



Keizan Study Material
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Statue of Keizan

Biography and Basic Information on Keizan

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William Bodiford - Gale Encyclopedia Entry on Keizan

KEIZAN (1264–1325), more fully Keizan Jōkin, was the founding abbot of the Sōjiji Zen monastery. Since the late nineteenth century, he has officially been designated, along with Dōgen (1200–1253), as one of the two founding patriarchs of the Japanese Sōtō Zen school.

Born in 1264 (not 1268 as previously assumed), Keizan entered Eihei-ji, the Zen monastery founded by Dōgen in Echizen province, in 1276. Keizan studied Zen directly under four of Dōgen's leading disciples: Ejō (1198–1280), Jakuen (1207–1299), Gien (d. 1313), and Gikai (1219–1309). In 1298 Keizan succeeded Gikai as second abbot of Daijōji monastery in Kaga province. Eventually Keizan entrusted Daijōji to his disciple, Meihō Sotetsu (1277–1350), and began constructing a new monastery in Noto province named Tōkoku-san Yōkōji, which he envisioned as the future headquarters of the Sōtō Zen lineage in Japan. With Yōkōji as his base, Keizan founded six more monasteries nearby, including Hōōji, the first Sōtō nunnery, and Sōjiji, which he entrusted to his disciple Gasan Jōseki (1276–1366).

Keizan worked hard to establish a firm religious and institutional basis for the nascent Sōtō Zen school. Toward these ends, he authored a history of the Sōtō Zen lineage (the *Denkōroku*), founded a memorial hall at Yōkōji to enshrine relics of five generations of Sōtō Zen patriarchs, wrote beginner's guides to Zen training, and compiled detailed instructions for every aspect of Zen monastic life. His most influential contribution was his detailed instructions on how the abbotship of his monasteries should be rotated among several lines of succession so as to ensure united support and avoid schisms. This method of rotating abbotship became widely adopted among subsequent Sōtō monasteries. It was implemented most successfully not at Yōkōji, but at Sōjiji, which eventually grew to have more affiliated branch temples than any other Sōtō institution. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Sōjiji, relocated in 1910 to Yokohama (next to Tokyo), had become one of the two headquarter temples (along with Eihei-ji) of the Sōtō Zen school. In 1909 the Meiji emperor (Mutsuhito, 1852–1912) awarded Keizan with the posthumous name Jōsai Daishi.

Keizan's life and its significance have been the subject of much unsubstantiated speculation. Many modern Japanese interpretations of Keizan reflect an artificial structural antagonism between him and Dōgen, with the

latter's teachings being portrayed as more pure, more elitist, and more monastic in orientation, in contrast to which Keizan's teachings are seen as more eclectic, more common, and more accessible to laypeople. This narrative of Keizan as the purported popularizer of Dōgen's so-called strict Zen rests not on the historical evidence but on simplistic apologetics that attempt to justify Sōjiji's modern preeminence over and above Dōgen's Eihei-ji. Keizan, as much as Dōgen, focused his life's efforts on providing strict monastic training for monks and nuns. Likewise, Dōgen, as much as Keizan, worked to build an institutional foundation for Japanese Zen. Keizan was long departed before subsequent generations of monks at Sōjiji and its affiliates began effecting the rapid growth and transformation of Sōtō Zen into an institution consisting primarily of local temples that service the religious needs of laypeople who themselves do not practice Zen. It is also true, however, that Keizan was a man of his times. In addition to Zen history, Zen training, and Zen monasticism, his writings reveal many religious themes common to other fourteenth-century Japanese religious writings. Keizan openly described, for example, his reliance on inspired dreams as a source of religious authority, his use of astrology, his devotion to his mother and grandmother, his invocation of the local gods who protect Buddhism, and his devout faith in the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Japanese, Kannon). These kinds of trans-sectarian religious values exerted, no doubt, a greater influence on the lives of ordinary people than did Keizan's difficult Zen practices or abstruse Zen doctrines. For this reason, Keizan's surviving writings constitute prime sources for the study of medieval Japanese religiosity and the ways that it interacted with sectarian doctrinal traditions (such as Zen) and their institutions.

Keizan's numerous writings were not collected, edited, or published during his lifetime. Extant manuscript versions, as well as published editions, are marred by numerous textual defects, copyist errors, and arbitrary editorial deletions, additions, and rearrangements. Scholars have not begun to resolve all the difficulties these texts present. Nonetheless, Keizan's authorship of the major works traditionally attributed to him is no longer considered doubtful. These major works include the following: *Denkōroku* (History of the transmission of the light); *Zazen yōjinki* (How to practice sitting Zen); *Tōkoku gyōji jijo* (Procedures at Tōkoku monastery), also known as *Keizan shingi* (Keizan's monastic regulations); and *Tōkokuki* (Chronicle of Tōkoku monastery).

Keizan: The Founder of Yokoji

William Bodiford

As explained in the previous chapter, all early Sōtō communities emphasized Dōgen's Chinese lineage as the source of their religious authority. This emphasis on the symbolic role of Dōgen remained consistent throughout the history of the Japanese Sōtō school, except for one brief incident during the modern period. That rejection of Dōgen raised the issue of who should be revered as the founder of the Japanese Sōtō school. The social circumstances of the resulting controversy have greatly influenced scholarship on the topics addressed in this chapter. Therefore, perhaps the best introduction to Keizan and his community at Yōkōji is to review briefly the modern events that led to the controversial assertion that Keizan Jōkin, not Dōgen, is the true founder of Japanese Sōtō.

Keizan as Patriarch

In 1877 the Sōtō hierarchy announced new dates based on the solar calendar for yearly rituals. The true significance of that announcement, however, went beyond the abandonment of the lunar calendar. For the first time memorial services for Keizan were included among the annual events observed at all Sōtō temples. Today that proclamation is said to mark the date when Keizan gained official recognition as the patriarch of the entire Japanese Sōtō school. Previously, the only Japanese patriarch common to all Sōtō factions had been Dōgen. Keizan, by contrast, was known not as a source of religious authority but as the founder of Sōjiji, the head temple of the largest Sōtō faction. The adoption of Keizan as a patriarch equal to Dōgen, therefore, was meant to symbolize that all Soto lineages also accepted Sōjiji's position as a head temple equal to Dōgen's Eihei-ji.

Sōjiji's status as a rival to Eihei-ji was not a new development. Sōjiji led the largest network of affiliated temples in the Sōtō school. In the sixteenth century Sōjiji repeatedly had proclaimed itself the head temple of all Sōtō institutions. In 1560 Takeda Shingen (1521-1573) stipulated that only Eihei-ji and Sōjiji were authorized to confer ecclesiastical honors on Zen monks in his domains. In 1589 the imperial court officially recognized Sōjiji as the head temple of the Sōtō school, a title that the court previously had bestowed on Eihei-ji. The Tokugawa shogunate also acknowledged both Eihei-ji and Sōjiji as head temples when in 1615 it issued separate sets of regulatory codes (*hatto*) to each monastery. Throughout this period Sōjiji and Eihei-ji were rivals in the true sense of the word. In each of the major Sōtō controversies of the Tokugawa period—on questions ranging from dharma succession to the proper manner of wearing the Buddhist robe—Eihei-ji and Sōjiji staked out opposing positions on the issues.

With the emergence of the new Meiji government, however, Eihei-ji and Sōjiji concluded a formal truce. Their compact, signed in 1872, stated that past differences and disputes were to be resolved in accordance with "the maxims of the founding patriarch, Dōgen, and the aspirations of the late teacher,

Keizan" (*shuso Dōgen no kakun to senshi Keizan no sokai*). Six years later, in 1878, the Sōtō school published the first modern biography of Keizan. Written by Takiya Takushu (1836-1897), who was at that time Sōjiji's chief Tokyo representative, the new biography had the clear intention of glorifying Keizan by emphasizing his and Sōjiji's importance in early Sōtō history. Three more biographies of Keizan were published in the prewar period, each written by successive abbots of Sōjiji and each intended to emphasize the importance of Keizan and Sōjiji. In spite of their sectarian orientation, these biographies have been widely used by non-Sōjiji (and even non-Sōtō) affiliated scholars.

Following their formal truce, Sōjiji and Eihei-ji continued to work together to modernize the structure of the Sōtō school. A series of reforms followed in quick succession. Rules for the operation of temples were promulgated in 1876. That same year a formal Sōtō church (*kyōkai*) was organized in an attempt to bypass the rigid hierarchy of temple factions. The terms of the truce were strengthened in 1879. A constitution defining the relations between head and branch temples was established in 1882. The governing organization and administrative rules (*shōsei*) of the Sōtō school, including the terms of the 1872 truce, were registered with the government in 1885. Finally, in 1888 the first handbook of Sōtō ritual and liturgy was distributed. Considering the history of bitter disputes between Sōjiji and Eihei-ji over the details of proper monastic practices during the Tokugawa period, the codification of standard rituals represented a major achievement.

Sōjiji's Secession during the Meiji Period

The modernization of the Sōtō school gave new power to lay organizations and private committees. The early drafts of many of the above agreements had been proposed within private committees funded by the Sōtō leadership. By operating outside of established temple hierarchies, the committees were freed of rigid precedents. As the pace of modernization increased, however, unofficial committees formed in order to oppose the positions advocated by the official committees. Divisions along sectarian lines became impossible to smooth over. The election of officers to Eihei-ji from the ranks of Sōjiji-affiliated temples, in particular, attracted severe criticism. In 1895 Takiya Takushu was elected to Eihei-ji's abbotship even though at the time he had been serving as abbot of Saijōji (Kanagawa Prefecture), a branch temple affiliated with Sōjiji. Takiya worked hard to smooth over differences between Sōjiji and Eihei-ji. Conflict between the two head temples became unavoidable, however, when his successor was also elected from a post at Sōjiji in 1891. Dissidents felt that these elections deprived Sōjiji of the best personnel while giving Eihei-ji too much authority over Sōjiji's branch temples. In 1891 one group of these dissidents formed the Alliance to Reform the

Sōtō School (*Sōtōshō kakushin domeikai*) to advocate the revival of Sōjiji's autonomy.

Sōjiji withdrew all recognition of Eiheiji and of its branch temples four months later, in the beginning of 1892. All agreements between the two monasteries from 1872 on were declared null and void. If it had been successful, this move would have sundered Eiheiji from the support of more than ninety percent of the Sōtō temples in Japan. To justify their actions, supporters of this autonomy movement published a series of tracts in which they made three key claims. First, Dōgen had not founded the Japanese Sōtō school. Dōgen had merely introduced Chinese practices without ever attempting to organize a new Buddhist sect. Second, Keizan was the school's true founder. Keizan had established the new school's institutional base and had determined its fundamental religious practices. Third, the name "Sōtō school" originated at Sōjiji. Because Dōgen had rejected the designation "Sōtō," Sōjiji had become the first monastery in Japan to be referred to as "Sōtō" when Emperor Godaigo used that name in his edict of 1322 issued to Keizan.

Eiheiji rejected Sōjiji's autonomy and the assertions of its supporters on all counts. Supporters of Eiheiji's authority wrote their own studies of early Sōtō history in order to refute Sōjiji's claims. On each point, they reached opposite conclusions. First, Dōgen was the sole founder of the Japanese Sōtō school as demonstrated by his criticism of many aspects of Chinese Ch'an and by his having established his own training center at Kōshōji in Kyoto. Second, Keizan had merely inherited Dōgen's religion. Although Keizan had been instrumental in popularizing the Sōtō school, his contribution had been organizational, not religious. Third, the name "Sōtō school," being of Chinese origin, could not have been established by the Japanese court. Moreover, the 1322 edict cited by Sōjiji was rejected as being an obvious forgery.

The split between Sōjiji and Eiheiji barely lasted two years, but the historical issues have never truly faded away. Ultimately, Sōjiji found itself in an untenable position, not because of the inadequacy of its precedents or for lack of support but because it had failed to gain the approval of the Japanese government. According to the government, the truce between Sōjiji and Eiheiji (having been duly registered in 1885) had the force of law. By the end of 1893 the government had forced the leaders of Sōjiji to resign their offices and issue a formal apology to Eiheiji. In response the leaders of Eiheiji also resigned their offices and gave a formal apology to Sōjiji. At this time, Sōtō leaders proclaimed the compromise doctrines of "two head temples, one essence" and "two patriarchs, one essence." Officially, any independent veneration of Sōjiji or Eiheiji was to serve as veneration of both. Likewise, any differences between the doctrines contained in the writings of Dōgen and Keizan were to be viewed as alternate expressions of the same religious teaching.

These controversies have distorted both the degree of importance modern scholars have afforded Keizan and the manner in which his contributions to early Sōtō history have been interpreted. In contradiction to the formal Sōtō position, as the organizer of Japanese Sōtō or its great popularizer, Keizan

must be seen as a failure. Yōkōji, not Sōjiji, was the temple that Keizan had attempted to establish as the new center of Japanese Sōtō. Yet by the Meiji period when Sōjiji was asserting itself over Eiheiji, Yōkōji had been reduced to such poverty that the few monks still living there were forced to sell temple buildings in order to buy food. Sōjiji was one of Yōkōji's branch temples in Keizan's day. It did not become powerful enough to eclipse Yōkōji until the early fifteenth century, nearly ninety years after Keizan's death. To explain the growth of Sōjiji one must examine the policies adopted by Gasan Jōseki, Sōjiji's first resident abbot, and by his disciples—not by Keizan.

In terms of religious practice, however, Keizan has had an enormous influence on Japanese Sōtō Zen. Keizan's true importance was his ability to combine the monastic religion of Zen meditation with the simple religious sentiments of rural Japanese. The fate of Yōkōji and Sōjiji's path to dominance are addressed in part 2 below (chapters 9-11). The remainder of this chapter focuses on Keizan's relations with his patrons and the religious world in which he founded Yōkōji.

The Yōkōji Community

The events leading up to Keizan's decision to leave Daijōji are unknown. Keizan had been an avid historian. He carefully chronicled the daily events in his own career, described in detail the religious devotion of his mother and his patrons, and lectured on the history of the Sōtō lineage. The extant records of his activities, unfortunately, cover only his years at Yōkōji. These writings contain many references to his past teachers and accomplishments but are silent on past temple affairs or patron relationships. We know that Keizan had appointed Meihō Sotetsu abbot of Daijōji in the tenth month of 1311. The following year, Shigeno Nobunao and his wife (later known as Sonin) of Noto Province invited Keizan to their residence to found Yōkōji. Yet Keizan did not formally leave Daijōji to begin residence at Yōkōji until five years later, during the tenth month of 1317.

The reasons for this delay are not clear. One cause must have been the fact that Sonin herself did not receive writs of confirmation (*andōjō*) for the land given to Yōkōji until the third month of 1317. But lack of proper deeds should not have presented major problems, since Sonin had already received bills of sale for the land in 1310. More fundamental financial difficulties must have played a role in delaying the founding of Yōkōji. The Shigeno family held no powerful local positions. In marked contrast to the other early Sōtō patrons (such as the Hatano, Kawajiri, Ijira, and Togashi), Shigeno Nobunao and Sonin could not draw on surplus wealth. Although they donated the land for Yōkōji, initially there were no temple buildings to place on that land. Only the death of Sonin's brother, Sakō Yorimoto, solved that problem. Sonin thereupon dismantled the Sakō family residence and had it rebuilt as the new Yōkōji. It was in this building that Keizan formally became Yōkōji's founding abbot in 1317. Keizan described the abject poverty of

his new temple by noting that pine needles had to be used instead of tea leaves for the Zen tea ceremony.

To understand fully Keizan's timing we must also consider other events of this period. Perhaps Keizan was waiting for a position at Eihei-ji. By 1311, when Keizan appointed Meihō to succeed him as abbot of Daijō-ji, Gien (i.e., Eihei-ji's fourth abbot) would already have been old and ready to retire. Extant records do not state whether or not Keizan considered himself a candidate for Gien's seat, but he would have made a very likely choice. Keizan had studied under three of Eihei-ji's four abbots: Ejō, Gikai, and Gien. He had held positions of responsibility at Hōkyō-ji and Daijō-ji. When the Hatano requested Giun of Hōkyō-ji to become Eihei-ji's next abbot in 1314, Keizan must have been disappointed. He later described Eihei-ji as a place of obstructions, caused by its abbot's building being situated in an inauspicious location. Or perhaps Keizan moved to Yōkō-ji only after his position at Daijō-ji had become untenable. As mentioned earlier, Keizan did not approve but could not prevent the Rin-zai Zen monk Kyōo Unryo from taking over Daijō-ji's abbotship. This incident suggests that Keizan did not enjoy the confidence of the Togashi family. Events at both Eihei-ji and Daijō-ji illustrate the precarious nature of sectarian affiliation at small temples dependent on the patronage of a single warrior family. Successful succession to the abbotship hinged on the patron's personal whims.

Keizan was determined not to encounter similar problems at his new temple, Yōkō-ji. He wanted guarantees in writing. He documented the fact that he had accepted the Offer of Nobunao and Sonin to reside at Yōkō-ji only after they both had pledged never to interfere with temple affairs, and he carefully recorded the extent of their *carte blanche*: "We [i.e., Nobunao and Sonin] will take absolutely no notice whether the temple thrives or decays. We are not concerned whether the master [i.e., Keizan] keeps the precepts or breaks the precepts. Likewise we will not interfere if [he] gives the land to a wife, child, or relative, or even to outcasts (*hinin*) and beggars." One year after moving to Yōkō-ji, Keizan wrote formal instructions that the abbotship of Yōkō-ji was to be held only by his dharma descendants, each of whom should serve successive terms in the order of their dharma seniority. An expanded version of Keizan's instructions containing this same passage and dated one year later (1319), was signed by both Keizan and Sonin. By obtaining Sonin's signature, Keizan obligated Sonin and her descendants to support only his line at Yōkō-ji. Both versions of the instructions also admonished future generations to settle any disputes between patron and temple in a spirit of compromise.

Keizan's direct proselytizing further enhanced the prospects for maintaining the future cooperation of Yōkō-ji's patrons. In 1319 Keizan administered the precepts to Shigeno Nobunao's wife, giving her the Buddhist name Sonin. Two years later, in 1321, Keizan also administered the precepts to Nobunao, giving him the Buddhist name Myōjō. These ordinations were not just ceremonial. Keizan's writings indicate that he instructed Sonin and Nobunao in the mysteries of Zen. A surviving copy of one of Keizan's lectures to Nobunao contains an abstruse exposition of

the psychology of Zen meditation and repeated emphasis on the need to train under a true Zen master. Whether or not Nobunao and Sonin actually took up Zen training, they would have learned of the importance attached to the lineage of patriarchs Keizan represented. Keizan also appealed to traditional expressions of faith in the Buddhas. In 1322 he dedicated at Yōkō-ji a special hall for the bodhisattva Kannon, the Enzuin, which he allowed Sonin to use as her own prayer chapel. Keizan administered the precepts to Sonin's mother when she made donations to Yōkō-ji, giving her the Buddhist name Shōzen. Likewise Keizan allowed the mother use of her own hermitage, the Zōkeian, at Yōkō-ji. Keizan further ordered that following the mother's death in 1325 the monks at Yōkō-ji must conduct both monthly and annual memorial services in her honor.

Keizan regarded these memorial services as fitting repayment for the patronage he received. His attitude toward his patrons is revealed in his 1319 agreement with Sonin, in which he explicitly acknowledged his indebtedness: "The Buddha once said, „When [Buddhism] obtains a contributor of enthusiastic faith, Buddhism will never die out. . . ." And he also said, „You should revere patrons as you would the Buddha. Precepts, meditation, wisdom, and liberation all depend on the power of patrons to attain completion. . . ." Accordingly, Keizan's Buddhist training during this rebirth depends on this patron to attain completion."

Keizan obtained contributions from other patrons to supplement the support provided by Sonin and her family. The Buddha hall, bath house, and latrine at Yōkō-ji were all donated by individual local patrons. Each of the three main images for the Buddha hall was donated by a separate contributor. Keizan recorded each of these contributions, carefully noting the prayers that had accompanied each donation. These prayers reveal the traditional religious concerns of Yōkō-ji's patrons, namely, to eliminate the ill karmic effects of past actions (*metsuzai*), to promote the future enlightenment of deceased relatives (*tsuizen*), and to ensure worldly success (*ganbō manzoku*). When Keizan received each donation, he probably led the monks at Yōkō-ji in scripture-chanting ceremonies to pray for the fulfillment of the hopes of these patrons. This can be inferred from the regulations for special meals that appear in the monastic codes used at Yōkō-ji. According to these rules, whenever a patron sponsored a meal for the monastery community the monks performed either a group chanting ceremony or provided a special lecture in accordance with the requests of the patron. These regulations describe other rituals that routinely concluded with prayers for the prosperity of temple patrons.

Keizan's willingness to perform ritual prayers for his patrons has often been identified with the introduction of esoteric Buddhism into Sōtō Zen monasticism. The use of the term esoteric, however, can be misleading if not clearly defined. There is no doubt that Keizan had believed in the purity of his own Zen practice. He had criticized Eisai for mixing esoteric Buddhism with Zen practice. Most of the esoteric elements found in Yōkō-ji's monastic codes are practices that previously had been a part of Zen monasticism, such as the chanting of mystical

formulae (*dharmā*). Chinese Ch'an monastic codes composed during Keizan's lifetime included similar references to popular Chinese religious practices (i.e., the worship of folk deities, local spirits, and influential stars). The influence of esoteric Buddhism in Keizan's monastic policies, therefore, was found more in his attitude toward patrons than in any overt syncretism. The Yōkōji monastic codes resembled esoteric traditions to the extent that many rites included prayers for the worldly prosperity of monastic patrons. Yet even this feature has been exaggerated by many authors. In fact, the vast majority of the ritual prayers in Yōkōji's monastic codes concerned general thanksgiving or the sanctity of monastic life. Instead of disparaging such prayers, as if unworthy of Zen monks, it is more useful to understand their role in the religious life and worldview of medieval Japan.

Keizan's Religious World

Keizan exhibited in abundance many of the religious qualities that typified other Buddhist monks in medieval Japan. His writings, like the traditional biographies and legends concerning other medieval monks, reveal an extremely rich, religious worldview in which the abstract truths of Buddhist doctrine are realized and verified through concrete physical manifestations that can be experienced directly in daily life. For Keizan, Zen experience entailed living in a physical landscape made sacred by the presence of supernatural Buddhist divinities and native Japanese spirits. Keizan's records illustrate the paradigm shift by which Buddhist meditation subsumed earlier shamanistic views of the spirit world. In spite of Keizan's stature in the modern Sōtō school, his practices have rarely been evaluated within the larger context of medieval Zen. Keizan's importance lies in his fusion of vigorous Zen practice with articulated faith in the efficacy of unseen Japanese spirits and Buddhist divinities. This fusion, its origins and effects, are explored below in terms of Keizan's Zen practice, his close relationships with women, his magico-religious faith, and his shamanistic dreams.

In writing about a medieval Zen monk it should hardly be necessary to stress the importance of his Zen practice. Modern descriptions of Keizan, however, typically dwell only on the shamanistic and seemingly eccentric aspects of his personality. The importance of these qualities lies in their support of Zen practice. Keizan was first and foremost a Zen master. He believed that the Zen tradition represented the only true transmission of Buddhism. He emphasized the legitimacy of his Zen transmission by lecturing on the patriarchs of the Sōtō line. Only his lectures at Daijōji were recorded (as the *Denkōroku*), but he also repeated his lectures at Yōkōji. At both monasteries he also interred sacred relics of the Sōtō patriarchs. At Yōkōji these relics formed the shrine of patriarchs at Gorōhō, which Keizan dedicated by composing biographies of each patriarch beginning with Ju-ching. The monastic codes used at Yōkōji repeatedly cite Eisai, Ju-ching, and Dōgen as the authoritative sources of the monastic routines. Keizan signed his writings by identifying himself as a Zen master in the fifty-fourth generation of the Buddha's dharma. He stressed the necessity of studying

under a sanctioned Zen teacher, even if the student is already self-enlightened.

Extant records reveal only the outlines of Keizan's Zen practice. Novice monks at Yōkōji studied seven texts, consisting of three Buddhist scriptures and four Zen manuals. The three scriptures were: the Lotus Sutra, which is a fundamental scripture of Mahayana Buddhism; the *Bonmōkyō*, which explains the Mahayana precepts; and the *Yuikyōgyō*, which purports to convey the Buddha's final exhortations. The *Yuikyōgyō* had been especially popular in Chinese Ch'an and had formed the basis for the last *Shōbō genzō* chapter ("Hachi dainingaku") written by Dōgen. The four Zen manuals had all been composed by Dōgen. They were: *Bendōhō* (rules for daily life in the monks' hall); *Fushukuhanhō* (etiquette for monastic meals); *Shuryō shingī* (rules for use of the library); and *Taitaikohō* (etiquette for behavior in the presence of senior monks). In addition, the monastic code at Yōkōji states that monks also should consult "Senmen" and "Senjō" (two chapters in Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* that describe the proper method of washing one's face and using the toilet), as well as *Shishihō* (a list of rules for respectful behavior before Buddhist teachers that was cited in Dōgen's *Taitaikohō*). On the first day of each month, Yōkōji monks performed a group recitation of the *Kikyōmon*, a brief exhortation that describes how monastic officers should revere the Buddha dharma. Keizan also composed two meditation manuals (the *Zazen yojinki* and *Sankon zazenetsu*) to guide his disciples through the practical details of seated meditation.

The fact that two of Keizan's students, Kohō Kakumyo (1271-1361) and Daichi, came to Yōkōji only after years of training under the leading Ch'an masters of China attests to the vigor of the Zen practice Keizan established at Yōkōji. A later incident between Kohō and his disciple Bassui Tokushō (1327-1387) well illustrates the concern with monastic decorum that Kohō learned from Keizan. Kohō inherited Keizan's lineage, but after leaving Yōkōji he assumed the Rinzaï lineage of Shinchi Kakushin and taught only Rinzaï monks. Yet many Rinzaï monks chafed under the strict monastic routines established by Kohō. His most illustrious disciple, Bassui, refused to reside inside Kohō's monastery, complaining that he had come to attain Zen enlightenment—not to learn etiquette. Through Bassui's complaint we know that Keizan probably taught the same emphasis on monastic decorum now usually associated only with Dōgen.

Keizan's religious development seems to have been guided as much by women as by men. Women played powerful roles in many early Zen communities, including those of Dōgen and Giin, but mainly as patrons. Keizan learned from women, especially from his mother and grandmother. His father is never mentioned in his writings. He spent his first eight years being raised by his grandmother, Myōchi. She had been one of Dōgen's first patrons on his return from China. Probably she had been a lay disciple of Myōzen, Dōgen's first teacher. Keizan's links to the Sōtō school began, therefore, literally before his worldly existence. Keizan had left home to become a novice at Eiheiji while still a child, when he was only seven years old. His

decision to become a monk might have been prompted either by his grandmother's urging or possibly by her death. In later life, Keizan praised Sonin (Yōkōji's main patron) as the reincarnation of his grandmother. He stated that as teacher and disciple, he and Sonin were inseparable. At Yōkōji, Keizan symbolized his bonds to his grandmother and to Sonin by dedicating the Enzuin Kannon chapel to the memory of Myōchi while providing use of the building to Sonin.

Keizan's mother, Ekan (d. ca. 1314), also appears repeatedly in his writings. She had become the abbess of a Sōtō convent (Jōjuji) while Gikai was still alive. Her temple responsibilities did not prevent Ekan from intervening in her son's career. Keizan wrote that her stern admonitions had checked his growing arrogance when he first rose to prominence under Jakuen at Hōkyōji. The statue of Kannon that Keizan placed in the Enzuin had originally belonged to her. Ekan attributed many miracles to the mysterious power of Kannon, and Keizan believed her. He wrote that all the major events in his life, from his own birth, through his becoming a monk and his dharma succession, to his becoming abbot of Yōkōji, had been due to his mother's faith in and constant prayers to Kannon. Accounts of Kannon calling forth the birth of illustrious monks is a standard hagiographical element. Yet for Keizan, this assertion was no mere pious legend but an autobiographical fact. Perhaps Keizan would have promoted worship of Kannon even without his mother's influence. Yet we cannot doubt that her faith gave added impetus to his emphasis on the power of Kannon.

Ekan's influence remained strong throughout Keizan's life. Shortly before his death, Keizan composed two Buddhist vows inspired by Jakuen's memory and to his mother's dying admonitions. In this document Keizan also praised Ekan's dedication to teaching Buddhism to women. Keizan followed in her footsteps. His disciple Ekyū is the first Japanese nun known to have received a Soto dharma transmission. To help her overcome the difficulties of reading Chinese, Keizan gave her a copy of Dōgen's precept manual transcribed in the Japanese phonetic syllabary.

Keizan inherited the diverse magico-religious beliefs of medieval Japan just as readily as he had accepted his mother's faith in Kannon. His writings exalt the minor protective gods associated with Buddhism (such as Bishamon and Karaten), the special beings revered in Zen tradition (such as Shōhō and the *rakan*), as well as native Japanese kami (such as Inari, Hachiman, and the kami of the province). Keizan believed that all of these divinities protected Buddhism and rewarded the faithful. To ensure the success of his temples, Keizan calculated the power of directional influences and the geomancy of the surrounding hills. He timed special events to take advantage of the astrological influences of favorable stars. For example, in his record of the construction of Yōkōji's Buddha hall, Keizan wrote that the excavating, the laying of the foundation stones, the erecting of the pillars, the fixing of the roof, and the final dedication all had been performed on particularly auspicious days. Likewise, Keizan had consulted a Buddhist astrology manual, the *Shukuyōgyō*, in order to select the day for the ceremonial opening of Yōkōji's lecture

hall. The repeated references to the above practices (i.e., astrology, geomancy, and the power of worship) in Keizan's writings testify to his own deep faith in their validity.

Keizan's faith in the mystical powers of spirits and of divination was rooted in his own powers of shamanistic communication. Keizan repeatedly conjured visions and spoke to spirits in his mystical dreams. Shamanistic elements are not unusual in meditative traditions such as Zen. Dōgen, for instance, had met Chinese Ch'an masters who relied on dreams to see the future. Yet Keizan relied on his visions to guide every step of his career. According to Keizan's own accounts, he selected the location for the abbot's building at Yōkōji based on the approval of a visiting *rakan*. He enshrined an image of Bishamon after perceiving a promise of protection in a dream. He decided to convert Sōjiji to a Zen temple only after Kannon appeared to request him to do so. When someone questioned the proper geomancy of the mausoleum at Gorōhō, Keizan wrote that he thought to himself, "At this monastery, from the very beginning, in all matters I have relied on the interpretation of my dreams" and then decided that his next vision would determine the location of the mausoleum.

Keizan's dream sequences illustrate how in medieval Japan, the religious activity of a person reflected the sacredness of his or her surroundings even as this same sanctified environment authenticated one's religious quest. For Keizan, Zen enlightenment entailed not just an ineffable insight into religious truth but also involved repeated astral communion with the spiritual guides who established the Buddhist path and guard over it. In one remarkable dream sequence, for example, Keizan described how he journeyed into other realms where the three Buddhas of the past (Vipasyin), present (Sakyamuni), and future (Maitreya) one by one confirmed his enlightenment. In other dream episodes the native Japanese spirits of this world (kami such as Hachiman, Inari, etc.) all praised his Zen teachings and promised the future prosperity of Yōkōji. Visions of this type were especially important in medieval Japan, not just to confirm the veracity of religious experience but also as sources of political and sectarian authority.

Keizan's ability to contact the spirits in order to learn their hidden will represents one pulse in a long Japanese tradition of cultic worship based on shamanistic rites of possession and oracular activities. In ancient Japan women seem to have monopolized the role of shamanistic diviner to a great extent, evidently because their femininity or procreative abilities gave them special access to the powers of the unseen world. As Buddhism gained popularity, religious functions previously associated with female shamans also came to be performed by male Buddhist ascetics who sojourned in secluded mountains for ritual meditation. Mountain priests (i.e., *zenji* and *yamabushi*) in particular were seen as being imbued with charismatic powers, because the Japanese regarded the lofty peaks where they trained as meeting grounds between humans and non-human supernatural powers. Keizan's talent for dreaming suggests a different approach to charismatic religious power. Keizan was a Zen monk, trained to sit for hours in silent meditation. He had no need

for journeys into the mountains. Instead of going to the mountains to meet spirits and divinities, Keizan conjured visions and recorded his dreams to demonstrate that these special beings

naturally came to Yōkōji. The promises of Keizan's best visions, however, were not fulfilled. The future of Japanese Sōtō lay at Sōjiji.

Soto Zen in Medieval Japan CHAPTER 9

Sōjiji: The New Institutional Center (excerpt)

Keizan founded Sōjiji. His desire to establish a secure institutional base for his disciples bore fruit in Sōjiji's success. In one of the great ironies of Sōtō history, however, Sōjiji's success robbed support from Keizan's main temple, Yōkōji. In fact, the leaders of Sōjiji consciously emulated the same policies that Keizan had established to ensure the prosperity of Yōkōji and used them to eliminate Yōkōji as a potential rival. Instead of becoming the institutional base intended by Keizan, Yōkōji became the model for Sōjiji's ultimate rise to power. The story of Sōjiji, therefore, begins with the policies that Keizan established at Yōkōji. The story ends with Sōjiji at the center of Japanese Sōtō, the institutional head of four or five separate regional networks, each consisting of several thousand temples located throughout the three main islands of Japan. The ways in which Sōjiji's institutional might has influenced the modern image of Keizan is discussed at the beginning of chapter 8. The methods by which the temples in these regional networks were founded, their role in local religious life, and the regulations that bound them together are explored in subsequent chapters in part 2. In this chapter I examine Sōjiji's transformation from a branch temple to an institutional center.

Yōkōji as Institutional Model

Keizan planned carefully for Yōkōji's success. He cultivated his patron's goodwill and received in writing a pledge that only his lineage would ever assume leadership at Yōkōji. This written pledge obligated Keizan's disciples as well. Keizan stated that each must serve successive terms in the order of their seniority. In other words, Keizan founded Yōkōji from the first with the same system of alternating abbot succession as had been developed gradually at Giin's Daijiji. This system—which offered each disciple and each of his dharma descendants a turn as abbot—later would become a distinctive feature of most major Sōtō monasteries. Keizan gave further instructions regarding the succession to Yōkōji's abbotship to six of his leading disciples in 1323, only one month before his death. He reminded them that Yōkōji's abbotship must first be filled by his own dharma heirs. Keizan admonished all six disciples to work together to elect proper abbots to Yōkōji. These six disciples were: Meihō Sotetsu, Mugai Chikō (d. 1351), Gasan Jōseki, Koan Shikan (d. 1341), Kohō Kakumyo (1271-1361), and Genshō Chinzan (n.d., the posthumous heir of Keizan's deceased disciple Genka Tekkyō [d. 1321]). Of these six, the first four later served as abbots at Yōkōji.

Keizan elected his disciples not just to Yōkōji's abbotship but to the abbotships of branch temples as well. This provided

each disciple with the potential for building a local base of support from which future abbots could be promoted to Yōkōji. In 1323 Keizan had drawn up a list of eight temples—including Daijōji—to be allotted among his disciples. The origins of four of these eight temples are obscure. If Yōkōji was a typical example, then the other temples also probably had been small, one-building chapels erected by minor landowners, originally without any resident clergy. Two of them had been founded by Keizan's mother, Ekan. One of her temples (Jōjuji) was left to Mugai Chikō, while the other one (Hōōji) remained a convent for Sōtō nuns. Keizan appointed Ekan's niece (his own cousin), Myōshō, to be its abbess. Three of the eight temples were not allocated, namely, Daijōji, Yōkōji, and Sōjiji. Daijōji, as mentioned earlier, was no longer within Keizan's control. Yōkōji was not turned over to Meihō until the eighth month of 1325, only one week before Keizan's death. Regarding Sōjiji, Keizan merely noted that it should be converted to a Zen temple even though its patron still lacked proper faith. Keizan was not able to effect that conversion, however, until the fifth month of 1324. Two months later he bequeathed its abbotship to Gasan.

To enhance Yōkōji's sacred aura Keizan attempted to endow its site with special cultic status. In 1323 he founded a shrine on a hill known as Gorōhō (Five Masters' Peak) at Yōkōji to serve as a mausoleum for his own remains and for the sacred relics of the Sōtō patriarchs. Therein he interred the text of Ju-ching's recorded sayings, a fragment of one of Dōgen's bones, a sutra that Ejō had copied using his own blood as ink, and pieces of Gikai's bones, Gikai's Darumashu succession certificate, and Chinese relic beads (*shari*). These relics animated Gorōhō with the physical and spiritual presence of ancestral lineage that linked Japanese Sōtō to China. According to Keizan, this mausoleum was to be revered by monks at all Sōtō temples. In other words, every year when memorial services were performed at Yōkōji for the patriarchs enshrined within Gorōhō, representatives from each of the other Sōtō temples were expected to participate in and contribute to the ceremonies. If enacted according to plan, these annual ceremonies would have ensured that Yōkōji would receive financial donations from all of the monasteries associated with Keizan's lineage.

Early Sōjiji

Sōjiji began as Morookadera. It was a small chapel within the precincts of the Morooka Hiko Jinja—the local shrine of the Fugeshi District in the northern half of the Noto Peninsula. Typically, small local shrines (and shrine chapels) of this type did

not require any full-time priests. In 1296, however, a local military official donated enough land income to Morookadera to support a resident priest. This anonymous warrior arranged for Jōken, a master (i.e., *ajari*) of esoteric Buddhism with the impressive title of assistant disciplinarian of monks (*gon risshi*), to perform ritual prayers, including the fire invocations (*goma*), on the seventeenth day of each month for the fulfillment of his (the official's) worldly desires and religious salvation. Jōken remained at Morookadera for the next twenty-five years, training disciples in the use of mandala and other esoteric rituals. Then in 1321, when the Morooka Hiko Jinja was relocated from its original site to a neighboring estate, Jōken moved with the shrine to found a new temple (which eventually became known as Hōsenji). At the time of this move, Jōken placed Morookadera under Keizan's guardianship (*ushiromi*). The nature of the relationship between Jōken and Keizan is not known. Keizan left no record of the responsibilities he promised to assume as part of his guardianship.

Instead, Keizan immediately proclaimed the conversion of the Morooka chapel to the Zen school. He wrote a short tract, *Sōjiji chuko engi* (The History of the Revival of Sōjiji), to argue three points: that Morooka was an old, venerable temple worthy of continued patronage; that Keizan should take control of the temple, giving it the new name "Sōjiji"; and that the local people would thereby obtain increased benefit from worshiping at the new Sōjiji. In support of his first point, Keizan stated that the image of Kannon enshrined in the temple was extremely powerful—radiating Buddhist energy in all directions—because the temple originally had been founded by Gyōgi, the eighth-century Buddhist hero. To justify his own role, Keizan attempted to demonstrate that he was not acting out of selfish motivation. He claimed that Kannon and Kannon's mystical messengers, as well as the other protective spirits of the temple, all had appeared in his dreams to invite him to convert Morooka to a Zen center. It was a request he could not ignore. To argue his final point, Keizan enshrined a new image of Hōkō bodhisattva. Keizan asserted that this bodhisattva was worshiped by the empresses of Japan and China to ensure the easy delivery of male children. He promised that local women would receive similar benefits.

The summer of 1321, when Jōken placed the Morooka chapel under Keizan's guardianship and Keizan composed the *Sōjiji chukō engi*, is usually regarded as the date of the founding of Sōjiji. However, it is doubtful that Sōjiji came into being immediately. Following the *Sōjiji chuko engi*, the next reference to Sōjiji in Keizan's writings does not appear until two years later, during the tenth month of 1323, when Keizan noted that Jōken had desired that Sōjiji not be abandoned even though its patron lacked proper faith. As I explain below, this statement probably referred to continual demands by the patron for the performance of traditional esoteric rituals. One year after having noted the above comments, during the fifth month of 1324 Keizan journeyed to Sōjiji to open its monks' hall formally. Two months later he installed Gasan as Sōjiji's first full-time Zen abbot. On that evening and on the following day Keizan ordained twenty-eight new Zen monks, who thereupon constituted Sōjiji

first community. At that point—with a monks' hall in which to practice meditation, a full-time Zen master, and a community of disciples in place—Sōjiji first acquired the characteristics of a Zen monastery. Jōken, however, did not relinquish full control of Sōjiji to Gasan until 1329, more than three years after Keizan's death. Moreover, contributions to the new Zen monastery continued to be addressed to "Morookadera" until as late as 1341.

Sōjiji continued to be known as Morookadera because in the eyes of its main patrons it remained the same temple as before. The documents in which patrons recorded their contributions to Morookadera reveal a remarkable consistency throughout Sōjiji's early history. In 1296 Jōken had been installed at Morooka to perform esoteric prayers on the seventeenth day of each month for the local *ryoke* (i.e., the person holding the main proprietary rights to the estate income). In 1327, three years after Gasan had become abbot of Sōjiji, additional lands were donated to the temple for the chanting of scripture on the seventeenth day of each month as prayers for the security of the *ryoke* in this life and for his salvation in the next. In 1333 another contribution made in the name of the *ryoke* requested readings of one particular scripture, the *Dai hannyakyo*, as prayers for the security of the imperial court, for the long life of the emperor, and for the worldly success of the *ryoke*. One year later, in 1334, the local military steward (*jito*) donated land for the building of a shrine to Shōden (an esoteric Buddhist divinity having the head of an elephant and the body of a man) in order to pray for the fulfillment of the emperor's ambitions and for military victories. In the following year (1335) the lands that provided offerings for Shoden were specified. In 1337 an unsigned directive was issued to Morookadera demanding regular ritual prayers "in accordance with past precedents." Finally, in 1341 another directive reminded Morookadera that it must faithfully perform the prayers requested at the time the *ryoke* gave his original donation forty-five years earlier, in 1296.

The above records demonstrate the influence temple patrons exerted over the religious life of rural Zen monasteries. The religious expectations of patrons played a larger role in the adaption of esoteric or popular rituals into Zen monasticism than did any conscious efforts at popularization. Throughout the forty-five year period covered by these documents, both before and after Keizan had introduced Zen, the basic religious demands of Sōjiji's patrons remained unchanged. When Jōken was first installed as abbot the patrons had requested the performance of the types of esoteric rituals that Jōken was trained to perform. Once Gasan became abbot the patrons' requests changed to scripture recitations, while directing the merit of that service toward the same goals. Later orders repeatedly reminded the Sōjiji monks that deviations from previous precedents would not be tolerated. It is significant that Keizan acknowledged that the supporters of Morookadera lacked proper faith in Zen at the time he converted the chapel into a Zen monastery. This acknowledgment suggests that Keizan had assented to the earlier rituals in order to realize Sōjiji's conversion.

Following Dogen Zenji, the Dharma lamp was transmitted to Ejo Zenji, then to Gikai Zenji, and then to Keizan Zenji, who was the fourth ancestor in the Japanese Soto Zen lineage.

Keizan Zenji Keizan Zenji was born in 1264 in Echizen Province, which is present-day Fukui Prefecture. His mother, Ekan Daishi, was a devoted believer in Kannon Bosatsu (Avalokiteshvara), the bodhisattva of compassion. It is said that she was on her way to worship at a building dedicated to Kannon when she gave birth. For that reason, the name that Keizan Zenji was given at birth was Gyosho.

At the age of eight, he shaved his head and entered Eihei-ji where he began his practice under the third abbot, Gikai Zenji. At the age of thirteen, he again went to live at Eihei-ji and was officially ordained as a monk under Ejo Zenji. Following the death of Ejo Zenji, he practiced under Jakuen Zenji at Hokyō-ji, located in present-day Fukui. Spotting Keizan Zenji's potential ability to lead the monks, Jakuen Zenji selected him to be ino, the monk in charge of the other monks' practice.

In contrast to Dogen Zenji, who deeply explored the internal self, Keizan Zenji stood out with his ability to look outwards and boldly spread the teaching. For the Soto Zen School, the teachings of these two founders are closely connected with each other. In spreading the Way of Buddha widely, one of them was internal in his approach while the other was external.

After more years of practice in Kyoto and Yura, Keizan Zenji became resident priest of Jōman-ji in Awa, which is present-day Tokushima Prefecture. He was twenty-seven years old. During the next four years, he gave the Buddhist precepts to more than seventy lay people. From this we can understand Keizan Zenji's vow to free all sentient beings through teaching and transmitting the Way.

He also came forth emphasizing the equality of men and women. He actively promoted his women disciples to become resident priests. At a time when women were

unjustly marginalized, this was truly groundbreaking. This is thought to be the origin of the organization of Soto Zen School nuns and it was for this reason many women took refuge in Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

Keizan Zenji finally moved back to Daijō-ji, in present-day Kanazawa City, where he became the second abbot, following Gikai Zenji. It was here that he gave teishō on Transmission of Light (Denkoroku). This book explains the circumstances by which the Dharma was transmitted from Shakyamuni Buddha through the twenty eight ancestors in India, the twenty three patriarchs in China, through Dogen Zenji and Keizan Zenji in Japan until Keizan's teacher, Tetsu Gikai.

In 1321 at the age of fifty-eight, a temple called Morookaji in Noto, which is present-day Ishikawa Prefecture, was donated to Keizan Zenji and he renamed it Sojiji. This was the origin of Sojiji in Yokohama, which is, along with Eihei-ji, the other Head Temple (Daihonzan) of the Soto Zen School.

Keizan Zenji did not, by any means, make light of the worldly interests of ordinary people and along with the practice of zazen used prayer, ritual, and memorial services to teach. This was attractive to many people and gave them a sense of peace. For this reason, the Soto Zen School quickly expanded.

Even in the Soto Zen School today, while all temples have zazen groups to serve the earnest requests of believers, they also do their best to fulfill the requests that many people have for benefiting in the everyday world, which include memorial services and funerals.

Keizan Zenji died in 1325 at the age of sixty-five. In succeeding years, his disciples did a good job in taking over for him at Sojiji on the Noto Peninsula. However, that temple was lost to fire in 1898. This provided the opportunity in 1907 to move Sojiji to its present location. The former temple was rebuilt as Sojiji Soin and continues today with many supporters and believers.

Born in the province of Echizen, Keizan Jokin is remembered in the Soto school alongside the “high patriarch” (*koso*), Dogen, as the “great patriarch” (*taiso*). The story of his life and work is woven with legend, an indication of the popular esteem he enjoyed as a religious leader. Like Hakuin, his spirituality was strongly influenced by his mother, who—the story goes—before he was born vowed to the bodhisattva Kannon, to whom she was fervently devoted, to consecrate her son to the Buddha. The pious woman filled her young son’s fertile imagination, as he stood before an image of the bodhisattva, with stories of how those who revered Kannon would be richly rewarded. Early on his mother brought him to be educated by the Zen monks of Eihei’ji. He was only twelve when he received his first monastic ordination from Ejo shortly before the master died (1280). When Ejo looked upon this young boy so fervently committing himself to the precepts of Buddha, he is said to have prophetically foreseen a source of hope for the then beleaguered Soto school.

Keizan remained in Eihei-ji under Gikai’s direction until he was seventeen, at which time he set out on a pilgrimage to visit monasteries and well-known masters across the country. Legend tells us that he was once so angered by an immoral monk he encountered that he raised his staff in the air to pummel the unworthy creature when he suddenly remembered his mother’s admonition to temper his impetuosity and to imitate the gentle Kannon. He was of a mystical temperament and had frequent visions from which he drew the strength to carry on.

Keizan’s pilgrimage, which spanned the years from 1285 to 1288, prepared him for his life’s work. With a free spirit that found good everywhere, he was able to acquire a broad knowledge of Buddhist teaching and practice. Though he sought out people of different views he was especially interested in Zen meditation, to which he had committed himself under the stem direction of Jakuen. In Kyoto he visited the two Rinzai masters Tozan Tansho (1231-1291) and Hakuun Egyo (1228-1297), disciples and successors of Enni Ben’en (1202-1280) as abbots of Tofuku-ji in the second and fourth generations. Like Gikai, these two masters freely mixed their Zen practice with elements of Shingon. Keizan took advantage of a visit to Mount Hiei to study the teachings of Tendai. He also spent time with and was deeply impressed by the originality of Master Shinchi Kakushin (also known as Muhon Kakushin, 1207—1298), the most illustrious expert on the *Mumonkan* koan collection. Before concluding his journey, he returned once again to Jakuen. It is impossible to know fully the effects of this pilgrimage on Keizan. Hakuun Egyo and Shinchi

Kakushin were strongly bound to Shingon, while Tozan Tansho was devoted to Amida. The broad range of Buddhist religiosity that he learned from this journey would later bear fruit in the variety of activities he would soon be undertaking.

In 1294, after returning to Daijo-ji, Keizan experienced his great enlightenment. Gikai had presented his pupil with the nineteenth case of the *Mumonkan* when Keizan felt his mind’s eye open. In the dialogue that constitutes the koan, the disciple Chao-chou asks his master Nan-chu’an about the Way and receives this answer: “The ordinary mind is the Way.” As Keizan tried to show the ordinary mind to Gikai, a koan-like scene unfolded, with the master giving his pupil a slap on the face. Soon afterward, convinced that his disciple has attained a high degree of enlightenment, Gikai made Keizan his Dharma heir and appointed him the founding abbot of Joman-ji in the province of Awa. The following year Keizan visited the esteemed Eihei-ji monastery, where he received the bodhisattva precepts from Gien. Thereafter he traveled southward and visited Daiji-ji in Kyushu. On his return he stopped in Kyoto and there met for the first time Gasan Joseki, who was to become his disciple and successor. When Keizan was about thirty years old and intensely busy instructing disciples and laity at Joman-ji monastery, he was summoned by the aging Gikai to return to Daijo-ji. There, in the year 1300, he began work on his major literary achievement, the *Denkoroku*. In 1303 Gikai retired as abbot of Daijo-ji and Keizan assumed the post.

Under Keizan’s direction, the monastery of Daijo-ji developed into one of the most important centers of Buddhism in the northeastern provinces. As the number of disciples increased, the monastery’s renown spread throughout the land. Keizan presented the books of his *Denkoroku* to his disciples. Like the early Zen chronicles, the books begin with the transmission of Sakyamuni’s mind to Kasyapa and then list first the Indian and then the Chinese patriarchs up to Ju-ching, with Dogen listed as the fifty-first patriarch. The work closes with the book on Ejo...[the next section of Dumoulin is incorporated into the Zazen Yojinki study.]

...

In his *Notebook for Zen Practice*, as in the *Denkoroku*, Keizan shows himself to be a learned and trustworthy Zen master belonging to the tradition of authentic Zen. We need to keep this in mind as we turn to consider Keizan’s typical but syncretistic way of adapting to other forms of Buddhism.

Keizan administered Daijo-ji for nearly a decade (1303—1311), first during the lifetime of Gikai and then by himself. During these years he added to his literary works the *Shinjinmei-nentei* and the *Sankon-Zazen-setsu*

in the spirit of authentic Zen tradition. Energetic by nature, he tried take a active part in the life of the people, which in turn brought him to the conviction that it was necessary to adapt Zen to the spirit of the times and integrate it with other forms of Buddhist life, especially those of esoteric Buddhism. Gikai had already prompted him in this direction, and the experiences gained during pilgrimage prepared him for it. He saw nothing preventing the realization of his ideas and considered the northeastern provinces especially receptive to what he in mind. Turning over the direction of Daijōji to his disciple Meiho Sotetsu (1277—1350), he went on to found Jojūji, where he soon appointed his disciple Mugai Chikyo (d. 1351) abbot.

Keizan maintained good relations with many different abbots and with their help was able promote the rapid growth of Soto Zen. The monasteries of Yokoji and Sojiji both in the region of Noto, became centers for his activity. He enlarged the Shingon temple of Yoko-ji, turning it into a Zen monastery, and worked there for a number of years. His most important institutional achievement came toward the end of his life. Thanks to his friendly relations with the Vinaya master (Jpn., *risshi*) Joken, he inherited the Shingon temple of Shogaku-ji in 1322, renamed it, Soji-ji, and turned it into the main temple of the Soto school. Emperor Go-Daigo elevated it to the rank of a “great head temple” (*daihonzan*), on the same level as Eihei-ji. Soon afterward, Keizan appointed his able disciple Gasan Joseki (1275-1365) to take his place as abbot of Soji-ji so that he could spend his final days in his beloved Yoko-ji. Shortly before he died, he wrote the book of rules for monastic living known as the *Keizan shingi*. His remains were divided among the temples of Daijō-ji, Yoko-ji, and Soji-ji and reverently laid to rest.

At the end of Kamakura period, the Soto school had crystallized around three centers: the original foundation of Eihei-ji, the Daijō-ji monastery with Master Meiho as abbot, and the two temples of Yoko-ji and Soji-ji both under the direction of Gasan. The real axis of the movement was clearly with Gasan, in that the influence of Soji-ji not only equaled but came to surpass that of Eihei-ji. During the second half of the middle ages, the movement of Soto Zen among the common people

originated from Soji-ji. Eventually the two monasteries ironed out apparent rivalries and formed one centralized Soto school. We are left with the question of how to evaluate this development of Soto Zen that Gikai began and Keizan brought to fruition. For the most part, contemporary Soto scholars consider the evident changes in the style of Dogen’s school to be the ineluctable result of institutionalization.

When an institution takes shape, the school of the patriarchs undergoes change. This is its unavoidable fate and part of the process of adapting to the needs of the times and of society. One must ask, however, whether such change actually served as a form of “skillful means” (*J hoben*) to further the spread of doctrine and the advancement of the community, or whether under the pressure of democratization it led to another school that was totally different from the style of Zen Master Dogen. No doubt experts will answer this question differently; what is clear is that Zen Master Keizan himself firmly believed that he was preserving the style of Dogen’s school.[-Kagamishima]

What prevailed in fact was a widespread mixture of Zen with elements of esoteric Buddhism. In leading Soto monasteries one could find next to the hall of Zen mediation a cultic hall where mainly Shingon rituals were carried out. Burial services were prominent, though incantations and petitionary prayers (*kaji-kito*) for one’s earthly well-being were also part of the daily cult. Relatively few of the monks practiced regular mediation, and still the communities had a strong sense of belonging to Zen Buddhism. Just as throughout their lives Keizan and Gikai considered themselves to be disciples of Dogen, so too Soto monks up to the present feel themselves bound to the practice of meditation. At no time has there been a dearth of individuals having extraordinary enlightenment Experiences through meditation. The line that took shape during the third and fourth generations after Dogen endured through the history of Soto Zen. The historically significant developments in the Soto school have their roots in Dogen and Keizan, and, as we shall see in the next section of the book, in Gasan as well.

Thomas Cleary - Keizan and Gazan Soseki Biographies (from Timeless Spring)

Jokin of Eiko

The zen master's initiatory name was Jokin; he was styled Keizan. He was entitled Zen Master with Enlightened Compassion; this was a posthumous title granted by the emperor of the southern court. He was from Etchu, and his lay surname was Kubara.

When he was a child he took master Ejo as his teacher and shaved his head and put on monk's clothing. When zen master Gikai succeeded to the seat to lead the community at Eihei, the master Jokin served as Gikai's personal attendant, taking care of his robes and bowl. One time when he entered Gikai's room, Gikai asked him, "Can you bring forth the ordinary mind?" As Jokin tried to say something, Gikai hit him right on the mouth; Jokin was at a loss, and at this point his feeling of doubt blazed. One night as he was in the hall sitting in concentration, he suddenly heard the wind at the window and had a powerful insight. Gikai deeply approved of him. After a long time Gikai entrusted the teaching to Jokin, who finally succeeded to the seat at Daijo, having had for years the complete ability, transcending the teacher.

When he reopened the Eiko monastery of eternal light and lived there, lords and officials came to him when they heard of him; his influence was greatest in his time. One day he said to his student Meiho, "On the spiritual mountain there was a leader of the assembly (Mahakasyapa) who shared the teaching seat (with Shakyamuni Buddha); at Caoqi there were leaders of the assembly who shared the teaching. Here at Eiko today I too am making an assembly leader to take part in the teaching." Then with a verse he bestowed the robe — "The flaming man under the lamp of eternal light - shining through the aeon's sky, the atmosphere is new. The putting Peak of Brilliance [this refers to Meiho] is hard to conceal; his whole capability turns over, revealing the whole body."

Thereafter the master Jokin never drummed his lips (spoke much) to the assembly; late in life he changed the disciplinary monastery Soji into a zen place and stayed there. After a long time at it, he had had enough of temple business, so he gave the abbacy to Gazan, extending a collateral branch of the teaching. The master Jokin always liked to travel, so when he had retired from his duties he wandered around with a broken rainhat and a skinny cane, meeting people wherever he went, and crowds of people submitted to him.

Soseki of Soji

The zen master's initiatory name was Soseki; he was styled Gazan. He was from Noto prefecture, and his lay surname was Minamoto; he was a descendant of the great councilor Reizei. His mind was exceptionally keen, and his clear countenance was extraordinary.

As a youth he gave up lay life and climbed right up to Mount Hiei, where he set up an altar and received the precepts. He often went to lectures and studied thoroughly the essentials of the school of Tendai. When he happened to meet zen master Keizan at Daijo monastery, Keizan saw at once that he was a vessel of truth, so he said to him, "A fine vessel of dharma; why don't you change your vestments and investigate zen?" The master Gazan said, "I have a mother and I fear she would lack support (if I did so)." Keizan said, "In ancient times Sanavasa gave up a whole continent to enter our school; how can you neglect the way of the greatest teaching for a petty mundane duty?" Then he took off his outer robe and gave it to Gazan, who joyfully accepted it with a bow.

Then he went along with Keizan when he moved to Soji monastery. He was wholehearted and sincere at all times, never once straying. One day when Keizan got up in the hall to speak, the master Gazan came forward from the assembly and asked, "Why is it hard to speak of the place where not a breath enters?" Keizan said, "Even speaking of it does not say it." The master had a flash of insight; as he was about to open his mouth, Keizan said, "Wrong." Scolded, Gazan withdrew; after this his spirit of determination soared far beyond that of ordinary people. One night as Keizan was enjoying the moon along with Gazan, he said, "Do you know that there are two moons?" Gazan said, "No." Keizan said, "If you don't know there are two moons you are not a seedling of the To succession." [Note: The moon is the symbol of reality. Traditionally 'middle path' buddhism provisionally distinguishes two levels of reality, conventional (social) and ultimate ('emptiness').]

At this the master increased his determination and sat crosslegged like an iron pole for years. One day as Keizan passed through the hall he said, "Sometimes it is right to have Him raise his eyebrows and blink his eyes; sometimes it is right not to have Him raise his eyebrows and blink his eyes." [Note: This is a saying of Shitou] At these words the master Gazan was greatly enlightened. Then with full ceremony he expressed his understanding. Keizan agreed with him and said, "After the ancients had gotten the message, they went north and south, polishing and chipping day and night, never complacent or self-conceited. From today you should go call on (the teachers) in other places."

Gazan bowed and took his leave that very day. At all the monasteries he visited he distinguished the dragons from the snakes. [Note: Dragons are great meditation adepts; snakes are those that resemble 'dragons' but aren't really; that is, Gazan saw who were the genuine knowers and who were the imitations.] After a long time of this he eventually returned to look in on Keizan. Keizan welcomed him joyfully and said, "Today you finally can

be a seedling of the To succession." The master Gazan covered his ears.

Keizan said, "I am getting feeble and am depending on a hand from you to hold up a broken sand bowl;" then he transmitted the teaching to him. After the master had received it, he led the community at Soji. The monastery regulations were fully developed, modeled on the strict rules of Tiantong. Before long people from all walks of life came like clouds. Always surrounded by thousands of people, Gazan greatly expounded Soto Zen.

Gazan Soseki had twenty-five enlightened disciples to whom he transmitted the Dharma; each spread the teach-

ing in one region, and the influence of the school spread all over the country. At the end of his life he had Taigen inherit his seat, and also entrusted Tsugen with the scepter of authority of the school. After he had imparted his last instruction to his various disciples Mutan, Daitetsu, Hobo, and the rest, he rang the bell, chanted a verse, and died.

His verse said,

Skin and flesh together

Ninety one years.

Since night, as of old,

I lie in the yellow springs of death.

[Note: The account of Keizan's awakening in Eto Sokuo's piece (in the section of Keizan & Dogen) is a bit different:

One morning, the master listened to Tettsu Gikai's lecture at his ascent to the Dharma hall. When Tettsu cited Chao-chou's topic, "One's original mind as it really is, is the Way," [in that moment,] the master accomplished a great awaken-ing. He at once declared: "I have it." Tettsu Gikai questioned him, saying: "What have you realized?" The master replied: "Black balls run through the dark night." Tettsu questioned him again: "Not clear. Explain again." The master said: "At the time of tea, I drink tea; at the time of the rice meal, I eat rice meal."

Here is the same story from the sotozen-net Keizan comic:]



[p. 4:]

In spite of his status as “second founder” and “fourth patriarch” of the Japanese Soto “sect,” Keizan, far from being a narrowly sectarian figure, stands at the crossroads of various traditions. Of course he is first and foremost a Zen monk, and his references in this regard are impeccable, and consequently relatively trite. He quotes and comments on the eponymous masters of the Soto (Chinese Caodong) tradition: Dongshan Liangjie (807-869) and Caoshan Benji (840-901). But he also likes to be seen as an *ujiko*, a “clan child” of Hakusan, a name designating both the mountain range that dominates and separates the three prefectures of Fukui, Ishikawa, and Gifu, and its protective deity, Hakusan Myōri Dai-gongen. Unlike Dogen, Keizan was completely immersed in local cults and legends from the time of his childhood. His entire work reflects and maintains this tension between two fundamentally opposed realms of thought. This ambiguity is usually glossed over by Japanese historians or else attributed to efforts at proselytizing on the part of a reformer consciously adapting his teachings to local conditions. But it actually expresses what the Buddhists have called the “two truths”: ultimate truth and conventional truth. This hermeneutic strategy of the “twofold truth” is critical in Chan/Zen Buddhism, but its role is problematic in that it seeks to diminish tensions rather than let them play against each other; and eventually covers up rather than reveals the reality of the practices. If this pattern of discourse cannot be discarded, one must at least avoid replicating it. To do this, an anthropologico-historical approach seems useful. We are working in a domain that is still little studied, one largely dominated by the teleological concepts of an entire tradition that sees Zen as the final outcome of the history of Buddhism and, at the same time, the zenith of Japanese culture. Thus any attempt of the kind made in this book is fraught with difficulties, and our conclusions will remain tentative.)

[p. 8:]

KEIZAN’S TWO TRUTHS

The path that we are going to follow begins from a simple but surprising observation: the doctrine that Keizan followed was, as is all monasticism if we are to believe Max Weber, fundamentally rationalist and demythologizing. Furthermore, the religious experience that inspires Chan/Zen is, paradoxically, not very “religious” (in the Western sense of the word), since it relies on an immediate perception of reality, in its initial “thusness,” prior to all thinking processes and imagination. Thus Chan/Zen takes as its position the rejection of all imagination. But the universe in which Keizan lived was no less impregnated with the marvelous, structured by the imaginary than that of his contemporary Dante Alighieri.

This contradiction is only one surface sign, one manifestation of a deep tension that we shall meet again and again. Keizan’s Zen is, as we might expect, aporetic and therefore paradoxical: it is at the same time elitist and popular idealistic and realistic, sudden and gradual (or, if you like, immediate and mediate), unlocalized and localized, obsessed with the idea of unity and besotted with multiplicity. Keizan’s thought develops around these polarities and doubtless owes its vitality to this tension. As he says in one of his dialogues, “In the doctrine of emptiness we can finally detect neither heights nor depths, neither for nor against.” We thus have a fusion within supreme awakening of the two orders of reality which give rise to dreams and to waking life. But this absolute standpoint (a contradiction in terms) results in only a theoretical disavowal of multiplicity. In practice things are very different, as we can see, for example, in the importance that Keizan attached to visions of all sorts, or his interest in the concrete details of monastic life. Thus, in a dialogue with his benefactress-turned-disciple, Sonin, Keizan alludes to the cosmic order, the conventional truth according to which the seasons succeed each other on the branches of trees, only to hear her reply that a tree “without shade” (the tree in its absolute reality) does not have “seasonal knots.” [Footnote: JDZ, 401. The term *jisetsu*, translated here literally, is an allusion to an expression often used by Dogen, *jisetsu innen*, the “temporal causes and conditions” of awakening. [Also note: JDZ refers to Josai daishi zenshu. Koho Chisan, ed. 1937. Rpt. Yokohama: Daihonzan Sojiji, 1976.]] This realization of the eternal present does not prevent the two interlocutors, apparently concerned for the future, from leaving detailed instructions for their descendants.

Let us continue with this line of thought. Chan/Zen theory, in its orthodox immediacy, presents itself as completely rejecting all mediation: rejecting the *imaginaire* as an intermediary or “imaginal” world, dismissive of cosmologies, symbols, images—in other words, traditional beliefs - and belief in general. It goes without saying that practice looks somewhat different: when we look at them closely, the fine theoretical certainties of Chan start unraveling, replaced by a game in which practically all kinds of mediation are allowed. Reminiscent of the writer described by Roland Barthes, the Chan master is a divided subject because he participates “at the same time and in a contradictory way in the deep pleasure of all Culture ... and the destruction of that culture. He enjoys the strength of his own self ... (in this lies his pleasure) and tries to lose it (in this lies his enjoyment).”

Keizan is consistent in his contradictions; they make up a system. His theoretical statements almost always stand in opposition to his actual practice—at least insofar as this latter can be reconstructed. This di-

vergence is not accidental, and we may speak without too much fear of exaggeration, of a systematic effect characterizing Chan/Zen discourse. Instances of denials in principle may even serve as indicators; they reveal the dual nature of this discourse. Practice is “contained” by them (in every meaning of the word: included, enclosed, protected, prevented from spreading). The divergence between representations and actual practices is thus constitutive—it defines the very domain of the *imaginaire*.

Is practice then a kind of “controlled catastrophe,” and the awakening that crowns it a self-possessed madness—a foundry in which all false notions are melted away—an emptiness of spirit suggesting a move beyond all mental functions, and thus beyond all meanings, words, and images? This attitude would explain iconoclasm and the “senseless” attitudes of the “Chan madmen” and other eccentric mystics. No more images, and thus no more *imaginaire*? Perhaps. But as far as we can tell, in almost all Chan texts we are in the presence of a normative vision of awakening rather than a simple description, a program that passes itself off as a simple inventory (*etat des lieux*)—or rather an account of the non-place (*non-lieu*) called the arena of awakening (Skt. *bodhimanda*). This kind of awakening is still part of the Chan *imaginaire*, an imagination that has certainly been purified but one that cannot pride itself on any ontological or epistemological superiority over the image-rich imagination of local religion which it disavows. The desire to surpass and go beyond the ideological and the imaginary is also part of the ideological and the imaginary.

...

[p. 31]

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL IMAGINATION

ONE OF THE CHARACTERISTIC features of the *Record of Tokoku* is its autobiographical element. Unfortunately this autobiographical fragment deals only with the later part of Keizan’s life, the years he spent at Yokoji and not the earlier period when he lived at Daijōji. Nevertheless it is still important in the way it documents the emergence of an individual from the matrix of Japanese feudal society—at least as important as the private diaries that have survived from the period. The way that Keizan saw himself is, however, quite unusual and reveals certain interesting—and less well-known—features of the medieval imagination. For example, he could casually announce to his disciples that he was the reincarnation of a tree spirit, a chimera-like being who lived in the Himalayas and who had been converted to Buddhism, achieving the exalted status of an Arhat:

As for me, it was in the past, at the time of the Buddha Vipasyin, that I realized the fruit of Arhatship. I was living on the Himalayas, to the north of Mount

Sumeru. At that time I was the deity of a Kuvala tree. With the head of a dog, the body of a kite, and the belly and tail of a serpent, I was a four-footed animal. Although I was only a humble tree deity, I nonetheless received the fruit [of Arhatship]. From that time on, I lived on the Himalayas, in the northern continent of Uttarakuru, with Suvinda, the fourth Arhat. This is why I am now reincarnated here [in the north of Japan]. Owing to my karmic affinities with the [northern] regions, I managed to be reborn as an *ujiko* of Hakusan... Since achieving the fruit of Arhatship, I have been reincarnated through five hundred existences in order to spread the Dharma and bring profit to all beings. [JDZ, 395]

However, unlike the protagonist of a famous Chan dialogue—a monk who had to be reborn five hundred times as a fox in order to pay off a karmic debt and was finally delivered by the words of the master Baizhang Huaihai—the future Keizan had achieved awakening before his long series of reincarnations. The number five hundred is highly symbolic. It is associated most often with the five hundred Arhats, and it is precisely with one of these great disciples of the Buddha, the Arhat Suvinda, that Keizan tells us that he spent his time. After this brief mention of his previous existences, which reminds us of the style of the *Jataka*, tales of the former lives of the Buddha Sakyamuni, Keizan gives a brief chronological account of his monastic career and spiritual journey:

At eight years old I received the tonsure and went to live in the community of the master Gikai, who was then the abbot of Eihei-ji. At thirteen I became a monk under the Reverend Ejo, the former abbot [of Eihei-ji] and the successor to Eihei [Dogen]. At eighteen I made a firm resolve to seek awakening. At nineteen I went to consult Jakuen, the guardian of [Dogen’s] stupa. Having already produced the thought of awakening, I reached the level of non-backsliding. At twenty-two I obtained awakening as I heard a sound. At twenty-five, emulating Kannon, I produced the universal wish of the great Icchantika. At twenty-eight I became the superior of Jomanji in Umibe, in Awa province. At twenty-nine, I received the ritual of ordination from Master Gien of Eihei-ji, and during the winter of the same year I began to administer the Precepts. I ordained at first five people. At thirty-one I had already ordained more than seventy people. At thirty-two I went to consult the Reverend Gikai, founder of Daijōji in Kaga province, and I inherited his Dharma. I became his main disciple, and I was the first vice-abbot (*hanza*) of Daijōji. I had the right to private meals, and I received a propitious name for my quarters. I was assured that I had the stuff to be an eminent master. At thirty-three I was named *risso nisshitsu*. At thirty-five I ascended alone the preaching chair of Daijō[ji] and I was named second-generation

abbot. At the end of fifteen years of preaching, I came to settle on this mountain [Tokokuzan] in order to found a monastery here. [JDZ, 395-96]

As we can see, taking the tonsure at the age of eight, Keizan first served Gikai (1219-1309) at Eihei-ji. He was then ordained as a novice when he was thirteen, receiving complete ordination at eighteen. Once he was a monk, he left the service of Ejo (1198-1280) and went to Jakuen (Ch. Jiyuan, 1207-1299), one of Dogen's Chinese disciples, from whom he received a first inkling of the truth, followed three years later by a more profound awakening. At twenty-eight he became the superior at Joman-ji in Kaifu and the following year he received from Gien (d. 1314), then the superior at Eihei-ji, his own authorization to ordain. He immediately made use of this power, ordaining more than seventy monks over the next two years. At thirty-two he went back to Gikai, who had left Eihei-ji to found a new community farther north, Daijo-ji in Kaga. He became Gikai's main disciple, the inheritor of his Dharma, and three years later succeeded him as abbot of Daijo-ji. After staying fifteen years in this monastery, he left to take possession of a parcel of land at Tokoku and founded his own monastery, Yokoji.

Keizan goes on by telling the initiatory dream during which he achieved awakening.

Bodhidharma appeared in my dream and bathed me in pure water that sprang from the stones under his seat, in a pure, cold lake. As I was naked, he gave me a monk's robe and I then produced the thought [of awakening].

Maitreya appeared in my dream and gave me a blue lotus seat. I was reborn three times, and then I was carried through space. The deva, playing music, escorted me before Maitreya. He led me into the Inner Court of Tuṣita. Then I achieved the status of non-backsliding.

Sakyamuni appeared in my dream, revealing himself in his body from the time of the preaching of the *Ratnakṣeta-sūtra*. He expounded the doctrine of the Three Deliverances—deliverance from time, mind, and phenomena—during a period of fifty-eight years [JDZ, 396].

The three mythic characters who initiated him—Bodhidharma, Maitreya, and Sakyamuni—helped him, respectively, to produce the thought of awakening, to reach the state of nonreturn, and finally to fulfill the doctrine of the triple deliverance, the crowning of the career of a Bodhisattva. These three stages had already been mentioned in more or less the same terms in the chronological section preceding the account of the dream. Keizan apparently went through them during his eighteenth, nineteenth, and twenty-second years. Thus it is possible that what is presented here as a single dream in three phases actually constitutes the memory of three

separate dreams, coming some years apart. The autobiography in the strict sense of the term ends there. Autobiographical details show up elsewhere in the work, however, and when he is giving various details about Yokoji, Keizan supplies some of the most meaningful information about himself, his way of thinking, and his dreams.

Keizan's "autobiography" fits the standard pattern of the genre and we should not be too quick to accept the biographical data supplied in it. In spite of their apparent sincerity, Buddhist autobiographies often constitute no more than subjective projections of the life of the Buddha himself. Behind the apparently objective framework of facts, the imagination plays a great part. The "imitation" of the paradigm provided by the life of the crown prince Sakyamuni is a fundamental element of monastic life. It may take various forms, depending on whether the practitioner holds to an intransigent subitist position or one of various forms of gradualism. From the subitist point of view, the only "biographical" motifs that stand out are the Buddha's awakening and final entry into Nirvana. So the "lives" of the Chan masters, at least as they show up in hagiographic literature, are essentially reduced to these two important occasions. The meager biographical information provided is there only insofar as it is needed to back up this imperative of spiritual transcendence. From traditional Buddhism's gradualist point of view, to which Keizan remains clearly indebted despite his theoretical subitism, the life of the Buddha forms a whole, in which each significant event, even if still building toward the pinnacle of awakening, is in itself a sign of transcendence—following the logic of *pars pro toto*. The main actions of Sakyamuni become paradigms from a mythico-ritual repertoire. Thus the flight of the young prince from his father's palace, a dramatic rejection of the bonds of blood, is replayed mentally by each postulant on the occasion of his own "leaving the family" (J. *shukke*), a term that designates monastic ordination. This ordination then comes to be considered as a real initiation, an entry by adoption into the "lineage of the Buddha," a saving affiliation into the Chan patriarchal lineage. Equally important is the practice of asceticism: we know that the Buddha practiced the most extreme mortifications of the flesh for a period of six years before achieving the "Middle Path," midway between rigorous asceticism and hedonism. Despite this rejection of extreme asceticism, the image of an emaciated Sakyamuni, reduced almost to the condition of a living corpse, would continue to haunt the Buddhist imagination and would come to justify monastic poverty, and even more extreme forms of "rejecting the self." Here is Keizan's description of this ascesis in his *Denkoroku*: "One night when he was nineteen years old, Sakyamuni left his palace and shaved off his hair. After this he spent six years practicing ascesis. He sat on an indestructible seat, so still that he had spider webs on his eyelashes, a

bird's nest on his head, and grass grew through his meditation mat. He remained seated like this for six years."

Another critical moment in the life of the Buddha, this time after the Awakening, was that of the transmission of the Dharma from master to disciple, an essential concept for a school like Chan which, by rejecting Canonical tradition, had deprived itself of traditional criteria for orthodoxy. This transmission was achieved by Sakyamuni's holding up of a flower in front of his disciples, a gesture understood only by Kasyapa (better known as Mahakasyapa, "Kasyapa the Great"). Keizan had this model in mind each time he designated a successor.

As a result of the growing ritualization of monastic life after Dogen, however, it was the entire life of the Buddha that became the ritual paradigm and engaged the imagination of the monks. Speaking of the donation of the land for the future Yokoji, Keizan writes, "King Bimbisara once offered the Bamboo Grove park to the Buddha. In the same way, when one enters this place with a pure faith, one sees one's desires lessen and one's good karma increase" [JDZ, 394]. The pious lay donor is thus promoted to the dignity of a king, and Keizan to that of the Buddha.

We can also see in the description Keizan gives of his first years at Tokoku all the tropes of monastic poverty: "To welcome visitors I used pine needles in water instead of tea, and I used cedar leaves to put in the recipients" [JDZ, 398]. But how far was this ideal of poverty and renunciation actually put into practice? From reading the *Record of Tokoku* alone, it is difficult to make any clearcut decisions. Although we cannot doubt Keizan's reforming zeal and sincerity, the close relations that he maintained with his benefactors lead us to think that he must have had to make some compromises.

Whatever the case, this imaginary projection into a mythical time was not purely individual. It did not involve simply the reproduction for oneself of the awakening and life of the Buddha, identifying oneself with him individually; within the communal Utopia the primordial Buddhist community also had to be recreated. The Buddha had to be brought back to life not just by himself but in close symbiosis with the community of his disciples, the Buddhist *samgha*. As a result the career of the Buddha was followed as if it consisted of two stages: first a time of individuation, and then that of collectivization. This communal ideal is present from the very first pages of the *Record of Tokoku*.

...[also see the section on Keizan and Women for more on Keizan from Visions of Power.]

[p. 47]

IMAGINED LINEAGES

HISTORIANS SEE KEIZAN above all as the reformer of the Soto tradition, and thus we should examine his position within that context. The Soto tradition was brought to Japan by Dogen (1200-1253), who in 1243 went on to found Eihei-ji (Monastery of Eternal Peace) in Echizen province (today's Fukui prefecture). Unlike his contemporary and rival, the Rin-zaï master Enni Ben'en (1202-1280), Dogen rejected the doctrinal syncretism that then reigned in Zen (and in Chinese Chan) and preached "pure" Zen. This was also the position of his successor Koun Ejo (1198-1280). But after the latter's death, the Eihei-ji community is said to have split over Dogen's succession, during what came to be called the third-generation controversy, a conflict that seems to have involved conservative elements, partisans of a strict adherence to Dogen's "purism," and those who, with Ejo's successor, Gikai (1219-1309), advocated an openness to esoteric Buddhism and local cults. Gikai was evicted from Eihei-ji and took refuge in a monastery in Kaga province, Daijo-ji (in Ishikawa prefecture). Keizan, the disciple and successor of Gikai, thus belonged to this dissident branch of the Soto sect which, thanks to him and his disciples, would become the majority party and by the same token, for a long time, the party of orthodoxy.

The syncretism of Gikai and Keizan, however, also reflects their adherence to another Zen tendency little understood until recently, referred to as the Dharma school (Darumashu). This school, named after the legendary founder of Chan/Zen, the Indian monk Bodhidharma, was apparently founded by a monk named Dainichi (var. Dainichibo) Nonin even before the official introduction of Zen into Japan by Yosai (var. Eisai, 1141-1215) and Dogen. Unlike these figures, Nonin had never visited China; he achieved awakening by himself, with no spiritual guide. It was only much later, in response to criticisms, that he obtained, through two disciples, the transmission of the Chan master Fozhao, alias Zhuoan Deguang. This detail, as we shall see, is not without significance. The success of the Darumashu provoked strong reactions, sometimes motivated by doctrinal disagreements and sometimes by envy. Among Nonin's detractors were several prominent monks of the time, such as the Kego master Myoe (1173-1232), but also Yosai and Dogen themselves. Dogen had private reasons to oppose Nonin and his doctrine, even if, unlike Yosai, he did this only indirectly. His main disciples, beginning with Ejo and Gikai, were essentially breakaway members of this school. While Ejo's conversion to Dogen's teaching was wholehearted, that of his co-disciples was more ambivalent. In spite of his diatribes against the school of Lin-ji (Rin-zaï), Dogen could never succeed completely in persuading his disciples to renounce their former affiliation. In the very heart of the new Japanese Soto school, the Rin-zaï ideas and lineage of the Darumashu continued, finding a synthesis and outcome in the thought of Keizan.

On this point as on others, Keizan's attitude is ambiguous. Sometimes, like Dogen in his hardly veiled criticism of the Darumashu, he insists on the importance of a face-to-face transmission between master and disciple, authenticated by a certificate of succession. At other times he seems to admit the possibility of "awakening alone, without a master" (*mushi dokugo*), as Nonin was said to have done. In his *Denkoroku* he treats Dogen as the heir to the Rinzai master Myozen (1184-1225), a disciple of Yosai whom Dogen had accompanied to China and whose relics he brought back to Japan. According to Keizan, Dogen had inherited Myozen's robe and bowl along with his esoteric teachings and rituals. Thus he was Myozen's sole legitimate heir, from whom he received the true lines of the three schools: exoteric, esoteric, and Zen. If we are to believe Keizan's account, Dogen too was an eclectic teacher.

Keizan may be projecting his own situation onto Dogen. He combined in his own person two very different lines, one that would represent Zen orthodoxy and the other, heterodoxy. This tension between lineages reflects another deeper tension—at the level of ideas or even of world-views. We return to this second tension later in this chapter. For now, we linger a moment on the idea of the patriarchal tradition. As is well known, the transmission of the Dharma is essential in Chan/Zen. From at least the time of the sixth patriarch Huineng (died 713), if not before, this transmission, considered to take place "outside scriptural teaching," "from mind to mind," was verified by the transmission of the patriarchal robe. The Dharma robe of Huineng, the emblem of the patriarchate "invented" by his alleged disciple Shenhui (684-758), was coveted by many parties. During the Tang the Chinese emperors even considered it as a sort of dynastic treasure (*bao*) whose presence in the imperial palace, even if only temporary, helped to legitimize a new reign. Later other relics played a similar role. At the time of Dogen, and at his insistence, the certificates of succession (*shisho*) became more important. Just as Shenhui resorted to the symbol of the patriarchal robe in order to prove the legitimacy of his master Huineng (and his own at the same time), Dogen came to insist on the requirement of the certificate of succession, doubtless to invalidate the claims of freelancers like Nonin. On this point Keizan is more easygoing than Dogen, considering that both types of transmission are authentic even if they are not completely equal in weight.

There is one more lineage to which Keizan seems very close, even if he cannot truly be called its heir. This is the Hotto branch, named after Hotto kokushi (National Master Hotto, posthumous title of Shinchi Kakushin, 1207-1298). This lineage was heavily influenced by Shingon esotericism, which Kakushin had studied at Koyasan before he went to China to study the Chan of the Linji (Rinzai) school. Kakushin's eclecticism was shared

by Keizan. We know that the latter, in his youth, studied in various Tendai and Rinzai monasteries. But the affinities between Kakushin and Keizan did not prevent a rivalry between the two branches in certain situations. Thus, when Keizan succeeded his master Gikai at Daijōji, he was soon replaced, on the insistence of the lay patrons of the monastery, by a monk from the Hotto branch, Kyōo Unryō (1267- 341). In a document dated 1323, Keizan writes:

Daijōji is the monastery where my late master [Gikai] first preached the Dharma. Among his disciples there were some worthy of becoming abbots, but the person who holds administrative power there at the moment is a monk who does not follow my way of thinking. Yet what motivated the founder [Gikai] was the hope of revitalizing our sect. This is why, when the patrons [of Daijōji] come back to the right principle, the worthies of our sect should once again reside there. Furthermore, since the relics of three generations of Eihei-ji [abbots] have been deposited there, this is a monastery that we must work to restore. Disciples, see that you observe my wishes.

Of course we must not exaggerate Keizan's feelings of rivalry. After all, the new abbot of Daijōji, Kyōo Unryō, had studied for some time under his supervision, and Keizan himself sent his two main disciples, Meiho Sotetsu and Gasan Joseki, to study in turn at Daijōji.

THE PATRIARCHAL TRADITION

What, then, was this patriarchal tradition that Keizan claimed to belong to? It was not a matter of a simple transmission from master to disciple, already so well known in China and Japan, but the transmission par excellence, that of the ultimate truth or *shobogenzo*, the "Treasure of the True Dharma Eye" transmitted by the Buddha to his disciple Mahakasyapa, and, through the intervening Chinese and Japanese patriarchs, to Dogen and Keizan. The hieratic nature of this transmission is underscored by the fact that, in certain Chan manuscripts uncovered at Dunhuang, it is considered to operate on a suprahistorical level, in the *Vajradhatu*, or Adamantine Realm, between two patriarchs who are no longer simply flesh-and-blood people but metaphysical beings. Its historicity is thus of a special kind reminiscent of the Christian Church, unrolling in a time of a higher order; the *aeuum*. Questions of transmission that seem strictly sectarian to us expressed, to Dogen, Keizan, and their contemporaries, the highest truth, the very essence of their world. Their sectarianism carried them, so to speak, to the heart of things.

THE FIVE ELDERS

Keizan constructed the main buildings of Yokoji according to an architectural tradition that was well established, at least in China. But then he became

innovative, building, on a hill overlooking the monastery, a funerary mound that he called Goroho [Peak of the Five Elders] and a memorial called Dentoin [Pavilion of the Transmission of the Lamp]. Like some imperial tombs in Korea and Japan, the mound over the course of centuries blended into the landscape and today it is covered with vegetation. It is about five meters high and ten meters across. Its name, the Peak of the Five Elders, was perhaps borrowed from a famous peak of Mount Lu, in Jiangxi. What concerns us particularly is that Keizan buried in it various relics of these Five Elders, among whom he counted himself: the *Recorded Sayings* of Rujing (Dogen's Chinese master), the "sacred bones" of Dogen, a *sutra* that Ejo had copied in his own blood, Gikai's documents of succession, and Mahayana scriptures copied by Keizan himself. The *Record of Tokoku* itself, like Yokoji, contains a memorial—in this case a literary one—entitled "Short Notices of the Deeds and Koans of Awakening of the Five Elders of Dentoin at Tokoku." Concluding the fourth notice (and actually last, despite the title), that of his master Gikai, Keizan writes: "Now I respectfully deposit on this mountain the relics of Samantabhadra preserved by the Six patriarchs and transmitted in the school of Nanyue [Huairang], the frontal bone of my late master; and the Scriptures of the Five Sections of Mahayana copied in my own hand." And he signs: "Jokin of Tokoku, heir of the Dharma at the fifty-fourth generation from Sakyamuni."

In this way Keizan built up, parallel to the continuing, open lineage of the Indian, Chinese, and Japanese patriarchs that had preceded him, a new series that formed a closed whole and that recapitulated, even eclipsed, the former in the collective memory of the Soto sect. Short-circuiting the classical list, this new patriarchal tradition also subtly adulterated the "pure Zen" of Dogen by including among the new cult objects certain relics inherited, through Gikai, from the Rinzaï lineage of the Darumashu school. Dogen, the "founder" of the Japanese Soto sect, occupies only the second place in this condensed patriarchal line. Keizan chose to go back, beyond his Japanese predecessors, to the Chinese master Rujing. At the same stroke, Yokoji now became more important than Eiheiji because the latter held only the mausoleum of the "second patriarch," Dogen. We discuss farther on in this chapter the central place of the cult of relics in the Soto tradition as reformed by Keizan.

It is also possible that the relics of the Five Elders were arranged, as were their funerary tablets in Dentoin, in accordance with a spatial schema involving the five points (center and cardinal directions). Referring to the custom of depositing relics in Buddhist stupas in India, Paul Mus argues that "their regular arrangement in an oriented space reveals . . . the circulation of their power; passing from one to the next according to a spatial schema of time, and because of this fact their grouping

contains a messianic promise." Thus at Goroho we may have the "pentarchy" of Yokoji: five patriarchs forming a collective ancestor and not simply five successive generations.

