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An Analysis of Dōgen's *Eihei Goroku*: Distillation or Distortion?

Steven Heine

The Role of Abbreviation in Dōgen Zen

The two main works by Dōgen are the *Shōbōgenzō* and the *Eihei Kōroku* (hereafter occasionally referred to as EK). The *Shōbōgenzō* consists mainly of informal *jishu*-style sermons delivered in Japanese vernacular during the first half of Dōgen's career at Kōshōji temple and collected into various editions. The *Eihei Kōroku* consists mainly of formal *jōdō*-style sermons recorded in *kanbun* or Sino-Japanese sermons that were delivered during the second half of Dōgen's career at Eiheiji temple and included in the first seven of ten volumes. The remainder of the *Eihei Kōroku* contains miscellaneous materials containing other kinds of sermons, verse commentaries on *kōans*, and poetry composed in Chinese.

However, these monumental texts, which are so crucial for understanding Dōgen's life and thought, have generally been less known and less studied than abbreviated versions constructed by later editors. The main abbreviated version of the *Shōbōgenzō* is the *Sōto Kyōkai Shushōgi* (*The Meaning of Practice-Realization in the Sōtō Zen Fellowship*). Also known as the *Shushōgi*, this is a compact, five-section, 31-paragraph text that consists of selections of brief passages extracted from the 95-fascicle edition of the *Shōbōgenzō*. This text was created over a period of several years in the late 1880s by several contributors, especially the lay leader Ōuchi Seiran, and was published in 1890 by the Sōtō sect.¹

The primary abbreviated version of the *Eihei Kōroku* is the *Eihei Dōgen Zenji Goroku* (*Recorded Sayings of Dōgen, Founder of Eihei*

Temple), a one-volume edition that consists of sermons, lectures, kōan commentaries, and lyrical verse culled from the ten volumes of the original text.² The *Eihei Goroku* (hereafter occasionally referred to as EG) was compiled in China by Dōgen's Dharma-brother I-yüan (J. Gion) in the 1260s, about ten years after Dōgen's death. It was published in 1358 by Donki, who was the main disciple of fifth Eiheiji patriarch Giun and later became the sixth patriarch, as the very first publication of the still fledgling Sōtō sect.³ Dōgen's approach to Ch'an/Zen literature and practice in the records included in this abbreviated text reflects mainly the impact of Chinese Ts'ao-tung (J. Sōtō) patriarchs, particularly twelfth-century master Hung-chih, who was a major influence on many of Dōgen's sermons and general attitudes toward Zen theory and practice, especially during the later period of his career, when he was at Eiheiji temple.

Indeed, it is fair to say that throughout most of the history of Dōgen Zen, the role of the abbreviated texts has eclipsed the much more substantive writings on which they are based. Dōgen has generally been known in medieval and modern times, not primarily for the *Eihei Kōroku* or *Shōbōgenzō*, which were largely lost, misunderstood, or limited in distribution to a highly specialized faction, but for the *Eihei Goroku* and the *Shushōgi*, which are short and readily accessible.⁴ The aim of this chapter is to examine the origins, structure, and function of the *Eihei Goroku*, but this first section also comments on the role of abbreviation in the *Shushōgi*.⁵ The phrase "Dōgen Zen" refers not just to Dōgen (1200–1253) or to the sum total of his life and works, but to the continuing impact and legacy of Dōgen's writings reverberating through the history of the Sōtō sect as well as Japanese intellectual history. This legacy encompasses monks and lay believers, the sectarian elite and secular thinkers, each of whom has interpreted Dōgen's writings for different purposes. There is often a fundamental distinction and discrepancy between the writings attributed to Dōgen and the way they have been recorded, edited, and appropriated, or between Dōgen the founder and the history of the sectarian tradition, which has been characterized by long periods of neglecting his major writings.

During the Muromachi era, for example, the Sōtō sect produced voluminous esoteric commentaries on classical Ch'an/Zen writings, including *kōan* collections such as the *Hekiganroku*, *Mumonkan* and *Shōyōroku*. In these works, which are known by the generic term *shōmono*, the *Eihei Goroku* received far more mention from sectarian commentators than did both the frequently ignored or suppressed *Eihei Kōroku* and *Shōbōgenzō*.⁶ In the twentieth century it was the brief, user-friendly *Shushōgi*, expressing a view of repentance based in part on a response to the challenge of Christianity during the Westernization process of the Meiji era, that was memorized or chanted by Sōtō followers. The demanding *Shōbōgenzō* remains largely unread, even in various modern Japanese renderings (*gendaigoyaku*) that try to make the opaque original compre-

hensible to the average reader. The effective use of the *Shushōgi* is often given credit for much of the popularity of the Sōtō sect in modern Japan.

Table 4.1 shows the periods in the history of Dōgen Zen, divided into several stages lasting approximately 200 years each. Following Dōgen's life, the next stage (1253–1450) covers the early post-Dōgen period, when new editions of the *Shōbōgenzō* were debated and the *Eihei Goroku* was published, although the *Eihei Kōroku* was not yet studied seriously. The succeeding stage (1450–1650) is the period when the standard edition of the *Eihei Kōroku* was published, in 1598, but the main activity of Sōtō intellectual life was the creation of *shōmono* commentaries, including those dealing with the *Eihei Goroku*. During this stage there was minimal attention paid to the *Shōbōgenzō*, at least as far as we can tell from the *shōmono* records.

The third stage (1650–1850) saw a revival of studies of the *Shōbōgenzō* and the *Eihei Kōroku* by the scholarly elite, in addition to the publication of the popular edition of the latter text. However, despite considerable advances that continue to influence today's scholarship in a positive way, there were many limitations in the studies of this period due to lost texts, arbitrary emendations by overly eager editors such as Menzan Zuihō, and a general lack of critical apparatus or objective judgment. In the current period (1850–) there has been a boom in *Shōbōgenzō* translations into modern Japanese and English, particularly since World War II, as well as more moderate advances in studies of the *Eihei Kōroku*. Several other texts were discovered, including Dōgen's collection of 300 *kōans*, the *Mana Shōbōgenzō* (or *Shōbōgenzō Sanbyakusoku*), his Japanese

TABLE 4.1. Major Developments in the Unfolding of Dōgen Zen vis-à-vis the Time of Dōgen's Writings

Year	Dōgen	Dōgen Zen
1200–1253		
1233–1246	<i>Shōbōgenzō</i>	Role of continuous editing by Ejō, Senne, Gien, and others
1236–1252	<i>Eihei Kōroku</i>	
1253–1450		Various editions of <i>Shōbōgenzō</i> (75-, 60-, 28-, 12-fascicles) collected; <i>Eihei Goroku</i> created in 1264 and published in 1358, but <i>Eihei Kōroku</i> receives little attention
1450–1650		<i>Eihei Goroku</i> used in <i>shōmono</i> commentaries, and first <i>Eihei Kōroku</i> edition published (1598); little attention paid to <i>Shōbōgenzō</i>
1650–1850		Revival of Sōtō <i>Shōbōgenzō</i> and <i>Eihei Kōroku</i> studies, but with methodological shortcomings
1850–		Creation, publication, edict on <i>Shushōgi</i> (1890); postwar boom in <i>Shōbōgenzō</i> scholarship, with moderate interest in <i>Eihei Kōroku</i>

poetry (*waka*) collection, and the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*. But the most important development in Dōgen Zen, particularly in the area of religious practice, has been the *Shushōgi*.

This situation raises a key question pertaining to the authenticity and value of the abbreviated texts. To what extent can the *Eihei Goroku* and the *Shushōgi* be considered a distillation or a condensed yet essential expression of Dōgen's thought? Or, to the contrary, are they each an arbitrary and rather misleading summative digest that bears only a surface resemblance to the sources? Should the relative popularity of the texts that compress the source material into a nutshell version be attributed to the "replica culture" (*migawari no bunka*) of Japan, for which surrogates, doubles, and replacements regularly substitute for the original or genuine source?²⁷ In the Japanese Buddhist style of imitative expression (*nazoraeru*), for example, chanting a *sūtra* substitutes for reading it, reciting the title replaces the entire text, and gazing at the *sūtra* replicates chanting it. A concern about the *Shushōgi* is that it does not even mention the word *zazen* and it puts an emphasis on repentance that is uncharacteristic of much of the *Shōbōgenzō*.

