinction between the three forms of the Christian teaching: *natura, scriptura*, and *gratia*.[4] That is to say, by nature Japanese have always been endowed with "the wisdom to discern good and evil," but scripture and the grace of Jesus's birth on Earth, "to help us attain salvation in the afterlife," had to be introduced to Japan by missionaries.

3 Commenting on this passage, Monika Schrimpf has pointed out that Habian "does not criticize the popularity of worldly benefits in favor of the life to come after death; instead, he claims that the Christian God is much more capable to meet these religious needs than buddhas, bodhisattvas or kami." See Schrimpf 2008, p. 45.

4 This distinction can be found in the works of the thirteenth-century theologian Bonaventure, such as his *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*.

Omissions from Habian's Version of Christianity

What is absent from *Myōtei Dialogues*? Most conspicuously, the name Jesus Christ appears only once in the whole book, and then towards the end of the discussion. While one must always be careful not to project expectations stemming from modern Christian practice to the early seventeenth century, the almost complete absence of Jesus is neither typical of the Catholic Church around 1600 nor of the Christian mission to Japan. This can be seen, for instance, by the fact that nine years before Habian finished *Myōtei Dialogues*, the mission press printed a first translation of *De Imitatione Christi* in Roman script, followed by a greatly reworked edition in Japanese script in 1610. *De Imitatione Christi*, an exhortational tract focusing on the spiritual imitation of Christ, was the most popular text of the North European church renewal movement *devotio moderna* and enjoyed particular popularity among Jesuits. In fact, an early Japanese translation of the work had apparently circulated in manuscript form since the 1580s. While Jesus is briefly credited with opening the way to salvation for man at the end of Habian's fourth subsection, the much longer discussion of salvation in the second subsection makes no reference to him, the emphasis being on the rational faculty of man as central.

Likewise, the concept of the Trinity receives as little mention in *Myōtei Dialogues* as the Holy Ghost, although the doctrine of the Trinity had been firmly established within the Catholic Church since the fourth century, not the least because it distinguished the orthodox church from other denominations ("heresies") that claimed a different approach to Jesus, holding him to be merely a prophet or a non-divine human being. Abe Nakamaro claims that "as an Oriental, Habian was forced to apply a concept of God following a simple scientific logic, and he did not receive an explanation of the mystery of the Trinitarian God from his superiors."[5] This is a puzzling statement given that the more orthodox *Dochirīna Kirishitan* in its 1591 version already included a lengthy discussion of the Trinity.[6] At the same time, the explanation given there may offer us a hint as to why Habian chose to downplay the importance of the Trinity. According to the *Dochirīna*, the "mystery of the Trinity" is held to be "the highest and most refined among the objects of our faith [*fides*]." The Trinity cannot be understood, but only approached through faith. Our capacity for reason, it continues, is too minute to grasp the infinite God, for

5 Abe 2014, p. 376.

6 For an extended discussion of how the Trinity was introduced in the two versions of the *Dochirīna*, see Hashimoto 1993, pp. 45–48.

which reason he manifested himself to us in the form of Jesus Christ.[7] It is readily apparent that this anti-rational stance was contrary to Habian's agenda as described above.

Less surprising is Habian's failure to mention the Bible, given the fact that the early modern Catholic mission made little use of it. Habian speaks of Christian "scripture(s)" three times, but it is clear from the context that he is referring to the writings of the Church Fathers, not the Bible.[8] Indeed, Habian never reveals the sources of his knowledge about Christianity. He does not mention a single Christian text or author, in stark contrast to his practice in the other fascicles of naming individual sūtras, Confucian authors, and Shintō texts containing the creation myths. One could think of a number of reasons for this. Obviously, a truth portrayed as eternal might only have been seen to suffer from historicization, even an indirect one constituted by concrete textual references. By showing them to be based on texts, Habian can more easily portray Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto as man-made inventions, not equal to the divine inspiration of Christianity. A lack of access to sources may, however, also go a long way to explaining Habian's strategy here; be it because of the type of education he had received in the Amakusa college, or because certain texts were not available to the unordained, or because certain European texts were simply not available in Japan at all.

Clearly, *Myōtei Dialogues* does not represent *the* definitive picture of Christianity in early seventeenth-century Japan. In contrast to a long tradition of older scholarship that has viewed Christianity in Japan around 1600 as a foreign body of thought opposed to Japanese culture, more recent works have stressed the inner heterogeneity of early modern Japanese Christianity.[9] Habian and the missionaries do not represent one brand of Christianity, a point that also becomes clear when we turn to the problem of terminology.

7 Ebisawa 1970, pp. 37–38.

8 Habian refers to *spiritual sustancia* as "words of our scriptures." He also claims that "according to the scriptures [God] is also called *omnipotente*". Finally, he attributes the names for the four types of creation "*ser, anima vegetativa, anima sensitiva*, and those endowed with *anima rationalis*" to "the Christian scriptures." In all three instances, the terms in question are not to be found in the Bible, but only in early medieval scholastic literature.

9 This is especially the case in Paramore's contrast between the "two worlds" of Matteo Ricci and Habian (Paramore 2009, pp. 29–33), but can also be seen in Schrimpf 2008, p. 47.

Terminological Affinities to Buddhism

One of the central questions in research on the early modern Christian mission to Asia has been the issue of accommodation. Undoubtedly, this interest has been fueled by the rites controversies in China and India, both settled in the early eighteenth century, i.e. the highly publicized and (in the Church) politicized arguments about whether rites and customs of non-Christian origin could be compatible with the practice of Christianity in non-European countries. Deeply intertwined with these conflicts was the question of terminology: could the truth contained in established European Christian terminology be expressed in heathen terms? The complex negotiations behind this terminological issue are also visible in *Myōtei Dialogues*, especially its last fascicle.

Five decades before Habian wrote this work, the question of terminology had already come to a head. In 1549, Francisco Xavier, one of the co-founders of the Society of Jesus, landed in Kagoshima in Southern Japan. When he and his companions started proselytizing, they preached the *buppō* (Christianity), salvation in *jōdo* (Heaven) and allegiance to Dainichi (God).[10] It did not take long until they realized that their terminological choices had been infelicitous, to say the least, because the key terminology they employed came straight from the Buddhist context. *Buppō* is a term for the Buddhadharma, *jōdo* refers to the Pure Land in the West to which Amida Buddha leads his believers, and Dainichi is the name of a specific Buddha.

In fact, the missionaries soon decided on a full course reversal, and in 1557 one of them, Balthasar Gago, issued a "Summary of Errors" listing words that were deemed to be "dangerous," and hence needed to be avoided in the mission effort.[11] The policy remained in place until the end of the mission, but the new Jesuit Visitor to the East Indies from 1578, Alessandro Valignano, soon placed a somewhat different accent on this policy.

In China, Valignano effected a change that resulted in an approach to native creeds dramatically different from what had happened in Japan. After a brief Buddhist interlude there in the 1580s, from 1594 Jesuit missionaries turned to Confucianism as main partner of dialogue and embarked on a conscious policy of accommodation.[12] They dressed as literati, they employed the classical language of the learned élite, and their works explaining the Western teaching were replete with the terminology of that language. This was possible because the body of teaching espoused by the Chinese learned élite—today referred

10 App 2010, p. 16.

11 Schurhammer 1928, pp. 55–66.

12 App 2010, p. 20.

to in the West by the shorthand Confucianism—hardly challenged what the missionaries conceived to be the core of their undertaking. Although a deep conflict over the course of accommodation would later erupt in the Chinese Rites Controversy, Confucian theory and practice did not concern the soteriological dimension.

The situation was different in Japan: Buddhism was a direct competitor in the key concerns of the missionaries. It offered not only a different cosmology and a somewhat similar set of ethical precepts, but also an alternative soteriology. Accommodation after the Chinese example was thus not an option in Japan. That which was perceived to be the religious substance of Christianity by the missionaries or those Japanese converts who were active in text production was not to be compromised. Employing pre-existing terminology tainted by associations with Buddhism was even viewed as dangerous, as the example of Gago's language reform of 1557 shows.

Nevertheless, in practical terms at the very least, the mission called for some form of mediation with Japanese culture. Solely relying on Gago's recommended antidote—using only loanwords from European languages—bore the risk of incomprehensibility. Consider the following example from the main catechism written by the missionaries and their Japanese helpers in the 1590s:

> Pupil: What is the second *sacramento* about?
> Master: It is the *sacramento* of *confirmação*. It is also called *chrisma*. It is a *sacramento* which is accorded by the *bispo* to those who have received *bautismo*. With this *sacramento Deus* imparts new *graça* and strengthens the *fides* received at the time of the *bautismo*.[13]

Clearly, this translation was difficult to understand without prior knowledge of the terminology involved. Habian also made use of loanwords. Among the examples used more than once we find *supiritsusu* (spirit), *anima* (soul), *paraiso* (Paradise), *anjo* (angel), *bauchizumo* (baptism) and, most prominently, *deusu* for "God" and *kirishitan* for "Christian(ity)." Yet, despite the "danger" of undesirable associations that had beset the Japanese mission ever since the times of Gago, Habian himself made use of other translation strategies, including the use of overtly Buddhist terminology. When Yūtei, for instance, relates how Adam and Eve were driven from Paradise, Myōshū inquires after the possibility of salvation:

13 Ebisawa 1970, p. 60.

Myōshū
Listening to this explanation, I see it clearly. This is how it must have been. But if because of the heavenly punishment no man can be saved, how is it that you now claim that Christian teachings offer a way to salvation?

Yūtei
Again, a good question. The answer is as follows. After breaking the prohibition, Adam and Eve, seeing the hardship and danger for themselves, their children and grandchildren, reflected upon the depth of the sin 罪 of turning against Deus, looked up to Heaven and prostrated themselves upon the Earth, repented 8,000 times, chastised themselves, racked their brains, and full of shame and contrition 懺悔 cried out that their sins might be forgiven. They sank to the floor in tears and prayed to Deus that those among themselves, their children, grandchildren, and descendants who repented 後悔 for this sin 科 might be saved in the afterlife 後生. Deus, with his divine will 御内証 full of great mercy 大慈大悲 and to benefit 御利生 them by lessening their suffering and giving them pleasure, took a pure, unsullied maid of great goodness called Mary, a descendant of a king called David, and implanted himself in her womb, not through union between man and wife but through divine power. He was born into the human realm 人界, and took upon himself pain and suffering 苦悩 in order to pay recompense for all sins and to engender goodness 滅罪生善.

All terms underlined in this passage were well established in the Buddhist literature of the time yet were not part of everyday speech. To pick out just three examples: *sange* 懺悔 is a concept denoting penitence for evil deeds in past lives or the present life in order to remove karmic obstacles on the path to awakening; *daiji daihi* 大慈大悲 is common as the eternal attribute of the Buddha in his efforts to make all mankind achieve buddhahood; and *metsuzai shōzen* 滅罪生善 is an abstract term referring to the washing away of one's former sins, thereby giving rise to good behavior. One accomplishes this by such practices as contemplating the images of buddhas, repentance, chanting the buddha's name and so forth. In other words: these terms were informed by a soteriology that was fundamentally incompatible with early seventeenth-century Christian notions of salvation. Yet Habian apparently felt he could make himself understood better by relying on such pre-established terms rather than running the risk of being incomprehensible by resorting to less loaded terminology. Not that he was unaware of the dangers. One technique he employed to avoid potentially false associations was to give both a foreign word in phonetic rendering and an existing older word at the same time, the latter

frequently being from the Buddhist context. Examples from *Myōtei Dialogues* are "the Ten Commandments they call *mandamento*" or "the heavenly people called *anjo*."

Interestingly, although the terminological problem was explicitly discussed among the missionaries and led to some creative solutions in translations produced around 1600, there is not a single example of a calque, a neologism created from indigenous semantic material, in other words a new Japanese term composed of Chinese characters (a phenomenon known as *wasei kango* 和製漢語).[14] This situation changed dramatically when the prohibition of Christianity in force since the early seventeenth century was lifted and a second wave of Christian proselytizing entered Japan around the middle of the nineteenth century. At that point, entirely new words were created to render concepts only applicable to the practice of Christianity, *senrei* 洗礼 for "baptism" or *fukuin* 福音 for "gospel" for example.[15]

What one can see reflected here at the level of terminology is the radically different magnitude to which epistemological frameworks of religion were challenged in Japan. Throughout the sixteenth/seventeenth-century encounter with Europe, the terminology of the Japanese language remained intact: Christianity was presented within the framework of Japanese culture (which meant mostly Buddhism and Confucianism). In the nineteenth century, in contrast, the creation of calques shows that the existing epistemological framework was no longer sufficient but had to be modified and expanded, a phenomenon of course not limited to the religious field.[16] In a way, this is parallel to the argument made by Paramore about *Myōtei Dialogues*, namely that Habian was here pursuing an agenda not of Western Christianity against Eastern systems of thought, but a philosophy centering around an autonomous individual (one that could be identified in Christianity or Confucianism) vs. one that subsumed the individual under the state (again a position that could be backed up by various systems of thought).[17] It is this dual situatedness of Habian both in the narrower seventeenth-century Christian discourse and in the broader Japanese politico-ethical discussions of the early Tokugawa Period that makes *Myōtei Dialogues* such an important text.

---

14 This stands in marked contrast to the innovative language changes visible in the China mission around 1600.

15 These new terms can be found in late nineteenth-century catechisms and Bible translations both Catholic and Protestant.

16 Demonstrated by studies such as Yanabu 1982 or Howland 2002.

17 Paramore 2009, p. 12.

Translation

∴

First Fascicle: Buddhism

Preface

(Myōshū:) Although Chinese and Japanese have long expressed the transience of our floating world by creating four or seven-syllable Chinese poems, or by producing thirty-one syllable Japanese poems, or by writing old prose, I myself have never paid much attention to such matters, simply passing time "like writing on flowing water."[1]

But then, in the early autumn of Keichō 5 (1600) Ishida Jibunoshō Mitsunari planned a wicked rebellion and, taking advantage of the now Shōgun Lord Ieyasu's absence while campaigning in Musashino (at the time he was still known by the ceremonial title of Palace Minister), plotted against him with others in the realm. The peace that had been achieved was suddenly shattered, and the sixty or more provinces in the land were split in two. Those who followed Mitsunari were called the 'Kyōto forces;' those faithful to Ieyasu, the 'Kantō forces.' Fighting erupted here and there across the land, even, who knows why, as far as Tsukushi, but since Lord Ieyasu was one of the few truly great generals in history he devised a strategy while still in the field [in Musashino], planning from afar how to beat his enemies.

Although he received regular reports from Kyōto about the situation, he seemed not to take them very seriously, which made even those daimyō who had followed him from the central provinces feel extremely nervous, never mind the ordinary fighting men, who were unaware of his real intentions. They fussed among themselves about whether or not he would enter Kyōto, whether the timing was wrong, all of which was to be expected given that they were just simple soldiers. Finally [Ieyasu] left Edo for Kyōto on the first day of the Ninth Month.

On a wave of victory after capturing Fushimi Castle, the vanguard of the Kyōto forces had already advanced to Ōgaki Castle in the province of Mino, while Ieyasu arrived at Sekigahara [in the same region] on the fourteenth of the same month. Although it was thought that both forces would put up an even fight, contrary to expectations, when the Kyōto forces realized that the shōgun himself was present on the battlefield, they seemed to lose their initial enthusiasm, murmuring here, whispering there, and the whole situation looked distinctly unpromising for them. Meanwhile, as dawn approached and the face of the cold morning moon was setting, a bitter wind blew down from

1 Reading 意ヲ付サリシ. The reference is to *Kokinshū*, 11: 522 "*Yuku mizu ni/kazu kaku yori mo/ hakanaki wa omowanu hito o/omou narikeri;*" "Less profitable than writing on the waters of a flowing stream—such is the futility of unrequited passion" (trans. McCullough 1985: 120). The poem also appears in *Ise monogatari*, dan 50.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2016 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307292_007

Mt. Ibuki, parting the dew on both fields and mountains; on the battlefield where all was apprehension they say the shōgun's banner was seen near the front. It seems there was only one short skirmish before the Kyōto forces suddenly collapsed and fled in disarray, like leaves blown before the wind; a pitiful spectacle. Those who knew shame and had an eye on glory were killed in battle and disappeared like the dew on the grasses of Sekigahara. Among them was my beloved husband, with whom, such was the depth of our mutual affection, I had from youth imagined I would grow old and be buried in the same grave. Since he perished with the Kyōto forces, I thought a thousand times of throwing myself into a river to join him on the same path, but a reverend holy man from whom I had previously requested prayers recognized my terrible grief and told me: "On no account think of ending your life. It would be very unfortunate for he who has gone before you. They say," he added, "that 'the seed of buddhahood arises from a connection.' If you make this the seed of your awakening, change your appearance and chant the *nenbutsu* to bring constant consolation to his spirit, in the end you will be born on the same lotus flower as him [in the Pure Land] and your conjugal vows will be fulfilled both in this world and the next."[2]

I then reflected on how true his words were and, donning the black robes of a renunciant, changed my name to Myōshū; and whenever I heard of a venerable master living in one of the monasteries or temples in the vicinity of the Palace, there was nowhere I did not wend my way, deeply moved as I was by the evanescence of this fleeting world. I felt particularly sad when I thought of those who were still young and whose families were prosperous, and who had yet to know grief, and who wake in the morning with a light heart. The blossoms of spring meet warm winds and open in the morning mists but are lured away by evening storms; the clarity of the autumn moon rising in the clear night sky is hidden by dawn in scattered clouds. When one reflects on human life, one sees it is like dust before the wind, mere bubbles on the surface of water, and just when we feel sure this defiled body of ours exists, it is no more. I felt that the Buddha's words "All conditioned phenomena are like a dream, a phantom, a bubble, a shadow"[3] were indeed golden words, and had it not been for the question of the next life, that said it all. From morning to night I was obsessed with this practice, hoping to persuade the buddhas of past, present, and future to turn their compassionate eyes upon me and lead me to the Pure Land.

---

2 For a full explanation of the *nenbutsu* see 'On Pure Land Buddhism,' pp. 120ff.

3 From the 金剛般若波羅密經 (T.8/235: 752.b.28–29).

But there was something weighing on my mind. This Christianity, which had recently become all the rage, was rumored by some to be worthy of attention, while others said that it was terrifying; I was uncertain as to its true nature. "Learn the old so as to know the new," as they say.[4] I hoped there might be someone who could explain it to me in detail. Everyone knows that in Kyōto there are more than a few pious ones, monks and nuns, who have discarded their former beliefs and have joined this new sect. Like red fabric dyed over and over again, they have become even more deeply affected than before by a yearning for salvation in the next life. I also heard that among them was a nun who had left the world for the same reason as I had, and so I felt I should seek her out to meet and talk with her. While I was looking, someone told me: "That reverend nun lives in the Gojō area where long ago General Hikaru Genji would wander, his thoughts on the great sadness of this floating world." So, following these instructions, I went to see her and among the mansions with their high, crested gates I found a hut with a rough door made from a single piece of wood, and next to it was the kind of brushwood fence you find in mountain villages. It was a truly desolate, rustic scene. Since it was late autumn, the lonely atmosphere was more pronounced than elsewhere, with withered creeper leaves and morning glories in the garden, and on a worn grassy path of which only a part remained stood a lone child facing in the opposite direction.

Taking that as a sign, I immediately approached the house. "Is anybody there?" I asked. A nun in her fifties came out. "Who are you looking for?" she asked. "Well," I continued, "I'm not looking for anybody in particular; but friend and foe are the same for those of us who disdain the mundane world, so would you allow me to enter?" She went inside before I had finished speaking, but soon after she came out again and said, "As you wish. Please come in." On entering I saw that she looked much younger and more serious than I had thought at first. A sacred image that I had not seen before was hanging on a sliding paper door near an unadorned section of wall. There were no words to describe the effect on me of her slender face against her dark black robes. After a few moments she said: "This is truly unexpected. Who are you exactly, and what are your reasons for coming? Please sit over here." She had such a disarming, friendly way about her that I instantly felt relaxed.

Myōshū: "You must be curious as to exactly who I am, so I should probably tell you something about myself. I lost my beloved husband in the battle of Sekigahara during the recent upheavals. Unable to bear [the grief] of this sad parting, I desired to walk the same path but, as you might expect, life is not so

4 *Analects* 11.11 (Legge 1895, I, p. 149).

easy to part with, and I have survived to this present day in a nun's habit, calling myself 'Myōshū.' In recent months I have visited various important temples here and there, meeting with Buddhist masters, but no matter how intently I listen to their sermons, my understanding remains shallow. And perhaps because my accumulated merit from previous lives does not suffice, I have yet to come across any explanation that fully convinces me. So since I was told that you had left the world for the same reasons and that you too harbored a deep desire for truth, I came in the hope that we could divert our minds from sorrow by sharing and discussing our grief. And in addition, I would like to hear something of the teachings of Christianity. I hope that if I understand anything of what falls upon my ears, it will lead me into the True Path and be of help in the afterlife. Please do not look lightly upon my resolve." At this, my host the nun looked delighted. "This may be a foolish question," I asked, "but if you really are so desirous of leaving the world, why haven't you left the capital and set up a hut in some remote mountain village? How do you expect to be able to perform your morning and evening devotions in such a busy place as the capital?" To this she replied:

Yūtei: "That is a good question. As you mentioned, I am still young. If I secluded myself from everyone in remote hills, people would surely gossip, giving me a reputation I do not deserve. The true head of this house is my grandfather and I also owe a filial duty to my parents. What is more, living here is actually like 'having a mountain retreat in the midst of the city.' So it's not so strange after all."

Myōshū: "It's as I thought. You have a firm resolve. Such depth of feeling is certainly nobler than just living apart from the world. Now then, tell me what this Christianity is all about. What do they think of the theory of the Triple Realm as taught by the Buddha? Tell me first in outline. I wish to tread this path by moving gradually from the shallow to the profound."

On the Buddhist Concept of the Triple Realm

Yūtei: You may wonder how someone like me can possibly explain why Christianity is worthy of notice. But one of my late husband's friends was a priest 出家 of this persuasion and would occasionally visit my grandfather for discussions. I was always there listening and so naturally came to understand something of what they said. I also jotted down those things I thought were particularly impressive, some of which I will share with you. For more details

you should go yourself to a chapel and hear what the priests themselves have to say. Now, we completely reject the concept of the Triple Realm. Allow me to elaborate why, and please analyze my words carefully.

Myōshū: Why would you reject the concept of the Triple Realm?

Yūtei: The reason we reject it is that we consider it a lie, a baseless falsehood that is both illogical and inconsistent. Concentrate on what I have to say. The Triple Realm consists of the realms of desire, form and no-form.[5] Now, in order to prove their existence, we must first prove the existence of Mt. Sumeru. If you ask them where this is, they will tell you it is located far to the north of the three countries India, China and Japan; but the very name by which these three countries are collectively known, Jambudvīpa, is itself a reference to this Mt. Sumeru being in the north.[6] That should tell you it's an invention. Why? Because the furthest north is called the North Pole, and the place occupied by the Big Dipper[7] is considered to be the furthest north of the Heavens. So the place on earth from where one can see the Big Dipper directly overhead is the land furthest north. Now if you measure the distance from Japan to directly underneath the Big Dipper, you get slightly over 1,371 *ri*. As far as the size of Mt. Sumeru is concerned, they claim it is 80,000 *yojanas* below sea level and another 80,000 *yojanas* above the sea, giving a total height of 160,000 *yojanas*; and it is 160,000 *yojanas* wide. What is one *yojana*?[8] At six *chō* to one *ri*, one *yojana* would be forty *ri*. If, however, as in Japan, one *ri* is thirty-six *chō*, then one *yojana* would be six *ri*, twenty-four *chō*. Multiply this by 80,000 and you get 533,333 *ri*, twelve *chō*. So no matter how far north this mountain might be, there is no way it could not be seen from Japan. But forget Japan; it would be seventy or eighty times as large as the whole world, so if it did exist, where could it possibly hide? According to our science, the circumference of the earth is roughly 7,772 *ri*, so if a mountain larger than 533,333 *ri* really did exist, how would it not be visible no matter where you were? This proves it's nothing but an invention.

If Mt. Sumeru does not exist, then where is the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, and the Palace of Sudarśana where

5 欲界 (*kāma-dhātu*)、色界 (*rūpa-dhātu*)、無色界 (*arūpa-dhātu*).

6 Jambudvīpa is rendered in Chinese as 南瞻部州, which contains the character 南 'south.'

7 北斗. A prominent asterism of seven stars in the northern heavens from which one can easily identify the position of the Pole Star (Polaris).

8 Note that in what follows one *chō* 町 was a fixed measure of 108.6 meters, but a *ri* 里 varied enormously.

Indra lives?[9] And if this first realm, that of desire, is an invention, then it should be obvious that the realms of form and no-form are also nothing but empty, made-up yardsticks. Another even bigger fiction comes when you ask where Mt. Sumeru sits and they tell you it sits on three disks, a golden one, one of water, and one of wind; the wind disk, where the realm of desire is situated, at the bottom, the water disk above that, and the golden one on top. This kind of thing is absolute nonsense. How could something as heavy as water possibly rest on top of wind? And if they claim that the wind is dense and compacted, then it can no longer be called wind. The fundamental property of wind is that it can pass unimpeded through things, so if it is compacted, how can we possibly call it wind? Is this not ridiculous? And then above this disk of water sits a golden disk, made of heavy gold. Goodness me! What a stupid idea the Buddha has come up with! It's a matter of simple observation. It has always been known that even an inch of gold cannot possibly float on even a thousand *ri* of water, never mind gold they claim to be 330,000 *yojanas* thick.[10]

Another invention is the idea that there are one billion great chiliocosms.[11] How can one imagine such a number? One thousand Mt. Sumerus, one thousand suns and moons are said to constitute one minor chiliocosm; a thousand minor chiliocosms constitute one medium-sized chiliocosm; and a thousand of these constitute a great chiliocosm. So in total there would be a billion Mt. Sumerus, a billion suns and a billion moons. Since not even one Mt. Sumeru actually exists, where would you find a billion Mt. Sumerus, a billion suns, and a billion moons?

Myōshū: So what do Christians think about the sun and moon?

Yūtei: I'll tell you about the Christian views later. First let me tell you about other mistaken Buddhist ideas. They maintain that the moon and sun revolve around the base of Mt. Sumeru laterally from north to southeast. Since Mt. Sumeru does not exist, this is obviously nonsense. But let's just assume for a moment that it does exist. Don't we observe every morning and evening that the sun does not move laterally, but clearly rises from the east, passes

---

9 Trāyastriṃśa (Jp. Tōriten 忉利天) is the same as the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods (Jp. Sanjūsanten 三十三天). Sudarśana (written 善見天) usually refers to one of the seven mountain ranges that surrounded Mt. Sumeru, but here it clearly refers to Indra's Palace 喜見城, which is also found as 喜見宮.

10 三億三萬由旬.The precise meaning of 1 *oku* 億 at the time is unknown but it was probably 100,000, not 100,000,000 as it is today.

11 This translates 三千大千世界. 三千 here means not 3,000 but $1{,}000^3$.

over our heads, and sets in the west? How can anyone argue it moves laterally? They agree it travels from east to west and yet they insist against all reason that it moves laterally.[12] It's really bizarre how they deny what is as clear as day. And when they try and explain the waxing and waning of the moon, they tell us there are thirty celestial beings residing in the Lunar Palace, fifteen of whom are called 'blue coats' since they wear blue robes, and fifteen of whom are called 'white coats' since they wear white robes. Every day from the first to the fifteenth of the month, one 'white coat' enters and one 'blue coat' leaves the Palace, thereby filling the moon with light. And every day from the sixteenth to the end of the month, one 'white coat' leaves and one 'blue coat' enters the Palace, thereby dimming the light and darkening the moon. According to Christian science, this waxing and waning is not due to the inherent light of the moon, but rather the reflected light of the sun. So since the sun and the moon are separate bodies, on the first day of the month the moon is always positioned behind the sun, receiving the sun's light, but not shining itself. From the second or the third day, the moon rapidly moves from behind the sun, so the side facing the sun gradually begins to reflect more light. Proof of this lies in the fact that until the fifteenth the sun sets in the west ahead of the moon, so the moon receives sunlight on its western side while the eastern side wanes. On the fifteenth, the moon and sun directly face each other so a full moon results. And from the sixteenth until the final day of the month, the moon inclines west ahead of the sun, thereby receiving sunlight from the east, illuminating the eastern side while its western side wanes. These correspond to the terms 'first quarter' and 'last quarter.'[13]

Myōshū: Now I understand about the waxing and waning of the moon. What about the solar and lunar eclipses?

Yūtei: Well, listen carefully to the Buddhist theory first. The Buddha posited Six Destinies.[14] Among them was the realm of the asura warriors. Here there lived a warrior called Vimalacitra, who promised his daughter Śācī to another warrior called Rāhu, but Indra stole her away and made her his wife. Rāhu

12 Translating 榎ノ子ハナレバナレ、木ハ椋ノ木. "Well the fruit may be a hackberry, but the tree is an aphananthe," an illustration of someone being unreasonably stubborn.

13 上弦 'upper bowstring' and 下弦 'lower bowstring.'

14 These Six Destinies are the *rokudō* 六道: *jigokudō* 地獄道 (*naraka-gati*) hell; *gakidō* 餓鬼道 (*preta-gati*) hungry ghosts; *chikushōdō* 畜生道 (*tiryagyoni-gati*) animals; *shuradō* 修羅道 (*asura-gati*) *ashura* warriors; *ningendō* 人間道 (*manuṣya-gati*) human beings; *tendō* 天道 (*deva-gati*) heaven.

became angry and tried to attack the Palace of Sudarśana, where Indra lived. Now, Sudarśana, on the peak of Mt. Sumeru, was 80,000 *yojanas* high, yet Rāhu was 84,000 *yojanas* tall, his mouth was 8000 *yojanas* wide, and when he rose up he became twice his height at 160,000 *yojanas*. Standing in the middle of the ocean, he looked down directly on Indra. The sun and the moon, Indra's ministers, emitted a light so bright that it blinded him [rendering] him unable to open his eyes, so instead he reached out and grabbed both the sun and the moon. At that moment the light dimmed and people on Earth called it 'taking a bite.'[15] Since Mt. Sumeru itself is a fiction, you cannot avoid accumulating such falsehoods.

Now, the correct explanation of an eclipse is that the sun and the moon, being separate celestial bodies, revolve around each other. A lunar eclipse occurs when the moon and the sun are aligned with one another. This can only occur on the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth of the month. The reason is that the moon is in the east and the sun is in the west at this time with the earth intervening between the two of them as they face each other: the earth's shadow is cast on the moon and so 'takes a bite out of the moon.'[16] Now, a solar eclipse occurs when the position of the moon in the sky is closer than that of the sun: when the moon overlaps with the sun, it blocks its light and the darkening is called a solar eclipse. This may be difficult to understand solely based on my explanation, but if you were to see a map of the world you would gradually come to understand.

Although the Buddhist theories appear in the chapter entitled 'On the World' in the *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra*,[17] they are really difficult to believe in and the majority of scholars doubt their veracity. The *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* also asserts that the sky is blue because it reflects the southern flank of Mt. Sumeru which is itself blue. Heaven as such does not exist, and the moon, sun, and stars revolve riding on the wind. If this is really what happened, then if a great wind blew in from the west surely the moon, sun, and stars would be blown from the western edge of the hills towards the east? But this has never ever happened, so the claim that they move by riding on the wind is utterly preposterous. This is what we are dealing with when it comes to the Buddhist theory of the Triple Realm and other similar ideas.

Myōshū: When I hear such sensible arguments, it is of course clear that Mt. Sumeru does not exist.

---

15 蝕 an eclipse.

16 月蝕 a lunar eclipse.

17 倶舎論 (T.29/1558: 57.a.3ff).

Yūtei: It is obvious that the idea of the three countries Japan, China, and India existing alongside each other under Mt. Sumeru is a complete lie. According to Buddhist sources, the border between India and China consists of treacherous paths through the Taklamakan Desert and difficult passes through the Pamirs. The Pamirs are connected to the Himalayas in the northwest and in the southeast they fall precipitously to the sea. This mountain range forms the border, with 'India' to the west and 'China' to the east. The road is more than 3,000 *ri* long and there is no vegetation and no water. Travelers spend days gazing up at the Milky Way and ascending to the heavens treading on white clouds. Among the many dangerous routes, there is an especially high pass called the Khyber. It takes ten days to cross as they cling to sharp mountain crags covered in moss above the clouds, and when they finally reach the top, they can clearly see spread out before them the breadth of the myriad worlds and the whole expanse of Jambudvīpa at their feet. They cross the waters and traverse the banks of the 'flowing sands' again and again, 637 times for a total of [. . .] days. During the day, strong winds arise and stir up sand like rain. At night, apparitions flit about, twinkling like stars. Foaming water crashes down, carving into the rocks; blue pools swirl, carrying away the leaves. And even supposing they manage to cross these deep waters, they find it difficult to escape the danger of apparitions. And even though they manage to avoid such menaces, they can hardly escape the danger of the waves. So, be it by land or sea, it seems even a bodhisattva finds it difficult to pass through with ease.

Perhaps this is why Tripiṭaka Master Xuanzang died six times in this land.[18] They grandly say he succeeded in bringing the Dharma back to China at his seventh rebirth, but these days merchants from Kyōto and Sakai, and men from Shikoku and the west of Japan, travel well beyond the 400 provinces of China on business to every nook and cranny of India. In receipt of the crimson seal,[19] they not only travel abroad year on year, but return with stories of having seen where the Buddha achieved *parinirvāṇa* by the Ajitavatī River. So the more thoughtful of Buddha's followers must feel truly upset, finding out how silly these obviously false theories really are. So they insist on claiming that even these three countries Japan, China and India right in front of their eyes have no real existence, and that beyond this realm of desire neither the realm of form nor the realm of no-form has any essence either. Once you gradually have taken all this in and understood, I am sure you will realize that to even talk about it like this is just nonsense.

---

18 Xuanzang 玄奘, the famous Tang Buddhist monk who left for India in 629, returning in 645 with a large number of texts. His journey became the stuff of legend.

19 御朱印, a certificate from the authorities showing that the holder had permission to trade.

Myōshū: Oh my goodness, this is quite a surprise! I started out with the intention of sharing with you what I had learned from my Buddhist masters so as to bring you into the Buddhist fold, but now if anything I'm starting to lean your way. This is completely unexpected. But it's already dark, so I'll come again tomorrow. So saying she returned home.

On the Birth of Śākyamuni as a Bodhisattva in Training

Myōshū, thinking that sunrise would never come, set out and entered Yūtei's hut. Yūtei welcomed her, thanking her for keeping her promise.

Myōshū: Indeed. After going home, I went over in my mind everything that you had told me and I realized that it all made perfect sense. But, setting aside the concept of the Triple Realm for a moment, Buddhist teachings claim that as long as we have help to attain the afterlife that should be enough. What do you think about that?

Yūtei: As you say, Buddhist teachings consider that all you need is help to attain the afterlife, but this is precisely Buddhism's biggest failing. I should tell you a little about the arguments Christian priests use to explain this. First of all, let me tell you what the *Genealogy of Śākyamuni*[20] says about his time as a bodhisattva in training. Long ago, Queen Māyā, the wife of Śuddhodana, king of Magadha in central India, had a dream in which a white elephant entered her womb on her right side. Soon afterwards she became pregnant. Ten months later, on the eighth day of the fourth month, the Buddha emerged from her right side, immediately took seven steps, raised his right hand and declared: "In all Heaven and Earth, I alone am to be honored!" He was called Prince Siddhārtha. Soon after, the Queen passed away and so he was raised by his mother's younger sister, Mahāprajāpatī. At the age of seventeen, he married Yasodharā. This is what we learn about the origins of Śākyamuni.

Foolish people never question at this point the veracity of the story that his mother became pregnant after seeing a white elephant in a dream, and they all consider his declaration "In all Heaven and Earth, I alone am to be honored!" to be noble. Is this not the stupidest, most foolish thing you've ever heard? How shallow not to question whether it makes sense, not to keep in mind that the writings of men always contain both truth and falsehood. The Chinese [sage] Mencius once said: "If you believe everything in the *Book of*

20 釋迦譜 (T.50/2040).

Documents, it would be better to be without it."[21] How true! Since they all contain both truth and falsehood, is it not a pathetic delusion to insist on honoring that which, if left uncorrected, is against all reason? It makes no sense to treat seeing an elephant in a dream and getting pregnant as being impressive. What is so noble about kicking your way out of your mother's right side? Or killing your mother: is that noble? None of this makes any sense. And is "In all Heaven and Earth, I alone am to be honored!" not the height of arrogance and, on the contrary, lacking in virtue?

"Thusness" is said to be absolute equality, devoid of distinctions between shallow and profound, high or low, so according to the Buddhist Dharma nothing should be particularly singled out. The Zen patriarch Yunmen said of Śākyamuni: "Gilded Gautama. How impudent he was! If I had been born in the same period as him, I would have beaten him to death with my staff, fed him to the dogs, and instead sought how to bring peace to the world."[22] These are surely words of censure for those foolish ones who are excessive in their praise.

His wife Yasodharā gave birth to a child named Rāhula, then, in his nineteenth year, he left the palace, went to Mt. Daṇḍakaloka, and took two hermits, Ārāḍa and Kālāma,[23] as his teachers, undergoing austerities and mortifying practices for six years. Finally, aged thirty, he sat down beneath the bodhi tree in Magadha in central India, and on the night of the eighth day of the second month, he attained enlightenment while watching the morning star. He then spent fifty years preaching the Dharma, and at eighty, on the fifteenth day of the second month, he was seen to enter final nirvāṇa in a forest of śāla trees on the banks of the Ajitavatī River. So was he not human? Someone who marries, has a child, and is born and dies must be human. Now to cut wood or bamboo, a wooden or bamboo blade is of no use; you obviously need one of iron. To bring salvation to men in the afterlife, you need a Lord who stands above man. It is clearly a mistake to just assume that the Buddha is not a human being, to believe that his body emits light and shines brilliantly and that he is possessed of all kinds of virtues.

The title '*hotoke*' was fabricated in Japan. When I inquired as to its origin, someone told me it was recorded in the origin legend of the Buddha image at

---

21 The Japanese here is a paraphrase of 盡信書則不如無書 (*Mencius* VII.11.iii), which Legge translates "It would be better to be without the *Book of History* than to give entire credit to it." (Legge 1895, II, p. 479).

22 雲門 (864–949). From the 雲門匡眞禪師廣錄 (T.47/1988: 560.b.16–19).

23 This repeats a mistake made in the *Genealogy of Śākyamuni*. There was only one sage, whose name was Ārāḍa Kālāma. In addition, according to most traditions Śākyamuni is said to have left home at twenty-nine years of age, achieving enlightenment at thirty-five.

Zenkōji 善光寺, where it states that a Buddhist statue was found in Naniwa Bay. Apparently its body was warm as if it had a fever (*hotoorike*) so they called it '*hotoke*.' It seems they just omitted the two letters '*o*' and '*ri*.' The Indian word 'Buddha' is translated into Chinese as *juezhe* 覺者, which means 'the enlightened one.' If you want to know what he was enlightened about, it's called 'ultimate emptiness,' which in the final analysis means that neither the exalted person of the 'Buddha' himself nor inferior 'sentient beings' such as us actually exist. Enlightenment is realizing where Heaven and Hell really are. Anyone who becomes enlightened in this fashion is called a buddha. That's the essence of the Dharma; nothing more.

Myōshū: As you say, to a certain extent it is true that the Buddha was originally an ordinary person, but this was an expedient to save sentient beings; in order to save us all, he temporarily manifested both his *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* aspects. Think about how long ago this was, even more than 500 kalpas ago. He has existed since the beginning of time. The *Lotus Sūtra* expresses this as follows: "It has been immeasurable, boundless hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, millions of nayutas of kalpas since I in fact attained Buddhahood"[24] and "In order to save living beings, as an expedient means I appear to enter nirvāṇa but in truth I do not pass into extinction. I am always here, preaching the Law."[25] To rashly assume he is human is an error. It is also a mistake to assume that Hell and Heaven do not exist. In Buddhism, the two attitudes of nihilism and eternalism are singled out for criticism. Nihilism is thinking that nothing exists; eternalism is thinking that everything exists. Ultimate enlightenment is to abandon these extremes and settle in the Middle Way.

Yūtei: I am impressed how well you grasp these scriptures on the surface, but delve into it further and [you will find that] this person they call the Buddha with an immeasurable, unlimited past, was actually a 'bodhisattva in training;' he was not just a 'man,' it's true, but he was not *that* advanced either. And let me explain in more detail what is meant by saying that maintaining the Middle Way is the ultimate aim of the Dharma. First of all, to say the Buddha's past is utterly without limit is to say that he is a void, a thing that does not exist. In Zen, this is called 'original state' or 'buddha nature,' and in Tendai, they call it 'thusness.' The true meaning of the Dharma is that all things that exist emerge from this emptiness and return to it, so not only Śākyamuni, but you and I, and all buddhas from the past do not exist; 'nothing but emptiness'

24 Watson 1993, p. 229 (T.9/262: 43.b.12–13).

25 Ibid.

卽是空, as they say. The five elements that constitute man are earth, water, fire, wind, and air. Although they say that form and mind are not two, that body and mind are not two, when they do distinguish between them, the four elements of earth, water, fire, and wind are taken to be the physical aspect, and air alone as the mental aspect. That is why we call it empty. The words may differ, but what is meant is the same. This is expressed in the sūtra as: "The mind of the self is itself empty; guilt and happiness have no real subject."[26] Śākyamuni's inner enlightenment was that of a buddha from the infinite past; it was this 'emptiness.' This is what I was referring to when I said there was nothing particularly extraordinary about it. As long as you fail to truly comprehend that the Middle Way is different from either existence or non-existence it will seem wrong to you, but actually the Middle Way is just another name for mind 心. Sometimes it is called 'void' or 'buddha-nature' or 'mind' or the 'Middle Way.' In the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* this is explained as: "The Void is buddha-nature; buddha-nature is the Tathāgata." Commenting on this passage, the Great Teacher Miaole wrote: "The Void and buddha-nature are merely different names for the Middle Way."[27] Once we understand that the 'Middle Way' [between] existence and non-existence is merely the Chinese term for 'nothing,' it is a mistake to differentiate between two kinds of emptiness, that of the Void and that of buddha-nature. It is clear from Miaole's comment "The Void and buddha-nature are merely different names for the Middle Way" that there is only one kind of emptiness. So it is simply the case that the path whereby one comes to an understanding that buddha nature is just this nothingness has been divided between eight or nine different schools. Once you manage to grasp this idea of nothingness, all schools are essentially the same. "Although there are many paths among the foothills, there is only one moon above the clouds."[28] The moon above the clouds is the moon of thusness, and the moon of thusness is nothingness, the Void, buddha-nature.

On the Eight Schools

Myōshū: Well, I am most impressed that you have such a thorough understanding of the profound doctrines of the Buddhist Dharma. Buddhism has always [made a distinction between] the provisional and the true. The provisional

26 佛說觀普賢菩薩行法經 (T.9/277: 392.c.26–27).

