

## Shamon Dōgen at Ninety

William M. Bodiford

Shamon Dōgen is ninety years old. Actually, more than ninety years have passed since “Shamon Dōgen” first appeared in the magazines *Shinshōsetsu* (New Fiction) and *Shisō* (Thought), where in a series of short installments published between the years 1920 to 1923 Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960) introduced him to the world. Let me be clear: when I refer to person named Shamon Dōgen, I am not writing about that other Dōgen, not that person who Watsuji describes as “being regarded as a founder within a certain religious denomination” (*shūso to suru aru shūha*; p. 240).<sup>1</sup> I want to examine Shamon Dōgen on his own terms (as Watsuji did), not in terms of the “Dōgen” heretofore described in premodern Buddhist texts. Watsuji informs us that after he (Watsuji) read about that earlier Dōgen whose life is told in traditional Buddhist biographies, he knew that the previous Dōgen had already been murdered (*korosarete ita*; p. 244) by his own religious denomination. The Shamon Dōgen under examination here is the newly born — or, perhaps, reborn or resurrected — Dōgen. He is a modern Japanese who addresses a new age and a new audience. Watsuji not only brought him to life, but also prophesized that that this new Shamon Dōgen can become the Dōgen for all of human-kind (*jinrui no Dōgen*; p. 244). Watsuji suggested that can “become our Dōgen” (*ware-ware no Dōgen ni naru*; p. 244), the Dōgen for everyday Japanese.

Watsuji’s prophesy has been remarkably accurate. Watsuji reprinted his essay about Shamon Dōgen in 1926 in his *Studies on the Spiritual History*

---

<sup>1</sup> Unless indicated otherwise, all citations are to the 1926 edition available online via National Diet Library Digital Collections. The glyphs and punctuation are reproduced as they appear therein.

*of Japan (Nihon seishin shi kenkyū)*. This volume has been reprinted repeatedly 1940; 1961; 1970; 1991; 1992; 2002; 2005). It is still available for sale in bookstores today. It is available on-line in digital versions. It has informed countless people, both Buddhists and non-Buddhists, about Shamon Dōgen. Previously only a relatively few devout Buddhists had studied the old Dōgen according to various traditional Buddhist approaches. But after Watsuji introduced the world to the new Shamon Dōgen, both Buddhists and non-Buddhists began to study this new Shamon Dōgen in accordance with innovative approaches that went beyond the narrow boundaries of traditional Buddhist norms. And just as Watsuji predicted, in this way a seemingly endless number of people have found their own personal version of Dōgen. Today we can see that Shamon Dōgen has given birth to many different versions of Dōgen. To list just a few of the most prominent examples, we can identify:

Dōgen, the Religious Innovator (1944)

Dōgen, the Zen Master (1953)

Dōgen, the Internationalist (1958)

Dōgen, the Literatus (1965)

Dōgen, the Philosopher (1970)

— and —

Dōgen, the Human Being (1970)

This list, and the dates assigned to each version, represents my own idiosyncratic impressions. Other observers could easily suggest a different list or assign other dates. But I think it is safe to say that all of these new versions of Dōgen have their roots in Watsuji's Shamon Dōgen. At ninety years of age, Shamon Dōgen is still full of vitality. He has lived a long life, but he shows no signs of slowing down. He is unlikely to retire soon.

Today, after some ninety years, it will be instructive to review a few of the features and achievements of the new versions of Dōgen. Taken together, they provide a way for us to see what Shamon Dōgen has

accomplished and what work he has yet to complete. I think there still remains more to Dōgen. But I had better not get ahead of the story. I want to begin at the beginning with the original Shamon Dōgen — that is to say: the Dōgen of Watsuji Tetsurō.

### **Dōgen, the Shamon (1923)**

Shamon Dōgen begins life at the crux of the conflict between timeless truth and the particularities of individual human events. Watsuji clearly states this issue. He asks how can the methods of cultural history (p. 238) possibly say anything meaningful about an exalted religious figure? It is not just Watsuji who asks this question. It is a central issue faced by all secular scholars of religion. In other words: when we study religious figures solely in terms of their actual historical context — stripped of the legendary, the miraculous, and the supernatural — do we not ignore and thereby distort the most important things about them?

In Europe this question was epitomized by the so-called “quest for the human Jesus.” In the nineteenth century a new generations of scholars began to apply methods of historical analysis to the Christian gospels in an attempt to locate the Christ figure within history. Some of their books were enormously popular. The French publication, *Vie de Jésus* (1863) by Ernest Renan (1823–1892), for example, initially sold so many copies that it was translated into English the same year of its publication (as: *Life of Jesus*) and both versions have remained in print ever since.

By the early 20th century, though, this kind of scholarship became discredited. It suffered three serious setbacks. First, in 1892 the theologian Martin Kähler (1835–1912) published an essay titled “The So-called Historical Jesus and the Historic, Biblical Christ” (German: *Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche, biblische Christus*) in which he argued that the Christ of religious faith ultimately is more real than the so-called Jesus of history. Second, in 1901 the textual scholar William Wrede (1859–

1906) published “The Messianic Secret” (German: *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*) in which he used the techniques of redaction criticism to demonstrate that the Christian scriptures record theological narratives, not historical ones. Finally, in 1906 Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) published “The Quest of the Historical Jesus” (German: *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*) in which he demonstrated that the new historical biographies of Jesus actually reveal more about the worldviews of their present-day authors than they do about the historical world of Jesus. The quest for a historical Jesus thereupon all but ceased to command the attention of most major scholars.

In 1910 (the same year that Schweitzer’s book was translated into English), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) published an essay titled “Leonardo da Vinci, A Memory of His Childhood” (German: *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*). In this essay Freud used his newly developed techniques of psychoanalysis to describe the life of Leonardo (1452–1519) — the famous Italian artist and inventor who lived 400 years earlier — in terms of his character, personality, and sexuality. Freud based his analysis on a single fragment of a memory from Leonardo’s childhood (recorded in a single sentence of less than 10 lines in the English translation) and on a few of Leonardo’s his well-known paintings. With this essay Freud breathed new life into the writing of historical biography. He demonstrated that even the briefest fragments of narratives, even a limited number of non-textual sources, can yield new insights about the life and times of historical figures when analyzed with imaginative and innovative techniques.

I do not wish to suggest that Watsuji’s approach to Shamon Dōgen was influenced by these specific European publications. I do not know if Watsuji had direct knowledge of them. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that Watsuji knew the contemporary religious debates in European intellectual circles. He read German fluently — as demonstrated by his first two published books, which concerned Nietzsche (1913) and Kierkegaard (1915). He introduces his approach to Shamon Dōgen by explaining in detail

the religious implications of distinguishing the historical Jesus (*Nazare no Iesu*) from the Christ (*Kirisuto*) figure (p. 248–251). And one of his essays, “The Reception of Buddhism in the Suiko Period.” (Japanese: *Suiko jidai ni okeru bukkō juyō no shikata ni suite*) — which he published in 1922 at the same time he was writing about Shamon Dōgen — provides a innovative psychological analysis of the spiritual significance of Buddhist icons in early Japan. Clearly, Watsuji was grappling with the same methodological issues as were his counterparts in Europe. He applied similar methods of historical analysis to re-evaluate how Japanese people of previous ages had articulated timeless spiritual truth within the particular circumstances of their own historical situations. By so doing, he charted a new approach to the new Dōgen he uncovered.