There are similar concerns about the *Eihei Goroku*, which a translator refers to as "a distillation of *Eihei Kōroku*" that is based on what was "considered the creme."²⁸ The passages selected for the *Eihei Goroku* present a view of Dōgen as a Zen master who behaved very much in the mold of his Chinese predecessors; particularly Hung-chih and Dōgen's mentor Ju-ching, as a preceptor of monastic rituals and transmitter of the Ts'ao-tung lineage. But are these passages an adequate reflection or distillation of the entire *Eihei Kōroku* that was composed primarily during the later period of Dōgen's career after his move to Eihei-ji? The picture that emerges from a variety of writings stemming from this period, especially the 12-fascicle edition of the *Shōbōgenzō*, is that the late Dōgen emphasized the doctrine of "true belief in causality" (*jinshin inga*) in a way that seems to diverge from the Chinese models that are based more on original enlightenment thought (*hongaku shisō*). Also, Dōgen's criticisms found in the *Eihei Kōroku* of syncretism and indigenous religiosity, as well as the exclusivism that characterized the Ch'an/Zen school, are missing from the *Eihei Goroku* selections. Nevertheless, a reciprocal relation exists in that studies of the *Eihei Goroku* may lead to a reexamination of the source text.

Distillation/Abbreviation in Zen Literature

To evaluate the origin and function of the *Eihei Goroku* as a major element of Dōgen Zen, it is necessary first to situate Dōgen's view of the role of abbreviation in relation to textuality in the context of the development of Ch'an/Zen literature. It has become increasingly well documented that despite espousing the rhetoric of "a special transmission outside the scriptures/without reliance

on words and letters" (*kyōge betsudē/furyū monji*), classical Ch'an/Zen Buddhism is perhaps known primarily for its achievements as a literary tradition that generated voluminous texts in several genres.⁹ The texts were produced during the Sung dynasty, especially the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and further developed in medieval (Kamakura/Muromachi) Japan.¹⁰

The Sung era genres include "transmission of the lamp" hagiographical texts depicting a multibranching lineal genealogy (*dentō-roku*); recorded sayings of the teachings of individual masters in the form of sermons, poems, and biographical anecdotes (*goroku*) (the *Eihei Kōroku* is part of this category); *kōan* collections which offer prose and verse commentaries on selected encounter dialogues and other epigrammatic anecdotes (*kōan-roku*) (vol. 9 of the *Eihei Kōroku*, none of which is included in the *Eihei Goroku*, is included in this category); and monastic rules texts detailing the guidelines and requirements for every aspect of temple life (*shingi*).¹¹ In medieval Japan, Zen writers expanded the variety of genres to produce a wide range of materials, including Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* in *kana* (Japanese vernacular) that comments on numerous *kōan* cases; Daitō's "capping phrase" (*jakugo*) commentaries on the *Hekiganroku*; the *kanbun* (Chinese script) poetry of the masters of *gozan bungaku* (literature of the "Five Mountains" monastic system), such as Ikkyū, Musō Sōseki, and others; and *shōmono* commentaries on Sung and Kamakura era *kōan* collections, including the *Eihei Goroku*, created by a broad range of Sōtō sect masters.

However, at the same time that Ch'an/Zen exhibited a tendency toward refined literature, many masters, in pursuit of the espoused goal of a silent transmission, emphasized various types of minimalist expression that use a highly compressed or abbreviated form of language in a deliberately self-deconstructive method of pointing beyond the need for words and toward a realm of experience unbound by speech and thought. For example, Yün-men's "one-word barrier," Lin-chi's "turning words," Tung-shan Shou-ch'u's "living words," the "Mu!" *kōan* in case 1 of the *Wu-men kuan* (J. *Mumonkan*), and Tai-hui's "critical phrase" (C. *hua-t'ou*, J. *watō*) are all examples of Ch'an/Zen developing an abbreviated, shortcut method for reaching and expressing enlightenment. In each case, the syllables, words, and phrases, brief yet allusive, are considered to have no abiding meaning of their own other than their function as pointers that must not be confused with the object (true reality, often symbolized by the moon) they indicate.¹²

The remarkable degree of tension, at times genuinely creative and at other times primarily partisan and polemical, involving the standpoints of *kyōge betsudē* and *kyōzen itchi* (unity of scriptures and meditation) can be traced back to classical T'ang dynasty debates between the Northern school, which took the side of letters, and the Southern school, which emphasized silence.¹³ The tension continued to characterize the Lin-chi/Ts'ao-tung school debates during the so-called golden age of Ch'an in Sung China and Kamakura Japan, which

produced voluminous kōan collections and hagiographical texts as well as a backlash that rebutted and negated those very writings. The most prominent exemplar of the tension was Ta-hui, who collected and commented on hundreds of kōan cases but who was also said to have burned the plates for the *Pi-yen lu* edited by his mentor, Yüan-wu, in support of the ideal that it is necessary to study only the critical phrases of kōans. Although the account of Ta-hui destroying his teacher's magnum opus is likely legend, it symbolizes the fact that he considered much of the commentary to be excessive or counterproductive if wrongly appropriated. The dual emphases on speech and silence may be considered an inner contradiction of Ch'an/Zen discourse or, conversely, an appropriate reflection of the doctrine of Two Truths encompassing a wordless absolute truth and a relative truth that remains bound by the rules of language. From the latter perspective, the shortcut method is understood as a skillful means to bridge the gap between the relative and absolute levels of truth or to lead one from being trapped by entangled vines to an experience of the realm of disentanglement.

The writings of Dōgen seem to epitomize the *kyōzen itchi* approach and to be antithetical to the abbreviation method for several reasons. A primary reason is simply that Dōgen was one of the most prolific Zen authors, composing the 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* collection of *jishu*-style sermons in Japanese vernacular as well as the *Eihei Kōroku* collection of *jōdō*-style sermons in *kanbun* script. The 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* was composed over a period of twenty years, but the majority of the fascicles were actually written over a six-year period from 1238 to 1244. This was during the time that Dōgen was first at Kōshōji temple outside Kyoto and then in the process of moving to Echizen Province, where he established Eiheiji temple.¹⁴ The 75-fascicle *Sōbōgenzō* was the main text of the period when Dōgen was undergoing a major mid-career transition from the capital to the provinces. The *Eihei Kōroku* was written over a period of fifteen years, but especially from the time Dōgen was ensconced in Eiheiji, beginning in 1245 and extending to 1252 (there were no sermons from the final year of his life). It was the major text of the last ten years of Dōgen's career.

Another reason for placing Dōgen on the side of *kyōzen itchi* is that he consistently praised and cited the *Lotus Sūtra*, articulating a philosophy of the identity of the *sūtras* and *zazen* meditation in a number of *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles, especially "Sansuikyō," "Nyorai zenshin," and "Hokke ten hokke." This outlook is expressed in the following *kanbun* verse composed while he was staying at a hermitage at Eiheiji:

Joyful in this mountain retreat yet still feeling melancholy,
 Studying the *Lotus Sūtra* every day,
 Practicing *zazen* single-mindedly;
 What do love and hate matter

When I'm here alone,
Listening to the sound of the rain late in this autumn evening.¹⁵

In addition, Dōgen explicitly ridiculed exponents of the minimalist approach. For example, in the *Shōbōgenzō* "Sansuikyō" fascicle, Dōgen labeled as "pseudo-Buddhists" and "scatterbrains" speaking "sheer nonsense" those who concentrated on the critical phrases of kōans, such as "the East Mountain walks on water," or the "sticks and shouts" of Te-shan and Lin-chi. He was highly critical of those who viewed kōans only as "incomprehensible utterances" or viewed them in a manner that is devoid of thought, cognition, or conceptualization, the sole aim of which is to eliminate thinking at its root and to subvert and suppress the need for any use of language. "It is a pity that they do not know that thought is discourse, or that discourse releases [or breaks through] thought," Dōgen writes. In particular, he was at times harshly critical of Lin-chi master Ta-hui, the prime exponent of using the critical phrase as a shortcut method.¹⁶

However, there was also a tendency toward abbreviation throughout Dōgen's career. In an early *Eihei Kōroku* (vol. 1, no. 9, or EK.1.9) passage also included in the *Eihei Goroku* (no. 22, or EG.22), Dōgen comments on the role of abbreviation as a means of indirectly communicating the meaning of silence:

One phrase causes the ice to melt and the tiles to crumble, and another phrase fills in the cracks and crevices. Tell me, which of the manifold phrases of the buddhas of past, present, and future, or of the six generations of patriarchs, is more effective in instructing people? Here . . . I will use a phrase that has never been uttered by the buddhas or expressed by the patriarchs. Now, listen: [after a pause] That's it!¹⁷

Furthermore, toward the end of his life, Dōgen continued editing and revising *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles. There is an indication based on Ejō's postscript (*okugaki*) to the last sermon, "Hachidainingaku," that he was hoping to complete a 100-fascicle edition.¹⁸ Because of his untimely death, this project was never completed. However, Dōgen did finish a revised version of the *Shōbōgenzō* known today as the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*, some of which consists of reworked versions of earlier fascicles. Yet it is unclear whether he intended the new, shorter text to be seen as a replacement for, an addendum to, or a abbreviation of the *Shōbōgenzō*. Nevertheless, on balance, Dōgen stands as an adamant opponent of minimalism in favor of an expansive view of language and the role of hermeneutics. He resisted abbreviation as an essentialist tendency that betrayed the goal of a continually renewed experience of a dynamic realization of impermanent existence. How and why, then, does abbreviation come to play such a prominent role in Dōgen Zen?

Background and Formation of the Text

The *Eihei Goroku*, also known as the *Eihei Gen Ryaku Roku* (*Abridged Record of the Founder of Eiheiiji*), was created when Giin, one of Dōgen's most important followers, brought the *Eihei Kōroku* to China in 1264 to show to the heirs of Ju-ching at T'ien-tung-ssu temple, especially I-yüan, who had been a monk in training along with Dōgen in the 1220s and was then abbot of the monastery. Later, after the death of Ju-ching in 1228, I-yüan edited the text of his recorded sayings. This text reached Dōgen in 1242, although he was said to have expressed disappointment that the result was not representative of his mentor's teaching. Apparently Giin, on behalf of Eiheiiji, felt that the *Eihei Kōroku*, largely a collection of Chinese *jōdō*-style sermons recorded in *kanbun*, was the representative text for the occasion of his visit rather than the vernacular *Shōbōgenzō*, and at the same time he wanted I-yüan to verify the authenticity of the contents of the *Eihei Kōroku*. I-yüan selected the passages he considered appropriate and wrote a brief postscript for the one-volume *Eihei Goroku* compilation, which Giin then showed to two leading Lin-chi (J. Rinzai) masters, Yüan-ning, whom Dōgen had once visited in China, and Hsü-t'ang, the teacher of Japanese Rinzai master Daiō Kokushi. Yüan-ning and Hsü-t'ang both wrote laudatory postscripts, although these are not always included in editions of the *Eihei Goroku*.

Unfortunately, there is no record of the edition of the *Eihei Kōroku* text Giin took with him to China. This absence has fueled a controversy concerning the relation between the *Eihei Goroku* and the *Eihei Kōroku* and jeopardizes any interpretation of the former as a distillation of the latter. We now have two main versions of the *Eihei Kōroku*, all from a century or more after Giin's journey. The first is the Monkaku edition of 1598 (named for the twentieth Eiheiiji patriarch in the Jakuen lineage and also known as the Rinnōji edition), which seems to be identical to the Sozan manuscript discovered at Eiheiiji in 1937; this manuscript is considered to stem from the early Muromachi period (or late fourteenth century)—the terms Monkaku text and Sozan text are often used interchangeably. The second version is the edition produced in 1672 by the important Sōtō scholastic, Manzan Dōhaku; it is also known as the *rūfū-bon* or popular edition.

The controversial relation between the *Eihei Goroku* and the two main *Eihei Kōroku* editions will be examined here in detail. The main point for now is that there is an affinity in sequence and wording between the *Eihei Goroku* and the Manzan edition, as well as some key differences between both of these texts and the older Monkaku/Sozan edition. This comparison has led several scholars to question the authenticity of the *Eihei Goroku* and to consider it more of an aberration than an abbreviation of the *Eihei Kōroku*: a text that shows more about the context in which it was created, or about Dōgen Zen, than about Dōgen himself. The main debate is between Sugawara Yūki, who supports the

notion of continuity and consistency between the *Eihei Goroku* and both versions of the *Eihei Kōroku*, and Ishii Shūdō, who refutes that position with a careful comparative analysis of the texts.

Despite numerous and at times significant discrepancies between the Monkaku/Sozan and Manzan editions, the contents of all *Eihei Kōroku* editions follow the same basic structure (table 4.2). According to this list, the *Eihei Kōroku* contains four types of materials: the first seven volumes consist of 531 formal sermons (*jōdō*), beginning at Kōshōji but mostly from the time of Dōgen's abbacy at Daibutsuji/Eiheiji; the eighth volume contains 34 informal, vernacular sermons delivered at Eiheiji and Kōshōji temples (including both *shōsan* and *hōgo* styles, which are similar to yet somewhat different from the *jishu*-style of the *Shōbōgenzō*), plus the brief meditation manual, the *Fukanzan-zenji*; the ninth volume contains verse comments (J. *juko*; C. *sung-ku*) on 90 *kōans* composed in 1236, a year after the compiling of the *Mana Shōbōgenzō* collection of 300 *kōans* (which have no commentary); and the tenth volume contains 150 lyrical poems in Chinese (*geju* and *jisan* styles), which were written throughout Dōgen's career beginning with his travels to China from 1223 to 1227—the Chinese verses are the only known writings from this very early period.

The first seven volumes of the *Eihei Kōroku* can be further subdivided in two ways: (1) by the three locations for the sermons, including Kōshōji (vol. 1); Daibutsuji, the original name of Eiheiji until it was changed in 1246 (vol. 2); and Eiheiji (vols. 3–7); and (2) by the three editors, including Senne, also the primary early commentator on the *Shōbōgenzō* (vol. 1, in addition to vols. 8–10); Ejō, also the primary editor of the *Shōbōgenzō* (vols. 2–4); and Gien, an Ejō disciple who became the fourth Eiheiji patriarch (vols. 5–7). The transition from Ejō's editorship to Gien's, which occurred around the ninth month/first day of 1249, is a significant turning point for some scholars because this period

TABLE 4.2. A List of the Contents and Dates of Composition of the *Eihei Kōroku* (10 vols.)

1. Kōshōji goroku (<i>jōdō</i> sermons, nos. 1–126 from 1236–1243, rec. Senne)
2. Daibutsuji goroku (nos. 127–184, 1245–1246, rec. Ejō)
3. Eiheiji goroku (nos. 185–257, 1246–1248, rec. Ejō)
4. Eiheiji goroku (nos. 258–345, 1248–1249, rec. Ejō)
5. Eiheiji goroku (nos. 346–413, 1249–1251, rec. Gien)
6. Eiheiji goroku (nos. 414–470, 1251, rec. Gien)
7. Eiheiji goroku (nos. 471–531, 1251–1252, rec. Gien)
8. Miscellaneous (20 <i>shōsan</i> at Daibutsuji/Eiheiji, 14 <i>hōgo</i> mainly at Kōshōji, <i>Fukanzanzenji</i> , rec. Ejō and others)
9. Kōshōji collection (90 <i>juko</i> comments on <i>kōans</i> from 1236, ed. Senne and others)
10. Kanbun poetry collections, 1223–1253 (5 <i>shinsan</i> , 20 <i>jisan</i> , 125 <i>geju</i> ; ed. Senne and others)

The first seven volumes are collections of *jōdō* from Kōshōji, Daibutsuji and Eiheiji, and the last three volumes collect various kinds of lectures, *kōan* commentary, and poetry.

also marks an important shift for Dōgen, who had completed work on the 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* several years before and now began collecting the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*.