27 妙樂. Zhanran 湛然 (711–782). From the 法華玄義釋籤 (T.33/1717: 877).

28 A well-known verse by the monk Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394–1481): "*wakenoboru fumoto no michi wa ōkaredo, onaji kumoi no tsuki wo miru kana*."

asserts that temporarily on the surface the Buddha, Hell, and Heaven all exist; the true on the other hand states that Hell and Heaven have no real existence. Now I finally understand what these masters have been telling me. Now tell me, what do you know of the Eight Schools?

Yūtei: Well first of all, the Eight Schools are Kusha, Jōjitsu, Risshū, Hossō, Sanron, Kegon, Tendai and Shingon.[29] If we then add Zen and Pure Land[30] we have the 'Ten Schools,' and if we further add Ikkō and Nichiren[31] we are talking of the 'Twelve Schools.' These schools are divided into Mahāyāna (the Great Vehicle) and Hīnayāna (the Inferior Vehicle). Mahāyāna is seen as profound and exalted; Hīnayāna as shallower and more mundane. Since Kusha, Jōjitsu and Risshū are very superficial they are regarded as belonging to Hīnayāna.

So the Kusha School is founded on the thirty-fascicle *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* written by the bodhisattva Vasubandhu. It is that section of the *Tripiṭaka* that deals with the theory that dharmas exist and that includes a discussion of the fruits that arise from contemplating causes. This means understanding that if one sows the seed of bodhisattvahood in this life, the result will be the fruit of enlightenment in the next. This is why it is regarded as quite contrary to the spirit of Mahāyāna.

The Jōjitsu School is, I believe, based on the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* written by Harivarman. The fascicles in this treatise are said to number either sixteen or twenty. Now as for what *jōjitsu* 成實 means, '*jō*' means 'he who enters' 能入 and refers to the person who achieves enlightenment, and '*jitsu*' means 'that which is entered' 所入, referring to the state of being enlightened. And what is the fruit of enlightenment? It is truth. And truth is nothing but emptiness. So to be firm in the belief that all dharmas are empty is what is meant by the character *jō* 成. Long ago they say this was included in Mahāyāna but masters such as Zhiyi 智顗 and Jiaxiang 嘉祥 classified it as Hīnayāna.

The Risshū is based on the precepts, which involve various rules of discipline. Although there is wide range of precepts, they can be reduced to just two kinds: the first is called 'the precepts of denial' 止持, in other words a prohibition on violating the five [lay] injunctions; the second is called 'precepts of performance' 作持, which in a broad sense means the cultivation of all good deeds and the performance of all kinds of wholesome activities.

---

29 倶舎，成實，律宗，法相，三論，華嚴，天臺，眞言.

30 禪，淨土.

31 一向，日蓮.

Myōshū: Well now, there is something strange here. You've been saying up to now that there is no afterlife in Buddhism. That may be the case, but it would appear that things like the five hundred precepts, the two hundred and fifty precepts, the ten precepts, and the five precepts are designed to bring us to a higher state; so it makes one think they must have a way to help us in the afterlife. What do you think?

Yūtei: As you say, when they speak of precepts, it does seem as if Buddhism offers help in the afterlife, but it is not in fact the case. Buddhism teaches that salvation consists of neither joy nor sorrow. They say it is thusness, reaching the [lotus] seat of equality. So they claim that in the ultimate analysis there is no difference between good and bad, or right and wrong. At the end of a discussion of precepts found in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, it says, "All dharmas are subject to causes and conditions and lack self-nature; so all good dharmas are born of evil. And since all good dharmas are born of evil, how can we possibly be attached to them? Evil can be the cause of good, so why should we hate it? If we think of things in this way, we will truly understand the real character of all dharmas. To maintain or break the precepts is due to causes and conditions, and therefore lacks self-nature. Lacking self-nature they are ultimately empty. Therefore, there is nothing to attach to. This is termed the 'perfection of wisdom.' "[32] 'Wisdom' is called 'knowing emptiness,' the wisdom of no-mind or no-thought. 'Perfection' is called '*tōhigan*' 到彼岸, which means 'reaching the other shore.' The 'other shore' is thusness. To reach a state of nothingness is 'to reach the other shore.' So you see, the establishment of precepts is not based on there being a Buddhist afterlife.[33]

In a work called the *Compendium of the Canon*, the verse that runs "Since there is no life and death to be avoided, why do we have Buddhist precepts to observe?" has a note with the following quotation from the *Transmission of the Lamp*.[34] What it says is this. A Zen patriarch named Yaoshan 藥山[35] asked a novice monk called Gao 高: "Where are you going?" The novice answered, "I am

32 大智度論 (T.25/1509: 631.c.11–16).

33 This common interpretation of *pāramitā* as 'reaching the other shore' comes from a misunderstanding of the Sanskrit. The root is *pārami*, 'superior' or 'perfect,' not *pāram*, 'on the other side.'

34 The *Dazang yilanji* 大藏一覽集 was a compendium compiled in the Song period by the scholar Chenshi 陳實. See 昭和法寶總目錄 3: 1303.a.17. The quotation from the central Zen text the *Jingde Transmission of the Lamp* 景德傳燈錄 can be found in T.51/2076: 315.c.5ff, although the end of the verse differs.

35 藥山惟儼 (745–828).

going to Jianglingfu 江陸府 to receive the precepts." Yaoshan asked him again: "What's the use of receiving the precepts?" "To be liberated from birth and death," he replied. Yaoshan then said: "There is one who need neither receive the precepts nor be liberated from birth and death. Do you know him?" and the novice replied: "Then why do you observe the precepts?" Yaoshan shouted at him: "You talk too much! Marvellous how your lips and teeth keep moving as you blather away!" In that instant, Gao became enlightened and did not bother to receive the precepts. So the reason everyone receives the precepts is not because there is an afterlife. They are merely the outer aspect, observed only as part of how one behaves having 'left home.' This is why there seems to be so many different ways to practice them. But the main point of all this is that just because the precepts exist it does not mean there is an afterlife.

On Hossō

Yūtei: Although both Hossō and Sanron are classified as Mahāyāna, they are still only what you call 'provisional Mahāyāna,' not on a par with true Mahāyāna. Firstly, Hossō is also known as the Consciousness-only School 唯識宗. In classifying the teachings of the Buddha during his lifetime, this school distinguishes three distinct periods. The teachings of the first period are that dharmas exist 有教; these include the Āgamas and are regarded as wholly Hīnayāna. The teachings of the second period are that all is emptiness 空教; these include texts such as the *prajñāpāramitā* sūtras, also treated as not yet perfect. The teachings of the third period are called the 'Middle Way' and are regarded as true Mahāyāna. This category includes works such as the *Laṅkāvatāra* 楞伽經 and the *Saṃdhinirmocana* 解深蜜經 sūtras, particularly the latter, which is seen as this school's fundamental text. They also lay claim to the *Yogacāryabhūmi-śāstra* 瑜伽師地論 and the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* 成唯識論.[36] Their teachings range widely and include such matters as consciousness-only 唯識, the three natures 三性, the hundred dharmas 百法, the four conditions 四緣, the four functions of the mind 四分, seeds 種子, the five natures 五性, the receiving of karmic effects 作業受果, and the five levels of practice 五位の修行. This all might seem like an endless litany, but, in the final analysis, it's all the same Buddhism and there's nothing particularly odd about it.

36 Much of what follows is taken from a well-known medieval introduction to this difficult doctrine, *Hossō nikanshō* 法相二巻抄 by Ryōhen 良遍 (1194–1252).

So, the central teaching of this school maintains that no dharmas exist outside our mind. Everything from pure lands of other realms, the mountains, villages, oceans and rivers which are as yet unseen and unknown, to the wondrous principle of the 'one, true thusness,' all exists only in the mind; not to mention the six faculties with which our bodies are endowed and [activities such as] eating, drinking, and clothing ourselves. To think that anything exists outside of our mind is a delusion, and so from beginningless time the wheel of birth and death has [in fact] long been broken, and there is no one who has failed to attain the rank of unsurpassed enlightenment. Therefore, all physical forms that we all think of as existing outside the mind are in essence non-existent dharmas. But to think of the mind as being real is also a delusion, [because we are assuming that the mind exists outside the mind. To think of emptiness as being real is also a delusion,] because we are assuming that the aspect of emptiness exists outside the mind.[37] These aspects that we think of as existing outside the mind are all false dharmas. To eliminate these false forms, to arouse wondrous knowledge, and to illuminate the one mind within, is called 'meditating on the truth of consciousness-only.' Here they distinguish five layers.[38] The first is 'dismissing the false and preserving the real' 遣虛存實識; the second is 'relinquishing the diffuse and retaining the pure' 捨濫留純識; the third is 'gathering the extensions and returning to the source' 攝末歸本識; the fourth is 'suppressing the subordinate and manifesting the superior' 隱劣顯勝識; and the fifth is 'dismissing the phenomenal aspects and realizing the true nature' 遣相證性識.

So, first of all, the reason why this 'dismissing the false and preserving the real' is called consciousness-only is that within the one mind of wondrous knowledge there is both [original] nature 性 and aspect 相. '[Original] Nature' is the wondrous principle of thusness, known as 'the perfectly accomplished, real nature' 圓實實性, because it is fully attained and at root unchanging. Aspects are said to be 'conditioned,' hence unreal dharmas. They are called the 'nature that arises dependent on another' 依他起性 because they have provisionally arisen out of thusness due to external conditions. They include all manner of things such as form, sound, scent, taste, touch, the eyes, the ears, the nose, the tongue and the body, as well as gold, silver, pearls and gems. Not to realize that those aspects are provisional, and to assume that all the forms that appear before the mind are real, is called 'attachment due to discrimination' 遍計所執. These are all non-existent dharmas; in other words, they are those false forms [taken to be] outside the mind that we mentioned earlier. We call

37 The passage in brackets has been restored from *Hossō nikanshō*.

38 The translations here are taken from Sponberg 1986, pp. 32–34.

them 'attachment due to discrimination' because they are that to which our pervasively calculating, deluded mind attaches.

Now I shall use a metaphor to explain these three natures. When we mistake a rope for a snake, there are three elements. The nature of rope is straw. The rope is a form that has arisen provisionally as a condition of [work done on] the straw by hands and feet. Its form looks very much like a snake, and so one might well mistake it for a snake, but the form of a snake is an illusion in the mind of the deluded person; neither its essence nor its nature exists. The form of the rope has arisen provisionally from conditions, and although it may be a semblance it lacks any true substance. Its true nature is only straw, so its aspect as snake has no essence at all. Its aspect as rope does exist but only provisionally. The essence of the straw truly exists as the nature of the rope. The principle of 'perfect accomplishment' is like the straw, and 'dependent dharmas' are like the rope. 'Attachment due to discrimination' is said to be the mind that takes [the rope to be] a snake. By this reasoning, we can come to understand both the principle of 'attachments due to discrimination' and of the 'perfectly accomplished, real nature.' In other words, what was previously called void, buddha-nature and thusness comes down to there being no wisdom, no virtue, no anything. Why do we see the non-existent as being real? Because things that exist undergo change and are conditioned, but things that do not exist neither burn in fire nor drown in water, so emptiness is seen as real. This is the ultimate teaching of Buddhism.

Now as long as people do not clearly understand this, they are misled by words; they think that buddha-nature is something different [from what it is]; they think that the void is non-existence and that the 'perfectly accomplished, real nature' is something rare and strange. But it's just [a matter of different names for the same thing:] they call a reed '*ashi*' in Naniwa but '*hamaogi*' in Ise. You should realize that Zen's 'original state' 本分 is the same as Hossō's 'perfectly accomplished, real nature.' Think of both as 'that which does not exist.'

'Dismissing the false and preserving the real' is so named because one takes only the 'perfectly accomplished nature' as real and rejects the form of a thing as something empty. 'Relinquishing the diffuse and retaining the pure' means to discard external objects as illusory and to focus on the essence of mind 心體. 'Gathering the extensions and returning to the source' is to investigate the nature of objective and subjective cognition, and to realize that they both have their source in consciousness. 'Suppressing the subordinate and manifesting the superior' means concealing those various discursive thoughts that are known as 'mental functions' 心所 as being inferior, and manifesting the spontaneous mind that is known as the 'mind-king' 心王 as being superior; 'mental function' refers to that mind that knows it depends on this 'mind-king.'

'Dismissing the phenomenal aspects and realizing the true nature' means to reject aspect and function and instead to seek and clarify essence and nature. 'Attachment due to discrimination,' 'nature that arises dependent on another,' and 'perfectly accomplished, real nature' are together called the 'doctrine of the three natures' 三性の法門.

I also heard that if you look into these three natures in more detail you find the 'hundred dharmas' and the 'two forms of non-self.' The 'hundred dharmas' constitute the ninety-four dharmas of the 'nature that arises dependent on another' plus the 'six types of the unconditioned' of the 'perfectly accomplished, real nature.' The 'two forms of non-self' is a way of explaining the emptiness of 'attachment due to discrimination,' the two forms being '*pudgala* non-self' and the 'dharma non-self.' *Pudgala* is a Sanskrit word meaning person. To regard both person and dharma as empty is called the 'two forms of non-self.' To regard as empty means to be aware of their non-existence. From this it should be clear that Buddhism does not recognize an afterlife. Why? Because without self there is no way one can receive either suffering or joy. They believe that when each one of us dies (although they don't really distinguish between individuals in this life either) he is just absorbed into the void of thusness.

This thusness, this 'perfectly accomplished, real nature,' is analyzed as having six 'unconditioned [states]' 六種ノ無爲. The first is 'void' 虛空無爲; the second is 'analytic cessation' 擇滅無爲; the third is 'non-analytical cessation' 非擇滅無爲; the fourth is 'unmoving cessation' 不動無爲; the fifth is 'cessation of thought and sensation' 想受滅無爲; and the sixth is 'cessation of thusness' 眞如無爲. 'Unconditioned' means that the substance and nature of thusness is always abiding and not created by something else. 'Created' 爲作 means 'made' and 'made' means 'conditioned' 緣. There are four kinds of 'conditioning:' 'causes and conditions' 因緣, 'equal and immediately antecedent conditions' 等無間緣, 'perceptual object as [causal] condition' 所緣々, and 'contributory factor as condition' 增上緣. 'Causes and conditions' means when the seed is conditioned by the manifestation and the manifestation is likewise conditioned by the seed. Then what does this manifestation of the seed mean? A seed refers to the residual image of all dharmas that arise and disperse in the mind. Understand that this residual image is a shadow.

For example, we have what is called visual consciousness 眼識. The moment we either see an object in front of our eyes or intentionally apply our vision to it, the [visual] consciousness immediately disappears. But no sooner has it disappeared than it arises again. And the moment it arises we see the form. As it appears and disappears moment by moment like this, both the object being looked at and the visual consciousness that is looking leave a residual image.

This residual image, this illusion of both object and mind submerges (into the mind) and its form cannot be seen. They both fall into the *ālayavijñāna* (interpret this as mind) and accumulate there. These residual images are called 'seeds.' So the word 'manifest' means the arising of an object in the mind from the seed.

So much for the explanation of 'causes and conditions.' Now 'equal and immediately antecedent conditions' means that when the mind arises and disappears, it gives rise to the next mind. This latter mind arises conditioned by its predecessor. 'Perceptual object as [causal] condition' refers to what mind knows, since the mind arises as a condition of the known object. 'Contributory factor as condition' means conditioned by all other things. The conditioning is compounded in that our bodies are conditioned by our minds, our minds are conditioned by our bodies, we are conditioned by others, others are conditioned by us, the sentient is conditioned by the non-sentient and the non-sentient is conditioned by the sentient. That everything comes from these 'four conditionings' is because everything is created due to something else. Dharmas such as these are all transitory.

But the wondrous principle of the 'eternal abode of thusness' 眞如常住 is not created by these 'four kinds of conditioning,' which is why it is called the 'unconditioned.' Although thusness is uniform and undiscriminating and does not really have six essences, the six unconditioned states are established for the purpose of analysis. [The first] is called 'void' since it is free from all obstructions. It is abundantly clear that to extinguish all defilements by the power of discernment is to attain enlightenment. Without relying on the power of discernment, the essence of thusness is originally pure, and when conditions are lacking, the principle of the unborn naturally manifests itself: this is called 'non-analytical cessation.' To say conditions are lacking means that that which might be expected to arise does not arise by itself because the conditions are missing. The unconditioned that manifests itself when feelings of pain or pleasure cease is called the 'unmoving.' By pain one means the sensation of pain in the body; by pleasure one means the sensation of pleasure in the body. The unconditioned that manifests itself when neither perception nor sensation arise is called 'cessation of thought and sensation.' By 'thought' is meant the ability to distinguish forms and name them.[39] By 'sensation' is meant the reception of all suffering and pleasure in the mind.

Hossō deals with all these matters. You see, whatever you think, it's not that different from the rest. There is nothing apart from the thusness of the void.

---

39 The text has been changed here to the equivalent passage in *Hossō nikanshō*. Habian seems to have misread 物ノカタチヲ知リ弁テ as 物語ヲシリワキマヘテ.

But what does make this school stand out is their concept that 'unchanging thusness does not create dharmas;' in other words, thusness seems permanently fixed and does not give rise to conditioned dharmas. They do not talk about 'thusness arising from causation' 眞如緣起, but rather draw a distinction between the nature and the aspect of all dharmas, treating the conditioned as the aspect and the unconditioned as the nature. Kūkai said about Hossō that "they see nature and aspect as distinct, believing only in consciousness and rejecting phenomena."[40] There are so many other things in this school, but I shall skip the rest to avoid endless discussion.

On Sanron

Myōshū: How extraordinary! I heard there were many different teachings in the Hossō school, but how is it that you know so much about it?

Yūtei: It is only natural that you are surprised. As I told you at the outset, the priest whom my husband knew was the kind of man who, as soon as he heard of the existence of a learned master, would seek him out regardless how far away he lived, so he was au fait with the general outlines of every school. I was always listening to their discussions.

Now it seems that according to the Sanron school, what the Buddha taught in his lifetime can be encapsulated in 'two baskets' and 'three turnings of the dharma wheel.' The 'two baskets' contain all the Hīnayāna sūtras in the '*śrāvaka* basket' and the Mahāyāna sūtras in the 'bodhisattva basket.' And the 'three turnings of the dharma wheel' are, first, the 'fundamental dharma wheel' 根本法輪, containing the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, second, the 'derivative *dharma* wheel' 枝末法輪, containing all the Hīnayāna sūtras and, third, the '*dharma* wheel assimilating the derivative into the original' 攝末歸本法輪, containing the *Lotus* and the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*. Sanron itself is based on the *prajñāpāramitā* sūtras.

The fundamental tenet of this school, 'form is emptiness and emptiness is form,' is totally different from the essence of the Hossō School that we have just discussed: the unconditioned is nothing but conditioned dharmas and there are no conditioned dharmas apart from the unconditioned. In other words, nature and aspect are one and the same thing. But although this school criticizes all other schools for being biased and attached to heterodox ideas, they neither try to annihilate them nor do they establish their own doctrine.

40 般若心經秘鍵 (T.57/2203: 12.a.9).

So they list what they call the 'eight illusions:' birth, extinction, cessation, permanence, going, coming, uniformity and diversity, and they also deny what they call the 'eight negations:' not-arising, not-ceasing, not-interrupted, not-constant, not-going, not-coming, not-similar, not-different. But they go further than that. Why? Because 'speaking does not reach; destroying does not touch.'[41] Precisely because this technique is so fascinating, it can lead to endless debate. But since the Buddhist Dharma is in the final analysis emptiness, whatever it is, it escapes the grasp of language. What is more, illness in Buddhism is defined as having attachments and believing that [things] exist. To cure this illness, you must use the medicine of emptiness; but once you are cured, the medicine itself should be discarded. So if we cast off existence yet remain attached to emptiness, this too is an illness. Once we have understood that nothing exists, to obsess about it just causes further suffering, so one should just let things be. That's the heart of Buddhism. Ridiculous, isn't it!

On Kegon

Yūtei: Now when classifying what the Buddha taught, the Kegon school posits five periods [of teachings].[42] The first are the Hīnayāna teachings. This refers to various Hīnayāna scriptures such as the Āgamas 阿含. The second includes the early teachings of the Mahāyāna, such sūtras as the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* 解深密教, as well as Mahāyāna treatises such as the *Yogacāryabhūmi-śāstra* 瑜伽論 and the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* 成唯識論. The third includes the later teachings of the Mahāyāna, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* 涅槃經 for example. The fourth are the Sudden Teachings 頓教. These do not have a separate division in the canon, but refer to the doctrine that 'this very mind is the Buddha' 卽心是佛, which one finds throughout Mahāyāna. This includes the Zen school. The fifth are the Perfect Teachings 圓教, which denotes the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* 華嚴經 and the *Lotus Sūtra* 法華經; it would seem that these are yet further divided into the Distinct Teachings 別教 and the Shared Teachings 同教. The *Lotus Sūtra* mentions the concept of 'treating as equal,' known as *kaie* 開會, explained as 'since all are equally true, it is called the Shared Teachings.' What does 'treating as equal' mean? Well, prior to the *Lotus Sūtra*, a distinction was

41 From the preface to the 百論 (T.30/1569: 167.c.29).

42 Although the Kegon School 華嚴宗 took its name from the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (Jp. *Kegongyō* 華嚴經; Eng. *Flower Garland Sūtra*), Kegon doctrine was largely based on Vasubandhu's *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* 十地經論 (T.26/1522), a commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (T.10/287) that was included in the much larger *Avataṃsaka*.

drawn between the three vehicles, that of the *śrāvakas* 聲聞, the *pratyekabuddhas* 緣覺, and the bodhisattvas 菩薩, and it was claimed that the first two of these did not lead to buddhahood.[43] But the *Lotus Sūtra* recognizes all three vehicles as equally sudden and equally true, allowing that 'what you are [all] practicing is the bodhisattva way.'[44] Therefore it is called the Shared Teachings. Of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* it is said that 'the distinct teaching of the one vehicle differs from the teaching of the three vehicles,'[45] in other words, it is known as the 'Distinct Teachings' because it differs from the three vehicles of *śrāvakas, pratyekbuddhas*, and bodhisattvas.

Now the doctrine of this school divides the Dharma Body 法體 into two states: the 'fruit of the ocean-like nature of things' 性海果分 and the 'causal state of conditioned arising' 緣起因分. The first of these describes the state in which enlightenment and delusion are not yet in opposition, when the capability of sentient beings and the teachings of the Buddha are as yet undifferentiated 機教未分, so there is no way to explain or say anything; all things are as they are in their original state. For this reason this state is said to be beyond explanation. In the second state the capability of sentient beings to be deluded has arisen and teachings emerge in specific response; this state can be explained. This is usually expressed as 'the causal state can be explained, but the fruit cannot.'

Now if we look at what the Buddha first taught, after he first attained the way, that is after his initial enlightenment, he sat under the bodhi tree and watched the morning star, the rising of the sun to the limit of the heavens and the descent of the moon, and he realized that there is no other cause, that everything simply moves according to its own inherent principle, and that since differences between all things come from the mind, no dharmas exist outside of mind. This is expressed in the verse 'Like the mind' 如心偈 in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*:

> The Buddha is just like the mind, and sentient beings are just like the Buddha. There is no difference between the mind, the Buddha, and sentient beings. All the buddhas know that everything arises from the mind. Whoever can comprehend this sees a true buddha.[46]

---

43 The *śrāvakas* or listeners were those who heard the Buddha preach in person; the *pratyekabuddhas* were those who had managed to achieve enlightenment on their own.

44 Watson 1993, p. 106 (T.9/262: 20.b.23).

45 Quotation from 華嚴五教章 (T.45/1866: 477.a.20–21) by Faxiang (法藏). See p. 78, n. 47.

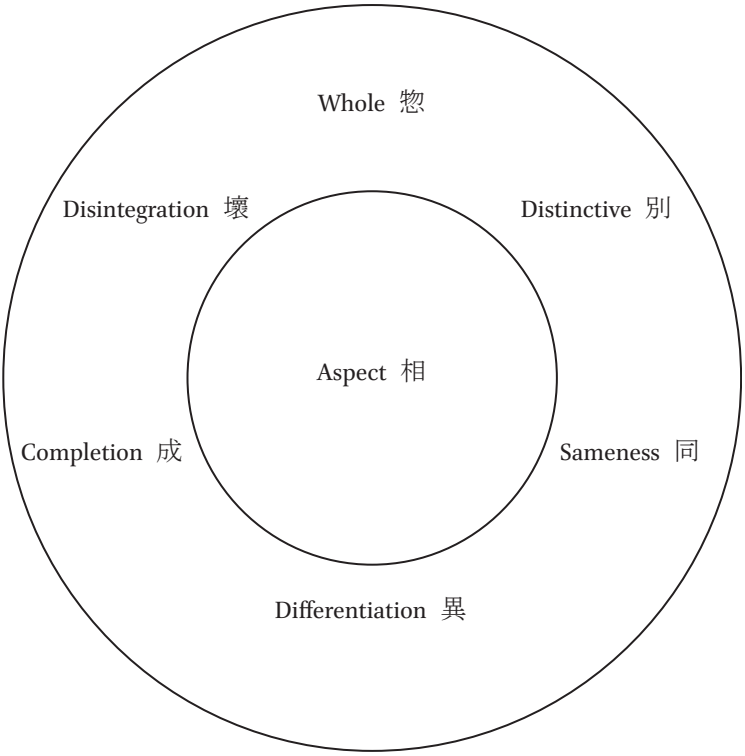
46 T.9/278: 465.c.20–466.a.2.

The Kegon school inherited this idea, realizing that phenomenon and principle 事理 perfectly interpenetrate without the least obstruction. Within [the phrase] 'phenomenon and principle perfectly interpenetrate,' 'phenomenon' refers to all dharmas; 'principle' means the original nature that resides within; 'perfectly interpenetrate' means that phenomenon as phenomenon and principle as principle do not diverge but are in fact one and the same. The phrase 'form is emptiness, emptiness is form' 色卽是空、空卽是色 surely also expresses the same meaning. They argue that in addition to the perfect interpenetration of phenomenon and principle, there is also perfect interpenetration between phenomena and phenomena, and between principle and principle.

In order to clarify what this means, they sometimes use the analogy of the golden lion and sometimes the doctrine of the six aspects of conditioned phenomena. The golden lion story comes from when Empress Wu Zetian 吳則天 of the Tang turned to Great Master Xiangxiang 香象大師 and said "The great vehicle of the *Avataṃsaka* is diverse and wide and difficult to understand. Explain it to me by means of a simple analogy."[47] The Great Master immediately produced the analogy of a lion made of gold that was standing in front of the empress, and used it to explain the great vehicle of the *Avataṃsaka*. The lion has a head, tail, eyes, mouth, ears, and a nose. If these five sense organs are each viewed individually, they are five distinct organs. But if it is seen as just one golden lion, then nothing exists apart from that one golden lion. In similar fashion, within the single dharma world there are ten destinies: hells, hungry ghosts, animals, asuras, humans, gods, *śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas*, bodhisattvas, and the Buddha. If you look at these ten individually, just like seeing the five separate sense organs of the golden lion, they will appear separate; but if you see them as one dharma realm, then just as all the sense organs unite to form one golden lion, these realms become just one dharma realm.

The doctrine of the six aspects of conditioned phenomena is another way of explaining this. So they start by explaining it by means of the attached diagram. The first, the 'whole aspect' 惣相, refers to the lion as a whole. The second, the 'distinctive aspect' 別相, represents the differences between the five sense organs. The third, termed the 'aspect of sameness' 同相, expresses the dependent relationship among the sense organs. The fourth, the 'aspect of differentiation' 異相, points to the fact that ears are not the nose, and the nose is not the mouth. The fifth, the 'aspect of completion' 成相, refers to the fact that if the sense organs do not combine, the lion cannot exist, so the combination is termed the 'aspect of completion.' The sixth, the 'aspect of disintegration'

47 Great Master Xiangxiang 香象大師 is Faxiang 法藏 (643–712), treated as the third patriarch of the Kegon school. This story comes from the 宋高僧傳.



壞相, refers to the fact that eyes are eyes and not ears, and ears are ears and not the nose. It refers to the fact that each organ maintains its own essence. 'Disintegration' 壞 means 'deconstruction' 破, the opposite of 'completion.' All this is a further commentary on the previous analogy of the lion as representing the body of the one dharma world. You should realize that the single dharma realm is just another name for the One Mind and that this One Mind is the Buddha. This One Mind is emptiness. Emptiness is nothingness. In the sūtra it says "emptiness is none other than the Buddha," which means: where there is nothing is Buddha. Oh my, what a ridiculous doctrine this is! When all is said and done, this is what it's all about. They all live in a world without Heaven or Hell.

On Tendai (including the Nichiren School)

Yūtei: Now Tendai too is indisputably Mahāyāna and ranges wide. But let me first of all give you an outline. When they analyze what the Buddha taught in his lifetime they distinguish Four Teachings and Five Periods. The Four

Teachings are the Tripiṭaka 藏, the Shared 通, the Distinctive 別, and the Complete 圓; and the Five Periods are Kegon 華嚴 (*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*), Agon 阿含 (the *Āgamas*), Hōdō 方等 (the *Vaipulyas*), Hanya 般若 (*Prajñāpāramitā*) and Hokke 法華 (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*). The first of the Four Teachings, the Tripiṭaka, refers to the teachings in the three-part Buddhist canon, Hīnayāna teachings that clarify how sentient beings in the six destinies of this Triple Realm can escape suffering and attain the Path. Why Tripiṭaka? Because they are stored in three 'baskets,' known either as the sūtras 經, vinaya 律, and abhidharma 論, or as morality 戒, meditation 定, and wisdom 恵. The term 'basket' means a place to store things. So to whom were these teachings directed? The *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* who sat right opposite the Buddha and heard him preach directly, known as 'the two vehicles of direct guidance' 正化二乘; and those bodhisattvas who happened to be present, known as 'the bodhisattvas of indirect guidance' 傍化菩薩. And what was the content of these Tripiṭaka teachings? It was the doctrine of truth 諦, dependent origination 緣, and the perfections 度; in other words the four truths, the twelve [conditions of] dependent origination, and the six perfections.

The Four Truths—of Suffering 苦, Accumulation 集, Cessation 滅 and the Path 道—he preached for the *śrāvakas*. In essence the truths of Suffering and Accumulation are cause-and-effect in the context of this world, and those of Cessation and the Path are cause-and-effect in the context of those who have escaped this world. The character for truth 諦 is read 'akiramuru' [clarify] and means 'to perfect.'

Now first let us take the Truth of Suffering. This means coming to a realization that one's body is retribution for one's previous unfortunate acts, 'a body that is the fruit of suffering.' How does this come about, you ask? The accumulation of past defilements and bad karmic acts becomes a cause which produces a present result; to realize this is called the Truth of Accumulation. And the Truth of the Path is when one realizes that one must somehow obtain release from this body that is the fruit of suffering. The Truth of the Path is wisdom. The Truth of Cessation comes when thanks to this wisdom one loses attachment to all dharmas and the principle of non-action emerges. Non-action means 'with no intent.' So you should realize that the Truth of the Path is what causes escape from this world and the Truth of Cessation is the result of having escaped. In the final analysis these Four Truths are [saying] that we ourselves, this self that we believe exists, does not in truth exist. It teaches that the real does not exist.

Now the doctrine of the twelve conditions of dependent origination that he taught to the *pratyekabuddhas* consists of two past causes, five present results, three present causes, and two future results; twelve in all. The first of

the two past causes is ignorance 無明 *avidyā*, the delusion engendered by one's father and mother before one's birth. Next comes karmic activity 行 *saṃskāra*, which is what arises from that delusion. The first of the five present results is consciousness 識 *vijñāna*. This is the beginning, a single drop in the womb. Second comes the world of name and form 名色 *nāma-rūpa*. This is the time it takes for the one drop of dew we call the beginning of consciousness to gradually take human shape in the womb. The third is called the six sense organs 六入 *ṣaḍ-āyanata*, the stage when the eyes, mouth, ears, nose etc. are formed. Fourth is contact [between sense organ and object] 觸 *sparśa*, touching. This is the period when the human, though born, is not yet three or four and has not yet touched either fire or water and so does not know cold or heat. Fifth is sensation, 受 *vedanā*, receiving, when from the age of five or six to fourteen or fifteen, before the arousal of sexual desire, one first receives pain and pleasure and then seeks them out, and when the senses, the object and consciousness all combine. These are the five present results. Then come the three present causes. First is desire 愛 *tṛṣṇā*, at age sixteen or seventeen when sexual urges arise and seek outlet. Second is grasping 取 *upadāna*, when as one grows older one becomes obsessed by desire and can think of little else. Third is coming into existence 有 *bhava*, when this desire and grasping produce karma. And if you ask why these are called the three present causes, it is because just as the ignorant actions of the past become causes for man in the present, so the three causes in the present become causes for man in the future. Lastly, what of the two future results? The first is birth [and rebirth] 生 jāti, the second is old age and death 老死 *jāra-māraṇa*. All these comprise the twelve conditions of dependent origination. Now since birth creates the karma of desire, grasping and coming into existence, as I explained in the case of consciousness, someone receives birth. And since that someone is born he inevitably gets old and dies. These are therefore two future results seen from the here and now. Now these four truths and the twelve conditions of dependent origination differ as open differs from closed. The difference is that the Four Truths are narrow, whereas the twelve conditions of dependent origination are broad; but understand that ultimately they are both the Path that leads one to attain contemplation of non-self.

Now the six perfections that were taught to the bodhisattvas are: *dāna pāramitā*, giving; *śīla pāramitā*, morality; *kṣānti pāramitā*, forbearance; *vīrya pāramitā*, vigor; *dhyāna pāramitā*, meditation; and *prajñā pāramitā*, wisdom. The message is that with these one can become a buddha in the future.

So what are these three vehicles, *śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha*, and bodhisattva? First, the *śrāvakas* are those who heard the Buddha's voice and trusted in his teaching. In the end they established three stages: the path of vision 見道,

the path of cultivation 修道, and the path of nothing more to learn 無學道. They were the noble ones who underwent four strivings and four realizations. Those who entered the path of vision for the first time were called *srotāpanna*, beginners, also known as 'those who entrust themselves to the flow' 預流. In the *Abhidharmavibhāṣā-śāstra* it is explained as follows: "since they start by entering the sacred flow, they are called 'those who entrust themselves to the flow'."[48] The path of cultivation has four stages: having succeeded in becoming a *srotāpanna* they then strove to become a *sakṛdāgāmin* and when they succeeded in that, they strove to become an *anāgāmin*. Those I mentioned earlier who entrusted themselves to the flow are those who succeeded in becoming *srotāpanna*. Those who strove and succeeded in becoming *sakṛdāgāmin* are known as 'once-returners.' Why? Because they will only return once to this world of desire. Those who strove and succeeded in becoming *anāgāmin* are known as 'non-returners,' because they will never return to this world of desire. Those who strove and succeeded in becoming *arhats* are those at the stage of the path of nothing more to learn. There is no satisfactory Japanese translation for *arhat* but if we go by the meaning we get 'killing the bandits of defilement' so they are called 'bandit killers' 殺賊, and since they will never be born in this Triple Realm, they are also known as the 'unborn' 不生.[49]

Now what of the meaning of the path of vision, the path of cultivation, and the path of nothing more to learn? The path of vision means that one sees the principle of the Four Truths by cutting away the delusions of this Triple Realm by means of the wisdom that comes from having no outflows.[50] And the principle of the Four Truths is emptiness [*śūnyatā* 空]. The path of cultivation is more difficult than [just] cutting away delusions because it involves cutting away all defiled thoughts. The path of nothing more to learn is the highest of the *śrāvaka* stages, where there is no longer anything to learn. But enough of the *śrāvakas*. What about *pratyekabuddhas*, known in Chinese as either 獨覺 'self-enlightened' or 緣覺 'those enlightened through contemplation of the twelve conditions of dependent origination'? They are called 'self-enlightened' because, relying on no one else, they seek isolation in the mountains and forests, watch the flying blossoms and falling leaves, meditate on impermanence,

48 This exact passage does not occur in the śāstra but the term 預流 can be found at T.27/1545: 240.a.27–28.

49 Both of these are based on erroneous folk etymologies, the first deriving *arhat* (Pāli: *arahant*) from *ari* ("bandit") + √*han* ("kill"); the second from *a* (negative) + *ruh* ("arise").

50 Because defilements are seen to move outwards from the mind to affect the world around one, having an undefiled mind is expressed as "having no outflows" 無漏 (*anāsrava*).

and concentrate on themselves. I think this is why nowadays we call those who think of nothing but themselves 'self-enlightened minds.'

The [Japanese term] *bosatsu* 菩薩 is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *bodhisattva*. *Bodhi* is translated into Chinese as *jue* 覺, and *jue* means 'enlightened.' *Sattva* is translated into Chinese as *youqing* 有情, and *youqing* means 'sentient being.' It is said that: 'all sentient beings have buddha nature' but because the essence of a bodhisattva is an enlightened mind, only he is known as an 'enlightened being' 覺有情. By the way, herein lies the difference between a buddha and a bodhisattva. We say a bodhisattva is enlightened but, even so, he still has sentient thoughts, and so he is called an enlightened being because sentient means retaining sentient thoughts. A buddha has exhausted sentient thoughts and so the word 'being' is dropped; he is just known as 'an enlightened one.'

So that is an outline of the Tripiṭaka teachings. Now the term Shared Teachings means first of all that the teachings are common to all. But shared in what sense? They are called shared because the doctrines of the truths, dependent origination and the perfections which were taught separately to the *śrāvakas, pratyekbuddhas* and bodhisattvas, are here treated as one and the same. This is explained as "because the three vehicles all receive the same [teachings], it is called shared."[51] There are many other reasons, but I will not go into detail. The Tripiṭaka Teachings are called 'contemplating emptiness through a process of analysis' 析空觀, whereas these Shared Teachings are called 'contemplating emptiness as essence' 體空觀. As regards the former, because the minds of the two vehicles [*śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*] were not as sharp as they might have been, they found it difficult to understand that the self was empty, so the Tripiṭaka Teachings broke down things by analysis to show that they were empty. Take this fan, for instance. You might tell them it is empty but there will be those who simply will not be able to grasp this fact, since here it is in front of them with its material, its spines and its pivot-pin all intact. For people like these you have to deconstruct it into its component parts, lay it out, and then ask them where the shape they thought was a fan has gone; then they understand that in reality the fan itself has no form. In the same way, although one might tell them of the doctrines of the four truths and dependent origination and that the form we call 'man' does not originally exist, one eventually persuades them that all is emptiness by showing how they are trapped by causes and conditions, by the delusion, ignorance and actions engendered by their father and mother that became in turn consciousness, name-and-form, desire, grasping, and coming into existence; and that without

51 From Zhiyi's 四教義 (T.46/1929: 721.c.24).

these causes and conditions, why would the aspect of self ever arise. Since all is emptiness, is this why the Tripiṭaka teachings are called 'contemplating emptiness through a process of analysis?'

I understand that the Shared Teachings 通教 are known as the first gate of Mahāyāna, the teachings that prepare the faculties for sudden entrance 調機入頓, and so form a higher stage called 'contemplating emptiness as essence.'[52] The reason it is called 'contemplating emptiness as essence' is that the mind of the two vehicles gradually deepen in wisdom at this point, so there is no longer any need to deconstruct the fan; one simply explains it as emptiness. This is what is meant by 'form is emptiness.' It would seem that, whatever the case, in Buddhist teaching emptiness reigns supreme. So gradually the stages rise; the Tripiṭaka Teachings [establish] seven wise steps and seven noble steps, and, rising further, these [Shared] Teachings posit ten grounds 十地. These ten grounds are a doctrine that would also take a long time to explain in detail, so I shall just give you an outline.

First comes 'dry wisdom' 乾恵, presumably so called because, although admittedly it is a stage, it comes at the beginning and lacks the water of the wisdom of no outflows.[53] Second is the '[dharma] nature ground' 性地 (*gotra-bhūmi*), so called because it is at this level that the natural wisdom of no outflows gradually emerges. Understand that 'no outflows' means becoming enlightened as to principle. So Zhanran in his commentary to the *Great Calming and Contemplation* explains this '[dharma] nature ground' as follows: "because there is some slight degree of understanding of principle, it is called the [dharma] nature ground."[54] Third is the 'stage of the eighth person' 八人地 (*aṣṭamaka-bhūmi*), so called because it refers to the eight kinds of endurance and the eight kinds of wisdom. So one should really replace the character 'man' 人 with the homophonous 'endurance' 忍, but they use the character for 'man' 人 because man and Dharma are one. Are they not just saying that on the path of practice the mind is inevitably concerned with endurance? Fourth is 'the stage of insight' 見地 (*darśana-bhūmi*), so called because at this level one cuts away the delusions of the Triple Realm and sees the principle that has not been seen since the non-beginning of time. Fifth is 'the stage of weakening [of

52 From Zhanran's 止觀輔行傳弘決 (T.46/1912: 165.c.21–22).

53 Various traditions have various sets of these ten stages. This set comes from the *Prajñāparamitā* tradition. See Hirakawa 1990, p. 309 for a table of comparisons. The Sanskrit name of the first stage is actually *śuklavidarśana-bhūmi*, which just means 'pure insight.' It was Kumārajīva's decision to translate this into Chinese as 'dry wisdom' for the reason given in the text.

54 From Zhanran's 止觀輔行傳弘決 (T.46/1912: 332.b.26–27).

afflictions]' 薄地 (*tanu-bhūmi*). This refers to the nine delusions of the world of desire. At this stage the nine have been reduced by six and what remains is weakened. The nine delusions are the three poisons of craving, hatred and ignorance that lie at the heart of delusion, further divided into the three levels, top, middle and bottom, hence nine delusions in all. Sixth is 'the stage of separation from desire' 離欲地 (*vītarāga-bhūmi*). At this stage the remaining three delusions are cut away and one is no longer reborn in the world of desire. The seventh is 'the stage of the completion of discernment' 已弁辨地 (*kṛtāvī-bhūmi*). Here all the seventy-two delusions in the world of form and no form have been completely cut away and so all activity has been discerned. Eighth is the ground of the *pratyekabuddhas* 支佛地. As I have said previously, these are 'those enlightened through contemplation of conditions' 緣覺. Now the *śrāvakas* 'enter emptiness at the seventh ground' and here they take refuge in emptiness and come to a halt. As a result a taint of delusion remains. But the *pratyekabuddhas* diligently seek one further ground to cut away even this slight taint, so it is called the ground of the *pratyekabuddhas*. Cutting away delusion is like burning wood to ashes; cutting away even the taint of delusion is to sweep up the ashes and throw them away. Ninth is the ground of the bodhisattvas 菩薩地. This is because of all the three vehicles they have the powers of a bodhisattva, and so they advance to the ninth ground to spread merit by pledging to be reborn in order to help deal with the taint [that remains] 誓扶習生. What does this mean? [Zhiyi] comments: 'pledging to be reborn in order to help deal with the [remaining] taint does not involve true karmic retribution.' This is because the act of being reborn in the Triple Realm would [normally] imply that some delusion of vision and mind remains.[55]

So when the *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* cut away their delusions and even the remaining taint, and are not reborn in this Triple Realm, they are said to have reached Ultimate Bliss. This is because they are of limited ability. In contrast, the bodhisattvas have Mahāyāna abilities and so they retain the taint on purpose in order to be able to re-enter this Triple Realm and bring benefit to sentient beings, pledging to deal with the taint. When you hear this kind of thing, it might seem that Buddhism accepts that the Triple Realm exists and that sentient beings are saved, but this is all merely an aspect of doctrine, only what is taught at the surface; in actual fact, as I mentioned at the beginning, there is no Triple Realm, and there are no sentient beings or buddhas. As it says in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* "the Triple Realm is but one mind," so the Triple Realm only exists in the mind. The Zen patriarch Linji explained this concept as follows: "You wish to know the Triple Realm? It is not separate from the

55 From Zhiyi's 法華玄義 (T.33/1716: 694.c.21).

mind-ground of you who are at this very moment listening to my discourse. Your single covetous thought is the realm of desire; your single angry thought is the realm of form; your single foolish thought is the realm of formlessness. These are furnishings within your own house."[56] The Triple Realm is merely the utensils that you use at home. I draw your attention to this for the moment so you will not be misled by the doctrinal aspect of things.

