

# A Japanese Commentary History of *Jianghu fengyue ji*: From Medieval to Early-Modern

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## Introduction: *Jianghu fengyue ji* 江湖風月集 and *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū* 江湖風月集略註

The poetic anthology *Jianghu fengyue ji* 江湖風月集 (Jp. *Gōko fūgetsu shū*) is a collection of *jisong* 偈頌 (Jp. *geju*) verses—a genre of Sinophone Buddhist lyric—by Chan monks of the Southern Song period. Credited to the compilation of Songpo Zongqi 松坡宗懃, also of the Southern Song, in its current form the text contains a total of 270 verses, all of them conforming to the heptasyllabic *jueju* 絕句 (Jp. *zoku*) meter.

The title is intended symbolically. Thus the word *jianghu* 江湖 (Jp. *gōkō*), beyond its literal meaning of “river” and “lake,” betokens the physical world as a whole, particularly in its function as setting for the practices of Chan monasticism. Likewise *fengyue* 風月 (Jp. *fūgetsu*) signifies not merely “wind” and “moon,” but rather in its fullness the larger world sketched by poetic conception. As such, the anthology’s name might be rendered alternatively as “Collection of [*jisong*] verses in which Chan monks express the heights of Chan thought by using the borrowed forms of poetry.”

This anthology belongs to that category of works which, lost in China itself, survived only in Japan. First printed in Japan in Karyaku 嘉曆 3 (1328) by the emigrant Chinese monk Qingzhuo Zhengcheng 清拙正澄 (1274–1339; Jp. Seisetsu Shōchō), no copy of this earlier edition survives, the oldest extant text being a printing of the Nanbokuchō period (1336–1392).<sup>1</sup> Later in the Muromachi period the text came to be widely read, not only in the Gozan temples as before, but also outside the Gozan system in Rinzaï-school 臨濟宗 temples attached to the Daitoku-ji 大徳寺 and Myōshin-ji 妙心寺 lines, indeed even in temples of the rival Sōtō School 曹洞宗. Such an environment led Japanese Zen monks to produce a number of commentaries on the work.

<sup>1</sup> The facsimile of a copy housed at Tenri Central Library can be found in *Gozan-ban Chūgoku Zenseki sōkan* 五山版中国禅籍叢刊, vol. 11 (Kyōto: Rinsen Shoten, 2014).

Among these is the (*Shinpen*) *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū* (新編) 江湖風月集略註, a *kanbun*-medium commentary originally by the otherwise unknown Nanbokuchō-era Zen monk Tenshū 天秀, whose current form is the product of later revision and expansion by Tōyō Eichō 東陽英朝 (1428–1504) of the Myōshin-ji Branch.

Yoshizawa Katsuhiko 芳澤勝弘, in his modern commentary on and translation of *Jianghu fengyue ji*,<sup>2</sup> has argued that the extant manuscript of the *Ryakuchū* said to be a Tōyō autograph copy—a text surviving in Shōtaku-in 聖沢院, a Myōshin-ji *tatchū* 塔頭 (“sub-temple”) founded by one of Tōyō’s disciples—is not only definitively not by his own hand, but moreover that the work it represents is not of his own composition. Judging from the *Ryakuchū*’s content, in other words, Yoshizawa argues that no Tōyō-authored commentary on the anthology can be said to have survived, and that the form of the work current today is thus none other than Tenshū’s commentary itself.

However, as editions of the text circulating from the early modern period onward include an afterword credited to Tōyō, the work was certainly believed to be his commentary. Indeed, his own fame as a monk in the Myōshin-ji Branch was no doubt one of the factors contributing to the text’s broad circulation. Setting aside for the present, therefore, any conclusions about Tōyō’s own involvement, this study examines rather the details of the early-modern circulation of commentaries on *Jianghu fengyue ji*, the *Ryakuchū* foremost among them, considering also the ultimate origins of the commentary material they contain.<sup>3</sup>

### The *Ryakuchū* in Print and its Development in the Early Modern Period

All told, seven distinct print editions of this *Ryakuchū* commentary are currently known to have been published, a number including both old moveable-type editions (*kokatsujū-ban* 古活字版) and editions printed by woodblock (整版 *seiban*). Here follow detailed descriptions of the publication date, publisher, and publication format of each of these.