The *Eihei Goroku* was the product of Giin's second trip to China. Giin was one of the former followers of the defunct Daruma-shū sect, a group that included Ejō, Gien, and Gikai, among others. Ejō joined Dōgen in 1234 after the death of his teacher, Kakuan, and the others, most of whose names begin with the *kanji* "Gi," joined Dōgen at Kōshōji temple in Kyoto in 1241 and later made up the core of the Eihei community. Of these, Giin alone traveled to China, first in 1253, although he apparently returned promptly upon learning of Dōgen's death in the autumn of that year. It is not clear whether he took the *Eihei Kōroku* at Dōgen's own suggestion, but we do know that Giin brought only this text on his 1264 trip, so I-yüan apparently did not see and may not have been aware of the *Shōbōgenzō* in either the 75-fascicle or 12-fascicle edition. Figure 4.1 shows how the production of the *Eihei Goroku* by Gien (lineage D) and the first commentary by Giun (lineage B) emerged in relation to the role of three other main Dōgen lineages (A, C, and E).

After the formation of the text, the *Eihei Goroku* eventually passed into the hands of Giun, a disciple of Jakuen, another Dharma-brother of Dōgen in China who came to train with him in Japan after Ju-ching's death. Following the death of Dōgen, Jakuen left Eihei and set up Hōkyōki temple. Giun was not one of the original groups of former Daruma-shū followers who gravitated to Dōgen, but his name indicates that there likely was a connection or affinity with this community. The Jakuen-Giun lineage was known for its adherence to Dōgen's strict, nonsyncretic style of practice in opposition to the Gikai-Keizan faction, which advocated assimilative and esoteric tendencies. At this juncture in the history of Dōgen Zen, the *Eihei Kōroku* received little attention. Giun edited a version of the *Shōbōgenzō* in 60 fascicles (rather than the 75 fascicles edited by Senne and his disciple Kyōgō, which seems to have been

FIGURE 4.1. Five Sōtō Zen lineages and production of the *Eihei Goroku*; roles of Giin (D) and Giun (B) regarding *Eihei Goroku*, seen in relation to other Dōgen lineages. See also the lineage chart in William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), p. 33. A: Although it was not long lasting, the Senne-Kyōgō lineage is known for an important commentary on the 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*, the *Gokikigakishō* (or *Goshō*), the first such work and the only one until the revival of *Shōbōgenzō* studies in the Tokugawa era. They left Eihei before 1263 for Yōkōan near Kenninji in Kyoto. B: The Jakuen-Giun lineage was based in Hōkyōji temple, founded by Jakuen, who had been Dōgen's Dharma-brother in China and came to join him in Japan; he left Eihei in 1261, although Giun later returned to become the fifth abbot. Giun is known for his recorded sayings (*Giun Goroku*) and his edition of the 60-

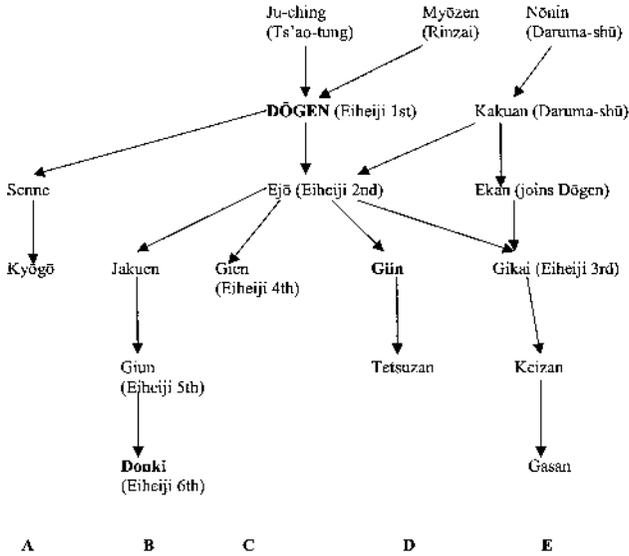


FIGURE 4.I. (*continued*) fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* in addition to an interest in Dōgen's record (*Eihei Goroku*) published by Donki. C: The Ejō-Gien lineage was aligned with Jakuen in opposition to the attempt by Gikai, the third patriarch of Eihei, to introduce esoteric rituals and chants into Zen practice. In the 1270s Gikai abdicated and Gien became the fourth patriarch. D: The Ejō-Giin lineage led to the founding of Sōtō Zen in Kyushu, based on the efforts of Giin, who built on inroads made there by Eisai. Giin made a second trip to China in 1264 that resulted in the editing of Dōgen's *Eihei Goroku* by Wu-wai I-yüan, who had been one of Ju-ching's major disciples and who also compiled his teacher's recorded sayings that reached Dōgen in 1242. I-yüan wrote a eulogy for Dōgen, and Giin also got eulogies from Hsü-t'ang and Yüan-ning, prominent monks in the Five Mountains system. The text, an abbreviated, one-volume version of the voluminous ten-volume *Eihei Kōroku*, was the first Sōtō sect publication released in 1358 by Donki, and it was quickly followed by Dōgen's one-volume *Gakudōyōjinshū* and Giun's one-volume *goroku* (some sources date these as 1357) (see B). E: The Gikai lineage's syncretic religiosity became the most successful by far in converting Shingon and Tendai temples and gaining multitudes of followers for the Sōtō sect, especially through the missionary efforts of the Keizan-Gasan sublineage based in Sōjiji in the Noto peninsula. This sublineage was aligned with mountain worship of Mount Sekidōzan, which was part of the sacred network of Mount Hakuasan. *Note:* (1) Dual lineages affecting Dōgen (from Ju-ching and Myōzen), Ejō (from Dōgen and Kakuan), and Gikai (from Ejō and Ekan); (2) the affinities between both Gien and Giin and the Jakuen-Giun line, in contrast to Gikai's independence, which perhaps stemmed from continued Daruma-shū influence; all the third-generation disciples studied with Dōgen, including Kyōgō, and Keizan also studied with Jakuen, Ejō, and Gien.

the main version of the *Shōbōgenzō* during the early medieval period). Giun's approach to editing Dōgen seemed to stress a sense of continuity with Chinese Ch'an through the process of leaving out of the 60-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* those passages expressing a contentious attitude and a harsh critique of the Lin-chi school, especially fascicles, such as "Sansuikyō" and "Jishō zanmai," that target Ta-hui's critical phrase method. Giun was also known for producing his own collection of recorded sayings, the *Giun Goroku*, an important early Sōtō work, as well as for editing the *Gakudōyōjinsū*, a short Dōgen text from 1234; in that year Ejō joined Dōgen, and shortly thereafter he began compiling the *Shōbōgenzō Zuimonki*.¹⁹ The *Gakudōyōjinsū* and the *Giun Goroku* were both published in 1358, right after the publication of the *Eihei Goroku* by Giun's disciple Donki, who became the sixth abbot of Eiheiji.

Structure of the Text

In order to clarify where the *Eihei Goroku* stands in relation to the issue of Dōgen versus Dōgen Zen, it is necessary to take a closer look at how the *Eihei Goroku* was selected from the *Eihei Kōroku*. As was indicated, the *Eihei Goroku* appears to be much closer in content to the Manzan edition than to the earlier Monkaku/Sozan version. Some scholars, particularly Ishii Shūdō and Kagami-ishi Genryū, argue that the Manzan text is a corruption of the text Giin carried to China and they view the *Eihei Goroku* as an aberration of the *Eihei Kōroku* that was probably mistakenly used by Manzan as a primary source. Ishii maintains that the Giin text(?) (the question mark is used here to highlight the fact that such a text is not extant and thus hypothetical) was a precursor to the Monkaku/Sozan edition. But the *Eihei Goroku* strayed from this text yet was used as a model for the Manzan edition. A key example is a discrepancy in the opening selection of the *Eihei Goroku*. This is the famous passage in which Dōgen announces during a sermon in the Dharma Hall at Kōshōji in 1236 that he had returned (some years earlier) to Japan from his travels in China "empty-handed" (*kūshū genkyō*). This passage is also the opening *jōdō* in the Manzan edition, but it appears as *jōdō* no. 48 (EK.I.48 in the Monkaku/Sozan edition with wording that is somewhat variant). In addition, the *Eihei Goroku* and the Manzan edition both include the verse "Zazenshin" along with the *Fukanzazengi* (these are two meditation texts), but the "Zazenshin" does not appear in the Monkaku/Sozan edition.