The tenth ground is called the buddha ground 佛地. Having retained some taint on purpose at the ninth stage and with merit accomplished, the bodhisattva proceeds to the tenth ground and with the 'wisdom of a single thought responding' cuts away the remaining taint and becomes a buddha. What is this 'wisdom of a single thought responding?' It is seeing the wisdom of emptiness as being the equivalent of a single thought. And what is this 'wisdom of emptiness?' It is the state of no mind, no thought; 'a single thought' is a thought that arises at random; and 'responding' is understanding that 'thoughts have no sense of self,' no self nature. So now I have given you a general outline of the ten grounds.

Myōshū: Well at first I thought how marvelous, but now I am not so impressed. No knowledgeable guide ever tells you in this amount of detail. When it comes to the buddhas of the ten grounds one thinks of them as residing in the Pure Land of Ultimate Bliss, but lo and behold it would seem that these too are just stages in a process of cultivation leading to enlightenment. In which case, the four types of buddha land within the Shared Teachings must also be within this sahā world of ours. Now tell me about 'enlightenment via the four gates.'

Yūtei: Indeed. Those who do not know [the truth] think of the ten grounds and the like as being stages within the Pure Lands (which do not themselves exist), but that's really ridiculous. Now, as you say, the Four Buddha Lands[57] are not beyond our sahā world. So let me explain both this doctrine and 'enlightenment via the four gates.' Let me start with the four kinds of buddha land. They are first, the Land of Eternally Tranquil Light 常寂光土; second, the Land of True Reward 實報土; third, the Land of Expedient Means 方便[有餘]土; and fourth, the Land of Coexistence in Equality 同居土. None of these exist outside our world. In Section Ten of [Zhanran's] Notes this is explained as: "if you perceive these lands directly there are four in all. For this reason there are

56 Sasaki 2009, p. 23.

57 Reading 佛土 for 淨土.

three buddha bodies."[58] And in Section Nine he says: "Why seek everlasting quiet outside of [Bodh]Gayā? It is not outside but inside this world of ours."[59] In the end, this 'quiet light' is just another name for the One Mind 一心. And in Section Five he says: "Prior to the present, from the source of quiet light they left their traces in the three lands and reached the *Lotus*; combining the traces of the three lands they took refuge in the quiet light."[60] 'Prior to the present' means 'before the *Lotus Sūtra*.' 'From the source of quiet light they left their traces in the three lands' means 'from inner knowledge of the one mind of true thusness they explained things using expedient means.' 'Reached the *Lotus*' means they did not teach different doctrines but only the one mind of true thusness; and they brought the three lands together and took refuge in the quiet light.

Now as for 'enlightenment via the four gates,' these are gates in each of the Four Teachings. Since you ask, I shall explain. The four are the Gate of Existence 有門, the Gate of Emptiness 空門, the Gate of Existence and Emptiness 亦有亦空門, and the Gate of Neither Existence Nor Emptiness 非有非空門. And what are these gates? "Gates are something one passes through."[61] They are said to be the entrance whereby you enter the inner knowledge of thusness and reality (*tathatā dharmatā*) 眞如法性. The Gate of Existence means being in harmony with reality by contemplating that all visible dharmas are mere temporary manifestations. The Gate of Emptiness means being in harmony with reality by concentrating the mind on the fact that all dharmas are from the outset illusory. The Gate of Existence and Emptiness means sometimes contemplating the first gate and sometimes the second, not resting in either one or the other. The Gate of Neither Existence Nor Emptiness means being in harmony with reality by contemplating the fact that all dharmas are neither illusions nor emptiness. The Shared Teachings involve many other doctrines, but I will move on.

Now if you ask what the Distinctive Teachings are, they are called distinctive because they are different from the Shared Teachings and they are separate from the Complete Teachings. They are also called distinctive because they

58 From Zhanran's 法華文句記 or *Notes to* [*Zhiyi's*] *Commentary on the* Lotus Sūtra (T.34/1719: 355.b.9). According to this doctrine the first land contains the Dharma Body 法身 (*dharmakāya*), the second the Reward Body 報身 (*saṃbhogakāya*) and the third the Response Body 應身 (*nirmāṇakāya*).

59 T.34/1719: 333.c.3–4.

60 Although this is now in Section Six (T.34/1719: 258.b.22–23), there is evidence that some editions of the canon did have this passage in Section Five.

61 From Zhiyi's 四教義 (T.46/1929: 729.a.11).

are unconnected to the two vehicles [of *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*]. The Distinctive Teachings are many and various but of particular note are the fifty-two stages. Here too, if I went into detail there would be no end, but I should give you an outline. The fifty-two levels are the ten [degrees of] trust, the ten abodes, the ten practices, the ten transferences [of merit], and the ten grounds, to which is added 'equivalent enlightenment' 等覺 and 'subtle enlightenment' 妙覺. The character for trust 信 is written with 'man' 人 and 'words' 言 and means not to doubt the words of he who converts; and there are ten degrees of such trust. In the *Treatise on the Perfection of Great Wisdom* 大智度論 it says: "The ocean of the Buddhist Dharma must start with trust."[62] This means that the breadth of the Buddhist Dharma is like an ocean and that trust is the key. The ten abodes are the stage where 'one enters emptiness,' namely the level at which, having been enlightened to emptiness, one resides in the wisdom of *prajñā*.[63] The ten practices are when, having already awakened to emptiness, one emerges [again] temporarily into the provisional in order to convert [sentient beings] via expedient means. This is presumably in order that one may teach the emptiness that has now become clear to one.

The ten transferences come after the ten practices and are the ways in which bodhisattvas bring merit to sentient beings, divided into ten stages. The ten grounds are different in both name and grade from the previous ten grounds of the Shared Teachings but they do not need repeating here because in essence they too aim to 'cut away illusion' and 'awaken to principle.' Now above these are two more stages: 'equivalent enlightenment' and 'subtle enlightenment.' 'Equivalent enlightenment' is so called because at the heart of the Distinctive Teachings they establish twelve sorts 品 of ignorance and at this level eleven of these are clearly cut away, leaving just one obstruction. There are various other ways of explaining this but I shall omit them here. The 'subtle enlightenment' is so called because all twelve of these sorts of ignorance are cut away and no obstructions remain. So it is said: "With just one turn of equal enlightenment one enters subtle enlightenment."[64] So there we have an outline of the Distinctive Teachings.

Now what of the Complete Teachings? These are known as 'being mutually responsive to the Buddha's intent,' 佛意相應 in other words teachings which teach according to the inner enlightenment of the Buddha himself to those who have abilities equivalent to those of a buddha. In other words, it

62 T.25/1509: 63.a.1–2.

63 The text seems to be garbled here with a phrase 前ノ十信ノ重マデ that makes little sense in context.

64 From Zhiyi's 摩訶止觀 (T.46/1911: 10.c.17–18).

is a matter of making people realize that sentient beings and the Buddha are one, and that illusion and enlightenment are one. Just think of the Complete Teachings as being another word for 'One Mind.' Because, as it is said: "Since all dharmas are fully present, it is called complete."[65] The Complete Teachings are so called because it is proclaimed that all sentient and non-sentient dharmas in the ten worlds and the 3000 worlds, and all dharmas in the unenlightened and enlightened spheres, are complete and lack nothing. Our single mind too is the essence of the completeness of all dharmas. So the commentaries say: "One mind is the essence of all dharmas" and "mind is all dharmas and all dharmas are mind." This is the inner truth of the Complete Teachings.

Myōshū: When I hear words like 'sentient beings and the Buddha are one' I really lose all respect for Buddhism, but when I hear about the three bodies of the Buddha, the Dharma Body 法身, the Reward Body 報身, and the Response Body 應身, then I feel we have something important. How do we understand these?

Yūtei: Indeed. They call it the doctrine of the three bodies but actually they are not external to us. In reality they exist within the body of sentient beings. They are the triad of quietude, wisdom and function 寂智用. Quietude means having a mind at peace with no delusions and no mistaken thoughts; this one can see as the Dharma Body. Wisdom is when the mind uses its intelligence and can be called the Reward Body. Function is work, treating work as primary, and is therefore called the Transformation Body, in other words the Response Body; it's one and the same thing. Generally speaking, in Buddhism nothing is said to be divorced from our body. This is what Kūkai meant when he said: "The Buddhist Dharma is nowhere remote. It is in our mind; it is close to us. Thusness is nowhere external. If not within our body, where can it be found?"[66]

Now in the Complete Teachings they establish what they call the six degrees of identity 六卽の位. About them it is said: "Having six gets rid of confusion; since they are identical the first and last are one."[67] What this means is that sentient beings and the Buddha, delusion and enlightenment, may appear separate and so listing them in order one-to-six avoids confusion, but 'being

65 The precise source for this and the quotations that follow have not been identified. They should perhaps be treated as generic statements.

66 From Kūkai's 般若心經秘鍵 (T.57/2203: 11.a.10–11); Hakeda 1972, p. 263.

67 Source unknown, but a similar statement can be found in the 止觀大意 (T.46/1914: 459.c.4–5).

identical means the first and last are one' means that sentient beings and the Buddha are indeed one, and illusion and enlightenment are not separate.

I shall name them in order. First is Identity in Principle 理卽. This is the level of the common man, as yet unaware even of the Buddha. And yet ultimately he is a buddha. In the *Essentials*, it is said: "the nature of all sentient beings is identical with principle, identical with the Buddha."[68] Second comes Verbal Identity 名字卽. Here the common man of Identity in Principle either hears the teachings from the canon, or receives teaching from a guide and hears the words Buddha and Dharma. Third is Identity in Contemplative Practice 觀行卽. Here one practices what one has heard at the previous level. Fourth is Identity in Outer Appearances 相似卽. Here one clears away illusions and virtuously uses the teachings of the Dharma for the benefit of the living; because this resembles the enlightenment of the next stage, it is called Identity in Outer Appearances. Fifth is Identity of Partial Truth 分眞卽, partial with reference to the completeness of subtle enlightenment [the final stage]; partial means incomplete. In subtle enlightenment, that 'partial' is completed. Sixth is Ultimate Identity 究竟卽. The two characters *kyū* 究 and *kyō* 竟 are read together as 'to reach the ultimate.' Here all the dark delusions we call ignorance are cleared away and one reaches the inner sanctum of buddha-nature. Partial Truth is equivalent to 'equivalent enlightenment' and Ultimate Identity equivalent to 'subtle enlightenment.' Hence Dengyō Daishi 傳教大師 [Saichō] explained: "With just one turn of equivalent enlightenment one enters subtle enlightenment" and "With just one turn of equivalent enlightenment one enters Identity of Principle."[69] In other words, being enlightened is the same as not being enlightened and the further you go you discover that there is neither Buddha nor Dharma in the Buddha Dharma, and that the common man is the Buddha. This is what is meant by "the village is coming closer the deeper I delve into the mountains."[70] So, for example, if you leave Shikanotani at Higashiyama, penetrate the mountains, and keep on through the tall grasses you end up in Sakamoto. So there you have an outline of the Four Teachings.

Now as far as the Five Periods are concerned, the first is Kegon 華嚴 (*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*). They are called the Five Periods because the Buddha's preaching is divided into five groups. In Kegon the period is said to have lasted just twenty-one days; when we get to the *Lotus Sūtra* it is said to have been eight

68 This is a reference to the 天臺傳南岳必要 (Tada 1973, pp. 411–413), an important medieval Tendai work purporting to be a record of advice given to Zhiyi by Huisi 慧思.

69 A source for these quotations has not yet been identified.

70 This verse has no canonical source but can be found in, for example, Miyamoto Musashi's 兵法鏡.

years. So why is Kegon called Kegon? It is a metaphor: 'to adorn the virtuous fruits with flowers of the cause.' The place where he preached this sūtra was called the Place of Quiet Cessation 寂滅道場. He sat under the Bodhi tree and spoke to four bodhisattvas: Dharmaprajñā 法恵, Guṇavana 功徳林, Vajraketu 金剛幢, and Vajragarbha 金剛藏, explaining to them directly the interpenetration of the nine worlds and the complete openness of the Dharma realm, the doctrine that emptiness is the Buddha; but none present had the capability to understand; "they were deaf and dumb."[71] They listened but did not hear; they tried to speak but could not; they shook their heads and rolled up the mats they had been sitting on. And so began the second period, that of the Agon (*Āgamas*), as an expedient measure.

Now if you ask why the crowd did not at first understand his preaching of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, before he preached there were no sūtras or śastras and no enlightenment either, and so people just trusted their own feelings, believing that above there was a heavenly place with a noble lord, and below lay hells and horrors. Then Śākyamuni turned up saying: "the Triple Realm is one mind; there are no dharmas apart from mind," and he also taught that there is no Hell or Heaven or noble Lord outside of mind, and that emptiness is the Buddha. Contrary to his expectation, the people seem to have been shocked and they recoiled. Inexcusable behavior, my Lord Śākyamuni! If he had left it up to the natural virtue of all men, no one would have ever decided there was no life after death; but because he taught them what he believed in, even now people are still being misled. The mistaken idea that the afterlife does not exist lingers on. In the *Lotus Sūtra* it already predicts that people will say: "they fabricate their own scriptures to delude the people of this world."[72] How true! Then, saying that the mind people thought existed was an illusion, in order to dispel this idea for the sake of expediency he left that tree of quiet and peace and went to the Deer Park, where he preached for twelve years. This was the Agon (*Āgamas*) of the second period. They say '*a*' means non-existent and '*gon*' means existent. In other words, it is called Agon because he taught the Four Truths and the twelve links of dependent arising, showed them the principle of emptiness of buddha-nature, and tried to destroy the idea of existence.

As regards the third period, those on Hieizan say 'extended and equal but not yet fixed' and those at Miidera call it 'the sixteen-year preaching.'[73] This is called 'the scolding' (*tanka* 彈呵) when [Vimalakīrti] criticized and ridiculed

71 From Zhiyi's 維摩經略疏 (T.38/1778: 621.a.7–9).

72 Watson 1993, p. 194 (T.9/262: 36.c.5–6).

73 These phrases have been traced to the *Nishidani myōmoku* 西谷名目 (T.74/2375: 583.c.20–23; b.8–10).

the two vehicles. Why such criticism and ridicule? At the Agon stage they heard about the principle of emptiness and, accepting the idea that the self did not exist, became obsessed with this emptiness. So he scolded the two vehicles saying: "Just as the lotus does not grow on the upland plain, so in the mind ground of the two vehicles the lotus of buddha-nature will not flower. It might arise in the mind of a dog or a fox, but never in the mind of either of the two vehicles."[74] Being so reviled, the minds of the two vehicles became confused: when they heard about emptiness they thought 'ah yes!' but next they rejected it and argued in favor of existence. They vacillated between the two. Did things exist? Did things not exist? What existed? This was the essence of this 'extended and equal [period].' And it is said that when he realized that when they heard about emptiness they had somehow rejected it, he realized that if the two vehicles were obsessed with their vision of emptiness, his own teachings would probably be useless thereafter, and so he then proclaimed that things *did* exist. Even today the Buddha Dharma goes on in this fashion. If you try to say things do exist, you are going against what the Buddha meant. If you say things clearly do not exist, then there's no way you can accept alms or other gifts, and there is no way you can beg for food. So as regards the afterlife it would seem they fluctuate between saying it does or does not exist, and they end up leaving it all a fuzzy mess, just plumping for 'the uncreated' 無作.

Now the fourth period is Hannya (*prajñāpāramitā*), wisdom. Other sūtras have their wisdoms of one sort or another of course, but many of them divide their teachings into three: morality, meditation and wisdom; but only these sūtras base themselves entirely on the wisdom of Ultimate Emptiness 畢竟空, so they are specifically given the title 'wisdom.' This is known as the 'message that all is emptiness' 卽空ノ沙汰, in which he preached the doctrine of Ultimate Emptiness for fourteen years, including the Hōdō (*vaipulya*) teachings of emptiness and existence that we have just described. And at the end he preached the *Sūtra of Innumerable Meanings* 無量義經, using it as the preface to the *Lotus*. In this sūtra it says: "for over forty years he refrained from teaching the real truth," which means forty-two years in all: twelve for the Agon, sixteen for the Hōdō, and fourteen for the Hannya. And during this time he did not yet reveal the truth.

So when did he reveal the truth? In the fifth period, that of the *Lotus Sūtra*. During these eight years the doctrine he taught was the truth contained in the eight-fascicle *Lotus*. And to give you the gist of it: it is encapsulated in the five characters of the title, *Myōhō rengekyō* 妙法蓮華經. If you inquire as to the meaning of each character, *myō* 妙 means inconceivable and is a statement

74 Not quite a direct quotation. See Watson 1997, pp. 95–96 (T.14/475: 549.b.6).

of praise. What is praised? The meaning is praise for the Law (*Dharma* 法), in which case it should really be written *hōmyō* 法妙, but *myōhō* 妙法 is considered preferable on stylistic grounds. So what is this Dharma that is praised? It is that of the ten worlds, the ten aspects of thusness, and the teaching of the provisional and real. In other words it refers to every mind of every man. The mind of man sometimes suffers and hell arises; sometimes there is sorrow and [the hell of] hungry ghosts arises; but with no-thought and no-mind the fruits of the Buddha are manifest. Try and call this existence and you cannot see its form. Try and call it nothingness and thoughts of the ten worlds will arise; this is why the mind is identified as the 'inconceivable Law.'

And for those who really fail to understand this, the second compound renge 蓮華 is provided. This compares the mind to a lotus in the water. The lotus grows out of mud and yet is spotless; it also contains both flower and fruit. When the mind of man rejects a myriad thoughts, this resembles a lotus that remains spotless. And the thought that becomes the cause of Hell arising in the mind is itself the fruit of the Buddha, so the fact that a lotus contains at one and the same time the flower (cause) and the fruit (result) is compared to a mind where cause and result are one. This is the lotus as metaphor. And look at the shape of the lotus. Since the shape of the heart within the breast of man resembles a lotus in bud, by referring to that ball of red flesh one is referring directly to the *Lotus of the Inconceivable Law*.[75] Lastly, there is the character for sūtra, *kyō* 經, which is read *tate* and means 'weft.' The whole doctrine is woven together with the Five Periods as the weft and the Four Teachings as the warp. So in the final analysis the *Lotus Sūtra* means Dharma Flower, this one mind. This is why Zhanran in his commentary says: "You should know that the whole *Lotus* is the mind 方寸 of man."[76] The word 方寸 means heart/mind, this ball of red flesh that is in the breast of man.

Myōshū: As you have shown, one has often heard explanations of the *Lotus* and they never differ; it's the usual Buddhism. And yet, have you not heard talk of the three types of *Lotus*? Does such a strange thing exist?

Yūtei: Indeed it does. Saichō in his commentary said: "'In the one Buddha vehicle' is the basic teaching of the *Lotus*. 'Explaining by dividing it into three' is the esoteric teaching of the *Lotus*. 'There only exists one vehicle' is the manifest

75 The character 心 refers to both heart and mind, which allows the reference to the physical heart here to overlap with "mind." The term "ball of red flesh" *shakunikudan* 赤肉団 can refer to either the heart or, by extension, the body as a whole.

76 From Zhanran's 法華文句記 (T.34/1719: 214.c.28–29).

teaching of the *Lotus*. Other than the *Lotus* there is no other sūtra."[77] This is where we hear of the three types of *Lotus*. "'In the one Buddha vehicle' is the basic teaching of the *Lotus*" refers to that level where [the listeners] are not yet capable of understanding the inner enlightenment of the Buddha. "The esoteric teaching of the *Lotus*" is still the *Lotus* but the Four Flavors and the Three Teachings 四味三教 are explained from an esoteric perspective. The reason is that what was not [actually] two or three was divided into three to fit the capabilities [of the listeners]. "Manifest teaching of the *Lotus*" refers to the fifth period when one 'reveals to unify' 開會. In other words, before the *Lotus* the two vehicles were despised because they could not become buddhas, but after the *Lotus* the principle of the one truth was revealed and then unified. In the *Lotus* it says: "What you are [all] practicing is the bodhisattva way."[78] This is what is known as 'one's present level is itself inconceivable enlightenment and the original level never changes' 當位卽妙本位不改.[79] When you become enlightened to the inner knowledge of the real aspect of all dharmas, since from the first hell to the last fruit of the Buddha all is a virtue inherent in the One Mind, the one thought that arises in the form of hell is itself inconceivable enlightenment, as is the [thought] that arises in the form of [the hell of] hungry ghosts, as is the one thought that arises as the fruit of the Buddha. It is the same with the two vehicles; this is what the term 'reveals to unify' 開會 means. These two characters should be read *yurushi* 'forgive' and *kanawashimuru* 'cause to fit.'[80] So, prior to the *Lotus* the two vehicles were despised and kept very much at a distance, and "for over forty years he did not reveal the truth." And so what kind of truth was preached in the One Inconceivable Vehicle, you ask? See. More of the same old stuff!

Now for goodness sake don't tell any Nichiren priests I said this! The Nichiren school's understanding of enlightenment is different from that of Tendai; they impose their own interpretation on everything and believe that if you don't rely on this one sūtra you are beyond help. They lack a proper understanding of enlightenment, what is usually called in Buddhism, the Way of Contemplation 觀道. The Zen school calls this lot 'the sightless ones,' because they are blind to the Law. And, commenting on the *Lotus*, they distinguish four types of interpretation, 'causes and conditions' 因緣, 'doctrine' 約教, 'source and trace' 本迹, and 'contemplation of mind' 觀心. They say that not to grasp 'contemplation of mind' is just [as useless as] counting up treasure that belongs to someone else.

---

77 From Saichō's 守護國界章 (T.74/2362: 140.a.7–10).

78 Watson 1993, p. 106; T.9/262:20.b.23. Habian uses this same passage in 'On Kegon.'

79 From Zhanran's 法華玄義釈籤 (T.33/1717: 843.b.22–23).

80 Obscure. It is not at all clear why these readings should be suggested in such a context.

In [Zhiyi's] commentary he discusses contemplation of mind as follows: "If you count up someone else's treasure day and night you will have not even one part of a copper coin. But if you contemplate the height and breadth of your own mind you will obtain a limitless holy response 聖應. As your capability increases and you reach a state of receptiveness, you will obtain benefit."[81] But the Nichiren school either fixates on the 'causes and conditions' angle, or the 'doctrinal' angle, arguing that: "those whose obstructions are deep, particularly women, have no hope of salvation apart from this sūtra and Śākyamuni himself," and "because other sūtras are [actually produced] for the purpose of manifesting the truth of the *Lotus*, they are all provisional teachings." They go on and on about how the *Lotus* is the ultimate sūtra and it never occurs to them that the truth of the *Lotus* lies in the contemplation of mind. They are obsessed with honoring the sūtra itself. Perhaps this is why they are so selfish and go around saying things like: "Those who practice the *nenbutsu* will endlessly suffer in Hell; Zen monks are devils; Shingon will destroy the land; the Vinaya school robs the country; the *Lotus* alone is supreme."

Zhanran in his *Commentary on* [*Zhiyi's*] *Profound Meaning of the Lotus* writes: "In propagating the *Lotus* it is a mistake to praise it excessively, not to mention [denigrating] other sūtras. Who, having spoken of opening up the provisional and revealing the true, could then aim to destroy the provisional?"[82] What he meant was that in extolling the sūtra one should not praise it too much, not to mention denigrating other sūtras, which is beyond the pale. The reason for this is that there is a danger of becoming an enemy of the Law if you concentrate exclusively on the phrase "for over forty years he did not reveal the truth." If you have already opened out the provisional and manifested the true, then there is no true apart from the provisional and no provisional apart from the true. Was there ever anyone past or present who thinks like the Nichiren school does? In China there was a monk called Meditation Master Fada 法達禪師 who believed that one would become a buddha if one chanted the Lotus 10,000 times. He had already done 3,000 when he met the Sixth [Zen] Patriarch Huineng 慧能 who produced for him a verse that went:

> If your mind is in error then the *Lotus* will control you,
> If your mind is enlightened then you will control the *Lotus*.
> To chant the sūtra for ages will not clarify the self,
> You will become an enemy of the meaning.
> To have many thoughts engenders error.

81 From Zhiyi's 法華文句 (T.34/1718: 2.b.8–10).

82 From Zhanran's 法華玄義釋籤 (T.33/1717: 868.a.16–17).

To think no thoughts is correct.
Existence and non-existence cannot be measured
Rather spend your time driving a cart pulled by a white ox.[83]

And at that moment Fada achieved enlightenment, confessed "reciting 3,000 times could not compete with one verse from Huineng," and stopped reciting. Now the first couplet means that if your thoughts go astray, you will be led by the *Lotus*, but if your mind is enlightened then you will lead the sūtra. The second couplet means that if you just read and do not clear your mind, you will on the contrary become an enemy [of Buddhism]. The third couplet means to have many thoughts is not a good thing; what you should be doing is not thinking of anything, neither the Buddha nor the Law. The last couplet means that if your mind is empty, it will be like riding a cart pulled by a great white ox.

The cart pulled by a white ox is a metaphor from the *Lotus*, where it talks of goat-carts, deer-carts and ox-carts. The white ox-cart was the vehicle of Mahāyāna. So in the chapter 'Simile and Parable' it says: "on which were placed vermilion pillows. Each carriage was drawn by a white ox."[84] The placing of the vermilion pillows refers to being secure in no mind and no thought. Not realizing this, the Nichiren school keep on repeating superficially that "without the power of this sūtra, there can be no help for the afterlife." The mind is what is really manifest in the sūtra; the sūtra is the image that emerges from mind. Unaware of this, they pay obeisance to the sūtra itself, grasping the image rather than the real thing.

Myōshū: In that case the *Lotus* would seem to be not that important. And yet it is said that women in particular should believe in this sūtra because it contains an account of how an eight-year old dragon princess became a buddha. Now I am not a *Lotus* school person myself, but this does seem like a marvelous occurrence. So what about this story?

Yūtei: As you say, the most famous story in the *Lotus* is the one about the Dragon Princess becoming a buddha. But it's all just a lie. Why? Because the realm of the Dragon Palace does not exist, so neither the Dragon Princess nor her father the Dragon King Sagara can exist either. At the bottom of the sea there has never been anything but fish, and no one has ever mentioned an afterlife for animals and the like. No matter if it appears in a sūtra, it goes against reason; if

83 From the 景德傳燈錄 (T.51/2076: 238.a.24–27) and also the 六祖經 (T.48/2008: 343.a.1–3). See Yampolsky 1967, pp. 165–167.

84 法華經 (T.9/262: 12.c.21–22); Watson 1993, p. 58.

everyone believed it, wisdom would be worthless. Basically there's no greater liar than Śākyamuni. The poet Ikkyū once wrote: "If there are those who fall into Hell for telling lies, then what of Śākyamuni, who created that which was not?"[85] What a clever monk he was! First there is Mt. Sumeru, that we mentioned at the outset, and now we have this Dragon Palace; neither of them exist. This should be proof that Śākyamuni was telling lies and that the *Lotus* contains many falsehoods. To assert that something happened in the past when it did not is a bit like 'throwing water over each other;' you can't tell what is and is not true. And to then pull out and parade lies about what one can see here and now! We really must expose these lies. Let's start with the [chapter entitled] 'The Emergence of the Treasure Tower,' where it says: "At that time in the Buddha's presence there was a tower adorned with the seven treasures, five hundred *yojanas* in height and two hundred *yojanas* in width and depth, that rose up out of the Earth and stood suspended in the air,"[86] and "That Buddha, through his supernatural powers and the power of his vow, insures that, throughout the worlds in the ten directions, no matter in what place, if there are those who preach the *Lotus Sūtra*, this treasure tower will in all cases come forth and appear in their presence, and his complete body will be in the tower, speaking words of praise and saying, Excellent, excellent!"[87] It's obvious that this tower five hundred *yojanas* in height which is said to have emerged from the ground when the Buddha preached is a lie. Why? He tries to claim that whenever the *Lotus* is preached, this tower emerges from the Earth and from it comes "excellent, excellent." But show me where this has ever actually happened, even once? Forget about anywhere else. They tell me there are twenty-one temples in the capital. A treasure tower five inches square has never ever emerged from the Earth at one of these temples, never mind a tower measuring five hundred *yojanas*. In fact I've never heard of any treasure having emerged anywhere. Well that's one lie for a start.

And in [the chapter entitled] 'Peaceful Practices' it says: "Anyone who reads this sūtra will at all times be free of worry and anxiety; likewise he will be

85 The English translation here is a rendering of the original from Ikkyū's *Mizukagami chū menashigusa*: "*uso o tsuki jigoku e otsuru mono naraba, nakikoto tsukuru Shaka ika ni sen*," which makes more sense in context than the version that Habian uses: "*uso tsukite jigoku ni otsuru mono nakuwa nakikoto iishi Shaka ikaga sen*," which translates as "If no one falls into Hell by telling lies, then what of Śākyamuni, who talked of that which was not."

86 Watson 1993, p. 170 (T.9/262: 32.b.17–18).

87 Ibid., p. 172 (T.9/262: 32.c.16–18).

without illness or pain, his expression fresh and bright."[88] But among monks of this *Lotus* school there are many who suffer acutely from worry and countless others who are ill. It says they will look fresh and bright, but think how many of them actually have poor eyesight, bad complexions and lack talent. That's the second lie. And then in the same chapter it says: "If men speak ill and revile it, their mouths will be closed and stopped up."[89] But there are many who speak ill of the *Lotus* and I have never seen one of them have his mouth stopped up. This is the third lie. And in [the chapter entitled] 'Medicine King' it says: "This sūtra provides good medicine for the ills of the people of Jambudvīpa. If a person who had an illness is able to hear this sūtra, then his illness will be wiped out and he will know neither old age or death."[90] Well they may not have died, but there are many who have run out of breath while intoning this sūtra as an incantation. It says "neither old age nor death," but it is rare for even devotees of the *Lotus* to exceed the allotted eighty or ninety years. You could call this the fourth lie.

And then in the [chapter entitled] 'Universal Gateway' it says: "Think on the power of Kannon and the pit of fire will change into a pond."[91] Someone may think on Kannon but it goes without saying that if you throw him into a pit of fire, he'll be burned to death. Just set his house alight and in the absence of water of course he'll be burned to death. The *Heike monogatari* describes how, on the twenty-ninth day of the seventh month of the first year of Eiman (1136), I think it was, both the Hall of the Thousand Armed Kannon and the Kiyomizudera burned down. Was it set alight by other monks? No, by the monks of Hieizan! I'm not the only one to have criticised this sūtra for its lies. People at the time, the bright ones, presumably thought it was a bit of a joke, because they stuck a sarcastic note on the board at the main gate of Kiyomizu, which read: "So what happened to changing the pit of fire into a pond, then?" And there were other equally witty fellows who responded with placards quoting [from the same chapter]: "For kalpas he is inconceivable, untouchable." Is this not the butt of jokes even now? That's why this passage can be considered the fifth lie.

And while we are on the subject, the three divisions of the *Lotus* are also a lie. Those who read this sūtra with particular care will realize that what I say is true. There are places where things are all topsy-turvy. In [the chapter entitled] 'Emerging from the Earth,' for example, it says: "All the bodhisattvas emerged from the Earth and while they were praising and honoring Śākyamuni, he sat

88 Watson 1993, p. 209 (T.9/262: 39.b.14–15).

89 Ibid. Watson has "him" instead of "it" here.

90 Ibid., p. 288 (T.9/262: 54.c.25–26).

91 Ibid., pp. 303–304 (T.9/262: 57.c.18).

there in silence for fifty (small) kalpas. But through his supernatural powers it seemed to the assembled multitude to be only half a day."[92] Just think about it. Let us suppose that they did think it was only half a day. But fifty (small) kalpas are said to have passed, tens of millions of days elapsed, and yet Śākyamuni is said to have died aged eighty. Indeed it seems that he was born in the twenty-fourth year of King Zhao of the Zhou Dynasty and died in the fifty-third year of King Mu. That would give seventy-nine years. If fifty (small) kalpas had passed, how can that be reconciled with the [historical] record? Isn't it ridiculous, this kind of nonsense, this habit of saying just what they please?

Now I've been going on about so much else that I've forgotten the business of the Dragon Princess. Now, as I have explained, the idea that she became a buddha is not true. But there is another way of looking at it. According to a secret tradition, in everyone's breast there lies a small snake three inches long; that is the eight-year old Princess.[93] This three-inch snake symbolizes the three poisons of craving, hatred and ignorance. They say that because it is a small snake, it is represented by a young girl. But if you want to talk about being small, why not say six years old rather than eight? Well, because man has eight consciousnesses and the three poisons are the small snake therein. So the idea is that eight-years old suggests eight consciousnesses. There is also a ninth consciousness (*amala*), but that refers to the Unsullied Land in the South where she became a buddha, what they call the 'Layer of Original Law' 本法の重. Is this why the ninth consciousness is called unsullied? Unsullied means having become enlightened with a clear consciousness. And you ask to what south refers? The south is symbolized by fire, and fire is the [*Yijing*] trigram *li* 離. It looks like this ☲, and is described as "the center of *li* is split" 離中斷. This signifies that the center of the mind is void, with no mind and no thought, so the three passions are stilled. That state is called 'becoming a buddha.' Now among the six secret traditions surrounding her buddhahood you will find that her abode in the Unsullied Land is linked to the vermilion pillows. As I said before, you should realize that vermilion pillows signify the absence of thought, so the person we know as the Dragon Princess does not exist outside our bodies.

This kind of thing just cannot possibly be understood by members of the Nichiren school; they just claim that: "without the power of this sūtra no salvation is possible." Is this not absurd? Linji 臨濟, who understood this principle well, said: "the teaching of the three vehicles in twelve categories is just a load

92 Ibid., p. 214 (T.9/262: 40.a.17–21). This quotation is in fact a paraphrase.

93 This medieval esoteric interpretation comes from the 'Sannō' chapter of the *Keiran shūyōshū* 溪嵐拾葉集 (T.76/2410: 517.c.18–20).

of old paper to wipe away filth."[94] For him sūtras were old bits of paper for wiping things up and throwing away; he saw through it all. Mind you, if I go on like this there will be no end to it; let's leave the discussion of the *Lotus* school here. In the end, the difference between Tendai and Nichiren is that the latter do not discuss the importance of contemplating the mind; they just revere the sūtra itself and indulge in self-aggrandizement. Tendai has the same understanding of enlightenment involving all dharmas being One Mind, but the difference is that it understands the real meaning of the sūtra.

On Shingon

Myōshū: So we have now heard about the Dragon Princess achieving enlightenment. A tale about a land at the bottom of the sea called the Realm of the Dragon Palace isn't exactly serious, is it? So, having dealt with the *Lotus* school, what about Shingon teachings? I think I have heard them called 'esoteric,' quite unusual.

Yūtei: As you say, Shingon is known as the 'esoteric school' and might seem to be unique, but it's not really that different from Tendai. Although we tend to call Tendai 'exoteric' and Shingon 'esoteric,' it's really just like calling a hand a fist when it's clenched and a palm when it's open. Just as our hands have ten fingers in a row, whether they are clenched or not, Buddhism has only ten realms and no more, whether exoteric or esoteric. I would like, of course, to get on explaining the basis of my own beliefs, but let me here give you a brief outline of Shingon.

So Shingon has a wide range of teachings, but they can be summarized in the 'six elements' 六大, the 'four maṇḍala' 四曼 and the 'three mysteries' 三密. The six elements are earth, water, fire, wind, space, and consciousness. The four maṇḍala are the great 大, the samaya 三, the dharma 法, and the three-dimensional 羯. The three mysteries are body 身, word 語, and thought 意. But this is not enough to understand so let me explain in more detail. In Shingon there exists a deity called Mahāvairocana, who is treated as something like the main object of worship. Now, they discriminate between his essence 體, his aspects 相, and his function 用. In general, essence, whatever that might be, can be defined as the foundation of all aspects such as length and size, how long, short, square or round it is. Function is the activity that emerges from that essence and these aspects.

94 臨濟錄 (T.47/1985: 499.c.20).

The essence of Mahāvairocana is the six elements, i.e. earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness. Earth, water, fire and wind we have already discussed, so they can be taken as read, but what of space? It is called the 'void.' 虛空 where if you put an object it [disappears and] cannot be touched, and where there are no obstructions. The *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* says: "Know that space is equivalent to the void"[95] and it describes the nature of consciousness as being discrimination, distinguishing between 'willows are green' and 'flowers are red.' Realize that it is also called 'mind' 心 or 'thought' 意. Mind, thought, and consciousness are one and the same. That they are not different is expressed in [Kūkai's treatise] *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* as: "the six elements are without obstruction and always *yoga*."[96] Without obstruction is described as 'free interpenetration;' A enters B and B enters A without hindrance. *Yoga* means mutual responsiveness. Mutual responsiveness and [free] interpenetration signify being identical, so the wind is emptiness and emptiness is consciousness, and the six elements are always one and the same, their totality being the essence of Mahāvairocana.

Aspects relates to the four maṇḍala, i.e. the great, the samaya, the dharma, and three-dimensional. According to the explanation in the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra*,[97] each one represents the body with the auspicious marks of the buddha and bodhisattvas. The images of their forms are called the great maṇḍala. The second, the *samaya* maṇḍala, contains the objects that symbolize them: banners, sword, dharma-wheel, vajra, lotus, and the like. The third, the dharma maṇḍala, contains the seed characters (*bīja*) and mantra of the main objects of worship, as well as the meanings of all sūtras in the canon. The fourth, the three-dimensional maṇḍala, consists of the various prescribed movements, gestures and actions of all buddhas and bodhisattvas. These four types of maṇḍala are closely related, so in the same verse [Kūkai says]: "the four maṇḍala are not separate from each other."[98]

Now as for the next item, function, this refers to the three mysteries. The first is that of the body whereby one creates mudrās with the hands; the second is words, which is the intoning of *mantra*; the third is the mind, which is to dwell in meditation (*samādhi*). These, then, are the essence, aspects and functions of Mahāvairocana.

95 大日經 (T.18/848: 9.b.16).
96 卽身成佛義 (T.77/2428: 381.c.17).
97 金剛頂 (T.18/865).
98 卽身成佛義 (T.77/2428: 381.c.17).

Myōshū: Strange indeed. What you have just described has all to do with human actions. You say they are the essence, aspects and functions of Mahāvairocana, but that's hard to grasp. Are you sure you are correct?

Yūtei: Your puzzlement is only natural. Indeed, although they claim that Mahāvairocana is to be honored and believe him to be the immovable, permanent one at the pinnacle of their dharma lineage, this same Mahāvairocana does not exist outside the human realm. And it's not just humans. Ghosts and animals, as well as celestial beings, are all treated as being Mahāvairocana; in fact even insects, and those peaches and bladder cherries lying in that ditch over there, are understood to be Mahāvairocana. So human beings are, of course, Mahāvairocana, his essence being mind and body made up of the six elements.

As for the aspects of the four maṇḍala, there is, first of all, the human form, in other words, the great maṇḍala. Then even such things as a peasant's spade and hoe, a samurai's sword and dagger, a monk's surplice and robes, a woman's needle and thread, are all regarded as a *samaya* maṇḍala. And even just writing down 'I miss you' in a letter is said to be a dharma maṇḍala. And every human action such as getting up, lying down, standing or sitting is a three-dimensional maṇḍala. And what are these three mysteries they call the 'function?' To raise your hands, to move your feet, even to flick your fingers is to perform a *mudrā*, all part of the mysterious signs of the body. Once you realize that just one breath is the *mantra* of the letter A, then to slander or spread rumors about someone, or to begrudge and denigrate someone, this too is a *mantra*, the mystery of the word. And thoughts of a myriad things arise in our minds. We sometimes feel envy or sadness or pain; this is the mystery of the mind, meaning that we dwell in *samādhi*. So you see, when it comes down to it Mahāvairocana is not that special.

Myōshū: Dear me! This is very different from what I had previously heard. How shallow it all is! But I understood that the Mahāvairocana in the Diamond Realm (Vajradhātu) and in the Womb Realm (Garbhadhātu), and the two maṇḍala themselves indeed, are extremely important. Are they connected to what you have been talking about?

Yūtei: The Mahāvairocana in the two maṇḍala are one and the same thing. Shingon divides man into body and mind; the physical body is understood to be Mahāvairocana in the Womb Realm, and the mind to be Mahāvairocana in the Diamond Realm. Body and mind are fundamentally one and indivisible, so

the 'Mahāvairocana in the non-dual Diamond and Womb Realms' refers to this one body. You should also realize that the Diamond and Womb Realms are yin and yang. Man is yang, so [we have] Mahāvairocana of the Diamond Realm; woman is yin, so [there is] Mahāvairocana of the Womb Realm. And the same goes for the two maṇḍala themselves. I think that's enough about the Diamond and Womb Realms.

Now the word *maṇḍala* is Sanskrit and is sometimes translated as 'platform' and sometimes as 'complete plenitude' 輪圓具足. The reason for this is that a maṇḍala incorporates all buddhas and bodhisattvas and, not only that, but all ten realms without exception including hells and the realm of hungry ghosts. There are other maṇḍala as well. There are text-based maṇḍala that depict buddhas and bodhisattvas associated with particular sūtras, treatises and commentaries; and then there is the actual maṇḍala 現圖 [that Kūkai brought back], which always consists of images and is hung [on a wall], a dual maṇḍala with the Diamond World and its nine assemblies—the three-dimensional 羯磨會, the *samaya* 三昧耶會, subtle discernment 微細會, homage 供養會, the four *mudrā* 四印會, the single *mudrā* 一印會, the guiding principle 理趣會, the descent into the three realms 降三世羯磨會 and its *samaya* equivalent 降三世三昧耶會—and the Womb World with its thirteen divisions. And there is also the maṇḍala passed down by the teacher.[99] None of these are divorced from the body. A verse in [Kūkai's] *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* says: "The Shingon [practioner] first places the maṇḍala in his own body, then from his feet to his navel he forms a great vajra wheel and from there, reaching his mind, he imagines a wheel of water and above that a wheel of fire and above that a wheel of wind."[100] Nothing exists apart from one's own body. The meaning of this verse is interpreted as follows: "the vajra wheel refers to the letter A; the letter A represents earth. You can also recognize water, fire, and wind from the same passage."[101] If you understand this clearly then it needs no more explanation. It states: "The maṇḍala-platform is space; the Shingon [practitioner] is mind."[102] We should understand that the maṇḍala of the Two Realms exist in our very own body. Is this not what Kūkai meant when he said: "The Buddha Dharma is nowhere remote. It is in our mind; it is close to us.

