

Counterargument to the West: Buddhist Logicians' Criticisms of Christianity and Republicanism in Meiji Japan

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Abstract

Although the tradition of Buddhist logic in India had been developed through the debates with non-Buddhists, that of pre-modern Japan hardly had such defining experiences. The applications of inmyō were limited to disputes between the Hossō school (the Japanese transmission of the Sinitic Yogācāra school) and another Buddhist schools.

During the rapid modernization and Westernization after the Meiji restoration, however, Buddhist logicians also encountered non-Buddhist cultures, Western-style deductive and inductive logic, Christianity, democracy, and republicanism imported from Western countries. Some of them, such as Kira Kōyō, regarded inmyō as useful for democratic discussion, and promoted it among politicians and legal professionals. Their introductory books about inmyō included many sample expressions that criticized the existence of God and the authenticity of republicanism, as well as the unequal treaties forced upon Japan by Europe and America.

In spite of those efforts, inmyō did not become popular in modern Japan. In addition, it also lost scholarly interest in the twentieth century because of the introduction of scriptures associated with Indian logic in Sanskrit and Tibetan. Nevertheless, inmyō studies in the Meiji period should not be ignored because they were regarded as one of the intellectual refutations of the West in East Asia, as well as forgotten previous researches of the Buddhist logic.

Key words: Hetuvidyā, Christianity, Republicanism, Kira Kōyō,
Modernization in East Asia

Introduction

Although the tradition of Buddhist logic in India developed through debate with non-Buddhists, that of pre-modern Japan hardly had such an experience. Japanese Buddhist monks studied Buddhist logic (*inmyō*) using sample expressions, such as “sound being impermanent,” based on Indian philosophical traditions that did not exist in Japan. Their central concern seemed to focus on the sophistication of the interpretation of the scriptures, in particular Ji’s (632–682) great commentary of *Niyāyapraveśa* (*Yinming ruzhengli lun shu* or *Yinming dashu*). Applications of *inmyō* were limited to disputes between the Hossō school (the Japanese transmission of the Sinitic Yogācāra school) and other Buddhist schools, e.g., the debate regarding emptiness and existence, the proof of consciousness-only, and the proof of the distinction in the five natures.¹

During the rapid modernization and Westernization that followed the Meiji restoration, however, Buddhist logicians also encountered non-Buddhist cultures, including the deductive and inductive logic, Christianity, democracy, and republicanism imported from Western countries. They reconsidered the logical system and merit of *inmyō*, compared with Western logic, and discussed its reformation.²

Some Buddhist logicians regarded *inmyō* as useful for democratic discussion. Kira Kōyō (1881b), in a traditional commentary on the *Yinming dashu*, asserts:

To begin with, *inmyō* is an Indian logic, in which the proponent and opponent debate each other. When one’s theory is claimed, [his speech] will stop if it is not logical. If it is logical, [his] speech will be honest and [his] sense of justice will be brave wherever he is, such as in the crowds of the government, the parliament, or the court, or in the presence of sages. And with fearless mind, undaunted tongue, and no waste of words, [he will make his opponent] understand [his opinion] by a simple expression, and he will carry his opinion by concise words. [*Inmyō* is] a marvelous technique for winning arguments and an essential golden rule in both ultimate reality and mundane truth, in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist [topics], especially in the world of discussion, like today’s [society] (emphasis added).³

It is reasonable to suppose that Kira used the words “the government, the

parliament, or the court” and “the world of discussion” in the above statement to echo the social atmosphere at that time: The imperial edict to establish the Imperial Diet was issued in 1881, when Buddhist logicians actively began to publish *inmyō* works (See Appendix). In addition, according to Asō (2008), the Western logicians in Meiji Japan had also a pragmatic tendency that attempted to solve current topics or real problems using syllogisms. For example, Nishi Amane (1829-1897) claimed that logic was classified into (1) academic studies or logic of *kanmon* 觀門 (observing approach) and (2) applied research or logic of *gyōmon* 行門 (practical approach), and it should be studied abstractly as well as utilized in court trials or public speaking (Nishi 1884).

In their publications, the Buddhist logicians introduced the concept of *inmyō* as well as expressing their personal opinions through sample expressions of *inmyō*. They not only used traditional articulations, such as “sound being impermanent,” but also created new sample expressions concerning modern social issues, such as Christianity, democracy, and so forth, based on their policies. In this paper, I provide a rough overview of the sample expressions regarding Christianity and political issues created by Buddhist logicians in the Meiji period and consider their efforts to expand the applicable ranges of *inmyō* in modern society.

Criticisms of Christianity using *Inmyō*

Anti-Christian Movements in the Meiji period⁴

When the national isolation policy during the Edo period ended in 1854, and modernization based on Western culture commenced in the Meiji period, the anti-Christian policy of the Edo government was sustained by the Meiji government. In 1873, the Meiji government removed the bulletin board banning Christianity, but did not set forth an administrative policy on Christianity. While Christian missionary work had been active since the 1880s, the anti-Christian movements of Buddhists, Shintoists and politicians had also spread (Sakaguchi 1989a).

Although anti-Christian works published at the end of the Edo period were written based on those of the Ming and Qing dynasties, those published after the Meiji restoration criticized the Bible directly and did not depend on

Chinese criticisms (Sakaguchi 1989b). Criticizing the problems of Christianity (the dissident character of Christians, missionary activities leading to later colonization, etc.), many of their arguments aimed to proclaim their ideologies, the correctness of the traditional Japanese view of the world, or the sense of ethics, from the standpoint of Buddhism, whether Confucian or Shinto, in Japan.

