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Dōgen, Zen Master, Zen Disciple: Transmitter or Transgressor?

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East Asian training methods generally emphasize that in order to succeed as an appropriator of a particular line of teaching, a disciple should be able to equal or to surpass his mentor, who must be magnanimous enough to acknowledge and encourage the value of the comeuppance that is often demonstrated in a dramatic or even combative way.¹ Chan/Zen Buddhism is a tradition particularly known for transmitting lineages whereby an advanced current disciple, who is an imminent or soon-to-be-realized master, at once pays obeisance to and severely criticizes the patriarch, often through an exchange of ironic insults or physical blows, and receives disingenuously faint praise in response. The locus classicus for this trope is found in the legends of successive generations of Tang dynasty Hongzhou school leaders, including the transmission from the patriarch Mazu to his foremost disciple Baizhang, whose ears are screamed in and nose tweaked by the teacher; from Baizhang to Huangbo, who slaps his mentor and is called a “red-bearded barbarian,” thus evoking Bodhidharma, as a form of admiration; and finally from Huangbo to Linji, the founder of the Linji (J. Rinzai) school who is both the striker and the one being struck in their complex, dynamic set of edifying interactions.²

Although the formative stage of Chan puts an emphasis on demonstrative displays and rather outrageous histrionics, in other

examples of training traditions in East Asia as well as later stages of Zen, the act of going beyond one's mentor is demonstrated in a subtle, purely rhetorical fashion. For example, in the early medieval Japanese poetic technique of *honkadori* (allusive variation), a junior poet makes a seemingly minor but very significant alteration in alluding to the verse of his mentor or another senior author.³ This technique does not involve a mere passing reference to an older poem but extensively quotes passages from the precedent piece to the point of what might be considered plagiarism in the West for several reasons: it features the poet's knowledge and skill in citing the corpus; evokes the atmosphere of the earlier example while infusing it with contemporary meaning; and helps move the imaginative interaction between creative minds to a higher stage of understanding with a minimum of revision.⁴

A sense of the power of rhetoric based on purposeful understatement in highlighting yet somehow distancing from or breaking with a predecessor also is prevalent in Chan discourse. This is evident in an anecdote cited in Dōgen's "Gyōji" fascicle, which is a transmission of the lamp-style essay recounting the patriarchs of the Chan lineage. According to this passage, Yuanzhi delivers an unconventional eulogy by casually summing up his relationship with his senior colleague, Guishan, a disciple of Baizhang who helped Yuanzhi oversee a temple, "I lived on Guishan's mountain for thirty years, eating Guishan meals and shitting Guishan shit. But I did not learn the way of Guishan. All I did was take care of a castrated water buffalo."⁵ Of these remarks featuring the mentor's disingenuous self-deprecation filled with ironic praise for the senior partner, Dōgen comments that the junior's training was characterized by "twenty years of sustained practice (*gyōji*)."

The rest of this chapter examines the various ways Dōgen's image and sense of self-identity are formed by his twofold approach to his predecessors, particularly Rujing, which epitomizes the tradition by transgressing it in encompassing attitudes of either admiration/emulation or rejection/ridicule. I situate Dōgen's citations of Caodong school patriarchs Hongzhi and Rujing in the context of the full range of Chan masters he also deals with in his works, and focus on how he cites as well as why he praises or refutes their teachings in terms of what this indicates about his view of transmission. The seemingly contradictory nature of Dōgen's discourse appears to indicate that his view toward sectarian issues was complex and perhaps not fully resolved as he tried to find his way in establishing a new movement in Japan by transmitting Chinese Chan amid the ever-shifting and highly competitive religious environment of the early Kamakura era.

Caodong School and Early Chan Masters

Table 5.1 shows that Dōgen cites his Chinese mentor Rujing (J. Nyojō) and Hongzhi (J. Wanshi), the eminent patriarch at Mount Tiantong (J. Tendō), who was the two-generation predecessor or “grandfather of Rujing,” far more extensively than other Chan figures; he did this in order to establish a sense of lineal affiliation with a particular Chinese stream for the sake of expanding his movement in Japan. However, the citations of the Song Caodong (J. Sōtō) school masters must be seen in the context of his extensive citing of Linji school masters primarily from the Tang dynasty. The next main figure dealt with by Dōgen is Zhaozhou, who is featured in innumerable kōan cases, and this referencing occurs with greater frequency than citations of Dongshan. This highlights one of the important aspects of Dōgen’s writing: the major role it played in introducing and disseminating Chan literary sources to Japanese monks without bias.

The key point is that Linji school citations, which are cast in a positive, pansectarian vein, are primarily from the period before Dōgen’s move to Echizen and the founding of Eiheiji Temple. During this early phase of his career, he does not deal very much with either Rujing or Hongzhi, surprisingly enough, but during the transitional stage he becomes at times excessively negative regarding the Linji school as he begins to develop a sectarian focus on Caodong patriarchs. Beginning with the Echizen period, especially in the *Eihei kōroku*, a pattern emerges whereby Dōgen cites eminent masters from both the Linji and Caodong schools in his vernacular and Chinese-style sermons, yet is also willing to challenge, revise, and rewrite their sayings to express his own understanding and appropriation of Buddhist teaching. Dōgen clearly relishes his role as a critical commentator and revisionist of leading Chinese masters. A common refrain in many of the sermons is, “Other patriarchs have said it that

TABLE 5.1. Dōgen’s Most Frequently Cited Chinese Chan Masters

Master	No. citations	Master	No. citations	Master	No. citations
Rujing	74*	Xuansha	12	Yueshan	10
Hongzhi	45	Dongshan	12	Fayan	9
Zhaozhou	33	Yuanwu	12	Huanglong	9
Sakyamuni**	17	Mazu	11	Huangbo	9
Baizhang	13	Xuefeng	10	Bodhidharma	8
Yunmen	13	Guishan	10	Linji	8
Huineng	12	Nanchuan	10		

Source: Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen zenji to in'yō kyōten-goroku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Mokujisha, 1985).

*Excludes allusions only, memorials, and *Hōkyōki*

**Indian Buddha

way, but I [Eihei] say it this way. . . .” Part of his theme is that with the possible exception of Rujing, nearly all the teachers and followers he met during his travels in China were disappointing in that they lacked some essential element of authenticity in the pursuit of the Dharma.

Once the move to Echizen is completed and he is fully ensconced in Eihei-ji, Dōgen turns increasingly to Hongzhi and Rujing as models for Chinese (or, more accurately, Sino-Japanese, since it is a hybrid grammatical form) *kanbun* sermons contained in the *Eihei kōroku*, while continuing his criticism of the Linji school and also remaining willing to critique the Caodong patriarchs, when appropriate, in what can be referred to as a “trans-sectarian” fashion. This means that his approach cuts across lines of sectarian division as part of an ongoing quest for personal integrity, authenticity, and autonomy. In accord with the style of transmission-as-transgression, for Dōgen individuality is more highly prized than blind devotion or loyalty to the lineage.

Rather than relying on physical slaps or blasphemous taunts, Dōgen’s literary works epitomize the process of using language indirectly yet forcefully in vernacular sermons as an effective rhetorical means for challenging and going beyond his illustrious predecessors, whom he also admires and praises for their positive influence on developing his thought and practice. Throughout his writings, especially in the Japanese vernacular (*kana*) sermons of the *Shōbōgenzō* that was primarily composed in the late 1230s and early 1240s, Dōgen dutifully cites several dozen Chinese Chan masters whose works he had first studied while visiting China and training at Mount Tiantong (J. Tendō) a decade before. While dependent on their insight and creativity, he almost always deviates from their interpretations in order to establish his individual perspective, and often quite adamantly criticizes their views or attitudes. He is even so scathing in some of his comments that, according to one theory of interpretation, a different version of the *Shōbōgenzō* was created in order to eliminate some of the fascicles that contained offensive language. From the standpoint of this theory, either Dōgen himself or one of his early followers was aware of the partisan, sectarian tone of some of his criticisms and decided to delete passages from the standard 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* by creating an alternative 60-fascicle text.

The existence of the 60-fascicle version, which was strongly supported by the Tokugawa-era Sōtō scholastic Tenkei Denson, may indicate that there was awareness early in the tradition of Dōgen’s sometimes excessive rhetoric and harsh polemical elements, as well as the need to evaluate the founder’s real intentions about the formation of the *Shōbōgenzō*. Although the origins of the 60-fascicle edition remain obscure, perhaps the act of deletion was done deliberately by Dōgen’s collaboration with Ejō in order to create a perfected text

during his lifetime, or by later generations of interpreters who retrospectively sought to sanitize his writings, such as Giun, a fourteenth-century Sōtō patriarch and fifth-generation abbot of Eihei-ji.⁶

According to table 5.2, eleven fascicles from the 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* that are not included in the 60-fascicle edition contain sharp criticism of rival streams, especially those stemming from the Linji school.⁷ Most of the fascicles deleted from the 60-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* were composed in the early 1240s, when Dōgen was in the process of making a transition from Kōshōji Temple in Kyoto to Eihei-ji Temple in the Echizen Mountains. He was trying to establish his sectarian identity in light of pressures from the Japanese government and contests or conflicts with the Tendai sect and other emerging religious movements, in connection with the teachings of Rujing and the Caodong school more generally.