99 There seems to be a lacuna here. The "teacher" (*ajari*) is assumed to be Kūkai's master Huiguo 恵果.

100 Kūkai is quoting here from the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (T.77/2428: 382.c.25–28).

101 T.77/2428: 382.b.19–20.

102 T.77/2428: 382.b.20.

Thusness is nowhere external. If not within our body, where can it be found?"[103] By Buddha Dharma is meant that the Dharma Body of Knowledge is the same as the Mind Dharma. By Thusness is meant that the Dharma Body of Principle is the same as the Form Dharma 色法. Therefore, the form of Mahāvairocana in the Two Realms is the true aspect of form and mind, the foundation of both principle and knowledge (理智).

To sum up: the five Buddhas, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amida, Śākyamuni and Mahāvairocana, do not exist in another realm. They are five Buddhas in one's own body. The five kinds of knowledge 五智 come from a redefinition of the nine consciousnesses, eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, thought, obstructions (*manas* 末那), store-house (*ālaya* 阿賴耶), and undefiled (*amala* 無垢). The redefined eighth consciousness, the store-house, becomes the knowledge of a great perfect mirror 大圓鏡智 (*adarśana-jñāna*), which relates to Akṣobhya Buddha in the east. The redefined seventh consciousness, that of obstructions, becomes the knowledge of essential identity 平等性智 (*samatā-jñāna*), which relates to Ratnasaṃbhava in the south. The redefined sixth consciousness becomes the knowledge of marvelous observation 妙觀察智 (*pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna*), which relates to Amida in the west. The redefined fifth consciousness, that of the body, becomes the knowledge with unrestricted activity 成所作智 (*kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*), which relates to Amoghasiddhi in the north. The redefined ninth consciousness, the undefiled, becomes the knowledge of the fundamental nature of the Dharma realm 法界體性智, which relates to Mahāvairocana at the center. In this way these five Buddhas do not exist apart from sentient beings.

The thirty-seven honored ones are also nothing but functions of our mind. In the Diamond World Maṇḍala there are the 'sixteen great bodhisattvas:' Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga, Vajrasādhu, Vajraratna, Vajrateja, Vajraketu, Vajrahāsa, Vajradharma, Vajratīkṣṇa, Vajrahetu, Vajrabhāṣa, Vajrakarma, Vajrarakṣa, Vajrayakṣa and Vajrasandhi. In addition there are eight 'bodhisattvas as offerings:' Vajralasi, Vajramala, Vajragita, Vajranrtya, Vajradhupa, Vajrapuspa, Vajraloka, and Vajragandha. There are also the 'four gathered ones:' Vajraankuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa and Vajrāveśa, and the 'four perfected ones:' Vajrapāramitā, Ratnapāramitā, Dharmapāramitā and Karmapāramitā. Combine these with the previous five Buddhas and you have the 'Thirty-seven Honored Ones.' There is no need to explain in detail how these all represent functions of our mind. For example, when attraction arises, it is the bodhisattva of attraction; when desire arises, it is the bodhisattva of desire; when one sings, it is the bodhisattva of song; and when one dances, the bodhisattva

103 From Kūkai's 般若心經秘鍵 (T.57/2203: 11.a.10–11); Hakeda 1972, p. 263.

of dance, etc. So the following phrase expresses the same thing: "I take refuge in the lotus seat of the mysterious Law, which dwells forever in the intrinsically enlightened mind, originally adorning the virtue of the Three Bodies and dwelling in the citadel of the mind of the Thirty-seven Honored Ones."[104]

Myōshū: This all reminds me of the saying: "Keep spirits hidden away in the darkness." Now that the inner workings of something I previously thought worthy of notice have been clarified like this, it has lost its appeal. So what on earth does 'redefine consciousnesses into knowledges' mean?

Yūtei: What an excellent question! They certainly talk of redefinition, but how to carry this out no one really knows. So first of all, for example, the deluded thoughts of ordinary beings are called the 'thinking consciousness' 意識, while the wisdom that comes from contemplating Buddhist enlightenment is called the 'knowledge of marvelous observation.' From the point of view of one's own body, to think that Hell might exist is terrifying, and to think that the Land of Ultimate Bliss might exist is encouraging; the one bad, the other good; such we call the 'thinking consciousness' of ordinary beings. But once one has become enlightened, where is this Hell and this Land of Ultimate Bliss other than in our minds? Good and evil are products of the mind and are not distinct from each other. To realize that we are inherently buddhas is to understand the 'knowledge of marvelous observation,' to understand Amida in the West. Such is the meaning of 'redefinition.' Now this is very different from the teachings of my own Christianity.

Myōshū: So redefinition refers to becoming enlightened, does it? In which case I used to think that Christianity taught that neither the gods nor buddhas, nor Hell nor Heaven existed, but actually it's the other way round. Christianity teaches the existence of Hell and Heaven, while the heart of Buddhist teaching is that neither the gods nor buddhas, nor Hell nor the Land of Ultimate Bliss, actually exist outside our minds. Now I realize why the monks used to say to me somewhat dismissively: "Now listen Myōshū. Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss, and the gods and buddhas are not what you think they are. But since enlightenment is difficult to attain just you go on sitting there chanting the *nenbutsu*." So I now understand the redefinition of consciousness as knowledge, but your eighth consciousness and ninth consciousness really are difficult to grasp. I think I am probably going to end up becoming a Christian

104 眞言宗卽身成佛義 (T.77/2428d: 389.a.16–17), which is attributed to Kūkai but is of much later provenance.

like you but, before I decide, I'd like to take this opportunity to learn as much as I can about Buddhism and Shintō. Whenever I asked the monks, they would get all secretive and merely hinted at this and that, so I have not yet been able to get to the truth. I really regret the time I have wasted getting fobbed off in various ways. Please enlighten me further about those [two types of] consciousness.

Yūtei: When it comes to consciousness, it depends on the school and it can be treated in various complicated ways. But since you ask, let me tell you briefly my understanding of the matter. Generally speaking, the number of consciousnesses differs between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. In Hīnayāna, they use the term 'sixfold classification,' namely of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind. With our eyes we see objects and distinguish red and white. With our ears we hear sounds. With the nose, we catch scent. With the tongue, we taste. With the body, we feel cold or heat. These are known as the 'five consciousnesses.' Then, in addition, there is consciousness of mind, which is unconnected to the five sense organs and has to do with emotions such as regret, desire, hate or love. The way enlightenment operates in this sixfold classification is that we become aware of colors and sounds thanks precisely to the fact we have eyes and ears, and once these five sense organs die and are no more, there is no way anything can be known. And as regards the sixth consciousness of mind, let me give you an example. Plants prosper thanks to the gift of rain and dew—'willows are green, flowers are red' as the saying goes—but once they die, nothing remains; so too, once man dies there is no mind. This is enlightenment according to the sixfold classification.

Provisional Mahāyāna schools such as Hossō propose 'eight consciousnesses.' These consist of the previous six plus two additional ones: the seventh called *manas* and the eighth called *ālayavijñāna*. Firstly, the *ālayavijñāna* is called the 'root consciousness.'[105] It is so called because it is said to be the first of the five 'effects of the present' in the twelve links of dependent origination, the first drop in the womb. It is said that the root of all dharmas, the foundation of all dharmas, lies here in this one drop and nowhere else. This is the eighth consciousness. Now the seventh consciousness is called *manas*, which we translate in this context as 'mind.' What is it? It is the first sign of mental activity that spontaneously arises from the no-mind and no-thought of the basic *ālayavijñāna* consciousness, the idea that this no-mind and no-thought of the *ālayavijñāna* is something fundamental. So, the seventh consciousness

105 Habian uses the term 根本意識. The usual English translation of *ālayavijñāna* is 'Storehouse Consciousness.'

does not have its own self-entity. It is, as it were, a 'function' of the eighth consciousness. Enlightenment according to Hossō with its theory of eight consciousnesses, was explained by Fazang as: "If just one thought remains unborn, one will immediately attain buddhahood."[106] In other words, if just one thought does not occur, in that instant buddha-nature becomes manifest.

Genuine Mahāyāna schools such as Kegon and Tendai posit a ninth consciousness in addition to the eight, which they call the *amalavijñāna* 菴摩羅 and which I will here translate as 'undefiled consciousness.' To what does this refer? You would not generally expect there to be more than eight, but these true Mahāyāna schools seem to have postulated a further ninth, simply in order to puff themselves up. As proof of this, look at what it says in the *Sutra of the Adornments of the Tathāgata's Merits and Virtues*: "The Tathāgata's undefiled consciousness is a pure undefiled realm, free from all hindrances and corresponding to the perfect mirror of knowledge."[107] As I explained earlier, 'undefiled consciousness' is a translation of the ninth consciousness *amalavijñāna*, and as the 'perfect mirror of knowledge' is the knowledge that corresponds to the eighth consciousness, when it is stated that the 'undefiled consciousness' corresponds to the 'perfect mirror of knowledge,' this clearly means that the ninth consciousness is subsumed in the eighth. To explain this further, the *Compendium of the Canon*[108] quotes from the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* as follows:

> This *ālayavijñāna* is thusness, which does not maintain its own nature but accords with impure and pure conditions, and both combines and does not combine. It can contain all the real and mundane realms, which is why it is called the 'store consciousness.' It is like a clear mirror which contains both object and reflection yet does not combine them. This is what 'combining' means. As for what 'not combining' means, the body is always immutable and is therefore called thusness. Depending on whether there is combining or not combining, two meanings are generated. The essential and single thusness is quiet and unmoving. If one does not believe that the *ālayavijñāna* is the womb of the Tathāgata (*tathāgata-garbha*) and if one tries to seek the principle of thusness elsewhere, it is like seeking the mirror apart from the object. This is then an

106 From Fazang's 華嚴五教章 (T.45/1866: 481.b.16–17).

107 如來功德莊嚴經, but this quotation probably comes via the 成唯識論 (T.31/1585: 13.c.22–24).

108 See p. 69, n. 34.

> impaired intelligence that not yet distinguishes the unchanging [from change] in accordance with conditions.[109]

So since the place that is unaffected by the realm of the eighth consciousness is the ninth consciousness or thusness, it should not be sought beyond the *ālayavijñāna*. Kegon teachings have it that: "these seven redefined consciousnesses are all treated as discrete activities of the root consciousness,"[110] which means that the first five, and the sixth (of mind), and even the seventh *manas* consciousness are all discrete activities of the root consciousness and hence not different entities in their own right. 'Root consciousness' refers to the eighth, the *ālayavijñāna*. 'Discrete activities' means, for example, seeing colors with our eyes, namely our 'visual consciousness.' When one responds to the dharma through the sixth consciousness, it is called mind consciousness but its essence is nothing but the *ālayavijñāna*. Tripiṭaka Master Xuanzang 玄奘三藏 said: "the eighth consciousness at the dharma level is the same as the ninth."[111] This again means that the ninth is to be found nowhere but in the eighth. And the Zen master Yuanwu said: "My job as a monk is quite simple: one sword cut in the field of the eighth consciousness,"[112] by which he meant that the ninth is a matter of cutting away and discarding everything that has to do with the eighth. But this too is a function of the eighth, so you should realize they are the same.

Now in addition to these nine, the Shingon School adds a tenth (consciousness of the single mind) and an eleventh (limitless consciousness), but these are all discrete activities of the one root consciousness and not something separate. Here it is important to understand the nature of mind, thought and consciousness in Buddhism. These three are expressed as: "three names but one essence."[113] The *Vibhāṣā-śāstra* explains this by means of an example:

> Someone asked: "What is the difference between mind, thought and consciousness?" The answer came: "There is no difference. Mind is thought and thought is consciousness. They are the same, just like fire can be called fire, or flames, or conflagration."[114]

---

109 T.16/676: 692.c.22–23.

110 From Fazang's 華嚴經探玄記 (T.35/1733: 347.a.11–12).

111 Originally noted by Kuiji in his 大乘法苑義林章 (T.45/1861: 26.b.18–19).

112 An exact source for this has not been identified.

113 Reading 名 for 各.

114 毘婆沙論 (T.27/1545: 281.b.11–14).

The name varies depending on the function, but the essence is just one. The meaning of this example is that if the fire is smoldering it is just called fire and that's it; when it burns it is called 'flames;' and when the flames flare up higher it is called a conflagration. Conflagration means 'at its peak.' So when the mind is empty, we just call it mind; when a thought occurs it is called thought; and when the same mind goes on to create distinctions in detail, between green and red, for example, it is called consciousness. So you should realize that the names vary depending on the function but their essence is not two or three but one. It is difficult to give a short explanation of theories of consciousness, so that was just an outline. I hope you get the gist of it.

Myōshū: You have explained consciousness in detail, so now I think my doubts have been cleared up. But tell me, what is this meditation on the letter A all about?

Yūtei: It is meditating on your own breath.

Myōshū: This is where I get a little confused. In Shingon, *a-vi-ra-hūṃ-khaṃ* refers to the seed characters 種子 of the five elements, earth, water, fire, wind and space. So why is it that the letter A, which is the seed character for earth, is chosen for meditation on the essence of breath?

Yūtei: A good question. Although there are many reasons why the seed character of the earth element was chosen for meditation on the essence of breath, the main one is that that the letter A is the first of all sounds, and when we open our mouths it is the sound '*A*' that comes out. In addition, the letter A is connected to ideas of hardness, dampness, warmth, motion, lack of obstruction, and perception. All six elements are said to reside in the 'wind of our breath.' So hardness is understood as expressing the solidity of the earth element in the sense that its essence cannot be destroyed by striking and cannot be cut even if you tried. Dampness is connected to water in that breath has moisture. Warmth is connected to fire in that breath is warm and has the potential to dry. Motion refers to the fact that the essence of breath is fundamentally wind, its spirit being to move and be active. Lack of obstruction is connected to air, in the sense that the essence of breath is to remain unaffected by objects. Perception refers to 'original wisdom' in the sense that the essence of breath is fundamentally non-discriminatory.

In general, this letter A allows us to recognize our own mind; and our own mind is our breath. The character for 'breath' 息 is made up of 'self' 自 and

'mind' 心, so it is said that we should meditate to 'truly know our own mind,'[115] to know things as they really are. When breathing stops, life is finished. When discrimination and one's nature to move and act is no more, then one's mind can be found nowhere but in one's breath. The *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* says: "The letter A is the first life and exists universally in both sentient and insentient beings,"[116] by which is meant that breathing contains the essence of sentient and insentient life. And in the tenth section of that sūtra it states: "Life is wind. Life is conception 想. Conception is thought, so the root of life is in constant breath and conception."[117] In other words neither life nor mind exist outside of breathing.

Although they distinguish between breathing as function and mind and nature as essence, this is merely so as not to confuse people; in fact they are one and the same. Why? Since Kūkai said that 'the attainment of buddhahood in this very body"' is to be the main aim, why seek mind or Buddha anywhere other than in breath, namely in form? So Amida is the redefinition of the 'cognition of marvelous observation.' So mind and breath are one and the same; this is why Amida's seed character *hrīḥ* ह्रीः is based on the [sound] *ha* ह.[118] The letter A is wind. Amida is translated into Chinese as 'Limitless Life' 無量壽. This Limitless Life is itself breath. This accords with the passage from the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* that I quoted above.

Not only Amida but both Kṣitigarbha (Jizō) and Avalokiteśvara (Kannon) are connected to this 'wind of breath' and the letter A. In the *Bussetsu Jizōkyō* it states: "At the heart of the bodhisattva who prolongs life (Jizō) lies Acala and his essence is the letter A."[119] From this we can tell that Jizō is the element Earth. He is not that exalted a figure. In terms of the 'wind of breath' he is a function of hardness. And Avalokiteśvara is called the *hṛdaya*, the heart of all sentient beings, the 'lump of red flesh' in one's chest being the true Avalokiteśvara. Therefore she is depicted [holding] in her left hand a lotus bud called the 'lotus yet to bloom,' and in her right hand a lotus in bloom called the 'spirit of the open flower.' This signifies that the lump of flesh in our chests shaped like a lotus bud is the true Avalokiteśvara. The statues in Hase and Kiyomizu

115 大日經 (T.18/848: 1.c.1).

116 T.18/848: 38.b.28–29.

117 Not in fact from the sūtra but from the commentary 大日經疏 (T.39/1796: 689.b.8–10).

118 *Ha* represents the element 'wind.'

119 The text reads 延命菩薩中心不動阿字本體, Enmei Bosatsu being another name for Kṣitigarbha, meaning 'Earth womb,' hence 地藏 (Jizō). The *Bussetsu Jizōkyō* 佛說地藏經 has not been identified but the quotation here comes from *Keiran shūyōshū* (T.76/2410: 615.b.12–13).

are expedient means to convey this truth. So the wind of breath emerges from the lotus seat in the chest, passes through the mouth, tongue and lips, makes a sound, and becomes the letter A. One's breath is Avalokiteśvara. That is precisely the reason why her name is written 觀世音 (Kanzeon), 'observer of the sounds of the world.' To 'observe the sounds of the world' refers to the wind that fills the Dharma Realm. She is also known as 'the Tathāgata of self-nature and purity' and 'Immeasurable Life.' As I mentioned earlier, since Amida is also the wind of breath, Avalokiteśvara and Amida are two names for the same thing; cause and effect are one.

So neither Kṣitigarbha nor Avalokiteśvara nor Amida are that eminent; they merely refer to the wind of breath. It is just a matter of realizing that breath is the Buddha, mind, thought and consciousness. What trite nonsense this all is! The wind of breath that goes in and out is without mind or thought and, no matter what, it's nothing to do with either discrimination or wisdom. Neither is it something that exists in and of itself. A God exists who creates and guides not only this wind, but all four elements, as well as Heaven and Earth. Take note that no one apart from Christians understands this truth, because Buddhism ultimately denies Hell, Paradise and the afterlife. But this discussion of Shingon has gone on far too long, so I should introduce another school.

On Zen

Myōshū: You've told me about the Eight Schools. They all sound the same to me. But there is also Zen, which is different from the others with its 'separate transmission outside the scriptures.'[120] So what is this school like?

Yūtei: As you say, Zen claims to be a 'separate transmission outside the scriptures,' but it too is really not that different; just the same old Buddhist teaching. Now the phrase 'separate transmission outside the scriptures' comes from when Śākyamuni was preaching at Mt. Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata.[121] It is said that when he held up a single flower and showed it to the entire assembly, they

120 *Kyōge betsuden* 教外別傳 is one of four verses ascribed to Bodhidharma said to express the essence of Zen. The other three are: *furyū moji* 不立文字 'no reliance on the written word,' *jikishin ninshin* 直指人心 'pointing directly to the mind,' and *kenshō jōbutsu* 見性成佛 'seeing your nature and becoming a buddha.'

121 Mt. Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata 靈鷲山 (Jp. Ryōjusen) was located near Rājagṛha 王舍城 in the Indian State of Magadha, the location for many of the Buddha's most important Mahāyāna sūtras.

all fell silent. No one said anything because nobody understood the meaning, except for Mahākāśyapa, who alone broke into a subtle smile. The moment he smiled, Śākyamuni said: "I hold the Treasury of the Eye of the True Dharma 正法眼藏, the wondrous mind of nirvāṇa. I now entrust this to Mahākāśyapa." The Zen method arose from this intention to transmit outside the scriptures. Now if you ask what this 'Treasury of the Eye of the True Dharma' that was transmitted might be, it was none other than a complete understanding of the teaching of the One Mind. If you ask whether this mind is transmitted as form (有) or no-form (無), the answer is no-form. Therefore, the 'Verse of Transmission'[122] says:

> The Dharma is at root a Dharma of 'no-dharma,'
> But a Dharma of 'no-dharma' is still a Dharma.
> If you now insist on no-Dharma,
> How could each and every dharma ever be a Dharma?[123]

What does this mean? Well, first of all, if you ask to what the word 'dharma' refers, it is another name for 'mind.' This is why the Indian patriarch Aśvaghoṣa proclaimed: "that which is called 'dharma' is the mind of sentient beings."[124] Therefore the phrase "the Dharma is at root a Dharma of 'no-dharma' " means the original mind is no-mind, no-thought. Now the phrase "a Dharma of 'no-dharma' is still a Dharma" has several meanings. Let me first give you one or two examples. Take the case of the flower that was picked up for people to see. If you split open the tree and looked inside there would be no green [leaves] or red [flowers], yet in fact the non-existent flower did provisionally bloom. Similarly, although originally there is no-mind, a mind of hatred and defilement can arise depending on conditions in the phenomenal world. This is expressed as "a Dharma of 'no-dharma' is still a Dharma." Secondly, this phrase also means 'there is such a thing as the nonexistent.' Thirdly, the phrase "If you now insist on no Dharma, how could each and every dharma be a Dharma?" means that when transmitting the non-existent mind, it is both transmitted

---

122 傳法ノ偈 This verse appears in a number of Zen texts and is said to encapsulate the mind of enlightenment. The locus classicus would seem to be the 景德傳法錄 (T.51/2076: 205.c.1–2).

123 法本法無法、無法法亦法、今付無法時、法法何曾法. This verse is an intentional conundrum, playing as it does on the two meanings of the character 法: the Teachings/Buddhist Law (*Dharma*) on the one hand and all existing objects (*dharma*) on the other. There are many ways this verse might be translated.

124 大乘起信論 (T.32/1666: 575.c.21).

and not transmitted. Ultimately, it means that all things that exist are empty. This is the starting point for the Twenty-eight Indian and the Six Chinese Patriarchs [of Zen].

When the First Patriarch Bodhidharma transmitted the mind-seal[125] to the Second Patriarch Huike 慧可, he said: "Bring me your mind. Let me settle it for you" to which Huike replied: "I have searched for my mind but cannot find it." To these words Bodhidharma said: "I have settled it for you" at which moment [the transmission of] the mind-seal was recognized.[126] Again, the Fifth Patriarch, Zen master Hongren 弘忍, refused to pass the robe and bowl to Shenxiu 神秀, who had half-heartedly produced the verse: "The body is the bodhi tree, the mind is like the stand of a clear mirror." Instead, he gave them to the adept from Mt. Lu [Huineng 慧能], who tossed off the verse: "Originally there is not a single thing; so where is there for dust to collect?" making him the Sixth Patriarch. Now then, in toto, Zen is said to comprise the Five Houses of Linji 臨濟, Yunmen 雲門, Caodong 曹洞, Weiyang 潙仰, Fayan 法眼, to which are added Yangqi 楊岐 and Huanglong 黃龍 to make the Seven Schools. All of them are based on recognizing one fundamental tenet, namely that the mind is empty. Dear me, what a strange doctrine this Buddhism is.

All the Buddhist schools are convinced that there is no afterlife like this. What good is there in that? But putting aside the question of an afterlife, since they do not recognize a God on high to be feared, neither do they have a morality for this life worthy of the name. For them the mind of man is simply driven by selfish desires that lead us into evil ways, and they believe in neither a God nor a self. So there is no God to chastise them when they do evil, nor is there anything to reward them when they do good. Is it not a travesty the way they go about teaching that all is born from the Void and returns to the Void? Seen through Christian eyes, this kind of teaching can only be seen as an evil doctrine.

Myōshū: No, from what I understand, it is not true that Zen simply says that all is born from the Void and returns to the Void, because they say: "The emptiness of the Void is emptiness as non-existence, but the emptiness of buddha-nature is emptiness as truth."[127] So the emptiness of the Void, where there is no obstruction even though physical objects might be introduced is seen as not existing, whereas our mind and nature, the emptiness of buddha-nature,

125 The 'mind seal' 心印, also known as 'Buddha seal' 佛印, expresses the ineffable enlightenment directly transmitted mind-to-mind.

126 景德傳法錄 (T.51/2076: 219.b.21–23).

127 The provenance of this passage is unknown.

is seen as existing. This would mean that truth was not empty. What do you think of that?

Yūtei: Well, the things that I have discussed thus far are not limited to Zen. There are schools that do not claim it openly, but ultimately they all end up with non-existence. From the Buddhist perspective, those who see a distinction between the Void and buddha-nature are just ordinary, lay people. Huangbo's *Chuanxin fayao* has a passage that treats the importance of mind [to mind] transmission which goes: "generally most people are not willing to acknowledge the truth of emptiness since they are frightened of falling into emptiness; they do not realize that their own minds are originally empty."[128] What he means is that when ordinary people hear that the mind is empty and does not exist, they find it really hard to comprehend. They disagree, calling it a mistake, an empty vision 空見. He laughs at them because they are unaware that their minds are originally empty. There is another passage in the same text that says: "The Dharmakāya is the Void, the Void is the Dharmakāya. The average person will either say that the Dharmakāya envelopes the Void or that the Void contains the Dharmakāya. They do not understand that the Dharmakāya *is* the Void and that the Void *is* the Dharmakāya."[129] There is no need to explain this a second time. The Dharmakāya is none other than the emptiness of buddha nature. Just look. They are not seen as two, but come down to one and the same thing. But going on like this sounds like nothing but doctrine and you must think that I am ignorant of *zazen* and other Buddhist practices. There is no point in me hiding anything anymore, so let me show you a secret *kōan* record[130] from Daitokuji.[131] I got someone there to copy it for me.

> *A monk asks Zhaozhou: "What is the meaning of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"*[132]

---

128 Huangbo Xiyun 黄檗希運 (d. 850) is said to have been the teacher of Linji. The *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 was compiled from Huangbo's dharma talks by his disciple, Peixiu 裴休 (797–870) (T.48/2012: 382.a.3–4).

129 T.48/2012: 381.a.12–15.

130 Habian uses the term *missan* 密參 here. *Missanroku* 密參錄 or *missanchō* 密參帳 were either the recorded of words of former masters used to facilitate exchanges between master and disciple, or selected *kōan* from well-known collections with the teacher's *agyo* 下語 or 'capping phrase' added.

131 Daitokuji 大德寺 was one of the most important Zen monasteries, founded in 1324 by Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282–1337).

132 Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897) is a well known figure from Zen lore. Perhaps his most famous utterance was *mu* 無 in response to the question whether a dog has the

Student: "Although the mind seems to exist, it actually doesn't."
Master: "Bring me proof that it doesn't exist."
Student: "If you cut open and view the whole body from the top of the head to the bottom of the feet, skin, flesh, bones, and marrow, the mind has no color or shape. Not only can it not be seen with the eyes, it cannot be heard with the ears, cannot be smelt by the nose, cannot be tasted by the tongue, cannot be felt by the body, and cannot be sought in words. This is proof that it doesn't exist."
Master: "If there is no mind, what is it that feels regret, desire, tenderness, or sorrow? Tell me that!"
Student: "The mind is something that seems to exist. A master of old said: 'Being is not being, non-being is not non-being.'[133] Hold fast neither to being nor non being.' This too means 'what seems to exist does not.' Another master of old said: 'the mind is without form; it pervades the ten directions.'[134] In other words, although it has no form, it can discern matters in China and India without moving and so is said to 'pervade the ten directions.' It seems to exist but does not. Another master of old once said: 'The mind is like the moon [reflected] on water; indeed like the reflection in a mirror.'[135] Precisely because the water exists, the human form is reflected. In the same way, precisely because the body and six sense organs exist, that which we call the mind exists. The mind is not apart. This too is a matter of 'seems to be but is not.' Śākyamuni too preached that: 'The past mind is unattainable; the present mind is unattainable, the future mind is unattainable.'[136] He said that the Three Worlds [of the past, present, and future] were ungraspable. In this way, once you have understood that the Three Worlds are without mind, rebirth will be no more. While one has material form it is impossible for thoughts not to arise, but even if they do arise the truly enlightened ones will not experience rebirth. What is crucial is that one awakens to the fact that the Three Worlds are without mind. Another master of old said 'With mind one sinks for countless kalpas. With no-mind one attains true awakening in an instant.'[137] 'With mind' means to be an average person

---

buddha nature. This episode appears in *Zhaozhou wanfa guiyi* 趙州萬法歸一, the forty-fifth case in the *Biyanlu* 碧巖錄 (T.48/2003: 182.a.1–2).

133 From the 三論遊意義 (T.45/1855: 116.b.1–2).

134 臨濟錄 (T.47/1985: 497.c.3–4).

135 The source for this is the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* 維摩詰所說經 (T.14/475:541.b.26–27).

136 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (T.8/235: 751.b.27–28).

137 From the first case of the *Biyanlu* 碧巖錄 (T.48/2003: 140.c.28–29).

lost in ignorance. 'Countless kalpas' is an extremely long period of time. 'Sink' means sunk deep in the ocean of birth and death. 'No-mind' means having realized that the Three Worlds are without mind. 'In an instant' is the time it takes to cut a single strand of hair. It means in a flash. 'Attains true awakening' is none other than enlightenment."

Zhaozhou replied "The cypress in the garden."

Student: "The cypress resembles mind in that it seems to exist but does not."

Master: "Grasses and trees seem to have mind; bring me proof that they don't."

Student: "It is not just the cypress; all the grasses and trees, all of them, are born in spring, grow in summer, are harvested in autumn, and disappear in winter; there is birth, aging, sickness, and death in accordance with the four seasons. If they are watered and replanted, they rejoice, their flowers bloom, and they put forth green. And if they are cut, they feel pain, as if they are sentient. But if you take them apart and look inside the roots, stem, branches, and leaves, there are no flower seeds, no green seeds. This is having no mind. To respond to 'what is the meaning of [the Patriarch coming from] the West' with 'the cypress tree in the garden' like this is to go to the heart of the exchange. There is a verse by an old master that goes: 'if you split open a cherry tree and look inside, there are no flowers: flowers are carried within spring.'[138] It has been the opinion of past masters that this verse went well with this *kōan*.

Capping phrase 下語: 'willows are green, flowers are red.' This too signifies that, just like the cypress, the green of the willows and the red of the flowers are without mind. This phrase was appended to [the *kōan*] "Cypress" because grasses and trees and man seem to have mind but in fact do not. Ultimately, the crux of the matter is that the Three Worlds are no mind."

Master: "If you look at it like this you will fall into seeing all as nothingness."

Student: "I have not fallen into seeing all as nothingness, because to say that which exists does not exist, and to say that which does not exist exists, is to see all as nothingness. But that which we call mind does not originally exist. To see something non-existent as not existing is to understand correctly and to see correctly, so I am *not* in danger of falling into seeing all as nothingness."

Understand this. To conclude that what we call mind does not exist is common to all forms of Buddhism, that goes without saying. It is also found in all *kōan*

138 From Ikkyū's *Ninin bikuni* 二人比丘尼, in *Ikkyū mizukagami* 一休水鏡.

records. Not that you have to read them all. If you keep telling people to read this and that *kōan*, in time their eyes will inevitably glaze over. From what I hear, when it comes to *kōan* the meaning is generally the same whether you read one or all seventeen hundred. If you illuminate even a single thought that will be enough. So when the Chinese Master Damei Fachang from Mingzhou met Mazu, and asked him: "What is this Buddha?" Mazu responded: "The mind is Buddha."[139] These words spurred a great enlightenment within him and he immediately ascended Mt. Damei becoming an enlightened being of great perception, looking down dispassionately on the people of the world. Is this not proof that there is no need to study so many *kōan*? In Buddhism the essential thing, regardless of the school, is to clarify even just one mind. They say this one mind is one's true nature; this one mind is the Buddha; this one mind is Hell; this one mind is Heaven. When it comes down to it, to say "one mind is nothingness" is to say that everything comes to an end. This is what is meant by the phrase "With mind one sinks for countless kalpas. With no-mind one attains true awakening in an instant."

Myōshū: Well, I've heard it's not true that Zen is simply that and nothing more. When Wuzu Fayan[140] was asked: "What is this Caodong 曹洞 (Jp. Sōtō) school all about?" he responded with: "They are not at home with the written record," in other words, in Caodong daily practice they dislike settling [*kōan* cases].[141] Accordingly their fundamental concern is to avoid falling [into distinguishing between] existence and non-existence. So why do you harp on about non-existence like this? This school's doctrine of the Fivefold Relation of Lord and Minister is based on the Middle [Way].[142] What do you know about this?

Yūtei: As far as that is concerned, the Sōtō school certainly does dislike distinguishing between existence and non-existence. Now, from the point of view of Zen, is this an issue? As the clever remark of a biwa entertainer goes: "we go on about all kinds of different teachings, but since ordinary monks these days are

139 Damei Fachang 大梅法常 (752–839) was a student of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), one of the seminal Zen masters during the Tang period. Quotation from 景德傳法錄 (T.51/2076: 257.c.2–3).

140 Fayan 法演 (?–1104) from Mt Wuzu 五祖 belonged to the Yangqi 楊岐 line of the Linji school.

141 From the 五祖法演禪師語錄 (T.47/1995: 655.c.8).

142 The Fivefold Relation of Lord and Minister was formulated by Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840–901) in order to explain the doctrine of the Five Ranks/Positions *goi* 五位 devised by his master Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869), which in turn expressed the dialectic of the two principles of the absolute *shō* 正 and the relative/apparent *hen* 偏.

unaware that all dharmas are mind, they're just like ignorant nuns, going so far as to worship the moon and sun, or make pilgrimages to places like Atago and Kiyomizu." Are all these goings-on virtuous acts, like maintaining the Middle Way or avoiding the distinction between existence and non-existence? They're treated as being quite beyond the pale by monks at monasteries like Daitokuji and Myōshinji. "Even if an old hag like the one in the story who burned the hut back then were alive today," they say, "I doubt she'd rent them any lodgings!"[143]

Secondly, you mentioned the teaching of 'The Fivefold Relation between Lord and Minister.' This is basically a matter of finding the Middle [Way], a single, uncomplicated principle. But since no one really understood what the Middle Way was, they assumed that its true meaning was merely to avoid falling into [distinguishing between] existence and non-existence; it's not worth bothering about. From the perspective of other Zen groups it amounts to little more than simply announcing oneself to be a monk and using the surplice as a guise. So when a monk asked Caoshan about the inner meaning of the Fivefold Relation between Lord and Minister, he responded as follows:

> The Absolute rank 正位 belongs to the Void, originally there is nothing. The Apparent rank 偏位 is the world of form with a myriad manifestations. The Absolute within the Apparent 偏中正 means casting aside the particular and entering principle. The Apparent within the Absolute 正中偏 is turning one's back on principle and entering the particular. The Union 兼帯 is responding to all conditions within ignorance without falling into [the belief that] all exists, being neither defiled nor purified, neither Absolute nor Apparent. Thus it is said: "The great way of the Void and mystery is the true teaching of freedom from attachment."[144]

One often hears about the 'Middle [Way],' but it never seems to include calling on the gods or praying to the buddhas. The meaning of his response is, firstly, that the Absolute rank should be regarded as the fundamental rank. The fundamental rank is the Void. It is precisely because the Void is a place of nothing that it is said: "originally there is not a single thing." But if falling into nothingness is considered an error in the Sōtō school, then everyone from the school founder Caoshan down should be driven out, their names erased forever from the genealogy. The phrase "The Apparent rank is the world of form with a myr-

143 Myōshinji 妙心寺 was founded in 1337. The reference is to a story about an old woman who was looking after a monk. When she brought him a young woman to enjoy he refused the gift and so she burned down his hut in anger. From the 密菴禪師語錄 (T.47/1999: 959.a.13–17).

144 From the 撫州曹山元證禪師語錄 (T.47/1987: 527.a.5–7).

iad manifestations" means that things that have matter and form are not of the fundamental rank, hence Apparent. The phrase "The Absolute within the Apparent means casting aside the particular and entering principle" means that the Apparent resolves into the rank of the Absolute. That is to say, if something departs from matter and form, it simply enters principle; if burned, it turns into ash; if buried, it becomes earth. The phrase "The Apparent within the Absolute is turning one's back on principle and entering the particular" means that the Absolute becomes the Apparent.[145] What this means is that matter and form issue from the emptiness of the Absolute rank.

The statement "The Union is responding to all conditions within ignorance without falling into [the belief that] all exists, being neither defiled nor purified, neither Absolute nor Apparent. Thus it is said: 'The great way of the Void and mystery is the true teaching of freedom from attachment' expresses the essence of the Middle Way. To think that the Middle Way is nothing but avoiding distinguishing between existence or non-existence is to adopt function and disregard substance, so it's just as they say: "seven days spent arguing? It could only be a nun or a monk!" There's never any resolution! The word 'union' refers to the One Mind. This One Mind now includes both emptiness and existence, and although various thoughts may arise in response to conditions, from hell and hungry ghosts to bodhisattvas or buddhas, they do not really exist; that is what they call 'the great way of the Void and mystery, the true teaching of freedom from attachment.' This is what is referred to as the flower of the law, or the Lotus of the Wondrous Law [*Lotus Sūtra*].

Now, in the final analysis, if you ask whether the mind exists, as I said earlier: "With mind one sinks for countless kalpas. With no-mind one attains true awakening in an instant;" to know that [all] is no-mind, no-thought is to attain buddhahood. Once one arrives at this state, one perceives there is no difference between what the Zen patriarchs said and the other doctrines. In a large sense they are one and the same thing. This is what the Zen master Yuanguan meant with his verse: "When the golden crow rises in the east everyone venerates [it]. When the jade rabbit disappears in the west, the buddhas and patriarchs lose their way."[146] The golden crow is the sun, a metaphor for doctrine. Those who dispel illusion from their minds by means of doctrine are compared to people

145 What seems to have happened here is an odd interpretation of the Chinese syntax: 正中偏 means "the Apparent within the Absolute" but the last part of this sentence is written 正中ガ偏位ニナル, which would suggest "the content of the Absolute becomes the Apparent rank."

146 Little is known of Yuanguan 緣觀 (n.d.) of Mt. Liang 梁山 other than that he was a monk in the Caodong (Jp. Sōtō) lineage. This quotation comes from the 丹霞子淳禪師語錄 (新纂卍續藏經 71: 769.a.6–7).

who pay respect to the rising sun. The jade rabbit is the moon, a metaphor for the teachings of the Zen patriarchs. To say that the buddhas and patriarchs lose their way with the setting of the moon is to say that without an enlightened mind the buddhas and patriarchs are nothing. So to say "when the sun rises they venerate" and "when the moon sets they lose their way" means the same thing, even though the words are different. This verse expresses the unity of the Zen patriarchs and other doctrines. This unity can be seen in the phrase "One's mind is in itself empty; transgression and benediction have no host."[147] That's Buddhism in a nutshell.

In Buddhism, one who does not settle for non-existence is somebody who knows neither Buddha nor Dharma. But once one understands non-existence, everything becomes the same, so one becomes entirely passive. If someone says the afterlife exists, they say "yes, yes" it exists; and if someone says it does not exist, they say "indeed, what is there to leave behind?" Believing the ultimate in Zen is to become like a strand of willow wafting here and there depending on the wind. You only really grasp the truth—"the importance of a mere brush of the sleeve"—once you have understood essential nothingness. In any case, whether it be 'Zen' or 'doctrine,' it's all just doctrine in the end. Pointless, isn't it, the way Buddhism always comes down to non-existence like this?

On Pure Land Buddhism (including the Ikkō School)

Myōshū: I have not, up to this point, revealed what the teachings of my own school are; but having come this far, why should I conceal it any longer? I belong to the Pure Land school and practice the *nenbutsu samādhi*.[148] Now, as you have already explained, the teachings of other schools talk of enlightenment, visualization practices and the like, but we have just one practice and one alone: the single-minded repetition of the Buddha's name with the aim of being reborn in his Land of Ultimate Bliss in the West.[149] Now you have claimed that Heaven

147 觀普賢菩薩行法經 (T.9/277: 392.c.26–27).

148 The *nenbutsu* 念佛 originally referred to a type of *samādhi* in which the practitioner was supposed to remain 'mindful' of Amida Buddha in various ways, but through the writings of Shandao 善導 (613–681) it came to refer to the practice of recitation of the Buddha's name, which became standard Pure Land practice in China and Japan.

149 The common practice of translating the term 往生 as 'rebirth,' a practice we have followed, is open to misunderstanding. It is restricted to 'rebirth in the Pure Land,' which Pure Land Buddhism sees as a Paradise from which there can be no backsliding into *saṃsāra*. The precise ontological status of the Pure Land was a topic of much debate.

and Hell do not exist in other schools. This is not true in the case of the Pure Land school. Amida Buddha spent five kalpas in meditation, it is said, enduring hardship for as long as it takes to rub five boulders away to nothing; and during this time he sought the means whereby all sentient beings might be saved, giving rise to the Forty-eight Vows. One of these promised that he would come for any sentient being who intones the name of Amida ten times (or even just once,)[150] welcoming him to the Western [Land] of Ultimate Bliss. "All sentient beings who recollect the Buddha's name will be accepted and no one refused" he proclaimed.[151] Since this is said to be the greatest vow made by any buddha, it is known as 'the vow of transcendent compassion.' So in the Pure Land school we do not deny the existence of an afterlife.

Yūtei: Well, as I have repeatedly said, they all talk as if it exists; and, as you have just said, the Pure Land school in particular acts as if both Hell and Heaven exist. Since I have only an outsider's understanding of the teachings of this school, I should discuss it here in very general terms. Although there are many differences within the Pure Land school itself, broadly speaking, the most obvious one is that from Hōnen 法然 on it split into the Chinzei 鎮西 and the Seisan 西山 lineages. In the Chinzei branch they assert Imminent Rebirth [in the Pure Land] 當得往生, meaning that rebirth is certain after death, whereas in the Seizan branch they teach Immediate Rebirth 卽便往生 meaning that rebirth is instantaneous the moment one chants the Buddha's name. The reason for this is that in the *Contemplation Sūtra*[152] the word 'immediate' appears in three different places. Those three instances are: 'immediately discarded the sword,' and 'at that time the World Honored One immediately smiled,' and 'when the three kinds of mind arise one immediately attains rebirth.'[153] So since the first two examples of 'immediate' 卽便 refer to something instantaneous, they call it 'immediate rebirth,' in other words, instantaneous.

Now, if you ask what exactly this rebirth might entail, one Pure Land patriarch[154] defined it as follows: "Rebirth is what the other schools call

150 Whether one needs to intone the Buddha's name ten times for rebirth in the Pure Land, or whether just once is sufficient became an issue in Japanese Pure Land teachings. Amida's Eighteenth Vow mentions 'a mere ten thought-moments' 乃至十念, but even this was seen as giving sentient beings too much agency.

151 觀無量壽經 (T.12/365: 343.b.26).

152 *Amitāyudhyāna-sūtra* 觀無量壽經.

153 T.12/365: 341.a.29–b.1; 341.c.1; 344.c.12.

154 Yūyo Shōsō 酉誉聖聡 (1366–1440) eighth patriarch of the Japanese Pure Land school, perhaps best known for founding Zōjōji 增上寺, the School's main temple in Edo.

