

TRANSLATION

Dōgen's *Hōkyō-ki*

Part I

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION BY
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Introduction

THE WORK known as *Hōkyō-ki* 實慶記, literally "A Record from the Pao-ching (Jap., Hōkyō) Era," is a collection in Chinese of some forty-five dialogues between Dōgen Kigen (1200-1253) and his teacher T'ien-t'ung Ju-ching (Tendō Nyojō, 1164-1228) as recorded by Dōgen while he was studying under Ju-ching during the Pao-ching era (1225-1227) of the Southern Sung dynasty. Most of the entries in the work consist of questions by Dōgen on various aspects of Zen practice and doctrine, together with Ju-ching's replies. A few record Ju-ching's instructions alone. Many were apparently exchanges of written notes, a method of conversation which usually became necessary for Japanese monks when they studied with Chinese masters.¹

Dōgen's sojourn in China, covering from May 1223 to August or September 1227,² may be divided conveniently into two periods. The first, which lasted until the middle of 1225, was spent mainly in the study of *kan-hua* (*kanna*), "introspecting the koan," Zen as it was taught under master Wu-chi Liao-pai and other Lin-chi (Rinzai) teachers of the then ascendant Yang-ch'i (Yōgi) line. During this time he also made a number

¹ Although after a year in China Dōgen must have attained a degree of fluency in the spoken language. In *Shōdōgen zō zaimonki* he says he "became proficient in the native dialect" (*Dōgen zenji zenshū*, ed. Ōkubo Dōshū (Tokyo, 1971), vol. 2, p. 449).

² Dates throughout have been adjusted to correspond to the Western calendar.

of trips which included a six-month pilgrimage to Zen centers throughout Chekiang and surrounding regions. The second period falls between 1225 and his departure in 1227. With the exception of several additional pilgrimages, Dōgen spent these years entirely with Ju-ching of the Ts'ao-tung school at the T'ien-t'ung monastery in Ming-chou. It was there, in 1225, during his very first training session, that his religious quest came to an abrupt climax as he achieved a breakthrough into enlightenment. The dialogues recorded in the *Hōkyō-ki* took place sometime during this second two-year period.³

Dōgen's Early Training

Dōgen entered monastic life on Mt. Hiei, the stronghold of the powerful Tendai school northeast of Kyoto, where, in 1213, at the age of thirteen, he was ordained a Buddhist priest by the head prelate of the Tendai sect. For several years thereafter he devoted himself to the study of scriptures and learning the essentials of Tendai doctrine. This program does not seem, however, to have answered the needs of his intensely religious nature. He found himself no nearer spiritual fulfillment, except in the sense that doubts then formed in his inquisitive young mind his teachers were unable to put to rest, doubts which forced his quest elsewhere, ultimately to China.⁴ A talk he gave to his disciples in later years gives a concise self-appraisal of this time before his commencement into Zen training.

It was realization of the transiency of this world that first stirred my mind towards seeking the Way. I went to many temples, visited numerous masters. Finally, I left Mt. Hiei, and my study of the Way took me to the Kennin-ji. Until then I had never met a real teacher . . . I was

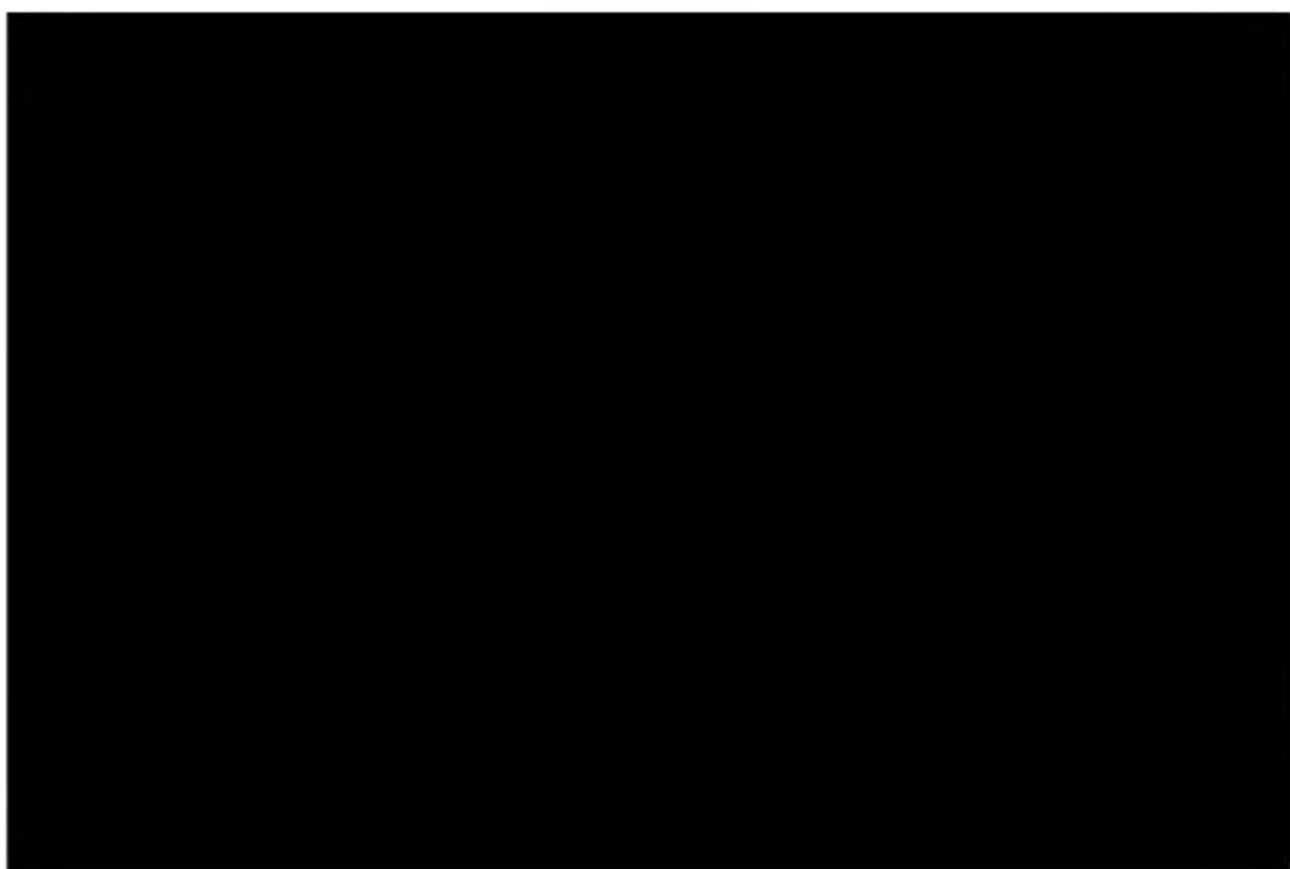
³ Since only one dialogue is dated (entry 2 in the present trans.) there is no way of knowing when the first exchange took place, or the last.

⁴ His central doubt, according to the *Kenzei-ki* 建常記 (a biography of Dōgen by the 13th abbot of Eihei-ji named Kenzei) and the *Sanso gyōgō-ki* 三祖行業記 (biographies of the first three abbots of Eihei-ji, Dōgen, Ejō, Gikai, by an unknown author), concerned the nature of original Buddhahood: According to what is preached by both exoteric and esoteric teachings, man is from the beginning possessed of the Dharma-nature, naturally and in his self-nature. If so, then why is it that all buddhas of past, present, and future give rise to the mind that seeks enlightenment and engage in a quest for Bodhi?

The Approach to Mt. T'ien-t'ung.

deluded, my mind filled with false ideas.

The teachers I had met had advised me first to study until I could be as learned as those who had preceded me. I was told to make myself known to the state and gain fame in the world. Therefore, even while studying the teachings, what was uppermost in my mind was to become the equal of the ancient wise men of Japan or of those who had gained the title of Great Teacher. But . . . on learning about the great priests and Buddhists of China, I could see that their approach was different from those of my teachers. I sensed that the aims with which I had been inspired were looked down upon and despised in all the scriptures. . . . If I wanted to emulate someone, it should be the former sages and eminent priests of China and India, rather than those of Japan. Feeling shame for the fact that I was not equal to them, I realized that, indeed, I should try to be like the . . . Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas. After coming to this understanding, I regarded the great teachers of this country as so much dirt and broken tile. My physical and mental



T'ien-t'ung monastery.