Of the eleven deleted fascicles, nine were composed during the first three-quarters of a year after Dōgen's move to Echizen province in the summer of 1243. Just before this phase, as he was struggling to move his monastery and to hold together and possibly expand a small but intense band of followers, he received a copy in 1242 of the recorded sayings (C. *yulu*, J. *goroku*) of Rujing that was sent from China, and also began to focus on delivering sermons in *kanbun* rather than the vernacular sermons of the *Shōbōgenzō*. While supporting the axis of Caodong masters, including founder Dongshan and Hongzhi as

TABLE 5.2. Eleven Fascicles Not Included in the 60-*Shōbōgenzō*

Fascicle	Target of Criticism (or Praise)
Shinfukatoku	Deshan
Sansuikyō	Yunmen
*Sesshin sesshō	Linji and Dahui (praises Dongshan)
*Shohō jissō	Three Teachings are One, Laozi and Zhuangzi (praises Rujing and also Yuanwu)
*Butsudō	Five Schools of Zen Sect, Linji, Deshan, Chizong and <i>Rentien yamu</i> (praises Shitou, Dongshan and Rujing)
*Mitsugo	Linji and Deshan (praises Xuetou, Rujing's predecessor)
*Bukkyō (Buddhist Sutras)	Linji and Yunmen, Dongshan (four thoughts and four relations, three phrases, three paths and five relative positions, Confucius and Laozi briefly) (praises Sakyamuni and Rujing)
*Menju	Yunmen lineage; in an appendix, two lesser-known monks, Chengge and Fuguo Weibai (praises Dongshan and Rujing)
*Sanjōshichihon bodaibunpō	Zaike (Lay) and Shukke (Monk) are One, "Zen sect"
*Daishugyō	Linji and Deshan
*Jishō zanmai	Dahui

Note: These fascicles contain direct fundamental criticism of Zen masters, schools, texts, and theories.

*Fascicles composed in 1243–1244 in Echizen province

representatives of authentic lineal transmission, Dōgen sharply attacks Hongzhi's Linji school rival, Dahui.⁸ However, just half a decade earlier, in *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 6.19, he said he admired Dahui's commitment to continuous, diligent practice of *zazen* while having hemorrhoids (the same scatological passage in which Dōgen notes that diarrhea prevented him from entering China when the ship first docked).⁹ Yet now he harshly criticizes the Song master, particularly in "Jishō zanmai," one of the fascicles excluded from the 60-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* that was written in Echizen in the winter of 1244.

Dōgen goes so far as to challenge the authenticity of the enlightenment experience of Dahui, which Miriam Levering shows in her chapter is a controversial and contested part of the biography of the Song dynasty Chan master who, he says, could not recognize the Dharma even in a dream. This was in large part because one of Dahui's lineage was associated with the monks who legitimated the transmission to Dainichi Nōnin, the founder of the controversial, proscribed Daruma school of early Japanese Zen who never traveled to the mainland but sent his disciples to be sanctioned by one of Dahui's followers, Deguang. Dōgen received several Daruma school monks into his community, including such prominent figures as Ejō, Gikai, and Giun, the second, third, and fifth patriarchs of Eiheiji, respectively. He further asserts that only those in the Dongshan lineage, including Rujing and Hongzhi, can have a genuine spiritual experience.

Table 5.3 indicates the masters associated with the Linji school who are severely criticized in the controversial fascicles, including Tang dynasty monks Linji, Yunmen, Deshan, and Guishan, in addition to Dahui's teacher, Yuanwu, author of the *Blue Cliff Record* (C. *Biyanlu*, J. *Hekiganroku*) *kōan* collection. At the same time, Dōgen's approach was not altogether one-sided, and there are many examples of his writings during this period when he evokes the life and teachings of a wide variety of Chan masters without regard to their lineal status and contrasts them with the deficiency of practitioners in Japan. For example, "Keiseisanshoku," which is included in the 60-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*, cites numerous Chinese masters from various streams who were notable for dwelling in mountain forests. Yet, even here, there is a sectarian edge to the writing. Dōgen describes how those who seek fame and fortune were labeled "pitiful" by Rujing, who probably borrowed this phrase from the *Suramgama Sutra*. He goes on to comment, "In this country of Japan, a remote corner of the ocean, people's minds are extremely dense. Since ancient times, no saint has ever been born here, nor anyone wise by nature."¹⁰ This fascicle also emphasizes the need for repentance as a means for overcoming spiritual deficiency. This may have been intended to send a message about the powerful impact of karmic retribution to monks converting to Dōgen's

TABLE 5.3. Fascicles with Criticism of Linji School

<i>Linji</i>	<i>Deshan</i>
Sokushin zebutsu	Sokushin zebutsu
Daigo	Shinfukatoku
Bukkōjōji	Bukkōjōji
Gyōji	Kattō
*Sesshin sesshō	*Butsudō
*Butsudō	*Mitsugo
*Bukkyō S	*Mujō seppō
*Mitsugo	*Daishugyō (12-SH)
*Mujō seppō	
*Kenbutsu	
*Daishugyō (12-SH) Kattō	<i>Yuanwu</i>
	Bukkōjōji
<i>Yunmen</i>	
Sansuikyō	* <i>Shunjū</i>
Kattō	Guishan

*Not included in 60-*Shōbōgenzō*

new movement from the Daruma school, which apparently disdained the precepts and monastic rules in the belief that all beings are originally endowed with the Buddha-nature.¹¹

In the sermons contained in the *Eihei kōroku*, Dōgen incorporates praise with criticism of Chan masters. He is especially critical of Zhaozhou, one of the patriarchs along with Hongzhi, to whom he refers as an “ancient master” (*kobutsu*), as in record nos. 1.140, 2. 154, 4.331, and 4.339. In the second of these examples, Dōgen appears to be defending the Chinese master in citing a passage from his recorded sayings against a critique proffered by a disciple, but concludes by overturning Zhaozhou’s standpoint:

Consider this: A monk asked Zhaozhou, “What is the path without mistakes?” Zhaozhou said, “Clarifying mind and seeing one’s own nature is the path without mistakes.” Later it was said, “Zhaozhou only expressed eighty or ninety percent. I am not like this. If someone asks, ‘What is the path without mistakes?’ I would tell him, ‘The inner gate of every house extends to Chang’an [the capital, literally, “long peace”].’”

The teacher [Dōgen] said: Although it was said thus, this is not worth considering. The old buddha Zhaozhou’s expression is correct. Do you want to know the clear mind of which Zhaozhou spoke? [Dōgen] cleared his throat, and then said, Just this is it. Do you want to know about the seeing into one’s own nature that Zhaozhou

mentioned? [Dōgen] laughed, then said, Just this is it. Although this is so, the old buddha Zhaozhou's eyes could behold east and west, and his mind abided south and north. If someone asked me [Daibutsu], "What is the path without mistakes?" I would say to him, Do not go anywhere else. Suppose someone asks, "Master, isn't this tuning the string by gluing the fret?" I would say to him, Do you fully understand tuning the string by gluing the fret?¹²

The phrase, "Do not go anywhere else" refers to appropriating enlightenment through concrete manifestations of phenomenal reality rather than conceptual abstractions, and "gluing the fret" suggests a misunderstanding of the function of spiritual experience decried by Dōgen.

In *Eihei kōroku* 3.207, Dōgen criticizes Yunmen and the whole notion of the autonomy of a "Zen school," which should not take priority over the universality of the Buddha Dharma:

[Dōgen] said: Practitioners of Zen should know wrong from right. It is said that after [the Ancestor] Upagupta, there were five sects of Buddha Dharma during its decline in India. After Qingyuan and Nanyue, people took it upon themselves to establish the various styles of the five houses, which was an error made in China. Moreover, in the time of the ancient buddhas and founding ancestors, it was not possible to see or hear the Buddha Dharma designated as the "Zen school," which has never actually existed. What is presently called the Zen school is not truly the Buddha Dharma.

I remember that a monk once asked Yunmen, "I heard an ancient said that although the [patriarch of the Ox Head School] expounded horizontally and vertically, he did not know the key to the workings of going beyond. What is that key to the workings of going beyond?" Yunmen said, "The eastern mountain and the western peak are green." If someone were to ask Eihei [Dōgen], "What is that key to the workings of going beyond?" I would simply reply to him, "Indra's nose is three feet long."¹³

Note that in Dōgen's rewriting of Yunmen's response, neither of their expressions directly addresses the question, although each has its merits as a reflection of Zen insight. Yet Dōgen seems to suggest that Yunmen's phrasing is deficient and that his own saying is on the mark, perhaps because it is at once more indirect and absurd yet concrete and down-to-earth.