#### [1] (*Shinpen*) *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū* (新編) 江湖風月集略註 (2 volumes)<sup>4</sup>

Old moveable-type (*kokatsujū-ban* 古活字版) editions

- (a) Date: No colophon (*mukanki* 無刊記). Likely at some point during the Keichō 慶長 (1596–1615) or Genna 元和 (1615–1624) eras.  
 Publisher: No colophon, unknown.

<sup>2</sup> *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū* 江湖風月集略註 (Kyoto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of commentaries on the *Jianghu fengyue ji* in general, see Horikawa Takashi 堀川貴司, “*Gōko fūgetsu shū no chūshakusho*” 『江湖風月集』の注釈書, in *Chūshakusho no kokon tozai* 注釈書の古今東西, ed. Satō Michio 佐藤道生 (Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Facsimile in *Zengaku tenseki sōkan* 禅学典籍叢刊, eds. Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 and Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄, vol. 11 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2000). However, this is a composite text, the first volume representing edition (h), the second volume representing edition (e).

- Format: Four-sided (*shishū* 四周) double border (*sōben* 双辺), with vertical rules (*yūkai* 有界). 9 columns of 16 characters each.
- (b) Date: Published (*kan* 刊) in Kan'ei 寛永 3 (1626).  
 Publisher: Nakajima Kyūbei 中島久兵衛  
 Format: Four-sided double border, with no vertical rules (*mukai* 無界). 11 columns of 21 characters each.
- (c) Date: Published in Kan'ei 6 (1629).  
 Publisher: Same as edition (b).  
 Format: Same as edition (b).

Woodblock-printed (*seiban* 整版) editions

- (d) Date: Published in Kan'ei 7 (1630).  
 Publisher: [Nakano] Ichiemonnojō [中野] 市右衛門尉  
 Format: Four-sided double border, with no vertical rules. 9 columns, 16 characters each.

A reproduction (*fukukoku* 覆刻) of edition (a) in woodblock form, with glossing points (*kunten* 訓点) added.

- (e) Date: Published in Kan'ei 9 (1632).  
 Publisher: No publisher given.  
 Format: Same as edition (d).

A reproduction of edition (d), with the following two modifications. First, the second volume's volume-end title (*kanbidai* 卷尾題), which in edition (d) was found on the verso of the final page of main text (*honbun* 本文), has in edition (e) been moved up to that same page's recto side. This allowed the verso to begin immediately with the work's supplement (*furoku* 付録), ultimately saving one side of a page (**Figures 1 & 2**). In addition, the second volume's colophon (*kanki* 刊記), which in edition (d) was the only printed content on the verso of that volume's ultimate page, has been relocated to formerly free space on that page's recto, saving one additional page-side (**Figures 3 & 4**). Together these two changes permitted a full page's worth of savings.

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Digitized images are available on the *Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works (Shin Nihon kotenseki sōgō dētābēsu* 新日本古典籍総合データベース) for edition (a) [<https://doi.org/10.20730/100016120>], edition (d) [<https://doi.org/10.20730/200006143>], and edition (g) [<https://doi.org/10.20730/100025309>]. See: [<http://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp>].

In the digital archives of Shimane 島根 University Library, digital images are available for edition (e) [<http://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/2064>], edition (f) [.../2066], and also (though with the year of publication removed from its colophon) edition (d) [.../2067].

Digitized images of edition (h) can also be viewed at Waseda 早稲田 University Library's Japanese and Chinese Classics database (*Kotenseki sōgō dētābēsu* 古典籍総合データベース). See: [[http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko31/bunko31\\_e1108/index.html](http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko31/bunko31_e1108/index.html)].





Figure 2a.

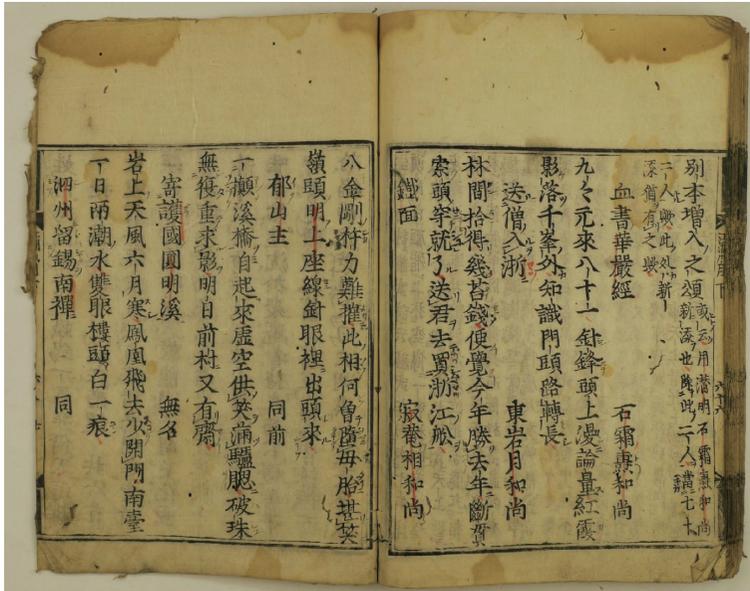


Figure 2b.