As we have seen above, Dentoin contains statues of the Five Elders along with the funerary tablets of Keizan and the four later "patriarchs" (Meiho Sotetsu, Mugai Chiko, Gasan Joseki, and Koan Shikan), along with those of Keizan's mother (Ekan) and paternal grandmother (Myochi), and those of the main patrons of Yokoji: the nun Sonin and her husband, Unno Saburo (ordained under the religious name of Myojo). Above the tablets there are icons of the masters and disciples, with the exception of Myojo. Sonin is shown twice: once as a benefactress of the monastery and once as the abbess of Dentoin. The importance of the patriarchal line is further underscored by a horizontal plaque, carved by Soan Shien, sixth abbot of Yokoji, on the basis of a calligraphy by Keizan dated 1323, listing the fifty-four generations from Mahakasyapa to Keizan. The spatial arrangement of the tablets is suggestive. Beginning from Rujing, in the central position, one proceeds from side to side, in ever larger sweeps, toward the right (Dogen), to the left (Ejo), back to the right (Gikai), and once again to the left (Keizan). We are apparently in a mausoleum organized on the model of the Chinese ancestor cult, with the five "ancestors" of Yokoji constituting a collective entity.

Before he died, Keizan named six successors: Meiho Sotetsu (1277- 1350), who succeeded him as head of Yokoji; Gasan Joseki (1276- 1366), to whom he entrusted Sojiji; Mugai Chiko (died in 1351), Koan Shikan (died in 1341), Koho Kakumyo (1271-1361), and Gensho Chinsan (dates unknown). Only Meiho and Gasan played an important part in the later development of the Soto school and their schools quickly became rivals, as shown in a late passage in the *Record of Tokoku*. Although the funerary tablets of the four first-named among the successors are arranged in pairs on each side of those of the Five Elders, the other two are missing.

Koho Kakumyo deserves special mention among these successors. His inheritance was jointly from the Zen of Shinchï Kakushin, and so he was strongly influenced by Shingon esoterism. He shares with Keizan (and many other monks of that period) another trait: the importance he assigns to dreams. In Chapter 5 we look in some detail at the role of dreams in medieval Zen. Let us note here that dreams are closely associated with spiritual transmission. As already noted, it was during an oneiric experience that Keizan received the transmission from the Buddhist triad of Bodhidharma, Sakyamuni, and Maitreya. Sakyamuni and Bodhidharma appear at two of the most significant times in the *Chan/Zen* transmission, in India and in

China. The presence of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, is a little more surprising because he is not very important in Chan/Zen and Keizan could have been influenced by a Maitreyic trend.

This triad, which gave Keizan his supernatural legitimization, helps him to pass through in a single leap (a single dream?) the three main stages in the career of a Bodhisattva: production of the first thought of awakening, stage of nonretreat, achievement of the triple deliverance. These three stages reflect on the oneiric level those that Keizan had actually gone through, according to the autobiographical section of the *Record of Tokoku*, at the ages of eighteen, nineteen, and twenty-two. We may note in passing that it was with Jakuen (Ch. Jiyuan), Dogen's Chinese disciple, that he reached the second stage. In another dream connected with Keizan's spiritual lineage, Gien appeared to him. Gien was the leader of the conservative faction at Eihei-ji, opposed to the reforms introduced by Gikai. He had been instrumental in Gikai's eviction from the monastery.

On the twenty-second of the same month, during the night, I dreamed that I held the post of acolyte of the second rank to Master Gien of Eihei-ji and that I wanted to ascend the hall in his place. But Gien moved forward and ascended the hall, saying, "If one lights only one lamp, it can illuminate [as far as] the shutters, but the darkness will not leave the mountain even in twenty years." After he came down from his seat, I said, "Has the Reverend vowed not to leave the mountain?" Gien said, "That is so. I am delighted that you, alone among thousands of men, have understood the depths of my heart." I made a note of this as a model for future generations. It was also a sign that the benevolent spirit [of Gien] would accompany me throughout my life. This happy omen showed that I should live in retirement on this mountain until the end [of my days] [JDZ, 401].

By reporting Gien's favorable comments about him, Keizan reconciled to his own benefit the two antagonistic tendencies within the Soto school. Let us also note the eponymous ancestors of Tokoku and Yokoji:

As the sixteenth-generation heir to the founding patriarch Tozan [Dongshan Liangjie], I revere his style. This is why I named this mountain "Tokoku," simply replacing [the character] "Mount" [*san*] with [that of] "Valley" [*koku*], just as Sozan [Caoshan, i.e., Caoshan Benji] was derived from a change in Sokei [Caoxi, i.e., Huineng]. And as I am the eleventh-generation heir to the founding patriarch Dayang [Jingxuan], I inspired myself from his [post-humous] title ["Great Sun"] and named this monastery Yokoji, "Monastery of Eternal Light." [JDZ, 395].

[There is much more of interest on Keizan in Visions of Power. Because of space considerations, aside from the excerpts included in the section on Keizan and Women and the section on Dreams, the remainder of excerpts included here will consist only of translated passages from the Record of Tokoku (*Tokokuki*, var. *Tokokki*) and related texts found in Visions of Power (with brief explanatory text from Faure in brackets). Selections of this text are also translated by William Bodiford (see his article in the section on Dreams).]

[p. 57: The *Record of Tokoku* describes a meeting, toward the middle of 1323, during which Keizan transmitted to Meiho Sotetsu the Dharma robe of Dogen and the *shippei*.] The twenty-fifth of the same month, the *shuso* [So]tetsu was promoted to the status of *risso nisshitsu*, and the Dharma robe and *shippei* were transmitted in the same interview. As he received the Robe of the Law he [Sotetsu] said, "The Robe of the Law of Eihei [Dogen] has been transmitted as [a token of] faith from one generation to the next during a private encounter between master and disciple. The *shuso* Sotetsu, receiving it respectfully in his turn, declares, „This mountain range, who said that one could not move it? I have succeeded in doing it. I have now come to the door, and it opened.““ The same day, after a sermon, I had him come to my room. It was not like promoting an ordinary *risso*. When he ascended the hall, gave a sermon, or entered into my cell, it was as a complete preacher. On Vulture Peak and at Caoxi there were the *shuso* Kasyapa and Qingyuan. At Daijōji and at Iokoku we have the *shuso* [Keizan] Jokin and [Meiho] Sotetsu" [JDZ, 410].

[p. 57: Toward the middle of the year 1324, Keizan transmits his Dharma robe to Gasan Joseki, whom he promotes by the same token to the position of abbot of his newly founded monastery, Sojiji:] On the seventh of the seventh month I handed over to the *shuso* Gasan Joseki the position of abbot of Sojiji, and I transmitted to him the Dharma robe. During the opening ceremony, I also transmitted to him the staff [*shujo*], the fly-whisk [*hossu*], and the certificate of ordination. That very day the new abbot and the old one met for the first time and transmitted from one to the other the three-inch *shippei* of Koshōji, the first that ever existed in Japan. It is the *shippei* [that gives] access to the [master's] cell. For the next three days auspicious events kept happening. [JDZ, 430]

[Pg 78:] Both the fundamental spirit and everyday acts contribute to the work of the Buddha. Drawing water, carting wood—everything derives from the marvelous efficacy of spiritual powers; harvesting vegetables, gathering fruit—all this contributes to the turning of the wheel of the profound Dharma" [JDZ, 401].

[Pg 83:] During the winter retreat of the same year, the prior [Shi]kan, the chief seat [Gen]ka, and the attendant in charge of cleaning, Kakujitsu, dreamed that Inari, the god of the mountain, told them in a kindly voice,

“I am the ancient lord of this mountain. Order the entire province to make offerings of salt and soy paste to me.” With a “demon arrow,” he subdued the western slope of the mountain. With another, he pacified the front of the mountain and the peaks behind it.

I had a dream in which the protective god of the province came to tell me, “Proclaim throughout the province that I am to be offered yet another vegetarian dish. Such is the mysterious oracle of the great tutelary deity Ichinomiya. In addition, under my direction you must construct from camphor [wood] a seated figure of Bishamon holding in his left hand the pearl that grants all wishes and making with his right hand the seal of the gift. Make this the *honzon* of the store-house.” The protection of the Dharma was thus received in a dream. In addition, during the same winter Karaten [Mahakala] appeared to announce that he wished to serve [as protector].

In the springtime of the second Bunpo year [1318], *tsuchinoe uma*, someone named Koei dreamed that Shoho Shichiro entered into the mountain and announced to him, “I have received from your superior the order to reward and punish the monks and to guard the doors of this monastery.” Thus the god of the mountain [Inari], Ichinomiya [the protector of the province], and Shoho Shichiro were appointed as gods of the monastery, and they were made assistants [to the Buddha].

Since Kannon was formerly the *honzon* of this mountain, [this Bodhisattva] was made the principal acolyte [of the Buddha]. As for Kokuzo, since he dispensed the precious manna to the community, he was the one who was asked for favors. This is why we entrust ourselves to the three Jewels (the Buddha, the Dharma, and the sangha), to the two sages (Kanzeon and Kokuzo), and to the two *devas* (Bishamon and Karaten), as benefactors of the monastic community. [JDZ, 393-94]

[p. 84: The “Main Worthy” (*honzon*) of Yokoji is, as he should be, the Buddha Sakyamuni, the “historical” Buddha to whom the Zen sect was trying to return, as a reaction to the way that the Pure Land sects worship the Buddha Amida (Amitabha). He is flanked by two statues, of Kannon and Kokuzo. These three make up the primary objects of worship. Keizan indicates first the origins of their icons:] The *honzon*, the Buddha Sakyamuni, was carved in wood thanks to the thirty strings [of silver] donated by the second lieutenant of the cavalry of the right, Umanojo Nakada, from Inoie village, for the thirteenth funeral service of his mother I gave fifty strings for the decoration [of this statue]. The lefthand acolyte, the Bodhisattva Kanzeon, was carved in wood thanks to Hogen Joshin from Suruga, in Omiya, at the main crossroads of the capital, for the thirteenth funeral service of his father Hogen Joshu. The righthand acolyte, the Bodhisattva Kokuzo, was carved in wood thanks to Minamoto Jiro from Noichi, from the Tomigashi domain in Kaga province, to ensure the granting of his wishes. [JDZ 395]

[P. 89:] The eighth month of the second Showa year [1313], *mizunoto ushi*, I began to build a thatch hut that would serve temporarily as a refectory. That night I dreamed that the eighth Arhat [Vajraputra] came to tell me, “I have come here and have seen this mountain. Although from a distance it does not look like much, it is in fact an extremely propitious site, even more so than that of Eihei-ji. At Eihei-ji the abbot’s hall was built in an enclosed space haunted by troublemaking spirits. This is why there have always been troubles there, since ancient times. The same will not be true of this mountain, where you can spread your teaching as much as you wish.” [Indeed,] from the time I built my hermitage there, I never encountered the least difficulty. Since there was nothing there to interfere with [religious] practice, this prospered throughout the years. [JDZ, 392-93]

[P. 89: The appearance of the Arhat Vajraputra and his predictions about the future of Yokoji testify that the past is not dead and that these beings, unimpeachable witnesses to a glorious past, are still present in today’s world. They may still appear in this time of the decline of the Dharma, to predict a glorious future. It is also notable that the appearance of Vajraputra sealed the alliance between Keizan and Sonin, who would henceforth dedicate herself to the worship of the Arhats:] Then she transformed her home, making it into a “place of awakening” (*bodhimanda*), and invited the sixteen Arhats to accept her offerings. Here is the proof that this is a propitious place, where the protection [of the Arhats] is secretly received. On the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the same year, the ceremony of offerings to the Arhats was inaugurated, and it was repeated on the fifteenth of each month since this is what they wanted. [JDZ, 395]

[p. 144: A passage inserted in the *Record of Tokoku* reports Keizan’s death as follows:] On the fifteenth of the eighth month of the second year of Shochu, at midnight, he gathered his disciples and told them: The arising of thought is a sickness; not to pursue it is the remedy. Avoid thinking of anything good or evil. As soon as one has done with thinking, white clouds extend over ten thousand *li*.” He then composed the following verse: “This peaceful rice-field that one has cultivated by oneself, however often one has gone to sell or buy [rice], is as a virgin land. Young sprouts and spiritual seeds, infinitely, ripen and shed [their leaves]. Ascending the Dharma Hall, I see men holding a hoe in their hands.” Then, throwing away his brush, he passed away. After the cremation, *sarira* were collected, and a stupa was built in the northwest corner of the monastery. The site of this stupa was named Dentoin. [Our master] had inspected the world during fifty-eight years, and had been through forty-six summer retreats. He received the posthumous title of Butsuji Zenji [“Dhyana Master Compassion of the Buddha”]. [JDZ, 435]

[p. 158: Undoubtedly one of the high points in Keizan’s career, a kind of echo of his awakening, was the moment when he deposited in the funerary mound that he had just erected on a hill behind Yokoji the relics of the

“Five Elders” (among whom, as we have seen, he counted himself, creating in this way “preposthumous” relics). The importance of this event emerges from various documents, especially one text entitled “*Okibumi* of Mount Tokoku for Centuries to Come,” in which Keizan says:] This place is that of the stupa where, in the future, my relics will be kept. This is why I have deposited my own documents of succession, those of my late master, the sutra [copied by Ejo in his own blood], the sacred bones of Dogen, and the *Recorded Sayings* of Rujing on this mountain, [in a place] that I have called the Peak of the Five Elders. Thus, the abbot of this monastery will be the guardian of the stupa of the Five Elders. My disciples should observe the order of succession of the Dharma and revive the abbatial function. This is why the remains of this mountain monk [Keizan] will be venerated in all the monasteries.... Even if the transmission of the Dharma is interrupted, the disciples and secondary masters should reconcile their criticisms and decisions, and foster the abbatial function. For, whatever happens, the other sects must respect the Five Elders. This is why all those who have inherited from my Dharma, whether they be tonsured disciples, disciples who have come to study or who have received complete ordination, monks, or lay people, all must, united by a single spirit, revere none but the Peak of the Five Elders and promote the style of our school. Such is the wish I make for future generations. [JDZ, 487-88]

[p. 183:] At the Tokoku hermitage, it’s as though one disliked the Bodhidharma style. In this remote retreat one is even far from the sun of wisdom that indicates the south. Like an idiot, like an imbecile, one tames badgers and foxes, finds companionship in hares and pheasants, and stays away from crows and dogs. The barrier of clouds is thick and solidly locked, the river and the reeds escort each other. On the pathways on the mountain the wind’s drums sound loud, and when the armies of the rain begin to move, they turn into snow and hail. The eyes of the dragon throw down precious pearls, which fill the courtyard [of the monastery]; the teeth of the elk winnows the wild-growing rice, which fills the [monks’] bowls. The repeated teaching of the Buddha is especially received in this place, the correct practice of hermitage [living] is renewed on this mountain. Monks and cooks all observe restraint. The intrinsic mind and adventitious passions contribute equally to the work of the Buddha. Drawing water, carting wood—everything expresses the marvelous efficacy of spiritual powers; harvesting vegetables, gathering fruit—all this sets in motion the wheel of the profound Dharma. This place differs fundamentally from the world of men, and there are many things here that reveal indications of holiness. [JDZ, 401]

[p. 185: The sacred nature of the place is revealed by all sorts of auspicious signs. The Arhat’s prediction has already been mentioned. Other prodigies noted by Keizan when he settled down at Tokoku are as follows:] At the end of the summer of the

same year [1318] a great rock was unearthed. When it was broken, a little snake emerged. In addition, there was at the foot of the mountain an ox customarily used for work around the monastery. It was used to transport food and vegetables for the monks, as well as wood and other burdens. A villager saw this ox change into a man who came and sat down in the Buddha hall. Finally, an old wild fox came to die at the monastery, under the awning on the reading room. All these events show that this site is a sacred place where one can be delivered from [the body,] this receptacle of suffering. [JDZ, 394]

[p. 186: This sacred nature reveals itself through clues that cannot elude an attentive observer like Keizan—the little white snake or the ox that changed into a man. These were infallible signs of an invisible presence, a divine protection of all moments. Wonders recur at the time of the erection of the Peak of the Five Elders:] The twenty-third of the sixth month [of the year 1323], a divine spring burst out in a corner [west/northwest] of the Peak of the Five Elders. Kakumyo, a Zen practitioner said, “This mountain is truly a sacred place. The tea plant [which grows here] is a sacred bush. This water which appears naturally, on a plateau, is certainly sacred water.” In all, this site has shown five times over the effects of its power [ling]. First when I was looking for a site for the stupa, I found this platform. Second, I saw that the tea plant grew naturally here. Third, sacred water gushed forth spontaneously. Fourth, I deposited here the Mahayana Scriptures recopied by my efforts. Fifth, I deposited here the posthumous writings of the Five Elders. [JDZ, 409]

[p. 189 (a poem):] The god of the tree, entering into my dream, protects the monastery gate.

The monastery at Tokoku is truly venerable.

Wandering monks, as soon as they arrive here,

Take off their straw sandals and strengthen their spiritual root. [JDZ, 403]

[p. 190: At the end of his life, Keizan, an ecologist before the term had been coined, worried about the pine trees of Tokoku:] On the first day of the fifth month of the same year [1325], [I issued] a prohibition concerning pine trees, saying, “Ever since I came to live on this mountain [. . .] I have particularly enjoyed the presence of the pine trees. [. . .] This is why, except on festival days [. . .], not a single branch [of these trees] must be broken off. Whether they are high on the mountain or in the bottom of the valley, whether they are large or small, they must be stricdy protected. Let all administrative officers, all monks, and all those who work in this monastery hold this as said, and let none transgress this prohibition. [JDZ, 432]

[p. 192: In a document on the future organization of the monastery, he writes:] The Buddha has said, “when one wins [to one’s cause] ardent benefactors, the Buddha Dharma will not disappear.” ... [Our] reverence towards our benefactors should be like that towards the Buddha because it is thanks to them that morality, concentration, and wisdom are achieved. So my

practice of the Buddha Dharma in this life came about thanks to the spirit of faith of these benefactors. As a result, in generations to come, we must consider the heirs of the author of the fundamental vow [Sonin] as great protectors, as the source of the benefits enjoyed by this monastery. Thus, master and benefactors will live in harmony, becoming as close as water and fish. [Tokokuzan Yokoji jinnmiraisai okibumi JDZ 487-488]

[p. 192: The question of the status of the *pratyeka-buddha*, that is, the one who awakens “due to conditions,” had assumed a new importance during the Kamakura period: Dainichi Nonin, the founder of the Darumashu, a rival of Yosai and Dogen but a master acknowledged by Keizan, claimed indeed to have awakened “without a master.” Dogen himself, who denied any value to this kind of awakening, was ironically labeled a *pratyekabuddha* by some of his detractors. It is within this context that we must place the theme of the “preaching of the non-sentient” (*mujo seppo*), which appears in a dialogue between Keizan and his disciple Koan Shikan—and which is actually a prologue to one of Keizan’s dreams, already quoted:] On the twentieth of the twelfth month [of the year 1321], towards midnight, I was explaining to the *shuso* [Shi]kan the words of Jiashan to Luofu, “When there is no one in the whole empire whose tongue has not been cut out, how can one make men without tongues understand what words are?” Shikan then said, “Even pillars can speak to people. Even if one can hear the language of him who does not speak, if one does not know how to speak the unspoken, what then? Pillars and lanterns are constantly talking, but only he who is familiar with their voices can hear them. Ordinary beings cannot do it: their abilities are inadequate, and thus their comprehension of what is said proves deficient.” I said, “It isn’t that pillars and lanterns are unable to speak to men: today as in the past there are many people who, having heard their discourse, obtain awakening. When it is said that Lingyun achieved awakening by seeing peach blossoms, it means that he had heard the speech of the speechless. If one person can hear it, a thousand or ten thousand people can also hear it.”

Shikan then said, “Whether one relies on a master or achieves awakening by looking at peach blossoms, this is all a matter of awakening thanks to the intervention of external aid. Is there nothing that one can produce oneself, all alone?” I said, “It is not impossible to awaken all by oneself, without a master. Those who achieve awakening in this way do not cast any doubt on the awakening of those who have awakened with the help of others. Similarly, those who have achieved awakening thanks to outside agencies in the same way should not cast doubt on the awakening of those who have achieved awakening by themselves, without a master. [JDZ, 400]

[p. 220:] On the twentieth of the fifth month [of the year 1325], the acolyte [Dai]chi of Chinzei [Kyushu]

came from afar to seek my instruction. He brought with him [texts such as] *The Five Steps of the Absolute and the Relative, the Lord and the Vassal*, by Caoshan [in two fascicles], *The Recorded Sayings of Touzi* [Datong] (in one fascicle), and *The Final Words of Zhenxie* (in one fascicle). He gave me these and said, “The [Five Steps of] the Absolute and the Relative have not yet been spread through the great Song state. All the more reason why this is the first time they have been seen in Japan. They should therefore be kept secret. If someone is not worthy of them, they should not be shown to him. They constitute a precious treasure of our school. [On the other hand,] there is not reason why the *Sayings* of Touzi and Zhenxie should not be printed and put into circulation.” [JDZ, 432]

[p. 240:] Long ago my merciful mother at the age of eighteen, was separated from her mother. Not knowing what had happened to her, she grieved over her for seven or eight years. Then she went to Kiyomizu Temple to pray that she might be told where her mother was. For seven days she went daily to the temple. On the sixth day she found on her way there a [carved] head of Eleven-Faced [Kannon]. She then made the following vow: “In the course of looking for my mother, I came daily to Kiyomizu and I have found a carved head of the Venerated One. Given these circumstances, if I have any karmic affinities with you, take pity on me. Help me to find my mother again, and I will have the rest of your body carved and I will venerate [this image] throughout my life.” [JDZ, 405]

[p. 241:] This is why, when she died at the age of eighty-seven, she left me this *honzon*. I received it and kept it carefully when I withdrew to this mountain. Having chosen one of the peaks of this mountain, which I called Peak of the Magnificent Lotus, I built on it a temple that I named the Temple of [the Kannon of] Perfect Penetration [Enzuin]. I gave to the proprietor of this mountain [Sonin] the places called Whirling Water Peak and Grain Growing Plain. It was at this time that my birth hair and umbilical cord, which my mother had always kept with her, were respectfully put into this statue. As for Sonin, through her non-dual spirit of faith, she produced the pure thought [of awakening]. This is why, after having passed this *honzon* on to her, I placed my birth hair and my umbilical cord inside the base of the Kannon, on the righthand side. I placed them in a tin tube to ensure the eternal protection of this mountain. [Thus, Enzuin] was to become a temple of prayers for the well-being of women, according to the universal wish of my merciful mother and I, Keizan would be enabled to spread the law and come to the aid of beings. [JDZ, 406]

Overview of Keizan's Major Writings

The following texts by Keizan are found in the Taisho canon, volume 82:

T2585 傳光錄 Denkoroku - Record of Transmitting the Light – see section: Denkoroku and Koans

T2586 坐禪用心記 Zazen yojinki - Advice on the Practice of Zazen – see section: Zazen

T2587 信心銘拈提 Shinjinmei nentei – Reflections on Faith in Mind – see below

T2588 十種敕問奏對集 Zhushu-chokubun-sotaishu (?) - Collection of 10 Memorials (?)

T2589 瑩山清規 Keizan Shingi – Keizan's Pure Standards – see section: Ritual

On the Shinjinmei nentei:

Bernard Faure: —atypical Zen commentary on the Xinxin ming (a 'classic' attributed to the third patriarch Sengcan)."

From: The Eye That Never Sleeps: —In 1303, Keizan Zenji, the cofounder of the Japanese Soto School, wrote the most famous Japanese commentaries on the verse, known as the *Hsin hsin ming nentei* ('Teisho on the *Hsin hsin ming*')."

Other significant texts by Keizan include:

洞谷記 Tokokuki: The Record of Tokoku – translated excerpts can be found in William Bodiford's "Keizan's Dream History" and Bernard Faure's Visions of Power (see the Biography, the Keizan and Women and Keizan and Dreaming sections of this study).

三根坐禪說 Sankon-zazen-setsu – Zazen for Three Kinds of Practitioners – see the Zazen section of this study.

瑩山語錄 Keizangoroku – Keizan's Recorded Sayings

Bernard Faure from Visions of Power (p. 29)

Japanese researchers have paid attention almost exclusively to the Denkoroku, which is not surprising since it belongs to the pure tradition of Zen 'histories of the lamp' and establishes itself precisely because of its orthodoxy (just as the Tokoku shingi does because of its orthopraxy). The *Denkoroku* was first presented during a summer retreat, for a small group of practitioners. This is not true of the *Record of Tokoku*, which gives a very different view of Keizan's thought, even though at certain points it recalls and is connected with the other two texts. Nevertheless, the *Record of Tokoku* is also bound by the restraints of a genre, those of the *engi*, or —narration of origins," and cannot be considered in this respect as —more authentic" than the others.

What conclusions can we draw? On the one hand, there is a discontinuity between the various genres that Keizan uses, but there is no pure genre because every one is subverted by intertextuality. The *Record of Tokoku* is thus "tainted" by the monastic rules and —dialogues" that make up most of the *Tokoku shingi* and the *Denkoroku*. There are probable interpolations that have been left out in the translation, even though their presence indicates, from a textual point of view, the impossibility of treating one genre to the exclusion of others. We must never lose sight of the constant dialectic between the different points of view they express, between the *imaginaire* and ideology, syncretism (local) and the sectarian spirit (paradoxically —universalist").

The various points of view adopted by Keizan thus result in part from the literary genres that influenced his discourse and even, within a single discursive genre, from the different enunciatory stances he finds himself obliged to adopt. All at once we see that there is no —last instance" position: all pronouncements are equally sincere—or equally insincere. It is precisely in the differential discrepancy among these texts that the discursive system of Keizan can be perceived and his truth or truths be located.



Keizan and Women

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Sallie Tisdale - family

Ekan Daishi, Myōshō Enkan, Kontō Ekyū, and Mokufu Sonin

(late 1200s to mid-1300s)

Ekan Daishi was separated from her mother, Myōchi, at the age of eighteen. Several years later Daishi went to the Kiyomizu Temple in Kyoto to pray for help in finding her. The temple's waters are magically healing; they course out of the steep hillside into pools, and faithful people come to drink every day. For a week she went to the temple each morning and prayed and drank the water. On the sixth day she saw the carved head of a Kannon on the ground, lying in the mud. It was small and finely done. Finding it there seemed auspicious and strange to Daishi, and she put her palms together and made a vow.

"If you have pity for me," she said to the bodhisattva's head, "help me. Help me find my mother. If you do, I will have a body carved for you and honor you the rest of my life." Then she carefully picked up the head, took it home, and washed it clean.

The next day, the last day of her prayers, she met a woman on the road who put out her hand to stop Daishi. The woman smiled, and then told her where to find her mother. Daishi took the wooden Kannon head to a craftsman and commissioned a body made to fit. Only then did she go to a nearby town to be reunited with her mother, who had been Dōgen's lay disciple when she was young.

Many years later, when Ekan Daishi was thirty-seven years old, she had a dream. She swallowed the morning light, warm and as soft as silk, and it filled her entire body. A few days later she realized she was pregnant. Then she prayed, as she had often prayed, to the beloved statue of Kannon: "May this child be a spiritual leader, a benefit to all, and please, may the delivery be easy."

For the next seven months, she bowed 1,333 times each day and recited the *Kannon Sutra*.

The baby was born on the property of the Kannon Temple in the province of Echizen, without pain. A short while later Daishi took vows as a nun, and the baby's grandmother, Myōchi, helped raise him.

When Daishi could, she took the baby to her favorite temple in Kyoto, the Sanjusangendo, temple of thirty-three thousand Kannon— a thousand and one Kannon with multiple heads and arms. It was a place of gold and shadow. The sculptures filled her eyes, her mind— endless, sparkling, and strange. She wanted the images and spirit of Kannon to fill the baby's mind, the baby destined to be a great leader.

Since Dōgen's death many decades before, the second sect of Zen— Caodong in Chinese, and known in Japanese as Sōtō—had become firmly established, with Eihei-ji as its headquarters. When he was eight years old, Ekan Daishi sent her son to Eihei-ji, where he was called Keizan. He trained for many years under Gikai, one of Dōgen's

successors. His mother eventually founded a Sōtō convent named Jōjū-ji, becoming its abbot around 1309. Men left, women stayed behind—this was the way of Buddhism. In Keizan's case, his mother left him first. But in some way, they never really left each other at all. They visited often; he relied on her advice, and she prayed for him, from before his birth until the day of her own death.

Keizan founded the temple of Daijō-ji in the city of Kanazawa and began to write the great collection of ancestral stories called the *Denkoroku*. While still living at Daijō-ji, Keizan met Mokufu Sonin. Her name was subtle and intricate; it meant "ordered silence" and "enduring ancestor" and many other things. Sonin had married Shigen Nobunao when she was thirteen. In 1312 she donated a large amount of land in a place called Tōkoku and asked Keizan to build a temple there. There was no money for building until Sonin's brother died. After that, she had the family home dismantled and rebuilt it on the land.

In 1317 Keizan entered this building formally as the abbot of Yōkō-ji. It was a long way in more than miles from Kyoto to Yōkō-ji. One traveled north, and a little west, up toward a peninsula jutting out into the cold, rough sea, with range after range of mountains covered in evergreen and broken by emerald rice paddies in the lowlands, where white egrets bobbed their heads among the silvery shoots. At this time it was still wild land, with pigs, bears, and snakes loose on the hills and only a few farmers for neighbors in most places. The weather was difficult— typhoons in the summer, blizzards in the winter, rain the rest of the time.

Nevertheless, the land was beautiful, azure and rich, thick with bamboo and cypress, grasses and ferns and wild flowers, cedars and misty fogs and always a gray sea, sharp rocks jutting out of breaking waves like the old ink washes of the Chinese painters. The clouds were thick and low and close at times, knocking into the hills and trees, the sky constantly shattering and being remade, dark, blue, implacable, alive.

Yōkō-ji quarters were very rough. The snow was deep in the winter, and the stream below ran hard. The residents were so poor they had to make tea from pine needles, but all the geomancy was correct. Like his mother, Keizan had many prophetic dreams that divided his life into clear segments and led him toward his future. His dreams about Yōkō-ji were strong and good, filled with spirits and buddhas. Even the stars overhead, streaming slowly between the black branches of the pines, were correctly aligned. The hills were no more beautiful than other nearby hills, but he could see through these particular hills to the hidden hills beneath. He believed that he could see

the true monastery already there, the one belonging to the other world—the world of protectors and guides. In this place, where the boundary between worlds was very thin, he would build the Monastery of the Eternal Light.

A year later Daishi died. Almost at the moment of her death she reached for her son's hand.

"I made a vow to Kannon," she said. "You must continue it. You must help all beings come to the Dharma.

Especially, most especially, because you can, you must help all women of the three worlds and the ten directions.

"Take the little statue," she added, nodding toward the Kannon she had found all those years ago in the mud.

"Take care of it forever."

In her memory, Keizan ordered that a Sōtō women's temple, Hōō-ji, be built in the province of Kaga.

One night Keizan dreamed that his grandmother had come to him and asked to be ordained. The next day Sonin, who was still very young, invited Keizan to engage in "Dharma combat" with her, the spirited, metaphor-laden interview testing a student's understanding.

Keizan asked Sonin, "This year is almost gone, and another new year will come. So how about your religious life?"

Sonin answered, "In the branches of the tree without shadow, is there any kind of time?"

"Excellent!" Keizan was pleased. Here was a person with a deep and earnest mind, with the flavor of the Dharma in her words. Already he trusted her; already they were like master and disciple as well as friends. When she asked him to ordain her, he could not have been happier. Because of his dream, he believed from then on that Sonin was his grandmother reborn. Her wish wasn't fulfilled then, however; she remained in lay life, a married woman of property and a patron, as well as his friend.

In 1321 the Buddha Hall was built. That season a nun named Kontō Ekyū arrived and immediately made herself at home, as though she had always lived there. Since she couldn't read Chinese well, Keizan rewrote Dōgen's discussion of the Precepts in Japanese for her. She began to organize the nuns and manage their work. Month by month, season by season, more buildings and more altars were built and more people came, until dozens of monks and almost thirty nuns lived in the community.

The men and women sat together for morning services, then separated to do their work and study. The residents studied seven particular texts, especially the *Lotus Sutra*, the *Bonmōkyō*, and the *Yuikyōgyō*. Keizan gave them Dōgen's rules for the daily life of a monastery—rules for how to behave in the zendo, with each other, and during meals, how to use the library, how to wash and use the toilet with proper rites, and how juniors and seniors should behave toward each other.

The main purpose of the temple, as Keizan conceived it, was to perform ceremonies to save the souls of lay donors and patrons and their parents. This purpose was cyclical: many of the buildings, altars, bells, and statues were donated by laypeople with specific requests for such saving rites, and in return more saving rites were done. The men and women conducted these ceremonies together, and the seniors sat together in the public rites without regard to sex.

In 1319 a woman named En'i, a member of a powerful local family, donated a large amount of rice paddy land to Yōkōji. It was enough to ease the temple's poverty and make it secure. That same year Keizan ordained Sonin on the sixth day of the eighth month. Because of the original donation of land, Keizan fondly called Sonin the Fundamental Overlord of the Mountain after that.

In 1322 Keizan and the nuns founded Enzūin, the Temple of Perfect Penetration, across the stream from the mountain gate, hidden in the trees. Enzūin was dedicated to the well-being of women forever, and it was most especially meant as an honor to his grandmother. It was a tiny place up a narrow, winding path, held closely by big cedars on every side. The trees were old, with peeling, fragrant bark, and the floor of the forest was as soft as a futon made of their needles. It smelled green all the time in there, and the trees covered the little building in black shadow. At night the path was tricky because not even a single star could be seen through their canopy. In winter, when the temple was under snow, Enzūin was a cozy, shadowy, mysterious place.

At the dedication, the statue of Kanzeon, with its eleven serene faces, was installed as the main image. It had come to seem like an animate thing, hearing and acting on the prayers of its bearers. In its base Keizan placed a lock of his own baby hair and his umbilical cord, which his mother had preserved. In this way, he gave his own life to this women's hermitage in the trees.

Sonin was the first abbot there. Enzūin was forbidden to men, as parts of the main building were forbidden to women. But Keizan remembered the vow he'd inherited, and he lectured to the women, sometimes meeting privately with them to guide their studies. For years they lived there in quiet intimacy.

Sonin's mother was married to a leader in the Nakagawa area of Sakai, near Yōkōji. After her daughter had married and then been ordained, and after her son died, and later her husband, Sonin's mother began studying under Keizan. Soon she made a large donation of many rice paddies, and this was enough to make the temple prosperous. Keizan gave her the Precepts in 1323 and the name Shōzen, which means "meditation on nature." He wrote a poem for her and offered her a small hut hidden in a fold of the hills above the temple, called Zōkeian, to use as a hermitage. After that, he called her a priest and said sutras and offertories should be read forever in her honor.

On a day in early spring, a perfect day, the one day each spring that promises so many more such days to come—on that day Keizan bowed to Kontō Ekyū after the morning service and asked her to come to his reception room for tea. Ekyū folded her formal robes and put them away, spoke briefly with the other nuns about the work projects for the day, and then walked slowly along the wooden cloister. The dark floors, shiny with polishing, were cold beneath her feet. The early light came in strongly under the eaves, and little wrens chattered in the tall pines outside the walls.

Keizan's rooms were behind sliding rice-paper doors. She knocked once, and he called her in, as always. He knelt on one side of a low wide table. She entered, bowed, and knelt on the other side. They were such good friends by then, and she was so comfortably his student and he so comfortably her confidant, that nothing needed to be said while he whisked and poured the tea.

She looked beyond him into the tiny courtyard between this room and the next, where a small green tree stood in a gravel and moss garden. A plant was beginning to spread its wide green leaves beneath the tree. One of the nuns had carefully raked the gravel into a curving line to resemble a stream. She could see past it to the rooms beyond, over the roof to the leaning top of a maple glinting red in the morning light, and beyond it to the dark wall of evergreen trees and the corner of a dark, tiled roof.

Keizan poured the tea and watched her while she tasted it. On the side wall a scroll hung above a shelf with a tiny incense burner and a single willow stem in a vase. Now and then it knocked a bit in the breeze, unevenly, like a small hollow drum being struck. In the breeze was a whisper of the moist ground, the stream, the new plants, the earth.

He said, "I'm giving you this. Here." He handed her a scroll, a document of succession that declared her his Dharma heir. She received it gravely, but he could see the smile in her dark eyes. Then he gave her a self-portrait with a little calligraphy, a line or two of scripture, for her personal keeping. They finished their tea, and she rose, bowed, and went to work, the first Japanese woman to receive full Sōtō transmission.

Another day, a fall day of gray light and misty rain that wet the turning leaves in fine spray, Keizan invited Sonin

to his room for tea. A crow called as she walked—"caw, caw, caw"—fell off into silence, and began calling her again—"caw, caw." The air hung heavy under the leaden sky, close and warm.

As he had with Ekyū, he gave Sonin a portrait and a little calligraphy, and then something else. He had written in careful lines a document pairing their descendants in a kind of marriage agreement—Keizan's descendants and Sonin's descendants, bound in the future. Then he gave her back some of the land she had donated, land he had very carefully insisted be his alone forever. Now Whirling Water Peak and Grain Growing Plain were hers again, and all of it was theirs together, because she was his heir. Later Keizan wrote that he and Sonin were inseparable in this and many lives, as closely bound as a magnet and iron.

Keizan's cousin was ordained not long after that; she was called Myōshō Enkan. Her name meant "bright whole vision." She and Sonin became close friends, and Myōshō proved to be quite adept at Zen. It wasn't long before Sonin recognized her capacity and gave her the authority to ordain others.

Keizan decided to test Myōshō's understanding. "Do you understand the story about Linji and how he raised up his whisk?" Keizan asked.

Myōshō looked at him and remained silent.

He was pleased with this. As she turned to leave, he said, "Your words are difficult to contain in ink."

When Shōzen died in 1325, Keizan declared that monks and nuns at the monastery must do monthly memorials and one annual service in her honor. He began to prepare for his own death, parceling out temples to his disciples. Hōō-ji remained a convent, with Sonin the appointed abbot, and she lived there until she died at the age of eighty.

Even now in Yōkōji there is a scroll of Ekan Daishi and Mokufu Sonin as abbots of Enzūin, sitting side by side. On a steep hill at the end of a long staircase, its stone steps softened by the endless damp of deep trees and the tramp of many, many feet, are the memorials—Keizan's grave, a repository of Dharma treasures, and funerary tablets, including ones for Ekan Daishi, Sonin, and Myōchi.

Women in Keizan's Life

Keizan's biography is not entirely spiritual. His life is portrayed within a very real framework of relationships and power structures. If the imagination of the Chan tradition and of the cult of relics connects Keizan with a masculine universe, the iconic and mythological imagination of Buddhism (dominated by the Bodhisattva Kannon) seems to connect him to a feminine universe. Is Keizan not at the same time the spiritual son of Gikai, the birth son of Ekan (and, symbolically, of Kannon), and the child (*ujiko*) of the tutelary god of the Hakusan (itself a manifestation of Kannon)?

When we read the *Record of Tokoku*, we are struck by the large part played by women in the life of Keizan. Yet this —woman's man" had nothing but sublimated relationships with the opposite sex. Although he —left the family" at an early age, in one sense he never left it at all. He saw in his disciple Sonin, a lay benefactor turned nun, a reincarnation of his grandmother Myochi, one of the first female disciples of Dogen: —Now this lady Taira *no uji* is none other than the reincarnation of Myochi, a lay disciple of the Master Dogen during the time when he lived at Kenninji." [footnote: JDZ, 394. According to the *Nihon Tojo rentoroku*, Keizan had this realization when Sonin came to ask for ordination. The night before, he had dreamed that Dogen, when he was at Kenninji, had ordained his grandmother the *upasika* Myochi. He then told Sonin that she must be Myochi's reincarnation and ordained her. See *DNBZ* 110: 234a.]

Keizan's mother Ekan lavished advice on him, along with her prayers, during most of his monastic career. Although the father is generally absent, the mother occupies a central place in the biographies of many Buddhist monks, and Keizan's autobiography proves to be no exception. He tells us how he managed to overcome many karmic obstacles by means of prayers addressed by his mother to Kannon (another female figure, at least in China and Japan), and how he received through her his faith in this Bodhisattva.

Moreover, when she was thirty-seven, my merciful mother dreamed that she was swallowing the warmth of the morning light, and when she woke up she found she was pregnant. She then addressed the following prayer to the Venerated [Kannon]: —Et the child I am carrying become a holy man, or a spiritual guide. If he is to become a benefit to men and *deva*, give me an easy delivery. If not, O Kannon, use your great divine power to make the insides of my womb rot and wither away." With this prayer on her lips, for seven months she prostrated herself 1333 times each day, and recited the *Kannon Sutra*. At the end of this time, she had a natural, painless childbirth. Thus I was born in a property belonging to the Kannon Temple of Tane, in Echizen Province. Later, all the events that marked my life were determined by maternal prayers to the Venerated [Kannon]. I was able to reach adulthood without any

problems, leave my family and study letters, cultivate the Way and produce wisdom, and finally inherit the Dharma and become an abbot, and come to the aid of men and *deva*—all this due to the prayers [that my mother addressed] to Kannon. Furthermore, during my youth I was especially irritable and bitten and everything seemed useless. This is why my merciful mother addressed the Venerated [Kannon] again and said, —If his anger continues to grow like this, this monk will not be of any use to men or *deva*, no matter how great his abilities, intelligence, and wisdom. I beg you, in accord with your vow of great compassion, to give him the power to calm his anger. —At that very moment, the winter of my eighteenth year; I produced the thought of awakening. During the autumn of my nineteenth year; I became determined to seek the way. Once I was named as superintendent, I excelled at monastery administration. Everyone was pleased with me. But it was at that time that someone maligned me. My anger started to grow, and I was on the verge of committing a great sin. Then, in a sudden spurt of repentance, I reflected as follows: —Since my earliest years I have been set apart from the common herd. Now, having produced the thought [of awakening], I have achieved this position. My greatest desire is to become the roofbeam of Buddhist Law in order to convert and guide men and *deva*. This is my great wish. If I commit a sin, this body will surely become good for nothing. Thus, I shall never again become angry. Once I have become naturally mellowed and harmonized by compassion, I shall become a great spiritual guide." All this I owe to the fervor of my merciful mother's prayers. [JDZ, 405-406]

[footnote regarding Ekan's miraculous conception: This is a topos of Buddhist hagiography, beginning with the legend of the Buddha. In the Soto tradition, the mother of Gasan Joseki, Keizan's disciple, prayed to the Bodhisattva Monju (Manjusri) to obtain a —child of wisdom" and became pregnant after dreaming that she had swallowed a —sharp sword." The mother of his disciple Genno Shinsho was also granted a handsome boy in response to her prayers to Kannon. See *Nihon Tojo shosoden*, in *DNBZ* 110:13b, 17b.]

[footnote regarding 1,333 prostrations: Other sources give the variants —nine months," —3,333 times" and —333 times." The latter seem symbolically more appropriate (thirty-three, or a multiple of it, is the traditional number of Kannon's manifestations). See *DNBZ* 110: 11a.]

In memory of his mother, Keizan founded Enzuin, a convent dedicated to Kannon and the salvation of all women. Ekan preceded Keizan on the Buddhist path, and she had even, during the lifetime of Gikai, become the abbess of a convent of Soto nuns. Although she was very much absorbed in her son's destiny, he had been taken from her very early on and was raised by his grandmother until he was eight years old. This experience may have given rise to his ambivalent attitude toward his mother. There is a clear cleavage between the ideal of autonomy

regarding to the mother; which Keizan derived from role models like Dongshan Liangjie and Huangbo Xiyun, and the psychological or emotional reality. In one sense, although he was early on severed from maternal care, Keizan long remained mentally dependent on his mother.

Ekan always monitored very closely the spiritual and monastic career of her son, whose destiny she believed exceptional. As we just noted, according to Keizan's own testimony, it was his mother's prayers and the admonitions she lavished on him until the very hour of her death that helped him, from the time of his first achievements, to overcome his tendencies toward arrogance and to turn away the jealousy of others. When he in turn reached the twilight of his life, Keizan testified to the eternal gratitude he bore for her transforming influence. In one of two —adamantine vows” made at the end of his life, he said:

The second vow is to respect the final words of my merciful mother, the elder sister Ekan. She was a Bodhisattva who worked for the well-being of women, and I would not dare disappoint her. I must dedicate myself to her last wishes and respect them. May all the Buddhas of the three periods, the patriarch-masters of all generations, as well as [the Buddhas of] the *Shuryogon-kyo* and all the other sutras, help me to preserve the spirit of my two adamantine vows. [JDZ 432-33]

Although Keizan's relations with his mother are full of filial piety, we can see how they are affected by the —double bind” of familial ideology versus the monastic ideal. The theme of the abandoned mother haunts Buddhist literature. Accusations of a lack of filial piety have been leveled against Chinese Buddhists for centuries. Not only did the monks abandon their parents but, by refusing to provide grandchildren for them, they cut the chain of ancestral rites. Already in Indian Vinaya we have the case of a mother begging her son to return home or at least to produce one child with the wife he so shamelessly abandoned in order to take Buddhist orders. The Buddhists thought they could counter Confucianist criticisms by claiming that —leaving the family,” or ordination, was more efficacious and ecumenical than their detractors' filial piety since it ensured the salvation of nine generations of ancestors. Besides, didn't the Buddha himself watch over the salvation of his parents, especially when he went up into the Trayastriśa Heaven (Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods) in order to preach the Dharma to his mother Maya? Another famous case of Buddhist filial piety is that of his disciple Maudgalyayana (Ch. Mulian, J. Mokuren), who did not hesitate to go down into hell to save his mother. We know that the legend of Mulian lies behind the festival of —universal deliverance” (Ch. *pudu*) of the souls of the dead, which contributed to the successful transplanting of Buddhism into Chinese and Japanese society. Unlike the Confucianist ancestor cult, centered on the paternal line, Buddhism seems to pay most attention to female ancestors. But this seems to have been an afterthought

rather than a radical change, because the Chan —ancestor cult” remains patriarchal.

Salvation of one's mother remained just a pious wish in many cases. Often maternal love was actually sacrificed by the son on the altar of awakening. In a society as centered on the family as is the Chinese society, that did not happen without some intense feelings of sorrow and guilt. The hesitations of a young monk are well expressed in a tearful song, —Farewell, Mother” the text of which was found at Dunhuang. In Chan/Zen literature in particular the tragic fate of the mother seems above all to strengthen the steadfast virtue of the son. Linji Yixuan's call for spiritual murder— —If you meet your parents, kill them!”—had a strong impact, at least in Chan/Zen hagiography. Monks rarely seem to be concerned about their fathers, but they have a hard time —killing their mothers.” This —murder” is often represented in Chan stories. Thus the blind mother of Huangbo Xiyun drowns herself in a river as she tries to follow her son, whom she recognized when he was making a begging tour through his native village. Huineng (d. 713) also abandoned his aged mother whose sole support he was, to go and study with the fifth patriarch, Hongren. Outside Chan/Zen hagiography, a particularly eloquent example of maternal grief is found in the poetic journal left by the mother of Jojin when her son left in 1072 for China, where he died nine years later. An interesting detail is that she compares this abandonment to that of the *father* of Sakyamuni when his son —left the family”; after all, the mother of the future Buddha had died shortly after his birth and never had time to become attached to him.

In the *Denkoroku* Keizan tells in great detail the searing tale of Dongshan Liangjie's mother. Separated from her son, the mother was reduced to begging. When she finally traced him, she went to visit him but he refused to see her. She died of grief on his doorstep. Dongshan picked up the rice she had with her and mixed it into the breakfast gruel of the community as a funerary offering. Shortly afterward, his mother appeared to him in a dream, thanking him for having given such proof of his steadfastness because thanks to that she had been able to put an end to her illusory attachment and be reborn in heaven. Keizan comments: —Although all masters and patriarchs excel in virtue, Dongshan, the founder of our school, contributed especially to promote its style. This is due to the power he achieved by forsaking his parents and keeping his purpose.” Likewise, in the *Shobogenzo Zuimonki*, Dogen advises one disciple, in a rather hypocritical fashion, to abandon his old mother: —The point is: How can you waste an opportunity for eternal bliss by clinging to this temporary, fleeting body? Consider this thoroughly on your own.” In the *Denkoroku* Keizan also tells a significant story concerning Ejo and Dogen. When Ejo's mother was dying, she asked her son to stay at her side. Since Ejo had already taken all the leaves of absence he was entitled to, he had no other alternative than to break the rule to fulfill his filial duties.

Although he had made up his mind, he decided to ask the advice of his fellow monks. They unanimously told him to leave immediately. However, after consulting Dogen, he decided not to listen to them. True filial piety in this case meant not leaving: obeying the rule of the Buddha is more important than yielding to human feelings. Keizan, who obviously agrees, continues with a revealing description of the care with which Ejo attended Dogen during the latter's illness—a typical case of transference from the mother to the master.

We know that Keizan tried to emulate Dongshan Liangjie in every way, and it appears that he made use of Dongshan's dream to justify his own ambivalent attitude toward his mother: In fact he never actually managed to achieve an ideal detachment: even though he had —*left* the family,” the monk Keizan remained closely attached to his mother and grandmother. After all, he dedicated Enzuin to his grandmother Myochi, and the main image worshiped in this temple was the statue of Kannon that his mother had commissioned and that she worshiped all her life. We shall come back to the influence of Kannon on Keizan. Here let us simply note that we may see in this Bodhisattva, who had become a compassionate female figure in China, the sublimated double of all women and mothers, just as the Arhat is in a sense the double of all monks (and Sakyamuni, paradigm of the Chan master, the double of all fathers).

Unlike the other mothers mentioned above, Keizan's mother was also his spiritual guide. The relations between Keizan and Ekan remind us of those between Augustine and his mother Monica: it was thanks to her and her devotion to Kannon that he left the family and managed to correct his youthful faults. Like Dogen (and many others), Keizan had the feeling that he was destined for greatness, but especially as the *moshigo* of Kannon, a child whose destiny was fixed by the dreams and other karmic ties established by his mother. The analogy of the auspicious dream of the pregnant mother; a hagiographic *topos*, recalls the birth of the Buddha, but while the infant Sakyamuni was deprived of motherly love by the premature death of Maya, Keizan's mother; although assuming clerical functions, still behaves like a true Japanese mother preoccupied with the proper education for her son, a future great man. Born thanks to the compassion of Kannon, and in a domain belonging to a Kannon temple, Keizan had probably been dedicated to this Bodhisattva by his grateful mother. When Ekan died at age eighty-seven, she left him the statue of Kannon that was her most prized possession: another spiritual transmission—a matrilineal one at that. Keizan's identity as the —*imaginary*” child of Kannon is shown during the inauguration of Enzuin when he enclosed in the base of the statue of Kannon the hair taken from his head when he was born and his umbilical cord, carefully preserved by his mother. We have here a case of preposthumous relics, giving life to the statue of Kannon and strengthened by the power of the latter. But we may also see in this act a kind of sublimated (but somewhat incestuous) impregnation of Keizan's mother a

symbolic reenactment of Keizan's virgin birth from his mother Ekan/ Kannon.

The Ideal Woman

Another woman plays a prominent role in Keizan's career. Even a very superficial reading of the *Record of Tokoku* reveals the omnipresence of the nun Mokufu Sonin. [footnote: The Yokoji library still possesses a scroll showing the two nuns Ekan and Sonin, as abbesses of Enzuin, seated side by side under an icon of Kannon.] Of course a text dedicated to the origins of Yokoji may be expected to include many references to one of the two donors who made possible the building of the monastery. But obviously Sonin held a very special place in Keizan's mind, one not justified entirely by her role as a generous benefactor Keizan even went so far as to consider her a reincarnation of his grandmother who was apparently a disciple of Dogen. Talking of his relations with Sonin, Keizan, perhaps without realizing how daring the metaphor was, states, —*We* are as close as the magnet and iron—as master and benefactor, and as master and disciple” [JDZ: 395].

Who was this Sonin? Keizan reveals almost nothing about her except that she was the wife of Shigeno Nobunao, lord of Shinshu, and the daughter of Yorichika, steward (*jito*) of the domain of Nakagawa. Yorichika's wife, Sonin's mother, also became a nun under Keizan, taking the religious name of Shozen. Following the marital politics of the time, Sonin was married by her family to Nobunao when she had just entered puberty. She became a woman at the age of thirteen—just the age when Keizan became a novice. Their two fates were very different, but they shared the experience of an early break from their family circle. In 1312 it was at the suggestion of his wife that Shigeno Nobunao issued an invitation to Keizan and gave him part of his landholdings. Here is how Keizan, at the beginning of the *Record of Tokoku*, reports this event—to which he will refer several times:

—*During* the springtime of the first Showa year [1312], *mizunoe ne*, they both produced the thought of awakening and made me a gift of this mountain. In their statement they said: —*By* giving this mountain, our only hope is that the Reverend will settle there for the rest of his life. He may do with it as he sees fit; it matters not whether he observes or transgresses the Precepts, or even if he gives it over to outcasts or beggars. Once we have given this mountain to the Reverend, we do not wish to retain any rights over it. We make this gift in perpetuity, in a spirit of renunciation, and not with any hope of profit.” [JDZ, 392]

But Keizan did not come to live at Tokoku until 1317, perhaps because of financial difficulties that prevented Sonin and her husband from making the donations needed for his upkeep. Perhaps Shigeno Nobunao did not hold a sufficiently important position. It is apparently the death of his benefactress's elder brother that allowed her to keep her promise:

In the first Bunpo year [1317], *hinoto no mi*, at the death of the *jito* of Nakagawa Sakawa [Sako] no Heihachi Yorimoto, older brother of the lady Taira no *uji*, he left her the home of their father Yorichika to be converted into a hermitage in memory of both Yorichika and himself. In the eighth month, in the autumn of the same year, I took up residence there in order to build a cell. On the second day of the tenth month disciples moved in and we carried out a formal inauguration ceremony [JDZ, 393]

In passages referring to events prior to Sonin's ordination in 1319, Keizan does not give the personal, lay name of his benefactress, designating her simply as "Taira no *uji*" or "Sigeno no *uji*." This should not surprise us, since women at that period were simply identified by the name of their clan and not by personal names; it was only at the time of ordination—either while they were still alive or at their funeral Services—that they obtained a personal religious name. We may note in passing the large number of widows who at that period became nuns and so succeeded in achieving a certain degree of power. On the death of her husband, a wife could actually inherit a part of his property of which she had the usufruct during her lifetime but which she was obliged to leave to a son designated by her husband. She might also inherit another part that she could dispose of as she wished. She could also hold the status of executor of her husband's will. In addition to the spiritual motivations that pushed Sonin into holy orders, certain strictly material factors may also have played a part. If a widow remarried, she had to hand over all she had inherited to the children of her new husband. Expecting the early death of an aging husband, Sonin was perhaps better off putting herself under the care of a Buddhist institution, represented in this case by a young and charismatic priest, Keizan. At the end of the Kamakura period, women are not usually mentioned in wills. Although more and more of them left their worldly goods to temples, these gifts were not always officially registered as in the present case. Such transfers were made by means of a special type of document, the *okibumi*, which Keizan also used a great deal.

As we may expect, Keizan leaves out any information about Sonin that is not strictly connected to his monastery. We can only conjecture about Sonin's life. But Keizan does insist on the spiritual progress made by Sonin, "whose pure acts every day increase in number, while her thought of awakening is steadily refining itself and ripening. Having received the Buddhist Precepts and become aware of the spiritual essence, she has cut through and rejected all passions and thoughts of desire, and she is intent on the pure practice of those who have 'left the family.'" Toward the end of the year 1321, Keizan makes reference to a "dialogue" in the course of which Sonin pronounced her "first extraordinary words," preliminary signs of awakening: "The same day I asked Sonin, 'The year is coming to an end, the springtime is arriving. There is an order in this. What is it?' [Sonin replied,] 'On the branches of a shadeless tree, how could there be any

seasonal knots?' These were her first extraordinary words. I noted them down for future generations." [footnote: Here the *Nihon Tojo rentoroku* is a little more detailed. We learn that Sonin, having been asked by Keizan about her understanding of "temporal conditions" (*jisetsu innen*), was at first unable to answer: Afterward she eventually had an insight and went to see Keizan in his cell. This is when the above exchange supposedly took place. After Sonin's reply, Keizan asked, "At such time, what about it?" upon which Sonin bowed. Keizan then transmitted his Dharma-robe to her. See *DNBZ* 110: 234a-b.]

In 1322, when Keizan built a nunnery on Yokoji land, it was Sonin who was charged with running it. This convent fulfilled several functions: it was a place of prayer for the soul of Keizan's grandmother and, in accordance with the wishes of Ekan, a place of prayer for the salvation of women at the same time as for the success of Keizan's conversion work. In 1325, just before his death, Keizan named Sonin the mother superior of Hooji, in Kaga province. She survived him by some years and died when she was over eighty. Her tombstone was recently found, along with several others, near Yokoji.

Given the documentation now at our disposal, it would be premature to talk of a sublimated love between Keizan and Sonin, but it is certain that this woman played a crucial role in his thinking and his career. It was no doubt due in part to her presence that Keizan put into practice the theory of equality between men and women about which various Chan/Zen masters like Dahui Zonggao (1089-1163) and Dogen had already preached, but without any great effort at practicing it. The importance for Keizan of the themes of the mother the soul sister and the intercession of Kannon cannot but recall other cases like those of Myoe and Shinran. We may also think of Ikkyu Sojun, whose story of love late in life for a blind singer is widely talked of in Buddhist chronicles. We may draw some conclusions about Keizan on the basis of the indications in the biographies of these monks.

The Rhetoric of Equality

Chan/Zen texts offer many passages insisting on equality between men and women, especially in matters concerned with the ultimate goal, awakening. This was at a time when the position of women in society was, as we have just seen, completely subordinate. Such protestations of equality should not be taken too literally, however, and they rarely translated into practice. In this matter reference is often made to the statements of principle by Dahui and Dogen. Speaking of one of his female lay students, Dahui stated: "Can one say that she is a woman and that women have no share in the awakening? Know that [awakening] has nothing to do with being male or female, old or young. Ours is an egalitarian Dharma-gate that has only one flavor."

Buddhism seems to have attracted women who were trying to avoid their otherwise inevitable fate as mothers and wives. Although Chan/ Zen, unlike other religious movements such as Daoism, did not assert the value of femininity, it seems from its beginnings to have attracted a fairly large number of noble women. Chan egalitarianism

may therefore derive more from its need for aristocratic support than from theoretical premises. The sudden increase in references to women in Dahui's sermons may be explained in part by the fact that these were addressed to nuns or influential laywomen. Dahui named five nuns and one laywoman among his fifty-four successors, but none of them appears in the official lineage of his school.

At the beginning of his preaching career, Dogen also stressed sexual equality. In the *Shobogenzo* he states: "What demerit is there in the fact of being a woman? What merit in being a man? There are bad men and good women. If you want to hear the Dharma and put an end to suffering and confusion, abandon ideas like male and female. As long as illusions have not been eliminated, neither men nor women are free from them. When they are eliminated and reality is perceived, there is no longer any distinction between male and female." [Raihai-tokuzui]

We may suspect that this equality discourse reflects a typically masculine point of view. However that may be, as initial proselytism was succeeded by administrative preoccupations regarding his monastery, equality of the sexes, along with equality of monks and laymen, disappeared from Dogen's discourse. He apparently had some female disciples, and it may have been that he put together some of his sermons for them. But like his ideal Sakya-muni—as it is presented to us in the Vinaya tradition—Dogen remained, if not fundamentally misogynist, at least very aware of the dangers that a feminine presence could bring to his community.

Keizan inherits the Mahayana discourse about nonduality. However, he seems to have been more ready to take a few risks in order to bring to pass this equality of the sexes, in particular when he founded the nunnery at Tokoku. Women were not excluded from his "mountain," as was the case in many other mountain temples. But the nuns remained on the margins of the masculine monastic community of Yokoji. Despite her importance in his life, and her awakening, to which he duly testified, Sonin does not figure among the successors named by Keizan. Only one late source, the *Nihon Tojo rentoroku*, attests that Sonin really had received the robe of the Dharma (thus the succession) from Keizan. We see a significant gap between the hagiography of the Soto tradition and certain of Keizan's *okibumi*, whose purpose is to establish a pairing, to make official the marriage of two "lineages," to organize the coordination of two social units, two "houses," even if it is not intended, as in the Western medieval society, to set up a unit of comparable form.

Soto hagiography has not given much attention to Sonin, despite the special status that Keizan tried to give her by making her the "author of the fundamental vow," and thereby the spiritual mother of the Yokoji community. [footnote: The *Nihon Tojo rentoroku*, however, counts Sonin and Ekyu among Keizan's seven dharma-heirs and gives Sonin's biography. See *DNBZ* 111: 60a and 66a-67a. Another Woman who played an important role was Enkan Myosho, who became abbess (*unshu*) of Enzuin after the death of Sonin. In the *Record of Tokoku*, at the date of 4/10/1325, we are told that she was

appointed to Hooji of Kaga (temple founded by Keizan for the *bodhi* of his mother Ekan), and that on this occasion she was authorized to copy the ordination manual for Bodhisattvas (*Busso shoden bosatsukai saho*). Like Sonin, she seems to have been autonomous as practitioner. Hooji was apparently the first independent nunnery in Soto, and Myosho its first abbess. She was succeeded by Ekyu at the head of Enzuin. In 1323, according to the *Record of Tokoku*, Ekyu received succession documents from Keizan. He wrote specially the ordination manual in *kana* for her. This means that she could confer ordination herself. She receives special treatment also when Keizan decides what funeral services will be offered to nuns. A large part of the financial support of Yokoji was reserved for nuns.] We cannot but be surprised at the complete absence of any biographical information about this woman who, rather than care for her own family line, chose to give birth rather to spiritual sons and daughters by associating herself, even before the death of her husband, with the priest Keizan. In spite of the status she would later enjoy as abbess of Enzuin, by doing this she was actually simply passing from one form of masculine tutelage to another from a physical lineage to a spiritual one. It should be noted that most of the women who gathered around Keizan and Sonin were already fairly advanced in years and had -reproduced; and we may wonder whether, as in Western medieval society, we might have here evidence of women rejected by their lineage once they were deemed useless. In the absence of more precise documentation, this can be no more than a hypothesis.

But the fact does remain that most of the legends in the Soto tradition concern male monks. In a masculine tradition, Keizan's example, a man devoted to his matrilineal lineage, may appear to be an exception. Keizan got from his mother his devotion to the cause of women; for example, he transcribed into Japanese the Chinese commentary by Dogen on the Buddhist Precepts so that they would be accessible to one of his disciples, the nun Ekyu. The inspiration on this point was perhaps not so much the Buddha as Ananda, the third Indian patriarch. We know that even if the Buddha ended up, in spite of himself, accepting women into his community, beginning with his own aunt Gautami, his motive was not so much recognition of the woman who had been his stepmother but rather the insistence of his cousin Ananda, son of Gautami, in order to avoid upsetting this much-beloved disciple. However, for Keizan, as a representative of the clerical culture, the blood bonds attaching him to his matrilineal line always was less important than the spiritual line, which remains purely male.

The *Record of Tokoku* can also be read as a kind of oneirical autobiography, which suggests that the rise of the autobiographical genre in Japan was permitted not only by the discovery of interiority, the affirmation of a self that was denied at the doctrinal level, but also by the gradual shift of the dream from the public to the private sphere. The dream world of Keizan, as we will see, was nurtured by the feminine, maternal realm, a realm symbolized above all by the Bodhisattva Kannon.



Keizan and Dogen

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Keizan and Dōgen

Keizan Jōkin

螢山紹瑾



Eihei Dōgen

永平道元



Title:
("two patriarchs, one
essence")

Taisō 太祖

Greatest/Great Ancestor
Progenitor/Successor Patriarch
Highest Forefather

Kōso 高祖

Highest/High Ancestor
Founder/Eminent Patriarch
Lofty/Elevated Forefather

Compact signed in
1872:

"...and the aspirations of the late
teacher, Keizan."

"The maxims of the founding patriarch,
Dogen..."

Eto Sokuo:

successive consolidating patriarch:
"...while Taiso designates another
but a grand successor who success-
fully consolidated the actual empire."
the grand organizer successor

the primary founding patriarch:

"Koso designates a dynastic ancestor or
originator who built the basis of an
empire,...
the forefather or initial patriarch

Sotozen-net:

"The Soto Zen School recognizes two eminent Ancestors
as our founders, Dogen and Keizan Zenji."

"The fourth Japanese ancestor of the
school was Taiso Keizan Zenji who
was instrumental in enhancing the
teachings and expanding the school."

"The essence of the Soto Zen School was
transmitted from China, eight hundred years
ago, during the Kama-kura period by Koso
Dogen Zenji."

EXTERNAL: looks outward & boldly
spreads the teaching

INTERNAL: deeply explored the internal self

Keido Chisan:

Compassionate mother of Soto Zen
clear explanations
magnanimous
Caused the school to flourish

Dignified father of Soto Zen
deep philosophy
stern
Established the school

Reiho Masunaga:

mild and gentle - compassionate
Like two wheels of a cart for, if one is lacking, the other cannot fulfill its purpose.

rigorous and stern - profound

Steven Heine:

Highly integrative and popularizing
approach, assimilating & eclectic

Founded a small conservative monastic
institution

Founded:
("two head temples,
one essence")

Sōjiji 總持寺

Eiheiiji 永平寺



Crest:
(the two crests together
are the symbol of the
Soto school)

Pauloenia



*Gentian
flower*

In the eyes of many devout Sōtō adherents the story of early Sōtō communities begins with Dōgen and ends with Dōgen. It is a simple story of how Dogen's vision of pure Buddhism was established in rural Japan and then lost. Later the story starts over again with Keizan Jōkin, who is credited with establishing a new institutional form for Sōtō more compatible with the simple religious sentiments of rural Japanese. In the standard version of events presented by these Sōtō devotees, Dogen was someone fundamentally superior to his time and his followers. While alive the power of his personality commanded the complete loyalty of his disciples, who followed him into a remote mountain temple. Dogen's death, however, allowed the divergent agendas of his disciples to reappear. A dispute among his successors, the so-called third-generation schism (*sandai sōron*), dispersed his community and left his isolated temple in ruins. Divided and without financial support, the small groups of Sōtō monks might well have disappeared. Instead, Keizan Jōkin charted a new direction that exploited popular folk beliefs and thereby ensured the financial prosperity of Soto temples. Summarized in crude terms, Dōgen provided high religious ideals while Keizan ensured their survival by implementing practical means of propagation—means which according to some Sōtō commentators often were at odds with Dōgen's ideals.

What follows [in *Soto Zen in Medieval Japan*] is a different interpretation of early Sōtō. Many of the above elements appear, but the significance attributed to them is not the same. The standard story of the early Sōtō communities cited above was conceived under the lingering influence of a series of religious reforms that were imposed on Sōtō institutions beginning in the eighteenth century. The monks in the vanguard of the reform efforts advocated a restoration (*fukko*) of the pristine practices supposedly taught by Dōgen—a position that implicitly rejected the validity of the traditions that they had inherited from the medieval period. Successive Sōtō reformers and counterreformers cited selected passages from Dōgen's writings to support or refute each other over a wide variety of doctrinal controversies, each side defending their version of Dōgen against the supposed distortions of the other. When modern Sōtō historians first looked beyond Dōgen to chart the development of early Sōtō communities they accepted this earlier vision of a sharp division between Dōgen and his successors. In their eyes the third-generation schism and the activities of Keizan Jōkin stood out as turning points that separated the subsequent Sōtō tradition from Dōgen. Yet it is doubtful if the so-called schism ever occurred. Keizan is an equally unlikely turning point. He had studied under four of Dōgen's leading disciples: Ejō, Jakuen, Gien, and Gikai. If anyone could have provided a strong link to the beginnings of Japanese Sōtō, it should have been Keizan.

Chart of influences:

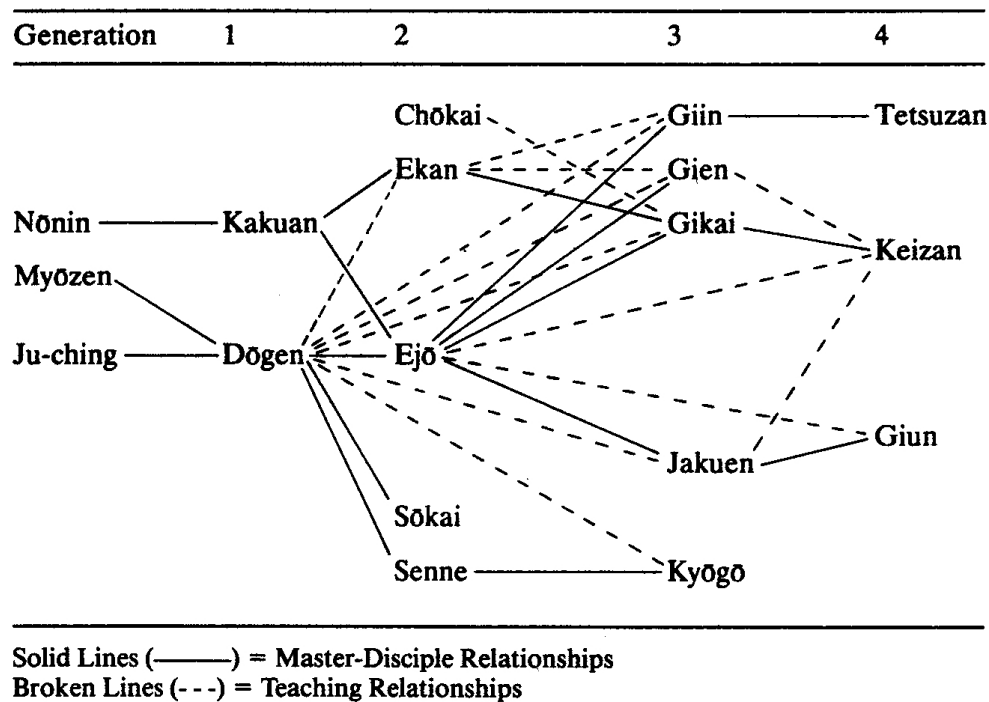


Figure 3. The Early Japanese Sōtō School

The True Spirit of the Two Ancestors

from Soto Zen by Keido Chisan

The Japanese Sōtō School was firmly established with the Highest Ancestor Great Master Dōgen as its dignified father and the Greatest Ancestor Great Master Keizan as its compassionate mother. The Transmission of the Dharma from master to disciple in the Sōtō School is a matter of extreme importance. It has two aspects: the horizontal and the vertical. The former emphasizes the sameness between master and disciple, and the latter recognizes their respective individualities.

Dōgen received the Dharma Transmission from his master, Ju-ching (J. Tendō Nyōjō), yet he revealed his own individuality and opened up a new field of thought in Buddhism. Dōgen selected what was best in Buddhism regardless of school and tried to return to the basic spirit of the Buddha. He cast aside worldly honors and wealth, avoided the powerful, prosperous people of his day and never wore any elegant robes, but only ones made of coarse material. He worked diligently to train the few monks around him. He denied the theory that Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism are in essence the same and rejected the idea which holds that there are five schools of Zen, advocating a unified Buddhism to the point that he disliked even using the name Zen School. Insofar as he was enlightened under Ju-ching, we can say that his spiritual understanding and that of Ju-ching were the same.

Dōgen developed his own individuality with this tradition as a background:

1. The essence of the teachings of Dōgen lies, first of all, in the correct Transmission of a unified Buddhism. If the Zen School forms its own system in contrast to those of other schools, it is apt to become one-sided and biased. Dōgen, in rejecting the name Zen School as indicating something distinct from other schools, said, "Those who use the name Zen School to describe the great Way of the Buddha and the Ancestors have not yet seen the Way of the Buddha. The establishment of the five schools of Zen is nothing other than the destruction of the unity of Buddhism. It is the product of shallow thinking." Dōgen sought to restore sectarian Sung Dynasty Zen to the main road of Buddhism from which it had strayed and to enable Chinese Buddhism which had deviated from the main course to find itself again.

Great Master Keizan also rejected the sectarian concept of five schools of Zen by declaring in his *Denkōroku*: "People need not debate about the five or seven schools of Zen, but rather should merely brighten their own hearts. This is the correct teaching of all the Buddhas. Why do people always engage in controversy? It is a waste of time to discuss the idea of victory or defeat." In order to find true Buddhism there must be an urgent desire to find the Truth. In the *Shōbōgenzō Zuimonki*

Great Master Dōgen says: "If one has a real desire to enter Buddhism, then one must not hesitate to go to a master for training even if it means such difficulties as crossing the seas and climbing mountains. However, even if we should go and urge those who have no desire to enter Buddhism, it cannot be certain whether or not they will accept it." Dōgen, who was free from egotism and vain desires for fame and gain, rejected the Buddhism of his period as something imperfect. It goes without saying that in selecting which of the teachings of Buddhism are to be spread throughout the land, the time, the place and the persons to receive the teachings must be taken into consideration.

The division of the teachings of Buddhism into three periods (the period of the True Law, the period of the imitation of the True Law and the period of decline of the True Law) is nothing but a skillful means (Skt. *upāya*, J. *hōben*) to explain the changes in Buddhist teachings to those who have not yet directly experienced the Truth. Precisely because we are now in the period of decline, we must make unrelenting efforts to live in the spirit of the Buddha and to grasp the essence of Buddhism directly. Therefore Dōgen said: "If you do not enter Buddhism in this life on the pretext that we are in a period of decline and unable to know Truth, then in which life will you realize Truth?" Dōgen emphasized the efforts of people to discover the Eternal within themselves. We can observe here Dōgen's intense resistance to religious fatalism and the idea that it was not possible to find the Truth during a period of decline in the Buddhist teaching. If one has a sincere desire to seek Truth, then the limitations of time and place can be transcended, and one can see the Buddha and Ancestors directly. This is because the three periods referred to above are not periods in time, but are really stages in the development of men. Great Master Keizan stated in his *Denkōroku*: "There is no time boundary between the three periods. This is true in India, China, and Japan alike. Therefore do not bewail the coming of the period of decline. Do not be prejudiced against those from distant places and remote areas." He respects the heroic spirit which casts off the spell of "the period of decline" and boldly goes forth in the search for true Buddhism.

2. The standpoint taken by Great Master Dōgen is new in that it does not handle the problems of the Buddhist Scriptures in an academic, objective way, but delves into each one as if it were a problem presented to Dōgen personally. Although the Buddhism which bases itself upon Scripture as final authority has great depth, it often falls into a mere intellectual Buddhism unable to transform itself into a living religion. Dōgen's Buddhism is based upon wholehearted Zazen which rejects the dualism of mind and matter and holds that the training process involved in formal seated meditation is

enlightenment. But as long as one plays with mental discriminations of good and bad, right and wrong, as intellectual ideas, it will be impossible to find the True Way of the Buddha. Dōgen said, “Attainment of the Way can only be achieved with one’s body.” The formal seated meditation is the attainment of Buddhahood through our body. It is life and vitality itself. It is commonly said that enlightenment is the ideal of serene reflection meditation, and that serene reflection meditation is the means for the attainment of that ideal. But, as explained before, meditation can never be considered merely a means to an end.

Dōgen rejects the duality of enlightenment and the religious training of meditation, writing in “Bendōwa” (a chapter of the *Shōbōgenzō*): “It is heretical to believe that training and enlightenment are separable for, in Buddhism, the two are one and the same. Since training embraces enlightenment, the very beginning of training contains the whole of original enlightenment; as this is so, the teacher tells his disciples never to search for enlightenment outside of training since the latter mirrors enlightenment.” [Quoted from *Zen is Eternal Life*, 1999 edition, p. 186.] Just-sitting meditation based on faith is the fullest form of true enlightenment. The world of religion is absolute in that it rejects the categories of means and end, for it is its own end. Today is not something for tomorrow, but remains absolute as today. Therefore, Great Master Dōgen declared that wholehearted meditation is neither a practice in which one waits for enlightenment such as was found in the Sung Dynasty in China, nor is it a means to become Buddha. Enlightenment is an inherent part of meditation practice from the outset. Just-sitting meditation is free from all obstacles and is synonymous with enlightenment. We call this meditation in enlightenment and enlightenment in meditation. *Kekka-fuza* (sitting cross-legged with the soles of both feet turned upward) is the *samādhi* (meditation) practiced by all the Buddhas in which they alone fully enjoy the bliss derived therefrom.

Formal seated meditation is not considered an unpleasant, compulsory religious exercise, but an act of the Buddhas which is in perfect harmony with nature and in accord with the spirit of the Buddha. Zazen, always surrounded by the twin ideas of training and enlightenment, is in itself complete enlightenment and the bodily posture which reveals the fullest manifestation of this Original Enlightenment. It is a religious exercise, and yet at the same time it is the state of Great Enlightenment. Serene reflection meditation, from which nothing is sought and nothing is gained (*J. mushotoku mushogo no Zazen*), must never be construed to mean a denial of practice itself, because to deny religious practice would result in being unable to unite it with theory. Dōgen says in the “Bendōwa,” “Both the Buddhas and Ancestors insisted upon the necessity of intense training in order that enlightenment may be kept pure, being identical with

training itself.” [*Zen is Eternal Life*, 1999 edition, p. 187.] Since these practices correspond to Original Enlightenment, they are unending. As a result of realizing enlightenment, we continue to meditate; as a result of realizing Buddhahood, we continue to train. Serene reflection meditation, which is the complete liberation of body and mind, means that the whole of oneself becomes the Dharma and living embodiment of the Buddhas and Ancestors.

Great Master Keizan wrote in his “Zazen Yojinki,” “The true mind of meditation is not one which waits for enlightenment,” and in his *Denkōroku*, “The performance of meritorious deeds not free from the laws of karma (cause and effect, *J. ui kugō*), will not lead to untainted Buddhahood. If we seek Buddhahood we must return to the source of life. Religious practice which waits for enlightenment does not lead to Buddhahood.” Thus, Great Master Keizan, like Great Master Dōgen, rejected the Sung idea of a meditation practice which strives for enlightenment, maintaining that serene reflection meditation is an absolutely pure religious exercise which in and of itself expresses Buddhahood.

3. It is natural that the Buddhist religion which rejects the idea of an absolute God should declare that the essence of the Buddha, i.e., the Buddha Nature, is found in all men. Because Buddha Nature exists in all beings, It allows those who train to realize enlightenment. The practice of serene reflection meditation is a manifestation of faith in the Buddha Nature. Zazen, which teaches the identity between enlightenment and training, becomes the preliminary step for the realization of enlightenment. Buddhism in general teaches that there is a gradual development toward enlightenment which is made possible because of the Buddha Nature. However, serene reflection meditation is in perfect harmony with Original Enlightenment itself which is the Buddha Nature. Yet simultaneously it transforms itself into this enlightenment and causes it to materialize fully. Enlightenment and serene reflection meditation are identical. The teaching that Original Enlightenment is found in all beings is the essence of Zen.

This view of the Buddha Nature is unique to Great Master Dōgen and reveals a new approach unobservable in other schools of Buddhism. There is a famous passage in the *Nehan Gyō (Nirvāna Sūtra)* which reads: “All beings have the Buddha Nature.” However, Dōgen interprets this as “All beings *are* the Buddha Nature!” emphasizing that the Buddha Nature is the basis of all existence and the source of all that is of value. In “Busshō-no-Maki,” a chapter of the *Shōbōgenzō*, Dōgen explains: “The Buddha Nature is everything, one part of which we call humanity. Within humanity and outside of it everything is the Buddha Nature.” All things which exist are part of the sea of the Buddha Nature. We are apt to think of the Buddha Nature as something deep and

unfamiliar, but it is nothing more than “the chin of a donkey or mouth of a horse,” to quote Dōgen. All existing things are themselves manifestations of the Buddha Nature and must be the self-expression of the Buddha Nature. From this basic problem Dōgen then proceeded to a thorough discussion of the existent Buddha Nature, the non-existent Buddha Nature, the explanatory Buddha Nature and the impermanent Buddha Nature. Although all existence comes under the heading of the Buddha Nature, the definition of Buddha Nature cannot be limited merely to existence alone. It transcends this and moves on to another new world. This is an unending denial of denial, an expansion into the infinite. Therefore, absolute non-existence which includes both relative existence and non-existence is in itself the Buddha Nature. Non-existence is the source of the form without a form. The Buddha Nature itself has no form, and yet it can manifest itself in all forms. The explanation of the Buddha Nature according to Dōgen means that the Buddha Nature itself explains its True Nature as it is. The formless Buddha Nature reveals its own figure through phenomena which have form. Existence is not something fixed, immovable; non-existence is not a vacuum, not empty, but immaculate.

Impermanence which transcends existence and nonexistence is the growth and development of the infinite. It is impermanence which is the true form of the Buddha Nature and the self-development of it. The impermanent Buddha Nature regenerates itself constantly and thereby keeps on growing and extending itself throughout time and space. Great Master Keizan declares in his *Shinjin-mei Nentei*: “There are two kinds of Buddha Nature: the existent one (J. *u*) and the non-existent one (J. *mu*). The non-existent one is indivisible; the existent one has not a fixed, unchanging existence.” Also he observes, “Buddha comes forth in the world; things appear in the hearts of men. The Buddhas of the many countries conceal their physical bodies revealing only their shadows. The countries of the various Buddhas reveal their forms completely.” Thus does Keizan uphold Dōgen’s idea that “the Buddha Nature is everything” as well as Dōgen’s four-way analysis of the Buddha Nature. It is further stated in the “Zazen Yōjinki” that Zazen illuminates the mind of man and enables him to live peacefully in his True Self. We call this “showing your natural face” or “revealing the natural scenery,” thus making clear the content of enlightenment and the religious practice of the Buddha Heart.

4. Dōgen, after being assailed by the doubts described above while he was on Mt. Hiei, came to the conclusion that despite the extent of Buddhist studies in Japan, the true Buddhism was still unknown. He therefore resolved to go to China to find it, confident that he would be successful if he sought the true Buddhism from the standpoint that all Buddhism is one. However, what Dōgen sought was not a theoretical solution, but religious peace of mind. In China he visited famous Buddhist

scholars in Liang-che (J. Ryōsetsu) and studied under masters of the five schools of Zen, but to no avail. They could not satisfy his longings for religious Truth and dispel the doubts that assailed him. At last he became a disciple of Ju-ching under whose guidance he arrived at the liberation of body and mind, thereby freeing himself from all doubts. This deep experience became a source from which a new Buddhism emerged which had been Transmitted from teacher to disciple. Of this Dōgen said: “In liberating my mind and body, I preserved the traditions of ancestral succession even after I returned to Japan.”

Correctly transmitted Buddhism means that the spirit of Gautama Buddha, the historic founder of Buddhism, is alive in the personalities of the successive Ancestors and Masters and that this Buddhism is pure and its practice of the Way of the Buddha perfect. It is not prejudiced in favor of the recorded word of the Buddha, or biased in favor of his mind, but rather accepts the Buddha as a complete entity, mind and body. Dōgen fervently wished to grasp the essential source of Buddhism, rejecting its many branches and schools in order to enable it to flourish. But, in the final analysis, what is it that gives a firm foundation to Buddhism? To this we must answer that it is the uninterrupted direct succession from master to disciple (J. *menju shihō*). In this direct succession (*menju*) the personalities of master and disciple are fused into one; the spirit being handed on from one person to the next is without interruption. This Transmission is not based on historical studies, but stands firmly on deep faith.

Buddhism which lives in faith must necessarily have its basis in strength derived from personality. The life of the Tathagata (Buddha) is preserved in fact only when there is an uninterrupted union of personalities between Gautama, the historic Buddha, and the unbroken line of Ancestors. This Transmission resembles the pouring of water from one vessel to another in that the true spirit of the Buddha is passed on to the next Ancestor without increasing nor decreasing. The whole character of the Buddha as it is becomes the character of the Ancestor suited to the time and place of that Ancestor. This is the reason, therefore, that the successive Ancestors all live in the character of the Buddha. It is therefore said, “Your (obvious) face is not your real one. The real one is transmitted from the Buddha.” When the false self dies within us, we find our life in that of the Buddha. The Buddha and those who live in his spirit are identical no matter how many centuries or generations may separate them. In this way the life of the Buddha continues throughout history, adapting itself to time and place. To return to the source of Buddhism also means to project oneself into the future. Real traditions which live throughout history are continuously developing.

The Denkōroku by Great Master Keizan is a skillfully written work which recounts the enlightenment stories of

the Ancestors. In it is found the famous phrase: “By taking a flower Shakyamuni showed that TRUTH *was, is and will be* eternal and by smiling He pointed out that it *was, is and will be* endless,” explained at the end of Chapter Two. It further states, “Therefore the warm flesh of Shakyamuni is now and always here and the smiling of Makakasho is now and always new.” [*Zen is Eternal Life*, 1999, pp. 229-230.] The warmth of Shakyamuni’s body was correctly transmitted through the individuality of his disciple Makakasho; the true face of the Highest Ancestor (Dōgen) was handed down through the Greatest Ancestor (Keizan).

5. The basic thought and faith of Dōgen and Keizan are in perfect agreement with each other. However, differences in individuality, environment and time resulted in separate approaches to the question of how to propagate their religion. Dōgen’s personality was very serious, his theory precise. The Japanese Sōtō School is proud to have such a truly great man as its founder. It would be difficult to find another Zen master who is endowed with the same profundity of thought, seriousness of practice and loftiness of character as Dōgen.

In religion, on the one hand, we must go forward ever deepening our religious experiences, while, on the other hand, recognizing our mission to guide other people to the depths of our own experience. We must enable them to know the joy that comes from a knowledge of the Dharma and the bliss that comes from the practice of meditation. It is absolutely essential to have a personal character like that of Great Master Keizan in order to carry out this mission. To regard all people with warm affection, to become the friend of the common people, to enter the realm of the ideal together with them and to share one’s joy with others—these are the characteristics of the true man of religion. The Sōtō School believes that it is able to fulfill its basic mission because of the stern, father-like character of Dōgen and the compassionate mother-like character of Keizan. The foundation of the Sōtō School was laid by Dōgen. Keizan deserves the credit for shaping the monastic priesthood and broadening the social outlook of the school. The monastic priesthood developed because the foundation set by Dōgen was coupled with maintenance by Keizan.

In summary, we may say that although there was no difference in the basic spirit of the two Ancestors, they did possess distinct personalities. This was revealed in many ways: the deep philosophy of Dōgen contrasted with the clear explanations of it by Keizan, the select few who were the disciples of Dōgen compared with the multitude who benefitted from Keizan. Dōgen’s religious life was characterized by sternness, whereas that of Keizan showed a magnanimous attitude which embraced all people. The former established the school while the latter displayed the administrative genius necessary for it to flourish. In the Sōtō School the two Ancestors are compared to the two

wheels of a cart, for if one is lacking, the other is of little use in fulfilling its ultimate purpose. That we of the Sōtō School should have two such great men as Founders of our school is, we feel, most fortunate and significant in terms of Buddhist karma.