It may seem that Dōgen is driven primarily by sectarian concerns to use a high-pitched and in some cases vituperative rhetoric against rival schools. Once

again, however, at times he is pansectarian in citing masters from all Chan schools, as well as nonsectarian in that he also denies the existence of an independent “Chan sect” altogether. In “Bukkyō” [Buddhist Sutras] he attacks “stupid, ignoramus skinbags” who either highlight Chan at the expense of basic Buddhism more generally or blur Buddhist doctrine as one of the “three teachings” along with Daoism and Confucianism.

Dōgen’s supposed sectarian-based outlook is tempered by an element of his approach which is particularly interesting, that is, the way he shows no reluctance in revising or even rejecting the Caodong school leaders. In some cases, Dōgen cites the source text nearly verbatim as a sign of reverence, but is quick to critique the Caodong sages, whom he feels have misread or misinterpreted a key notion or citation from the Chan classics. For example, in *Eihei kōroku* 4.296 delivered on the occasion of the winter solstice in 1248, Dōgen cites Hongzhi, as he had on several of these seasonal occasions, including nos. 2.135 and 3.206. Dōgen says, “‘My measuring cup is full and the balance scale is level,’ but in the marketplace I buy what is precious and sell it for a low price,” thereby reversing the statement in Hongzhi’s sermon, “Even if your measuring cup is full and the balance scale is level, in transactions I sell at a high price and buy when the price is low.”¹⁴ Perhaps Dōgen is demonstrating a bodhisattva-like generosity or showing the nondual nature of all phenomena that only appear to have different values.

Furthermore, Dōgen’s mentor Rujing is not immune to this revisionist treatment, as in *Eihei kōroku* 3.194:

[Dōgen] said, I remember a monk asked an ancient worthy, “Is there Buddha Dharma or not on a steep cliff in the deep mountains?” The worthy responded, “A large rock is large; a small one is small.” My late teacher Tiantong [Rujing] said, “The question about the steep cliff in the deep mountains was answered in terms of large and small rocks. The cliff collapsed, the rocks split, and the empty sky filled with a noisy clamor.”

The teacher [Dōgen] said, Although these two venerable masters said it this way, I [Eihei] have another utterance to convey. If someone were to ask, “Is there Buddha Dharma or not on a steep cliff in the deep mountains?” I would simply say to him, “The lifeless rocks nod their heads again and again. The empty sky vanishes completely. This is something that exists within the realm of the buddhas and patriarchs. What is this thing on a steep cliff in the deep mountains?” [Dōgen] pounded his staff one time, and descended from his seat.¹⁵

The phrase, “The lifeless rocks nod their heads again and again,” is a reference to Daosheng, Kumarajiva’s great disciple and early Chinese Buddhist scholar, who, on the basis of a passage in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* that all beings can become buddha, went to the mountain and preached the Dharma to the rocks, which nodded in response.¹⁶

The Influence Yet Critique of Hongzhi

A close look at volumes 2–4 of the *Eihei kōroku*, which contains *kanbun* sermons from the early years at Eihei-ji delivered in the mid- to late-1240s as edited by Ejō, shows that Dōgen asserts the primacy of the discursive style of the recorded sayings of Song predecessors, especially Hongzhi.¹⁷ He wages a campaign to identify himself with the Hongzhi-Rujing axis that occupied the abbacy in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries during the glory days of Mount Tiantong, one of the pillars of the Chan Five Mountains monastic institution, which was also directed intermittently by Linji school masters. This enables Dōgen to distinguish his lineage from rival Zen movements in Japan, and to support the rejection of Dahui because his lineage in China gave sanction to the fledgling Daruma school that was led by Dainichi Nōnin.

Unlike Rujing, who remained obscure in Chan/Zen discourse generally except for his connection to Dōgen, Hongzhi was widely recognized as one of the premier sermonizers and poets during the peak of the Caodong school, which had undergone a period of revival inspired by Furong Daokai (J. Fuyū Dōkai) two generations before. Whereas Rujing appears with great frequency in the *Shōbōgenzō*, as tables 5.4 and 5.5 show, Hongzhi’s role is quite prominent

TABLE 5.4. Classical Chan Texts Cited in the “Eihei kōroku”

Text	No. citations
1. Jingde chuandeng lu (J. Keitoku dentōroku)	68
2. Hongzhi lu (J. Wānshi roku)	43
3. Zongmen tongyao ji (J. Shūmon tōyōshū)	25
4. Zongmen liantong huiyao (J. Shūmon rentōeyō)	24
5. Rujing lu (J. Nyojo roku)	10
6. Jiatai pudeng lu (J. Katai futōroku)	7
7. Yuanwu lu/song gu (J. Engo roku/juko)	9
8. Tiansheng guangdeng lu (J. Tenshō kōtōroku)	9
9. Dahui lu (J. Daie roku)	2
10. Huangbo lu (J. Ōbaku roku)	2
11. Xu chuandeng lu (J. Zoku dentōroku)	2
Total	211

TABLE 5.5. Dōgen's Citations or Allusions to Hongzhi

<i>Eihei Kōroku Citations</i>	Other Examples	
Winter Solstice	EK 3.203, 1246 (full)	EK 5.418, 1250
EK 2.135, 1245	EK 3.246, 1247 (full)	EK 7.481, 1252
EK 3.206, 1246	EK 4.269, 1248 (full)	EK 7.494, 1252
EK 4.296, 1248	EK 7.498, 1252 (full)	EK 7.514, 1252
New Year		EK 8.s.13, 1240s
EK 2.142, 1246		EK 8.s.20, 1240s
EK 3.216, 1247	<i>Allusions Only</i>	EK 9.25, 1236
EK 4.303, 1249	EK 2.180, 1246	EK 9.88, 1236
5.5 Day	EK 3.186, 1246	
EK 3.242, 1247	EK 3.187, 1246	<i>Shōbōgenzō</i>
EK 4.261, 1248	EK 3.222, 1247	Gyōbutsuigi, 1241
EK 4.326, 1249	EK 3.223, 1237	Zazenshin, 1242
Bathing Buddha	EK 3.227, 1247	Gyōji, p. 1, 1242
EK 3.236, 1247	EK 4.264, 1248	Kobusshin, 1243
EK 3.256, 1248	EK 4.285, 1248	Shunjū, 1244
EK 4.320, 1249	EK 4.329, 1249	Ōsakusendaba, 1245
Summer Retreat	EK 4.337, 1249	Jinshin inga, 1253 ²
EK 3.257, 1248	EK 4.340, 1249	
EK 4.322, 1249	EK 4.341, 1249	<i>SBGZ Zuimonki</i>
EK 4.341, 1249	EK 4.344, 1249	
Mid-Autumn	EK 4.397, 1250	3.10, 1237
EK 4.344, 1249	EK 5.400, 1250	
	EK 5.403, 1250	<i>Bendōwa</i> (1231)

only in the *Eihei kōroku*.¹⁸ While Dōgen sees Rujing as a charismatic and inspirational teacher who deeply touched his life as well as that of other disciples, he admires Hongzhi, whom he never had a chance to meet, mainly for his ceremonial role. Particularly during 1245–1246, Dōgen frequently turns to Hongzhi as a model for ritual occasions at a time when he also begins to rely heavily on the standard Chan monastic rules text, the *Chanyuan Qinggui* (J. *Zen'en shingi*) of 1103. Dōgen cites Hongzhi three or four times on the occasion of the Buddha's birthday between 1246 and 1249. He also evokes Hongzhi on other occasions such as new year, opening the summer retreat, Boys' Festival, and other seasonal ceremonies. A major consequence of overlooking the *Eihei kōroku* in comparison to the *Shōbōgenzō*, as some scholars have done, is to neglect the importance of Hongzhi's influence, as he is cited over forty times. In *Eihei kōroku* 2.135 Dōgen cites Hongzhi in creating his sermon for the winter solstice, and in no. 2.142 he cites the Song master for the new year's sermon, while no. 2.148 alludes to the *Book of Serenity* case 5 (C. *Congronglu*, J. *Shōyōroku*) (also *Blue Cliff Record* case 30) and no. 2.170 alludes to the *Book of Serenity* case 69, among other examples.