Figure 2. *Shinpen Goko fugetsu shū ryakuchū*. Edition (c) vol. 2. (Shimane University Library).

In edition (e), the volume-end title has been moved up a page-face, fitted in directly after the end of the main text on p. 66r. (Figure 2a, left), allowing the supplement to begin immediately on 66v. (Figure 2b, right), a page-face earlier than in edition (d), where it began on 67r. (Figure 1b, left). <https://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/ja/2065> (images no. 71–72)



Figure 3a.

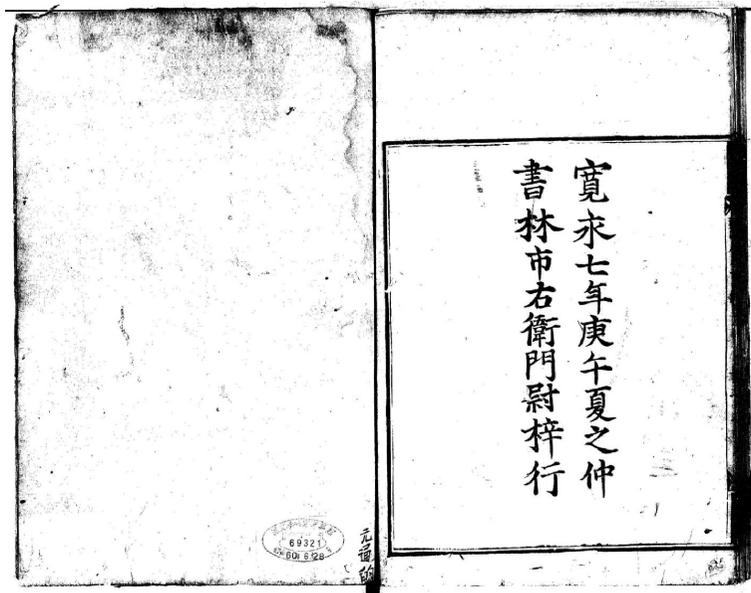


Figure 3b.

Figure 3. *Shinpen Goko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū*. Edition (d), vol. 2. (NIJL).

In this earlier edition (d), the second volume's colophon (*kanki* 刊記) is printed separately from the rest of the text, and allotted its own page-face at the volume's end, p. 71v. (Figure 3b, right).

<https://doi.org/10.20730/200006143> (images no. 151–152)



**Figure 4.** *Shinpen Goko fugetsu shū ryakuchū*. Edition (e), vol. 2, pp. 70v.–back inside cover. (Shimane University Library).

In edition (e), the colophon, too, has been moved up a page-face, fitted into what in edition (d) had been free space on the page-face preceding. In this photograph, the inside flap of the back cover has been peeled away to overlay the volume's last page, making its details difficult to discern. Nonetheless it can be distinguished above that in edition (e), the colophon found in edition (d) on p. 71v. (Figure 3b, right), and the text preceding it on p. 71r. (Figure 3a, left), have here been combined into a single page-face.

<https://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/ja/2065> (image no. 76)

- (f) Date: Printed (*in* 印) in Kanbun 寛文 3 (1663).  
 Publisher: Yamamoto Goheinojō 山本五兵衛尉  
 Format: Same as edition (e).

A reprinting of edition (e), differing only in modifications made to the colophon by means of inserted wooden plugs (*ireki* 入木).

- (g) Date: Printed in Enpō 延宝 5 (1677).  
 Publisher: Nagao Heibei 長尾平兵衛  
 Format: Same as edition (e).

A reprinting of edition (e), differing only in modifications made to the colophon by means of inserted wooden plugs.

- (h) Date: Unknown, but datable to the early Edo period.  
 Publisher: Unknown.  
 Format: Same as edition (e).

A republication of (e), but with the full text recarved using the Minchō 明朝 typeface. In the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, under the influence of Ōbaku-ban 黄檗版 editions (e.g., the *Testugen-ban issaikyō* 鉄眼版一切経), it became more common, when issuing new editions of older Buddhist and Sinographic publications, to change the typeface of their *kanji* to Minchō. Edition (h) is one example of this trend.