CHAPTER EIGHT: FOUNDER PATRIARCH AND SUCCESSOR PATRIARCH (高祖と太祖)

from: ZEN MASTER DOGEN AS FOUNDING PATRIARCH

Eto Sokuo (translated by Ichimura Shohei)

[p.551:]

According to current legal code (of the Soto School of Zen) it is stipulated that Dogen Zenji, who founded the monastic temple Eihei-ji, is called the original founder of the school, and that Keizan Zenji, who founded the monastic temple Sojiji, is the grand successor of the school. Further, the two monastic temples started respectively by these masters are two separate head temples. Based on unity of these two monastic institutions, this religious order has been established to provide all rules and regulations for operation as an independent religious organization.

Since antithesis between these head temples persisted for the lengthy period of six hundred years, incessant conflicts of interest continued to arise between the religious authorities of these two institutions. Naturally, this spoiled any sense of harmonious unity between the leaders who guarded their respective religious sanctuaries. Thus, this state of affairs was no trivial factor in the obstruction of development of an ideal school tradition. After the proclamation of the Meiji reformation, therefore, the conscientious leaders of the religious polity established a constitution on the basis of unity of the two head temples. The constitutional arrangement, however, was merely an agreement at the level of institutional adjustments; in actual operation, there was not a substantial improvement in direct cooperation. Regrettably, this state of affairs negatively exerted considerable constraints on activities of religious education and guidance.

Reflecting upon history, we acknowledge that the sizable religious order known as the Japanese Soto school was established on the basis of the meritorious powers of Dogen Zenji, as founder of its spiritual tradition, and Keizan Zenji, as consolidator of its institutional tradition. In the six hundred years since, it has continued to fulfill the task of religious education and guidance for the Japanese nation. I am struck, however, by the fact that the foundation of ultimate spiritual quiescence, which ought to be the fundamental basis of the religious order as an independent institution, has not been established through traditional sectarian study. This is an unthinkable phenomenon. Although there may be many reasons for this failure, I identify two major factors.

First, soon after his death, Dogen Zenji's collected *Shobo Genzo* were stored as treasure in an inaccessible pavilion, such that general practitioners were not allowed to study them. As a result, the thought and belief of the founding patriarch was gradually forgotten. Members of the school were misled into believing that their tradition was part of the Chinese school of Ts'ao-tung in

opposition to that of Lin-chi, and thus contented themselves without further question as to how and why their religion was called Zen. This point has, I believe, been clarified sufficiently in preceding chapters.

The second major factor in this failure stemmed from the peculiar historical circumstance in which the Soto School of Zen was formed. Member practitioners were obliged to dedicate themselves to both Dogen Zenji and Keizan Zenji on equal terms. Yet, since both head temples advocated their respective styles of Zen for such a long time, they naturally contributed to and perpetuated a false assumption in the minds of practitioners that there might have been a difference in the thought and belief of the two patriarchs. Even though leaders of both head temples spoke, at least out of mutual courtesy, of unity in the patriarchs' thought and belief, they never imparted this idea of unity through the system of traditional study. This is perhaps the (fundamental) cause of the Soto School's failure to establish a unitary basis in spiritual quiescence, despite centuries of existence as a singular religious order.

As to the fundamental cause of mutual opposition between the head temples, and consequent discord among member practitioners, I hypothesize that it stems from an inability to establish spiritual quiescence as the unitary basis for the system of sectarian study. Since a unitary system of religious study is an indispensable condition for the existence of an independent religious order, I reason that the absence of such a unitary basis for study should in turn intensify feelings of antithesis between head temples. There is a worrisome and vicious cycle of cause and effect. Nevertheless, because of the historical reality of continual evolution of the order, we are compelled to assume that the unitary life of the order must be consistent with dual patriarchs, and that this is vital to the independence of the sectarian order and its fulfillment of the task of spiritual guidance. Otherwise, the school would have long since lost its existential meaning in history. It follows then that sectarian religious study must establish the ultimate spiritual quiescence to ensure continual existence of the order as a unitary institution while simultaneously maintaining consistency with dual patriarchs. To make this possible, as fountainhead of the order, Dogen Zenji's unique thought and belief must be clarified. To this end, I have been extensively examining his position in the context of Buddhist history as well as the unique claim and standpoint of his religion within Japanese Buddhism. In this regard, Keizan Zenji's role was to make Dogen Zenji's unique Buddha-dharma the fundamental spiritual tradition of the order, to promote the organization of temples, and to propagate Eihei's Zen practice throughout Japan, thereby to establish the

foundation of a great religious school. In this chapter I will therefore investigate Dogen Zenji's basic thought and belief, that which is indispensable to the existence of a school and which must be consistent between the founding patriarchs, thereby to clarify his unshakable characteristic as the original founder of the school.

In general, the coming into being of a religious order, whether on the basis of belief or faith or as a sectarian division occurring within a religion, follows a similar process. In Buddhist sectarian division as well, the thought and belief of a great personality gradually spreads geographically and expands in influence over the course of history, eventually forming an independent religious order, just as a rock thrown upon still waters spreads rings of ripples. Thus, a sectarian order is a religious organization precipitated by such rings of ripples created within an actual society through the influential thought and belief of a person respected as the founder of the order. Two different types of processes characterize this occurrence, or, perhaps I should say rather, are already in factual presence.

One of these processes begins with the conscious intent of a founder to initiate a new order based on his insight of realization. In this regard, he must in one way or another be reform-oriented in the context of the existing world of religions, and having such a purpose in establishing an order, he must actively lead the movement for religious influence and propagation. His successful campaign results in establishment of an independent order. Most Japanese Sectarian orders belong to this category.

In a second type of sectarian division, a personage who did not intend to establish an order is nonetheless adored and venerated as founder later in history. From a spontaneous motivation to seek spirituality, he devoted himself to the study of Buddhism and, as a result, acquired his own thought and belief. Later, his immediate disciples or subsequent followers gradually multiply and form an independent order, eventually distinguishing themselves from other sectarian orders...

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Based on the foregoing, I think Dogen Zenji never abandoned the task of propagation of the Buddha-dharma. Yet, I am obliged to justify why Dogen Zenji himself did not participate as a missionary in this activist approach. I quote here his reasoning as mentioned in his *Bendowa*:

At last, attending the instruction of my teacher, Zen master Ju-ching of Mount Tai-pai, I completed the great matter of Zen practice for my entire life. Thereafter, in the beginning of the Chao-ting Era of the Sung dynasty, I returned home. At that time, I was determined to spread the Dharma and help sentient

beings toward salvation. It was as if I was carrying a heavy burden on my shoulder. Nevertheless, I set aside my wish to spread the Buddha-dharma so as to wait for a better time to discharge my duty in its propagation. I decided thus to spend my sojourn in writing about the tradition of the ancient sages, being for a time a wanderer, like a tarrying cloud or water weed.

Returning home with empty hands, Dogen Zenji felt strongly a sense of responsibility to spread the Dharma and help in people's salvation, even to the extent that he wrote about it "as if he was carrying a heavy burden on his shoulder." And yet, from his point of view, he felt it more fundamental and urgent to produce true practitioners of the Way. Thus, setting aside consciously his evangelical duty for a time, he chose to take another course in life, waiting for a more appropriate time to propagate the Buddha-dharma. The appointed time came finally with a disciple, the fourth descendant patriarch, Zen master Keizan, under whom the tradition of Zen Master Eihei Dogen, eminent founder of the religion, was disseminated throughout Japan. Paralleling the way in which master Chih-i's tradition of Buddhist Studies became the Tien-t'ai school in the time of Ching-ch'i Tan-jan, six generations removed from Chih-i, Eihei Dogen's Zen tradition became the independent school of Japanese Soto Zen distinct from all other schools at the time of the fourth generation patriarch.

The new Soto school of Zen started in Japan with the peculiar distinction of having two patriarchs, Dogen Zenji as originator of the spiritual lineage and Keizan Zenji as consolidator of the temple organization. Yet, in matters of religious propagation and education, the school necessarily needed unity of the two patriarchs as a basis for the spiritual quiescence of all its members. As already clarified, Dogen Zenji's thought and belief held a unique characteristic that defied comparison with that of any other school. The fundamental problem for sectarian study therefore is to determine whether or not his Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission was succeeded to in full by the successor-patriarch, thereby establishing a common spiritual life for the school that was consistent across both patriarchs. In this regard, the successor-patriarch states his position in the *Record of Transmission of the Light* as follows:

Seven hundred years after Buddhism began its spread in Japan, the master (Dogen) asserted the right Dharma for the first time. . . . [Besides Dogen Zenji,] the abbot Eisai, who succeeded the master Hui-pi's of Tung-lin as eighth patriarch of Huang-lung, endeavored to promote the Huang-lung tradition of Zen and memorialized the imperial court in the presentation of his I treatise entitled: *Treatise on the Protection of the Country by Establishing Zen*. His work, however, was

not a genuine text for Zen. Due to obstructive influences from the southern center of Buddhism in Nara and the northern center of Buddhism at Mt. Hiei, he found it necessary to propose his Zen as part of three Buddhist systems, i.e., Exoteric, Esoteric, and Zen (or Mind). Although, as a student of Eisai Zenji, Dogen Zenji understood the Lin-chi tradition, he nonetheless followed Ju-ching in completion of his ultimate realization and returned to his country thereafter to spread the Buddha-dharma. This was indeed fortunate for the country, and a cause of human happiness. It is comparable to the initial entry of the 28th patriarch, the Indian master Bodhidharma, into the land of T'ang (China), where he was made the first patriarch. As the fifty-first patriarch in the Chinese genealogy, Dogen Zenji was much like Bodhidharma. He was made the original patriarch in Japan, and hence is regarded as having been the first patriarch of our school (in Japan).

I quoted the above passage once before and pointed out that this record is especially noteworthy as evidence that the successor-founder, Keizan Zenji, recognized clearly the position of the original founder and indicated his own full succession to the spiritual tradition. As explained in the chapter "Returning Home Empty-handed," Dogen Zenji, who received and maintained in himself the personal authentication and returned home as he was before, became the first patriarch of the Japanese school of Zen, just as Bodhidharma became the first patriarch in China. The successor-founder (Keizan Zenji) declared that "Therefore, the master ought to be called the founding patriarch of the members of this school." This "school membership," or literally "those who belong to this gate" (mon), means, of course, the (spiritual tradition of) "Buddha-dharma of personally authenticated transmission" (The quote) does not suggest a founder of some general, so-called, Zen school. This is clear because the earlier part of the quote indicates that the abbot Eisai transmitted Zen to Japan for the first time. Hence, Keizan Zenji was clearly referring here to Dogen Zenji not as founder of a general Zen tradition, but as founder of the school that took Eihei's spiritual tradition as its fountainhead.

When the third patriarch, Gikai Zenji, visited Sung China, he wrote the following official declaration of his vow:

In order to accomplish my late master's sole wish, I resolve as my singular vow that the spiritual tradition of Eihei shall flourish throughout the country of Japan.

From these records, we learn that by the time of the second and third patriarch, Dogen Zenji's spiritual tradition was about engaging an opportunity for propagation of this new message, as a religion, throughout the country. Moreover, in the third patriarch's certification of Keizan Zenji's spiritual realization, he

said: "Since you exceed your teacher, you ought to make Eihei's spiritual tradition flourish." Thus, the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission was entrusted properly to the grand successor-patriarch in the fourth generation, and therefrom spread through Japan by propagation and dissemination as an independent religious order.

Dogen Zenji believed that the Buddha's right Dharma was transmitted to Japan for the first time when he returned to Japan with empty hands. However, in the above passage, Keizan Zenji expressed only that "the master returned to his country and spread the Buddha-dharma." Prior to this statement, Keizan Zenji expressed his view of the history of Japanese Buddhism, saying: "Seven hundred years after Buddhism began its spread in Japan, the master (Dogen) asserted the right Dharma for the first time." In addition, in the chapter of Sanghanandin, he said: "Consider. Although Buddhism has spread gradually eastward during the last degenerate period of history, it has only been fifty or sixty years since our country heard the right teaching of the Tathagata. This ought to be regarded as the beginning of the right Dharma (in this country)." This implies that the Tathagata's right Dharma was heard for the first time through Dogen Zenji. What is expressed here as "right Dharma" must therefore be the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission introduced by Dogen Zenji. This is consonant with Dogen Zenji's criticism that "the Buddhism of the preceding period was but a textual transmission, the Buddha-dharma having been forgotten," or "the Buddha's right Dharma was not yet well disseminated." The context thus explains clearly why Dogen Zenji was regarded as the first patriarch of the school...

[Pg 580:]

The grand successor, Keizan Zenji, advocated Eihei's spiritual heritage, praising the founder as one who experientially realized the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission, a hero who happens to appear only once in a hundred generations, and a model personality from a thousand years in the past. As he advocated the spirituality of Dogen Zenji, Keizan Zenji must have shared a conviction identical to and consistent with that of the original founder, insofar as the life and existence of their school was concerned. Of course, the original founder and the successor founder were of two different times and were two independent persons. Hence, their historical times and environments were different, as were their personal matures and circumstances. It follows then that their ways of expressing the same spiritual tradition varied, or rather that they should rightly have varied. This is just as two different lenses depend on their respective focal points to project an image onto a screen. Insofar as the two patriarchs stand in spatial opposition, the Buddha-dharma should be projected onto the screen

through two different focal points. However, when the singular tradition of the Soto school is considered, even though it is based on two patriarchs, there should not be two different focal points for the ultimate basis of spiritual quiescence. Although there are two lenses, their focal points should be linked together as one. In order to achieve this situation, the two lenses which exist side by side in space must overlap in time, as prior and posterior. In other words, both patriarchs should be in the same place, but prior and posterior in time, such that even though they are two they are one (over the course of time).

As symbolic objects of the liturgy of veneration, the patriarchs are two different persons, but they should nonetheless be linked in one focal point through personal authentication. Hence, in our spiritual conviction, we should see the original founder through the grand successor and see the grand successor through the original founder, although they must not be viewed as a snake having two heads. Accordingly, the foundation for the Soto spiritual quiescence in which the two patriarchs are one should be the authentic transmission and personal authentication in which the root and the branches are non-dual. The two patriarchs should be linked as one in the fundamental spirituality of the Buddha-dharma of Dogen Zenji, the only context in which the body and mind of the Tathagata are authentically transmitted through the patriarchal gate. The original founder and the grand successor were separated by the second patriarch Ejo and third patriarch Gikai and not directly linked in time. Regardless of whether one or more generations separated the two patriarchs in time, from the point of view of the spirituality of personal authentication, the two are linked through singular evolution of the spiritual life of the Buddha. When they are placed in separate spatial positions, one should see that “even though they are neither standing in a row, nor linked in a line, there is simultaneous personal authentication between the two.”

Accordingly, in repudiating both the opposition of the two patriarchs and also the continuity of the two, if repudiation of one means affirmation of the other, then this severs evolutionary continuity through historical time with the spiritual life of the Buddha. It destroys the personal authentication that is the basis for the Japanese Soto school of Zen. Therefore, the two patriarchs stand in spatially separate positions as objects of the liturgy of veneration, and yet they are in temporal continuity for the mind of faith based on personal authentication. While they are continuous in time, they stand in separate positions. It is here that the spiritual quiescence of the Soto school of Zen is established as the life of the authentic transmission and personal authentication.

Authentic transmission and personal authentication is the life of the Buddha-dharma of Dogen Zenji, through which the two patriarchs are linked as one, and upon

which the Japanese Soto school has been established with unique historical character. In this case, in the course of development, it would be natural for descendants of the founding patriarch to emphasize ever more the principle of personal authentication. The historical fact was, however, totally unexpected. After the death of the founding patriarch, it (the life) was forgotten completely. Subsequent generations neglected study of the *Shobo Genzo*, which embodies the actual content (literally, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow) of the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission that the original founder inculcated, widely and deeply, centered on the principle of personal authentication and Dharma succession. By way of exception, only a small number of practitioners were able to continue in the task of copying the *Shobo Genzo*.

This state of affairs appears rather incomprehensible. Nevertheless, if we consider the matter carefully, the situation seems to bear the special characteristic of the Buddha-dharma of personal authentication. For, on one hand, with a school that depends on certain scriptures, since what was written by the founder during his life inculcates and elucidates the basis for his spiritual quiescence, it is natural for later generations of that school to seek their founder’s essential meaning in his writings and present it to the public to promote further development of their school. The Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission, on the other hand, transmits the practice-action that perpetuates succession of the Buddha’s life, and therefore, insofar as the Buddha-dharma of personal authentication continues to live through history, neither explanation nor understanding is necessary.

Paradoxically, whenever it has become necessary to explain and understand the *Shobo Genzo*, the Buddha-dharma of personal authentication has faced critical danger. It may be of such a paradoxical situation that some virtuous predecessor in the school said: “When the *Shobo Genzo* is called forth (to appear), the *Shobo Genzo* faces a critical end.” In considering the true meaning of the Buddha-dharma of personal authentication centered upon practice- action, this may very well identify the aforementioned state of affairs. After the death of the founding patriarch, the complete heritage of *Shobo Genzo*, crystallized in his effort of writing and executed with all his might, was stored away as a treasure. Yet, the descendants of his *Dharma* lineage continued to spread in widening rings of ripples created by the personal authentication, eventually bringing an independent school into being. It must be of this aspect of history that it is said that when the written *Genzo* was hidden, the live *Genzo* went active. Since the successor-patriarch was one who was produced by the Buddha-dharma of personal authentication, and who lived through the spirituality of personal authentication, even if he did not expound the principle of personal authentication in idea

and thought, his spirituality should be manifest in all expositions given during his life time.

The major written work of the grand successor, Keizan Zenji, was the *Record of Transmission of the Light*, which he propounded for his student practitioners at Daijōji. This text presents and explains the transmission of the light of the original spirituality of Sakyamuni's Buddha-dharma and successive patriarchs in three countries, starting with the first patriarch, Mahakasyapa, and ending with the fifty-second patriarch, Kōun Ejo. Why, despite the fact that the grand successor was not a historian, did he expound on the subject of the history of the succession of the light in his *Denkdroku*? The fifty-two patriarchs, in succession across the three countries, are footprints tracing the history of the Buddha-dharma of personal authentication that activates "continual succession of the spiritual light and perpetuation of illumination." Hence, (his work) is not a philosophical elucidation of the personal authentication, but a clarification of the footprints of the continual life of personal authentication. From this point of view, the essential motivation of the *Denkoroku* should be regarded as promulgation of the Buddha-dharma of personal authentication.

The chapter of the original founder, Dogen Zenji, is the longest in the *Denkoroku*, indeed, several times longer than the other chapters. In this chapter, Keizan Zenji includes an excerpt from the fascicle of *Succession Document (Shisho)* and as much as one fifth of the whole. This must be regarded as concrete evidence that the grand successor weighed the matter of personal authentication and Dharma-succession as important in his thoughts. This is, so far, an external observation. However, in analysis of the internal content of his thoughts, I should introduce his statement on the ultimate meaning of Dharma-succession as symbolized by "Sakyamuni's plucking of a flower stalk with smiling eyes," since this symbolic event has been accepted as the fountainhead of authentic transmission and personal authentication. Here is his saying:

When Gautama raises his eyebrows and flutters his eyes, he has become completely quiescent; but when Kasyapa smiles, Kasyapa has at once come to realize enlightenment. Is this circumstance not applicable to us as well? The *Treasury of the Eye of True Dharma (shobogenzo)* has been transmitted completely to your own selves. Therefore, it should not be regarded as transmitted to Mahakasyapa, nor should it be regarded as transmitted from Sakyamuni. There is neither a Dharma to be transmitted to anyone, nor is there any Dharma to be received by anyone. This is called the right Dharma. For the sake of revealing this to Kasyapa, Sakyamuni plucked a flower stalk to show that the Dharma is not changing, and Kasyapa smiled in

response, letting him know that it lives for a long time. (Chap. of Kasyapa, *Denko-roku*)

As pointed out before, the founding patriarch, Dogen Zenji, expressed this with the words: "One's own face is no longer his own, but he directly (personally) receives the Tathagata's face." The succeeding patriarch, Keizan Zenji, expressed the same, saying: "Make yourself your master, and make your master yourself." In this, Keizan Zenji's expression, the original meaning of personal authentication is revealed, clearly matching Dogen Zenji's exposition in the fascicle of *Menju* and that of *Katto*, just as does a vessel and its lid. Regarding the last statement, "plucking a flower stalk to let it be known as unchanging," and "smiling to let it be known to be long-lived," one should recognize that "unchanging" means to return to the tradition, whereas "long-lived" points to perpetual advancement and future development. Accordingly, what is unchanged is returning to the traditional origin, while what is long-lived is perpetual development into the future, thus embodying the ultimate process of "unchanging changing." Moreover, in his way of encouraging student practitioners, Keizan Zenji further says:

You should not yearn for ancient times of two thousand years ago. If you strive hard today in the practice of way-faring, Kasyapa may not have to go to Mt. Kukutapada (to wait for Maitreya's coming), but may instead realize his enlightenment here in Japan. Therefore, Sakyamuni's fleshly body should still be warm now, and Kasyapa's smile should still be made anew. (*Denkoroku*, Chap. Mahakasyapa)

Here, Keizan Zenji urgently imparts to his assembly of practitioners that the principle of personal authentication is not simply understanding by way of intellectual thought, but rather that which ought to be activated by each individual through action or practice. This is, perhaps, the original meaning of the Buddha-dharma based on personal authentication.

I mentioned previously that the two patriarchs are like two different lenses. Unless both exist together in time, as prior and posterior, their focal points cannot become one. When two lenses are placed one before the other, one linked to the focal point of the other, distant objects are seen closer and small objects are seen larger. In order to provide a clear view of an object, however, another condition must be fulfilled, namely, the respective degrees of curvature for the two lenses must match perfectly. Similarly, when the two patriarchs overlap in time as prior and posterior in terms of personal authentication, the resulting picture of the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission is also conditional on their unity of thought and belief. Since the two patriarchs have hitherto been evaluated mainly in the context of the two head temples, the uniqueness of each patriarch in his

separate spatial dimension has been the only focus, whereas their identity through the dimension of temporal continuity has been rather neglected.

Although the two patriarchs are said to be unified as one, from the standpoint of personal authentication, we know, of course, that the successor-patriarch was not a duplicate of the original founder. Rather, he was an embodiment of the principle that “returning to the original tradition” equals “advancing into the historical future.” In order for a tradition to advance in history, it needs new creation. Keizan Zenji, as grand successor, embodies a new development in his own right, while also being a unique creation, as required by the original meaning of the Buddha-dharma of personal authentication. It is necessary to clarify the unique aspect of each patriarch based on separation within the spatial dimension. However, if the identicalness of the patriarchs in the dimension of temporal continuity is neglected due to overemphasis (of the former), this severs the thread of personal authentication that ensures continual development of the spiritual life of the Buddha. The result is then a failure to establish a common basis for spiritual Quiescence based on holistic unity of the two patriarchs for the sake of the school. It has previously been clarified that the two patriarchs are in continual linkage through the dimension of time, as prior and posterior, based on the principle of personal authentication. With respect to their thoughts and beliefs, there must therefore be an aspect of identity, just like two lenses with identical degrees of curvature. Since the purpose of this chapter is to clarify the unity of spirituality of the two patriarchs, we shall examine the aspect of identity, setting aside for the time being the aspect of uniqueness.

The basis of the successor-patriarch’s thought and belief is, of course, the topic of “the ordinary mind, that is the Way,” which has come to signify the moment of agreement between master and disciple. This is what every record conveys, but let us consider this reference to a familiar source like the *Records of Various Patriarchs of the Soto School*. There it is said:

One morning, the master listened to Tettsu Gikai’s lecture at his ascent to the Dharma hall. When Tettsu cited Chao-chou’s topic, “One’s original mind as it really is, is the Way,” [in that moment,] the master accomplished a great awakening. He at once declared: “I have it.” Tettsu Gikai questioned him, saying: “What have you realized?” The master replied: “Black balls run through the dark night.” Tettsu questioned him again: “Not clear. Explain again.” The master said: “At the time of tea, I drink tea; at the time of the rice meal, I eat rice meal.”

The phrase, “the original mind” (or the ordinary mind), that appeared for the first time in the *Ching-te Record of the Succession of the Flame*, was from Ma-tsu

Tao-i’s lecture given to his assembly. The twenty-eighth fascicle of this text comprises the following passage:

The Zen master Ta-chi Tao-i of Chiang-hsi province instructed his assembly, saying: “The Way does not require practice. You should simply be free from defilement. What is defilement? When you are controlled by the mind of life and death, whatever you do or desire, all is defiled. If you really wish to realize enlightenment at once, you should know that the original (ordinary) mind is itself the Way. The so-called original mind (or the ordinary mind) means the mind that is free from any form of action, neither proper nor improper, neither taking nor abandoning, neither temporary nor permanent, neither secular nor holy. The Sutra says that „this is not the action of an ordinary person, nor is it the action of the wise and holy, but it is the action of a Bodhisattva.” Just as you are now, do whatever you wish, departing, staying, sitting, or reclining. Respond to the moment of any event, meet anything as it happens; all these are the Way.

Keizan Zenji’s saying that “black balls run through the dark night” corresponds here to Ma-tzu’s statement in the earlier half where he defines what the original mind is: “The original mind means the mind free from any form of action, neither proper nor improper, and so on.” In replying to his master’s command, “Not clear, explain further,” Keizan Zenji said: “At the time of tea, I drink tea; at the time of the rice meal, I eat rice meal.” This corresponds to Ma-tzu’s second exposition: “Respond to the moment of any event, meet anything as it happens; all these are the Way.” The former is the definition with respect to the essence of Tao, while the latter explains the function of Tao. Keizan Zenji’s meaning matches exactly with that of Ma-tzu. In the latter’s word, the idea of a Bodhisattva’s action was introduced with reference to some scripture. I think this was very significant in the historical development of Zen thought. However, my concern here is not about this, but about the context in which the original mind is being spoken with reference to an action that is free from defilement.

As Mentioned before, the Zen dialogue that is most frequently cited and emphasized in the *Shobo Genzo* is one that was exchanged between the sixth patriarch Hui-neng and his disciple Nan-yueh about the relationship between “practice” and “realization” in terms of non-defilement. As noted, this idea of undefiled practice and realization became both the undefiled action that is the basis of the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission, and the Zazen that does not seek Buddha-hood. It follows that the successor-patriarch’s realization of the great matter was in direct touch with the fundamental basis of the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission. Moreover, this topic of original mind, which frequently appeared as

a Koan for Zazen in later periods, was again taken up as a familiar example by Chao-chou and Nan-ch'üan.

On another day, Chao-chou asked Nan-ch'üan: "What is this Way?" Nan-ch'üan replied: "The original mind, this is the Way." The master asked: "Should I be tendentious toward it or not?" Nan-ch'üan replied: "If you become tendentious toward it, you will be further away from it." The master asked again: "When I am not tendentious toward it, how can I know that this is the Way?" Nan-ch'üan replied: "The Way does not belong either to knowing or to not-knowing. Knowing entails an unreal perception. Not-knowing means uncertainty. If you truly realize the Way that is beyond doubt, it is like the Great Void, clear and vast. How could one possibly determine whether this is not the Way?" The master at once realized the way.

It is clearly expressed in this quotation that original mind means action that is free from defilement. Further, according to Dogen Zenji's specification, a passage in *the Manual of Zazen Practice for All*, it is said that: "Practice and realization are in themselves free from defilement. Even if you are tendentious, this too is of the original mind." Moreover, in the fascicle of *Transnormal Power*, he (Dogen) directly defines that "Non-defilement means the original mind." Again, since not being tendentious means a state of non-defilement, Keizan Zenji's understanding is precise, particularly as he explains in the *Denkoroku*, as follows: "You can explain it as „Mind,“ „Nature,“ „Zen“ or „Way.“ However, all of these, without exception, cannot escape from being tendentious. Should you become tendentious, no sooner then, there shall be nothing but white clouds for thousands of miles." This passage too explains the original mind as free from defilement.

What should be noted in the quoted dialogue between Chao-chou and Nan-ch'üan is the latter's reply, namely: "The way does not belong either to knowing or to not-knowing." We cannot neglect this particular point, because, from the point of view of Zen thought, this reply is in exact parallel to Eisai Zenji's reply to Dogen Zenji, who attended Eisai's assembly in his early days. Eisai Zenji's reply was the topic of "cats and oxen," and was concerned with Nan-ch'üan's reply of knowing and not-knowing. Setting this aside for a moment, Dogen Zenji and Keizan Zenji not only had something in common that underlay their thoughts, but were also linked in other ways. According to the *Denkoroku*, Tien-tung's topic of "occasion," which was concerned with "something that has never been defiled," happened to relate to the subject matter of the dialogue exchanged between Dogen Zenji and Eisai Zenji. The topic of the dialogue became his (Keizan Zenji's) driving motivational force for Zen study and practice, and eventually precipitated the fundamental thought of the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission.

Here, a consistent line in development of thought can be traced from the sixth patriarch down through Keizan Zenji. Although this subject matter requires further study and practice in thought on the history of the Zen sectarian tradition, I will not pursue this matter further here.

It has been clarified that both patriarchs, founder and successor, shared something in common at the foundation of their thought. For this reason, there must be natural agreement between the two, not only with respect to the unique Zen tradition inculcated by the founding patriarch as Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission, but also with respect to the natural development of this fundamental thought. Let us therefore examine the major aspects of their agreement.

Dogen Zenji upheld his unique assertion of Buddha-dharma as Japanese Buddhism, and repudiated the idea of Buddha-dharma based on the doctrine of the degenerate final period. His standpoint was that the concept of three periods is not concerned with time but with the quality of human beings. Keizan Zenji also declared a similar thought, saying:

From India down to our country, the three periods have been differentiated as the time of right Dharma, the time of its shadow image, and the time of its total absence. However, the wise and holy who accomplished the result of enlightenment filled mountains and oceans. Hence, you practitioners are no different from those ancient sages, for you are endowed equally with the faculty of seeing and hearing. Wherever you go, you should assert this point, that you are one of those ancients. (*Denkoroku*, Chap. Sanavasa)

Further, he says in the same text (Chap. Liang-shan Yuan-kuan):

There is no difference in the primary cause of Buddha's appearance, (because it happens, irrespective of) whichever of the three periods it may be in; nor is there any difference [geographically], be it in India, China, or in Japan. Therefore, there is no reason to be disheartened about the last period or the degenerate era. Nor should you dislike yourself for being a resident of a distant peripheral land. (*Ibidem*, Chap. Liang-shan Yuan-kuan).

Again, he says:

You should not throw away uselessly your body and mind. Everyone, without exception, is a vessel of the Way. Every day is a good day. (*Ibidem*, Chap. Parsva)

Keizan Zenji agrees again (with Dogen Zenji) in taking a critical attitude toward the traditions of the five houses and seven sects of Zen from the standpoint of the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission, saying:

Oh, Practitioners, do not dispute among sectarian advocates of the five houses and seven traditions. Just see clearly the nature of the mind. This is the true Dharma of all Buddhas. Why quarrel about yourself and others? You must not distinguish superior or inferior by means of disputation. (*Ibidem*, Chap. Tou-tzu I-ching).

The so-called plucking of a flower stalk event has been transmitted exclusively through generations of patriarchs, and has not been shown to any outsiders. Therefore, not only scholars of scriptures and of treatises, but even many Zen practitioners do not understand it. (*Ibidem*, Ch. Mahakasyapa)

Keizan Zenji not only criticized prejudices derived from mutual antithesis among the five houses and seven traditions of Zen, but, saying that “even many Zen practitioners do not know this,” also rejected simultaneously scholars of scriptures and treatises and Zen practitioners as a whole. This rejection ought, obviously, to be understood from the standpoint of the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission.

Now, there should be no discrepancy between the two patriarchs with respect to the meaning of Zazen itself, because Dogen Zenji did not recommend Satori-oriented Zazen, advocating instead the Zazen that does not seek Buddha-hood. In this regard, Keizan Zenji also clearly expressed the same idea in the beginning of his *Zazen Yojinki* (*Notes of Caution for Zazen Practice*) as follows: “(Emphasis on) so-called „experience” (or realization) entails Satori-orientation as a rule. This mental orientation is not for Zazen.”

Further, he described the (Hinayana) principle of “cutting off delusion and realizing truth” as follows:

The practice is nothing but purposive and goal-oriented, and hence will not after all accomplish anything free from defilement like the state of Buddhahood. Therefore, whatever results from goal-orientation necessarily returns to the (defiled) root or former state. Whatever the form of spiritual pursuit may be, insofar as it is a goal-oriented Zen practice, it invariably belongs to this vain type (*Denkoroku*, Ch. Micchaka)

Keizan Zenji’s elucidation with respect to non-purposive Zazen is in fact closely parallel to Dogen Zenji’s idea, as expressed in his *Zazenshin* (*Warning on Zazen Practice*), rejecting the goal-oriented Zazen that backslides into the former state. Moreover, his critical commentary on the trend of Zen in China is as sharp as Dogen Zenji’s criticism, as is evidenced in his *Denkoroku*:

In recent times, the practitioners who attend the Zen session seem to have lost their way, running around in the world of sound and sight, seeking a solution [only] through hearing and seeing. Thus,

chanting from memory the words of Buddhas and those of patriarchs, they become further entangled in the meanings of these words on the way to understanding. Saying that there is neither in India nor in Ts’ao-chi in China, they still do not understand what they seek. In such a state, even if one shaves the head, dyes the color of the robe, and fashions one’s look to match the Buddha’s features, how could one come out quickly from the dungeon of the three-fold worlds? How could one halt transmigration back and forth through the six-fold cycles of existence? A pity, how men like this vainly hang their patched robes on blocks of wood.

Moreover, regarding the Zazen of authentic transmission, Keizan Zenji defines the characteristic of Zazen in the very beginning of his *Zazen Yojinki* as follows:

In general, Zazen dictates directly that men should clarify the [original] state of their mind, and helps them settle in that state in peace. This is called “revealing one’s own [original] facial appearance,” and is also referred to as “manifesting the Buddha nature of the original state, where both the body and mind are cast away, transcending both sitting and lying, and so forth.”

The above passage does not require explanation. Just reading it is sufficient to understand why it is an exposition on the Zazen of authentic transmission. Let us now select from the text of *Zazen-yojinki* those words and phrases that reveal characteristics of the hitherto studied Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission. The following excerpts invariably tell us what the intended practice of Zazen is:

There is a marvelous way of practice for the ultimate spiritual quiescence and non-defilement. This method is called Zazen. Namely, this is the Samadhi that all Buddhas enjoy for their own sake. Also, this is the Samadhi of all Samadhis.

Simply abiding firmly in the Samadhi that Buddhas use and receive for themselves.

One should know well that this is the right gate of the Buddha-dharma.

Zazen means casting away body and mind, throwing away delusion as well as enlightenment.

Do not try to become a Buddha, nor try to judge good or bad.

“Neither thinking nor not-thinking” (i.e., other than both thinking and not-thinking), this is the essential key to the practice of Zazen.

Just examining these sayings is sufficient to suggest where overall meaning is likely to be found.

Again, Keizan Zenji speaks of the set of criteria we have used to clarify the essential meaning of the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission, namely, „teaching,”

„action“ and „experience.“ His following statement points to the essential meaning of Dogen Zenji’s spirituality:

In general, Zazen is not classified as part of teaching, or practice, or experience, and yet it bears all these virtues within itself.

This definition of Zazen is nothing but an emphasis of the non-duality between ultimate meaning, exposition, and practice.

From the foregoing evidence, we can ascertain that the founding patriarch, Dogen Zenji, and the successor-patriarch, Keizan Zenji, were linked through the principle of personal authentication, prior and posterior in time. Further, they stood in exact agreement not only in the basis of their thought and belief, but also in their style of Zen, matching as perfectly as a vessel and its lid. Throughout his life, Keizan Zenji advocated the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission of Eihei Dogen, and also instructed his disciples in concentration on this singular subject. Thus, he says in the Chapter Fu-jung Tao-k’ai in the *Denkoroku* as follows:

Oh, practitioners of this assembly, you should be grateful for being distant descendants of Zen Master Fu-jung Tao-k’ai and family members of the school of Eihei Dogen. You ought to clearly discern the original state of the mind and attend carefully to it in detail. Without even the smallest hair of interest in fame and gain, without even a minuscule dust particle of pride and conceit, you should sustain in detail the way of dealing with your mind and governing your physical deportment. Reach what you ought to reach, penetrate what you ought to penetrate, and thus manage the matter of life-long practice. Do not forget what you have been entrusted with by your preceding patriarchs. Follow in the footsteps of former sages and exchange eye contact with former awakened masters. Even if it be the period of degeneration in the history of *Dharma*, you will be able to see a tiger in the market place.

It is apparent that the foregoing statement must have inspired disciples to heighten their self-awareness as members of Eihei Dogen’s spiritual tradition. Further, the admonition embodies precisely what the founding patriarch advised in the record of the *Zuimonki* (fasc. 1), saying: “Despite the pretext that this is the period of degeneration of the *Dharma*, if you do not now resolve your mind to seek enlightenment in this life, in what other

life circumstance could you accomplish the way?” Again, in the last chapter of the *Denkoroku*, Keizan Zenji’s words of encouragement, made in reference to the second patriarch Ejo, must have struck each of his student practitioners, penetrating them to the bone and marrow. The words are as follows:

In general, if you adhere to the *Dharma* with grave import, much as master Ejo ruled his actions, and if you promulgate the virtues, much as the master truthfully effected, there should be no place in all Japan where the tradition does not come to flourish; heaven and earth will come to follow without exception the tradition of Eihei Dogen. If your application of the method of the mind is like that of former predecessors, the future spread of the tradition will be successful, just as it has been in great Sung China.

Regarding the topic of the plucking of a flower stalk with a smile, which fundamentally symbolizes the moment of *Dharma* succession and personal authentication, Keizan Zenji expressed his thought, saying:

“If you strive hard today in the practice of way-faring (or in pursuit of the Way), Kasyapa may not have to go to Mt. Kukkutapada (to wait for Maitreya’s coming), but may instead realize his enlightenment here in Japan. Therefore, Sakyamuni’s fleshly body should still be warm now, and Kasyapa’s smile should still be made anew” (Chap. Mahakasyapa).

Also, in the final chapter, as just quoted above, Keizan Zenji says: “there should be no place in all Japan where the tradition does not come to flourish,” and “heaven and earth will come to follow without exception the tradition of Eihei Dogen.” Accordingly, there is no doubt that Keizan Zenji’s intention, which permeates all of the *Denkoroku*, was to emphasize Eihei’s tradition. Thus, under the assembly of the successor-patriarch Keizan Zenji, there were produced many great leaders who propagated the Buddha-dharma of authentic transmission across all of Japan. The vow of the second patriarch was thus accomplished here, and it was predicted by the successor-patriarch that “the future spread of the tradition would be successful, just as it has been in great Sung China,” eventually bringing a great religious order into the present day.

From the Glossary (p. 666): Koso (高祖) and Taiso (太祖): Respectively the primary founding patriarch and the successive consolidating patriarch or the primary founder and the grand successor. These are difficult terms to translate from the point of religious order. Originally they applied to distinguish the imperial dynastic positions in China. Koso designates a dynastic ancestor or originator who built the basis of an empire, while Taiso designates another but a grand successor who successfully consolidated the actual empire. Dogen Zenji was the forefather or initial patriarch in theory as well as in practice, whereas Keizan Zenji was the grand organizer successor in the network of Soto Zen practitioners and their temples.

Abstract: Dōgen (1200–1253) occupies a prominent place in the history of Japanese religions as the founder of the Sōtō school of Zen Buddhism. This essay examines the religious rituals and historical vicissitudes that helped elevate Dōgen to his present position of prominence. It uses the example of Dōgen to illustrate how new historical identities are constructed in response to social imperatives and institutional struggles. It argues that we cannot fully understand Japanese religions in general and Sōtō Zen in particular unless we become more sensitive to the ways that these historical, social, and institutional factors shape our received images of the past.

Today Dōgen (1200–1253) is remembered as the founder of the Sōtō school of Buddhism. As such, he is afforded high status as one of the most significant Buddhists in Japanese history. His image adorns countless altars in temples and households affiliated with the Sōtō school. He is the subject of numerous biographies and studies. His works are available in multiple editions and translations. His ideas are taught in university classrooms, in and outside Japan, as being representative of Japanese spirituality. In these respects, he exemplifies many aspects of founder worship, a practice widespread among sectarian religious organizations in Japan. The remembrance of Dōgen, the ways his memory has been used and developed over time, illustrates not just the importance of founder worship in Japanese religious history but also the structures that give it life. However great his personal religious charisma while alive, Dōgen was never prominent. After his death, he soon faded into obscurity. He would have remained forgotten but for several specific ritual techniques that brought his memory back to life, imbued it with mythic qualities, and then exploited its power. The rural monastery Eiheiji in particular aggrandized Dōgen to bolster its own authority vis-à-vis its institutional rivals within the Sōtō denomination. The power of ritual memory enabled Eiheiji to command tremendous respect and authority without actually possessing great wealth or power (analogous, somewhat, to Japan's royal house during the medieval period). In this essay I trace the history of the remembrance of Dōgen and the special importance it has held for Eiheiji, and for Eiheiji's status within the Sōtō Zen school, the religious order that looks to Dōgen as its founder.

Today the Sōtō Zen school constitutes the largest single religious denomination in Japan. In this statement, one must emphasize the word *single*. Pure Land Buddhism boasts a greater number of temples—about 30,000—but they are divided among some ten (or more) separate legal entities, the largest of which (Jōdo Shinshū

Honganjiha) commands the allegiance of about 10,000 temples. Sōtō Zen, in contrast, consists of more than 14,000 temples and monasteries, all of which coexist within a single institutional structure.¹ Unlike every other Buddhist denomination in Japan, this single organization recognizes not just one, but two separate head temples: Eiheiji and Sōjiji.² Only one of these two temples, Eiheiji, owes its existence to Dōgen. Not only did Dōgen found the temple complex that evolved into Eiheiji, but after his death Dōgen's memory or, rather, the exploitation of that memory has ensured Eiheiji's survival and growth for more than 700 years. Without special efforts by Eiheiji's leaders to promote Eiheiji as the sacred locus for worship of Dōgen, it is doubtful if Eiheiji could have survived, much less thrived, as the head temple of the Sōtō school. To understand the precarious nature of Eiheiji's position, one need merely examine the affiliations of temples within the Sōtō Zen denomination (see Table 1).

During the Tokugawa period, the Sōtō denomination consisted of more than 17,500 temples. These were grouped into networks identified with the dharma lineages of prominent monks. Of these temples, the military government (shogunate) ordered temple factions affiliated with the dharma lines of the monks Giin (centered at Daijiji and Fusaiji monasteries) and Meihō Sotetsu (Daijōji monastery) to affiliate with Eiheiji. The addition of these two network lines gave Eiheiji a total of about 1,300 affiliated temples. The approximately 16,200 remaining Sōtō temples were affiliated with Sōjiji.³ Today, of the 14,000 Sōtō Zen temples in modern Japan, only 148 have direct ties to Eiheiji.⁴ Of these 148, approximately one-third are minor temples located in Hokkaido, where they were founded after the Meiji government began colonization of that island at the end of the nineteenth century. Of the temples outside Hokkaido, only five or six maintained any formal relationship to Eiheiji prior to the Tokugawa-period reorganization of Sōtō temple relationships that was ordered by the military government.⁵

Table 1
Number of Japanese Sōtō Temples Affiliated with Each Head Institution

	Eiheiji	Sōjiji	Total Number of Temples
Tokugawa Period (circa 1750)	1,300	16,200	17,500
Today (circa 1980)	148	13,850	14,000

In other words, almost all Sōtō temples, directly or indirectly, are affiliated with Sōjiji, not with Eiheiiji. Sōjiji is a true head temple (honzan) in the sense that it stands at the head of thousands of branch and subbranch temples (matsuji). Eiheiiji is a head temple in name only, without any institutional ties to the vast majority of Sōtō branch temples. Sōtō clerics sometimes describe this situation by saying that Sōjiji is “head of all Sōtō temple lineages” (jitō no honzan) while Eiheiiji is “head of all Sōtō dharma lineages” (hōtō no honzan).⁶

This statement warrants closer examination. The assertion that “Sōjiji is the head of all Sōtō temple lineages” concerns like terms, in that it says that one particular religious institution (Sōjiji) enjoys special institutional relationships with other religious institutions. The statement that “Eiheiiji is the head of all Sōtō dharma lineages,” however, mixes unlike terms, in that it ties a physical institution to the abstract religious concept of dharma lineages. In this equation, Eiheiiji itself acquires abstract symbolic significance by standing at the beginning of a religious interpretation of Sōtō history, in which all Sōtō priests inherit spiritual authority through a diachronic genealogy that can be traced back to Dōgen. Its symbolic power rests on a refusal to admit any distinction between this religious image of Dōgen as an ancient originator and Eiheiiji’s synchronic sovereignty over the ways other institutions can use that image. Eiheiiji thus has been able to maintain its status as head temple of the entire Sōtō order by portraying itself as the embodiment of that order’s collective memory of Dōgen.

For the past 500 years or more, Eiheiiji’s leaders have employed a variety of strategies to exploit Dōgen’s memory. They have sought the endorsement of the royal court, demanded attendance at memorial services for Dōgen, asserted that only Eiheiiji maintained the traditional practices advocated by Dōgen, placed their imprimatur on publications of Dōgen’s writings, organized celebrations of Dōgen’s birth, and promoted scholarship concerning Dōgen. Extant sources do not document every step in the evolution of these strategies, but they provide sufficient details to offer us a view of how the promotion of Dōgen served the institutional needs of Eiheiiji. Even a brief examination of the development of these strategies will help us better understand how Dōgen and the concept of “Dōgen Zen” acquired such importance for Sōtō Zen teachings and such prominence in modern accounts of Japanese religious history.

Royal Endorsements

Of these various strategies, none was more important than currying favor with the royal court.⁷ Eiheiiji always has been poor, geographically isolated, and without

extensive land holdings or wealthy patrons. Nonetheless, according to entries in the diary of the court noble Nakamikado Nobutane (1442–1525), in 1507 the abbot of Eiheiiji succeeded in having the court award his temple with calligraphy for a gate plaque that proclaimed Eiheiiji to be the “Number One Training Center of Our Kingdom’s Sōtō Lineage” (honchō Sōtō daiichi dōjō).⁸ Receipt of this plaque constituted not just royal proclamation of Eiheiiji’s preeminence, but signified the establishment of new financial arrangements with the court. In the same way that the warrior government (bakufu) received payments for each inauguration of an honorary abbot at one of the official Five Mountains (gozan) Zen monasteries, henceforth the court received payment for each honorary abbot at Eiheiiji.⁹ This arrangement enriched Eiheiiji as well, since it also collected fees for each honor. Monks who paid sufficient fees could receive not just the honorary title of “former abbot of Eiheiiji” (Eihei senjū), but also the prestigious purple robe (the royal color) as well as bestowal of a royal Zen master title (zenji gō). Eiheiiji used the fees collected for these honors to erect new monastic buildings or to rebuild ones that had been damaged by winter snows or fires. Throughout the medieval period, Eiheiiji repeatedly sought to finance monastic construction projects by issuing solicitations for more Sōtō monks to seek honorary titles.¹⁰

Today no records survive to tell us how Eiheiiji won court recognition. We cannot know with certainty even the names of Eiheiiji’s leaders at that time. Our only clues concerning Eiheiiji’s relations with the court, therefore, are found in the wording of the royal proclamations by which the court awarded Zen master titles to abbots of Eiheiiji.¹¹ These proclamations name the title itself, such as “Zen Master of Great Merit in the Legitimate Tradition” (Daikō Shōden Zenji, awarded in 1509), as well as a brief statement praising the recipient of the award. These words of praise probably reflect the terminology suggested by Eiheiiji, since the court would not have been familiar with either the honoree or the Zen vocabulary used to praise him. Significantly, many proclamations—especially the earliest ones—specifically praised the recipients as being the “legitimate descendants of Dōgen” (Dōgen no tekison). The repeated use of this phrase suggests that Eiheiiji’s status rested on its being recognized as Dōgen’s monastery.¹²

Eiheiiji subsequently cited its royal recognition whenever its status as head temple was threatened, both in its many struggles with Sōjiji and during the reorganizations of religious institutions that occurred under the Tokugawa and Meiji regimes. Eiheiiji’s attempts to raise funds by granting honorary titles, however, suffered from one major weakness: payments for these titles had to come from outside Eiheiiji. In other

words, they required the cooperation of monks from temples that were affiliated with other factions, such as Sōjiji. Naturally Sōjiji's leaders worked hard to insure that cooperation would not be forthcoming. Sōjiji recruited many times the number of honorary abbots as did Eiheiiji, and it issued orders forbidding monks from its branch temples from seeking honors at Eiheiiji. It even sought to prevent temples outside the Sōtō order from recognizing purple robes awarded at Eiheiiji. Among Sōjiji's branch temples, only those affiliated with the Ryōan faction proved defiant and continued to seek honorary titles at Eiheiiji. In exchange for their financial donations, though, the Ryōan leaders demanded that Eiheiiji refuse to grant honors to monks from rival factions.¹³

Memorial Services

The second most prominent strategy used to link Eiheiiji to Dōgen's memory is memorial services. It is these services more than any other event that eventually came to emphasize Eiheiiji's status as head of all Sōtō dharma lineages. In stark contrast to their subsequent importance, however, there is no evidence that Dōgen memorial services assumed a role of any importance during Eiheiiji's early history. In fact, there is no documentary evidence for any Dōgen memorial service at all until after the passage of 350 years.

Surely memorial services must have been observed. We know, for example, that the Eiheiiji community observed memorial services for Dōgen's teacher Rujing (Japanese, Nyojō; 1163–1227) during the years 1246 to 1252 while Dōgen was alive.¹⁴ Likewise, the recorded sayings of the Sōtō monk Giun (n. d.), who became abbot of Eiheiiji in 1314, include reference to the thirty-third memorial service that he observed in 1331 for his teacher, Jakuen (1207–99).¹⁵ This reference is important because it demonstrates observance at Eiheiiji of the standard Chinese sequence of memorial services on the third, seventh, thirteenth, and thirty-third years.¹⁶ More important, a memorial hall specifically for Dōgen, the Jōyōan (since renamed Jōyōden), was erected at Eiheiiji shortly after his death.¹⁷ It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that regular memorial services for Dōgen were a standard part of Eiheiiji's annual calendar of events even before the 350-year memorial.¹⁸

At the same time, we must also note that Dōgen's memorial hall, the Jōyōan, was not the only one found at Eiheiiji during the medieval period. A memorial hall (called the Reibaiin) for Giun also existed. As mentioned above, Giun became abbot of Eiheiiji in 1314. In so doing, he established control over Eiheiiji by members of the Jakuen lineage.¹⁹ According to a 1495 inventory of Eiheiiji's endowment, the Reibaiin derived income from lands covering about two and a half times as much area as

the lands of the Jōyōan. The inventory further reveals that while the Jōyōan's endowment consisted only of land donated immediately following Dōgen's death, the Reibaiin had repeatedly received donations of additional land over a period of many years.²⁰ Therefore, based on the lack of records concerning memorials for Dōgen and on the substantially greater wealth of Reibaiin, one can conclude that medieval-period leaders at Eiheiiji placed more emphasis on memorial services for Giun (i.e., for ancestors of their own Jakuen line) than for Dōgen.

About the same time that Giun served as abbot at Eiheiiji, another Sōtō monk named Keizan Jōkin (1264 – 1324) strove to promote memorial services for Dōgen. Keizan's base of operations, however, was not Dōgen's Eiheiiji, but Yōkōji, a new temple he had just founded in Noto Province. In 1323 Keizan erected a memorial hall (the Dentōin) at Yōkōji, in which he enshrined relics from the previous four ancestors of his lineage: Dōgen's teacher, Rujing; Dōgen; Dōgen's disciple, Ejō (1198–1280); and Ejō's disciple (i.e., Keizan's teacher), Gikai (1219–1309). Keizan ordered that all Sōtō monks must revere these ancestors and contribute to memorial services held in their honor at Yōkōji so that Yōkōji might function as the new head temple of the Sōtō order.²¹ The fact that mandatory attendance at memorial services figured so prominently in Keizan's plans for empowering Yōkōji should alert us to the ultimate significance of memorial halls. In Keizan's eyes they sacralized a temple by giving concrete form to the abstract concept of dharma lineage, and in so doing they commanded support from other temples associated with monks in that same lineage. At this time in medieval Japan, many new religious orders coalesced around rites of shared worship at their founders' mausoleums. For example, among Pure Land devotees, the grave site of Hōnen (1133 – 1212) at the Chion'in temple became the center of the new Jōdoshū, and the grave site of Shinran (1173–1262) at the future Honganji temple became the center of the Jōdo Shinshū.²² Keizan's ambitions for Yōkōji nonetheless failed. As mentioned above, it was not Yōkōji but Sōjiji that rose to power as the head temple of the Sōtō order.²³

Keizan's activities at Yōkōji did produce one important result, however. They helped to popularize observation of memorial services for Dōgen throughout Japan. The written liturgical calendar that Keizan implemented at Yōkōji naturally included instructions for Dōgen memorials. This calendar, the Tōkoku gyōji jijo (later known as the Keizan shingi), eventually was widely imitated by monks at other Sōtō temples, both within and outside Keizan's lineage. In this way, by the middle of the sixteenth century many, but certainly not all, Sōtō centers for monastic training observed annual memorial services for Dōgen.²⁴

An Eiheiiji abbot named Monkaku (d. 1615) organized the first notable memorial service for Dōgen, which occurred in 1602 to mark the three hundred fiftieth memorial. This service was noteworthy because Monkaku organized a fund-raising campaign to finance it and because he used these proceeds to rebuild Eiheiiji's main gate (*sanmon*). Sometime during the 1570s many of Eiheiiji's buildings were destroyed or damaged by fire.²⁵ Since that time, many of them had been rebuilt by Monkaku's predecessors, who relied primarily on funds raised through the awarding of honorary titles. Monkaku also raised funds with that method: his first known act as abbot of Eiheiiji was his 1599 appeal for temples to nominate more monks for titles so that Eiheiiji might be rebuilt.²⁶ Linking the rebuilding of Eiheiiji to Dōgen's memorial, however, created a powerful new fund-raising tool. It provided a convenient deadline that encouraged other temples to donate funds sooner rather than later.

Monkaku's decision to emphasize the importance of Dōgen's memorial might very well be related to the fact that he was the first abbot at Eiheiiji in 300 years who was not affiliated with the Jakuen line. Monkaku was an outsider from the Kanto region of eastern Japan, originally affiliated with a temple network known as the Tenshin lineage faction. As an outsider, his only link to Eiheiiji was through the fact that both the Tenshin lineage and the Jakuen lineage shared Dōgen as a common ancestor. Dōgen's memory provided the necessary link that gave Monkaku the status to assume office at Eiheiiji.²⁷

After Monkaku, Dōgen's memorial services became a major source of revenue for Eiheiiji. The memorial services observed at 50-year intervals in particular provided crucial opportunities for Eiheiiji to assert and rebuild itself. For this reason, the history of Eiheiiji during the Tokugawa period can be told largely in terms of Eiheiiji's observances of major memorials for Dōgen.²⁸ For example, in 1652, for Dōgen's four hundredth memorial, hundreds of monks gathered at Eiheiiji for ten days of ceremonies. The *san.gha* hall (*sōdō*, where residents sleep, eat, and meditate), bath (*furo*), and main gate along with its images of arhats (*rakan*) were either rebuilt or substantially repaired. Eiheiiji also built a new scripture library (*kyōzō*) and received a copy of the recently printed Tō Eizan (i.e., Tenkai) edition of the Buddhist canon.²⁹ In 1702, for the four hundred fiftieth memorial, Eiheiiji raised funds to rebuild its buddha hall (*butsuden*), its *san.gha* hall, its corridors (*ryōrō*), its study hall (*sōryō*), its guest quarters (*hinkan*), and a new memorial hall (*tōin*) for Dōgen. In 1752 for the five hundredth memorial 23,700 monks gathered at Eiheiiji for the ceremonies. The main gate was rebuilt yet again.³⁰ In 1802 for the five hundred fiftieth memorial Eiheiiji rebuilt its *san.gha* hall and its study hall. In 1852 for the six hundredth memorial

Eiheiiji rebuilt its retired monks' dormitory (*furōkaku*) and its scripture library. It also cast a large bronze monastic bell (*daibonshō*). In 1902 for the six hundred fiftieth memorial Eiheiiji rebuilt its buddha hall, its *san.gha* hall, and its infirmary (*chōjuin*). Major repairs were made to its kitchen office (*kuin*) and other buildings. Eiheiiji again cast a large bronze monastic bell. The bell that had been cast 50 years earlier for the previous memorial service had disappeared for some undisclosed reason.³¹ (Perhaps it had been confiscated by the government following the Meiji Restoration of 1868.)

The 1902 memorial service was significant as the first major Dōgen memorial of the new Meiji period. Only about 300 monks participated in the services, but over the course of the months leading up to the ceremonies and during the ceremonies themselves, about 30,000 lay people visited Eiheiiji. Therefore, compared to previous occasions during the Tokugawa period (such as 1752 when 23,700 monks are said to have participated), the number of monks in attendance had decreased dramatically, but the number of lay people had increased exponentially.³² The participation of large numbers of lay people in Dōgen memorial services had begun in the 1830s. Saian Urin (1768–1845), who served as Eiheiiji's abbot from 1827 to 1844, actively encouraged the formation of lay fraternities (known as *Kichijōkō*) dedicated specifically to Dōgen's memory throughout Japan. These fraternities existed for the purpose of sending representatives to Eiheiiji every year to participate in Dōgen's memorial.³³ By 1902, therefore, the practice of lay pilgrimage to Eiheiiji had become well established.

Dōgen memorials have continued down to the present. The seven hundredth occurred in 1952 just seven years after the end of the Fifteen-years War (*jūgonen sensō*; i.e., 1931–45). At that time Japan still had not recovered economically from its wartime devastation and defeat. For this reason, major new building projects were out of the question. In place of buildings, Eiheiiji decided to sponsor publications about Dōgen. Its leaders drew up a list of the types of works they wanted to publish: Dōgen's writings; commentaries on those writings; academic books about Dōgen; a dictionary of Dōgen's vocabulary; and biographies of Dōgen. Ultimately, 16 monographs related to Dōgen were published.³⁴ The seven hundred fiftieth memorial was commemorated by a newly commissioned kabuki play, *Dōgen no tsuki* (Dōgen's moon, by Tatematsu Wahei), which was performed at theaters in many of Japan's major cities.

War has not been the only historical calamity that restricted Eiheiiji's ability to stage memorials for Dōgen. Earlier, during the Tokugawa period, agricultural famines, government policies, and conflicts with its rival

head temple, Sōjiji, had severely limited the scope of the five hundred fiftieth and six hundredth memorials in 1802 and 1852. Beginning in 1774 the Agency of Temples and Shrines began to restrict direct solicitations of donations by Buddhist temples because of the economic burdens they placed on the country's economy.³⁵ These restrictions applied to Eiheiiji and to Sōjiji equally, of course, but hurt Eiheiiji more because of its relatively small economic base. In 1788 Sōjiji, in order to preserve its own economic base, ordered that monks in Gasan's lineage (i.e., the lineage of all the temples affiliated with Sōjiji) could no longer seek monastic titles from Eiheiiji. In other words, just when the government would no longer allow Eiheiiji to solicit funds, its revenue from honorary titles also dried up.

Sōjiji's new policy had one more important implication. Until this time the warrior government had appointed new abbots to Eiheiiji from three Kanto-area Sōtō temples (the so-called Kan sansetsu) which remained affiliated with Sōjiji. Therefore, after Sōjiji forbade its monks from receiving honors at Eiheiiji, none of the senior monks from those three Kanto temples would accept a government appointment to Eiheiiji. As a result, Eiheiiji's abbotship went vacant for three years between 1792 and 1795.³⁶ At the beginning of 1795 Eiheiiji had no abbot, no fund-raising campaign, and almost no income from honorary titles. Dōgen's five hundred fiftieth memorial would occur in 1802, just seven years away. In 1795, therefore, any neutral outside observer probably would have concluded that Eiheiiji would be unable to afford any special events or special constructions.

Traditional Practices

Eiheiiji escaped from this crisis by asserting that it alone preserved the traditional monastic practices that had been taught by Dōgen. In 1795 Gentō Sokuchū (1729–1807) assumed office as Eiheiiji's new abbot. Sokuchū had been affiliated to the Meihō line (via Entsūji), a lineage whose members had fought against Sōjiji in the past. Once he entered Eiheiiji, Sokuchū immediately began working to restore his new monastery's fund-raising capabilities. He wrote a series of long missives to the Agency of Temples and Shrines in which he argued three main points (summarized from the original documents):

1. Eiheiiji must be recognized as the single, unequalled comprehensive head temple (sōhonzan) of all Sōtō dharma lineages in Japan. This status had been granted to Eiheiiji by the court in medieval times. Sōjiji is wrong to deny it. Therefore, Sōtō monks in Gasan's dharma lineage must be allowed to appear at Eiheiiji for honorary titles.

2. In accordance with the regulations established by the Eastern Shining Divine Ruler (Tōshō Shinkun, i.e., Tokugawa Ieyasu, 1542–1616), all Sōtō monks in Japan must adhere to Eiheiiji's house rules (kakun, standards).³⁷ Recently, however, the monastic ceremonies performed by Japanese Sōtō monks have become corrupted by influences from —~~new~~ styles of monastic regulations based on Chinese Ming-dynasty elaborations" (Minchō karei no shinki). Japanese Sōtō monks have been turning their backs on Eihei's standards (Eihei no kakun, i.e., Dōgen's teachings). In so doing, they are unfilial. This unfilial behavior must be reformed. Sōtō monks who refuse to adhere to Dōgen's old regulations (koki) should be punished by the government.

3. In order to reform Sōtō monks, it is absolutely necessary that Eiheiiji be allowed to build a new san.gha hall and study hall in accordance with Dōgen's old regulations. The new san.gha hall and study hall must be ready in time for Dōgen's five hundred fiftieth memorial in 1802. Dōgen wrote that he (i.e., Dōgen) had erected the first san.gha hall ever built in Japan. Therefore an old-style san.gha hall constitutes the very basis of Dōgen's Buddhism. For these reasons, (Sokuchū argued) Eiheiiji must be permitted to raise funds for these important construction projects. Otherwise, Eiheiiji will be unable either to uphold its court-recognized status or to adhere to the dictates of the divine ruler (Tokugawa Ieyasu).³⁸

Gentō Sokuchū's arguments carried the day. In 1801 the Agency of Temples and Shrines authorized Eiheiiji to implement Dōgen's old regulations by building a new san.gha hall and study hall. Sokuchū immediately compiled new monastic regulations that would explain how ceremonies, including Dōgen's memorial services, were supposed to be performed in accordance with his so-called old standards. In 1803 he published these new regulations in three fascicles as Eihei shō shingi (Eihei's little regulations). The word —*Hei*” in this title simultaneously refers to Eiheiiji monastery and to Dōgen as the founder of that monastery. Moreover, the title as a whole alluded to a compilation of temple regulations attributed to Dōgen, popularly known as Eihei shingi (Dōgen's regulations), that Sokuchū had published in 1799 during his negotiations with the government.³⁹ With these two publications, Sokuchū established Eiheiiji's reputation as the center for ancient monastic traditions, which he identified as the ancient unchanging essence of Zen itself.

The timing of these events is very significant. Sokuchū's Eihei shō shingi was published in 1803, but the procedures it described had been implemented at Eiheiiji in time for the five hundred fiftieth Dōgen memorial in 1802. One can easily imagine how the —*ai*” procedures would have impressed visitors. Senior monks

from Sōtō temples throughout Japan came to Eihei-ji to participate in the memorial rites. In previous years they had few occasions to think about Dōgen. Throughout this year, however, they had to work to raise money for the journey on behalf of Dōgen's memory. At Eihei-ji they experienced a new form of monastic practice, unlike what they performed at home. They found a new *san-gha* hall and new study hall, both of which differed in many ways from what they had known at their home temples. The daily routine of ceremonies and the memorial services also differed. These differences impressed upon them Eihei-ji's unique status and authority. The assertion that Eihei-ji alone preserved the traditional monastic practices that had been taught by Dōgen was not just rhetoric. The visiting monks were made to experience it for themselves. Their eyes, ears, and bodies told them Eihei-ji was unique. They discovered in Dōgen's memory a new importance for his temple.

Eihei-ji used these same tactics for the five hundred fiftieth Dōgen memorial in 1852. At that time Gaun Dōryū (a.k.a. Kamimura Dōryū, 1796–1871) served as Eihei-ji's abbot. In 1850 he sent a detailed missive to the Agency of Temples and Shrines in which he repeated the same assertions mentioned above, especially that all Sōtō monks in Japan must adhere to Eihei-ji's house rules (*kakun*, standards) as dictated by the Eastern Shining Divine Ruler (Tokugawa Ieyasu). He also added a new twist. According to Dōryū, Eihei-ji's house rules demand that all monks wear Buddhist robes that accord with the dharma" (*nyohōe*). Of course, exactly what kind of robe accords with the dharma has never been exactly clear. At the very least, robes that accord with the dharma correspond to the kind worn at Eihei-ji but not found at other Buddhist temples in Japan. Dōryū's request, therefore, that the agency issue new regulations requiring Sōtō monks to observe this standard was an attempt to force all Sōtō monks to acknowledge Eihei-ji's supremacy.

Unlike the previous case, however, on this occasion the Agency of Temples and Shrines did not issue a ruling in favor of Eihei-ji's position. Not waiting for the government to act, on the eleventh day of the fifth moon of 1852, Gaun Dōryū sent a letter to Sōjiji notifying it that any monks who wore improper robes would not be permitted to enter Eihei-ji. In other words, any temple representatives who came to Eihei-ji to participate in the five hundred fiftieth Dōgen memorial—just three months hence—would not be admitted unless they first changed into new robes acceptable to Eihei-ji. The implications of this position should be crystal clear. Senior Sōtō monks from throughout Japan who came to Eihei-ji for the five hundred fiftieth Dōgen memorial would experience Eihei-ji's authority—Eihei-ji's ability to define Dōgen's memory—in concrete ways. They felt

Eihei-ji's power not just in its different kinds of buildings, not just in its different kinds of ceremonies, but also in their own new clothes.⁴⁰

Birth Celebrations

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the new regime's anti-Buddhist policies severely reduced the nationwide population of ordained monks and nuns, Eihei-ji enlisted Dōgen's memory to cement closer ties with lay people. On the tenth day of the fifth month of 1899, a year corresponding to the seven hundredth celebration of Dōgen's birth, Eihei-ji organized its first lay ordination ceremony specifically tied to Dōgen's birth rather than his death. Lay men and women were invited to spend seven days at Eihei-ji to observe ceremonies, listen to Buddhist sermons, and to receive ordination with the Sōtō lineage's special version of the bodhisattva precepts. This event, officially called —Ordinations to Repay Kindness" (*hōon jukai e*), proved so successful that the following year (1900) it was made an annual event at Eihei-ji. The date of the ceremony, however, had to be changed. May 10 was inconvenient for the monks at Eihei-ji because it came too close to the start of the summer training period (*ango*, which begins on May 15) and it was impractical for lay people, most of whom were farmers, because it conflicted with the spring planting. In 1899, therefore, the ceremony was advanced one month to April 28.⁴¹ Finally, in 1900 Sōtō leaders officially designated January 26 as Dōgen's birthday and ordered all Sōtō temples in Japan to celebrate it.⁴² Of course no one knows the actual day of Dōgen's birth. The *Teiho Kenzeiki* (Annotated Keizei's chronicle), an extremely influential biography of Dōgen edited and annotated by Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769), gives the date of Dōgen's birth as the second day of the first moon of 1200. None of the earlier manuscript versions of this text, however, provides any evidence from which Menzan might have derived this date.⁴³

Scholarship

Mention of Menzan's *Teiho Kenzeiki* brings us to the final component in Eihei-ji's efforts to promote Dōgen's memory, the one that has exerted the greatest influence on ordinary people both inside and outside Japan whether affiliated to sectarian Sōtō institutions or not. I refer, of course, to scholarship. Documentary investigation into Dōgen's life and times began at Eihei-ji during the fifteenth century when one of its abbots, a man named Kenzei, compiled a chronological account of Dōgen's life, supplemented by copious quotations from Dōgen's own writings, letters, and other historical records. This work was originally titled *Eihei kaisan gogyōjō* (An account of the activities of Eihei-ji's founder) but is more widely known as *Kenzeiki*

(Kenzei's chronicle). It is, without a doubt, the single most influential biography of Dōgen ever written. Since 1452, when Kenzei finished his account, down to the present day, almost all biographies, histories, encyclopedia articles, and other works that mention Dōgen repeat, either directly or indirectly, information found only in Kenzei's chronicle.

The year 1452 when Kenzei wrote his history is significant because it corresponds to the two hundredth memorial of Dōgen's death. In his record, however, Kenzei never mentions memorial rituals and does not suggest that Dōgen's memory served as a motivation for his chronicle.⁴⁴ It is possible that Kenzei did not consciously choose 1452. After all, his chronicle does not end with Dōgen's death but continues with the early history of Eihei-ji down to about the year 1340.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, we can be certain that Dōgen memorial services played a major role in preserving the text for later generations. The most accurate extant manuscript version of Kenzei's chronicle (the so-called *Zuichō hon Kenzeiki*), for example, was copied in 1552 to commemorate Dōgen's three hundredth memorial.⁴⁶ It is reasonable to assume that Kenzei's scholarship had been motivated by a similar desire to memorialize Dōgen.

To commemorate Dōgen's five hundredth memorial in 1754, the Sōtō monk and scholar Menzan Zuihō published his annotated edition of Kenzei's chronicle, the aforementioned *Teiho Kenzeiki*.⁴⁷ In his version of the text, Menzan deleted anything not directly related to Dōgen. All events after Dōgen's death were eliminated. Moreover, Menzan added considerable amounts of new material concerning Dōgen's biography, such as his parentage, training on Mt. Hiei, meeting with Eisai (a.k.a. Yōsai, 1141–1215), relations with his teacher Myōzen (1184–1225), trip to China and travels there, move to Echizen, trip to Kamakura, miracles, relationship to Sōtō medicinal products, and so forth. Menzan's deletions and additions narrowed the focus of Kenzei's chronicle and converted it more clearly into a hagiographic account of Dōgen's life and a comprehensive overview of Dōgen's environment. More important, they inserted Menzan's authorial voice into Kenzei's chronicle in ways that are not always readily apparent and to a degree much greater than the title *Teiho Kenzeiki* might suggest. This point is significant because until 1975 Menzan's version of Kenzei's chronicle was the only one readily available.

Fifty years later, in celebration of Dōgen's five hundred fiftieth memorial, Eihei-ji published an illustrated version of Menzan's annotated chronicle, the *Teiho Kenzeiki zue* (preface dated 1806, but actually published 1817).⁴⁸ This illustrated edition was ideally suited for lecturing to an audience of lay people since the lecturer could describe the contents of the illustrations without being confined by the words of the text. It

played a key role, therefore, in encouraging lay people to become more closely involved in Sōtō activities.⁴⁹ In 1828, for example, Saian Urin (1768–1845) instigated a new policy of encouraging the formation of lay fraternities (the *kichijōkō*), the members of which would send representatives to Eihei-ji every year to participate in memorials for Dōgen. Donations to Eihei-ji by the members of these lay fraternities helped maintain the monastery through times of severe economic hardship such as the Tenpō period (1830) when Japan suffered many famines. Without the illustrated version of Kenzei's chronicle to encourage lay devotion to Dōgen, it is questionable if Eihei-ji would have been able to solicit finances from poor people.⁵⁰

Publication of the illustrated *Teiho Kenzeiki zue* led to another tactic that Eihei-ji used to encourage lay pilgrimages by members of *kichijō* fraternities. By the middle of the 1800s, Eihei-ji had begun erecting monuments (*kinen hai*) to commemorate the major events in Dōgen's life that are illustrated in the *Teiho Kenzeiki zue*. Of course, no one knew for sure where most of these events might have occurred—if in fact they did occur. Nonetheless, the monuments were erected. Members of the *Kichijō* fraternities stopped at these sites along their route to and from Eihei-ji.⁵¹ These monuments made the pilgrimage to Eihei-ji more interesting and also provided incentive for some people to participate in the pilgrimage even if they could not travel the entire length of the route to Eihei-ji.

The popularity of Kenzei's chronicle along with Menzan's additions and the subsequent illustrations among such a wide audience throughout all levels of Japanese society helped to firmly establish Dōgen as a familiar figure among Japan's eminent monks. Until 1975 all accounts of Dōgen's life, whether written for popular consumption or for scholarly consideration, were based almost entirely on Menzan's annotated version of Kenzei's chronicle. There simply were no other sources beyond the meager biographical details found in Dōgen's own writings. By 1952, for example, more than 21 separate biographies of Dōgen had been published. Most of these biographies were published during the years 1852, 1902, and 1952—corresponding to major Dōgen memorials—and all of them simply repeated or abridged the text of Kenzei's chronicle or the captions to its illustrations.⁵²

For this reason, our understanding of Dōgen's biography entered a new era when, in 1975, Kawamura Kōdō published a compilation of six early manuscript versions of Kenzei's chronicle. This book, the *Shohon taikō Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō Kenzei ki* (Collated editions of all the manuscripts of the activities of Eihei-ji's founder, the Zen master Dōgen, chronicled by Kenzei), reprints manuscripts that were originally copied as early as 1472 and that, therefore, much more closely

adhere to Kenzei’s own pen than Menzan’s annotations had allowed. Examination of these early versions revealed for the first time just how extensively Menzan Zuihō had altered Kenzei’s account. We now know that Menzan’s version of Dōgen’s biography cannot be trusted. In other words, since all previous biographies of Dōgen were based on Menzan’s work, none of them can be trusted. Even the 1953 biography by Ōkubo Dōshū, his celebrated Dōgen zenjiden no kenkyū (Biographical studies of Dōgen) must be used with caution. Since the full extent of Menzan’s distortions was not immediately understood, many encyclopedia entries, reference works, and statements by Western and Japanese scholars published after 1975 repeated the erroneous accounts in Menzan’s annotated version of Kenzei’s chronicle. One cannot trust anything written about Dōgen’s life, therefore, unless one first ascertains whether its author made full use of Kawamura’s early manuscripts.

Aside from publishing Dōgen’s biography, the second major way Eiheiiji has influenced the way we remember Dōgen is through its efforts to promote study of Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō (True dharma eye collection)—now one of the most well-known religious books of Japan. Today, when someone remembers Dōgen or thinks of Sōtō Zen, most often that person automatically thinks of Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō. This kind of automatic association of Dōgen with this work is very much a modern development. By the end of the fifteenth century most of Dōgen’s writings had been hidden from view in temple vaults where they became secret treasures.⁵³ After textual learning was revived during the early Tokugawa period, most Japanese Sōtō monks still studied only well-known Chinese Buddhist scriptures or classic Chinese Zen texts.⁵⁴ Eventually a few scholarly monks like Menzan Zuihō began to study Dōgen’s writings, but they were the exceptions. Even when scholarly monks read Dōgen’s writings, they usually did not lecture on them to their disciples. In fact, from 1722 until 1796 the government authorities actually prohibited the publication or dissemination of any part of Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō.⁵⁵

The government ban on publication of the Shōbōgenzō was lifted as a result of petitions submitted by Gentō Sokuchū, the monk who assumed office as Eiheiiji’s new abbot in 1765 and whose efforts to implement Dōgen’s “old regulations” at Eiheiiji were summarized above. Upon accepting Eiheiiji’s abbotship, Sokuchū had vowed to publish Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō in time to commemorate Dōgen’s five hundred fiftieth memorial in 1802. The exact wording that Sokuchū used to advance the case for publication has not survived, but he probably sounded arguments similar to those cited earlier. At least the same line of reasoning can be detected in the official order lifting the publication ban where it specifically recognized the Shōbōgenzō as

constituting Dōgen’s house rules (kakun), which must be followed by all members of his Sōtō lineage.⁵⁶ Work on the publication project began immediately, so that two Shōbōgenzō chapters were printed in 1796. The task proved to be so onerous—collating variant manuscripts, editing texts, rearranging the order of chapters, inserting unrelated works, retitling chapters, carving woodblocks, and raising money to finance publication—that the project was not completed until 1815, seven years after Sokuchū’s death (see Table 2).⁵⁷ In spite of its numerous textual inaccuracies, the version of the Shōbōgenzō published by Eiheiiji (known as the “Head Temple,” honzan, edition) remains the one most widely read even today.⁵⁸

Eiheiiji not only published Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō but also promoted its study by Sōtō monks and lay people. Beginning in 1905 Eiheiiji organized its first Shōbōgenzō conference (Genzōe). Academics, popular writers, interested lay people, and monks attended a series of workshops in which they read and discussed specific Shōbōgenzō chapters. This first Genzōe was successful beyond all expectations. Since 1905 it has become an annual event at Eiheiiji, and over time it gradually changed the direction of Sōtō Zen monastic education. In earlier generations only one Zen teacher, Nishiari Bokusan (1821–1910), is known to have ever lectured on how the Shōbōgenzō should be read and understood. One of Bokusan’s disciples, Oka Sōtan (1890–1921),

Table 2
Chronology of Eiheiiji’s Honzan
Edition of the Shōbōgenzō

Year	Number of Shōbōgenzō Chapters Published
1796 2	2
1797 14	14
1798 11	11
1799 9	9
1800 22	22
1801 14	14
1802 5	5
1803 8	8
1804 1	1
1805 3	3
1811 1	1
1815	boxed set of entire edition
Total 20 years	90 chapters

Based on Kumagai Chūkō, —~~K~~ki fukko to Gentō Sokuchū zenji,” in Sakurai Shūyū, ed., Eiheijishi (Fukui Pref.: Dai Honzan Eiheiiji, 1982), pp. 1086–1102.

served as the first leader of the Genzōe. Sōtan's lectures provided a model that could be emulated by each of the other Zen monks who came to Eihei-ji.⁵⁹ This model has become the norm, not the exception. Today every Sōtō Zen teacher lectures on Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō.

Concluding Remarks

Dōgen's memory has helped keep Eihei-ji financially secure, in good repair, and filled with monks and lay pilgrims who look to Dōgen for religious inspiration. Eihei-ji has become Dōgen's place, the temple where Dōgen is remembered, where Dōgen's Zen is practiced, where Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō is published, where it is read, and where one goes to learn Dōgen's Buddhism. As we remember Dōgen, we should also remember that remembrance is not value neutral. It cannot be a product of pure, objective scholarship. We should perhaps remind ourselves that the Dōgen we remember is a constructed image, an image constructed in large

measure to serve the sectarian agendas of Eihei-ji in its rivalry with Sōjiji. We should remember that the Dōgen of the Shōbōgenzō, the Dōgen who is held up as a profound religious philosopher, is a fairly recent innovation in the history of Dōgen remembrances. However important that modern Dōgen may be for our time, he might not be so important for Kamakura Buddhism or for medieval Buddhism or for most of Tokugawa-period Buddhism. Instead, it is the Dōgen of sectarian agendas, the Dōgen who stands above Keizan, the Dōgen who works miracles, and so forth, who commanded the memory of earlier generations of Japanese. As we remember Dōgen for the twenty-first century, we must not forget about these other, older images of Dōgen. Finally, in remembering Dōgen, the time is ripe for someone to write a new, more accurate biography of Dōgen, one that sorts out what can be known and what was only remembered or invented by Menzan Zuihō and the artists of the illustrated version of Kenzei's chronicle.

ENDNOTES:

1. Shūkyō nenkan (Tokyo: Bunkachō, 1997), pp. 64–77.
2. Eihei-ji is located in Fukui Prefecture (premodern Echizen Province) while Sōjiji is now located in Yokohama (near Tokyo). The original Sōjiji is located on the Noto Peninsula in Ishikawa Prefecture.
3. Kagamishima Sōjun, “Kaisetsu,” in Enkyōdō Sōtōshū jīin honmatsuchō (typeset version of 1747 and 1827 texts; 1944; reprinted and expanded edition, Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1980). Giin (a.k.a. Kangan or Hōō, 1217–1300) and Meihō Sotetsu (1277–1350) were two prominent leaders within early Sōtō history in Japan.
4. Sakurai Shūyū, ed., Eiheijishi (Fukui Pref.: Dai Honzan Eihei-ji, 1982), Vol. 2, pp. 1516–25.
5. Reliable data on temple relationships prior to the start of Tokugawa-period regulation of religious institutions are unavailable. For an overview, see William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), pp. 122–39.
6. E.g., Takahashi Zenryū, “Honmatsu seiritsu to Tokugawa bakufu no shūkyō seisaku ni tsuite,” in the 1980 reprint of Kagamishima, ed., *Enkyōdō Sōtōshū jīin honmatsuchō*, p. 5.
7. As John Whitney Hall explained in the pages of this journal (see “Terms and Concepts in Japanese Medieval History: An Inquiry into the Problems of Translation,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 9 [1983], p. 10): “It is unfortunate that in modern times tennō (or tenshi) has so unquestionably been rendered ‘emperor’.... The translation ‘emperor,’ whether drawing upon European or Chinese usage, carries overtones of grandeur and autocratic personal power that the Japanese tennō did not possess.” Indeed, not only has Japan never possessed a ruler commanding supreme authority (the usual meaning of “emperor”), but except for a brief moment in the twentieth century the Japanese never extended rule over a vast territory approximating an empire. Moreover, in premodern Japanese Buddhist literature, especially Sōtō documents, the ruler most frequently is designated simply as ō (king). For these reasons, in this essay I refer to the ruler's court and its titles with the adjective “royal” instead of “imperial.”
8. Nobutane kyōki (diary of Nakamikado Nobutane, 1442–1525), entries for 11.23 and 12.16, in Zōho Shiryō Taisei Kankōkai, ed., *Zōho Shiryō taisei* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1965), Vol. 45, pp. 218b, 221b. Today on Eihei-ji's main gate there is a wooden plaque that is said to represent calligraphy by Goen'yū tennō (1358–93), awarded by him to Eihei-ji in 1372. It reads: Nihon Sōtō daiichi dōjō (literally, the number one training center of Japan's Sōtō lineage)—not honchō Sōtō daiichi dōjō. It is extremely doubtful, however, if Eihei-ji received calligraphy from Goen'yū or any other royal honors as early as the fourteenth century. No direct or indirect documentary evidence among either Sōtō or non-Sōtō sources attests to this earlier award. Moreover, if earlier royal calligraphy had established a precedent for use of the word Nihon, it is highly unlikely that a subsequent award would have changed it to honchō. Other inconsistencies also exist. Nakamikado Nobutane reports that Eihei-ji originally had requested a different word order (honchō daiichi Sōtōdōjō), which had been rejected, and that the calligraphy was written by the nobleman Sesonji Yukisue (1476–1532), not by a royal sovereign. It is hard to imagine that in 1507 Eihei-ji would have requested an unacceptable word order or would have received calligraphy written by a mere nobleman if the temple already possessed a wooden plaque representing calligraphy awarded by Goen'yū more than 130 years earlier. See Imaeda Aishin, *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (1970; second edition, Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982), pp. 395–96, 397 note 10.

9. The designation “*five mountains*” refers not to a particular number of places but is the name of a broad category of Buddhist monasteries and temples divided into three levels of status: gozan (as many as 11 centers), jissatsu (as many as 32), and shoizan (as many as 186). Except for one or two possible exceptions, Sōtō institutions were not affiliated with the Five Mountains. Regarding bafuku fees for appointments to abbotships, see Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 228–36. Regarding Eihei-ji’s case, see Imaeda, Chūsei Zenshūshi, pp. 394–97.
10. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, pp. 135–36.
11. For these titles, see Shoshū chokugōki (circa 1311 to 1660), in Hanawa Hokiichi and Hanawa Tadatomi, eds., *Zoku gunsho ruijū* (1822; reprinted Tokyo: Keizai Zasshisha, 1902), Vol. 28B.
12. Hirose Ryōkō, “Eihei-ji no suian to fukkō undō,” in Sakurai, ed., *Eihei-jiishi*, Vol. 1, pp. 384–86.
13. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, pp. 135–38. Ryōan Emyō (1337–1411) was a prominent leader in medieval Sōtō. His name is used to identify one of the smaller networks of Sōtō temples affiliated to Sōjiji.
14. Eihei Dōgen oshōkōroku (1598 copy by Monkaku), reprinted in Ō kubo Dōshū, ed., *Dōgen zenji zenshū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1970), Vol. 2, jōdō Nos. 184, 249, 274, 276, 342, 384, 515. Regarding the dates of these lectures, see Itō Shūken, “Eihei kōroku” setsuji nendai kō,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu ronshū*, no. 11 (1980), pp. 185–88.
15. See Giun oshō goroku, reprinted in *Sōtōshū zensho* (revised and enlarged edition; Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmichō, 1970–73), Vol. 5, “Goroku” No. 1, p. 9a.
16. The observance in Japan of the Chinese sequence of memorial services is discussed by Tamamuro Taijō, *Sōshiki bukkyō* (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1963), p. 171.
17. Zuichō hon Kenzeiki (1552 version of Kenzei’s chronicle, recopied by Zuichōin 1589), reprinted in Kawamura Kōdō, ed., *Shohon taikō Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki* (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1975), p. 85.
18. There exists a manual for Dōgen memorial services titled *Eihei-ji kaisan kigyō hokke kōshiki* that was published in the early 1900s at Eihei-ji. According to its postscript, this text was revised by Menzan Zuihō in 1747 based on an original by Giun that had been stored at Hōkyōji. The genealogy of this text, however, remains unknown. In Menzan’s otherwise well-documented life, there is no evidence that he ever saw this text. He did not mention it in the manual for Dōgen memorial services (*Jōyō daishi hōon kōshiki*) that he compiled for Dōgen’s five hundredth memorial in 1752. Moreover, we know that a manual for hokke kōshiki (Lotus Sūtra ceremony) was donated to Eihei-ji in 1759 by the abbot of Keiyōji (in Edo) for the express purpose of being used for Dōgen memorial services. That Keiyōji text is the most likely origin of the *Eihei-ji kaisan kigyō hokke kōshiki*. See Kumagai Chūkō and Yoshida Dōkō, “Shūtō fukko undō to Eihei-ji,” in Sakurai, ed., *Eihei-jiishi*, vol. 2, p. 985.
19. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, pp. 70–80.
20. Hirose, “Eihei-ji no suian to fukkō undō,” pp. 477–81.
21. The following four documents help reveal Keizan’s ambitions for Yōkōji: (1) *Tōkoku dentōin gorō gosoku narabi ni gyōgō ryakki* (originally dated 1323.9.13, but included in a 1718 version of *Tōkokuki*; reprinted in Kohō Chisan, ed., *Jōsai daishi zenshū*, 1937; reprinted and enlarged, Yokohama: Dai Honzan Sōjiji, 1976), pp. 411–16; (2) *Tōkoku jinmirai honji to nasubeki no okibumi* (originally dated 1318.12.23, but included in the 1515 copy of *Shōbōgenzō zatsubun*; reprinted in Matsuda Fumio, “Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi ni tsuite: Yōkōji kaibyaku no haikai,” *Shūgaku kenkyū*, No. 12, 1970), pp. 133–34; (3) *Tōkoku jinmiraisai okibumi* (originally dated 1319.12.8; reprinted in Ō kubo Dōshū, ed., *Sōtōshū komonjo*, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1972), No. 163, Vol. 2, pp. 120–21; and (4) *Tōkokuki* (copy dated 1432 at Daijōji, reprinted in Ōtani Teppu, ed., “Daijōji hihon Tōkokuki,” *Shūgaku kenkyū*, No. 16 (1974), pp. 231–48. Regarding these documents, see Matsuda, “Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi ni tsuite,” but note that at the time of Matsuda’s analysis the 1432 Daijōji copy of *Tōkokuki* had not yet been published and the correct year of Keizan’s birth was not known. For a comprehensive study of Keizan and his religious world, see Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power: Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
22. James C. Dobbins, “Envisioning Kamakura Buddhism,” in Richard K. Payne, ed., *Re-Visioning “Kamakura” Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1998), pp. 32–33.
23. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, pp. 95–97.
24. The original text of the *Tōkoku gyōji jijo* probably was compiled by Keizan’s disciples at Yōkōji after his death. The earliest surviving copy was completed in two fascicles by Fusai Zenkyū in 1376 and is owned by Zenrinji temple (Fukui Prefecture). The standard edition of *Keizan oshō shingi*, which was published in 1680 by Manzan Dōhaku, was edited and enlarged based on texts and practices that were not yet in existence during Keizan’s lifetime. It is crucial, therefore, when using the *Keizan shingi* as a source for Keizan’s monastic practices to verify each passage by comparison to earlier manuscripts. In the case of Dōgen memorial services, the instructions found in the 1680 published text (fasc. 2, p. 353) can also be found in the earliest extant manuscript copy, *Gyōji jijo* (1376, leaves 31–32). The exact same instructions also are found in versions of this liturgical calendar that were adapted for use at other temples, such as *Shōbō shingi* (1509; reprinted in *Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai*, ed., *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho* [Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmichō, 1974–77], Vol. 2, “Shingi—Kōshiki,” fasc. 1, pp. 67–68) and *Ryūtaiji gyōji jijo* (1559; reprinted in *Zoku Sōtōshū*

zensho, Vol. 2, pp. 110–11). The Kōtakuzan Fusaiji nichiyō shingi (1527; reprinted in Sōtōshū zensho, Vol. 4, “Shingi,” p. 653a), a completely unrelated liturgical text, likewise gives elaborate instructions for the observance of Dōgen’s memorial. Other medieval liturgical manuals, such as the Seigenzan Yōtakuji gyōji no shidai (circa 1582; reprinted in Sōtōshū zensho, Vol. 4), however, do not include memorial services for Dōgen. Moreover, analysis of monastic events mentioned in medieval-period transcripts of lectures also omit Dōgen’s memorial (see Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, p. 160). Of the four texts mentioned above, two were used at temples (Ryūtaiji and Yōtakuji) affiliated with Sōjiji and two were used at temples (Shōbōji and Fusaiji) that functioned as independent heads of their own factions. It is significant to note that Fusaiji’s instructions command the participation of representatives from affiliated branch temples.

