

# The Formation of Eihei Kōroku

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## **Preface: Development in the research of Eihei Kōroku and the purpose of this paper**

*Eihei Kōroku* (Dōgen's Extensive Record) is alongside *Shōbōgenzō* a major writing of Dōgen 道元 (1200 - 1253). Most researchers, including Dr. Kagamishima Genryū in his publications *Dōgen Zenji zenshū dai 3・4 kan* (道元禪師全集第3・4巻. Shunjūsha, 1988) and *Genbun taishō gendaigo yaku: Dōgen Zenji zenshū dai 10 - 13 Eihei Kōroku 1 - 4* (〈原文対照現代語訳〉道元禪師全集第10～13永平広録1-4. Shunjūsha, 1999 - 2000) refer to the Monkaku version as a primary source, rather than Manzan's edition.

It is a well-known fact, that the two main extant sources of *Eihei Kōroku* are the Monkaku version and Manzan's Rufu-bon version. Monkaku version was created in the second half of the Keichō era (1596 - 1615) under Monkaku 門鶴 (? - 1615), the 20<sup>th</sup> abbot of Eihei-ji, by his disciples Sokō, Sōchin and others. Presently, it is stored at Eihei-ji. The main title of the first two volumes reads *Master Dōgen's Extensive Record*, and starting with volume three the characters *Eihei* are added to the title. The titles of the respective volumes are "Volume One: Recorded Sayings of the Founder of Kōshōji Zen Temple in Uji County, Kyoto," "Volume Two: Recorded Sayings of the Founder of Daibutsuji Temple on Kichijō Mountain in Echizen Province," "Volume Three: Recorded Sayings at Eihei Zen Temple" (...) "Volume Eight: Master Gen's Informal Talks at Eihei-ji Temple in Echizen Province," "Volume Nine: Master Gen's Verses Praising Ancients," "Volume Ten: Master Gen's Verses of Praise on Portraits" and so on. The ten scrolls are stored in a box with the inscription *Eihei Kōroku, Keichō era*

edition (the oldest version of *Kōroku*). A fascimile of this text is included in a publication by Watanabe Kenshō and Ōtani Tetsuo, *Sozanbon Eihei Kōroku, kōchū shūsei*, 2 vols. (祖山本永平広録〈考注集成〉上下巻, 1988, 1989), which came out at about the same time as Kagamishima's first publication. Other known copies based on the Monkaku version are the Rinnōji-bon, Kōshōji-bon, and Chōgo-bon.

Manzan's Rufu-bon version was published by Manzan Dōhaku 叡山道白 (1636 – 1715) in the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the Keibun era (1673). Alternative editions of Manzan's Rufu-bon are not known. In this text, I will be using my private copy for reference.

In addition to these two main sources, a highly abridged edition of *Eihei Kōroku*, which comprises about one tenth of the original text, is also known. After Dōgen's death in the first year of the Bun'eī era (1264), a disciple of Dōgen, Kangan Giin 寒巖義尹 (1217 – 300) took the ten volumes of *Eihei Kōroku* (a version which is now lost) to China, where it was rewritten as an abstract by Wuwai Yiyuan 無外義遠, a disciple of Tiantong Rujing 天童如淨 (1162 – 1227). It was published in the third year of the Enbun era (1358) by Donki 曇希, an abbot of Hōkyōji, under the title *Eihei Zenji Goroku* 永平禪師語録. It is also called *Eihei Ryakuroku* (永平略録, Dōgen's Abridged Record, as opposed to *Eihei Kōroku*, Dōgen's Extensive Record) or simply Enbun-bon 延文本. Here, I will be using Kagamishima Genryū's *Dōgen Zenji Goroku* 道元禪師語録 (Kōdansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 1990; referred to as Kagamishima's *Goroku* book).

Since I first started working as an assistant at Komazawa University in 1971, I have been very lucky to study *Eihei Kōroku* together with Kagamishima Genryū and Kawamura Kōdō. In a bibliographical introduction to the above-mentioned Kagamishima's book, the following note can be found.

This book has been included in the third and fourth volume of *Dōgen Zenji zenshū* by Shunjūsha. Over ten years ago, I started planning an edition of the full text of *Eihei Kōroku* with commentaries, together with Prof. Kawamura Kōdō and Prof. Ishii Shūdō. We started this

project despite the already published *Eihei Kōroku Chūkai Zensho* 永平広録註解全書 by Itō Toshimitsu. Although this book contains all the historical commentaries, which is very helpful in a sense, the reader does not know which of them should be taken on as correct. And while there are many sources cited, there has been the question of whether or not they are academically accurate. Therefore, our objective was to explain different theories and indicate which ones are correct, while identifying different sources based on results of an academic analysis of *Shōten*. We started with an analysis of the Rufu-bon version of *Kōroku*, only to realize that we should rather concentrate on the Monkaku version instead. In order to create the Complete Annotated Edition of *Eihei Kōroku*, a comparative analysis of all extant versions of the text was necessary. However, at that time it was not possible to obtain the Nikkō Rinnōji book, which was crucial for further research, and therefore the project had to be suspended. (...)

The joint research project with Prof. Kawamura and Prof. Ishii is still being suspended, but thanks to a long-time effort of Prof. Kawamura, we were able to obtain a microfilm of the long-awaited Nikkō Rinnōji edition of *Kōroku* for the Komazawa University library. Now that we have all the known extant editions of *Kōroku* at our disposal, one day we will surely be able to celebrate the publishing of the Complete Annotated Edition of *Eihei Kōroku* by Prof. Kawamura and Prof. Ishii. Speaking for myself, I am not sure if I will be able to participate in the project due to my age, yet I would be delighted if this book served as a source material.

In the omitted passage, Kagamishima explains how the *Monkaku* book was used as an exercise subject in the doctoral course; I myself took part in most of these lectures and made recordings of them for further study.

Both Kagamishima's books mentioned above were the result of his own research, as I could not assist much in their creation due to various circumstances. Yet I have inherited the results of his work and I continue to

consult them throughout my research.

The first problem I would like to address here is the connection between the two different versions of *Eihei Kōroku*. Considering the structure of the ten volumes, the volume numbers, places, dates and recorders of the 531 Dharma hall discourses, Informal Speeches, Dharma Words, Verses Praising Ancients, Verses of Praise on Portraits, Dōgen's Verses of Praise on Portraits of Himself, and Assorted Verses, can be compared in the following way.

<b>Vol. no. (Dharma hall discourse no.)</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Recorder</b>
Vol. 1. Dharma hall discourses (1–126 )	Kōshōji	Before 1240 - 1243	Senne
Vol. 2. Dharma hall discourses (127–184)	Daibutsuji, Eiheiji	1245 – 1246	Ejō
Vol. 3. Dharma hall discourses (185–257)	Eiheiji	1246 – 1248	Ejō
Vol. 4. Dharma hall discourses (258–345)	Eiheiji	1248 – 1249	Ejō
Vol. 5. Dharma hall discourses (346–413)	Eiheiji	1249 – 1250	Gien
Vol. 6. Dharma hall discourses (414–470)	Eiheiji	1251	Gien
Vol. 7. Dharma hall discourses (471–531)	Eiheiji	1251–1252	Gien
Vol. 8. Informal Speeches (1-20), Dharma Words (1-14) Amendment: Fukanzazengi (compiled by Dōgen)	Anyōin, Kōshōji, Daibutsuji, Eiheiji	1230 - 1252	Ejō et al.
Vol. 9. Verses Praising Ancients (1-90)	Kōshōji,		Senne et al.
Vol. 10. Verses of Praise on Portraits (1-5), Dōgen's Verses of Praise on Portraits of Himself (1-20), Assorted Verses (1-125)	China - Eiheiji	1223 – 1252	Senne et al.

Although there is no significant difference in structure between the two versions, there are some differences in the order of arrangement, and numerous differences in words and phrases. I would like to address this issue first, as it leads to a very important problem.

Basically, as Genryū Kagamishima points out in the chapter “About *Eihei Kōroku*” included in *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen* (道元禅師とその周辺 . Daitō shuppansha, 1985), the Monkaku version tends to retain the original form. In recent years, I participated as a responsible editor on the publishing of *Dōgen Shū (chūse zenseki sōkan dai ni)* (道元集 〈中世禅籍叢刊第二〉 . Rinsen shoten, 2015). I was in charge of the chapter on *Ji Ryōnen-dōja Hōgo* (示了然道者法語 , Dharma words addressed to nun Ryōnen), stored at the Kasuisai temple in Fukuroi city, Shizuoka Prefecture. I am mentioning it because it is a valuable material, clearly based on *Eihei Kōroku*. The Kasuisai book contains an important note explaining that this was originally a sermon given in 1231 (3<sup>rd</sup> year of the Kanki era), when Dōgen was 32 years old.

By the way, according to the temple legend, this manuscript is said to have been written in Dōgen’s own hand. However, as Motoko Sumi points out in *Ji Ryōnen-dōja Hōgo ni tsuite* (『示了然道者法語』について . Shūgaku kenkyū vol. 35, 1993), judging by other authentic Dōgen’s manuscripts and also by the errors in the given text, this legend most likely proves as false. At the same time, another version of “Dharma words addressed to nun Ryōnen,” owned by the Akari family in Shimofurukawa, Kurayoshi, Tottori Prefecture, which had also been considered as Dōgen’s own writing, has also proven to be false.

In response to these findings, Kōgai Maruyama discusses these issues in detail in *Ryōnen ni kō (1) - Ji Ryōnen-dōja Hōgo wo megutte* (了然尼考 (一) — 「示了然道者法語」をめぐって一 . Sōtō shū kenkyū sentā gakujutsutaiikai kiyō (dai 11 kai), 2010) and *Ryōnen ni kō (2)* (了然尼考 (二) . Shūgaku kenkyū vol. 23, 2010). Although I too believe the theory that the two documents are not authentic Dōgen’s manuscripts, at the same time they do not lose any value as historical materials.

Following is an excerpt of the Kasuisai manuscript of “Dharma

words addressed to nun Ryōnen.” (Underlined passages are different from Manzan’s book, double underlining signifies either errors or characters which are not in the Monkaku book.)

The great way of all buddhas is profound, wondrous, and cannot possibly be reached by thought or discussion. How can those who practice do so easily? Don’t you see the wondrous example of ancient people who gave up body and mind, and abandoned their country and palace? As for other things such as a wife and children, they were seen as like tiles and pebbles. After that, [these ancient ones] passed twenty or thirty years, and even proceeded through waves of kalpas staying in solitude in mountain forests with their bodies and minds becoming like dead trees, until finally they were in accord with the way. Once they had joined somewhat with the way, they could hold up and twirl mountains and oceans to wonderfully make them into words, as well as holding up wind and rain to make them into tongues and lips, thoroughly expressing great space and turning the unsurpassed Dharma wheel. What phenomena could they not turn? What dharma have they not yet turned? Those who aspire to the way should follow such splendid dedication. In olden days there was a monk who asked Zen Master Fayan [Wenyi], “What is the ancient Buddha?” Fayan said, “Right now there is no aversion or doubt.” The monk asked again, “Within the twelve hours [the whole day], how can we conduct our practice?” Fayan said, “Tread step by step.” Another time Fayan also said, “A person who has left home simply follows time and season. When it’s cold, it’s just cold; when it’s hot, it’s just hot. If you want to know the meaning of Buddha nature, you should contemplate time and season, causes and conditions. It is good simply to take care of your responsibilities and spend your time appropriately.” We should contemplate in detail his meaning. What is following time and season? What is taking care of responsibilities? You should know not to place an understanding of no-form onto form, but also not to create an understanding of form, and further not to pursue this as a dichotomy.

Right now, forget aversion and doubt, and abide and practice together with the ancient buddhas. Although this is so, how can we be like a face and mirror in front of each other? Therefore the old teacher Shakyamuni said, “When entering a village or town, ascetics should be like bees gathering [nectar] from flowers, only taking the flavor and going, without destroying the color and fragrance.” Wise people who are patch robed disciples, why don’t you follow this admonition? Throughout the twelve hours of the day, meeting all the ten thousand forms, take only their flavor and do not destroy the color and fragrance. What is the meaning of taking only the flavor and not destroying the color and fragrance? I say to you, receiving the seal of those ten thousand objects, and being verified by those ten thousand dharmas, you must appoint this [entire day] to completely be the occasion of not destroying the color and fragrance. Apart from this, how could there be [practice following the buddhas]? This mountain monk cannot avoid to regard the sincerity of aspiration for the way of wayfarer Ryōnen, and sees that other people cannot yet match her. Therefore, I have used this brush to portray the way of the buddha patriarchs, but how have I necessarily destroyed others’ color and fragrance? Delivered by Dōgen in early autumn 1231 at Anyōin temple. (Rinsen book pp. 7 – 11.)<sup>1</sup>

The following version of same text can be found in *Eihei Kōroku*, Vol. 8, Dharma Words 12.

The great way of all buddhas is profound, wondrous, and cannot possibly be reached by thought or discussion. How can those who practice do so easily? Don’t you see the wondrous example of ancient

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<sup>1</sup> For English version of Eihei Kōroku, the translator used “Dōgen’s extensive record: a translation of the Eihei kōroku. Translated by Taigen Dan Leighton & Shohaku Okumura. Wisdom Publications, Boston 2010.” with some minor changes where needed to serve the purpose of this paper.

people who gave up body and mind, and abandoned their country and palace? As for other things such as a wife and children, they were seen as like tiles and pebbles. After that, [these ancient ones] passed twenty or thirty years, and even proceeded through waves of kalpas staying in solitude in mountain forests with their bodies and minds like dead trees, until finally they were in accord with the way. Once they had joined somewhat with the way, they could hold up and twirl mountains and oceans to wonderfully make them into words, as well as holding up wind and rain to make them into tongues and lips, thoroughly expressing great space and turning the unsurpassed Dharma wheel. What phenomena could they not turn? What dharma have they not yet turned? Those who aspire to the way should follow such splendid dedication. In olden days there was a monk who asked Zen Master Fayan [Wenyi], “What is the ancient Buddha?” Fayan said, “Right now there is no aversion or doubt.” The monk asked again, “Within the twelve hours [the whole day], how can we conduct our practice?” Fayan said, “Tread step by step.” Another time Fayan also said, “A person who has left home simply follows time and season. When it’s cold, it’s just cold; when it’s hot, it’s just hot. If you want to know the meaning of Buddha nature, you should contemplate time and season, causes and conditions. It is good simply to take care of your responsibilities and spend your time appropriately. We should contemplate in detail his meaning. What is following time and season? What is taking care of responsibilities? You should know not to place an understanding of no-form onto form, but also not to create an understanding of form, and further not to pursue this as a dichotomy. Right now, forget aversion and doubt, and abide and practice together with the ancient buddhas. Although this is so, how can we be like a face and mirror in front of each other? Therefore the old teacher Shakyamuni said, “When entering a village or town, monks should be like bees gathering [nectar] from flowers, only taking the flavor and going, without destroying the color and fragrance.” Wise people who are patch robed disciples, why don’t you follow this



admonition? Throughout the twelve hours of the day, meeting all the ten thousand forms, take only their flavor and do not destroy the color and fragrance. What is the meaning of taking only the flavor and not destroying the color and fragrance? I say to you, receiving the seal of those ten thousand objects, and being verified by those ten thousand dharmas, this [entire day] should completely be the occasion of not destroying the color and fragrance. Apart from this, how could there be [practice following the buddhas]? This mountain monk cannot avoid to regard the sincerity of the aspiration for the way of wayfarer Ryōnen, and sees that other people cannot match her. Therefore, I have used this brush to portray the way of the buddha patriarchs, but how have I necessarily destroyed others' color and fragrance?