With the advance of commercial publishing, texts which in the past had been transmitted only by manuscript were able, through publication, to circulate widely for the first time—a development that manifests in typical fashion certain sharp differences between the medieval and early modern periods in the way books themselves functioned.

The *Ryakuchū* itself saw publication on three different occasions in old moveable-type editions alone. The earliest of these, edition (a), used larger type-pieces (*katsuji* 活字), resulting in a page with both fewer columns of text in total and fewer characters of text within each column. By the time of editions (b) and (c), however, columns have increased both in number and capacity. This shift is illustrative of the changes that took place in such old moveable-type editions between the period embracing the Keichō 慶長 (1596–1615) and Genna 元和 (1615–1624) eras, when non-commercial publishing was still the rule, and the subsequent Kan'ei 寛永 era (1624–1645), over the course of which commercial publication became more general. (Under the market conditions of the latter period, pressure to lower publication costs led to the adoption of smaller type-pieces, whose use permitted an increase in columns per page and characters per column that ultimately saved both paper and ink).

In the case of moveable-type, however, once printed, each individually typeset page had to be decomposed to make room for the next. Under such a system, printing additional copies at a later date implied a page-by-page re-composition of the full text. Edition (c) is a good example of such a situation. By the same publisher as edition (b), rather than any intention to produce a new edition on the publisher's part, the existence of edition (c) most likely represents merely the need for more copies of the earlier one. When stocks of edition (b) proved insufficient, the publisher would have had no choice but to typeset the entire work again from the beginning, effectively producing a new edition in the process.

With woodblock printing, on the other hand, once the master printing blocks had been produced, they could be used again and again to print further copies of the text at will. In cases where lasting demand for a work could be expected, in other words, from a commercial standpoint the technology of woodblock-printing was clearly superior. It was precisely for this reason that during the Kan'ei era, we find texts which had appeared previously in old moveable-type editions being republished in new editions printed by woodblock. The *Ryakuchū* is no exception to this trend, and indeed edition (d), the first edition of that work

produced using woodblock, was in fact a re-production (i.e., a traced re-carving) of old moveable-type edition (a). It is likely, moreover, that the choice of (a) as the basis for this new edition, rather than a more recent edition like (b) or (c), proceeded from the judgment that the former's less-packed page composition was ultimately preferable for purposes of annotation, allowing more space for the various *kunten* 訓点 glossing points to be added. It is conceivable that a desire to avoid using publications from other more contemporary publishers also played some role in the decision.

At the same time, because it preceded the establishment of a system for protecting copyright, this period of transition also saw the frequent republication by competitor publishers of works from one's own catalogue particularly in demand, brazenly reissued in unauthorized editions with no change in content. And in such cases, rather than reproducing that same content in a new layout of one's own conception, it was of course far more efficient to simply reproduce (essentially, to retrace) the preexisting layout already to hand. A good example of such a case is edition (e), likely to be the reproduction, anonymously issued, of edition (d) by a different publisher. In contrast, editions (f) and (g), though also by different publishers, are in effect reprintings, made possible through serial acquisitions of edition (e)'s own printing blocks. With regard to edition (h), nothing definitive can be said about either when it was published, or by whom, but its production can probably be dated to some point after the spread of the Minchō 明朝 typeface, in the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Other considerations aside, at the least this history of the *Ryakuchū*'s repeated republication demonstrates eloquently the degree of demand that the work succeeded in commanding.

Another feature of this history is the appearance of several works representing various degrees of alteration made to the original commentary:

[2] *Shinpen Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū shō* 新編江湖風月集略註鈔 (4 volumes)<sup>5</sup>

Date: Published in Kan'ei 10 (1633).

Publisher: Nakano Ichiemon 中野市右衛門

This text is a rewriting of the *Ryakuchū*'s *kambun*-medium commentary in a mixed-vernacular style (*kana-majiri-bun* カナ交じり文) with *katakana*. Where the interpretation of the *Ryakuchū* proved insufficient, however, it also supplements the earlier work, from time to time even questioning its analysis. Some publication catalogues (*shojaku mokuroku* 書籍目録) printed during the Edo period list as the

<sup>5</sup> See the two texts available in the digital archives of Shimane University Library, found respectively at [<http://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/1885>] and [<http://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/1889>].

text's author the Sōtō-school monk Bannan Eishu 万安英種.<sup>6</sup> It is worth note in either case that it shares an issuing publisher with edition (d) of the *Ryakuchū* itself. On the publisher's side, likely this reflects a form of response to pirate editions like (e) from competitors, an attempt to differentiate his offering by providing this further commentary alongside the *Ryakuchū*, almost as a companion work.