Illustrations from the *T'ien-t'ung ssu shih* (Annals of the T'ien-t'ung monastery).

makeup changed completely.⁵

Dōgen left Mt. Hiei in 1214. For the next two or three years he visited Buddhist teachers in different parts of the country. Finally, he entered the Kennin-ji, a Kyoto temple that had been established some fifteen years before by the Shōgun Minamoto Yoriie for Myōan Eisai, the Rinzai priest who pioneered the teaching methods of the Chinese Lin-chi Zen school in Japan. Some of the lives of Dōgen written by historians in the Sōtō sect state that he personally received Eisai's instruction; others mention him as his disciple. Yet there is no clear evidence in Dōgen's own utterances to substantiate either contention, and it is simply not known what personal contact, if any, he had with his illustrious Rinzai predecessor.⁶ There can be little doubt, however, that the example

⁵ *Zuimonki. Dōgen zenshū* 2, pp. 471-2. Trans. after Masunaga Reihō, *A Priest of Solo Zen* (Hawaii Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 66-7.

⁶ The only place in Dōgen's writings where he states that he actually studied with

of Eisai's determined quest for enlightenment which twice took him to China must have played a significant role in instilling Dōgen with the ambition to attempt a similar journey himself.

From Dōgen's own testimony, it seems more probable that his first real taste of the continental atmosphere which Eisai had imparted to the Kennin-ji came under Butsujūbō Myōzen, the man who succeeded Eisai as abbot on the latter's death in 1215.⁷ It was from Myōzen, Dōgen said, he first learned of the ways of the Lin-chi school. He spoke of him as the only of Eisai's disciples who genuinely transmitted the master's Dharma.⁸

His study under Myōzen began sometime around 1217. Four years later, in 1221, he received Myōzen's sanction. By that time, however, it must have become clear to him that if he was to proceed on in his study of Zen, and achieve his aim of true enlightenment, further training under a Chinese master would be needed. The true Buddhism and the masters who transmitted it, he said, simply did not exist in Japan.⁹ Similar desires were probably shared by more than a few at the Kennin-ji, whose interest in the newly introduced doctrines of Chinese Zen had caused them to gravitate there. The avowed aim of the abbot Myōzen himself was to go to China and gain enlightenment in the true Dharma so that he might return to Japan and impart it to his countrymen.¹⁰

By the time Dōgen received the transmission from Myōzen, a trip to China seems already to have been in the planning stages.¹¹

On March 25, 1223, travel permits were issued by the authorities, and Dōgen and his teacher Myōzen together with two other young monks left the Kennin-ji bound for Hakata, in Kyūshū, the port of embarkation

Eisai is in *Hōkyō-ki* (entry one), but this entry is not found in the earliest 30 of the text. Arguments as to an Eisai-Dōgen meeting are summarized in an article by Nakaseko Shōdō in *Sanshō*, no. 50, *rinji zōkan gō*, 1975, "*Hōkyō-ki shubun no gitan*," pp. 129-32.

⁷ E.g., *Bendōwa*, *Kōhon kōtai Shōbōgenzō*, ed. Ōkubo Doshū (Tokyo, 1971), p. 729. Hereafter all ref. to *Shōbōgenzō* (SBGZ) is to this edition, which is a reduced facsimile reprint of volume one of the *Dōgen zenji zenshū* (Tokyo, 1969).

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ E.g., *Gakudo-yōjinshū*, *Dōgen zenshū* 2, pp. 255-6; *Bendōwa*, SBGZ, p. 738.

¹⁰ *Zaimonki*, *op. cit.*, pp. 485-6; Masunaga, pp. 85-7.

¹¹ Takeuchi Michio, *Dōgen* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1962), p. 69.

for ships making the crossing to China. Attempts were as perilous as they were rare. Records show that the previous party of Japanese monks to have attempted the voyage had set sail five years before and were never heard from again. The next group would not leave until nine years later.¹²

Soon after arrival in Hakata they boarded ship, probably a trading vessel, and, after a rough and stormy passage, made landfall the beginning of May near the coast at Ch'ing-yuan fu in Ming-chou, present Ning-po in Chekiang province.¹³

The First Years in China

The year they arrived, 1223, fell during the tail end of the Emperor Ning-tsung's reign (1195-1224). The previous century the non-Chinese state of Chin had invaded the Sung and captured the Northern Sung capital, Pien-ching, forcing the Sung court to the south, where, eventually, they established a new seat of government in the city of Ling-an, near present Hang-chou in Chekiang. There the Southern Sung emperors reigned until the final downfall of the dynasty in 1279 under the onslaught of the Mongols led by Khubilai Khaghan. In 1222 an attempted incursion by the Chin had been successfully repulsed, and on the whole Dōgen's five year stay was marked by a brief period of calm in an otherwise dark century of Chinese history.

Not long after they made port, Myōzen disembarked and travelled to the Ching-te monastery on Mt. T'ien-t'ung, which lay twenty-five miles to the east. There, some thirty years before, his master Eisai had studied and received the Dharma transmission of the Lin-chi master Hsu-an Huai-ch'ang (Kian Eshō, 虛庵懷敞). Dōgen, for reasons unknown, did not accompany Myōzen at this time but spent the first three months quartered on board ship. He took advantage of the opportunity, however, to make short trips to observe actual circumstances at some of the many temples in the immediate area.¹⁴ His high expectations and initial enthusiasm were dampened somewhat when, after finally reaching the land of

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 73-5.

¹³ *SBGZ sanmen*, p. 431. The movements of the other two monks from this point are unknown.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

the authentic Buddhism, he discovered that the Chinese monks he encountered were ignorant of even elementary Buddhist hygienic practices. It seems he was particularly repelled by the foul breath of the priests, which made it difficult for him to stay within conversation range of them.¹⁵

But this was soon offset by an encounter he had with the elderly kitchen steward of the nearby A-yu-wang monastery. Hearing that a Japanese ship was in port, the priest had come to purchase some of the dried Japanese mushrooms it was carrying for use in the monastery kitchens. Dōgen's account of this dialogue with the kitchen steward, duly recorded in his work *Tenzo kyōkun*, registers his clear respect for the devotion the monk showed to his kitchen duties, but also a measure of puzzlement at his intimation that such work was every bit as much a part of Zen life as koan study or zazen.¹⁶ Some months later, at the T'ien-t'ung monastery, the comments of another elderly monk gave him cause to reflect deeper on the kitchen steward's words and eventually brought home to him their full meaning.¹⁷ That he owed this lesson to the everyday examples of two nameless monks gave it an added significance.

Dōgen joined Myōzen at Mt. T'ien-t'ung sometime toward the first of August to begin his long-anticipated practice in the training halls of a Chinese monastery.¹⁸

The Ching-te monastery (Keitoku-ji) on Mt. T'ien-t'ung (Tendō-san) in the thirteenth century was a great monastery complex said by contemporary witnesses to have had upwards of five hundred students in residence. It ranked third among the Five Zen "Mountains," the leading

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

¹⁶ *Dōgen zenshū* 2, p. 298.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* An account of this meeting may be found in *Zen Master Dōgen*, Yuhō Yokoi and Daizen Victoria (Tokyo, 1976), p. 30.

¹⁸ In some biographical sources, we are told that as newly-arrived foreign monks, Myōzen and Dōgen were at first relegated to the same low status as Chinese novices fresh from their vows, in disregard of their years of practice in Japan, but that Dōgen appealed, first to temple authorities, and finally to the Emperor Ning-tsung himself, who, the story goes, ordered the situation rectified. Again, nowhere does Dōgen make mention of any such incident, and most modern writers on the subject, while admitting the possibility of some such trouble having occurred, are inclined to doubt the factuality of the story as related. Takeuchi, pp. 114-17.