Kira Kōyō

Kira Kōyō 雲英晃耀 (1831–1910), called himself Inmyōin 因明院 ([Man from the] Cloister of Logic), was a scholar priest of the Jodo Shin Otani sect from the end of the Edo period to the Meiji period. According to Funayama (1998), Kira Kōyō played a prominent role as an *inmyō* scholar in the Meiji era along with Ōnishi Hajime 大西祝 (1864–1900) and Murakami Senshō 村上專精 (1851–1929).⁵

He is known as the author of *Gohō sōron* 護法總論 (General theory of protecting the Dharma), which, having been published in 1869, is one of the works of Buddhist criticism of Christianity in the Meiji era. In this book, he regarded the Creator of Christianity as a variation of Maheśvara,⁶ and criticized it using *inmyō* inferences based on Ji's commentary of *Chengweishi lun*:

As I discussed above, since the origin of Christianity was one of the 95 non-Buddhist sects serving the gods such as Maheśvara, God's creation of all things corresponds to Maheśvara's ability to create all dharmas. The God without beginning or end is equivalent to the permanence of Maheśvara, and the ubiquitous omniscient God matches the omnipresence of Maheśvara. Therefore, I would like to give the finishing blow to the false doctrine using the seven inferences based on Vasubandhu's *Chengweishi lun* that criticized the Maheśvara sect.

The first inference: Your God is definitely not one without beginning or end, because he is a creator, like carpenters and craftsmen.⁷ [...]

The second inference: Your God is definitely not ubiquitous, because he is not one without beginning or end, like a bottle.⁸ [...]

The third inference: Your God is definitely not omniscient, because he is not ubiquitous, like a bowl.⁹

The fourth inference: Your God could produce instantaneously all things

everywhere, [if he were ubiquitous,] like a place where a thing is produced. [...] The fifth inference: Your God could produce instantaneously all things anytime, because you stated that the nature [of the God] is omniscient, like a time when a thing is produced.¹⁰ [...]

Given that the heretic claims that all things are not produced everywhere and anytime since [they are produced] after the desires [of the sentient beings] and conditions, while the God is ubiquitous and without beginning or end, this might be in conflict with the proposition that all things are produced by only one cause, namely the Creator. [...]

The sixth inference: The desires [of sentient beings] and conditions can occur even when you claim that the desires and conditions do not occur, because you state that the nature of the God is without beginning and end, like the time when other things occur. [...]

The seventh inference: The desires [of the sentient beings] and conditions can occur even in the place where you claim that the desires and conditions do not occur, because you state that the nature of the God is ubiquitous, like the place where other things occur.¹¹

As has been noted, when criticizing based on the way of *inmyō*, [opponents] might stop their tongue even if [they are] one hundred Christians.¹²

It is reasonable to think that Kira's view of the relationship between the Creator and Maheśvara was influenced by Higuchi Ryūon 樋口龍温 (1800–1885),¹³ a master of Kira who led the anti-Christian and *gohō* 護法 (protecting the Buddhist dharma) movements in the Jodo Shin Otani sect. However, he did not use *inmyō* formulas to prove the problem of the Creator.

Although these inferences are not Kira's originals but are mere rewritings of Ji's criticism of the Maheśvara sect, it is reasonable to think that Kira believed in the effectiveness of *inmyō* for criticizing Christianity. He published many *inmyō* books beginning from 1881, when the imperial edict to establish the Imperial Diet was issued, and created new sample expressions on political subjects, as we shall see in the next chapter. Although the Buddhist anti-Christian movement became active in the 1880s, there were no sample expressions on Christianity in his books. His critical attitude in this period seemed to have changed from that of an exponent of traditional authorities to of a social activist.

Murakami Senshō

Murakami Senshō is known as a pioneer of the academic discipline of Buddhist history in Japan (Klautau 2012), as well as for his argument in the *Bukkyō tōitsu ron* 佛教統一論 (On the Unification of Buddhism) (from 1901 to 1905) that the Mahāyāna teachings do not stem from the historical Buddha (Mohr 2005; Ward 2005; Shields 2005). His *inmyō* works, such as *Katsuyō kōjutsu inmyōgaku zensho* 活用講述因明學全書 (Murakami 1891), *Bukkyō ronrigaku inmyō ron* 佛教論理學因明論 (1898), and so on, however, are little known.

He began to study *inmyō* under Kira Kōyō from approximately 1877. According to Murakami (1914), Kira invited Murakami to study *inmyō* and introduce it to the world of *genro dōkai* 言路洞開 (opening up of voicing one's opinion):¹⁴

At that time, **Master Kira Kōyō** said to me: [...] In the civilized world today, namely the world of *genro dōkai*, it is a great pity that *inmyō* has fallen into disuse. ***Inmyō* is a science of speech. Although it is similar to Western logic, it is different from Western logic in that it organizes and defines the rules of the debate. Since it is to be regretted that little is known about *Inmyō* today, I would like to investigate *Inmyō* very hard and introduce it to the world. Why not agree with this?**¹⁵

Murakami claimed that *inmyō* should be learned as a common science (*futsūgaku* 普通學), and criticized the traditional description in *inmyō* works:

Because I did not use traditional sample expressions but systematized new expressions concerning the present issues to describe the logical method of *inmyō*, this small book is much simpler than conventional well-known *inmyō* works. [...] Although this book is small, I believe that it will give a glimpse into *inmyō* studies to those who aim to learn common sciences. [...] *Inmyō* books of all times were founded on extraordinary sentences, uncommon naming, and syllogisms unconnected with today. Therefore, although they are large in number, they are practically dead. [...] For this reason, I strove to make sentences and naming [in this book] common, and prepare syllogisms concerning modern issues. This is the reason why I used the four characters of *katsuyō kōjutsu* 活用講述 (utilization lecture) for the title of this book.¹⁶

It is reasonable to suppose that Murakami's practical attitude to *inmyō* was influenced by Kira.¹⁷ In contrast to Kira's works, however, Murakami created new sample expressions on Christianity. For example, Murakami (1891) explains the three kinds of inference using sample expressions of God and Jesus. For the explanation of *ji hiryō* 自比量 (the inference for oneself, or the inference using what the proponent only accepts), he created the sample inference quoted below:

Thesis: **My** God should be revered.