[3] *Shusho Gōko fūgetsu shū* 首書江湖風月集 (4 volumes)<sup>7</sup>

Date: Unknown.  
 Publisher: Unknown.

A work that adds, to either side of and also above the entries of the *Ryakuchū*, a further layer of even more detailed *kanbun*-medium commentary (mostly concerned with determining textual sources). First appearing in a publication catalogue of Kanbun 10 (1670), later catalogues give as its author one Gekkai 月海. One catalogue from Genroku 元禄 9 (1696) lists as its publisher a certain Nagao 長尾, perhaps indicating Nagao Heibei 長尾平兵衛. Should this in fact be the case, it might well indicate an attempt to respond to widespread demand in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, implying as it would that alongside his acquisition of the printing blocks (*hangi* 版本) for edition (e) of the *Ryakuchū* itself, the same publisher had also sought to add to his inventory a yet more detailed commentary like this work.

[4] *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū shusha* 江湖風月集略註取捨 (2 volumes)<sup>8</sup>

Date: Published in Kyōhō 享保 17 (1732).  
 Publisher: Fūgetsudō Shōzaemon 風月堂莊左衛門

While basing itself on the *Ryakuchū*, this work is selective in what it preserves and what it discards, bringing in additional commentary from outside, and even expounding its own novel theories. By Yōshun Shudaku 陽春主諾 (Seiken-ji 清見寺 temple, Shizuoka Prefecture), a Rinzaï-school monk of the Myōshin-ji Branch, from the mid-early modern period onward, this text came to circulate more widely than the *Ryakuchū* itself.

For commentaries on the original anthology from alternative lineages, the following works were also published:

<sup>6</sup> A list of products of the commercial press current at that point in time. All such catalogues up to the mid-Edo period that survive are collected in the volume *Edo jidai shorin shuppan shojaku mokuroku sbusei* 江戸時代書林出版書籍目録集成, ed. Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Fuzoku Kenkyūjo Shidō Bunko 慶應義塾大学附属研究所斯道文庫 (Tokyo: Inoue Shobō, 1962–1964).

<sup>7</sup> Facsimile in *Zengaku tenseki sōkan*, vol. 11 (op. cit.).

<sup>8</sup> No facsimile volume available. Digitized images, however, are available on the *Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works*. [<https://doi.org/10.20730/100224648>]. See: [<http://kotenski.nijl.ac.jp>].

[5] *Shusho Gōko shū Kassan shō* 首書江湖集夾山鈔 (8 volumes)<sup>9</sup>

Date: Published in Manji 万治 2 (1659).  
 Publisher: Akitaya Heizaemon 秋田屋平左衛門

Main text in *kanbun*, with headnotes (*shusho* 首書) in a mixed-vernacular style using *katakana*. Explains how the content of the work bears upon Buddhist enlightenment, using a two-tier analysis that examines separately both a “verse’s surface [meaning]” (*kumen* 句面) as well as the true, more hidden “verse’s inner [meaning]” (*kuchū* 句中). The titular Kassan 夾山 is a figure otherwise unknown.

[6] *Shinpen Gōko shū keimōshō* 新編江湖集啓蒙鈔 (5 volumes)<sup>10</sup>

Date: Published in Kanbun 8 (1668).  
 Publisher: Tsutsumi Rokuzaemon 堤六左衛門

Written in a mixed-vernacular style with *katakana*. By the early Edo-period Sōtō-school monk Manshitsu Sokai 巳室祖价 (Banshō-ji 万松寺 temple, Nagoya, 11<sup>th</sup> generation).

[7] *Shinchū shōwa Gōko fūgetsu shū* 新註唱和江湖風月集 (8 volumes)<sup>11</sup>

Date: Published (according to afterword date) in Kyōhō 3 (1718).  
 Publisher: Unknown.

A work of commentary and also original poetry by the Sōtō-school monk Geppa Dōin 月坡道印.