Watsuji rejects outright any possible assertion that, as a religious figure, Shamon Dōgen can be understood only within his religious framework or only via the practice of Zen meditation (*zazen* 坐禪) in a Zen temple. Watsuji rejects out of hand the assertions that any religion could have an exclusive claim to truth (Bellah 1965). Moreover, Watsuji objects that nowadays Zen temples no longer embody Dōgen’s ideals. Entering a Zen temple, therefore, could not bring one closer to Dōgen, but would only cause one to become even more distant (*Dōgen kara tōzakaruru yuen*; p. 240). Instead, Shamon Dōgen should be studied through his writings: If that is not the case, then “why else would he have written so many?” (p. 238–239). Since Dōgen’s writings are freely available, anyone can study Dōgen directly. By studying Dōgen’s writings, anyone can discover Dōgen’s truth.

Watsuji saw truth (*logos*; p. 247) — be it spiritual, religious, or philosophical — as something that must be expressed in particular historical circumstances, but which always exists apart from any particular expression (p. 248–251). The same truth can find different expressions in different cultures. For this reason he freely quotes passages from Christian scriptures to explicate key points regarding Japan or Shamon Dōgen. Most important, Japanese people in their own times and places also had

expressed the truth discussed by people in other cultures of the world. During Japan's Kamakura period (conventionally dated from 1185 to 1333), for example, Buddhists started three new religious denomination in the basic format of the three main religious topologies of the world: Pure Land (Nenbutsushū 念佛宗) corresponds Christian ideals, Lotus (Hokkeshū 法華宗) corresponds to Islamic ideals, while Zen corresponds to the philosophical and practical ideals of original Buddhism (*honrai no bukkuyō* 本來の佛教; 1935, 175–176). According to Watsuji, what was most remarkable about this period, though, was not its new religious movements, but rather the force with which Buddhists in that age extolled a world within which values would be forever present (*eion ni genzai naru kachi no sekai* 永遠に現在なる價值の世界; p. 259).

Watsuji describes Shamon Dōgen as being especially uncompromising in his fervor to establish a kingdom of truth (p. 282) devoted to everlasting values (p. 283). Because Shamon Dōgen was devoted exclusively to this ideal, he did nothing to help the many starving poor people around him (p. 279). He avoided political patronage (p. 282). He did not practice Buddhism for the sake of establishing temples. He did not try to attract many disciples (p. 282). Instead, he simply practiced Buddhism for the sake of Buddhism. Watsuji exclaims that Shamon Dōgen demonstrates that the ideal of “pursuit of truth for the sake of truth itself definitely was not a feature unique to Greek culture” (*Girishia bunka* 希臘文化; p. 295). Watsuji extols the purity of purpose with which Dōgen pursued truth (p. 262). In other words, Watsuji describes Shamon Dōgen in idealistic terms as someone unconcerned with the conventional worldly matters.

Watsuji bases his description of this pure Shamon Dōgen primarily on two texts: the *Record of Occasional Remarks* (*Zuimonki* 隨聞記; a.k.a. *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 正法眼藏隨聞記) — which he quotes extensively and cites by name at least 21 times (and quotes at least 3 more times without citation) — and the *Advice for Studying the Way* (*Gakudō yōjinki* 學道用心集) — which he quotes and cites by name 7 times. Both of these texts date from

the early years of Dōgen's teaching career. Watsuji also introduces excerpts from the *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏), Dōgen's most famous work, by discussing 4 of its 95 chapters:

Obeisance and Get the Marrow (Raihai tokuzui 禮拜得髓)

Buddha Nature (Busshō 佛性)

Sayings (Dōtoku 道得)

Twinning Vines (Kattō 葛藤)

Watsuji's comments on these chapters are memorable not for their content but for their style. He does not hesitate to introduce parallels from Christian scriptures (e.g., p. 343), German philosophy — with both explicit (e.g., pp. 352, 373, 377, 380) and implicit references (see Steineck 2018) — and comments on divisive social issues (e.g., p. 338). He praises Shamon Dōgen for his innovations, which he says are otherwise rarely found in Eastern Thought (p. 371). In this way Watsuji presents Shamon Dōgen as someone who engages the concerns of today's world.

Based on this brief summary, I think we can see that Watsuji did not just introduce the figure of Shamon Dōgen to a general audience. Rather, his key accomplishment was to introduce a new way of thinking about and studying Shamon Dōgen. First, he focuses on the personal character and motives of Shamon Dōgen, especially as depicted by sources from the early years of his career. Second, he refuses to allow his interpretation of Shamon Dōgen to be confined to Zen or to any single religious tradition. Shamon Dōgen must be interpreted in terms of universal values. Third, he uses vocabulary and ideals from Christians thought and from European philosophers to place Shamon Dōgen into conversation with these worldwide conceptual frameworks. Finally, Watsuji presents him as an innovator who can serve as a role model for all Japanese people and, indeed, for all people everywhere. In short, Shamon Dōgen constitutes a modern way of thinking about and imagining "Dōgen." This modern Dōgen can easily supplant or replace the Dōgen of religious tradition. Watsuji's manner of approaching Dōgen thereupon becomes the foundation from which there will emerge many successive versions of Shamon Dōgen. I will

briefly review a few of the more significant successors.

### **Dōgen, the Religious Innovator (1944)**

Shamon Dōgen did not simply pursue truth and values as described by Watsuji. He also established a religious organization that not only survived his death but also grew over time to become one of Japan's largest network of Buddhist temples, with one of its largest denominations of lay believers. Today this denomination constitutes the Sōtō School (Sōtōshū 曹洞宗). In 1944 Etō Sokuō 衛藤即應 (1888–1958) published “Zen Master Dōgen as a Founding Ancestor” (*Shūso to shite no Dōgen zenji* 宗祖としての道元禪師) in which he attributes the historical growth and religious vitality of the Sōtō School directly to the religious teachings of Dōgen. I refer to this Dōgen, not as the Founding Ancestor” (*shūso* 宗祖) — the term used in the title of Etō's book — but as a “religious innovator” (*shūkyō kaikakusha* 宗教改革者) because this label more accurately characterizes the Dōgen described by Etō. According to Etō's account, Dōgen is not simply the individual who stands at the beginning of the Sōtō tradition in Japan (or someone who merely transplants the existing Sōtō tradition from China to Japan). Of course, Dōgen does that, but more importantly he also is responsible for giving it the essential religious characteristics that make it suitable for modern people in modern Japan.