It is clear that references to Hongzhi, which are primarily concerned with ritual occasions when the master's words serve as a model Dōgen emulates, yet sometimes revises reach a peak in the late 1240s and seem to fade just as those to Rujing begin picking up again in the early 1250s. The reliance on Hongzhi for the most part does not continue in the later sections (volumes 5–7) of the *Eihei kōroku* recorded by Gien, a former Daruma school monk who ten years after Dōgen's death took the text to China to have it certified at Mount Tiantong and returned with a controversial abbreviated version, the *Eihei goroku*. In fact, noted Dōgen scholar Ishii Shūdō finds that the main change in the *kanbun* sermons edited by Gien, which cover the final years at Eiheiiji, is that Dōgen is no longer as heavily influenced by Hongzhi's recorded sayings. There also seems to be a greater emphasis on karmic causality based largely on the citation of early Buddhist scriptures rather than Mahayana sutras or conventional Chan sources, but there is no significant alteration in ideology regarding *zazen* or *kōan* interpretation that is supposedly based on the teachings of Rujing.¹⁹

As mentioned, Dōgen's reverence does not prohibit Zen-style criticism of the masters he favors, although generally this criticism falls short of blasphemy. In citing Hongzhi, Dōgen rarely loses the opportunity to critique or one-up him. A main example is *Eihei kōroku* 2.135, delivered in the first year in Echizen when the temple later named Eiheiiji in 1246 was still known as Daibutsuji:

When the old buddha Hongzhi was residing at Mount Tiantong, during a winter solstice sermon he said, "Yin reaches its fullness and yang arises, as their power is exhausted conditions change. A green dragon runs away when his bones are exposed. A black panther looks different when it is covered in mist. Take the skulls of all the buddhas of the triple world and thread them onto a single rosary. Do not speak of bright heads and dark heads, as truly they are sun face, moon face. Even if your measuring cup is full and the balance scale is level, in transactions I sell at a high price and buy when the price is low. Zen worthies, do you understand this? In a bowl, the bright pearl rolls on its own without being pushed."

"Here is a story," [Hongzhi continued]. "Xuefeng asked a monk, 'Where are you going?' The monk said, 'I'm going to do my communal labor.' Xuefeng said, 'Go ahead.' Yunmen said [of this dialogue], 'Xuefeng judges people based on their words.'" Hongzhi said, "Do not make a move. If you move I'll give you thirty blows. Why is this so? Take a luminous jewel without any flaw, and if you carve a pattern on it its virtue is lost."

The teacher [Dōgen] then said: “Although these three venerable ones [Hongzhi, Xuefeng, Yunmen] spoke this way, I, old man Daibutsu, do not agree. Great assembly, listen carefully and consider this well. For a luminous jewel without flaw, if polished, its glow increases.” With his fly-whisk [Dōgen] drew a circle and said: “Look!” After a pause [Dōgen] said, “Although the plum blossoms are colorful in the freshly fallen snow, you must look into it further to understand the first arrival of yang [with the solstice].”²⁰

Here, Dōgen is indebted to Hongzhi’s original passage, which cites Mazu’s famous saying, “Sun face [or eternal] buddha, moon face [or temporal] Buddha,” as culled from the *Book of Serenity* case 36, and he also includes a saying about the bright pearl that appears in the fourth line of Hongzhi’s verse comment on this case. But Dōgen challenges all the masters. After making a dramatic, well-timed demonstration with the ceremonial fly-whisk as a symbol of authority, he evokes the image of plum blossoms in the snow to highlight the need for continually practicing *zazen* meditation. This is reinforced by his rewriting of the jewel metaphor to put an emphasis on the process of polishing.

To give another example, in *Eihei kōroku* 3.236 for “Bathing [the Baby] Buddha,” a celebration of the Buddha’s birthday in 1247, Dōgen tells that in a sermon delivered on the same occasion when Hongzhi was abbot at Mount Tiantong, he had cited an anecdote in which Yunmen performed the bathing ritual and had apologized to the Buddha for using “impure water.” However, Dōgen criticizes Hongzhi’s interpretation by suggesting:

Although the ancient buddha Hongzhi said it like this, how should I [Eihei] speak of the true meaning of the Buddha’s birthday? Casting off the body within the ten thousand forms, the conditions for his birth naturally arose. In a single form after manifesting as a human body, he discovered anew the path to enlightenment. What is the true meaning of our bathing the Buddha? After a pause [Dōgen] said, “Holding in our own hands the broken wooden ladle, we pour water on his head to bathe the body of the Tathagata.”²¹

Rujing as Chan Model

Although it serves as the centerpiece of the Sōtō sect’s transmission mythology, modern scholars have questioned Dōgen’s eulogizing of Rujing, who was generally not well known or highly regarded in the setting of Chinese monastic

life, especially compared to Hongzhi's illustrious reputation as a highly accomplished literary figure.²² But Dōgen considers his mentor an ideal Chan teacher, not so much for his feats as one of the literati as for combining spontaneous sermonizing at all times of the day, rather than only during regularly planned ritual occasions, with a deep sense of integrity in terms of adhering to codes of discipline and maintaining a rigorous disdain for any form of corruption. Rujing was committed to the sustained practice of *zazen* as the premier form of Buddhist training, and was also willing to acknowledge and support the dedication of young Dōgen, an outsider to the Chinese Buddhist system who had been poorly treated by the previous abbot at Mount Tiantong.²³

In *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation*, which overturns conventional theories about the dating of the *Fukanzazengi*, an important meditation manual long considered one of Dōgen's earliest writings composed in the year of his return to China in 1227, Carl Bielefeldt points out:

Not until the 1240s, well over a decade after his return from China and at the midpoint of his career as a teacher and author, does Dōgen begin to emphasize the uniqueness of Ju-ching [Rujing] and to attribute to him the attitudes and doctrines that set him apart from his contemporaries. Prior to this time, during the period when one would expect Dōgen to have been most under the influence of his Chinese mentor, we see but little of Ju-ching or, indeed, of some of those teachings now thought most characteristic of Dōgen's Zen.²⁴

This comment indicates that the emphasis on Rujing became intensified and reached fruition fully fifteen years after the trip to China, at the time of Dōgen's move to Echizen and the challenge of accepting erstwhile Daruma school followers.²⁵

In numerous *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles from the first several months after the move, when he and a small band of dedicated followers were holed up over the long first winter in a couple of temporary hermitages, Kippōji and Yoshiminedera, before settling into permanent quarters, Dōgen provides his followers with a strong sense of lineal affiliation by identifying with Rujing's branch. He claims this was the only authentic Chan school. The high estimation of Rujing expressed during the "midpoint of his career" was not apparent in Dōgen's writings before this juncture. While praising and elevating the status of his mentor, Dōgen also embarks on a devastating critique of rival schools, which he referred to as "filthy rags" and "dirty dogs" that defame the Buddha Dharma.

Dōgen notes receiving Rujing's recorded sayings (C. *Rujing yulu*, J. *Nyōjō goroku*) on 8.6.1242 in *Eihei kōroku* 1.105.²⁶ But the first indication of renewed interest was in *Shōbōgenzō* "Gyōji" (part 2), which was written several months

earlier and contains four citations as part of a lengthy discussion of Rujing, which comes at the end of a survey of the biographies of monks who represent the pinnacle of Chan practice.²⁷ Although there were some references to Rujing in writings dating back to the early 1230s, the full acknowledgment and celebration—or possibly idealization and exaggeration—of the mentor come at this time. The citation of Rujing's attack on Dahui follower Deguang seems to highlight the contrast between Rujing's brand of rigorous monasticism and the antinomianism that typified the Daruma school's rejection of the precepts. The list in table 5.6 shows that, apart from "Gyōji" (part 2), which was a year or so earlier, all the *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles containing multiple references to Rujing stem from the period of the move to Echizen.

As seen in table 5.7, reliance on allusions to Rujing expressed in *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles from the 1240s continued to proliferate throughout the later stages of Dōgen's career in *Eihei kōroku* sermons from the 1250s. Note that memorials for Rujing were not begun until 1246, but were then continued for seven years until the end of Dōgen's career, when illness forced him to stop preaching. Generally, these are brief and cryptic.²⁸ In *Eihei kōroku* 2.184 from 1246, for example, Dōgen expresses self-deprecation in celebrating Rujing's wisdom: "When I entered China, I studied walking like someone from Handan. I worked very hard carrying water and hauling firewood. Do not say that my late teacher deceived his disciple. Rather, Tiantong [Rujing] was deceived by Dōgen."²⁹

The abundance of citations of Rujing at certain periods—and their lack at other times—suggests a delayed reaction and retrospective quality. As demonstrated by recent Japanese scholarship, Dōgen's citations and evocations of Rujing are at times at variance with the recorded sayings, even though Tokugawa-era Sōtō scholar/monks heavily edited this text precisely in order to prove such a consistency.³⁰ This raises basic questions about Dōgen's portrayal of his mentor and use of other Chan sources, as well as why his approach seemed to have changed despite claims of unwavering continuity by the sectarian tradition. On the other hand, more frequently than one might suppose,

TABLE 5.6. *Shōbōgenzō* Fascicles Citing Rujing Multiple Times

Date	Fascicle	Place	No. Citations
1243.9.16	Butsudō	Kippōji	2
1243.9	Bukkyō	Kippōji	2
1243.9	Shohō jissō	Kippōji	2
1243.11.6	Baika	Kippōji	8
1243.12.17	Ganzei	Yamashibudera	7
1243.12.17	Kajō	Yamashibudera	5
1244.2.12	Udonge	Kippōji	2