25. Hirose, “Eiheiji no suiun to fukkō undō,” pp. 472–77.

26. Ibid., p. 527.

27. Ibid., pp. 525–30; and Hirose Ryōkō, “Bakufu no tōsei to Eiheiji,” in Sakurai, ed., *Eiheijishi*, Vol. 1, pp. 664–65.

28. I was prompted to explore this topic when I read Sakurai, ed., *Eiheijishi* and noticed how much of that text is devoted to records of Dōgen memorial services.

29. Hirose, “Bakufu no tōsei to Eiheiji,” in Sakurai, ed., *Eiheijishi*, Vol. 1, pp. 666–67. The san.gha hall (sōdō), along with the buddha hall (butsuden) and dharma hall (hattō), represents the presence of the three jewels (sanbō) within the monastery. As such, the translation of sōdō as “monks hall” is incorrect. I thank T. Griffith Foulk and Yifa for drawing my attention to this point.

30. For the 1702 and 1752 services, see Kumagai and Yoshida, “Shūtō fukko undō to Eiheiji,” in Sakurai, ed., *Eiheijishi*, Vol. 2, pp. 836–37, 976–78.

31. Kumagai Chūkō, “Bakumatsukino Eiheiji,” in Sakurai, ed., *Eiheijishi*, Vol. 2, p. 1293.

32. Yoshioka Hakudō, “Meiji ki no Eiheiji,” in *ibid.*, pp. 1380–89.

33. Kumagai, “Bakumatsuki no Eiheiji,” p. 1266.

34. Yoshioka Hakudō, “Taishō-Shōwa ki no Eiheiji,” in Sakurai, ed., *Eiheijishi*, Vol. 2, p. 1455.

35. Kumagai and Yoshida, “Shūtō fukko undō to Eiheiji,” pp. 991–92.

36. Kumagai Chūkō, “Kōki fukko to Gentō Sokuchū zenji,” in Sakurai, ed., *Eiheijishi*, Vol. 2, pp. 1017–22.

37. The designation “Fōshō shinkun” is the exact wording used by Gentō Sokuchū in this document. Although Ieyasu’s official posthumous title was that of a local buddha or bodhisattva (daigongen), he was just as commonly referred to as the divine ruler. For the regulations in question, see Eiheiji sho hatto (1615), in Ō kubo, ed., *Sōtōshū komonjo*, No. 28, Vol. 1, pp. 20–21. Regarding the interpretation of kakun, see William M. Bodiford, “Dharma Transmission in Sōtō Zen: Manzan Dōhaku’s Reform Movement,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (1991), p. 450.

38. For the original documents summarized above, see Kumagai, “Kōki fukko to Gentō Sokuchū zenji,” pp. 1125–90.

39. Because the preface to this work is dated 1794, that same year usually is erroneously listed as its date of publication. See *ibid.*, pp. 1057–58. Although the Eihei shingi first appeared in print in 1667, Gentō Sokuchū’s revised 1799 version became the standard (rufu) edition. The history of this text prior to 1667 is not known.

40. Kumagai, “Bakumatsuki no Eiheiji,” pp. 1291–1311. Reference works disagree as to the exact dates of Gaun Dōryū’s life. Here I provide the ones given in *Eiheijishi*.

41. Yoshioka, “Meiji ki no Eiheiji,” p. 1390.

42. Sakurai, ed., *Eiheijishi*, p. 1555.

43. See Teiho Kenzeiki (reprinted in Sōtōshū zensho, Vol. 17, “Shiden,” No. 2), p. 15. Cf. Kawamura, ed., *Shohon taikō Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki*, p. 2.

44. Kawamura Kōdō, “Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō Kenzei ki kaidai,” in Kawamura, ed., *Shohon taikō Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki*, p. 201a.

45. Kawamura, ed., *Shohon taikō Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki*, p. 126.

46. Ibid., p. 136.

47. Kumagai, “Kōki fukko to Gentō Sokuchū zenji,” p. 1223.

48. Ibid., pp. 1222–23. The Teiho Kenzeiki zue (illustrated by Zuikō Chingyū and Daiken Hōju) is reprinted in Sōtōshū zensho, Vol. 17, “Shiden,” No. 2. New editions of this text, some with full-color illustrations, were issued recently in time for Dōgen’s seven hundred fiftieth memorial.

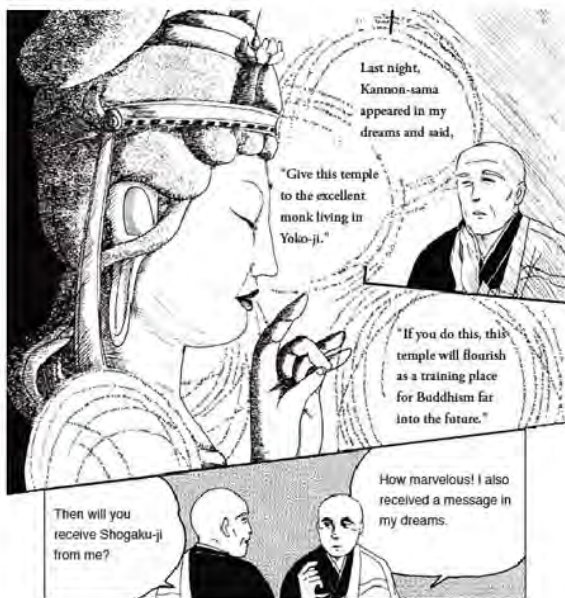
49. Kumagai, “Bakumatsuki no Eiheiji,” p. 1272.

50. Ibid., pp. 1266, 1271.

51. Ibid., pp. 1276–81.
52. Kawamura, “Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō Kenzei ki kaidai,” pp. 202–4.
53. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, pp. 134–35.
54. Yokozeki Ryōin, *Edo jidai Tōmon seiyō* (Tokyo: Bukkyōsha, 1938), p. 825.
55. Ibid., pp. 909–12.
56. Kumagai, “Kōki fukko to Gentō Sokuchū zenji,” p. 1035.
57. Today the Honzan edition of the *Shōbōgenzō* consists of 95 chapters. Five of those chapters, however, were not added until 1906. In 1796 when publication of the *Shōbōgenzō* as a whole was permitted, publication of five chapters (“Den’e,” “Busso,” “Shisho,” “Hishō zanmai,” and “Jukai”) remained prohibited because they concerned religious secrets (such as dharma transmission ceremonies). See Kumagai, “Kōki fukko to Gentō Sokuchū zenji,” p. 1035.
58. For most scholarly purposes, the best small edition of Dōgen’s writings is Ōkubo, ed., *Dōgen zenji zenshū* (two volumes plus a supplement). For detailed textual investigation of the various premodern versions of Dōgen’s *Shōbōgenzō*, though, one must turn to the *Eihei shōbōgenzōshūsho taisei* (25 volumes plus a supplement) (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1974–82).
59. Yoshioka, “Meiji ki no Eiheiji,” pp. 1393–95.

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Keizan and Dreaming

William Bodiford - Keizan's Dream History
 Bernard Faure – excerpts from Dreaming (in Visions of Power)

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Keizan's Dream History by William M. Bodiford

From the *Introduction* to Religions of Japan in Practice, by George Tanabe, in a section called: *Special Places*:

The priority of practice over doctrine is not limited to modern developments but is also seen in the writings of Keizan (1264-1325), who stands second in importance to Dōgen himself in the line of Sōtō Zen patriarchs. Keizan, displaying a pragmatism for what works rather than what is doctrinally prescribed, easily adopted ritual practices that Dōgen would not have considered. The institutional development of Sōtō Zen would have been significantly retarded if Dōgen's successors had confined themselves to the limits of his demanding teachings and not adopted mortuary rites and rituals for this-worldly benefits. In Keizan's records selected for chapter 44 (see below), there is only one instance mentioned of him sitting in meditation; the other descriptions are about rituals for warding off evil and inviting blessings, and about the more mundane matters of institutional administration. Women play an important role (as they do in most temples today) in the life of his temple, and Keizan has much to say about his grandmother, mother, and Sonin, the woman who donated the land for his temple Yōkōji.

Keizan's records are about Yōkōji in a valley he named Tōkoku. Both names were chosen for their associations with Chinese Zen masters in whose lineage he was a dharma descendant. In his sermons, Keizan uses the language of original enlightenment to speak generically about every place being one's own self, one's radiant wisdom, the site of practice, and the practice of Buddha activity; but when he speaks specifically of Tōkoku Yōkōji—its buildings, its activities, its people, his relatives, and how he selected the site in a dream—it becomes apparent that the place is one of belonging, his home, the locus of his everyday spiritual life. . . . Keizan's *Records of Tōkoku* explains the naming of that place in association with his spiritual tradition and describes it as the venue of Buddha activity as well as his everyday routine. Yōkōji is at once an ordinary and a special place. . . .

Chapter 44 from Religions of Japan in Practice (pp 501-522): Keizan's Dream History by William M. Bodiford:

Keizan Jōkin (1264-1325), the author of the selections translated below, usually is remembered only as a revered patriarch of the Sōtō Zen tradition and as the founder of Sojiji, one of the Sōtō Zen school's dual headquarter temples. Keizan, however, can also be viewed as an ordinary, indeed average, rural Buddhist monk of medieval times. He was not a great innovator, original thinker, or gifted writer. Although lacking in literary merit and philosophical profundity, Keizan's writings remain significant precisely because of their routine content. They provide a day- to-day record of rural Zen monastic life that reveals four important aspects of Japanese religiosity that all too often are overlooked: history, dreams, ritual, and women.

Keizan wrote primarily to provide himself a place in history. By recording his own history and that of the newly established Sōtō Zen lineage, Keizan sought to direct the future. Keizan knew

that the precedents he recorded would dictate who gained control over which temples, which Buddhas and gods were worshipped, the calendar of ritual observances, and the mutual obligations of the temples and local lay patrons. Most major temples and shrines in Japan possess comparable historical records in which generations of worshippers found similar guidelines. Because these other records usually lack clear authorship and describe miraculous events, modern readers tend to view them as more mythological than historical. Keizan knew no such distinction. He did not wait for pious tradition to invest his life with the miraculous but recorded his own miracles. He believed that publicizing these miracles would enhance the status of his new monastery, which he named Yōkōji on Tōkoku Mountain, as a sacred center of the nascent Japanese Zen lineage.

Records of Japanese temples and shrines inevitably include dream episodes. Keizan recorded more than twenty-three of his dreams and wrote: "In all matters I have relied upon the interpretation of my dreams." Temples and shrines must be located where ordinary human beings can contact the Buddhas and gods. Dream visions recorded by the religious patriarchs such as Keizan testify that such is the case. Subsequent generations of pilgrims visit the same sacred sites to experience the same dreams of the Buddhas and gods. These dream visions, therefore, became shared public documents that advertised the spiritual power of the site and confirmed the correctness of ritual, social, and economic arrangements.

Participation in its cycle of ceremonial observances helps monks, nuns, wealthy patrons, and local people establish connections to the sacred history and spiritual power of religious sites. Keizan's Zen tradition stressed monastic ritual. Dōgen (1200-1253), the first Sōtō Zen patriarch in Japan, wrote extensively on the style of ceremony that he had observed in Song China. Keizan's teacher Gikai (1219- 1309), who had studied under Dōgen, also journeyed to the major monasteries of China for the sole purpose of mastering Song-style Zen ceremonies. Keizan wrote detailed descriptions of the rites he learned from Gikai, occasionally including both instructions for the ritual and accounts of his own ceremonial performance. These rituals usually identify Keizan with the Buddha, with the lineage of Zen ancestors, with Zen awakening, and with his local monastic community and its lay patrons.

Keizan's most important patron was a woman, Lady Taira Sonin. In 1212 she and her husband donated land for what eventually became Keizan's main temple, Tōkokusan Yōkōji. Sonin eventually became a nun with her own chapel. Keizan compared the closeness of their relationship to a magnet and steel. Keizan's dependence on a female patron was not at all unusual. When Dōgen founded his first temple, Koshōji at Fukakusa near Kyoto, an aristocratic woman named Sho-gaku donated the Lecture Hall. Dōgen taught a number of laywomen and nuns, including Keizan's grandmother Myōchi. Other Sōtō monks who studied with Keizan as well as his disciples founded temples that were sponsored by women patrons. Women outnumber men by a significant margin in the records of early donations preserved at Tōkokusan Yōkōji. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century records of

Sōtō funeral sermons similarly reveal that the vast majority of lay funerals conducted by rural Zen teachers were for women. Clearly, without the support and religious devotion of countless women, Japanese Zen institutions (and perhaps most other Buddhist institutions as well) could never have succeeded on such a wide scale. Yet today we know the names of only a few of these vital female patrons. None of their biographies have survived. Keizan's descriptions of Sonin, his grandmother, and his mother therefore provide rare glimpses into the essential role played by women in the propagation of Buddhism in Japan.

During his lifetime Keizan never bothered to compile or edit his writings. After his death his records became scattered among his various disciples and their temples. Although a few original documents exist, for the most part scholars have read only late editions of uncertain reliability. The standard edition of Keizan's *Records of Tōkoku Temple* (*Tōkokuki*), selections from which appear below, for example, was first published in 1929 based on a manuscript version compiled in 1718, almost four hundred years after Keizan's death. We now know that it contained many later additions and the order of its entries had been rearranged. To remain as close to Keizan's own words as possible, the selections from *Records of Tōkoku Temple* translated below are based on an unedited 1432 manuscript. Unlike the standard published text, the entries in the manuscript are not arranged in chronological order. To aid the reader, section titles as well as dates and full names (when known) for people mentioned in the text have been added.

The text used for the translation is published in Otani Teppu, "Daijōji hihon Tōkokuki," *Shugaku kenkyū* 16 (1974): 231-248.

Records of Tōkoku

CONSTRUCTION OF YOKOJI'S DHARMA HALL

1324: Genkō 4, Senior Wood Year of the Rat

3d Moon, 3d Day: Dharma Seat (*hōza*, i.e., lecture platform) erected. Today is Junior Earth Day of the Ox, the day when the stars meet, one of my six corresponding days (*rikugō nichi*). On this day the Buddha first turned the wheel of the Dharma in the Deer Park. The day when the Buddha, in his former life as Prince Kalyānakāri (Zenjī), went to the Dragon Palace to seek the fabulous wish-fulfilling pearl corresponds to Shōwa 3 [1314], 5th Moon, Junior Earth Day of the Ox. According to the *Constellations and Stars Sutra* [*Shukuyōkyō*, T 1299], when this day occurs during the second moon before entering into the third moon, then it is a day of infinitely good fortune. Everyone in this temple, therefore, gathered for the scripture recitation. We chanted the Surangama *dharani* (Ryogonshu) once. At the sound of the first gong, the carpenter Zen-shin erected the Dharma Seat.

2d Moon, 9th Day: Select days with good stars, like the Demon Constellation, Pusya (Fusha), one of my six corresponding days, Junior Wood of the Ox, the infinitely lucky days of the second moon, as lucky days for disturbing the earth with construction projects. When we started the foundations of the Dharma Hall, everyone's participation was requested. We recited the Disaster-Averting *dharani* (Shosaiju), thereby following the splendid example of my teacher, Gikai of Daijōji,

who thus performed prayer (*kitō*) rituals for construction projects. Three hundred workers cleared the land, and numerous monks participated. A temporary hallway was built from the Monks' Hall (*sōdō*) to the Abbot's Square (*hōjō*).

DEDICATION OF YŌKŌJI'S DHARMA HALL

Format

4th Moon, 8th Day: Performed the dedication ceremony for the new Dharma Hall.

On the previous day the following announcement had been posted on the east wall of the Dharma Hall:

In the Land of Japan, on the 8th day, 4th moon, of the first year of Shōchu [1324], the Head Master Keizan Jōkin will come to this temple and dedicate the Dharma Hall according to the following schedule of events.

[1] Hour of the Dragon [ca. 8:00 A.M.]: Decorate the hall. Hang red curtains (omit this time); next to the Dharma seat erect a turning-the-Dharma-wheel banner, as well as banners of the eight dragon king gods, octagonal mirrors, and two white lions. Place the staff in a bag and lean it on the floor. Place the whisk in a bag to the left of the incense burner. Erect side stairs. The elder who sounds the clapper enters from the right stairs, and the attendant who holds the incense enters from the left stairs. To the left of the Dharma seat place a small chair for presenting orations, and place another small chair to the right. The elder who sounds the clappers is positioned there. On the left set a reading stand on which to place the texts of the orations. Place a seating chair at the rank ahead of the temple administrators. The patron Fujiwara Togashi Iekata is positioned there. Below the Dharma seat erect a table on which to place the incense burner. In front of it place the bowing cushion. That is where the patron bows. Erect a table on which, to place the patron's donations. Erect a table on which to place flower vase and incense burners. That is where the patron offers incense.

[2] Next, a light snack is served in the Abbot's Square, Myōgon'in.

[3] Next, sound the drum for the monks to assemble as usual. The only difference is that the ceremonial instruments are sounded as the master enters the hall. The brocade banners, umbrella, etc., are omitted.

[4] The elder who sounds the clappers enters first and stands at the rank ahead of the temple leaders. When he takes his seat, he passes to the right of the Dharma seat. Next the patron enters. The temple receptionist lead the patron to the rank ahead of the temple administrators.

[5] Next, the opening orations are presented. The master stands in front of the small chair. The patron passes the texts of the orations to the teacher and the teacher responds. Incense is given to the attendant who passes it to the temple supervisor. The receptionist passes the oration texts of both ranks to the teacher to be read.

[6] When the teacher's responses are finished, the attendant passes the texts to the Group Leader to be read.

[7] Next, pointing to the Dharma seat, the teacher makes a Dharma statement. Next, he gets down from his chair. The master stands at the center stairs. (The abbot of Jōjūji, Mugai Chikō [d. 1351], stands at the right stairs, and the attendant holding the incense burners stands at the left stairs.)

[8] Next, the teacher offers incense. (Incense is offered first on behalf of the emperor, then the patron, then the Buddha, then one's Dharma lineage.) When incense is being offered on behalf of the patron, the patron will bow three times.

[9] Next, the attendant who is positioned at the chair, offers incense, gets down from his seat, and performs a formal bow. Both ranks of monks perform formal bows as usual, except that ceremonial instruments are sounded for each bow. Last, the abbot of Jōjūji performs formal bows.

[10] Next, at the sound of the clapper, the abbot of Jōjūji takes the bell from out of his sleeve and, sounding it once, calls out: "Exalted dragons and elephants assembled at this Dharma site, see now the first meaning!"

[11] Then, there is a session of questions and answers, which will be followed by a formal Dharma talk.

[12] Dharma talk.

[13] When the Dharma talk has ended, the abbot of Jōjūji again sounds his bell and calls out: "See clearly the Dharma of the Dharma King. The Dharma of the Dharma King is thus." Sounding his bell again, he gets down from his seat and bows to the patron.

[14] Next, monks bow as in the sequence of formal greetings, sounding the bell at the head and end. The abbot of Jōjūji performs the abbreviated threefold kowtow. The leaders and assembled monks do likewise. The former leaders and retired officers do likewise. The attendants perform the full threefold kowtow. The nuns and female assistants bow three times. The novices and young boys bow nine times. The carpenters bow twice.

Respectfully posted by the attendant Gensho Chinzan. Dated.

OPENING ORATIONS

Text of the oration submitted by Sondō and Meihō Sotetsu (1277-1350), representing both the East and West Ranks of Officers, and by Sokei and Kōan Shikan (d. 1341), representing all the assembled monks, of Tōkoku Mountain, Noto Province:

In celebration of the Buddha's birthday we invite you to dedicate this hall by turning the wheel of the Dharma. Thus, the waters of Dong (*tōsui*) reverse their flow; the branch streams of our lineage overflow the Realm of the River and Lake. The great solaris (*taiyō*) illuminates everywhere; its rays radiate universally throughout the Land of the Sun. The raging waves that cover the globe ask to know the

fountainhead. The lamp of enlightenment transmitted at Yōkō [Eternally Radiant Temple] requests that the right livelihood be demystified, so that now, during the Latter Five Hundred Years, we might once again see the Buddha preaching to his assembly at Vulture Peak.

Head of the hall, please accept our oration with compassion.

As witnessed by all the generations of Buddhas and ancestors.

Respectfully submitted by Sondō and Meihō Sotetsu, etc., on behalf of both ranks. Genkō 4 [1324], 4th moon, 8th day

Text of the oration submitted by Fujiwara Togashi Iekata, the great patron of Tōkokusan Yōkōji in the Sakai Estate, Kashima District, Noto Province, Country of Japan, Southern Hemisphere of Jambudvīpa (Nan Enbu):

On the 8th day of this moon we ceremoniously observe the auspicious anniversary of the Tathagata Sakyamuni's birth. I respectfully request our teacher, the head of the hall, to assume his newly crafted treasure throne and dedicate this hall for the sake of mankind.

I've heard that teaching has a foundation. It's called transmitting the flame, and it originates in the revelation of Dharma succession. This is termed "Dedicating the Hall." Conveyed in secret without outward sign, the black and white of Dharma succession must be forcibly requested. Humbly, I do so request.

Great Monk, Dear Teacher, Head of the Hall: Please take the incense from your breast. Fill the heavens with its burning scent.

Great Zen Teacher, Abbot of Jōjūji: Please strike your bell. Evidence its sound to the ends of the earth.

Head of the hall, please accept my humble oration with compassion.

As witnessed by the full assembly of Zen teachers of every rank and the abbot of Jōjūji.

Respectfully submitted by Fujiwara Togashi Iekata, the great patron.
Genkō 4 [1324], 4th moon, 8th day

KEIZAN'S RESPONSES

Remarks by the founding monk, Keizan Jōkin of Tōkoku Mountain, on arriving at this temple to dedicate the hall:

Taking up the text of the patron's oration, he replied: Donating this temple to me resembles coughing up spit bubbles. As for requesting me to teach, to inaugurate this splendid seat, by the perfectly penetrating hands and eyes of these tattered monks, by your solid faith that protects the precious Dharma, even before I took up the text of your oration, not a person could have doubted it. I ask the supervisor to explain, so all gods and men will know in detail.

Taking up the text of the oration by the two ranks, he replied: O phoenixes, O dragons! You are such auspicious signs, such good omens: like stars above the heavens, like waters below the earth. These syllables are as obvious as your eyes and feet. Group leader, inform the assembly of all particulars.

Pointing at the Dharma seat, he said: This seat is so tall and wide. Neither the holy ones nor ordinary beings can cope with it. Yet the Buddhas and ancestors soar over it, fanning the winds of true religion.

Remarks delivered while presenting incense: This first stick of incense is humbly to wish the emperor a reign of ten thousand years (*banzai*) and a long life without undue effort. May he equal the heavens in expanse and the earth in dependability. May the multitudes of subjects who rely on him multiply like yin and yang. This second stick of incense is presented on behalf of this temple's great patron, his descendants, and his clan. May all patrons who contribute to these halls and who support this assembly enjoy long lives like the pine and the oak, which endure repeated new years without losing their greenery. By their generosity to the Dharma and to the Sangha, by their continual bountiful gifts to this assembly, may they cultivate good roots from generation to generation and ride in this vehicle from generation to generation. This third stick of incense is offered to He who was born today, our true teacher, Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, as well as to all the generations of Zen ancestors who are his direct descendants and to good Zen masters everywhere. Through the eons they have performed the major and minor Buddhist ceremonies, assisting all assemblies to realize Buddha by debates and by resolving doubts. This [fourth] stick of incense was already offered long ago, even prior to the seven Buddhas of the past. Neither ordinary beings nor the holy ones know its name. Even before this commonplace (*heijō*), unborn (*fushō*) tribute has been spoken, it cannot be kept secret. Dearly departed teacher, Reverend Gikai, Master Tettsu, founding abbot of Shojurin Daijōji in Kaga Province, third abbot of Eihei-ji, fifty-third Dharma-generation descendant of Sakyamuni Buddha, the scent of your incense appears before us, wafts over your Dharma descendants, burns across the heavens, and settles over the sprouts in the fields. Thus I express my debt of gratitude to you for nursing me in the Dharma. Keizan took his seat.

The abbot of Jōjū-ji sounded his bell once and called out: "Exalted dragons and elephants assembled at this Dharma site, see now the first meaning!" He sounded his bell once and sat down.

Keizan said: "To expound the first meaning is to be the mother of wisdom for all Buddhas, to be a pundit for all the holy ones. Throughout the ages no person has doubted this. In this assembly isn't there a tattered monk who can demonstrate his understanding in debate?"

A monk asked: "A beautiful phoenix comes to perch in a jeweled tree in the garden. The Udumbara plant blossoms filling the world with its scent. These events are what kind of good omens?" Keizan replied: "People's noses originally have no doubts."

A monk asked: "Lions roared, winds stirred. Dragons droned, clouds arose. The five positions separated, the ways of guest and host joined. At that very moment the Lord Sakyamuni assumed birth at Lumbini. The master glowed with an all-pervading radiance. The Lord Sakyamuni pointed one hand to the heavens and one hand to the earth and said, 'Above the Heavens and below the heavens, only I am to be revered.' Master, the first words of today's all-pervading radiance are what?"

Keizan replied: "The Dharma seat is so marvelously high, its girth must permeate the earth."

The monk said: "Your howl at once rattles the nine continents. All Zen men within the four oceans heard completely."

Keizan replied: "Where they hear there is no echo. Their ears are within the sound."

A monk said: "It is recorded that when Muzhou Daoming (Bokushu Domyo, n.d.) ascended the Dharma seat in a Hall Dedication Ceremony, he asked the Prior, 'Is the superintendent present?' The Prior replied, 'Present.' Muzhou asked, 'Is the supervisor present?' The Prior replied, 'Present.' Muzhou asked, 'Is the group leader present?' The Prior replied, 'Present.' Muzhou said, 'The three sections are not the same. Taken together, they all conclude with the first point. The additional text is too long. I will deliver it another day.' Then Muzhou vacated the Dharma seat. What does it mean?"

Keizan replied: "Clouds gather, clinging to the mountains. Rivers flow, expanding the oceans. A design of elegant warp and woof. Please appear identically."

A monk asked: "The old Buddha, Hongzhi Zhengjue (Wanshi Shōgaku, 1091-1157) commented by saying, 'Master Muzhou expounded with ten letters, directing with both hands.' How do you understand this?"

Keizan replied: "The infinite universe cannot conceal it. The entire body reflects no image."

The monk asked: "Does what the old Buddha said and what you said have the same meaning or a different meaning?"

Keizan replied: "This old monk never rests among sameness and difference."

A monk said: "Chisel a vein of royal jade and every chip is a jewel. Smash sandalwood and every splinter is fragrant."

Keizan said: "In heaven above the stars all glitter. In earth below the trees all thrive."

A monk said: "This mountain monastery has ten scenic spots. I will mention each one and ask you before this assembly of monks from all quarters to think of a song of praise for each. Do you permit it?"

Keizan replied: "Mountains are high; valleys are low. Who can doubt it?"

The monk said [1]: "Sitting with one's entire body until it cuts through the solitary peak. The astrological phases cut off all voices, so one can hardly ask. Isn't this Squatting Monkey Ridge (Kyoenryō)?"

Keizan replied: “Sit through a thousand peaks and ten thousand peaks. Take in the four seas and five lakes in a single glance.”

The monk said [2]: “Its pines in the wind surely brush the bright moon. There is no convenient occasion for handing down instructions. Isn’t Cloud Gathering Peak (Shūnpō) like this?”

Keizan replied: “Dragon pines stir up clouds. Tiger rocks howl out the wind.”

The monk said [3]: “Hauling firewood and transporting via water are miraculous. Entering the hollows, climbing the peaks is the wind of *prajna* (Perfect Wisdom). But as for Circuitous Stream Peak (Unsuipo), what is it?”

Keizan replied: “Washing the clear sky, making it clearer. A single drop from the fountain of Caoxi (Sokei) fills the Realm of the River and Lake.”

The monk said [4]: “Gold and grain are the Tathagata’s one attachment. This vast field holds the future. Millet Sprout Field (Aohara) is of what variety?”

Keizan replied: “Golden grain, the Tathagata, and the great field convert the living.”

The monk said in reference to Inari Peak (Inarimine) [5]: “Inari marvelously appears in Jambudvipa. Surely since long before there must have been doubts. As for the marvelous response of Inari, what then?”

Keizan replied: “In front of the mountain there is a strip of unused field. So many times it has been sold. So many times it has been bought.”

The monk said [6]: “Transcending all eons, the rice from the monastery’s fragrant kitchen builds mountains and builds tombstones, terminating all feelings of hunger. Facing Rice Abundant Tomb (Iimorizuka), how will you get a word in edgewise?”

Keizan replied: “One bowl of rice from the monastery’s fragrant kitchen; ten thousand men use it without using it up.”

The monk said [7]: “In death there is life. Six gates open. The five elders thusly continue their cool sitting. What about Buried Corpse Hollow (Umeshi-tani)?”

Keizan replied: “One flower blossoms with five petals. The fruit it produced ripens naturally.”

The monk said [8]: “One trunk pillar standing amidst the rivers and clouds. Its branches sweep the earth with their shadows as it supports the heavens. How do you understand Shoe-Hanging Hackberry (Kakikutsu Enoki)?”

Keizan replied: “Traversing oceans and scaling mountains, none of the practitioners who come will ever be able to repay the cost of their straw sandals.”

The monk said in reference to Crow Rock Peak (Usekimine) [9]: “Stone crows understand a language no man hears. Speaking and listening simultaneously, nodding their heads. The language that stone crows understand: Who knows its sound?”

Keizan replied: “The country-viewing pavilion and Crow Rock Peak watch one another from early morning to evening rest.”

The monk said [10]: “The stone women flutter their sleeves without thought or feeling. The wooden men meld to their spot without life. But what about Shaman Witch Field (Mikohara)?”

Keizan replied: “The stone woman sings and dances. The wooden man claps his hands. Such idiots and fools resemble a master among masters (*shuchūshu*).”

The monk said: “Each one of the ten scenic spots has received your comments. The one drop of Tozan [i.e., Dongshan Liangjie (Tozan Ryokai, 807-869)], the clan of Taiyo [i.e., Dayang Jingxuan (Taiyo Kyogen, 942-1027)], flow to all ten scenic spots, pulsating through them. This sacred monastery pierces the clouds beyond the dark greenery. Its jeweled towers and vermilion buildings hang in the empty sky. Is this the scenery of the whole mountain?”

Keizan replied: “The ten scenic spots radiate universally (*fukō*) throughout Tōkoku [Grotto Valley Mountain]. The great solaris (*taiyō*) that fills the eyes appears today the same as in olden days.”

KEIZAN’S DHARMA TALK

Keizan then lectured: “Wondrous spirituality pervading unrestrained; universal radiance sparkling bright; perfectly illuminated without defect. Who can doubt it? Seeing and hearing both perceive without mistake and function without obstructions. All people possess this bright wisdom. One’s entire body cannot contain its outstanding magnitude. Don’t wait for the stony turtles to understand language. Don’t hesitate to sit in the treetops listening to their realization. From the first, one is not restricted to knowing or not knowing. Who says, ‘Ordinary Mind is the Way’? The ancestors and masters extend their hands and transmit their minds. All the Buddhas certify the bestowal of this mystical realization. Don’t seize hold of appearances. Don’t seek after affairs. Only when the mind realizes this spiritual communion will the religious lifeblood of the Buddhas and ancestors flow through. Transcend mundane calculations of the facades of being and emptiness. Become the only one to be revered, attaining the status of the ancestors. Become the marvelous virtuous reverence within the universe. Become the highest illumination within the vast emptiness. Know of every single place that it is one’s own self. Every single place is one’s radiant wisdom. Every single place is one’s wayfaring chapel (*dōjō*). Every single place is one’s practice of Buddha activity. When you return home and sit, how will you understand this?”

Keizan put down his fly whisk (*hosso*) and remained quiet for awhile. His subsequent expressions of thanks to the invited guests were not recorded. Then, he continued: “Earlier a monk asked about this story. When Muzhou Daoming ascended the Dharma seat in a Hall Dedication Ceremony, he asked the prior, ‘Is the superintendent present?’ The prior replied, ‘Present.’ Muzhou again asked, ‘Is the supervisor present?’ The prior replied, ‘Present.’ Muzhou again asked, ‘Is the group leader present?’ The prior replied, ‘Present.’ Muzhou said, ‘The three sections are not the same. Taken together, they all conclude with the first point. The additional text is too long. I will deliver it another day.’ One day while the ancient Buddha Hongzhi Zhengjue was residing on Yuantong Peak of Mount Lu, he went to Donglinsi [Eastern Grove Monastery] to perform a Hall Dedication Ceremony. Hongzhi cited the story of Muzhou and commented as follows: ‘Master Muzhou expounded with ten letters, directing with

both hands. Muzhou's Hall Dedication has been carefully investigated for you people on Yuantong. Now consider the Yuantong Hall Dedication. What will you people say? Ultimately, what do you make of it? Meeting together the sound of knowing is known. Why must the clear wind move heaven and earth?" As for Muzhou and Hongzhi: seven highways, eight advancements. This is my verse summary: All doubts naturally vanish. Now that I have performed this Tōkoku Hall Dedication for you, what will you make of it? „Above the mountains [i.e., heaven] and the round earth both know themselves; the fine jade and rough stone entirely in hundreds of tiny shards.”

The abbot of Jōjūji sounded his bell and called out: “See clearly the Dharma of the Dharma King. The Dharma of the Dharma King is thus.” He came down from his seat and sounded his bell again.

YOKOJI'S BUILDINGS

1324: Genko 4, Senior Wood Year of the Rat

7th Moon, 6th Day, Senior Metal Day of the Dragon:

Yōkōji's name plaques for the buildings arrived. They read: Fukūdō [Universal Radiance (Dharma Hall)], Saishōden [Highest Victory (Buddha Hall)], Yōkōji [Eternally Radiant Temple (Main Gate)], Kōsekiin [Wafting Scent (Kitchen)], Senbutsujō [Buddha Selecting (Monks' Hall)], Myōgon'in [Marvelously Strict (Abbot's Square)], Tōkokusan [Grotto Valley Mountain (Gate)]. Two plaques did not arrive. All the calligraphy was by the noted master Fujiwara Yukifusa, a descendant of the famous calligrapher Fujiwara Tsunetomo who was miraculously fathered by Yuki Yoshi. It is a rare miracle that all the name plaques of the entire temple are written by the same brush. Even the ruling court never commands more than one or two name plaques at a time. It is a blessing for this temple. On the very day the plaques arrived at the temple there were auspicious events. Noichi Tojirō of Kaga Province donated a Nirvana Image to the temple. Its depiction of the four transcendent virtues of Permanence, Bliss, Self, and Purity was unbelievably perfect. On the seventh day of the plaques' arrival (i.e.; the 12th day of that moon), Keizan returned to Yōkōji. On the ninth day (i.e., the 14th day of that moon), Keizan ordained two new monks (named Meijo and Unsho) who enrolled as residents of Yōkōji and performed ritual offerings to the Nirvana Image for nine consecutive days. Each of these occurrences is an auspicious sign of the plaques' arrival.

LIFE AT YŌKŌJI

1325: Shōchō 2, Junior Wood Year of the Ox

4th Moon, 11th day: Permitted the nun Myosho Enkan [Keizan's cousin on his mother's side] to receive initiation in Precept Rituals. I asked her: “How do you understand the story (*kōan*) of Linqi (Rinzai) raising his fly whisk?” Myosho Enkan remained silent. I said: “Your remarks cannot be expressed with expressed with paper and ink.” Myosho Enkan bowed and departed. Thus I permitted the precept initiation.

12th day: Bid farewell to Sonin, the abbess of Enzuin Chapel, as well as her attendant and group leader as they left the temple gate to visit Myosho Enkan, the abbess of Hōōji Convent in Kaga Province.

15th day (full moon): Began Summer Training Retreat. After three days installed the image of the Sacred Monk. (Invited the abbot of Jojuji, Mugai Chiko [d. 1351], to perform the consecration.)

14th day: Kohō Kakumyō (1271-1361) brought bamboo tallies for use in the Precept Recitation Ceremony (*Jusatsu*) and said that they were from bamboo groves at Kōmyozanji Temple in Tōtomi Province. They will become permanent property of Yōkōji. I've heard it said that Eihei-ji's bamboo tallies are from the bamboo groves of Mount Suzuka in Ise Province. I appreciated his kindness in bringing a gift from Totomi and immediately arranged for these tallies to be used in the Precept Recitation Ceremony.

5th moon, 23d day: Made two vows. For life after life, existence after existence, I will convert all living beings and lead them to supreme awakening. I will regard all sins from the distant past that cannot be eliminated as my rare treasures. No other vows shall interfere with the proper endeavor to fulfill these two vows. These two vows were made not for my own self. One of the vows was made [in 1282] when in this present lifetime I awakened my bodhi-seeking mind under the guidance of master Jakuen (1207-1299) of Hōkyōji Temple. I vowed with the bodhisattva Manjusi (Monju) as my witness to disregard my own life on behalf of fulfilling this vow from life to life, existence to existence. The other vow was made in accordance with my compassionate mother Ekan's final instructions to become a bodhisattva dedicated to saving women. She could not be denied. I must follow her instructions and fulfill her command. May the Buddhas of the past, present, and future, the Surangama Sutra and all the Buddhist scriptures maintain and protect my adamant resolve. If these vows accord with the intentions of the Buddhas, then I must certainly experience a mystical dream. While thinking those thoughts I fell asleep. Just as dawn broke I had the following dream: There was my old tattered robe that I had not worn in a long time. Wanting to put it on, I unfolded it and discovered rat nests. It was defiled with cow dung and horse dung, horse tails and human hair, and every kind of impure filth. I shook all the filth out and put it on. Truly it was a marvelous dream! It was an auspicious sign that my vows had been renewed. The Buddhas and ancestors had responded to aspirations and witnessed my two vows.

24th day: The anniversary of my former teacher Ejo's death. After performing the scripture recitation ceremony in his memory, I returned and wrote this entry.

The subsequent abbots of Yōkōji first should be selected from among Keizan's Dharma heirs and should serve as abbots in order of seniority. I have four main disciples. And there is perhaps one more as well as the disciple of a disciple [i.e., six in all]. If Yōkōji's abbotship should ever become vacant, these six heirs should cooperate in selecting someone to propagate Buddhism and benefit the living [i.e., serve as abbot]. Everyone associated with this mountain monk Keizan and all future generations of my lineage must know that each one has a responsibility to propagate Buddhism and benefit the living. All I want is for each generation of my lineage to teach on behalf of the Buddha, to save others, and to prevent the Dharma from disappearing. Dated Shochu 2,

Junior Wood Year of the Ox [1325], beginning of autumn, 7th moon, 2d day.

The six disciples: Meihō Sotetsu (1277-1350), Mugai Chikō (d. 1351), Gasan Jōseki (1276-1366), Koan Shikan (d. 1341), Kohō Kakumyō (1271- 1361), Genshō Chinzan (n.d.).

7th moon, 28th day: Initiated Supervisor Sokei and Supervisor Sondō in precept rituals.

Same day, midnight: Transmitted Dharma lineage to Kohō Kakumyō. Also presented him with my meditation mat. He was my last Dharma heir. The very next morning he left Yōkōji and went to Izumo Province.

7th moon, 16th day: Experience following auspicious dream: A person held a box about a foot deep full of clear water. On the surface of the clear water floated a gold key that formed words that read “room,” “rock house,” and “dipper grotto.” After I awoke I understood what it said. “Room” (*shitsu*) is Mount Shoshitsu, the residence of Bodhidharma. “Rock House” is Mount Stonehead (Sekito), the residence of Sekito Kisen (Shitō Xiqian, 700-790). “Dipper Grotto” is Grotto Valley (Tōkoku), my residence. It means that there is no difference in our understanding. We share the same clear flow. What a marvelous sign!

5th moon, 20th day: Daichi (1290-1366) arrived from distant Kyushu to study. He presented me with copies of *Second Revised Tōzan’s Five Positions Occult Secrets Revealed* (*Juhen Tozan goi kenketsu*), *Sayings of Tōsu Gisei* (*Tosu Gi go*), and *Sayings of Shinketsu Seiryō* (*Shinketsu-ryō go*). The *Second Revised Occult Secrets* has not even been circulated in China, much less Japan. This is the first time anyone has seen it. It should be kept as a secret treasure and should not be shown to anyone except the most highly qualified. It will be our lineage’s most precious asset. The *Sayings of Tosu* and *Sayings of Shinketsu* have been published and already circulate widely.

YŌKŌJI’S ORIGINS

1320: GEN’Ō 2, SENIOR METAL YEAR OF THE MONKEY

Last Night of the Year, Evening Meeting: Keizan explained the origins of this temple. He said:

It is recorded that Dōgen, the abbot of Eihei-ji, once said, “Hundreds of thousands of millions of worlds are revealed in each moment. The Buddhas and ancestors appear to teach you this topic. If I face this issue and attempt to give you a hint, I would say, the thousand mountains and the million valleys: how high, how low.” His great-grandchild, Keizan Jōkin, holding his breath in reverence, will continue the discourse. Assembled monks, do you want to hear?

Keizan paused for awhile and then said:

Such words of no thought, of no awakening, and of no birth! Your nostrils themselves and the clarity of your eyes are the real topic. No matter how much I talk, I could only add that emptiness, in the end, cannot be divided into high or low. Do not analyze yourselves by grasping hold of “yes” or “no.” Piercing intellectual investigations of this floating world are unimportant. This mountain monk Keizan sits in meditation within a training

hall like the moon reflected in the water, instructing students like reflections in a mirror, and enters the samadhi of the chimerical to perform Buddhist rituals that resemble dreams.

Lady Sonin, our landlord, invited me here because she wanted to support a monastery. On my first visit, her husband Unno Nobunao helped me search out a site to build a hermitage in the mountains. At that time, I divined this valley as the place for my meditation cushion. We returned to the patron’s residence to stay the night.

That night I dreamed that I was squatting on the innermost summit of this mountain. Looking into the distance below, I saw that this spot rose above the peaceful mountains below. In between the sky and the ground, within the valley gardens, suddenly a temple materialized. The several buildings, their roofs lined up in all directions, filled the valley. To the right of where the gate would be, there stood a great hackberry tree, the tips of its branches lushly intertwined. Monks gathered from all directions to hang numerous worn-out straw sandals there.

Divining that dream, I understood it as an omen of a superior site that meant if I resided here the tattered monks arriving from all directions certainly would pay back the cost of their straw sandals [i.e., would become worthy students].

Moreover, the following year when I went back to the overlook where I had been in my dream, there was a wild hackberry tree, its growing branches in full leaf. This means that the monastery will certainly flourish. The cloud gathered together like congregations of monks. When we dug a well, the water, gushed out to fill the Realm of the River and the Lake. How fantastic. How fantastic. Asleep or with open eyes, dreaming or awake, I saw the same thing.

In the Zen tradition itinerant monks are referred to as cloud-flowing monks. To visit teachers, to inquire of the Way, monks scale mountains and transverse oceans. Be it east or west, traveling north or south, they have no fixed abode. Walking their meandering route, higher and higher they come up or little by little go down. Like clouds and flowing streams, they travel beyond the farthest mountain, beyond the ends of the seas. They wear straw sandals and shoulder pilgrimage staffs. If one of them meets a good Zen master to whom he can respond, he will immediately open his bright Eye of the Correct Teaching (*shōbōgen*). That is how he would repay the cost of his straw sandals and break his pilgrimage staff. This is the rule for Zen monks.

I remember when [in 1313] I first returned to this mountain to build a hut. Venerable Vajraputra (Bajarahottara), the eighth of the sixteen major arhats, came to this mountain and entered my dream. He examined the mountain and said: “Elder Jōkin, although this is a small mountain, it is a superior location. There are no spots to obstruct the gods. Your propagation of Buddhism and teaching of students will succeed as desired.”

Therefore, I built the hut and began teaching students from all quarters. For tea, I boiled pine needles. For a tea bowl, I used oak leaves. When I first received donations, I used a small pot to measure the rice—not having any standard measure.

[In 1317] when Sonin donated the Abbot’s Square, I formally named this monastery. Because I admired Dongshan

Liangjie (Tozan Ryokai, 807-869, who lived on Grotto Mountain) from the distant past and also valued the insight of dreams in the present, I named this monastery Tōkoku Daikapō Yōkōji (i.e., Grotto Valley, Great Hackberry Peak, Eternally Shinning Monastery) and named the Abbot's Square Myōshogon'in (Marvelously Adorned Building).

For food I relied upon the two holy bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Akasa-garbha (Kokuzo), and on the two gods Vaisravana (Bishamon) and Mahakala (Karaten). The three treasures (the Buddha, His Teachings, and His Community), the two holy ones, and the two gods were our patrons. And Inari, the god of this mountain, the protective spirits of the land, and Shōhō Shichirō (a guardian god) were our servants. That summer [1318] we conducted the first ninety-day training period here. Our comptroller and my attendant obtained bucketfuls of wild rice from Elder Wetlands (Chōja-ga-sawa), located in this province. We stored that rice for three full years.

On the night of the 8th day of the last moon, the anniversary of the Buddha's awakening, as I slept in the seated posture, one of those buckets entered my dream. It stood right in front of this old monk. I purified it for use. That same dawn the temple patron also dreamed the same dream. A man presented me with a great serving of rice. I ate some rice and then presented the rice to him. That bucket of rice when used as this old monk's eating bowl shrunk to only two-thirds its size. It automatically became the appropriate amount of food for a disciple of the Buddha. Thus a monk's eating bowl can contain the vastness of the sky while at the same time any single thing can fill the entire bowl. Each person receives in accordance with his needs. There is no fixed allotment.

Tonight is the last night of the old year. Tomorrow is the first day of the new year, the beginning of spring. Your eating bowls partake of the endless nourishment of joy in the Dharma as each receives the rice treasures that sprout from Elder Wetlands. For this reason, sometimes a bucketful of this treasure rice is equivalent to one bushel, while other times a single bowlful donated to gods and men fills one bucketful. The extremely large equals the minute. The extremely small equals the immense.

All the Buddha's disciples receive the nourishing light of food to eat from his *urna* (tuft of hair between his eyebrows). Each person eats the food as the food consumes people. The gruel suffices. The steamed rice suffices. If you embody the fortitude not to squander a single grain of rice then a scoopful fills a bucket while a bucketful fills one cup. When a small amount is needed, use a small amount. When a large amount is needed, use a large amount.

The Buddhist Way certainly transcends opulence and frugality. Therefore, administrators are to receive large portions. Moreover, approximately one bushel of rice, divided into thirds, should be used for the daily meals. Two-thirds are to be offered to the revered Three Treasures and one-third allotted for feeding the compassionate underlings. Whether serving many or a few, the managing monks should follow the same procedures. Abundance or scarcity depends on the offerings received from men and gods and Heaven's blessings. If the community of monks is limitless, then they certainly will beckon limitless fortune. The community,

whether large or small, will have rations appropriate for each day's meals. If there is enough for steamed rice, cook steamed rice. If there is not enough for steamed rice, cook rice gruel. If there is not enough for rice gruel, cook rice broth. This has been the family teaching of the Sōtō lineage since the time of Furong Daokai (Fuyō Dokai, 1043-1118).

Monastic administrators must serve all monks with a large heart. The monastic cook is to balance the three virtues of cooked food and to cultivate the two fields of merit. Even the entire great earth could never exhaust the twenty years lifespan of limitless blessings bequeathed by Sakyamuni Buddha.

Now, I ask you assembled monks, as for the activities of endless merit, what then?

Keizan paused for awhile and then said: In the dark grotto valley [i.e., Yōkōji], coming and going regardless of the locked barrier, walk the two-headed men.

The text above address clarifies the history of this monastery. I have written down the details for future reference.

SONIN'S PLEDGE

1321: GEN'Ō 3, JUNIOR METAL YEAR OF THE COCK
New spring (1st moon), the following was recorded:

This monastery is located within the Sakai Estate, in the district of Kashima. Its property boundaries are listed in its deed. Lady Taira Sonin is the daughter of Sako Hachiro Yorichika and is the wife of Unno Saburō Shigeno Nobunao. The two of them, Sonin and Unno Nobunao, donated this land as an act of faith.

They declared: "We donate this small mountain. We desire only that Master Keizan reside here for awhile. We will take absolutely no notice whether the temple thrives or decays. Also, we are not concerned whether the master observes or violates the Buddhist precepts. Likewise, if the master gives the land to a wife, child or relative, or even to outcasts (*hinin*) and beggars, we will not interfere. We will donate the land to the master once and for all with no intention of ever resuming control. We have long awakened to the mind of no attachments and dare not harbor any material desires."

I was moved by the patrons' pure intentions. I decided this would be my final resting place and would be the pure site at which to intern the remains and writings of our successive patriarchs.

FIRST DREAMS OF YŌKŌJI

1312: SHOWA 2 [1313], SENIOR WATER YEAR OF THE RAT [1312]

Spring: Sonin awakened her bodhi-seeking mind and donated the land. On that night I lodged at the patron's house at Nakakawa. In my dreams I saw the temple buildings appear and in front of the main gate stood a hackberry tree with straw sandals hanging on it. From this, I knew that it would be a superior site where monks would repay the cost of their straw sandals. It was the peaceful, quiet place where I wanted to live out my life in seclusion.

1317: BUNPŌ 1, JUNIOR FIRE YEAR OF THE SNAKE

In response to the desires of Sonin, the patron, and in accord with the dying wishes of Sakō Hachirō Yorimoto, her brother

who was the land steward (*jitō*) of Nakakawa, the former residence of their father, Yorichika, was donated to Keizan as an offering for his karmic benefit and for the fulfillment of their prayers. That residence was converted into the Abbot's Square.

8th Moon, Autumn: Moved the residence and rebuilt it as an Abbot's Square.

10th Moon, 2d Day: Moved disciples. Performed formal inauguration ceremony.

1313: SHŌWA 2, JUNIOR WATER YEAR OF THE OX

8th Moon: When I first built a hut to serve as a makeshift kitchen-office (*kuin*), Vajraputra (Bajarahottara), the eighth arhat, came here. After looking over the mountain landscape, he told me: "Although this is a small mountain, it is a superior location. It is superior to Eihei-ji. At Eihei-ji, the abbot's building sits in a hollow. That is where the obstructing gods reside. All of Eihei-ji's past obstructions have resulted from poor location. This mountain monastery, however, has no obstructions. Your propagation of Buddhism and teaching of monks and nuns will succeed as desired." It is true. In the nine years since erecting that hut, there have been no obstructions. Doing nothing special, I practice Buddhism and the monastery flourishes more every year.

1317: BUNPŌ 1, JUNIOR FIRE YEAR OF THE SNAKE

Winter Training Period: Koan Shikan (d. 1341), the comptroller, Genka Tek-kyo (d. 1321), the supervisor of the Monks' Hall, and Kakunichi, the sanitation officer, dreamed the same dream: Inari, the mountain god of this monastery, gave them a favorable announcement. Inari said, "I am the former master of this mountain. I support Buddhism in this province. I will offer salted pickles (etc.)." His spiritual arrow pacifies the mountains to the west. Just one shot pacifies both the mountains in front and in back.

I also had a dream. The guardian god of this province came and reported: "This is a message from the First Shrine of the province. I will supply vegetables." Thus we receive the mystical blessings and protection of the First Shrine.

Also, to protect the temple, I carved a piece of camphor wood into an image of a seated Vaisravana. His left hand holds a wish-fulfilling jewel and his right hand forms the mudra of offering. He is the main image in the kitchen. I can feel his protection in my dreams.

Winter: Mahakala also came. One of the workers observed him.

1318: BUNPŌ 2, SENIOR EARTH YEAR OF THE HORSE

Spring: Getsuan Koei dreamed that the guardian god Shohō Shichiro came to this mountain to announce: "Enshrine me in the Abbot's Square and I will guard over this lineage and protect this monastery." According to these omens, the mountain god, the First Shrine, and Shohō Shichiro protect this temple and provide offerings.

Avalokitesvara used to be the main object of worship in this temple. Therefore, Avalokitesvara stands alongside the new central image [of Sakyamuni Buddha]. Because Akasagarbha rains treasures down to the monks, his image also stands on the other side. Therefore, the three treasures of the Buddha, His Teachings, and His Disciples, the two holy ones (Avalokitesvara

and Akasa-garbha), and the two gods (Vaisravana and Mahakala) all are patrons who support this monastic community.

1319: GEN'Ō 1, JUNIOR EARTH YEAR OF THE RAM

9th moon, 15th day (full moon): First performed service for arhats. Should be performed every 25th day of each moon. That is what the venerable arhats expect.

I am a sixteenth-generation Dharma descendant of the high patriarch Dong-shan Liangjie [Tōzan Ryokai, 807-869], who lived on Grotto Mountain. Because I admire his teachings, I named this mountain "Tōkoku" (Grotto Valley). My changing "mountain" to "Valley" is based on the precedent of Dongshan's disciple Caoshan Benji [Sozan Honjaku, 840-901], who named his monastery Caoshan (Sozan) Mountain in honor of the sixth patriarch's Caoxi Valley.

I am an eleventh-generation Dharma descendant of the high patriarch Da-yang, "Great Sun" [Dayang Jingxuan, Taiyo Kyogen, 943-1027]. Because I admire the Great Shining Sun that fills my eyes, I have named this temple "Yōkōji" (Eternally Shining Temple).

The Buddha Hall is named Highest Victory Hall (Saishōden) because when the Buddha preached the *Highest Victory King Sutra* [*Saishookyō*, T 665], the two bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Akasagarbha stood by his side.

The Monks' Hall is named Buddha Selecting Site (Senbutsujo) because mental emptiness extends to each.

The Kitchen is named Wafting Scent Hermitage (Kosekiin) because eating food gives strength.

The Bath is named Source of Enlightening Water (Myōsuiin) because washing away impurities is awakening.

Lady Taira Sonin is the second coming of my grandmother, the laywoman Myōchi, who had been Dōgen's disciple since the time he was at Kenninji Temple in Kyoto. The Lady Sonin and I stick together like steel and a magnet. As teacher and patron, or teacher and disciple, we are inseparable.

1321: GEN'Ō 3, JUNIOR METAL YEAR OF THE COCK

1st moon, 28th day: Genka Tekkyō passed away. He was one of the first five people I ever ordained, just like the venerable Kaundinya (Chinnyo) who was one of the first five disciples ordained by the Buddha. He had served as Jōmanji Temple's first supervisor and served as supervisor for my master Jakuen (1207-1299) at Hōkyōji Temple. Here at Yōkōji he was assistant abbot. Forever hereafter he should be revered as the supervisor of this temple.

KEIZAN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

During the time of the Buddha Vipasyin (Bibashi Butsu), the first of the Seven Buddhas of the Past:

After having attained the awakening of an arhat I resided in the Himalaya Mountains north of Mount Sumeru, the central axis of the world. At that time there existed a Kokila Bird tree spirit, a four-legged beast with a dog's head, a bird's body and the belly and tail of a reptile. That tree spirit instantly attained enlightenment and to this day, together with venerable Subinda (Sohinda), the fourth arhat, continues to reside among the snowy Himalaya Mountains of Uttara Kuru (Hotsu Kuroshu), the Northern Continent. Likewise, in this present existence I have

been born here in northern Japan. I have prior karmic links to the Northern Continent and am a child of Hakusan, the White Mountain.

My eighth year of life [i.e., seven years old, 1271]: Shaving my head as a novice, I joined the community of Master Gikai, then abbot of Eihei-ji.

My thirteenth year [1276]: I became a fully ordained monk, the last disciple ordained by Master Ejo, formerly the second abbot of Eihei-ji.

My eighteenth year [1281]: I resolved to attain the Way.

My nineteenth year [1282]: While studying under Prior Jakuen I awakened to the bodhi-seeking mind and attained the stage of nonretrogression.

My twenty-second year [1285]: Upon hearing a stray sound I attained awakening.

My twenty-fifth year [1288]: Like Avalokitesvara, I pronounced the universal vow (to save all beings) of the supremely compassionate *icchantika*, who never enter Nirvana.

My twenty-eighth year [1291]: I served as abbot of Joman-ji in Kaifu, Awa Province, Shikoku Island.

My twenty-ninth year [1292]: Elder Gien of Eihei-ji authorized me to perform precept ordinations. In early winter of that year, I administered the precepts for the first time, ordaining five people. By my thirty-first year [1294], I had ordained more than seventy people.

My thirty-second year [1295]: I realized the teaching of Master Gikai, the founding abbot of Daijō-ji, Kaga Province. I inherited Gikai's Dharma line, becoming his foremost disciple and Daijō-ji's first assistant abbot. Attaining the honor of shared abbotship was Gikai's attestation that I had attained the fortitude to surpass my teacher.

My thirty-third year [1297]: The ceremony for appointing me chief monk was conducted in the abbot's building.

My thirty-fifth year [1298]: I assumed full office by becoming Daijō-ji's second abbot. For nineteen years I instructed students at Daijō-ji, until [in 1317] I moved to this monastery (Yōkō-ji) as its founding abbot.

Ever since having realized the fruit of awakening, throughout five hundred rebirths I have appeared in bodily form in order to propagate the Dharma and benefit the living.

Bodhidharma appeared in a dream and ordered me to bathe in the pure water flowing out of the rocks at the base of his seat. Bathing in the icy pool, I was naked. He presented me with a *kasaya* robe. Placing it on, I awakened to the bodhi-seeking mind.

The future Buddha Maitreya appeared in a dream and presented me with a blue lotus throne. It transported me through three rebirths. He led me flying across the sky. Celestial beings performed music to send off Maitreya. As he led me to the inner palace in Tusita heaven, I attained the stage of nonretrogression.

Sakyamuni appeared in a dream and manifested his bodily form of preaching the *Ratnakuta Sutra* (*Hoshakukyo*, T 310). He explained the three methods of liberation, namely, liberation through opportunity, liberation through mind, and liberation through objects.

My fifty-eighth year [1321]: On this first night of the beginning of spring, in the third year of the Gen'ō era, I have sat in meditation, neither dreaming nor awake, testifying to the seal of awakening.

KEIZAN'S MOTHER

1322: GENKO 2, SENIOR WATER YEAR OF THE DOG

6th moon, 18th day: Established the Universally Pervading (Enzuin) Avalokitesvara Hermitage at Supreme Lotus Peak (Shorenpo) and appointed as its first abbess Sister Sonin, the main patron of Yōkō-ji Temple. Its main object of worship is the image of an eleven-headed Avalokitesvara that my compassionate mother of this rebirth had kept and worshipped throughout her life.

The history of this image of Avalokitesvara began during my compassionate mother's eighteenth year [ca. 1244-1245]. She had become separated from my grandmother and did not know where grandmother had gone. For seven or eight years my mother suffered distress over this. Finally, she went to the Avalokitesvara Worship Hall of the Kiyomizudera to perform seven days of worship. On the sixth day, along the road to the temple she purchased the head of this image of Avalokitesvara. She thereupon made the following declaration and prayer. "While traveling to the Kiyomizu in order to pray for knowledge of my mother's whereabouts, I have obtained the head of this image and thereby will establish a karmic connection. If this connection is true, then show me some of your compassion. If you help me find my mother, then I will complete your body and worship you my whole life."

The next day, on the road, she met a woman. The following day, on the way to worship at Kiyomizu, they met again and the woman informed my mother of her mother's whereabouts. She immediately went to a Buddhist artisan and ordered a body carved for this image of Avalokitesvara. Thereafter she continued her devotions to it all of her life.

One morning when my compassionate mother was in her thirty-seventh year [ca. 1263-1264], she dreamed that she had swallowed the warmth of the morning sunlight. She had a sensation in her womb and realized that she had become pregnant. At that point she prayed to this image, saying, "If this unborn child is to become a holy man, is to become a great religious master and is to become of benefit to gods and men, then let me have an easy delivery. However, if these are not to be, then, Avalokitesvara, use your spiritual powers to wither it dead while still in my womb."

Every day she made 3,333 prostrations and recitations of the *Avalokitesvara Sutra* (*Kannongyō*). After seven months, while traveling on the road to the birthing room, she calmly gave birth to me. She named me Yukio (Traveling Birth). I was born in the Avalokitesvara Worship Hall in Tane Village, Echizen. After that, in all affairs and concerns, she would pray to this image.

My career has been without difficulty. All the good things that I have accomplished—my becoming a monk, my study of literature, my Buddhist training, my attainment of knowledge, as well as my Dharma succession, my abbotship and my teaching

gods and men—occurred because of the power of my mother’s prayers to this image.

And that is not all. When I was young, I was hateful and would pass by people as if they were my inferiors. Therefore, my mother again prayed to this image, saying, “Keizan, in spite of his ability, his cleverness, his wisdom, and his being better than the rest, will never be of benefit to gods and people as long as his hatefulness continues to increase. With the power of prayer, put an end to his hatefulness.”

By that time, in the winter of my eighteenth year [1281], I had awakened to the Way-seeking mind, and in the autumn of my nineteenth year [1282] I strengthened my resolve to pursue the Way. Finally, I began serving as group leader, managing Hōkyōji Temple’s affairs at the head of the other monks. Everyone was happy for me. Then, one person spoke ill of me. My hatefulness flared up. I was ready to commit a major transgression. Yet, while planning my revenge, I repented my anger. I thought, “Since youth I have tried to better myself and surpass others. Now, I have awakened my bodhi-seeking mind and serve in this monastic office. My goal is to master Buddhism and to teach gods and men. That is my vow. If I commit an evil act, then the way will be closed to me. From now on I will not be hateful.” Since then, I have gradually developed compassion and compliancy. And now, I have become a great master.

All of this is due to the power of my mother’s prayers. Therefore, in her eighty-seventh year [ca.1313-1314] when my compassionate mother passed away, she bequeathed this image to me.

[In 1317] when I entered this mountain as abbot of Yokōji, I designated one hill, named Supreme Lotus Peak (located next to Circuitous Stream Peak and Millet Sprout Field). I have built a retreat there, named Universally Pervading Avalokitesvara Hermitage, and appointed as its first abbess Sister Sonin, the main patron of Yokōji Temple. I also have presented her with clippings of my hair and my preserved umbilical cord along with my compassionate mother’s image of Avalokitesvara. It is now the main object of worship at this hermitage. Because Sonin is unequaled in her faith and her purity and has awakened her bodhi-seeking mind, I have given this image to her. The hair clippings and umbilical cord are to be placed to the right of the image. They should be kept in a pewter box.

I have written this for future reference. Henceforth Universally Pervading Avalokitesvara Hermitage will offer prayers to protect Yokōji Temple, prayers to fulfill my mother’s vow to save all women, and prayers for Keizan’s promotion of the Buddhist Dharma that benefits the living. This is the history of the Universally Pervading Avalokitesvara Hermitage.

The geomancy of this land indicates that a hermitage should be located at Supreme Lotus Peak. That is why the monk Myōshinbō occasionally has heard the mystical Sounds like an assembly of monks reciting scriptures there. I spoke of this while preparing the site this spring. There can be no doubt that those sounds were good omens for the hermitage. Yokōji’s Buddha Hall and the Universally Pervading Avalokitesvara Hermitage were constructed the same year.

[p. 114:]

AS WE NOTED earlier, the *Record of Tokoku* is not only a narrative of the origins of Yokoji but also an oneirical autobiography. Keizan dreamed of making the monastic community of Yokoji into a dream community, in every sense of the word. When he spent his first night at Tokoku, in the home of his patrons, Keizan saw in a dream a magnificent monastery prefiguring the future Yokoji:

It also happened that the night after the donors' decision and gift I was staying at their home and I saw in a dream the halls of a wonderful monastery. When I reached the great *enoki* tree on which people hung their straw sandals, the one standing in front of the gate, I realized that this was a special site, where wandering monks could reimburse the cost of their straw sandals. Having received [this mountain] as a gift, I wanted to make it into a place of retreat for the rest of my life. [JDZ, 392]

In a collective instruction dated 1320, that is, eight years later; Keizan returns in more detail to that founding event:

The original owner of this mountain, the lady Taira *no uji*, wanted to invite me and make me a gift of it. At first, I went with [her husband] Unno Nobunao to look for a site on the mountain for my hermitage. I then took possession of this hollow and made it my meditation place. Then, during the night that I spent in the home of my benefactors, I dreamed that I went to squat on the summit of the mountain and looked way down to the base. Between the high peak and the deep valley, the interval [was that which separates] heaven from earth. In a court in the hollow, a monastery suddenly appeared. Many buildings, their rooftops aligned, filled the whole valley. On the right, in front of the monastery gate, was a great *enoki* tree with burgeoning branches. Pilgrims came from all quarters and hung their straw sandals on it. When I interpreted this dream, it became clear to me that, if I settled in this place, monks would come from the four cardinal directions to repay here the price of their sandals. This is the sign that it was an extraordinary site.

Furthermore, the next year when I saw the slope that had appeared in my dream, I noted that there actually was an *enoki* tree there, one whose branches, as they grew, were becoming luxuriant. Thus the monastery would prosper just as the clouds mass together swell up, and finally conceal the valley, or streams in flood flow down and fill the rivers and lakes. Strange, truly strange! See how wakefulness and sleep merge together; dream and waking harmonize. [JDZ, 397]

Thus, this dream revealed to Keizan that this site, of no very distinguished appearance, was in reality one of the focal spots of the invisible world, a place peopled by extraordinary beings whose secret presence would protect present and future monks. Two universes, and two monasteries (visible and invisible) are superimposed on the axis formed by the great tree that Keizan dreamed of and whose real existence he had subsequently uncovered. Fortified by this proof, he was thenceforth convinced of his mission. He knew then for sure that Yokoji, the Monastery of the Eternal Light, would become the center from which the Buddhist Law would radiate out over Japan. The center had moved from Eiheiji to Yokoji (to be understood as from Dogen to Keizan), as the Arhat Vajraputra would confirm in the course of another dream that was to rule over the destinies of Yokoji and its monastic community. This dream, recorded in the *Record of Tokoku* just after the one quoted above, actually took place one year later [1313], when Keizan began to build at Tokoku a thatched cabin that would serve as a provisional refectory for the monks.

Keizan was an inveterate dreamer who made dreams into a veritable way of life: they supplied a criterion for truth, but also an instrument of power. His visions gave him privileges to which the ordinary dreamers could not hope to aspire. But Keizan did not lose himself in his dreams. To a certain extent he controlled them, manipulated them. As he dreamed, he found himself. He stood on the dangerous boundary between the real and the oneirical, on the threshold of an invisible world that called him ceaselessly without causing him to lose his sense of reality. Keizan remained a realistic dreamer, one who found in dreams the foundation of his adaptation to real life. Although he seems at times to have preferred his visions to the prosaic reality of the external world, he did not reject the latter. He acquired through his dreams and visions a feeling that he had a supernatural mission and then set to work to transfigure everyday events, which he turned into so many –Buddha affairs."

The *Record of Tokoku* belongs to the literary genre of –foundation chronicles" (*engi*) but also has many of the features of another fairly widespread genre, that of the –record of dreams" (*yume no ki*), of which the most renowned example is by Myoe. Nevertheless, this does not seem to have been its primary function. In a –record of dreams, "the dreams are usually set down in writing soon after the dreamer awakes and they are saved as basic materials for a psychological or spiritual hermeneutic. In the *Record of Tokoku*, the dreams are often recorded long after the fact and only insofar as they cast light on the foundation of Yokoji. Keizan does not give us all his dreams. Far from it. But neither, doubtless, do the compilers of –records of dreams." This is not important, however since all these works (whatever may have been

their ulterior motives) give us a privileged and invaluable access to the *imaginaire* of the medieval monk.

At the outset we should note that for Buddhists there is no clear distinction between dreams that come during sleep and visions achieved in a waking state, or more precisely during meditation, in a state (*samadhi*) that, like trance, is often defined as being ~~neither~~ sleeping nor waking.” As Keizan himself notes: ~~In~~ the first Genko year [1321], *kanenoto tori*, on the night of the beginning of spring, while I was seated in meditation, [in a state that was] neither dreaming nor waking, I expressed by myself the confirmation [of awakening]” [JDZ, 399]. This different conception of the boundary between sleep and waking sometimes makes it difficult to tell whether we are dealing with visions or dreams, with modes of waking or of sleeping, with lucid or deluded consciousness. The border dividing the visible from the invisible does not follow the line we think of as obvious. As in ancient Greece, where a single term, *opsis*, meant ~~sight~~ (objective or subjective), presence, but also a dream,” dreams in Buddhism constitute part of the visible and ~~they~~ function like an *autopsy*’ [*auto-opsis*, ~~self~~-vision]” for the person who receives them.” Dreams and visions establish a quasi-hallucinatory connection with reality, which in turn brings up the question of their truth: are we dealing with a connection—a privileged connection even— or a nonconnection? When Keizan sees in his dream a wonderful monastery on the site of the future Yokoji and later discovers in the real world certain elements of his dream, he is fusing two levels: not so much the antagonistic ones of waking and illusion, as Mahayana doctrine would have it, but rather those of the real and the imaginary. In this case dreams are perceived as the highest expression of reality. Far from being one who, in Balzac’s words, ~~dreams~~ and does not think,... stirs and does not create,” Keizan is one of those for whom to dream is both to think and to create. Thus dreaming his life is not better than living it because it is precisely living it, and one lives it fully only as one dreams it. Dreams do not make up a ~~parallel~~” and illusory reality, since they tend to blend with the waking state: they make up this life, the only true one. Yet, in the end, the separation between waking and dreaming must be maintained: dreaming defines a particular, sacred time and space. Although Keizan keeps these two spheres of reality separate, he allows a regulated overflowing from the one into the other. Standing on the threshold between the two realms, he acts as a mediator, a ~~keeper~~ of the gate.”

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[p. 121:]

THE PRACTICE OF DREAMS

In the *Zazen yojinki*, a short treatise on meditation, Keizan seems to deny all soteriological value to visions achieved through meditation. But Keizan was still a

person who lived his dreams, or dreamed his life. The *Record of Tokoku* alone mentions about twenty separate dreams, and other texts by Keizan report his oneiric experiences. Despite his enunciation of the Buddhist principle of emptiness, Keizan lived in a world permeated with very ~~real~~” dreams. He shared this worldview with many Buddhists of the period, for whom dreams provided a privileged access to the invisible world. On this point he was very close to Myoe, for whom ~~dreams~~ should be feared,” because they eventually come true. Like Myoe, Keizan cultivated the gift of dreaming and having visions, and during these episodes he frequently communicated with transcendent beings. The *Record of Tokoku* can thus be read as the account of a quest after visions.

Actually Buddhist dream practice was not entirely passive. It was possible to induce auspicious visions, and various methods existed to achieve this. Thus the *Great Dharani Sutra* (*Da fangdeng tuoluoni jing*) includes a discussion of ~~dream~~ practice” in which are described a dozen typical dreams, corresponding to the twelve demon-kings converted by the Bodhisattva hero of this text. Also described is the so-called ~~seven-day~~” method, the period during which visions come that must be kept secret. This method was taken up again by the founder of the Tiantai school, Zhiyi (538-597). According to his disciple Ryuben, Myoe cultivated an esoteric method, implying the use of mantras and *mudras*, to encourage ~~true~~ dreams” (*masa yume*). Such methods had long been practiced in China, as is attested by a document from Dunhuang. The monk-painter Guanxiu (832-912), celebrated for his Arhat ~~portraits~~,” explains their genesis thus: ~~Each~~ time I paint one Arhat, I positively pray for a dream. Thus I obtain the real shape of the saints and I paint them quite differently from the ordinary Arhat figures.” Likewise, it is a *kami* who explains to Keizan in a dream how to make an icon of the Buddhist guardian Bishamon. On every important occasions, Keizan tried to obtain auspicious dreams. As he notes after recording the two solemn vows he made at the end of his life, ~~If~~ one accords with the will of the Buddhas, one will certainly have auspicious dreams.” Having gone to sleep with this thought, he effectively had at dawn a dream that he considered to be auspicious.

...

[P. 126:]

KEIZAN’S DREAMS

The *Record of Tokoku*, Keizan’s ~~dream~~ diary,” is less well known and not as extensive as that of Myoe, but it does contain many interesting dreams. Like Myoe, Keizan noted down his premonitory dreams and especially those that were connected to the monasteries he founded. As we have seen, he had an oneirical revelation of the future prosperity of Yokoji: ~~I~~ saw in a dream the halls of a wonderful monastery. When I reached the great *enoki* tree off which people hung their

straw sandals, the one standing in front of the gate, I realized that this was a special site, where wandering monks could reimburse the cost of their straw sandals” [JDZ, 392]. This vision was confirmed by the prediction made in 1312 by the Arhat Vajraputra, again during a dream. Keizan remembered this dream ten years later and noted that the prediction had come true since his teaching had prospered since his move to Tokoku. The dream here justifies after the event the schism between Gikai and Keizan and shows that, in spite of appearances, Keizan’s community in the Noto peninsula was just as orthodox as, if not more so than, that of the successors of Dogen at Eihei-ji. Even more meaningful is the dream in which Keizan received the transmission of the Buddhist Law, successively from Bodhidharma, Maitreya, and Sakyamuni. The latter appears to him in a specific context, at the time of his preaching the *Ratnakuta-sutra*, and more precisely the teaching of the “Three Deliverances”—from time, mind, and phenomena. This sutra seems to play an important role in Keizan’s dream world, as it appears at least in another dream. At any rate the denial of the phenomenal world is paradoxically based on the ultimate assumption of this world within a dream. It is during an experience that includes time, mind, and phenomena that Keizan must deliver himself from these three aspects of reality. Just as in the esoteric rituals so well known to him, the denial of images in the name of emptiness is permitted through a manifestation that is itself eidetic.

Keizan’s dream (if it is truly a single dream) corresponds quite closely to that in which Myoe went up to Tusita Heaven. Bodhidharma takes the place of Manjusri, but we seem to have here some kind of oneiric tradition. The dreams experienced by Myoe and Keizan, while they fit into the Buddhist framework, have all kinds of connotations that would lead us to call them, for want of a better term, shamanistic. The symbolism of ascent that characterizes some of them is also found in many other Chan/Zen dreams, usually in connection with Maitreya’s Palace. We know, for example, that Dainichi Nonin, the founder of the Darumashu, also went up into Tusita Heaven. These shamanistic elements are even more striking in the case of the dreams of the Chan master Hanshan Deqing (1546-1623). In one of these in particular, Hanshan was invited by the Bodhisattva Manjusri to take a bath on the northern terrace of Mount Wutai. Just as he was about to get into the bath, he realized that there was already someone in it, a young woman. Overcome by disgust [sic], he refused to get into the bath. But when the person in question turned out to be a man, Hanshan did not wait any longer. The man washed him from head to toe and what is more cleaned his five visceral organs—as one washes a basket of meat.” Hanshan soon had, literally, no more than skin over his bones, and his body became as transparent as a crystal cage. A little later an Indian monk brought him

something to drink in a skullcap filled with bloody bone marrow and brain tissue: an especially disgusting mixture, but one whose taste, going against all expectations, was that of sweet dew. The draught gave Hanshan the impression of being purified in every pore of his skin. After having rubbed his back, the Indian monk suddenly clapped his hands and Hanshan woke up. Although he was covered with sweat, he felt himself—very clean and relaxed.”

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[p. 129:]

If we admit that the “performative” dreams of Keizan, those, for example in which he receives the transmission, are the oneiric replica and confirmation of a transmission ritual taking place in the framework of the monastery itself, should the confirmation of his awakening be taken as a “sign” or as a performative act? The notion of a sign should not lead us into error: Favorable signs have the effect of actually wiping away faults and so can lead to spiritual progress. Dreams and visions are “vectors of action,” because in a way they “find their place in the trans-migratory cycle, as in a single system, which is ruled by the law of causality and action.” Finally, we must take into consideration the sectarian strategy in these dreams of ascension, which, by legitimizing with the seal of the otherworldly a transmission that may at times be problematic, permits an end run around established hierarchies. Thus a document dated 1460 reports that Dainichi Nonin, who had never been to China and so had difficulty in gaining recognition for his new Darumashu, went up in a dream to Tusita Heaven where he received from Maitreya a relic of the Buddha.

If we wanted to establish a typology of dreams for Keizan, we could distinguish between hermeneutic, performative, and premonitory dreams (although these last constitute a category of the hermeneutic type). To the last category belongs the dream in which Keizan sees a majestic monastery stretched out over the entire Tokoku valley, the dream featuring a huge tree with luxuriant foliage, or the vision of clouds and flooding waters. Keizan himself gives a quasi-psychoanalytic interpretation of the latter when he sees in it an oneiric transposition of the term *unsui*, “clouds and waters,” used metaphorically to designate Zen adepts. And he concludes, “Strange, truly strange! See how wakefulness and sleep merge together, dream and waking harmonize” [JDZ, 397]. As another premonitory dream, we have already cited the prediction of the Arhat Vajraputra concerning Yokoji. The Arhat based his predication on the geomantic excellence of the Tokoku site. This dream would later actually permit Keizan to go against geomantic norms. When he planned to construct the Goroho funerary mound on a hill behind the monastery, a disciple informed him that this was contrary to the normal rule: “When

the site of the stupa is higher than that of the monastery, the lineage will be interrupted. How was this [error] possible?" Keizan then thought, "From the outset all my decisions concerning this monastery have been based on revelations [received] in dreams. Thus, when I began to build my hermitage, the Venerable [Vajraputra] announced to me, 'Nothing will stand in the way of the numberless activities of this monastery, and you will be able to spread the Buddhist Law there as you will.' As a result, the site of this stupa will remain for all eternity, because it was in a dream that I learned it and understood it" [JDZ, 409].

Keizan then decided to trust his next vision in order to determine the placing of Goroho. In a similar vein, when he explained why he decided to rename the mountain Tokoku, Keizan referred to the tradition of Dongshan Liangjie (J. Tozan Ryokai), but also to his own oneiric universe. "In distant matters, I aspired to emulate Tozan; for matters near at hand, I valued dreaming. It was thus that, combining the two [approaches], I baptized [this monastery] 'Magnificent Hall of Eternal Light of the Peak of the Great Enoki Tree on Mount Tokoku'" [JDZ, 398]. A dream is thus not only a "memory palace" in that it permits one to know about past lives, but it is also an instrument of divination that permits one to foretell the future. Dreams thus constitute a beginning of transcendence when it comes to time, a harbinger of awakening.

Keizan also records dreams with a doctrinal tendency. It really seems that, like Myoe, he expected from dreams not only predictions but also a gnosis. During a discussion with his disciples, he mentioned that he had been able, during meditation, to "meet the men within the mirror" and, entering into the form of concentration known as "~~s~~amadhi of illusion" (*nyogen zanmai*, Skt. *mayopamasamadhi*), "perform Buddha work within a dream." The *samadhi* to which he refers seems to have played a certain role in Mahayana before being itself rejected as illusory in the general movement of disapproval of the imagination and the intermediary world. Still, as we have seen, it retained its full value with masters like Myoe and Keizan. In one of these "~~d~~octrinal" dreams, Keizan read a passage from the *Ratnakuta-sutra*, a sutra that often recurs in his dreams. As soon as he woke up, he checked the original and found that the two versions (oneiric and "~~r~~éal") of the passage reflected each other, were mutually explanatory.

On the fourth day of the second month [of the year 1321] I read the *Ratnakuta-sutra*. Then, having fallen asleep sitting up, I saw in a dream a passage of the sutra that said, "Do not reject vain thoughts; do not desire wisdom." On my awakening, [I realized that] this passage was really saying, "After having purified and cultivated the vision of the Buddha, one makes manifest and ascertains all things." With these words, I obtained awakening. As I have already explained, in

the Dharma there is nothing that can be revealed, and nothing that can be denigrated, for all things are like space. This is why I have supplied these explanations [JDZ, 399].

In another dream, Keizan continued a dialogue with two of his disciples that he had begun while awake. In a meaningful fashion, the dream itself resolves the problem of levels of reality. Keizan explains to Koan Shikan that these different types of awareness do not imply any duality:

On the twentieth of the twelfth month [of the year 1321], towards midnight, I was explaining to the *shuso* [Shi]kan the words of Jiashan to Luofu, "When there is no one in the whole empire whose tongue has not been cut out, how can one make men without tongues understand what words are?" [...]

After this conversation, when I had fallen asleep, I had a dream in which I saw Shikan and Soin discussing the story in question. Shikan was saying, "It is precisely the man who has lost his tongue who [best] understands words." To which [So]in replied, "A man without a tongue and the understanding of words are completely unrelated items." I [then] said, "There is the man without a tongue, the man who understands words, and the man who understands how to understand words." Shikan said, "Since [this latter] understands the man without a tongue, it is he [who grasps] the ultimate truth. But if one distinguishes between the person who understands words and the one who understands the understanding of words, are there then degrees within the ultimate truth?" I said, "Although the ultimate truth admits of no degrees, it is as though, in speaking about the eye, one could distinguish three different things: the white of the eye, the dark of the iris, and, within the iris, the pupil. This does not imply that one has two pairs of eyes. The men who achieve awakening within the ultimate truth are also of three types. You must understand this in detail." I made a note of this as an example for future generations. [JDZ, 400]

The dream functions here as a "~~s~~upplement" to the dialogue that has just taken place, whereas in the former case, the opposite occurred: Keizan started from the textual passage seen in the dream, then found a supplement of meaning in the "~~r~~éal" text, and this supplement produced his insight. As Georges Didi-Huberman points out, "There is no awakening without the dream from which one awakens. The dream at the moment of waking up becomes then like the 'rubbish' of conscious activity. ... The awakening as forgetting of the dream must not be conceived of on the model of a pure negativity or deprivation: as forgetting itself leaves its traces, like 'nocturnal remainders' that will continue to work—to bend, to transform, to 'shape'—conscious life itself." The logic of the dream seems here to be that of the

—symbol” (in the etymological sense) or of the tallies—a logic to which we return in Chapter 9 [—The Power of Symbols”].

DREAMS AS CRYPTOGRAMS

In that they are signs requiring decipherment, dreams involve a hermeneutic; but at the same time, like all oracles, they are also self-sufficient. An especially strange dream, one that for this reason is seen as a form of “divine response,” tends in spite (or because) of its semantic obscurity to be taken as a happy portent and may thus be considered as performative. Dreams are often divine responses to a religious act, and they are invoked by the practitioner as an indication that the act is meritorious. They form part of the cycle of gift and counter-gift, as a token of indebtedness. Keizan records, for example, a dream that he had about a year before his death, one about the Dharma robe. He had earlier made two vows and felt that if these were in line with the Dharma he should be granted an auspicious dream. That night, at dawn, he had the following dream:

I owned an old robe that I had not put on for a long time. I now wanted to wear it, but when I found it, rats had made their nest in it and it was spotted with filth that looked like cow and horse excrement, hairs from horses’ tails, and human hairs. I brushed it off, and then, after I had cleaned it, I put it on. It was truly a strange dream, an auspicious dream. It was the sign that my fundamental vows would be accomplished. The Buddhas and patriarchs had replied to me and confirmed my two vows. [JDZ, 433]

Keizan’s interpretation may seem strange to the outside observer. Perhaps we should see here an allusion to the etymology of one of the words used for *kasaya*, *funzoe* (litt. “robe to sweep excrements,” Skt., *pam-sukula*). It could thus be an attestation that Keizan’s practice is in conformity with the traditional Buddhist ideal of austerity (*dhutaguna*).