Etō never mentions Watsuji, but it is clear that he wants to refute him. In his forward (*shogen* 緒言) he states that Dōgen is not a philosopher (p. 12) and that those who try to make him into one are attempting to strip him of his black Buddhist robes (p. 14). Whereas Watsuji dismisses religion, Etō appraises Dōgen strictly in religious terms. Whereas Watsuji (p. 277) characterizes the faith of Pure Land Buddhism as being akin to superstition (*meishin* 迷信), Etō (p. 46) describes faith (*shinnen* 信念) as a living religion that provides salvation to society. Etō repeatedly discusses Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262) and Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282) — two of Dōgen's near contemporaries who advocated faith based exclusively on Pure Land or

Lotus teachings, respectively. Whereas Watsuji contrasts the philosophical and practical orientation of Dōgen's Zen with appeals to religious faith, Etō draws parallels among them to emphasize that Dōgen helped establish the centrality of faith for Buddhism of Japan. Whereas Watsuji uses the terminology of German philosophers, Etō cites German theologians in his analysis. For example, Etō quotes Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) at length — both in his own Japanese translation of *On Religion* (1799) and in the original German (p. 217–218; 229–230) — to clarify Dōgen's approach to the relationship between faith and scriptures. But it would be incorrect to say that Etō ignores philosophers. He also cites Hans Vaihinger (1852–1933) and his philosophy of “as if” (German: *Philosophie des Als Ob*) as a key work for better understanding Dōgen's approach to ritual practice.

Etō describes Dōgen as teaching a religion of faith. In this regard, he responds to the controversies over correct faith (*shōshin ronsō* 正信論争) that had roiled the Sōtō School in the 1930s (see Nagai 1981). In very brief terms, according to Etō the faith taught by Dōgen has three key foundations, each one of which impresses profound theological implications despite its apparent simplicity. First, Dōgen taught authentic Buddhism (*shōden no buppō* 正傳の佛法), free of all sectarian divisions and petty rivalries. Second, this authentic Buddhism can be a source of spiritual support precisely because it has been conferred face-to-face (*menju shihō* 面授嗣法) by an unbroken succession of religious ancestors going back to the Buddha. Third, this Buddhism and its conferral is performed as a religion of veneration (*raihai no shūkyō* 禮拜の宗教). Etō's account of Dōgen's religion makes room for ordinary people — both the clergy in Buddhist religious orders as well as lay people who have only casual or familial relations to Sōtō Buddhist temple — to participate in Dōgen's religion. In contrast to the uncompromising purist portrayed by Watsuji, Etō's Dōgen is a religious innovator who unites the clerical transmission authentic Buddhism with the ceremonies of worship performed by lay people. In this way Dōgen establishes and validates the day-to-day religious roles of Sōtō temples in modern Japanese society.

Etō cites a wide range of Dōgen’s writings to explicate each aspect of Dōgen’s religion. Two of his most crucial quotations come from the *Advice for Studying the Way* (*Gakudō yōjinki*) where it states that Buddhist practice must begin with “confidence in the Way of the Buddhas (*senshu shin butsudō* 先須信佛道 ; DZZ 5.285) and the answer to the third question in the *Talk on Pursuing the Way* (*Bendōwa* 辨道話), which states that only someone with correct faith (*shōshin* 正信 ; DZZ 2.465–466) can begin to understand the buddhas. The crucial works cited by Etō (like the ones cited by Watsuji) date to the very beginnings of Dōgen’s teaching career.

### **Dōgen, the Zen Master (1953)**

Watsuji (p. 244) proclaimed that previous Buddhist hagiographies (i.e., religious biographies) of Dōgen, with their worldly values and unbelievable miracles, slandered (*bujoku* 侮辱) the actual achievements of Dōgen. In 1953 Ōkubo Dōshū 大久保道舟 (1896–1994) swept away the earlier hagiographies and replaced them with his ground-breaking “Researches in the Life of Zen Master Dōgen” (*Dōgen zenjiden no kenkyū* 道元禪師傳の研究). This is the first biographical study of Dōgen to be based entirely on primary sources, the earliest available historical documents. Ōkubo did not repeat any of the pious legends of earlier hagiographies. Instead, he critiques them and points out their faults and biases (1953, 22–33; 1966, 20–35). As much as possible he cross-checked facts by comparing first-person accounts with third-party records, contemporaneous documents, diaries, letters, inscriptions, material objects, and so forth. In his researches he carefully cite each piece of evidence and evaluates its reliability.

Just as important, Ōkubo examines all aspects of Dōgen’s life within the context of Dōgen’s own historical period, geographical locations, and social standings. Ōkubo does not present Dōgen as an abstraction or an ideal type. Instead, Ōkubo describes Dōgen as someone who has a position in society and who acts in relationship to others according to their respective social positions. In other words, Ōkubo investigates Dōgen’s

place of birth, family connections, education, entry into Buddhist orders, Buddhist training, travel to China, relations with Chinese Buddhists, relations with Japanese Buddhists, fundraising campaigns, temple construction projects, efforts to recruit students, relations with wealthy patrons and government sponsors and so forth. Almost all of these activities involve the kinds of worldly concerns that Watsuji's Shamon Dōgen supposedly had rejected. Moreover, Ōkubo provides our first detailed account of Dōgen's religious congregations (*sōdan* 僧團). He reveals data regarding how Dōgen functioned as an actual "Zen master" — someone who works hard to establish and maintain Zen temples, raise funds, teach Zen students, administer Zen communities, promulgate rules and regulations, appoint officers, delegate responsibilities, and arbitrate disputes among his followers. As a Zen Master, Dōgen is not just a teacher of Zen. He has responsibility for managing his institution, his community of students, and serving his patrons.

Today we can no longer agree with every conclusion Ōkubo reached. Many of his findings must be revised in the light of subsequent scholarship. Nonetheless, thanks to his research (and the topics of inquiry he identified) today we have a good sense of Dōgen as a social actor within a specific historical time and place, and we know fairly well what it meant to function as a Zen master under those circumstances.

### **Dōgen, the Internationalist (1958)**

In 1958 Masunaga Reihō 增永靈鳳 (1902–1981) published *The Sōtō Approach to Zen*, the first book-length monograph written in English to focus exclusively on the teachings of Dōgen. It includes English translations from several of Dōgen's most notable compositions: "Sometimes" (Uji 有時); "Birth and Death" (Shōji 生死); "Universal Promotion of the Principles of Seated Meditation" (*Fukanzazengi* 普勸坐禪儀); "The Realized Kōan" (Genjōkōan 現成公案); and *Talk on Pursuing the Way* (*Bendōwa*). Because this work was published only in Japan, it did not necessarily enjoy a wide

audience around the world. Nonetheless, I regard it as a significant harbinger of what was to come. By the 1950s Shamon Dōgen had become an Internationalist. He began to speak English. His thoughts, words, sentences, and essays all appeared in English. Soon he would also be translated into other European languages, such as German, French, Spanish, and many others.