TABLE 5.7. Dōgen's Citations or Allusions to Rujing

<i>Shōbōgenzō</i>	Shōbōgenzō zuimonki, 1236	EK 3.194, 1246
Makahannyaharamitsu, 1233-1	Senmen, 1239	EK 4.318, 1249
Senjō, 1239-1	Busso, 1241	*EK 4.319, 1249
Shisho, 1241-1	Busshō, 1241	EK 5.379, 1250
Kankin, 1241-1	Zazenshin, 1242	*EK 5.390, 1250
Gyōji 2, 1242-4	Darani, 1243	*EK 5.406, 1250
Gabyō, 1242-1	Menju, 1243	EK 6.424, 1251
Kobusshin, 1243-1	Jippō, 1243	EK 6.432, 1251
Kattō, 1243-1	Zanmai ōzanmai, 1244	EK 6.437, 1951
After Move to Echizen	Others	EK 6.438, 1951
*Butsudō, 1243-2	Tenzokyōkun, 1234-2	EK 6. 469, 1951
*Shohō jissō, 1243-2	Chiji shingi, 1246-1	EK 9.86, 1235
*Bukkyō (S), 1243-2	*Shuryō shingi, 1249-1	EK 7.502, 1252
*Mujō seppō, 1243-1		*EK 7.503, 1252
*Kenbutsu, 1243-1	<i>Eihei Kōroku</i>	*EK 7.522, 1252
Baika, 1243-8	Memorials	EK 7. 530, 1252
Hensan, 1243-1	EK 2.184, 1246	EK 10.80 (3)
Ganzei, 1243-7	EK 3.249, 1247	EK 10.84
Kajō, 1243-5	EK 4.274, 1248	References
Udonge, 1244-2	EK 4.342, 1249	EK 1.48, 1236
Tenbōrin, 1244-1	EK 5.384, 1250	EK 1.105, 1241
Ho-u, 1245-1	EK 4.276, 1251	EK 1.118, 1241
Ango, 1245-1	EK 7.515, 1252	EK 2.128, 1245
Ōsaku sendaba, 1245-2	Citations	EK 2.148, 1245
Kokū, 1245-1	EK 2. 147, 1246	
References/Allusions Only	EK 2.179, 1246	
Bendōwa, 1231		

*Passage not in Rujing's record, C. *Rujing yulu*, J. *Nyōjō goroku*

an evocation of Rujing's authority is not far removed from critique and revision of the master.

Rujing the Master and Dōgen the Transmitter

There are several main aspects of Rujing's influence on Dōgen. Perhaps the best known example of master-disciple interaction is the transformational experience of *shinjin datsuraku*, or casting off body-mind, as depicted in the sect's two main biographies, the *Kenzeiki* and the *Denkōroku*. Dōgen's enlightenment was triggered by the strict manner of training, whereby Rujing insisted on the total commitment and dedication of disciples to the practice of meditation. The moment of *shinjin datsuraku* occurred when the monk sitting next to Dōgen was scolded by Rujing for dozing off while doing *zazen* during a *sesshin*

held as part of the summer retreat, although according to a theory it may have transpired earlier than this as a kind of “satori at first sight” when the master and disciple first met.

The importance of the doctrine of *shinjin datsuraku* is referred to in a passage that appears in *Hōkyōki* as well as other texts (with minor variations), including *Bendōwa*, “Gyōji,” and several passages in the *Eihei kōroku*. According to Rujing, who confirmed Dōgen’s personal insight during a private meeting in his quarters, “To study Zen under a master is to cast off body-mind through single-minded sitting meditation, without the need for burning incense, worshiping, reciting the *nembutsu*, practicing repentance, or reading sutras. . . . To cast off body-mind is to practice sitting meditation (*zazen*). When practicing single-minded sitting meditation, the five desires will be set aside and the five defilements will be removed.”³¹

There has long been a debate about whether Dōgen heard Rujing correctly or modified his phrasing deliberately. Rujing and other Chan masters of the time were not known to utter the words “casting off body-mind” but did occasionally use a similar locution, “casting off the dust from the mind,” or “casting off mental objects or impression,” which might imply a subject-object dualism in that the pure mind is defiled and must be freed from contaminated objects. The two expressions sound alike (they are identical in Japanese pronunciation, *shinjin*, and have a slight variance in Chinese, in which “body-mind” is *shenxin* and “dust from the mind” is *xinchen*), but may have a subtly different connotation that depends on the meaning of body in this context as something either separate from or integrated with mind. In other words, does “body” essentially refer to the same as “dust,” or is there a different implication, perhaps influenced by Kūkai or other Japanese notions of affirming this-worldly reality as the locus for realizing enlightenment? To Dōgen’s ear as a nonnative speaker of Chinese, it may have been easy for him to get the phrases confused. It is also plausible that he had what can be called a creative misunderstanding or sought deliberately to modify and revise Rujing’s utterance in order to free it from dualistic overtones. This could well be a part of Dōgen’s tendency to evoke and rely on the authority of Rujing and also to distance himself and proclaim his autonomy.

Perhaps an even more important influence than the specific occasion of his personal breakthrough in shaping Dōgen’s overall religiosity is his sense of awe at Rujing’s teaching style. Of the compositions from the early 1240s, the “Baika” and “Ganzei” fascicles consist almost entirely of commentary on Rujing’s teachings. “Baika,” a sermon delivered on 11.6.1243 during the year of Dōgen’s move to Echizen when he was still struggling with the transition, evokes lyrical imagery as a symbol for enlightenment. It is dedicated to remembrances

and citations of the sayings of the mentor, who apparently spoke frequently about the symbolism of the plum tree, whose fragrant blossoms appearing at the end of the winter season are a harbinger of spring, and, thus, spiritual renewal. According to the colophon, three feet of snow fell that day, and we can only imagine that Dōgen was perhaps a bit despondent and seeking out sources of inspiration.³² In addition to reflecting on the natural image, Dōgen recalls his feelings during the time of his studies in China when he realized how fortunate he was as a foreign novice, since not many native Chinese had the ability or opportunity to take advantage of their contact with such an eminent teacher:

In sending the [monks] away, [Rujing] said, "If they are lacking in the essentials, what can they do? Dogs like that only disturb others and cannot be permitted to stay in the monastery." Having seen this with my own eyes and heard it with my own ears, I thought to myself: Being natives of this country, what sin or crime must they have committed in a past life that prevents them from staying among us? What lucky star was I born under that, although a native of a remote foreign country, I was not only accepted in the monastery, but allowed to come and go freely in the abbot's room, to bow down before the living master and hear his discourse on the Dharma? Although I was foolish and ignorant, I did not take this superb opportunity in vain. When my late teacher was holding forth in Song China, there were those who had the chance to study with him and those who did not. Now that my late teacher, the old master, is gone, it is gloomier than a moonless night in Song China. Why? Because never before or since has there been an old master like my late teacher was an old master.³³

Dōgen appreciates the qualities of openness and flexibility that afforded him a unique avenue for accessibility to the abbot. In *Hōkyōki*, a record of Dōgen's conversations with Rujing that was discovered posthumously and whose authenticity has since been questioned by modern scholars, he reports that Rujing invited him to come to the abbot's quarters on demand and without reservation, which would have been a rare privilege, indeed. According to a passage in the *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*, Rujing offered Dōgen the slot of head monk, but he declined in deference to native seekers.

Part of the image of Rujing that emerges in the writings of the transitional period is that of a master who breaks out of the mold of a formal monastic setting to deliver dynamic, spontaneous sermons. Dōgen considers Rujing's approach uniquely compelling for the charismatic appeal and sincere authenticity he projected. Unlike many Chan masters who stuck to regulations and

schedules, even for informal sermons, Rujing was inspired to preach in different places of the temple compound at odd times of the day, including late hours. He gave lectures not only in the Dharma Hall on a fixed schedule but also at any time of day or night when the inspiration struck.

Shōbōgenzō “Shohō jissō” was presented by Dōgen in 1243, after “eighteen years had swiftly passed” since a remarkable occasion of mystical exaltation during the fourth watch of the night in the third month of 1226.³⁴ At that time, Rujing gave a midnight sermon in the abbot’s quarters, when Dōgen heard the drum beating, with signs hung around the temple announcing the event. Monks were burning incense and waiting anxiously to hear, “You may enter [the abbot’s room].” The sermon concluded with the saying, “A cuckoo sings, and a mountain-bamboo splits in two.”³⁵ Dōgen says that this was a unique method of intense, personal training not practiced in other temple districts. In several other passages in the *Shōbōgenzō* and *Eihei kōroku*, Dōgen describes the excitement and thrill of studying with someone of Rujing’s stature who attracted followers from all over China. In addition to Dōgen, Rujing invited other disciples to approach his quarters at various times when he or they felt the need for instruction. Therefore, Rujing demonstrated supreme discipline along with ingenious innovation. It is interesting to note that the *Shōbōgenzō* fascicle “Kōmyō” from the sixth month of 1242 was delivered at two o’clock in the morning, as Dōgen proudly declares in the colophon, while the monks listened attentively as a heavy storm poured down during the rainy season.³⁶

There are several important passages in the *Eihei kōroku* that express Dōgen’s view of the powerful and popular method of delivering *kanbun* sermons based on Rujing’s model. A prominent example is the second passage in the second volume, *Eihei kōroku* 2.128 from 1245, which reveals Dōgen working through the complex stages of transition from informal vernacular to formal Chinese lectures and thus provides a good indication of why the *kana* style of the *Shōbōgenzō* was being phased out.³⁷ The passage is especially interesting, not because it repudiates *kana* in favor of *kanbun* sermons, but because it highlights the significance of lecturing in general as the key function of a monastic community. It explains Dōgen’s admiration for Rujing, who was skillful at delivering several styles of informal lectures, including evening sermons (*bansan*), general discourses (*fusetsu*), and lectures for small groups (*shōsan*). Technically, no. 2.128, although in *kanbun*, is different from the customary style of Chinese sermon because it was delivered in the evening, the typical time for informal lectures; it is one of a handful of evening sermons that appear at the beginning of the second volume of the *Eihei kōroku*, that is, in the earliest phase of the Echizen period.