Dreams can be explicitly oracular, particularly when they emanate from native gods. After mentioning the explicit predictions made by the Arhat Vajraputra and by the gods Ichinomiya and Inari, Keizan records two oracles that seem to come from the *kami* Hachiman:

On the twenty-seventh of the first month of the second Genko year [1322] I saw in a dream the following oracle:

—It has now been a year since [*kotoshi yori*]
The god of Yahata [*yahata no kami no*]
Appeared to me [*arawarete*]
And made himself the guardian
[*wagatatsu soma no*]
Of the wooded mountain where I reside.”
[*mahoto nam kana*]

On the fourth day of the sixth month of the same year, on the *kinoe ne* day [first in the cycle], at the

hour of the tigers I saw the following oracle in a dream:

—At the foot of Mount Nasaka [*ware sumeru*]
Where my house stands [*nasaka no yania mo*]
The moss is churned up [*burni naraji*]
So much is the soil beaten down by the steps
[*koke no shita kaheritē*]
Of those who come to see me.” [*hito zo tohikur*]

Both oracles are given in the form of poems and apparently read (or in any case are recorded) in the syllabary using Chinese characters (*man’yo-gana*). Keizan remarks on this point that the use of “unconventional characters” is itself a happy portent. We may note in passing that the use of this archaic (and therefore numinous) form of writing—composed of Chinese characters used for their strictly phonetic value—to transcribe a Japanese poem constitutes a paradoxical rejection of Chinese and Buddhist poetry (on the part of someone who writes in Chinese) and the emergence of a “purely” Japanese version of the sacred. Oracular dreams of Hachiman, which in earlier times had a purely public and political character, now seem to have a more private nature.

Here is another example of decipherment. It is the last dream reported in the *Record of Tokoku*, one month before Keizan’s death—which, despite his premonitory talents, he does not seem to have anticipated in a more precise fashion:

On the sixteenth of the seventh month [of the year 1324] I had this auspicious dream: Someone had a container about a foot deep in which there was some clear water. On the surface of the water floated letters that looked like golden hooks and spelled out “*shitsu ganden tokoku*, the same pure stream.” After waking up I understood their significance: *shitsu* is Shoshitsu [Shaoshi, i.e., Bodhidharma]; *ganden* is Sekito [Shitou]; *tokoku* is Tokoku [Keizan]. The knowledge of these three men [Bodhidharma, Shitou Xiqian, and Keizan] is not separate because they all belong to the same pure stream [i.e., school]. This was a very auspicious sign. [JDZ, 433-434]

This dream, an almost Freudian rebus, indicates according to Keizan that among these three individuals there is a perfect harmony. It has the same structure as the set of portraits of the patriarchs, which usually represent Bodhidharma (the founder of Chan), the founding father of a specific lineage (here Shitou, patriarch of the Caodong/Soto line), and the most recently deceased master. It is thus perhaps, after all, a veiled prediction of Keizan’s death. Another example of glyphomancy, this time inverted: the way in which Keizan interprets the dream in which he sees a flourishing monastery:

Furthermore, the next year when I saw the slope that had appeared in my dream, I noted that there actually was an *enoki* tree of that kind there, one whose

branches, as they grew, were becoming luxuriant. Thus the monastery would prosper just as the clouds mass together swell up, and finally conceal the valley, or streams in flood flow down and fill the rivers and lakes. Strange, truly strange! See how wakefulness and sleep merge together dreaming and waking harmonize. Indeed, is it not true that wandering monks are called ~~cl~~ouds and waters"? Seeking a master to consult regarding the Way, they cross mountains and seas; wandering with no fixed abode, they go towards east and west, towards south and north. Far from beaten tracks, they ascend suddenly, and slowly go back down. Like clouds, like water; they explore all the mountains and travel all the seas. They wear straw sandals and sling a staff over their shoulder. If, by chance, they meet a worthy friend, he will immediately open the True Dharma eye of these pilgrims. Paying back the price of one's straw sandals and breaking one's [pilgrim] staff, this is the common rule for monks. [JDZ, 397]

INCUBATION

Dream images are ~~an~~imated" images in the same sense as icons in that they reveal a presence, channel a ~~force~~." Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and gods appear in dreams. Dreams make up a kind of ritual area where the invisible takes form, the framework for a hierophany. The mental space of dreams provides a counterpart to the physical space of the temple, the oneiric image of the god is the double of the icon. Thus it is no coincidence that incubatory dreams are conjured up in the presence of a statue of the Buddha—or perhaps we should say rather that dreams allow precisely a kind of coincidence of the profane and the sacred, of the consciousness of the dreamer and the super-consciousness of the Awakened Ones, the Buddhas. In the case of initiatory dreams preceding and making possible ordinations, we are dealing with a form of incubation that requires sleeping in a sacred place, in the presence of icons. In a more general fashion, we may say that initiation is a dream lived in a waking state, a dream wished for and put into effect by an entire society in its rites of passage.

In some cases the anthropomorphic presence of the Buddha or god is not necessary; an oracular pronouncement may take his place, because just like the icon, although in a different form, it is a ~~substitute body~~" of the god. Thus when Keizan talks of poetic oracles received from the god Hachiman, he does not mention the actual appearance of this god. As the monk-poet Saigyō stressed, ~~A~~ poem is the true external body of the Tathagata. Thus when one composes [or receives it], one has the feeling of erecting the statue of a figure from the Buddhist pantheon, and when one forms a vow, it is as though one were reciting an incantatory formula pregnant with mystery."

The point, however is that dreams are taking place on the ~~other scene~~"—the stage where the other manifests itself in ~~response~~" to a prayer or an expectation. Dreams in this sense are never casual; they are elements of an incubatory ritual. Incubatory dreams were a very significant element of the medieval imaginary landscape. Clerics and laypeople alike went into retreat in shrines and temples to receive dream revelations from the gods and the Buddhas. Keizan was no exception, and it is worth recalling at this point his interest in Kannon. Kannon was popular, not only as a child-giver but also as a dream-giver. The three main temples dedicated to her—Ishiyamadera, Hasedera, and Kiyomizudera—were all famous places for incubation...

[p. 138:]

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE DREAM

If we are to take Keizan seriously when he tells us that he takes dreams seriously, we should also examine the ideological function of these dreams and statements. Even if dreams should, according to Myōe, ~~be~~ feared," this does not prevent dreamers and others from manipulating them, for all sorts of down-to-earth reasons. The dreams are also ambiguous in that they are at the same time collective and individual. If they usually serve the interests of tradition, they can also threaten them, inasmuch as they reflect the power of a personal religion in which dreams were a means of contact with divinity." Sometimes they tend to impose themselves to the detriment of ~~pure~~" Buddhist values. In the words of Georges Duby, ~~The~~ mark left by a dream is as real as a footprint." It is thus that priestly marriage, a major structural change in the history of Japanese Buddhism, and flagrantly contradictory to the Scriptures, was supported by the oneiric revelation that Shinran received from the Bodhisattva Kannon. In this famous dream Kannon addressed the future reformer of the Pure Land movement in these terms: ~~If~~ you should happen, due to your karma, to succumb to sexual desire,/ I shall take the body of a jade woman to be ravished by you./ I shall be the ornament of your entire life,/ and on your death I shall lead you to paradise." Although the case of Shinran is ~~exemplary~~," the representation of Kannon as a woman ready to prostitute herself in order to save men was popular in Buddhist circles long before Shinran's dream.

The soteriological value of dreams sometimes remains problematic, even in the eyes of those who champion it. Insofar as their uncertain origins make them fundamentally ambivalent, dreams may always constitute an obstacle on the path to awakening. They are thus truly the ~~guardians of sleep~~" Freud speaks of. They are also two-edged swords for the community since they can just as well provide arguments both for or against change and either increase communal control over the individual or undermine it. On the whole, reliance on dreams seems to have developed in medieval Chan/Zen, and especially in

the Soto tradition, in the context of a “return of the sacred,” of a resurgence of local cults. This resurgence of dreams and the sacred went along with the geographical expansion of Zen during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.

One of the essential functions of the dreams in the *Record of Tokoku* is to legitimize Keizan and his teachings. If dreams are “guardians of sleep,” they are also, according to Freud, “the realization of a desire.” Thus, Myoe, when he ascends in a dream to Tusita Heaven, feels as if he is walking on the roads of India, realizing a deep desire that had been denied by the deity of Kasuga. This wish-fulfilling aspect is also clear from the dream, already quoted, in which Keizan receives the approval of Gien, the former superior of Eihei-ji, whom he had left in order to follow Gikai at the time of the controversy between the two factions represented by these two masters.

Keizan may be a dreamer, but he is a realistic dreamer whose dreams (at least those that he writes down in the *Record of Tokoku*) usually have useful outcomes. We have noted that the foundation of Yokoji, and later that of Sojiji, had been encouraged by various deities of Buddhist and non-Buddhist origins. A dream also influenced Keizan to undertake new constructions like that of the Goroho memorial or the Dharma hall of Yokoji. After the closing of Goroho, Keizan notes, among other auspicious signs, the dream of one of his disciples: “The same night the supervisory officer [*kansu*] Keido dreamed that he was putting a silver sword into a water-colored raw silk bag and putting it upright on the west bank. Alongside there was a box fastened crosswise. In addition, crystals as white as rice were placed into a provisions chest standing there” [*JDZ* 409-10]. Unfortunately he does not attempt to elucidate the dream.

The construction of the Dharma hall was undertaken less than four months after Keizan had the following dream:

In the third Genko year [1323], on the twenty-fourth of the tenth month, at night, at the hour of the tiger; I dreamed that at the very spot where I was right then a new Dharma hall was being inaugurated. In front of the Dharma seat there were three steps. I went up to the seat and preached the Law. Unthinkingly I descended from the highest step and stood on the ground. Then Mugai [Chiko] of Joju[ji], the *shuso* Meiho [Sotetsu], and others came to bow before me. I clasped my hands and preached as follows: “The eye of the True Dharma is open and bright, the Dharma hall is wide open. For whoever can understand, [this means] that men should not be arranged in hierarchies.” [*JDZ* 420]

Keizan was not the only person at Yokoji to benefit from oneiric oracles and other auspicious signs, and he attached almost as much importance to his disciples’

dreams as to his own—at least insofar as they agree. Thus he reports the dream in which the god Inari appeared to his disciples Shikan and Genka as the ancient protector of the mountain, or that in which the dragon-king Shoho Shichiro told another disciple named Koei, “I have received from your superior the order to reward or punish the monks and to keep the gates of this monastery.” As Keizan notes, “The protection of the Dharma was therefore received in a dream.” In the same way, when Keizan fell heir to the temple that would become Sojiji, it was under the dream auspices of Kannon. At the beginning of 1321, this Bodhisattva appeared in a dream to the Vinaya master Joken and told him: “Now, a great good friend in the fifty-fourth generation of transmission from Sakyamuni has appeared in this province, at Mount Tokoku in Sakai, and he has set in motion the wheel of the Dharma ... He has received [the Law] transmitted at the Vulture Peak. You should immediately give your temple to this holy man so that he may turn it into a ‘place of awakening’ [*bodhimanda*] where the Law of the Buddha may prosper through eternity.”

If we are to believe him, Keizan had also received a similar dream. He was not surprised, therefore, when Joken asked him to succeed him as the abbot, or more precisely as guardian (*ushiromi*), of Morookadera. Various indications may lead us to believe that things may actually have happened rather differently in reality, and we are justified in wondering to what extent Keizan was sincere, and to what extent he was manipulating his dreams—if he really had them.

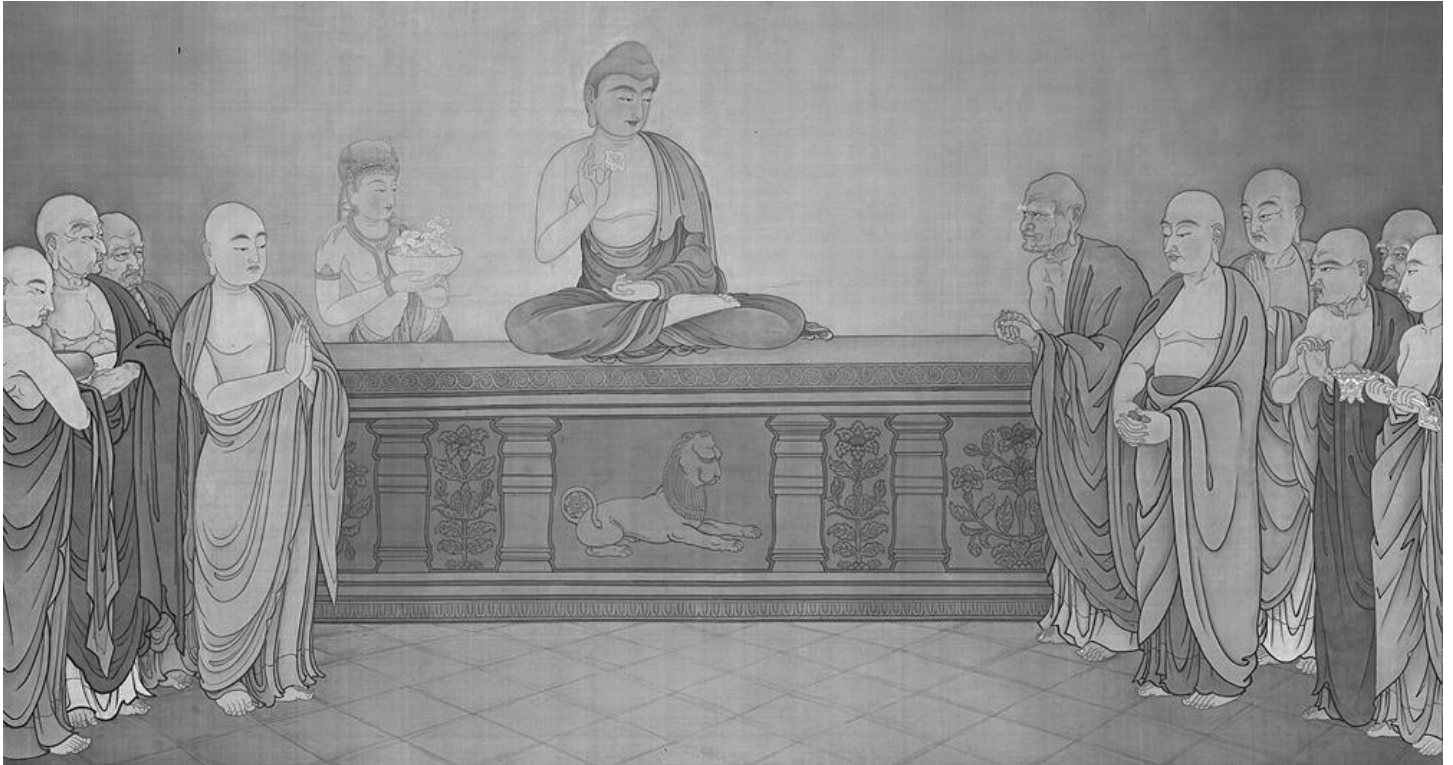
Keizan also used his dreams to legitimize his predecessors. In the *Denkoroku*, he reports a dream of the Chan master Shitou Xiqian (700-790), who we shall see shortly, along with the sixth patriarch Huineng, immersed in the eternal dream of mummies. After having read a treatise on the identity of the self and the other, Shitou fell asleep. He dreamed that he was riding on the back of a tortoise along with Huineng, in the middle of a deep lake. On waking up, he understood the meaning of the dream: the miraculous tortoise symbolized knowledge, and the lake was the ocean of essence. Later, Keizan tells us, Shitou put together a “Treatise on the Fusion of Difference and Identity,” which was very highly regarded. This dream indicated that his spiritual knowledge was already the equal of that of the sixth patriarch and was identical to that of his master Qingyuan [Xingsi].

It would be oversimplifying things to make Keizan out to be a cynic who took advantage of his followers by having recourse to the unanswerable argument of dreams. There certainly are cases in which Keizan settled matters by referring to dreams. But the imagination does not submit servilely to sectarian or material interests. Rather than an “easy way out,” dreams for Keizan provided a touchstone to the real. From all the evidence, Keizan attributed to these various “provinces of meaning” pro-

vided by dreams a quality of reality beside which the reality of the waking state seems secondary, impoverished. In addition, it may be rather that meditation, or more exactly *samadhi*, the place of visions, should be termed “reality,” since our ordinary waking state is, according to Buddhist doctrine, no more than a state of torpor. Finally, dreams and reality for Keizan are not mutually exclusive. They form a kind of braid that is difficult for us to imagine, let alone describe, given that the dichotomy between dream and reality, and the downplaying of the former are the very foundations of our whole culture. It is not easy to do justice to dreams in a work like this one since, as Georges Bataille has said, “Analysis introduces an unusual work into a framework that makes it null and void, and substitutes for awakening a sleepy heaviness.” It is this dull-wittedness that runs the risk of seeing ideological contradictions in what was initially perhaps a form of original fusion between the *imaginaire* and the real. Conversely, the preference for dreams can never be entirely free of ideology. Oneiric imagination is doubtless destined to remain an arena where conflicting interpretations constantly arise. Between dreams and the writing down of dreams, there is a “spacing,” a “travail de l’écriture” that modifies radically for us—condemned as we are to written “traces”—its content and meaning. It is in the last analysis as impossible to retrieve the original experience that left this trace, or even to affirm the existence of such experience, as to deny it.

It is true that the use of dreams, as we have seen it in Myoe and Keizan, seems a little backward in relation to Mahayana doctrine. If there is an oneiric tradition, it is not the same as that of Tibetan Buddhism, which is judged to be more orthodox. It is one that has to do with the practice of incubation, which, according to Saigo Nobutsuna, can be traced back to pre-Buddhist Japan. However; it can also be found in Chinese Buddhism—whether or not it represents in that case a shamanistic influence. At any rate, whereas Tibetan Buddhists try to concretely realize the emptiness of dreams, the oneiric realm remains for Myoe and Keizan more an “enchanted garden,” to which one must remain in submission. Despite the startling realism of some of their dreams or visions, there does not seem to have been any kind of awareness of working toward a practice of “lucid dreaming,” as is preached by Tibetan Buddhism in particular. In Tibetan Buddhism the dream becomes obscured or at any rate loses its symbolic importance to the act of dreaming, a dreaming in which what matters is the state of consciousness, lucid or not, of the dreamer. While they insist on the ultimate emptiness of the world of the imagination, Myoe and Keizan both chose to follow quite passively the thread of their dreams rather than seek to control and eventually dissolve them. In this sense they are not so different from lay believers like the authors of the *Kagero nikki* and the *Sarashina nikki*, who

traveled to Kannon temples in search of dreams. Unlike the idealist thinkers among whom they are counted in theory, thinkers for whom the dreamer isolated in himself, does nothing more than take his desires for realities, dreams for Myoe and Keizan are an “arena of awakening” in which a truly real presence manifests itself. The dream opens onto the divine Other or Others. It belongs to the realm of the “other power” (*tariki*), not to that of “self-power” (*jiriki*). [footnote: Buddhists were divided on the question whether dreams are produced by the gods or by the dreamer. In Chinese esoteric conceptions, for instance, the spirits that appear in oracular dreams are manifestations of the seven *po* souls. The two approaches need not be entirely at odds: as Saigo Nobutsuna points out, the soul is itself a kind of “other” that appears as deity. However in the case of dreams induced by gods like Hachiman, we are dealing with an entirely Other (*totaliter aliter*).]



Buddha holds up a flower (2nd case of Denkoroku)

Denkoroku and Koan Commentary

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From Thomas Cleary's introduction (Transmission of Light):

Transmission of Light is one of the major classics of Japanese Zen Buddhism. Ostensibly a collection of stories about fifty-three Buddhist illuminates from India, China, and Japan, in reality it is a book of instruction in the art of satori—Zen enlightenment. Satori is the essential initiatory experience of Zen Buddhism, the beginning of true Zen realization, and *Transmission of Light* is the most thorough guide to satori in the entire Japanese Zen canon. Using its format of tales about the awakenings of fifty-three successive generations of masters, *Transmission of Light* illustrates quintessential techniques for realization of satori, showing how this experience transcends time, history, culture, race, gender, personality, and social status.

From Francis Cook's introduction (The Record of Transmitting the Light):

The *Denkoroku* (*The Record of Transmitting the Light*) is a type of literature that can be called —spiritual genealogy.” Like ordinary genealogies, it traces the bloodline of a family, locating its origins in some ancestor long ago and tracing that ancestor’s descendants down through the successive generations to the present. This tracing process accomplishes several goals that are important for the family. In ordinary genealogies, it provides a panoramic view of the continuity of a bloodline rooted in distant antiquity; it records the exploits and special distinctions of each generation; it provides a basis for family pride and style; and, perhaps most important, it provides a strong sense of identity. This may be accomplished even if the genealogical effort locates one’s origins in anonymous farmers or artisans whose descendants left little mark on their world. On the other hand, an individual may take pride in the knowledge that one is descended from royalty or other powerful and noteworthy people and that successive generations have been marked with prominence, distinction, and achievement. However anonymous or illustrious these past generations may have been, however, the sense of rootedness, continuity, and identity remains.

Keizan’s *Denkoroku* is also a genealogy and serves some of the same purposes as ordinary genealogies, as well as a special purpose that will be discussed further on. However, the *Record* differs from ordinary genealogies in a particular way. Rather than tracing a genetic bloodline, the bloodline is spiritual. The fifty-three generations recorded in Keizan’s work are not related by blood but rather by spiritual kinship. It could be said that rather than genetic inheritance or the inheritance of wealth and power, the inheritance of each generation is one of spiritual endowment and authority.

...

At the heart of the *Record* lie such genealogical matters as transmission, succession, and inheritance, words that are encountered frequently in the text. There are also the related matters of continuity, legitimacy, and authenticity. The structure of each chapter is fairly uniform. The current patriarch of the family is wandering about teaching, or is an abbot of a monastery, and he is searching for a suitable individual to inherit his authority. He encounters a young man of unusual commitment and talent who has forsaken secular life and seeks enlightenment. After some passage of time, during which the young man struggles valiantly and single-mindedly, he achieves enlightenment, often during an encounter with the patriarchal master. The master confirms the awakening and recognizes the younger man as a fit successor. Thus, the younger man succeeds the older in a process that has continued unbroken over many generations. The point to such a narrative is that at any point in the chain of successors, an individual can demonstrate his legitimacy and claim to the family name and charisma by proving that his predecessor was so-and-so, whose own claims derive from his descent from his own predecessor, and so on back to the founding ancestor. Ultimately, Sakyamuni, himself, as the founder of the family, is the ultimate legitimator of all subsequent successors.

...

In the course of documenting the patriarchal succession over the generations, Keizan centers his talks primarily on two topics. One is the necessity to be totally committed to achieving awakening, to take the Zen life most seriously, and to make a supreme effort in Zen practice. This is also a focal point in Dogen’s writing, and both men, as patriarchs, are equally concerned with the training of monks and the selection of successors. The second emphasis, and, indeed, the overwhelmingly central focal point of all these chapters, is the —light” of the title of the work. It is this light that is transmitted from master to disciple as the disciple discovers this light within himself. In fact, once the light is discovered, this is the transmission. The light is one’s Buddha nature or true Self. Keizan uses a number of striking and provocative epithets and titles for this true Self, including —True Self,” —That One,” —That Person,” —The Old Fellow,” and —The Lord of the House.” Such language is uncommon in Dogen’s writings, as is the focus on discussing the existence and nature of this Old Fellow. But that is part of what constitutes —Keizan Zen” as distinct from —Dogen Zen.”

From Bernard Tetsugen Glassman (On Zen Practice):

The books that we study in Yasutani Roshi's system are the *Mumonkan (Gateless Gate)*, which has forty-eight cases; the *Hekigan roku (Blue Cliff Record)*, which has a hundred cases, and then the *Shoyoroku (Book of Equanimity)*, which has a hundred cases also. Maezumi Roshi is giving teishos on that and we're appreciating the cases in sesshin now. Then we next study the *Denko roku*, which is a collection of the enlightenment experiences of the first fifty-one Patriarchs plus Shakyamuni Buddha. So that's fifty-two cases. [note: actually there are 53]

The *Denko roku* was compiled by Keizan Zenji, the Fourth Patriarch of the Soto Sect in Japan. He lived three generations of Dharma succession after Dogen Zenji. Keizan Zenji is actually mainly responsible for the spreading of the Soto Sect in Japan.

The *Denko roku* starts with Shakyamuni Buddha's enlightenment experience and then goes through the enlightenment experiences of each of the Patriarchs; Mahakashapa, Ananda, and so forth. We chant the names of these Patriarchs in our morning service. Keizan Zenji wrote a poem on each enlightenment experience, expressing his understanding of that experience. In our koan study, we appreciate those. So that's another fifty-two cases.

Then we appreciate Master Tozan's *Goi*, the Five Positions, and then the precepts, the sixteen *kai*. It's a very comprehensive study, and normally we are such that we wouldn't be that comprehensive with ourselves.

From Eto Sokuo (see excerpts in the section on Keizan and Dogen above):

The major written work of the grand successor, Keizan Zenji, was the *Record of Transmission of the Light*, which he propounded for his student practitioners at Daijōji. This text presents and explains the transmission of the light of the original spirituality of Sakyamuni's Buddha-dharma and successive patriarchs in three countries, starting with the first patriarch, Mahakasyapa, and ending with the fifty-second patriarch, Koun Ejo. Why, despite the fact that the grand successor was not a historian, did he expound on the subject of the history of the succession of the light in his *Denkdroku*? The fifty-two patriarchs, in succession across the three countries, are footprints tracing the history of the Buddha-dharma of personal authentication that activates —ontinual succession of the spiritual light and perpetuation of illumination." Hence, (his work) is not a philosophical elucidation of the personal authentication, but a clarification of the footprints of the continual life of personal authentication. From this point of view, the essential motivation of the *Denkoroku* should be regarded as promulgation of the Buddha- dharma of personal authentication.

From Stefano Mui Barragato (Zen Light):

The major question that struck me as I studied each case was: —What is transmitted?" The title of the book told me: —Light." The Transmission of the Light. —Light" is the central metaphor in the *Denkoroku*.

From Lex Hixon (Living Buddha Zen):

The Denkoroku is a fifty-three stroke ink and brush drawing of essential Buddhist history. Seen more broadly, this text presents in the direct Zen manner the essential nature of awareness, the single light celebrated by all ancient wisdom traditions. The Denkoroku is a work of art whose subject is sacred history. It is not historiography.

Even more than a work of art, this text is a vehicle for mutual study between Zen masters and their successors, honing the insight of each and insuring the actual continuation, without diminution, of Dogen Zenji's radical spiritual teaching, perpetual plenitude — the perfect awakeness, here and now, of all beings and worlds. This transmission of Light remains continuous throughout the unpredictable developments of planetary history, such as the transplanting of Zen from Japan to America and, from America, to the strange global landscape called the *postmodern world*.

From Realizing Genjokoan by Shohaku Okumura

From the FOREWORD to Realizing Genjokoan
by Taigen Dan Leighton

... I want to address directly one portion of Shohaku's commentary that might be controversial for some American Zen people. In relation to the important Genjokoan line, "To be verified by all things is to let the body and mind of the self and the body and mind of others drop off" Shohaku discusses the phrase frequently cited by Dogen, "dropping body and mind," *shinjin datsuraku* in Japanese. For Dogen this phrase, which he heard at least some version of from his Chinese teacher, Rujing, is a synonym for both *zazen* and for enlightenment itself. There is a popular story about Dogen that goes back to a hagiographical, nonhistorical work about the whole Zen lineage leading to Dogen written by his third generation successor Keizan. This story, which has become enshrined in Soto legend, claims that Dogen had a dramatic awakening experience (Jap.: *kensho* or *satori*) related to hearing the phrase about "dropping body and mind" from Rujing. Shohaku Okumura disputes that story, which Dogen himself never mentioned. Shohaku cites several highly respected modern Japanese Soto scholars who agree, and he concurs with them that Dogen never advocated or understood dropping body and mind as some sudden or special psychological experience or condition. Certainly dramatic opening experiences can occur in practice, historically and still today, and may be helpful in shifting life perspectives. Some approaches to Zen have even emphasized such experiences as the goal of practice. But Dogen is very clear that the awakening he speaks of is an ongoing vital process, and dramatic experiences are not the point of practice. Even in traditions that promote *kensho*, it is not seen as the ultimate conclusion of practice. For example, the great eighteenth-century Rinzai master Hakuin had many dozens of such experiences. And modern Rinzai adepts have clarified that *kensho* is not some experience to acquire, but a way of actively seeing into any or all of experience. For Dogen, dropping off body and mind is *zazen* itself, and the "deep awareness of the fact that the existence of the self is not a personal possession."

Shohaku Okumura excerpt from Realizing Genjokoan:
DROPPING OFF BODY AND MIND

To be verified by all things is to let the body and mind of the self and the body and mind of others drop off. [-Genjo Koan]

"Dropping off body and mind" is a translation of *shinjin-datsuraku* (身心脱落). This is a keyword in Dogen Zenji's teachings. This expression was originally used in the teachings of Dogen's teacher, Tiantong Rujing (Jap.: Tendo Nyojo). In *Hokyo* (Record in the Hokyo Era), Dogen's personal record of his conversations with Zen Master Rujing at Tiantong Monastery,

shinjin-datsuraku is a frequent topic of discussion between Dogen Zenji and his teacher. Here is one of those discussions:

Rujing said, "Sanzen [i.e., *zazen*] is dropping off body and mind. We don't use incense burning, making prostrations, *nembutsu* (reciting the Buddha's name), the practice of repentance, or reading sutras. We only engage in just sitting."

Dogen asked, "What is dropping off body and mind?"

Rujing said, "Dropping off body and mind is *zazen*. When we just practice *zazen*, we part from the five desires and remove the five coverings."

Dogen asked, "If we part from the five desires and remove the five coverings, we follow the same teachings as those of the teaching schools and are therefore the same as practitioners of the Mahayana and of the Hinayana."

Rujing said, "The descendants of the ancestor [Bodhidharma] should not dislike the teachings of the Mahayana and Hinayana. If a practitioner is against the sacred teachings of the Tathagata, how can such a person be the descendant of buddhas and ancestors?"

Dogen asked, "In recent times, some skeptical people say that the three poisonous minds are themselves Buddha Dharma and that the five desires are themselves the Way of the Ancestors. They say eliminating them is equal to making preferences and therefore the same as Hinayana practice."

Rujing said, "If we don't eliminate the three poisonous minds and the five desires, we are the same as the non-Buddhists in the country of King Bimbisara and his son Ajatasattu [during the time of Shakyamuni Buddha]. For the descendants of buddhas and ancestors, removing even one of the five coverings or one of the five desires is of great benefit; it is meeting the buddhas and ancestors."

Here Rujing says that "sanzen is dropping off body and mind" and "dropping off body and mind is *zazen*." He also says that in dropping off body and mind, we are freed from the five desires and eliminate the five coverings. The five desires are desires that arise in the mind as a result of contact with objects of the five sense organs. When we see, hear, smell, taste, or touch an object, we may enjoy the sensation and desire more of it; this is attachment. Or if the sensation is unpleasant our desire is to avoid it, and since this often is impossible, we become frustrated or angry. So we can see that the five desires are the source of greed as well as the source of anger.

The five coverings are hindrances that prevent the mind from functioning in a healthy way. These five coverings of the mind are greed, anger (hatred), sleepiness or dullness, distraction, and doubt. The five desires and five coverings were originally discussed as obstacles to meditation in the Daichidoron (Mahaprajnaparamita-sastra), Nagarjuna's commentary on the Mahaprajnaparamita Sutra. Tiantai Zhiyi (Jap.: Tendai Chigi), the great philosopher of the Chinese Tiantai (Tendai) school, also mentioned them in his meditation manual, Makashikan (Ch.: Mohezhi-guan) (Larger Book of Shamatha and Vipassana). Zhiyi said that practitioners should part from the five desires and

eliminate the five coverings in a meditation practice called *shikan* (shamatha and vipassana, "stopping" and "seeing"). As I mentioned in chapter 1, Dogen Zenji was originally ordained as a Tendai monk in Japan. He was familiar with the teachings and meditation practice of the Tendai tradition, and he began to practice Zen because he was not satisfied with Tendai practice. So we see that in this conversation Dogen was questioning Rujing to see if Zen teachings about the five coverings and five desires differed from Tendai teachings. Until this conversation Dogen had been looking for teachings that differed from those of the Tendai school, yet here Rujing says that zazen practice should not differ from the Buddha's teachings that were recorded in the sutras and systematized in the philosophical teaching schools.

Rujing and Dogen continued their conversation on this topic as follows:

Rujing said, "The descendants of the buddhas and ancestors first eliminate the five coverings and then remove the six coverings. The six coverings consist of the five coverings plus the covering of ignorance. Even if a practitioner only eliminates the covering of ignorance, that practitioner will be freed of the other five coverings. Even if a practitioner eliminates the five coverings, if ignorance is not removed the practitioner has not yet reached the practice of the buddhas and ancestors."

Dogen immediately offered a prostration and expressed gratitude for this teaching. Placing his hands in *shashu* he said, "Until today, I have not heard of an instruction such as the one you have just given me, teacher. Elders, experienced teachers, monks, and Dharma brothers here do not at all know of this teaching; they have never spoken in this way. Today it is my good fortune to have received your great compassion through teachings that I have never before heard. This good fortune is a result of my connections to the Dharma in previous lives. And yet I would like to ask you another question; is there any secret method one can use to remove the five coverings or the six coverings?"

The teacher smiled and said, "To what practice have you been devoting your entire energy? That practice is nothing other than the Dharma that removes the six coverings. The buddhas and ancestors have not set up classifications in practice. They directly show us and singularly transmit the way to depart from the five desires and six coverings and the way to be free from the five desires. Putting one's effort into the practice of just sitting and dropping off body and mind is the way to depart from the five coverings and the five desires. This is the only method of being free from them; there is absolutely none other. How can there be anything that falls into two or three?"

This is Tiantong Rujing's explanation of dropping off body and mind (*shinjin-datsuraku*), and to understand this term, we should study his teachings since he originated the expression. According to Rujing, dropping off body and mind is freedom from the six coverings, which basically are the same as the three poisonous minds. The three poisonous minds are the cause of transmigration in samsara, and in zazen we let go of the three

poisonous minds. This is why Dogen Zenji said that zazen is not a practice of human beings; it is the practice of buddhas.

In his instruction to Dogen, Rujing also says that "the buddhas and ancestors have not set up classifications in practice" and that there is nothing "that falls into two or three." These sayings are from Tendai teachings that originated in the Lotus Sutra. In the Lotus Sutra we read:

In the buddha-lands within the ten directions
There is only the Dharma of One-Vehicle,
Neither a second nor a third,
Except the skillful teachings of the Buddha.

This means that in reality, there are no such classifications as the three vehicles (*shravaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, and *bodhisattva*); they are simply tentative skillful means. Rujing uses these expressions to show that his zazen practice is not one of the three expedient means but is the practice of the Dharma of One-Vehicle. Dogen echoes this teaching in *Shobogenzo Zuimonki*:

Sitting itself is the practice of the Buddha. Sitting itself is non-doing. It is nothing but the true form of the Self. Apart from sitting, there is nothing to seek as the Buddha Dharma.

In *Hokyoiki*, Dogen recorded one more conversation with his teacher concerning dropping off body and mind:

Rujing said, "The zazen of arhats and *pratyekabuddhas* is free of attachment yet it lacks great compassion. Their zazen is therefore different from the zazen of the buddhas and ancestors; the zazen of buddhas and ancestors places primary importance on great compassion and the vow to save all living beings. Non-Buddhist practitioners in India also practice zazen, yet they have the three sicknesses, namely attachment, mistaken views, and arrogance. Therefore, their zazen is different from the zazen of the buddhas and ancestors. *Sravakas* also practice zazen, and yet their compassion is weak because they don't penetrate the true reality of all beings with wisdom. They practice only to improve themselves and in so doing cut off the seeds of Buddha. Therefore, their zazen is also different from the zazen of the buddhas and ancestors. In buddhas' and ancestors' zazen, they wish to gather all Buddha Dharma from the time they first arouse *bodhi*-mind. Buddhas and ancestors do not forget or abandon living beings in their zazen; they offer a heart of compassion even to an insect. Buddhas and ancestors vow to save all living beings and dedicate all the merit of their practice to all living beings. They therefore practice zazen within the world of desire, yet even within the world of desire they have the best connection with this *Jambudvipa*. Buddhas and ancestors practice many virtues generation after generation and allow their minds to be flexible."

Dogen made a prostration and then asked, "What does 'allowing the mind to be flexible' mean?"

Rujing said, "Affirming the dropping off body and mind of the buddhas and ancestors is the flexible mind. This is called the mind-seal of the buddhas and ancestors."

Dogen made six prostrations.
This is Dogen's personal record of these conversations.

Traditionally, it is said that Dogen Zenji had an enlightenment experience when Rujing, scolding a monk who was sitting next to Dogen, said, "Zazen is dropping off body and mind. Why are you just sleeping?" This story originally appeared in Dogen's biography as part of Keizan Jokin Zenji's Denkoroku (Transmission of Light).

Today some Dogen scholars, such as Sugio Genyii of Yamaguchi University and Ishii Shudo of Komazawa University, think Keizan invented this story. Otherwise, they say, Dogen's criticism of practice aimed at attaining *kensho* becomes a contradiction to his own practice experience. Professor Ishii has said that the fictitious story of Dogen's enlightenment experience has caused more misunderstanding of Dogen's teachings than any other fabricated portion of Dogen's biography. Dogen Zenji

himself never wrote of a definitive enlightenment experience in any of his writings. In his lecture on Bendowa (Talk on the Wholehearted Practice of the Way) published in Eihei-ji's magazine Sansho in July 1999, Suzuki Kakuzen Roshi agreed with Professor Sugio and Professor Ishii: "In the case of Dogen Zenji, his religious experience is not attaining some sudden and special psychological satori experience. Dogen never talked about such an experience in Shobogenzo. In his teachings, realization is a deep awareness of the fact that the existence of the self is not a personal possession of the self."

I agree with these scholars because I think it is best to trust Dogen's own account of his conversations with Rujing concerning dropping off body and mind, rather than give authority to an account apparently invented after Dogen died.

Denkoroku 52:

Dogen studied with Zen master Rujing. Once during meditation sitting late at night Rujing said to the assembly, "Zen study is the shedding of mind and body." Hearing this, suddenly Dogen was greatly enlightened. He went right to the abbot's room and lit incense. Rujing asked him, "What are you burning incense for?" Dogen said, "My body and mind have been shed." Rujing said, "Body and mind shed, shed body and mind." Dogen said, "This is a temporary byway--don't approve me arbitrarily." Rujing said, "I'm not." Dogen said, "What is that which isn't given arbitrary approval?" Rujing said, "Shedding body and mind." Dogen bowed. Rujing said, "The shedding is shed." At that time Rujing's attendant said, "This is no small matter, that a foreigner has attained such a state." Rujing said, "How many time has he been pummeled here--liberated, dignified, thunder roars."

The Denkoroku as Keizan's Recorded Sayings

William Bodiford

1

In 1857 a Soto Zen priest named Busshu Sen'ei (1794-1864) edited and published a previously unknown text, which he titled *Keizan osho denkoroku* 瑩山和尚傳光錄 (2 vols.). A literal translation of this title would be "The Record of Conveying Illumination by the Upadhyaya Keizan." The *upadhyaya* (teacher) Keizan, of course, is the Zen patriarch Keizan Jokin 瑩山紹瑾 (1264 -1325) who in Sen'ei's day was remembered primarily as the founding abbot of Sojiji 總持寺, the most powerful Soto monastery, and who today also is revered as the grand ancestor (*taiso* 太祖) of the entire Soto denomination. Today this text, commonly known simply as the *Denkoroku*, has been designated by the Soto Headquarters (Sotoshu Shumuchu 曹洞宗宗務庁) as one of the denomination's main scriptures. In spite of its exalted status, however, the *Denkoroku* has been little studied. Most scholars of Japanese Buddhism, both in Japan and abroad, have not read it. Many questions remain unanswered regarding its contents, literary structure, and textual history. Lack of space prevents me from addressing all of those questions here. Since very little reliable information regarding the *Denkoroku* exists, perhaps a brief overview of the text can serve to illuminate some of the characteristics and questions presented by early Japanese Zen literature.

The *Denkoroku* contains both prose and verse written in Japanese and in Chinese. It discusses fifty-three generations of the Soto Zen lineage, beginning with Sakyamuni Buddha and continuing through fifty two ancestors down to Ejo 懷奘 (1198-1280), the second abbot of Eiheiji 永平寺 monastery. Busshu Sen'ei produced his version of the *Denkoroku* more than 432 years after Keizan's death based on sources unknown. Some of his sources must have been relatively late, since his text uses language and quotes textual passages that clearly date from after Keizan's time. For this reason almost as soon as it appeared some critics rejected it as an obvious forgery. Other internal evidence, however, supports the purported link between the *Denkoroku* and Keizan. Editors of subsequent editions, therefore, attempted to correct Sen'ei's version to eliminate its historical anachronisms. Since they lacked access to any earlier versions, they could base their revision only on their own sense of whatever seemed most reasonable. Each new revised and corrected edition thus became less reliable than its predecessors. Today when ordinary Soto Zen monks read the *Denkoroku*, as likely as not they read the 1934 revised version (reprinted 1937, 1942, 1956, 1967) by Koho

Chisan (1879- 1967), which is based on the 1925 revised version (reprinted 1985) by Ishikawa Sodo (1842-1920), which in turn is based on the 1885 revision (reprinted 1985-1987) by Ouchi Seiran (1845-1918), which in turn is itself based on the 1857 version (reprinted 1959, 1868, 1889, 1930, 1931, 1971) edited by Busshu Sen'ei (see Azuma 1970, 130; and Azuma 1991, 58-59).

In 1958 Tajima Hakudo discovered an early manuscript of the *Denkoroku* at the Kenkon'in (or Kenkoin, a Soto Zen temple in Aichi Pref.). This manuscript in two fascicles was copied between 1430 and 1459 by Shiko Soden (d.1500), the third generation abbot of Kenkon'in. It preserves language and textual passages that correspond to Keizan's own age. The discovery of the Kenkon'in manuscript enabled scholars to establish the early textual history of the *Denkoroku* and has silenced most questions as to the *Denkoroku's* authenticity. After Tajima's discovery, three other medieval (i.e., prior to 1650) manuscripts have come to light. They are: the Ryumonji (Ishikawa Pref.) manuscript in five fascicles copied in 1547 by Tesso Hoken; the Shozanji (Ishikawa Pref.) manuscript in two fascicles copied between 1599 and 1627 by Yuzan Senshuku; and the Choenji (Aichi Pref.) manuscript in five fascicles copied in 1637 by Kido Soe. Comparison of Sen'ei's 1857 version of the *Denkoroku* with these medieval manuscripts reveals many radical discrepancies. It appears that Sen'ei prepared the text for publication by replacing Japanese-language passages with Chinese quotations from the Ming-dynasty edition of the Buddhist canon (ca. 1620), by rewriting ambiguous lines, by adding additional materials, by deleting some passages, and abbreviating other passages. In short, he created a new version of the *Denkoroku* (Azuma 1970, 132). For these reasons neither the 1857 edition nor its modern reproductions should be used as an introduction to the teachings of the Keizan Jokin who lived and taught in the early fourteenth century (although they can be used as a guide to his late nineteenth and early twentieth century image). Nonetheless, all the translations currently available in English are based on Sen'ei's *Denkoroku*.

Today (2005) no authoritative edition of the *Denkoroku* exists. All manuscript and published versions present many textual problems. In addition to such as the ones found in the Taisho edition of the Buddhist canon (*Taisho shinshu daizokyo* 大正新脩大藏經, 1931) and in the collected scriptures of Soto Zen (*Sotoshu zensho* 曹洞宗全書, 1930, revised 1971) – there exist at least eight published versions the *Denkoroku* that derive from Sen'ei's edition. None of the revised versions agree with one another. Scholars know the locations of approximately thirty one manuscript

versions of the *Denkoroku* that date from before 1857. (For a detailed bibliography, see Azuma 1991 and 1970). Nonetheless, no one has yet attempted to correlate them, to determine their filiations, or to produce a critical edition of the text. Without a critical edition of the text with which to work, any study or translation of the *Denkoroku* must remain tentative and uncertain.

One of the distinctive features of the *Denkoroku* is that its format or structure does not correspond to any one genre of Chinese Zen (Chan) literature, but combines elements from several of them. In this respect, the *Denkoroku* exemplifies the difficulties faced by Japanese Buddhists when they imported new Zen norms from China. Japanese Zen developed within Japanese society, where it was taught by Japanese teachers to Japanese students on behalf of Japanese patrons. From within this thoroughly Japanese context, Zen teachers and students looked to China for models of what Zen should be. Today, several hundred years later, many of those models have become celebrated as examples of Japanese culture, but we should not forget how extremely foreign many of them must have struck Japanese people of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Likewise, we must not ignore the many transformations that resulted from transplanting Chinese models into a radically different Japanese context. New Japanese Zen temples facilitated the introduction of all the latest fashions, artistic trends, and new technology from China. These Chinese models encompassed all aspects of religious life and material culture: architecture and construction techniques, garden design, crafts, furniture, textiles, clothing, musical instruments, foods and drink, eating utensils, icons, deities, ceremonies, daily rituals, personal etiquette, and so forth (Collcutt 1981, 171-172).

Zen also introduced new forms of language and literature. Not only did Zen require an entirely new set of Buddhist vocabulary and concepts, but even traditional scriptures were chanted in new ways. All Chinese vocabulary, old and new, was pronounced differently in ways that more closely approximated the standardized forms of Song Dynasty officialdom. Familiar words thereby sounded exotic and new. For example, the standard Chinese term for scripture 经 (modern Mandarin *jīng*), which had been known as *kyō* by Buddhists of the eighth century as *kei* by those of the ninth century, now became *kin*. More important than pronunciations and vocabulary was the importation of new literary structures and forms. Establishing Zen in Japan forced Japanese students to master heretofore ignored ways of writing Chinese. They carefully imitated not just new rules of Chinese prosody, but also specifically Zen literary genres (so-called flame histories, recorded sayings, *koan* collections, etc.), as well as the bureaucratic rhetoric of Chinese Buddhist institutions with their specific kinds of proclamations for every ceremony and event (Tamamura 1996 and 1991).

Therefore, the Chinese composed by Japanese Zen monks in medieval Japan (the so-called literature of the Five Mountains, *gozan bimgaku* 五山文学) consists not just of poetry but of every possible manner of prose, records, legal documents, and ritual pronouncements. Chinese stylistic forms were reproduced with such care and regularity that modern scholars who examine the documentary record alone can detect hardly any differences between the literary environment of Chinese Buddhist monasteries and their Japanese Zen counterparts. Reproducing this world of written signs was as much a religious activity as it was a literary one. Japanese Zen teachers repeatedly touted their faithful adherences to these Chinese norms as proof that their Buddhism was more authentic and more orthodox than anything heretofore practiced in Japan. For this reason, deviation from Chinese forms could only be seen as signs of weakness or failure, not as creativity or self expression.

Nonetheless, the *Denkoroku* cannot be identified with any of the standard Chinese forms of Zen literature. This is one of the reasons why its publication in 1857 was greeted with such suspicion. Its mixture of genres seems more reminiscent of later Japanese Zen texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were compiled during an age when Chinese learning was largely forgotten and lavish adherence to the literary structures no longer mattered. The practice of assigning the authorship of later compositions to prestigious earlier authors has a long and prolific history in Japan. Archives and published collections abound with works whose attributions of authorship are doubtful. Japanese Zen collections are no exception. Some texts bearing Keizan's name, such as the monastic regulations published in 1681 as the *Keizan osho shingi* 瑩山和尚清規 (which is based on the *Gyoji jijo* compiled by Keizan's disciples), incorporate later additions and alterations (Takeuchi 1990). Many other texts attributed to Keizan, such as the *koan* collection titled *Hoonroku* with its references to subsequent Zen teachers like Jochu Tengin 如仲天闇 (1365-1440), clearly postdate him (Okubo 1966, 178-179). Although the mixture of Chinese genres in the *Denkoroku* might seem normative in light of later Japanese Zen texts, it rarely appears in Japanese Zen texts from Keizan's days (the early fourteenth century). An examination of this mixture will help us to better understand not just the *Denkoroku* but also the roles of genre in Japanese Zen literature.

2 Recorded Sayings

The fifteenth century manuscript of the *Denkoroku* discovered at Kenkon'in temple begins with the following inner title (*nai dai*): "The recorded sayings of the great Upadhyaya Keizan while residing at Yokoji monastery, Mount Tokokuzan, Noto Province, as compiled by his

attendant (s)” (*Keizan daiosho ju Noshu Tokokuzan Yokoji goroku, jisha hen*) (Azuma 1970, 5). “Recorded sayings” (*goroku* 語録) is the first genre I wish to consider. The *Denkoroku* is included as volume 5 in the series “Recorded Saying of Japanese Zen” (*Nihon no Zen Goroku*) edited by Furuta Shokin and Iriya Yoshitaka (published by Kodansha in 1978). Tajima Hakudo translated the text of the Kenkon’in manuscript into modern Japanese for this volume. In his introduction, though, Tajima does not discuss the term “recorded sayings” or explain why the *Denkoroku* belongs to that genre. Azuma Ryushin, in the very first line of the introduction to his 1991 modern Japanese language translation of the *Denkoroku* (p. 3), also identifies it as Keizan’s recorded sayings. He goes on to say (p. 4), however, that the inner title of the Kenkon’in manuscript is incorrect. He does not explain why it is incorrect, but merely points out that a more accurate title would be the version found in some later manuscripts, which identify the text as „*The Denkoroku* by the great Upadhyaya Keizan Jokin, the second-generation [abbot] of Daijōji monastery” (*Daijō nisei Keizan Jokin daiosho Denkoroku*). I assume that Azuma objects only to the misidentification of the location (Yokoji instead of Daijōji) where the text was produced, not to the term “recorded sayings.” Thus, both editions avoid the question: in what way can the *Denkoroku* be called “recorded sayings”?

In other words, what are the usual connotations of the term “recorded sayings”? What similarities are exhibited by other Japanese Zen texts commonly identified by this term? Within the Soto Zen tradition, we can point to at least four other early recorded sayings as examples of this genre. They are: (1) *Eihei Gen zenji goroku* (1 fasc.), the record of Dogen 道元 (1200-1253) at Koshōji and at Eiheiji monasteries; (2) *Giun osho goroku* (2 fasc.), the record of Giun (1253-1333) at Hōkyōji and at Eiheiji monasteries; (3) *Keizan osho goroku* (1 fasc.), the record of Keizan Jokin at Yokoji monastery; and (4) *Tsugen roku* (1 fasc.), the record of Tsugen Jakurei (1322-1391) at Sojiji, at Yokokuji and at Ryusenji monasteries. The content and structure of all four of these texts are remarkably similar to one another, but differ greatly from the *Denkoroku*. The four texts of recorded sayings are episodic, consisting of brief comments written in Chinese to commemorate ceremonies conducted according to the liturgical calendar of the various monasteries. Frequently, these ceremonies mention the occasion and, especially, the names of lay patrons or sponsors. Moreover, the contents of the recorded sayings are assembled into specific categories, such as addresses delivered in the dharma hall (*jodo* 上堂) in the abbot’s quarters (*shosan* 小參), dharma epistles (*hogo* 法語) inauguration remarks (*kaido* 開堂), poems written on portraits (*san*), funerary remarks (*shobutsuji* 小佛事), and Buddhist verse or *gatha* (*geju* 偈頌). All of these

categories agree with the content of other texts labeled as “recorded sayings” that were produced in Japanese Five Mountains (*gozan* 五山) Zen establishments and in China (Tamamura 1991, 117-139). Indeed, one of main purposes of these texts is to demonstrate that Zen in Japan shares a structural identity with its namesake in China. This is the reason why the records are written entirely in grammatically correct Chinese.

The *Denkoroku*, in contrast, shares none of these characteristics. It includes not a single one of the above-mentioned categories (no *jodo*, no *shosan*, no *hogo*, etc.). It is written almost entirely in Japanese, except for short Chinese verses which conclude its remarks on each patriarch. And only one line in the entire text suggests the existence of a specific monastic ceremony. Even that line, though, conveys no sense of the of the routines of monastic practice. In short, the *Denkoroku* is not recorded sayings in terms of the usual conventions of that genre.

The *Denkoroku*’s mention of a monastic ceremony occurs immediately after the inner title quoted above. The very first line of the text says: “On the eleventh day of the exemplary moon, second year of the Shōan Era, the teacher (Keizan) began (during) a Requesting Benefits (ceremony)” (*Shi o Shōan ni nen shogatsu jiuchi nichi, shi shin ’eki*) (Azuma 1970, 5). This date corresponds to the first lunar month of 1300, two years after Keizan had become the second abbot of Daijōji monastery (and many years before Keizan began constructing Yokoji). The date alone tells us that the *Denkoroku* cannot be a record of Keizan’s lectures at Yokoji monastery as asserted by inner title. The requesting benefits ceremony (*shin ’eki*) is described in detail in Keizan’s *Ceremonial Procedures* (*Gyōji jijo* leaf 18; cf. Kagamishima and Azuma 1974, 23-24). It was a regular event during the 90-day winter and summer training periods, on the evenings of the days numbered with “1s” or “3s” (i.e., on the 3d, 11th, 13th, 21st, and 23d days of each month). On those evenings all the monks will assemble in the abbot’s quarters (*hojo*), where the chief monk (*shuso*) recites a Zen story (*koan* 公案) and asks the teacher to comment on it. The abbot then gives his evaluation of the story, which he summarizes with a verse (*agyo* 下語). Afterwards, the monks are free to state their individual evaluations of the story or to ask additional questions.

As Azuma (1991, 14-19) points out, nothing in the subsequent content of the *Denkoroku* suggests that it was presented according to this ceremonial procedure. Instead of evenings, the text suggests daylight hours since in several places it uses the words “today” (*kyo*) or “this morning” (*kesa*). It is not the monks who present the stories, but Keizan. There is no give and take between Keizan and his audience. There is no mention of any other dates nor any indication of the passage of time. It is impossible to know how much of the text might have been

presented on any particular day or how many days might have been required to complete the entire text. Assuming that the *Denkoroku* is a transcript of lectures that were presented during the regularly scheduled requesting benefits ceremony, Azuma (1991, 14-15) estimates that it: required between two to four years (depending on exactly how often the ceremonies occurred) to complete the entire series of lectures. Nonetheless, other than the text's own assertion (which, as we have seen, are not always trustworthy), we have no evidence that it involved the requesting benefits ceremony.

3 Flame (Lineage) Histories

What we do know for certain about the *Denkoroku* is that it narrates the history of the Soto Zen lineage consisting of one Buddha (Sakyamuni) and fifty two ancestors. At first glance, this narrative structure corresponds most closely to the Zen genre known as flame (or lamp) histories (*toshi* 燈史 and *toroku* 燈錄¹). Flame histories consist of the large hagiographic collections produced by Chinese Zen monks during the Song dynasty (960-1279), beginning with the *Jingde Era Transmission of the Flame* (*Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 30 fasc.; T no. 2076) of 1004. It was followed in quick succession by the following flame histories, all of which predate Keizan: *Tiansheng Era Extensive Flame Record* (*Tiansheng guangdeng lu*) of 1029; *Transmitting the Dharma in the Legitimate Lineage Chronicle* (*Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 9 fasc.; T no. 2078) of 1061; *Jianzhong Era Pacifying the Realm Continued Flame Record* (*Jianzhong jingguo xu deng lu* 30 fasc.) of 1101; *Extracts of the Zen School's Flame Lineage* (*Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 30 fasc.) of 1183; *Jiatai Era Universal Flame Record* (*Jiatai pudeng lu* 30 fasc.) of 1202; and the *Extracts of the Five Flame Records* (*Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 20 fasc.) of 1252. All of these compilations present the hagiographies of hundreds of Zen teachers, arranged in genealogical sequences that go back through India to the Buddha Sakyamuni.

These Song-period flame histories present Zen (Chan) as the only the only authentic Buddhism because it is the Buddhism that has been handed down from generation to generation by the patriarchs and teachers (*soshi* 祖師) who constitute the Buddha's true religious family. This religious family functions conceptually like one of the aristocratic clans (*zong* 宗) of ancient China, with several branch houses (*ke* 家). All the members of all these various households collectively authenticate and transmit the same Buddhism. Thus, flame records convey an overall impression of Buddhism as consisting of timeless standards shared by all members of the Zen family regardless of geographical location or the passage of history.

The *Jingde Era Transmission of the Flame* reinforces this sense of everlasting truth by identifying the origins of the Zen lineage not just with Sakyamuni Buddha alone but with the seven Buddha's (*shichibutsu*) of the past. The seven Buddha's consist of the last three Buddhas of the previous eon (*shogon ko*) as well as the first four Buddhas of the present eon (*kengo bhadra kalpa*), of which Sakyamuni is number four. Each eon is an infinitely long period of time during which 1,000 Buddhas appear, only one Buddha appears at a time, and each new appearance is separated from the others by an incalculable number of years. In spite of the vast distance of time and space separating these seven Buddhas, they all proclaim the same doctrines and practice. Moreover, they transmitted this truth from one Buddha to the next via dharma transmission verses (*denpo ge*). Each generation of the Zen lineage, from the first Buddha of the past down to Sakyamuni and continuing through all the patriarchs of India down to the thirty-third ancestor, Iluening ISrib (the sixth ancestor of China), chants a Buddhist verse (*gatha*) that plays on the same doctrinal motifs as found in the verse chanted by the previous generation. Thereafter this model of seven Buddhas and their dharma transmission verses became part of the standard image of Zen². This emphasis on poetic expression of timeless truth served the religious agenda of the literary Zen (*wenzi chan*) that prevailed in elite monasteries during the Northern Song dynasty (960-1086).

The *Denkoroku* clearly aims to demonstrate that the Buddhism that Keizan inherited from his teachers is the same authentic Buddhism depicted by the flame records as having been handed down from generation to generation within the Buddha's true religious family. In this sense, it shares the same world view and religious agenda as the flame records mentioned above. In many other respects, it differs from them. First, the *Denkoroku* presents only one genealogical line, the Soto Zen lineage. As a result, its progression is strictly diachronic. It lacks any synchronic sense of Zen as a collective activity. Second, it does not attempt to present the same kind of hagiographic details as in the flame records. Unlike them, it is not structured around a biographical framework. Third, it ignores the seven Buddhas of the past. It omits the mythological dimension of Zen as a timeless truth outside of time of space. By ignoring the seven Buddhas and starting with Sakyamuni, the *Denkoroku* focuses immediately on our world, our history, and our circumstances. Each generation differs from the others. Each generation confronted different environments. Each generation approaches the truth in its own way. Rather than the static, unchanging nature of the truth, the *Denkoroku* emphasizes the dynamic, dramatic, and ultimately unique process by which one must encounter that truth. In this respect, the *Denkoroku* differs in focus and purpose from traditional Chinese flame histories. Instead of timelessness, the *Denkoroku* seems to emphasize how every generation encountered different struggles and developed diverse

teaching methods. Fourth, instead of linking the generations together with dharma verses, the *Denkoroku* links them through *koan* 公案 (pivotal events or words) that depict the crucial moment in each generation when the truth was fully authenticated (*sho* 証).

The word *koan* already has entered the English language. Nonetheless, its connotations in Zen literature and its connotations in English are not necessarily the same or even similar. Here I want to adopt the “*koan* as literary framework” definition of *koan* proposed by T. Griffith Foulk. He stipulates that a *koan* consists of “any text that combines, at a minimum, the following two formal features: (1) a narrative that has been excerpted from the biography or discourse record of a Chan, Son, or Zen master, and (2) some sort of commentary on that narrative” (Foulk 2000, 27). As Foulk notes (p. 17) “to treat a particular passage from the patriarchal records as a *koan* is precisely to single it out and problematize it as something profound and difficult to penetrate.” This is exactly what the *Denkoroku* does. It singles out a specific episode from the records of each generation of the Soto Zen lineage and comments on that episode as a profound demonstration of truth.

As a result of the *Denkoroku*’s central emphasis on *koan*, its Chinese poetry also serves a different purpose. Every episode of the *Denkoroku* concludes not with transmission verse, but with an “appended verse” (*agyō* 下語). These verses amplifies the main themes of the *koan* under consideration and place them in a larger context by alluding to other passages in Chinese literature where related issues appear. In the *Denkoroku*, the appended verses generally are very short, with only two lines of seven glyphs per line (*shichigon niku*; in 46 cases). Only a very few episodes have verses of four lines (7 cases; Tajima 1978, 46). These short verses cannot stand on their own without the *koan* on which they comment. This use of appended verses reflects the shift away from literary Zen in favor of *koan* study (*kanhua* that occurred in China during the Southern Song dynasty (1227-1279).

4 Koan Commentary

Since each episode in the *Denkoroku* revolves around a *koan*, its account of each generation is structured in a format similar to those associated with the genre of *koan* commentaries. None of the manuscript versions of the *Denkoroku* include any paragraph divisions or internal subsection titles. The structure of the *Denkoroku* must be deduced from stylistic clues and textual content. These clues reveal an obvious four-part structure that is shared by all the episodes. The editors of all modern published editions of the *Denkoroku*,

therefore, have identified the internal divisions by adding appropriate subsection titles. The wording of these subsection titles differ from one edition to the next, but regardless of the precise terminology used one can accurately say that the *Denkoroku* describes each generation according to the following four-part structure: Each episode begins with (1) a main *koan* (*honsoku* 本則), which consists of the central *koan* when the Buddha or patriarch authenticated the dharma; next, a brief biographical section summarizes the (2) circumstances (*innen* 因緣) under which the *koan* occurred; then, Keizan’s (3) presentation (*nentei* 拈提) explains the religious significance of the main *koan*, how it should be studied, and how it should be authenticated in daily life; and finally, Keizan’s (4) appended verse summarizes the gist of the matter or relates it to current events. This four-part structure resembles the format found in famous Chinese *koan* commentaries, such as the *Blue Cliff Record* (*Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 T no. 2003) or *Wumen’s Barriers* (*Wumen guan* 無門關; T no. 2005).

Today we know of at least two versions of the *Blue Cliff Record*: (a) the so-called “Single Night” (Ichiya) manuscript secretly preserved at Daijōji monastery, and (b) the Yuan dynasty reprint (1317) that was widely studied in Zen circles. Legend states that the Daijōji manuscript was brought to Japan in 1227 by Dogen, who was aided by gods in copying the entire text in a single night on the evening just before his return ship left China. Its actual history is unknown, but scholars assume that it preserves an earlier format than does the 1317 reprint. Although both versions probably existed during Keizan’s lifetime (which ended in 1325), there is no evidence he ever saw either of them. Nonetheless, Keizan probably would have been familiar with the general structure used in the genre of *koan* commentary that the *Blue Cliff Record* represents.

The internal structure of the *Blue Cliff Record* is slightly more complex than the *Denkoroku*, since it originated as Xuedou Chongxian’s (980 - 1052) verse commentary (*juko*) 100 *koan*. Later Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135) created the *Blue Cliff Record* by adding prose commentary and appended verses to Xuedou’s compilation. Thus, there are three layers: 100 *koan* (from a variety of sources), 100 verses by Xuedou, and 100 sets of comments by Yuanwu that address the *koan* and the verses. These three layers result in a seven-part structure for each chapter of the text. To make matters even more complicated, the seven-part structure is not identical in the Single Night and the 1317 reprint. Each chapter begins with (I) Yuanwu’s opening remarks (labeled his “address,” *jishu* in the Single Night text and his “instructions,” *suiji* 垂示 in the reprint edition). Next, the command “focus” (*ko* 舉) introduces (2) the main *koan* (*honsoku*) originally selected by Xuedou. This *koan* is accompanied

by (3) interlinear comments (labeled *chukyaku* or *jakugo* 著語) by Yuanwu. The main *koan* is followed by (4) Xuedou's verse comment (*ju* 頌). The verse comment is accompanied by (5) Yuanwu's interlinear comments. Then, the text concludes with Yuanwu's (6) evaluation of (*hyosho* 評唱 commentary on) the main *koan* and his (7) evaluation of Xuedou's verse. Note that the above order represents the textual sequence in Single Night manuscript. In the 1317 reprint, parts 4-5-6 are ordered 6-4-5, so that Yuanwu's evaluation of the main *koan* precedes Xuedou's verse comment.

Regardless of the order, one can see both similarities and differences between the *Blue Cliff Record* and the *Denkoroku*. First, the *Denkoroku*'s four-part structure is simpler than the seven-part one in the *Blue Cliff Record*. The *Denkoroku* presents its main *koan* (*honsoku*) with neither an opening remark nor interlinear comments. Likewise, the appended verses (*agyo*) in the *Denkoroku* are accompanied neither by interlinear comments nor by a prose evaluation. Second, Yuanwu's evaluation (*hyosho*) of the main *koan* corresponds to Keizan's presentation (*nentei*). At the same time, though, the *Denkoroku* provides an additional layer of commentary on each main *koan*. In place of the single evaluation found in the *Blue Cliff Record*, the *Denkoroku* provides not just a presentation, but also an explanation of the biographical circumstances (*innen*). The addition of this biographical information probably was more desirable in Japan (where access to Zen lore was much more limited) than in China. Moreover, as explained above, this biographical component takes the *Denkoroku* out of the genre of *koan* commentary and causes it to overlap with the genre of flame histories.

The simpler structure of the *Denkoroku* more closely resembles the format of the other major Chinese *koan* commentary: *Wumen's Barriers* by Wumen Huikai (1183-1260). Written in 1228 and first published in 1229, the text of *Wumen's Barriers* was brought to Japan in 1254 by Wumen's disciple Shinchi-bo Muhon Kakushin (1207-1298). It seems to have been even more widely read in Japan than in China. In any case, *Wumen's Barriers* comments on forty-eight *koan* according to a three-part structure. Each chapter begins with (1) a main *koan* (*honsoku*); next, (2) Wumen comments on the religious significance of the main *koan*; and finally, he (3) appends a verse that summarizes the gist of the matter. This three-part structure closely resembles the format of the *Denkoroku*, except for the *Denkoroku*'s inclusion of the biographical circumstances (*innen*) behind each *koan*. In spite of their structural similarity, the two texts differ in their goals. *Wumen's Barriers* emphasizes the so-called "short-cut method" (Buswell 1987) of focusing on a single word to arouse great doubt. Moreover, one can sometimes detect hints of a dialectical sequence in which each of its main

koan responds to its predecessors. (It begins, for example, with a sequence of *koan* that address various aspects of affirmation and negation.) As a result, *Wumen's Barriers* differs considerably from the *Denkoroku*, in which the sequence of *koan* follows a genealogical sequence. Again, this emphasis on genealogy connects the *Denkoroku* more closely to flame histories.

5 Conclusion

The *Denkoroku* does not fit easily into any of the standard genres of Zen literature that had developed in China. Unlike the typical recorded sayings, it does not provide a Chinese-language record of the main lectures presented at monastic ceremonies conducted according to the liturgical calendar. Unlike the typical flame history, it does not present a hagiographic account of the Zen school as a whole, beginning outside of time and place with the seven buddhas. Unlike a typical *koan* commentary, though, it does focus on a specific lineage, which it follows from Sakyamuni down to Keizan's immediate predecessors. Thus, it combines elements from each of these genres into a text that addresses the unique needs of Keizan's nascent Zen community, which existed in relative isolation in rural Kaga Province. Rather than bemoaning the *Denkoroku*'s unorthodox structure and style, it should be accepted simply as early example of an attempt to develop new mode of Zen exposition suitable to the unfamiliar cultural environment of Japan.

We cannot conclude, though, without returning to our initial question: in what way can the *Denkoroku* be called "recorded sayings"? Certainly Professor Azuma (1991, 3) would not have declared the *Denkoroku* to be Keizan's recorded sayings without good reason. While not presuming to speak for the Professor, I wish to offer one possible explanation. Aside from recorded sayings as genre, one can also define recorded sayings in terms of what they purport to represent: a record of someone's sayings. The encyclopedia of Zen culture, *Zenrin shdkisen* (1741), by the great Zen scholar *Mujaku Dochu* (1653-1744), for example, defines recorded sayings as: "Extracts of the sayings of Zen patriarchs, which are transcribed as they occur either by an attendant or by the teacher himself in ordinary, direct speech without flowery literary elegance" (chapter 21, "Kyoroku mon" p. 599a). As Azuma subsequently points out (1991, 24) the Kenkon'in manuscript of the *Denkoroku* shows clear signs of mistaken listening. For example, the phrase "convert ordinary people into holy ones," which normally is written in Japanese as *tenhon nyusho* 転凡人聖, is miswritten as *tenbun nyusho* 転分人聖. Likewise, the term "three jewels," which normally is written as *sanbo* 三宝, is miswritten as *sango* 三業. The incorrect glyphs (i.e., *bun* 分 for *bon* 凡, and *go* 業 for *bo* 宝) do not look similar

to one another. A copyist would never substitute one for the other. But if not heard clearly, they can sound similar. These kinds of errors (and there are many more examples) demonstrate that the text of the *Denkoroku* originated as the transcription of Keizan's lectures. In other words, the actual text was not written by Keizan. Instead, it is a record

of what he said. Thus, it represents a precursor to the "lecture transcription" (*kikigaki*) genre of Zen literature that developed in medieval Japan. We see here an example of how Chinese elements transplanted in Japan gave birth to a new Zen culture that is neither completely the same nor completely different from its ancestors.

Footnotes:

(1) In translating *to* as "flame" I am following the lead of T. Griffith Foulk (1993, 200 n 20), who points out that the metaphor normally translated into English as "conveying a lamp" (*dentō* 傳燈) can best symbolize the conveyance of wisdom (illumination) from one generation to the next only when it is conceived of as "the flame of one lamp [being] used to light another." To demonstrate that Zen texts refer to the flame (not the body) of the lamp, Foulk cites the following passage from the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liuzu tanjing*):

"Good friends, how then are concentration (*jō* 定) and discernment (*e* 惠) alike? They are like the flame (*tō* 燈) and its light (*kō* 光). If there is a flame there is light; if there is no flame there is no light. The flame is the substance (*tai*) of light; the light is the function (*yu*) of the flame. Thus, although they have two names, their substance is not of two types. The practices of concentration and discernment are also like this." (cf. Yampolsky 1967, 137; sec. 15)

Foulk explains: "If (following Yampolsky) one reads „lamp“ for „flame“ here, the statement becomes patently false, and the entire metaphor loses its force, since a lamp may exist (unlit) without there being any light."

(2) The *Jingde Era Transmission of the Flame* reproduces the transmission verses found in the *Ancestral Hall Collection* (*Zutang ji*; 20 fasc.) of 952. I cite the later text because after its publication in 1004 the *Jingde Era Transmission of the Flame* was included in the official versions of the Chinese Buddhist canon and, consequently, influenced all subsequent flame histories. The *Ancestral Hall Collection*, in contrast, circulated very little in China before becoming lost. It survived only in Korea, where it was published in 1245.

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| SZ (曹全) | <i>Sōtōshū zensho</i> 曹洞宗全書. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai 曹洞宗全書刊行会. 18 vols. Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1970-1973. |
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Denkoroku (Transmission of Light) Verses by Keizan

CLEARY: Thomas Cleary, Transmission of Light. North Point Press (1990)
 COOK: Francis Cook, The Record of Transmitting the Light. Center Pub. (1991)
 NEARMAN: Hubert Nearman, The Denkoroku. Shasta Abbey Press (1993)

The poem at the end of each chapter should, at some time, be read in sequence with all the others; they will then be perceived as one long, ROLLING OF THE WHEEL OF THE ETERNAL. – Jiyu Kennett

1. Shakyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛 Shakamuni	荊棘與時 一枝秀出 老梅樹 著來	CLEARY: One branch stands out on the old apricot tree; Thorns come forth at the same time. COOK: A splendid branch issues from the old plum tree; At the same time, obstructing thorns flourish everywhere NEARMAN: Unsurpassed in the beauty of its graceful form is the old Plum Tree; Its spiny branches, when the season is ripe, will burst forth in bloom.
2. Mahakashyapa 摩訶迦葉 Makakashō	更有靈松 可知雲谷 幽深處 歷歲寒	CLEARY: Know that in the remote recesses of the misty valley There is another sacred pine that passes the winter cold. COOK: Know that in a remote place <i>in</i> a cloud-covered valley, There is still a sacred pine that passes through the chill of the ages. NEARMAN: Know that hidden deep within the cloud-enshrouded valley There still remains the SACRED PINE enduring through the chill of time.
3. Ananda 阿難陀 Anānda	溪水瀑漲 藤枯樹倒 石崩去 火流	CLEARY: The vines withered, the trees fallen, The mountains crumble away-- The valley stream swells in a torrent, Sparks fly from stone. COOK: Wisteria withered, trees fallen, mountains crumbled— Valley streams gush forth, and sparks pour out [from the stones]. NEARMAN: When the vines have withered, the trees have fallen and the mountains have crumbled away, The valley stream, in cascades, will gush beyond its banks and the very rock will pour forth fire.
4. Shanavasa 商那和修 Shōnawashu	散雪飛花 萬仞巖上 縱亂亂 無源水 穿石拂雲 一條白練 絕塵埃 湧沸來	CLEARY: The sourceless river on a mountain miles high-- Piercing rocks, sweeping clouds, it surges forth; Scattering clouds, sending flowers flying in profusion, The length of white silk is absolutely free of dust. COOK: Sourceless stream from a ten-thousand-foot cliff, Washing out stones, scattering clouds, gushing forth, Brushing away the snow, making the flowers wildly fly— A length of pure white silk beyond the dust. NEARMAN: From atop a ten-thousand-foot cliff the WATER WITHOUT SOURCE, Piercing through rock, sweeping away clouds, comes seething and gushing forth; Though scattering the snow and flower petals, making them fly in wild disorder, This CLOTH-LIKE STRIP, pure white as cotton, Is beyond the drab world of dust.
5. Upagupta 優婆鞠多 Ubakikuta	身心何處 家破人亡 隱形來 非內外	CLEARY: The house broken up, the people gone, neither inside nor out, Where have body and mind ever hidden their forms? COOK: House demolished, the person perished, neither inside nor outside, Where can body and mind hide their forms? NEARMAN: With the house demolished and the self o'erthrown, no inside or outside remains So where, pray, are body and mind to conceal their forms?
6. Dhrtaka 提多迦 Dāitaka	輪扁猶有 得髓須知 不傳處妙	CLEARY: When you attain the marrow, know the attainment is clear; An adept still has an incommunicable subtlety. COOK: By acquiring the marrow, you will know the clarity of what you found; Lun-pien still possesses subtleties he does not pass on. NEARMAN: Reach the VERY MARROW and you will know the splendour and clarity of THAT which you have realized; Even so, the master artisan Lun-pien encountered such wondrous subtleties that they lay beyond his expression!

7. Micchaka 彌遮迦 Mishaka	人家多是連天秋水潔 掃去掃來心未空	<p>CLEARY: Though there be the purity of the autumn waters Extending to the horizon, How does that compare with the haziness Of a spring night's moon? Most people want clear purity, But though you sweep and sweep, The Mind is not yet emptied.</p> <p>COOK: Even with purity like an autumn flood reaching to the heavens, How can it compare to the haziness of a spring night's moon? Many people desire to find purity in their lives, But though they sweep and sweep, their minds are not yet empty.</p> <p>NEARMAN: Even though there may be an everyday purity, silt-clear as a river's water in autumn, How can it possibly compare with a luminous spring night, the moon softened by haze?" Many are the houses where people thus speak, yearning for a spotlessly clean life But, however much they sweep this way and that, their hearts are still not emptied and clear.</p> <p>MAEZUMI & GLASSMAN: Though clear waters range to the vast blue autumn sky, How can they compare with the hazy moon on a spring night! Most people want to have pure clarity, But sweep as you will, you cannot empty the mind.</p>
8. Vasumitra 婆須蜜 (世友) Vashumitsu	霜曉鐘如隨扣響 斯中元不要空盞	<p>CLEARY: The frosty dawn's bell rings as it's struck, You never need an empty bowl here.</p> <p>COOK: Just an echo follows when a bells sounds on a frosty morning, So, here, from the first there is no need for an empty cup.</p> <p>NEARMAN: He is like the bell at the break of an August morning which, being struck, reverberates and echoes forth. On such a _Festival for the Dead_ as this, who needs an empty wine cup?</p>
9. Buddhanandi 佛陀難提 Butsudanāndāi	善吉維摩談未到 目連驚子見如盲 若人親欲會這意 鹽味何時不的當	<p>CLEARY: Even Manjusri and Vimalakirti could not talk about it, Even Maudgalyayana and Shariputra could not see it. If people want to understand the meaning themselves, When has the flavor of salt ever been inappropriate?</p> <p>COOK: The discussions of Subhuti and Vimalakirti did not reach it; Maugalyayana and Sariputra saw it as if blind. If you wish to understand the meaning of this intimately, When is some seasoning not appropriate?</p> <p>NEARMAN: Subhuti and Vimalakirti did not reach IT through their conversations And Moggallana and Shariputra saw IT as though blind. If anyone personally wishes to understand the meaning of this, When will a pinch of salt to season the experience not be suitable?</p>
10. Punyamitra 伏駄蜜多 Fudamīta	豈有根塵染自性 莫言語默涉離微	<p>CLEARY: Do not say that words and silence touch upon The remote and subtle; How can there be material senses To defile inherent essence?</p> <p>COOK: Do not say that speech and silence are involved in with separation and concealment; How can sense and their objects defile one's own nature?</p> <p>NEARMAN: Do not say that speech or silence is the way to manifest the wondrousness of the HEART For how can your sense organs and their objects ever possibly defile your own SELF NATURE?</p>
11. Parshva 婆栗溼縛 (脇) Barishiba	死此生彼章句區 轉來轉去幾經卷	<p>CLEARY: Turning, turning, how many pages of scripture? Revolving, revolving, how many scrolls? Dying here, born there-- Divisions of chapter and verse.</p> <p>COOK: Turning, turning – so many sutra scrolls! Born here, dying there – nothing but chapters and phrases.</p> <p>NEARMAN: Turning page after page, oh how many volumes of Scripture there are! Dying here, being born there, is but chapter and verse.</p>

12. Punyayashas 富那夜奢 Funayasha	來我 往心 從非 來佛 在亦 此非 中汝	CLEARY: My mind is not the Buddhas, and not you either; Coming and going has been here all along. COOK: My mind is not the Buddhas, nor is it you. Coming and going abide herein as always. NEARMAN: My ORIGINAL NATURE is not the Buddha nor is IT you, And all my comings and goings abide therein.
13. Ashvagosha 阿那菩底 (馬鳴大士) Anabotēi	更野 教村 靈紅 雲不 到桃 不華 疑識	CLEARY: The red of the village is not known to the peach blossoms, Yet they made an ancient Zen master reach certainty. COOK: The red of the rustic village is unknown to the peach blossoms; Yet, they instruct Ling-yun to arrive at doubtlessness. NEARMAN: In the country village the peach blossoms did not know that they were red Yet they taught Ling-yun how to arrive at certainty.
14. Kapimāla 迦毘摩羅 Kabimara	清滌 淨渺 海波 水濤 何縱 會滔 變滔 天	CLEARY: Even if the enormous waves flood the skies, When has the water of the pure ocean ever changed? COOK: Even though the huge waves flood the heavens, How can the pure ocean water ever change? NEARMAN: Upon the vast expanse of water the billowing waves are set free to dash up and meet the sky; Always immaculate is the water of this OCEAN! How can IT ever possibly change?
15. Nagarjuna 那伽闍喇樹那 (龍樹大士) Nagyaharajuna	如孤 意光 摩靈 尼廓 分常 照無 來昧	CLEARY: The solitary light, aware space, is always free from darkness; The wish-fulfilling jewel distributes its shining radiance. COOK: The orphan light, marvelously vast, is never darkened; The wish-fulfilling mani[-jewel] shines everywhere. NEARMAN: ITS solitary light, wondrously vast, is never darkened For the wish-fulfilling MANI-JEWEL shines forth illumining everywhere.
16. Kanadeva 迦那提婆 Kanadāiba	一 龍針 到釣 處盡 叵滄 藏溟 身水	CLEARY: One needle fishes all the waters of the ocean; Wherever it goes, the ferocious dragon can hardly conceal its body. COOK: A needle fishes up all the ocean water; Wherever fierce dragons go, it is hard to conceal themselves. NEARMAN: Once the SINGLE NEEDLE has fished up all the sky-blue waters of the ocean, The FIERCE DRAGON, wherever HE may go, will not conceal HIMSELF.
17. Rahulata 羅睺羅多 Ragorata	惑惜 自哉 酬道 他眼 報不 未清 休白	CLEARY: What a pity the eye of the Way is not clear-- Losing himself, repaying others, his retribution isn't ended. COOK: What a pity his Dharma eye was not clear. Deluded about Self, repaying others, the retribution never ends. NEARMAN: How sad that his Enlightenment-seeking Eye was not clear and bright! Deluded as to TRUE SELF, he sought to repay others and, in recompense, is ceaselessly born again and again.
18. Sanghanandi 僧伽難提 Sōgyanāndāi	我心 我機 幾宛 分轉 面稱 目心 來相	CLEARY: Mental workings turn freely in accord with mental characteristics; How many times has the self of selves changed faces now? COOK: Mind's activity smoothly rolling on is the form the mind takes; How many times has the Self appeared with a different face! NEARMAN: The mind machine persuasively calls itself the way mind is And, as a result, how many times has the WE come forth wearing a different face?
19. Jayashata 伽耶舍多 Kayashata	僧寂 伽寞 伽心 耶鳴 及響 風萬 鈴樣	CLEARY: The silent mind ringing echoes in ten thousand ways; Sanghanandi, Jayashata, as well as the wind and chimes. COOK: Silent, still, the Mind rings and echoes in ten thousand ways – Sanghanandi, Gayasata, and wind and bells. NEARMAN: Silent and still, ORIGINAL NATURE resounds, reverberating in a myriad ways, Sagyanandai and Kayashata as well as wind and bell.

20. Kumarata 鳩摩羅多 Kumorata	而今相見舊時漢 推倒宿生隔歷身	CLEARY: Pushing over the body of past lives blocked by experience, Now he meets the same old fellow. COOK: In past lives he cast off one body after another; Right now, he encounters the Old Fellow. NEARMAN: Clinging to a body from a past life, made ever so remote by the passage of time, We suddenly meet face to face with the ONE from ancient days.
21. Jayata 闍夜多 Shayata	枝葉根莖雲外榮 豫章從來生空裏	CLEARY: The camphor tree, as ever, grows to the sky; The branches and leaves, roots and trunk, flourish beyond the clouds. COOK: The camphor tree as always, is born in the sky; Its limbs, leaves, roots, and trunk flourish beyond the clouds. NEARMAN: The camphor tree, as of old, grows up into the sky; Its branches and leaves, roots and trunk flourish beyond the clouds.
22. Vasubandhu 婆修盤頭 (世親) Vashubānzu	道情世事都無管 風過大虛雲出岫	CLEARY: The wind traverses the vast sky, floods emerge from the mountains; Feelings of enlightenment and things of the world are of no concern at all. COOK: The wind blows through the great sky, clouds appear from the mountain caverns; Feelings for the Way and worldly affairs are of no concern at all. NEARMAN: The wind blows across the vast sky, making the clouds expose the mountain peak; Worldly affairs and yearnings for enlightenment are both of no concern.
23. Manora 摩奴羅 Manura	見聞聲色俱虛空 舜若多神非內外	CLEARY: The spirit of emptiness is not inside or outside; Seeing, hearing, sound and form, all are void. COOK: The spirit of shunyata is neither inside nor outside; Seeing, hearing, forms, and sounds are all empty. NEARMAN: The spirit of SHUNYATA is neither inside nor outside; Seeing and hearing, sound and form, are all as the empty sky.
24. Haklena-yasas 鶴勒那 Kakurokuna	純清絕點異青天 粉壁插雲巨嶽雪	CLEARY: The powdered wall sticking through the clouds--snow on the massive crags. Absolute purity without a blotch is different from the blue sky. COOK: A white precipice—snow of a great peak sticking through the clouds. Its purity annihilates all details and contrasts with the blue sky. NEARMAN: A whitened wall breaks through the clouds, snow on its massive crags; Perfectly pure and without a blotch, it stands out against the blue sky.
25. Sinha-bodhi 獅子菩提 Shishibodāi	冲虛淨泊本來明 若欲顯空須莫覆	CLEARY: If you want to reveal the void, do not cover it up; Thoroughly empty, pure and peaceful, it is originally clear. COOK: If you want to reveal the sky, do not cover it up. It is empty, tranquil and originally bright. NEARMAN: If you want to manifest the ABSOLUTE, do not conceal IT ; Indefinable in ITS emptiness, pure in ITS tranquillity, IT has been evident from the first.
26. Vashashita 婆舍斯多 Bashashita	藥樹王終無別味 開華落葉直彰時	CLEARY: Blooming flowers, falling leaves, when they directly show, The medicine tree fundamentally has no different flavor. COOK: At the time blooming flowers and falling leaves are displayed at once, The king of medicine trees still has no distinct flavor. NEARMAN: Whilst blossoming flowers and falling leaves may display themselves directly, The LORD of healing herbs and trees ultimately possesses no particular flavour or aroma.
27. Punyamitra 不如蜜多 Fūnyomīṭṭa	宗風何處作安排 本地平常無寸草	CLEARY: The original ground is level, without a blade of grass-- Where can Zen teaching make an arrangement? COOK: The original realm is ordinary, without an inch of grass; Where is there room here for the ways of Zen? NEARMAN: The ORIGINAL GROUND, at all times, is without even a single blade of grass; Where do a monk's personal explanations add or subtract anything?