The Manzan book, however provides a significantly modified version:

The great way of all buddhas is profound, wondrous, and cannot possibly be reached by thought or discussion. How can those who practice do so easily? Don't you see the wondrous example of ancient people who gave up body and life, and abandoned their country and palace, wife and children, seeing those as like tiles and pebbles. After that, [these ancient ones] passed many years, staying in mountain forests with their bodies and minds like dead trees, until finally they were in accord with the way. Once they had joined with the way, they could hold up and twirl mountains and rivers to make them into words, as well as holding up wind and rain to make them into tongues and heads, thoroughly expressing great space and turning the unsurpassed Dharma wheel. What could they not be capable of? What dharma can they not [attain]? Those who aspire to the way should follow this law. In olden days there was a monk who asked Zen Master Fayān [Wenyi], "What is the ancient Buddha?" Fayān said, "Right now there is no aversion or doubt." The monk asked again, "Within the twelve hours [the whole day], how can we conduct our practice?" Fayān said, "Tread step by step." Another time Fayān also

said, “A person who has left home simply follows time and season. When it’s cold, it’s just cold; when it’s hot, it’s just hot. If you want to know the meaning of Buddha nature, you should contemplate time and season, causes and conditions. It is good simply to take care of your responsibilities and spend your time appropriately. We should contemplate in detail his meaning. What is following time, taking care of responsibilities? You should know not to place an understanding of no-form onto form, but also not to create an understanding of form, and further not to pursue this as a dichotomy. Immediately forget aversion and doubt, and abide and practice together with the ancient buddhas. It is like being in front of a mirror. Therefore the old teacher Shakyamuni said, “When entering a village or town, monks should be like bees gathering [nectar] from flowers, only taking the flavor, without destroying the color and fragrance.” Wise people who are patch robed disciples, why don’t you follow this admonition? Throughout the twelve hours of the day, meeting all the things which arise due to causes, take only their flavor and do not destroy the color and fragrance. What is the meaning of taking only the flavor and not destroying the color and fragrance? I say to you, receiving the seal of those ten thousand objects, and being verified by those ten thousand dharmas, this [entire day] should be the occasion of not destroying the color and fragrance. How could you be separated from that? The ten thousand phenomena are here as a proof to you. This mountain monk concludes speaking, because it is unavoidable. Indeed, the wayfarer [Ryōnen] is sincere in her aspiration for the way and other people cannot match her. Therefore, I picked up my brush and wrote this, hoping it will provide reference for practice. Please keep working hard. (See Kagamishima’s *Goroku* book, pp. 166-167.)

The word 顧眄 - “to regard” is changed to the character 道, which in this case means “to say.” Dōgen’s Abridged Record goes as far as dividing the characters in the name 了然 Ryōnen into two separate words “... concludes speaking. Indeed...,” which is taken in by later publications, such

as *Eihei Goroku Hyōshishō* 永平語録標指鈔 vol. 4, by Anshū Gentei (? - 1710). Therefore, due to grammatical marks such as *okurigana* or *kaeriten*, this sentence in Manzan book reads “This mountain monk concludes speaking, because it is unavoidable. Indeed, wayfarer [Ryōnen] is sincere in her aspiration,” connecting the characters 道 (to speak) and 了 (to conclude), and at the same time dividing the name Ryōnen between two sentences. This example alone shows how modified and inaccurate Manzan’s version of “Dharma words addressed to nun Ryōnen” is, and illustrates how Manzan’s book deviated from the original form. It will be pointed out many times, that these alterations are based on Dōgen’s Abridged Record, however, the comparison of different versions of “Dharma words addressed to nun Ryōnen” illustrates the closeness of the Monkaku book to the original. Dr. Kagamishima himself, although he has not made any detailed comparative research, argued that the Monkaku book was close to the Kasuisai manuscript. Because Manzan’s version has taken in a lot from Dōgen’s Abridged Record and contains many alterations, it is safe to say that for contemporary research of *Eihei Kōroku*, only the Monkaku book should be used as a subject. Of course, it might be necessary to use Manzan’s book to correct any mistaken or missing characters, which are also present in the Monkaku version.

As already pointed out, the further purpose of this paper is to consider how to treat the fact that there are traces of deviation from the original in the Monkaku book as well, and to examine how the Monkaku book was created.

Let us now confirm the results of Dr. Kagamishima in comparison with the problems pointed out earlier. I shall of course draw from the results I had already published in *Saigo no Dōgen - 12 kan bon “Shōbōgenzō” to “Hōkyōki”* - (最後の道元—十二巻本『正法眼蔵』と『宝慶記』— in: *12 kan bon “Shōbōgenzō” no shomondai* 十二巻本『正法眼蔵』の諸問, edited by Genryū Kagamishima and Kakuzen Suzuki. Daizō Shuppan, 1991) and “*Eihei Ryakuroku*” *kō - 12 kan bon “Shōbōgenzō” to kanren shite* - (『永平略録』考—十二巻本『正法眼蔵』と関連して— in: *Matsugaoka Bunko Kenkyū Nenpō* vol. 11, 1997).

Also, based on the “Synopsis” in *Dōgen Shū* (*chūse zenseki sōkan dai ni*) (道元集〈中世禅籍叢刊第二〉), I had also presented the two papers *Kana “Shōbōgenzō” wa itsu seiritsu shita ka* (仮名「正法眼蔵」はいつ成立したか; On the Origin of Kana “Shōbōgenzō”, in: *Komazawa Daigaku Zen Kenkyūjo Nenpō*, vol. 28, 2016) and *Kana “Shōbōgenzō” no seiritsu katei to henshū* (仮名『正法眼蔵』の成立過程と編集, in: *Zen bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō*, vol. 34, 2019). For further details, I can only suggest to read the full papers, however, one of the main conclusions is, that the outlook for editing of the seventy-five-volume *Shōbōgenzō* has solidified in the spring of 1244 (2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Kāgen era), before the completion of the Dharma Hall of the Daibutsuji temple, when Dōgen (who was 45 years old at that time) for the second time returned to the Kippō temple.

Concerning the relationship between *Kana Shōbōgenzō* and *Eihei Kōroku*, the following has been confirmed so far. Using Dharma Hall discourses (*jōdō*) as an example, in case of those recorded in *Eihei Kōroku*, there had neither been any formal Dharma Hall to deliver them, nor any established ceremonial protocol yet. The reason why Dōgen would deliver *jōdō* was that the ritual was based on the stability of the congregation. It is said that the relationship between *Shōbōgenzō* and *Eihei Kōroku* is complementary. Apart from the 12-fascicle rendition of *Shōbōgenzō*, the newest known fascicle, according to the notes on dates and places in the 75-fascicle rendition, is *Shukke*, “delivered to the assembly on the fifteenth day of the ninth month in the fourth year of the Kāgen era (1246) in Echizen Province, at Eiheiji Monastery” when Dōgen was 47 years old. *Eihei Kōroku* contains 531 *jōdō*; since the one delivered on the first day of the ninth month in the fourth year of the Kāgen era is numbered 193, and the first day of the tenth month shows number 199, giving five sermons in one month, by the fifteenth day of the ninth month we would get to number 196. That leaves 336 (about 63 percent) remaining *jōdō*, which were delivered after that date, compared to the preceding 195 discourses. Although the date of the last *jōdō* of *Eihei Kōroku* is not known, there are records of *jōdō* dating back to one year before Dōgen’s passing in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of the Kenchō era (1253). Therefore, it is safe to say that Dōgen’s main thoughts in his final

years can be found within the 12-fascicle rendition of *Shōbōgenzō*, as well as in the *Eihei Kōroku*.

Taking into account the results of my recent research, the overlapping of *Shōbōgenzō* and *Eihei Kōroku* - excluding *Kokū* (虚空 Empty Space), *Hatsu'u* (鉢盂 Monk's Bowl), *Ango* (安居 The Retreat), *Tashintsū* (他心通 Reading the Minds and Hearts of Others), *Ō Saku Sendaba* (王索仙陀婆 A King's Request of "Saindhava") and *Shukke* (出家 Leaving Household Life) - 6 volumes from the Daibutsuji and Eiheiiji period, can only be observed in Dharma hall discourses in vol. 1 (no. 1-126) from the Kōshōji period. Starting with vol. 2 (no. 127 and up), it is possible to think of the relationship between *Shōbōgenzō* and *Eihei Kōroku* as more complementary. It is therefore possible to say that roughly 76 percent of Dōgen's most substantial thoughts in his final years were recorded here.

In my recent publications, I have also mentioned the fact that *Shōbōgenzō* has been rewritten numbers of times. Similarly, there had also been a theory of the Monkaku book being a draft and Manzan book a revised edition, and of Dōgen himself re-editing the Monkaku version. According to this theory, the revised edition would contain traces of Dōgen's most substantial thoughts, as it is in the case of *Shōbōgenzō*. However, according to Dr. Kagamishima, alterations by Dōgen or his disciples in the Monkaku book are minimal and it faithfully transmits the original. Manzan's version, on the other hand, is largely influenced by the Abridged Record and contains significant modifications. As for myself, I am also basically in favor of Kagamishima's theory that Manzan changed the text for the worse.

## 2. Problematics of Manzan's Corruption of the Original Text

First, let us look at Senne's record of the first opening discourse at the Kōshōji temple.

On the fifteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Katei, the master gathered the assembly and expounded the Dharma for the first time at this temple.

This note only shows the bare fact that master Dōgen began to deliver Dharma hall discourses. Kōshōji was founded by Dōgen in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the Tenpuku era (1233) and first opened in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Katei era (1236); the official full name is *Kannondōri-in Kōshōhōrin-ji*. The presumed original location was around Fukakusa Hōtōjiyama-chō and Fukakusa Gokurakuji-chō in Kyōto City. The present-day Kōshōji in Uji city was re-built in the Edo period. Judging from this note, on the fifteenth day of the tenth month, the construction of the Dharma Hall had already been completed, and therefore it was possible to deliver a formal discourse. *Uji Kannondōri-in sōdō kanjin no sho* 宇治観音導利院僧堂勸進之疏, compiled in the twelfth month of the first year of the Katei era (1235), contains the following passage: “The Buddha Hall was already here, Dharma Hall is not constructed yet, and the monk’s quarters are the most urgently needed.” (*Kenzeiki* 建撕記, Zuichō edition). Apparently, Dōgen had to wait until the completion of the Dharma Hall.

Both the Abridged Record and Manzan’s book modify this passage, explaining the manner in which the opening discourse was delivered.

On the fifteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Katei, at the opening of the [Dharma] hall of this temple, the Master lit incense and prayed for the long life of the emperor (...)

The most significant addition here is perhaps the word *shukushin* 祝聖 - “to pray for the long life of the emperor.” This practice must have been a natural part of temple routine at the time when Dōgen was visiting China, during opening ceremonies, discourses on every fifth day, and especially on the first and fifteenth day of the month. It is a notable fact, that according to this passage in the Monkaku book, Dōgen did not actually perform *shukushin* at all. Furthermore, as I shall point out later on, the Abridged Record and Manzan’s book shift 48 of the Dharma hall discourses from their original position in the Monkaku version and alter them to make them seem like an opening sermon. In other words, there are no records of an opening sermon in the Monkaku book.

Let us compare this with the opening sermon at Daibutsuji, as described by Ejō (1198 – 1280) in the beginning of the second volume.

Master moved to this mountain on the eighteenth day of the seventh month of the second year of the Kangen era (1244). In the following year, many students from the four directions gathered like clouds to practice with him.

The Zuichō edition of *Kenzeiki* describes how Dōgen left Kyōto for Echizen province in the following passage: “[master Dōgen] left Kyōto on the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the first year of the Kangen era (1243). (...) at the end of the same month he arrived at Shiinoshō.” At first he stayed at the Kippōji temple, eventually moving to Yamashibu, only to return to Kippōji in the beginning of the second year of the Kangen era. Eventually, Daibutsuji was constructed and the mountain where it stood came to be called Kichijōzan. Furthermore, discourse no. 177 in the second volume describes how Daibutsuji was renamed to Eiheiji. Meanwhile, in the second year of the Kangen era (1244) “on the twenty first day of the fourth month, foundations for the Dharma Hall were laid.” Finally, “on the eighteenth day of the seventh month, Master gave an opening discourse at the newly-built hall. ‘From today, this mountain will be called Kichijōzan (Auspicious Mountain) and this monastery Daibutsuji.’ He then recited a poem. ‘The virtues of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are above all auspicious things. All the Buddhas come and enter this place, therefore, this land is the most auspicious of all.’ ” (*Kenzeiki*, Zuichō edition). The Monkaku book does not give a description of this opening discourse. Interestingly, the day of arrival at Echizen province and the day of the opening ceremony both coincide with the death anniversary of Dōgen’s master, Rujing (J. Nyojō).

The beginning of the introduction to the second volume of Manzan’s book is identical with the Monkaku version, while the Abridged Record leaves out the second sentence.

Master moved to this mountain on the eighteenth day of the seventh

month of the second year of the Kangan era (1244). In the following year, many students from the four directions gathered like clouds to practice with him.