Dōgen begins no. 2.128 by recalling how master Ciming Quyuan, in discussing the meaning of the size of monasteries, cautioned his followers not to equate quantity of followers or the number of monks in attendance with the magnitude of the temple. According to Ciming, a temple with many monks who lack determination is actually considered small, while a temple with a few monks of great dedication is quite large. This part of the passage could be seen as reflecting a defensive posture; perhaps Dōgen was explaining why he was not attracting many followers. However, that suspicion is undercut by the preface to the second volume as well as the excerpt from the sermon, which makes it clear that this is a statement about the need for selectively identifying quality disciples.

Dōgen next contrasts several Tang masters, all of Linji lineages, it turns out, who preached worthy evening sermons to fewer than twenty monks, with unnamed contemporary leaders who preach meaningless words before hundreds of followers. He then expresses regret that “for many years [in China] there were no evening sermons.” Since the golden age of Zen in the Tang, no one was capable of delivering a lecture with the same vigor until “Rujing came to the fore,” which represented “an opportunity that occurs once in a thousand years.” Recalling passages in *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 3.30 and *Shōbōgenzō* “Shohō jissō” about Rujing’s charismatic style of delivery, Dōgen praises his mentor as he had since *Bendōwa* from 1231. Here, Dōgen does not set himself up in opposition to other lineages, but displays a multibranched, pansectarian approach to Zen genealogy so that any trace of mean-spiritedness or bitterness, if it was ever there, is now faded.³⁸

Once again, the main feature of Rujing’s leadership that Dōgen admires is his ability to offer numerous spontaneous, off-the-cuff lectures at any time of day that the inspiration struck for an eager band of followers who must have shared in the excitement and charisma of the occasion:

Regardless of what the regulations in monastic rules manuals actually prescribed, at midnight, during the early evenings or at any time after the noonday meal, and generally without regard to the time, Rujing convened a talk. He either had someone beat the drum for entering the abbot’s quarters (*nyūshitsu*) to give an general discourse (*fusetsu*) or he had someone beat the drum for small group meetings (*shōsan*) and then for entering the abbot’s quarters. Or sometimes he himself hit the wooden clapper in the Monks Hall (*sōdō*) three times and gave an open talk in the Illuminated Hall (*shōdō*). After the open talk, the monks entered the Abbot’s Quarters (*hōjō*). At other times, he hit the wooden block hanging in front of the

head monk's quarters (*shuso*) and gave an open talk in that room. Again, following the open talk the monks entered the abbot's quarters. These were extraordinary, truly exceptional experiences!

Dōgen then declares, "As a disciple of Rujing, I [Daibutsu] am also conducting evening meetings that are taking place for the very first time in our country."³⁹ Dōgen describes the excitement that was so special in his Chan teacher's approach and also sets the standard for introducing various styles of sermons to Zen temples in Japan.

Dōgen goes on to cite a story in which Danxia from the Caodong lineage notes that Linji master Deshan, from whom the Yunmen and Fayen lineages were descended, said to his assembly, "There are no words or phrases in my school, and also not a single Dharma to give to people." He further comments, "He was endowed with only one single eye. . . . In my school there are words and phrases (*goku*). . . . The mysterious, profound, wondrous meaning is that the jade woman becomes pregnant in the night." According to Dōgen, however, "Although Danxia could say it like this. . . . In my school *there are only words and phrases* (*yui goku*)" (emphasis added), echoing the view of the unity of Zen and language that is expressed with a more sustained though partisan argumentation in the "Sansuikyō" fascicle. While Dōgen's statement certainly goes beyond Danxia's, it does not necessarily represent criticism and, indeed, Danxia's student Hongzhi is frequently quoted by Dōgen in the ensuing volumes of the *Eihei kōroku*. In fact, this phase marks the beginning of Dōgen's extensive reliance, which lasts for about three or four years, on Hongzhi's recorded sayings as well as the *Book of Serenity*, the kōan collection he helped to create. As we have seen, the pattern is to emulate Hongzhi's sermon almost to the point of plagiarism, yet conclude with a devastating albeit respectful critique—in a kind of pious irreverence—of him as well as Rujing and other predecessors.

Dōgen as Transgressor

The reverent tone of a dutiful follower that is so apparent in the *Hōkyōki*, which deals with Dōgen's days as a disciple sitting at the feet of the Chinese mentor, is not necessarily duplicated in the *Eihei kōroku*, where he subjects Rujing's interpretations of Chan kōans and other sayings to a process of revision and rewriting. In *Eihei kōroku* 2.179, Dōgen critiques five prominent figures, Sakyamuni and four Chinese Chan masters including Rujing, who respond to a statement of the Buddha in the *Surangama Sutra*, chapter nine, as also cited and discussed with the same conclusion in *Shōbōgenzō* "Tenbōrin":

[Dōgen] said, The World-Honored One said, “When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions disappears.” Teacher Wuzu of Mount Fayan said, “When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions crashes together resounding everywhere.” Zen Master Yuanwu of Mount Jiashan said, “When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space throughout the ten directions flowers are added on to a brocade.” Teacher Foxing Fatai said, “When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions is nothing other than all space in the ten directions.”

My late teacher Tiantong [Rujing] said, “Although the World-Honored One made the statement, ‘When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions disappears,’ this utterance cannot avoid becoming an extraordinary assessment. Tiantong is not like this. When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, a mendicant breaks his rice bowl.”

The teacher [Dōgen] said, The previous five venerable teachers said it like this, but I, Eihei, have a saying that is not like theirs. When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions opens up reality and returns to the source.⁴⁰

Another key example of Dōgen’s creative rewriting of Rujing’s words is *Eihei kōroku* 2.147, which displays some of the qualities of the *honkadōri* poetic technique in terms of how revisions are made based on extensive quoting of the original passage:

Dōgen held up his monk’s staff, pounded it once on the floor, and said: This is the staff of Daibutsu. Buddhas and lands as numerous as the sands of the Ganges River are all swallowed up in one gulp by this staff. All the living beings in these lands do not know and are not aware of it. All you people, where are your noses, eyes, spirits, and headtops? If you know where they are, within emptiness you can place the staff vertically or hold it horizontally. If you do not know, there is rice and gruel for you on the sitting platforms [in the meditation hall].

I remember that a monk asked Zen Master Baizhang Dazhi, “What is the most remarkable thing [in the world]?”⁴¹ Baizhang said, “It is sitting [or practicing *zazen*] alone atop Great Hero Peak [of

Mount Baizhang].”⁴² Moreover, my late teacher Tiantong [Rujing] said, “If someone asks the venerable monk Rujing, ‘What is the most remarkable thing [in the world]?’ I would simply reply to him, ‘What remarkable thing is there? Ultimately, what is it? I moved my bowls from Jingci temple to Tiantong and ate rice.’”⁴³

The source record evoked by the sermon, *Blue Cliff Record* case 26,⁴⁴ seems a bit surprising in its emphasis on meditation, as Baizhang is known primarily for his emphasis on rules expressed in the first (and probably apocryphal) Zen monastic code, the *Chanmen guishi* (J. *Zenmon kishiki*). This text stresses the role of the charismatic abbot’s sermons that are supposed to be held two times a day, before and after the midday meal, far more than the practice of *zazen*, which is left up to discretion of the disciple rather than being strictly confined by a uniform schedule.⁴⁵ When Rujing rewrites the response as, “It is just eating rice in a bowl at Jingci Temple on Mount Tiantong,”⁴⁶ he shifts the focus from *zazen* to everyday praxis and from Mount Baizhang to his own mountain temple.

Dōgen reflects on this case at least five times in his works. He cites Rujing’s revision approvingly in “Kajō” (1243), but in *Eihei kōroku* 2.147 from the same year as “Ho-u” (1245), he rewrites the concluding statement. In the context of discussing the value of wielding the Zen staff (*shujō*),⁴⁷ which metaphorically encompasses all aspects of reality, Dōgen cites Rujing’s response, but this time he says, “I would answer by raising high my staff at Daibutsuji temple in Japan,” and he then puts the staff down and steps off the dais.⁴⁸ Dōgen shows both a willingness to challenge his mentor and a ritual use of the staff as a means of proclaiming the legitimacy of his approach. Similarly, in *Eihei kōroku* 2.145, Dōgen refers to his lineage as “a diverse amalgamation . . . horns grow on the head, dragons and snakes mix together, and there are many horses and cows . . . they all discern the monk’s staff and complete the matter of a life-time.” To mention a few of the many other instances, in no. 2.150 he holds up the staff and pounds it on the floor saying, “Just this is it,” and in no. 2.168 he asks rhetorically, “Is there a dragon or elephant here who can come forth and meet with Daibutsu’s staff?”