28. Prajnatara 般若多羅 Hānnyatara	再三撈漉縱知有寬廓旁分虛白成	潭底蟾光空裏明連天水勢徹昭清	<p>CLEARY: The light of the moon reflected in the depths of the pond is bright in the sky; The water flowing to the horizon is thoroughly clear and pure. Sifting and straining over and over, even if you know it exists, Boundless and clear, it turns out to be utterly ineffable.</p> <p>COOK: Moonlight reflected in the bottom of the pond is bright in the sky; The water reaching to the sky is totally clear and pure. Though you scoop it up repeatedly and try to know it, Vast, clarifying all, it remains unknown.</p> <p>NEARMAN: The light of the moon, reflected in the depths of the pool, is bright in the sky; The appearance of the water, as it flows toward the horizon, is thoroughly clear and pure; Even though you trawl through IT again and again, knowing full well that IT does exist, IT is so spacious and empty, yet discoverable everywhere, that any attempt to grasp IT is completely futile.</p>
29. Bodhidharma 菩提達磨 Bodāidaruma	豈有秋毫大者麼	更無方所無邊表	<p>CLEARY: There is no more location, no bounds, no outside-- Is there any thing at all, even in the slightest?</p> <p>COOK: There is no distinction or location, no edge or outside. How can anything be larger than an autumn hair?</p> <p>NEARMAN: There is no location, boundary or surface, So how can anything even as minute as autumn down possibly exist?</p>
30. Dazu Huike 太祖慧可 Tāiso Eka	了了惺惺常廓明	空朗朗地緣思盡	<p>CLEARY: Empty yet radiantly bright, conditioned thought ended, Perspicuous, aware, always open and clear.</p> <p>COOK: In the realm that is empty and bright, conditions and thought are exhausted; It is clear, alert and always bright.</p> <p>NEARMAN: Empty yet resonant, all earth-bound thoughts exhausted, IT is, beyond doubt, alert and clear, always still and bright.</p>
31. Jianzhi Sengcan 鑑智僧璨 Kānchi Sōsān	心佛本如是 法僧自曉聰	性空無內外 罪福不留蹤	<p>CLEARY: Essential emptiness has no inside or outside-- Sin and virtue leave no traces there. Mind and Buddha are fundamentally thus; The Teaching and Community are clear.</p> <p>COOK: Empty of essential nature, without inside or outside, Good and bad leave no traces. Mind and Buddha are fundamentally the same, And Dharma and Community can be understood in the same way.</p> <p>NEARMAN: The ORIGINAL NATURE of things is void, unstained and pure, without inside or outside, Hence neither defilements nor virtues leave any traces therein. ORIGINAL NATURE and BUDDHA are fundamentally the same; Both DHARMA and SANGHA are, in themselves, clearly wise.</p>
32. Dayi Daoxin 大醫道信 Dāi-I Dōshīn	縱別五蘊及四大 見聞聲色終非他	心空淨智無邪正 箇裏不知縛脫何	<p>CLEARY: When mind is empty, pure knowledge has no wrong or right; Here I don't know what there is to bind or free. Even if you distinguish the elements of body and mind, Seeing, hearing, sound and form, are ultimately not another.</p> <p>COOK: Mind is empty, and pure knowing contains no right or wrong. In this, what is there to be bound or liberated? Even though it becomes the four great elements and five Skandhas, In the end, seeing, hearing, forms and sounds are nothing else [than Mind].</p> <p>NEARMAN: ORIGINAL NATURE is empty, ITS unsullied wisdom holds no thought of right or wrong; Within ITSELF, IT recognises nothing as being fettered or free; Even though we may distinguish five Skandhas and four elements, Sight and hearing, sound and form are ultimately nothing other than IT.</p>

33. Daman Hongren 大滿弘忍 Dāimān Kōnīn	豈月 有明 片雲 點水 點潔 秋大 天淨	CLEARY: The moon bright, the water pure, the autumn sky is clear; How could there be a fleck of cloud spotting this great clarity? COOK: Moon bright, water pure, the autumn sky clear, How can a speck of cloud mark this immense purity? NEARMAN: The moon is so resplendent, the water so pure, the autumn sky so clear; How could there be even a whisp of cloud to bespeck the GREAT IMMACULACY?
34. Dajian Huineng 大鑑慧能 (曹溪) Dāikān Enō	簸打 雲白 白月 月聲 夜高 夜深 虛碧 清外	CLEARY: Knocking the mortar--the sound is high, beyond the sky, Sifting in the clouds--the bright moon is clear deep in the night. COOK: Striking the mortar – the sound was loud, echoing beyond time and space; Sifting the clouds – the silver moon appeared, and the night was deep and clear. NEARMAN: The mortar struck, its sound piercing high beyond the empty blue; The clouds are winnowed away, the bright moon, deep in the night, shines clear.
35. Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (弘濟) Sēigēn Gyōshi	豈鳥 堪道 玄往 路來 覓猶 階絕 級跡	CLEARY: Coming and going on the bird's path, there are no tracks-- How can you look for stages on the mystic road? COOK: When a bird flies, it comes and goes, but there are no traces. How can you look for stages on the dark path? NEARMAN: A bird in its passage leaves no traces of its flight, So why look for stages on that dark and solitary road which leads deep within?
36. Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (無際) Sekitō Kisēn	毫一 髮提 未提 曾起 分百 外千 攀端	CLEARY: All at once he raises infinity-- Never has he clung to anything beyond him. COOK: With one raising of the hossu, he held up the totality of the Way; Never by so much as a hair did Shih-t'ou ever deviate from it. NEARMAN: A single raising of the fountain scepter gave rise to everything possible, Yet Sekita never climbed even a smidgeon beyond the proper limits.
37. Yaoshan Weiyān 藥山惟儼 (弘道) Yakusān Igēn	喚平 作常 揚活 眉澆 瞬澆 目那 人漢	CLEARY: That one who is always lively-- We call the one raising the eyebrows, blinking the eyes. COOK: That One whose whole life is extremely active and lively We call the One who raises the eyebrows and blinks. NEARMAN: That lively STRANGER who is always so vigorous and bold; Whenever you call to HIM, you make HIM be the ONE whose eyebrows raise and eyes twinkle.
38. Yunyan Tansheng 雲巖曇晟 (無住) Ūngān Dōnjō	回孤 頭舟 古不 岸掉 蘋月 未明 搖進	CLEARY: Without moving, the solitary boat sails ahead in the moonlight; As you look around, the reeds on the ancient bank have never moved. COOK: A solitary boat proceeds unaided in the bright moonlight; If you turn around and look, the reeds on the ancient shore do not sway. NEARMAN: The solitary boat, without rocking and pitching, advances toward the moon; If you but look back, behold, the duckweed that floats beside the old shore is still not moving!
39. Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (悟本) Tōzān Ryōkai	平微 日幽 令識 伊非 說情 熾執 然	CLEARY: Extremely subtle, mystic consciousness is not mental attachment: All the time it causes that to teach profusely. COOK: Extremely fine subtle consciousness is not emotional attachment; It constantly makes That One preach keenly. NEARMAN: The humble TRUE CONSCIOUSNESS is not emotional attachment And every day of the week IT causes IT to teach energetically.

40. Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (弘覺) Ūngodōyō	說名 何狀 向上從來 及上不帶 向下來	CLEARY: Name or form it has never had-- What transcendence or immanence is there to speak of? COOK: Never has it been bound to names and forms; How can you speak of it as —beyond” or —relative”? NEARMAN: Name or form IT has never come to assume So how am I to speak of higher or lower levels?
41. Tongan Daopi 同安道丕 Dōān Dōhi	本空 無手 得自 處求 果空 然手 得來	CLEARY: With empty hands seeking on one's own, Coming back with empty hands; Where there is fundamentally no attainment, After all one attains. COOK: Seeking it oneself with empty hands, you return with empty hands; In that place where fundamentally nothing is acquired, you really acquire it. NEARMAN: Empty-handed, I sought IT on my own and, empty-handed, have returned; Since, from the first, there was nothing to realize, now, being satisfied, I have realized!
42. Tongan Guanzhi 同安觀志 Dōān Kānshi	放心 開月 劫眼 外華 有光 誰色 翫好	CLEARY: The mind-moon and eye-blossom have fine bright color-- Opening beyond time, who is there to enjoy him? COOK: The light of the Mind-moon and colors of the eye-flower are splendid; Shining forth and blooming beyond time, who can appreciate them? NEARMAN: The moon-like TRUE NATURE and the blossoming in the eyes, how fine their light and colour are! They open outside the aeons of time so who is there to take pleasure in them?
43. Liangshan Yuanguan 梁山緣觀 Ryōzān Ēnkān	不水 待清 琢徹 磨底 自深 瑩沈 明處	CLEARY: The water is clear to the very depths; It shines without needing polish. COOK: The water is clear to the very bottom; The pearl gleams naturally, without need of cutting and polishing. NEARMAN: The water is clear through and through down to its very depths: Even without cutting and polishing, the TRUE SELF is naturally lustrous and bright.
44. Dayang Jingxuan 太陽警玄 Tāiyō Kyōgēn	丹圓 艘鑑 盡高 美懸 畫明 不成映 徹	CLEARY: The round mirror hung high, it clearly reflects all; Colored paints in all their beauty cannot depict it completely. COOK: The mind mirror hangs high and reflects everything clearly; The vermilion boat is so beautiful that no painting can do it justice. NEARMAN: The Perfect Mirror hangs high, Its brightness clearly shining into every nook and corner: The Vermilion-trimmed Boat is so utterly beautiful that no picture can truly capture It.
45. Touzi Yiqing 投子義青 Tōsu Gisēi	劍嵯 刃峨 輕萬 氷仞 誰鳥 履難 踐通	CLEARY: A steep mountain miles high--birds can hardly cross; Who can walk on thin ice or the blade of a sword? COOK: The outline of a peak so high that birds can hardly cross; Sword blades and thin ice – who can walk on them? NEARMAN: A ridge of rocky hills so many miles high that birds can scarcely pass over it, A sword blade and thin ice—who can tread on them?
46. Furong Daokai 芙蓉道楷 Fuyō Dōkai	自紅 愛粉 瑩不 明施 玉醜 骨難 粧露	CLEARY: Even without rouge, ugliness cannot show-- Naturally lovely, the lustrous radiance and jade powder. COOK: Even without cosmetics, no ugliness shows; We naturally admire the ornaments of lustrous jade bones. NEARMAN: There is no need for rouge or powder for any ugliness would be hard to find; Just love the lustrous radiance that adorns the Body of the Heavenly Child within yourself.

47. Danxia Zichun 丹霞子淳 (雪峰) Tānka Shijūn	誰把將來爲汝看 清風數匝縱搖地	CLEARY: The pure wind circling may shake the earth, But who will pick up and show it to you. COOK: The pure wind circles the earth and shakes it time after time, But who can pluck it up and show it to you? NEARMAN: Though a clear breeze swirls round and round, stirring up the earth, Who can grasp hold of it and show it to you?
48. Changlu Qingliao [Wukong] 長蘆清了 (悟空) Chōro Sēiryō	淺深未聽客通來 古澗寒泉人不窺	CLEARY: The ancient stream, the cold spring--no one looks in; It does not allow travelers to tell how deep it is. COOK: The icy spring of the valley stream – no one peeks into it. It does not allow travelers to penetrate its depth. NEARMAN: The old valley stream; its icy spring is hidden from all eyes; No traveller is permitted to penetrate its ultimate depths.
49. Tiantong Zongjue 天童宗珏 Tēndō Sōgaku	抑不入兮拔不出 宛如上下橛相似	CLEARY: It's just like wedges above and below-- You can't push them in or pull them out. COOK: It is like trying to drive a wedge between two plants; You can't drive in the wedge or pry them apart. NEARMAN: By analogy IT is just like a post wedged in at top and bottom; You cannot push it in farther and you cannot pull it out!
50. Xuedou Zhijian 雪竇智鑑 Sēcchō Chikān	其身空廓明明哉 可謂金剛堅密身	CLEARY: We could call it the indestructible immanent body; That body is empty, clear, and luminous. COOK: It is called the indestructible hidden body; That body is empty and bright. NEARMAN: Were you to call IT an unseen Body, indestructible as a diamond, How immaculate, vast and radiant would such a Body be!
51. Tiantong Rujing 天童如淨 Tēndō Nyojō	匝地爲之所持來 道風遠扇堅金剛	CLEARY: The breeze of the Way, blowing far, Is harder than diamond; The whole earth is supported by it. COOK: The mind of the Way, circulating everywhere, is harder than diamond; The whole earth is supported by it. NEARMAN: The winds of training fan far into the distance, irresistible as a diamond is hard; They circulate everywhere and, because of them, the whole world is sustained.
52. 永平道元 Ēihēi Dōgēn	豈有身心可脫來 明皎皓地無中表	CLEARY: Clear as pure light, no inside or outside-- Is there any body or mind? COOK: The bright and shiny realm has neither inside nor outside; How can there be any body and mind to drop off? NEARMAN: The bright, shining, pure PLACE has neither inside nor outside So how can there possibly be any body or mind to drop off?
53. 孤雲懷奘 Koūn Ejō	莫謂一毫穿衆穴 虛空從來不容針 廓落無依有誰論	CLEARY: Space has never admitted even a needle; In the vastness there is nothing to rely on, So who is there to discuss it? Do not say one hair goes through myriad holes-- The bare, clean ground hasn't a trace. COOK: Space, from the beginning, has not admitted even a needle; Vast, nonreliant, it is beyond all discussion. Do not say that a hair passes through the many holds; Empty and spotless, it is unmarked by any scars. NEARMAN: The spacious VOID, from the first, does not let even a needle pierce IT ; Vast and still IT is, dependent on nothing, so who, pray, is there to dispute IT? Do not speak of IT as <u>the</u> SINGLE HAIR piercing a multitude of holes'; IT is a REALM naked and without blemish, beyond any trace of anything.

On the Himitsu-Shobogenzo

From Carl Bielefeldt (Dogen's Manuals of Zen Meditation, from footnote 33 on p. 153):

Menzan's prejudice against the *koan* inherits and develops the position of Dogen's Heian disciples Senne and Kyogo, whose *Shobogenzo kikigaki* and *Shobogenzo sho* include several comments against "a bunch calling themselves Zen masters" who advocate "simply bearing in mind a *koan*" (SSZ.Chukai, 1:223a; see also 543b and 2:459b~460a. For a discussion of the passages, see Ito Shuken, "Koan to shikan taza," SK 22 [3/1980], 101-6.), but theirs was hardly the prevailing view in the subsequent literature of the school. In fact, whatever we may say of his interpretation of Dogen, Menzan's version of the pristine tradition of *shikan taza* has had a disastrous effect on the historical understanding of medieval Soto; for it led him and his epigones to dismiss as unworthy of serious attention the considerable corpus of esoteric *koan* manuals (*monsan*) the secret initiation into which formed one of the most characteristic features of Muromachi Soto religion. Perhaps the earliest such text, known as the *Himitsu shobo genzo sho*, is based on a collection often cases probably put together by Keizan himself. (See Ishikawa Rikizan, "Himitsu Shobo genzo saiko," SK 21 [3/1979], 173-78. Ishikawa has been a leader in the recent rediscovery of the medieval Soto esoteric literature [styled *kirigami*] initiated by Sugimoto Shunryu's *Tojo shitsunai kirigami oyobi sanwa kenkyu* [1941]. For some bibliography on the Soto vernacular *koan* commentaries known as *kana sho*, see Hiwatari Noboru, "Hoon roku shohon to sono honbun o megutte," SK 24 [3/1982], 58-64.)

From William Bodiford (Soto Zen in Medieval Japan, pp 150-151):

In some cases koan manuals authored by Rinzai monks apparently did become confused with the writings of Soto patriarchs. Two texts in particular, the *Kenshoron* (Treatise on Perceiving Reality) attributed to Dogen and the *Himitsu Shobo genzo* (Secret *Shobo genzo*) attributed to Keizan appear to have originated in the Hotto line of the Rinzai monk Kyo-o Unryo. Kyoo obtained access to the writings of Dogen and Keizan when he served as abbot of Daijōji (see chapter 5). Biographies state that Kyoo also authored several Zen texts, including *Kana kenshoshō* (Japanese-Language Treatise on Perceiving Reality) and *Shobo genzōgo* (*Shobo genzo* Koans). It cannot be proved that Kyoo's texts are the same as the ones now attributed to Dogen and Keizan, but a recently discovered manuscript (copied ca. 1486) suggests that they are probably related. This text quotes Hotto-line monks such as Shinchi Kakushin and Bassui Tokusho as well as various Chinese masters on techniques for concentrating on koan in ways that will arouse doubt (*gidan*) and induce an insight into reality (*kensho*). It also includes an essay attributed to Dogen, titled *Kenshoron*. This essay, still attributed to Dogen, also has been preserved at various Soto temples, but under the same title as Kyoo's treatise, *Kana kenshoshō*.

A similar example of confusion over titles and authorship appears in the biography of Keizan Jokin compiled by the Rinzai monk Mangen Shiban, which states that Keizan wrote a text titled *Shobo genzōgo* – again the same title as Kyoo's text. Soto records mention no such title. But Keizan is cited as the author of a commentary on ten Chinese koan titled *Himitsu shobo genzo* (Secret *Shobo genzo*). Significantly, this *Himitsu shobo genzo* was found among the Hotto-line manuscripts just mentioned. Also significant is the fact that not all versions of this text cite Keizan as author. Some Soto lineages secretly transmitted copies of the same set of ten Chinese koans under the title *Jusoku shobo genzo* (Ten-Koan *Shobo genzo*), but without any reference to Keizan.

These examples suggest that koan texts passed from one *rinka* lineage to another. The outside origin of these teachings, however, could not be acknowledged. Instead, the texts borrowed respectability associated with the names Dogen and Keizan. A similar process of borrowing the authority of ancient patriarchs can be observed in most of the secret koan literature passed down within medieval Soto. This literature defies easy summation, but it cannot be ignored. It presents us with a gold mine of information regarding what Soto monks studied and how; what institutional, pedagogical, and ritual structures mediated the koan experience; what religious or doctrinal interpretations were applied to koan; and the general flow of monastic rituals at medieval institutions.

Jokin's Esoteric Shobogenzo
秘密正法眼藏書 Himitsu-Shobogenzo-Sho
compiled by Keizan Jokin translated by Thomas Cleary

Citation 1:

At the assembly on Vulture Peak, before hundreds of thousands of beings, the World-Honored One raised a flower and blinked his eyes. Mahakashyapa broke into a smile. The World-Honored One said, "I have the treasury of the eye of the true teaching, the inconceivable mind of nirvana, the formless adamantine form, and the subtle, ineffable teaching of truth. It is communicated outside of doctrine and does not establish verbal formulations. Today I personally entrust this to Mahakashyapa. Continue to teach in my stead." And he also commended Ananda to transmit it as it is, continuing from successor to successor without letting it be cut off.

Jokin's Reflections:

At the meeting on the holy mountain long ago, all without exception were the circumstances of this "raising a flower" and "smiling." Just as the World-Honored One raised the flower, what was the circumstance? And when Kashyapa smiled, what was the circumstance?

If one perceives it directly, past and present are simultaneously penetrated. One may say, "Without relying on today's situation, how can one speak of last night's dream?"

Later the zen teacher Seiryō of Mt. Kei said, "The World-Honored One had a secret saying – spring lingers on the ancient ford; Kashyapa did not keep it hidden – falling flowers float on the stream."

Also zen master Chikan of Setcho said, "The World-Honored One had a saying, but Kashyapa did not keep it hidden; a night of flowers falling in the rain, water is fragrant throughout the city."

These are models of men of old citing the ancient to illumine the present. I ask you people; at that time, what flower did he raise? What flower did he smile at? Say it straight out now! (Striking a blow) You've stumbled past. Do you understand? There is only one indestructible esoteric body, wholly manifested in the dusts. Look!

Citation 2:

Ananda asked the venerable Kashyapa, "Elder brother, you received the golden robe of the World-Honored One; what else was transmitted besides this?"

Venerable Kashyapa said, "Ananda!"

Ananda responded.

Venerable Kashyapa said, "Take down the monastery banner."

Ananda greatly awakened.

Jokin's Reflections:

Kashyapa calls "Ananda!" Immediately it is perfectly clear; do not harbor any doubt or hesitation. Ananda responds; what sound is this in actuality? If one awakens on the spot, what would there be of any of this?

A man of old said, "Elder brother calls and younger brother replies, revealing the shame of the house; not the province of night and day, this is a separate spring."

As soon as Kashyapa calls on Ananda, he is off the track; the immediate reply is off the track. At this very moment, how do you understand?

(Striking) What season is this? Do you understand? It's right at hand; immediately concentrate your eye and see. Investigate!

Citation 3:

Emperor Bu of Ryo asked the great master Bodhidharma, "What is the highest meaning of the holy truths?"

The great teacher said, "Empty; nothing is holy."

The Emperor said, "Who is replying to me?"

The great teacher said, "I don't know."

The Emperor did not understand.

Jokin's Reflections:

"Empty; nothing holy" does not establish real or provisional, does not discuss doctrine or contemplation. Even the buddhas of the three times cannot see it; even the six generations of patriarchs could not transmit it. This is the time when the land is quiet.

And it was said, "Who is replying to me?" A good scene, but do you see? The great teacher said, "I don't know." Why does he not know? Not knowing is the public affair that is now manifest (genjo koan). As for the "manifestation," mountains are really mountains, rivers are really rivers. Wrong! Mountains cannot know mountains, rivers cannot know rivers. Like so the Whole Body manifests; there is no further entry point.

And ultimately? "I only know allow The Old Barbarian's knowledge: I do not allow his understanding." Investigate!

Citation 4:

A monk asked zen master Gyoshi of Seigen, “What work does not fall into stages?”

The master said, “Even the holy truths are not practiced.”

The monk bowed.

Jokin’s Reflections:

The place clear, the time obvious, there are no stages or tracks. Leave it to fate, leave it to fate, always like this.

Sekito made a verse in praise of Yakusan:

Though we’ve been dwelling together, I don’t know his name;

Abandoned to fate, we go along as ever.

Even the great sages since the remote past do not know him;

How could the later rabble understand him?

If you would understand the words, “Even the noble truths are not carried out,” you should seek out the intent of this verse.

Ultimately, how is it? “A patchrobed monk sits with shrouded head, not knowing aught of cool or warmth.” Investigate!

Citation 5:

Our ancestor, the great teacher Gohon of Tozan, asked Ungan, “Who can hear inanimate objects preaching the Dharma?”

Ungan said, “The inanimate can hear.”

Tozan said, “Why do I not hear?”

Ungan raised his whisk and said, “Do you hear?”

Tozan said, “I do not hear.”

Ungan said, “You do not even hear my preaching; how could you hear the preaching of the inanimate?”

Tozan thereupon had an insight; he then chanted a verse:

Wonderful! Wonderful!

The sermon of the inanimate is inconceivable:

If one uses the ears to hear, it will be after all impossible to understand;

Only by hearing with the eyes can one know.

Jokin’s Reflections:

This is the time of great awakening and thorough penetration. If you hear Mount An discussing wisdom, how could you doubt Mount Ju’s talk of true suchness? The pillar and the lamp are also thus.

At the time that the inanimate preach the Dharma, what are the circumstances? If you understand, then communities are preaching, beings are preaching, all in the three times are simultaneously preaching. They are always preaching, clearly preaching, without pause.

Layman Toba studied with Shogaku and gained entry into the Way, whereupon he expressed his inner experience:

The sound of the valley is an immense tongue;

Is not the color of the mountains the pure body?

Since evening, eighty-four thousand verses –

How could I recite them to others?

Already he has cited them all. Also he said,

The valley sound; an immense tongue;

The mountain colors; a pure body.

Eighty-four thousand verses;

Later I recite them to others.

Before he said, “How to express them to others?” Here he says, “I express them to others.” Are these the same or different? If one can hear the content of the sermon of the inanimate, it rests with him; where does he not express to others?

Tell me, how is it when one hears it expressed to people? Ungan and Tozan, Shogaku and Toba, have their nostrils pierced all at once. But do you understand? (Silence) Speechless speech is true speech. Investigate!

Citation 6:

Zen master Kakuun Doju asked a monk, “„Speaking, silent, not speaking, not silent: wholly so, wholly not so“ – how do you reply?” The monk had no answer. The master then hit him.

Jokin’s Reflections:

Speech, silence, motion, stillness; wholly so, wholly not so. Outside this group, in what manner could one respond? The monk did not reply – “who knows the law fears it.” After all, he has realized a little bit. As the first blow of the staff, the effort was not made in vain.

I ask you people, when the six senses are inoperative and the seven consciousnesses are not present, what will you use to answer? Why do you not bow and leave?

Kyogen's story of „up in a tree“ may also be seen in the same way as the phase beyond the six propositions. If you can express the matter of the tree, then you understand the single phrase beyond the six propositions.

But say; without setting up either „the tree top“ or „that which is beyond the six propositions,“ coming directly to this point here, how will you turn around and show some life? (striking) Look!

(Note on Kyogen's story: he said, “Suppose a man climbs a tree and is holding on to a branch with his mouth, his hands not holding any limb, his feet not standing on the trunk: under the tree there is someone who asks about the reason why Bodhidharma came from the West; if (the man in the tree) doesn't answer, he is ignoring the question, but if he does answer, he still loses his body and life. At this moment, how would you answer?” The „six propositions“ are speech, silence, etc., as mentioned in the citation.)

Citation 7:

Zen master Goso asked a monk, “The girl Sei split her spirit; which one is real?” The monk had no reply.

Jokin's Reflections:

This is the situation which is beyond the reach of „lord and vassal,“ „biased and true,“ It is not the wonderful principle of the zen way or to the Buddhist teaching.

If one is already two, how could they be one? If you say the two are one, why are they not two? Try to say which is real.

Shakyamuni Buddha manifests a hundred-thousand million emanation bodies; the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara is endowed with so many hands and eyes: are they the same or different?

Thus it is said, “Above to the summit of the heavens, below to the deepest hells, all is as yellow gold.” Thus there are no signs of self and others, of society and individual. Such is this situation; which is Shakyamuni, which is Avalokiteshvara?

Also, Manjushri spent summer retreat in the wineshops, brothels, and butcher shops: Kashyapa, wanting to drive him away, reached for him with a staff when suddenly he saw hundreds of millions of billions of Manjushris. Shakyamuni said, “Kashyapa, which Manjushri would you drive out?” Kashyapa had no reply. This is the same situation: which is Manjushri? Which is Kashyapa? Which is the real one? Try to say.

There's an echo in Shakyamuni's words when he says, “Which Manjushri would you drive out?” If you can understand this saying, then you should be able to see the saying “Sei split her spirit.” Goso's “Debt of gratitude to the elixir of eternal life” is based on this saying.

Therefore it is said, “Before me, no you; here, no me.” Why is it like this? Because mind and body are one suchness. A living man's tongue is a dead man's mouth; a dead man walks on a living man's road. At this moment it is indescribably perfect; it is not concealing or revealing. Illuminating the whole body, alive and unconstrained; the great function is not in the image of man – behold its visage, clearly manifest; there is no Buddha Way, no ancestral path. Knowledge of all knowledge, pure and clear, absolutely unique, it is without duality and without separation, because it has no gap.

Ultimately how is it? The girl Sei split her spirit; which is the real one? Investigate!

(Note: this koan refers to the story of a young woman named Sei who took to a sickbed when her betrothed went away without her. As her betrothed was going, however, he saw Sei coming after him; thus reunited, they spent five years together before the man decided to return. When they got back, the man found that Sei had been seen lying on her sickbed for these five years: when he brought the „Sei“ he had been living with to the sickbed where the pining „Sei“ lay, the two „Sei"s merged into one. Goso asks, “Which is the real one?”)

Citation 8:

The zen master Tokusan Senkan one day left the hall carrying his bowl. Seppo saw him and said, “Old man, the bell has not yet rung, the drum has not yet sounded; where are you going with your bowl?”

Tokusan lowered his head and returned to his abbot's quarters.

Seppo brought this up to Ganto, who said, “That Tokusan has after all not yet understood the last word.”

Tokusan had his attendant summon Ganto, whom he asked, “You do not agree with this old monk?”

Ganto silently expressed his meaning; Tokusan said nothing.

Jokin's Reflections:

Tokusan just accepts the flow, being as is. Ganto and Seppo scatter rubbish in the eye; playing at being adept, they turn out inept.

Tokusan lowered his head and returned to his abbot's room; what contrivance is there in this? If you try to approach it in terms of inside and outside, dependent and true, subject and object, or guest and host, you have not even seen it in dreams. Carrying the bowl, lowering the head, returning to the room – what ease or difficulty is there?

Seppo once said to his congregation, “We meet at the inn in Bo province, we meet at Vulture Peak, we meet in front of the monks' hall.” Hofuku asked Gacho, “I do not ask about the monks' hall; as for the inn in Bo province or Vulture Peak,

where do we meet?” Gacho ran hurriedly back to his abbot’s quarters; Hofuku thereupon went into the monks’ hall. This is the time. What doctrine is this?

Where there is not the slightest breath, if you can understand this story, then you will see the story about Tokusan carrying his bowl.

Ultimately how is it? Be uniformly equanimous; of itself it disappears without a trace.

Also I say “Wrong!” There is still the final word. How do you see it? Investigate!

Citation 9:

Zen master Gyozan Ejaku was asked by a monk, “Can the Dharma-body also expound the Dharma?”

Gyozan said, “I cannot expound it, but there is another one who can.”

The monk said, “Where is the one who expounds the Dharma?”

Gyozan pushed forward a pillow.

Isan (Gyozan’s teacher) heard of this and remarked, “Mr. Ejaku is bringing out the action of a sword.”

Jokin’s Reflections:

This monk was not anxious for his life under the sword; he brought up a question, and Gyozan didn’t slip with his sword – he cut off the man’s head before he knew it.

Just when he pushes the pillow forward, there is a unique subtlety; can it be considered the one who replies? Or can it be considered a pillow? Can it be considered the act of pushing forward? Here, how will you understand? I push forth a cushion; do you people really see? (Making a whistling sound) Like this! Investigate!

Citation 10:

The zen master Kassan Zenne was asked by a monk, “What is the Way?”

Kassan said, “The sun floods the eye; not a fleck of cloud for ten thousand miles.”

The monk said, “I do not understand.”

Kassan said, “In the clear water, the wandering fish deludes itself.”

Jokin’s Reflections:

The One Great Matter has always been manifest; do not seek enlightenment, for fundamentally there is no illusion.

Lucid, without obscurity, everywhere perfectly obvious; why do you not understand? People of today are as if riding an ox in search of an ox.

A monk asked Haryo, “What is the Way?” Haryo said, “A clear-eyed man falls into a well.” If the eye is clear, one should see the road and go directly on; why fall into a well? If you understand this story, then you will see the koan saying “In the clear water, the meandering fish deludes itself.”

Do you understand? The sky is clear, there is no rain; why do you not see the sun and moon? Investigate!

I have cited ten examples of the acts of the ancient worthies; pass through them one by one.

The first, the story of raising the flower and smiling, is the setting of the one great concern of all buddhas of the three times.

The second, the story of the banner before the monastery, is the model of the enlightenment of all the ancestors.

The third, the story of emptiness and not knowing, is the subtlety which the ancestors and buddhas neither transmit nor receive.

The fourth, the story of not even practicing the holy truths, is the point to which the historical ancestors actually attained.

The fifth, the story of the sermon on the inanimate, is the beginning of our ancestor’s understanding mind and awakening to the Way.

The sixth, the story of one expression outside of the six propositions, is that which all the monks in the world can neither swallow nor spit out.

The seventh, the girl Sei separating from her spirit, is the power of intrepid zeal of all buddhas and all ancestors.

The eighth, leaving the hall with bowl in hand, is the ancient’s way of letting go and accepting the flow.

The ninth, the story of the pillow, is the ancient worthies’ method of not grabbing the sword and cutting the hand.

The tenth, the story of not understanding the Way, is the aspect of the ancients extending their hands to save those enshrouded by ignorance.



Contemporary Portrait of Keizan by Kokyo

Zazen

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From Steven Heine (Did Dogen Go to China, p. 214):

Ishii Shudo, one of the leading representatives of what Kagamishima has identified as the compromise or traditionalist (b) view [that allows for some development in Dogen over the span of his writing], is sympathetic to but criticizes some aspects of the Renewal Theory [which argues that Dogen underwent a major and decisive change expressed in the 12-fascicle *Shobogenzo*]. Ishii agrees that Dogen's approach to Buddhism is based primarily on wisdom (*chie*, Skt. *prajna*) and learning rather than on meditative contemplation, despite the fact that Soto is often characterized as a religion based on *zazen*-only or just-sitting, a sectarian misunderstanding traceable to fourth patriarch Keizan and projected back to Dogen. Without being too harsh on Keizan, who since the Tokugawa era has been revered by the sect as an eminent patriarch of equal status to Dogen, Ishii feels that the purity of Dogen's thought was subverted by the un-Buddhistic syncretism and misleading simplification inspired by Keizan and his disciples.

From Carl Bielefeldt (Dogen's Manuals of Zen Meditation, pp 151-153):

This reading of the vulgate *Fukan zazen gi* would seem to fit snugly into what we already know about the historical circumstances of its composition: that it was probably written at a time when its author was less concerned with pursuing Tsung-tse's dissemination of Zen meditation than in educating an elite core of experienced religious; that this education was carried out primarily through the study of the classical Ch'an wisdom literature; and that the *Fukan zazen gi* was revised in the light of this study to cleanse it of any suggestion of dubious meditation doctrine and upgrade it with material from the old cases that were the primary focus of Sung Ch'an. In such a setting, it would at least not be surprising if Dogen, like most of his contemporaries, had chosen to replace (or supplement) Tsung-tse's concentration exercise with a practice that focused on a *koan*. This would mean, of course, that, at different times or perhaps to different students, Dogen taught more than one method of "just sitting"—a traditional mindfulness exercise and a more modern *kanna* technique.

Whatever their relative strengths and weaknesses, both these readings of the vulgate *Fukan zazen gi* are speculative. Whether or not its realized *koan* can be grasped through the old *koan* of nonthinking, the actual technique by which this is done manages in the end to elude our baskets and cages. But, if we are thus left empty-handed, we should note that this fact will now leave the burden of proof with those who would maintain that Dogen's practice of just sitting is a unique form of meditation, distinct from both the pedestrian concentration exercise of Tsung-tse and the despised *k'an-hua* method of Ta-hui. For historical and ideological reasons the burden will no doubt seem particularly heavy in the case of the latter distinction; hence, it may be worth adding a few words here on this issue.

The notion that Dogen's unique shikan taza might have involved a form of *kanna* practice is not, of course, favored by the mainstream of Soto tradition and would quickly be dismissed by most Dogen scholarship. This scholarship tends to be guided by two sets of assumptions that require a sharp distinction between "just sitting" and "looking at a saying." One of these is historical. It begins from the fact that the Soto school, at least in modern times, has distinguished itself from, and argued strongly against, the Rinzai tradition precisely on the basis of such a distinction; it then projects the same argument back on the founder of the school, Dogen. Noting that he too was highly critical of Sung Lin-chi and especially of its famed representative Ta-hui, and that Ta-hui was famed especially for his *k'an-hua* practice, it assumes that Dogen rejected this practice and taught his Zen of just sitting as an alternative.

The other kind of assumption is conceptual. Following in the tradition of modern Zen polemics, it understands the two terms *shikan taza* and *kanna* as referring to mutually incompatible techniques of mental training—one that abandons all fixed objects of concentration and all conscious striving for *satori* and simply abides in the undefiled awareness of the Buddha nature, the other that focuses the mind on the *wato* and intentionally strives to break through the "great doubt" (*daigi*) in a sudden experience of awakening. Once again it projects this understanding on history and assumes that *koan* study for Dogen would have been in conflict with both the theory and the practice of his *zazen*.

Although these assumptions tell us much about modern Japanese Zen, they do not help us much to understand the actual character of Dogen's meditation. The distinction between the practices of Rinzai and Soto is not nearly so clear in premodern times as it becomes in the hands of Menzan and his successors. Even in his own day Menzan had to struggle against Rinzai heresies within the bosom of his Soto school; and before his day, in the centuries separating him from Dogen, if Rinzai monks continued to read Tsung-tse's *Tso-ch'an i* and practice his *zazen*, Dogen's successors persisted in reading Ta-hui and studying *koan*. In fact, as we have seen, Dogen's own leading disciples, for all his harsh criticism of Ta-hui, continued to treasure their Daruma school roots and transmit the heritage of Ta-hui's Yang-ch'i tradition. No less than Keizan Jokin, chief among Dogen's descendants and "Second Founder" of Soto Zen, considered himself a successor to that tradition and, like so many of its other members, advocated its popular *kanna* technique in his manuals of *zazen*.

[footnote: See Sankon zazen setsu, SSZ.Shugen,2:428a. Here Keizan distinguishes three levels in the understanding of zazen (corresponding to the traditional Buddhist disciplines): the lowest emphasizes the ethical character of the practice; the middling, the psychological character; the highest, the philosophical. The second, he describes as “abandoning the myriad affairs and halting the various involvements,” making unflagging effort to concentrate on breathing or consider a *koan*, until one has gotten clear about the truth. (In the highest *zazen*, of course, this truth is already quite clear.) In his influential *Zazen yojinki* as well – though he repeats the *Fukan zazen gi* passage on nonthinking—Keizan recommends the practice of *kanna* as an antidote to mental agitation in *zazen* (ibid. 497b).

Menzan’s prejudice against the *koan* inherits and develops the position of Dogen’s Heian disciples Senne and Kyogo, whose *Shobogenzo kikigaki* and *Shobogenzo sho* include several comments against “a bunch calling themselves Zen masters” who advocate “simply bearing in mind a *koan*” (SSZ.Chukai, 1:223a; see also 543b and 2:459b~460a. For a discussion of the passages, see Ito Shuken, “Koan to shikan taza,” SK 22 [3/1980], 101-6.), but theirs was hardly the prevailing view in the subsequent literature of the school. In fact, whatever we may say of his interpretation of Dogen, Menzan’s version of the pristine tradition of *shikan taza* has had a disastrous effect on the historical understanding of medieval Soto; for it led him and his epigones to dismiss as unworthy of serious attention the considerable corpus of esoteric *koan* manuals (*monsan*) the secret initiation into which formed one of the most characteristic features of Muromachi Soto religion. Perhaps the earliest such text, known as the *Himitsu shobo genzo sho*, is based on a collection often cases probably put together by Keizan himself. (See Ishikawa Rikizan, “Himitsu Shobo genzo saiko,” SK 21 [3/1979], 173-78. Ishikawa has been a leader in the recent rediscovery of the medieval Soto esoteric literature [styled *kirigami*] initiated by Sugimoto Shunryu’s *Tojo shitsunai kirigami oyobi sanwa kenkyu* [1941]. For some bibliography on the Soto vernacular *koan* commentaries known as *kana sho*, see Hiwatari Noboru, “Hoon roku shohon to sono honbun o megutte,” SK 24 [3/1982], 58-64.))

If this blurring of what are now often taken to be crucial sectarian differences was common in medieval Japan, how much more was this the case in Sung China, where lineage was less linked to institutional structure, and the houses of Ch’an were not in direct competition for patronage. Ta-hui may have attacked the practice of silent illumination, but we have no evidence that he considered it characteristic of the Ts’ao-tung house as a whole; his own practice of *k’an-hua* may have become popular, but we cannot conclude from this that it ever obviated the cultivation of more traditional forms of *tso-ch’an* in the routine of Lin-chi monks. Indeed, if it had, either in China or Japan, we could hardly explain the persistence of the *Tso-ch’an i* in the monastic codes used by those monks in both countries. Similarly, Dogen’s Ts’ao-tung master, Ju-ching, may (or may not) have taught that Ch’an practice was just sitting, but this did not seem to inhibit him, as we have seen, from advocating the contemplation of Chao-chou’s “aw.” Nor, for that matter, did either of these teachings prevent him from proposing others; even in Dogen’s own *Hokyoki* he encourages the study of Tsung-tse’s meditation manual and recommends the practice of sitting with the mind focussed in the palm of the left hand, a technique he describes as nothing less than “the method correctly transmitted by the Buddhas and Patriarchs.” Thus, even where—as in the ease of Dogen—we find a strong assertion of sectarian tradition, we should be wary of easy extrapolation from the modern Japanese experience and suspicious of the notion of a distinctive Soto meditation practice.

From Denkoroku, Case #22 on Vasubandhu:

Jayata said, “I do not seek the Way, yet I am not confused. I do not pay obeisance to Buddha, yet I do not disregard Buddha either. I do not sit for long periods, yet I am not lazy. I do not limit my meals, yet I do not eat indiscriminately either. I am not contented, yet I am not greedy. When the mind does not seek anything, this is called the Way.” When Vasubandhu heard this, he discovered uncontaminated knowledge.

Keizan’s teisho (Francis Cook translation): This story contains the greatest secret for learning the Way. Why? If you think that you have to become a Buddha or acquire the Way, and that in order to acquire the Way you have to abstain from food [except once a day], live a life of purity, meditate for long periods, never lie down, venerate the Buddha, and chant the scriptures and accumulate all the virtues – this is [like] making flowers rain down from a sky where there are no flowers, or making holes [in the ground] where there are none. Even though you spend eons and eons [doing these things], you will not find liberation. When there is nothing to want, this is called the Way. Thus, even wanting to know what is enough is the root of desire. Even in enjoying meditation for a long time there is the blame of being attached to the body. If you attempt to eat just once a day, you become obsessed with food. Also, if you try to honor the Buddha and chant the scriptures, these are flowers in the eyes. All these practices are meaningless, not at all your own original nature. If you think that sitting in meditation for a long time is the Way, then sitting in the womb for nine months would be the Way, so what would there be to seek later? If abstaining from eating except once a day [at the approved time] is the Way, then does this mean that if you are ill and cannot fix a definite time for eating that you are not practicing the Way? This is really a big laugh!

Sankon-Zazen-Setsu

The original text of Sankon-zazen-setsu has not been discovered (this is true of all of Keizan's writings actually). The Japanese text included below is a Japanese rendering of a version of the text in Chinese (which itself was edited from the original which was probably in a special non-standard language used in medieval Zen writings) [source: William Bodiford email communication.]

The Japanese text below was accessed online at:
<http://blog.goo.ne.jp/tenjin95/e/5aadcd74703684a6452d7b8c9430fcbd>

From Carl Bielefeldt (Dogen's Manuals of Zen Meditation, footnote 33 on p.152):

Here Keizan distinguishes three levels in the understanding of zazen (corresponding to the traditional Buddhist disciplines): the lowest emphasizes the ethical character of the practice; the middling, the psychological character; the highest, the philosophical. The second, he describes as —bandoning the myriad affairs and halting the various involvements,” making unflagging effort to concentrate on breathing or consider a *koan*, until one has gotten clear about the truth. (In the highest *zazen*, of course, this truth is already quite clear.) In his influential *Zazen yojinki* as well – though he repeats the *Fukan zazen gi* passage on nonthinking—Keizan recommends the practice of *kanna* as an antidote to mental agitation in *zazen* (ibid. 497b).

From Henrich Dumoulin (Zen Buddhism: A History, Japan, p. 147, Note 70 on Sankon-zazen-setsu):

The brief text is found in a book compiled for cultic practice, the *Sotoshu nikka seiten*, pp.69-72. [Sōtōshū nikka gongyō seiten (曹洞宗 日課 勤行 聖典)]

三根坐禪説

Theory of Zazen for Three Personality Types - Translation by Reiho Masunaga

Introduction: Keizan wrote this treatise while at Yokoji in Ishikawa prefecture. It is related closely to Dogen's *Fukan-zazengi*. In *Zazenyojinki* Keizan elaborated on Dogen's basic work. In *Sankon-zazen-Setsu* Keizan provided instructions for three types of persons. For the most superior person, zazen is natural behavior embodying enlightenment. It is sleeping when tired and eating when hungry. The zazen of a less superior person, according to Keizan, suspends relations with myriad things and occasionally concentrates on a Koan. The zazen of an ordinary person withdraws from the karma of good and evil, and expresses the basic nature of the Buddha with the mind itself. Manuscripts of this work stored for many years in Daijōji, Yokoji, and Sojiji. But no one knew of their existence until Manzan rediscovered the work in 1680 while at Daijōji. Adding a prologue and epilogue, Manzan published the work the following spring together with *Keizan shingi*...

The Three Types Of Personalities Resulting From Training - Translation by Jiyu Kennett

Introduction: The *Sankon-zazen-setsu* is a short work describing the three types of mind that result from the three types of meditation practice. It was many years before this manuscript was unearthed and, apart from one very poor translation, it has never before, as far as I know, appeared in the English language.

Three Kinds of Zen Practitioners – Translation by Yasuda Joshu Dainen and Anzan Hoshin

I.

上根の坐禅は、諸仏出世の事を覺らず、仏祖不伝の妙を悟らず。飢え来たれば喫飯し、困じ来たれば打眠す。万象森を指して、以て自己と為すに非ず。覺・不覺俱に存せず。任運堂々として、只麼に正坐す。然も是の如くなりとも雖も、諸法に於いて分かれず、万法と異にして昧まざるなり。

MASUNAGA: (1) The zazen of the most superior person does not concern itself with questions about why the Buddhas appeared in this world. He does not think about the excellence that even the Buddhas and patriarchs cannot transmit. When hungry, he eats; when tired, he sleeps. He does not insist that all appearances are the self. He stands above both enlightenment and delusion. Naturally and effectively, he just does right zazen. And despite of this, the myriad things are not dualistically considered. Even if differentiations would arise, the most superior person does not let them enslave him.

KENNETT: (1) The person who does Zazen of the highest type has no interest in such matters as how Buddhas appear in this present world nor does he consider Truths which are untransmittable by even the Buddhas and Ancestors. He does not doctrinalise about all things being expressions of the self for he is beyond enlightenment and delusion. Since he never considers anything from a dualistic angle, nothing whatsoever enslaves him even when differences show themselves; he just eats when he is hungry and sleeps when he is tired.

YASUDA & ANZAN: (1) The person whose zazen is of the most profound type has no interest in how the Buddhas might appear in this present world. Such a one doesn't speculate about the truths which cannot even be transmitted by the Buddhas and Ancestors. She doesn't have any doctrine about "all things being the expression of the self" because she is beyond "enlightenment" and "delusion". Since his views never fall into dualistic angles, nothing obstructs him, even when distinctions appear. She just eats when she is hungry. He just sleeps when he is tired.

II.

中根の坐禅は、万事を抛捨し、諸縁を休息し、十二時中、暫くも怠惰無し。出息入息に就いて斷々として工夫す。或いは一則の公案を提撕して、双眼を鼻端に注ぐ。自家本来の面目、生死去来に渉らず。真如仏性の妙理、慮知分別に墮せず。不覺不知にして覺せずということ無し。明々了々として、古に亘り今に通ず。当頭十方世界に明らかに、全身万象の中に独露す。

MASUNAGA: (2) The zazen of the less superior person forsakes all things and cuts off all relations. In the 12 hours there is no idle moment. As he inhales and exhales, he meditates each moment on truth. Or picking up a single Koan, he focuses his eyes on the tip of his nose. His natural face is not conditioned by life and death or by going and coming. The superior truth of the eternal reality and Buddha-nature cannot be grasped by the discriminating mind. While not thinking dualistically, he is not unenlightened. The wisdom clearly and brightly radiates from ancient times to now. The head sharply illuminates the 10 directions of the world; the whole body is manifested individually in all phenomena.

KENNETT: (2) The person who does Zazen of the less high type gives up everything and cuts all ties. Since, throughout the entire day, he is never idle, every moment of his life, every breath, is a meditation upon Truth; as an alternative to this, he may concentrate on a koan with his eyes fixed in one place such as the tip of his nose. The considerations of life and death, or going and staying, are not to be seen upon his face: the discriminatory mind can never perceive the highest Truth of the Eternal nor can it comprehend the Buddha Mind; since there is no dualism in his thought, he is enlightened. From the far past to the present day, wisdom is always shining clearly and brightly; the whole universe, in all the ten directions, is permeated suddenly by the illumination from his head; all phenomena are seen separately within his body.

YASUDA & ANZAN: (2) The person whose zazen is of a medium type abandons everything and cuts all ties. Throughout the day she is never idle and so every moment of life, every breath, is practice of the Dharma. Or else he might concentrate on a koan, eyes fixed, his view in one place such as the tip of the nose. Considerations of life and death, going and staying, are not seen on her face. The mind of discrimination can never see into the deepest unchanging truth, nor can it understand the Buddha-mind. Since there is no dualistic thoughts, he is enlightened. From the far past up to right now, wisdom is always brilliant, clear, shining. The whole universe throughout the ten directions is illuminated suddenly from her brow, all things are seen in detail within her body.

III.

下根の坐禅は、且く結縁を貴んで善惡の業道を離れ、直ちに即心を以て諸仏の性源を顕す。足、仏地に結んで悪処に入らず。手、定印を結んで経巻を取らず。口を閉じて縫うが如く緘じるが如くにして、一法をも説かず。眼を開いて大ならず小ならずして、諸色を分かつこと無し。耳、善惡の声を聴かず。鼻、好惡の香を嗅がず。身、物に寄らず動作頓に止む。意、攀縁せず、憂喜共に尽くす。形相如々にして木仏の如し。縦い心、種々の妄想顛倒を起こすと雖も、其の咎を作らず。譬えば明鏡の上に更に浮影を留めざるが如し。

MASUNAGA: (3) The zazen of the ordinary person weighs myriad relations and breaks free from the karma of good and evil. Our mind itself expresses the basic nature of the various Buddhas. Our feet are linked to the Buddha's position, and we stay away from evil places. Our hands are held in the meditative sign. There is no sutra in our hands. Our mouth is sewn shut, and our lips are sealed. Not even one doctrine is preached. Our eyes are open, but neither wide nor narrow. We do not differentiate the myriad things; we do not listen to the voice of good or evil. Our nose does not discriminate between good and bad smells. Our body does not rely on things. We abruptly stop all delusive activities. With no delusions stirring up our mind, sorrow and joy both drops away. Like a wooden Buddha, body and form naturally harmonize with truth. Even though various deluded and inverted thoughts arise, they do not take possession. It is like a clear mirror that holds no waving shadows.

KENNETT: (3) The person who does ordinary Zazen considers everything from all angles before freeing himself from good and evil karma: the mind expresses naturally the True Nature of all the Buddhas for the feet of man stand where the Buddha stands; thus are evil ways avoided. The hands are in the position for meditation, holding no Scripture; the mouth, being tightly shut, is as if a seal were upon the lips for no word of any doctrine is ever uttered; the eyes are neither wide open nor half shut; in no way is anything considered from the point of view of differentiation for the voice of good and evil is not listened to; the nose takes no cognisance of smells as either good or bad; the body relies upon nothing whatsoever for all delusion is suddenly ended. Since there is no delusion to disturb the mind, neither sorrow nor joy are to be found: as in the case of a wooden Buddha, both material and form are one with the Truth. Although worldly thoughts may arise they are not disturbing for the mind is as a bright mirror in which no shadows move.

YASUDA & ANZAN: (3) The person whose zazen is just ordinary views all things from all sides and frees herself from good and bad conditions. The mind naturally expresses the True Nature of all the Buddhas because Buddha stands right where your own feet are. Thus wrong action does not arise. The hands are held in Reality mudra and do not hold onto any scriptures. The mouth is tightly closed, as if the lips were sealed, and no word of doctrine is spoken. The eyes are neither wide open nor shut. Nothing is ever seen from the point of view of fragmentation and good and evil words are left unheard. The nose doesn't choose one smell as good, another as bad. The body is not propped up and all delusion is ended. Since delusion does not disturb the mind, neither sorrow nor glee appear. Just like a wooden carving of the Buddha, both the substance and the form are true. Worldly thoughts might arise but they do not disturb because the mind is a bright mirror with no trace of shadows.

IV.

五戒・八戒・菩薩の大戒、比丘の具戒・三千の威儀、八万の細行、諸仏菩薩の転妙法輪、皆此の坐禅の中自り現前して、尽きること無し。万行の中、最勝の実行は、唯坐禅の一門なり。僅かに坐して一步の功德を進むれば、則ち百千無量の堂塔を作るに勝れり。何に況や常に修して退くこと無きをや。永く生死を解脱して自己の心仏を見ん。行住坐臥、無作の妙用に非ずということ無し。見聞覚知、悉く是れ本有の靈光なり。初心後心を選ばず、有智無智を論ずること無し。此の如きの坐禅、専精に修行して 忘失すべからず。

MASUNAGA: (4) The five precepts, the eight precepts, the Great Precepts of the Bodhisattvas, all the precepts of monks, 3,000 behaviors, the 80,000 thorough practices, the superior true law of the various Buddhas and patriarchs - all these arise from zazen limitlessly. Within the sphere of training, zazen alone is the most superior practice.

If we practice zazen and accumulate even a single merit, it is better than to build 100, 1,000, or innumerable halls and towers. In short, do zazen continually and don't give it up. We free ourselves from birth and death forever and penetrate to the Buddha in our own mind. The four activities of going, staying, sitting, and lying are nothing but natural and unexcelled functions. Seeing, hearing, perceiving, and knowing, are all the light of original nature. There is no choice between the beginning mind and the ripened mind. Knowledge and ignorance are not open to argument.

Just do zazen wholeheartedly. Do not forget it or lose it.

KENNETT: (4) From Zazen, the Precepts arise eternally, whether they are the five, the eight, the Great Precepts of the Bodhisattvas, the Precepts of the priesthood, the three thousand manners, the eighty thousand beliefs or the Highest Law of the Buddhas and Ancestors; in all training, nothing whatsoever compares with Zazen.

Even if only one merit is gained from doing Zazen it is greater than the building of a hundred, a thousand or an uncountable number of temples. Just do Zazen for ever without ceasing for, by so doing, we are free of birth and death and realise our own latent Buddha Nature. It is perfect and natural to go, stay, sit and lie down; to see, hear, understand and know are natural manifestations of the True Self; between first mind and last mind there is no difference and none can make an argument about either knowledge or ignorance. Do Zazen with your whole being, never forget, and lose, it.

YASUDA & ANZAN: (4) The Precepts arise naturally from zazen whether they are the five, eight, the Great Bodhisattva Precepts, the monastic Precepts, the three thousand rules of deportment, the eighty thousand Teachings, or the supreme Dharma of the Buddhas and Awakened Ancestors. No practice whatsoever can be measured against zazen.

Should only one merit be gained from the practice of zazen, it is vaster than the construction of a hundred, a thousand or a limitless number of monasteries. Practice just sitting ceaselessly. Doing so, we are liberated from birth and death and realize our own hidden Buddha-nature.

In perfect ease go, stay, sit and lie down. Seeing, hearing, understanding and knowing are all the natural display of the True Nature. From first to last, mind is mind, beyond any arguments about knowledge and ignorance. Just do zazen with all of who and what you are. Never stray from it or lose it.

Zazen Yojinki Translation Study

- a) *Translations of Zazen Yojinki*
- b) *Introductions to Zazen Yojinki*
- c) *Translation Study (with notes)*

a) *Translations of Zazen Yojinki* (坐禅用心记 Taisho 2586):

1. HEINE: Advice on the Practice of Zazen, Steven Heine, in Zen Texts, Berkeley: Numata Center, 2005.
2. CLEARY: What to be aware of in zazen, sitting meditation, Thomas Cleary in Timeless Spring, New York: Weatherhill, 1980.
3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Notes on What to be Aware of in Zazen. Yasuda Joshu Dainen Roshi and Anzan Hoshin Roshi, Online at: <http://www.wwzc.org/translations/zazenYojinki.htm> (accessed 9/23/2010). Also published in The Art of Just Sitting: Essential Writings on the Zen Practice of Shikantaza, second edition, edited by John Daido Looi roshi, Wisdom Publications, 2004.
4. MASUNAGA: (reordered): Zazenyojinki (Points to Watch in Zazen), Reiho Masunaga, Soto Approach to Zen, (Masunaga reordered the text – I have not preserved his order here- but cut and paste it to match the Chinese/other translations, Tokyo: Layman Buddhist Society Press [Zaiko Bukkyo kyokai], 1958.
5. NEARMAN: Instructions on How to Do Pure Meditation. From Buddhist Writings on Meditation and Daily Practice: The Serene Reflection Meditation Tradition, trans. Rev. Hubert Nearman, O.B.C., with Rev. Master P.T.N.H. Jiyu-Kennett, M.O.B.C., and Rev. Daizui MacPhillamy, M.O.B.C., as consultants and editors (Mt. Shasta, California: Shasta Abbey Press, 1998), pp. 191–210.
6. SENZAKI: (excerpts): CAUTIONS ON ZAZEN by Kei Zan Zenji translation by Nyogen Senzaki. From the Daily Sutra Book of N.Y. Zazen Center.
7. OKUMURA: (excerpts): *Zazen Yojinki* Things We Should Be Careful about Regarding *Zazen*, by Shohaku Okumura and edited by Hozan Alan Senauke, in Soto Zen: An Introduction to Zazen, Tokyo: Sotoshu Shumicho, 2002.
8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER (excerpts): *Notebook on Zen Practice*, Heinrich Dumoulin, translated from the German by James Heisig and Paul Knitter, in *Zen Buddhism: A History*, Japan, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1990.

b) *Introductions to Zazen Yojinki*:

HEINE: Although Keizan is known for a generally eclectic approach to Zen, *Advice on the Practice of Zazen*, an instructional guide to zazen practice for monks and laymen, uncompromisingly insists on the priority of “*zazen only*” (*shikantaza*). Consistent with the central standpoint of Dogen, which was based on his training under his Chinese mentor Tiantong Ruji, Keizan stresses that a clear recognition of the meaning of impermanence is the key to attaining an enlightened nondiscriminatory perspective beyond all dualities through rigorous discipline and complete dedication to zazen. The practice of zazen, according to Soto theorists, is the one single method of attainment that has been followed by all Buddhists since the time of Sakyamuni.

Keizan's text is greatly influenced by a number of Dogen's writings on zazen, including the *Fukanzazengi* (*A Universal Recommendation for True Zazen*), pp. 233-8 in this volume, *Hokyoki* (*Memoirs of the Hokyo Period*), *Shobogenzo zuimonki* (*Miscellaneous Talks*), *Bendoho* (*Methods for the Wholehearted Practice of the Way*), and the *Zazengi* (*Standard Method of*

Zazen), *Zazenshin* (*Zazen Lancet*), *Bendowa* (*Lecture on the Wholehearted Practice of the Way*), and *Sammai o zammai* (*The Samadhi that is the King of Samadhis*) fascicles of the *Shobogenzo*. In *Advice on the Practice of Zazen*, Keizan pulls together a variety of key philosophical doctrines and practical recommendations from Dogen's thought. The central doctrines include *shinjin datsuraku* (the dropping off of body and mind), *jijiyu zammai* (self-fulfilling *samadhi*), *honsho myoshu* (the identity of original realization and marvelous practice), and *hishiryo* (non-thinking beyond thinking and not-thinking). There are numerous specific recommendations for zazen practice, such as: regulations for posture and breathing exercises; requirements for the meditation cushion and place of practice; descriptions of the full- and half-lotus positions; techniques for focusing attention to eliminate mental distractions; methods for swaying on the meditation cushion and walking meditation; and recommendations for eating and personal associations.

An interesting contribution by Keizan is the clarification of the relation between zazen and the Buddhist ideals of teaching, practice, and realization as well as the goals of meditation,

concentration, and wisdom in light of Dogen's notions of the unity of being-time and the identity of practice-in-realization. Each of the three ideals and goals is based on zazen and thus inseparably connected to one another. None is an end in itself but all are varying perspectives of the dynamically integrated temporal unfolding of sustained zazen practice.

MASUNAGA: Keizan, the founder of Sojiji wrote this manuscript, while he was staying at Yokoji, a temple in Ishikawa prefecture. Dogen, in Fukanzazengi gave the basic rules for zazen, but Keizan made these rules more explicit. In Zazenyojinki he goes into such details as choosing a sitting place, precautions against weather, harmony of breathing, and ways to calm the mind. Zazenyojinki even covers sitting posture, eating habits, proper clothing, inhaling and exhaling, psychological condition, and sitting rules. It thus gives the trainee a detailed set of precautions for nearly all-foreseeable problems.

Together with Fukanzazengi this work provides a base for Soto Zen practice. The trainee will find here all he needs to avoid the major pitfalls of zazen.

Manzan (Dohaku (1636-1715) published Zazenyojinki in 1680 and wrote an introduction for it. Since then the work has prompted a number of commentaries - the most famous being one by Shigetsu Ein (died 1764) called Zazenyojinki Funogo.

OKUMURA: *Zazen Yojinki* was written by Keizan Zenji as a manual for *zazen*. Literally, *yojin* means to be cautious or careful. *Ki* means record or notes. Keizan Jokin Zenji (1268-1325) became a monk under Koun Ejo Zenji when he was 13 years old. After Ejo's death, he practiced with Tetsu Gikai (1219-1309), the dharma heir of Ejo, and received transmission from him. Keizan Zenji educated many disciples and founded a number of temples such as Sojiji, Yokoji, and Jomanji. Through his disciples, Soto Zen spread broadly. Eihei-ji, founded by Dogen Zenji, and Sojiji are the two main monasteries of Japanese Soto Zen today.

DUMOULIN: Keizan's much loved *Notebook on Zen Practice (Zazen yojinki)* originated during his work at Daijo-ji. The book follows Dogen's directions and encourages the disciples to practice zealously, explaining that zazen is concerned mainly with a basic attitude... Basing himself on the classical teaching on enlightenment, Keizan develops his advice on how to go about practice; he can be very concrete... Keizan treats in detail all the bodily and psychological aspects of Zen meditation and has much to say about bodily posture and breathing. Drowsiness can be fought off by moving

the body and walking around. A definite mental attitude is also of great help.

TAIGEN LEIGHTON: Teachings on meditation as enactment ritual continued among Dogen's successors in Japan. Keizan Jokin (1264-1325), a third generation successor of Dogen, is considered the second founder of Soto Zen after Dogen. Keizan's manual on Zen meditation, *“Zazen Yojinki”* (Writing on the Function of Mind in Zazen), begins, *“Zazen just lets people illumine the mind and rest easy in their fundamental endowment. This is called showing the original face and revealing the scenery of the basic ground”* [Cleary translation] This resting in and revealing of the fundamental ground certainly continues Dogen's enactment practice. As this text proceeds, Keizan gives extensive ritual instructions in when, where, and how to perform zazen, incorporating much of the procedural recommendations of Dogen's *“Fukanzazengi,”* while adding much more detail. In the midst of these ritual instructions, Keizan also provides detail on how he sees zazen's relationship to and enactment of teaching, practice, and realization.

“Zazen is not concerned with teaching, practice, or realization, yet it contains these three aspects. . . . Although teaching is established within zen, it is not ordinary teaching; it is direct pointing, simply communicating the way, speaking with the whole body. . . . Although we speak of practice, it is practice without any doing. That is to say, the body doesn't do anything, the mouth does not recite anything, the mind does not think anything over. . . . Though we may speak of realization, this is realization without realization, . . . the gate of illumination through which the wisdom of the realized ones opens up, produced by the method of practice of great ease” [Cleary translation].

Here clearly Keizan is not espousing zazen as some technique to gain enlightenment, or some perfected practice or expounding, but simply is affirming the full endowment of realization already expressed in zazen. (From *Zazen as Enactment Ritual*, an article in: *Zen Rituals: Studies of Zen Theory in Practice*, edited by Steven Heine and Dale Wright, Oxford University Press, 2008.)

Note: Eto Sokuo brings *Zazen Yojinki* a few times in his piece excerpted in the section on Dogen and Keizan.

c) Translation Study:

[NOTE: Section breaks (roman numerals I-XXXVI.) in the text below are somewhat arbitrary.]

I. 夫坐禪者。直令人開明心地安住本分。是名露本來面目。亦名現本地風光。身心俱脫落。坐臥同遠離。故不思善不思惡。能超越凡聖。透過迷悟之論量。離却生佛之邊際。故休息萬事。及放下諸緣。一切不爲。六根無作。

1. HEINE: Zazen (seated meditation) allows people to directly enlighten the primordial mind and to abide peacefully in their original state. This is known as realizing one's original face, or manifesting the true nature of the primordial mind. Zazen is the dropping off of body and mind and remaining detached, whether seated or lying down. It is not concerned with good or evil, and transcends the distinctions of worldly and sacred delusion and enlightenment, sentient beings and Buddhas. It relinquishes the ten thousand things, renounces all conditions, casts aside everything, and does not rely on the six senses.

2. CLEARY: Zazen just lets people illumine the mind and rest easy in their fundamental endowment. This is called showing the original face and revealing the scenery of the basic ground. Mind and body drop off, detached whether sitting or lying down. Therefore, we do not think of good or bad, and can pass beyond all conception of illusion and enlightenment, leave the bounds of sentient beings and buddhas entirely. So, putting a stop to all concerns, casting off all attachments, not doing anything at all, the six senses inactive - who is this, whose name has never been known, cannot be considered body, cannot be considered mind?

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Sitting is the way to clarify the ground of experiences and to rest at ease in your Actual Nature. This is called *—the display of the Original Face—* and *—revealing the landscape of the basic ground—*. Drop through this bodymind and you will be far beyond such forms as sitting or lying down. Beyond considerations of good or bad, transcend any divisions between usual people and sages, pass beyond the boundary between sentient beings and Buddha. Putting aside all concerns, shed all attachments. Do nothing at all. Don't fabricate any things with the six senses.

4. MASUNAGA: Zazen clears up the human-being mind immediately and lets him dwell in his true essence. This is called showing one's natural face and expressing one's real self. It is freedom of body and mind and release from sitting and lying down. So think neither of good nor on evil. Zazen transcends both the unenlightened and the sage, rises above the dualism of delusion and enlightenment, and crosses over the division of beings and Buddha. Through zazen we break free from all things, forsake myriad relations, do nothing, and stop the working of the six sense organs.

5. NEARMAN: Pure meditation opens us so that we may directly realize the Foundation of our minds and dwell content within our own Buddha Nature. This is called *—displaying our Original Face—*. It is also called *—revealing the landscape of our Original Nature—*. Body and mind both drop off, with no clinging to sitting up or lying down. Hence, there are no discriminatory thoughts of *—this is good—* or *—this is bad—*. You readily go beyond thoughts of *—this is worldly—* or *—this is saintly—*. You penetrate into, and go on beyond, the multitude of notions and theories about delusion versus enlightenment. You leave far behind the boundary between *—ordinary beings—* and *—Buddhas—*. Therefore, you cease to pant after the myriad phenomena and let go of all attachments to them. All willful actions have ceased; the six sense faculties are not actively pursuing what things are, unsure of what to call them.

7. OKUMURA: Zazen allows a person to clarify the mind-ground and dwell comfortably in one's original nature. This is called revealing the original Self and manifesting the original-ground. In *zazen* both body and mind drop off. *Zazen* is far beyond the form of sitting or lying down. Free from considerations of good and evil, *zazen* transcends distinctions between ordinary people and sages, it goes far beyond judgements of deluded or enlightened. *Zazen* includes no boundary between sentient beings and buddha. Therefore put aside all affairs, and let go of all associations. Do nothing at all. The six senses produce nothing.

8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER: *Zazen* clears the mind immediately and lets one dwell in one's true realm. This is called showing one's original face or revealing the light of one's Original state. Body and min are cast off, apart from whether one is sitting or lying down. Therefore one thinks neither of good nor of evil—transcending both the sacred and the profane, rising above delusion and enlightenment—and leaves the realm of sentient beings and Buddhas.

Notes:

Denkoroku (Transmission of Light), Case 52 includes an account of Dogen's awakening: Dogen studied with Zen master Rujing. Once during meditation sitting late at night Rujing said to the assembly, *—Zen study is the shedding of mind and body—* (身心脫落). Hearing this, suddenly Dogen was greatly enlightened. He went right to the abbot's room and lit incense. Rujing asked him, *—What are you burning incense for?—* Dogen said, *—My body and mind have been shed.—* Rujing said, *—Body*

and mind shed, shed body and mind.” Dogen said, “This is a temporary byway—don’t approve me arbitrarily.” Rujing said, “I’m not.” Dogen said, “What is that which isn’t given arbitrary approval?” Rujing said, “Shedding body and mind.” Dogen bowed. Rujing said, “The shedding is shed.” At that time Rujing’s attendant said, “This is no small matter, that a foreigner has attained such a state.” Rujing said, “How many time has he been pummeled here—liberated, dignified, thunder roars.”

Also see Shohaku Okumura’s piece on “dropping off body & mind” in the section on Denkoroku, pp. 86-88 of this study.

In Mumonkan (Gateless Barrier) Case # 23, Huineng instructs Ming the head monk, “Don’t think good; don’t think evil. At this very moment, what is the original face of Ming the head monk?” 不思善、不思惡、正與麼時、那箇是明上座本來面目。

OKUMURA: “Mind-ground”: The true mind inherent in all living beings is compared to the earth or ground from which everything grows. Buddha-nature. “Original nature”: The nature of the true Self, which is beyond any distinction between enlightened and deluded.

II. 這箇是阿誰。不曾知名。非可爲身。非可爲心。欲慮慮絕。欲言言窮。如痴如兀。山高海深。不露頂不見底。不對緣而照。眼明于雲外。不思量而通。宗朗于默說。坐斷乾坤。全身獨露。

1. HEINE: What is this that is nameless and cannot be identified with either body or mind? If you try to conceive of it, it is beyond thought; if you try to express it, words are exhausted. It appears both foolish and saintly. It is as high as the mountain and as deep as the ocean, yet discloses neither its full height nor depth. It is illuminatively unbound by conditions, displaying a radiance that cannot be discerned by the naked eye. It penetrates beyond thought and has a clarity above the entanglements of speech. It transcends both heaven and earth and is realized only by the entire person.

2. CLEARY: When you try to think of it, thought vanishes; when you try to speak of it, words come to an end. Like an idiot, like an ignoramus, high as a mountain, deep as an ocean, not showing the peak or the invisible depths — shining without thinking, the source is clear in silent explanation. Occupying sky and earth, one’s whole body alone is manifest;

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Who is this? Its name is unknown; it cannot be called “body”, it cannot be called “mind”. Trying to think of it, the thought vanishes. Trying to speak of it, words die. It is like a fool, an idiot. It is as high as a mountain, deep as the ocean. Without peak or depths, its brilliance is unthinkable, it shows itself silently. Between sky and earth, only this whole body is seen.

4. MASUNAGA: Who does this? We still do not know his name. We should call it neither body nor mind. If we try to imagine it, it defies imagination. If we try to describe it, it defies description. It is like the fool - and also the sage. It is high as the mountain and deep as the sea - impossible to see the top or bottom. It reaches without thinking and radiates the essential teaching in silence. Sitting in both heaven and earth, we express our whole body in freedom.

5. NEARMAN: No need to activate body, no need to activate mind. Should you wish to deliberate, you find that deliberative thought has died out; should you wish to speak, you find that you are destitute of words. You are like the fool and like the one who is resolute; you are as lofty as a mountain and as profound as the ocean, with the peak beyond view, the bottom beyond sight. Without comparing conditions, you illumine them, your Eye shining out from the clouds. Without pondering on anything, you penetrate all; your teaching is clear as you speak out from the silence. Whilst sitting in pure meditation, cut yourself free of Heaven and Earth: your whole being is as a solitary drop of dew.

Notes:

The Jewel Mirror Samadhi says, “Like a fool, like an idiot” (如愚若魯).

III. 沒量大人。如大死人。無一翳遮眼。無一塵受足。何處有塵埃。何物作遮障。清水本無表裏。虛空終無內外。玲瓏明白。自照靈然。色空未分。境智何立。從來共住。歷劫無名。三祖大師且名爲心。龍樹尊者假名爲身。現佛性相。表諸佛體。此圓月相無缺無餘。

1. HEINE: It is like an immeasurably perfected person who has experienced the great death (*parinirvana*) and has unobstructed vision and unhindered action. What dust defiles it, and what obstacle can block it? Clear water originally has neither front nor back, and empty space is not bound by inside or outside. Zazen has a pristine clarity that is self-illuminating prior to distinctions of form and emptiness, subject and object. It is eternal but has never been named. The Third Patriarch (Sengcan) [provisionally] referred to it as ~~mind~~,” and Nagarjuna [provisionally] referred to it as ~~body~~.” It manifests the form of Buddha-nature and actualizes the body of all Buddhas. Like the full moon, it is without absence or excess.

2. CLEARY: a person of immeasurable greatness – like one who has died utterly, whose eyes are not clouded by anything, whose feet are not supported by anything — where is there any dust? What is a barrier? The clear water never had front or back, space will never have inside or out. Crystal clear and naturally radiant before form and void are separated, how can object and knowledge exist? This has always been with us, but it has never had a name. The third patriarch, a great teacher, temporarily called it mind; the venerable Nagarjuna provisionally called it body - seeing the essence and form of the enlightened, manifesting the bodies of all buddhas, this, symbolized by the full moon, has neither lack nor excess.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: This one is without compare—he has completely died. Eyes clear, she stands nowhere. Where is there any dust? What can obstruct such a one? Clear water has no back or front, space has no inside or outside. Completely clear, its own luminosity shines before form and emptiness were fabricated. Objects of mind and mind itself have no place to exist. This has always already been so but it is still without a name. The great teacher, the Third Ancestor Sengcan temporarily called it ~~mind~~”, and the Venerable Nagarjuna once called it ~~body~~”. Enlightened essence and form, giving rise to the bodies of all the Buddhas, it has no ~~more~~” or ~~less~~” about it.

Notes:

The third ancestor, Sengcan, calling it ~~mind~~” may be a reference to his Faith in Mind (Xinxinming). Keizan composed a commentary on this text: Shinjinmei nentei (T2587 信心銘拈提).

CLEARY: In an incident well known in zen circles, the fourteenth patriarch of zen, the Indian master Nagarjuna, once manifested the appearance of a circular figure, like the full moon, where he sat to expound the Dharma; the full moon represents the dharmakaya, or body of reality.

4. MASUNAGA: The great man who has sloughed off thinking is like one who has died the Great Death. No illusions distort his sight; his feet pick up no dust. No dust anywhere and nothing obstructs him. Pure water has neither front nor back. In a clear sky there is essentially no inside and out side. Like them - transparent and clear - zazen shines brightly by itself. Form and void are undivided nor are objects and wisdom apart. They have been together from time eternal and have no name. The Third Patriarch, a great teacher, tentatively called it “Mind”; the respected Nagarjuna called it “Body.” It expresses the form of the Buddha and the body of the Buddhas. This full-moon form has neither lack nor excess.

5. NEARMAN: Those whose spiritual realization is unfathomable in its depth are as great corpses: their eyes have no veil, no cataract; their feet never contact even a single mote of dust, for where is there any dust? What is there to obscure or hinder? By its very nature, clear water has no front or back; in the last analysis, the empty sky has no inside or outside. Like them, you are unbecloaked and clear, luminous in yourself, spiritually ablaze, for form and space are not yet divided, so how are knowledge and the wisdom that contemplates it to arise? From the beginning, they have dwelt together for successive eons without a name. The Great Master who was our Third Ancestor called It Mind’, meaning Original Nature’. The Venerable Nagyaarajuna, as an expedient, called It Body’, meaning True Self’. The former points to the aspect of Buddha Nature, whilst the latter expresses the embodiment of the Buddhas. As the Full Moon’, It reveals no lack or excess.

IV. 即此心者。便是佛也。自己光明騰古輝今。得龍樹變相。成諸佛三昧。心本無二相。身更異相像。唯心與唯身。不說異與同。心變成身。身露相分。一波纔動。萬波隨來。心識才起。萬法競來。所謂四大五蘊遂和合。四支五根忽現成。以至三十六物・十二因緣。造作遷流展轉相續。但以衆法合成而有。

1. HEINE: This mind itself is nothing other than Buddha. Self-illumination shines from the past through the present, realizing the transformation of Nagarjuna [who manifested himself as the moon, symbolizing Buddha-nature] and attaining the *samadhi* of all Buddhas. Mind originally is undifferentiated, and the body manifests various forms. Mind-only and body-only cannot be explained in terms of sameness or difference. Mind transforms itself and becomes body, and the manifest body has different forms. When one wave is generated, ten thousand waves appear; when mental discrimination arises, ten thousand *dharma*s appear. That is, the four elements and five *skandhas* interdependently originate, and the four limbs and five senses become manifest. Furthermore, the thirty-six parts [of the body] and the twelve conditions ceaselessly continue to appear.

2. CLEARY: It is this mind which is enlightened itself; the light of one's own mind flashes through the past and shines through the present. Mastering Nagarjuna's magic symbol, achieving the concentration of all buddhas, the mind has no sign of duality, while bodies yet differ in appearance. Only mind, only body their difference and sameness are not the issue; mind changes into body, and when the body appears they are distinguished. As soon as one wave moves, ten thousand waves come following; the moment mental discrimination arises, myriad things burst forth. That is to say that the four main elements and five clusters eventually combine, the four limbs and five senses suddenly appear, and so on down to the thirty six parts of the body, the twelve fold causal nexus; fabrication flows along, developing continuity – it only exists because of the combining of many elements.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: This is symbolized by the full moon but it is this mind which is enlightenment itself. The luminosity of this mind shines throughout the past and brightens as the present. Nagarjuna used this subtle symbol for the *samadhi* of all the Buddhas but this mind is signless, non-dual, and differences between forms are only apparent. Just mind, just body. Difference and sameness miss the point. Body arises in mind and, when the body arises, they appear to be distinguished. When one wave arises, a thousand waves follow; the moment a single mental fabrication arises, numberless things appear. So the four elements and five aggregates mesh, four limbs and five senses appear and on and on until the thirty-six body parts and the twelve-fold chain of interdependant emergence. Once fabrication arises, it develops continuity but it still only exists through the piling up of myriad *dharma*s.

Notes:

I could not easily find an enumeration of 36 parts of the body. The Pali tradition often cites 32 parts. The parts of the body are usually contemplated as being impure, defiled, etc. The Perfection of Wisdom in 25,000 Lines enumerates 37 parts: –(1) hair of the head, (2) hair of the body, (3) fingernails and toenails, (4) teeth, (5) skin, (6) skin irritations, (7) flesh, (8) tendons, (9) blood, (10) bones, (11) marrow, (12) heart, (13) kidneys, (14) liver, (15)

4. MASUNAGA: Anyone self-identified with this mind is a Buddha. The light of this self, shining both now and in the past, gains shape and fulfills the *samadhi* of the Buddhas. The Mind essentially is not two; the Body takes various shapes through causality. Mind-only and Body-only cannot be explained either as different or the same. It shines without an object, and the eyes of wisdom penetrate beyond the Body; the Body expressed itself and forms emerge. The ripple of one wave touches off 10,000 waves. The slight twitch of consciousness brings the 10,000 things bubbling up. The so-called four elements and five aggregates combine, and the four limbs and five organs immediately take form. In addition the 36 bodily possessions and the 12 mutual causes arise and circulate in successive currents. They interpenetrate with myriad things.

5. NEARMAN: This Original Nature is none other than Buddha. The radiance of the True Self arises from the ancient past and is dazzling in Its brilliance today. It effects the transmutations of Nagyaarajuna and perfects the *samadhi* of Buddhas. Our minds, from the first, have no dual nature and our bodies differ in appearance. There is just mind and just body; do not speak of them as being different or as being alike. Mind shifts and perfects body; body manifests and its appearance diverges. A single wave moves ever so little, and myriad waves come - following after. No sooner have mind and perceptual - consciousness arisen than myriads of phenomena - compete to come in. Thereupon, what we call the four elements and the five *skandhas* harmoniously combine, and the four bodily segments and their five sense -organs suddenly emerge, culminating in the thirty-six physical parts and excretions, along with the twelve links in the chain of dependent origination. Our features, ever changing and shifting, roll on in succession, inheriting from what has gone before. Still, combining with all phenomena, they have existence‘.

lungs, (16) spleen, (17) large intestine, (18) small intestine, (19) mesentery, (20) stomach, (21) urine, (22) feces, (23) tears, (24) sweat, (25) fat, (26) saliva, (27) nasal mucus, (28) pus, (29) bile, (30) phlegm, (31) watery body fluid, (32) oily body fluid, (33) impurities, (34) brain matter, (35) cerebral membrane, (36) mucous discharge of the eye, and (37) ear secretions.”

CLEARY: The body-mind is represented as being made up of organs and functions corresponding to the four gross elements: earth, water, fire, and air; since early times buddhists in India represented the being to be made up of five clusters: matter, sensation, perception, relational functions (including emotions, judgments, etc.), and consciousness.

V. 所以心如海水。身如波浪。如海水外無一點波。如波浪外無一滴水。水波無別。動靜不異。故云。生死去來真實人。四大五蘊不壞身。

1. HEINE: In explaining the interdependence of phenomena, the mind can be compared to ocean water and the body to waves. There are no waves without water, and no water without waves. Water and waves are inseparable, motion and stillness are indistinguishable. Therefore it is said, —The true man [who comprehends] life and death, coming and going, realizes the imperishable body of the four elements and the five *Skandhas*.”

2. CLEARY: Therefore the mind is like the ocean water, the body is like the waves. As there are no waves without water and no water without waves, water and waves are not separate, motion and stillness are not different. Therefore it is said, “The real person coming and going living and dying – the imperishable body of the four elements and five clusters.”

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: The mind is like the ocean waters, the body like the waves. There are no waves without water and no water without waves; water and waves are not separate, motion and stillness are not different. So it is said, —A person comes and goes, lives and dies, as the imperishable body of the four elements and five aggregates.”

Notes:

—The true person [who comprehends] life and death” is a phrase that Dogen uses in Shobogenzo. I could not find a source for the entire quote.

4. MASUNAGA: Our mind is like the ocean water, our body, like the waves. Just as there is not a single wave outside the ocean waters, not a drop of water exists outside waves. The water and waves are not different; action and inaction do not differ. So it is said: “Even though living and dying, going and coming, they are true men. Even though possessing the four elements and five aggregates, they have the eternal body.”

5. NEARMAN: Hence, the mind is like the ocean’s water, the body like its billowing waves. Just as there is no trace of a wave outside the ocean’s water, so there is not a single drop of water outside of, or apart from, the billowing waves. Water and wave have no separate existence; movement and rest are no different. Hence, it is said that the True Person of birth and death, coming and going, the Indestructible Body of the four elements and the five skandhas, is the One who now sits in meditation, who straightway enters the ocean of Buddha Nature and accordingly manifests the embodiment of the Buddhas.

VI. 今坐禪者。正入佛性海。即標諸佛體。本有妙淨明心頓現前。本來一段光明終圓照。海水都無增減。波浪亦無退轉。是以諸佛爲一大事因緣出現於世。直令衆生開示悟入佛之知見。而有寂靜無漏妙術。是謂坐禪。即是諸佛自受用三昧。又謂三昧王三昧。若一時安住此三昧。則直開明心地。良知佛道正門也。

1. HEINE: Now, [practicing] *zazen* is directly entering into the ocean of Buddha-nature and manifesting the body of all Buddhas. The fundamental purity of the radiant mind is disclosed, and the original brightness shines forth without limit. There is no increase or decrease in the waters of the ocean, and the waves are never distracted in their course. Therefore, all Buddhas appear in the world for the singleminded function of causing sentient beings to realize Buddha[hood] and to attain and manifest enlightenment. Their incomparably tranquil and wondrous technique is known as *zazen*. It is also known as the self-fulfilling *samadhi*, or the king of all *samadhis*. If you abide tranquilly in *samadhi*, it directly enlightens the primordial mind and is the true gate to the attainment of the way of Buddhas.

2. CLEARY: Now *zazen* is going right into the ocean of enlightenment, thus manifesting the body of all buddhas. The innate inconceivably clear mind is suddenly revealed and the original light finally shines everywhere. There is no increase or decrease in the ocean, and the waves never turn back. Therefore the enlightened ones have appeared in the world for the one great purpose of having people realize the knowledge and vision of enlightenment. And they had a peaceful, impeccable subtle art, called *zazen*, which is the state of absorption that is king of all states of concentration. If you once rest in this absorption, then you directly illumine the mind – so we realize it is the main gate to the way of enlightenment.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: *Zazen* is going right into the Ocean of Awareness, manifesting the body of all Buddhas. The natural luminosity of mind suddenly reveals itself and the original light is everywhere. There is no increase or decrease in the ocean and the waves never turn back. Thus Buddhas have arisen in this world for the one Great Matter of teaching people the wisdom and insight of Awakening and to give them true entry. For this there is the peaceful, pure practice of sitting. This is the complete practice of self-enjoyment of all the Buddhas. This is the sovereign of all *samadhis*. Entering this *samadhi*, the ground of mind is clarified at once. You should know that this is the true gate to the Way of the Buddhas.

4. MASUNAGA: This *zazen* directly enters the ocean of the Buddha Mind and immediately manifests the Buddha Body. Then the Mind -inherently unexcelled, clear, and bright-suddenly emerges, and the supreme light shines fully at last. The ocean waters know no increase or decrease, and neither do the waves undergo change. All Buddhas appear in this world to solve its cloud. The Mind changes and

becomes the most crucial problems by giving all beings direct access to the Buddha's wisdom. They teach a wonderful way of calmness and detachment *zazen*. It is, in fact, the self-joyous meditation of the Buddhas. It is the king of meditations. Dwelling in this meditation even for a moment will clear away your delusions. This, we know, is the right gate to Buddhism.

5. NEARMAN: From the first, the wondrous, pure, bright Original Nature immediately appears before one's eyes. One light continuing from the first ultimately becomes fully illuminating. The waters of the ocean are all without increase or decrease. Likewise, the waves and billows have no withdrawing or turning back upon themselves. Thus, all Buddhas have appeared in the world for the sake of the Reason for the One Great Matter for which we train. Straightway, They help sentient beings open up spiritually and see the way to go, that they may awaken and know Buddha. Also, They have a wondrous method which does not entangle or distress or foster defiling passions: it is called 'pure meditation'. It is, of course, the *samadhi* which all Buddhas employ, to their delight. It is also called 'the *samadhi* that is the lord of *samadhis*'. If even for a little while you reside contented within this *samadhi*, then straightway you will open your spiritual eye and clarify what your mind really is. Know well that this is indeed the right gate to Buddhahood.

7. OKUMURA: Now, *zazen* is entering directly into the ocean of buddha-nature and manifesting the body of the Buddha. The pure and clear mind is actualized in the present moment; the original light shines everywhere. The water in the ocean neither increases nor decreases, and the waves never cease. Buddhas have appeared in this world for the sake of the One Great Matter; to show the wisdom and insight of the Buddha to all living beings and to make their entry possible. For this, there is a peaceful and pure way: *zazen*. This is nothing but the *jijuyu-zanmai* of all buddhas. It is also called *zanmai-ozanmai* (the King of Samadhis). If you dwell in this *samadhi* for even a short time, the mind-ground will be directly clarified. You should know that this is the true gate of the buddha-way.

8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER: The mind, originally marvelous, clear, and bright, suddenly the original light shines fully at last. . . All Buddhas appear in this world because of the one great thing, in order to show all sentient beings the wisdom of the Buddha and to lead them to enlightenment. This is a wonderful art of stillness and purity called *zazen*, is the self-joyous *samadhi* (*jijuyu'zanmai*) or the kingly *samadhi*.

Notes:

Dogen discusses the self-fulfilling *samadhi* (*jijuyu-zanmai* 自受用三昧) in Shobogenzo Bendowa and the *samadhi* that is the king of *samadhis* (*zanmai o zanmai* 三昧王三昧) in the Shobogenzo fascicle of the same name.

VII. 其欲開明心地者。放捨雜知雜解。拋下世法佛法。斷絕一切妄情。現成一實真心。迷雲收晴心月新明。佛言。聞思猶如處門外。坐禪正還家穩坐。誠哉。若夫聞思。諸見未休。心地尚滯。故如處門外。只箇坐禪。一切休歇。無處不通。故似還家穩坐。

1. HEINE: If you wish to enlighten the primordial mind, renounce discriminative knowledge and interpretation, cast away [the distinctions between] worldly and Buddhist principles, and remove all attachments. If you manifest the One True Mind, the clouds of delusion will be dispersed and the mind will be as clear as the new moon. The Buddha said, “Listening and thinking are standing outside the gate, zazen is sitting calmly in one’s own home.” How true! For listening and thinking perpetuate [one-sided] views, leaving the primordial mind in turmoil, just like being outside the gate. But zazen creates an all-pervasive restfulness, just like sitting calmly at home.