Reason: Because **[I] accept** that [the God] said that he had deep envy.

Example: Like a devil that **[I] accept**.¹⁸

For *ta hiryō* 他比量 (the inference for others, or the inference using what the opponent only accepts):

Thesis: **Your** God is our enemy.

Reason: **[You] accept** that the charge against the ancestors of humans blamed [by God] has affected us.

Example: Like a devil that **[you] accept**.¹⁹

For *gū hiryō* 共比量 (the inference for both, or the inference using what both the proponent and opponent accept):

Thesis: **Jesus** is a general human.

Reason: Because [his body] is not different from general people's bodies.

Example: Like us.²⁰

Although the sample expression of *ji hiryō* is affirmative to Christianity, those of *ta hiryō* and *gū hiryō* are negative and/or hostile. Murakami states that *ji hiryō* is far short of *ta hiryō* and *gū hiryō*, since it is used only in unavoidable self-defense circumstances.²¹ It is likely that he tried to prove euphemistically that Christianity could not hold true.

Gonda Raifu

Gonda Raifu 權田雷斧 (1846–1934) was a Buddhist scholar monk of the Buzan sect of Shingon Buddhism (a Japanese esoteric school). He wrote a small piece of *inmyō* introduction (Gonda 1893) that exhibited a sample inference on Christianity.

Now, I give a poor example of inference to demonstrate the manner [of *inmyō*].

A Buddhist states his proposition to a Christian:

Jesus Christ is not the Savior (*thesis*).

Because [he was] nailed on the cross and killed (*reason*).

Anyone who is nailed on the cross and killed, such as a criminal, should not be regarded as the Savior (*homologous example*).

All saviors should be regarded as those who are not nailed on the cross and killed. There are no actual examples to demonstrate. (*heterologous example*)²²

Since Gonda regarded this sample inference as a logically valid one, the thesis (“Jesus Christ is not the Savior”) is logically true from his point of view. It seems appropriate to suppose that this inference is also a representation of his standpoint towards Christianity.

Inferences on Political Issues

Kira Kōyō

As I mentioned above, Kira began to publish *inmyō* works aggressively from 1881, when the imperial edict to establish the Imperial Diet was issued. According to Kira et al. (1890), on December 14, 1882, he gave an *inmyō* lecture at the request of Matsuoka Yasukowa 松岡康毅 (1846–1923), who was the president of the appellate court of Hiroshima, and began actively lecturing on *inmyō* to politicians and lawyers throughout Japan. After 1890, the year of the first general election of the members of the House of Representatives, his writing activity to promote *inmyō* seemed to end.

For those lectures, Kira used his introductory books such as *Inmyō shoho* 因明初歩 (1881) and *Inmyō tai'i* 因明大意 (1881). In those works, he repeatedly claimed that *inmyō* should be used for discussion in the government, the parliament, or the court, and gave many sample expressions based on the political issues at that time, except for Christianity.

For instance, Kira used an example of a three-part formula to criticize unequal treaties between Japan and Europe:

Thesis: Japan and so forth can punish a person who has broken the law, based

on their own laws.

Reason: Because they are independent empires.

Homologous example: Like the Russian Empire.

Heterologous example: Like the British India.²³

Another example from *Inmyō katsugen* (Kira 1884) expressed opposition to the introduction of republicanism in terms of *son'nō* 尊王 thought (a view that advocates reverence for the Emperor of Japan):

Recently in our country, however, there are some people who like to discuss politics and laws following the moment of *genro dōkai*. In addition, although born in the Empire [Japan], there are a few people who forget the nationality that has no equal in the world and flatter the republicanism of the States. [...] Although the inference stated below is not faultless and complete in the manner of the three-part formula, [...], I would like to create the new inference to demonstrate a part of utility of *inmyō* for advocates in the world and to demolish the shameless fallacy [of republicanists]. [...] Now, the ideologue of *son'nō* thought makes an inference against the republicanist and argues:

Thesis: The principle of our country that the imperial lineage should determine the ruler [of Japan] should not ever be changed.

Reason: Because it is an imperial order of an ancestor of the Emperor.

Homologous example: Like heaven and earth [which were apprehended as the eternal by the ancestor].

Heterologous example: Like the game of *go* 碁.²⁴

He also explained *jāti* 過類 regarding a republicanist as the opponent. It is clear that he was critical of republicanism.

Kira suggested restructuring *inmyō* in the style of an Aristotelian syllogism and called it *shin-shin inmyō* 新々因明 (new-new *inmyō*), compared with Dignāgean logic, which was sometimes called *shin inmyō* 新因明 (new *inmyō*). It consists of two groups of syllogism: *hyōken shiki* 表顯式 (positive syllogism) and *hanken shiki* 反顯式 (contradictory syllogism). For demonstration, he used the following example dealing with the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*Jiyū minken undō* 自由民權運動) in the 1880s:

A police officer, confronting a public speaker, argues:

• *Hyōken shiki*

First step: Like a certain public speech by Kō 甲 (*homologous example*), all public speeches recognized as sedition (*reason*) should be suppressed and dispersed (*thesis*).