There are dozens of other instances in which sequence and wording suggest that Manzan was influenced by the *Eihei Goroku* and failed to use the authentic *Eihei Kōroku* model, or chose to divert from it because of what Ishii considers an unwarranted acceptance of the authority of the *Eihei Goroku*.²⁰ However, since the Giin text(?) is not available (and will likely never be, save for the unlikely discovery of a lost manuscript), it is admittedly speculation

that there must have been a consistency between this hypothetical text and the Monkaku/Sozan edition, as well as a divergence with the Manzan edition. This situation opens up another school of thought, led by Sugawara Yūki, which argues that there is a fundamental, underlying affinity between all the versions involved, and no serious discontinuity or inconsistency between the Giin text(?), the *Eihei Goroku*, the Monkaku/Sozan version, and the Manzan edition.²¹ Figure 4.2 outlines the two approaches to textual history, with Ishii's (and Kagamishima's) view reflecting an "inconsistency" or "two-text" theory and Sugawara's view a "consistency" or "single-text" theory.

Ishii's argument is based on a careful examination of the structure of the *Eihei Goroku* in terms of its affinities and disparities with the *Eihei Kōroku*. Through this analysis he demonstrates not only discrepancies in wording and sequence but, more significantly, patterns of inclusion and exclusion which reveal the priorities and proclivities of I-yūan in Sung China that caused the *Eihei Goroku* to vary from the image of Dōgen as a Japanese master as displayed in the *Eihei Kōroku*. Ishii is critical of Sugawara for supporting the Manzan text that, he feels, based its edition of the *Eihei Kōroku* on a retrospective reading of the *Eihei Goroku* rather than seeing Manzan as a distortion of the source.

A reconstruction of Ishii's approach indicates a three-part analysis: (1) the structure of the *Eihei Goroku* text and discrepancies with the *Eihei Kōroku*; (2) patterns of inclusion/selection and exclusion/absence; and (3) a philosophical comparison of both the *Eihei Goroku* and *Eihei Kōroku* with other texts from

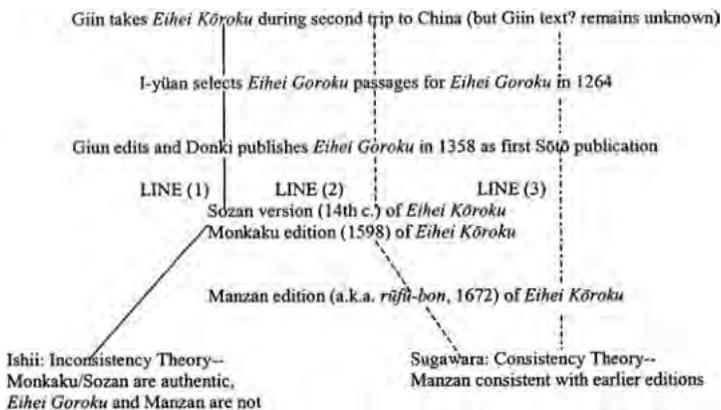


FIGURE 4.2. Two theories about the textual history of the *Eihei Goroku* and its relation to the three extant editions of the *Eihei Kōroku*. The solid line (1) traces Ishii's theory that bypasses the Manzan text, the dotted line (2) traces Sugawara's theory that includes Manzan, and the segmented line (3) traces Ishii's view of Sugawara's theory that, according to Ishii, sees the *Eihei Goroku* through the filter of the Manzan text without any role for the Monkaku text.

the later period of Dōgen, especially the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*. Ishii concludes that the *Eihei Goroku* neither expresses the real intentions of Dōgen nor reflects the uniqueness of his thought as expressed in the works of the later period, including the *Eihei Kōroku* and 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*. He argues that the *Eihei Goroku* offers an inappropriate view of the late Dōgen as well as of the theoretical/philosophical issues that preoccupied this period of Dōgen's career, as suggested especially in vols. 5–7 of the *Eihei Kōroku* (the volumes edited by Gien) and the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*. Rather, the dominant motif of the *Eihei Goroku* is I-yüan's overriding concern with establishing continuity between Dōgen and Chinese masters as well as Sung-style monastic ritualism.

Table 4.3, which is derived from studies by Kagamishima Genryū and Ishii Shūdō, outlines the general structure of the *Eihei Goroku* and shows exactly what was selected from the *Eihei Kōroku*: According to these scholars, while the structure of the *Eihei Goroku* closely resembles the source text, the content reflects I-yüan's motive of overemphasizing the links between Dōgen and Chinese Ch'an rituals and patriarchs, thereby overlooking the Japanese influences apparent on Dōgen's post-1249 approach to religiosity.

TABLE 4.3. Comparison of the Structure of *Eihei Kōroku* (EK) and *Eihei Goroku* (EG)

	EK	EG	Correct list from EK
Jōdō (EK.1-7 total)	531	75 (74)	73 = 8.shōsan.7
From Kōshōji (EK.1)	126	22 (18)	2 = 2.129 19 = 2.176 3 = 2.133 4 = 3.358
From Daibutsuji (EK.2)	58	n/a (12)	25 = 2.128 57 = 2.14 62 = 2.184 26 = 2.127 58 = 2.156 [+2, 3, 19] 27 = 2.140 59 = 2.172 28 = 2.143 61 = 2.179
From Eiheiji (EK.3-7)	347	53 (44)	(25, 26, 27, 28, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62 incorrectly listed as Eiheiji)
Shōsan (EK.8)	20	4 (5)	73
Hōgo (EK.8)	14	2	
Fukanzazengi (EK.8)	1	1	
Zazenshin	—	1	(not included in EK)
Juko (EK.9)	90	none	
Verses (EK.10 total)	145	20	
Shinsan	5	none	
Jisan	20	3	
Geju	125	17	
Totals	713	103	

The numbers in parenthesis reflect the accurate count, and the items in the column "Correct List" indicate the authentic listing. The table is based primarily on Kagamishima, *Dōgen Zenji Goroku*, pp. 216–217, and Ishii Shūdō, "Eihei Ryaku Roku Kangae," pp. 80–86.

The general structure of the *Eihei Goroku* as a collection of lectures and verses is based on the *Eihei Kōroku*, but there are some fundamental differences, including several discrepancies between the way the *jōdō* are listed in the *Eihei Goroku* and their actual appearance in the *Eihei Kōroku*. The Daibutsuji record (EK.2) is not cited as a separate category in the *Eihei Goroku*, which makes no distinction between passages selected from the Kōshōji record (EK.1) of *jōdō* and the Daibutsuji record instead of grouping them together as one section of *jōdō* sermons. But, to follow the *Eihei Kōroku* accurately, the *Eihei Goroku* should have an independent section of Daibutsuji records with twelve listings in the *Eihei Goroku*, including three that are listed in the Kōshōji record (EK.1) and nine that are in the Eiheiji record (EK.3–7), as indicated in table 4.3 under the column “Correct List.” This absence in the *Eihei Goroku* may give a misimpression about the proportions or sense of balance between the subcategories of the *Eihei Kōroku*. Another difference is that the *Eihei Goroku* includes none of the *juko* in EK.9 or the *shinsan* in EK.10, and it also adds the poem “Zazenshin” to the *Fukanzazengi* that is cited from EK.8.

Ishii's analysis continues with a more detailed investigation of additional differences between the two texts. There are four main areas of textual discrepancies. First, there are two *Eihei Goroku* passages that do not exist in the *Eihei Kōroku*, although some similarity can be detected: *jōdō* no. 29 (EG.29, which is similar to EK.5.367) and no. 71 (similar to EK.4.320). Second, there are five examples of variation in wording between the *Eihei Goroku* passage and the *Eihei Kōroku* source: *jōdō* no. 44 (based on EK.6.422), no. 58 (based on EK.2.156), no. 72 (based on EK.5.375), *geju* no. 2 (based on EK.10.64), and *geju* no. 9 (based on EK.10.93/94). Third, two *Eihei Goroku* entries reflect an alteration of the *Eihei Kōroku* source: *jōdō* no. 16 (which is a combination of EK.1.57 and EK.7.471) and *shōsan* no. 4 (which seems to be a shortened version of EK.8.*shōsan*.9 combined with *shōsan*.10). Fourth, there are four other passages in the *Eihei Goroku* that represent a condensed form of the original: *jōdō* no. 2 (which consists of the final portion of EK.2.129, no. 4 (the final portion of EK.5.358), no. 48 (the second half of EK.7.513), and *shōsan* no. 3 (the first portion of EK.8.*shōsan*.13). The cumulative effect of Ishii's analysis thus far is to show that 13 of 103 selections in the *Eihei Goroku* (or 13%) have some major difference with the *Eihei Kōroku* source, in addition to over twenty-five divergences in the sequence of passages.

Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion

The next and more significant stage of investigation deals with examining what types of passages were included in the *Eihei Goroku* and, just as important, what types were excluded. There are several patterns that emerge through a study of the selections: an emphasis on consistency with Sung Ch'an patriar-

chy, especially as expressed in the recorded sayings texts of Ts'ao-tung masters Hung-chih and Ju-ching and a variety of transmission of the lamp histories such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*; an emphasis on the role of monastic rituals (*girei*), including memorials and anniversaries as well as ceremonies marking seasonal transitions; and a deemphasis on the refutation of syncretism and spiritism that seems to characterize other writings of the late period.

Table 4.4 shows the sources for the citations of passages in the *Eihei Kōroku* and the *Eihei Goroku*. The first five items on the list refer to recorded sayings (*lu* or *roku*) texts (plus *sung-ku* or *juko*, verse comments on kōans in the case of Yüan-wu in item no. 3), and the last six items are “transmission of the lamp” histories. Several interesting points become clear about the construction of the *Eihei Goroku*. First, in the *Eihei Kōroku* only 28 percent of the passages are based on citations from prominent Chinese recorded sayings and transmission texts, but in the *Eihei Goroku* collection of *jōdō* and other sermons this number nearly doubles to a sizable 54 percent. If one takes a closer look at the use of sources, the records of Ts'ao-tung patriarchs Hung-chih and Ju-ching combined (16 percent) are the major source for the *Eihei Goroku*, although the major source for the *Eihei Kōroku* is the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, which remains a close second among *Eihei Goroku* sources.

Compared with the priorities reflected in the *Eihei Kōroku*, the fact that the *Eihei Goroku* favors the *Hung-chih lu* and the *Ju-ching lu* indicates I-yüan's concern, perhaps more than Dōgen's, with following the model of the Chinese masters rather than relying on the transmission of the lamp hagiographies. Of the two Ts'ao-tung patriarchs, Ju-ching with nine citations (11%) plays a far greater role in the *Eihei Goroku* than in the *Eihei Kōroku* (where he has a total of ten citations, or under 2 percent), while Hung-chih's role, though still important, is somewhat reduced (from forty-three to seven citations). I-yüan's primary loyalty was to his and Dōgen's teacher. Of the transmission histories, the second main one cited in the *Eihei Goroku* is the *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu* rather than the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, as in the *Eihei Kōroku*. Although the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* had a tremendous influence on Dōgen, as is seen in the number of citations that appear in the *Shōbōgenzō* and the *Mana Shōbōgenzō*, it was a relatively obscure text that was apparently not well known for most Chinese Ch'an masters and it was likely to have been unrecognized and somewhat overlooked in I-yüan's selection process.²²

Another important aspect of the kinds of passages contained in the *Eihei Goroku* is highlight the role of ceremonialism. Ishii notes I-yüan's inclusion of fourteen out of seventy-five *jōdō* sermons (or nearly 20 percent) dealing with the ritual aspect of monastic life. These include three *jōdō* sermons that provide memorials for the Buddha: no. 7, on the anniversary of Buddha's enlightenment (or *jōdō-e*); no. 29, on the anniversary of Buddha's parinirvāṇa (or *nehan-e*), and no. 55, on *rohatsu*. In addition, no. 71 celebrates a ceremony for the bathing of the Buddha. There are also five sermons for other kinds of me-

TABLE 4.4. Comparison of Sources for the EK and EG

Text	EK	EG	EG listing (with corresponding EK no. in parenthesis)
1. <i>Hung-chih lu</i>	43	7	10 (1.20), 28 (2.143), 33 (6.465), 36 (4266), 38 (4.330), 41 (5.400), s.3 (8.s.13, half passage)
2. <i>Ju-ching lu</i>	10	9	1 (1.48), 16 (1.57)*, 23 (4.316), 40 (5.391), 43 (5.405), 47 (6.456) 55 (2.213), 61 (2.179)*, 66 (3.194), 69 (7.520)
3. <i>Yüan-wu lu/sung-ku</i>	9	4	27 (2.140), 61 (2.179)*, 67 (3.218), s.4 (8.s.10, wording altered)
4. <i>Ta-hui lu</i>	2	2	3 (2.133), 50 (5.365)
5. <i>Huang-po lu</i>	2	2	24 (4.282), 31 (4.281)
6. <i>Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu</i>	68	14	8 (1.53), 18 (1.55), 19 (2.176), 21 (1.40), 32 (3.208), 44 (6.422, wording altered), 46 (7.511), 48 (7.513, incomplete), 49 (7.524), 53 (2.212), 58(2.156, wording altered), 64 (3.191), 74 (3.192), h.2 (8.h.12)
7. <i>Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu</i>	7	7	6 (1.43), 11 (1.23), 25 (2.128), 56 (3.201), 61 (2.179)*, 65 (3.199), h.1 (8.h.10)*
8. <i>Tsung-men lien-t'ung hui-yao</i>	24	6	2 (2.129), 12 (1.27), 35 (3.250), 57 (2.141), 63 (3.188), s.1 (8.s.16)
9. <i>T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu</i>	9	2	15 (1.4)*, 70 (5.378)
10. <i>Hsü ch'uan-teng lu</i>	2	2	15 (1.4)*, 16 (1.57, mixed with 7.471)*
11. <i>Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi</i>	25	1	52 (6.433)
Totals	201	52	(4 duplications)

The list of sources for passages is *not* the same as a list of citations or allusions. Other sources include the *Record of Layman P'ang* for EG.22 (EK 1.9), *Diamond Sūtra* for EG.54 (EK.3.202), *Chao-chou lu* for EG.59 (EK.2.172), and *Yün-men lu* for EG.h.1. (EK.8.h.10)*. In this list, s. is *shōsan*, h. is *hōgo*, and * indicates that there seems to be more than one source for the passage. In addition, sources cannot be identified for the following entries: Among EG 4 (EK 5.358, incomplete), 5 (1.47), 7 (1.37), 9 (1.14), 13 (1.49), 14 (1.2), 17 (1.72), 20 (1.11), 26 (2.127), 29 (5.367?), 30 (3.218), 37 (4.271), 39 (4.333), 45 (6.448), 51 (5.359), 60 (5.407), 62 (1.184), 68 (7.481), 71 (4.320?), 72 (5.375, wording altered), 73 (8.s.7).

memorials: no. 20, when senior monk Sōkai is about to die; no. 30, on the anniversary of the death of the founder of Japanese Rinzai, Eisai; no. 40, when a bikuni named Egi asks for an expounding of the Dharma on the occasion of the death of her mother; no. 49, on the anniversary of Dōgen's grandfather's death; and no. 62, on the anniversary of the death of Ju-ching. Furthermore, there are three sermons celebrating important occasions in monastery life: no.

9, on opening the hearth at Kōshōji; no. 42, on thanking the new and outgoing rectors of the temple; and no. 65, on opening the hearth at Eiheiji. Finally, there are two sermons on seasonal changes: no. 45, on the harvest moon, and no. 68, on the fifteenth day of the first month.

Actually, the *Eihei Kōroku* is filled with many other sermons dealing with these kinds of monastic rituals that were not selected for the *Eihei Goroku*. On the other hand, all of the *shōsan* in the *Eihei Goroku* are seasonal (although this is generally also true for the *Eihei Kōroku*). Therefore, the emphasis on memorial and seasonal ceremonies, like the emphasis on citations of the sayings of Ju-ching and other Ch'an records, highlights I-yüan's concern with establishing continuity with Sung-style Ch'an as well as an implicit criticism of T'ang era Ch'an practice, which had a style that was more irreverent and without such a clearly structured and regulated monastic routine.