Zen monasteries of the time. The head priest Wu-chi Liao-p'ai 無際了派 (Musai Ryōha, d. 1224) was a disciple of Fo-chao Te-kuang 仏照徳光 (Busshō Tokkō, 1121-1203), himself the most important follower of the celebrated Lin-chi priest Ta-hui Tsung-kao 大慧宗杲 (Daie Sokō, 1089-1163). Ta-hui's progeny to a large extent dominated Southern Sung Zen. Most of the head priests in the important monasteries were affiliated to his line and practiced the *kan-hua* (*kanna*) Zen which he had zealously championed and which had become the established method of the Lin-chi school.

What is known from the isolated incidents related in Dōgen's writings of his first years at Mt. T'ien-t'ung is enough to suggest that in spite of his later outspoken condemnation of the lax standards of practice he had witnessed in Chinese Lin-chi temples,¹⁹ there were among the brotherhood at Mt. T'ien-t'ung genuinely sincere religious seekers who were of great help in allowing him to gain a deeper understanding of Zen monastery life. They became part of the lasting impressions he brought back with him to Japan. Many of their names and episodes in which they figure may be found in the pages of the *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*.²⁰

One of the things which began to draw deep interest from Dōgen from around this time when he first learned of it, was the *ssu-shu* 嗣書 (Jap., *shisho*) or Certificate of Transmission. This document, which began to be used in the Northern Sung period, was given by a Zen master to a disciple to testify to the fact that he had taken his place in the line of succession. The style in which they were composed varied with the different lines. The one Dōgen eventually received from Ju-ching, that of the Ts'ao-tung school, lists the names of all the Zen patriarchs of the line in an unbroken succession beginning with Sakyamuni and going up to Ju-ching, followed by Dōgen's own name.²¹ As concrete expressions of the all-important master to disciple transmission of the Zen Dharma, the *ssu-shu* were held in extreme veneration, and were rarely shown to others. With

¹⁹ E.g., *SBGZ jisho sammai*, pp. 556-7.

²⁰ See Masunaga, pp. 16; 34; 46; 47; 79; 101-2.

²¹ Dōgen's *shisho* is still preserved in the Eihei-ji. It is reproduced in *Dōgen zenshi* 2, p. 287.

persistence, however, Dōgen was able to see examples of over half a dozen such certificates while he was in China, including those of most of the major Zen lines.²²

His training at Mt. T'ien-t'ung might have continued on uninterrupted, but in autumn of 1224 his teacher Wu-chi passed away. When winter came Dōgen set out on a pilgrimage in search of a new master that lasted the next six months. One of the first stops he made was at the famous Wan-shou monastery on Mt. Ching 徑山萬壽寺 (Kinzan Manju-ji) near the Southern Sung capital at Lin-an.

The Mt. Ching monastery was the foremost Zen institution in all China, first of the five great mountain-monasteries, with well over one thousand students in residence. The abbot was Che-weng Ju-yen 所爲如珠 (Setsuō Nyotan, n.d.), like Wu-chi, an heir of Fo-chao Te-kuang. Dōgen's later assessment of Fo-chao and Lin-chi priests of his line was extremely critical. In *Shōbōgenzō* he quotes with approval words he heard his master Ju-ching speak bewailing the growing debilitation of the Zen world. Since the head priests in all the temples had taken their training under Fo-chao, Ju-ching said, it was no wonder they lacked real religious aspiration. Fo-chao did not even take part in Zen practice. He was earnest only in pursuit of fame and influence, his time taken up associating with officials and friends to the neglect of his students' needs.²³

But this opinion probably took concrete shape in Dōgen's mind largely after he had come under the influence of Ju-ching's ideas. At the time, inasmuch as Che-weng had been a brother disciple of Wu-chi, he was presumably given a warm reception, and no doubt he succeeded in furthering his understanding of the koan exercises as practiced in the Yang-ch'i line.

When he left the Wan-shou monastery his peregrinations took him to other temples to the east of Lin-an, and as far south as Wen-chou. One of the highlights of his journey must have been the welcome he was given by abbot Yuan-tzu 元肅 (Genshi) of the Wan-nien temple 萬年寺 (Mannen-ji) at Mt. T'ien-t'ai.²⁴ Four or five days prior to his

²² Circumstances described in Takeuchi, pp. 127-36.

²³ *SBGZ gōji*, p. 158.

²⁴ *SBGZ shisho*, pp. 944-5.

arrival a figure Yuan-tzu took to be the T'ang priest Ta-mei Fa-chao 大梅法常 (Daibai Hōjō) had appeared to him in a dream and held out a spray of plum flowers, saying, "If a true man comes to you over the railing of a ship, do not begrudge him flowers." When Dōgen, fitting the description perfectly, appeared soon afterwards, Yuan-tzu was sure he was the one alluded to. Yuan-tzu's Certificate of Transmission was written on paper with a pattern of plum blossoms. Interpreting this to be the flowers mentioned in the dream, he lent his certificate to Dōgen, made a room available, and left him alone to examine the document to his heart's content. He had never before shown it to anyone. He intimated he was even willing to grant Dōgen his own Seal of Transmission, making him his heir. There can be little doubt from his relating of this episode in *Shōbōgenzo* that Dōgen was deeply moved by these events. But he merely thanked Yuan-tzu deeply and let the offer pass. Later, on his way back to Mt. T'ien-t'ung, while stopping over at lodgings on Mt. Ta-mei, he too had a dream in which the patriarch Ta-mei appeared with a spray of plum blossoms in his hand.²⁵

It may have been then as he was returning to Mt. T'ien-t'ung that he learned Chang-weng Ju-ching had been appointed to succeed Wu-chi at the monastery. Another account suggests that the news reached him some months before while he was at Mt. Ching but that he had decided to continue his pilgrimage anyway.²⁶ Whatever the case, Dōgen now made his way back to Mt. T'ien-t'ung to find out if the new head priest was indeed the master he had been seeking.

Dōgen and Ju-ching

Chang-weng Ju-ching 長翁如淨 (Chōō Nyojō), later known also as T'ien-t'ung Ju-ching, was born in 1163 in Yueh-chou. At the age of nineteen he turned his back on the scholastic Buddhism he had been pursuing and set out on a peripatetic round of visits to the great Zen centers of the time. He received instruction under a number of well-known Zen masters, including, it seems, the celebrated Lin-chi teacher Sung-yuan Ch'ung-yueh

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Ōkubo Dōshū, *Dōgen zengi den no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1966), pp. 146-7; Takeuchi, p. 147.

松源樂岳 (Shōgen Sugaku, 1139–1209). Finally he went to Mt. Hsueh-tou in Ming-chou, where he joined the assembly of the Ts'ao-tung (Sōtō) master Tsu-an Chih-chien 足庵智鑑 (Sokuan Chikan). Under Tsu-an he attained enlightenment while he was working on the koan entitled Chao-chou's Cypress in the Garden.²⁷ He spent the next twenty years deepening his understanding in practice while roaming throughout the country. Eventually, in his late forties, he was elected abbot of the Ching-liang 清涼 temple in present Fukien province. This was followed by similar appointments in a succession of other temples, which included two separate tours at the important Ching-tz'u monastery 淨慈 in Lin-an. Then, at the beginning of 1225 (or late 1224), at the age of sixty-two, he was appointed by the Sung court to be master of the Ching-te monastery on Mt. T'ien-t'ung. He remained at that post for a little over a year, and then retired from the official business of monastery affairs to a small temple nearby where he was able to devote himself more exclusively to strictly religious matters. Two years later, toward the end of August 1228, he passed away at the age of sixty-five. The utterances recorded by Dōgen in the *Hōkyō-ki* belong to these last years.