### The Medieval Within Commentaries of the Early Modern Period

Here let us examine the respective content of [1] the *Ryakuchū* and [2] the *Ryakuchū shō*, taking by way of example a single verse (#140) found near the beginning of the Chinese anthology’s second volume, a composition by the compiler Songpo Zongqi himself.<sup>12</sup> Portions marked out by a straight underline represent content shared by both texts [1] and [2], which is to say, portions that [2] the *Ryakuchū shō* has taken from [1] the *Ryakuchū* and rendered, more or less faithfully, into Japanese.

<sup>9</sup> Facsimile in *Zengaku tenseki sōkan*, vol. 11 (op. cit.).

<sup>10</sup> No facsimile volume available. Based on the Komazawa University Library text. (Call number: 永久 1022).

<sup>11</sup> No facsimile volume available. Based on the Komazawa University Library text. (Call number: H151/5).

<sup>12</sup> For a more detailed discussion (from the present author) on poem #140, see Iizuka Hironobu 飯塚大展, et al., “Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū kenkyū (11)” 『江湖風月集略註』研究 (十一), *Komazawa daigaku Zen kenkyūjo nenpō* 駒澤大学禅研究所年報 30 (2019.1).

[1] *Ryakuchū* 略註<sup>13</sup>

Title: 帰江陵奔講師喪 江陵に帰つて講師の喪に奔る (或本帰字上有送人之二字)

- |   |         |                |
|---|---------|----------------|
| 1 | 講罷殘經去不回 | 殘經を講じ罷めて去つて回らず |
| 2 | 石床花雨翠成堆 | 石床の花雨 翠 堆を成す   |
| 3 | 天荒地老重相見 | 天荒地老いて重ねて相見    |
| 4 | 眼在髑髏眉底開 | 眼は髑髏眉底に在つて開く   |

去不回者、講師死也。講得經論称仏意、則雨花動地。須菩提宴坐岩中、諸天雨花。梁武帝講放光般若時、天雨四花等事。又西山亮座主講經時、有雨花之瑞云々。天荒地老者、久義也。

Title: *Headed home to Jiangling in haste for his master's mourning*  
(Another version of the text has before "Headed home . . ." the words "Upon sending off one")

- 1 Finished teaching the scriptures left, gone is he with no return;
- 2 On his stony seat, flowers rain to make heaps of piled jade.
- 3 Beyond sky's ruin and earth's end shall you next each other see,
- 4 When eyes there are in hollow skull, beneath the brow wide-open.

Here "gone is he with no return" refers to the master's death. It rains flowers and shakes the earth because he was one who taught and grasped the scriptures and thus pleased the Buddha's mind. When Subhūti was sitting at rest among the rocks, the various devas rained flowers down upon him. Also the story about how when Emperor Wu of Liang was teaching the Light-emitting Wisdom [Sutra] (Fangguang bore 放光般若), heaven showered him with four types of flower, etc. And it is said that when Abbot Liang 亮 of Xishan 西山 was teaching the scriptures, there was a miracle of flowers raining. The phrase "beyond sky's ruin and earth's end" signifies a long span of time.

[2] *Ryakuchū shō* 略註鈔<sup>14</sup>

Title: 帰江陵奔講師喪

*Headed home to Jiangling in haste for his master's mourning*

帰ノ上ニ送ルト云字在テヨイゾ。唐土テハ、ドノ禪僧モ初メハ教者ニ依テ教学ヲスルソ。是ヲ受業ノ師ト云ソ。サウシテ後ニ參禪ゾ。夫レニ依テ經意ヲモ能ク窮ルニ依

<sup>13</sup> Notes on [1] the *Ryakuchū* 略註 text:

- (1) Line numbers, etc., are added here for ease of comparison between the two commentaries.
- (2) Conversely, all *kunten* 訓点 glossing points found in the base text have been omitted.
- (3) The *yomi-kudashi* 読み下し rendering of the poem is my own.

<sup>14</sup> Notes on [2] the *Ryakuchū shō* 略註鈔 text:

- (1) As above in text [1], line numbers, etc., are added here for ease of comparison.
- (2) Here, too, all *kunten* glossing points found in the base text have been omitted.
- (3) In some cases, for ease of reading, the text as given here represents a rearrangement of the base text in accordance with the omitted *kunten*, with *okurigana* supplied at need. Examples:

Line 1: 殘スレ經ヲ → 經ヲ殘ス

Line 2: 雨レ花ヲ → 花ヲ雨ス (ふら・す)

テ、禪学モ広イソ。日本テモ上代ニハ如此アツタニ依テ、ヨカツタソ。今時ハサヤウニ無イニ依テ、錯リカ多イソ。是ハ江陵ト云処ヘ帰テ講師ノ喪ニ逢フゾ。

It is appropriate to have the words “Upon sending off one” before “Headed home . . .” In China, all Zen monks begin with a period of [doctrinal] study under an instructor. They call this the “master of teaching.” Only after this do they engage in Zen practice. As a result of the deep understanding of scripture they achieve because of this, Zen erudition there is wide-ranging. Such was once the case in Japan, too, in older times, and things were the better for it. Because nowadays that is no longer the case, error has become common. This [title] means that [the poem’s addressee] is traveling home to the place called Jiangling to be there in time for his master’s mourning.