'enlightenment,' another name for 'attaining the Dharma.'"[155] And what is this 'enlightenment' and 'attaining the Dharma' in the other schools? It is 'thusness and non-discrimination' 眞如平等, ultimately the 'Realm of the Void' 虛空法界, the realization that there are no gods, no buddhas, no Hell, and no Land of Ultimate Bliss. Now the Pure Land school calls those other schools that practice this kind of enlightenment and contemplative method the 'Holy Path' 聖道門. But since in this Latter Age of ours sentient beings are of such low skill and dull capacity, their ability and their intellects so inferior, they find it difficult to achieve enlightenment in this way. So in order not to exclude those dull ones of this Latter Age, this school of ours has what is known as the Pure Land path 淨土門, a skillful means of bringing merit, the single-minded invocation in praise of Amida [*namu Amidabutsu*] with one's dying breath.[156] [It is this that] they call 'rebirth'. If you ask how can I possibly argue this is the same as the 'enlightenment' and 'attaining the Dharma' of the other schools, I mean it in the sense that at the moment of death the *nenbutsu* practitioner experiences the same nothingness to which those in other schools have already become awakened. So you see; you are gradually realizing that the existence of an afterlife is denied by the Pure Land school as well. Indeed, the more you hear of their teachings, the clearer it will become that they do not believe in an afterlife. They proclaim, for example, the doctrine of the Four Meanings 四義: Substance 實體, Transformative Function 化用, The Gate of Doctrine 教門, and the True Meaning 實義. Although their teachings range widely, ultimately everything is contained within these Four Meanings. So when it comes down to it, all schools treat the Buddha, sentient beings, Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss as not existing; it's just that they use different terms depending on the school. In Zen it's called 'Original State' 本分; in Tendai, 'Thusness' 眞如; in Hossō, 'the perfectly accomplished real nature' 圓成實性; and in Sanron, 'Emptiness' 空; these are all terms for non-existence.

實體 (Substance), the first of the four, is the Chinese for something that does not exist. It is also called 'the One Truth.'[157] The second, Transformative Function, takes 'nothingness' as its basis and Amida as its source, and creates a Land of Ultimate Bliss in the West, which owes its existence to the miraculous power of his vows and his five-kalpa long period of meditation. The third, The Gate of Doctrine, proposes various wild ideas concerning this non-existent

---

155 Quoted from Shōgei's 破邪顯正義 (*Jōdoshū zensho* 12: 834.a.16–17).

156 Habian seems to have become confused at this point. "This school of ours" translates 我宗ハ, but it is Yūtei speaking here, not Myōshū.

157 This translates *ippokku* 一法句, a reference to the phrase 'the true wisdom [is the] unconditioned Dharmakāya' 眞實智慧無爲法身 in the *Jōdoron* 淨土論 (T.26/1524: 232.b.24–25).

Land of Ultimate Bliss, such as inventing Three Levels and Nine Divisions, and twenty-nine forms of adornment.[158] The fourth, True Meaning, refers to the fact that when one dies, it turns out that Ultimate Bliss does not exist, not one single division, never mind nine. Of this the Great Master Tanluan[159] said: "Fundamentally there is no difference between the nine divisions; how could one ever doubt that, like the rivers Zi and Sheng, they ultimately taste the same?"[160] In other words, although it may seem that the Nine Divisions exist while one is alive, once you die all becomes the Void of Thusness, where none of them exist. Since not even the self exists, there can be neither awareness nor thought.

And the restorer of the Japanese Pure Land school Ryōyo said in a short verse:[161] "The true meaning of the Pure Land has no levels or divisions; all is without distinction, *sarvajña*."[162] The true Pure Land has neither Three Levels nor Nine Divisions, but is a single void. *Sarvajña* here means 'wondrous wisdom' 妙智. 'Wondrous wisdom' is, in other words, the Void.[163] So you see; ultimately the Pure Land school denies the afterlife. So although they speak of Substance as the foundation of the Four Meanings, since it is nothingness, the Transformative Function that emerges from it is an invention. First of all, that which we call Great General Amida himself does not exist. In the Buddhist scriptures we can find: "He was the son of a Wheel-Turning Monarch of a small principality and a woman of exquisite beauty"[164] but actually no such person ever existed. It's just Lord Śākyamuni at his tricks again. In the *Amida-sūtra*, [the Buddha says] to Śāriputra: "It is a realm located ten trillion buddha lands to the west. It is called the [Land] of Ultimate Bliss. In that land is a Buddha. His name is Amida. He is currently preaching the Dharma there."[165] Because of this everyone says that there is a Buddha named Amida. But this is an outright lie. Why? Because for a start the [Pure Land] ten trillion [Buddha lands away] in the West does not exist.

---

158 This scheme of a series of destinations 三輩九品 comes from the 觀無量壽經. The twenty-nine kinds of adornment 二十九句の荘厳 refers to the teaching of the twenty-nine particular stages of perfection in the Pure Land, which were presented in twenty-nine 'statements' 句.

159 Tanluan 曇鸞 (476–542) is considered the first of five patriarchs of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism and the third of seven patriarchs of the Japanese True Pure Land school.

160 The rivers Zi 漕 and Sheng 渑. From Tanluan's 淨土論註, (T.40/1819: 838.b.23–24).

161 Ryōyo Shōgei 了誉聖冏 (1341–1420).

162 淨土二藏二教略頌 (*Jōdoshū zensho*, 12: 10.c.6).

163 無智虛空ノ重: the text would seem to be corrupt at this point.

164 月上轉輪聖王、殊勝妙顏夫人. From the 阿彌陀鼓音聲王陀羅尼經 (T.12/370: 352.b.21–22).

165 T.12/366: 346.c.10–12.

To put it simply, it is not true that the Earth is an endless, single flat surface. It is round, and so what we call 'east' and 'west' are different from north and south; there is no way of fixing them. We just call the direction in which the sun and moon rises 'east' and the direction in which they set 'west,' so east can sometimes become west, and west can sometimes become east. So, for example, viewed from the capital, Ōtsu 大津 lies to the east and Atago 愛宕 to the west; but if when going to Ōtsu one goes as far as Kagamiyama 鏡山, then Ōtsu, which from the perspective of the capital is east, becomes west. And this holds true no matter how far you go. And in the same way, while in the capital Atago is said to be west, if you go to Taki 多紀 in Tanba 丹波, Atago becomes east. It's like this wherever you go. Since the Earth is round, there is nowhere you can permanently fix as 'west.' As for proof for the Earth's roundness, since the moon and sun that appear to set in the western sea go round to the east and rise again, the world has no end point. It is quite clear that the Earth is not a flat open surface.

What is more, men from Christian countries leave our ports in their 'black ships' and travel east towards the sun, day in and day out, and eventually arrive back at the port of departure. Is this not proof that the Earth is round? And the same thing clearly happens when they follow the sun going west. Now, as I pointed out during the discussion of the Triple Realm, one trip around [the Earth] is over 7, 772 *ri*. So what does this [Buddha Land] ten trillion worlds to the West refer to? No matter where you set yourself up in the world, there's nowhere that far away. It's ridiculous. Christians think it very odd, because although they have travelled the globe they've never come across such a place as the 'Land of Ultimate Bliss in the West.' And it's clear that if such a place does not exist then Amida doesn't exist either. So the truth of the matter is that both Amida and the Pure Land exist only in the mind; they call this 'Amida as Mind-only' or the 'Pure Land of One's Mind.'[166] This is what is meant when in the *Contemplation Sūtra* Śākyamuni says to Queen Vaidehī: "Do you understand now? Amida is close by you."[167] Put simply, this fellow we call Lord Śākyamuni spoke nothing but uncalled-for lies and nonsense. And not just about Amida. He said there were Seven Buddhas of Antiquity, Vipaśyin and

166 The two phrases 唯心ノ彌陀 and 己心ノ淨土 refer to teachings regarding the Pure Land that became prominent among Chan-practicing monks in China, who were concerned to counter the popular belief that the Pure Land had a physical location. The scriptural basis for this is the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* (T.14/475).

167 T.12/365: 341.c.4–6.

Śikhin, for example, one of whom, Dīpaṃkara,[168] had promised him future buddhahood; and he claimed he had now achieved this buddhahood, making nothing but false, unverifiable pronouncements as it pleased him.[169]

In the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* it claims "there are 301,119,500 buddhas, all with the same name Amida," but none of them really exist.[170] What is more, the doctrine mentioned under the Transformative Function, that Amida meditated for five kalpas, is another huge blatant lie. First of all, just think about it. One kalpa is said to be the time it would take for a cube of bluish rock with sides forty *ri* long to be rubbed away if an angel's robe of feathers were brushed against it once every three years. So five kalpas is the time it would take to wear away five such rocks. Now does this make any sense? Forget a rock forty *ri* cubed. Even if you took a rock the size of a chicken's egg that fits in the palm of one's hand and rubbed it as you would polish a mirror, not with a robe of feathers but with rough Shikoku cloth, every day and every night for tens of thousands of years using up tens of thousands of such cloths in the process, you would never wear it away. Not to mention trying it with a rock forty *ri* cubed. Even if you tried to smash it with hammers and mason's tools big and small, you'd never destroy a single one. So to say that Amida meditated and practiced difficult austerities for the time it takes five such rocks to be worn away by the brushing of a robe of feathers once every three years is the mother of all lies. So, as I said earlier, if there is no Land of Ultimate Bliss in the West and meditating for five kalpas, what is the point of Amida? In any case, he did not exist. The *Contemplation Sūtra* describes the dimensions of Amida's body as follows: "the Buddha's height is sixty trillion *nayuta*, as many *yojana* as there are grains of sand on the Ganges. The white tuft of hair between his eyes [*ūrṇa-bhrū*] curls to the right and is like five Mt. Sumerus. The Buddha's eyes are [vast] like the waters of the four great oceans, clear bluish white."[171] What a frightful height. What huge eyes! It is clear from this that Amida simply doesn't exist. The reason they

168 The name of the second Buddha here is written 屍那尸棄 (Jp. Keinashiki), which appears in the 大智度論, vol. 4 (T.25/1509: 87.a.12–13); but the normal names of these buddhas are: Vipaśyin 毘婆尸, Śikhin 尸棄, Viśvabhū 毘舍浮, Krakucchanda 俱留孫, Kanakamuni 俱那含牟, Kāśyapa 迦葉 and Śākyamuni himself. Dīpaṃkara 燃燒佛 was not traditionally classified as one of the Seven, although he was known as the Buddha who predicted Śākyamuni's buddhahood.

169 The text is probably corrupt at this point and a sentence has been omitted.

170 三十一十一萬九千五百. This figure cannot be found in the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* and the text seems to be corrupt here. But other sources suggest the correct figure should be far larger at 三十六萬億一十一万九千五百. Even using the old interpretation of 億 as 100,000, this would give 36,000,119,500.

171 T.12/365: 343.b.15–20.

exaggerate so is because they are using the name Amida to refer to the Void. For goodness sake, can someone with a physical body actually be that big? This is what is meant in the *Contemplation Sūtra* when it says: "The buddhas and tathāgatas are the body of the dharma realm."[172] In the Pure Land tradition this verse is commented on in a number of individual ways, but its true meaning refers to the wind 風 that fills the Void. Now, as I mentioned earlier when dealing with Shingon and the contemplation of the letter A, Amida is the element of wind and is knowable via this contemplation. This is what underlies the exaggeration of his size.

In the final analysis, the rebirth of the *nenbutsu* practitioner in the Land of Ultimate Bliss as he chants '*namu Amidabutsu*' is understood to be a return to the Void, a ceasing to exist. When it says in the *Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra*: "everyone [in the Land of Ultimate Bliss] spontaneously receives a void body, an infinite body," and "they reach limitless emptiness and open the way to nirvāṇa,"[173] it is describing a return to the nothingness of the Void. And what of nirvāṇa? The meaning of nirvāṇa is no birth and no death; it means to understand that since empty buddha-nature does not exist, fundamentally no one is born and no one dies. In the *Ōhara Dialogues* this is expressed as "The buddhas of the three worlds always instruct people via two paths, the Holy Path and the Pure Land Path, but both of these methods allow access to the single principle of no aspect and no thought."[174]

So Pure Land adherents ring their bells, shake their heads, and chant '*namu Amidabutsu, namu Amidabutsu*' without a thought for anyone else in the neighborhood, and when they really get going to an outsider it sounds just like the 'heave-ho' you hear as men pull up their boats from the sea. It would seem that to make people chant the *nenbutsu* like that is designed to bring them to a state of no-mind. This is what [Ippen] was referring to in his verse: "When chanting there is no buddha, no self; only the sound of '*namu Amidabutsu*.'" The character for 意 (mind) is a combination of 音 'sound' and 心 'mind.' So when they completely lose themselves, shouting out '*namu Amidabutsu, namu Amidabutsu*,' they have no thoughts of the Buddha or others around them; all that remains is the sound. The voice is wind; the wind is Amida. In which case, it is obvious that, in light of the above, 'Amida' is the name of the Dharma

172 T.12/365: 343.a.19–20.

173 The text has 觀經 for what should be 巻經. This refers to the two-volume translation of the *Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* 無量壽經 (T.12/360: 271. c. 09; 275.b.17).

174 The *Ōhara Dialogues* 大原問答 are the record of a dialogue held in 1186 between Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212) and the Enryakuji 延暦寺 monk Kenshin 顯眞 (1130–1192), as a result of which Kenshin was converted (Ishii 1997, p. 1093).

realm as Void. The underlying meaning is that when we die, sentient beings return to this Void; they become nothing. So the Pure Land School also believes there is no afterlife.

Saint Shinran 親鸞, founder of the True Pure Land school,[175] was someone who understood this point only too well, and to make his life comfortable he married a noble lady, the daughter of the lay monk Fujiwara no Kanezane.[176] Unable to keep this a secret from society and fearing [opprobrium] he hid in a cave under the Chion'in 知恩院 for some time. Later, perhaps society became less conservative, his followers spread throughout the land, and everyone (but mainly farmers, country folk, nuns and the like) revered his teachings. From the point of view of denying the existence of the afterlife, I doubt there is a school to beat it. Maintaining the precepts, breaking the precepts; in the end all is emptiness so there's no difference. This is what '*namu Amidabutsu*' means. What a comforting teaching for all time!

So, as I have shown, Buddhism, be it the eight schools, the nine schools, or the twelve schools, denies the existence of an afterlife. The monks' robes, the rituals, the virtuous behavior: they are merely the usual provisional truths, the outward show. You must realize that it is only Christianity that can offer help for the afterlife and decisions about the world to come.

---

175 Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262) took Hōnen's teaching of *tariki* 他力 (total reliance on Amida and the denial of any human agency) to its logical extreme.

176 Fujiwara no Kanezane retired and was converted to Pure Land Buddhism by Hōnen in 1191. The story that Shinran married his daughter is apocryphal.

Second Fascicle: Confucianism and Shintō

On Confucianism

Myōshū: It was Old Man Shan Gu, I think, who said: "My life as an official turned out to be the dream of one night; a conversation is worth more than ten years of books,"[1] but now I feel as though I know this for myself. My previous position and rank feels just like a dream on a spring night, and it is entirely thanks to meeting you and listening to what you have to say that I now understand what lies at the heart of Buddhism. No matter how hard you study, whether by the light of fireflies or the snow outside, it is not easy to comprehend. So finally I realize how mistaken they are, basing themselves on a search for emptiness and nothingness. Now tell me. I understand that in China they brand Buddhism and the like as heterodox and have an intense dislike of it, arguing that to follow such teachings is merely self-destructive. Instead they place great value on Confucianism, the Way of Heaven.[2] So what is this 'Way of Heaven?' Does Christianity differ from Confucianism, too?[3]

Yūtei: As you say, since Buddhism claims that 'good and evil are identical' and 'the bent and straight are one,' and demands that we 'cast off affection and enter non-action,' you cannot possibly follow it as a Way. The 'teachings of oblivion,' Confucians call it, and they reject it as being beyond consideration. Yet Confucianism cannot measure up to Christianity either. Now if you ask to what the term 'Way of Heaven' refers, it refers to the Great Ultimate 太極. And if you ask what this Great Ultimate might be, well, there have been many explanations over the centuries. In the *Laozi* it says: "The Way begets one; one begets two; two begets three; three begets all things."[4] What is the Way? you ask. It is the Great Way of the Void, a state of complete nothingness. To say that the Way "begets one" from such a state is a reference to the existence of

1 Old Man Shan Gu 山谷道人 is the pen name of Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105), although this particular attribution seems to be a fiction. The quotation refers to the tale of the pillow of Handan, followed by a line from the Northern Song poet Wei Ye 魏野 (960–1019). The tale tells of a young man called Lo Sheng 盧生, who borrowed a pillow from a Daoist master in Handan 邯鄲. He dreamed about a fifty-year existence as a grand official only to wake up to find the evening meal was not even ready.

2 Note that Habian uses the term *judō* 儒道 rather than *jukyō* 儒教 for Confucianism. 'Way of Heaven' translates *tentō* 天道.

3 At first sight this seems an odd comment to make but 'Way of Heaven' was also commonly used to translate the Christian concept of 'God.' Habian himself was well aware of the confusion this was causing and draws attention to it here.

4 From the *Daodejing* 道德經 section 42. Trans. from Lau 1963, p. 103 (adapted).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2016 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307292_008

the one *qi* of the Great Ultimate.[5] "One begets two" is this one *qi* of the Great Ultimate dividing into yin and yang. "Two begets three" refers to yin and yang giving rise to the three powers of Heaven, Earth and Man.[6] "Three begets all things" describes how all things emerge from these three powers of Heaven, Earth and Man. But Confucians do not posit this Way—the Way that begets one—as existing prior to or separate from the Great Ultimate. They see the Great Ultimate and the Infinite as one, essentially treating it as the Origin. So the term 'Great Ultimate' refers to whatever existed prior to the division into yin and yang. The phrase 'chaos undivided' refers to the undifferentiated mass before Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, emerged. In the preface to the *Yijing*, it says: "In change there is the Great Ultimate. From this is generated the two modes [of yin and yang]. The Great Ultimate is the Way; the two modes are yin and yang, the single Way. The Great Ultimate is the Infinite."[7]

But you may find this explanation rather difficult to understand, so perhaps a simple example might help. Imagine, for instance, that we have here a chest full of all sorts of medicine for curing all manner of illnesses. Now the medicines are inside but the chest is useless unless you lift the lid and divide it into two. So think of the Great Ultimate as this chest with the lid still attached. Now imagine the act of opening it and separating the lid from the body as an illustration of how the Great Ultimate gives rise to two images 象 and separates into yin and yang. And then think of the medicines inside being mixed together to cure a myriad diseases as the equivalent of yin and yang being combined to produce all things. You can see from this that, whether you call it the Great Ultimate or the Way of Heaven, it is actually just a matter of yin and yang.

This is why Zhu Xi in his *Collected works* argues that Su Shi's interpretation of the *tuan* of the *Yijing* was mistaken.[8] Commenting on the passage: "One

---

5 The term *qi* 氣, often translated as 'vital energy' or 'material force,' is the matter of the universe that can be as light as breath or ether, or as dense as the heaviest material. Its counterpart in Neo-Confucian dualism is *li* 理 'principle' or 'pattern.'

6 The three powers 三才. This term comes from the *Yijing* 易經 (Lynn 1994, p. 92; Imai 1987, p. 1681).

7 'Preface' 序 here refers to the 'Commentary on the Appended Phrases' (*Xicizhuan* 繫辭傳) of the *Yijing* (Lynn 1994, p. 65; Imai 1987, p. 1521). This quotation is in fact a composite, only the first two phrases being from the *Yijing* itself. The opening passage of Zhu Xi's *Reflections on Things at Hand* (*Jinsilu* 近思錄) is a possible (but not exact) source for the rest.

8 Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). By '*Collected works*' (*Zhuzi daquan* 朱子大全) Habian is referring to the *Zhuzi wenji* 朱子文集. Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101), also known as Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, wrote a commentary on the *Yijing* entitled *Su Shi yizhuan* 蘇氏易傳. The *tuan* 彖 are the comments that appear immediately after the judgements to the hexagrams (Lynn calls them 'commentary on the judgments'), but, as we see from the next note, Zhu Xi was actually referring to

yin, one yang; that is what is called the Way. That which allows it to progress is goodness; that which brings it to fruition is human nature,"[9] Su Shi had written:

> What ultimately are yin and yang? No one, though he be as acute as [Li] Lou 離婁 or [Shi] Kuang 師曠, has ever discovered their likeness.[10] After yin and yang have interacted they bring things into being. When things come into being then images appear, and once the images become established yin and yang disappear. In general all we can see is objects, not yin and yang. But you cannot therefore say that yin and yang do not exist. Even the most ignorant fellow knows they do exist. Since they are convinced that nothing could ever arise without yin and yang, they point to these objects and identify them as yin and yang, but this is a mistake. Yin and yang cannot be seen. But even though [it is true that] no one has ever seen their likeness, those who deny their existence are just confused.[11]

Zhu Xi rejected this argument as follows:

> In my opinion yin and yang fill Heaven and Earth and their constant flux is forever present, whether or not things have a form visible to the naked eye. But Su Shi argues that "once images become established yin and yang disappear. In general all we see is objects, not yin and yang." This does not make sense. Those who really understand the basis of yin and yang, of course, do not just point to living things and call them yin and yang; but

---

Su Shi's comments on a passage in the '*Xicizhuan*.' A description of *Su Shi yizhuan* can be found in Hervouet 1978, pp. 4–9 and a more detailed treatment of Su Dongpo's reading of the *Yijing* can be found in Smith, et al. 1990, pp. 56–99. The reference here is to section 7 of Zhu Xi's 'Disputing adulterated learning' (*Zaxuebian* 雜學辨), contained in vol. 72 of his miscellaneous writings 晦庵先生朱文公文集 (Zhu Xi 2002, vol. 24, p. 3460). For further analysis see Bol 1989.

9 From the '*Xicizhuan*,' section 5, 一陰一陽之謂道、継之者善也、成之者性也. Lynn translates: "The reciprocal process of *yin* and *yang* is called the Dao. That which allows the Dao to continue to operate is human goodness, and that which allows it to bring things to completion is human nature." Lynn 1994, p. 53; Imai 1987, p. 1422.

10 A reference to *Mencius* IV.1.i (Legge 1895, II, p. 288). Li Lou 離婁 (aka Li Zhu 離朱) had perfect vision; Shi Kuang 師曠 could recognize perfect pitch.

11 There are slight differences between Habian's text and the original quotation: the last few sentences diverge somewhat from Su Shi: "The most stupid know this is not so. How could things bring themselves into being? This is why both the one who, pointing to bringing things into being, calls it yin and yang, and the one who, not seeing their semblance, says they have never existed are both confused." (Smith, et al. 1990, pp. 77–78, adapted).

> by the same token no one seeks yin and yang anywhere else but through the perception of objects and images.

Su Shi had also written:

> The Sages knew the Way was difficult to explain, so they borrowed the terms yin and yang to express it, saying "one yin, one yang; that is what is called the Way." This phrase "one yin, one yang" means that yin and yang have not yet interacted, so things have not yet come into being. There is no more fitting metaphor for the Way than this. Once yin and yang interact, then things come into being.[12]

To which Zhu Xi, dismantling Su Shi's quietism, responded:

> In my humble opinion the "unceasing flow of one yin, one yang" expresses the totality of the Way. Nothing could be clearer. But if you borrow the term yin and yang and treat it as if it were a metaphor for the Way, what you are doing is treating the Way on the one hand and yin and yang on the other as separate entities, using the one to explain the other. The origin of yin and yang lies in the mechanism of motion and rest, nowhere else. Motion at its extreme is rest; rest at its extreme is motion. Therefore yang exists within the heart of yin, and yin within the heart of yang, and they never stand independent of each other in isolation. This is why "one yin, one yang" is the Way. But now Su Shi is arguing that: "one yin, one yang" means they have not yet interacted; that it refers to the mass before anything has come into being; and that it is this mass that resembles the Way." But in that case what ultimately is the Way? He argues as he does because nobody really knows what makes the Way the Way, so he tries to explain it by extrapolating from what he knows of the teachings of Void and Oblivion [Buddhism].

So clearly Confucians believe that: "yin and yang are the Great Ultimate; and yin and yang are the Way of Heaven."

In which case this is where I have a problem. Since yin and yang are without mind or wisdom, the process by which they combine and separate cannot be self-generated. If you take my previous example, how could the lid of the medicine chest be separated from the body without someone equipped with wisdom and discrimination? And given a scenario where the yin and yang of

12 Smith, et al. 1990, p. 78, adapted.

the Great Ultimate are as yet undifferentiated and have no mind or thoughts of their own, how do they divide into two without an agent to perform the dividing? What is more, although the medicines in the chest will have a hot or cold nature in and of themselves, if there is no one to mix them to deal with a specific illness, the correct medicine cannot possibly be produced. Why? Because the medicines have no mind or consciousness of their own. When you think about how all things come into being, they are all created from a combination of the Four Elements of Earth, Water, Fire and Wind, together with the Five Phases.[13] Even something as easy to mix as medicines cannot just combine of their own accord to produce X or Y,[14] since they lack wisdom and discrimination. So how on earth could the Four Elements, so often in conflict with each other, combine of their own accord to become, for example, a pine tree or a piece of bamboo? So to say that yin and yang are the Way of Heaven, the origin that gives rise to all things, is the same as saying that medicines which have heat or cold as part of their nature can come together spontaneously to produce X or Y. This is impossible.

Myōshū: I see why you have a problem. My father was one who had learned the Four Books and the Five Classics in traditional fashion, but when he talked about the Great Ultimate and the Way of Heaven you mention he never singled out yin and yang for special attention like this. He showed me something called the 'Diagram of the Great Ultimate.' It was like this.[15] Leaving aside the center circle for a moment, the next circle was divided into two with yin and yang inscribed, one clockwise, the other counterclockwise; the second was double this and divided into four (the greater and lesser yang; the greater and lesser yin); the third was double again and divided into eight, containing the eight

13 Interestingly, Habian here uses the Four Elements 四大, a Western analysis that goes back to Galen, linking it to the Chinese Five Phases 五行.

14 X here stands for *Jissen taifutō* 十全大補湯, which was a restorative; Y stands for *Kakkō shōkisan* 藿香正氣散, a medicine used to reduce fever (Ebisawa 1993, p. 359).

15 Space was left here for a diagram to be inserted. From what follows, it is clear that Myōshū is not referring to the usual vertical arrangement of circles, usually attributed to Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤, but a series of concentric circles. One might assume that this passage describes the version of the diagram to be found in Zhu Xi's *Yijing benyi* (Zhu Xi 2002, vol. 1, pp. 20–21) known as the Fu Xi diagram (伏羲六十四卦次序), since that work is referred to a little later, but the Fu Xi diagram is not arranged in concentric circles. The concentric design described here would suggest a simplification of the tradition attributed to Jing Fang 京方 (73–37 BCE), but the specific source has not been identified. Note that the term *hakke* 八卦 in this context refers to the eight trigrams, which take their names from the hexagrams that are formed when two identical trigrams are superimposed on each other.

trigrams *qian* 乾, *dui* 兌, *li* 離, *zhen* 震, *sun* 巽, *kan* 坎, *gen* 艮, and *kun* 坤; the fourth was double the third and had sixteen divisions with the trigrams superimposed on each other; the fifth was double again with thirty-two divisions,[16] again containing trigrams superimposed on each other; and the sixth was double again and had sixty-four divisions with the hexagrams distributed around a circle, with 'the position of the sixty-four hexagrams' written above. In the explanatory note I remember it said something to the effect that since everything arose from and returned to the empty circle in the centre, it was on this empty void that we had to concentrate.[17] So my father always used to say that the fact that things come into being is just a natural principle of the Way of Heaven and not something that one can really argue about. We should not insist that just because yin and yang may be without consciousness they cannot give rise to anything.

Yūtei: Well then, since your father was a Confucian, you are also conversant with its principles to a certain extent and you too have seen the Diagram of the Great Ultimate; but are you just saying that we shouldn't be singling out yin and yang in particular for special attention? Well I agree with you there, but in that case it's really identical to Buddhism. There are various different diagrams of the Great Ultimate. I too have seen the one you have just described, and I remember that the commentary explained it as follows:

> All this is the diagram of the Great Ultimate. The void in the middle is the central pivot of the Great Way, just like the ridgepole of a house where all the rafters are bound together. The Pole Star binds together all the stars in the sky; not only the emperor of the land but all the people rely on it. The mechanism that the sages of antiquity established following the example of Heaven was well balanced and correctly aligned. It emerged from the sixty-four hexagrams, every principle thereby fixed, every virtue afforded, every event made possible, every thing facilitated. From the void were born the six layers, which became the hexagrams. When these are squared they become 4096 and expanded yet further by squaring again they become infinite. Though you might compute the whole Earth day and night you could never exhaust their number. What they call the Principle of the Way has no limit: [it is none other than] the Great Ultimate that encompasses all. If you think of this in terms of events and things, then all events are the one Great Ultimate, and all things are the

16 The original text reads "thirty-six," which must be a mistake.

17 セント見コト. The translation is tentative.

> one Great Ultimate, all possessed of limitless truth. Take one example: a stone the size of your fist is the one Great Ultimate and when you smash the stone into pieces, each particle of dust is also the one Great Ultimate, replete with Principle. Nothing is lacking. Ah! This Great Ultimate need never be sought far away. One thought in the mind of man is the Great Ultimate in miniature, possessed of limitless truth. All thoughts are thus; all men are thus. The people use it everyday but are unaware of it. Therefore all things in Heaven and Earth are indeed nothing but a single thought in the mind of man. This is precisely what Confucians call the 'Heaven and Earth in microcosm' and what Buddhists call 'creation of sentient beings.' Those who study these matters should realize this.[18]

Considered in this light, it should be obvious that Confucianism and Buddhism essentially boil down to one and the same thing, and Daoism too sounds similar. It's true what they say: the Three Teachings are one. Because isn't the bit in the commentary that says: "the void in the middle is the central pivot of the Great Way, just like the ridgepole of a house where all the rafters are bound together" the same as the Spontaneous Void about which the *Laozi* says: "The Way begets one" and what Buddhists call the Dharma World of Emptiness? And when it says that the Great Ultimate need never be sought far away, that the arising of [a thought in] the mind of man is "Heaven and Earth in microcosm," and that "all things in Heaven and Earth are nothing but a single thought in the mind of man," is this not the same as Buddhism's "all dharmas are but One Mind?"

When one talks of the Confucian 'Heaven and Earth in microcosm' or the Buddhist 'creation of sentient beings' one is describing the Great Ultimate or Thusness, neither of which is to be sought outside one's own self; exactly the same as Kūkai's phrase: "The Buddha Dharma is nowhere remote; it is nearby, in one's body."[19] And so the point at which man achieves 'no mind and no thought' is said to be either the Great Way of the Void, or the Infinite Way of Heaven, or Thusness and Equality; and the arising of a single thought is said to be either 'The Way begets one,' or 'the Great Ultimate in microcosm,' or 'a single thought as the origin of activity and consciousness.' Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism each have their own names for it and their own modes of expression, but that is as far as it goes. Just as the *tachibana* orange south of the Yangzi becomes the *karatachi* orange north of the river, in essence

18 The source of this quotation has not been identified.

19 Reading *ni kotonarazu* rather than *ni damo narazu* after Ebisawa 1993. The quotation (which is used twice in the Buddhist section) has been slightly garbled (T.57/2203: 11.a.10–11; Hakeda 1972, p. 263).

they are the same.[20] "There is but one thread through it all."[21] So in the end this is a matter of making one's mind empty and arguing that emptiness is the root of all dharmas. It gets more and more nonsensical. Unless there is a creator with wisdom and virtue, not an iota of dust can come into being, let alone can such a Heaven, Earth, and Man as this emerge spontaneously from emptiness.

Myōshū: Now wait a minute. As I understand it, Confucians do not say that all things emerge spontaneously from nothingness, because I remember my father explaining what it says in the *tuan*:

> How great the origin of *qian* 乾! It provides all things with their beginning and thus controls Heaven. It sends clouds and brings rain; it causes things to flow into shape according to type; it greatly clarifies the beginning and end; and the positions of the six [lines] come about at the proper time. At the appropriate moment it rides the six dragons and so drives the Heavens. The Way of *qian* transforms and changes, and rectifies the nature and destiny of each and every one. It maintains the Great Peace and thus brings advantage and constancy. It stands out at the head of the multitude and all is at peace.[22]

What do you think about that?

Yūtei: Indeed. This kind of thing does describe Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, as being the origin of everything. I explained the logic of this at the start of this discussion. So, as you say, in the end the Great Ultimate is one with the Infinite Way of Heaven. I shall explain how it works in a moment. First of all, as regards the meaning of the *tuan* you just mentioned, I once asked for a divination from a *Yijing* specialist, who explained it to me in detail; but let me leave that too till later. To start with, in his work *Yijing benyi*, [Zhu Xi] explains that the *tuan* were 'the appended words of King Wen' added as a commentary

---

20 *Tachibana* 橘; *karatachi* 枳. This well-known example of one object being given two names appears in two early Chinese tale collections, the *Erya* 爾雅 and the *Shuoyan* 說苑.

21 *Analects* IV.15 (Legge 1895, I, p. 169).

22 From the 'Commentary on the Judgments.' See Lynn 1994, p. 129, who translates: "How Great is the fundamental nature of *Qian*! The myriad things are provided their beginnings by it, and, as such, it controls Heaven. It allows clouds to scud and rain to fall and things in all their different categories to flow into forms. Manifestly evident from beginning to end, the positions of the six lines form, each at its proper moment. When it is the moment for it, ride one of the six dragons to drive through the sky. The change and transformation of the Dao of *Qian* in each instance keep the nature and destiny of things correct."

to the hexagram judgments. The commentary that Confucius then added was also commonly known as the *tuan*. The word *tuan* means 'controlling all' or 'all-encompassing,' and in this context it defines *qian* by encapsulating its virtuous functions.[23] So what is this *qian*, you ask? The *tuan* says:[24]

> *Qian* means Heaven [and] the physical body. *Qian* is the nature and essence of Heaven. *Qian* is strength. Whatever is strong and not at rest we call *qian*. When spoken of as a whole, Heaven is the Way. When spoken of in its different aspects, it is called 'Heaven' with respect to its physical body, 'Lord' with respect to its being master, 'ghost and spirit' with respect to its effective operation, 'spirit' with respect to its wondrous functioning, and *qian* with respect to its nature and essence. Since *qian* is the beginning of all things, it is called Heaven, yang, father, lord, and the Four Virtues of origination, flourishing, advantage, and firmness. Origination is the beginning of all things; flourishing is development of all things; advantage is the coming together of all things; and firmness is the becoming of all things.

And in the *Yijing benyi* [Zhu Xi] writes:

> Of the Four Qualities Origination is Greatness, Flourishing is Pervasiveness, Advantage is Fittingness, and Firmness is Uprightness and Solidity.[25]

So, to explain the meaning of this *tuan* a little further: Heaven is mentioned first because Confucians see the coming into being and transformation of all

---

23 This is not the normal definition of *tuan*, which simply signifies the 'meaning' of a hexagram.

24 What follows is not from the *Yijing* itself, nor from the *Yijing benyi* 易經本義 (*Fundamental Meaning of the* Yijing), but from Zhu Xi's discussion of *qian* in *Reflections on Things at Hand*. Again, Habian strays from the original a little. For comparison, see Wing-sit Chan's translation: "*Qian* means Heaven. Heaven is the physical body of *qian*, whereas *qian* is the nature and feelings of Heaven. *Qian* means strength. What is strong and is unceasing in its activity is called qian. Spoken of as one, Heaven is the Way. This is the meaning in the saying, 'Heaven will not be in opposition.' Spoken of in its different aspects, it is called Heaven with respect to its physical body, the Lord with respect to its being master, negative and positive spiritual forces with respect to its operation, spirit with respect to its wonderful functioning, and *qian* with respect to its nature and feelings. Origination in the Four Qualities is comparable to humanity among the Five Constant Virtues." (Chan 1967, p. 9).

25 Zhu Xi 2002: 30.

things as being due exclusively to the virtue of Heaven. So why call Heaven *qian* here? The term Heaven is used when referring to it as an object with form, whereas the name *qian* is used when referring to its strength, its tough, everlasting quality; and when referring to its virtuous function as a totality, they name it either Heaven or the Way. This is what is normally referred to as the Way of Heaven. When talking about the manifestation of its virtuous function, when Heaven governs things, it is called Lord 帝. This is what we know as the Supreme or Heavenly Lord. And when referring to its effective operation, always moving forward and never regressing, Heaven is also called ghost or spirit 鬼神; ghost being 'refuge' 歸 and spirit being 'expansion' 伸.[26] When referring to its mysterious function, its measurelessness, it is just called spirit. In addition, since *qian* is the beginning of all things, it is called Heaven, Refuge, Father, Ruler. And thanks to this virtue of Heaven, Spring is the coming into being of all things as Origination, Summer is growth as Flourishing, Autumn is maturing as Advantage, and Winter is falling and returning to the root as Firmness. These are the Four Virtues. So on this basis, when it says in this *tuan*: "How great the origin of *qian*! It provides all things their beginning and thus controls Heaven" this one phrase alone explains the meaning of Origination. 'How great' are words of praise; 'origination' means greatness, the beginning. So because the *qian* as origination is the great beginning of Heaven, the birth of all things begins from here. [And Zhu Xi] in the *Yijing benyi* also comments that as the most important of the Four Virtues, it permeates both the beginning and the end of Heaven's Virtue and can therefore be said to "govern Heaven."

Now when it says: "sends clouds and brings rain; it causes things to flow into shape according to type" this explains *qian as* Flourishing. In the next phrase "it greatly clarifies the beginning and end; and the positions of the six [lines] come about at the proper time. At the appropriate moment it rides the six dragons and so drives the Heavens," 'beginning' refers to Origination and 'end' to Firmness. 'Positions of the six' refers to the order of the six lines, and 'six dragons' refers to the fact that all six lines are yang lines, six dragons being a manifestation of yang. What this means is that the Sage uses these to govern the Heavens by gauging the propitiousness and transformation of the times. When it says: "The Way of *qian* transforms and changes, and rectifies the nature and destiny of each and every one. It maintains the Great Peace and thus brings Advantage and Constancy," 'transforms' means the process of change, and 'changes' means the attainment of transformation. What things are endowed with is their 'nature;' what Heaven bestows on them is their

26 This equation is based on wordplay: 鬼 and 歸 are homophones in Chinese (and Japanese), as are 神 and 伸. This is another way of referring to yin and yang.

'destiny.' 'Great Peace' is the union of yin and yang, harmonious *qi*. 'Rectifies [the nature and destiny of] each and every one' means living things obtaining their beginning; 'maintain' means bringing to the full what has already been born. This means that the transformation and change of the Way of *qian* is nowhere without Advantage, and that all things each have their nature and destiny and are complete in and of themselves. This explains the meaning of Advantage and Firmness. 'It stands out at the head of the multitude and all is at peace' means that Heaven is the progenitor of all things, and that kings are the ancestors of all states. The Way of *qian* stands out at the head of the multitude and permeates all categories of things, which I understand to mean that if the Way of the ruler is put into practice according to these principles, all countries will be at peace. So in essence one should think of Heaven above, Earth below, and the *qi* that lies between as all being the Great Ultimate, the Way of Heaven, and that the birth and death of all things comes from these three. So, as I said when we began, this is where what Christianity has to say becomes relevant.

Since Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, are all devoid of mind and wisdom, to say that all things are engendered by this Great Ultimate, the Way of Heaven, is tantamount to arguing that the various medicines can do the impossible, namely gather of their own accord and turn into this or that sedative or this or that restorative all by themselves.[27] And what is more, this thing we call Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, cannot possibly exist on its own. Everything that has shape and form must have a beginning. And if it has a beginning it cannot start of its own accord. Obviously, it will not come into being unless there is another source of energy. When you say that all things come from Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, where do you think this Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, sprang from? When you reach this stage, Confucianism is also forced to ground itself on a void, on spontaneous infinity. The reason for this is that they are unaware there is a creator of Heaven and Earth and so they have no option but to say that it arose spontaneously from the Void.

So there are two ways of thinking about the Way of Changes 易道 as well. One of them clarifies and proves things by means of the sun and moon. Why? Because Heaven and Earth grew out of darkness. The darkness was the Great Ultimate. This Great Ultimate received a command from the Infinite, it divided into hills and plains, clouds gathered and rain fell, and all things were born and nurtured. The sun, moon and stars were made bright in order to illuminate this mass of forms. So the sun and moon are generally seen as objects of desire. This is why we call Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, the Great Ultimate, and say it is the Way of Heaven.

27 Sedative: *goōen* 牛黄圓; restorative: *sogōen* 蘇合圓.

The second way of looking at it says that we should see the origin as being the Way of Heaven. In other words, [this is] the infinite origin that we have mentioned before. In this case the Infinite becomes something distinct from the Great Ultimate, honored above it, and the Great Ultimate is said to revolve, polished in the palm of the Infinite.

So it seems that the Way of Changes itself has two ways of looking at the question: either Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, together are treated as being both the Great Ultimate and the Way of Heaven; or the infinite Way of Heaven is somewhere distinct from Heaven and Earth where nothing exists. In any case, since they do not recognize the existence of a sentient, virtuous creator, they have no solid ground to stand on, nowhere to rest. You must understand that a single creator is a sine-qua-non for all things to exist in Heaven and Earth.

Myōshū: But when you say that Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, cannot coalesce and form an object on its own because they have no mind or wisdom, it shows you are unaware of what the Confucians call the 'mysterious virtue of ghosts and spirits.' As it says in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, as I believe it is called, Confucius praised these ghosts and spirits, saying "Bounteous indeed is the moral force of the ghosts and spirits!"[28] by which he meant that all things were created thanks to their virtuous function. Are you not aware of this?

Yūtei: So do you believe that ghosts and spirits exist separately from Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, and that Heaven and Earth and all things were created by them? In that case you are mistaken. I know that among the commentaries to this *Doctrine of the Mean* Master Cheng 程伊川 wrote that: "The ghosts and spirits are an active function of Heaven and Earth, a trace of Creation" and Master Zhang 張載 said: "The ghosts and spirits are the innate potential of yin and yang." So it's not that ghosts and spirits existed first and that Heaven and Earth were created by them. To say "ghosts and spirits are an active function of Heaven and Earth" is to apply the term 'ghosts and spirits' to a function that emerges from Heaven and Earth, yin and yang; therefore that is their origin.

In which case, where does Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, come from? The active function of Heaven and Earth is a reference to the passage of time, the four seasons and the eight nodes of the year.[29] [As Zhu Xi says,] "that which

28 鬼神之爲德其盛矣乎. From section 16 of the *Zhongyong* 中庸. The translation is from Plaks 2003, p. 33. Legge 1895, I, p. 397 has: "How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them!"

29 The eight nodes of the year 節 were the equinoxes, the solstices, and the start of spring, summer, autumn and winter.

expands outwards we call spirits; that which turns inwards we call ghosts."[30] According to what Zhu Xi says in another passage: "the beginnings of yin and yang lie in the mechanism of motion and stillness," so that which moves is yang and spirit, and that which stays still is yin and ghost.[31] There can be no ghosts or spirits separate from yin and yang. And who created this yin and yang that is the origin of ghosts and spirits? Christianity argues that there is a Single Being who created Heaven and Earth, yin and yang. Does this not make sense to you?