Second step: Your public speech (*thesis*) is recognized as sedition (*reason*).

Third step: Therefore, your public speech should be suppressed and dispersed (*whole thesis*).

• *Hanken shiki*

First step: Like a certain public speech by Otsu 乙 (*heterologous example*), all speeches that should not be suppressed and dispersed (*thesis*) are not public speeches recognized as sedition (*reason*).

Second step: Your public speech (*thesis*) is recognized as sedition (*reason*).

Third step: Therefore, your public speech should be suppressed and dispersed (*whole thesis*).²⁵

This sample expression shows Kira's opposing position to free speech. I would like to focus attention on Kira's attitude to free speech, since, needless to say, free speech is one of the fundamental elements of democracy and Kira emphasized the importance of *inmyō* at a public discussion as we have seen before.

Takashi Dairyō and Nanjō Bun'yū

Inmyō tai'i (1887) was an informative guide of *inmyō* written by Takashi Dairyō 高志大了 (1834–1898), a scholar monk of the Shingon sect, and Nanjō Bun'yū 南條文雄 (1849–1927), who is well known for his introduction of European Buddhist studies to Japan and his studies of Sanskrit Buddhist texts. They showed a sample example on a social problem for beginners:

The first issue of *Tōron hikki* 討論筆記 [*Reports of Debates*] edited by Maruyama Namasa 丸山名政 reported a discussion as to whether or not the government should shoulder the relief of the poor.²⁶ In this case, the proponent could make inference for both [the proponent and opponent] against the opponent [like this]:

Thesis: The government (*dharmin*) has the duty to shoulder the law of the relief

of the poor.

Reason: Because it takes pleasure in equalizing our society's happiness.

Homologous example: Like a benevolent person.

Heterologous example: Like a sly person.²⁷

The sample inference is a rewrite of a part of the actual discussion reported in *Tōron hikki*. It is difficult to judge from this short example whether or not the inference expresses their policies.

Conclusion

As introduced above, some Buddhist logicians tried to apply *inmyō* to actual problems, particularly those caused by modernization and Westernization after the Meiji restoration. They seemed to believe in the effectiveness of *inmyō* as being equivalent to or better than Western logic. In particular, the promotional activities of Kira Kōyō are noteworthy. He attempted to reform the syllogism of *inmyō* to enhance the performance of *inmyō*. Since the tendency of the Japanese *inmyō* scholarship had been exegetical and commentarial, Kira's proposal of "new-new *inmyō*" was a very exceptional case, even though *inmyō* was merely an instrument for self-expression for many Buddhist logicians in Meiji Japan.

In spite of their efforts, *inmyō* did not become popular in modern Japan. In addition, scholars were disinterested in this kind of logic in the twentieth century, due to the introduction of the scriptures of Indian logic in Sanskrit and Tibetan.²⁸ However, *inmyō* studies in the Meiji period should not be ignored, since it can be regarded as one of the intellectual refutations to the West in modernizing East Asia. John Jorgensen (2014) discusses the international network between Japanese Buddhist logicians in the Meiji period and Chinese scholars of Buddhism, such as Song Shu 宋恕 (1862–1910) and his friend Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869–1963), who is also well-known as an important revolutionary in modern China. In early modern East Asia, *inmyō* or *yinming* might be one of the reliable traditions for intellectuals to confront the issues raised by the rapid modernization or Westernization, regardless of their positions or purposes.

Appendix: *Inmyō* Works in the Meiji Era

Date	Title	Author, Editor
Oct., 1877 (Meiji 10)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron chūsho kazu</i> 因明入正理論註疏科圖	Kishigami Kairei 岸上恢嶺 (1839–1885)
Nov., 1879 (Meiji 12)	<i>Inmyō sbōri mon ron kazu</i> 因明正理門論科圖	Kira Kōyō (1831–1910) and Nagai Shōdō 永井昇道 (date of birth and death unknown)
Dec., 1881 (Meiji 14)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron hōgūroku</i> 因明入正理論疏方隅錄	Kira Kōyō
Apr., 1881 (Meiji 14)	<i>Inmyō sanjūsan ka hōgūroku</i> 因明三十三過方隅錄	Kira Kōyō
Oct., 1881 (Meiji 14)	<i>Inmyō shobo</i> 因明初步	Kira Kōyō
Oct., 1881 (Meiji 14)	<i>Inmyō tai'i</i> 因明大意	Kira Kōyō
Oct., 1881 (Meiji 14)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron kachū</i> 因明入正理論科註 (Reprint)	Musō 無相 (1757–1825)
Nov., 1881 (Meiji 14)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron sho</i> 因明入正理論疏	Kira Kōyō
Apr., 1884 (Meiji 17)	<i>Inmyō sanjūsan ka honsabō kabon</i> 因明三十三過本作法科本	Kira Kōyō
May, 1884 (Meiji 17)	<i>Inmyō shobo</i> , 2nd eds.	Kira Kōyō
May, 1884 (Meiji 17)	<i>Inmyō tai'i</i> , 2nd eds.	Kira Kōyō
May, 1884 (Meiji 17)	<i>Inmyō katsugen</i> 因明活眼	Kira Kōyō
Nov., 1884 (Meiji 17)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron kabon</i> 因明入正理論科本	Kira Kōyō
Jul., 1885 (Meiji 18)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron kabon</i> 因明正理門論科本	Kira Kōyō
Aug., 1885 (Meiji 18)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron yoben</i> 因明入正理論與便	Kitabatake Dōryū 北畠道龍 (1820–1907)
Aug., 1885 (Meiji 18)	<i>Inmyō sanjūsan ka kōgi</i> 因明三十三過本作法講義	Kira Kōyō