In the case of Daibutsuji, neither of the versions describes the opening discourse. The reason is not very clear, but probably the authors did not find it very important, and in case of Manzan, he might have not considered additional circumstances such as the connection with Rujing and so on.

Secondly, I would like to address the problematics of Manzan's changing the order of the discourses from the Monkaku book, as well as altering even some of the most important phrases, as described by Tetsuo Suzuki in *Sozanbon "Eihei Kōroku" dai 4 ban Jōdō go ni kansuru kenkyū* (祖山本『永平広録』第四番上堂語に関する研究. In: *750 daionki kinen – Dōgen Zenji kenkyūron shū* 〈七百五十回大遠忌記念〉道元禪師研究論集, Eiheiiji, 2002).

The first Dharma Hall discourse in the Monkaku book goes as follows.

Dharma hall discourse. Master said, for [following] the family style of relying on grasses, and the mind of grasping trees, the best thicket is the monastery. One rap on the sitting platform and three hits on the drum expound and transmit the subtle, wondrous sounds of the Tathāgata. At this very time, what do you Kōshōji students say? After a pause, Dōgen said: South of the Xiang River and north of the Tan, there is a golden country where countless common people sink into the ground.

In the original Monkaku manuscript, there is a missing character, which has been amended in one of the later copies. One of the key phrases here is “the best thicket is the monastery.” Manzan's version, however, places this discourse as the second, while, based on the Abridged Record, moves the following discourse in the first place (underlined passages are different from the Monkaku book):



Dharma hall discourse. This mountain monk has not passed through many monasteries. Somehow I just met Tiantong, my late teacher. Under him, I realized that the eyes are horizontal and the nose vertical, and finally I stopped being deceived by anybody. Then, I returned to my homeland with empty hands. And so, I do not have even the slightest amount of Buddha Dharma. Trusting fate, I just spend my time. Morning after morning, the sun rises in the east. Evening after evening, the moon sets in the west. The clouds disperse and mountains can be seen clearly as they are. After the rain, the mountains in the four directions are close. What do you make of that? After a pause, Master said, every three years is a leap year. A rooster crows toward sunrise. He stepped down from his seat.

This discourse can be found in the Monkaku book vol. 1, under the number 48.

Dharma hall discourse. The Master said: This mountain monk has not passed through many monasteries. Somehow I just met my late teacher Tiantong. However, I was not deceived by Tiantong. But Tiantong was deceived by this mountain monk. Recently, I returned to my homeland with empty hands. And so this mountain monk has no Buddha Dharma. Trusting fate, I just spend my time. Morning after morning, the sun rises in the east. Evening after evening, the moon sets in the west. The clouds disperse and mountain valleys are still. After the rain, the mountains in the four directions are close. Every three years is always a leap year. A rooster crows toward sunrise.

Here, not only the order of the discourses was changed, but also their content was altered. Especially the phrase “I realized that the eyes are horizontal and the nose vertical, and finally I stopped being deceived by anybody.” “Eyes are horizontal, nose vertical” is a realization Dōgen allegedly made while studying under Rujing, often referred to as one of Dōgen’s trademark teachings. However, it has no connection with the

teachings in this discourse, and it is unthinkable to alter Dōgen's speech in such manner. In fact, this discourse is closely connected with the previous and succeeding one, nos. 47 and 49, a fact which needs to be considered in order to fully comprehend the meaning. First, let us examine discourse no. 47.

Dharma hall discourse. The Master said, as soon as I happen to hear the two words "Buddha Dharma," my ears and eyes are stained. Even before you people stepped across the doorsill of the monks' hall or stepped into the Dharma hall, already I have given you thirty good blows. Although it is thus, this mountain monk today has fully exerted his powers for the sake of the assembly. Dōgen gave one shout and descended from his seat.

Manzan's book and the Abridged Record provide the following altered version:

Dharma hall discourse. The Master said, as soon as I happen to hear the two words "Buddha Dharma," my ears and eyes are stained. Even before you people arrived into the Dharma hall, already I have endured you thirty good blows. Although it is thus, this mountain monk today has, for the sake of the assembly, fully exerted his powers. Dōgen gave one shout and descended from his seat.

Discourse no. 47 is based on a classical Chinese chan text *Xu deng lu* 續燈錄 (J. Zokutōroku), vol. 9, chapter titled Qixian Zhiqian 棲賢智遷.

Dharma hall discourse. The Master said, when I hear the two words "Buddha Dharma," my ears and eyes are stained. Even before you people stepped across the doorsill and set your foot in the Dharma hall, already I have given you thirty good blows. Although it is thus, this mountain monk today has fully exerted his powers for the sake of the assembly. Thank you for listening. (*Xu deng lu* 136 - 74 bottom left -

75 top right.)

Qixian was from Lushan, his personal name was Zhiqian (? – 1086). He belonged to the Yunmen school 雲門宗 (J. Unmon Shū) and was a dharma heir of Tianyi Yihuai 天衣義懷 (a disciple of Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯). The above-mentioned discourse no. 48 is also based on the same Qixian Zhiqian chapter of the *Xu deng lu*, vol. 9.

Dharma hall discourse. The Master said, this mountain monk has no Buddha Dharma. Trusting fate, I just spend my time. Morning after morning, the sun rises in the east. Evening after evening, the moon sets in the west. The clouds disperse and mountain valleys are still. After the rain, the mountains in the four directions are close. Every three years is a leap year. A rooster crows toward sunrise. Now go and contemplate on this. (Ibid., 74 bottom left.)

The following discourse no. 49 contains very similar teaching:

Dharma hall discourse. Master said, this mountain monk has not lectured for the sake of the assembly for a long time. Why is this? Every moment the Buddha hall, the monks' hall, the valley streams, and the pine and bamboo endlessly speak on my behalf, fully for the sake of all people. Have you all heard it or not? If you say you heard it, what did you hear? If you say you have not heard it, you do not keep the five precepts.

This discourse is also largely a quotation of the Qixian Zhiqian chapter of *Xu deng lu*.

Dharma hall discourse. Master said, this mountain monk has not given a lecture for the sake of the assembly for a long time. Why? Every day the Buddha hall, the monks' hall, the valley streams, and the pine and bamboo endlessly speak on my behalf, fully for the sake of all people.

This mountain monk has become a person without attachment, therefore he had taught what needed to be taught. Now, all of you, try to explain, what kind of Dharma is this? In the future, if someone asks you about this, just don't fall apart. (Ibid., 75 top right.)

By comparing these texts, especially considering the part of discourse no. 48 from “And so this mountain monk...” onwards, it becomes even more clear that the phrase “Under him, I realized that the eyes are horizontal and the nose vertical, and finally I stopped being deceived by anybody.” is not in the original version, and revering it as one of Dōgen's teachings would be a great mistake. Moreover, by recognizing the words “Morning after morning, the sun rises in the east. Evening after evening, the moon sets in the west.” as being part of a classical Chan text, it is possible to say that the pivotal thought of this discourse is not in this phrase. Rather, it is Dōgen's own words “This mountain monk has not passed through many monasteries. Somehow I just met my late teacher Tiantong. However, I was not deceived by Tiantong. But Tiantong was deceived by this mountain monk.” Here, in a very typical Zen way, Dōgen seemingly mocks his master Rujing in order to show immense respect towards him.

Therefore, it is similar to, for example, this following passage of *Shōbōgenzō*: “By what good fortune have I been permitted to enter his monastery, even though I am an alien seed from a distant foreign land? And further, I have been allowed to have free access to the abbot's private quarters that I might do prostrations to his venerable body and listen to his words of Dharma. Though I am foolish and ignorant, I have been able to form a fruitful bond with him. At the time when my late Master was doing his part to transform the worldly ways of Song China, there were people who were able to explore the Matter, as well as those who were not able to do so. Now that my late Master, the Old Buddha, has departed from the world of Song China, it has probably become even more dismal than a moonless night. And why is that? I would simply answer, “Because around the time of my late Master, an Old Buddha, there were no Old Buddhas like my late Master, the Old Buddha.” (*Shōbōgenzō, Baika*. Translated by Hubert

Nearman. Shasta Abbey Press, 2007.) Moreover, this problem is deeply related to discourse no. 184 in volume 2, which will be examined in the next section.

Thirdly, I would like to examine in some detail Dōgen's doctrine of unity of practice and enlightenment, one of the most crucial thoughts of *Eihei Kōroku*. I shall illustrate how Manzan's book completely misses Dōgen's concept of Zen just by changing two characters in discourse no. 188, vol. 3, resulting in a serious text corruption.

Dharma hall discourse. Master said, under the heavens all is very peaceful. Wherever the monk's staff travels, you can eat rice. All the myriad common people have peace and bliss. Whenever [there is teaching] amid temple pillars, flowers blossom. Therefore, a smile broke out on Mahākāśyapa's face, and [Dazu] Huike made prostrations and attained the marrow. Having arrived at this field, then practice a full lifetime. What is the reason for this? Unless you climb a great mountain, you will not know the heights of heaven. Unless you cross the blue depths, you will not know the ocean's expanse. If one is a practitioner, heaven exists within one grain of millet, the ocean exists on the tip of a hair. The Flower Treasury World of Constant Tranquil Radiance is completely included in our eyebrows and eyelashes. Please tell me, in what place does this [practice] person pacify the body and establish a life? Do you thoroughly understand? After a pause Dōgen said: Crossing mountains and rivers, you polish and break straw sandals. Having accomplished this, just as before you are still deceived by your eyes.

Manzan's version, again based on the Abridged Record, provides the following alterations:

Dharma hall discourse. Master spoke, under the heavens all is very peaceful. Wherever the monk's bowl travels, you can eat rice. All the

myriad common people have peace and bliss. Whenever [there is teaching] amid temple pillars, flowers blossom. Therefore, a smile broke out on Mahākāśyapa's face, and [Dazu] Huike made prostrations and attained the marrow. Even if you do arrive at this field, then practice for thirty years. What is the reason for this? Unless you climb a great mountain, you will not know the heights of heaven. Unless you cross the blue depths, you will not know the ocean's expanse. If one reaches this state of practice, he is able to put heaven and earth within one grain of millet, and the great ocean on the tip of a hair. The Flower Treasury World of Constant Tranquil Radiance is on top of our eyebrows and eyelashes. Please tell me, in what place does this [practice] person pacify the body and establish a life? Do you thoroughly understand? Do you thoroughly understand? After a pause Dōgen spoke: Crossing mountains and rivers, you polish and break straw sandals. Having accomplished this, you will finally know you are still deceived by your eyes.

In this discourse, the passage after “What is the reason for this?” onwards is clearly inspired by the following part of *The Words of Mencius*. “Confucius ascended the eastern hill, and Lu appeared to him small. He ascended the Tai mountain, and all beneath the heavens appeared to him small. So he who has contemplated the sea, finds it difficult to think anything of other waters (...)” However, it also draws from the following discourse found in the 7<sup>th</sup> volume of *Yuanwu yulu* 圓悟語錄.

Dharma hall discourse. Master said, unless you climb the Tai mountain, you will not know the heights of heaven. Unless you cross the blue depths, you will not know the ocean's expanse. This is a limited teaching. If one is a realized being, heaven exists within one grain of millet, the ocean exists on the tip of a hair. The Flower Treasury World of Constant Tranquil Radiance is completely included between our eyebrows and eyelashes. Try and tell me, in what place does this realized being pacify the body and establish a life? Do you

want to understand thoroughly? Infinite emptiness cannot be filled, passes through time before the appearance of the primordial Buddha *Bhismagarjitasvararāja* and heads even further. (Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 47 - 746c)

Here, what I find the most problematic is Manzan's altering of the words "just as before (you are still deceived by your eyes)." The original version is very similar to Dōgen's viewpoint on practice as described in the *Bukkyō* 仏教 chapter of *Shōbōgenzō*: "Do not think that practice leads to the Other Shore. Practice exists within the Other Shore; therefore, if we are practicing, the Other Shore has arrived." Or, as Kagamishima Genryū observes, "the starting point and the goal of practice are both the same." Manzan's alteration (based on the Abridged Record), on the other hand, gives an impression that "the starting point and the goal of practice are different." This thought, specific to Song-dynasty Chan, is described in the following poem from *Baiyun Shouduan Guanglu* 白雲守端廣錄, vol. 3, titled 'Flies pass through the window': "For the love I seek the light by pouring over books; I was unable to leave that place – how difficult. Suddenly, I arrive on the road I came from and begin to awaken to the past my eyes had cheated." (English translation by John Balcom.) Clearly, this is a very different concept from Dōgen's Zen philosophy. Moreover, Manzan changes the phrase "*Therefore, a smile broke out on Mahākāśyapa's face, and [Dazu] Huike made prostrations and attained the marrow. Having arrived at this field, then practice a full lifetime.*" to "*Therefore, a smile broke out on Mahākāśyapa's face, and [Dazu] Huike made prostrations and attained the marrow. Even if you do arrive at this field, then practice for thirty years.*" basically saying that deceit is the premise of reality. The principal thought of the original discourse is precisely the same as the famous passage from *Busshō* 仏性 chapter of *Shōbōgenzō*: "When the time has come" means "The time has come already! What could there be to doubt?" or, in the same chapter, "The truth of the Buddha Nature is that we are not equipped with the Buddha Nature before we realize the state of Buddha; we are equipped with it following realization of the state of Buddha. The Buddha Nature and realization of Buddha

inevitably experience the same state together. We should thoroughly investigate and consider this truth. We should consider it and learn it in practice for thirty years or twenty years.”

Although I have already elaborated on the character of Dōgen’s Abridged Record, which had widely served as a basis to Manzan’s alterations, in my previous papers, I shall now further illustrate my theory using *shōsan* (Informal Speech) no. 13 from volume 8.

(A) Informal Speech at Winter Solstice. The Master said, elder and younger brothers, where great virtue matures, the first energy of brightness immediately arises. The ten thousand things can return and directly see the venerable worthy one [Buddha]. So it is said, “The whole world in ten directions is your own single eye; the whole world in ten directions is your self; the whole world in ten directions is your own radiant light; the whole world in ten directions is this gate of liberation.” What place is not a place where you attain buddhahood? What time is not a time when you expound the Dharma? Don’t you know the saying that even when Protecting Brightness [Bodhisattva] had not descended from the Tushita Heaven, the single circle was complete, pervading the ten directions?  
I appreciate these words [from Hongzhi].