Although Ju-ching was at the time the leading representative of Ts'ao-tung Zen, much of his own practice had been under Lin-chi teachers, and his own teaching methods included the use of koan. His outspoken criticism of the errors and lack of dedication which he deplored as the besetting sins of the dominant Lin-chi school seems to have had little to do with sectarian considerations; the only real question was the depth of commitment to religious practice. He is said to have been admired throughout the Buddhist world and at the Sung court as well for his devotion to Buddhism and for the strict, even severe training he gave his monks. He had served as master at two of the highest ranking monasteries of the Sung, and was at the time of his death probably in line for the most honored post of all, the abbotship of the Mt. Ching monastery.²⁸

Ju-ching had had a veritable passion for zazen ever since his entrance

²⁷ Itō Keidō, *Dōgen zenji kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daito, 1939), pp. 100–1. Despite its title this work is devoted chiefly to a study of Ju-ching. It has provided most of the material in these paragraphs.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

into Zen life. At Mt. T'ien-t'ung, though in his sixties, he sat with his students every night until eleven o'clock, and then awoke at two-thirty or three and sat again until morning. Any monk who could not keep up with this pace and was caught dozing was liable to be rudely awakened with a blow from the master's fist or slipper. If that failed, he would strike the bell for attention and lecture the assembly to impress upon them the responsibility they had taken on when they left home to enter a life of Buddhist practice.²⁹

But his severity sprang from the feeling of deep compassion he felt for the monks in his charge. Dōgen tells how on one occasion Ju-ching called the assembly together and apologized to them for his strictness, explaining to them that his only desire was somehow to guide them free of their illusions and on to enlightenment.³⁰

The summer training session, which lasted from about the middle of the fourth lunar month to the middle of the seventh (from about May 20th to Aug. 20th), was already under way when Dōgen reached Mt. T'ien-t'ung. On June 8th, 1225, he made his initial appearance before Ju-ching. Until then his experience had been solely with Lin-chi teachers. It was his first encounter with a master of the Ts'ao-tung line. Ju-ching was quick to impress Dōgen with the unique importance of the master-disciple relationship.

On June 8, 1225 I first burned incense and made obeisance before the old buddha Ju-ching in his quarters in the Miao-kao t'ai. It was the first time the old buddha saw me. He sat directly before me and told me: "The Dharma gate of direct face-to-face transmission communicated from buddha to buddha and patriarch to patriarch comes to immediate manifestation right here."³¹

Ju-ching did not allow monks in his training halls unless he was convinced of their dedication. Others would be driven away without hesita-

²⁹ *Zuimonki*, *op. cit.*, p. 457; *Masunaga*, p. 46.

³⁰ *Zuimonki*, *op. cit.*, p. 432; *Masunaga*, p. 11.

³¹ *SBGZ manju*, p. 446.

tion. Dōgen's extraordinary resolve and insatiable appetite for zazen made a strong impression on him. Evidence of his high assessment of Dōgen's potential is revealed by the mere fact that he granted him so much of his time. For Dōgen, his joy in the realization that he had found a true master knew no bounds. "By what fortune had I," he later wrote,

a mere seed from a far-off foreign land, not only been allowed to reside in his monastery, but to come and go at will in the inner precincts of the temple, to observe at close hand the bearing of my honored teacher, and to ask him about the Dharma. Though I was ignorant and unenlightened, I formed a fine relationship with him that could not have helped but prove fruitful.³²

Toward the end of the summer training session, a little less than two and a half months after his first interview with Ju-ching, Dōgen's breakthrough into enlightenment occurred.

One night, when Ju-ching was going around the zazen hall, he saw a monk in zazen dropping off to sleep. He rebuked him: "Commitment to Zen calls for the falling off of body and mind. What good will it do you, just sleeping like that!" Dōgen, who was sitting nearby and heard this, suddenly became one with enlightenment.³³

Two months later, on October 18, a ceremony was held in which Ju-ching presented Dōgen, then twenty-five years old, with a document officially testifying to his realization. He was, after Eisai, only the second Japanese monk to be sanctioned by a Chinese Zen master.

He remained at Mt. T'ien-t'ung for two more years. There was an offer from Ju-ching to make him his attendant, which Dōgen declined on the grounds it would represent an affront to the Chinese monks for a foreigner to hold such a position.³⁴ He appears also to have made one last pilgrimage during this period. His itinerary, however, is not known with certainty.

In the spring of 1227, the year he returned to Japan, he received Ju-

³² *SBGZ baika*, p. 459.

³³ This, one of several slightly different versions, is found in the *Nihon shōjō ransō roku*, *kan 1*.

³⁴ *Zuimonki*, *op. cit.*, p. 419; *Maminaga*, p. 99.

ching's Certificate of Transmission. It verified that he was "fully conversant with the authentic realization of the buddhas and patriarchs," and designated him as Ju-ching's legitimate heir, the 51st patriarch of the Ts'ao-tung line in direct descent from Sakyamuni Buddha. He was the first Japanese Zen monk of any line to be so honored.

Shortly before his departure, Ju-ching presented him with a robe of transmission which had once belonged to the Northern Sung Ts'ao-tung master Fu-jung Tao-k'ai (Fuyō Dōkai, 1043-1118), two works by Ts'ao-tung founder Tung-shan Liang-kai, and a portrait of himself.³⁵ According to a tradition in the Sōtō sect, the night before he left he borrowed a copy of the *Pi-yen chi* (*Hekiganroku*) koan collection and, with help, copied the entire text overnight in order to be able to take it back with him.³⁶

In September or October of 1227, he touched foot back in Japan after an absence of slightly less than four and a half years.

Texts and Commentaries

Until they were discovered a few months after Dōgen's death, the manuscript pages which now make up the *Hōkyō-ki* seem to have been unknown to even his closest followers. Kōun Ejō (1198-1280), his successor as abbot, came upon them as he was sorting through Dōgen's personal effects in the abbot's quarters of the Eihei-ji. He transcribed the text on the 10th day of the 12th month, the 5th year of Kenchō (Dec. 31, 1254). His colophon suggests he had reason to believe there may at one time have been more material.

These writings were among the literary remains of my late master, the old buddha (Dōgen). I wondered as I began to make this copy if there were any more. How exceedingly regrettable that they were not fully completed.

Ejō's manuscript is the earliest recension of the text, Dōgen's holographs being no longer extant. A printed edition of the *Hōkyō-ki* did not appear

³⁵ *Dōgen zenji den*, pp. 168-70.

³⁶ What is presumed to be Dōgen's handwritten copy of this work, known as the "One Night Hekigan," is kept in the Daijō-ji in Ishikawa pref. See Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust* (Kyoto, 1966), p. 358.

until the eighteenth century. It was based on later manuscript copies. In the absence of Dōgen's or Ejō's manuscript, doubts were voiced through the years as to the *Hōkyō-ki*'s authenticity. These were dispelled with the rediscovery of the Ejō copy in 1930. For the present translation I have used the text included in the recently reedited edition of Dōgen's works by Ōkubo Dōshū, the *Dōgen Zenji Zenshū* (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1970) vol. 2, pp. 371–88.

Of the few commentaries which do exist, that accompanying the Iwanami bunko edition of the *Hōkyō-ki* (Tokyo, 1938) by Ui Hakuju has proved most helpful. The *Hōkyō-ki monge* 闡解, a transcription of talks on the *Hōkyō-ki* by the Tokugawa Sōtō priest Menzan Zuibō (1683–1769) which was first published in 1878 (Morie, Tokyo), and a special number of the journal *Sanshō* devoted to a study of *Hōkyō-ki* (no. 50 *rinji zōkan gō*) which appeared in 1975, have also provided useful information for the footnotes.

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The *Hōkyō-ki* may in no sense be regarded as a finished literary work; nor, certainly, can Dōgen have had any intention of its being widely read. It may perhaps best be read for what it is: part of a diary or collection of memoranda kept by Dōgen as a record of his master's instructions. It is interesting to note, however, that a number of the very themes taken up in the *Hōkyō-ki* are found given consonant exposition in Dōgen's own writings, most markedly, perhaps, in some of the later books of the *Shōbōgenzō*.³⁷

³⁷ Translations of these later books may be found in *Zen Master Dōgen*.

Hōkyō-ki

(TEXT)

1. The mind that aspires to enlightenment arose in me at an early age.¹ In my search for the Way I visited various religious teachers in my own land and gained some understanding of the causal nature of the world. Yet the real end of the Three Treasures (Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha) was still unclear; I clung vainly to the banner of mere names and forms.² Later, I entered the chambers of the Zen master Senkō and there first learned the characteristic ways of the Lin-chi school.³ Now, I have accompanied priest Myōzen to the land of the Sung. I have sailed ten thousand leagues, entrusting this phantom body of mine to the surging seas. I have at last reached the great Sung and am now able to join your students and receive your guidance and Dharma teaching. It must be the blessing of some favorable karma from a previous existence.