Once Shamon Dōgen began to speak the languages of the world, he became a participant in the cultures of the world. While he forever remains a product of Japan, his life is no longer confined to places where only the Japanese language is spoken. Just as is the case with so many other remarkable products and cultural developments of Japan — architecture, visual arts, food, textiles, clothing, cinema, television, literature, poetry, games, martial arts, and so forth — Shamon Dōgen began to journey within and to become as much a part of the world community as he already had become a part of Japan's own cultural fabric.

Masunaga depicts Dōgen both as a unique religious figure and as a philosopher of contemporary importance. He explains that Dōgen's "meditative thoroughness" (p. 56) provides his philosophical insights with special depth. Masunaga (p. 69) compares Dōgen's ideas on time with those of Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) in his *Being and Time* (1927; German: *Sein und Zeit*) as well as (p. 71) with the notion of "pure duration" (*durée pure*) proposed by Henri Bergson (1859–1941).

Masunaga made another important contribution to the internalization of Dōgen in 1971 when he released *A Primer of Soto Zen* (published by the University of Hawaii Press), his complete English translation of the *Record of Occasional Remarks (Zuimonki)*. We should take note of the title of this translation. Masunaga presents the *Record of Occasional Remarks* as an introduction to Soto Zen as a whole. I will return to this important point below. *A Primer of Soto Zen* has remained in print from the time of its first issue down to the present day. Throughout the world it easily constitutes

the most widely read version of Dōgen's words (WorldCat lists more than 2 thousand major libraries in the world that own this book). More than any other publication, this translation has served as the world's main introduction to Dōgen and to Soto Zen.

### **Dōgen, the Literatus (1965)**

In 1965 Iwanami Shoten, one of the most prestigious publishers in Japan, included selections from the *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō*) and the entire *Record of Occasional Remarks* (*Zuimonki*) as one volume of their Compendium of Japanese Literary Classics (Nihon Kōten Bungaku Taikei 日本古典文學大系; 100 vols., 1958–1966). This publication marked the inclusion of Dōgen within the semi-official literary canon of Japan. He was not simply a religious figure or a philosopher, he also had become a literary author — someone whose compositions could be read by a general audience not necessarily for edification but simply for pleasure.

Even Watsuji Tetsurō could not have anticipated this development. Watsuji (1934.177) had written that Zen Buddhism did not exert a significant influence on Japanese literature until after the 14th century (long after Dōgen's death) when the Chinese-language poetry of Japanese Zen clergy had become widely appreciated. If we use Watsuji's criteria of wide influence, then Dōgen would have been excluded from the Iwanami Compendium. Dōgen's poetry in Chinese never became popular. In fact, prior to the modern period his compositions had never circulated widely to audiences other than Buddhist scholastics.

Dōgen's compositions began to gain a wider audiences only after the postwar generation began to develop new ways of reading what he wrote (Yanagida 1982, 9–11). In 1950, for example, the literary critic Terada Tōru 寺田透 (1915–1995) published a groundbreaking essay in which he extolled the beauty of Dōgen's Japanese-language prose as Japanese literature (Kusanagi 1975, 856a). Instead of examining how Dōgen interpreted Chinese

source texts (the way that Dōgen traditionally had been read), Terada focused on the ways that the poetic beauty of Dōgen's phrasing convey an internal, organic resonance (*ukiteii, naiteki hibiki* 有機的、内の響き) that reverberate across multiple essays about diverse topics. Subsequently, Terada collected his essays on Dōgen into a volume (1974) titled "Dōgen's Universe of Language" (*genko uchū* 言語宇宙). Terada's approach was not the only example of new postwar methods of reading Dōgen that liberated him from the confines of Buddhist discourse and placed him into dialogue with the literary currents of Japanese (and world) literature.

Nishio Minoru 西尾實 (1889–1979), the chief editor of the Iwanami volume, justifies Dōgen's status as a literary figure in terms of the present, not they past. Nishio (pp. 3–4) divides medieval Japanese literature into two major categories. One group depicts heroic and dynamic protagonists — such as the warrior tales (*gunkimono* 軍記物) like the *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語) — while the second group consists of more personal works (such as diaries, poetry, theatrical dramas) which emphasize introspection. Dōgen's writings bridge these two groups by providing us with insights into how to understand the realities perceived by the people who recorded works in both of those categories. Next Nishio (pp. 7–10) provides a sentence-by-sentence analysis of the opening lines of *The Realized Kōan* (*Genjōkōan* 現成公案) to show how its balanced phrases of Buddhist concepts juxtaposed with concrete descriptions of natural imagery function almost like a prose-poem version of traditional Japanese lyrical verse.

In this way Nishio argues that Dōgen can be enjoyed by a modern audience as a modern author. Even if we cannot fully understand the precise meaning of his sentences, we can be moved by the beautiful way he weaves them together. We can be prompted to ponder more deeply the moments and impressions of our own lives.

### **Dōgen, the Philosopher (1970)**

In 1970 the aforementioned Iwanami Shoten included Dōgen in its Compendium of Classical Japanese Thought (Nihon Shisō Taikei 日本思想大系 ; 67 vols., 1970–1982) — an authoritative collection of primary sources written by Japanese religious, political, and social intellectuals. By 1970 the inclusion of Dōgen in this type of collection was a foregone conclusion. Soon after Watsuji published his essays on Shamon Dōgen in 1926, other intellectuals followed with their studies. In the 1930s both Akiyama Hanji 秋山範二 (1893–1980) and Tanabe Hajime 田邊元 (1885–1962) had published influential studies of Dōgen as a modern philosopher (regarding the latter, see Müller 2006). In more recent years Dōgen’s ideas have been compared to a host of other European intellectuals, such as Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951) and Jacques Derrida (1930–2004). Moreover, since the Iwanami Compendium of Classical Japanese Thought also includes volumes devoted to other historically influential Buddhist leaders — such as Saichō 最澄 (766–822), Kūkai 空海 (744–835), Genshin 源信 (942–1017), Shinran, Nichiren, and so forth — it could not possibly omit Dōgen.

What is significant about this Iwanami Compendium, though, is that Dōgen clearly occupies the most prominent position. He is the only solitary author to be allocated two whole volumes that consist entirely of his own compositions. Taken together, these 2 volumes cover more than 1200 pages (589 + 632 pages), enough space to reproduce the entire texts of the *Talk on Pursuing the Way* (*Bendōwa*) and the *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō*) in a combined 75-plus-12-chapter configuration. This Compendium therefore makes a statement that the *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* as a whole — and not just a few of its selected chapters — is worthy of philosophical consideration. It marks a first step in addressing the need to broaden the range of materials on which one must base any study of Dōgen.