(B) Here is a story. Zen Master Nanyue [Huairang] Dahui once visited the sixth patriarch [Huineng] at Caoxi. The patriarch asked him, “Where are you from?”

Nanyue said, “I came from the place of National Teacher Songshan [Hui]an.”

The patriarch said, “What is this that thus comes?”

Nanyue never put this question aside. After eight years he told the sixth patriarch, “I, Huairang can now understand the question, ‘What is this that thus comes?’ that you received me with upon my first arriving to see you.”



The sixth patriarch asked, “How do you understand it?”

Nanyue said, “To explain or demonstrate anything would completely miss the mark.”

The sixth patriarch said, “Then do you suppose there is realization-practice or not?”

Nanyue said, “It is not that there is no realization-practice, but only that it cannot be defiled.”

The sixth patriarch said, “This nondefilement (不染汚) is exactly what the buddhas protect and care for. I am thus, you are thus, and the patriarchs in India also are thus.”

Caoxi asked his student a good question, and Nanyue exerted his effort well. Although this is so, I want to count the black and white stones of Sanavasin. Because of his veneration for his teacher, [Sanavasin’s disciple Upagupta] could feel the radiance from the white hair curl. At just such a time, ultimately, what can be said?

After a pause Dōgen said: The four great elements return to their own natures, just as a child turns to its mother.

Late into the night, the assembly is compassionate. I respectfully hope you will take good care.

This talk is not included in the Abridged Record, therefore Manzan almost completely adheres to the original. Perhaps the most striking difference was changing the order of the characters in Dōgen’s term nondefilement (不染汚) to the original (不汚染) as seen in the Record of the Transmission of the Lamp 伝燈錄, chapter about Nanyue Huairang.

- (A) Informal Speech at Winter Solstice. The Master said, where great virtue matures, the first energy of brightness immediately arises. The ten thousand things can return to the source and directly see the venerable worthy one [Buddha]. So it is said, “The whole world in ten directions is your own single eye; the whole world in ten directions is your self; the whole world in ten directions is your own radiant light; the whole world in ten directions is this gate of liberation.” What place

is not a place where you attain buddhahood? What time is not a time when you expound the Dharma and save people? Don't you know the saying that even when Protecting Brightness [Bodhisattva] had not descended from the Tushita Heaven, the single circle was complete, pervading the ten directions?

- (B) Here is a story. Zen Master Nanyue [Huairang] Dahui once visited the sixth patriarch [Huineng] at Caoxi. The patriarch asked him, “Where are you from?”

Nanyue said, “I came from the place of National Teacher Songshan [Hui]an.”

The patriarch said, “What is this that thus comes?”

Nanyue never put this question aside. After eight years he told the sixth patriarch, “I, Huairang can now understand the question, ‘What is this that thus comes?’ that you received me with upon my first arriving to see you.”

The sixth patriarch asked, “How do you understand it?”

Nanyue said, “To explain or demonstrate anything would completely miss the mark.”

The sixth patriarch said, “Then do you suppose there is realization-practice or not?”

Nanyue said, “It is not that there is no realization-practice, but only that it cannot be defiled.”

The sixth patriarch said, “This non-defilement (不污染) is exactly what the buddhas protect and care for. I am thus, you are thus, and the patriarchs in India also are thus.”

Caoxi asked his student a good question, and Nanyue exerted his effort well. Although this is so, I want to count the black and white stones of Sanavasini. Because of his veneration for his teacher, [Sanavasini's disciple Upagupta] could feel the radiance from the white hair curl. At just such a time, ultimately, what can be said?

After a pause Dōgen said: The four great elements return to their own natures, just as a child turns to its mother.

Late into the night, the assembly is compassionate. I respectfully hope you will take good care.

The first part of this Informal Speech at Winter Solstice was largely based on the following *shōsan* from the first volume of *Hongzhi lu* 宏智錄.

- (A') Informal Speech at Winter Solstice. The Master said: Elder and younger brothers, the great practice constantly shifts, borrowing births. When a certain form disappears, it is possible to see its true state. When you set your feet into the subtle, crane comes out of a silver cage. Looking back at the final goal, the moon spreads out gold all over the ground. Enlightenment is not obstructed by solitude, the self always practices along. When you reach realization, past, present and future become empty and complete. So it is said, “The whole world in ten directions is your own single eye; the whole world in ten directions is your self; the whole world in ten directions is your own radiant light; the whole world in ten directions is this gate of liberation.” What place is not a place where you attain buddhahood? What time is not a time when you expound the Dharma? Don't you know the saying that even when Protecting Brightness [Bodhisattva] had not descended from the Tushita Heaven, the single circle was complete, pervading the ten directions? (Here, Zen Master Hongzhi gave words of gratitude.)
- (B') Master continued with an old kōan. A monk asked master Qinglin, “What happens if one tries to go there directly?” Qinglin replied, “A dead snake lies across a great road. I advise you not to confront it.” The monk asked, “What if I do confront it?” Qinglin said, “You will lose your life.” The monk asked, “What if I don't confront it?” Qinglin said, “There is no way to go around it.” The monk said, “What happens at that very moment?” Qinglin said, “You will still lose your life.” The monk said, “Where shall I go then?” Qinglin replied, “The grass is deep,

there is no place to search for it.” The monk said, “Master, you too should protect yourself.” Qinglin clapped his hands and said, “It is all poisonous!”

Hongzhi commented: This monk was able to pose a question and Qinglin could answer it. The true value of both was demonstrated without falling into falsehood. The master used his brilliant skill to suppress the student’s mistake. A monk who is influenced by other’s poison is not a clever one. Now tell me, what happens at that very moment? After a long pause, Master said: Put it in a bag with no opening, catch it with a basket with no bottom and bring it to me. (Meicho Fukyū Kai edition, p. 60)

This *shōsan*, as provided in the Monkaku book, is partially inspired by *Hongzhi lu*. However, in part (B) Dōgen provides his own distinct thoughts. Namely the segment beginning with *Nanyue said*, “*To explain or demonstrate anything would completely miss the mark.*” in part (B), a classic Chan case, is closely linked to Dōgen’s teaching of “undefiled realization-practice” or “marvelous practice-enlightenment.” The importance of this passage in the context of Dōgen’s philosophy is undeniable. Following is an excerpt from *Shōbōgenzō - Bendōwa* 辨道話 .

He may then ask, “Granted that someone who has not yet clearly understood what Buddha Dharma is may possibly secure certainty by diligently doing seated meditation. But what about those who are already clear as to what the Buddha’s true teaching is? What could they possibly expect from doing seated meditation?” I would point out, “Since it is said that we should not discuss our dreams in front of those who are befuddled, or uselessly put oars into the hands of a woodcutter, I am disinclined to answer your question directly. Still there is some teaching that I can give you. “Now then, to think that practice and realization are separate from each other is a non-Buddhist view, or a misunderstanding of the Way. In Buddhism, practice and realization are completely one and the same. Because it is a practice

based on being spiritually awake at this very moment, the diligent practice which springs forth from our initial resolve to seek the Way is, in itself, the whole of one's innate certainty. For this reason, we teach that you should not hold in mind any expectation of being enlightened as something outside of, or apart from, practice, since this practice directly points you towards your own original, innate certainty. "Since this certainty is a spiritually awakened one that already exists within the practice, your certainty will know no limits: since the practice already exists within spiritually awakened certainty, your practice will know no beginning. This is why the Tathagata Shakyamuni and the Venerable Mahakasyapa were both governed by Their practice, which was based on being spiritually awake. Great master Bodhidharma and the exalted patriarch Dajian Huineng, likewise, were 'hauled and tumbled about' by their practice based on being spiritually awake. Such are the signs of one who resides in, and keeps to, the Buddha Dharma. "A practice that is not separate from being spiritually awake already exists. It is our good fortune to have had this wondrous practice Transmitted to us individually, and to diligently pursue it with the attitude of mind which first awakened in us the desire to seek the Truth is, in itself, to arrive at that original, spiritually awakened state which is our innate, 'uncreated' Foundation. Be aware that the buddhas and patriarchs repeatedly taught that we must not be slack in our training and practice, so that we do not stain or tarnish our innate enlightenment, which is inseparable from our practice. If you let go of any thought of 'I am doing a marvelous practice,' your innate enlightenment will fill your hands to overflowing. If you purge yourself of any thought of 'being enlightened', this wondrous practice will operate throughout your whole being. "Further, when I was in the land of the great Song dynasty, what I saw with my own eyes, in all the Zen monasteries everywhere, was a Meditation Hall with anywhere from five or six hundred to one or two thousand monks peacefully continuing to do seated meditation day and night. When I asked those Masters of our tradition—namely, those who had had the

buddha mind seal transmitted to them and were serving as abbots of these monasteries—what Buddhism is in sum and substance, I was instructed that it was the principle that 'practice and being spiritually awake are not two separate things.' Therefore, not only for the sake of those trainees within the gates of our temple, but also for those who, distinguished by their seeking for the Dharma, yearn for the truth within the Buddha's teachings, I have followed the path of the skilful teachers of our tradition. And in accordance with what these buddhas and patriarchs have taught, I have put forth that one must diligently practice the way by doing seated meditation. I have done so without distinguishing between those with the attitudes of a novice or of a senior, and without concerning myself with whether those being instructed are ordinary people or saintly ones.

“Surely you have heard what masters have said: 'It is not that practice and enlightenment do not exist. It is just that they cannot be taken hold of and defiled,' and 'The one who clearly sees what the Way is, is the one who practices the way.' Understand that you must do your practice and practice amidst the realizing of the way.” (Shunjūsha edition 2 – pp. 470 – 471; English translation by Hubert Nearman)

Another example can be found in the beginning of *Shōbōgenzō – Jishō zanmai*.

What has been authentically transmitted by the buddhas from the Seven Buddhas on is that the meditative state of one's practice is identical with one's inherent enlightenment. In other words, we sometimes submit ourselves to what a good spiritual friend advises and sometimes we submit ourselves to what Scriptural texts advise, for these are both the Eye of the Buddhas and Patriarchs. This is why the following dialogue occurred. The old buddha Dajian Huineng once put the question to a monk, asking, “And is this a substitute for practice and enlightenment?” The monk replied, “It is not that there is no practice and enlightenment, but rather, there is nothing

to be had that will stain it.” So, keep in mind that one’s practice and enlightenment being unstained by attachments is a characteristic of buddhas and patriarchs. It is the meditative state of the buddhas and patriarchs being experienced like a flash of lightning, like a gust of wind, like a roll of thunder. (ibid. p. 198.)

Similarly, in the introduction to *Shōbōgenzō* - *Senjō* Dōgen cites the same source, stating that “The realization-practice of enlightenment, which the buddhas and patriarchs have protected and maintained, has been described as ‘being free from defilement.’” (ibid., p. 80.) This concept of “realization-practice” is very different from mainstream Chan in Song China, which considered practice and enlightenment to be two separate stages (修証兩段). I believe that this teaching is precisely what makes the Winter Solstice *shōsan* in *Eihei Kōroku* so valuable.

For further reading, see my article *Nangaku Ejō no gyōji – setsu ji ichimotsu soku fuchū* (南嶽懷讓の行持—説似一物即不中 in: *Dōgen Zenji Shōbōgenzō gyōji ni manabu* 道元禪師 正法眼藏行持に学ぶ. Zen bunka Kenkyūjo, 2007.)

Let us examine the same *shōsan* as presented by the Abridged Record.

- (A) Informal Speech at Winter Solstice. Where great virtue matures, the first energy of brightness immediately arises. The ten thousand things can return to the source and directly see the venerable worthy one [Buddha]. So it is said, “The whole world in ten directions is your own single eye; the whole world in ten directions is your self; the whole world in ten directions is your own radiant light; the whole world in ten directions is this gate of liberation.” What place is not a place where you attain buddhahood? What time is not a time when you expound the Dharma and save people? Don’t you know the saying that even when Protecting Brightness [Bodhisattva] had not descended from the Tushita Heaven, the single circle was complete, pervading the ten directions? (Kagamishima, p. 154)

The Abridged Record only includes part (A), largely a quotation from *Hongzhi lu*, and completely omits part (B), which includes Dōgen's distinctive teaching. Therefore, it is possible to say that the main focus here is on the teaching of "continuity" of Song-dynasty Chan, while the theory of "discontinuity" is missing. Since I have already written about the nature of "Dōgen's Abridged Record" in other articles, I shall leave it out by now. As I already pointed out elsewhere, Dōgen was largely influenced by *Hongzhi lu*. On the other hand, *Eihei Kōroku* also shows a great deal of alienation from Hongzhi's thought. This can be illustrated by the following Dharma hall discourse at winter solstice (vol. 2, no. 135), omitted in the Abridged Record.

Winter Solstice Dharma hall discourse. When the ancient Buddha Hongzhi was residing at Mount Tiantong, during a winter solstice Dharma hall discourse he said, "Yin reaches its fullness and yang arises, strength is exhausted and our state changes. A green dragon runs fleetly when his bones are exposed. A black panther is transformed when he is clothed in mist. Take the skulls of the buddhas of the three times, and thread them onto a single rosary. Do not speak of bright and dark heads, as truly they are sun face, moon face. Even if your measuring cup is full and the balance scale is level, in transactions I sell at a high price and buy when cheap. Zen worthies, do you understand? In a bowl the bright pearl rolls on its own without prodding.

"Here is a story," Xuefeng asked a monk, 'Where are you going?' "The monk said, 'I'm going to do community work.' "Xuefeng said, 'Go.' "Yunmen said, 'Xuefeng understands people according to their words.'" Hongzhi said [about this dialogue], "Don't move. If you move I'll give you thirty blows. Why is this so? For a luminous jewel without flaw, if you carve a pattern its virtue is lost."

The teacher Dōgen said: Although these three venerable ones spoke this way, I, old man Daibutsu, do not agree. Great assembly, listen carefully and consider this well. For a luminous jewel without flaw, if



polished its glow increases.