Date	Title	Author, Editor
May, 1886 (Meiji 19)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron kachū kōhon</i> 因明入正理論科註校本	Ōuchi Seiran 大内青巒 (1845–1918)
Nov., 1887 (Meiji 20)	<i>Inmyō tai'i</i> 因明大意	Takashi Dairyō 高志大了 (1834–1898) and Nanjō Bun'yū 南條文雄 (1849–1927)
Feb., 1888 (Meiji 21)	<i>Inmyō sanjūsan ka honsabō sange</i> 因明三十三過本作法纂解	Sugihara, Shundō 杉原春洞 and Sebe, Etō 瀬邊惠燈 (d.u.)
Mar., 1888 (Meiji 21)	<i>Bukkyō enzetsu tatsuben no jutsu</i> 佛教演說達弁之術	Itō Yōjirō 伊東洋二郎 and Sakaguchi Magane 阪口鐵 (d.u.)
Apr., 1888 (Meiji 21)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron kōsan</i> 因明入正理論講讚	Zōun 雜雲 (1824–1884)
Apr., 1888 (Meiji 21)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron yōroku</i> 因明入正理論要錄	Hōun 寶雲 (1791–1847) and Sanada Jitsujō 真田實淨 (d.u.)
Nov., 1888 (Meiji 21)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron kachū</i> 因明入正理論科註	Kishigami Kairei and Yanagisawa Kōson 柳澤迎存 (d.u.)
Jan., 1889 (Meiji 22)	<i>Kairyō shinsen sekkyō gaku</i> 改良新撰說教學	Ozawa Yoshiyuki 小澤吉行 (d.u.)
Mar., 1889 (Meiji 22)	<i>Tōyō shinsin inmyō hikki: ichimei nibon katsu ronri</i> 東洋新々因明發揮: 一名日本活論理	Kira Kōyō
Jul., Sep., and Oct., 1889 (Meiji 22)	“Inmyō ni tsukite 因明につきて,” 1–3. <i>Tetsugaku kai zasshi</i> 哲學會雜誌, 3(29, 31, 32).	Ōnishi Hajime (1864–1899)
Aug., 1889 (Meiji 22)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron kōgi</i> 因明入正理論講義	Yoshida Shōon 吉田清音 (d.u.) and Terao Kakuen 寺尾覺演 (d.u.)
Oct., 1889 (Meiji 22)	<i>Shūgaku senmon kō shaken bikkiroku</i> 宗學專門校試驗筆記錄	Takashima Takashi 高島隆 (d.u.)
Jan., 1890 (Meiji 23)	<i>Tōyō ronri ippan: ichimei inmyō gaku</i> 東洋論理一斑: 一名因明學	Wada Daien 和田大圓 (d.u.)
Mar., 1890 (Meiji 23)	<i>Tsūzoku inmyō gaku</i> 通俗因明學	Itō Yōjirō

Date	Title	Author, Editor
Jun., 1890 (Meiji 23)	<i>Tōyō shinsbin inmyō ippan</i> 東洋新々因明一斑	Kira Kōyō
Aug. and Oct., 1890 (Meiji 23)	“Kira Kōyō shi no doku tetsugaku kai zasshi inmyō ron 雲英晃耀氏の読哲學會雜誌因明論,” 1–2. <i>Tetsugaku kai zasshi</i> 4(42, 44).	Ōnishi Hajime
Dec., 1890 (Meiji 23)	<i>Inmyō gaku kyōkai boukoku</i> 因明學協會報告	Kira Kōyō and Kira Ryūgo 雲英竜護 (d.u.)
Sep., 1891 (Meiji 24)	<i>Hyōdō inmyō nissōri ron kachū</i> 評導因明入正理論科註	Hirō'oka Ryōei 廣陵了榮 (d.u.)
Nov., 1891 (Meiji 24)	<i>Katsuyō kōjutsu inmyō gaku zensho</i> 活用講述因明學全書	Murakami Senshō (1851– 1929)
1891 (Meiji 24) (?)	<i>Ronri gaku</i> 論理學 (a lecture record of Tokyo senmon gakkō)	Ōnishi Hajime
Feb., 1892 (Meiji 25)	<i>Kōtei inmyō nissōri ron zokusen</i> 校訂因明入正理論俗詮	Gihan 義範 (1023–1088) and Chikuwan 竹灣 (d.u.)
Jun., and Oct., 1892 (Meiji 25), Jan., Apr., Jul., and Sep., 1893 (Meiji 26)	“Keishiki teki ronri gaku no sandan ronpō, inmyō no sanshi sahō narabini Miru no kinōsoku wo ronzu 形式的論理學の三段論法、因明の 三支作法並びにミルの歸納則を論ず。” <i>Tetsugaku zasshi</i> , 7(64, 68, 71), 8(74, 77, 79).	Ōnishi Hajime
Feb., 1893 (Meiji 26)	<i>Inmyō nissōri ron kōgi</i> 因明入正理論講義	Kira Kōyō
Jul., 1893 (Meiji 26)	<i>Tōyō ronri hō inmyō rakusō</i> 東洋論理法因明落草	Gonda Raifu (1846–1934)
Aug., 1893 (Meiji 26)	<i>Kira Kōyō shi kōwa</i> 雲英晃耀師講話	Kira Kōyō
Dec., 1893 (Meiji 26)	<i>Inmyō ron sho keimon shoben</i> 因明論疏啓門 初編	Terajima Ichibun 寺島一文 (d.u.)
Jan., 1894 (Meiji 27)	<i>Enzetsu tatsuben hō: Seiji gaku jutsu</i> 演說達弁法: 政治學術	Tankai Sanshi 淡海散士 (d.u.)