Ishii's argument about the failure of the *Eihei Goroku* to reflect adequately the *Eihei Kōroku* deals largely with what has been excluded in the condensed text. The *Eihei Goroku*, he argues, does not convey the sense of transition or transmission of Zen to Japan, because it does not include passages that express Dōgen's criticisms about what he considers the problematic side of the Ch'an/Zen approach in both Sung China and the early stages of Kamakura Japan. According to Ishii, the fifth volume of the *Eihei Goroku* marks a significant though generally overlooked transition in the collection of *jōdō* sermons, reflecting a change in Dōgen's attitude toward a number of key issues, such as the ideological relation between Zen and syncretism with non-Buddhist religions, as well as the notions of naturalism and dualism. This shift in emphasis, which is also evident in the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* of the same late period, is not expressed in the makeup of the *Eihei Goroku*, which relies primarily on passages from an earlier stage in his career. Although the *Eihei Goroku* as a condensation of the *Eihei Kōroku* must in general terms be considered a text from the period of the late, post-75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*, according to Ishii it reflects only the earlier segment of this stage of Dōgen's career and not what he considers the more authentic stage of the late Dōgen, or what can more accurately be referred to as the "late late Dōgen," beginning in 1249.

Ishii stresses the importance of two key turning points for understanding the relation between the *Eihei Goroku* and the *Eihei Kōroku*. The first is the time of *Eihei Kōroku* 3,196 (around 9/15, 1246), which is about when Dōgen completed the last fascicle of the 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*, "Shukke." Ishii points out that 37 percent of the *Eihei Kōroku* is from the period before no. 196, and 63 percent is from the period after this juncture, or a nearly 2 to 1 ratio favoring the later stage. But the *Eihei Goroku* contains 49 percent (or thirty-five sermons) from the period before no. 196, and 51 percent (or thirty-seven sermons, with two sermons of unclear dating and one *shōsan* mistakenly included among the *jōdō*) after this. The second turning point is the time of the fifth volume of the *Eihei Kōroku*, when editing was placed in the hands of Gien, who completed

the task of working on the *jōdō* sermons, rather than those of Ejō, who was known primarily as the editor of the 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*. The date of this transition was 9/1, 1249 (EK.5.346), about three years after the first turning point, which was also when Dōgen began to work in earnest on the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*, with its emphasis on the doctrines of karmic causality, the need for repentance, and criticism of indigenous religiosity.²³ Ishii shows that the *Eihei Kōroku* contains 185 sermons (or 35 percent) after no. 346, but the *Eihei Goroku* contains only twenty-one sermons (or 28 percent) from this period. Furthermore, while Hung-chih was a major influence on many of Dōgen's sermons before the second turning point, he is cited only rarely after this.²⁴ Yet the *Eihei Goroku* includes two of twenty-one sermons (nos. 33 and 41) citing Hung-chih from the post-no. 346 period.²⁵

While these figures and percentages in and of themselves may not seem overwhelming, the more significant point is that there are a number of ideological standpoints Dōgen criticizes in *Eihei Kōroku* sermons from the period beginning after no. 346 that are not included in the *Eihei Goroku*. These include a critique of "the identity of the three doctrines, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism" (*sankyō ittō*) in nos. 383 and 412; of the notion of syncretism (*setchū-shugi*) in EK.5.390; spiritism (*shinga* and *reichi*) in nos.5.402, 6.447, and 7.509; of the naturalism heresy (*shizen gedō*) in no. 7.472; and of the assertion of exclusivity of the Zen sect (or *Zen-shū*) in no. 7.491. All of the refuted standpoints, according to Ishii, represent views that bypass or overlook the principle of karmic causality in the name of a false sense of transcendence, either by combining Buddhism with other doctrines (identity, syncretism, spiritism) or by asserting a single truth that does not require constant training (naturalism, exclusivism) based on understanding cause-and-effect. Another important perspective of the later stages of the *Eihei Kōroku* that is absent in the *Eihei Goroku* are sermons that emphasize the significance of karmic retribution (*sanjigo*), as expressed in nos. 7.516 and 7.517.

Sugawara is the main opponent of Ishii's inconsistency or two-text theory in arguing for the underlying consistency between the *Eihei Goroku* and the *Eihei Kōroku* editions. In a critical edition comparing the *Eihei Goroku* with the Manzan and Monkaku editions, he shows that there are numerous instances where the *Eihei Goroku* is actually more similar to the Monkaku edition than to the Manzan, or where the Monkaku edition is more similar to the Manzan than either of these is to the *Eihei Goroku*. However, Sugawara's criticism, which sticks mainly to this aspect of the textual debate, is muted by two factors. First, he acknowledges and does not dispute (though he interprets the significance differently) the textual discrepancies that Ishii demonstrates in the construction and sequence of the *Eihei Goroku*. Also, he does not question the broader ideological concerns Ishii raises in terms of the patterns of exclusion and inclusion in the *Eihei Goroku*, especially regarding the issues of causality as also expressed in the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* of Dōgen's late period.

Therefore, Ishii's argument, which is based on a comprehensive textual and theoretical analysis suggesting that the *Eihei Goroku* should not be considered the creme or essence of the *Eihei Kōroku*, prevails over the challenge of Sugawara.

Issues Concerning the Late Late Dōgen

Is the *Eihei Goroku* genuinely representative as a distillation of Dōgen, or is it a corruption of the source text that reflects Dōgen Zen? There are two main issues involved in analyzing this question: hermeneutic and historical. The first issue is whether Dōgen's *Eihei Kōroku* is distillable, and the second issue is, if so, would or could this quality result in the production of the *Eihei Goroku*? The first issue raises the question of whether the notion of distillation is in keeping with or in violation of the spirit of Dōgen's teaching. Although Dōgen seems to be a proponent of speech over silence, or of expressing the Dharma through discourse, his writings suggest a flexible standpoint that does not prohibit abbreviation. In principle, the abbreviation of the *Eihei Goroku* into the *Eihei Goroku* does not stand in opposition to Dōgen.

But the issue of whether or not this abbreviated text represents either a distillation/essence of Dōgen himself or a kind of condensation that skews the message toward Dōgen Zen cannot be dealt with in abstract theoretical terms. That is, the historical issue immediately transmutes into the hermeneutic issue because the text was the creation of Dōgen's followers, who were not fully aware of or were perhaps somewhat oblivious (in their preoccupation with other agendas) to the priorities of Dōgen's thought. Thus the issue of interpreting the abbreviated text is a matter of historical contextualization—to see how, when, and why the abbreviation was created as well as the function it serves. It seems clear that the creator undertook objectives that were characteristic primarily of Dōgen Zen rather than Dōgen. I-yüan wanted the *Eihei Goroku* to highlight the continuity between Dōgen and Chinese Ts'ao-tung influences including Hung-chih and Ju-ching (just as Ōuchi Seiran and other Meiji lay leaders created a view of repentance in *Shushōgi* based in part on the challenge of Christianity during the Westernization process). However, "Dōgen" and "Dōgen Zen" are by no means mutually exclusive or separable categories but are interconnected on both historical and hermeneutic levels. The abbreviated text as exemplary of Dōgen Zen is significant largely because it can lead us back to an understanding and appropriation of Dōgen.

Thus the historical level of significance reflects the fact that the *Eihei Goroku* demonstrates the importance of, and sharpens our focus on, the later Dōgen, an area of inquiry that has generally been much overlooked in studies of Sōtō Zen. The period of the late Dōgen generally refers to the time that begins around 1246, when he was fully settled into Eihei-ji and had completed

writing the 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* and turned to the *Eihei Kōroku* and, eventually, the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*. But a study of the *Eihei Goroku* shows that the late Dōgen is complex—it is not a single period, but a multifaceted sequence of subperiods. There are several key turning points in the late Dōgen: (1) the beginning of the late period around 9/15, 1246, which is crucial for understanding the construction of the *Eihei Goroku*; (2) Dōgen's return from Kamakura in the third month of 1248, after which he focused on the doctrines of causality and monastic discipline (though not necessarily repentance); and (3) the period beginning around 9/1, 1249, when Gien started editing the *Eihei Kōroku* and Dōgen dedicated himself to the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*. Therefore, the *Eihei Goroku*, by its absence of material due to the fact that it is more a product of Dōgen Zen than of Dōgen, may be pointing to the most significant stage in Dōgen's career, though through a broken lens.