Myōshū: Indeed. I see now that Confucianism believes that Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, are the fundamental root of all things, so ghosts and spirits can only be a function thereof. Christians are correct in saying that Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, cannot simply come into being of their own accord. But Confucians also talk of a light soul [*hun* 魂] and a dark soul [*po* 魄]. What do you understand by these terms?

Yūtei: I understand them as being the same as ghosts and spirits. In Zhu Xi's *Collected works*, he writes: "When essence accumulates, the dark soul accumulates; when *qi* accumulates, the light soul accumulates. Thereby does man come into being and the body becomes settled. When essence adheres and the dark soul descends then *qi* dissipates and the light soul wanders freely everywhere. If it descends, it collapses and has no form, so is called a ghost. If it wanders freely, it expands and cannot be measured, so it is called a spirit."[32] They, just like ghosts and spirits, are also the innate potential of yin and yang. And Mr. Zheng 鄭氏 says: "One's breath via the mouth and nose is light soul; essence via the ears and eyes is dark soul," by which he meant that breath through the mouth and nose is called *qi* and essence through the ears and eyes is called blood.[33] And since *qi* is yang and blood is yin, here too we have the innate potential of yin and yang.

Although Confucians never discuss whether there is life after death, they pay their respects to the spirits of their ancestors, which in the final analysis is paying respect to Heaven and Earth, yin and yang. This is also what Zhu Xi was praising when he said that what Confucius said about ghosts and spirits

30 From Zhu Xi's *Zhongyong zhangju* 中庸章句 (Zhu Xi 2002, 6, p. 41).

31 From 'Disputing Adulterated Learning' (*Zaxuebian* 雜學辨) (Zhu Xi 2002, 24, p. 3464).

32 Ibid., p. 3468.

33 Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), in his commentary on the 'Meaning of the Sacrifices' 祭義 chapter of the *Liji* 禮記.

in his response to a question by Zai Wo 宰我 was "perfect."[34] *Qi* is an abundance of spirit; dark soul is an abundance of ghost. When a man dies the light soul returns to Heaven and the essence while the dark soul returns to Earth. Therefore in their sacrifices and rites the ancients burned torches seeking yang, and poured libations seeking yin. In the end all one can do is see Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, as the source and the end of all men and all things.

Myōshū: I now understand that the light and dark soul are as you have explained. Now tell me what you know of [the difference between] Confucians and Daoists.

Yūtei: Ah, now then. As I have said before, Confucians argue that there is nowhere one might call the origin of man and things apart from Heaven and Earth, yin and yang; and whether you call it the Great Ultimate or the Way of Heaven, in the end every matter and every thing is one Great Ultimate, all things being essentially one. Matter and principle 事理, those two things with which Heaven and Earth are endowed, combine to become man, the animals, grass and trees. When principle is applied to things we call it nature; when matter is applied to things we call it *qi*-as-material 氣質. Principle-as-nature is uniform, but because the *qi*-as-material that becomes matter is not uniform, one gets differences in quality between both people and things. As Zhu Xi wrote in the preface to his commentary on the *Great Learning*: "Now since Heaven brought down life to the people, everyone is already endowed with a nature of benevolence, duty, propriety and wisdom. However their endowment of *qi*-as-material cannot always be equal. Therefore they can neither know the composition of their nature nor make it whole."[35] Now, if you ask what he means by their *qi*-as-material not being equal, firstly the material refers to the human form with its five organs and hundred bones; and *qi* refers to the *qi* of yin and yang and the Five Elements. There are four types of *qi*: correct, pervasive, deformed and blocked 正通偏塞. Correct means upright; pervasive means one can pass through with no impediment; deformed means not upright, bent; and blocked means impeded. Of these, the correct and pervasive are good and the deformed and blocked are bad. That which receives the correct and pervasive becomes man; that which receives the deformed and blocked becomes

34 From 答呂子約書, vol. 47 of 晦庵先生朱文公文集 (Zhu Xi 2002, 22, p. 2169). Habian quotes 甚好 instead of 甚詳. What follows is a paraphrase of the beginning of the second section of the 'Meaning of the sacrifices' from the *Liji* (Legge 1879–91: II, p. 220).

35 From the opening phrases of Zhu Xi's *Daxue zhangju* 大學章句 (Zhu Xi 2002, 6, p. 13). See also Gardner 1986, p. 77.

either an animal or a plant. And within 'correct' there is another division into good and bad; and within 'pervasive' there is clear and polluted. It is for this reason that in human relations one gets sages and wise men, who know the way and the principle from birth, who act within the rules, who excel others and who are honored; they are the ones who have received good *qi*. And then there are those who are stupid, inept, and cannot distinguish black and white, whose actions and words are not good and who have the form of a human being but who are the equivalent of an animal; they are the ones who have received bad *qi*.

The deformed and blocked *qi* are also divided into good and bad, clear and polluted. Animals and plants that receive them differ in the quality of their virtuous function. So this "nature" is common to Heaven and Earth, and man and things; in relation to Heaven and Earth it is called principle, in relation to man it is called mind, and in relation to things it is called nature. In the *Book of Documents* this is described as 'bestowing good things,'[36] and in the *Book of Poetry* it is recorded as 'observing Heaven's decree.'[37] Confucius calls it nature or the Way of Heaven; Zisi said: "nature is what Heaven ordains."[38] Mencius calls it 'the mind of benevolence and duty,' and the *Great Learning* calls it 'luminous virtue:' all these describe this one principle of nature.

'Luminous virtue' in the *Great Learning* is the first of the Three Cardinal Principles laid out in the first sentence: "The way of great learning lies in clearly manifesting luminous virtue, in renewing the people, and resting in the utmost good."[39] Since there is no end to what can be said, these three cardinal principles are used to encapsulate the heart of Confucianism. "Luminous virtue is what a person acquires from Heaven; it is unprejudiced, spiritual and completely unmuddled."[40] The last phrase means bright as a mirror, reflecting both friend and foe alike,[41] and not making distinctions. But what they call the selfishness of human desire, that desire that relates to eye, ear, nose, mouth or body, arises by virtue of the environment and creates the idea that self and other are distinct, so clouding the original clarity of the heart. The way to get

36 尚書 *Shang Shu*. 'The Announcement of T'ang,' 湯誥 (Legge 1895, III, p. 185).

37 詩經 *Shi jing* 3. 'Zhengmin,' 烝民 (Legge 1895, IV, p. 541).

38 From the first line of the *Doctrine of the Mean* (Plaks 2003, p. 25).

39 Habian seems to have written 親民 here rather than 新民, which was how Zhu Xi revised the text, but this is probably a slip rather than a deliberate gesture. This might explain why the text shows the irregular gloss of "arata ni suru" for 親 here.

40 From *Daxue zhangju* (Zhu Xi 2002, 6, p. 16). See also Gardner 1986, p. 89.

41 The original here reads 'If a barbarian comes, a barbarian appears; if a man of Han comes, a man of Han appears," a phrase found in a number of Zen texts.

rid of this selfish desire in man is the way of great learning, in 'clearly manifesting luminous virtue.'

'Renewing the people' means that having obtained luminous virtue one should then push things a stage further and extend it to others, so cleansing the pollution that has stained the people for so long. 'Resting in the utmost good' means having exhausted the limits of Heavenly Principle and having reached the point of negating the slightest bit of desire, one should remain in that state of mind. So the heart of Confucianism lies in governing the world and educating the people through benevolence, duty, propriety and music.

Now Daoists believe that since the Great Ultimate is born from the Infinite, its origin is the Great Way of the Void, and that according to this Way of vacuity and spontaneity one should reject benevolence, duty, propriety and music, and instead base oneself on non-action. They mean, for example, that you might laud a medicine for its virtue and its function but only because you were ill. Even the miraculous medicine used by Daoist adepts is not as effective as not being ill in the first place. They do not deny the goodness of benevolence, duty, propriety and music but they argue that they only arose because the Great Way was lost. If you base yourself on this kind of non-action, the Way of benevolence and duty becomes pointless, and the practice of propriety and music of no avail. The heart of Daoism lies in arguing that it is best to just accept one's destiny by not acting and doing nothing. Laozi, Zhuangzi and Liezi: all three of them aim in this fashion for the empty and the spontaneous, turning away from the Way of benevolence, duty, propriety, wisdom (智) and fidelity (信); as a result Confucians detest both Buddhism and Daoism, branding them as messages of vacuity and nothingness.

So you could call something like Confucianism a 'natural philosophy;'[42] in that it maintains the Five Norms of benevolence, duty, propriety, wisdom and fidelity, innate in man by his very nature, even Christians give it high marks. Nevertheless, they argue it is in error not only because it treats Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, as the Great Ultimate, the Way of Heaven, but because it does not admit of a creator and argues that man, animals and plants differ only as far as their *qi*-as-material is concerned, their natures being similar. Of the three teachings Confucianism undoubtedly has much to recommend it. They say the three are one, but Buddhism and Daoism are not worth bothering about.

42 The original has "*natsūra no oshie*."

Myōshū: Indeed, as you say, there must be a creator of wisdom and virtue. But to return to Confucianism for a moment, don't they say that King Pan Gu 盤古王 was the Lord of the Universe?

Yūtei: Well, I understand that the story of Pan Gu appears to a certain extent in the *Tongjian yaolüe* 通鑑要略,[43] but no Confucian actually believes this to be true. What Confucians do believe to be the truth is the Great Ultimate, and yin and yang. Pan Gu was never Lord of the Universe; that's all just piffle. The *Yaolüe* 要略 says: "In the beginning the cosmos was the shape of an egg, which revolved to the left day and night. Heaven was like the white of the egg and earth the yellow, and they oscillated inside. When Heaven and Earth first split apart, the light, clear yang *qi* floated up to become Heaven, and the heavy, polluted yin *qi* coagulated to become Earth. Pan Gu was born in the midst of all this and rose to stand at the apex of men, reigning for 84,000 years." Even according to this account, it is clear that Pan Gu did not create Heaven and Earth. So if Heaven and Earth was not created but was actually a chicken emerging from an egg, then all that's missing is 'cockadoodle-doo.' Instead of this they invented 84,000 years. Well, what a long life that was! This is all rubbish and totally unbelievable; true Confucians do not talk like this. It's like all that nonsense about the Age of the Gods in Japan. Don't believe everything you read!

Myōshū: When you explain it like this, I realize there cannot be any truth in it at all. So what of the Age of the Gods? Tell me something of that.

On Shintō

Yūtei: It had been my intention to discuss this matter even without your prompting, but since you have asked, here it is. In general, my understanding is that three varieties of Shintō have been determined. They are variously known as: 1) *honjaku engi* Shintō; 2) *ryōbu shūgō* Shintō; and 3) *kanpon* (*genpon*) *sōgen* Shintō.[44] Now the term *honjaku engi* Shintō refers to the way kami are dealt with by positing a ground (*honji* 本地) and a trace (*suijaku*

43 It is unclear to which work this refers. It may be a digest of Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 that is no longer extant, or Zhu Xi's famous summary *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目.

44 本迹縁起、両部習合、還本宗源: the last of these was normally known as 原本宗源. This categorization derives from Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼倶 (1435–1511), the founder

垂迹). The term *ryōbu shūgō* involves the identification of the goddess of the sun with Mahāvairocana 大日 the Sun Buddha, which came about when Kūkai learned about Shintō from the Yoshida.[45] The term *kanpon sōgen* refers to the idea that all things return to the One, at which point there is no longer any trace, no distinction between kami and sentient beings and no duality; so this is referred to as the One and Only (*yuiitsu* 唯一) Shintō. Let me now explain the different generations of kami from the perspective of these various forms of Shintō. They are organized into twelve generations: seven generations of heavenly kami and five generations of earthly kami. The seven heavenly kami are 1) Kunitokotachi no mikoto, 2) Kuni no satsuchi no mikoto, 3) Toyokunnu no mikoto, 4) Uhijini no mikoto and Suhijini no mikoto, 5) Ōtonoji no mikoto and Ōtomabe no mikoto.[46] As for the five earthly kami, they are 1) Amaterasu Ōmikami, 2) Masaya are katsu katsu hayahi amano oshi hoho mimi no mikoto, 3) Amatsu hikohiko honihonigi no mikoto, 4) Amatsu hikohohodemi no mikoto and 5) Hikonakisatate ugayaraiawasesu no mikoto.

When and how, then, did these generations all come about? The general answer is to be found in the sacred texts. There are, of course, all manner of sacred texts. Of these, the *Kujiki* 旧事紀 and *Kojiki* 古事記 convey some sense of the ages of the kami, but the authors have injected a lot of their own opinions. The *Nihongi* 日本紀, by contrast, is a compilation of facts about the ages of the kami as they really were, edited without bias. Thus it is my understanding that of these three the *Nihongi* is to be regarded as correct. In the Preface to that work it is written:

> Of old Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the yin and yang not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an egg, which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth.
>
> The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty. Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently. Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them. Hence it is said

---

of Yoshida Shintō, which became the pre-eminent Shintō family in the early Tokugawa period.

45 For Yoshida here read Urabe. The Yoshida house was not a recognised entity until it split from the Urabe in the fifteenth century.

46 Missing here are the sixth generation Omotaru no mikoto and Kashikone no mikoto, and the seventh generation Izanagi and Izanami.

that when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water. At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot. Now this became transformed into a God, and was called Kunitokotachi no mikoto. Next there was Kuni no satsuchi no mikoto, and next Toyokunnu no mikoto, in all three deities. These were pure males spontaneously developed by the operation of the principle of Heaven. The next Deities who came into being were Uhijini no mikoto.[47] The next Deities which came into being were Ōtonoji no mikoto and Ōtomabe no mikoto. The next Gods which came into being were Omotaru no mikoto and Kashikone no mikoto. The next Deities which came into being were Izanagi no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto. These make eight Deities in all. Being formed by the mutual action of the Heavenly and Earthly principles, they were made male and female.

From Kunitokotachi no mikoto to Izanagi no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto are called the seven generations of the Age of the Gods. Izanagi and Izanami stood on the floating bridge of Heaven and held counsel together saying: "Is there not a country beneath?" Thereupon they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine, which dripped from the point of the spear, coagulated and became an island, which received the name of Onogorojima.[48] The two Deities thereupon descended and dwelt in this island. Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife together, and to produce countries. So they made Onogorojima the pillar of the center of the land.[49]

Do you have a clear understanding of the sense, thus far?

Myōshū: With regard to the argument deployed here, I am unsure how good or otherwise my understanding is, but, as the ancients were wont to say, this land is superior to both India and China, so it must be the greatest of the three. The justification for this is that, while this sun-blessed land may be of limited size, nonetheless—as you have just stated—the beginnings of Heaven and Earth with Kunitokotachi no mikoto first appearing, followed by Izanagi no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto, happened here. That is why Japan is known as the land

47 Yūtei omits here the following passage from the *Nihongi*: "and Suhijini no mikoto, also called Uhijine no mikoto and Suhijine no mikoto."

48 This is usually identified as Awajishima.

49 Aston 1896, pp. 1–12 [adapted]; Sakamoto 1967, pp. 76–80.

of the kami (*shinkoku*), and why the kami are venerated here as the lords of Heaven and Earth. It is normal for things to have small beginnings, and this is the reason why our land is smaller than all the others. It tells us that India and China only came into being after those drops from the spear dripped down and accumulated to form the island of Awaji. My understanding of the reason why this land is known as the Great Land of the Rising Sun is that when the two kami, yin and yang, lowered that spear and stirred up the oceans, there formed on the froth of the waves the characters for 'great' 大 and 'sun' 日. The droplets congealed to form an island, which they called the Great Land of the Rising Sun. In brief, I understand that this land is the origin of the Three Lands, and that it was engendered by Kunitokotachi no mikoto.

Yūtei: I asked you precisely because I suspected this was the limit of your understanding, and you have proved my point. First then, take your understanding that Heaven and Earth were created by Kunitokotachi no mikoto. And as for believing that the name of the Great Land of the Rising Sun derives from those spear droplets falling on the characters for 'great' and 'sun' and congealing into land, well, this just shows you do not understand the truth of the matter. For is it not written in the main text of the *Nihongi*:

> Hence it is said that when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner, which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water. At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot. Now this became transformed into a god, and was Kunitokotachi no mikoto.

Pay attention to this. This means not that Kunitokotachi no mikoto created Heaven and Earth, but that Kunitokotachi no mikoto himself emerged from a Heaven and an Earth that were already created. There must therefore be [another] who was creator. In general, you need to discriminate between what occurred in Heaven and Earth in the remote past on the one hand, and what relates to us in the here and now on the other. With regard to Heaven and Earth, then, when the *Nihongi* says that "a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth," it is referring to one thing coming into being. 'A certain' denotes a quantity, so is yang; 'thing' refers to the form, so is yin. So to say 'a certain thing' is to say 'yin and yang.' Don't think that by referring to this 'one single thing' as Kunitokotachi no mikoto you are giving [the kami] any kind of special status.

Myōshū: Please, please: do not speak as if this is all of no significance. Truly, this Shintō has an inscrutable logic all its own, and since *kanpon sōgen* Shintō is a secret to all but the direct descendants of the Yoshida family, it is surely not to be taken lightly.

Yūtei: In that case you believe, do you, that Shintō cannot be properly grasped outside [the Yoshida family]? People like you who don't understand these things are just like inexperienced monks who say "It's all a matter of faith, you know" and are in awe of everything. Generally speaking, in the context of Heaven and Earth, kami refers to yin and yang and to [the cycle of] birth, growth, decline and death; in the context of man, it refers to the spirit (*konpaku* 魂魄). I have touched on most of these matters above in my discussion of Confucianism, so there is no need to repeat myself here. However, you have said that there can be no knowledge of *kanpon sōgen* Shintō outside the Yoshida family, and you spoke of Shintō as though it possessed some esoteric qualities. So let me respond. Why is someone who is perfectly capable of telling black from white incapable of understanding Shintō? This is something which intelligent Chinese Confucian scholars have discussed at length, so its nature is quite clear. Even though individual families may well each have their own agreements and the occasional secret—"having secrets is as natural as having eyelashes," as they say—it's of no great significance.

When I say that Confucians in China discussed Shintō, an ignorant person might think I am talking nonsense. But it's true, I tell you. What do you understand of this yin and yang they all go on about? They call the process by which the two forces of yin and yang go through the continual cycle of birth, growth, decline and death 'spirit' (靈). And this 'spirit' they also refer to as 神 (*kami*). In terms of these two forces, yang is 神 and yin is 鬼. However, Zhu Xi said: "The beginnings of yin and yang lie only in the mechanism of motion and stillness." Motion culminates in stillness; stillness culminates in motion. Thus yang adheres in yin; yin adheres in yang, and there is no distinction to be made between 神 and 鬼.

When it says: "His name is Kunitokotachi no mikoto; a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth," is this not simply a reference to the forces of yin and yang? And as for the meaning of Kunitokotachi no mikoto 國常立尊, well, *kuni* 國 refers to Heaven and Earth; *toko* 常 is intended to mean 'eternal;' *tachi* 立 means 'standing alone;' and the character for *mikoto* 尊 is a mark of respect shown to lord or master. This 'Kunitokotachi' is in Heaven the spiritual origin (*reigen* 靈元) of one yang, on Earth the spiritual origin of

one yin, and in man the spiritual origin of life, and it is therefore known as the High Deity of the Great Origin."[50] Kuni no satsuchi no mikoto 國狹槌尊 is to be interpreted thus: *kuni* 國 is as before; and the character for *sa* 狹 is read as *ai* 隘 in the sense of 'narrow.' The kami is given this name because it means 'the land is narrow.' Concerning the creation of Heaven and Earth the *Nihongi* says: "the space between Heaven and Earth was not very wide." They said this because the land was so small. Come on, this is all beginner's stuff! And again, the character *tsuchi* 槌 is homophonous with *tsuchi* 土 meaning earth. In this way, then, at the time Heaven and Earth were created, a name was given to describe the restricted size of the land and this name was Kuni no satsuchi no mikoto. There is nothing particularly special about this!

Next comes the kami called Toyokunnu no mikoto 豐斟渟尊. *Toyo* 豐 means plentiful; it refers to the rich, abundant state of the land. It implies that soon after the creation of Heaven and Earth everything was in abundant supply. *Kun* 斟 refers to scooping up water in the hand. In the Chinese rhyme books, *nu* 渟 is given as the 'pooling of water,' so refers to water accumulating in a given place. The identity of this kami is thus the one who scooped up water and used it to render abundant all creation. Then, there was the kami Uhijini no mikoto 埿土煑尊. The character *uhi* 埿 is also read as *han* meaning 'deep mud.' 煑, also read *sho*, conveys the sense of fire acting to dry something. So, for example, when you dry things with fire, they gradually get hot and harden. In this way, after Heaven and Earth had separated, the mud dried to create earth; this was precisely a case of drying something with fire. It is this process that his name refers to. In the name Suhijini no mikoto 沙土煑尊, *su* 沙 means somewhere far from water, somewhere sandy. It is so called because when water recedes, sandy earth appears. Then we have the kami Ōtonoji no mikoto 大戸之道尊, where 大 denotes respect, 戸 can be read to mean 'a dwelling,' while 道 means a way. The name thus refers to the process whereby the first way was created on Earth. In other words, the mud dries and there is a dwelling on the flat sand. The 大 of Ōtomabe no mikoto 大苫辺尊 means 'great' as before. *Toma* 苫 refers to the weaving of miscanthus reeds. In the age of this kami, a palace was built using the woven reeds to offer protection from wind and rain, hence the kami's name.

Next is the kami Omodaru no mikoto 面足尊.[51] His name means 'looks satisfactory.' The explanatory note for this says that before this kami existed the

50 The High Deity of the Great Origin 大元尊神 was the supreme deity of Yoshida Kanetomo's Yuiitsu Shintō.

51 Yūtei uses an abbreviated version of the kami, whose full name is Omodaru Ayakashikone no mikoto.

[legendary Chinese] emperor of the heavens 天皇氏 had thirteen heads and the emperor of the Earth 地皇氏 had eleven heads, so they were truly ugly; but from the time of this kami, deities became good looking, all their six senses fully formed with nothing lacking, hence the name Omodaru no mikoto. Kashikone no mikoto 惶根尊 was a kami of fine appearance (*kashiko*), and it was from this point on that the sexual organs of man and woman emerged. This name is also said to be related to the fact that this kami was more intelligent (*kashiko*) than those in previous ages. Next came Izanagi no mikoto 伊弉諾尊 and Izanami no mikoto 伊弉冉尊. *Iza* 伊弉 is a word which, in common parlance, means 'coming and going.' The explanation in this case is that there was movement between Heaven and Earth as these kami became respectively the mother and father of Heaven and Earth, so they were called *iza*. The *nagi* and *nami* suffixes are just kami titles. All this is meant to show that Shintō in the distant past was connected to matters of Heaven and Earth and yin and yang, but listening to this kind of explanation only shows how shallow and insignificant these ideas really are.

How might we understand these kami in a more personal context? Sexual relations between father and mother are Kunitokotachi no mikoto. The semen of the father as it congeals and dwells in the mother's womb is Kuni satsuchi no mikoto. Movement [of the child] in the womb relies on the virtue of fire, and is therefore Toyokunnu no mikoto; the firming-up in the mother's womb is Uhijini no mikoto and Suhijini no mikoto respectively. The passage from birth to adulthood and possession of a household is Ōtonoji no mikoto and Ōtomabe no mikoto. Then soon after comes fatherhood and motherhood, and the birth of [the next generation of] children, who are Izanagi and Izanami. So, in this personal sense, we humans ourselves constitute [in our life course] the seven generations of heavenly kami. This lies at the core of Shintō.

Everything apart from these personal matters, explanations about how the land was created for example, is run of the mill, what is known to Buddhists as 'expedient teachings.' The truth is that the process by which man and woman have intercourse and create this human body (something that Confucians call 'the microcosm' and Buddhists call 'creation of flesh') is expressed in terms of droplets from the spear congealing on the characters for 'great' and 'sun,' and forming Awaji Island, and the land spreading out thereafter. Think carefully about this. Without this hidden meaning there would be no basis for talking of dipping in the spear to find land beneath the seas. And is it not otherwise absurd to talk of stirring the spear? If the kami was great enough to create the land, then it doesn't matter whether or not it was under the waves; and, moreover, the kami would have known whether or not it was there without stirring the spear. Anyway, it goes without saying that the underlying meaning of the

expression 'dipping the spear' is obvious even to you and me without going into embarrassing detail. Just work out for yourself what the spear and the droplets might mean. The fact is that the characters '*dai*' 大 and '*nichi*' 日 refer to nothing other than the human person. Lie down and spread your legs and arms, and you will find they form the characters for 'great' and 'sun.' I hardly need to say more on the matter. Anyway, the essence of Shinto finds ultimate expression in the principles of yin and yang as they operate in the physical relations between man and woman.

The form of the *torii* gate through which one passes to venerate the kami, the *shimenawa*, the bells on the sleeves of the maidens, and the white and light blue paper offerings: which of these is not an expression of yin and yang? But these are not profound matters; one might almost say they are not even worth comment. In a game of *go* one does not hide one's moves from the enemy and yet, because it is a game of sublime skill, those of little intelligence cannot understand [what is going on]. Usually most things that are hidden as 'secrets' really are of little substance, you know. They are hidden precisely because when they are revealed or spoken about openly, those who see or hear about them realize that they are just trivial. Take note that Shingon and Shintō secrets are all of this ilk. Moreover, when it comes to those sacred texts there really is a need to discriminate. The origins of island countries cut off from continents—I speak not just of Japan—always start with people migrating and taking up residence. If their descendants then flourish, they end up forgetting about their origins.

To the south of India there is an island called Ceylon. Indians came to live there and their descendants flourished on the island. To the east of Africa is an island called San Laurenco.[52] Africans migrated over there, set up villages and cultivated pastures; there were abundant harvests and so people settled there for good. In similar fashion, people began to migrate to Japan from the neighboring continent and began to spread themselves far and wide. Later, as their land and villages expanded and their numbers became uncountable, they ceased to tell of their [true] origins and instead created 'sacred texts,' which spread tales of how kami by the name of Izanagi and Izanami had come down from Heaven, generated the land and human dwellings, the seas and rivers, and given birth to man and all living creatures. As a result, you have one man telling a falsehood only for millions to accept it as truth, for such is the way of the world. These early matters they called the Age of the Gods, feeling that the older something is the more impressive it is, not realizing that what is past is beyond reach. They have Izanagi and Izanami reign for 23,040 years, their reign

52 The name used by the Portuguese for what later became known as Madagascar.

followed by the five generations of earthly kami, since when a total of 300,000 years or 637,892 years or 836, 042 years are said to have passed.

With neither proof nor logic, they blithely go on about a past so remote it defies counting in years. Is this not absurd? If it all happened that long ago, even if written records remain, it is surely impossible to grasp. This is all the more so because in the beginning there was no written word in this land. Eventually, in the 15th year of the reign of emperor Ōjin, Buddhist scriptures were brought over from Kudara (Paekche). I think it is about 1,338 years from that day to this, the tenth year of Keichō (1605). No written language existed in Japan prior to that time. Kūkai's *iroha* and Lord Kibi's *katakana* were not formed from *kanji* until generations after those Buddhist scriptures first arrived. How could past events as ancient as they claim ever have been passed down? But there are those who insist that there were 15,395 *kanji* in the Age of the Gods, distorted and twisted somewhat like the intonation marks you find on Buddhist *shōmyō* scores, but that they remain a Yoshida family secret unknown to the world at large. Dear me! Lies and yet more lies. In a world where people are so curious, if these characters had ever actually existed, would they really never have been taught so that someone could read them? If they had been written on bamboo strips or on anything at all, you wouldn't expect people just to say "here, these are the characters from the age of the gods. Nobody but the head of the Yoshida family can read them." But the truth is that nobody has ever seen these characters, precisely because they never existed and have not been handed down to the present. If they *had* really existed, surely they would show us at least one—even if we cannot expect them to reveal all 15,395. It is best to consider that they probably never existed, because if they did, you would expect them to be in the court where the emperor lives, not with the Yoshida family. Anyway, I have never heard anyone in the emperor's entourage or of any senior court official say they have seen a single such character. The conclusion must be that they do not exist.

Myōshū: Indeed, indeed. Having just listened to what you have to say, the tenets of Shintō and the way it presents itself are absurd if taken literally, and its underlying meaning is either embarrassing or quite implausible. This I did not realize till now. How stupid of me to have thought that this land was born of Izanagi and Izanami! Your explanation of how people first came to our land from neighbouring countries and then spread out is entirely persuasive. So from where did they come, do you suppose?

Yūtei: Ah yes, that matter. Let me respond. There are multiple names denoting our realm. There is Toyo ashihara, Toyoaki tsu shima, or again Urayasu no

kuni, or Hosohokochitaru no kuni. I hear that there are thirteen or fourteen such appellations in all. Among them is the name Kijikoku 姫氏国, which I understand was used by the Chinese.[53] And why was this name given to Japan? In the distant past, King Tai of Zhou 周太王 had three sons, princes Taibo 泰伯, Zhongyong 仲雍, and Jili 季歴. The last of these, Prince Jili, had a son by the name of Chang 昌. Since King Tai saw that Chang was a man blessed with saintly virtues, he was determined he should be his successor. Taibo realized that his father could not achieve his wish because he was the eldest son, and so he relinquished his right to the throne to Zhongyong, and fled south to Jingman. There he shaved his head, had his body tattooed and, defying the dangers of dragons and snakes, he made his way to the eastern sea. Zhongyong too realized his intention, and he in turn yielded to Jili, who then yielded to his son, Chang. This was the man known to history as King Wen. In the Taibo section of the *Analects* it says: "Taibo may be said to have reached the highest point of virtuous action. Thrice he declined the kingdom, and the people in ignorance of his motives could not express their approbation of his conduct."[54] I understand this refers to the above tale. Now it is certain that one of Taibo's descendants came to Japan.[55] Hence it came about that the character 姫, denoting the royal family of Zhou, was given to the country of Japan, and it became called Kijikoku 姫氏国 as I have described. The Japanese practice of hair cutting is also said to derive from Taibo's actions. Is it not ridiculous to ignore such sensible explanations and instead argue that the kami Izanagi and Izanami descended from Heaven, became the ancestors of man, and were, in addition, the mother and father who engendered all of creation: mountains, rivers, the earth, and all living nature, plants and trees? Does that make any sense? However much people talk up the Age of the Gods, if it is divorced from common sense then it is not worth consideration.

Moreover, absolutely nothing in what the *Nihongi* says has any truth in it. They say that nothing deceives like the plot of a *kōwakamai* dance, but I know at least three truths. One of them is the line in the dance *Yashima*: "the moon glows on the eastern edge of the mountain." This is surely speaking the truth. Well, you might expect to see at least that much truth in the *Nihongi*, but I cannot find any. You must abandon your prejudices and listen to things with an un-jaundiced ear. You should realize it is a book that is full of nonsense from start to finish. First of all, in the main text there is a passage that says:

---

53 The Country of the Ji 姫. Ji was the family name of the King of Zhou.

54 *Analects* VIII.1 (Legge 1895, I, p. 207).

55 This theory was accepted by many scholars, among them Ichijō Kanera (1402–1481) and Hayashi Razan (1583–1657).

> Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto consulted together, saying: "We have now produced the Great Eight Island country (Ōyashima no kuni), with the mountains, rivers, herbs and trees. Why should we not produce someone who shall be lord of the universe? They then together produced the Sun-Goddess, who was called Ohohirume no muchi."[56]

This is Amaterasu Ōmikami. Next they gave birth to the moon kami and then to Hiruko. Hiruko was crippled in the back and could not walk till he was three, so they put him in a boat and set him adrift. This is the kami Ebisu Saburō in Nishinomiya. Next, they gave birth to Susano'o, but since he was a belligerent, evil kami his mother and father detested him and dispatched him to the nether realm, that is, the lower realm. These are what people usually refer to as the children of Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto: one daughter and three sons. They then say that, since there was no great distance between Heaven and Earth at that time, the sun goddess and moon god were sent to Heaven via the heavenly pillar and became the sun and moon respectively. Dear me! What a pathetic fiction!

There are other passages that contain similar tales, but they too are just trivial contrivances. Consider it all calmly and discriminate carefully. First of all, they say – do they not? – that Ōyashima no Kuni refers to the territory of Japan, including its seas, mountains, grasses and trees. My goodness! What a massive belly this kami must have had! I wonder where with such a vast belly this kami could have sat prior to giving birth to the land? Even without arms and legs and eyes and mouth and ears and nose to go with the belly, it would put to shame the warrior king Rāhu, whom I mocked earlier on! Again, when they talk of the kami of the sun and moon they say they were raised up to Heaven since "the distance between Heaven and Earth was not that great." This is so odd as to defy comment. Even seen from the Earth, the sun is clearly bigger than the whole world, never mind Japan. The belly that gave birth to it must have been extraordinary. From ancient times, it has been accepted that horses receive the seed of horses, oxen the seed of oxen, each giving birth to its own species. Humans, too, take the seed of humans and give birth only to humans. But Izanagi and Izanami "held counsel together" and are said to have produced the sun and moon, which are not of their seed. Is this not sheer nonsense? Can such things happen? It is written that "the distance between Heaven and Earth was not yet great." This is ridiculous and shows no discrimination. Ever since the very beginning the distance between Heaven and Earth has remained the same as it is now. The reason is that Heaven is shaped like a sphere and the

56 Aston 1896, p. 18 [adapted]; Sakamoto 1967, p. 86.

Earth is enveloped within it. Heavy matter in isolation cannot exist in a void, even for an instant. Heavy matter sinks, and the place where the Earth now sits is in the first layer below that of the revolving Heaven. It is impossible that the Earth has been anywhere else at any stage, so to suggest that in ancient times Heaven and Earth were closer together is utterly ridiculous. The idea that Susano'o went up to Heaven and produced a child with his sister Amaterasu Ōmikami is also absurd. 'There is no ladder to Heaven,' as the saying goes, so to insist he could have 'climbed up' is suspect to begin with. Then it says:

> Upon this Amaterasu Ōmikami asked for Susano'o no mikoto's ten-span sword, which she broke into three pieces, and rinsed in the true well of Heaven. Then chewing them with a crunching noise, she blew them away and from the true-mist of her breath gods were born. The first was Tagoribime, the next Tagitsubime, and the next Ichiki-shima-bime, three daughters in all. After this Susano'o no mikoto begged from Amaterasu Ōmikami the august string of 500 *yasaka* jewels which was entwined in her hair and round her wrists, and rinsed it in the true-well of Heaven. Then chewing it with a crunching noise he blew it away, and from the true-mist of his breath there were gods produced. The first was called Amanooshihomimi no mikoto, and the next Amanohohi no mikoto. The next was Amatsuhikone no mikoto. The next was Ikutsuhikone no mikoto. The next was Kumanokusubi no mikoto.[57]

Can a child be born of such a union?

Myōshū: No, no. This too must have some hidden meaning to it. There must be some logic at work here.

Yūtei: Indeed, there is a hidden meaning. But what is the hidden meaning behind the sword held by Susano'o and the jewel in the hands of Amaterasu? It is most odd. And where is the true well of Heaven? The biting [of the sword] and the crunching noise; all these things are odd. What sort of hidden meaning is there here? In the next sentence it says: "The string of 500 *yasaka* jewels belongs to me. The ten-span sword belongs to you, Susano'o no Mikoto." This strikes me as wrong and odd, but let us for the moment set aside our suspicions. It then says that, owing to the evil actions of Susano'o, Amaterasu Ōmikami

57 Aston 1896, pp. 35–36 [adapted]; Sakamoto 1967, pp. 104–106. Yūtei has shortened some names.

retreated into the Heavenly Cave, and so Heaven and Earth were plunged into darkness. This is utterly ridiculous, because the sun has just been referred to earlier as being Amaterasu Ōmikami herself.

The moon and the sun are non-sentient objects with no mind; they are not living beings. Proof that they are inanimate lies in our ability to predict accurately eclipses of both moon and sun. The winter and summer solstices can likewise be predicted with precision. The winter solstice is that day when the winter sun reaches its southernmost point; the summer solstice is the day when the summer sun moves north to reach its northernmost point. If the moon and sun were living beings, could their paths be calculated in this precise way as though with a ruler? Take, for example, those ants crawling across that garden; they are living beings, and no one has ever instructed them to track along that path and return to the same spot; or to come so far only now to head back again. They are living organisms and their movements are self-determined. In this way, if the moon and sun were living organisms, we could not expect to be able to plot their movements. The fact that we can calculate their paths is proof that they are inanimate. And yet Amaterasu Ōmikami is said to be a living body. So, as I have said before, Amaterasu Ōmikami had union with her younger brother, Susano'o, and they are said to have had six or seven offspring between them. But what sort of children were they? The rule is that oxen have oxen for offspring, horses have horses, and people have people. If Amaterasu Ōmikami was the sun, then her children should have all been suns. And if there had been six or seven other suns shining all around the one great sun, then surely they would have written: "Those are the suns generated by Amaterasu Ōmikami, kami of the sun!" Such you might expect, but instead we have always been in the habit of saying "there are not two suns in the sky nor two lords in the realm;" the sun is unique, and there are no other suns. Accordingly, it should be obvious that the sun is not Amaterasu Ōmikami. The fact that the sun is just the sun, and not Amaterasu Ōmikami, is quite clear. In which case there is no such thing as Amaterasu Ōmikami. The *Nihongi* speaks of the sun as being the kami Amaterasu Ōmikami created by Izanagi and Izanami but since this is false, Amaterasu Ōmikami cannot exist. So you should accept that the Great Bright Spirit of Ise is without substance. And since the kami has no existence, there can be no point in the Ise shrine itself. If things were recorded in this sort of carefully argued fashion, everything would make sense.

Myōshū: Indeed, all the arguments you have put before me make sense. As long as one is not self-centered and is willing to listen, who would disagree? Since the Age of the Gods is without substance, there really is nothing else

to say. However, when it comes to the Age of Man, there is this kami and that kami; all sorts of kami. What are we to make of them?

Yūtei: I am delighted to learn that you have understood so well. One could go on talking about the Age of the Gods, as I have done, for ever and ever, but since you ask about kami in the Age of Man, I should really stop talking of Shintō and say something about Christianity instead.

Now, when one considers the kami in the Age of Man enshrined in different provinces and locales, their number and spread are limitless. Let me give some examples of great shrines and ancestral sites, which are at present objects of veneration. There is Hachiman Daibosatsu 八幡大菩薩 and Tenma Tenjin 天滿天神. These are miraculous kami, who came down from Heaven or sprang up from the Earth, but on closer consideration, Hachiman turns out to have been emperor Ōjin 應神, the fifteenth human sovereign. Since his father is said to have been Emperor Chūai 仲哀 and his mother Empress Jingū 神功, he was obviously human. As for Tenjin, he was a courtier serving the sixtieth emperor, Daigo 醍醐; Kan no Shōjō 菅丞相 was his name. Such men were all venerated as kami at their deaths, so they were simply wise rulers and loyal courtiers of old who have passed on. They neither came down from Heaven, nor did they rise up from Earth. They are simply humans, and prayers to them for peace in this life, or rebirth in Paradise, will not be answered. Your prayers will only be answered if you pray to the creator of the universe who gave life and death to both Hachiman and Tenjin. Whatever kami you pray to, it amounts to the same thing. When famous people like these die, it is the head of the Yoshida family who pronounces which kami they have become, and then makes them into that kami by performing some ritual or other. Then everyone is duped into thinking that it must be true. Just think about it. Anyone who gives a rank to someone else is [by definition] above them in rank. In this fashion, a kami created by the Yoshida must rank below them. In this sense you are better off paying respects to the Yoshida than to the kami.

Myōshū: Surely that is not true. 'Blue comes from indigo so is bluer than indigo,' as the saying goes. The kami come from Yoshida, and are therefore nobler than the Yoshida.

Yūtei: Amusing that you should come up with that rare expression and then use it for comparison's sake! But why do you say that kami are nobler than the Yoshida because they emanate from them?

Myōshū: My reason for saying that they are nobler than the Yoshida is that, once they have become kami they are no longer subject to the whims of the Yoshida. Surely, this is because they are now more elevated?

Yūtei: I disagree. There is an aphorism common these days, which holds that the kami are forever at the mercy of the priests. I really can't imagine a kami not at the mercy of the Yoshida. That's precisely why we call priests *kannushi* 神主: *kannushi* means 'master of the kami.' This is exactly why they say that all kami, whatever their provenance, if they are under Yoshida patronage are moved to the Yoshida site. You claim that kami are not subordinate to the Yoshida, but that depends on the kami. I once heard someone discussing this very matter. Some time ago, some rude fellow was visiting the Yoshida family household, and asked: "Do you have command over all the kami there are?" The reply was: "I'm surprised you ask. Given that I am already called a *kannushi*, how could the kami *not* bend to my will, no matter what they themselves might think? If you have a request, then go ahead and ask. Mind you, you'll have to put your back into it." "I see," said the rude fellow. "My nature is such that I have the protection of the kami of poverty and have never had any favors from the kami of good fortune. Could you possibly get rid of the first, and instead attract the kami of good fortune for me?" "That is a natural enough prayer," the priest replied, "but there is something I should explain. The seventy-second human emperor, Shirakawa (in), was sovereign and ruled the realm, and there was nothing he could not make happen. It is said, however, that on one occasion, he commented: 'What is not within my power is the roll of the dice, the flow of the Kamo River and Enryakuji warrior monks.' I may be the master of all kami, but there are [two] kami who refuse to submit to my authority: the kami of poverty and the kami of good fortune. So if you have any requests you'd better pray to me." They both had a laugh before going their separate ways. Such is the story I heard. This was a tale intended to bring some solace.

We could go on like this *ad infinitum*, but I now need to say something about my own religion of Christianity. As I have explained at interminable length, neither Buddhism nor Shinto has any knowledge of the true Lord of Heaven and Earth, so they lack all substance. When praying for comfort in this life and for rebirth in Heaven, it is first essential to know that there is a Lord in Heaven and Earth.

Myōshū: Truly, I have now heard in detail the tenets of Buddhism and Shintō. The Buddhists believe that both life and death are but emptiness, which

amounts to acknowledging simply that nothing has a master or a self. And Shintō has nothing to it other than yin and yang theory; it is ignorant of logic and quite bizarre. As you have already said, it is empty and vacant. To assume that the material world is produced just by yin and yang is like saying that the ribs and centre of a fan come together of their own accord to make the fan. There has to be an artisan to make the fan! It is the same with the natural world. How can it come into being of its own accord? Hereafter, I too should like to become a follower, so please tell me all about your own religion.

Third Fascicle: Christianity

A General Outline of Christian Teachings

Yūtei: So far, I have explained the gist of Buddhism and Shintō. I rejoice that since you are both wise of mind and honest of heart, you have understood the sense of what I said and have grasped that both of them are deviant teachings. If what I say to you were revealed to those who are full of prejudice and set in their ways, they would surely hate me and blame me for revealing what they see as secrets to be in fact of little import. Well, I care not. As long as it is in the service of revealing truth, why should I suffer, why repent, even though it might lead to my death? Nothing else is worth mention.