Date	Title	Author, Editor
Aug., 1894 (Meiji 27)	<i>Ebon saiji inmyō nissōri ron hōgū roku</i> 會本再治 因明入正理論疏方隅錄	Kira Kōyō
Sep., 1894 (Meiji 27)	<i>Inmyō wakumon</i> 因明或問	Matsu'ura Shūdō 松浦周道 (d.u.)
1895 (Meiji 28)	<i>Ronrigaku</i> 論理學 (a lecture record of Tokyō senmon gakkō)	Ōnishi Hajime
Feb., 1897 (Meiji 30)	<i>Gedō tetsugaku</i> 外道哲學	Inoue Enryō (1858–1919)
Mar., 1897 (Meiji 30)	<i>Inmyō gaku no gairyaku</i> 因明學之概略	Hatakeyama Shōzō 畠山省三 (d.u.)
Sep., 1897 (Meiji 30)	<i>Bukkyō tsūzoku kōgi: Inmyō gaku tai'i, Sanjūsan ka honsabō kōgi</i> 佛教通俗講義: 因明學大意·三十三過本作法講義	Murakami Senshō and Ikehara Gaju (1850–1924)
Nov., 1897 (Meiji 30)	<i>Ikyō taiwa: ichimei inmyō jutsu</i> 異教對話: 一名因明術	Ama Tokumon 阿滿得聞 (1826–1906)
1897 (Meiji 30)	論理學 (a lecture record of Tokyō rigakusenmon gakkō)	Ōnishi Hajime
1898 (Meiji 31)	<i>Bukkyō rika kōgi</i> 佛教理科講義	Inoue Enryō
1898 (Meiji 31)	<i>Bukkyō ronri gaku inmyō ron</i> 佛教論理學因明論	Murakami Senshō
Jul., 1898 (Meiji 31)	<i>Indo tetsugaku kōyō</i> 印度哲學綱要	Inoue Enryō
Sep., 1899 (Meiji 32)	<i>Yūben bijū hō: Enzetsu tōron</i> 雄弁美辭法: 演說討論	Tōyama Keifuku 遠山景福 (d.u.)
May, 1903 (Meiji 36)	<i>Inmyō gaku kōyō</i> 因明學綱要	Imai Seikichi 今井清吉 (d.u.)
Feb., 1904 (Meiji 35)	<i>Ronrigaku</i> 論理學 (Collected works of Dr. Ōnishi Hajime, Vol. 1)	Ōnishi Hajime
Jan., 1908 (Meiji 41)	<i>Ronrigaku kōgi</i> 論理學講義	Kitagawa Sadakichi 北澤定吉 (d.u.)
Mar., 1908 (Meiji 41)	<i>Yūben hō</i> 雄弁法	Katō Totsudō 加藤咄堂 (1870–1949)

Date	Title	Author, Editor
May, 1909 (Meiji 42)	<i>Tōyō ronri gaku shi</i> 東洋論理學史	Kamura Gien 香村宜圓 (1880–1946)
Sep., 1910 (Meiji 43)	<i>Zōtei saishin ronri gaku yōgi</i> 增訂最新論理學要義, 3 rd ed.	Imafuku Shinobu 今福忍 (1873–1923)