### 1 講罷殘經去不回

Finished teaching the scriptures left, gone is he with no return;

講師ノナリゾ。此間講シ残シタ経ヲ講シ罷テ死ナレタソ。去不回トハ、死シテ一度去テハ不回ソ。[A] 或ハ講シ罷テ経ヲ残ストヨマフトイヘトモ、二重三重テ何ントヤラウシタソ。

This is a description of his master. Having finished teaching those scriptures which, only recently, he had left still untaught, he then died. The meaning of “gone is he with no return” is that once someone has died and gone, there is no returning for him. [A] One might also read [the verse] as signifying that when he finished teaching, there were still scriptures he had left untaught, but that would need [the verse] to be in something like two or three different pieces.

### 2 石床花雨翠成堆

On his stony seat, flowers rain to make heaps of piled jade.

此間講経ノ時キ花カ雨タカ、今ニ堆ヲ成シテアルソ。雨花ノコトハ、梁ノ武帝放光般若ヲ講セシトキモ花ヲ雨シ、西山ノ亮座主講経ノトキモ花ヲ雨シ、須菩提般若ヲ説ク時モ花ヲ雨ス。[B] 日本ニテモ、聖徳太子講経ノトキモ天花乱墜シタソ。爰テモ講師チヤホトニ、花ハ雨ラストモ花カ雨タト云カ作法ゾ。

Recently while he was teaching the scriptures it rained flowers, and now they have piled up in heaps. Regarding the expression “raining flowers,” it also rained flowers when Emperor Wu of Liang taught the *Light-emitting Wisdom* [Sutra], as it rained flowers when Abbot Liang of Xishan was teaching the scriptures, and as again it rained flowers when Subhūti was expounding upon the *Wisdom* [Sutra]. [B] Also in Japan, when Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 was teaching the scriptures, then too flowers poured from the skies in profusion. So too here, even if there is no rain of flowers, one says that it rained flowers out of convention—[the deceased] was after all [the addressee’s] own master.

### 3 天荒地老重相見

Beyond sky’s ruin and earth’s end shall you next each other see,

講師ハ死シ去タホトニ、天モ荒レ地モ老タソ。此ノ如ク云タトテ、百年二百年ニ成テ年シクイデハ無ケレトモ、死去テ何ンニモ無イ処ヲ云ソ。爰ノ相見シ難イ処テ相見シタソ。何ニト相見シタソナレハ、

When his master died and passed away, it blighted the sky and aged the earth itself. What this manner of speaking intends is not the long span of after a hundred or two hundred years, but rather his sense of nothing at all remaining after [his master's] death and departure. And yet here they see each other again, despite how impossible seeing one another has become at this point. Now, as to how it is possible to see each another thus . . .

#### 4 眼在髑髏眉底開

When eyes there are in hollow skull, beneath the brow wide-open.

喜識尽タ髑髏ノ上ニ活眼睛カアルソ。爰テ相見シタソ。前ニ「髑髏那畔重相見、立尽空山又夕陽」ト同意ソ。

On the hollow skull of one who is done with the knowledge of joy, there is an enlivened [i.e., enlightened] eye. It is with this that they see one another. The meaning is the same as in the earlier poem: “Yonder beside the hollow skull shall you next each other see / Standing to end the mountain void, again with the evening sun.”<sup>15</sup>