Well then, what is this 'truth?' It is the teachings of our Christian sect. Even were one to take the whole world as one's paper, the myriad grasses and trees as one's brush, and the Western Ocean as one's ink, how could one ever fully describe the truth, the magnitude of the teachings of this sect? For someone like me to try and clarify just one of its principles in the attempt to explain these teachings is tantamount to a small child trying to measure a great sea with a clam shell;[1] and yet, since "he who can read but one word is master of he who reads none," as they say, I should at least explain the basics of what you would hear if you were to accompany me to a church 寺.

So among the many things I must explain, first, you need to learn about the one true savior, who is the Lord of peace in this world and of Paradise in the afterlife. Second, you need to learn what will be saved. Third, you need to know where the saved and the damned will end up. Fourth, it is important to understand the way to salvation and how it is that some may not be saved. I will therefore explain the rationale behind these matters. If there is anything you find puzzling, no matter what it might be, do ask—you should speak your mind.

Myōshū: Indeed, Christian teachings are remarkable. That is already abundantly clear to me from your own explanation; how much clearer everything would be if presented in person by a professional preacher. Either way, this is precisely how one would hope a Way might be established, but the Pure Land school, in which I have put my trust up to now, just like all the other Buddhist schools, explains neither the savior nor the saved, but simply reiterates the principle that all phenomena emanate from mind. And if you ask them which

1 An allusion to a medieval legend about Augustine. Augustine meets a small child on a beach who is trying to empty the whole ocean into a little hole by means of a clam shell. When told by Augustine that this is impossible, the child retorts that it is still much easier than elucidating the mystery of the Trinity.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2016 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307292_009

people go where after death, they give all sorts of incoherent answers, such as claiming that we are reborn in the Pure Land a myriad lands to the West, or 'Paradise is not far once you leave this world.' So even just establishing an order of questions as you have just done is a relief. If you allow me to hear what you have to say about each one of them in turn, I am sure I will come to understand the Lord.

On the Existence of the One True Lord of Peace in this World and of Paradise in the Afterlife

Yūtei: As there is always a difference in all things between the empty and the real, it is vital to fully grasp the distinction between the false and the true when it comes to the Lord of this life and the next. As regards the likes of the Buddha and the kami that I have discussed above, you can clearly tell from the teachings that you have heard so far that they are all false and cannot satisfy our hopes as regards either this world or the next. This is because the epitome of Buddhism lies in emptiness, and the Buddha himself is emptiness. Moreover, since the deeper meaning of Shintō lies in yin and yang, what we call kami simply points to yin and yang. So as emptiness does not exist, being identical to nothingness, that which they call Buddha is not an exalted being and certainly not worth calling Lord or anything else. And as for yin and yang, its nature is without mind and without intelligence, being the raw material that we in our sect call *materia prima*, from which all things are made by our Deus, the true Lord. Not to realize this but to call [yin and yang] kami and then to worship them as the lords of all things is the depth of ignorance. And to take someone who has died and to call him Śākyamuni or Hachiman cannot be taken seriously either. The true Lord is none other than the one Deus, as Christianity teaches.

Now then, if we ask what kind of a lord this Deus is, he is the creator of all phenomena in Heaven and Earth. So if you accept the logic that there must be a single creator of all things in Heaven and Earth who is provided with all goodness and all virtue, then you will recognize him as the true Lord Deus. Now everything in existence that is endowed with material form must have a beginning; and if it has a beginning, it cannot have begun by itself without the aid of an external force. This house, for instance, has color and shape, but it has not been in existence forever. It had a beginning when it became a house. And since it did not begin of its own accord, it was clearly the result of the work of an excellent carpenter. Yet there might be some who would argue that although this house certainly had a beginning, it came about naturally without

a creator; or that it began when the wood and bamboo simply came together of their own accord. But could this ever be true? If we think about it in this light, how could all phenomena in Heaven and Earth not result from the work of a creator? To claim that Heaven and Earth arose naturally from void and emptiness and that all things came about through the spontaneous union of yin and yang, is even more ridiculous than (to stick with our example) to claim that this house arose naturally from void and emptiness or that the wood and bamboo simply came together on their own to form its fences and walls.

Myōshū: Indeed, what you say makes sense. Yet, dull as I am, I have some doubts. Take your example of the house. Since such things have a certain size and dimension, yes, they appear to have been created; but does it really make sense to say that Heaven and Earth, boundless and immeasurable as they are, have been somehow created?

Yūtei: I appreciate your doubts. But there is a lot more to it than I have just mentioned. Since the question of the creation of Heaven and Earth is debated in every land, various opinions abound, because although sensible people naturally think there must have been a beginning of some kind, they have no idea how it began. So let us assume for a moment that your doubts are correct and there cannot be a creator of something so immeasurable and boundless as Heaven and Earth. But if that is so, tell me what rationale you have for thinking that Heaven and Earth came about without a creator. If you have such a rationale, then even I, stickler that I am, might well convert to such a sect.

Myōshū: No, I did not have a specific rationale in mind. All I said was that I thought it unlikely there was a creator, because Heaven and Earth are so vast.

Yūtei: It is rather arbitrary just to say it is unlikely there is a creator without having a rationale for it. Now just listen to me. We say there must be a creator precisely because Heaven and Earth are so vast. Why? Because, no matter what, nothing can come about by itself. [If it were possible] it would surely be easier with something small and simple rather than something large and complex. For example, if we ask which might come about by itself more easily, a house or a lantern, it is surely the latter. But if even a simple lantern cannot come about by itself, how much more so a house? In a house there are numerous difficult parts to cut and assemble, from the wooden pillars to the cross beams, rafters, the ridge pole on top and the foundations below, and even the windows and doors. Compare that to the case of Heaven and Earth. It goes without saying that because even a lantern, which can hardly compare to a

house, cannot come about on its own, how much more unlikely is it in the case of Heaven and Earth! Just look. Heaven is lit by the light of the moon, the sun, and the stars; the sun illuminates the day, the moon the night. Now take this object, the moon. The way it wanes sometimes and waxes at other times is not different today from what it used to be in the past. The light of the sun, which sets in the west and rises in the east never errs as to the dividing line between night and day. Thirty days make up a month and, as we experience the twelve months that make up a year, the four seasons too are constant. As spring, summer, autumn, and winter change, the way the grasses and trees change color, the blossoms fly, the leaves fall, and dew, snow, and frost arrive was and always will be constant. This we explain in Christian teaching as the law of Heaven and Earth. Laws do not make themselves. The fact that people can be governed here below is because the Lord of Eternity exists on high. That the four seasons and the eight solar nodes[2] are constant is because the creator of Heaven and Earth, the one true Lord, exists. Even just for those reasons it is not difficult to know the true Lord, the Christian Deus. But look at something closer, our bodies, for instance. Neither father nor mother understand why we are born endowed with the five bodily parts[3] and the six roots of perception,[4] beginning with eyes, mouth, ears, and nose. As this is obviously not of our own doing, how can there not be a creator? And what is more, glory, shame, poverty, and riches during our lifetime do not rely upon our own will; neither can we control how long we live. When you think about our lives, it is obvious that we are being manipulated to perform at the end of a string by a puppeteer, although we cannot see from where.

Some may have seemed to be rich, prosperous, famous, and successful until yesterday but today everything changes and they have nowhere to turn. Others have previously been forced to plod in the wake of old nags or beg at street corners, when suddenly their fortunes change, they become rich and prosper, advance in rank and are even allowed into the imperial presence. These sudden changes are not due to any excellence of intellect or lack of talent, because there are many examples where the clever ones decline and the dull ones flourish; it is clear that there is a single Lord guiding such fates. In Christian teaching, the name of this lord is Deus, and we direct all our prayers for peace on Earth and happiness in the afterlife to him. Is not such a thing as Buddhism utterly mistaken, so proud of its insight that since all is spontaneous, self-

2 The eight solar nodes are the days that mark the beginning of the four seasons plus the two equinoxes and the two solstices.

3 The *gotai* 五體: head, neck, breast, arms, and legs.

4 The *rokkon* 六根: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and consciousness.

generating, it cannot be the work of anyone in particular? In Shintō, they simply proclaim what they call kami and pray for good fortune but, as I have already shown, this is worse than mistaking the eye of a fish for a pearl, so it is nothing like knowing the true Lord. This is why in our Christian sect, we reject the fish's eye and devote ourselves to the true Lord Deus, that incomparable jewel of unfathomable worth.

Myōshū: Well, well, I used to believe that there was no such thing as prayer or invocation in Christian practice; I had no idea it was possible to pray for long life and happiness in this world or for peace and a good life in the next simply by changing the object of one's trust. So it would be wrong to say that Christian teaching just destroys everything in its path. Yes, I do see it makes sense to change the object of one's trust in this way. As you pointed out earlier, Buddhism ultimately advocates emptiness and proclaims that "the mind of the self is itself empty; guilt and happiness have no real subject;" so, even though in order to gain supporters they urge them to pray for the afterlife or to chant invocations for peace in this life, or make them participate in the *goma* fire ritual, or pray for protection by Buddhist deities, or make them turn the pages of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, since the object of their prayers is ultimately emptiness, there is no Lord to answer their requests.

Since the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in particular, and indeed the whole *prajñā* section of the Buddhist Canon, forms the core of the teachings on emptiness, there is no reason to suppose that reading them will bring any response or benefit. And the *goma* rituals and spells of Shingon cannot be expected to have any startling results either. As you have explained, they go so far as to call the six elements of earth, water, fire, wind, emptiness, and consciousness 'that which creates,' they call everything that emerges from them, even the buddhas and bodhisattvas, 'created dharmas.' And in the *Sokushingi*[5] one reads that these created dharmas reach to the Dharmakāya 法身 above and the six destinies 六道 below, and that although there may be differences between coarse or fine, large or small, they are all encompassed by the six elements. And when practitioners enter a state of mind of mystical union with the Buddha 入我我入, the object of devotion and the self become one and the same thing. To burn the five grains in this frame of mind is to perform a *goma* ritual that cannot be expected to have any meritorious effect. Now the Christian teachings you have explained so far argue that Heaven and Earth and the six elements, which Shingon holds to be the ultimate, must in turn have a creator. And since this creator is Deus, you are saying that all that is necessary

5 This is a reference to Kūkai's *Sokushin jōbutsugi* 卽身成佛義 (Hakeda 1972, p. 229).

is that we direct our hopes for this world and the afterlife to this Deus. But I still have some doubts in this regard. Although I understand why Heaven and Earth must have a creator, I wonder, might there not be several creators, instead of just one?

Yūtei: You have understood things well so far, but the idea that there may be more than one creator is a mistake. The creator of all things, Deus, is but one and cannot be more than one, because all good and all virtue must be present in the Lord of all things in Heaven and Earth, and he must be omnipotent. So if there were more than one, and one of them planned to destroy one of the others, would it be possible? If he could not, then he would not be omnipotent; that goes without saying. Furthermore, if he could destroy another, the latter could not have been Deus. This is the rationale for saying that there cannot be any God other than the one Deus.

And there is further proof. Look. The governments of the provinces of Japan differ depending on the daimyō, but when five or six come under the same daimyō they become one. Similarly, if there were various lords of Heaven and Earth, seasonal change (the government of Heaven and Earth) would not always be constant. The division between day and night would also alter. But since there is no confusion in this regard this is proof that only one lord exists in Heaven and Earth. Furthermore, people in all sorts of countries differ in their clothing, but not only are their eyes all horizontal and their noses all vertical, but the five bodily parts and the six roots of perception are the same everywhere. It is as if they have all been stamped with the same mark, namely that they are the products of a single creator. So you must understand there can be no two Deus.

Myōshū: I now understand the reason why there can only be one Lord of Heaven and Earth. But how did Deus originate?

Yūtei: No, Deus has no origin. He is simply the originator of all things. All things attain their ultimate point, a limit beyond which there is no more to be said. Take the various types of metal as an example. If you decide that iron is the lowest and then place copper next and silver above that and gold above that, and then ask what is higher than gold, there is nothing. And in the case of people, if you trace your way up from peasants and farmers eventually you reach the person at the top, the emperor, above whom there is no one. Similarly you must understand that Deus is he who is the creator of all things, above whom there is nothing. And since he does not have a beginning, he has no end either.

Myōshū: That too I understand. But what is his essence?[6]

Yūtei: Deus is constituted of essence 實體 without materiality, which in the words of our scriptures (*kyōmon* 經文) is known as *spiritual sustancia*.[7]

Myōshū: In that case, are you saying one cannot see him with one's eyes or touch him with one's hands?

Yūtei: There is no reason to believe that something does not exist simply because one can neither see nor touch it. It is normal practice to recognize the fundamental essence 體 of a thing via its function 用, even though one might not be able to see it with one's eyes or touch it with one's hands. For example, when you see a ship being rowed far offshore, you may not be able to actually see the sailors or the oarsmen, but everyone knows that on the boat, which cannot move on its own, there must be sailors working the oars and rudder as it moves towards the harbor. By the same token, it would be utterly ridiculous to claim that the ship was moving by itself just because one could not see the sailors on board. Similarly, if a rock came flying into this room, would we ever say that it came flying in by itself just because we did not see who threw it? It is common sense that a rock cannot fly without someone throwing it, even if we did not see who threw it.

Now just look up at the sky. It should be obvious that, even though he is invisible, there must be a Lord who governs the motion back and forth of the stars in the firmament, which move by themselves so much less easily than a ship. And now look down. Take this earth, so much larger than a rock but effortlessly carved out. How can you possibly deny the Lord exists just because you cannot see him? Indeed, that one cannot see Deus is precisely the point. Why? Because everything that has shape and form, no matter how large it might be, must have a limit. It is said there is nothing as large as Heaven and Earth but since they are part of the material world, they can be measured. If the essence of Deus were measurable, he would not be Deus. Therefore, he is not endowed

6 Habian uses the term *sontai* 尊體 here, which would normally refer to the body of a holy statue or image.

7 Note that according to Thomas Aquinas, spiritual substance is a characteristic of the soul or angelic spirits but not of God, who partakes of no substance of any sort. The term *kyōmon* is also used as a translation term for the 'Bible,' but the teaching of substances is only to be found in the scholastic literature of the Middle Ages.

with shape and attributes. We call this *spiritual sustancia*, because it refers to essence without materiality. And essence means 'not empty.'

By 'not empty' we mean that his essence is the source of unlimited wisdom, which we call *sapientissimo*, the source of immeasurable compassion, which we call *misericordissimo*, and Lord of justice and purity, which we call *justissimo*. As he embodies all good and all virtues, lacks not the smallest thing imaginable[8] and is devoid of all evil, we say that he is essence, in other words not empty. According to the scriptures he is also called *omnipotente*, Lord of all things. With his ability to do everything, he created this Heaven and Earth and all things therein out of nothing.

I say created but we must not think of this as being like building a house or a castle. That is not creating but simply taking things that already exist, changing their shapes and putting them together. And although that needs considerable time and effort, Deus is the true creator by virtue of having made this Heaven and Earth appear as they are without using any material and without any effort simply with the one thought 'Let it be!' As well as creating Heaven and Earth, he endowed them with what is called *materia prima*, that which was destined to become the material of all things. Unaware of this, Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, and Shintō all believe that this *materia prima* had no origin but just existed, and that all things emerged thanks to its force alone. They call it buddha-nature, or the force of primeval chaos, or yin and yang, and do not presuppose a Lord beyond it. This is the source of error in all sects. Now they can call it what they like: buddha-nature, yin and yang, force, fair enough; but they believe that it came into being on its own and that it comes together to produce things on its own. Their error lies in not knowing the creator. For example, let us take this *materia prima* to be a piece of bamboo. This bamboo is not something without a beginning. Just so, *materia prima* also had a beginning. And even if the material from which one makes the slats of a folding fan or a blind comes from this very bamboo, the bamboo cannot become those slats or a blind by itself. Although this *materia prima* has the virtue to become the material for things depending on the talent of the carpenter, it has no mind or consciousness of its own and cannot combine, or shrink, or move unless through Deus. The less one understands the wise and virtuous creator Deus, the more everything seems questionable and the less the mind is illuminated. You must understand that nothing will work without the Lord.

Myōshū: Indeed, every sect is in error in this regard. Nothing will work without this wise and virtuous Lord. The joy I feel at being told on whom I should rely

8 The Japanese has here "not even the tip of the hair of the autumn hare."

for peace and happiness in this world and the next is a debt that I could never repay, even were I to break my body and grind my bones. Now while we are discussing things, please enlighten me as to why we are offered salvation.

On *Anima Rationalis*, Meaning that Which Survives in the Afterlife

Yūtei: I could explain about Christian teachings on this matter, but first tell me what your thoughts are on the afterlife and what you have been taught by Buddhist priests.

Myōshū: Well now. What I and others believe is nothing unusual. All we know is that by reciting the *nenbutsu* one achieves salvation, but I have no idea what survives or what shape it takes.[9] But from what they tell me, they proclaim the existence of Hell and Paradise in the afterlife but only as an expedient truth, so what kind of thing really survives to experience either suffering or pleasure? Since human bodies are composed of the five elements, earth, water, fire, wind, and air, they combine while we live, but after death if cremated they become ashes and if buried they turn into earth. Water returns to water and fire to fire and all is dispersed, so if I am pressed to say what it is that survives to experience suffering or pleasure, I would have to say nothing.

Yūtei: The ultimate [tenets] of Buddhism are all of this ilk. This is a great error. It does, of course, apply to animals, birds and the like; but mankind has an existence in the afterlife.

Myōshū: I still find it difficult to comprehend why men and beasts should be distinguished like this. Buddhism sees the fifty-two species as being of the same nature as man, there being no separation between even the smallest insect and us living today. Why then do you speak of man and beast in separate terms?

Yūtei: It is an error to see everything as one in this way. Since you have already accepted that Deus the creator of all things exists, you should discriminate between different types of creation. First, although we now see a huge variety of beings around us, the gist of what is written in the Christian scriptures is that there are only four main groups: *ser*,[10] *anima vegetativa, anima sensitiva*, and those endowed with *anima rationalis*.

---

9 For an explanation of the *nenbutsu* see p. 120, n. 148.

10 Portuguese for 'being,' or 'existence.'

Let us first take *ser*. All those things in Heaven and Earth that have form but do not have it within their nature to grow, objects such as the sun, the moon, the stars, metal and rocks and so on, we call *ser*. Next, *anima vegetativa* refers to things like grass and trees, which have it in their nature to grow but which are insentient. Then comes *anima sensitiva* which includes all those with consciousness; I say consciousness, but they do not understand reason. If they are hungry, they seek food; if they are thirsty, they drink; if it is cold or hot, they feel pain or itching; in a word, beasts, birds, insects, and fish. Those endowed with *anima rationalis*, over and above feeling hunger, thirst, cold, or warmth, know the principles of things and have the wisdom to debate right or wrong; in other words, mankind. So of these four, only man, who is endowed with *anima rationalis*, has an afterlife.

Myōshū: I am sorry to interrupt but let me just ask. According to our sages, Heaven and Earth are of equal origin and all things are of one essence, so what is your rationale for dividing into four what is not two, not three, but just one principle, and then claiming that the afterlife is restricted to mankind?

Yūtei: You ask me for the rationale behind my statement? If there were no rationale why would I say it? In the first place I hear you saying that all things are of one essence, but just because we have records of the ancients claiming that Heaven and Earth have an equal origin and all things are of one essence, that does not mean they were correct. Tell me why you said this.

Myōshū: The rationale is that all things under Heaven have two aspects, the [phenomenal] appearance 事 and the principle 理. By [phenomenal] appearance we refer to the objects themselves such as when we say in external terms: 'the willow is green, the flower is red,' or 'the pine is straight, the thorn bush bent.' Principle is the nature within. For example, if you cut down a tree you will see neither green nor red inside. The appearance therefore stands for the external aspect 相, while principle is the equivalent of nature 性. So, to take another example, the water in a bamboo pipe is nature-as-principle 理性; when it hardens and becomes snow or ice that is its aspect 相. The outward appearance is "as snow and ice, separate; once melted, the same water in the valley river."[11] This is the same with all dharmas; although the outward appearance differs in that a bird is not a beast and grasses are not trees, when the outward appearance perishes they return to the same nature-as-principle.

11 The second reference to Ikkyū's *Mizukagami chū menashigusa*. See 'On Tendai' p. 97, n. 85.

This is what is known as 'reality and appearance are one;' they are the same. Confucianism and the like also posit two qualities, nature 性 and *qi* 氣.[12] While nature is not differentiated, *qi* is analyzed into four types, correct, pervasive, deformed and blocked,[13] and one becomes a man, a horse, or a cow depending on the mixture. That even among men there are the dull and the sharp-witted is not due to a difference in nature but because the quality of the *qi* differs. The virtue of Yao and Shun and the greed of Daozhi and Zhuangqiao[14] was not because of a difference in their nature but because of the quality of their *qi*. How could the things have different natures? Because there is only one nature, they say Heaven and Earth are of equal origin and all things of one essence regardless of their outward appearance.

Yūtei: So there is the appearance and principle in all things. The appearance is like water, which may provisionally be distinct, as snow or ice, but which, when they melt, become water from the same stream; and all things are of one essence because all dharmas have just one principle. And did you also say that Confucianism and the like argues for no distinction as regards nature but for a difference as regards *qi*? As I mentioned earlier, they say this because they are ignorant of the existence of the one creator of all things in Heaven and Earth. As you now know this truth, you should not have any such doubts. And what is more, what you have just said does not entirely make sense.

Why? Well, let us assume that your claim that although the outward appearance of all things is distinct—your green and red example—they all return to a single true aspect 一如實相 once they perish. This holds in the case of things that are born and die. But how about those things whose outward appearance does not rot or decay? Take the heavenly bodies, the moon, the sun, and the stars, for example: these are not things that perish. In outward appearance the sky is always the sky, the moon the moon, the sun the sun, and the stars stars, so they are not of one essence. Furthermore, neither are the four elements of earth, water, fire, and wind one essence: earth is always earth, wind is always wind; they are not things that perish either. No matter how ignorant a person may be, to try and argue that water and fire are one and the same thing is utterly mad.

In general one can tell the different substance 性體 of things by their function. That fire dries, water gets things wet, wind moves, and the earth is hard is because their substance differs. It is not the case that their functions differ

12 For further explanation see 'On Confucianism.' For *qi* see p. 132, n. 5.

13 See 'On Confucianism,' p. 144.

14 盜跖 and 莊蹻, two legendary robbers of Chinese antiquity.

due to their outward appearance. For example, if you created a bird from metal and a fish from metal and put them both into water, their shape might be different but both fish and bird would sink because they are both made of metal; their functions are the same. This applies to everything. Things with scales dive under water and things with wings fly: they have different functions. This is not because of their shape; it is because their substance, that which we call their *forma*, differs. Why do you say that principle and nature are one? And as far as outward appearance is concerned, a pine is not a thorn bush and a thorn bush is different from a pine; both their appearance and their principle differ.

To say that all things are of one essence goes against reason. It is old-fashioned stupidity to avoid working out a rationale, thinking one must believe something just because the Buddha preached it, or that something must be true because some patriarch or other said it. For example, if you walk along a dark road without using the torch you have in your hand, setting it aside, and instead stagger along relying on the light of a torch held by someone five or ten blocks in front of you, isn't your torch just utterly useless? Similarly, if you believe that something is true just because the Buddha said it, and refuse to use your own wisdom and powers of discrimination relying instead on the words of others, your wisdom goes to waste.

Just because they say that Heaven and Earth are of equal origin and all things are of one essence, you must not assume this to be the truth. And the claim that there are four types of *qi*, correct, pervasive, deformed and blocked, but that nature is the same in both man and animal is, according to the rationale that you have just given, quite groundless. That things differ is due to their substance, nothing more. For example, the famous swords forged by Yoshimitsu or Masamune, which our lords treasure so highly, are no less effective when worn in a wooden scabbard. And those flashy Nara swords and the like do not become masterpieces simply by being put into a gold sheath. So to argue that the difference in the quality of something is determined by the quality of its *qi* while its nature remains constant, is tantamount to saying that a Nara sword becomes a masterpiece by wearing it in a gold scabbard, or that if you put a Masamune or a Yoshimitsu sword into a plain or a worn sheath it becomes the equivalent of a Nara sword.

To argue that if the humane nature of Yao and Shun were to be fused with the *qi* of a puppy they would themselves become puppies, or that if the material nature of a puppy were to be fused with the *qi* of a Yao or Shun it would become like them is quite ridiculous and humiliating for both Yao and Shun. Such ignorance arises because you believe either that 'one is born in emptiness and one dies in emptiness' 空生空滅 or that yin and yang are the source of all things. Everything is different because, there being just one creator of all

things in Heaven and Earth, man is man and beast is beast, and their respective natures[15] are different. You should abandon the idea that all things are of one essence.

Myōshū: "The more I look up, the higher they seem; the more I investigate, the firmer they seem to become."[16] This can truly be said of Christian teachings. Extraordinary how firmer the rationale becomes the finer one separates the threads. Now then, tell me in detail why it is that only mankind and none other has an afterlife.

Yūtei: The reason that none but mankind has an afterlife is obvious as long as you first establish, as we have done, that all things are distinct in and of themselves. The term afterlife means maintaining one's existence after one's present life has ended, so (out of the four categories) that of *ser*—those objects that only have a physical body such as the moon, the sun, the stars, rocks, and metals—has no life and so cannot die. That category, therefore, cannot have an afterlife.

Then we have the *anima vegetativa*, which, while their nature is to grow, are insentient natural phenomena without mind, so once they wither, unless they receive the blessing of rain or dew or moisture from the earth, they cannot have an afterlife. Next there is the *anima sensitiva*, birds and beasts, which, since their nature is to sense things, what we call perception, might be capable of having an afterlife, but in fact do not so. The reason for this is that we categorize the nature of a thing, as I have explained above, by gauging its function. And when we investigate the function of the sense perception of these birds and insects, we find that it is directed exclusively at the physical body and nothing else. In other words, when they are hungry they seek food, when they feel thirsty they approach water, when they are sleepy they close their eyes, and when the mating season arrives they mate. What are building a nest, digging a hole, running, flying, crying, or barking but simply functions of the body? This means that their natures depend entirely on their bodies, and when their bodies are burned they become ashes and when they are buried they become earth, so that the four elements return to their source. And when the

15 This is the first time we encounter the term 性命, which Habian uses for *anima rationalis* in Yūtei's next exposition, hence 'soul.' Here, however, the context includes both men and beasts and so 'soul' is not possible as a translation. The editors have therefore assumed that this is a mistake for 性, which has been translated as 'nature' throughout. 體 has been rendered as 'essence,' and 性體 as 'substance.'

16 *Analects* IX.10.i. (Legge 1895, I, p. 220).

nature of the cow to moo and the horse to neigh dies, all that remains is earth, water, wind, and fire, so their fate is to have no afterlife. Listen to me carefully. Buddhists and the like, when they reach this category of nature, include mankind and argue that there is no afterlife after death. This is a perfect example of how illogical they are. Understand that this is what Buddhists mean when they say "form is emptiness; emptiness is form" 色則是空、空則是色.

Myōshū: Yes, this is indeed what Buddhism is about. But tell me, is there anything else that you have discovered in Christian teachings?

Yūtei: Well now. In addition, this soul 性命 that we call the *anima rationalis* with which man is endowed, is unique to the individual—I am not another, and another is not I—and thus survives forever in the afterlife. It goes without saying that we can identify this soul by rational means, but we can also be certain of its existence because we have been told about it directly by Deus. As far as reason is concerned, as I have mentioned repeatedly, one can know the quality of the soul by its function. One look at the functions performed by man and it should be obvious that man is endowed with a soul that lives on in the afterlife. This is because, as I have explained, while the function of beasts and birds is directed entirely at the physical body, man has one function beyond this. Now it makes sense that this function is not something that can exist in isolation; it must always depend on his substance. Man, too, knows hunger and thirst, gets up and goes to sleep, and between husband and wife gives priority to procreation: all these are functions. And if you ask where these functions reside, they reside in the body. So once the body ceases to be, these functions cease to exist. But this other function to which I have just alluded is a matter of knowing the principle of things, caring about principles of virtue, justice, propriety, wisdom, and trust,[17] and worrying about one's reputation after death. Giving prominence to prayers for Paradise in the afterlife, and debating right and wrong, good and evil and the like; this is another function.[18] And these functions necessarily need a substance in which to reside. This exists within the human body but cannot be seen with the eye nor touched with the hand. This is what we call the *anima rationalis*.

17 These are the five Confucian constants (*gojō* 五常), to which Myōshū refers again in her next passage.

18 Habian is unclear here about whether he sees all doings of the *anima rationalis* as *one* further function (as he clearly states just a few lines above), or whether the different capabilities he lists here are different functions of the *anima rationalis* (as the 'another' here seems to imply).

Myōshū: No, no. I cannot accept what you say about a substance that exists within the body but which is both invisible and untouchable. To strive to maintain the five constants, to fill one's heart with the aim of attaining awakening in the next life, to debate right and wrong, good and evil, to worry about one's reputation after death; all these can be seen as functions relating to the physical body. Why do you seek yet another substance within the body?

Yūtei: Really, you can only think like this because you have not previously come across the true teachings. Well then, let me address some more of your doubts. If you think that the function of man to question right and wrong, and to recognize principles such as duty, is the working of the physical body, then why do we not find birds and beasts doing the same? The physical bodies both of man and beast are equally composed of the four elements, earth, water, wind, and fire. It's just that their shape is different; their function cannot be different. The reason is that, as I have stated in an earlier example, because things made from the same metal do not differ in their substance even though their shape may be as different as a fish or a beast, there will be no difference in their function, namely to sink when immersed in water. But why is it that beasts and birds do not have the functions of man such as to pray for the afterlife or worry about their reputation?

Myōshū: Yes, I see reason in that. I also understand that because only man has this function, which is not present in beasts and birds, there must be a substance wherein it resides, the *anima rationalis*. But please enlighten me as to why this *anima rationalis* is integral to the physical body.

Yūtei: Once you have understood there must be an *anima rationalis*, then it should be clear it is integral to the physical body.[19] But to explain further: because this *anima* is integral to the body, even something that the body desires can be suppressed if it goes against reason. For instance, no matter how much one's body demands food when faced with hunger, when it would be out of place to eat or when it might be embarrassing, one can stop one's physical desires; this is because the *anima* is integral to the body. And is it not also proof that the *anima rationalis* is one with the body that men can *in extremis* destroy a body they hate or cut open their stomachs when duty and honor demands? If it were a soul outside the body, it would inevitably have to follow the body's

19 In order to understand the logic of what follows it is important to know that orthodox Catholic teaching claims that in life the soul and the body are indivisible. At death they divide but they will be united at the Resurrection.

wishes. Finally, clear proof that it is not separate from the body lies in the fact that although the physical body does not recognize reason, the *anima rationalis* certainly does. You must realize that once the mother's womb has received the father's seed and the physical basis of the body has been prepared, this *anima rationalis* is implanted by Deus into the body, made master of the body, and given dominion over the body through reason; therefore it survives into the afterlife. Why? Because there is no reason why it should die with the body just because it is integral to the body.

Myōshū: I now accept that the *anima rationalis* is integral to the body. Even though it does not die with the body just because it is integral to the body, will it too eventually perish?

Yūtei: No, it is forever without end, because talk of things perishing is in the context of [the elements] combining with each other, but the *anima rationalis* is not a combination of the four elements; neither is it material. It is called *spiritual sustancia*, nature-as-principle 理性 removed from the material, so it never dies and is never lost.

Myōshū: Well then, is there no such thing as a cycle of transmigration?

Yūtei: Indeed, there is no such thing. The idea of such a cycle was dreamt up by that liar Śākyamuni. Since he did not know that the Lord of Heaven and Earth exists, planning man's life, death, and fortune as he wishes, he felt that the poverty, riches, and status of people in this world was a result of previously accumulated karma, and so he claimed that they would pass through the five or six realms again depending on their karma. Proof that there is no such thing as a cycle of transmigration can be found both in your own experience and in mine, because if you and I ever had such a thing as a previous life, how could we now remain unaware of what we were in that previous life, or thanks to what karma we became what we are today? Furthermore, as I have already said many times, because man's intelligence and ability to discriminate does not derive from our outward shape and form, here in this life we are human and so, even after we became a bird or beast in the next life, you would not expect us to lose either intelligence or discrimination. But in that case, you would expect to find examples of birds discussing right and wrong, and beasts understanding good and evil. But there has never ever been such a phenomenon. This is clear proof that there is no such thing as a cycle of transmigration. And not only that. Since Deus metes out eternal rewards and punishments according to the good and evil [deeds] of men in this present world, those who go to Paradise

are bound to enjoy endless pleasures and are never born into this world again, and those who fall into Hell forever suffer endless pain with no hope of salvation and are never born into this world again. So transmigration does not exist, even if you might wish it did.

Myōshū: How glad I am that by having let me quietly raise my many doubts in this way you have given me an understanding of the afterlife. Since you have just explained to me how beasts and birds are different from man, how man is endowed with an eternal soul called *anima rationalis*, and furthermore why there is no cycle of transmigration, let me take this opportunity to ask you where this Paradise and this Hell are located.

That Paradise in the Afterlife is Called *Paraiso* and is in Heaven, and that Hell is Called *Inferno* and is Inside the Earth

Yūtei: Generally, as regards the teachings of this sect, there are matters that are decided through reason and matters that are dealt with not so much on the basis of reason as according to tradition. So all the principles discussed so far, that Deus exists as the One Lord of Heaven and Earth, that man possesses a soul called *anima rationalis* that survives in the afterlife and so on, must be decided by reason. Furthermore, since we claim that this Deus is the source of justice, he must reward the good and punish the evil. But when we look at the situation of people alive today, there are many upright ones who suffer, while many wicked ones are happy and prosperous; reason therefore leads us to conclude that punishment and reward for good and evil will take place in the world to come. But when we go a step further and ask where such a Paradise and Hell might be, reason is no longer of any help. All we can say is that tradition tells us it is here or there. Yet, even though it cannot be subject to reasoned discussion, neither does it go counter to reason. Let us take Paradise first. When Deus created Heaven and Earth, he divided the firmament into eleven heavens, fixing the paths of the first ten,[20] and calling the eleventh *paraiso*. This Heaven has no path and does not move. There he placed numberless heavenly figures called *anjo* [angels] as his servants. When I say 'heavenly figures' here, do not think of them as beings endowed with a form, suffering from the five signs of decay (*gosui* 五衰) as in Buddhism. These *anjo* are *spiritu*, removed from materiality, just like the *anima* in mankind. And *paraiso* means what we would call

20 The first ten heavens consist of the celestial bodies.

in Japanese *gokuraku* 極樂 [Paradise]. The salvation of a man's *anima* means that he will reach Heaven and enjoy the same pleasures as these *anjo*.

Myōshū: Are you saying that this Paradise they call *paraiso* is Heaven? That is odd, because when they discuss Heaven in Buddhist doctrine, they do not see it as a place of eternity. In the *Sūtra on Past Causes and Present Effects* (因果經) it says: "The children of Heaven (*tenshi* 天子) are able to enjoy the pleasures of Heaven because once they performed a minor good deed. But once their karma is exhausted, they will experience great suffering and will fall into one of three unpleasant destinies."[21] So I think of Heaven as not being the kind of place one can enjoy true pleasure.

Yūtei: No, no. Myōshū, please listen to me. Do not judge by comparing Christian teachings with the foolish words of Śākyamuni's sūtras. As I have explained earlier,[22] the fact that Heaven is ranked so low in those works arises because they invented what they call the Triple Realm of desire, form, and no-form that never existed before, and because of the passage in the [*Lotus*] *Sūtra* that says: "The lack of quietude in the Triple Realm resembles a house on fire."[23] Again, as I have explained previously, since even Mt. Sumeru in the first realm of the three, that of desire, is a fiction, neither the four meditation heavens 四禪天 of the realm of form, nor the four empty heavens 四空所 of the realm of no-form can exist either, being empty of all measure. Therefore you should realize it is just arrant nonsense to say that those who reach Heaven eventually fall back. Furthermore, what we call '*paraiso* in Heaven' in Christian teaching has nothing to do with the Triple Realm of Śākyamuni's sūtras. It lies in the eleventh layer of the clear blue Heavens that we see above us, where the moon, sun, and stars are fixed. Śākyamuni, quite unaware that the heavenly bodies are in this sky, claimed that the moon, sun, and stars move around the center of Mt. Sumeru, carried by the wind; he also claimed that the blue of the sky appeared blue because the blue jewel lapis lazuli on the southern flank of Mt. Sumeru shone in the emptiness.[24] It goes without saying that all of this is absolutely ludicrous. Do not identify any such silly ideas with Christian teachings.

In the Heaven of utmost pleasure that Christians call *paraiso*, no one who reaches it will ever fall back. There is nothing that can compare to the splendor

21 For the Six Destinies see 'On the Buddhist Concept of the Triple Realm,' p. 61, n. 14.

22 'On the Buddhist Concept of the Triple Realm,' pp. 58ff.

23 *Lotus Sūtra*, Chapter 3, 'Simile and Parable' (Watson 1993, p. 56).

24 'On the Buddhist Concept of the Triple Realm,' p. 62.

of this place. Even the glory of the seven treasures,[25] being of this world, do not come close to rivaling its magnificence. From one's body there shines forth a spiritual light, rare scents emerge, the heart rises up forever full of vigor, and the joy at the thought of reaching this limitless Paradise is immeasurable. The instant you reach there, pay obeisance to Deus, and become one with the *anjo*, you will truly understand. Have no doubt that you too can reach this place, if you follow these teachings.

Myōshū: It becomes ever clearer to me that the idea of Heaven in Buddhism amounts to nothing. I thank you. How marvelous that I have encountered these Christian teachings and been awakened to the existence of *paraiso* in Heaven, the place of true bliss. But what is this Hell you call *inferno*, and where is it?

Yūtei: Well now. The place we call *inferno*, where evil people must suffer pain in the afterlife, is at the center of the Earth. Let me tell you how it came about. Deus created countless numbers of these heavenly figures called *anjo* in Heaven with the intention of having them serve him, and he endowed them first with the ability to fly and the virtue of complete freedom from obstructions; he also gave them spiritual virtues of a beauty and perfection not visible to the human eye. However, when he imposed upon them one prohibition, that they must never try to usurp his position, one among them called Lucifer, priding himself on possessing superior spiritual virtues, forgot the grace of Heaven and nourished the ambition to become Deus himself. He incited his fellow *anjo* and a few of that multitude followed his call and attempted to subvert Deus. At that point, Deus brought down his divine punishment, banishing Lucifer and all those *anjo* who had conspired with him from Heaven. He determined a place for Hell at the center of the Earth, and made them forever suffer severe cold and severe heat from that day to this. And those who are punished with such sufferings are called devils (*tengu*). Hell came into being for this reason.

As long as man lives in this world, those who do not follow the teachings of Deus, who commit evil deeds and have no path to follow, will descend into Hell and undergo the same sufferings as these devils. Those who fall into this place will never rise again to this world. Just as I could never put into words the pleasures of *paraiso*, the depth of the sufferings in this place are beyond description. Just be aware of the fact that it is full of dreadful evils and endless forms of suffering. In order not to end up in this place, you should devote yourself to becoming a Christian and following their teachings.

---

25 The seven precious things named in Buddhist sources. The actual objects vary by source, but usually include gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, ruby, and emerald.

And I have something further to add. The fact that that this kami or that buddha is said to have worked miracles, is because these devils, unable to fulfill their arrogant desires in Heaven, wanted at the very least to be worshipped by men down here on Earth, so they manifest themselves in strange forms, attaching themselves to shrines or to wooden or stone statues of the Buddha. Because people are gullible, they do not realize the underlying truth and believe instead that it really is a deed of this buddha or that kami and so worship them. Stories such as that of the Jizō of Atago Shrine[26] all have devils at the core. Do not forget this.

On How to Be Saved and How not to Be Saved in the Afterlife

Myōshū: I now understand the explanation of Paradise and Hell in the world to come. But I have one more question: if the deeds of Deus are so marvelous and blessed, why is it that not everyone knows and worships him? And one more question: the idea that a person might not be saved seems inconceivable; how does that come about?

Yūtei: That is a fair question. Such doubts are only natural, so let me address how things came to be. Well first of all, after Deus had created Heaven and Earth, he created the first man and woman as the pride of all creation, and he called them Adam (male) and Eva (female) and placed them in the most joyful place on Earth, called *paraiso terreal*. Fulfilling all their wishes, he even granted them the virtue of eternal youth and eternal life, but then one day, intending to bring them in their very bodies to *paraiso* high in Heaven, allow them eternal pleasure and increase their blessings, he placed upon them one prohibition. At that point the devil, to whom we have already referred, presumably unhappy that man was being elevated to a position that he himself had lost, made his way to this *paraiso terreal* and deceived the two progenitors of all mankind, Adam and Eva, drew them into corrupt ways and made them transgress the heavenly prohibition. Then, due to divine punishment, Adam and Eva lost all their virtues, beginning with the virtue of eternal youth and eternal life, and were driven out of *paraiso terreal*. Thus, they and their children and grandchildren became betrayers of the heavenly commandment 天命. As their families

26 The Atago Shrine in the capital was a center of practices combining kami and buddha worship. As early as the eighth century, *shugendō* practitioners on Mount Atago set up a place of worship for a *tengu* called Tarōbō 太郎坊, who was believed to be the manifestation of one of the deities mentioned in the *Nihon shoki*.

increased and came to live in these lands and islands where we now live, even though they were of the blood of Adam, their descendants gradually stopped praising the deeds of Deus and now, as you see, they have all forgotten him. What a terrible state of affairs! This is how it came about that there are those who will not be saved.

Myōshū: Listening to this explanation, I see it clearly. This is how it must have been. But if because of the heavenly punishment no man can be saved, how is it that you now claim that Christian teachings offer a way to salvation?

Yūtei: Again, a good question. The answer is as follows. After breaking the prohibition, Adam and Eva, seeing the hardship and danger for themselves, their children and grandchildren, reflected upon the depth of the sin of turning against Deus, looked up to Heaven and prostrated themselves upon the Earth, repented 8,000 times, chastised themselves, racked their brains, and full of shame and contrition 懺悔 cried out that their sins might be forgiven. They sank to the floor in tears and prayed to Deus that those among themselves, their children, grandchildren, and descendants who repented for this sin might be saved in the afterlife. Deus, with his divine will full of great mercy and to benefit them[27] by lessening their suffering and giving them pleasure, took a pure, unsullied maid of great goodness called Maria, a descendant of a king called David, and implanted himself in her womb, not through union between man and wife but through divine power. He was born into the human realm, and took upon himself pain and suffering in order to pay recompense for all sins and to engender goodness. On the third day after his death was proclaimed, he returned to his former physical body and then, after staying with his disciples for forty days, on the fortieth day after the resurrection he ascended into Heaven. Thus was the way opened for man to be saved. The name of this Lord we call Jesu Christo. Among his disciples the one who held the office of bishop (*hōmu no tsukasa* 法務の司) was called San Pedro. From that time on his successors, all called Papa, have built their main temple in the city of Roma in Italia, the home country of the Christians. There have been 235 generations from San Pedro to the current Papa, whose name is Clemente;[28] since there

27 Interestingly, Habian here uses two terms, *daiji daihi* 大慈大悲 and *rishō* 利生, that were hardly ever used in Kirishitan discourse because of their Buddhist connotations. The next sentence also includes the Buddhist term 'human realm' (*ninkai* 人界).