Notes

- 1 Moro (2015b) is a comprehensive study on the debates in East Asia, especially focusing on the proof of *vijñaptimātratā* attributed to Xuanzang.
- 2 As will be shown later, Kira Kōyō proposed the new-new *inmyō* 新々因明, a reformation of the three-part formula based on Aristotle's syllogism (Moro 2015a).
- 3 抑因明ハ印度ノ論理法ニシテ其法タル立敵對揚シ自己ノ持論ヲ主張スルニ當リ條理ナクンハ止ン苟モ條理アラハ政府議院裁判所多人衆ノ中或ハ賢哲者ノ面前等何タル處所ニ於テモ言論敦肅義氣勇猛ニシテ意ニ畏レナク言ニ屈スルナク徒ニ多言ヲ費サス言簡ニシテ義通シ語少ニシテ旨貫キ勝ヲ論場ニ占ムヘキ妙術ニシテ眞ニ就キ俗ニ就キ内ニ就キ外ニ就キ社会ノ間ニ一日モ欠クヘカラサル金科玉條ナリトス殊ニ方今ノ如キ議論世界ニ於テヲヤ (Kira 1881b, 1)
- 4 See also Thelle (1987).
- 5 See also Moro (2015a).
- 6 In his short article “Inga hōni setsu 因果法爾說 (An Explanation of the Law of Cause and Effect)” (1882), Yoshitani Kakuju 吉谷覺壽 (1843–1914) also thought that God was similar to Maheśvara. He was also a scholar priest of the Jodo Shin Otani sect and is known as a teacher of Inoue Enryō 井上圓了 (1858–1919) at the University of Tokyo. See Sato (2015).
- 7 Cf. 量云、大自在天決定非常。是能生故。如地·水等。(Chengweisbi lun shuji, T 43, 262b2–3)
- 8 Cf. 大自在天決定非遍。以非常故。如瓶等物。(ibid, T 43, 262b7–8) The original “平等者” might be the writing error of “瓶等物。”
- 9 Cf. 又非真實。以不遍故。如盆等物。(ibid, T 43, 262b8–9)
- 10 Cf. 體既遍而且是常、遍故何不於一切處、常故何不於一切時、能生諸法。如彼現生處及時等。遍故。常故。即二因也。此中二量前三爲五。(ibid, T 43, 262b13–16)
- 11 Cf. 汝復若謂體雖遍常、以待樂欲并及緣故、諸法不一切處及一切時生者、今汝宗言唯大自在一法爲因、復言更待諸衆生欲及諸法緣、即多法爲因、豈不便違一因生論。[...] 大自在因一切時有、以是常故、何不衆生欲及緣一切時頓生。量云、汝言無欲及緣起時欲緣應起。許自在天體恒有故。如餘起時。此同瑜伽第六·七說。不能繁引。(ibid, T 43, 262b18–26)
- 12 然ルニ先ニ辯ズル如ク、カノヤソノ本家ハ九十五種ノ外道ノ中デハ、大自在天等ノ事天外道ノ所立ナルガ故、天主ノ能生一切萬物ト云ウガ自在天ノ能生諸法ニアタリ、天主ノ無始無終ト云フガ自在天ノ常住ト云フニアタリ、天主ノ無所不在无所不知ト云フガ自在天ノ周遍自在ニアタル。故ニ世親論主「唯識論」ニ大自在天外道ヲ破シ玉フ處ノ能破ニ順ジテ、七ケノ量ヲ立テテ彼邪道ニ止メヲサスベシ。第一ニ立量シテ云フ。汝ガ天主ハ決定シテ無始無終ニアラザルベシ。能造ノモノト云フガ故ニ、工匠等ノ如シ。[...] 第二ニ立量シテ云、汝ガ天主ハ決定シテ無所不在ニハ非ルベシ、無始無終ニ非ルヲ以テ、平等ノ者ノ如シ。[...] 第三立量シテ云、汝ガ天主ハ決定シテ無所不知ニハ非ルベシ、無所不在ニ非ルガ故ニ、盆等ノ者ノ如シ。[...] 第四ニ立量シテ云、汝天主ハ一切處ニオイテ、頓ニ一切法ヲ生ズベシ、カノ現ニ生ズル所ノ如シ。[...] 第五立量シテ云ク、汝天主ハ、一切時ニオイテヨク諸法ヲ生ズベシ。體スデニ無始無終ト云フガユエニ、カノ現ニ生ズル時ノ如シ。[...] 此義ヲ第六ニ立量シテ云、汝欲ト及ビ緣起ルコトナシト云フトキモ、欲ト緣トマサニオコルベシ。天主ノ體無始無終トユルスガユエニ、余ノオコルトキノ如シ。

- [...] 又處ヲ難ズル量ヲ第七ニ立テ云ク、汝欲ト及ビ縁オコルコトナシト云フ。處ニモ、欲ト縁トマサニオコルベシ。天主ノ體無所不在トユルスガユエニ、余ノオコルトコロノ如シ。如此因明論道ヲ以テ、立量シテ難ゼバ、百ヤソ出ルト云ヘドモ、恐ラク舌ヲ盡シテヤミヌベシ。(Tokushige 1935, 303–304)
- 13 ...凡ソ今時歐羅巴ノ全洲并ニミリカノ合衆国、弘ル處ノ耶蘇教、此度關東横濱ノ夷人ミナ是ヲ宗トスル。此教海外ニ盛ント起ルコト實ニ慨嘆スベシ。其大意ハ全ク耶蘇トイヘル者ガ立ル處ノ教ニシテ、其本ハ古ク天竺ニ伝ル事天外道ナルコト必セリ。別シテイヘバ大自在天ノ計ヨリ出ルト、私ニハ左様ニスハリテ見ル心也。(Tokushige 1935, 146)
- 14 For details of *genro dokai*, see Lai (2013).
- 15 この時雲英晃耀師が吾輩に対して言へるやう、[...]今日の文明世界、即ちこの言路洞開の世の中にあつて、この因明学の廢れて居るのは、如何にも残念である。因明は言論の學問である。西洋のロジックと相似て居るやうなものゝ、彼れよりも異なる所は、甲乙相對して問答する時の言論に関する規則を整理し、之を確定せしものである。これが今日の世の中にあつて人に知られぬといふことは誠に惜むべき次第である。依て我れ是より此の因明学を大に研究し世界に之れを紹介せんと思、貴公も之に同意しては如何といふ相談であつた。(Murakami 1914, 167–169)
- 16 余ハ古來慣用ノ論法ヲ用ヒス、凡テ現今ノ事件ニ就テ新工夫ノ論法ヲ組織シ、以テ因明ノ論理法ヲ説明スルカ故ニ、古來流行ノ因明書ニ比スレハ大ニ簡略ナル一冊子トナレリ。[...] 一冊子ナレトモ、余ハ此ニテ普通学ニ志ス者ノ因明学一斑ヲ知ラントスルニハ事足レリト信スル者ナリ。[...] 古今因明学ノ書籍ハ[...] 其文章ノ通常ナラサルト、其名目ノ普通ナラサルト、其論法ノ今日ニ關係ナキ事柄ナルトノ三件ニ原由スルモノナリ。故ニ其書多シト雖モ、殆ト死物ト成レル狀況ナリ。[...] 故ニ余ハ務メテ文章并ニ名目ヲ普通ニシ、且ツ論法ハ凡テ現今ノ事情ニ就テ設ケタリ。是レ本書ノ題上ニ活用講述ノ四字ヲ冠ラセタル所以ナリ。(Murakami 1891, 3–4).
- 17 According to Murakami (1914, 269–270), Inoue Enryō's *Bukkyō katsuron joron* also had an effect on Murakami's pragmatism.
- 18 宗 我が神は畏敬すへし／因 自ら嫉妬の心深しと云と許すが故に／喻 許す魔鬼の如し (Murakami 1891, 176).
- 19 宗 汝が神は吾人の怨敵なるべし／因 人祖を咎むるの餘冤後裔の吾人に及ふと許すが故に／喻 許す魔鬼の如し (Murakami 1891, 178–179).
- 20 宗 耶蘇は通常一般の人類なるへし／因 普通人種の體軀に異ならざるが故に／喻 吾人の如し (Murakami 1891, 181).
- 21 凡ソ斯ノ如キ自比量ノ論法ハ止ヲ得サルニ出ルモノナレハ 其共比量他比量ニ及ハサルヲ遠シ只是レ立者自家ノ城廓ヲ漸クニ保チ得ル迄ニ止リテ 敵者ヲ進撃スルカモナク又敵者ヲ誘フテ立者ノ主義ニ同意セシムルヲモ能ハサル自守的論法ナルモノ也 (Murakami 1891, 178).
Murakami's understanding of *ji hiryō* is quite different from the Indian concept of *svārtha-anumāna*.
- 22 今且ク愚案ノ一比量ヲ提出シテ之ニ就テ作法ヲ示サン謂ク佛敎者カ耶蘇敎徒ニ對シテ立量シテ云ク
耶蘇基督非救世主(宗)釘十字架死故(因)
諸釘十字架死者見彼皆非救世主猶如餘犯罪人(同喻)