Today's first [arising of] yang [and the daylight's increase] is an auspicious occasion; a noble person reaches maturity. Although this is an auspicious occasion for laypeople, it is truly a delight and support for buddha patriarchs. Yesterday, the short length [of day] departed, yin reached its fullness, and the sound of cold wind ceased. This morning the growing length [of day] arrived, and yang arises with a boisterous clamor. Now patch-robed monks feel happy and sustained, and the buddha patriarchs dance with joy. How could directly transcending [going back before] the realm of Awesome Sound King of Emptiness have anything to do with the seasons of spring, autumn, winter, or summer? Although to see in this way [transcending the phenomenal world] is the life vein of wise people and sages, and the liver and kidneys [essential organs] of humans and heavenly beings, it is not yet the nostrils of Shakyamuni and the eyeballs of Mahakasyapa. Do you people want to understand the occasion of this auspicious morning?

With his whisk Dōgen drew a circle and said: Look.

After a pause Dōgen said: Although the plum blossoms are bright amid the fallen snow, inquire further about the first arrival of yang [with the solstice].

(This mountain [temple] is located in Etsu [Province] in the Hokuriku [northern] region, where from winter through spring the fallen snow does not disappear, at various times seven or eight feet, or even more than ten feet deep. Furthermore, Tiantong [Rujing, Dōgen's teacher] had the expression "Plum blossoms amid the fallen snow," which the teacher Dōgen always liked to use. Therefore, after staying on this mountain, Dōgen often spoke of snow.)

Interestingly, according to the footnote, this discourse at winter solstice is also related to Rujing. As I had already pointed out numerous times, here we find a great example of the difference between the teachings of Dōgen and Hongzhi. The reason why Dōgen rephrased Hongzhi's

sentence “For a luminous jewel without flaw, if you carve a pattern its virtue is lost.” as “For a luminous jewel without flaw, if polished its glow increases.” even though the first part, which signifies “realization” is identical, is because Dōgen, unlike Hongzhi, has put great emphasis on “realization-practice.”

Dōgen’s Abridged Record was the very first publication of Dōgen’s teachings and became a great influence on the subsequent history of the Sōtō school. However, as illustrated above, this highly modified abstract of *Eihei Kōroku* created by Wuwei Yiyuan loses some of the major aspects of Dōgen’s view on Zen. Moreover, this view has been taken on by the Sōtō school until the present, focusing mainly on the concept of “continuity” of Song-dynasty Chan. In other words, despite the fact that Dōgen’s philosophy was quite different from the Chinese Caodong (Sōtō) school, the Japanese Sōtō school grew increasingly closer to its Chinese counterpart, emphasizing mostly the differences between the Rinzai school. What I feel is the most unique characteristic of Dōgen’s thought is the teaching of “discontinuity,” which marked a significant change in his final years. Therefore, I believe that this loss of characteristics of Dōgen’s philosophy was very unfortunate in the history of Sōtō school in Japan.

In conclusion, Manzan’s book, based on the Abridged Record, has done more harm than good and therefore should not be handled as Dōgen’s authentic writing.

### **3. Does the Monkaku book retain the original form?**

So far, using several examples of text corruption, I have shown how Manzan’s book does not retain the original teachings. Up until to this point, I have argued that the Monkaku edition is the closest to the original, however, I would like to examine how faithful it is to Dōgen’s authentic teachings.

The only clue which I am aware of can be found in vol. 2, Dharma Hall discourse no. 184 which goes as follows.

Dharma hall discourse on the Memorial Day for Tiantong Rujing.

Master said, When I entered China I studied walking to be like someone from Handan. I worked very hard carrying water and hauling firewood. Don't say that my late teacher deceived his disciple. Rather, Tiantong was deceived by Dōgen.

(In another version, Dōgen said, When I entered China I studied walking to be like someone from Handan. I worked very hard carrying water and hauling firewood. Don't say that the King of Chin deceived Zhao to get their jewel. Rather, Tiantong was deceived by Dōgen.)

I shall return to the second part (“In another version, Dōgen said...”) later. Based on the Abridged Record, Manzan provides the following version:

Dharma hall discourse on the Memorial Day for Tiantong Rujing. Master spoke: When I entered China I studied walking to be like someone from Handan, until I forgot all about it. Nose is vertical, eyes are horizontal, there is no duality. Don't say that my late teacher deceived his student. Rather, Tiantong was deceived by Eihei [Dōgen].

Once again, Manzan (based on the Abridged Record) adds the sentence “Nose is vertical, eyes are horizontal, there is no duality,” similarly to the above-mentioned case of the first Dharma Hall discourse of his book. Claims such as “Nose is vertical, eyes are horizontal” or “eyes are horizontal, nose is vertical” are not found in Dōgen's authentic texts, and therefore cannot be considered as one of his key teachings. This phrase, however, appears in some Chinese chan texts, such as *Hongzhi lu*, which was frequently cited by Dōgen.

[The person in this portrait (Hongzhi) has] eyes horizontal, nose straight and vertical, his spirit is clear and austere. With hands and eyes like Guanyin, he is adorned with gold and his body is filled with pure light like a precious jar. With his woven thread, spring flowers bloom wildly, objects are viewed as equal and discrimination

disappears, like Zhuangzhi who became a butterfly in his dream.  
(Meicho Fukyū Kai edition, p. 362.)

The practice of carrying out all tasks as a part of spiritual training, which Dōgen learned from Rujing, are based on the words of Layman Pang cited in *Shōbōgenzō - Jinzū* 神通, “The mystical power and wondrous function, Carrying water and lugging firewood.” The same chapter also contains the following passage:

Carrying water and lugging firewood have never yet been abandoned, and people have not neglected them. Therefore they have arrived from the ancient past at the present; and what has been transmitted from here to others, without even an instant of regression or deviation, is the mystical power and the wondrous function. This is the great mystical power. It can never be the same as the small ones of the small. (Shunjūsha edition 1 – p. 396; English translation by Gudo Wafu Nishijima and Chodo Cross)

The last sentence of this passage (“It can never be the same as the small ones of the small.”) is a reference to a story about Master Guishan Lingyou 馮山靈祐 and his disciple Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 who, upon being demanded dream interpretation, brought in a towel and a basin of water, showing his spiritual abilities; at the same time, this is the main point of the discourse.

The original version of the discourse, however, was as follows:

(In another version, Dōgen said: When I entered China I studied walking to be like someone from Handan. I worked very hard carrying water and hauling firewood. Don't say that the King of Chin deceived Zhao to get their jewel. Rather, Tiantong was deceived by Dōgen.)

The third sentence (“Don't say that the King of Chin deceived Zhao to

get their jewel.”) of this version is completely different; it is an idiomatic expression derived from Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji 史記), Biographies of Lian Po and Lin Xiangru. During the Warring States period, the wise minister Lin Xiangru of Zhao was sent to the king of Qin to trade the sacred Heshibi jade disk for fifteen cities. However, the king of Qin did not keep his word and Lin Xiangru returned the jade safely to Zhao. In this discourse, Dōgen is apparently being likened to Lin Xiangru.

So what exactly does the sentence “In another version, Dōgen said” mean? Itō Shūken in his book *Dōgen Zen kenkyū* (道元禪研究 . Daizō Shuppan, 1998.) classifies the two versions as (a) and (b). As for the reason why this text has been altered, he bases his theory on the publication *Eihei Dōgen Zenji Kōroku Kaisetsu* (永平道元禪師広録解説 . Kinkōdō, 1951) by Noiri Kōjun 野扒孝純 . The following is an excerpt from Itō’s book.

The meaning of the words “another version” is that version (a) is a modification of the original (b). In version (b), the “king of Qin” signifies master Tiantong, while the “jewel of Zhao” is his disciple Dōgen. The text was most likely modified because using the old Chinese legend as a metaphor seemed somewhat complicated.

According to Itō, there is no evidence as to who altered the text, however, the Eiheiji section of volume 2, edited by Ejō, mentions the existence of a manuscript which contained the original version of the text. I believe that this is a very important fact to consider in regards to further examination of the Monkaku book. In other words, it is safe to say that there had been another manuscript before the Monkaku book was created. The key word in the above-mentioned discourse is “rather” in the sentence “Rather, Tiantong was deceived by Dōgen.” Similarly to the word “but” in the phrase “But Tiantong was deceived by this mountain monk.” from vol. 1, discourse 48 mentioned earlier, Dōgen here expresses his complete trust in master Rujing. I do not believe, however, that the discourse was modified because “using the old Chinese legend as a metaphor seemed somewhat complicated.” Rather, it is safe to consider that altering the text resulted in

the loss of the original form.

Now, let us look at another example of deviation from the original manuscript, first pointed out by Kagamishima Genryū. The text in question is in vol. 9, *Juko* (Verses Praising Ancients) no. 33. Following is a passage from Kagamishima's commentary in the Shunjūsha edition.

*Juko* no. 33 in volume 9 of *Eihei Kōroku* goes as follows.

Master Touzi [Yi]qing served Dayang [Qingxuan] for three years. One day Dayang inquired of the teacher [Touzi Yiqing] saying, "One outside the way asked the Buddha, 'I don't ask you about speaking or not speaking.' The World-Honored One paused for a while. What about this?" [Touzi Yi]qing tried to respond, but [Da]yang covered Yiqing's mouth. Yiqing clearly had an opening to enlightenment, and immediately made prostrations.

Dayang said, "Did you subtly realize the mysterious function?" Yiqing said, "If I had, I should have vomited it out." At the time, attendant Zi was standing by them and said, "[Yi]qing Huayan today seems like he is sick in a sweat." Yiqing looked back at him and said, "Shut your mouth, dog."

Even though his mouth was covered, what about his nose? Since he had not swallowed, why take the trouble to vomit? Creating a disciple on behalf of his master, the school's branch extends far. In the blue sky thunder stops, shooting stars abundant.

An almost identical verse appears in [Jia tai] pudeng lu 普燈錄, vol. 2, and [Lian deng] hui yao 會要, vol. 28. However, both of the above-mentioned texts present it as a conversation between Fushan and Touzi; eventually, someone changed it to Dayang and Touzi. The question is, was it Dōgen who changed the names, or some later author? I had posed this question in *Dōgen Zenji to sono monryū* 道元禪師とその門流 (1961) on page 96. I translated Dōgen's commentary in the following way: "The master became Dayang on behalf of his disciple," and for the first time the whole passage started making sense to me, thus becoming obvious that the alteration of the original

text must have happened somewhere in later generation; in other words, it seems like the author of the alteration is burying his head in the sand while leaving other parts of his body exposed. (Ibid., p. 126). However, after the discovery of *Shōbōgenzō – Daigo* 大悟 at the Shinpukuji temple in Nagoya (presented in *Shōbōgenzō no seiritsushiteki kenkyū* 正法眼蔵の成立史的研究), the following passage was found, “One day Touzi Yiqing inquired of the teacher Fushan Yuanjian saying, ‘One outside the way asked the Buddha(…)’” making it obvious that Dōgen had already known the fact that the Dayang and Touzi version was an alteration and serving as a proof that this was not done by Dōgen but some later author. Yet in the old manuscript of *Kenzeiki*, it is already presented as Rujing’s teaching, so it should be regarded as an old tradition, not Manzan’s alteration. However, the fact that there are alterations already present in the Monkaku version of *Kōroku* is crucial, although we must be cautious about the extent to which this addition may be applied.

An almost identical text can be found in the summary of the above-mentioned *Genbun taishō gendaigo yaku* book published by Shunjūsha.

The second publication which points out the fact that the Monkaku book deviates from the original form was most likely my chapter “Citations of *Giun Oshō Goroku*” (“*Giun Oshō Goroku*” no *inyō tenseki* 『義雲和尚語録』の引用典籍 in: *Dōgen Zen no seiritsushiteki kenkyū* 道元禅の成立史的研究. Daizō Shuppan, 1991. Study first published in 1984). After knowing Kagamishima’s theory, I examined the following *Juko* no. 49 from the Monkaku book.

Once a monk asked Master Qingyuan [Xingsi], “What is the meaning of the ancestral teacher [Bodhidharma] coming from the west?”

Qingyuan said, “He has also gone in such a way.”

Coming in such a way and also going as such, Clearly remember without foolish doubts. Exposed, he turned and approached to inquire. For your sake, [Qingyuan] hit the nail on the head.

## The Formation of Eihei Kōroku

The source text here is the first half of the following case from vol. 19 of Hui yao:

A monk asked: “What is the meaning of the ancestral teacher [Bodhidharma] coming from the west?”

Master said, “He has also gone in such a way.”

A monk asked: “What kind of preachings do you give these days? I beg you for one or two teachings.”

Master said: “Come closer.”

The monk came right in front of his master.

Master said: “Always remember to stay in clear presence.”

(Zokuzō, vol. 136 – 368 bottom left.)

However, the basis for the two verses in the *Juko* above must clearly be the following case no. 10 of *Shinji Shōbōgenzō*:

A monk asked master Qingyuan: “What is the meaning of the ancestral teacher [Bodhidharma] coming from the west?”

Master said, “He has also gone in such a way.”

Again, the monk asked: “What kind of preachings do you give these days? I beg you for one or two teachings.”

Master said: “Come closer.”

The monk came right in front of his master.

Master said: “Always remember to stay in clear presence.”

And thus, the true source of this case has to be vol. 7 of Tong yao, chapter about Qingyuan Xingsi:

A monk once asked the master: “What is the meaning of the ancestral teacher [Bodhidharma] coming from the west?”

Master said, “He has also gone in such a way.”

Again, the monk asked: “What kind of preachings do you give these days? I beg you for one or two teachings.”



Master said: “Come closer.”

The monk came right in front of his master.

Master said: “Always remember to stay in clear presence.”

(Song edition, sheet no. 5, left.)

Judging from the kōans found in *Juko* in vol. 9, I believe that Dōgen must have created verses on if not all than a large number of the cases in *Shinji Shōbōgenzō*, including the verse from *Tashintsū* I will present at the end of this chapter. In the original version of the Monkaku book, it might have been only titles of old kōans, such as in *Juko* no. 4, “The first patriarch faced the wall for nine years.” In that case, we have to accept the possibility that these passages have been added by someone during the process of copying, without including the specific dialogues or situations, and thus they are not kōans selected by Dōgen himself.