Master Ju-ching, I appeal to your great compassion and mercy. What I, an insignificant person from a far-off land, request, is to be allowed frequent access to your quarters so I might ask questions about my humble thoughts, regardless of the hour and without being bound by the usual formalities of dress.⁴ Birth and death is the great matter; the changes of impermanence come swiftly.⁵ Time does not wait, and if I left having failed to learn from a true sage, I should long regret it.

Abbot, great priest and Zen master, in your deep compassion and mercy, please have pity and allow me to ask you about the Way and the Buddha Dharma.

Bowing in supplication for your compassionate consideration of his

¹ According to his biographers, the death of his mother when he was seven caused him to realize the impermanence of things.

² Ref. to his previous study of Tendai Buddhism on Mt. Hiei and elsewhere.

³ Senkō 千光. Myōan Eisai's (明惠榮西, 1141-1215) post. title. See introd., pp. 119-20.

⁴ *Usual formalities of dress* would dictate that Dōgen wear his surplice (*kasbya*; Jap. *kesa*) when entering the head priest's quarters. In his reply below Ju-ching seems to mean Dōgen is to be allowed to come even in his work clothing.

⁵ A saying from the *Platform Sutra* Dōgen was particularly fond of quoting.

request, the disciple Dōgen submits the above with infinite veneration.⁶

[Ju-ching's reply] As to the request you have made: From this time hence, day or night without regard to the hour, whether you are wearing your surplice or not, you are free to come to my quarters and ask about the Way. I shall be just like a father allowing lack of ceremony in his son.

The abbot of Mount Tai-pai⁷

2. The first year of Pao-ch'ing (Hōkyō), the second day of the seventh month [Aug. 7, 1225]. I went to the abbot's quarters.⁸

I asked: "Now priests everywhere speak about the 'special transmission outside the scriptures.' This, they declare, is the real meaning in the First Patriarch Bodhidharma's coming from the West.⁹ What do they mean?"

⁶ This opening statement by Dōgen, the only place he mentions Eisai as his teacher, is lacking in the Ejö ms but is found in other early mss. The debate as to its authenticity is summarized by Nakaseko in *Sanshō*, no. 50, 1975, pp. 129-32.

⁷ Mt. Tai-pai 太白山: Mt. T'ien-t'ung (天童山 Tendō-san), location of the Ching-te monastery (景徳寺 Keitoku-ji). These three names are used more or less interchangeably.

⁸ Elsewhere (*SBGZ monju*, p. 446), Dōgen says his first appearance before Ju-ching occurred the first day of the fifth month (June 8) 1225. The 2-month interval here may be accounted for by the fact that the sequence of the entries in the text as we have it is not strictly chronological. Thus this entry would belong later in actual point of time. It is equally conceivable, however, that this is indeed the first entry of the text proper (excluding the first introductory exchange), in which case the interval could be explained as a period during which Dōgen was being subjected to Ju-ching's scrutiny, since it is unlikely Ju-ching would have acceded to Dōgen's request in entry 1 in the manner he did without first having observed him for a while.

⁹ *Special transmission outside the scriptures* (*kyōga betsuuden* 教外別傳) is often understood to refer to the Zen brought to China by Bodhidharma which is "transmitted from mind to mind" and is distinct from the scriptural teachings which transmit the Buddha's words by means of language (priests prior to Bodhidharma being regarded largely as translators or teachers of doctrine). According to this, the essence of Buddhism is not to be found in any written or spoken words, nor based on any scriptural text, but is only transmitted through direct experience from one mind to another. Together, *kyōga betsuuden* and *furyū monji* (不立文字 non-dependence on words) are representative expressions of the Zen standpoint. In the *Hōkyō-ki*, *kyōga betsuuden* is equivalent to terms such as Buddha Way, Buddha Dharma, Way of the (buddhas and) patriarchs.

Ju-ching taught: "How could the great Way of the buddhas and patriarchs have anything to do with 'inside' or 'outside'? The so-called special transmission outside or apart from the Buddhist scriptures merely refers to the transmission made when the First Patriarch came from the West and personally transmitted the Way of authentic Buddhist practice, which was in addition to that made by priests such as Kashyapa Matanga. The world could not have two Buddha Dharmas. Before the First Patriarch arrived here in the East only the baggage and outer trappings were here; there was as yet no master, no true owner for them.¹⁰ With his arrival, however, it was like a people acquiring a king—the land, treasures, and the people of the country all fall under his sovereignty."

3. I reverently asked: "Eminent priests in all the Zen monasteries past and present say: 'Right here and now, to be without even a speck of discrimination whether hearing or not hearing, seeing or not seeing, is the Way of the buddhas and patriarchs.'¹¹ With that, they hold up a fist, raise a *hassu*, give loud shouts, wield their staffs, making it so their students can't even guess at what they mean.¹² That is after all different in kind from any part of the Buddha's entire activity of salvation; they can't even anticipate a favorable future existence.¹³ Can things of this sort be the

¹⁰ According to one tradition, Buddhism is said to have been first transmitted to China in the 10th year of Yung-p'ing (67 A.D.), during the Latter Han dynasty, when the Indian priest Kashyapa Matanga arrived bringing with him sutras ("the trappings"). Opposed to this would be Bodhidharma's authentic personal transmission. Ju-ching explains that while the true Dharma is indeed passed from mind to mind, it is not apart from the teaching contained in the written canon; rather the personal transmission conveys the spirit which is contained in the sutras preached by the Buddha. The idea is not to reject the sutras; rather to grasp directly the living spirit contained in them.

¹¹ Similar expressions appear in various Zen masters' recorded sayings. E.g., "The great matter of your life lies right under your very nose. A thousand holy gentlemen [buddhas and patriarchs] might grope for it but they could never reach it. Yet just as you are right now, seeing or not seeing, hearing or not hearing, preaching or not preaching, knowing or not knowing—where have you got this from?" Yuan-wu K'o-ch'in (Enko Kokugon, 1069–1135), *Pi-yan lu* (*Hekiganroku*), introduction to Case 56.

¹² Allusion to methods associated with Lin-chi Zen.

¹³ In the original context, the meaning of this sentence is uncertain. I have emended 問 to 問, as suggested in some ms copies. If the former reading were adopted, the sentence

Way of the buddha-patriarchs?"

Ju-ching taught: "The notion that there is no future existence is really the unbuddhist idea that denies future life.¹⁴ The teaching undertaken for man's salvation by buddha after buddha and patriarch after patriarch contains not a single word of unbuddhist teaching. If there weren't any future existence, there wouldn't be any present existence either. This world now exists, so how could there be no existence in the future? We and those like us have been followers of Buddha for a long, long time. How could we be the same as the non-Buddhists?

"As for keeping a student's mind right here now without allowing him any second considerations, a teaching like that is a matter of skillful means employed on the part of buddha-patriarchs. It doesn't mean there is nothing to be obtained on the part of the student. If that were so, they wouldn't go to study with a master, and buddhas wouldn't appear in the world either. If all that were necessary was to come directly to full understanding right now in your hearing and seeing, and that without any realization of faith or any practice and confirmation of enlightenment, then why couldn't inhabitants of the northern continent Uttarakuru obtain the Buddha's salvation too? They can see and hear and perceive things, can't they?"¹⁵

might read: And so, after all, they never allow their students to inquire into the activity of Buddhist salvation in its entirety, or to anticipate a favorable future existence.

¹⁴ *Dankon gedō* 斷見外道. One of a number of "heterodoxical" (= non-Buddhist) teachings (see fn. 39). Menzan's comment: "Confucianists, for example, all hold to the non-Buddhist idea that denies future life: at death the spiritual part of your existence ascends to heaven while the physical part returns to earth. They do not believe in paradise or hell in a future existence. That (karmic retribution) is a Buddhist idea." *Hōkyō-ki monji* 170.