Terada Tōru (mentioned above) wrote interpretive essays for each of

the two *Dōgen* volumes of the Iwanami Compendium. The fact that they were written by scholar of literature and not by a specialist who studies Zen (or Buddhism, or Japanese religions) highlights the fact that any philosophical interpretation — or, what is more precisely called, the “philosophical reading” — of Dōgen necessarily requires the transplanting Dōgen’s vocabulary and frames of reference into new contexts in which they participate in new dialogues (and new definitions). This approach requires authors and readers to bridge an almost insurmountable distance between traditional Buddhist discourse (especially the topics it finds important) and the questions addressed by mainstream philosophers since the nineteenth century (Steineck 2018).

### **Dōgen, the Human Being (1970)**

Also in 1970 Sahashi Hōryū 佐橋法龍 (1928–2007) published “Dōgen, the Human Being” (*Ningen Dōgen* 人間道元). Of course all the previously mentioned versions of Dōgen — the Shamon, the religious innovator, the Zen Master, the internationalist, the literatus, and the philosopher — every one of them, must be seen as human beings. But Sahashi wrote this book to explicate the key element that makes each one of them (or make any other individual) human. Sahashi identifies the core of humanity with individual personality traits, including one’s ever changing hopes, fears, and anxieties. Accordingly Sahashi presents a psychological biography (or psychohistory) of Dōgen.

Sahashi (p. 6) opens his book by invoking the story “Repetition” (Danish: *Gjentagelsen*, 1843) by the Danish philosopher and theologian Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855). This story explores the psychological gap between an ideal image or memory of something and the reality of enacting (or re-enacting) it. Sahashi characterizes Dōgen’s state of mind after he returns to Japan from China as an incessant internal conflict between what he had witnessed and accomplished in China versus what he could reproduce in Japan. Sahashi hastens to add that even though he describes

Dōgen as being motivated by his obsessions, he by no means intends to write a “pathography”: an account that overly emphasizes the abnormal and negative aspects of human life. Nonetheless, Sahashi’s frequent use of medical terminology presents his readers precisely with such an impression. For example, Sahashi (p. 73) cites the personality typological labels proposed by the German psychiatrist Ernst Kretschmer (1888–1964) to characterize Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215) as someone who exhibited a manic depressive type of schizophrenia. Dōgen, according to Sahashi, exhibits what Kretschmer would label an “insensitive personality” (*donkan na seikaku* 鈍感な性格; pp. 206–207). Sahashi (p. 109) also quotes the work of French psychologist Pierre Janet (1859–1947) to assert that all people play roles, not just to fool other people, but also to fool oneself. Based on this axiom Sahashi is able to describe how Dōgen assumes different versions of himself in different contexts.

Ultimately Sahashi’s psychological descriptions seem unconvincing because they lack specificity and empirical data to support them. However much Sahashi might wish to describe Dōgen’s motives and states of mind, the available historical documents do not provide him with sufficient information. Again and again Sahashi quotes from the *Record of Occasional Remarks (Zuimonki)*, which is the only source in which Dōgen freely volunteers opinions about events in daily life. These remarks, however, reflect only a very short time period (ca. 1235–1237) at the beginning of Dōgen’s teaching career. Without other sources for later periods, Sahashi has nothing to say about the mature Dōgen. In 1243, for example, Dōgen’s career reached a major turning point when he relocated to the remote Province of Echizen. Sahashi does not reach that period of Dōgen’s career until almost at the end of his book — on page 260 of 285 pages. And Sahashi begins that final section with the subtitle: “The Opaque Dōgen” (Futōmei no Dōgen 不透明な道元). His psychohistory concludes in a dead-end at the middle of Dōgen’s career.

## Conclusion

Now that we have reviewed a few of the many versions of Shamon Dōgen who have appeared over the last ninety years, I think we can see both their accomplishments and their failures. In some respects their failures resemble the shortcomings that put an end to the Quest for the Historical Jesus.

First, Shamon Dōgen has achieved recognition and fame far beyond what Watsuji might ever have imagined. Watsuji merely wanted to liberate Shamon Dōgen from the confines of outdated religious conventions and stale hagiographic piety. He had hoped to reveal a new Dōgen for a new Japan, a Dōgen who could speak to modern, everyday Japanese. Shamon Dōgen certainly has surpassed those goals. Nowadays it is not just Japanese people who can speak about “our Dōgen.” People around the world and in multiple fields of endeavor know Dōgen and can quote his words. Shamon Dōgen has truly become a citizen of a global, world-wide community.

At the same time, we cannot help but notice that these different versions of Shamon Dōgen — the religious innovator, the Zen Master, the internationalist, the literatus, the philosopher, and the human being — share certain characteristics with the historical Jesus. Once freed from the religious milieu that confirms their authority, a historical Jesus or a Shamon Dōgen loses the single quality — their claim to speak truth — that attracts the fascination of their followers in the first place. When Shamon Dōgen is liberated from his truth claims, the various new versions of Shamon Dōgen that result from this process can seem somewhat diminished. Each new Shamon Dōgen tends to reveal as much about the scholars who researched them as they do about this or that Dōgen. They tend to reinforce the Dōgen of traditional Buddhist biographic accounts but they cannot replace him or exist without him. For this reason, these multiple new versions of Dōgen constitute not just a diminishment (or weaker Dōgen) but also a source of strength. Different forms of scholarship address the different needs and curiosities of individual societies and social groups. We need different

versions of Dōgen for different audiences. In the complex societies of today's world no single Dōgen can possibly become the only authentic Dōgen. Like facets cut into a gemstone, every new Dōgen reveals, reflects, and enhances all the other versions of Dōgen.

Second, Shamon Dōgen despite his ninety-plus years remains very youthful and energetic. With the possible exception of Dōgen the Zen master, all the versions of Shamon Dōgen enumerated above rely heavily on written texts that date primarily from the very earliest days of Dōgen's career. The *Record of Occasional Remarks (Zuimonki)* is especially prominent in every account. Watsuji contributed to the importance this text in two ways. He quoted it repeatedly in his 1920–1923 essay that introduced Shamon Dōgen to the world. Then, in 1929 Watsuji published it in the popular “Iwanami Library” (*Iwanami bunko* 岩波文庫) series. This series consists of inexpensive paperback editions of literary classics, with introductions and explanatory notes by leading scholars intended for a wide audience of educated non-specialists. Watsuji titled his edition “Dōgen's Recorded Sayings: Treasury of the True Dharma-Eye Record of Occasional Remarks” (*Dōgen goroku: shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 道元語録：正法眼藏隨聞記). In his brief introduction (p. 3) Watsuji praises the *Zuimonki* for its clear expression of Dōgen's grit and his concerns (*kibane ya shitsunō* 気骨や質悩) as well as for its lively depiction of the atmosphere inside his training hall (*dōjō no fun'iki* 道場の雰圍氣). Watsuji's Iwanami edition was kept continuously in-print and was updated repeatedly (1938, 1982, 1983, 1991). It formed the basis for numerous annotated versions by leading scholars as well as for Masunaga's English translated mentioned earlier and for translations into other languages.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Even if we excluding scholars associated with Sōtō Zen and confine our list to deceased scholars, we can list at least ten annotated versions the *Zuimonki* by well-known scholars: 1937 by Nagasaka Kaneo 長坂金雄 (1886-1973); 1960 by Furuta Shōkin 古田紹欽 (1911-2001); 1962 by Nishio Minoru 西尾實 (1889-1979); 1966 by Karaki Junzō 唐木順三 (1904-1980); Yamazaki Masakazu 山崎正一 (1912-1997); 1977 by Gorai Shigeru 五来重 (1908-1993); 1980 by Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂

The numerous reprints of the *Zuimonki* indicate that many people regard it as an introduction to or “primer of” (in the words of Masunaga’s English title) Dōgen’s teachings. Readers should bear in mind, however, that the *Zuimonki* provides only partial and rather limited information about Dōgen as a person and his teachings. It records information only from the years 1235 to 1237, immediately before and just after Dōgen established his first temple. It was not compiled by Dōgen, but by Ejō 懷辨 (1198–1280). In those years Ejō was a potential rival, and his selection of Dōgen’s comments reflects at least in part his own points of disagreement (Ishikawa 1982). After Ejō committed himself to Dōgen’s teachings, he stopped contributing to the *Zuimonki*. It should not be surprising, therefore, that some of the sayings Ejō attributes to Dōgen seem to diverge from statements found in Dōgen’s own writings. And the actual meaning and possible significance of many other sayings can only be discerned when analyzed in conjunction with Dōgen’s other works (Ishii Shūdō 1989, 209–215; rpt. 1991, 525–532).

Third, many of the new versions of Shamon Dōgen rest on thin evidence at best. In spite of the enormous amount of new scholarship about Dōgen over the past ninety years, many key elements of Dōgen’s biography remain unknown and unknowable. The available source materials reveal almost nothing regarding his parents, his early life, his teachers in Japan, his teachers in China, his students, his patrons, his activities, his chronology, or his ambitions. The written sources likewise reveal very little information about their own origins. Dōgen and his associates left an extraordinarily literary legacy in almost every possible genre. These written materials contain very little reliable information about when, where or how they were composed, for whom, or why. When evidence regarding these questions can

---

雄 (1927-2001); 1980 by Endō Makoto 遠藤誠 (1930-2002); 1986 by Akizuki Ryōmin 秋月龍珉 (1921-1999); and 2005 by Suganuma Akira 菅沼晃 (1934-2016). In addition to Masunaga’s English translation, there also exist a 1921 translation into Chinese by Riku Etsugan 陸鉞巖 (b. 1855) and a 1943 translation into German by Iwamoto Hidemasa 岩本秀雅 (d. 1946).

be found, often it remains fragmentary, incomplete, and confusing. Almost every piece of evidence can be interpreted in more than one way and sometimes in contradictory ways.

For example, many people rely on the dates mentioned in the colophons to chapters of the *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō*) to construct evolutionary timelines of Dōgen's literary output. The dates in these colophons, however, seem rather unreliable. In many cases the documentary evidence demonstrates that the dates do not correspond to the actual dates of initial composition or final revised version. Internal evidence (i.e., the vocabulary, structure, and linguistic particularities) sometimes can provide alternative timelines. For example, recently, Wakayama Yūkō (2015 and 2016a-b-c) demonstrated chronological relationships among certain chapters of the *Shōbōgenzō* and lectures in Dōgen's Chinese-language recorded sayings (*goroku* 語録). This kind of analysis is possible because the recorded sayings were delivered according to a prescribed monastic calendar of events. Its collection of lectures provides our most reliable timeline for what topics Dōgen addressed at particular periods during his teaching career.

Fourth — just as the Christ of the Bible ultimately proved to be more real and more important to Christians than the so-called historical Jesus — so likewise the traditional Dōgen, the one idealized as a role model by Buddhists who want to follow his example, continues to attract more attention and inspire more people than does all the other versions of the more recent Shamon Dōgen. This traditional Dōgen can be known today primarily through his literary legacy. He was a consummate author who wrote about Buddhism in Buddhist terms and who crafted innovative, new ways of reading, interpreting, and explaining Chinese Buddhist texts. To modern readers, however, frequently find Dōgen's innovations puzzling. To appreciate and understand the puzzles that Dōgen presents, we must invent new ways of reading his prose. Reading his Japanese compositions in conjunction with his Chinese compositions (e.g., Wakayama cited above) is

an example of one new approach. Others include: publishing facsimiles of the manuscript versions of his writings; compiling more reliable editions of his works; and the use of digital technology to analyze the linguistic features of his works and their relationship to other source texts.

I am happy to report that that the Sōtō Zen Text Project (Sōtōshū Shūten Kyōten Hon'yaku Henshū Iinkai 曹洞宗宗典經典翻譯編集委員会) has nearly completed its translation of the *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō*). A multi-year (almost multi-decade) effort by an international team of scholars lead by Carl Bielefeldt, this translation breaks new ground in its detailed analysis of Dōgen's universe of language. If it even partially fulfils its goals, it will help people around the world develop new methods for reading and interpreting Dōgen. In so doing, I hope that will give new life to the traditional Dōgen and even revive the fortunes of the many additional versions of Shamon Dōgen.

— end —

— Bibliography —

- Akiyama Hanji 秋山範二 (1893–1980). 1935. *Dōgen no kenkyū* 道元の研究 . Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Bellah, Robert. N. (1927–2013). 1965. “Japan’s Cultural Identity: Some Reflections on the Work of Watsuji Tetsuro.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 24: 573–594.
- Bielefeldt, Carl. 1985. “Regarding the Dragon: History and Dogma in the Study of Dōgen.” In *Dōgen Studies*. Edited by William R. LaFleur. Pp. 21–53. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Bodiford, William M. 2019. “Rewriting Dōgen.” 金子奈央訳「道元を書き直す」. *Kokusai zen kenkyū* 国際禅研究 4: 219-385.
- DZZ *Dōgen Zenji Zenshū* 道元禅師全集 . 7 vols. Compiled by Sakai Tokugen 酒井得元 (1912–1996), Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆 (1912–2001), and

- Sakurai Shūyū 桜井秀雄 (1916–2000). Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1988–1991.
- DZZ *Dōgen zenji zenshū* 道元禪師全集 . Collected works of Dōgen. Includes the following works, which are cited herein.
- DZZ 1-2. *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 . 2 vols. Edited by Kawamura Kōdō 河村孝道 .
- DZZ 3-4. *Dōgen oshō kōroku* 道元和尚廣錄 . 2 vols. Edited by Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆 (1912–2001).
- DZZ 5.14–39. *Eihiei shoso gakudō yōjinshū* 永平初祖學道用心集 . Edited by Sakurai Shūyū 桜井秀雄 (1916–2000).
- DZZ 7.52-151. *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 正法眼藏隨聞記 . Edited by Azuma Ryūshin 東隆眞 .
- Erikson, Erik H. (1902–1994). 1958. *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History*. New York: Norton.
- Etō Sokuō 衛藤即應 (1888–1958), editor. 1939, 1942, 1943. *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 . 3 vols. Iwanami Bunko 岩波文庫 (paperback). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. Reprinted 1959; 1989; 2004.
- Etō Sokuō 衛藤即應 (1888–1958). 1944. *Shūso toshite no dōgen zenji* 宗祖としての道元禪師 . Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. Available online via National Diet Library Digital Collections (Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Dejitaru Korekushon 国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション): <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1040750>. Reprinted 1949.
- Etō Sokuō 衛藤即應 (1888–1958). 2001. *Dōgen Zenji as Founding Patriarch (of the Japanese Sōtō Zen School)*. Translated by Ichimura Shōhei. [Translation of Etō 1944.] Tsurumi, Japan: Daihonzan Sōjiji.
- Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939). 1910 (1916). *Leonardo da Vinci: A Psychosexual Study of an Infantile Reminiscence* [originally: *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*]. Translated by Abraham Arden Brill. Reprint. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1922.
- Ishii Shūdō 石井修道 . 1989. “Chūgoku Zen to ‘Zuimonki’” 中国禪と「随聞記」. In *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki no kenkyū* 正法眼藏随聞記の研究 . Edited by Ikeda Rosan 池田魯參 . Pp. 173–217. Tokyo: Keisuisha. Reprinted in Ishii 1991, 488–534.
- Ishii Shūdō 石井修道 . 1991. *Dōgenzen no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū* 道元禪の成立

- 史的研究 . Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan.
- Ishikawa Rikizan 石川力山 (1943–1997). 1982. “‘Shōbōgenzō zuimonki’ to Nihon darumashū” 『正法眼藏隨聞記』 と日本達磨宗 . *Shūgaku kenkyū* 宗學研究 24: 37–43.
- Kähler, Martin (1835–1912). 1896 (1964). *The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic Biblical Christ* [originally: *Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche, biblische Christus*]. Translated by Carl E. Braaten. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964.
- Kusanagi Masao 草薙正夫 (1900–1997). 1975. “Terada Tōru cho ‘Dōgen no gengo uchū” 寺田透著「道元の言語宇宙」. *Bungaku* 文学 43, no. 7: 856–862.
- Masunaga Reihō 増永靈鳳 (1902–1981). 1958. *The Sōtō Approach to Zen*. Tokyo: Layman Buddhist Society Press.
- Masunaga Reihō 増永靈鳳 (1902–1981). 1971. *A Primer of Sōtō Zen: A Translation of Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō Zuimonki*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.
- Müller, Ralf. 2006. “Getting Back to Premodern Japan: Tanabe’s Reading of Dōgen.” *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy* 1: 164–183.
- Müller, Ralf. 2009. “Watsuji’s Reading of Dōgen’s ‘Shōbōgenzō.” *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy* 6: 174–191.
- Müller, Ralf, trans. 2011. See: Tanabe Hajime. 2011.
- Nagai Masashi 永井政之 . 1981. “Kaisetsu: shōshin ronsō o megutte” 解説 : 正信論争をめぐって . In *Shōshinron* 正信論 . Edited by Nagai Masashi 永井政之 . Pp. 525–550. Vol. 8 of *Sōtōshū senso* 曹洞宗選書 . 20 volumes. Edited by Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆 , Sakurai Shūyū 桜井秀雄 , and Nakano Tōzen 中野東禪 . Kyoto: Dōhōsha 同朋舎 .
- Nishio Minoru 西尾實 (1889–1979). 1964 (1983). “Shōbōgenzō genjōkōan no kōsō” 正法眼藏現成公案の構想 . *Bungaku* 文学 32. Reprint in *Dōgen* 道元 . *Nihon Meisō Ronshū* 日本名僧論集 , no. 8. Pp. 247–263. Edited by Kawamura Kōdō and Ishikawa Rikizan . Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- Nishio Minoru 西尾實 (1889–1979). 1965. “Kaisetsu” 解説 . In *Shōbōgenzō shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 正法眼藏 正法眼藏隨聞記 . *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* 日本古典文學大系 , no. 81. Pp. 3–56. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

- Nishio Minoru 西尾實 (1889–1979) et al., editors. 1965. *Shōbōgenzō shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 正法眼藏 正法眼藏隨聞記. Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei 日本古典文學大系, 81. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Ōkubo Dōshū 大久保道舟 (1896–1994). 1953. *Dōgen zenjiden no kenkyū* 道元禪師傳の研究. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Ōkubo Dōshū 大久保道舟 (1896–1994). 1966. *Dōgen zenjiden no kenkyū* 道元禪師傳の研究. Enlarged edition (*shūtei zōho* 修訂增補). Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.
- Raud, Rein. 2002. “Objects and Events: Linguistic and Philosophical Notions of ‘Thingness.’” *Asian Philosophy* 12: 97–108.
- Raud, Rein. 2011. “Inside the Concept: Rethinking Dōgen’s Language.” *Asian Philosophy* 21: 123–137.
- Raud, Rein. 2012. “The Existential Moment: Rereading Dōgen’s Theory of Time.” *Philosophy East and West* 62: 153–173.
- Raud, Rein. 2013. “Thinking with Dogen: Reading Philosophically into and Beyond the Textual Surface.” In *Philosophizing in Asia*, pp. 27–45. Edited by Ishii Tsuyoshi 石井剛 and Lam Wing-keung 林永強. APF Series 1. Tokyo: Center for Philosophy, the University of Tokyo. Available on-line: <https://utcp.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/publications/pdf/APF1-02.pdf>
- Raud, Rein. 2016. “Classical Japanese as a Vehicle of Philosophical Thought.” *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy* 8: 9–24.
- Sahashi Hōryū 佐橋法龍 (1928–2007). 1970. *Ningen Dōgen* 人間道元. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社. 2d edition, 1979.
- Schweitzer, Albert (1875–1965). 1906 (1910). *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* [originally: *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*]. Translated by William Montgomery (1871–1930). London: A. and C. Black, 1910.
- Steineck, Raji C. 2018. “A Zen Philosopher? Notes on the Philosophical Reading of Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō.” In *Concepts of Philosophy in Asia and the Islamic World*. Volume 1: China and Japan, pp. 577–606. Edited by Raji Steineck, Ralph Weber, Robert Gassmann and Elena Lang. Leiden: Brill.
- Sugimoto Kōichi 杉本耕一. 2010. “Etō shūgaku to Kyōto gakuha no