Thirdly, I would like to address the problem of *Tashintsū* 他心通 discovered and presented by Wakayama Yūkō in her articles *Beppon “Shin fukatoku” no kadai - “Shin fukatoku” to Tashintsū e no saiji ni tsuite* (別本『心不可得』の課題—『心不可得』と『他心通』への再治について—in: *Komazawa Daigaku Zen Kenkyūjo Nenpō* 駒澤大学禅研究所年報, vol. 27, 2015) and “*Eihei Kōroku*” *kan 1, dai 17 jōdō kō – beppon “Shin fukatoku” to kanren shite* (『永平広録』卷一、第十七上堂考—別本『心不可得』、『他心通』と関連して—in: *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 vol. 64, no. 2, 2016.) Dharma hall discourse 17 in vol. 1 goes as follows:

Dharma hall discourse. Consider the story about National Teacher [Nanyang] Huizhong examining Tripitaka Master Da'er's penetration of others' minds, and also consider the commentaries by Yangshan [Huiji], Xuansha [Shibe], Xuanjue, and Zhaozhou [Congshen].

The teacher Dōgen said: Why didn't the National Teacher say to the Tripitaka Master in the beginning, “How much penetration of others' minds have you attained? Have you only attained penetration of others' minds, or have you also attained penetration of your self's

mind?” If he had said this, wouldn’t the Tripitaka Master have been speechless? All of the five venerable ones [whose comments are referred to] thought it was [only] the third time that he didn’t see [the National Teacher’s thoughts]. Especially they didn’t know that [the Tripitaka Master] couldn’t see [the National Teacher’s thoughts] the first two times also. If they considered that the Tripitaka Master’s penetration of the two vehicles was the buddha patriarchs’ penetration of others’ minds, then these five venerable ones have still not escaped from the cave of the two vehicles. They still stay in the one-sidedness of the Tripitaka Master.

Do you want to understand the buddha patriarchs’ supernatural penetrations? Self mind and other mind completely kill and completely give birth. The [wondrous] transformations of spiritual powers are [simply bringing] a basin of water and making tea.

Concerning this discourse, Kagamishima in his earlier book argues that “All of the five venerable ones” might be a mistake for “four venerable ones.” However, in his later book, pointing out the inconsistency in *Tashintsū*, *Shin fukatoku* and Dharma hall discourse no. 196 in vol. 3, he suggests that “Although I do not believe that National Teacher Nanyang should be counted as one of the five venerable ones, Terada Tōru brings Nanyang to the fifth place.” (*Nihon no zengoroku 2*, “Dōgen” 「日本の禪語録」 2、『道元』p. 49.)

If one was to completely believe everything in the Monkaku book, this would have been the most natural explanation. However, as Wakayama Yūkō points out, the number five is obviously a mistake made during the reedition of the text. I myself have for long been considering the same explanation, so I believe that Wakayama’s theory is legitimate.

The source of Dharma hall discourse no. 17 and the same passage in all of the three above-mentioned texts (*Tashintsū*, *Shin fukatoku* and Dharma hall discourse no. 196 in vol. 3) is in vol. 2 of *Zongmen tongyao ji* 統要, chapter titled Xijing Huizhong 西京慧忠. More precisely, this quotation might be mixed with Hui yao, vol. 3, “Guangzhai Huizhong,” however, Hui

yao does not contain the words of Xuedou Zhongxian 雪竇重顯, so it is not a quote from Hui yao alone.

National Master Huizhong of the Western Capital. Once a certain Tripitaka Master from India named Daer arrived in the capital, claiming to have the wisdom eye that knows the minds of others. The Emperor Suzong ordered the National Teacher [Huizhong] to test him. As soon as the Tripitaka Master saw the Teacher, he bowed and stood off to his right side. The teacher asked him, “You have the ability to see others’ minds?”

“It’s nothing much,” the Tripitaka Master answered.

“Tell me,” said the Teacher, “where is this old monk right now?”

The Tripitaka Master said, “Reverend Preceptor, you are the teacher to a nation; how could you go off to Xichuan to watch the boat races?”

The Teacher asked again, “Tell me, where is this old monk right now?”

The Tripitaka Master said, “Reverend Preceptor, you are the teacher to a nation; how could you be on the Tianjin bridge watching the playing monkeys?”

The Teacher asked a third time, “Tell me, where is this old monk right now?”

The Tripitaka Master said nothing for a while, not knowing where the Teacher had gone.

The Teacher said, “This fox spirit! Where’s his penetration of others’ minds?”

The Tripitaka Master had nothing to say.

(Xuansha summoned the Tripitaka Master: “Tell me, did you really see his mind the first two times?” Xuedou says, “I am defeated, I am defeated.” Yangshan said, “The first two times were ‘the mind that plays across objects.’ After that, he entered ‘the samādhi of receiving and using the self,’ and so Tripitaka Master couldn’t see him.” Zhaozhou said, “He was on the Tripitaka Master’s nose.” A monk asked Xuansha, “If he was on his nose, why didn’t he see him?” Xuansha said, “Because he was too close.” Duan of Haihui said, “If the National

Master was on the Tripitaka Master's nose, what difficulty could he have in seeing him? What doesn't he realize is that the National Teacher was in the Tripitaka Master's eye.")

(Song edition, sheet no. 14, back side.)

For comparison, below is the opening section of *Shōbōgenzō* – *Tashintsū*:

The National Teacher [Dazheng] Huizhong, of the Guangzhai monastery in the Western Capital, was a native of Juji, in the province of Yue; his family name was Ran. After receiving the mind seal, he stayed at Dangzi Valley, Mount Baiyai, in Nanyang, where for more than forty years he never descended from his monastery. Word of his spiritual practice reached the imperial capital, and in the second year of the Shangyuan era (761) of the Tang Emperor Suzong, an imperial commissioner, Sun Zhaojin, was dispatched to summon him to the capital. There he was received with respect due to a teacher and installed in the Xichan cloister of the Qianfu Monastery. Upon the ascension of the Emperor Daizong, he was reinstated in the Guangzhai Monastery, where for sixteen years he taught the dharma in accord with the spiritual needs of his audiences.

During this time, a certain Tripitaka Master from India named Daer ("big-eared") arrived in the capital, claiming to have achieved the wisdom eye that knows the minds of others. The emperor ordered the National Teacher [Huizhong] to test him.

As soon as the Tripitaka Master saw the Teacher, he bowed and stood off to his right side.

The teacher asked him, "You have the ability to see others' minds?"

"It's nothing much," he answered.

"Tell me," said the Teacher, "where is this old monk right now?"

The Tripitaka Master said, "Reverend Preceptor, you are the teacher to a nation; how could you go off to Xichuan to watch the boat races?"

The Teacher asked again, "Tell me, where is this old monk right now?"

The Tripitaka Master said, “Reverend Preceptor, you are the teacher to a nation; how could you be on the Tianjin bridge watching the playing monkeys?”

The Teacher asked a third time, “Tell me, where is this old monk right now?”

The Tripitaka Master said nothing for a while, not knowing where the Teacher had gone.

The Teacher said, “This fox spirit! Where’s his penetration of others’ minds?”

The Tripitaka Master had nothing to say.

(A monk asked Zhaozhou, “I don’t understand why the Tripitaka Master Daer couldn’t see where the National Teacher was the third time. Where was he?”

Zhaozhou said, “He was on the Tripitaka Master’s nose.”

Later, a monk asked Xuansha, “If he was on his nose, why didn’t he see him?”

Xuansha said, “Because he was too close.”

A monk asked Yangshan, “Why didn’t the Tripitaka Master Daer see the National Teacher the third time?” Yangshan said, “The first two times were ‘the mind that plays across objects.’ After that, he entered ‘the samādhi of receiving and using the self,’ and so Tripitaka Master couldn’t see him.”

Duan of Haihui said, “If the National Master was on the Tripitaka Master’s nose, what difficulty could he have in seeing him? What doesn’t he realize is that the National Teacher was in the Tripitaka Master’s eye.”

Xuansha summoned the Tripitaka Master: “Tell me, did you really see his mind the first two times?” Chan Master Mingyue Zhongxian of Xuedou says, “I am defeated, I am defeated.” (Shunjūsha edition, 2 – pp. 241 – 242.)

This preface is almost identical with the following passage from Chuan denglu 伝燈錄, chapter about master Guangzhai Huizhong 光宅慧忠 .

The National Teacher [Dazheng] Huizhong, of the Guangzhai Monastery in the Western Capital, was a native of Juji, in the province of Yue; his family name was Ran. After receiving the mind seal, he stayed at Dangzi Valley, Mount Baiyai, in Nanyang, where for more than forty years he never descended from his monastery. Word of his spiritual practice reached the imperial capital, and in the second year of the Shangyuan era (761) of the Tang Emperor Suzong, an imperial commissioner, Sun Zhaojin, was dispatched to summon him to the capital. There he was received with the respect due to a teacher and installed in the Xichan cloister of the Qianfu Monastery. Upon the ascension of the Emperor Daizong, he was reinstated in the Guangzhai Monastery, where for sixteen years he taught the dharma in accord with the spiritual needs of his audiences.

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As soon as the Tripitaka Master saw the Teacher, he bowed and stood off to his right side.

The teacher asked him, “You have the ability to see others’ minds?”

“It’s nothing much,” he answered.

“Tell me,” said the Teacher, “where is this old monk right now?”

The Tripitaka Master said, “Reverend Preceptor, you are the teacher to a nation; how could you go off to Xichuan to watch the boat races?”

The Teacher asked again, “Tell me, where is this old monk right now?”

The Tripitaka Master said, “Reverend Preceptor, you are the teacher to a nation; how could you be on the Tianjin bridge watching the playing monkeys?”

The Teacher asked a third time, “Tell me, where is this old monk right now?”

The Tripitaka Master said nothing for a while, not knowing where the Teacher had gone.

The Teacher said, “This fox spirit! Where’s his penetration of others’

minds?”

The Tripitaka Master had nothing to say.

(A monk asked Yangshan, “Why didn’t the Tripitaka Master Daer see the National Teacher the third time?” Yangshan said, “The first two times were ‘the mind that plays across objects.’ After that, he entered ‘the samādhi of receiving and using the self,’ and so Tripitaka Master couldn’t see him.”

Another monk asked Xuansha about this. Xuansha said, “What do you say Tripitaka Master saw the first two times?”

Xuanjue said, “In the first two attempts, Tripitaka Master saw him. Why didn’t he see him for the third time?” Moreover, what is there in what the National Teacher said that is advantageous or harmful?”

A monk asked Zhaozhou, “I don’t understand why the Tripitaka Master Daer couldn’t see where the National Teacher was the third time. Where was he?”

Zhaozhou said, “He was on the Tripitaka Master’s nose.”

Later, a monk asked Xuansha, “If he was on his nose, why didn’t he see him?”

Xuansha said, “Because he was too close.”) (Zen bunka edition, pp. 83 – 84. *The Sibu congkan collection changed the name Chang’er, “long-eared” to Daer, “big-eared.”*)

The names of Yangshan, Xuansha, Xuanjie, and Zhaozhou in vol. 1, Dharma hall discourse 17, clearly come from this section of Chuan deng lu. As I had pointed out in *“Keitoku dentōroku” no rekishiteki seikaku* (『景德伝燈録』の歴史的性格, in: *Sōdai Zenshū shi no kenkyū* 宋代禪宗史の研究, Daitō Shuppansha, 1987), “Xuanjie” is no one else but Xuanjue Daoshi Baoci Xingyan 玄覺導師報慈行言, a dharma heir to Fayen Wenyi 法眼文益.

However, the names of Haihui Shoudan 海会守端 (1025 – 1072) and Xuedou Zhongxian 雪竇重顯 (980 – 1052), which appear in *Tashintsū, Shin fukatoku* and Dharma hall discourse no. 196 in vol. 3, are not mentioned in Chuan denglu, which was first published in the first year of the Jingde era (1004). Therefore, concerning the question of the underlined names of

Zhaozhou, Xuansha, Yangshan, Haihui Duan and Xuedou Xian, this should be considered as some later mistaken addition, or perhaps originally there was no list of names at all. From this standpoint, it becomes obvious that case no. 27 in vol. 9 contains mistakes as well.

Tripitaka Master Da'er arrived from India to the capital and said, "I have attained the wisdom eye that sees others' minds." The Emperor Daizong ordered National Teacher [Nanyang] Huizhong to examine him. As soon as the Tripitaka Master saw the teacher, he made a prostration and stood to his right.

The National Teacher asked, "Have you attained the divine power to read others' minds?"

He replied, "I wouldn't presume [to say so]."

The National Teacher said, "You tell me, where is this old monk right now?"

[Da'er] said, "Master, you are the teacher of a nation, how could you go to Western River to watch the boat races?"

The National Teacher again asked, "Tell me, and where is this old monk right now?"

[Da'er] said, "Master, you are the teacher of a nation, how could you watch the monkeys playing on the Tianjin Bridge?"

The National Teacher inquired a third time with the same words as before. The Tripitaka Master paused, but did not know where he was.

The National Teacher scolded him saying, "This wild-fox spirit; where is your penetration into others' minds?"

The Tripitaka Master had no reply.

Baiya regrets that Ziqi has not yet come. At dawn De yun bhikkhu gathers within this. The ten thousand valleys are not other, beyond the paths of mind. How pitiful, Buddha taken as wild-fox powers.

The word in question here is Emperor Daizong; the correct name should be Emperor Suzong, as mentioned in Tong yao or Hui yao, as well as in Beppon Shin Fukatoku, "During the time of National Teacher Dazheng,



Tripitaka Master Daer from India arrived in the capital, claiming to have the wisdom eye that knows the minds of others. The Emperor Suzong ordered the National Teacher to test him. (...),” (ibid. p. 502).

It is another example of deviation from the original in the Monaku version.

#### 4. Conclusion – The nature of the Monkaku book

Previously, I have asserted that the alterations in volume 9 (Verses Praising Ancients, recorded by Senne et al.), were that of Senne, who did not know *Shinji Shōbōgenzō*. However, I have started to rethink the validity of this theory, as Dharma hall discourse no. 17 in scroll 1 is also described as having been recorded by Senne. Although I would not say that Senne had not altered any of the texts at all, given the fact that he probably knew *Shin fukatoku*, and that he even recorded the oral version of *Tashintsū*, I came to the conclusion that it would have been very unlikely of him to write down the problematic passage of Dharma hall discourse no. 17, “Yangshan, Xuansha, Xuanjue, and Zhaozhou (...) All of the five venerable ones” knowing that there had been a mistake. Naturally, I had to rethink my theory. Here, I will again turn to Kagamishima Genryū’s theory.