An additional example of Dōgen’s approach to appropriating Rujing is found in *Eihei kōroku* 5.379, which is a sermon in supplication for clear skies delivered toward the end of his life on 6.10.1250.⁴⁹ In this sermon, Dōgen states that his intention is to invoke a clear sky, and says that “last year rain fell ceaselessly but now I wish for fine weather like my master at Mount Qingliang Temple [a temple where Rujing was abbot before serving at Mount Tiantong], who went to the Dharma Hall to wish for fine weather. When he did not go to the

Dharma Hall, the Buddhas and patriarchs did not go either. Today, I am in the Dharma Hall, just like my former teacher.”

Despite citing Rujing in this supernatural context, Dōgen concludes with an ironic, iconoclastic commentary by pausing, sneezing, and saying, “Once I sneeze, clouds break and the sun appears.” Then, he raises the fly-whisk and remarks, “Monks! Look at this. The cloudless sky swallows the eight directions.” Many other sermons express the power of the fly-whisk, a ceremonial object that symbolizes the authority of the Zen master derived from pre-Buddhist shamanistic purification devices as well as imperial scepters, to beat up a pack of wild foxes, turn into a dragon or snake, or perform other miraculous functions. An emphasis on ritualism in Dōgen’s late discourse is also seen in *Eihei kōroku* 5.388, which tells a story of repentance involving demons and celestial spirits.⁵⁰

Questioning Dōgen’s Portrayal of Rujing

I conclude by reflecting on various questions and areas of skeptical doubt that have been raised by modern scholarship regarding the accuracy of Dōgen’s portrayal of Rujing, which seems to be used primarily for sectarian purposes. Dōgen’s portrayal of Rujing is suspect in terms of accuracy and is problematic because of its connections to partisan rhetoric, and these factors perhaps form the roots of the 60-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* edition, which seems to represent an attempt to weed out of the text whole fascicles that may be considered unreliable or untenable. The image of Rujing presented by Dōgen as an idealistic, charismatic religious leader is somewhat contradicted by the fact that he is generally not regarded as one of the luminaries of the Song Chan school and was, in fact, given rather short shrift according to annals of the period.

It appears that the biggest and perhaps only real supporter of his illustrious status was Dōgen, and ironically, Mount Tiantong is best known today not so much for Rujing as for Dōgen’s admiration of him.⁵¹ Furthermore, it is questionable whether Dōgen’s enthusiasm for Rujing’s sermon style is warranted. Perhaps his emphasis on the extraordinary informal method of Rujing’s sermonizing is due to his acknowledgment that his mentor’s recorded discourse was rather pedestrian and not as stellar as that of better-known Chinese masters, and so he wants to stress that the unrecorded pedagogy was what made Rujing sensational.

Another dubious aspect of the Dōgen-Rujing relationship is that there are numerous examples of Rujing’s sayings not found in the recorded sayings of the mentor. Since nearly a dozen of his citations cannot be tracked to the *Nyōjō*

goroku, itself a problematic source, it is possible that Dōgen exaggerated or invented at least some aspects of the image of his mentor and his teachings in a way that was exacerbated by subsequent editors. According to the analysis by He Yansheng, this text was no doubt drastically reconstructed, or even fabricated, by Tokugawa-era Sōtō editors precisely to create a match-up, which is missing in some glaring cases. The fascicles in which Dōgen cites passages not found in the *Nyōjō goroku* deal to a large extent with a sectarian agenda of criticizing the Dahui lineage in “Shohō jissō” and other streams of Chan in “Butsudō” and “Bukkyō” [Buddhist Sutras].

In these sources which Dōgen may have misquoted or invented, Rujing sounds considerably more polemical and combative in tone than in passages that can be traced to the *Nyōjō goroku*.⁵² Dōgen depicts his mentor as a divisive and partisan figure who was hypercritical and who vehemently attacked Chan monks. All of these fascicles are excluded from the 60-*Shōbōgenzō*. In another excluded fascicle, “Menju,” delivered just two weeks prior to “Baika,” Dōgen stresses that he gained face-to-face transmission, which was “transmitted only to my monastery; others have not dreamed of it.” There is a rather belligerent tone attributed to Rujing, who is said to refer to incompetent monks as “dogs,” evoked as part of Dōgen’s claim for the authentic status of his own temple. Once again, the implication is that he evokes the authority of Rujing as a vehicle for self-expression and the advocacy of sectarian identity.

Although Dōgen’s portrayal of Rujing is consistent throughout his writings, there are numerous inconsistencies between Dōgen’s presentation of his mentor and what is known about Rujing’s approach from his recorded sayings. Nakaseko Shōdō suggests that by analyzing differences in the teachings of master and disciple we can see contradictions in Dōgen’s appropriation of Rujing.⁵³ According to Nakaseko, there are two sets of doctrines—one is how Rujing is portrayed in Dōgen’s writings, and the other is how he is expressed in the *Nyōjō goroku* (assuming its authenticity). As seen in the works of Dōgen, Rujing is a strict advocate of intensive *zazen* training, which was the only form of religious practice he consistently followed after he began training at the age of nineteen, according to “Gyōji” (part 2). Rujing is also portrayed as a severe critic both of reliance on *kōans* as well as the corrupt lifestyle of many of his contemporary monks. According to Dōgen, Rujing criticized a variety of doctrines that found currency in Chinese Chan. The objects of his criticism include:⁵⁴

1. the unity of the three teachings (according to *Shōbōgenzō* “Shohō jissō”);
2. the *kikan* or developmental, intellectual approach in the notions of the three phrases of Yunmen (*Shōbōgenzō* “Bukkyō” [Buddhist Sutras]);

3. the four relations of Linji, the five ranks of Dongshan, and numerous other doctrinal formulas (*Shōbōgenzō* “Butsudō”);
4. the sectarian divisiveness of the five houses of Chan that defeats the unity of all forms of Buddhism (*Hōkyōki*);
5. the autonomy of the Zen sect (*Hōkyōki*);
6. a view that advocates the separation of Chan from the sutras (*Hōkyōki*);
7. the “naturalist fallacy” that affirms reality without transforming it (*Hōkyōki*);
8. the tendency in some forms of Chan thought toward the negation of causality and karmic retribution (*Hōkyōki*).

As Nakaseko points out, much of this stands in contrast with the thought that is evident in the *Nyōjō goroku*, which is for the most part a conventional recorded sayings text reflecting the doctrines and literary styles of the Song period.⁵⁵ In this text, there is not so much emphasis on *zazen* or the rejection of *kōans*, or on criticism of the laxity in the lifestyle of monks. Furthermore, Rujiing does not dismiss Confucius or indicate that the other teachings were inferior to the Buddha Dharma, and he does not express concern with the five houses or the autonomy of Chan, or the view that separates Chan from the sutras. He does not criticize the *kikan* formulas or the naturalist heresy. Nor does he stress causality or emphasize lyrical imagery in a way that varies from what was typical for Song Chan masters appealing to an audience of literati.

It is in this context that the *Hōkyōki* is seen to be of questionable authenticity and is subject to being redated as a constructed text from the end of Dōgen’s career rather than a fresh, hands-on sense of the conversations held in China a quarter of a century earlier. According to Takeuchi Michio’s analysis of the contents of *Hōkyōki*, as indicated in table 5.8 below, a third of the dialogues in the text focuses on doctrine, a third on *zazen*, and the rest on rituals, precepts, ceremonies, people, and texts.⁵⁶ Of the more than twenty items dealing with doctrine, there is a sharp criticism of *kyōge betsuden* (special transmission outside the scriptures) theory in nos. 2 and 21, of *kanna-zen* (Dahui’s *kōan*-introspection) in no. 3, and of original enlightenment in no. 4, which are views that do not seem consistent with what is known of Rujiing. Several passages (nos. 10 and 22) emphasize the doctrine of *kannō dōkō* (reciprocal spiritual communion defining the transmission between master and disciple) that is also featured in “Hotsubodaishin” from the 12-fascicle edition of the *Shōbōgenzō*, another late text. In addition, the attack on lax behavior and the wearing of long hair by monks in no. 9, as well as the affirmation of the bodhisattva precepts in no. 5, seem to reflect Dōgen-oriented views rather than the priorities of Rujiing (who

TABLE 5.8. List of *Hōkyōki* Topics

Topic	No. Entries
Doctrine	17
Rituals or Precepts	13
<i>Zazen</i>	17
Doctrine and People	3
Doctrine and Practice	2
Total	52

would have emphasized the full precepts) that are echoed in “Jukai” of the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*.