As Martin Heidegger repeatedly argues on the basis of Greek and Germanic sources, the remembrance of a text necessarily involves a forgetting, and in some instances the more profound the forgetting the greater the enhancement of the memory of what is lapsed. Heidegger asks whether we can ever truly know the origins or must "make appeal to a cultivated acquaintance with the past," and he cites the following brief verse by the German poet Hölderlin:

Reluctantly
that which dwells near its origin, departs.²⁶

Thus the hermeneutic issue refers to the way this abbreviated text cannot help but lead back to an appropriation of Dōgen. Although not a pure distillation that provides an ideal introduction to the *Eihei Kōroku*, as some commentators or translations claim, the *Eihei Goroku* is also not merely arbitrary but is an extension that at once preserves yet distorts the source. Dōgen and Dōgen Zen are entangled in an ongoing process of creative misunderstanding and creative hermeneutics, a fact that illustrates that "Dōgen" is not a static entity that can exist apart from how he is perceived and received (heard, understood, interpreted, translated, commented on, transmitted—and distilled, even in a culture of convenience and simulation). The relative lack of focus on the third subperiod in the passages selected for inclusion in the *Eihei Goroku*, which Ishii shows goes against the grain of the *Eihei Kōroku* and the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*, ironically highlights the importance of the late late Dōgen, as well as the reasons it has been overlooked.

NOTES

1. The *Shushōgi* outlines the Zen religious life, which is based on the following principles (paraphrasing the titles of the five sections): understanding the problem of life and death (*shōji*) and the universality of karmic retribution, penitence leading to the eradication of evil karma (*zange metsuzai*), receiving the sixteen precepts (*jukai*

nyūi), benefiting others through a vow of benevolence (*hotsugan rishō*), and expressing gratitude by means of constant practice (*gyōji hōon*). The *Shushōgi* was declared the sect's manual for lay devotion as well as for monastic ritual, by a joint edict issued in 1892 by the abbots of Eiheiji (Takitani Takashū) and Sōjiji (Azegami Baisen), the two head temples (*honzan*) of Sōtō Zen.

2. A complete annotated text with modern Japanese translation of the *Eihei Goroku* is found in Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen Zenji Goroku* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1990). The *Eihei Goroku* is based on the *Eihei Kōroku*, in Kagamishima Genryū, et. al., *Dōgen Zenji zenshū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1991–1993), vols. 3 and 4 (of 7); and it also appears in the *Dōgen Zenji zenshū* (1989), vol. 5, pp. 54–123.

3. The oldest extant version seems to be the Shōhō edition at Tōzenji temple in Aichi prefecture, apparently published not later than 1649.

4. This may seem somewhat surprising to those who have witnessed a boom in translations and studies of the *Shōbōgenzō* in recent years, both in Japanese and in English, but it is an accurate portrayal of the history of Dōgen Zen. On the other hand, the neglect of the *Shōbōgenzō* as well as of the *Eihei Kōroku* during the medieval period does not necessarily indicate an absence of intellectual life or the persistence of a sectarian “dark ages,” as is often interpreted, because the vigorous activity of commentaries on the *Eihei Goroku* and other Zen texts, including Dōgen's *kōan* collection in Chinese, the *Mana Shōbōgenzō*, belies that argument.

5. This is the topic of another essay of mine, “Abbreviation or Aberration: The Role of the *Shushōgi* in Modern Sōtō Zen Buddhism,” in *Buddhism and the Modern World: Adaptations of an Ancient Tradition*, ed. Steven Heine and Charles S. Prebish (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 169–192.

6. On the role of the *shōmono* texts, see, for example, Kaneda Hiroshi, *Tōmon Shōmono to Kokugo Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ōfusha, 1986), and Ishikawa Rikizan, “Chūsei Zen-shū Shi Kenkyū to Zenseki Shōmono Shiryō,” *Dōgen Zenji to Sōtō-shū*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō and Ishikawa Rikizan (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1985), pp. 76–98.

7. See Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity Phantasm Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

8. Thomas Cleary, trans., “Eihei Goroku,” unpublished translation (held at San Francisco Zen Center Library, n.d.), p. 1.

9. See T. Griffith Foulk, “The Form and Function of Koan Literature,” *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Steven Heine, *Dōgen and the Kōan Tradition: A Tale of Two Shōbōgenzō Texts* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1994).

10. Dale S. Wright, *Philosophical Meditations on Zen Buddhism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

11. According to Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History I* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 181, 249, of all the genres, the *kōan* collections are the most prominent examples of Zen literature. Dumoulin refers to the *Hekiganroku* (J. *Pi-yen lu*) as the “epitome of poetic composition in Zen literature . . . [and] one of the foremost examples of religious world literature.” Robert E. Buswell maintains that “a more complex genre of literature can hardly be imagined, rivaling any of the exegetical commentaries of the doctrinal [Buddhist] schools,” in “The ‘Short-Cut’ Approach of K’an-hua Meditation: The Evolution of a Practical Subitism in Chinese Ch’an Bud-

dhism," in *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), p. 345.

12. An example is a technique known as "calling the maid," used by Ta-hui and Musō Sōseki, among others. This sense of abbreviation implying an essential, unmediated wordless word may appear to be quite different from the sense of abbreviation previously mentioned in characterizing the *Eihei Goroku* and *Shushōgi* as abridgements or digests, trying to reduce a text that is too long to make it readable in a nutshell version. But it is necessary to explore the issue of whether the uses of the term are really distinct, or to what extent the abridged texts express a distilled essence of the sources, as some suggest.

13. See Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

14. Note that twenty-three of the seventy-five fascicles were composed in the compressed period of fall 1243 through spring 1244.

15. Steven Heine, trans., *The Zen Poetry of Dōgen: Verses from the Mountain of Eternal Peace* (Boston: Charles E. Tuttle, 1997), p. 137.

16. Dōgen also at times praised Ta-hui, and his criticisms may have been aimed more at Ta-hui's Daruma-shū followers in Japan than at Ta-hui's own doctrines.

17. In Kagamishima, *Dōgen Zenji Goroku*, p. 54.

18. A version of this fascicle discovered in 1930 confirmed the existence of the 12-*Shōbōgenzō* as a separate edition and also suggested that this text formed the basis of a projected 100-fascicle version of the *Shōbōgenzō*; see Heine, "Critical Buddhism and Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō*: The Debate over the 75-Fascicle and 12-Fascicle Texts," *Pruning the Bodhi Tree: The Storm Over Critical Buddhism*, ed. Jamie Hubbard and Paul L. Swanson (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 251–285.

19. In *Taishō* vol. 82, which also includes the 2-volume *Giun Goroku* in addition to several works by Dōgen (*Fukananzengi*, *Gakudōyōjinshū*, the 95-*Shōbōgenzō*, *Eihei Juko* or the ninth volume of the *Eihei Kōroku*, and the *Eihei Shingi*), plus works by Keizan and subsequent leaders of the Sōtō sect.

20. Ishii Shūdō, "Eihei Ryaku Roku kangae: Jūnikanbon *Shōbōgenzō* to Kanren shite," *Matsugaoka Bunko kenkyū nempō* 11 (1997): 73–128. In other words, Ishii's argument is that other scholars tend to view the *Eihei Kōroku* retrospectively, through lenses inappropriately shaded by their view of the *Eihei Goroku* as an authentic digest.

21. Sugawara Yūki, "Eihei Ryaku Roku to Eihei Kōroku: Honbun taishō kō-i," part I, *Zen kenkyū kiyō* 25 (1996): 253–282, and part II, *Zen kenkyū kiyō* 26 (1997): 151–186. Nagahisa Gakusui is another proponent of this thesis.

22. The role of the *Tsung-men T'ung-yao Chi* (J. *Shūmon tōyōshū*) and its influence on Dōgen are discussed in Ishii Shūdō, *Cūgoku Zenshū shi hanasu: Mana Shōbōgenzō ni manabu* (Kyoto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjō, 1988). See also Ishii, "Kung-an Ch'an and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*," *The Kōan*, pp. 110–136.

23. Some of the fascicles of the 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* date from as early as 1240, and other fascicles are difficult to date because the colophons indicate they were edited by Ejō in 1255.

24. According to one count, Hung-chih is cited at least thirty times in EK vols. 2–4 but only four times in vols. 5–7; see Kagamishima Genryū et. al., eds., *Dōgen in 'yō goroku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1995), pp. 123–125.

25. Ishii points out numerous examples in which the wording of passages in the *Eihei Kōroku* is nearly identical to that in Hung-chih's records.

26. Martin Heidegger cites this from "The Journey," verses 18–19, in "The Origin of the Work of Art," in *Basic Writings*, ed. David Farrell Krell (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 187.