I have successfully proven that the subject in this text was not changed by Dōgen, but rather by a later author. Yet in the old manuscript of *Kenzeiki*, it is already presented as Rujing’s teaching, so it should be regarded as an old tradition, not Manzan’s alteration. However, the fact that there are alterations already present in the Monkaku version of *Kōroku* is crucial, although we must be cautious about the extent to which this addition may be applied.

Kawamura Kōdō (*Shohon taikō - Eihei kaisan Dōgen Zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki* 諸本対校) 永平開山道元禪師行狀建擿記, Taishūkan Shoten, 1975) identifies this “old manuscript of *Kenzeiki*” as the Meishū manuscript from the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the Tenbun era (1538); meanwhile, the Zuichō manuscript has

not been completed until the 17<sup>th</sup> year of the Tenshō era (1589). This would mean that the alteration had happened more than fifty years before the completion of the Monkaku book, or perhaps even earlier.

It might as well be that the Japanese could not quite grasp all the customs of Zen monasteries which Dōgen brought back from China. The same thing could be said about all the duties of *jisha* (master's attendant) and record editing.

As I already argued earlier, it is not possible to carry out a Dharma hall discourse (*jōdō*) without a proper Dharma hall. The following discourse given around November in the 1st year of the Kenchō era (1249), when Dōgen was 50 years old, addresses the topic of *jōdō*.

Dharma hall discourse. People in Japan heard the word “jōdō” for the first time when I, Eihei, transmitted it. At the time of the reign of Emperor Saga, during the Kōnin era (810–823), the Saga empress was from the Tachibana family, and she was a former wife of the previous emperor and mother of the future emperor Ninmei. She invited Huiyuan, a disciple of National Teacher Yanguan Qi'an from distant Great Tang China, and had him stay at the Sai'in temple of Tōji, and asked him about the way, mornings and evenings. She greatly respected and venerated him, and supported him with unusually lavish offerings. However, Huiyuan never gave Dharma hall discourses and never followed the practice of students entering the room for discussion with the teacher.

Much more discussion [by Dōgen] followed, which is not recorded.

Body and mind dropping off is neither form nor consciousness. Do not speak about delusion or enlightenment, or what are beings and what is Buddha. Ultimately, how is this?

After a pause Dōgen said: If you want to know a person from Jiangnan, go toward where the francolins sing.

As I already said, the first volume contains discourses from the Kōshōji era, so naturally the word *jōdō* first became known in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the

Katei era (1236).

Dharma hall discourse 128 (vol. 2), titled “Evening Dharma Hall Discourse,” contains the following paragraph:

My late teacher Tiantong [Rujing]’s emergence was [as rare as] one encounter in a thousand years. Without being caught up in the procedural regulations of this degenerate age, at midnight, or in the evening, or after lunch, generally without concern over the time, he [had someone] beat the drum for entering the room for general talks. Sometimes he [had someone] beat the drum for small meetings and entering the room. Sometimes he himself hit the wooden sounding block in the monks’ hall three times, and gave a general talk in the illuminated hall. After the general talk the monks entered the [abbot’s] room. Sometimes he hit the hanging wooden block in front of the head monk’s quarters, and gave a general talk in the head monk’s room. After the general talk the monks entered the [abbot’s] room. These were very rare, excellent examples. Because I, Daibutsu, am a child of Tiantong [Rujing], now I also conduct evening meetings, which is happening for the very first time in our country.

Discourse no. 129, as well as discourses no. 131 and 150 (also in vol. 2) are also titled “Evening Dharma Hall Discourse.” Since these Dharma hall discourses were carried out in the evening, it is evident that the jōdō format was not limited to morning time. “Evening meetings” (*bansan*) here point to a type of an evening assembly, where monks gather in order to listen to the teachings, and therefore also include *fusetsu* (general talks) and *shōsan* (informal speeches). *Bansan* does not point to informal speeches given at the abbot’s quarters at random time.

Concerning the topic of temple construction, discourse no. 319 in vol. 4 provides information about the newly-built monks’ hall at Eiheiiji:

Dharma Hall Discourse. The true Dharma correctly transmitted by buddhas and patriarchs is simply just sitting. My late teacher Tiantong

[Rujing] instructed the assembly saying, “You know the circumstances of Zen Master Damei Fachang when he studied with great teacher Jiangsi Mazu, don’t you? He asked Mazu, ‘What is Buddha?’ and Mazu said, ‘Mind itself is Buddha.’ Immediately Damei made prostrations and departed, and entered the peaks of Plum Mountain (Meishan) where he ate pine nuts and wore lotus leaves, spending his whole life practicing zazen day and night. For thirty years he was unknown by rulers or ministers, and did not receive any support from patrons. This is an excellent example of the Buddha way.”

We should know that zazen is the decorous activity of practice after realization. Realization is simply just sitting zazen. At this monastery we have the first monks’ hall, so in this country of Japan this is the first time we have heard of this, the first time we have seen it, the first time we have entered it, and the first time of sitting in a monks’ hall. This is fortunate for people studying the Buddha way.

Later a monk asked Damei, “What principle did you attain when you saw great teacher Mazu and came to reside on this mountain?”

Damei said, “Mazu told me that this mind itself is Buddha.” The monk said, “These days Mazu’s Buddha Dharma is different.” Damei asked, “How is it different?” The monk said, “These days he says ‘Neither mind nor Buddha.’” Damei said, “This old man confuses people endlessly. I will let him have neither mind nor Buddha; for me it’s just this mind itself is Buddha.” The monk returned and reported to Mazu, and Mazu said, “The plum has ripened.”

So we see that the person who clearly understood that this mind itself is Buddha abandoned human society and entered the deep mountains and valleys, only practicing zazen day and night. Brothers on this mountain, you should straightforwardly, single-mindedly focus on zazen. Do not pass your days and nights in vain. Human life is impermanent; how could we wait for some other time? I prayerfully beseech your practice. Great assembly, do you want to understand the

truth of this mind itself is Buddha?

After a pause Dōgen said: This 'mind itself is Buddha' is very difficult to understand. Mind is fences, walls, tiles, and pebbles, and Buddha is a glob of mud or a clump of soil. Jiāngsī [Mazu] expressed trailing mud and dripping water; Damei realized lurking in the grasses and sticking to trees. Where can we find this mind itself is Buddha?

Of course there had been a monks' hall at the very first monastery, Kōshōji. As previously mentioned, *Uji Kannondōri-in sōdō kanjin no sho*, compiled in the twelfth month of the first year of the Katei era (1235), contains the following passage: "The Buddha Hall was already here, Dharma Hall is not constructed yet, and the monks' quarters are the most urgently needed." (*Kenzeiki* 建擧記, Zuichō edition).

Next, let us look at one of the six traditional positions at a Zen monastery, tenzo (head cook), as mentioned in Dharma hall discourse no. 138, vol. 2.

Dharma Hall Discourse in Appreciation of the Tenzo [Chief Cook]. I, Daibutsu, was the first to transmit the Dharma [procedures and attitude] for the tenzo to temples in Japan. Previously this did not exist here. Presently why do we have this? Truly this [Dharma of the tenzo] is the remains from ancient sages and former worthies such as Guishan, Jiashan, Wuzhuo, and Xuefeng, who practiced with outstretched hands. Their previous wholehearted engaging and affirming [of the practice of tenzo] is the greatest virtue. Who can assess their limits? They not only planted good roots at the places of one or two buddhas, or even three, four, or five buddhas, but we clearly realize that at the assemblies of immeasurable, countless buddhas they practiced many virtues, made diligent efforts, were accomplished, fulfilled [their practice], and actively and carefully managed their work. Therefore it is said, if you have nostrils, I will give you nostrils; if you do not have nostrils, I will take away your nostrils.

Dōgen held his whisk upright and said: This is the principle of not taking away and not giving. Therefore the nostrils are not deceived by either me or you. If sometime suddenly your nose were replaced by a flute without holes, it could not be hung straight upon your beak as before. If you desire to play the music of Shaolin, you will fall into playing “Enticing Plum Blossoms.” If you want to play the music of Jetavana Vihara, you will fall into playing a Persian melody. Like this, making mistakes we produce more mistakes, and hang our nostrils on the entryways of sun face and moon face, exhaling the energy that drills through our nostrils, and emitting light from our eyes to open our eyes. Then we have already attained faith. The buddhas of all times right now share the same hands and eyes with you, and practice and affirm this for the whole three hundred sixty days. The patriarchs from all generations right now share one body and mind with you, and hold it carefully for twelve months. The sun is round and the moon is full; the merit returns to accomplish the way.

If suddenly the wooden ladle strikes the rice container or the serving pot, with the same voice different mouths chant, “Mahaprajnaparamita.” Usually we chant without realizing that our single loud voice is chanting, “Mahaprajnaparamita .” Surprisingly, whether we are hitting up against this or that, or striking fences or walls, wherever we go we cannot avoid arousing the Dharma body. How can we discuss this place we cannot avoid?

After a pause Dōgen said: Yunmen’s every-particle samadhi can turn into both the wheel of food and the wheel of Dharma. Bring a full container and fill the [monks’] bowls. The World-Honored One’s confirmation [of the tenzo’s practice] has been employed, and yet is fresh.

This discourse was delivered after relocating to Echizen, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of the Kangen era (1245), while Eiheiji was still being called Daibutsuji. At that time, Dōgen’s famous treatise *Tenzo kyōkun* ( 典座教訓 ; Instructions for the Cook) had already been completed eight years before in 1237 (3<sup>rd</sup> year

of the Katei era), and the significance and importance of the tenzo position must have been well understood within the circle of Dōgen's disciples.

A description of another traditional monastic post can be found in vol. 5 of *Zuimonki* 隨聞記 : “In the second year of Katei (1236), on the evening of the last day of the twelfth month, Master Dōgen appointed me [Ejō] to be the shuso (chief monk) of Kōshōji. After an informal speech Dōgen asked for the whisk and appointed me the chief monk for the first time. And thus I became the first shuso of Kōshōji.” In the second year of the Katei era (1236), the first *shuso* was born. Dōgen was 37 years old at that time.

All seasonal ceremonies at the monastery, such as the beginning and ending of the summer training period, winter solstice or the New Year, are recorded in various Dharma hall discourses as well as informal talks. However, the following Rōhatsu Dharma Hall Discourse no. 406, from vol. 5, seems to be especially significant.

Rōhatsu (Enlightenment Day) Dharma Hall Discourse. Previous generations in Japan have transmitted Buddha's birthday and Parinirvana day ceremonies. However, the ceremony for Buddha's attaining the Way had not yet been transmitted or practiced. I first introduced it twenty years ago. From now on and through the future, transmit and practice it.

The teacher Dōgen repeated what he had quoted before from the Tathagata upon his accomplishing the way, from “Three quarters...” to “...wisdom about everything in the world.” Then Dōgen said the following.

At this very time, students of Eihei, what do you have to say?

A branch of plum blossoms opens in the snow. It does not avail itself of the spring winds that will gradually blow.

From “Because of the virtue and benefit I created in ancient times” to “will be extinguished” the teacher again related the previous quote and then said the following.

Great assembly, do you want to clearly understand the meaning of

this?

After a pause Dōgen said: The world in ten directions is blessed with radiant light, and all living beings hear the Buddha preaching. The walking staff and monks' robes together laugh with joy, and the monks' hall, Buddha hall, and eating bowls are delighted.

Dōgen's determination to carry on with the tradition of celebrating Enlightenment Day is overwhelming. The word *rōhatsu* here is of particular interest. Dōgen's primary source of information on Buddha's hagiography is Chuandenglu, vol. 1, chapter titled "Shakyamuni Buddha," which is based on *Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記. However, in this text, the date of Buddha's enlightenment is described as February 8<sup>th</sup>. This would suggest that Dōgen did not follow this theory, and instead celebrated it on December 8<sup>th</sup>, which was the traditional date in Song-dynasty China. This Rōhatsu Discourse is dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Kenchō era (1250); however, the first mention of a Rōhatsu Discourse is in vol. 1, no. 88, the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Ninji era (1241). The figure twenty is most likely an approximate number of years since the completion of the Dharma Hall in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Katei era (1236). Thanks to the above-mentioned passage from *Zuimonki*, we know that Dōgen delivered an informal speech. Let us look at another informal speech, this time from the New Year's Eve, included in volume 8, no. 10.

Informal Speech at New Year's Eve. This informal speech is [where are given] the family instructions of all buddhas and patriarchs. In our country of Japan, in previous generations the name of this [shōsan] had not been heard, much less had it ever been practiced. Since I, Eihei, first transmitted this, twenty years have already passed. This is fortunate for our country, and joyful for the people.

Itō Shūken in his book *Dōgen Zen kenkyū* suggests the year of this speech to be the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Kenchō era, same as the Dharma Hall Discourse above.

In this way, most likely, the monks were introduced to new knowledge



about the temple and its customs. Dōgen's *Taidaiko goge jarihō* (対大己五夏闍黎法, Instructions on Revering the Monastic Superiors), published on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of the third month of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Kangen era, have already been around at the time of the New Year's Eve discourse above. Dōgen worked on compiling various monastic rules (see Dharma hall discourse no. 133, vol. 2), which ultimately lead to the publishing of *Daibutsuji bendōhō* (大仏寺辨道法, Instructions for Engaging the Way at Daibutsu Temple) in the following year (Kangen 3). Moreover, after Daibutsuji became Eiheiji, *Nihon koku Echizen Eiheiji chiji shingi* (日本国越前永平寺知事清規, Instructions for Conduct of Monastic Administrators at Eiheiji, Echizen, Japan) was compiled on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month of Kangei 4, followed by *Eiheiji ji kuin mon* (永平寺示庫院文, Instructions for the Administrator of the Kitchen-office at Eiheiji) published on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> month of the same year. In the first month of the first year of the Kenchō era, *Kichijōzan Eiheiji shūryō shingi* (吉祥山永平寺衆寮清規, Pure Rules for the Study Hall at Kichijōzan Eiheiji) was compiled. Meanwhile, *Fushuku hanpō* (赴粥飯法, Instructions on Taking Food) was also published. Dōgen's eagerness to settle the monastic customs of Song-dynasty Chan in Japan is striking.

The problem which arises here is the issue I described in *Saigo no Dōgen* (最後の道元). Although I do not intend to repeat all the details, my theory has hardly been taken on so far, so I would like to sum it up again.

One of the earliest records of *Eihei Kōroku* is the following Dharma hall discourse no 4. (vol. 1) from the Kōshōji period.