28 According to the Vatican's *Annuario Pontificio*, Pope Clemens VIII (in office 1592–1605) was in fact the 231st pope.

has never been any break in the succession, how could the correctness of these teachings ever be in doubt?

Myōshū: The more details I hear, the more praiseworthy it seems to me to be. It is indeed fortunate that a path to salvation has been opened again. So what must we now do to be saved, and what leads to no salvation?

Yūtei: The way that you and I can be saved is to receive *bautismo* [baptism] according to the Christian teachings. If you receive this baptism, keep the Ten Commandments they call *mandamento*, and pay obeisance to Deus, then you are certain to be safe not only in this present life but also in Paradise 善所 in the afterlife. Furthermore, those who are not saved, since they fail to join this sect, do not keep the *mandamento*, and do not worship Deus, will experience the eternal sufferings of *inferno* and fall into Hell, from which there is no return.

Myōshū: I will leave baptism until such time as I am in church 御寺. But what are these ten *mandamento*?

Yūtei: The Ten Commandments handed down by Deus are as follows.

1. You shall worship the one Deus with love. This means that once you have become a Christian, you must not rely on either the kami or the buddhas, but respect and worship only the one Deus.
2. You shall not swear vain oaths using his exalted name. You already know about this [prohibition].
3. You shall keep and protect *Domingo* [the Lord's Day]. *Domingo* is a fixed day that comes round every eighth day. On this day you must attend a Christian church, whenever you can find one, take part in the service, and listen to sermons and so forth.
4. You shall practice filial piety towards your father and mother. This commandment also includes such things as younger brother obeying elder brother, or a retainer devoting himself with utmost loyalty to his lord.[29]

29 Unusually for Christian understanding, Habian here interprets the fourth commandment to include the two Mencian relationships between elder and younger (brother) and between lord and retainer. This was clearly to make the commandments fit a Japanese environment.

5. You shall not kill others. This means one should not kill innocent people, who do not deserve to be killed. Even if they have committed an offense, the punishment should relate to the severity of the crime.
6. You shall not commit adultery. Carnal knowledge outside the fixed relationship of husband and wife is forbidden, no matter what.
7. You shall not steal.
8. You shall not slander others. This means that you should never tell lies.
9. You shall not covet another's wife.
10. You shall not wantonly desire another's treasures. As for the two items that relate to lust, since this is an evil that easily arises in man, it is forbidden even if it only arises in the mind.

These ten articles are all about worshipping the one Deus with love and loving others as you love yourself. Consider these two to be the essential message.

Myōshū: As you told me in the beginning, you have now explained how one is saved in the afterlife, and I also understand about the essence called *anima* that survives in the afterlife. In addition I have a general sense of Paradise and Hell in the afterlife, as well as how to be saved and how not to be saved. But even though everything about the afterlife is now clear to me, I still have one or two questions that I would like to ask. I am sorry to be such a bother, but would you mind?

Yūtei: Whatever it may be, just ask. I will answer as well as I can.

On Various Doubts concerning Christian Teachings

Myōshū: Among the many things I would like to ask let me just raise the following. Among the Ten Commandments that you have just described there was one against the swearing of vain oaths. I can understand why, but in our daily lives doubts abound and if Christianity bans vows and oaths there will be no way to clarify people's concerns.[30] In other words, local governors and other rulers avail themselves of oaths and pledges when they want to ensure that their retainers or their peers are not of two minds, and that they can rely

30 This refers to the frequent use of vows of allegiance given as proof of loyalty among warriors.

on complete loyalty with no subversive intent. When I say that if such methods did not exist it would be difficult to govern, what is your response?

Yūtei: You misunderstand. Oaths and vows do exist in Christianity. Let me explain for those who do not know these things. That it says in the Ten Commandments one shall not swear vain oaths relates to those occasions when one must clear up grave doubts, because if someone who makes a habit of swearing vain oaths gets into a serious situation, his oath of allegiance will not be believed. All this means is that one should never make oaths lightly off the cuff. Of course, there must be oaths and vows. These, however, must not be made in the name of the kami or the buddhas, because they are, as I have made absolutely plain already, useless, since they belong to an empty universe 虚空法界. Christian oaths and pledges are sworn in the lofty name of Deus, the creator of Heaven and Earth, and once one has sworn that something is not false, or that one is not of two minds, it can never be broken, even after one's demise. Think about it for a moment. In Japan those who understand these matters to a certain degree are aware that both the kami and the buddhas do not exist outside of mind, and yet an occasion will inevitably arise when in order to overcome some temporary difficulty, they will try and deceive someone by taking the name of a buddha or a kami for whom they have no real respect and uttering an oath, inviting punishment and the like. How can such oaths be mentioned in the same breath as the certainty of pledges and vows by Christians, who stake their lives on their belief in the existence of the true lord Deus?

Myōshū: So you say, but how do you explain that even among Christians there are those who will break their promises even though they have sworn an oath.

Yūtei: Even among Christians there are untrustworthy fellows who are Christian in name only, so that kind of thing is only to be expected. But this is not the fault of the teachings. Why? If someone receives treatment from a famous doctor and then takes poison, disregarding warnings about what is and is not edible, and dies, you would hardly blame the doctor. It's the fault of the person himself. Likewise, even though it is clearly stated in Christian teaching that one must never break an oath, unbelievers simply cannot be bothered. And there is one more thing of which you should take note. The fact that people particularly notice that even some Christians break their oaths is because so many of them are honest that it is a rare event. Since in other sects no one cares much if you renege on a pledge or break an oath, everyone breaks their promises and no one makes a fuss about it; it's taken as the norm.

The saying "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and moon"[31] means that the faults of a man who is supposed to have no faults will be noticed by all; petty men have nothing but faults and yet they are never blamed by their fellows. So it is normal among Christians that if someone does break his oath he is taken to task. This is superior to other sects where such people are not punished.

Myōshū: Indeed this is again understandable. Since this establishes a way of securing oaths, it needs no further comment. Now, to raise another question I have about Christian teaching, we should speak of the concerns of people in this realm. Japan is a land where the Buddhist Law has spread and, in particular, it is said to be the land of the kami. The state is at peace thanks to the protection of the buddhas and the kami. Furthermore, if both Buddhism and Shintō were to be discarded, that which we call the King's Rule (*ōbō*) would not exist.[32] So if everyone became Christian, the state would be in turmoil and King's Rule at an end. As a result everyone throws up their hands and cries that Christianity is a dangerous sect. How do you respond to this?

Yūtei: Now this is what is meant by the saying: "Seven days spent arguing? It could only be a nun or a monk!"[33] Let the world say what it likes, but I'm sure you can understand what is going on here. To say that in Japan the state is governed through the help of Buddhism and Shintō, or to say that the King's Rule cannot exist without Buddhism or Shintō, is ridiculous. The reason is as follows. Firstly, Shintō, as I have already explained, is in a narrow sense a way that concerns the human body and the union of man and wife, and in a broader sense is a reference to the two *qi* of yin and yang in Heaven and Earth. Yin and yang are without mind or intellect and are, according to our sect, things that Deus has created; thus they are not things that either reward or punish people. So what spiritual effect do you expect to gain from praying to them? It doesn't make sense to argue that the state is at peace due to the power of the kami.

Neither is it meaningful to say that one attains peace by virtue of the Buddhist Law. Why? Because Buddhism is ultimately a law established on a theory of emptiness and nothingness; it regards 'good and evil as identical' and 'the bent and straight as one,' and claims that 'the mind of the self is itself empty' and 'guilt and happiness have no real subject;' so how can any of

31 *Analects* XIX, 21 (Legge 1895, I, p. 346).

32 *Ōbō* 王法 and *buppō* 佛法 were seen to be mutually dependent.

33 七日語れば尼か法師か—used to criticize someone who talks too much. Habian uses the same phrase in 'On Zen,' p. 119.

this relate to creating peace?[34] On the contrary, it has the potential to lead to insurrection. Proof can be found in the case of China. About seven or eight years after the accession of Emperor Ming of the Later Han,[35] or so they say, Buddhism arrived from the West and spread throughout the land. This was followed by continual disruption, and Confucian scholars were highly critical, because the successor to the throne never lasted in his position for long. And I hear that Emperor Wu of the Liang[36] turned against Confucianism, converted to Buddhism, built temples, befriended monks, and retired from the world three times becoming a servant in a monastery himself. In the end he was deposed by Hou Jing[37] and died of starvation in Taicheng. Would you call this kind of thing profiting from Buddhism? And if you call this the law of peace in the realm, then what would you identify as being the cause of such upheaval? In the age of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, Śākyamuni had not been born and there was no knowledge of either the Buddha or the Dharma, and yet in China or Japan one never hears of such perfect examples of the King's Rule as in those times. Those above took pity on those below, the rulers behaved like rulers, ministers like ministers, those below respected those above, and men were honest; this was because the people identified themselves with Yao and Shun. In both Japan and China it is said to have been the perfect mirror of what the King's Rule should be, an example of how to govern, when people shared their land, renounced litigation, the land grew rich and the common people prospered, and no one beat the drum of grievance.[38] Do not listen when people say that there can be no King's Rule without the Buddhist Law, or that there can be no peace in the country if we do not worship the way of the kami, because only ignorant people say that kind of thing.

One need hardly mention what happened during the Shōhei-Tengyō eras.[39] Or take the time of Hōgen-Heiji,[40] when nothing at all was known about Christianity but when Buddhism and Shintō were especially prominent, and yet the world was in chaos, the King's Rule was ignored, and the warriors refused to obey the court's orders. Ever since the Genpei Wars and the Jōkyū

34 'On Confucianism,' p. 131.

35 後漢明帝, lived 28–75, reigned 58–75.

36 梁武帝, lived 464–549, reigned 502–549.

37 候景, a Liang Dynasty general, who reigned for one year in 552 after bringing down Emperor Wu.

38 Said to have been installed by Yao in front of the imperial palace for anyone to use to state a grievance.

39 承平, 天慶 (931–947). The disturbance mentioned here alludes to uprisings of the Taira family against the Fujiwara in 933 and again in 939.

40 保元, 平治 (1156–1159) refers to the civil war over the succession of the monarchy.

Disturbance,[41] the records speak of nothing but onslaught here and battle there. And in more recent times, if you listen to the stories the old ones tell, they are all about collapse here and chaos there, conflagrations and destruction everywhere. So to what period of Japanese history can one point and say the state has attained peace thanks to the benefits of Buddhism and Shintō? I rather suspect that Japan has had more military disturbances than other lands as punishment from Heaven for misguidedly worshipping the buddhas and the kami. Surely Japan will not attain complete peace unless everyone becomes a Christian. Why? Because in Christian teaching the people are all encouraged day and night not only to worship the lord Deus but to sincerely revere and obey their masters, from the Emperor and the Shōgun down. So they say that in Christian countries there have been no armed uprisings for over a thousand years and that treason and plotting occur but rarely. So where is the logic in claiming that if all Japan turned Christian, the country would be in turmoil and the King's Rule be lost? In Christian countries there is no Buddhism, yet the King's Rule flourishes and its moral influence spreads across the four seas.

Myōshū: Yes, yes, when I hear your explanation, it makes perfect sense. Even in countries where there is no sign of Buddhism or Shintō the King's Rule is practiced and the realm is indeed at peace, so what people claim is foolish. Now, there is one more thing I would like to ask. It is said that spreading Christian teaching throughout Japan in this fashion is nothing but a deceptive ruse to capture Japan. What is your response to that?

Yūtei: Well if they are claiming that kind of thing, let them say what they wish. This is simply too absurd and there is no reasoning with it. Suppose, for instance, a rumor started that the sky up there was about to fall to earth and crush us all to death. Nobody with any intelligence would ever believe it. If you inquire how far distant these Christian countries are from Japan (forgetting the maritime route for a moment), it would take no less than three years to travel just one way, so it is hardly an exaggeration to say they are as far apart as Heaven and Earth. Despite what some may say, how would it be possible to transport troops to such a place as this, provision them, set up headquarters, and conduct a war? Furthermore, "there's always something to gain from a disaster," as the proverb has it. Japan has never been at peace but experienced constant armed conflict; it is the opposite of a land of virtue such as

41 承久 (1219–1222). In 1221, Emperor Go-Toba attempted to topple the warrior government.

Chu, "where the man lost his bow."[42] Japan has trod the path of military valor and would best even China and India with the bow and arrow; and because the hearts of its people are strong they might be able to occupy other countries but will never be occupied themselves. So what is there to worry about?

Myōshū: You and I may agree but others say, no, [that would only apply] if they were planning to occupy it by sending troops, but in fact they are plotting to do this just using these monks they call *padre*.

Yūtei: Well that too is absurd. If Japan were something one could put in one's sleeve or in a pocket, one might agree. We may be a small country but we are not something you can just walk away with just like that. It's only ignorant people who say such things, so there's really no need to respond. It's just supposition by really stupid people. This reminds me of the phrase "when the phoenix rises high, the owl hides his decaying rat."[43] The phoenix, that bird of good fortune, flies high above the clouds in order that it may descend when it sees a glint of virtue. Unaware of this, a lowly bird such as the owl[44] will hide even a decaying rat under its wing, because it fears the noble phoenix is circling in order to snatch away the meal he has just managed to catch. Those men we call *padre* also cast their eyes over the countries and provinces of the world, but they are not the type of person who thinks of conquering them. In Japan people are firm of mind and seek awakening in the afterlife, but they do not know the true path. Ours is a teaching which is spread in order to lead those who have gone astray, to bring them peace in this world and Paradise in the next, so outwardly they guide people away from avarice, save those in danger and help those in distress by 'encouraging good and chastising evil,' while inwardly they pray for peace in the realm and safety for the lord and his retainers, and stress the virtue of filial piety, honoring the noble and comforting the meek. They keep the precepts through personal abstinence and are true renunciants, who shun all treasures and ranks of secular life, treating them with more contempt than

---

42 This phrase 楚人忘弓 appears in both chapter 12 (公孫龍) of the 孔叢子 (Ariel 1989, p. 133) and chapter 10 (好生) of the 孔子家語 (Kramers 1950, p. 245). In both cases it is the King of Chu who has lost his bow. The first example involves a discussion of logic; in the second Confucius is concerned about the King's apparent narrowness of vision. Neither context is picked up by Habian, who interprets the phrase straightforwardly to suggest that the men of Chu were not warlike.

43 Based on a passage from *Zhuangzi* XVII: 6 (Watson 1968, p. 188).

44 Habian means the owl from the proverb, but gives the name of a different bird here, namely the *tobi* (milvus migrans).

they have for a pair of worn shoes. Those wretched, stupid people who suppose the *padre* came across the seas to conquer Japan cannot be taken seriously. If they were birds they would be crows, irrational, doubting the phoenix against their better judgment. Such people are not worth concerning yourself with.

Myōshū: Truly, it is a ridiculous accusation against these Christian renunciants who, so unlike those in other sects, reject avarice and devote themselves instead to deeds of compassion and alms, cutting themselves off from secular life. This I now also understand. But I have one more question. If these teachings are so superior and noble and are the true law of the Lord of Heaven and Earth, they should have been brought to Japan much earlier. Why have they come so late in the day?

Yūtei: This is a reasonable question. But Deus is not exclusive to anyone. Since he is the creator of all things in Heaven and Earth, he did not create only the people in Christian lands; be it Japan, China, or any other country or island, nowhere escapes the grace of this Lord. So these noble teachings are offered directly to people in all countries and localities, as long as they are inhabited; one should not speak of 'being late.' But these teachings take three forms. The first is called *natura*, the second *escriptura*, and the third *graça*. The teaching that is offered directly to no matter what land as long as it is inhabited is *natura*. This *natura* means that people have the wisdom to discern good and evil of their own accord from birth, without the necessity of being told, knowing in their own hearts that stealing from others is bad, or that to have sympathy and show mercy towards others is good. Since Deus bestows this directly on man, by following the light of this wisdom, no one will ever go astray. And yet the hearts of men are drawn to selfish desires and enter deviant paths, so the remaining two teachings were handed down in addition. Now the [*e*]*scriptura* refers to that which is written down in the ten *mandamento* that we discussed earlier, that direct us to behave in a certain way. But even with this, it remains difficult to lead the hearts of men towards goodness so, as I have explained, Deus deigned to be born in this world of man. This we call *graça*, which, in addition to the strength to keep those ten commandments, offers us divine power to help us attain salvation in the afterlife.

As these two teachings are not bestowed upon us directly by Deus but transmitted through the medium of missionaries, they can only spread gradually out from the center, since it is beyond the power of man to cover all lands at one and the same time. Please do not simply say it is 'late in the day.' And even if it *were* late, just being late does not tarnish it. Sometimes it is perfectly fine for things to arrive late. Recently, for instance, pure gold has arrived from

China for the very first time. No one rejects it just because it has come late. Instead we all hold it to be great treasure. It is important that you become a member of this sect soon, rather than simply repeating foolish claims.

Myōshū: The rationale behind all your answers to my many questions has been absolutely perfect, so please accompany me to church as soon as you can. Once I have been received in the faith 授法, I shall, in your company, forever cleanse my heart of its defilements with the water that flows from those same teachings, and become your eternal companion in this world and the next. You have my heartfelt thanks.

Epilogue

The aim of this dialogue between Myōshū and Yūtei was as follows. It is difficult for the wives and widows of men of noble family to meet men, monks even, to discuss matters with them, even just matters of doctrine 法. So despite their wishes they spend their days in vain. I have put together this book, so they can read for themselves and understand how marvelous Christian teachings are. I have divided it into three books. In the first book I have rejected Buddhism as being a deviant teaching because it has emptiness and nothingness at its core; in the second volume I have discussed the principles of both Confucianism and Shintō and have shown how very different they are from Christianity; in the third volume, I have to some extent clarified the truth of the teachings of my own sect Christianity. Despite my usual clumsy way of expressing myself and disregarding my own lack of talent, all I wish is to reveal the true lord Deus to the world, ignoring how ridiculous I may seem to others. But this I have done as a prayer that I may be accepted into Heaven in the next life.

Fukansai Habian.

With respect

Glossary

Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra	阿毘達磨倶舎論
adarśana-jñāna	大圓鏡智
Agon	阿含
agyo	下語
Akutagawa Ryūnosuke	芥川龍之介
ālaya	阿賴耶
Amakusa-ban Heike monogatari	天草版平家物語
amala	無垢，菴摩羅
Amida hadaka monogatari	阿彌陀裸物語
Analects	論語
anāsrava	無漏
Andō Shōeki	安藤昌益
Arai Hakuseki	新井白石
arūpa-dhātu	無色界
aṣṭamaka-bhūmi	八人地
Atago	愛宕
Avataṃsaka-sūtra	華嚴經
avidyā	無明
bhava	有
bodhisattva	菩薩
Bonshun	梵舜
Bunshi Genshō	文之玄昌
Buppō	佛法
Buppō no shidai ryaku-nukigaki	佛法之次第略抜書
Caodong	曹洞
Caoshan Benji	曹山本寂
Chang	昌
Cheng Yichuan	程伊川
Chenshi	陳實
chikushōdō	畜生道
Chinzei	鎭西
Chion'in	知恩院
chō	町
Chūai	仲哀
Chuanxin fayao	傳心法要
Daigo	醍醐

daiji daihi	大慈大悲
Dainichi	大日
Daitokuji	大徳寺
Damei Fachang	大梅法常
dao	道
Daodejing	道德經
darśana-bhūmi	見地
Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra	十地經論
Daxue	大學
Daxue zhangju	大學章句
Dazang yilanji	大藏一覽集
Dengyō Daishi	傳教大師
dharmakāya	法身
Dharmaprajñā	法惠
Dīpaṃkara	燃燒佛
Dochirīna Kirishitan	どちりいな・きりしたん
Dōgen	道元
Dongshan Liangjie	洞山良价
dui	兌
Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra	十二門論
Ebisawa Arimichi	海老澤有道
Eisai	榮西
Enryakuji	延曆寺
Erya	爾雅
Eshun	恵浚，恵春
Fada, Master of Meditation	法達禪師
Faxiang	法藏
Fayan	法眼
Fayan	法演
Five Periods and Eight Teachings	五時八教説
Fujiwara Seika	藤原惺窩
Fukansai Habian	不干斎巴鼻庵
furyū moji	不立文字
gakidō	餓鬼道
Gao	高
gen	艮
gojō	五常
gokuraku	極樂
goōen	牛黃圓

goshuin	御朱印
gosui	五衰
Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata	靈鷲山
Guṇavana	功徳林
Gyōnen	凝然
Hachiman Daibosatsu	八幡大菩薩
Ha Daiusu	破提宇子
Haiyaso	排耶蘇
hakke	八卦
Handan	邯鄲
hanya	般若
Hasegawa Gonroku	長谷川權六
Hasshū kōyō	八宗綱要
Hayashi Razan	林羅山
Himitsu mandara jūjū shinron	秘密曼荼羅十住心論
Hōdō	方等
Hokke	法華
hōmu no tsukasa	法務の司
honbun	本分
Hōnen	法然
Hongren	弘忍
honjaku engi Shintō	本迹縁起神道
honji	本地
Hossō	法相
Hossō nikanshō	法相二巻抄
hrīḥ	ह्रीः
Huangbo Xiyun	黄檗希運
Huanglong	黄龍
Huang Tingjian	黄庭堅
Huayan	華嚴
Huiguo	慧果
Huike	慧可
Huineng	慧能
hun	魂
Ide Katsumi	井手勝美
Ikkō school	一向宗
Ikkyū mizukagami	一休水鏡
Ikkyū Sōjun	一休宗純
Ingakyō	因果經
ippokku	一法句

irmão	伊留満
Ise monogatari	伊勢物語
Izanagi no mikoto	伊弉諾尊
Izanami no mikoto	伊弉冉尊
Jambudvīpa	南剡浮提，南瞻部州
jāra-māraṇa	老死
jāti	生
Jianglingfu	江陸府
Jiaxiang dashi	嘉祥大師
jigokudō	地獄道
jikishi ninshin	直指人心
Jili	季歷
Jingde Chuandenglu	景徳傳燈錄
Jing Fang	京方
Jingū	神功
Jingū bunko	神宮文庫
Jinsilu	近思錄
jiriki	自力
Jissen taifutō	十全大補湯
Jōdoron	淨土論
Jōjitsu	成實
Judō	儒道
juezhe	覺者
Jukyō	儒教
Kagamiyama	鏡山
kaie	開會
Kakkō shōkisan	藿香正氣散
kāma-dhātu	欲界
kami	神
kan	坎
Kanakamuni	倶那含牟
Kan no Shōjō	菅丞相
kannushi	神主
Kanpon (*genpon*) *sōgen* Shintō	還本宗源神道
Kanzeon	觀世音
karatachi	枳
Kashikone no mikoto	惶根尊
Kāśyapa	迦葉
Kegon	華嚴
Keiran shūyōshū	溪嵐拾葉集

Kengiroku 顯偽錄
Kenshin 顯眞
kenshō jōbutsu 見性成佛
Ketsugon jitsuron 決權實論
Kijikoku 姬氏國
Kirishitan monogatari 切支丹物語
Kōgi yōkō 講義要綱
Kojiki 古事記
konpaku 魂魄
Krakucchanda 俱留孫
kṛtāvī-bhūmi 已辨地
kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna 成所作智
Kṣitigarbha 地藏
Kujiki 旧事紀
Kūkai 空海
kun 坤
Kuni no satsuchi no mikoto 國狹槌尊
Kunitokotachi no mikoto 國常立尊
kyō 經
Kyōge betsuden 教外別傳
kyōmon 經文
kyōsō hanjaku 教相判釋
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra 楞伽經
li 理
li (trigram) 離
Liang, Mt. 梁山
Li Lou 離婁
Linji 臨濟
Li Zhu 離朱
Lokasthānābhidharma-śāstra 立世阿毘曇論
Lo Sheng 盧生
Lotus-sūtra 法華經
Madhyamaka-śāstra 中論
Mahāvairocana-sūtra 大日經
manas 末那
Matteo Ricci (Li Madou) 利瑪竇
Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一
Meditation on Samantabhadra Sūtra 觀普賢菩薩行法經
Mencius 孟子
Miaole 妙樂

missan	蜜參
mondō	問答
Muryōgikyō	無量義經
Myōhō rengekyō	妙法蓮華經
Myōshinji	妙心寺
Myōshū	妙秀
Myōtei mondō	妙貞問答
nāma-rūpa	名色
Nanbanji	南蠻寺
Nanto rokushū	南都六宗
nenbutsu	念佛
Nichiren	日蓮
Nihongi	日本紀
ningendō	人間道
Ninin bikuni	二人比丘尼
ninkai	人界
nirmāṇakāya	應身
Nirvāṇa-sūtra	涅槃經
Nishida Nagao	西田長男
Nishidani myōmoku	西谷名目
Nobunaga	信長
Ōbō	王法
Ōjin	應神
oku	億
Omodaru no mikoto	面足尊
Ōtomabe no mikoto	大苫辺尊
Ōtonoji no mikoto	大戸之道尊
Ōtsu	大津
Pan Gu	盤古
Peixiu	裴休
po	魄
pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna	妙觀察智
pratyekabuddhas	緣覺，獨覺
qi	氣
qian	乾
Rājagṛha	王舍城
reigen	靈元
renge	蓮華
ri	里
Rinzai	臨濟

rishō	利生
rokudō	六道
rūpa-dhātu	色界
Ryōbu shūgō Shintō	両部習合神道
Ryōhen	良遍
Ryōyo Shōgei	了誉聖冏
ṣaḍ-āyanata	六入
Saichō	最澄
samatā-jñāna	平等性智
samaya	三昧耶
saṃbhogakāya	報身
Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra	解深蜜經
saṃskāra	行
Sangō shīki	三教指歸
Sanjūsanten	三十三天
Sanron	三論
sarvajña	妙智
Śata-śāstra	百論
Satsunan Gakuha	薩南學派
Sawano Chūan	澤野忠庵
Seisan	西山
Sengyou	僧祐
shakunikudan	赤肉団
Shaku Tesshū	釋徹宗
Shandao	善導
Shan Gu Daoren	山谷道人
Shenxiu	神秀
Shijiapu	釋迦譜
Shi Kuang	師曠
shindai moji	神代文字
shinnyo	眞如
Shinran	親鸞
Shintō	神道
Shūhō Myōchō	宗峰妙超
Shuoyan	説苑
shuradō	修羅道
Śikhin	尸棄
sogōen	蘇合圓
Sokushin jōbutsu gi	卽身成佛義
Song Gaosengzhuan	宋高僧傳

sontai	尊體
sparśa	觸
śrāvaka	聲聞
srotāpanna	預流
Sudarśana	善見天
Sueki Fumihiko	末木文美士
Suetsugu Heizō	末次平藏
Suhijini no mikoto	沙土煑尊
suijaku	垂迹
sun	巽
śūnyatā	空
Su Shi	蘇軾
Su Shi yizhuan	蘇氏易傳
sūtra	經
tachibana	橘
Taibo	泰伯
taiji	太極
Taki	多紀
Tamba	丹波
tanka	彈呵
Tanluan	曇鸞
tanu-bhūmi	薄地
tariki	他力
Tarōbō	太郎坊
tathatā dharmatā	眞如法性
Tendai	天臺
tendō	天道
tengu	天狗
Tenma Tenjin	天滿天神
tenshi	天子
tentō	天道
thusness	眞如
Tiantai	天臺
Tianzhu shiyi	天主實義
tōhigan	到彼岸
Tokugawa Hidetada	德川秀忠
Tokugawa Ieyasu	德川家康
Tongjian yaolüe	通鑑要略
Tōriten	忉利天
Toyotomi Hideyoshi	豐臣秀吉

Toyokunnu no mikoto	豐斟渟尊
Tripiṭaka	藏
tṛṣṇā	愛
tuan	彖
Uhijini no mikoto	埿土煮尊
upadāna	取
Urakami	浦上
Vairocana	大日
Vajragarbha	金剛藏
Vajraketu	金剛幢
Vajraśekhara-sūtra	金剛頂
vedanā	受
vijñāna	識
Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra	成唯識論
Vinaya	律
Vipaśyin	毘婆尸
Viśvabhū	毘舍浮
vītarāga-bhūmi	離欲地
void	虛空
Wang Yangming	王陽明
Weiyang	潙仰
Wei Ye	魏野
Wu Zetian	吳則天
Wuzu, Mt.	五祖
Xiangxiang, Grand Master	香象大師
Xicizhuan	繫辭傳
Xuanzang	玄奘
Yamada bugyō	山田奉行
Yamagata Bantō	山片蟠桃
Yamaguchi debate	山口の討論
yang	陽
Yangqi	楊岐
Yaolüe	要略
Yaoshan Weiyan	藥山惟儼
Yasokyō sōsho	耶蘇教叢書
Yijing	易經
Yijing benyi	易經本義
yin	陰
Yogacāryabhūmi-śāstra	瑜伽師地論
Yoshida Kanemi	吉田兼見

Yoshida Kanetomo	吉田兼倶
Yoshida Shintō	吉田神道
youqing	有情
Yuanguan	緣觀
Yuanwu	圓悟
yuiitsu	唯一
Yunmen	雲門
Yunmen guanglu	雲門廣錄
Yūtei	幽貞
Yūyo Shōsō	酉誉聖聡
Zai Wo	宰我
Zaxuebian	雜學辨
Zen	禪
Zenkōji	善光寺
Zhangzai	張載
Zhanran	湛然
Zhaozhou Congshen	趙州從諗
zhen	震
Zheng	鄭氏
Zhengmin	烝民
Zheng Xuan	鄭玄
Zhiyi	智顗
Zhongyong	仲雍
Zhongyong	中庸
Zhou Dunyi	周敦頤
Zhou, King Tai of	周太王
Zhu Xi	朱熹
Zhuzi daquan	朱子大全
Zhuzi wenji	朱子文集
Zizhi tongjian	資治通鑑
Zizhi tongjian gangmu	資治通鑑綱目
Zōjōji	增上寺

Works Cited

Abe Nakamaro 阿部仲麻呂 (2014). "Kirisutokyō shisōshi kara mita 'Myōtei mondō'," キリスト教思想史から見た［妙貞問答］ in Sueki 2014, pp. 375–401.

Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 (1930). "*Korobi iruman Fukansai Habiyan to sono chosaku*," ころびイルマン不干斎ハビヤンと其著作 in *Kirishitan hakugaishichū no jinbutsu jiseki* 切支丹迫害史中の人物事積. Reprinted in *Anesaki Masaharu chosakushū*, vol. 4. 1986. Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会.

Aoki Takashi 青木隆 (2001). "*Sanronshū to jōjitsushū*," 三論宗と成実宗 in Ōkubo Ryōshun 大久保良峻 et al. *Shin hasshū kōyō: Nihon bukkyō shoshū no shisō to rekishi* 新八集綱要–日本佛教諸宗の思想と歴史. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

App, Urs (2010). *The Birth of Orientalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

——— (2012). *The Cult of Emptiness*. Kyoto: UniversityMedia.

Arai Nahoko 新井菜穂子 (2014). "*Myōtei mondō* no shoshi ni tsuite," ［妙貞問答］の書誌について in Sueki 2014, pp. 321–358.

Ariel, Yoav, trans. (1989). *K'ung-ts'ung-tzu: The K'ung Family Masters' Anthology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Aston, W.G., trans. (1896). *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to AD 697*. Reprint, Tokyo: Tuttle, 1972.

Baskind, James (2012). "'The Matter of the Zen School': Fukansai Habian's *Myōtei mondō* and his Christian Polemic on Buddhism," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 39.2: 307–331.

——— (2014). "Christian-Buddhist Polemics in Late Medieval/Early Modern Japan," *Religion Compass* 8: 37–48.

Bodiford, William M. (2006). "The Medieval Period: Eleventh to Sixteenth Centuries" in Paul Swanson and C. Chilson, eds., *Nanzan Guide To Japanese Religions*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Bol, Peter K. (1989). "Chu Hsi's Redefinition of Literati Learning," in Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W, Chaffee, eds., *Neo-Confucian Education: the Formative Years*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 151–185.

Breen, John and Mark Teeuwen 2010. A new history of Shinto, Wiley-Blackwell.

Chan Wing-tsit, trans. (1967). *Reflections on Things at Hand*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cieslik, Hubert (1972). "Fabian Fukansai nōto" ファビアン不干斎ノート in *Kirishitan bunka kenkyūkai kaihō* キリシタン文化研究會會報 15.3: 244–250.

——— (1974). "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 29.1: 1–54.

Ebisawa Arimichi 海老澤有道, et al., eds. (1964). *Nanbanji kōhaiki/ Jakyō taii/ Myōtei mondō/ Hadaiusu* 南蠻寺興廃記・邪教大意・妙貞問答・破提宇子. Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 vol. 14. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

——— et al., eds. (1970). *Kirishitansho, Haiyasho* キリシタン書・排耶書. Nihon shisō taikei 日本思想大系, vol. 25. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

——— et al., eds. (1993). *Kirishitan kyōrisho* キリシタン教理書. Tokyo: Kyōbunkan.

——— and Matsuda Kiichi 松田毅一 (1963). *Porutogaru Ebora shinshutsu byōbu monjo no kenkyū* ポルトガルエヴォラ新出屏風文書の研究. Tokyo: Natsume sha.

Elison, George (1973). *Deus Destroyed*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Gardner, Daniel K. (1986). *Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Girard, Frederick (2011). "Pedoro Gomezu no *Kōgi yōkō* no wayaku to Nihon no shūkyō," ペドロ・ゴメズの「講義要綱」の和譯と日本の宗教 in *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 28: 1–53.

Hakeda Yoshito, trans. (1972). *Kūkai: Major Works*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hashimoto Noriko 橋本典子 (1993). "*Dochirīna Kirishitan* to sono tenkei," 『どちりいな–きりしたん』とその展景 in *Aoyama gakuin joshi tanki daigaku sōgō bunka kenkyūjo nenpō* 青山学院女子短期大学総合文化研究所年報 1: 43–52.

Hervouet, Yves, ed. (1978). *A Sung Bibliography*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Higashibaba Ikuo (2001). *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*. Leiden: Brill.

Hirakawa Akira (1990). *A History of Indian Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Howland, D. (2002). *Translating the West. Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Humbertclaude, Pierre, trans. (1938–39). "Myotei Mondo. Une apologetique chretienne japonaise de 1605," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 1.2: 515–548; and 2.1: 237–267.

Ide Katsumi 井手勝美 (1978). "Habian to *Myōtei mondō*," ハビアンと妙貞問答 in *Kikan Nihon shisōshi* 季刊日本思想史 6: 51–74.

——— (1995). *Kirishitan shisōshi kenkyū josetsu: Nihonjin no kirisutokyō* juyō キリシタン思想史研究序説–日本人のキリスト教受容. Tokyo: Perikansha.

Imai Usaburō 今井宇三郎, ed. (1987). *Ekikyō* 易經. Shinshaku kanbun taikei 新釋漢文大系, 3 vols. Tokyo: Meiji shoin.

Ishii Kyōdō 石井教道 ed. (1997). *Shōwa shinshū Hōnen Shōnin zenshū* 昭和新修法然上人全集 Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten.

Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 et al., eds. (1998). *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten* 大蔵經全解説大事典. Tokyo: Yūzankaku.

Kawamura Shinzō 川村信三 (2011). *Sengoku shūkyō shakai=shisōshi—kirishitan jirei kara no kōsatsu* 戦国宗教社會＝思想史–キリシタン事例からの考察. Tokyo: Chisen shokan.

Kobayashi Chigusa (1979). "Habian cho *Myōtei mondō* 'Hossōshū no koto' to 'Hossō nikanshō,'" ハビアン著「妙貞問答」法相宗之事と「法相二巻抄」 in *Gengo to bungei* 言語と文藝 87: 158–172.

Komei Rikiya 米井力也 (2009). *Kirishitan to hon'yaku—ibunka sesshoku no jūjiro* キリシタンと翻譯–異文化接触の十字路. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Kraft, Kenneth (1992). *Eloquent Zen: Daitō and early Japanese Zen*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Kramers, R.P., trans. (1950). *K'ung tzŭ chia yü: the School Sayings of Confucius*. Leiden: Brill.

Lau, D.C., trans. (1963). *Tao te ching*. London: Penguin Classics.

Legge, James, trans. (1895). *The Chinese Classics*, 5 vols., reprint, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.

——— (1879–91). *Li chi: Book of Rites*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leuchtenberger, Jan C. (2013). *Conquering Demons: The "Kirishitan," Japan, and the World in Early Modern Japanese Literature*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Japanese Studies.

Loureiro, Rui Manuel (2004). "Jesuit Textual Strategies in Japan Between 1549 and 1582," in *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 8: 39–63.

Lynn, Richard J., trans. (1994). *The Classic of Changes*. New York: Columbia University Press.

McCullough, Helen Craig, trans. (1985). *Kokin wakashū*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Maekawa Ken'ichi 前川健一 (2014). "Bukkyōshi kara mita *Myōtei mondō*," 佛教史からみた「妙貞問答」 in Sueki 2014, pp. 403–419.

Maruyama Masao 丸山眞男 (1992). "Nihon shisōshi ni okeru mondōtai no keifu," 日本思想史における問答体の系譜 in *Chūsei to hangyaku* 忠誠と反逆. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.

Mayer, Oskar (1985). *Zur Genesis neuzeitlicher Religionskritik in Japan: Fukansai Fabian, Japanismus und japanisches Christentum*. Frankfurt/Main: Herchen.

——— (1994). "Fukansai Fabian and Kirishitan: a paradigm of modern awareness," in *Japanese Religions*, 19.1–2: 23–43.

Mun, Chanju (2005). *The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the Panjiao System*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Muraoka Tsunetsugu 村岡典嗣 (1926). "*Myōtei mondō* no Kirishitan bunken to shite yūsuru igi," 妙貞問答の吉利支丹文献として有する意義 in *Kirishitan bungaku shō* 吉利支丹文學抄. Tokyo: Kaizōsha.

Nishida Nagao 西田長男 (1972). "Yoshida-ke kyūzōhon *Myōtei mondō* kaisetsu," 吉田家旧蔵本『妙貞問答』解説, *Kokugakuin zasshi* 國學院雜誌, 73.10.

——— (1974). "Tenri toshokan shozō Yoshida bunkobon *Myōtei mondō*," 天理圖書館所蔵吉田文庫本『妙貞問答』, *Biburia: Tenri toshokanpō* ビブリア：天理圖書館報.

Paramore, Kiri (2006). "Hayashi Razan's redeployment of anti-Christian discourse: the fabrication of *Haiyaso*," *Japan Forum* 18.2: 185–206.

——— (2009). *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*. London: Routledge.

Plaks, Andrew, trans. (2003). *Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung*. London: Penguin Classics.

Ricci, Matteo SJ (1985). *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, ed. Edward J. Malatesta, SJ. Taipei: Ricci Institute.

Sakamoto Kōtarō 坂本廣太郎 (1918). "*Myōtei mondō* oyobi sono chosha ni tsuite," 妙貞問答及びその著者に就いて in *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 29.2.

Sakamoto Tarō 坂本太郎, et al., eds. (1967). *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文學大系, vols. 67–68. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

Sanford, James H., trans. (1980). "Mandalas of the Heart. Two Prose Works by Ikkyū Sōjun" *Monumenta Nipponica* 35.3: 273–298.

Sasaki, Ruth Fuller, trans. and Thomas Yūhō Kirchner, ed. (2009). *The Record of Linji*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Schrimpf, Monika (2008). "The Pro- and Anti-Christian Writings of Fukan Fabian (1565–1621)," in *Japanese Religions* 33.1&2: 35–54.

Schurhammer, Georg, SJ (1928). *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (MOAG) 23.

——— (1964) *Yamaguchi no tōron* 山口の討論. Trans. Kamio Shōji 神尾庄治. Tokyo: Shinseisha.

——— (1982). *Francis Xavier: His life, His Times. Volume IV, Japan and China 1549–1552*. Trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, SJ. Rome: The Jesuit Historical Institute.

Schütte, Josef Franz, S.J. (1985). *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan: Part II: The Solution (1580–1582)*. Trans. John J. Coyne, SJ. St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources.

Shaku Tesshū 釋徹宗 (2009). Fukansai Habian—kami mo hotoke mo suteta shūkyōsha 不干斎ハビアン—神も佛も棄てた宗教者. Tokyo: Shinchō sensho.

Smith Jr., Kidder, et al. (1990). *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sponberg Alan (1986). "Meditation in Fa-hsiang Buddhism," in Peter N. Gregory, ed. *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 15–43.

Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士 (2010). *Kinsei no bukkyō: Hana hiraku shisō to bunka* 近世の佛教–華ひらく思想と文化. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

——— ed. (2014). Myōtei mondō *wo yomu–Habian no bukkyō hihan* 妙貞問答を讀む–ハビアンの佛教批判. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Tada Kōryū 多田厚隆, et al., eds. (1973). *Tendai hongakuron* 天臺本學論, Nihon shisō taikei 日本思想大系, vol. 9. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

Toyosawa Hajime 豐澤一 (1999). "Yamaguchi no tōron *ni tsuite* (*1*)," 山口の討論について (一) in *Yamaguchi daigaku jinbungakubu sōritsu nijūshūnen kinen tokushūgō* 山口大學人文學部創立二十周年記念特集號, 49: 173–188.

——— (2002). "Yamaguchi no tōron *ni tsuite* (*2*)," 山口の討論について（二) in *Yamaguchi daigaku tetsugaku kenkyūkai* 山口大學哲學研究會 11: 23–36.

Valignano, Alessandro (1969). *Nihon no katekizumo* 日本のカテキズモ, trans. Ieiri Toshimitsu 家入敏光. Nara: Tenri toshokan.

——— (1973). *Nihon shoji yōroku* 日本諸事要録, trans. Sakuma Tadashi 佐久間正 in Matsuda Kiichi 松田毅一 et al., eds. *Nihon junsatsuki* 日本巡察記. Toyo bunko 東洋文庫 229. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Watson, Burton, trans. (1968). *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. New York: Columbia University Press.

———, trans. (1993). *The Lotus Sutra*. New York: Columbia University Press.

———, trans. (1997). *The Vimalakirti Sutra*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Yamamoto Shichihei 山本七平 [aka Isaiah Ben Dasan] (1975). *Nihonkyōto* 日本教徒. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten.

——— (1978). *Juyō to haijo no kiseki* 受容と排除の軌跡. Tokyo: Shufunotomo sha.

Yampolsky, Philip B., trans. (1967). *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Yanabu Akira 柳父章 (1982). *Hon'yakugo seiritsu jijō* 翻訳語成立事情. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Zhu Xi 朱熹 (2002). *Zhuzi quanshu* 朱子全書, 27 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

Index