¹⁵ Mt. Sumeru, according to the Buddhist cosmology, is surrounded by four island continents. Human beings inhabit the southern continent. In the northern, Uttarakuru (Jap., Hokuashū, 北州), the inhabitants have lifespans of a thousand years. There is unrelenting pleasure, food and clothing obtainable without work, and suffering is unknown. Thus although they see, hear, and perceive things as human beings do, conditions do not exist through which they might obtain the salvation offered in the Buddha Dharma. *Uttarakuru* is one of eight locations which are, for varying reasons, cut off from the Buddha's teaching.

4. I asked: "Zen teachers of past and present say, 'It's like a fish. It drinks in water and knows by itself its coolness or warmth. This kind of self-knowing is awakening, and this awakening is none other than the enlightenment of the buddhas.' But to this I would say: If self-knowing alone were right enlightenment, wouldn't that mean sentient beings, who are all able to know things by themselves, were all rightly enlightened Tathagatas?"

"Some say: That is so. All sentient beings are eternally subsisting Tathagatas. Others say: Sentient beings are not necessarily all Tathagatas. If a sentient being realizes that the knowledge inherent in its own self-knowing nature is itself enlightenment, then he is a Tathagata. If he does not yet realize it, he is not a Tathagata.

"Are such teachings the Dharma of the Buddha?"

Ju-ching taught: "If one says all sentient beings are from the first buddhas, that would fall under the teaching of the non-Buddhist school of Naturalism which holds that all comes about as a matter of natural course.¹⁶ To take the self and its activities and liken that to the buddhas cannot escape the error of 'thinking you have attainment or enlightenment when you really don't.'¹⁷

5. I asked: "When a student is concentrating on negotiating the Way, are there things he should know about his mental and physical deportment?"

The abbot taught: "The First Patriarch came from the West and the Buddha Dharma entered China. It could hardly lack a mind and body.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Jinm gedō* 自然外道. Another commonly cited non-Buddhist teaching. This would among other things deny the need for arising of faith, practice, and realization, and all causal relationships. Ju-ching felt many of the Lin-chi teachers of his time had fallen into this category. See Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen zenji no inyo-kyōten, goroku no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1965), p. 141.

¹⁷ A phrase from the *Lotus Sutra*.

¹⁸ Probably: being centered in practice, Bodhidharma's Buddhism must of course provide guidelines for that practice. The restrictions given below by Ju-ching are for the most part self-explanatory. Many similar provisions are found in the Zen monastery regulations, in Chih-i's *Mo-ho chih-kuan* (*Maka shikan*), and in standard Buddhist Vinaya works. Some reflect the specific geographical circumstances of the Chekiang region.

"To begin with, when a student first starts to concentrate his effort
 in negotiating the Buddha Way:
 He should not have extended illness.
 He should not take long trips.
 He should not devote much time to the reading of texts.
 He should not debate much with others.
 He should not engage much in temple affairs.¹⁹
 He should not eat the five pungent roots.
 He should not eat meat.
 He should not consume much milk.
 He should not drink wine or spirits.
 He should not eat any food not obtained through donation.
 He should not listen to music, songs, and the like.
 He should not see dancing girls.
 He should not see any act of cruelty.
 He should not see anything low and unworthy (licentious conduct and
 the like).
 He should not have close relations with kings or prime ministers.
 He should not eat hard or uncooked foods.
 He should not wear dirty or grease-soiled garments.
 He should not go to see slaughterhouses or other places where animals
 are killed.
 He should not drink mountain tea or *feng-peng yao*²⁰ (from Mt. T'ien-t'ai)
 when they have lost their freshness.
 He must not eat fungi of any kind.²¹
 He must have no connection with whatever concerns wealth or fame.

¹⁹ *Temple affairs* (營務 *ei-mu*). The *Buddhō ga daijiten* (p. 109c), citing this occurrence of the word, gives the def.: *worldly affairs*. Menzan's def.: any activity other than *zazen*. *Monge*, 240.

²⁰ Lit., "wind-disease medicine" 風病藥. Unclear. The explanation by Menzan (*Monge*, 26r) and Ui (p. 71), that it was a specific used in treating apoplexy and epileptic-type disorders, would seem somewhat incongruous in this context. Perhaps a cold remedy.

²¹ 摺 (蕈). Dictionaries generally give *mulberry fruit*, but from evidence elsewhere in Dōgen's works, it would seem to refer to *fungi*. See *Dōgen zōshū* 2, p. 298.

He must not consume much milk, butter,²¹ or honey.

He must not associate with people who have sexual deformities.

He must not eat too many preserved plums or dried chestnuts.

He must not eat too many longan fruit, litchee nuts, or olives.²²

He must not eat much sugar of any kind.

He must not wear thickly wadded garments.²⁴ He should wear cotton clothing.

He must not eat military rations.²³

He must not go to observe the clamor of quarreling voices or the roar of rumbling chariots; or view herds of pigs or sheep.

He must not go to look at great fish or gaze at the ocean²⁶; at unworthy pictures,²⁷ giants, hunchbacks, or the like. He must have blue mountains and valley streams always in view.

He should illuminate his mind with the light of the teachings of the past.

He should therefore read sutras of Total Truth.²⁸

"A monk engaged in a life of zazen practice should not ordinarily allow his feet to be unwashed. When he becomes restless or agitated, mentally or physically, he should at once recite by heart the preface to the Bodhisattva precepts."²⁹

²¹ 麝 is identified by Mizuno in her modern Jap. trans. (*Saishō*, p. 26) as 麝香, storax, an aromatic oil or resin obtained from a tree native to Persia. See Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Ch'eng-wen reprint, Taiwan, 1967), pp. 456-60.

²² *Kan-lan* 橄欖, similar to but different from the Mediterranean olive. *Sino-Iranica*, p. 417.

²⁴ Worn in China in cold weather.

²³ Grain, cooked and dried, used as food for the common soldier. *Monge*, 270.

²⁶ *Great fish* 大魚. Cf. John Evelyn's *Diary*, June 31, 1658: "A large whale was taken . . . which drew an infinite concourse to see it, by water, horse, coach, and on foot, from London and all parts . . ."

²⁷ Lit. "bad pictures" 惡圖. Pornographic pictures according to *Monge*, 28r.

²⁸ *Ryōgi-kyō*. The orthodox def.: sutras in which the truth is preached directly without recourse to "skillful means." But see below, fn. 61.

²⁹ 菩薩戒序. There are (Mahayana) Bodhisattva precepts in several sutras. Ui says (p. 72) this is the preface, ascribed to Seng-chao (Sōjō), to the precepts in the *Brahma-net Sutra* (*Fan-wang ching* 梵網經). Also see *Saishō*, p. 118, fns. 1 & 7.

I asked: "What are the Bodhisattva precepts?"

The abbot said: "What Lung-ch'an there is reciting right now."³⁰

[He continued]

"He must not become familiar with small or lowborn men."

I asked: "What are 'small' men?"

Ju-ching said: "Those full of greed."

[And continued]

"He must not keep animals such as tiger cubs, baby elephants, dogs, or cats as pets. These days, head priests in all the Zen monasteries have cats.³¹ It's a bad thing, really. The practice of ignorant men. The sixteen acts of misconduct are something which the buddha-patriarchs were determined to check.³² We must be careful we do not fall into the habit of committing them."

6. I asked: "Lay men and women read the *Surangama Sutra* and the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* and regard them as the patriarchal teaching brought by Bodhidharma from the West.³³ I have read both sutras. I

³⁰ Jap. Ryūzen 龍禪. A Japanese priest from the Kennin-ji who, according to Dōgen, arrived in China at the beg. of the Chia-ting period (1208-1225) and was studying at the T'ien-t'ung monastery. "Ryūzen, a Japanese, had taken devoted care of the Sutra Librarian Chuan when he was ill, so the latter as a way of thanking him brought out his Certificate of Transmission and let him see it—a very rare opportunity indeed . . . Eight years later in the autumn of 1223 when I stayed at T'ien-t'ung for the first time, Ryūzen carefully approached Chuan and arranged for me to see his Certificate." *SBGZ shisho*, pp. 341-2. According to the *Kenzei-ki*, a 15th cent. biography of Dōgen, a priest named Ryūzen was a son of Jakuren, younger brother of the poet Fujiwara Teika. *Ui* pp. 72-3.