2. CLEARY: Those who wish to illumine the mind should give up various mixed-up knowledge and interpretation, cast away both conventional and buddhist principles, cut off all delusive sentiments, and manifest the one truly real mind the clouds of illusion clear up, the mind moon shines anew. The Buddha said, “Learning and thinking are like being outside the door; sitting in meditation is returning home to sit in peace.” How true this is! While learning and thinking, views have not stopped and the mind is still stuck —that is why it is like being outside the door. But in this sitting meditation, zazen, everything is at rest and you penetrate everywhere thus it is like returning home to sit in peace.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: If you want to clarify the mind-ground, give up your jumble of limited knowledge and interpretation, cut off thoughts of usualness and holiness, abandon all delusive feelings. When the true mind of reality manifests, the clouds of delusion dissipate and the moon of the mind shines bright. The Buddha said, “Listening and thinking about it are like being shut out by a door. Zazen is like coming home and sitting at ease.” This is true! Listening and thinking about it, views have not ceased and the mind is obstructed; this is why it’s like being shut out by a door. True sitting puts all things to rest and yet penetrates everywhere. This sitting is like coming home and sitting at ease.

4. MASUNAGA: Those who would clear up their mind must abandon complex intellection, forsake the world and Buddhism, and make the Buddha Mind appear. Then the cloud of delusion lifts and the moon of the mind shines anew. The Buddha is supposed to have said that hearing and thinking about Buddhism is like standing outside the gate but that zazen is truly returning home and sitting down in comfort. This is true. In hearing and thinking of Buddhism, opinions prevail. The mind remains confused; it is truly like standing outside the gate. But in this zazen all things disappear; it is not conditioned by place. It is like returning home and sitting down in comfort.

5. NEARMAN: If you are desirous of clarifying what your mind really is, let go of all your deluded, discriminatory knowledge and explanations. Put aside the teachings of the world and the Teachings of the Buddha. Cut yourself free from all false and deluding opinions and sentiments. When you manifest the true Nature of the One Reality, the clouds of doubt and delusion that have accumulated will disperse, and the Moon of your Original Nature will once again shine clear and bright. The Buddha said, “Should you, upon hearing the Dharma, ponder on Its meaning, you are still as one outside the gate. To come back straightway to pure meditation is to calmly sit within the house.” How true this is! And just as with that hearing and pondering, likewise all your opinions are still not yet put to rest. Your mind is still hindered by attachments. Thus, you are as one sitting outside the gate. Just do pure meditation, and all will relax and come to rest. There is no place where you will not penetrate. Therefore, you will resemble one who returns home and sits in peace.

7. OKUMURA: If you wish to clarify the mind-ground, you should relinquish your various types of limited knowledge and understanding. Throw away both worldly affairs and buddha-dharma. Eliminate all delusive emotions. When the true mind of the sole Reality is manifest, the clouds of delusion will clear away and the moon of the Mind will shine brightly. The Buddha said, “Listening and thinking are like being outside of the gate; zazen is returning home and sitting in peace.” How true this is! When we are listening and thinking, the various views have not been put to rest and the mind is still running over. Therefore other activities are like being outside of the gate. Zazen alone brings everything to rest and, flowing freely, reaches everywhere. So zazen is like returning home and sitting in peace.

Notes:

I could not locate a source for the quote (“The Buddha said. . .”) using the CBETA database of Buddhist texts in Chinese (Taisho and the Zokuzokyo supplement) or the SAT database of the Chinese and Japanese portions of the Taisho.

VIII. 而五蓋煩惱皆從無明起。無明若不明己也。坐禪者是明己也。縱雖斷五蓋。未斷無明。非是佛祖。若欲斷無明。坐禪辨道。最是祕訣也。古人云。妄息寂生。寂生智現。智現真見。若欲盡妄心。須休善惡思。又須一切緣務都來放捨。心無思身無事。是第一用心也。妄緣盡時。妄心隨滅。

1. HEINE: The attachments of the five desires all arise from ignorance, ignorance is due to a lack of clarity about the self, and zazen illuminates the self. For example, although the five desires may be removed, if ignorance is not yet removed that is not yet [the attainment] of a Buddha or patriarch. If you want to remove ignorance, the diligent practice of zazen is the key. An ancient said, “If distraction is removed tranquility arises, and if tranquility arises wisdom is attained, and if wisdom is attained the truth is clearly seen.” If you want to remove distractions, you must be free from thoughts of [the distinction of] good and evil, and renounce all involvement in karmic relations. The most important concern is that the mind be free from thinking and the body free from acting.

2. CLEARY: The afflictions of the five obscurations all come from ignorance, and ignorance means not understanding yourself. Zazen is understanding yourself. Even though you have eliminated the five obscurations, if you have not eliminated ignorance, you are not a buddha or an ancestor. If you want to eliminate ignorance, zazen to discern the path is the most essential secret. An ancient said, “When confusion ceases, tranquility comes; when tranquility comes, wisdom appears, and when wisdom appears reality is seen.” If you want to put an end to your illusion you must stop thinking of good and bad and must give up all involvement in activity; the mind not thinking and the body not doing is the most essential point. When delusive attachments end, illusion dies out.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Being afflicted by the five obstructions arises from basic ignorance and ignorance arises from not understanding your own nature. Zazen is understanding your own nature. Even if you were to eliminate the five obstructions, if you haven’t eliminated basic ignorance, you have not yet realized yourself as the Buddhas and Awakened Ancestors. If you want to release basic ignorance, the essential key is to sit and practice the Way. An old master said, “When confusion ceases, clarity arises; when clarity arises, wisdom appears; and when wisdom appears, Reality displays itself.” If you want to cease your confusion, you must cease involvement in thoughts of good or bad. Stop getting caught up in unnecessary affairs. A mind “unoccupied” together with a body “free of activity” is the essential point to remember. When delusive attachments end, the mind of delusion dies out.

4. MASUNAGA: The delusion of the five hindrances arises from ignorance. Ignorance stems from not knowing the self - the self, that zazen enables us to know. Even if we cut off the five hindrances, we still remain outside the sphere of the Buddhas and patriarchs unless we also free ourselves from ignorance. And the most effective way to do this is zazen. An ancient sage has said: “When delusions disappear, calmness emerges, When calmness emerges, wisdom arises. When wisdom arises, there is true understanding.” To get rid of delusive thoughts we have to stop thinking about good and evil. We have to sever all relations, throw everything away, think of nothing, and do nothing with our body. This is the primary precaution.

5. NEARMAN: Now then, the defiling passions from the five skandhas all arise out of ignorance. ‘Ignorance’ is ‘not seeing the True Self clearly’; ‘pure meditation’ is ‘seeing the True Self clearly’. Even though you rid yourself of the five hindrances—namely, desire, anger, drowsiness, excitability, and doubt—you still have not rid yourself of ignorance. That was not the case with the Buddhas and Ancestors. If you wish to rid yourself of ignorance, then pure meditation and practice of the Way, together, will form the key. Someone of old said, “If you are exerting yourself unnecessarily, live quietly. If you live quietly, wisdom will manifest. If wisdom manifests, Truth will be seen.” If you wish to bring a disordered mind to an end, you must put thoughts of what is good or bad to rest and abandon all worldly pursuits and obstacles. Let your mind have no judgmental thoughts and fancies; let your body have no ‘business to attend to’.

7. OKUMURA: The delusions of the five-obstructions (*gogai*) all arise out of basic ignorance (*mumyo*). Being ignorant means not clarifying the Self. To practice *zazen* is to clarify the Self. Even though the five obstructions are eliminated, if basic ignorance is not eliminated, you are not a buddha-ancestor. If you wish to eliminate basic ignorance, *zazen* practice of the Way is the key. An ancient master said, “When delusive thoughts cease, tranquility arises; when tranquility arises, wisdom appears; when wisdom appears, reality reveals itself.” If you want to eliminate delusive thoughts, you should cease to discriminate between good and evil. Give up all affairs with which you are involved; do not occupy your mind with any concerns nor become physically engaged in any activity. This is the primary point to bear in mind. When delusive objects disappear, delusive mind falls away.

Notes:

The five hindrances (Sanskrit: *nivarana*) are sometimes described as hindrances to meditation and consequently, the achievement of access concentration or the 1st *dhyana* are sometimes defined in terms of the subsiding of the hindrances.

Also see Shohaku Okumura’s piece on “dropping off body & mind” in the section on Denkoroku, pp. 86-88 of this study.

OKUMURA: The five obstructions which prevent our mind from being aware and functioning normally are greed, anger, indolence, agitation and doubt. Basic ignorance is a translation of *mumyo* (Skt., *avidya*). Literally, it means “no-light” (of wisdom).

CLEARY: The five obscurations, or coverings, of the mind in meditation are greed and lust, anger and hatred, folly and delusion, drowsiness, and excitement and regret.

I could not locate a source for the quote (“An ancient said...”) using the CBETA database of Buddhist texts in Chinese (Taisho and the Zokuzokyo supplement) or the SAT database of the Chinese and Japanese portions of the Taisho.

IX. 妄心若滅。不變體現。了了常知。非寂滅法。非動作法。然所有技藝・術道・醫方・占相。皆當遠離。況乎歌舞妓樂諠譁戲論名相利養。悉不可近之。頌詩歌詠之類。自雖爲淨心因緣。而莫好營。文章筆硯擲下不用。是道者之勝躅也。是調心之至要也。

1. HEINE: When distracting relations are ended mental disturbances are subdued, and when mental disturbances are subdued the unchanging body is manifest. You continuously realize its clarity as neither extinction nor commotion. Therefore, you must not be involved in arts and crafts or healing and divination. Furthermore, song, dance, and music, debate and rhetoric, as well as the pursuit of fame and fortune must be completely avoided. Although eulogy and lyrical poetry can in themselves contribute to calming the mind, you must not indulge in writing them. The renunciation of literature and calligraphy is a priority for seekers of the Way, and is the most effective means of regulating the mind.

2. CLEARY: When illusion dies out, the unchanging essence is revealed and you are always clearly aware of it. It is not absolute quiescence, it is not activity. Hence you should avoid all arts and crafts, medical prescription and augury, as well as songs and dance and music, disputation, meaningless talk, and honor and profit. Though poetry and song can be an aid to clarifying the mind, still you should not be fond of making them; to give up writing and calligraphy is the superior precedent of the people of the way, the best way for harmonizing the mind.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: When delusion dies out, the Reality that was always the case manifests and you are always clearly aware of it. It is not a matter of extinction or of activity. Avoid getting caught up in arts and crafts, prescribing medicines and fortune-telling. Stay away from songs and dancing, arguing and babbling, fame and gain. Composing poetry can be an aid in clarifying the mind but don't get caught up in it. The same is true for writing and calligraphy. This is the superior precedent for practitioners of the Way and is the best way to harmonize the mind.

4. MASUNAGA: When delusive relations disappear, delusive thoughts disappear. When delusive thoughts disappear, there emerges the reality that gives us clear insight into all things. It is not passivity, nor is it activity. Free yourself from all such trifles as art, technique, medicine, and fortune telling.

Stay away from singing, dancing, music, noisy chatter, gossip, publicity, and Profit-seeking. Although composing verse and poetry may help quiet your mind; don't become too intrigued by them. Also abandon writing and calligraphy. This advice represents a supreme legacy from the seekers of the way in the past. It outlines the prerequisites for bringing your mind into harmony.

5. NEARMAN: This is a primary point to heed, for, when you have brought the causes of your delusory thoughts to an end, the misleading mind will follow suit and become extinguished. When the misleading mind is extinguished, the Immutable Body will manifest, and you will understand and forever know. This is not a teaching of nihilistic annihilation nor is it a teaching of a perpetual personality ever on the move. The active pursuit of arts and crafts, medicine, and fortune-telling should all be left far behind. How much more so, singing and dancing, as well as seeking friendships, arguing, playing pranks, or engaging in debates and discussions. Keep your distance from chasing after things because of their reputation or appearance, seeking to profit from them! Although poetic eulogies and lyrics of various kinds are, by nature, the karmic effects of a pure attitude of mind, nevertheless, do not dote on reciting them. Lay aside brush and ink for composing literary works, and do not use them for such purposes. Such abstention will serve as a fine model for one who would tread the Path; it is what is adequate for a harmonious mind.

7. OKUMURA: When delusive mind disappears, the unchanging reality manifests itself and we are always clearly aware. It is not extinction; it is not activity. Therefore, you should avoid engaging in any arts or crafts, medicine or fortune-telling. Needless to say, you should stay away from music and dancing, arguing and meaningless discussions, fame and personal profit. While composing poetry can be a way to purify one's mind, do not be fond of it. Give up writing and calligraphy. This is the fine precedent set by practitioners of the Way. This is essential for harmonizing the mind.

X. 美服與垢衣。俱不可著用。美服者生貪。又有盜賊畏。故爲道者障難。若有因緣。若有人施與。而不受者。古來嘉蹤也。縱本有之。又不照管。盜賊劫奪。不可追尋悵惜也。垢衣舊衣者。浣洗補治去垢膩。令淨潔而可著用之。不去垢膩。身冷病發。又爲障道因緣也。雖然不管身命。衣不足。食不足。睡眠不足。是名三不足。皆退惰因緣也。

1. HEINE: Do not wear clothing that is either elegant or tattered. Fine clothes give rise to greed as well as the fear of being robbed, and this becomes an obstacle to the pursuit of the Way. To refuse clothes if offered as alms has always been a praiseworthy practice since ancient times. Even if you already own such clothes, do not indulge in wearing them. If thieves come to steal the clothes, do not bother to chase after them or regret the loss. You should wear old clothes that have been washed and mended till completely clean. If you do not clean [and mend] the clothes you will get cold and sick, and that is also an obstacle to the pursuit of the Way. Although we should not be overly concerned with physical conditions, the lack of food, clothing, and shelter is known as the three insufficiencies, all of which are obstructive conditions.

2. CLEARY: You should not be attached to either fine clothing or dirty rags. Fine clothing instigates greed, and there is also the fear of theft — therefore it is a hindrance to someone on the way. To refuse it when someone gives it for some reason is a praiseworthy act exemplified from ancient times. Even if you happen to have fine clothing, still don't be concerned about taking care of it; if thieves take it, don't chase after it or regret the loss. Old dirty clothes, washed, mended, and completely cleaned, should be worn; if you don't get rid of the dirt you'll get cold and become sick this too causes obstruction on the way. Although we are not to be anxious for our lives, if clothing, food, and sleep are not sufficient, this is called the three insufficiencies, and are all causes of regression.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Don't wear luxurious clothing or dirty rags. Luxurious clothing gives rise to greed and then the fear that someone will steal something. This is a hindrance to practitioners of the Way. Even if someone offers them to you, to refuse is the excellent tradition from ancient times. If you happen to have luxurious clothing, don't be concerned with it; if it's stolen don't bother to chase after it or regret its loss. Old dirty clothes should be washed and mended; clean them thoroughly before putting them on. If you don't take care of them you could get cold and sick and hinder your practice. Although we shouldn't be too anxious about bodily comforts, inadequate clothing, food and sleep are known as the "three insufficiencies" and will cause our practice to suffer.

Notes:

Shobogenzo Zuimonki (6-3, Okumura translation): —Students of the Way, you should not be greedy for food and clothing. Everyone has an allotted share of food and life. Though you might seek after more than your share, you will never be able to obtain it. Moreover, for us students of the Buddha-Way, there are offerings from donors. The food obtained from begging will not be exhausted. There will also be provisions belonging to the monastery. These are not the products of personal work. Fruits and berries, food gained from begging, and offerings from faithful believers are the three kinds of pure food. Food obtained from the four kinds of occupations, farming,

4. MASUNAGA: Also avoid both beautiful robes, and stained clothing. A beautiful robe gives rise to desire, and there is also the danger of theft. It, therefore, hinders the truth-seeker. If someone happens to offer you a rich robe, turn it down. This has been the worthy tradition from long ago. If you have such a robe from before, discount its importance. And if someone steals it, don't brood over your loss. Wear old clothes but mend any holes and wash off any stain or oil. If you don't clean off the dirt, your chances of getting sick increase, and this would obstruct training. Lack of clothing, lack of food, and lack of sleep - these are the three lacks. They become a source of idleness.

5. NEARMAN: Do not be attached to the wearing of fine garments or of soiled or ragged clothing. Fine garments give birth to covetousness and encourage a fear of thieves and robbers; thus they are impediments for the follower of the Way. To refuse to accept them—whether offered with an ulterior motive or, openly, as alms—is a praiseworthy act traceable to ancient times. Even if you had them to begin with, do not worry about them; should some thief steal them, do not chase after them or begrudge their loss. Wash and patch your soiled or old robes, removing any dirt and grime. Make them clean and fit for wearing; otherwise, your body will be exposed to the cold or become ill from not removing the dirt and grime. These are also conditions that obstruct your pursuit of the Way. Do not neglect taking care of your body's life. Lacking sufficient clothing, food, or sleep is referred to as the three insufficiencies, for each is a cause of regressions and lapses.

7. OKUMURA: Wear neither luxurious clothing nor dirty rags. Luxurious clothing gives rise to greed and may also arouse fear of theft. Thus, they are a hindrance for a practitioner of the way. Even if someone offers them to you, it is the excellent tradition of the masters to refuse them. If you already own luxurious clothes, do not keep them. Even if these clothes are stolen, do not chase after or regret its loss. Old or dirty clothes should be washed and mended; clean them thoroughly before wearing them. If you do not clean them, they will cause you to become chilled and sick. This will be a hindrance to your practice. Although we should not be anxious about bodily life, insufficient clothing, insufficient food, and insufficient sleep are called the three insufficiencies and will cause our practice to suffer.

commerce, soldiering, and craftmaking is all impure. This is not food permissible for monks.” Okumura notes that living in poverty and not clinging to food and clothing is a theme in Shobogenzo Zuimonki (see sections: 1-16, 2-3, 2-6, 3-4, 3-7, 3-11, 3-12, 4-14, 4-15, 5-2, 5-5, 5-21, 5-22, 6-3, 6-4, 6-5).

XI. 一切生物堅物。乃至損物不淨食。皆不可食之。腹中鳴動。身心熱惱。打坐有煩。一切美食不可耽著。非但身心有煩。貪念所未免也。食祇取支氣。不可嗜味。或飽食打坐。發病因緣也。大小食後。不得輒坐。暫經少時。乃堪可坐。凡比丘僧必可節量食。節量食者。謂涯分也。三分中。食二分餘一分。一切風藥胡麻・薯蕷等。常可服之。是調身之要術也。

1. HEINE: Do not eat food that is either raw or tough, stale or spoiled, for intestinal rumbling is a discomfort for the body and mind and an obstacle to zazen. Do not indulge in eating fine food. That is not only an obstruction for the body and mind but indicates that you have not overcome greed. Eat enough food to maintain your vitality but do not relish it. If you try to sit in meditation after you have eaten until you are full, it can cause illness. Do not attempt meditation immediately after either a large or small meal; you must wait awhile to be ready to sit. Generally, mendicants and monks should eat sparingly. That means that they should limit their portions, for example, eating two parts of three and leaving the rest. The usual medicinal foods, such as sesame and yams, should be eaten. That is an effective means of regulating the body.

2. CLEARY: Any living things, hard things, and spoiled things – impure food – should not be eaten; with gurgling and churning in the belly, heat and discomfort of body and mind, there will be difficulty in sitting. Do not indulge in attachment to fine food –not only will your body and mind be uncomfortable, but it means you are still greedy. You should take enough food just to support life; don’t savor its taste. If you sit after having eaten your fill it can cause illness. After big or small meals, don’t sit right away; rather, wait a while before sitting. In general, mendicant monks should be moderate in eating; that means to limit their portions, eat two parts of three and leave one part. All usual medicaments, sesame, wild yams, etc., can be eaten. This is the essential technique of tuning the body.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Don’t eat anything alive, hard, or spoiled. Such impure foods will make your belly churn and cause heat and discomfort of bodymind, making your sitting difficult. Don’t indulge in rich foods. Not only is this bad for bodymind, it’s just greed. You should eat to promote life so don’t fuss about taste. Also, if you sit after eating too much you will feel ill. Whether the meal is large or small, wait a little while before sitting. Monks should be moderate in eating and hold their portions to two-thirds of what they can eat. All healthy foods, sesame, wild yams and so on, can be eaten. Essentially, you should harmonize bodymind.

4. MASUNAGA: In eating, avoid anything unripe, indigestible, rotten, or unsanitary. Such food will make your stomach rumble and impair your body and mind. You will merely increase your discomfort in zazen. And don’t fill up with delicacies. Such gorging not only will decrease your alertness, but also will show everyone that you still have not freed yourself from avarice. Food exists only to support life; don’t cling to its taste. If you do zazen with a full stomach you create the cause of sickness. Avoid zazen immediately after breakfast or lunch; it is better to wait awhile. Generally, monks watch the amount of food they eat. Watching their food intake means limiting the amount: eat two thirds and leave one third. In preparing for zazen, take cold Preventing medicine, sesame seed and mountain potatoes.

5. NEARMAN: Also, do not eat any sentient being nor any stale or spoiled food, for they are not pure. Such things will upset the stomach and make the body and the mind fevered and pained, so that, when sitting in meditation, you will feel ill and anxious. Likewise, do not be addicted to fine and fancy foods. When you have not rid yourself of thoughts of greed, it is never enough for the body and mind simply to be free from illness and anxiety. Food is taken simply to support one’s vital energy, so do not lust after flavors. Since, in some cases, eating a hearty meal and then sitting can cause illness, you ought not to sit immediately after a large or a small meal. After a little time has passed, you will again be fit for sitting. Monks, without fail, should restrain themselves as to the amount of food eaten. ‘To restrain intake’ implies ‘in relation to your particular body’. Within three parts, eat two parts and leave one. This principle can always find exception for medical reasons, such as the taking of sesame, potatoes, and so forth, as remedies for colds, for such practices are an essential technique in regulating the body.

6. SENZAKI: Students, do not eat any unripened fruit, poorly cooked food, or anything hard to digest. If you have any trouble with your stomach, it will disturb your Zazen. Take your food to keep up your physical processes, not to please your desire for sapidity. Do not do Zazen too soon after a meal.

7. OKUMURA: Do not indulge in fine foods. It is not only bad for your body and mind, but also shows you are not yet free from greed. Eat just enough food to support your life and do not be fond of its taste. If you sit after eating too much, you will get sick. Wait for a while before sitting after eating big or small meals. Monks must be moderate in eating.

XII. 凡坐禪時。不可靠倚牆壁禪椅及屏障等。又莫當風烈處而打坐。莫登高顯處而打坐。皆發病因緣也。若坐禪時。身或如熱或如寒。或如澁或如滑。或如堅或如柔。或如重或如輕。或如驚覺。皆息不調。必可調之。調息之法。暫開張口。長息則任長。短息任短。漸漸調之。稍稍隨之。覺觸來時。自然調適。而後鼻息可任通而通也。

1. HEINE: When sitting in meditation, you must not lean against a wall, support, or screen to prop yourself up. Do not sit in a place susceptible to wind and storm, or in a high and exposed spot, for that can lead to illness. When sitting in meditation, your body may feel hot or cold, tight or slack, stiff or loose, heavy or light, or you may feel abruptly awakened, all because the breath is not regulated and must be controlled. The method for regulating the breath is to keep your mouth open for a while, holding deep breaths and short breaths alternately until your breathing is gradually regulated and controlled for a period of time. When awareness comes, it means that breathing is spontaneously regulated. After this, let the breath pass naturally through the nose.

2. CLEARY: When sitting in zazen, do not lean against any wall, meditation brace or screen. Also don't sit in a windy place or up on a high exposed place. These are causes of illness. When sitting in meditation, your body may seem hot or cold, uneasy or comfortable, sometimes stiff, sometimes loose, sometimes heavy, sometimes light, sometimes startled awake. This is all because the breath is not in tune and needs to be tuned. The way of tuning the breath is as follows: open your mouth, letting the breath be, long or short, gradually harmonizing it; following it for a while, when a sense of awareness comes, the breath is then in good tune. After that let the breath pass naturally through the nose.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: When you are sitting in zazen, do not prop yourself up against a wall, meditation brace, or screen. Also, do not sit in windy places or high, exposed places as this can cause illness. Sometimes when you are sitting you may feel hot or cold, discomfort or ease, stiff or loose, heavy or light, or sometimes startled. These sensations arise through disharmonies of mind and breath-energy. Harmonize your breath in this way: open your mouth slightly, allow long breaths to be long and short breaths to be short and it will harmonize naturally. Follow it for awhile until a sense of awareness arises and your breath will be natural. After this, continue to breathe through the nose.

4. MASUNAGA: In actually doing zazen, don't lean against walls, backs of chairs, or screens. Stay away from high places with strong winds even if the view is good. This is a fine way to get sick. If your body is feverish or cold, dull or active hard or soft, or heavy or light, you probably aren't breathing correctly. Check your breathing, too, if your body feels overly irritable. You must make sure that you are breathing harmoniously at all times during zazen. To

harmonize breathing, use this method: open your mouth for awhile and if a long breath comes, breathe long; if a short breath comes, breathe short. Gradually harmonize your breathing and follow it naturally. When the timing becomes easy and natural, quietly shift your breathing to your nose.

5. NEARMAN: When sitting in meditation, do not lean up against fences, walls, partitions, meditation chairs, screens, barriers, and the like. Also, do not sit for meditation in a spot where there is a strong wind or climb atop a stupa and meditate there, for these are all causes of illness. When sitting in meditation, the body sometimes feels as though it were boiling hot or freezing cold, sometimes as though stagnant or like a whirlpool, sometimes strong or weak, sometimes heavy or light, sometimes as though being forced to stay awake: all are disharmonies of the breathing which you should certainly bring into regulation. To regulate the breathing, open the mouth wide for a short while. If your inhalations are long, let them be long; if short, let them be short. Slowly, slowly, regulate them, doing it ever so gradually. When you feel the opportune moment has come, gently adjust the breathing to normal, finally letting the breath pass through the nose, and then continue on in that way.

6. SENZAKI: Students, when you do Zazen, do not lean your back against a wall, chair or screen. Do not sit facing a strong wind. Do not do Zazen in a highly elevated place; it may cause you illness. Students, when you do Zazen, if you feel as though you have a sort of fever or chill, or you sense that your physical mechanism seems dull (inert) or too smooth (alert); or it is too hard (tense) or too soft (relaxed); or too heavy (sluggish) or too light (buoyant); or you alarm yourself with no cause; these are all due to your improper breathing. Students, I will tell you how to regulate your breath. Open your mouth and breathe naturally in your own way. If you always have long breath, follow it. If your habit is short, breathe that way accordingly. When you recognize that your breathing is in your own natural condition, shut your mouth and breathe with the nostrils.

7. OKUMURA: During *zazen*, your body may feel hot or cold, rough or smooth, stiff or loose, heavy or light, or astonishingly wide-awake. Such sensations are caused by a disharmony of mind and breath. You should regulate your breathing as follows: open your mouth for a little while, letting long breaths be long and short breaths be short, and harmonize it gradually. Follow your breath for a while; when awareness (*kakusoku*) comes, your breathing will be naturally harmonized. After that, breathe naturally through your nose.

XIII. 心若或如沈或如浮。或如朦或如利。或室外通見。或身中通見。或見佛身。或見菩薩。或起知見。或通利經論。如是等種種奇特種種異相。悉是念息不調之病也。若有病時。安心於兩趺上而坐。心若昏沈時。安心於髮

際眉間。心若散亂時。安心於鼻端丹田丹田謂五分
臍下一寸也居常坐時。安心於左掌中。若坐久時。雖不必安心。心自不散亂也

1. HEINE: The mind may feel depressed or flighty, foggy or clear. Or, sometimes it may see outside the room or inside your body. Or, it may visualize the bodies of Buddhas or the forms of bodhisattvas, or it may formulate theories, or evaluate the sutra or *Nostra* literature. Such types of miraculous and unusual behavior result from a lack of regulating one's consciousness and breathing. When attachments such as this arise, focus attention on your lap. When the mind lapses into bewilderment, focus attention on the middle of your forehead (three inches above the center of the eyebrows). When the mind is distracted, focus attention on the tip of your nose or your lower abdomen (one and a half inches below the navel). As you remain seated, focus attention on the left palm. When sitting for a long time, although you will not necessarily reach a state of tranquility, your mind will on its own be freed from distraction.

2. CLEARY: Your mind may feel as though it is sinking or floating, dull or sharp, or as though you can see outside the room, inside your body, or the body of buddhas or bodhisattvas. Sometimes, you may feel as though you have wisdom and can understand the sutras or commentaries thoroughly. These unusual and strange conditions are all sicknesses that occur when the mind and breath are not in harmony. When you have this kind of sickness, settle your mind on your feet. When you feel dull, place your mind on your hairline (three inches above the center of the eyebrows) or between your eyes. When your mind is distracted, place it on the tip of your nose or on your lower abdomen, one and a half inches below the navel (tanden). Usually, place your mind on the left palm during sitting. When you sit for a long time, even though you do not try to calm your mind, it will, of its own accord, be free of distraction.

2. CLEARY: The mind may seem to sink away or float off, sometimes it seems dull, sometimes it seems sharp. Sometimes you see through outside the room, sometimes you can see through your body, sometimes you see forms of buddhas or bodhisattvas. Sometimes you comprehend scriptures or treatises. Extraordinary things like this are diseases from lack of harmony between awareness and breath. When they happen, sit with the mind resting in the lap. If the mind sinks into torpor, rest your mind between your eyes on your hairline (three inches above the center of the eyebrows). If your mind is distracted and scattered, rest your mind on the tip of your nose and your lower belly (one and a half inches below the navel). When sitting all the time rest the mind in the left palm. When you sit for a long time, though you do not force the mind to be calm, it will naturally not be scattered.

4. MASUNAGA: When breathing and mind are not coordinated, certain symptoms arise. Your mind sinks or rises, becomes vague or sharp, wanders outside the room or within the body; sees the image of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas, gives birth to corrupting thoughts, or seeks to understand the doctrines of the sutras. When you have these symptoms, it means your mind and breathing are not in harmony. If you have this trouble, shift your mind to the soles of both feet. If the mind sinks, put it on the hairline and between the eyebrows. If your mind is disturbed, rest it on the tip of the nose or on the solar plexus. In ordinary zazen, put your mind in your left palm. In prolonged sitting, even without this the mind naturally remains undisturbed.

5. NEARMAN: Sometimes, whilst sitting, your mind may feel as though it were sinking down or floating up. Sometimes it may seem foggy or uncommonly keen. Sometimes it may see through the wall to outside the room or see into your body. Sometimes it may see the Buddha in person or some Bodhisattva. Sometimes it may bring up 'sage opinions' or 'penetrating insights' into the meaning of Scriptures and Commentaries. Experiencing various wondrous happenings such as these, along with their extraordinary characteristics, are, through and through, illnesses from a disharmony of thoughts and breathing. Should such an illness occur, focus your mind on your crossed legs as you sit. Should your mind feel dull and depressed, focus the mind on the space between your eyebrows. Should your mind run riot, focus your mind down the ridge of your nose onto the tanden. (The tanden is located an inch and a half below the navel.) Normally, when sitting, you should quietly focus your mind on the palm of your left hand. Then, should you sit for a long time, even though you do not force your mind to be focused, the mind will not of itself wander off.

6. SENZAKI: Students, if your mind sinks or floats; if it is too dark or too light; or it is too dull or too sharp; or you see outside the world with your mental power; or you observe your physical organs by imagination; or see images of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas; or make arguments in your mind; or think the teaching of Buddha transparent; you may think these are wonderful phenomena, but you are quite mistaken. Your breathing needs regulation, that is all. Students, if you are sick, keep your attention upon the soles of your feet. If your mind sinks down, hold it around your forehead and the border of hair. If your mind inclines to scatter away, be conscious of the tip of your nose or concentrate your attention upon the hypogastric region of your abdomen. Usually, you should hold your mind in your left palm. If you keep up your Zazen in this way, you can reach to a quiet state of concentration with ease.

7. OKUMURA: Your mind may feel as though it is sinking or floating, dull or sharp, or as though you can see outside the room, inside your body, or the body of buddhas or bodhisattvas. Sometimes, you may feel as though you have wisdom and can understand the sutras or commentaries thoroughly. These unusual and strange conditions are all sicknesses that occur when the mind and breath are not in harmony. When you have this kind of sickness, settle your mind on your feet. When you feel

dull (*konchin*), place your mind on your hairline (three inches above the center of the eyebrows) or between your eyes. When your mind is distracted (*sanran*), place it on the tip of your nose or on your lower abdomen, one and a half inches below the navel (*tanden*). Usually, place your mind on the left palm during sitting. When you sit for a long time, even though you do not try to calm your mind, it will, of its own accord, be free of distraction.

XIV. 復如古教。雖照心家訓。不可多見之書之聞之。多則皆亂心之因緣也。凡疲勞身心。悉發病因緣也。

1. HEINE: Although the traditional precepts are instructions for illuminating the mind, you must not read, write, or listen to them too much, for that will cause mental disturbances. Generally, weariness of the body and mind is the cause of illness.

2. CLEARY: Now as for the ancient teachings, though they are traditional lessons for illuminating the mind, don't read, write, or listen to them too much — too much causes disturbance to the mind. In general, anything that wears out body and mind can cause illness.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Although the ancient Teachings are a long-standing means to clarify the mind, do not read, write about, or listen to them obsessively because such excess only scatters the mind. Generally, anything that wears out bodymind causes illness.

4. MASUNAGA: The old teaching emphasized illumination of mind, but doesn't pay too much attention to this. Any excesses lead to a disturbed mind. Anything that puts a strain on body and mind becomes a source of illness.

5. NEARMAN: Furthermore, even though such things as the ancient writings are the instructions of bright minds within our Tradition, you ought not look at them, read them, or listen to them in too great a measure, since, in excess, this causes the mind to become scattered and disorderly. In general, to exhaust and overwork body or mind causes illness.

6. SENZAKI: Books written by the old teachers are helpful to your reflection but if you read them too often, or copy them greedily or make discussion about them, it will be rather a disturbance to your study of Zazen. You must avoid karma-relation which stirs your mind. If you force Zazen when you are tired physically and mentally, it will cause you illness and increase more delusions.

7. OKUMURA: Also, although the ancient teachings are the traditional instructions for illuminating the mind, do not read, write, or listen to them too much. Running to excess scatters the mind.

Notes:

Shobogenzo Zuimonki (Okumura translation) section 2-8: "People who study the Way should not read the scriptures of the teaching-schools, nor study non-Buddhist texts. If you wish to study, read the collections of sayings [of the ancient Zen masters]. Put aside all other books for the time being. These days, Zen monks are fond of reading literature, composing poetry and writing dharma-discourses. This is wrong...I have been fond of studying literature since childhood, and even now I have a tendency to contemplate the beauty in the words of non-Buddhist texts. Sometimes I even refer to *Monzen* or other texts; still, I think it is meaningless and should be completely abandoned."

And in section 2-9: "Learning the deeds of the ancient masters by reading the recorded sayings or *koans* in order to explain them to deluded people is ultimately of no use to my own practice and for teaching others. Even if I don't know a single letter, I will be able to show it to others in inexhaustible ways if I devote myself to just sitting and clarifying the great matter. It was for this reason that the monk pressed me as to the ultimate use [of reading and studying]. I thought what he said was true. Thereupon, I gave up reading the recorded sayings and other texts, concentrated wholeheartedly on sitting, and was able to clarify the great matter."

And in section 5-23: "Even if you may seem to have some understanding while reading *koans*, such studies will lead you astray from the Way of the buddhas and patriarchs. To spend your time sitting upright with nothing to be gained and nothing to be realized is the Way of the patriarchs. Although the ancient masters encouraged both reading and *shikan zazen*, they promoted sitting wholeheartedly. Although there are some who have gained enlightenment hearing stories (of the masters), the attainment of enlightenment is due to the merit of sitting. True merit depends on sitting."

XV. 火難・水難・風難・賊難。及與海邊・酒肆・姪房・寡女・處女・妓樂之邊。并莫打坐。國王・大臣・權勢家。多欲・名聞・戲論人。亦不得近住之。大佛事・大造營。最雖爲善事。專坐禪人不可修之。不得好說法教化。散心亂念從是而起。

1. HEINE: Do not practice zazen in a place where there may be danger from fire, flood, storms, or robbers, or near the seashore, a liquor store, or brothel; or where you may meet a widow, virgin, or geisha. Do not visit the homes of kings, important officials, or powerful people, or associate with people who indulge in their desires or who gossip. Although attending a large congregation of monks or engaging in full-scale construction projects may be of great importance, you must avoid such practices in order to concentrate on zazen. Do not be attached to explanations and [intellectual activity], for a distracted mind and confused thinking will arise from them.

2. CLEARY: Don't sit where there are fires, floods, or bandits, or by the sea, near wineshops, brothels, or where widows, virgins, or singing girls are. Don't hang around kings, important officials, powerful people, or people full of lust and eager for name and fame, or tellers of tales. As for mass buddhist services and large construction projects, though they are good things, people who are concentrating only on sitting should not do them. Don't be fond of preaching and teaching, for distraction and scattered thoughts come from this.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Don't sit where there are fires, floods, or bandits, by the ocean, near bars, brothels, where widows or virgins live, or near where courtesans sing and play music. Don't live near kings, ministers, powerful or rich families, people with many desires, those who crave name and fame, or those who like to argue meaninglessly. Although large Buddhist ceremonials and the construction of large temples might be good things, one who is committed to practice should not get involved. Don't be fond of preaching the Dharma as this leads to distraction and scattering.

4. MASUNAGA: ...Temple rituals and buildings have their worth. But if you are concentrating on zazen, avoid them. Don't get attached to sermons and instructions because they will tend to scatter and disturb your mind.

5. NEARMAN: Do not by any means do sitting meditation during fires, floods, windstorms, or robberies, nor at the beach, in wineshops or brothels, in the houses of widows, or in the presence of female entertainers. Also, you should not take up residence in the houses of the ruler of the nation, his ministers, or other influential people, nor in the dwelling places of those who greatly crave fame or indulge in frivolous discussions and arguments. Although participating in massive Buddhist Services and working on huge construction projects are, by and large, fine activities, they are impracticable for those devoted to seated meditation. Also, do not foster a passion for voicing the Dharma or for teaching others how to turn their hearts around, for those who are attached to these things are subject to scattered minds and disordered thoughts.

7. OKUMURA: Do not sit where there are fires, floods, high winds, thieves; by the ocean, near bars, brothels, where widows or virgins live, or near places where courtesans play music. Do not live near kings, ministers, rich and powerful families, or people who have many desires, who seek after fame, who like to argue meaninglessly. Although grand Buddhist ceremonies or the building of large temples are very good things, people who devote themselves to *zazen* should not be involved in such activities.

8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER: ...Great Buddha festivals and massive constructions are very good things, but , if you concentrate entirely on *zazen*, you should avoid them...

XVI. 不得好樂多衆貪求弟子。不得多行多學。極明極暗。極寒極熱。乃至游人戲女處。并莫打坐。叢林之中。善知識處。深山幽谷。可依止之。綠水青山。是經行之處。谿邊樹下。是澄心之處也。觀無常不可忘。是勵探道心也。

1. HEINE: Do not take pleasure [in attracting] crowds or seek out disciples. Do not be distracted by various sorts of practices or learning. Do not practice zazen where it is extremely light or dark, cold or hot, or in the vicinity of rowdy men and indecent women. You must spend time in a monastery, among wise and compassionate people. Or, you must travel deep into the mountains and valleys, practicing concentration next to flowing streams amid the mountains or clearing the mind by sitting in meditation in a valley. You must carefully observe impermanence and never forget its significance, for this inspires the mind in the pursuit of the Way.

2. CLEARY: Don't take delight in crowds or seek for disciples. Don't study or practice too many things. Don't sit where it is extremely bright or dark, extremely cold or hot, or around roustabouts and playgirls. You can stay in a monastery where there is a real teacher, deep in the mountains and hidden valleys. Green waters and verdant mountains are the place to walk in meditation; by the streams, under the trees are places to clear the mind. Observe impermanence, never forget it; this urges on the will to seek enlightenment.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Don't be delighted by huge assemblies or run after disciples. Don't try to study and practice many different things. Do not sit where it is too bright or too dark, too cold or too hot. Do not sit where pleasure-seekers or whores live. Go and stay in a monastery where there is a true teacher. Go deep into the mountains and valleys. Practice *kinhin* by clear waters and verdant mountains. Clear the mind by a stream or under a tree. Observe impermanence without fail and you will keep the mind that enters the Way.

4. MASUNAGA: Don't take pleasure in attracting crowds or gathering disciples. Shun a variety of practices and studies. Don't do zazen where it is too light or too dark, too cold or too hot, or too near pleasure-seekers and entertainers. You should practice inside the meditation hall, go to Zen masters, or take yourself to high mountains and deep valleys. Green waters and Blue Mountains - these are good places to wander. Near streams and under trees - these places calm the mind. Remember that all things are unstable. In this you may find some encouragement in your search for the way.

Notes:

Shobogenzo Zuimonki (Okumura translation) section 6-7: "Only if you follow a good teacher and practice with fellow practitioners without harboring personal views, will you naturally become a person of the Way."

5. NEARMAN: Do not encourage a delight in being in crowds or long to seek for disciples. Do not become involved with too many activities or too many studies. By no means sit in meditation in extreme brightness or dark, in extreme cold or heat, or the like, to say nothing of the places frequented by entertainers or gamblers. Within a monastery, at the home of good friends, deep in some forest or glen can serve you for this. By blue waters, in green hills are places to stroll quietly; near valleys, under trees are places for clearing the mind. Beholding impermanence, do not ignore it, for this encourages the mind to search the Way.

6. SENZAKI: In a monastery where there is a Zen-master is the proper place to study Zazen. Usually a monastery is built in a remote part of the mountains, or in a thickly wooded valley. You can make "Zen walking" near green hills or running water. You can purify your mind sitting under a tree or near murmuring creeks. You can think of the impermanence of the world. It will encourage you to search for permanent truth.

7. OKUMURA: Do not be delighted by large assemblies; nor covet disciples. Do not practice and study too many things. Do not sit where it is too bright or too dark, too cold or too hot; nor should you sit where idle pleasure-seekers and harlots live. Stay in a monastery where you have a good teacher and fellow practitioners. Or reside in the deep mountains or glens. A good place to practice *kinhin* is where there is clear water and green mountains. A good place for purifying the mind is by a stream or under a tree. Contemplate impermanence; do not forget it. This will encourage you to seek the Way.

8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER: Do not practice zazen where it is extremely light or extremely dark, extremely cold or extremely hot, or near pleasure-seekers and public women. You can stay in the meditation hall with a good master, deep in the mountains and secluded valleys. Green waters and verdant mountains are the place for walking in meditation; by the streams and under the trees are places to clear the mind. Do not forget the sight of impermanence, which encourages the mind to seek the Way.

XVII. 坐褥須厚敷。打坐安樂也。道場須清潔。而常燒香獻花。則護法善神及佛菩薩影向守護也。若安置於佛菩薩及羅漢像。一切惡魔鬼魅不得其便也。

1. HEINE: You must lay out a thick meditation cushion so as to be comfortable during zazen. The zazen area must be perfectly clean, and if you always burn incense and offer flowers, the good spirits who guard the Dharma, as well as Buddhas and bodhisattvas, will cast a protective aura around it. If you install an image of a Buddha, bodhisattva, or arhat there, no mischievous demons will be able to harm you.

2. CLEARY: A sitting mat should be spread thick for comfortable sitting, and the place of practice should be clean – always burn incense and offer flowers: the good spirits who guard the true teaching, as well as buddhas and bodhisattvas, will cast their shadows there and give protection. If you place an image of a buddha, bodhisattva, or saint there, no evil demon or spirit can get at you.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: The mat should be well-padded so that you can sit comfortably. The practice place should always be kept clean. Burn incense and offer flowers to the Dharma Protectors, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and your practice will be protected. Put a statue of a Buddha, Bodhisattva or arhat on the altar and demons of distraction will not overwhelm you.

4. MASUNAGA: The mat should be spread thickly: zazen is the comfortable way. The meditation hall should be clean. If incense is always burned and flowers offered the gods protecting Buddhism and the Bodhisattvas cast their shadows and stand guard. If you put the images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and Arhats there, all the devils and witches are powerless.

5. NEARMAN: Your meditation cushion should be thick enough so that you are comfortable and at ease when sitting. Your meditation and ceremonial halls should be clean and neat—always make offerings of incense and flowers. Accordingly, the good deities that protect the Dharma, as well as the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, will respond by guarding and watching over you. If you enshrine the image of a Buddha, Bodhisattva, or Arahant, Mara's wicked minions with all their deluding charms and entanglements will be unable to depend on your support.

6. SENZAKI: Students, when you do Zazen, you should use a thick cushion, then you can sit up a long time with ease. The place in which you do Zazen should be clean, and always burn incense there and offer flowers. Good Gods guard the Dharma and preceding Buddhas and Bodhisattvas will protect you from devils and demons. Always place a picture or statue of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas in the room where you do Zazen.

7. OKUMURA: The *zabuton* (mat) should be thick enough for comfortable sitting. The *dojo* (place for practice) should be clean. Always burn incense and offer flowers to the guardians of the dharma, the buddhas and bodhisattvas, who secretly protect your practice. If you enshrine a statue of a buddha, bodhisattva, or an arhat, no demons can tempt you.

8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER: The mat should be spread thickly; *zazen* is a comfortable way of sitting. The place of practice should be clean. If incense is always burned and flowers are offered, the good gods who protect the Dharma and the Buddhas and bodhisattvas will cast their shadows and watch guard. If you put *images* of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and arhats there, no devil or demon can trouble you.

XVIII. 常住大慈大悲。坐禪無量功德。回向一切衆生。莫生憍慢我慢法慢。此是外道凡夫法也。念誓斷煩惱誓證菩提。只管打坐。一切不爲。是參禪要術也。常可濯目洗足。身心閑靜。威儀齊整。應捨世情。莫執道情。

1. HEINE: Always abide in great compassion and pity, and dedicate the immeasurable merit of *zazen* to all sentient beings. Do not develop pride, conceit, or self-righteousness, for these are the ways of non-Buddhists and ordinary people. Be concerned only with efforts to end attachment and realize enlightenment. The singleminded concentration of *zazen* is the most effective means of practicing Zen. You must always wash your eyes and feet, and act with dignity and compassion to keep body and mind tranquil. You must renounce both worldly attachments and any clinging to the pursuit of the Way.

2. CLEARY: Always abide in great compassion, and dedicate the boundless power of sitting meditation to all living beings. Don't become proud, conceited or self-righteous these – these are qualities of outsiders and ordinary people. Remember the vow to end afflictions, the vow to realize enlightenment. Just sitting, not doing anything at all, is the essential technique for penetrating zen. Always wash your eyes; and feet (before *zazen*). With body and mind at ease, behaviour harmonious, abandon worldly feelings and don't cling to feelings of the way.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Remain always in Great Compassion and dedicate the limitless power of *zazen* to all living beings. Do not become arrogant, conceited, or proud of your understanding of the Teachings; that is the way of those outside of the Way and of usual people. Maintain the vow to end afflictions, the vow to realise Awakening and just sit. Do nothing at all. This is the way to study Zen. Wash your eyes and feet, keep bodymind at ease and deportment in harmony. Shed worldly sentiments and do not become attached to sublime feelings about the Way.

4. MASUNAGA: Dwelling always in great compassion, you should offer the limitless merits of *zazen* to all beings. Don't let pride, egotism, and arrogance arise; they are possessions of the heretical and unenlightened. Vow to cut off desire; vow to obtain enlightenment. Just do *zazen* and nothing else. This is the basic requirement for *zazen*. Before doing *zazen*, always wash your eyes and feet, and tranquilize your body and mind. Move around easily. Throw away worldly feelings, including the desire for Buddhism.

5. NEARMAN: Constantly dwelling within great benevolence and compassion, transfer the immeasurable spiritual merits of your seated meditation to all sentient beings. Do not give rise to arrogance, conceit, or pride in your knowledge of the Dharma, for such attitudes lie outside the Way and are the methods of ordinary, everyday, people. Mindfully resolve to rid yourself of defiling passions; vow to personally confirm Buddhahood. Just sit, without 'doing' anything: this is the essential technique for practicing pure meditation. Customarily, you should rinse your eyes and wash your feet before sitting. Make your body and mind quiet, and be well-regulated in your deportment at all times. You must discard worldly feelings and not cling to emotional attachments to the Way.

6. SENZAKI: Students, make your heart dwell in great loving-kindness and whatever you may have of merit from your *Zazen*, offer it to all sentient beings. Avoid having personal pride especially if you have more or better knowledge than others. Other teachings fail because each student believes only in his particular teaching. Just so *Zazen* innocently, without any aiming. This is the best *Zazen*. Students, you should keep your eyes and feet clean. (Wash your eyes with cold water and your feet with hot water.) You must live quietly both physically and mentally. Both your appearance and manner should be in good form. You should avoid worldly interests, but also do not cling to unworldly things.

7. OKUMURA: Remain always compassionate, and dedicate the limitless virtue of *zazen* to all living beings. Do not be arrogant; do not be proud of yourself and of your understanding of dharma. Being arrogant is the way of non-buddhist and ignorant people. Vow to cut off all delusions and realize enlightenment. Just sit without doing anything. This is the essence of *sanzen*. Always wash your eyes and feet, keep your body and mind at ease and tranquil, and maintain a proper demeanor. Throw away worldly sentiments, yet do not attach yourself to a sublime feeling of the way.

8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER: Always dwelling in great compassion, dedicate the boundless merits of sitting in meditation to all sentient beings! Do not let pride, conceit, and feelings of superiority arise! They are the manner of unbelievers and the unenlightened. Vow to cut off the passions and acquire *bodhi*. Sitting only in *zazen* and doing nothing else—this is the essential art of *zazen*. Always wash your eyes and feet; your body and mind should be calm, your behavior well-ordered. Cast away worldly feelings and do not attach yourselves to feelings of the Way.

XIX. 法雖不可慳。然不請莫說。守三請從四實。十欲言九休去。口邊醖生如臘月扇。如風鈴懸虛空不問四方風。是道人風標也。只以法而不貪於人。以道而不貢於己。便是第一用心也。

1. HEINE: Although you must not be stingy with the Dharma, do not offer explanations of it to anyone unless you are asked about it. Then, wait until the inquirer has asked three times and respond only if the fourth request is sincere. Of ten things you may wish to say, hold back nine. The method of followers of the Way can be likened to a winter fan waved around the mouth, or to a bell hanging in the air which does not wonder about the breeze blowing from all directions. Do not rely upon anyone in pursuing the Dharma, and do not overestimate yourself because of the Way—this is the most important consideration.

2. CLEARY: Although one should not begrudge the teaching, don't speak about it unless you are asked – then hold your peace for three requests, comply if there is a fourth request in earnest. Of ten things you would say; leave off nine. Mold growing around the mouth, like a fan in winter; like a bell hung in the air, not questioning the wind from all directions this is characteristic of people of the way. Just go by the principle of the teaching, don't care about the person; go by the path and do not congratulate yourself - this is the most important point.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Though you should not begrudge the Teachings, do not speak of it unless you are asked. If someone asks, keep silent three times; if still they ask from their heart, then give the Teachings. If you wish to speak ten times, keep quiet nine; it's as if moss grew over your mouth or like a fan in winter. A wind-bell hanging in the air, indifferent to the direction of the wind—this is how people of the Way are. Do not use the Dharma for your own profit. Do not use the Way to try to make yourself important. This is the most important point to remember.

4. MASUNAGA: Although you should not begrudge the teaching, don't preach it unless you are asked. After three requests, give the four effects (indicate, instruct, benefit, rejoice). When you feel like talking, keep quiet nine out of 10 times-like mold growing around the mouth and a fan used in December or like a bell hanging in the sky that rings naturally without reliance on the four directions of the wind. For the trainee this is the main point to watch:

Notes:

In Shobogenzo Makahannya-haramitsu, Dogen quotes Rujing's poem on the windbell:

渾身似口掛虛空、
不問東西南北風、
一等爲他談般若。
滴丁東了滴丁東。

*The entire body is a mouth [windbell] hanging in empty space,
regardless of the wind from the east, west, south, or north,
joining the whole universe in chiming out prajna.
Ting-ting, ting-ting, ting-ting.*

possessing the teaching but not selling it cheap.
Attaining enlightenment but not taking pride in it.

5. NEARMAN: Although you should not be stingy with the Dharma, even so, do not give voice to It if you are not asked, keeping to the 'triple request'. Follow the Four Noble Truths. Ten times having the urge to speak, let nine go past: let the moss grow around your mouth. Be like a fan in midwinter, or be like a wind chime hanging in space, which does not query which way the wind blows. Such are weathervanes for one who would tread the Way. It is enough to have the Dharma, you need not crave for anyone; it is enough to have the Way, you need not add self-praise: this is a primary point to heed.

6. SENZAKI: You should not hesitate to spread the teachings, but unless someone asks you, you should not open your mouth. Buddha generally only preached when his disciples had asked three times. If you have to tell others, speak only of what you have actually experienced; and your speech must come out of the true source—that is, Buddha-Dharma. Your listeners must get real profit and also enjoy your preaching. When you want to say something, nine times out of ten it is better to refrain from speaking. You know, fans in winter time sometimes mold through lack of use, but when summer time arrives they are much in use, and are smooth and shining. Your mouth should be like that. Your mouth is like a stationary bell, hanging in the air unmindful of wind from any side. That is the way you should guide yourself. Whatever you preach is for nothing but Dharma. Do not expect any merit or compensation whatever.

7. OKUMURA: Though you should not begrudge anyone the dharma, do not preach it unless you are asked. Even if someone asks, keep silent three times; if the person still asks you from his or her heart, then teach him or her. Out of 10 times you may desire to speak, remain silent for nine; as if mold were growing around your mouth. Be like a folded fan in December, or like a wind-bell hanging in the air, indifferent to the direction of the wind. This is how a person of the Way should be. Do not use the dharma to profit at the expense of others. Do not use the way as a means to make yourself important. These are the most important points to keep in mind.

CLEARY: ["Just go by the principle of the teaching"]: This principle is one of the so-called 'four reliances' — to rely on the truth, not the person, which means that anyone can see reality and become enlightened if they go by the truth which is as it is because that is its real nature; it is not a question of human feelings, the other three reliances are to rely on the definitive teaching, not the incomplete teaching, to rely on the meaning and not the words, and to rely on wisdom, not conventional knowledge.

XX. 夫坐禪者。非干教行證。而兼此三德。謂證者以待悟爲則。不是坐禪心。行者以眞履實踐。不是坐禪心。教者以斷惡修善。不是坐禪心。

1. HEINE: Zazen is not just a matter of teaching, practice, or realization, it encompasses all three ideals. That is, to evaluate realization only in terms of attaining enlightenment is not the essence of zazen; to evaluate practice only as following the true path is not the essence of zazen; and to evaluate teaching only as cutting off evil and practicing good is not the essence of zazen.

2. CLEARY: Zazen is not concerned with teaching, practice, or realization, yet it contains these three aspects. That is to say, the criterion of realization depends on enlightenment – this is not the spirit of zazen. Practice is based on genuine application – this is not the spirit of zazen. Teaching is based on eliminating evil and cultivating goodness – this is not the spirit of zazen.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Zazen is not based upon teaching, practice or realization; instead these three aspects are all contained within it. Measuring realization is based upon some notion of enlightenment—this is not the essence of zazen. Practice is based upon strenuous application—this is not the essence of zazen. Teaching is based upon freeing from evil and cultivating good—this is not the essence of zazen.

4. MASUNAGA: This zazen does not attach itself one-sidedly to doctrine, training, or enlightenment. It combines all these virtues. Enlightenment ordinarily means Satori, but this is not the spirit of zazen. Training ordinarily means actual practice, but this is not the spirit of zazen. Doctrine ordinarily means stopping evil and doing good, but this is not the spirit of zazen.

5. NEARMAN: Pure meditation does not concern itself with teachings, practices, or realization and it encompasses the virtues of all three. ‘Realization’ depends on the tenet of ‘waiting for enlightenment’, which is not the attitude of mind in pure meditation. ‘Practice’ depends on ‘sincere application and genuine effort’, which is not the attitude of mind in pure meditation. ‘Teachings’ depend on ‘cutting off evil and doing good’, which is not the attitude of mind in pure meditation.

6. SENZAKI: Students, in general, Buddhist study is in three processes-teaching, practicing and realizing. Now, Zazen does not follow these processes. It includes all three. If one ~~aims~~ at realization, he is not a true Zen student. If he strives to follow the teachings which the Buddha prescribed, he is not a good Zen student. If he strives to stop doing wrong things and do good things according to the scriptures, he is not a good Zen student.

XXI. 禪中縱立教。而非居常教。謂直指單傳道。舉體全說話。語本沒章句。意盡理窮處。一言盡十方。絲毫未舉揚。是豈不佛祖真正之教乎。

1. HEINE: Although the establishment of teaching lies within Zen, it is not ordinary teaching. Rather, the Way of simple transmission through direct pointing is an expression demonstrated by the entire body. It is speaking without phrases. At the point where thought and reason are exhausted, a single word conveys the totality of the world, and yet not a single hair is raised—isn't this the true teaching of the Buddhas and patriarchs?

2. CLEARY: Although teaching is established within zen, it is not ordinary teaching; it is direct pointing, simply communicating the way, speaking with the whole body. The words have no sentences or phrases; where ideas are ended the reason exhausted, one word comprehends the ten directions. And yet not a single hair is raised – is this not the true teaching of the buddhas and enlightened ancestors?

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Teaching is found in Zen but it is not the usual teaching. Rather, it is a direct pointing, just expressing the Way, speaking with the whole body. Such words are without sentences or clauses. Where views end and concept is exhausted, the one word pervades the ten directions without setting up so much as a single hair. This is the true Teaching of the Buddhas and Awakened Ancestors.

4. MASUNAGA: Although Zen has doctrines, they differ from those of Buddhism in general. The method of direct pointing and true transmission is expressed by the whole body in zazen. In this expression, there are no clauses and sentences. Here, where mind and logic cannot reach, zazen expresses the 10 directions. And this is done without using a single word. Isn't this the true doctrine of the Buddhas and patriarchs?

5. NEARMAN: Even though teaching is done with regard to pure meditation, it is not customary teaching; it is called the way of direct pointing to Buddha Nature and single Transmission from mind to mind, in which the Master gives his whole being to voicing the Truth; his words, from the first, do not have chapter and verse. It is the place where notions and ideas have come to an end, and the limits of reasoning are surpassed—one word encompasses the universe, even without the slightest shred of praise. This is surely the true and proper teaching of the Buddhas and Ancestors!

6. SENZAKI: Zen also must have some teaching, but that teaching is not the ordinary dualistic explanation. It points directly to the Essence of Mind. Therefore, every word expresses the whole, and that word transcends worldly thinking. When the road of thinking is blocked off, before any word is ever spoken, the message is already delivered in that very moment. Is not this the true teaching of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs?

Notes:

Verse attributed to Bodhidharma:

教外別傳	<i>A special transmission outside the scriptures;</i>
不立文字	<i>No dependence upon words and letters;</i>
直指人心	<i>Direct pointing to the human mind:</i>
見性成佛	<i>Seeing into one's own nature and attainment of Buddhahood.</i>

XXII. 或雖談行。又無爲行。謂身無所作。口無密誦。心無尋思。六根自清淨。一切不污染。非聲聞十六行。非緣覺十二行。非菩薩六度萬行。一切不爲。故名爲佛。只安住諸佛自受用三昧。遊戲菩薩四安樂行。是豈不佛祖深妙之行乎。

1. HEINE: Although practice is realized [in Zen], it is the practice of non-action. The body functions spontaneously, the mouth does not chant esoteric doctrine, the mind is not preoccupied with thoughts, the six senses are naturally clear and unaffected by anything. This is not the sixteenfold practice of the Buddha's disciples, the twelvefold practice of dependent origination, or the myriad practices of the six stages of the bodhisattva. Because it is not doing any [particular] thing, it is known as acting as a Buddha. Only abiding tranquilly in the self-fulfilling *samadhi* of all Buddhas, or resonating in the four peaceful repose of the bodhisattva—is this not the profound and marvelous practice of the Buddhas and patriarchs?

2. CLEARY: And although we speak of practice, it is practice without any doing. That is to say, the body doesn't do anything, the mouth does not recite anything, the mind does not think anything over, the six senses are naturally pure and clear, not affected by anything. This is not the sixteen-fold practice of the buddhist disciples or the twelve-fold practice of those enlightened through understanding of causality, or the six ways of transcendental practice undertaking myriad actions done by bodhisattvas; not doing anything at all, it is therefore called buddhahood, the state of enlightenment. Just resting in the absorption self-experienced by all enlightened ones, roaming at play in the four peaceful and blissful practices of bodhisattvas, is this not the profound, inconceivable practice of buddhas and ancestors?

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Although we speak of “practice”, it is not a practice that you can do. That is to say, the body does nothing, the mouth does not recite, the mind doesn't think things over, the six senses are left to their own clarity and unaffected. So this is not the sixteen stage practice of the hearers [the path of insight or *darsanamarga* into the four noble truths at four different levels]. Nor is it the practice of understanding the twelve nidanas of inter-dependent emergence of those whose practice is founded upon isolation. Nor is it the six perfections within numberless activities of the Bodhisattvas. It is without struggle at all so is called Awakening or enlightenment. Just rest in the Self-enjoyment Samadhi of all the Buddhas, wandering playfully in the four practices of peace and bliss of those open to Openness. This is the profound and inconceivable practice of Buddhas and Awakened Ancestors.

Notes:

CLEARY: [“does not recite anything”]: The way this is worded it could refer to mystic spells, and/or to silent recitation

[“sixteen-fold practice”]: This refers to the sixteen stages of mind on the path of insight (*darsanamarga*) as defined in the *Abhidharmakosa*: they consist of the tolerance and knowledge of the corresponding truths of suffering, etc., in the “higher” worlds of form and formlessness (eight more) [To elaborate a bit more: first there

4. MASUNAGA: Although Zen talks about training, it is the training of no-action. The body does nothing except *zazen*. The mouth does not utter the Dharani, the mind does not work at conceptual thinking; the six sense organs are naturally pure and have no defilement. This is not the 16 views (toward the Four Noble Truths) of the Sravaka, or the 12 causal relations of the Pratyekabuddha, or the six paramitas and other training of the Bodhisattvas. Nothing is done except *zazen*, and this *zazen* is called the Buddha's conduct. The trainee just dwells comfortably in the self-joyous meditation of the Buddhas and freely performs the four comfortable actions of the Bodhisattvas. This then is the deep and marvelous training of the Buddhas and patriarchs.

5. NEARMAN: On the one hand, a Master may speak of practice, but it is a natural, spontaneous practice free from defiling passions. It is called “having nothing that the body needs to do; having nothing the mouth needs to chant, even to itself; having nothing that the mind needs to seek after”: the six sense faculties are naturally immaculate, all without stain or flaw. This is not the sixteen aspects of the Four Noble Truths which Shravakas hold to, nor is it the twelve links in the chain of dependent origination which the Pratyekabuddhas speak of, nor is it the six paramitas and the ten thousand good deeds of the Bodhisattvas: none of these acts is “the seeing of the Eternal before one's very eyes”, which is therefore called “being a Buddha”. Just reside at ease in the *samadhi* which the Buddhas themselves accepted and used. Joyfully and unhindered, perform the four actions of a Bodhisattva which ease the way to Buddhahood, for these are surely the profound and wondrous deeds of Buddhas and Ancestors!

6. SENZAKI: Usually a man understands reason through practicing it, but in Zen, practicing itself is understanding. There is no “two-fold” process, but merely “one-process.” If a man does everything aimlessly, he does not have to recite mantras; he does not have to think philosophical theories. His six organs will be purified and his surroundings have no spot of impurity at all.

is patience with respect to the truth of suffering pertaining to Kamadhatu (the realm of desire), second there is a knowledge of the same, then, third and fourth, there is a patience and a knowledge with respect to the truth of suffering in the higher spheres (Rupadhatu & Arupyadhatu). The next 12 follow the same pattern with respect to the noble truths of origination, cessation and the path. See Abhidharmakosa, Ch VI, verses 25-27. - Charlie]

[“Twelve-fold practice”]: This refers to the application of the understanding of the twelve links of causality: ignorance, activity, consciousness, name and form, six senses, contact, sensation, desire, attachment, becoming, birth, old age and death. By removing one link the chain can be broken.

The six ways of transcendental practice are generosity without conception of giver, receiver, or gift; morality; tolerance; effort; meditation; and wisdom. These are transcendent in that their accomplishment is supposed to involve no sense of subject or object.

[“Four peaceful and blissful practices”]: This refers to blissful and peaceful activities of body, mouth, and mind, and of carrying out vows. According to the Lotus scripture, for the body this means not associating with powerful aristocrats, with sorcerers, with criminals or prostitutes, with butchers, with followers of the vehicles of disciples or self-enlightened ones, desirous thoughts, with hermaphrodites, dangerous censured things, or keeping young children as acolytes; once one avoids these ten kinds of people or actions, one is at ease. As far as the mouth is concerned, it means not to indulge in talking about the errors of other people or the scriptures, not to belittle others, not to praise others, not to slander others, and not to be resentful. As far as mind is concerned, it means to avoid flattery, depredation, to avoid scorning those of small actions with one’s own grandiose actions, and to avoid contention. Carrying out vows in peace and bliss means using the power of one’s vow to rescue all beings to govern oneself.

XXIII. 或雖說證。無證而證。是三昧王三昧。無生智發現三昧。一切智發現三昧。自然智發現三昧。如來智慧開發明門。大安樂行法門所發。越聖凡格式。出迷悟情量。是豈不本有大覺之證乎。

1. HEINE: Although realization is realized [in Zen], it is the realization of non-realization, the king of all *samadhis*, the *samadhi* that realizes the unborn, comprehensive, and spontaneous wisdom, the gate to disclosing the Tathagata's wisdom and the path of great tranquility and harmony. It transcends the distinction between sacred and mundane, goes beyond delusion and enlightenment—is this not the realization of original enlightenment?

2. CLEARY: Though we may speak of realization, this is realization without realization, this is the absorption in the king of concentration, the state of awareness in which you discover knowledge of birthlessness, all knowledge, and spontaneous knowledge; it is the gate of illumination through which the wisdom of the realized ones opens up, produced by the method of practice of great ease. It transcends the patterns of holy and ordinary, goes beyond the sense of confusion and understanding; is this not the realization of innate great enlightenment?

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Although we speak of realization, this realization does not hold to itself as being ~~realization~~". This is practice of the supreme *samadhi* which is the knowing of unborn, unobstructed, and spontaneously arising Awareness. It is the door of luminosity which opens out onto the realization of Those Who Come Thus, born through the practice of the great ease. This goes beyond the patterns of holy and profane, goes beyond confusion and wisdom. This is the realization of unsurpassed enlightenment as our own nature.

Notes:

CLEARY: Knowledge of the birthlessness, or nonorigination of all things, was sometimes understood to mean unborn or knowledge that is natural and not fabricated. All knowledge is spoken of as general and particular; knowing universal relativity, and knowing the particular relations. Spontaneous knowledge is the knowledge that has no teacher that doesn't come from without...[~~realized ones~~]: Tathagata, one who has realized thusness, is an epithet of a buddha.

4. MASUNAGA: And although we talk about enlightenment, we become enlightened without enlightenment. This is the king of *samadhi*. This is the *samadhi* that gives rise to the eternal wisdom of the Buddha. It is the *samadhi* from which all wisdom arises. It is the *samadhi* that gives rise to natural wisdom. It is the clear gate that opens into the compassion of the Tathagata. It is the place that gives rise to the teaching of the great comfortable conduct (*zazen*) - It transcends the distinction between sage and commoner; it is beyond dualistic judgment that separates delusion and enlightenment. Isn't this the enlightenment that expresses one's original face?

5. NEARMAN: On the other hand, a Master may speak of personal confirmation, yet there is no confirming and there is confirmation. This is the *samadhi* that is lord of *samadhis*, the *samadhi* that manifests the wisdom of the Unborn, the *samadhi* that manifests all wisdom, the *samadhi* that manifests the wisdom of one's Original Nature: it is the Bright Gate which the Tathagata's Wisdom opens out; it is That which flows from the Gate that leads to the Teaching on the great deeds that ease the way to Buddhahood'. It surpasses any social rules of being worldly' or being saintly'; It lays bare the emotional thinking behind delusion versus enlightenment'. How could this not be confirmation of Supreme Enlightenment?

XXIV. 又坐禪者。非干戒定慧。而兼此三學。謂戒是防非止惡。坐禪觀舉體無二。拋下萬事。休息諸緣。佛法世法不管。道情世情雙忘。無是非無善惡。何防止之有乎。此是心地無相戒也。

1. HEINE: Although zazen is not restricted to discipline (*sila*), concentration (*samadhi*), or wisdom (*prajna*), it encompasses all three goals. That is, although discipline is to prevent or stop evil, in zazen we observe the principle of complete nonduality, renounce the ten thousand things, put an end to all entanglements, abandon the distinction between Buddhist and worldly principles, forget attachments to the Way as well as to the world, and acknowledge neither affirmation nor denial, neither good nor evil—so what is there to prevent or stop? That is the formless discipline of the primordial mind.

2. CLEARY: Also zazen is not concerned with discipline, concentration, or wisdom, but contains these three studies. That is, discipline is to prevent wrong and stop evil; in zazen we see the whole substance as non dual, cast aside myriad concerns and lay to rest all entanglements. Not concerned with the buddhist way or the worldly way, forgetting feelings about the path as well as mundane feelings, no affirmation or denial, no good or bad – what is there to prevent or stop? This is the formless discipline of the mind ground.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Zazen is also not based upon discipline, practice, or wisdom. These three are all contained within it. Discipline is usually understood as ceasing wrong action and eliminating evil. In zazen the whole thing is known to be non-dual. Cast off the numberless concerns and rest free from entangling yourself in the “Buddhist Way” or the “worldly way.” Leave behind feelings about the path as well as your usual sentiments. When you leave behind all opposites, what can obstruct you? This is the formless discipline of the ground of mind.

4. MASUNAGA: Though zazen does not cling to virtue, meditation, and wisdom, it includes them. So-called virtue protects one from wrong and stops evil. But in zazen we see the total body without two-ness. We abandon all things and stop varied relations; we do not cling to Buddhism and worldly affairs; we prize religious sentiment and worldly thoughts. There is neither right and wrong nor good and evil. What is there to suppress and to stop? This is the formless virtue of Buddha nature.

5. NEARMAN: Also, pure meditation does not stand against the Precepts, mindfulness, or wise discernment. Rather it combines with these three aspects of spiritual training. ‘Precepts’ are the resisting of what is wrong and the ceasing from what is evil. When seated in pure meditation, we observe that there is no duality whatsoever; we cast aside the multitude of things and bring all conditions to rest. Neither the Teachings of the Buddhas nor the teachings of the world dominate us; emotional attachments to the Way and worldly feelings are both left behind. There is no ‘right and wrong’, no ‘good and evil’, for what is there to resist or cease from? This is what the Precepts that go beyond mental characterization are.

6. SENZAKI: Zazen does not belong either to discipline or contemplation or the achievement of knowledge, but it contains all of these three. Discipline is to prevent a person from doing wrong actions, but Zazen sees no separation between a person and his actions. When one does Zazen in the Zen way, he stops all actions and accordingly all “karma-relation” is cut off. He has nothing to do with laws of the world, or laws of Buddhism. He has no feeling either in the world or in religion. He does not see good or bad, liking or disliking. Why should he prevent himself from doing any action? This is called the “formless discipline of Zen.”

Note:

In early Buddhism, discipline (*sila*), concentration (*samadhi*), or wisdom (*prajna*) was a basic model for encompassing practice. They are mutually supporting dimensions of praxis: effort in one benefit the others; all three need to be cultivated.

XXV. 定是觀想無餘。坐禪脫落身心。捨離迷悟。不變不動。不爲不昧。如癡如兀。如山如海。動靜二相了然不生。定而無定相。無定相故名大定也。慧是簡擇覺了。坐禪所知自滅。心識永忘。通身慧眼。無有簡覺。明見佛性。本不迷惑。坐斷意根。廓然瑩徹。是慧而無慧相。無慧相故名大慧也。

1. HEINE: Concentration is undivided contemplation. Zazen is the dropping off of body and mind, renouncing [the distinction between] delusion and enlightenment. It is neither motionless nor active, neither creative nor quiescent, and resembles both fool and saint, mountain and ocean. No trace of movement or stillness originates from it. Concentration functions without form. Because it is formless, it is known as great concentration. Wisdom is discriminative awareness. In zazen, subject and object disappear on their own and mental discriminations are forever forgotten. The eye of wisdom pervades the body. Although it makes no discriminations, it clearly sees Buddha-nature. Originally without delusion, zazen cuts off conceptualization and remains unbound and clear. Wisdom is formless; because it is formless, it is known as great wisdom.

2. CLEARY: Concentration means undivided contemplation; in zazen we slough off body and mind, abandon confusion and understanding, immutable and imperturbable, not acting, not befuddled, like an idiot, like a dunce, like a mountain, like an ocean, no trace of either motion or stillness arises concentrated without any sign of concentration, because there is no form of concentration, it is called great concentration. Wisdom is discerning comprehension; in zazen knowledge disappears of itself, mind and discriminating consciousness is forever forgotten. The wisdom eye throughout the body has no discernment, but clearly sees the essence of buddhahood; fundamentally unconfused, cutting off the conceptual faculty, open and clearly shining all the way through, this is wisdom without any sign of wisdom; because it has no sign of wisdom it is called great wisdom.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Practice usually means unbroken concentration. Zazen is dropping the bodymind, leaving behind confusion and understanding. Unshakeable, without activity, it is not deluded but still like an idiot, a fool. Like a mountain, like the ocean. Without any trace of motion or stillness. This practice is no-practice because it has no object to practice and so is called great practice. Wisdom is usually understood to be clear discernment. In zazen, all knowledge vanishes of itself. Mind and discrimination are forgotten forever. The wisdom-eye of this body has no discrimination but is clear seeing of the essence of Awakening. From the beginning it is free of confusion, cuts off concept, and open and clear luminosity pervades everywhere. This wisdom is no-wisdom; because it is traceless wisdom, it is called great wisdom.

4. MASUNAGA: Usually zazen means concentrating the mind and eliminating extraneous thoughts. But in this zazen, we free ourselves from dualism of body and mind and of delusion and enlightenment. Neither the body nor mind changes, moves, acts, or worries. Like a rock, like a stake, like a mountain, like an ocean, the two forms of movement and rest do not arise. This is meditation without the form of meditation. Because there is no form of meditation, it is called just meditation. But in this zazen we naturally destroy the obstacle of knowledge (ignorance), forget the delusive activity of the mind; our entire body becomes the eye of wisdom; there is no discrimination and recognition. We clearly see the Buddha nature and are inherently not deluded. We cut the delusive root of the mind and the light of the Buddha mind shines through suddenly. This is wisdom without the form of wisdom. Because it is wisdom without form, it is called Great Wisdom.

5. NEARMAN: 'Mindfulness' is the observing that there is nothing that is in excess. When seated in pure meditation, we let go of 'body and mind', abandon 'delusion and enlightenment'. We are unchanging, immovable, unwillful, impervious. We are like a simpleton or a legless man. We are like a mountain or an ocean: no trace of 'movement versus stillness' has yet arisen. When mindful, there is no fixed state of things. Because there is no fixed state of things, we call this Supreme Mindfulness. 'Wise discernment' is being selective within enlightened awareness. When seated in pure meditation, what is intellectually known spontaneously vanishes and self-consciousness is discarded. Your whole being's Eye of Wise Discernment possesses no 'specialized insight': It clearly sees Buddha Nature and is, from the first, not deluded. Whilst sitting, you cut off the roots of thought, and this is wise discernment without any outer signs of wise discernment. Because it has no signs of wise discernment, it is called Supreme Discerning Wisdom.

6. SENZAKI: Contemplation (general contemplation) observes inner and outer conditions thoroughly. (Subjectivity and objectivity.) Zen transcends both body and mind. It has nothing to do with delusion or realization. It never changes and never moves. There is no action and no tardiness (slowness). It is like the seemingly "foolish person" who rooted to the ground maintains immovability. It is like the mountain or like the ocean. There flares no phase of "motion" or "stillness." It transcends all terms applied to "human activity." It is contemplation which has no "form of contemplation"; therefore, it is called the "greatest contemplation."

XXVI. 諸佛教門。一代所說。無不總收戒定慧中。今坐禪者。無戒不持。無定不修。無慧不通。降魔・成道・轉輪・涅槃。皆依此力。神通妙用・放光說法。盡在打坐也。且參禪亦坐禪也。

1. HEINE: The teaching of all Buddhas, as expressed in their own lifetimes, is nothing other than what is included in discipline (*сила*), concentration (*samadhi*), or wisdom (*prajna*). Now, in zazen, there is no discipline that is not cultivated, no concentration that is not observed, no wisdom that is not realized. Overcoming suffering, attaining the Way, turning the wheel [of the Dharma], and the attainment of enlightenment all depend on its power. Supernatural powers and illuminating the Dharma are fully rooted in zazen. Studying Zen is also based on zazen.

2. CLEARY: The teachings expounded by the buddhas in their lifetimes are all contained in discipline (morality), concentration (meditation), and wisdom (knowledge); in this zazen, there is no discipline that is not maintained, no concentration that is not cultivated, no wisdom that is not realized. Vanquishing demons, attaining the way, turning the wheel of the true teaching and returning to extinction, all depend on this power. Supernormal powers and their inconceivable functions, emanating light and expounding the teaching are all in the act of sitting. Investigation of zen also is sitting in zazen.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: The Teaching that the Buddhas have presented all throughout their lifetimes are just this discipline, practice, and wisdom. In zazen there is no discipline that is not maintained, no practice that is uncultivated, no wisdom that is unrealized. Conquering the demons of confusion, attaining the Way, turning the wheel of the Dharma and returning to tracelessness all arise from the power of this. Siddhis and inconceivable activities, emanating luminosity and proclaiming the Teachings—all of these are present in this zazen. Penetrating Zen is zazen.

4. MASUNAGA: The teachings of the Buddha and the sermons of Sakyamuni (in his life) are all included in virtue, meditation, and wisdom. In this zazen we hold all virtue, train all meditation, and penetrate into wisdom. Suppression of demons, enlightenment, sermon and death all depend on this power. Superior work and illuminating sermon are all in the zazen. Interviewing the Zen master is also zazen.

5. NEARMAN: The instructional Gates of the Buddhas—what They gave voice to in Their lifetime—contain nothing that is not within the Precepts, mindfulness, and wise discernment. Pure meditation has no Precepts that are not kept to, no mindfulness that is not put into practice, no wise discernment that does not know things through and through. Overcoming demons, realizing Buddhahood, turning the Wheel, nirvana: all depend on the strength of your pure meditation. The wondrous uses of your spiritual powers, your emitting light when voicing the Dharma, are all there when you are truly sitting in pure meditation. Moreover, participating in a spiritual examination is also a form of sitting in pure meditation.

6. SENZAKI: All teachings of Buddha in the world could be classified into three parts: precepts, contemplation and wisdom. Now Zen has no precepts that are not kept; no contemplation that is not practiced; no wisdom that is not revealed. It is said that Buddha conquered demons and attained enlightenment; that he turned the wheel of Dharma to enlighten others, and that at the last he entered into Parinirvana. These were all phenomena of his Zazen. There are those who describe the miraculous deeds of Buddha, who was considered to have brilliant emanations from his body. Those dreamers should sit down in Zazen and break through to ultimate bottom.

XXVII. 欲坐禪者。先靜處宜焉。茵褥須厚敷。莫教風煙入。勿令雨露侵。護持容膝地。清潔打坐處。雖有昔人坐金剛座坐盤石上之蹤跡。亦無不有座物。坐處當應晝不明夜不暗。冬暖夏冷。是其術也。放捨心意識。休息念想觀。勿圖作佛。勿管是非。護惜光陰。如救頭然。

1. HEINE: If you want to practice zazen, you must first be in a quiet place and lay out a firm cushion. Do not let in either wind, smoke, rain, or dew. Keep a clean place to sit with plenty of room for your knees. Although ancient monks were reported to have sat on a diamond seat or on a huge rock, there were none who did not use a cushion. The place for sitting should not be too bright in the daytime or too dark at night, and must be kept warm in the winter and cool in the summer. That is the method [for zazen]. Renounce discriminative consciousness and terminate conceptualization. Do not try to gauge the activities of a Buddha or to judge good and evil. Make the most of your time as if your own life was at stake.

2. CLEARY: If you want to sit in meditation, first find a quiet place and lay a thick cushion; do not let wind or smoke, rain or dew in. Keep a clear place to sit, with enough room for your knees. Although there were people who sat on diamond seats or boulders in ancient times, they all had sitting cushions. Where you sit should not be light in the daytime or dark at night; it should be warm in winter and cool in summer — that's the technique. Cast off mind, intellect, and consciousnesses, cease recollection, thought, and observation. Don't aim at becoming a buddha, don't be concerned with right or wrong; value time, as though saving your head from burning.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: 3. YASUDA & ANZAN: To practice sitting, find a quiet place and lay down a thick mat. Don't let wind, smoke, rain or dew come in. Keep a clear space with enough room for your knees. Although in ancient times there were those who sat on diamond seats or on large stones for their cushions. The place where you sit should not be too bright in the daytime or too dark at night; it should be warm in winter and cool in summer. That's the key. Drop mind, intellect and consciousness, leave memory, thinking, and observing alone. Don't try to fabricate Buddha. Don't be concerned with how well or how poorly you think you are doing; just understand that time is as precious as if you were putting out a fire in your hair.

4. MASUNAGA: If you want to do zazen, you must first find a quiet place. You should sit on a thick cushion. You should allow no smoke or wind to enter. You should keel away from rain and dew. Take care of the sitting place and keep it clean. The Buddha sat on a diamond seat, and the patriarchs sat on huge rocks, but in each case they used cushions. The sitting place should neither be too light during the day nor too dark during the night. It should be warm in winter and cool in summer. These are precautions regarding the place abandon the functioning of the mind; stop dualistic thinking, and do not plan to become a Buddha. Don't think about right and wrong. Do not waste time make efforts as though saving your burning head.

5. NEARMAN: When you wish to do seated meditation, first of all, seek a good, quiet place. See that your cushion is thickly padded. Do not let mist, smoke, or fog enter. Do not let rain and dew intrude upon you. Protect and take care of the ground where you put your knees. Keep your sitting place neat and clean. Although in ancient times some sat on a diamond throne, there are traces of their sitting atop boulders. Also, at no time should you fail to have some carpeting spread out beneath your meditation mat. Your sitting place must not be bright during the day or pitch dark at night. It should be warm in winter and cool in summer. This is the technique for meditating: Let go of, and abandon, awareness of thoughts; put to rest looking at mental fancies and images. Do not devise some notion of what 'realizing Buddhahood' is. Do not let 'right and wrong' control you. Act as if you were saving your head which was ablaze!

8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER: Cast off mind, intention, and consciousness; stop recollection, imagination, and vision; do not intend to become a Buddha, do not judge about right and wrong! Use time to the utmost, as if you had to save your head from burning!

Notes:

Fukanzazengi:

不思善惡。

Do not think 'good' or 'bad.'

莫管是非。

Do not judge true or false.

停心意識之運轉。

Give up the operations of mind, intellect, and consciousness;

止念想觀之測量。

stop measuring with thoughts, ideas, and views.

莫圖作佛。

Have no designs on becoming a Buddha.

Shobogenzo Zuimonki (Okumura translation), section 5-20: —As a monk who has left home, first you must depart from your ego as well as from [desire for] fame and profit. Unless you become free from these things, despite practicing the Way urgently as though extinguishing a fire enveloping your head, or devoting yourself to practice as diligently as the Buddha who stood on tiptoe 1 (for seven days), it will amount to nothing but meaningless trouble, having nothing to do with emancipation.”

XVIII. 如來端坐。少林面壁。打成一片。都無他事。石霜擬枯木。太白責坐睡。不用燒香禮拜念佛修懺看經持課。只管打坐始得。

1. HEINE: The Tathagata practiced zazen in an upright position, Bodhidharma sat with singleminded attention and no other concerns, Sekiso resembled a withered tree, and [Tiantong] Rujing was critical of those who sleep while doing zazen. Rujing counseled: –Attainment is reached through zazen only, not by burning incense, worship, repetition of the *nembutsu*, repentance, or reading or reciting sutras.”

2. CLEARY: The Buddha sat upright, Bodhidharma faced a wall, single-minded, without any other concerns at all. Shishuang was like a dead tree, Rujing admonished against sleeping while sitting; “you can only succeed by just sitting, without need to make use of burning incense, prostrations, remembrance of buddha names, repentance ceremonies, reading scriptures or ritual recitations.”

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: The Buddha sat straight, Bodhidharma faced the wall; both were whole-hearted and committed. Shishuang was like a gnarled dead tree. Rujing warned against sleepy sitting and said, –Just-sitting is all you need. You don’t need to make burning incense offerings, meditate upon the names of Buddhas, repent, study the scriptures or do recitation rituals.”

4. MASUNAGA: The Buddha sitting under the Bodhi tree and Bodhidharma wall gazing concentrated only on zazen and did nothing else. Sekiso (Shih-shuang Ch’ing-chu) (807-888) sat like a withered tree. Nyojo (Ju-tsing) (1163-1228) warned against taking a nap while doing zazen. Nyojo always said that you can obtain your goal for the first time by merely sitting - without burning incense, giving salutation, saying the Nembutsu, practicing austerity, chanting the sutra, or performing various duties.

5. NEARMAN: The Tathagata’s sitting erect, Bodhidharma’s facing the wall at Shorin Monastery as he attended only to his meditation: both had no ‘other thing’ to them. Sekiso imitated a withered tree; Taihaku censured the practice of falling asleep whilst sitting. Do not get involved with the burning of incense, the making of bows, the reciting of the Buddha’s name, the undergoing of some penitential ritual, the reading of Scriptures, the holding on to a daily work schedule: just sitting, without ‘doing’ anything, is what you should aim at above all.

8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER: The Perfected One sitting upright and Bodhidharma wall-gazing in the temple of Shao-lin concentrated on *zazen* and did nothing else. Shih-shuang Ch’ing-chu sat like a withered tree, Ju-ching warned not to sleep while sitting. He said that without burning incense, paying veneration, reciting the *nembutsu*, practicing *sange*, reading the sutras, or performing rites, you can attain enlightenment by only sitting in *zazen*.

Notes:

In Fukanzazengi, Dogen brings up the precedent’s of Shakyamuni and Bodhidharma: –Consider the Buddha: although he was wise at birth, the traces of his six years of upright sitting can yet be seen. As for Bodhidharma, although he had received the mind-seal, his nine years of facing a wall is celebrated still. If even the ancient sages were like this, how can we today dispense with wholehearted practice?”

From *Hokyoki* (Dogen’s journal of his study with Rujing): (Tanahashi & Norman Fischer translation): Rujing said, –Studying Zen is dropping off body and mind. Without depending on the burning of incense, bowing, chanting Buddha’s names, repentance, or sutra reading, devote yourself to just sitting.” I asked, –What is dropping off body and mind?” Rujing said, –Dropping off body and mind is zazen. When you just sit, you are free from the five sense desires and the five hindrances.” I asked, –Is this freedom from the five sense desires and the five hindrances the same as what the sutra schools are talking about? Does it mean we are to be practitioners of both the Mahayana and Hinayana?” Rujing said, –Descendants of ancestors should not exclude the teachings of either vehicle. If students ignore the Tathagata’s sacred teachings, how can they become the descendants of buddha ancestors?”