- tetsugaku” 衛藤宗学と京都学派の哲学 (1). *Sōtōshū sōgō kenkyū sentaa gakujutsu taikai kiyō* 曹洞宗総合研究センター学術大会紀要 11: 237–241.
- Sugimoto Kōichi 杉本耕一. 2011. “Etō shūgaku to Kyōto gakuha no tetsugaku” 衛藤宗学と京都学派の哲学 (2). *Sōtōshū sōgō kenkyū sentaa gakujutsu taikai kiyō* 曹洞宗総合研究センター学術大会紀要 12: 311–316.
- Tanabe Hajime 田邊元 (1885–1962). 1939. *Shōbōgenzō no tetsugaku shikan* 正法眼藏の哲學私觀. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. Available online via National Diet Library Digital Collections (Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Dejitaru Korekushon 国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション): <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1220615>.
- Tanabe Hajime 田邊元 (1885–1962). 2011 (1939). “The philosophy of Dōgen” [originally *Shōbōgenzō no tetsugaku shikan* 正法眼藏の哲學私觀, 1939, pp. 683–688]. Translated by Ralf Müller. In *Japanese Philosophy, A Sourcebook*, pp. 554–559. Edited by James W. Heisig, Thomas P. Kasulis and John C. Maraldo. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Tang, Chenxi. 2006. “Kierkegaard and the Culture of Psychological Experimentation in the Nineteenth Century.” *KulturPoetik* 6: 172–188.
- Takeuchi Hiromichi 竹内弘道. 2010. “Nihon kindai bukkyōshi no nagare to Etō Sokuōcho ‘Shūso toshite Dōgen zenji’” 日本近代仏教史の流れと衛藤即応著「宗祖としての道元禪師」. *Sōtōshū sōgō kenkyū sentaa gakujutsu taikai kiyō* 曹洞宗総合研究センター学術大会紀要 11: 243–248.
- Terada Tōru 寺田透 (1915–1995). 1950. “Tōtai datsuraku: Shōbōgeznō ni tsuite” 透体脱落：正法眼藏について. *Bungei* 文藝 7, no. 1: 130–139. Reprinted in Terada 1974, 2–28.
- Terada Tōru 寺田透 (1915–1995). 1974. *Dōgen no gengo uchū* 道元の言語宇宙. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Terada Tōru 寺田透 (1915–1995) and Mizuno Yaoko 水野彌穂子 (1921–2010), editors. 1970–1972. *Dōgen* 道元. 2 vols. Nihon Shisō Taikēi 日本思想大系, nos. 12–13. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. Reprint. 1990–1991. *Dōgen* 道元. 2 vols. Genten Nihon Bukkyō no Shisō 原典日本仏教の思想, nos. 7–8. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Tollini, Aldo. 2017. “Dōgen and ‘mitate.’” In *New Steps in Japanese Studies*. Edited by Marcella Mariotti and Kazashi Nobuo, pp. 31–42. Venezia

[Venice]: Università Ca' Foscari.

- Wakayama Yūkō 若山悠光 . 2015. “Beppon ‘Shinfukatoku’ no kadai” 別本『心不可得』の課題 . *Komazawa daigaku zen kenkyūjo nenpō* 駒澤大學禪研究所年報 27: 197–218.
- Wakayama Yūkō 若山悠光 . 2016a. “Beppon ‘Bukkōjōji’ no seikaku” 別本『仏向上事』の性格 . *Komazawa daigaku daigakuin bukkuyōgaku kenkyūkai nenpō* 駒澤大學大學院佛教學研究會年報 49: 35–80.
- Wakayama Yūkō 若山悠光 . 2016b. “‘Eihei kōroku’ kan’ichi, daijūshichi jōdō kō” 「永平広録」卷一，第一七上堂考 . *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 64: 653–656.
- Wakayama Yūkō 若山悠光 . 2016c. “The Formation of Kana Shōbōgenzō: Tracing Back Beppon (Draft Edition) Shifukatoku.” *Komazawa daigaku zen kenkyūjo nenpō* 駒澤大學禪研究所年報 28: 312–281 (1–32).
- Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 (1889–1960). 1923. “Shamon dōgen” 沙門道元 . [1] Reprint in *Nihon seishin shi* 日本精神史研究 . Pp. 236–388. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1926. Available online via National Diet Library Digital Collections (Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Dejitaru Korekushon 国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション): <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1020621>. [2] Corrected edition, Iwanami Shoten, 1940. Revised reprint 1970. Iwanami Bunko (paperback) Ao 青 (33)-144-7 edition, 1992. Waido (large size) Iwanami Bunko, no. 252, edition, 2005. [3] Corrected edition (1940) reprinted in *Watsuji tetsurō zenshū* 和辻哲郎全集 . Edited by Abe Yoshishige 安倍能成 et al. 4.156–246. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961. Reprinted 1992. Digital edition 2017, available on-line from Aozora Bunko 青空文庫 : [https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001395/files/49905\\_63366.html](https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001395/files/49905_63366.html).
- Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 (1889–1960), editor. 1929. *Dōgen goroku: shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 道元語録：正法眼藏隨聞起 . Iwanami Bunko 岩波文庫 , no. 530. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. Reprinted 1938, 1982, 1983, 1991.
- Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 (1889–1960). 1933 (1935). “Nihon no bungei to bukkuyō shisō” 日本の文藝と佛教思想 . Reprint in *Zoku Nihon seishinshi kenkyū* 続日本精神史研究 . Pp. 161–215. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1935.

- Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 (1889–1960). 1933 (1971). “Japanese Literary Arts and Buddhist Philosophy.” [originally, “Nihon no bungei to bukkyō shisō” 日本の文藝と佛教思想 (1933), reprint in *Zoku Nihon seishinshi kenkyū* 続日本精神史研究, 1935, pp. 173–215.] Translated by Hirano Umeyo 平野梅代. *The Easter Buddhist*, new series, 4 (1971): 88–115.
- Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 (1889–1960). 1922 (1972). “The Reception of Buddhism in the Suiko Period.” [originally, “Suiko jidai ni okeru bukkyō juyō no shikata ni tsuite” 推古時代に於ける佛教受容の仕方について (1922), reprint in *Nihon seishinshi kenkyū* 日本精神史研究, 1926, pp. 39–51.] Translated by Hirano Umeyo 平野梅代. *The Easter Buddhist*, new series, 5 (1972): 47–54.
- Wrede, William (1859–1906). 1901 (1971). *The Messianic Secret* [originally: *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*]. Translated by J.C.G. Greig. Greenwood, SC: Attic Press, 1971.
- Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山. 1982. “Gendaishi toshite no Dōgen” 現代史としての道元. In *Dōgen: shisō dokuhon* 道元: 思想読本. Edited by Yanagida Seizan. Pp. 2–21. Tokyo: Hōzōkan.