³¹ The well-known episode of Nan-ch'uan's cat-killing was occasioned by a dispute in the brotherhood over ownership of the animal. R. H. Blyth, *Mumonkan* (Hokuseido Press, 1966), pp. 120-5.

³² The *Nirvana Sutra*, ch. 27, lists 16 regulations which prohibit the raising of animals or fowl for profit; fishing, hunting, robbery, selling meat, netting fowl, and so on. *Ui* (p. 73) gives them in detail and another set as well, though they do not seem specifically to forbid the keeping of pets.

³³ *Surangama Sutra* (Chin. *Shou-leng-yen ching*; Jap. *Sharyōgon-kyō* 首楞嚴經). *Sutra of*

have studied the style at their beginnings and endings and found it to be different from other Mahayana sutras. The thought is not well-defined either. But aside from containing words and phrases inferior to those in other sutras, they haven't for that matter anything superior to them in the force of thought they display. They have very close similarities, for example, with the views of the Six Non-buddhist Teachers.³⁴ What, after all, may be concluded about them?"

Ju-ching taught: "The *Surangama Sutra* has had its doubters for a long time. They believe it is apocryphal. The patriarchs of earlier periods never set eyes on it. In recent times foolish, ignorant people read it and dote on it.

"The same holds for the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*. The style of composition at the opening and conclusion bears strong resemblance to the *Surangama*."

7. I asked: "Is the belief that hindrances like the karmic and retribution hindrance and the hindrance of the passions should be overcome something that was taught by the buddhas and patriarchs?"³⁵

Perfect Enlightenment (Chin. *Yuan-chueh ching*; Jap. *Engaku-kyō* 圓覺經). These two sutras were very popular in Zen circles from T'ang times on, and apparently especially so in the Sung, Yuan, and Ming dynasties. As a teacher, Dōgen forbade his disciples to read either work (*Eikai kōroku*, kan 5, *Dōgen zenshū* 2, p. 94-), apparently feeling the teachings contained in them could easily lead students into the unorthodox views he felt were rife in Lin-chi-dominated Sung Zen. See Kagamishima, pp. 138-147. In *SBGZ tenbōrin* (pp. 542-3), Dōgen cites a quotation from the *Surangama Sutra* together with Ju-ching's comments on it, and says that once any such passage has been commented on by a buddha-patriarch like Ju-ching it becomes part and parcel of the true Dharma, even if the sutra from which it is taken might happen to be spurious.

³⁴ *Rokushi gedō* 六師外道. Ref. to six teachers who lived in central India in the time of the Buddha whose religious philosophies were inimical to the Buddha's teachings. The term is used often to indicate non-Buddhist views in general.

³⁵ Three hindrances (*sanshō* 三障) obstructing one from attaining the right path; i.e., the passions, the deeds produced from them, and the retribution deriving from those deeds: the hindrance of the passions (*bonnō-shō* 煩惱障), the karmic hindrance (*gō-shō* 業障), the retribution hindrance (*ijaku-shō* 異熟障).

Ju-ching said: "The teachings of patriarchal teachers such as Nagarjuna must be made one's own.³⁶ There cannot be anything heterodoxical in them. With the karmic hindrance, though, when you are deliberately engaged in Buddhist practice, it will invariably be overcome."

8. I asked: "Do we invariably need be conscious of the working of karmic causality?"

Ju-ching taught: "We must never deny the existence of causality.³⁷ As Yung-chia says, 'A high-spirited, overweening emptiness denies cause and effect. Unclear and cloudy, uncontrolled and flood-like, it brings on misfortune and disaster.' A person who denies the existence of cause and effect is, in the sphere of the Buddha Dharma, one who is cut off from all the good roots within that Dharma. How could such a person be a descendent of the buddha-patriarchs!"

9. I asked: "At the present time head priests in all the monasteries let their hair grow out and wear their fingernails long. What grounds do

³⁶ Menzan and later commentators state that the idea of overcoming the karmic hindrance is found in the writings of Nagarjuna, Asvagoṣha, Asanga, and Vasubandhu. Menzan adds that, "The karmic hindrance is fundamental. No matter what bad karma it might be, if you practice the Dharma it will be turned or overcome . . . there is nothing which cannot be overcome by means of [the practice of zazen]." *Manga*, 320-337.

³⁷ *Deny the existence of causality. Hatsumu-inga 懶無因果.* This statement on causality is similar to one by Dōgen in *SBGZ jishin*: The law of causality is invariable and cannot be set aside, even by the enlightened. Though many of the Zen priests of the present day are in effect denying causality, that is a non-Buddhist view. Then Dōgen quotes the same lines Ju-ching does here from the *Cheng-tao ke* (*Shōdōka* 證道歌) of the T'ang master Yung-chia Hsuan-chueh (Yōka Genkaku 永嘉玄覺), and says that though in the past all masters clearly understood the principle of causality, recently many are uncertain of it. Practicers of Buddhism who do not clearly understand causality are apt to fall into mistaken views, be cut off from the blessings of the Dharma, and because of this to be subjected to incalculable misfortune. *SBGZ*, pp. 676-80. Also, in a sermon recorded in his *Comprehensive Records*, Dōgen states that "We cannot deny the existence of causality. If we did the essential meaning of practice and realization would end up being perverted." *Eihin kōroku*, kan 7. *Dōgen zenshū* 2, p. 195.

they have for doing that?³⁸ Are we to call them priests? They look very much like laymen. Should we call them laymen? Yet their hair is too short for that. In India and China during the periods of the True and Semblance Dharmas disciples of the buddha-patriarchs were never like this."³⁹

Ju-ching said: "They are truly beasts, lifeless corpses weltering in the pure ocean of the Buddha Dharma."

10. Once Ju-ching summoned me to him and said: "Although you are a young man, you have something deeply suggestive of past ages. Take yourself directly into the deep seclusion of the mountains and valleys and there, over a long time, foster the buddha-patriarchs' holy matrix that has now emerged in you.⁴⁰ You will then surely attain the realization achieved by worthy masters of former times."⁴¹

I rose and prostrated myself in reverence at his feet.

³⁸ In the *Nirvana Sutra*, priests who fail to keep their fingernails and toenails cut short and their heads shaven are stigmatized as commandment-breakers. Cf. Dōgen in *SBGZ senjō*: "Many of the priests in Sung China, lacking the discernment to practice the true Way, grow their fingernails long—one, two, even three or four inches long. This is not the Dharma, not the way of one who practices it. . . . Just because they are priests of the Sung dynasty, do not make the mistake of thinking their [practice of wearing long nails and long hair] is in accordance with the true Dharma." *SBGZ*, p. 467. Long fingernails were the mark of the Chinese gentleman and man of letters.

³⁹ First two of the three stages of gradual decline following the death of the Buddha, the third being the period of the "latter day" Dharma. According to one calculation, Chinese Buddhism was currently either in or on the brink of entering the final latter day period. Dōgen's question implies that the closer a Buddhist is to the Buddha in time the more faithfully he might be expected to exemplify his teachings.

⁴⁰ 長養佛祖聖胎, *jōyō busso shōtai*.

⁴¹ According to the *Kenzei-ki*, when Dōgen had decided to return to Japan, he went to Ju-ching's quarters to inform him. Ju-ching told him not to allow his Dharma to die out; to return and spread the teaching he had acquired to benefit his countrymen, but to avoid royalty and high officials; not to reside in cities but to retire into the mountains, even if that meant cultivating even only a single disciple. He gave him a robe of transmission that had once belonged to Fu-jung Tao-k'ai (Fuyo Dōkai, 1042-1117; the Ts'ao-tung [Sōtō] priest who had revived the fortunes of that line when it was on the verge of extinction), some Ts'ao-tung Zen writings, and a portrait of himself. *Dōgen zenji den*, p. 168.