Dharma hall discourse. When we lift up the wondrous essence, the standing pillars [in the hall] furrow their brows. When we depart from conventional patterns with profound conversation, a tortoise approaches fire [rather than water]. Plain reality is nothing special. How can praising or criticizing ancient or modern masters save your selves? Moreover, how could we then save others? All of you people, apart from this [plain reality], are there any other special assessments to make? Apart from this, how do you assess it? Every three years we encounter leap year, in the ninth month is the double yang day. Long

months have thirty days, short months have twenty nine days. Kōshōji students, anyone with such opinions [as praising or criticizing ancient or modern masters] should just be called a donkey in front with a horse's behind, or a dragon head with only a snake's tail.

This discourse is mostly a citation of *Xudenglu*, vol. 9, chapter titled Qixian Zhiqian. (Underlined phrases are different from the original).

Dharma hall discourse. Master said, when we lift up the wondrous essence, the standing pillars [in the hall] furrow their brows. When we depart from conventional patterns with this conversation, a tortoise approaches fire [rather than water]. Plain reality is nothing special. How can praising or criticizing ancient or modern masters save your selves? All of you who attained Zen, apart from this [plain reality], are there any other special assessments to make? Far from this, how do you assess this? Every three years we encounter one leap year, in the ninth month is the double yang day. Long months have thirty days, short months have twenty nine days. Every spring, the grass turns green. Qixian students, anyone with such opinions [as praising or criticizing ancient or modern masters] should just be called a donkey in front with a horse's behind. Now go and contemplate on this. (Zokuzō , 136 – 75 top right.)

As mentioned above, Qixian Zhiqian largely influenced Dōgen's Dharma hall discourses no. 47, 49, as well as no. 48, which was moved to the very beginning in the Abridged Record and Manzan's book. All of these texts are almost identical with Zhiqian's discourses included in vol. 9 of *Xudenglu*. However, being a Dharma heir of Tianyi Yihuai 天衣義懷 (disciple of Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯) from the Yunmen school, Zhiqian does not seem to be truly appreciated in Dōgen's writings. Moreover, even with Dōgen's additions to the texts, the audience was probably not able to distinguish between Qixian Zhiqian and Dōgen.

According to Suzuki Tetsuo's theory in the previously mentioned *Sozanbon "Eihei Kōroku" dai 4 ban Jōdō go ni kansuru kenkyū*, the source of this discourse is vol. 28 of Huiyao, chapter named Yunju Xiaoshun 雲居曉舜.

Master said to the monks, when the wondrous essence arises, the standing pillars [in the hall] furrow their brows. When we depart from conventional patterns with this conversation, a tortoise approaches fire [rather than water]. Plain reality is nothing special. How can praising or criticizing ancient or modern masters save your selves? All of you who attained Zen, apart from this [plain reality], how do you assess it? Every three years we encounter one leap year, in the ninth month is the double yang day. Long months have thirty days, short months have twenty nine days. Every spring, the grass turns green. Dayu students, anyone with such opinions [as praising or criticizing ancient or modern masters] should just be called a donkey in front with a horse's behind. (Zokuzō, vol. 136 – 454 top right.)

Yunju (? - 1065), whose personal name was Xiaoshun, was a Dharma heir to Dongshan Xiaocong of the Yunmen school. He also spent some time at Dayu. His text is indeed very similar to that of Qixian Zhiqian from the same Yunmen school, but clearly it was the latter which became the source of Dōgen's discourse. In fact, it can be said that this resemblance only shows the way discourses were presented in Song-dynasty Chan.

The following discourse is no. 143, vol. 2, delivered after Dōgen's move to Echizen.

Dharma Hall Discourse. An old tree conveys the transformative function without moving even slightly. A large rock completely holds the mind seal but its markings are not apparent. Reaching this ground, human and heavenly eyes cannot see. Deluded [worldly] wisdom and enlightened wisdom evaluate without understanding. Fundamentally,

Gautama's eyeball rests in the hands of this mountain monk, like a soapberry [used in rosaries]; and this mountain monk's nostril rests in Gautama's hands, like a bamboo tube. Therefore, when you see smoke from behind a mountain or river, you definitely know there is a fire; when you see horns behind a fence or wall, you definitely know there is an ox.

Dōgen held up his whisk and said: All of you tell me, how do you intimately see this and definitely know what it is, without being separated from it? Do you want to completely understand this through your body? At dawn we are informed by the calls of mountain birds; at the beginning of spring we get the news from the fragrance of plum blossoms.

I remember that a monk asked Yunmen, "What is the phrase that goes beyond the Dharma body?"

Yunmen said, "The body is hidden in the Big Dipper."

The teacher Dōgen said: Old man Yunmen was only able to speak a phrase about the Dharma body, but was not able to speak a phrase going beyond the Dharma body. If someone were to ask Daibutsu, "What is the phrase that goes beyond the Dharma body?" I would say to him: The body is hidden within the Dharma body.

Dōgen descended from his seat.

The first part consists of the following two discourses from the third volume of *Hongzhi lu*. (Similar phrases are underlined.)

1. Dharma Hall Discourse. Like objects in the mirror, various phenomena emerge when the mind arises [as told in Awakening of Faith]. When practising in a monastery, various phenomena cease to exist when the mind arises, all free of any substance [as told in Awakening of Faith]. Bright stars are scattered in the night sky, blooming flowers indicate the spring season. A wooden man [not swayed by the senses] quietly saves all beings, not being different at all. A stone woman [not swayed by the senses] reveals the seal of emptiness, not leaving any traces

behind. Therefore, there is neither the same nor different, neither going nor coming. All of you who realized Zen, how do you practise this and how do you respond to it? [As it is written in the Song of Enlightenment,] the six mysterious functions of the jewel [actions of the six senses] are empty and yet not empty, and the circular light emanating from that single jewel has neither color nor form, nor has it non-color and non-form. (Meicho Fukyū Kai edition, p. 183.)

2. Dharma Hall Discourse. Master said, when you see horns behind a fence, you definitely know there is an ox; when you see smoke from behind a mountain, you definitely know there is a fire. All of you, if you know there is enlightenment, try and tell me what it is. Do you want to know more? At dawn we are informed by the calls of mountain birds; at the beginning of spring we get the news from the fragrance of plum blossoms. (Meicho Fukyū Kai edition, p. 156.)

The latter half refers to a dialogue from Huiyao, vol. 24, chapter Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (*Zokuzō*, scroll 136 – 417 top right), but also shows Dōgen's originality. However, even if Dōgen's students knew about the following dialogue, also from chapter Yunmen Wenyan of the 24<sup>th</sup> volume of Huiyao, they still might not have found the difference from Dōgen's above-mentioned "phrase going beyond the Dharma body."

A monk asked, "What does it mean to go beyond the Dharma body?"

Master said, "It is not difficult to tell you about going beyond it. But how do you understand the Dharma body itself?"

The monk said, "Master, please show me an example."

Master said, "I will give you an example. But first, how do you understand the Dharma body itself?"

The monk said, "It's just as it is."

Yunmen said, "This is what you have learned in the meditation hall. Let me ask you, does the Dharma body eat rice?"

The monk could not respond. (Zokuzō, scroll 136 – 416 top left.)

There are other similar cases as well. On the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the third month of the second year of the Hōji era, Dōgen returned from his pilgrimage to Kamakura. On the following day, he delivered discourse no. 251 (vol. 3); below is Dharma hall discourse no. 253, vol. 3.

Dharma Hall Discourse. Clapping hands and giving a hand have been transmitted and held by twenty-eight [Indian patriarchs] and six [Chinese patriarchs]. Knowing and repaying the debt of kindness, they constructed ten thousand trillion transformations [or methods of teaching]. The old plum tree is by the cliffside, and the peaches by the ocean. The single dynamic activity is revealed in the samadhi that enters each and every thing. Although it is like this, because the mountain is high, the snow melts late, and because the tree is old, spring comes slowly. Why is this the case? Would you like to clearly understand? The old crane, on the tree without shadows, dreams of the moon. The bees in the flowers of a budless branch find spring.

This is another example of Dōgen's discourse being largely influenced by Hongzhi lu, in this case the following four *shinsan* (Verses of Praise on Portraits).

1. Mountains rise into a large peak, rivers flow into the sea. The ship floats on the water without resistance, and a wild goose disappears into smoke not leaving a mark in the cold air. That is the verse transmitted and held by twenty-eight [Indian patriarchs] and six [Chinese patriarchs], ten thousand trillion ways to enter. Take your hand and receive it sincerely, knowing and repaying the debt of kindness. (Meicho Fukyū Kai edition, p. 349.)
2. It is the spring when flowers bloom on dead trees, the time when

mythical peaches blossom. When everything is in its natural state, there is no need to worry about anything. Phoenix pecks on a cave on a crimson mountain. Dragon flies among peach blossoms by a river. The single dynamic activity is revealed in the samadhi that enters each and every thing. Objects exist within the eye, eye exists within objects. A gate emerges from the body and the body is in the gate. (Ibid., pp. 348 – 349.)

3. The eyebrows and eyes are firm and the mind is clear. Because the mountain is high, the snow melts late, and because the tree is old, spring comes slowly. Moon shines into the azure waters of an old ravine, blue mountains are staying together with white clouds. At what place can light be separated? Who can summon each and every thing? (Ibid., p. 345.)
  
4. The person who lives in this mountain is used to poverty. Bones like a mountain rising high in the cold, body like a quiet pale white cloud. A crane on the tree without shadows dreams of the moon. Bees in the flowers of a budless branch gather scent of spring. A crane dreaming about the moon and sleeping on a tree without a figure, and a bee taking a spring scent from a flower on a branch that doesn't sprout. (Ibid., p. 355.)

Although it is a rather complex citation, I believe there is no apparent difference from Song-dynasty Chan thought in this discourse. Until this period, it was necessary to establish the functioning of Song-dynasty Chan in Dōgen's community. However, as I had previously suggested, at certain point this trend suddenly changed. Basically, I considered the following two factors.

Firstly, starting with the first year of the Kenchō era, references to *Hongzhi lu* in Dharma hall discourses given on particular ceremonial days

(such as the New Year's Day, Buddha's birthday, beginning of the summer practice period, festival on the fifth day of the fifth month, end of the summer practice period, moon festival, or winter solstice), completely disappeared. This also coincides with the change of the editor from Ejō (volume 2, 3 and 4) to Gien (volume 5, 6 and 7). Here, it is also important to consider that informal speeches at Eiheiji from the four main seasonal occasions (New Year's Eve, beginning and end of the summer practice period, winter solstice) are included in volume 8, independently from the Evening Dharma Hall Discourses. Therefore, it is safe to say that Dōgen has abandoned the format of seasonal Dharma hall discourses (such as Buddha's birthday, enlightenment day and parinirvana, as well as the four main seasonal celebrations) of *Hongzhi lu*.

The second factor, which is closely related to the first one, is that at the same time, discourses linked to secular celebrations such as the New Year's Day, festival on the fifth day of the fifth month or winter solstice completely disappear, being replaced with memorial Dharma hall discourses for Master Butsuju [Myōzen], Master Senkō [Eisai], or Dōgen's father. However, there are several minor issues with this, such as the connection with the four main seasonal celebrations mentioned above, the lack of a discourse for the beginning of the summer practice period, or the presence of a discourse celebrating the secular occasion of the fifteenth day of the first month. It is noteworthy that discourses on occasions such as the memorial day for Tiantong Rujing, Parinirvana and Enlightenment Day, the first day of the ninth month, or the opening of the fireplace in the monks' hall, which have no connection to *Hongzhi lu*, have been recorded every year ever since. Moreover, as Ishii Kiyozumi 石井清純 notably observes in “*Eihei Kōroku*” *kan 1* - “*Kōshōji Goroku*” to “*Shōbōgenzō*” 『永平広録』 卷一 「興聖寺語録」と『正法眼蔵』 (in: *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Ronshū* 駒澤大学仏教学部論集 vol. 21, 1990), the recurring appearance of discourses on Mid-autumn full moon, which are not linked to *Hongzhi lu*, show Dōgen's deep connection with the moon.

As an example of changes in Dōgen's teaching from the beginning of



the Kenchō era onwards, I will give the following “Sermon on not leaving Kichijōzan from now onwards” included in *Kenzeiki* (Zuichō edition).

On the tenth day of the ninth month, master told the disciples: “From now onwards, I, old man Eihei, shall stay on this mountain at all times, not leaving its precincts day or night. Even if I received an invitation from the king, I pledge not to leave this mountain. What is the meaning of this? I will devote myself to the teachings day and night, do walking meditation and practice all great virtues. With them, I will first save all beings, make them see Buddha with their eyes and hear Buddha’s teaching with their ears, throwing them into Buddha’s realm. After that, I, Eihei shall break open the Great Matter, sit under a tree, destroy the demon of illusion and reach the ultimate realization.” After giving this teaching, he added the following verse:

The practice of old Buddhas is within the mountains, they stay in the mountains throughout spring, summer, autumn and winter. I, Eihei, will follow their footsteps and stay in this mountain at all times.

(Shunjūsha edition, vol. 7 – p. 297.)

Kagamishima Genryū saw this sermon as something that did not need to be disclosed to the monastic community. However, Nishizawa Mayumi in *Dōgen Zenji ni okeru “satori” to seigan: “Jin mirai sai furi Kichijōzan jishū” wo megutte* 道元禪師における「さと」と誓願：「尽未来際不離吉祥山示衆」をめぐって (in: *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Ronshū* 駒澤大学仏教学部論集 vol. 44, 2013) points out the importance of this sermon. In my opinion, this teaching is very similar to the following verse in Dharma hall discourse 377 (vol. 5), “Unsurpassed bodhi is not for the sake of self, not for the sake of others, not for the sake of fame, and not for the sake of profit. And yet, single-mindedly seeking unsurpassed bodhi, diligently proceeding without retreat, is called arousing bodhi mind. After this mind has already manifested, not seeking after bodhi, even for the sake of bodhi, is the genuine bodhi mind. If you do not have this mind, how could it be the study of the way?”

## The Formation of Eihei Kōroku

What follows is a sermon closely related to the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*. As I demonstrated before, it is important to see the teachings shown in *Eihei Kōroku* as Dōgen's thoughts in his final years. Regarding the issue of the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*, I have already written all the arguments in *Saigo no Dōgen*, therefore it is not necessary to repeat them here.