Of the two passages in [2] the *Ryakuchū shō* marked out above in wavy underline, the first [A] is almost identical to this passage found in the *Kintaishū* 襟帯集, a work credited to—though likely merely copied out or owned by—Bunshi Genshō 文之玄昌 (1555–1620), a Rinzai-school monk active in Kagoshima: “Given the difficulty of determining the significance here of “left,” one might also read [the verse] as signifying that when he finished teaching, there were still scriptures he had left untaught, but that would need [the verse] to be in something like two or three different pieces” (残字難解程ニ、講シ罷テ残経トヨマウトイヘトモ、二重三重テ何トヤラウシタソ).<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, the second such passage [B] also finds its content mirrored in another text, this time the *Gōko fūgetsu shū shō* 江湖風月集抄, a work by Hōshuku Shusen 彭叔守仙 (1490–1555), a monk of the Kyoto Gozan temple Tōfuku-ji 東福寺 famous for his scholarship (an autograph copy of this text survives, containing Shusen’s record of lectures by his teacher Hōkyō Kōrin 芳郷光隣, to which he has appended further theories of his own). There, after citing the same precedent examples of Subhūti and Emperor Wu of Liang (though no reference to Abbot Liang is made), Shusen goes on to write: “In Japan, it is said that when Shōtoku Taishi was teaching *Queen Śrīmālā’s Sutra* (*Shōmangyō* 勝鬘經) at Tachibana-dera 橘寺, there occurred a prodigy of flowers raining, etc.” (日本ニテハ、聖徳太子講勝鬘經於橘寺時、有雨花瑞云々).<sup>17</sup>

In other words, the *Ryakuchū shō* has not only recast the commentary of the *Ryakuchū* into more accessible language, but in places where the *Ryakuchū* itself was silent, has also supplied detailed analyses on its own initiative, drawing upon lectures and theories of the medieval period from the Gozan system and beyond.

<sup>15</sup> This references vv. 3–4 of poem #62 in the first volume of *Jianghu fengyue ji*.

<sup>16</sup> Facsimile (of a *Seikidō sosho* 成實堂叢書 reproduction of the original text) found in *Zengaku tenseki sōkan*, vol. 11 (op. cit.).

<sup>17</sup> Facsimile in *Ryūmon bunko zenpon sōkan* 龍門文庫善本叢刊, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1985).

Similar cases may be observed elsewhere. Omitting here any particular examples, the *kanbun* commentary of [5] the *Kassan shō* 夾山鈔 commentary draws frequently upon the theories of Kōzei Ryūha 江西龍派 (1375–1446, also called Zokusui 続翠), a monk of the Muromachi period whose activities centered on the Kyoto Gozan temple Kennin-ji 建仁寺. Also the author of, for example, a commentary on the poetry of Du Fu 杜甫 (the *Toshi Zokusui shō* 杜詩続翠抄), in his wide-ranging scholarship Kōzei frequently employs the technical term *shitagokoro* 下心 (“deeper meaning”)<sup>18</sup>—essentially the same as Kassan’s concept of the “verse’s inner [meaning]” (*kuichū* 句中)—as an interpretive tool for discussing the true meaning intended by a given poet.

And it is worth noting that this method of analysis employed by Kōzei had on commentaries produced by later generations of Zen monks a widespread and lasting influence. For example, Sesshin Jisen 説心慈宣 (d. 1626, also called Soin 素隠), a late-Muromachi monk of the Myōshin-ji Branch, in his commentary on the famous anthology of Tang-era poetry *Santishi* 三体詩, the *Santaishi Soin shō* 三体詩素隠抄—another commentary that circulated in both old moveable-type and woodblock-printed editions—likewise analyzed many of that anthology’s works using a similar framework, finding on the poem’s surface a “[meaning] above” (*kami* 上) which contrasted with the “[meaning] underneath” (*soko* 底) that reflected the poet’s true intention. This constitutes yet another case of medieval-era “knowledge” coming to circulate in the early modern period through the vehicle of print.

### Conclusion: The Circulation of “Knowledge” and Publication Activity

In the dynamic world of early-modern period commercial publishing, competition between rival publishers sometimes took the form of reproducing rival editions containing the same in-demand text, but also often took the form of producing novel variations on such a text, developing it in the direction of greater detail—or greater accessibility. In the course of these activities, a wide range of diverse commentaries came to be published. Yet if contemporary monks frequently featured as central participants in such efforts, as editors and also as authors in their own right, the content of the commentaries they produced was not necessarily itself as contemporary, and indeed often hearkened back to medieval commentaries from a variety of monastic schools which—as least up to that point—had depended for their transmission on hand-copied manuscripts. As a result, a body of “knowledge” that throughout the medieval period has remained largely hidden, came at length through such publications to circulate more widely through society as a whole.

<sup>18</sup> For further discussion of this technical term, see Horikawa Takashi, “‘Shitagokoro’ no setsu” 「下心」の説, *Nihon koten bungakukai kaihō* 日本古典文学会々報 130 (1998.7).