To summarize, almost all we know about Rujing is through the lens of Dōgen’s writings and the perspectives they express, so that we may be learning more about the Japanese founder of the Sōtō sect than his Caodong school Chinese mentor. Much of Dōgen’s eulogizing of Rujing can be accounted for as a way of using Chan as a rhetorical device for creating a sectarian identity in Japan grounded exclusively in Caodong/Sōtō teachings. However, this is not necessarily problematic. It is very much in accord with the tradition of transgressing while transmitting, as Dōgen navigates his path through positions that are alternately:

- sectarian, or supporting the Sōtō sect exclusively;
- pansectarian, in generously citing early Chan masters;
- nonsectarian, in opposing the designation of a “Zen school” in China and/or Japan;
- and trans-sectarian, in seeking the universality of Buddha-nature,

in establishing his movement in early Kamakura Japan. In this sense, there may be a different sort of transgression, which deliberately violates historicity and is used for the sake of legitimating and constructing hagiography in support of lineal transmission.

NOTES

1. Some of the material in this chapter was adopted from Steven Heine, *Did Dōgen Go to China? What He Wrote and When He Wrote It* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

2. A collection of the records of the four masters, the *Sijia yulu* (J. *Shike goroku*), is a Song text with materials culled from various transmission of the lamp records.

3. Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 14–15.

4. For an interesting Western parallel, see Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

5. DZZ I: 53.

6. It was long believed that the 60-*Shōbōgenzō* was compiled by Giun, who wrote a preface and verse commentary in 1329 that was handed down in his lineage through the fifteenth century. However, a recent theory proffered by Kawamura Kōdō maintains that this version consists of Dōgen's first-draft arrangements of the fascicles included in the 75-*Shōbōgenzō*, whose order and wording were later revised. According to Kawamura, there are interlinear notes in manuscripts of the 60-fascicle version that disclose how at least some of these fascicles were altered for inclusion in the 75-fascicle version. Kawamura maintains that Ejō edited this edition years later on the basis of Dōgen's own selection of fascicles before he died. This theory suggests that the 60-*Shōbōgenzō* is the "real" text and the 75-fascicle edition is secondary, but it is not clear whether this claim is also meant to imply that Dōgen himself excised the controversial fascicles. See Kawamura Kōdō, *Shōbōgenzō no seiritsu-shiteki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1986).

7. Four fascicles from the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* were also included in the 60-fascicle text.

8. Dōgen referred to Rujing as "former teacher" (*senshi*) and Hongzhi as "old buddha" (*kobutsu*).

9. Ikeda Rōsan, *Gendaigoyaku Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1993), pp. 330–331.

10. DZZ I: 270–280.

11. However, this fascicle was composed on 4.20.1240, a few months before the Daruma school conversion.

12. DZZ III: 98; Taigen Dan Leighton and Shohaku Okumura, trans., *Dōgen's Extensive Record: A Translation of the Eihei Kōroku* (Boston: Wisdom, 2004), pp. 180–181. Note that in quoting the translation, the wording is sometimes slightly altered.

13. DZZ III: 140; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, pp. 219–220.

14. DZZ III: 194; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, p. 278.

15. DZZ III: 132; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, pp. 210–211.

16. Leighton and Okumura, trans., *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, p. 211.

17. For example, the *Hongzhi guanglu* (J. *Wanshi kōroku*, T. 48:1–121) consists of nine volumes: 1. *jōdō* and *shōsan*; 2. *juko* and *nenko*; 3. *nenko*; 4. *jōdō* and *jishu*; 5. *shōsan*; 6. *hōgo*; 7–9. poetry; see Sakai Tokugen, "Eihei kōroku," in *Dōgen no chosaku*, edited by Genryū Kagamishima and Tamaki Kōshirō (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1980), pp. 75–118.

18. With the prominent exception of the "Zazenshin" and "Jinshin inga" fascicles, where Dōgen critiques and rewrites his views of meditation and causality.

19. See Ishii Shūdō, "Saigo no Dōgen-Jūnikanbon *Shōbōgenzō* to *Hōkyō-ki*," in *Jūnikanbon "Shōbōgenzō" no shomondai*, edited by Genryū Kagamishima and Kakuzen Suzuki (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1991), pp. 319–374.

20. DZZ III: 80–82; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, pp. 162–164.

21. DZZ III: 158; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, p. 237.

22. Genryū Kagamishima, *Tendō nyojō zenji no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1983).
23. Kawamura Kōdō, *Shohon taikō Eihei kaizan Dōgen zenji gyōjō: Kenzeki* (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1975).
24. Carl Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 28.
25. At the time of the move, Dōgen began citing Rujing with great frequency, but some of the passages are not found in the Chinese master's recorded sayings.
26. DZZ III: 69; Senne, the compiler of this volume of the *Eihei kōroku*, notes in this passage, "Many words were not recorded." Presumably, Dōgen spoke more, but Senne only wrote down what is included here. This sermon is also notable for Dōgen's emphasis on the role of language in relation to silence in communicating the Dharma.
27. DZZ I: 196–202.
28. For example, no 4.274 (DZZ III: 183; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, p. 263) says, "On this day Tiantong [Rujing] mistakenly made a pilgrimage. He did not travel to Mount Tiantai or Mount Wutai. How sad that for ten thousand miles there is not an inch of grass. The old master Guishan became a water buffalo and came here." The phrase "inch of grass" and the mention of Guishan as water buffalo are obscure references to old Chan sayings that highlight Dōgen's veneration of Rujing.
29. DZZ III: 122–124; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, p. 203. "Walking like someone from Handan" refers to a story by Zhuangzi in the chapter on "Autumn Water," in which someone from the countryside went to the city of Handan and imitated the fashionable walking of the townspeople, but before mastering this he lost his native ability and had to crawl home on hands and knees; see Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 187. Memorial day for Rujing was 7.17; Other memorial sermons are nos. 3.249, 4.274, 4.276 (out of sequence), 5.342, 5.384, and 7.515.
30. See He Yansheng, *Dōgen to Chūgoku Zen shisō* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2000); Kagamishima, *Genryo Tendō Nyojō zenji no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1983); and Nakaseko Shōdō, *Dōgen zenji den kenkyū-Sei* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1997).
31. *Hōkyōki* nos. 16–17, in DZZ VII: 20–22.
32. In a *waka* verse composed on September 25, 1244, Dōgen writes, "Crimson leaves/Whitened by the season's first snow—/Is there anyone/Who would not be moved/To celebrate this in song?," in DZZ VII: 154.
33. DZZ II: 71–72 (emphasis added, redundancy in original).
34. DZZ I: 457–470.
35. DZZ I: 467–468.
36. DZZ I: 144.
37. DZZ III: 72–74.
38. In *Eihei kōroku* 4.290, for example, Dōgen says, "In recent years there have not been masters such as Linji and Deshan anywhere, however much we may look to find them."
39. DZZ III: 72; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, pp. 153–154.
40. DZZ III: 118; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, pp. 198–199.

41. Dazhi, literally “Great Wisdom,” was an honorific posthumous name given to Baizhang by the emperor.

42. “Great Hero” Peak (Daxiong) was the name of the summit above Baizhang’s monastery where the master and other monks would hold special meditation retreats withdrawn from the monastery.

43. Jingci Temple, where Rujing resided as abbot before Mount Tiantong, was the fourth-ranked of the five mountains, or major temples of the country. Tiantong was ranked third among the five mountains, so Rujing’s move was an elevation in status.

44. This saying, “It is sitting [or practicing *zazen*] alone atop Great Hero Peak [of Mount Baizhang],” can be taken to mean that Baizhang went on retreat to one of the main mountain peaks located behind the temple to practice *zazen*, or that he is characteristically identifying himself with the name of the mountain and thus saying, in effect, “I sit alone.” In the *kōan* cited in *Biyanlu* no. 26, the disciple claims to understand the comment, and Baizhang slaps him.

45. T. 51.250c–251b.

46. DZZ IV: 280.

47. Baizhang was particularly known for carrying a ceremonial fly-whisk (*hossu*), which also figures prominently in the gestures and demonstrations Dōgen uses in his sermons.

48. DZZ III: 92–94; Leighton and Okumura, *Dōgen’s Extensive Record*, p. 175.

49. DZZ III: 242.

50. DZZ III: 258–260.

51. In 1998, a shrine to Dōgen was constructed on the grounds of Mount Tiantong, including a stele and portrait as part of a campaign to attract Japanese tourists.

52. For example, in *Shōbōgenzō*, “Butsudō” Rujing says, “In recent years the truth of the patriarchs has degenerated into bands of demons and animals” (DZZ I: 481).

53. See Nakaseko, *Dōgen zenji den kenkyū—Sei*.

54. Nakaseko, *Dōgen zenji den kenkyū—Sei*, pp. 206–209.

55. See Kagamishima, *Genryō Tēndō Nyojō zenji no kenkyū*.

56. Michio Takeuchi, *Dōgen* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1992), p. 136.