諸救世主者見彼皆非釘十字架死喻依無法不舉之(異喩)(Gonda 1893, 3-4).

23 日本人民英仏等ノ政府ニ対シテ立量シテ云ク

日本等ハ宗之赫可_レ得_レ以_テ其國律ヲ_レ処スル_ヲ犯ス其ノ國律_ヲ人宗之義

獨立ノ帝國ナルカ故ニ_レ因

猶_シ如_シ魯國_ノ同喩

猶_シ如_シ英領印度等_ノ異喩 (Kira 1881, 6-7).

24 然ルニ近頃本邦言路洞開ノ盛時ニ乗ジ或ハ好ミテ政ヲ議シ律ヲ論ジ甚キニ至リテハ其ノ身皇國ニ生レ乍ラ掛ケ卷モ畏キ万國無比ノ御國体アルヲ忘レ動モスレバ彼ノ合衆國ノ共和ノ政治ヲ艷稱スルモノ世間未ダ必ズシモ其ノ人ナカラズトス忌ミ憚リナキノ甚キ者ト云フベシ [...]

今マ立スル所ノ本量ハ三支作法ニ於テ無過圓滿ニハ非ザルベケレドモ [...]

別ニ一箇ノ新比量ヲ建立シ以テ此ノ因明活用ノ一斑ヲ世間ノ論士ニ識知セシメ併セテ彼ノ無忌無憚ノ妄論ヲ粉碎塵散セシメント欲ス [...]

サテ尊王論師ガ共和論師ニ対シテ正ニ立量シテ云ク

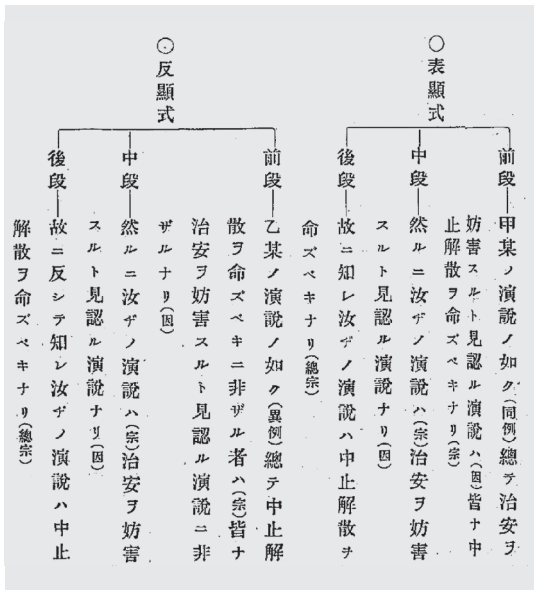
我_ノ國ノ皇統可_レ王_ハ有_レ法_ニ不可_レ變_ス能_レ別

天祖ノ遺教ナルカ故ニ_レ因

猶_シ如_シ天壤_ノ同喩

猶_シ如_シ奕碁等_ノ異喩 (Kira 1884, 22-24).

25



(Kira 1889, 90-92).

26 Maruyama (1881, 12-26). This discussion was held at Kokuyūkai 國友会, a political enlightenment group established in 1880. Maruyama (1881) also includes other discussions regarding the legislative power of judges, the public election of judges, and women's suffrage.

27 丸山名政氏ヲ編輯セル討論筆記第一號ノ中ニ 貧民救助ヲ政府ニ負擔スル義務アリヤ否ヤトノ論アリ 今發論者ヲ以テ立者トシ反對論者ヲ以テ敵者トシ共比量ヲ成セバ 政府<有法>ハ

極貧民救助法ヲ負擔スル義務アルベシ(宗)吾人社会ノ幸福ヲ均フスルヲ愉快トスルガ故ニ(因)
 慈仁者ノ如シ(同喩)悪奸者ノ如シ(異喩) (Takashi and Nanjō 1887, 6).

- 28 My paper on the *inmyō* studies in Meiji Japan will be published in Chinese, titled “Míngzhì shíqī de yīnmíng yánjiū” 明治时期的因明研究. It will summarize the trend of research of Indian logic in the early twentieth century in Japan.

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