Dogen states in Bendowa: –From the first time you meet a master, without engaging in incense offering, bowing, chanting Buddha’s name, repentance, or reading scriptures, you should just wholeheartedly sit, and thus drop away body and mind.” Also see the Griff Foulk’s comments on this passage in the section on ritual, pp. 159-160 of this study.

CLEARY: This is a statement of Rujing, Dogen’s teacher.

DUMOULIN: These short sentences describe the zazen of classical tradition. Bodhidharma and a famous Zen master of the T’ang period (Shih-shuang Ch’ing-chu) are referred to. The image of fire threatening one’s head is an allusion to koan literature, while the name of Ju-ching recalls Dogen’s great experience of enlightenment. In the last sentence, Keizan affirms Ju-ching’s and Dogen’s insistence on “*zazen only*” (*shikan taza*) to the exclusion of all other practices of Buddhist practice. [Further, Dumoulin states that this passage, –summarizes Keizan’s point of view, is the book’s climax.”]

XXIX. 大抵坐禪時。可搭袈裟除開定・與晡前後・夜時莫略。蒲團經亘一尺二寸周圍三尺六寸非全支趺坐。自跏趺半而後至脊骨下。

是佛祖之坐法也。或結跏趺坐。或半跏趺坐。結跏法者。先以右足置左髀上。以左足置右髀上。而寬繫衣物

內衣帶紐可令齊整。次以右手安左足上。以左手安右手上。兩手大指相拄近身。拄指對頭當對臍安。正身端坐。

不得左側右傾前躬後仰。耳與肩鼻與臍。必俱相對。舌拄上腭。息從鼻通。脣齒相著。眼須正開。不張不微。如是調身已。欠氣安息。所謂開口吐氣一兩息也。次須坐定搖身七八度。自僣至細。兀兀端坐也。

1. HEINE: Whenever you practice zazen, you must wear the *kesa* (*kasaya*) robe (except during the night and upon arising from sleep, as per the schedule). Do not neglect to do this. The cushion (twelve inches across, thirty-six inches in diameter) should not support the entire leg. It should extend from the middle of the leg to the base of the spine. That is the zazen method of the Buddhas and patriarchs. You may sit in either the full-lotus or half-lotus position. The method for the full-lotus is to put the right foot on the left thigh and the left foot on the right thigh. Loosen your robe and let it hang neatly around you. Then, put your right hand on your left foot and your left hand on your right foot, keeping the thumbs together, close to the body at the navel. Sit perfectly upright without leaning left or right, forward or backward. The ears and shoulders, nose and navel must be perfectly aligned. The tongue should rest on the roof of the mouth and the breath pass through the nose. The mouth is closed but the eyes are left open. Having regulated the body so that it is neither stiff nor limp, breathe deeply through the mouth one time. Then, while sitting in concentration, sway your body [to the left and right] seven or eight times, going from a greater to smaller [range of motion]. Sit upright with lofty dedication.

2. CLEARY: Whenever you sit, you should wear a *kashaya* (*kesa*) (except during the first and last parts of the night when the daily schedule is not in effect) – don't neglect this. The cushion (twelve inches across, thirty-six in circumference) should not support the whole thighs it should reach from midthigh to the base of the spine. This is the way the buddhas and patriarchs sat. You may sit in full or half lotus position; the way to sit in full lotus is to put the right foot on the left thigh, then put the left foot on the right thigh. Loosen your clothes and straighten them; next put your right hand on your left foot and your left hand on your right hand, with your thumbs together near the body about the level of your navel. Sit up straight, without leaning to the left or right, front or back. The ears and shoulders, nose and navel, should be aligned. The tongue is kept on the roof of the mouth and the breath should pass through the nose. The mouth should be closed, while the eyes should be open, though not too widely or too slightly. Having attuned your body in this way, breathe deeply through the mouth a couple of times. Next, sitting steady, sway your body seven or eight times, going from larger to smaller movements. Then sit upright and intent.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: When you sit, wear the *kesa* (except in the first and last parts of the night when the daily schedule is not in effect). Don't be careless. The cushion should be about twelve inches thick and thirty-six in circumference. Don't put it under the thighs but only from mid-thigh to the base of the spine. This is how the Buddhas and Ancestors have sat. You can sit in the full or half lotus postures. To sit in the full lotus, put the right foot on the left thigh and the left foot on the right thigh. Loosen your robes but keep them in order. Put your right hand on your left heel and your left hand on top of your right, thumbs together and close to the body at the level of the navel. Sit straight without leaning to left or right, front or back. Ears and shoulders, nose and navel should be aligned. Place the tongue on the palate and breathe through the nose. The mouth should be closed. The eyes should be open but not too wide nor too slight. Harmonizing the body in this way, breathe deeply with the mouth once or twice. Sitting steadily, sway the torso seven or eight times in decreasing movements. Sit straight and alert.

4. MASUNAGA: Generally when doing zazen you should wear a *kesa*; you must not leave this out. You should not sit completely on the cushion; it should be put halfway back under the spine. This is the sitting method of the Buddhas and the patriarchs. Some meditate in *pariyanka* and others in *half-pariyanka*. In *pariyanka* you must put your right thigh [...?...]. Wearing your robe loosely adjust your posture. Next rest your right hand on your left foot and your left hand on your right palm. Touching your thumbs together, bring your hands close to your body. Put them close to your navel. Sit upright and do not lean either to the left or right. Neither should you lean forward nor backward. Place your navel. Keep your tongue against the palate, and breathe through your nose. Keep your lips and teeth firmly closed. You should keep your eyes open. Neither open them too wide nor narrow them too much. After you have seated your self comfortably, inhale sharply. To do this you open your mouth and breathe out once or twice. After sitting you should move your body seven or eight times from the left to right, going from large motions to small. Then you should sit like an immovable mountain.

5. NEARMAN: As a general practice, when doing seated meditation, you should put on your kesa. (Remove it in the dark before dawn and at dusk, as you come out of the meditation state.) Do not omit this. Whilst on your mat (which, when folded over is one foot two inches wide, when rolled up is three feet six inches in circumference), do not always sustain the cross-legged, 'lotus' sitting position; range from a half-lotus position to, later, sitting with your feet under your spine. This is the method of sitting of the Buddhas and Ancestors: sometimes to do full lotus, sometimes half-lotus. As for the full lotus method, first put your right foot on top of your left thigh. Then, put your left foot atop your right thigh, and loosely arrange your robes. (Gird your under-robe with a cord.) You should make everything well-regulated. Next, rest your right hand atop your left foot, and your left hand atop your

right hand. With the thumbs of both hands touching, bring your hands near your body, the touching thumbs opposite the navel. Your body is held straight as you sit upright, not tilting to left or right, not leaning forwards or backwards. Your ears need to be symmetrically aligned with your shoulders, your nose with your navel. Your tongue rests against the roof of the mouth. Breathe through your nose. Your lips and teeth are together. Your eyes should be kept open, but neither fully open nor almost shut. Balance your body in this way, breathe out sharply, then breathe easily. This is what is called 'opening the mouth and expelling the breath once or twice'. Next, you should settle down in your sitting place by swaying your body seven or eight times in ever smaller movements, then steadily sitting erect.

Notes:

CLEARY: Rujing told Dogen that it was all right to close the eyes. A number of recommendations about meditation found in this little work seem to have come from Rujing's teaching.

XXX. 於此思量箇不思量底。如何思量。謂非思量。是乃坐禪要法也。直須破斷煩惱親證菩提。

1. HEINE: So, how does one think of that which is beyond thinking? By non-thinking—that is the fundamental method of zazen. You must directly break through all attachments and realize enlightenment.

2. CLEARY: Now think of what doesn't think – how to think of it? Not thinking. This is the essential method of zazen. You should break directly through afflictions and personally realize enlightenment.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Now think of what is without thought. How can you think of it? Be Before Thinking. This is the essence of zazen. Shatter obstacles and become intimate with Awakening Awareness.

4. MASUNAGA: In this position try to think the unthinkable. How do you think the unthinkable? By going beyond both thinking and unthinking. This is the key to zazen. You should cut off your delusions immediately and enlighten the way suddenly.

5. NEARMAN: Take care in this not to think of any particular thing. How does one take care of this? By not trying to take care of anything. This is the essential method of doing seated meditation: straightway, you should break free of any defiling passions and personally realize enlightenment.

Notes:

Dogen in Fukanzazengi:	思量箇不思量底。	Think of not thinking.
	不思量底如何思量。	Not thinking – what kind of thinking is that?
	非思量此乃坐禪之要術也。	Nonthinking. This is the essential art of zazen.

Case #129 of Dogen's collection of 300 koans (Tanahashi & Looi translation): When Yaoshan was sitting in meditation, a monastic asked, "What do you think about as you sit in steadfast composure?" Yaoshan said, "I think not-thinking" (思量箇不思量底) The monastic said, "How do you think not-thinking" (不思量底如何思量) Yaoshan said, "Nonthinking" (非思量).

[Also note: Okumura translation of *hishiryo* (非思量): "Beyond thinking".]

From Sit by Taisen Deshimaru, translated and ed. Philippe Coupey, pg 221"

The flower has fallen and the mountain is tranquil

Push the sky with the head, the ground with the knees.

If our mind becomes normal, becomes tranquil, it vanishes naturally and automatically. This is satori, this is *hishiryo*. Here is master Keizan's commentary:

The white clouds disappear, the blue mountain stands alone.
The souring power of the many mountains vanish,
Only one—the highest, the one which reaches to the sky—is standing.
Nobody arrives at its summit, nobody knows its name.
Even Buddha and the Patriarchs cannot explain it (*dosha*),
Neither in conference (*kusen*), nor through silence.
In the realm, arrived at through deep study:
All the day long you look,
Yet there are no eyes with which to see it;
All the night long you listen,
Yet there are no ears with which to hear it.

Keizan's poem is beautiful; I like this poem. What is zazen? It is this.

CLEARY: This could be read think of the unthinkable, or think of what doesn't think; this is a famous saying of Yaoshan, a disciple of Shitou and one of the early ancestors of Soto zen in China.

XXXI. 若欲起定。先兩手仰安兩膝上。搖身七八度。自細至龜。開口吐氣。伸兩手捺地。輕輕起坐。徐徐行步。須順轉順行。坐中若昏睡來。常應搖身或張目。又安心於頂上髮際眉間。猶未醒時。引手應拭目或摩身。猶未醒時。起座輕行。正要順行。順行若及一百許步。昏睡必醒。而經行法者。一息恒半步。行亦如不行。寂靜而不動

1. HEINE: If you want to rise from concentration [practice], put your hands on your knees and sway the body seven or eight times, going from a smaller to greater [range of motion]. Breathe through the mouth, put your hands on the ground, and simply raise yourself from your seat. Walk deliberately to the left or the right. If drowsiness threatens while sitting, always sway the body or open your eyes wide. Also, focus attention on the top of the head, the hairline, or the forehead. If you still do not feel awake, wipe your eyes or rub your body. If that still does not awaken you, get up from your seat and walk around in the correct manner. After walking about a hundred steps, your drowsiness should surely be overcome. The method [of walking meditation] is to take a half step with each breath. Walk as if you are not walking—calm and undistracted.

2. CLEARY: When you want to rise from stillness, first put your hands on your knees, sway your body seven or eight times, going from small to larger movements. Open your mouth and breathe out, put your hands on the ground and lightly rise from your seat. Walk slowly, circling to the right or left. If torpor and sleepiness overcomes you while sitting, always move your body or open your eyes wide; also put your mind on your hairline between your eyebrows. If you still are not wakeful, rub your eyes or body. If that still doesn't wake you up, get up and walk around, always circling to the left. Once you have gone a hundred steps or so, your sleepiness should have vanished. The way to walk is to take a half step with each breath. You walk as though not walking anywhere, silent and unmoving.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: When you want to get up from stillness, put your hands on your knees, sway seven or eight times in increasing movements. Breathe out through the mouth, put your hands to the floor and get up lightly from the seat. Slowly walk, circling to right or left. If dullness or sleepiness overcome your sitting, move to the body and open the eyes wider, or place attention above the hairline or between your eyebrows. If you are still not fresh, rub the eyes or the body. If that still doesn't wake you, stand up and walk, always clockwise. Once you've gone about a hundred steps you probably won't be sleepy any longer. The way to walk is to take a half step with each breath. Walk without walking, silent and unmoving.

4. MASUNAGA: When you want to get up from zazen, put your hands on your thighs with palms up and move your body seven or eight times from left to right with the motions getting progressively larger. Then open your mouth and inhale; put your hands on the floor; gently arise - from the cushion; and quietly walk around. Turn your body to the right and walk to the right. If you feel sleepy during zazen, you should move -your body and open your eyes widely. Concentrate your mind on the top of your head, edge of your hair, or between your eyebrows. If this doesn't make you - wide awake, stretch out your hand and rub your eyes, or massage your body. If even this does not awaken you, get up from your seat and walk around lightly. You should walk around to the right. If you walk in the way for about 100 steps, your sleepiness should go away. The method of walking is to take a breath every short step (about half of the average step); like moving without moving, it should be done quietly.

5. NEARMAN: When you wish to arise from meditation, first, place your hands respectfully on your knees and sway your body seven or eight times in ever larger movements. Open your mouth and exhale. Flatten out your hands and place them on the ground. Gently rise from your sitting place; slowly and with dignity begin to walk, moving at a normal pace. Whilst sitting, if you begin to fall asleep, you should always sway your body or open your eyes wide. Also, focus your mind on the space between your eyebrows. If you are still not fully awake, use your hands to wipe your eyes or rub your body. If you are still not fully awake, rise from your sitting place and walk about calmly, making sure to do it at a normal pace. When you have taken about a hundred paces, you will most likely have come out of your sleepiness. The method for walking calmly is to regularly take one breath for each half step. Although you are walking, do it as though you were not walking: be calm and tranquil, and do not thrash your body about.

6. SENZAKI: While you are in Zazen, if you feel sleepy, move your body a trifle; or open your eyes wide; or become conscious of the border of the hairline; or concentrate on the tip of the nose. If you still feel sleepy, rub your hands together, or rub your body gently with your hands; or stand up and walk a few paces. If you walk 100 paces, you will be wide awake.

Notes:

CLEARY: The foot should be moved a distance equal to the length of the foot. This method of walking in meditation (kinhin) was taught to Dogen by Rujing.

XXXII. 如是經行。猶未醒時。或濯目冷頂。或誦菩薩戒序。種種方便勿令睡眠。當觀生死事大無常迅速。道眼未明。昏睡何爲。昏睡頻來。應發願云。業習已厚。故今被睡眠蓋。昏蒙何時醒。願佛祖垂大悲。拔我昏重苦。

1. HEINE: If you are still not awake after walking around in this way, rinse your eyes or cool off your head, or recite the preface to the bodhisattva vow. Or do any combination of these things so that you do not fall asleep. You must consider the Great Matter of life and death and the swift changes of impermanence and ask yourself, “How can I sleep when the insight of the eye of the Dharma is not yet illuminated?” If drowsiness continues to threaten to overtake you, you must recite, “Because my karmic tendencies are so deeply rooted, I am now lost in the veil of fatigue—when will I awaken from my ignorance? I beg for the great compassion of the Buddhas and patriarchs to remove my suffering.”

2. CLEARY: If you still don’t wake up after walking around like this, either wash your eyes and cool your forehead, or recite the preface to the precepts for bodhisattvas, or some such thing just find some way not to fall asleep. You should observe that the matter of life and death is a great one, and impermanence is swift – what are you doing sleeping when your eye of the way is not yet clear? If torpor and drowsiness come over you repeatedly, you should pray, “My habits are deepseated, and that is why I am enshrouded by drowsiness – when will my torpor disperse? I pray that the buddhas and enlightened ancestors will be so compassionate as to remove my darkness and misery.”

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: If you still don’t feel fresh after doing kinhin, wash your eyes and forehead with cold water. Or chant the Three Pure Precepts of the Bodhisattvas. Do something; don’t just fall asleep. You should be aware of the Great Matter of birth and death and the swiftness of impermanence. What are you doing sleeping when your eye of the Way is still clouded? If dullness and sinking arise repeatedly you should chant, “Habituality is deeply rooted and so I am wrapped in dullness. When will dullness disperse? May the compassion of the Buddhas and Ancestors lift this darkness and misery.”

4. MASUNAGA: If even all this does not awaken you, wash your eyes and cool your head. Or read the introduction of the precepts of the Bodhisattva. By these various means you should avoid sleep. The

most important thing is to transcend the problem of birth and death. Though this life moves swiftly, the eye for seeing the way is not open. We must realize that this is no time to sleep. If you are about to be lulled to sleep, you should make this vow: “My habitual passion from former actions is already deep-rooted; therefore I have already received the hindrance of sleep. When will I awake from the darkness? Buddhas and the patriarchs I seek escape from the suffering of my darkness through your great compassion.”

5. NEARMAN: If after walking in this way you are still not fully awake, either rinse your eyes and douse your head with cold water or recite, say, the “Introduction to the Bodhisattva Precepts”. Apply these various skillful means so that you do not let yourself fall off into sleep. You should observe that the matter of birth and death is a great one, and that impermanence is swift indeed. What do you do about drowsiness when your Eye that seeks the Way is not yet bright? If periods of drowsiness persist, you should make a vow, saying, “Because my karmic habits are already heavy, I am now shrouded in sleep. When will I awaken from my dark and confused wandering in the mind? I pray that the Buddhas and Ancestors will confer their great compassion on me and remove my dark and heavy suffering.”

6. SENZAKI: Those who do Zazen should think this: “To find out what Life and Death are is a great matter; and time passes so quickly that one may not solve the question. One’s life may end before the answer is found! Why then, should one devote time to sleeping greedily?” Students, you should take a vow to conquer the karmic effects which make you wish to sleep so much, and ask the help of Buddha and the Patriarchs to sustain you toward this accomplishment.

8. DUMOULIN, HEISIG & KNITTER: By various means avoid sleep. The matter of life and death is great, impermanence moves swiftly. How can you sleep, when the eye of the Way is not yet cleared?...[If sleepiness is due to bad karma, then the meditator should pray:] “May Buddhas and patriarchs in their great compassion remove the pain of my heavy darkness!”

Notes:

The Han verse:	生死事大	Shou ji ji dai	<i>Great is the matter of birth and death.</i>
	無常迅速	Mu jou jin soku	<i>Impermanence is swift.</i>
	光陰可惜	Kou in oshimu beshi	<i>Awaken! Awaken!</i>
	時不待人	Toki hitowo matazu	<i>Time waits for no one.</i>

In Eihei Koso Hotsugonmon, Dogen writes: “Although our past evil karma (惡業) has greatly accumulated, indeed being the cause and condition (因緣) of obstacles in practicing the way (障道), may all buddhas and ancestors who have attained the buddha way be compassionate to us and free (解脫) us from karmic effects (業累), allowing us to practice the way without hindrance. May they share with us their compassion, which fills the boundless universe with the virtue of their enlightenment and teachings.”

XXXIII. 心若散亂時。安心於鼻端丹田。數出入息。猶未休時須一則公案提撕舉覺。謂是何物恁麼來。狗子無佛性。雲門須彌山趙州拍樹子等。沒滋味談。是其所應也。

1. HEINE: If your mind is distracted, focus attention on the tip of your nose or your lower abdomen and count the breaths coming in and out. If the distractions continue, then reflect on an instruction *koan* for awakening, such as “What is it that thus comes?”, “Does a dog have Buddha-nature?”, “Ummon’s Mount Sumeru” *koan*, and “Joshu’s cypress tree in the garden” *koan*. Artless dialogues such as these are suitable.

2. CLEARY: If your mind is scattered, fix your mind on the tip of your nose and lower belly and count your incoming and outgoing breaths. If that doesn’t stop your distraction, then bring a saying to mind and keep it in mind to awaken you – for example, “What thing comes thus?” “A dog has no enlightened nature.” “When no thought arises, is there still any fault? – Mount Everest!” “What is the meaning of Bodhidharma’s coming from the West? – the cypress tree in the garden.” Flavorless sayings like this are suitable.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: If the mind wanders, place attention at the tip of the nose and tanden and count the inhalations and exhalations. If that doesn’t stop the scattering, bring up a phrase and keep it in awareness – for example: “What is it that comes thus?” or “When no thought arises, where is affliction? – Mount Meru!” or “What is the meaning of Bodhidharma’s coming from the West? – The cypress in the garden.” Sayings like this that you can’t draw any flavour out of are suitable.

4. MASUNAGA: If your mind is disturbed, rest it on the tip of the nose or below the navel and count your inhaled and exhaled breath. If your mind still is not calm, take a Koan and concentrate on it. For example consider these non-taste the stories: “Who is this that comes before me?” (Hui-neng); “Does a dog have Buddha nature?” (Chao-chou); Yun men’s Mt Sumeru and Chao-chou’s oak tree in the garden. These are available applications.

5. NEARMAN: If there are times when your thoughts go off in all directions or are agitated, focus your mind down the ridge of your nose to your tanden and count your cycle of inhalations. If your thoughts are still not at rest, you should call to mind some short koan which your Master has given you to guide you, such as, “What is It that comes like this?”, “A dog’s not having Buddha Nature”, “Ummon’s Mount Sumeru”, “Joshu’s oak tree”, for instance: “bland talk” is what meets the need.

6. SENZAKI: If your mind scatters around, be conscious of the tip of your nose, or the lower part of the abdomen, or count your breaths. If you cannot succeed in the above mentioned ways, you should bring forth a koan and question yourself-“What is this?”

Notes:

“What is it that thus comes?” appears frequently in Dogen’s writings and is from a story included in Dogen’s collection of 300 koans (#101, Tanahashi & Loori translation): Zen master Huairang of Nanyue [Dahui] went to study with the Sixth Ancestor, Dajian Huineng [Caoxi]. The Sixth Ancestor said, “Where are you from?” Nanyue said, “I have come from National Teacher Huian of Songshan.” The Sixth Ancestor said, “What is it that has come like this?” (是什麼物恁麼來) Nanyue could not answer. He attended on the master for eight years and worked on the question. One day he said to the Sixth Ancestor, “Now I understand it. When I first came to study with you, you asked me, ‘What is it that has come like this?’” The Sixth Ancestor said, “How do you understand it?” Nanyue said, “To say it’s like something misses it” (說似一物即不中). The Sixth Ancestor said, “Does it depend upon practice and enlightenment?” Nanyue said, “It’s not that there is no practice and enlightenment. It’s just that they cannot be defiled” (修証即不無、染污即不得). The Sixth Ancestor said, “Just this nondefilement is what buddhas have maintained and transmitted. You are like this. I am like this. Ancestors in India were like this.”

Mumonkan (Gateless Barrier), Case #1: A monk asked Zhaozhou, “Does a dog have a buddha-nature or not?” Zhaozhou said, “No” [mu]. A longer version of this dialogue as well as another dialogue on the same subject make up Case #18 of the Book of Serenity, which is also Case #114 of Dogen’s collection of 300 koans. Discussed by Dogen in Shobogenzo Bussho (Buddha-Nature).

Shoyo-roku (Book of Serenity), Case #19: A monk asked Yunmen, “When not producing a single thought, is there any fault or not?” Yunmen said, “Mount Sumeru.”

Mumonkan Case #37: A monk asked Zhaozhou, “What is the meaning of Bodhidharma’s coming from the West?” Zhaozhou said, “The oak tree in the courtyard.”

DUMOULIN: Keizan used the practice of koan as an aid for concentrating during meditation. If one is beset with distractions, he suggests concentrating on a koan, and offers two possibilities from the *Mumonkan*: case 1, dealing with the Buddha nature of a dog, and case 37, “The Oak Tree in the Garden,” He also cites a koan question from a Zen chronicle.

XXXIV. 猶未休時。向一息截斷兩眼永閉端的。打坐工夫。或向胞胎未生不起一念已前行履工夫。二空忽生。散心必歇。起定之後。

1. HEINE: If the distractions still persist, then meditate by concentrating directly on stopping your breath or keeping your eyes shut. Or focus on the state prior to conception, before a single thought has been produced. If you follow Buddhist practice, the twofold emptiness [of self and *dharmas*] spontaneously arises and mental attachments are necessarily dispersed.

2. CLEARY: If (scattering distraction) still doesn't stop, sit and focus on the point where the breath ends and the eyes close forever, or else where the embryo is not yet conceived and not a single thought is produced; when the twin void suddenly appears, the scattered mind will surely come to rest.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: If scattering continues, sit and look to that point where the breath ends and the eyes close forever and where the child is not yet conceived, where not a single concept can be produced. When a sense of the two-fold emptiness of self and things appears, scattering will surely rest.

4. MASUNAGA: If your mind is still disturbed, sit and concentrate on the moment your breath has stopped and both eyes have closed forever, or on the unborn state in your mother's womb or before one thought arises. If you do this, the two Sunyatas (non-ego) will emerge, and the disturbed mind will be put at rests.

5. NEARMAN: If your thoughts are still not at rest, do your meditation period by focusing on the great matter where your breathing comes to an end and your eyes close forever. Or, focus on the 'not-yet-born state' before a single thought has arisen. Then, when you are doing your daily activities, you will suddenly give rise to the two types of 'emptiness'—that of there being no personal self and of there being no permanent self in phenomena—and your scattered thoughts will, without fail, lose their force.

6. SENZAKI: If your mind still wanders, you should think of your own death; that is; your breathing stops, and your eyes shut forever. Or else you should think: "Who were you before you were born?" Or else: "What were you thinking in that moment before thinking can be raised?" If you work on these questions, you will realize two sorts of emptiness: the emptiness of material things and the emptiness of mind (non-material); and your mind will be naturally concentrated on the subject.

Notes:

Sometimes it is said that early Buddhism only taught the emptiness of the person. A number of the Abhidharma schools taught that the person was empty, but that *dharmas* have real existence (the *dharmas* being components of experience which were used in analysis to liberate oneself from grasping a self of the person). The Prajna Paramita literature (e.g. Heart Sutra) teach that all *dharmas* are empty of real existence, as well as the person. Madhyamaka teachings present extensive argumentation for this position.

CLEARY: [“Twin void”]: This refers to the voidness of person and things.

XXXV. 不思量而現威儀時。見成即公案。不回互而成修證時。公案即見成。朕兆以前之消息。空劫那畔之因緣。佛佛祖祖靈機樞要。唯此一事也。

1. HEINE: After emerging from concentration, to realize the majestic activities [of walking, standing, sitting, and lying down] without thought is the spontaneous manifestation of Zen enlightenment. When you actualize the undifferentiated differentiation of practice-in-realization, Zen enlightenment is spontaneously manifest. The primordial state before anything appeared, the condition prior to the formation of heaven and earth—the ultimate concern of the Buddhas and patriarchs is nothing other than this one thing.

2. CLEARY: After coming out of stillness, when you carry on your activities without thinking, the present event is the public affair (koan); when you accomplish practice and realization without interfusion, then the public affair is the present happening. That which is before any signs appear, the situation on the other side of the empty aeon, the spiritual capacity of all buddhas and patriarchs is just this one thing.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: Arising from stillness, carry out activities without hesitation. This moment is the koan. When practice and realization are without complexity then the koan is this present moment. That which is before any trace arises, the scenery on the other side of time's destruction, the activity of all Buddhas and Awakened Ancestors, is just this one thing.

Notes:

Keizan refers to Genjo (soku) Koan (見成即公案) and Koan (soku) Genjo (公案即見成). Genjo Koan is sometimes regarded as the most important fascicle of Shobogenzo. In Fukanzazengi, Koan Genjo appears:

唯是安樂之法門也	It is simply the dharma gate of joyful ease,
究盡菩提之修證也	the practice-realization of totally culminated enlightenment.
公案現成 羅籠未到	It is the koan realized; traps and snares can never reach it.

CLEARY: Interfusion means nondifferentiation, so not interfusing means differentiation, each thing abiding in its characteristic state – so called mountain is mountain, river is river.'

4. MASUNAGA: When you arise from meditation and unconsciously take action, that action is itself a Koan. Without entering into relation, when you accomplish practice and enlightenment, the Koan manifests itself. State before the creation of heaven and earth, condition of empty kalpa, and wondrous functions and most important thing of Buddhas and patriarchs - all these are one thing, zazen.

5. NEARMAN: After you have given rise to mindfulness, without a thought or care, you will manifest a dignified appearance. Then, what is right before your eyes will be your koan. You and it will not be two things going around each other'; you will realize that that which your training confirms has come to full fruition. At that moment, what the koan is is right before your eyes'. What happens when signs of existence are not yet to be seen', the conditions and causes which surround the eon of annihilation, and the importance of the wondrous spiritual deeds of the Buddhas and Ancestors are all just this One Matter for which we train. Straightway you should go take a day away from your normal schedule.

XXXVI. 直須休去歇去。冷湫湫地去。一念萬年去。寒灰枯木去。古廟香爐去。一條白練去。至禱至禱

1. HEINE: Be still and calm, indifferent and free of passion, letting ten thousand years pass in an instant, like cool ashes or a withered tree, like incense burning without smoke in an ancient temple, or a piece of white silk. May this be realized!

2. CLEARY: You should just rest, cease; be cool, passing myriad years as an instant, be cold ashes, a dead tree, an incense burner in an ancient shrine, a piece of white silk. This I pray.

3. YASUDA & ANZAN: You should just rest and cease. Be cooled, pass numberless years as this moment. Be cold ashes, a withered tree, an incense burner in an abandoned temple, a piece of unstained silk. This is my earnest wish.

4. MASUNAGA: We must quit thinking dualistically and put a stop to our delusive mind, cool our passions, transcend moment and eternity, make our mind like cold ashes and withered trees, unify meditation and wisdom like a censer in an old shrine, and purify body and mind like a single white strand. I sincerely hope that you will do all this.

5. NEARMAN: Go rest. Go cool down. Let one thought is equivalent to ten thousand years' pass. Let being cold ashes' or being a dead tree' pass. Let being an incense burner in an old shrine' pass. Let the single white thread' pass. Wholeheartedly do I pray for this; with all my heart do I so pray.

6. SENZAKI: At the last I only say: ~~Go~~ on, to rest. Go on, and stop. Go on, and make yourself the autumn lake full of water. Go on, and make your one moment of thought the length of ten thousand years. Go on, and make yourself cold ashes and a decayed tree. Go on, and make yourself an incense burner, with no trace of incense. Go on, and make yourself white silk of endless length. I congratulate you all!"

Notes:

Keizan's verse on Shanavasa, the 3rd ancestor in India, includes the line, "A length of pure white silk beyond the dust." Cook's footnote: "The length of pure white silk is an image of the flowing water and symbolizes the inner Buddha nature as inherently pure."



Ritual

Griff Foulk - excerpts on ritual and the Keizan Shingi

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Griff Foulk – The Origins of the Gyoji Kihan and
the Question of Ritual in the Zen Tradition

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(three excerpts on the Keizan Shingi & Zen Ritual from various sources)

From the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism

瑩山清規: **Keizan's Rules of Purity**: *Keizan shingi*. Two fascicles, T 2589.82.423c-451c. A text, originally entitled *Ritual Procedures for Tōkoku Mountain Yōkō Zen Monastery in Nō Province* (*Nōshū tōkokuzan yōkōzenji gyōji shidai* 能州洞谷山永光禪寺行事次第), written by the abbot Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 in 1324. Keizan seems to have compiled it as a handbook of ritual events and liturgical texts for use in the single monastery named in its title. The text contains a detailed calendar of daily, monthly, and annual observances that the monks of Yōkō Zen Monastery were to engage in, and the dedications of merit 回向 statements of purpose 疏 that they were to chant on those various occasions. It thus had the basic functions of a schedule of activities and a liturgical manual, as well as laying out a few rules and ritual procedures for monastic officers. It shared those features with the *Rules of Purity for the Huanzhu Hermitage* (*Huanzhu an qinggui* 幻住菴清規), a manual written in 1317 by the eminent Chan master Zhongfen Mingben 中峰明本 (1263–1323). Keizan probably modeled his text on that or some other similarly organized work imported from Yuan dynasty China. In 1678, the monk Gesshū Sōko 月舟宗胡 (1618–1696) and his disciple Manzan Dōhaku 卍山道白 (1636–1715), two monks active in the movement to reform Sōtō Zen by “restoring the old” 復古 modes of practice originally implemented by Dōgen 道元 and Keizan, took the set of rules written for Yōkōji and published them for the first time under the title of *Reverend Keizan's Rules of Purity* (*Keizan oshō shingi* 瑩山和尚清規). From that point on the text became a standard reference work used in many Sōtō Zen monasteries. In its organization and contents, *Keizan's Rules of Purity* is the direct predecessor of the present *Standard Observances of the Sōtō School* (*Sōtōshū gyōji kihan* 曹洞宗行持規範). [G. Foulk; reference(s): FGD]

Cited from: Digital Dictionary of Buddhism: 瑩山清規 | Keizan's Rules of Purity [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?74.xml+id\(%27b7469-5c71-6df8-898f%27\)#ixzz1126IDYlp](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?74.xml+id(%27b7469-5c71-6df8-898f%27)#ixzz1126IDYlp)

From “Ritual in Japanese Zen Buddhism” by T. Griff Foulk

(in *Zen Ritual*, ed. Steven Heine & Dale S. Wright)

The claims of twentieth-century Soto school scholars that Dogen rejected the “syncretic” aspects of Song Chan monastic practice and that he taught a form of “pure” Zen that consisted of an exclusive devotion to seated meditation are entirely groundless: they are nothing more than a projection of the modern Zen academic embarrassment with traditional modes of Buddhist ritual onto the founder of the school. As I have detailed elsewhere, every one of the ritual practices that Dogen apparently dismissed in the famous passage from his *Bendowa* that is quoted above—incense offerings (*shoko*), prostrations (*rathai*), recitation of buddha names (*nenbutsu*), repentances (*shusan*), and sutra reading (*kankin*)—was prescribed by him in great detail in his other writings [see below]. Dogen never criticized the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* (*Chanyuan qinggui*) for being “syncretic” or for any other reason. On the contrary, he held it up as a model for his disciples to follow, lecturing and commenting extensively on many of its provisions.

Nor does the notion that Keizan later embraced rituals that were originally spurned by Dogen have any basis in historical evidence. All attempts to substantiate that view involve a faulty comparison of the *Eihei Rules of Purity* (*Eihei shingi*), a collection of six separate commentaries by Dogen on various sections of the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* that was initially compiled in 1667, with *Preceptor Keizan's Rules of Purity* (*Keizan osho shingi*), a set of procedures for calendrical and occasional rituals that was originally prepared by Keizan for his Yoko Zen Monastery (*Yoko zenji*) in Noto Province and only published under its present title in 1678. Both texts came to be called rules of purity (*shingi*) in the Edo period (1600-1868), but beyond that they have very little in common. The idea that Dogen wrote a comprehensive rules of purity in which he purposefully ignored or rejected many ritual practices that were later embraced by Keizan in the latter's rules of purity is a gross distortion of the historical record but one that is widely accepted by modern Soto scholars. Keizan is not criticized too harshly for diluting and sullyng Dogen's “pure” Zen, however, for he is regarded as a spiritual ancestor by a great many Soto clergy who trace their dharma lineages back to Dogen through him. The general consensus among Soto scholars is that Keizan acted out of a combination of practical necessity and compassion for the common people. Since the Meiji era, Dogen and Keizan have been honored in tandem as the two patriarchs (*ryoso*) of Sōtō Zen. Although that arrangement originated in what was basically a political settlement reached in the Meiji, it has since provided an umbrella under which Soto leaders can simultaneously hail the pure Zen of Dogen as the essence of their tradition and continue, without fanfare, to uphold the practice of funerals and memorial services, which constitute the actual religious and economic foundation of contemporary Japanese Zen.

From “Rules of Purity” in Japanese Zen by Griff Foulk

(from *Zen Classics*, ed. Steven Heine & Dale S. Wright)

Modern Japanese scholars, just as they have worked to depict the Zen of Eisai and Enni as “syncretic,” have been at pains to portray Dogen's Zen as especially “pure.” One champion of this view, Kagamishima Genryu, has argued that Song Chan was already syncretic and degenerate compared with the “pure Chan” (*junsui zen*) that had existed in the golden age of the Tang. According to him, virtually all of the Zen transmitted to Japan, whether by Eisai, Enni, or the Chinese monks who followed, was at its very source overly ritualized and beholden to the religious and political needs of the court and aristocracy. Dogen alone, Kagamishima argues, spurned the syncretic doctrines he encountered among the Chan schools in Song China, criticized the worldly tendencies of continental Chan with its aristocratic patronage, rejected the syncretism of early Japanese Zen, and insisted on an “unadulterated” form of Zen. Thus, he concludes, what Dogen transmitted to Japan was not the Zen that he actually encountered in Song China but rather the pure Zen of Baizhang that had flourished in China during the Tang dynasty.

Dogen's writings on monastic rules were rather typical in that they focused on some aspects of monastery organization and operation and took others for granted. The fact that he did not leave writings that dealt with every aspect of the ~~rules~~ "rules of purity" literature does not mean that he rejected or neglected the practices that were prescribed in them. I stress this point because scholars have too often taken Dogen's silence on a particular feature of monastic practice as evidence that he was a purist who rejected it. If one pays attention to the many passing references to multifarious rituals and bureaucratic procedures that occur in his writings, however, there is ample evidence that Dogen embraced the model of the Song Chan monastery in its entirety, including most of the ostensibly ~~syncretic~~ "syncretic" and ~~popular~~ "popular" ceremonies and rituals that were later treated explicitly in the Keizan shingi (Keizan's Rules of Purity).

Scholars associate the ~~purity~~ "purity" of Dogen's Zen with his putative rejection of ritual and his emphasis on seated meditation (zazen). A passage from Dogen's Bendowa (A Talk on Cultivating the Way) is frequently cited in support of this interpretation:

From the start of your training under a wise master [chishiki], have no recourse to incense offerings [shoko], prostrations [raihai], recitation of buddha names [nembutsu], repentances [shusan], or sutra reading [kankin]. Just sit in meditation [taza] and attain the dropping off of mind and body [shinjin datsuraku].

In this passage Dogen gives advice to the beginning Zen trainee, stressing that sitting in meditation is the one practice essential for attaining enlightenment—"rules of purity" in Japanese zen 143 ment and thereby inheriting the true transmission of the buddha-dharma. Although Dogen clearly did extol seated meditation as the sine qua non of Buddhism, scholars who seize on just this passage (and a few others like it) to characterize his approach to monastic practice badly misrepresent the historical record.

The specific rituals that seem to be disavowed in the Bendowa passage are all prescribed for Zen monks, often in great detail, in Dogen's other writings. In Kuyo shobutsu (Making Offerings to All Buddhas), Dogen recommends the practice of offering incense and making worshipful prostrations before buddha images and stupas, as prescribed in the sutras and vinaya texts.²⁹ In Raihaitokuzui (Making Prostrations and Attaining the Marrow) he urges trainees to venerate enlightened teachers and to make offerings and prostrations to them, describing this practice as one that helps pave the way to one's own awakening.³⁰ In Chiji shingi, Dogen stipulates that the vegetable garden manager in a monastery should participate together with the main body of monks in sutra chanting services, recitation services (nenju) in which the buddhas' names are chanted (a form of nembutsu practice), and other major ceremonies; he should burn incense and make prostrations (shoko raihais) and recite the buddhas' names in prayer morning and evening when at work in the garden.³¹ The practice of repentances (sange) is encouraged in Dogen's Kesa kudoku (Merit of the Kesa),³² Sanjigo (Karma of the Three Times),³³ and Keiseisanshiki (Valley Sounds, Mountain Forms).³⁴ Finally, in Kankin (Sutra Chanting), Dogen gives detailed directions for sutra reading services in which, as he explains, texts could be read either silently or aloud as a means of producing merit to be dedicated to any number of ends, including the satisfaction of wishes made by lay donors, or prayers on behalf of the emperor.³⁵ Kankin, as Dogen uses the term, can also refer to ~~turning~~ "turning" (without actually reading) through the pages of sutra books, or turning rotating sutra library stacks (rinzo), to produce merit. He occasionally uses kankin to mean ~~sutra study~~ "sutra study," but the Bendowa passage most likely refers to sutra reading as a merit-producing device in ceremonial settings.

In short, Dogen embraced Song Chinese Buddhist monastic practice in its entirety, in a manner that was scarcely distinguishable from that of Eisai or Enni. It is true that he occasionally engaged in polemical criticism of certain members of the Linji lineage in China, but the disgust with and rejection of Song monastic forms that Kagamishima and other scholars ascribe to him is almost entirely missing from his lengthy, generally laudatory writings on the subject. Indeed, Dogen had far more complaints about his Japanese compatriots who were ignorant in the proper way of doing things—that is, the way they were done in Song China.

The Origins of Gyōji kihan

The Japanese edition of *Standard Observances of the Soto Zen School* (*Sōtōshū gyōji kihan* 曹洞宗行持軌範) that is in use today was originally published in 1889 with the title *Standard Observances of the Soto Tradition* (*Tōjō gyōji kihan* 洞上行持軌範). It was first published with its present title in 1918, and subsequently underwent minor revisions in 1950 and 1966. The most recent edition, upon which the translation presented in this book is based, dates from 1988.

The Meiji era compilers of the first edition of *Gyōji kihan* based that work directly on three existing sets of Zen monastic rules that were in widespread use at the time: (1) the *Guidelines for Shōju Grove* (*Shōjurin shinanki* 梶樹林指南紀),⁴ compiled in 1674 by Gesshū Sōko 月舟宗胡 (1618-1696) and his disciple Manzan Dōhaku 叢山道白 (1636-1715); (2) the *Rules of Purity for Sangha Halls* (*Sōdō shingi* 僧堂清規) by Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方 (1683- 1769),⁵ published in 1753; and (3) the *Small Eihei Rules of Purity* (*Eihei shō shingi* 永平小清規),⁶ written by Gentō Sokuchū 玄透即中 (1729-1807) and published in 1805. Before discussing those three works, let us take stock of a number of earlier “rules of purity” (*shingi* 清規) that they in turn were based on, and that the compilers of *Gyōji kihan* also consulted.

The most important of those earlier rules is the so-called *Eihei Rules of Purity* (*Eihei shingi* 永平清規), a text attributed to Dōgen 道元 (1200-1253), first ancestor of the Soto lineage in Japan and founder of its head monastery Eihei-ji. The text has a complicated history. The first version of it was entitled *Rules of Purity by Zen Master Dōgen, First Ancestor of Soto in Japan* (*Nichiiki sōtō shoso dōgen zenji shingi* 日域曹洞初祖道元禪師清規). That text was published in 1667 by Kōshō Chidō 光紹智堂 (d. 1670), the thirtieth abbot of Eihei-ji, who compiled it by piecing together six separate works pertaining to monastic practice that had originally been written by Dōgen. It was subsequently reedited and published by Gentō Sokuchū in 1794, a year before he became the fiftieth abbot of Eihei-ji. The title he gave the work was *Revised and Captioned Eihei Rules of Purity* (*Kōtei kanchū eihei shingi* 校訂冠註 永平清規).⁷ That text was widely distributed and eventually became known simply as the *Eihei Rules of Purity* (*Eihei shingi* 永平清規). It is sometimes called the *Large Eihei Rules of Purity* (*Eihei dai shingi* 永平大清規), to distinguish it from the handbook entitled *Small Eihei Rules of Purity* that was written by Gentō in 1805. The Meiji compilers of *Gyōji kihan* referred to it simply as the *Large Rules of Purity* (*Dai shingi* 大清規).

The six works by Dōgen that were brought together to form *Eihei Rules of Purity* are: (1) *Admonitions for the Chef* (*Tenzo kyōkun* 典座教訓), dated 1237; (2) *Procedures for Relating to Monks Five Retreats Senior to Oneself* (*Tai taiko gogejari hō* 對大己五夏閣梨法), 1244; (3) *Procedures for Practicing the Way* (*Bendōhō* 辨道法), 1246; (4) *Procedures for Taking Meals* (*Fushukuhanpō* 赴粥飯法), 1245; (5) *Rules of Purity for Stewards* (*Chiji shingi* 知事清規), 1246; and (6) *Admonitions for the Common Quarters* (*Shuryō shingi* 衆寮箴規), 1249. All six of these texts are commentaries that Dōgen wrote on Chinese Buddhist monastic rules. The second, *Procedures for Relating to Monks Five Retreats Senior to Oneself*, is based on the “Procedures for Relating to Teachers and Procedures for Entering the Assembly” (*shishi fa ruzhong fa* 事師法入衆法) section of the *Instructions on the Ritual Restraints to be Observed by New Monks in Training* (*Jiaojie xin xue biqiu xinghu lüyi* 教誡新學比丘行護律儀) by Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667).⁸ The other five texts deal with various sections of an influential monastic code that Dōgen brought back with him from Song China and used to regulate the monasteries he founded in Japan: the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* (*Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規),⁹ compiled in 1103 by Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗謁 (d. 1107?). In those five texts, as well, Dōgen cites Vinaya texts such as the *Four Part Vinaya* (*Sifenlü* 四分律) and the *Sūtra on Three Thousand Points of Monkish Decorum* (*Sanqian wei yi jing* 三千威儀經).

Dōgen’s appeal to Vinaya texts as authoritative was a perfectly normal thing for him to do, for the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* that he relied on to establish Zen institutions in Japan was itself heavily based on Chinese translations of Indian Vinaya texts and the tradition of indigenous Vinaya commentary and adaptation that had evolved in China throughout the Sui (589-618) and Tang (618-906) dynasties. From the Song dynasty on in China, it is true, the Chan school promoted the story of the Tang patriarch Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (J. Hyakujō Ekai, 749-814), who was said to have founded the first independent Chan monastery and authored the first monastic rules that were not based on the

Vinaya. That story helped to explain and justify the preeminent position that abbots belonging to the Chan lineage had come to occupy within the Buddhist monastic institution in the Song. It also legitimized all the indigenous rules and procedures that had evolved over the centuries in China by attributing them to Baizhang, a native promulgator of monastic rules whose authority came to mirror that of Śākyamuni Buddha, the putative author of the Vinaya in India. The Baizhang story in its traditional form did not speak of any rejection of the Vinaya. It stated that prior to him all monks belonging to the Chan lineage, from Bodhidharma down to the sixth patriarch Huineng, had resided in monasteries regulated by the Vinaya. And it described Baizhang himself as drawing on Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Vinaya rules when formulating his own rules for Chan monks.

Early modern scholars such as Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽 (1882–1963) and Hu Shih 胡適 (1892–1962), however, took the notion that Baizhang had founded an independent system of Chan monastic training several steps further, arguing that from its very inception in China the Chan school was a sectarian movement that rejected mainstream “monastery Buddhism” (*garan bukyō* 伽藍佛教) with its reliance on lay patronage, elaborate merit making rituals, and conventionalized lectures on the sūtras. In their view, Chan monks originally wandered about practicing austerities and meditation in the mountains and forests, then gradually settled into monastic communities where they grew their own food and supported themselves through communal labor (*C. puqing zuowu*, *J. fushin samu* 普請作務). This scenario, as explained in the following section, served the needs of modern apologists who wished to portray Zen as a mode of spirituality that, in its historical origins and timeless essence, was and is free from religious superstition and ritual. More recent scholarship, however, has shown beyond a doubt that the Chan school in China was a movement that arose and grew to power within the state-controlled Buddhist monastic order, not outside it. The only rejection of Buddhist ritual that followers of the school demonstrably engaged in was purely rhetorical. The practice of communal labor, moreover, was not unique to Chan monks and was never intended or used to free monastic communities from dependence on lay supporters.

The so-called transmission of Zen from China to Japan in the Kamakura period (1185–1333) is best understood as the replication on Japanese soil of the elite Buddhist monastic institution of Song and Yuan China. The Chan school was a dominant force within that institution, and the abbacies of many major public monasteries were reserved by the imperial court for monks who were dharma heirs in the Chan lineage. The monastic institution of the Song and Yuan, however, also contained many elements of generic and specialized Buddhist practice that, in China, were not identified as belonging to the Chan tradition. And, it incorporated many elements of Chinese culture that were not Buddhist in origin. Large monasteries, for example, imitated the architecture and ground plan of the imperial court; their internal bureaucratic structure was patterned after that of the state; and their social etiquette was basically that of the literati (scholar-bureaucrat) class, from which many leading prelates came. The philosophical, artistic, and literary dimensions of literati culture did admit to some Buddhist (and specifically Chan) influences, but on the whole they were more firmly embedded in the Confucian tradition. Nobody in Song or Yuan China, certainly, thought that the ubiquitous social ritual of drinking tea, the literati arts of calligraphy and ink painting, or the enjoyment of rock gardens (*C. shiting*, *J. sekitei* 石庭) had any essential connection with Buddhism or Chan. When it was replicated in Japan, however, the entire package of Buddhist monastic forms, Chan literature and ritual, and literati culture eventually came to be identified as “Zen.”

The monks who later became known as the founders of Zen in Japan, Dōgen in particular, were quite explicit in their declarations that what they sought to transmit from China was not merely the lineage of Bodhidharma, but true Buddhism in its entirety. That Buddhism can be summed up as comprising three fundamental modes of practice (*C. sanxue*, *J. sangaku* 三學): morality (*C. jie*, *J. kai* 戒), concentration (*C. ding*, *J. jō* 定), and wisdom (*C. hui*, *J. e* 慧). Morality in Song Buddhism meant adherence to the ten novice precepts (*C. shami shijie*, *J. shami jikkai* 沙彌十戒) and 250 precepts for bhiksus (fully ordained monks) listed in the Pratimoksha (*C. Jieben*, *J. kaihō* 戒本) of the Four Part Vinaya (*C. Sifenlü*, *J. Shibunritsu* 四分律). Concentration comprised many techniques for focusing the mind, but for novice monks in basic training it took the form of communal seated meditation (*C. zuochan*, *J. zazen* 坐禪) on the long platforms in a sangha hall (*C. sengtang*, *J. sōdō* 僧堂). The cultivation of wisdom, at its most basic level, entailed the study of the Buddha’s teachings as those were handed down in Mahāyāna sutras. The ability to read and recite sutras was a requirement for novice ordination. Sutra chanting (*C. fengjing*, *J. fugin* 諷經) was also the primary device for generating merit (*C. gongde*, *J. kudoku* 功德) for dedication (*C. huixiang*, *J. ekō* 回向) in conjunction with food offerings and prayers to buddhas, bodhisattvas, arhats, protecting deities, and ancestral spirits, which were the most common forms of ritual in Song Chinese Buddhism.

Once novice monks had gone through a period of basic training in the three modes of practice, they could begin to specialize. Some became experts in the Vinaya and the indigenous Chinese rules of purity that regulated monastic procedures and rituals. Those who wished to specialize in meditation techniques gravitated to the Tiantai tradition, which preserved Zhiyi's 智顗 (538-597) compendia of methods for "calming and insight" (C. *zhiguan*, J. *shikan* 止觀) and maintained special facilities for the practice of various samadhis (C. *sanmei*, J. *zanmai* 三昧).¹⁰ Becoming an heir in Bodhidharma's lineage of dharma transmission, which was the fast track to high monastic office within the Buddhist sangha, entailed training under a recognized Chan master, studying Chan genealogical collections (C. *chuandenglu*, J. *dentōroku* 傳燈錄) and discourse records (C. *yulu*, J. *goroku* 語錄), learning the distinctive mode of rhetoric that those texts modeled, and receiving formal dharma transmission from one's teacher. As Chan adherents saw it, of course, it meant realizing and utilizing the wisdom of the Buddha inherent within oneself, not as a sutra exegete, but as one in full possession of the very "mind of buddha" (C. *foxin*, J. *bushshin* 佛心). But affiliation with the Chan school never entailed giving up any of the observances that occupied all Buddhist monks, many of which were mandatory in the major statesanctioned public monasteries where Chan monks served as abbots.

When Dōgen returned to Japan after training in Song Chinese monasteries and inheriting the Chan dharma from his teacher Rujing 如淨 (1163-1228), he stressed adherence to the procedures found in the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* and to the precepts and etiquette deriving from the Vinaya. He did so because he regarded the practice of morality, which had been treated rather lackadaisically by the Japanese Tendai and Shingon schools in the latter part of the Heian period (794-1185), as fundamental to the Buddhist path. He also emphasized the practice of communal seated meditation (*zazen* 坐禪). Again, that was not because there was any exclusive association of seated meditation with the Chan lineage in China, but rather because *zazen* was deemed fundamental to the basic training of all Buddhist monks there, whereas it had been largely neglected by Japanese monks in the late Heian period. Dōgen actually criticized the use of the name "Chan/Zen lineage" (C. *chanzong*, J. *zenshū* 禪宗) as a synonym for the lineage of Bodhidharma, arguing that what Bodhidharma transmitted to China was the Buddha Way (C. *fodao*, J. *butsudō* 佛道) in its entirety, not only the practice of meditation (C. *xichan*, J. *shūzen* 習禪).¹¹

In China, where all Buddhist monks practiced *zazen* as part of their basic training in a sangha hall, the Chan school was distinguished by its lineage myth (the claim to have inherited the Buddha Śākyamuni's awakening or "buddha mind" in an unbroken sequence of master-to-disciple transmissions of the "mind dharma") and by its unique forms of rhetoric and pedagogy (e.g. the use of koans). The name "Chan lineage" was synonymous with "Buddha mind lineage." In that context, the word "Chan" did not mean "meditation" in the sense of making an effort to concentrate the mind; it indicated the true, higher "meditation" that (according to the *Platform Sutra*) is not a means to gain liberating wisdom (*prajñā*) but is indistinguishable from wisdom itself. In Japan, however, despite Dōgen's admonition, the idea that the "Zen school" is the "meditation school" seemed fitting and took hold, for in contrast to other schools of Japanese Buddhism, the Zen school has in fact put more emphasis on the practice of *zazen*.

Another important set of monastic rules that figured both directly and indirectly in the Meiji era compilation of *Gyōji kihan* was *Keizan's Rules of Purity* (*Keizan shingi* 瑩山清規). That work was composed in 1324 by Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 (1268-1325), Dōgen's dharma heir in the fourth generation and founder of the monastery Sōjiji, who in the Meiji era was placed alongside Dōgen as one of the "two ancestors" (*ryōso* 兩祖) of the Soto school. The original title was *Ritual Procedures for Tōkoku Mountain Yōkō Zen Monastery in Nō Province* (*Nōshū tōkokuzan yōkōzenji gyōji shidai* 能州洞谷山永光禪寺行事次第),¹² and it seems to have been written as a handbook of ritual events and liturgical texts for use in the single monastery named in its title, where Keizan was abbot. In 1678, Gesshū Sōko and his disciple Manzan Dōhaku edited the handbook and published it for the first time under the title *Reverend Keizan's Rules of Purity* (*Keizan oshō shingi* 瑩山和尚清規). Thereafter, it became a standard reference work in Soto Zen monasteries.

Keizan's Rules of Purity is the oldest Japanese Zen monastic code to be organized around a detailed calendar of daily, monthly, and annual observances. Indeed, that feature of the Meiji and later editions of *Gyōji kihan* can be traced directly back to *Keizan's Rules*. In compiling his handbook for Yōkō Zen Monastery (*Yōkōzenji* 永光禪寺), however, it seems likely that Keizan consulted a Chinese work entitled *Rules of Purity for Huanzhu Hermitage* (*Huanzhu an qinggui* 幻住菴清規),¹³ which had been written in 1317 by the eminent Chan master Zhongfen Mingben 中峰明本 (1263-1323). That text, too, was originally intended to regulate only one monastic community: the hermitage where Mingben resided in his later years. It includes guidelines for just a handful of key monastic offices—the hermitage chief (C. *anzhu*, J. *anju*

菴主) or abbot, head seat (C. *shouzu*, J. *shuso* 首座), assistant abbot (C. *fu*, J. *fukuan* 副菴), stores manager (C. *zhiku*, J. *chiko* 知庫), and head of meals (C. *fantou*, J. *hanju* 飯頭)—far fewer than was the norm at the great public monasteries of the day. It also establishes procedural guidelines for a just a few basic bureaucratic functions, such as taking up residence (C. *guada*, J. *kata* 掛搭) in the monastery, alms-gathering (C. *fenwei*, J. *bun'ei* 分衛), and “all invited” (C. *puqing*, J. *fushin* 普請), which is to say, “mandatory attendance” at communal labor, funerals, and other events. The bulk of the *Rules of Purity for Huanzhu Hermitage* is given over to an enumeration of daily, monthly, and annual observances and rites that the monks of the hermitage were to engage in, and the verses (mostly dedications of merit) that they were to chant on those various occasions. The text thus had the basic functions of a calendar and liturgical manual, as well as laying out a few rules and ritual procedures for monastic officers. Those are features shared by Keizan’s rules for Yōkō Zen Monastery, which he compiled some seven years later.

Keizan, presumably, would have known Dōgen’s writings on monastic discipline and the Chinese source that he relied on most heavily: *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*. By Keizan’s day, however, the latter text had been superseded in China by two others: (1) *Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries* (Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao 叢林校訂清規總要),¹⁴ or *Revised Rules of Purity* (Jiaoding qinggui 校訂清規) for short, compiled in 1274 by Jinhua Weimian 金華惟勉; and (2) *Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* (Chanlin beiyong qinggui 禪林備用清規),¹⁵ or *Auxiliary Rules of Purity* (Beiyong qinggui 備用清規) for short, which was completed in 1286 by an abbot named Zeshan Yixian 澤山弋咸 and published in 1311. There is reason to believe that Keizan was familiar with both of these works, but in any case they both contain materials of a type that eventually made their way into the Meiji and later editions of *Gyōji kihan*.

The *Revised Rules of Purity*, for example, opens with a number of diagrams detailing the seating and standing positions that the officers and other participants were to take in incense offering rites and tea services held in various monastery buildings. Those are followed in the first fascicle with samples of what to write on the formal invitations and signboards that were used to announce feasts, tea services, and the like. The text then gives detailed procedural guidelines for the invitation and installation of new abbots, the appointment and retirement of officers, and numerous tea services. While the first fascicle focuses on what may be termed social rituals and bureaucratic procedures, the second fascicle is given over to rites of a more religious, didactic, and mortuary nature, including sermons by the abbot, entering the abbot’s room, sitting in meditation, recitation, funerals for abbots and other monks, and memorial services. All of these appear, in more or less the same form, in *Gyōji kihan*.

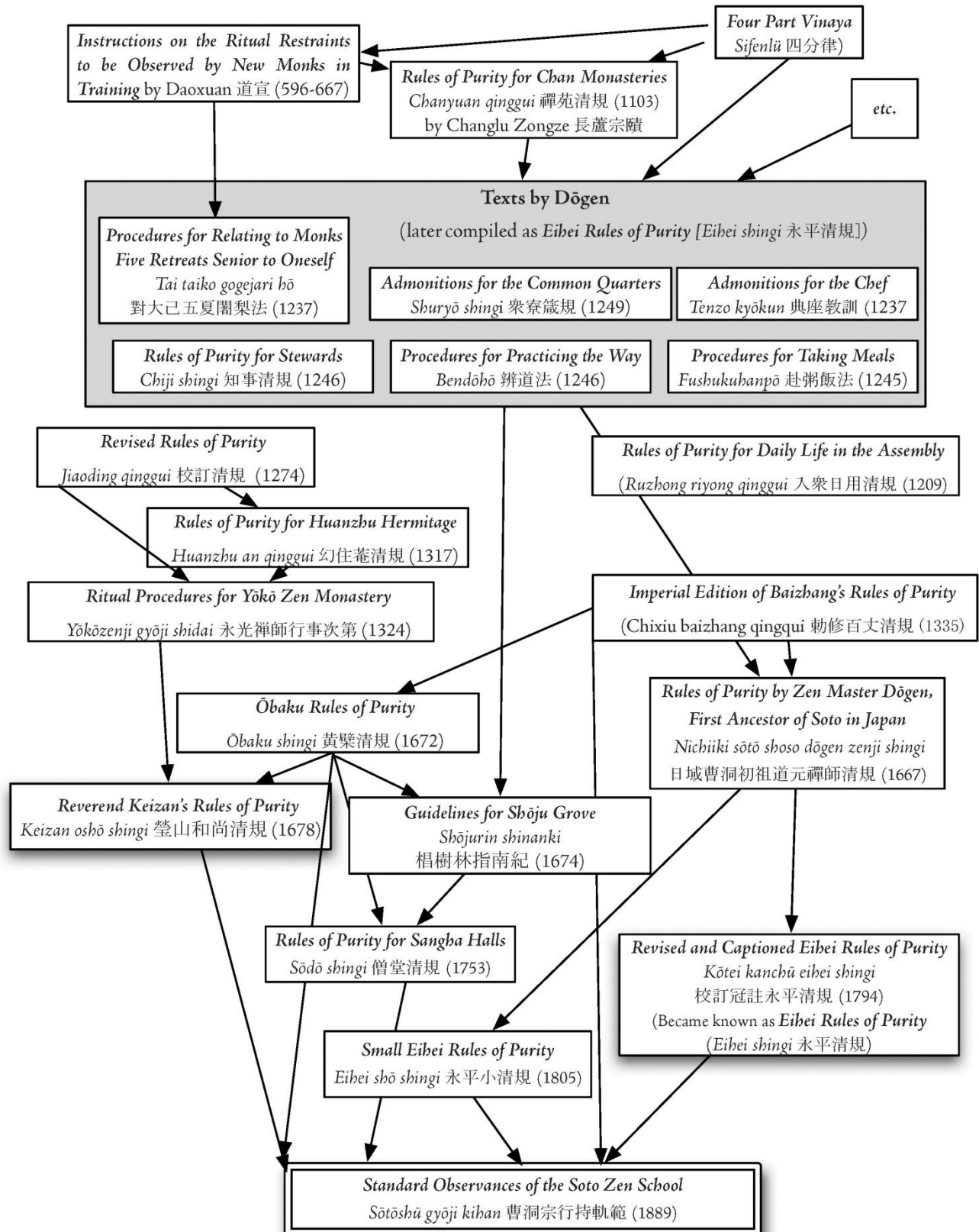
The *Auxiliary Rules of Purity* is a lengthy work that includes virtually all of the religious rites, bureaucratic procedures, and guidelines for monastic officers found previously in the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* and *Revised Rules of Purity*. In addition, the *Auxiliary Rules of Purity* establishes procedures for a number of rites that are not treated in any of the aforementioned “rules of purity,” such as: sutra chanting services (C. *fengjing*, J. *fugin* 諷經) and prayer services (C. *zhusheng*, J. *shukushin* 祝聖) for the emperor; celebrations of Buddha’s birthday (C. *xiangdan*, J. *gōtan* 降誕), awakening (C. *chengdao*, J. *jōdō* 成道), and nirvana (C. *niepan*, J. *nehan* 涅槃); and memorial services (C. *ji*, J. *ki* 忌) for Bodhidharma, Baizhang, the founding abbot (C. *kaishan*, J. *kaisan* 開山), and various patriarchs (C. *zhuzu*, J. *shoso* 諸祖). The *Auxiliary Rules of Purity* is also noteworthy as the oldest of the extant “rules of purity” texts to include a schedule of events, albeit a sketchy one, under the heading of “monthly items” (C. *yuefen biaoti*, J. *getsubun hyōdai* 月分標題).¹⁶ Despite the heading, this is basically an annual calendar of major rites and observances, listed by the month (and often the day) of their occurrence. Virtually all of the observances treated in the *Auxiliary Rules of Purity* are also found in *Gyōji kihan*.

Two other Chinese monastic codes that the Meiji era compilers of the first edition of *Gyōji kihan* consulted are: (1) *Rules of Purity for Daily Life in the Assembly* (Ruzhong riyong qinggui 入衆日用清規),¹⁷ written in 1209 by Wuliang Zongshou 無量宗壽; and (2) Imperial Edition of Baizhang’s Rules of Purity (Chixiu baizhang qinggui 勅修百丈清規),¹⁸ which was produced by decree of the Yuan emperor Shun and compiled by the monk Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 between the years 1335 and 1338. The former was written for novices who had just entered the “great assembly” (C. *dazhong*, J. *daishu* 大眾) of ordinary monks: those who had no administrative duties and thus were free to concentrate on a daily routine of meditation, study, and devotions. It is the oldest “rules of purity” to contain mealtime verses similar to those used in Soto Zen today, although those can be traced back to still more ancient roots and are in no way unique to the Chan/Zen tradition. The latter was a massive work that collated and incorporated all the various elements of previous

—ules of purity,” including: precepts and general behavioral guidelines for individual monks; procedures for routine activities in the daily life of monks, such as meals, bathing, meditation, and worship; descriptions of the duties and ideal spiritual attitudes of officers in the monastic bureaucracy; daily, monthly, and annual schedules of rituals; and liturgical texts, mainly prayers and verses for the dedication of merit. In his preface the compiler Dehui states that he drew on the aforementioned *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*, *Revised Rules of Purity*, and *Auxiliary Rules of Purity* for source materials, and that he had been commissioned by the emperor to compile a single, comprehensive, authoritative set of rules for the entire Buddhist sangha.

The *Imperial Edition of Baizhang’s Rules of Purity* was extremely influential within the so-called “five mountains” (*gozan* 五山) network of metropolitan Zen monasteries in the Muromachi period (1333-1573), which was dominated by various branches of the Rinzai lineage. The first Japanese printing of the text was the “five mountains edition” (*gozan ban* 五山版), issued in 1356. It was reprinted in 1458, and a Japanese language commentary on it entitled *Summary of Baizhang’s Rules of Purity* (*Hyakujō shingi shō* 百丈清規抄) was produced, based on lectures on the text given by various abbots of major Zen monasteries in Kyoto between 1459 to 1462. Subsequent reprintings of the *Imperial Edition of Baizhang’s Rules of Purity* took place during the Tokugawa (Edo) period (1603-1868), in 1629, 1661, 1720, and 1768.¹⁹ Although modern scholars usually associate the text with Rinzai Zen, digital search of the Taishō edition—which only produces “hits” on phrases that are perfectly verbatim—reveals that much material now found in *Gyōji kihan* also appears in the *Imperial Edition of Baizhang’s Rules of Purity*. It seems that the text has had a greater influence on Soto Zen than was previously imagined.

Diagram of Textual History



Note: Only some of the major lines of influence in the genesis of the *Standard Observances of the Soto Zen School* are shown.

Another influence on modern Soto observances, although it goes unmentioned in any edition of *Gyōji kihan*, comes from the Ming dynasty (1368- 1644) Chinese style of monastic practice that found its way to Japan in the Tokugawa period. In the middle of the seventeenth century there was a new importation of Buddhism from the continent that began within the Chinese merchant community in Nagasaki and gained a following among the Japanese as so-called Ōbaku Zen 黄檗禪. It received a huge boost when the eminent Chinese monk Yinyuan Longqi 隱元隆琦 (1592-1673) came to Japan and was helped by the Tokugawa shogunate to build a large Ming-style monastery named Manpukuji 萬福寺 in Uji, just south of Kyoto. In 1672, Yinyuan promulgated a set of ritual procedures for Manpukuji, entitled *Ōbaku Rules of Purity* (*Ōbaku shingi* 黄檗清規),²⁰ that was based on earlier Song and Yuan rules of purity. When the Japanese saw the style of communal monastic training that was established at Manpukuji and other monasteries of the Ōbaku school, they were much impressed. Many monks who were interested in rigorous Buddhist practice gravitated to those centers. Leaders of the Soto and Rinzai schools of Zen were stimulated to initiate reforms that resulted in the reinstatement of many of the forms of communal monastic training that had been lost in the intervening centuries.

Gesshū Sōko's *Guidelines for Shōju Grove* (written in 1674), the oldest of the three Tokugawa period works that the Meiji compilers of *Gyōji kihan* based their work on, was inspired in part by the *Ōbaku Rules of Purity*. Having studied with Yinyuan at Manpukuji, Gesshū wanted to produce a counterpart to the Ōbaku rules that could be used to facilitate communal training and hold formal retreats (*kessei* 結制) at the Soto monastery Daijōji 大乘寺 (a.k.a. Shōju Grove), where he was abbot. In addition to the Ōbaku rules, he drew on the *Rules of Purity by Zen Master Dōgen* that Kōshō Chidō had compiled in 1667, Dōgen's writings on monastic procedure and ritual found in his *Treasury of the Eye of the True Dharma* (*Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏), and Keizan's *Ritual Procedures for Tōkoku Mountain Yōkō Zen Monastery in Nō Province*, which he edited and published four years later as *Reverend Keizan's Rules of Purity*.

The second of the Tokugawa period works that the Meiji compilers of *Gyōji kihan* used was Menzan Zuihō's *Rules of Purity for Sangha Halls*, published in 1753. In preparing that work, Menzan studied and drew on Kōshō's *Rules of Purity by Zen Master Dōgen*, Gesshū's *Reverend Keizan's Rules of Purity*, Yinyuan's *Ōbaku Rules of Purity*, and all the Song and Yuan Chinese rules of purity that are discussed above. Menzan presented his research findings in a companion volume entitled *Separate Volume of Notes on the Soto Rules of Purity for Sangha Halls* (*Tōjō sōdō shingi kōtei betsureoku* 洞上僧堂清規考訂別録),²¹ published in 1755. He also researched the arrangement of Zen monastery buildings and sacred images used in Dōgen's and Keizan's day, publishing his findings in 1759 in the *Record of Images Placed in the Various Halls of Soto Monasteries* (*Tōjō garan shodō anzōki* 洞上伽藍諸堂安像記).²²

The last of the three Tokugawa period works that the Meiji compilers of *Gyōji kihan* based their work on was Gentō Sokuchū's *Small Eihei Rules of Purity*, published in 1805. Gentō was the fiftieth abbot of Eihei and, as noted above, the editor of *Revised and Captioned Eihei Rules of Purity*, better known as *Large Eihei Rules of Purity* or simply *Eihei Rules of Purity*, a collection of six works by Dōgen. Gentō wrote his *Small Eihei Rules of Purity* to regulate training at Eiheiji. He, too, consulted all the Song and Yuan Chinese rules of purity mentioned above, but he favored the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* on the grounds that it was the text relied on by Dōgen.

As the preceding account of the origins of *Gyōji kihan* makes clear, the text is heir to a long and varied tradition of adapting and augmenting rules and procedures for Buddhist monastic practice that can be traced all the way back to the earliest Chinese attempts to interpret and implement the Vinaya transmitted from India. Following its initial compilation in 1889, *Gyōji kihan* continued to undergo minor changes with each subsequent edition. After the second world war, for example, most prayers for the emperor (the texts of which had actually come directly from Song and Yuan Chinese rules of purity) were replaced with wording that called for peace among nations instead. As noted in the previous section, the observances detailed in *Gyōji kihan* will no doubt continue to undergo modifications as Zen practice spreads in the West. Nevertheless, in surveying the long history of Buddhist monastic practice in East Asia, the continuities with the past that one finds in *Gyōji kihan* far outweigh the innovations.

The Question of Ritual in the Zen Tradition

Standard Observances of the Soto Zen School may be described as a liturgical handbook or ritual manual. Because there is a widespread misconception in the West that ritual is something extraneous, incidental, or even antithetical to Zen in its pure or original form, the question of the role of ritual in the history of Zen needs to be addressed.

To begin with, it is important to understand that in the vocabulary of the Zen tradition itself, there is no term or concept that corresponds very well to the meaning of "ritual" as that word has evolved from the Latin *ritus*. There is a tendency in European languages to apply the label "ritual" to behaviors that appear more formal or schematic than is necessary to achieve some particular end, or stylized behaviors that display no evident connection between means and ends. We are inclined to withhold the designation "ritual" from behaviors (even highly repetitive ones such as work on an

assembly line) that have an obviously pragmatic function, and to think of ritual as activity that either (1) has a symbolic or religious meaning to those who engage in it, (2) is motivated by a quasi-scientific but false understanding of the way things really work, or (3) is a manifestation of some obsessive-compulsive neurosis. The distinction between —practical” and —ritual” behavior is deeply embedded in European languages, but it is alien to the East Asian Buddhist tradition of which Zen is a part.

The Sino-Japanese Buddhist term that comes closest in semantic range to the English —ritual” is *gyōji* (行持 or 行事), translated herein as —observances.” As is clear from the contents of the *Standard Observances* (*Gyōji kihan* 行持軌範), however, that term encompasses a very broad range of activities that Zen clergy engage in. Many observances, such as offerings of food and drink made before icons enshrined on an altar, might be labeled as —rituals” by Western standards, but many others are more likely to be called —practices” (e.g. undertaking moral vows, sitting in meditation), —work” (e.g. serving food, cleaning), —study” (e.g. attending a class on a Zen text), or simply —everyday activities” (e.g. eating, sleeping, and bathing) that are regulated by a particular set of procedures and manners. It is fallacious to imagine that anyone who represented the Zen tradition in the past, before it came into contact with Western culture, could have selectively rejected Buddhist observances that modern Europeans and Americans regard as —ritual” while embracing those that we deem —practice.”

The idea that Chan (Zen) masters in the Tang dynasty (618-906) were iconoclasts who literally rejected the conventional modes of merit-making, worship, morality, sutra study, and meditation that characterized the Buddhism of their day is a modern conceit, apologetic in nature, and grounded in a dubious reading of the historical evidence. The traditional biographies and records of Tang masters that come down to us from the Song (960-1279) and Yuan (1280-1368) dynasties (there are very few that actually date from the Tang) do contain many dialogues, couched in a colloquial style of Chinese, in which they employ apparently iconoclastic, antinomian, or sacrilegious sayings and gestures to instruct their disciples. At the time when this style of literature first appeared, however, the Chan monks who propagated it resided in mainstream Buddhist monasteries where they participated in the full range of daily, monthly, annual, and occasional observances of the sort still found in *Gyōji kihan*.

It is clear, therefore, that the rejection of conventional Buddhist practices attributed to the Tang masters was a rhetorical device that was never meant to be taken literally. It was, rather, an innovative way of teaching the Mahāyāna doctrine of emptiness (*kū* 空, S. *śūnyatā*), which holds that all appellations and conceptual constructs (including the names and theoretical underpinnings of all Buddhist practices) are ultimately devoid of any correspondence with really existing things, although on the plane of linguistic convention they may still be more or less valid and useful. The point of the rhetorical rejection of particular practices is not that monks should literally cease engaging in them, but rather that they should cease clinging to the imaginary categories and fond hopes that are conventionally used to motivate practitioners.

Let us consider, for example, a famous anecdote that appears in the traditional (Song period) biography of Chan master Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677-744):

During the Kaiyuan era [713-742] there was a monk named Daoyi (that is, the great teacher Mazu) who resided at the Chuanfa Cloister and spent every day sitting in *dhyāna* (C. *zuochan*, J. *zazen* 坐禪). The master [Huairang] knew that he was a vessel of the dharma, so he went to him and asked, —What do you intend to accomplish by sitting in *dhyāna*?” Daoyi replied, —Intend to make myself into a buddha.” The master picked up a tile and rubbed it on a stone in front of the hermitage. Daoyi inquired, —Master, what are you doing?” The master said, —I’m polishing it to make a mirror.” Daoyi said, —How could you ever get a mirror by polishing a tile?” [The master said], —How could sitting in *dhyāna* ever result in becoming a buddha?” Daoyi asked, —How is it done, then?” The master said, —It is like a man driving a cart that does not move: should he strike the cart to get it to go, or should he strike the ox?” Daoyi had no response.²³

Here we see a Chan master instructing his disciple, who was later to become the famous patriarch Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-788), by pretending to engage in an obviously impossible task: polishing a tile to make a mirror. One might read this, as a number of modern scholars have, as a literal rejection of the traditional Buddhist practice of seated meditation. Another way of interpreting it, however, is that Huairang did not criticize Mazu’s practice so much as his deluded attachment to the idea of buddhahood as something—an experience or state of being—that one might hope to attain through practice. To sit in meditation for the purpose of gaining awakening, he implies, is like —striking the cart.” To sit with the understanding that ultimately there is no such thing as awakening, that it is just a conventional designation, is to —strike the ox.” Most of the iconoclastic rhetoric for which Zen is famous amounts to the same thing: a warning not to cling to any concepts, even Buddhist ones, as ultimate truths. Huairang’s dialogue

with Mazu can also be interpreted as an expression of the doctrine of innate buddha nature (C. *foxing*, J. *busshō* 佛性), which is not something that can be produced or gained through practice. To reify that concept and conclude that since one is already a buddha one should give up practice, however, is also to –strike the cart.”

Throughout the history of the Chan school in China, from its emergence as the dominant trend within the Buddhist sangha in the Song down to the present, few within that school have ever interpreted the iconoclastic rhetoric attributed to the patriarchs as a call to literal inaction with regard to conventional Buddhist observances. There may have been a few scattered movements in Tang China, such as the Baotang school, that took the axiom of innate buddha-nature and the corollary of non-cultivation literally as guides to cultivation and thus abandoned Buddhist practices, but there is little hard evidence to prove that.²⁴ The Zen school in Japan, certainly, has never included many real (as opposed to merely rhetorical) iconoclasts. As explained above, the transmission of Zen to Japan in the Kamakura period was actually a replication in that country of the most conservative, statesanctioned monastic institutions of Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasty China. The Japanese Zen school is thus heir to a wide range of observances, most of which are generically Buddhist, not uniquely —Zen,” although they have often been regarded as such in Japan. More than any other branch of modern Japanese Buddhism, it preserves monastic procedures and rituals that can be traced all the way back to medieval Chinese adaptations of Vinaya materials that were originally translated from Indic languages.

It was only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that scholars associated with the Zen denominations in Japan began to advocate a literal reading of the iconoclastic rhetoric of the Chan masters of the Tang. They did so because they wished to defend Zen against the charge, leveled against Japanese Buddhism as a whole, that it was a backward and superstitious religion, antithetical to the scientific and cultural progress that the newly empowered Meiji oligarchs envisioned as they pushed the country to modernize and industrialize. Apologists such as D.T. Suzuki (Suzuki Daisetsu 鈴木大拙, 1870–1966) and Nukariya Kaiten 忽滑谷快天 (1867– 1934) were eager to cast Zen as an East Asian and particularly Japanese form of philosophy, psychology, aesthetics, or direct mystical experience— anything but a religion encumbered by unscientific beliefs and nonsensical rituals. It was difficult for them to deny that the Zen monasteries and temples of their day engaged in observances such as the feeding of hungry ghosts, offerings to ancestral spirits, and the generation of merit through sutra chanting, but they tried to portray those rituals as –excrescences” that had nothing to do with Zen in its pure form and as concessions made to lay patrons. They bolstered that case by arguing that in the –golden age” of the Tang masters such as Huairang and Mazu, Zen had originally been free from all the superstition and ritual that later, from the Song on, began to bog it down. Such arguments not only played well among elites in early twentieth-century Japan, they struck a sympathetic chord among a number of intellectuals in the West and even a few in China, each of whom had their own culturally and historically specific reasons to find it attractive. They are not consistent with the historical record, however, and are obviously at odds with the actual circumstances of the Zen schools in contemporary Japan. It is largely in the West that the false image of a Zen tradition inimical to Buddhist ritual has persisted down to the present day.

Endnotes:

⁴ Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., *Sōtōshū zensho: Shingi* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1973), 439–548. The full title of the text is: *Rules of Purity Handbook for Shōju Grove Daijō Nation-Protecting Zen Monastery* (*Shōjurin daijō gokoku zenji shingi shinanbo* 梶樹林大乘護國禪寺清規指南簿); also known as *Shōju Grove Rules of Purity* (*Shōjurin shingi* 梶樹林清規). Gesshū’s disciple, Manzan Dōhaku 円山道白 assisted to such a degree in the compilation that he should be considered a coauthor.

⁵ *Sōtōshū zensho: Shingi*, 29–207. The original full title of the text is *Summary of Procedures in Rules of Purity for Sōtō Sangha Halls* (*Tōjō sōdō shingi gyōhōshō* 洞上僧堂清規行法鈔). The colophon has the date 1741, so the text may have been completed then, but Menzan’s preface to its publication is dated 1753.

⁶ *Sōtōshū zensho: Shingi*, 331–416. The original full title is: *Small Rules of Purity for Kichijō Mountain Eihei Monastery* (*Kichijōzan eiheiji shōshingi* 吉祥山永平寺小清規).

⁷ T 82.319a–342b.

⁸ T 45.869a–874a; see ZGDJ 2:805b, s.v. *taitaikohō*.

⁹ ZZ 2–16–5; *Sōtōshū zensho, Shingi*, 867–934; *Kanazawa bunkoshi zensho, Zenseki hen*; for a critical edition and annotated Japanese translation, see Kagamishima Genryū, Satō Tetsugen and Kosaka Kiyū, eds. and trans., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1972). For an English translation see Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui*, Kuroda Institute, *Classics in East Asian Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).

¹⁰ For details of these practices, see Daniel Stevenson, –The Four Kinds of Samādhi in Early T’ien-t’ai Buddhism,” in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 45–97.

¹¹ *Butsudō*, in Ōkubo Dōshū, ed., *Dōgen zenji zenshū*, 2 vols., (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969, 1970), 1:376–379.

¹² T 82.423c-451c.

¹³ ZZ 2-16-5.486-506.

¹⁴ ZZ 2-1-1, 1a-28a.

¹⁵ ZZ 2-17-1, 28-74.

¹⁶ ZZ 2-17-1.71d-72b.

¹⁷ ZZ 2-16-5. For an English translation and analysis, see T. Griffith Foulk, “Daily Life in the Assembly,” in Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., *Buddhism in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 455-472. The text is also called *Chan Master Wuliang Shou’s Small Rules of Purity for Daily Life* (*Wuliang shou chanshi riyong xiaoqinggui* 無量壽禪師日用小清規), the title as cited in the *Revised Rules of Purity*, or simply *Rules of Purity for Daily Life* (*Riyong qinggui* 日用清規).

¹⁸ T 48.109c-160b.

¹⁹ ZGDJ 1050b-c

²⁰ T 82.766a-785c.

²¹ *Sōtōshū zensho: Shingi*, 209-330.

²² *Sōtōshū zensho: Shingi*, 815-836.

²³ T 51.240c19-24.

²⁴ Most of what we know about the Baotang school derives from the writings of an opponent and critic, the scholar monk Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780-841), who may have deliberately depicted them as reckless and antinomian.



The Founder's Hall at Sojiji

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— September 29 —

The pure body of the dharma realm [*jōhokkaishin* 淨法界身],
fundamentally, neither appears nor disappears;
the power of the vow [*ganriki* 願力] of great compassion [*daihi* 大悲]
manifests itself in present, past, and future [*genkorai* 現去來].

We humbly beg your true compassion [*shinji* 真慈] and illumination [*shōkan* 照鑑].

<Name>, Monk [*biku* 比丘]/Nun [*bikuni* 比丘尼], Abbot of <Mountain Name [*nansan* 何山]>, <Monastery Name [*nanji* 何寺]> in <Name> District/City/Town/Village, <Name> Prefecture, Nation of Japan [*Nippon koku* 日本国], who is a dharma grandchild [*hōson* 法孫].

On this day of this month, we have humbly arrived at the time [*shin* 辰] of the Eminent Ancestor [*kōso* 高祖] Jōyō Daishi's 承陽大師 [Dōgen's] and the Great Ancestor [*taiso* 太祖] Jōsai Daishi's 常濟大師 [Keizan's] great final nirvana [*daihatsunehan* 大般涅槃].

Having carefully provided modest offerings [*bikū* 微供] of incense, flowers, lamps, candles [*kōgetōshoku* 香華燈燭], mountain vegetables and wild tea leaves [*sanso yamei* 山蔬野茗]; especially assembled the dharma grandchildren [*hōson* 法孫] who are present here [*genzen* 現前]; and respectfully chanted [*fūju* 諷誦] sutras and dharanis [*kyōshu* 經呪] before the mortuary portraits [*shinzen* 真前]; we give up the excellent merit [*shukun* 殊勳] accumulated thereby to repay their compassionate blessings [*jion* 慈恩].

The preceding is humbly considered [*ufūi* 右伏以].

Crossing over ten thousand leagues [*banri* 万里] of billowing waves [*hattō* 波濤] and returning home empty-handed [*kūshu genkyō* 空手還鄉], from far away [Dōgen] planted the extraordinary seedling [*ibyō* 異苗] of Tiantong [Rujing] on these exquisitely craggy shores [*reirō ganban* 玲瓏巖畔].

Receiving the bowl [*uhatsu* 盂鉢] in the fourth generation, [Keizan] ate the meal with his entire body [*tsūshin kippan* 通身喫飯] and transplanted Eihei's [Dōgen's] spiritual tree [*reiboku* 靈木] to the Hourglass Drum Woods [*Kakkobayashi* 羯鼓林].

Thereby,

At this training center for future abbots [*shusse dōjō* 出世道場], foremost in the realm [*tenka* 天下], the virtues of the old buddhas [*kobutsu* 古仏] have long been reverently praised [*sangō* 讚迎]. In this Zen monastery [*zen'en* 禪苑], peerless [*musō* 無双] in Japan [*Nichiiki* 日域], the blessings [*on* 恩] of the two ancestors [*ryōso* 兩祖] are always recompensed [*hōtō* 報答].

We truly know [*jōchi* 誠知]:

The True Dharma Eye Collection [*Genzō* 眼藏], that extraordinary composition [*ihen* 異篇], has promoted [*kōki* 興起] the soft and subtle [*menmitsu* 綿密] way of our [Sōtō] ancestors [*sodō* 祖道]. The Record of the Transmission of the Light [*Denkō* 伝光], that marvelous record [*hiroku* 秘録], proclaims and spreads [*senyō* 宣揚] their open-minded [*kattatsu* 豁達] style of Zen [*zenpū* 禪風].

Already there are ninety-some chapters of marvelous text [*myōden* 妙典]; how could there not be fifty-two generations of dharma lamps [*hōtō* 法燈]?

The water of the streams of Etsu [*etsukei* 越溪] flows into Crane Bay [*kakuwan* 鶴灣], widely benefiting the triple world [*sangai* 三界]. The clouds of Kippō Peak [*kippō* 吉峰] [Eihei] circulate around Shogaku Mountain [*Shogaku* 諸嶽] [Sōjiji], broadly blanketing all nations [*banō* 万邦].

We humbly pray [*gyōsho* 仰庶] that the sun and moon shall hang together [*nichigatsu narabekakeru* 日月双懸], shining their radiance [*kōmyō* 光明] on all 14,000 temples of our school [*monsetsu* 門刹]; and that father and son [*fūshi* 父子] shall be intimate [*shinmitsu* 親密], extending their compassion [*jihi* 慈悲] to trillions of humans and devas [*ninden* 人天] in the ten directions [*jippō* 十方].

Humbly Stated [*kinsho* 謹疏].

The luminous mirror [*heikan* 炳鑑] of the two ancestors [*ryōso* 兩祖] is compassionate [*jihi* 慈悲] in appearance [*yōnō* 容能].

Humbly stated [*kinsho* 謹疏] on this <day> of <month> of <year>, by <Name>, Monk [*biku* 比丘]/Nun [*bikuni* 比丘尼], Abbot of <Mountain Name [*nansan* 何山]>, <Monastery Name [*nanji* 何寺]>, who is a dharma grandchild [*hōson* 法孫].