He declared: "Reverer and revered are by nature empty, and the interacting communion of reciprocal appeal and response is beyond comprehension."⁴²

Then he discoursed extensively on the daily lives lived by the buddha-patriarchs of India and China.

Tears of gratitude wet my sleeves.

11. At his quarters in the Ta-kuang-ming-ts'ang,⁴³ the head priest taught: "While you reside in the monastery, living and practicing with other members of the brotherhood, you should keep the waist-ties of your upper and lower garments both cinched up tightly; then you still retain your energy, even after many hours pass."⁴⁴

12. "The most important thing in the practice undertaken by monks when they reside in the monks' hall is 'slow walking.'⁴⁵ Recent head priests in most of the Zen temples are ignorant of it. Those who do know it are very few. In slow walking, you limit your breaths to the movement of your feet. You do not gaze down at your feet. You do not bend forward, or look upward. Viewed from the side, it seems just as if you are standing in one spot. Shoulders and chest must not be allowed to waver."

Ju-ching would often have me watch him walk back and forth in the Ta-kuang-ming-ts'ang. He would then tell me: "These days I'm the only one around who knows slow walking. Go ask any of the head priests anywhere in the country about it, and then watch them. You'll see they don't really know it."

13. I asked: "What is the real nature of the Buddha Dharma? Which

⁴² See below, fn. 68.

⁴³ 大明光藏 "Storehouse of Great Light." One of the chambers of the head priest in the Ching-te monastery.

⁴⁴ Monks' clothing at Mt. T'ien-t'ung seems to have consisted of two pieces, an upper garment 袴, and a lower one 襪, worn from the waist down. Also see entry 27.

⁴⁵ 緩步 *kanpo*. Ju-ching's way of doing *kanhan* 經行, the practice of rising from zazen and walking for a short period to relieve fatigue in one's legs or ward off sleepiness. See entries 25 and 41.

of the Three Natures (Good, Bad, Neutral) does it possess?"⁴⁶

The head priest taught: "The Buddha Dharma is altogether beyond the Three Natures!"

14. I asked: "The great Way of all the buddhas and patriarchs cannot be wedded to any one corner. Why, then, do people insist on speaking of a 'Zen Sect'?"⁴⁷

The head priest taught: "The great Way of the buddhas and patriarchs should not be arbitrarily called the Zen Sect. That label which is now being used is completely false, a product of the degenerate times. It originates with the shorthaired little animals [that now go under the name of priests]. This is something worthy priests in former times all were aware of. It was common knowledge.

"Have you ever read Shih-men's *Lin-men lu*?"⁴⁸

I replied I had not.

⁴⁶ *Sanshō* 三性: *zenshō* 善性, *akushō* 惡性, *mukishō* 無記性. This generally refers to the character (good, bad, indistinguishable as either good or bad) of something in relation to the Dharma.

⁴⁷ Cf. *SBGZ butsudō*: "[Priests these days] arbitrarily call the treasure of the true Dharma eye, the exquisite mind of nirvana, the 'Zen sect'. They call the patriarchal teachers the 'Zen' patriarchs, Buddhist practitioners 'Zen' masters or 'Zen' monks . . . All of it is absolutely meaningless. It stems from a one-sided view of things. Never, either in India or in China, was the name Zen Sect used. Those who willfully call themselves by this name are demons set on destroying the Buddha Way." *SBGZ*, pp. 376-7.

⁴⁸ *Lin-men lu* (林間錄 *Rinkan-roku*) 2 ch. Collection of sayings, teachings, and anecdotes of Zen priests and others, by Chueh-fan Hui-hung 覺範慧洪 (Kakuban Ekō, 1071-1128), a Northern Sung Lin-chi priest. The name Shih-men (Sekimon 石門) derives from the monastery on Mt. Shih-men where he served as head priest. Dōgen quotes what may be the relevant passage from the *Lin-men lu* in *SBGZ gyōji* II, (p. 142) and gives this synopsis of it in *Bendōwa* (5th answer): "When Bodhidharma was at the Shao-lin monastery of Sung-shan doing zazen facing a wall for nine years, the priests and laymen there, not knowing yet of the Buddha's right Dharma, initially said he was an Indian monk who placed special emphasis on zazen. For generation on generation thereafter, each of the patriarchs has devoted himself to zazen exclusively. Seeing this, and not knowing the true circumstances, unthinking laymen spoke loosely of a 'Zazen Sect.' At present, the word za has been dropped and people speak of the Zen Sect." *SBGZ*, p. 736.

Ju-ching said: "It would be good for you to read it over once. What it says is correct. The World-honored One's great Dharma was transmitted personally to Mahakashyapa, and since then has been passed directly on from master to disciple for twenty-eight generations. In China there were five transmissions to the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng. And it has thus come down to the present day. Today, I am the Chief Prefect of the Buddha Dharma.⁴⁹ No one in the entire universe, with worlds as numerous as Ganges sand, can stand a shoulder to me. Those of today who are able to discourse on a few sutras and commentaries and on the basis of that fan up the winds of their own school's teachings, are all so many kinsmen of the buddha-patriarchs, having, as kinsmen do, high and low positions according to their inner or peripheral relation, close or distant affiliation to the head of the clan."⁵⁰

I asked: "Inasmuch as such people are kinsmen of the buddhas and patriarchs, they also have brought forth the mind that seeks enlightenment, and they have been able to go and study under authentic teachers as well. Why should they all at once give up what they have been studying for years in order to enter the training halls of the buddha-patriarchs and commit themselves to zazen practice day and night?"

The head priest said: "Men in both India and China have abandoned what they had studied for many long years in order to advance farther on. As illustration of this, take the case of an imperial councillor who rises to the post of prime minister. As prime minister, he does not continue on in his previous position. Still, when he instructs his children, he employs the manner and ways of the councillor. In the study of the Way of the buddhas

⁴⁹ *SBGZ busso* gives the patriarchal lineage held authentic by Ju-ching and Dōgen: beginning with Sakyamuni and the 7 Buddhas of the Past, it lists 28 generations of Indian patriarchs until Bodhidharma and then 22 generations until Ju-ching; Dōgen gives his own name to bring the list up to date. *SBGZ*, pp. 454-6.

⁵⁰ Ref. to other Buddhist schools, whose doctrinal standpoints are based on interpretations they give to various Buddhist scriptures. While Ju-ching allows that the other schools are members of the greater Buddhist family, the head and central position is occupied by the "Way of the patriarchs," of which at present he is the legitimate representative. This idea is also taken up in entry 29.

and patriarchs it is the same. Although an imperial councillor may on the strength of honesty and uprightness rise to the position of prime minister, once he has become prime minister he does not busy himself with the offices of imperial councillor. When he is an imperial councillor he says nothing about matters which pertain to the prime minister. Yet that which both of them learn is faithful conduct in governing the country and dedication to the welfare of the people. In their devotion to this end, they are of exactly the same mind, never two minds."

I said: "What the head priests in all the Zen monasteries are teaching is not right. It is obvious they do not know the Way of the buddha-patriarchs. It is clear to me now that the buddha-patriarchs are the legitimate heirs of the World-honored One; they are the Dharma monarchs of today. All the things provided throughout the three thousand chiliocosms and all the sentient beings awaiting salvation in the domain of the Dharma, are subject to the sovereignty of the buddha-patriarchs—there can be no other sovereigns."

The head priest taught: "It is just as you say. You know that we never heard of two men being entrusted with the Dharma-treasure in India. And in China there was no other surplice transmitted than the one which was passed from Bodhidharma down through to the Sixth Patriarch. That is why the buddha-patriarchs are the foundation of the Buddha Way in the entire trichiliocosmic universe."

15. The head priest taught: "Zen practice (*sanzen*) is body and mind dropping off.⁵¹ You have no need for incense-burning, homage-paying, doing nembutsu, performing penances, or reading sutras. Just single-minded sitting (*shikan taza*) alone."⁵²

⁵¹ *Body and mind dropping off. Shinjin datsuraku* 身心脱落. Dôgen was enlightened upon hearing Ju-ching utter these words while reprimanding a dozing monk. The exchange which took place when Dôgen went to Ju-ching's quarters to receive confirmation of his realization is recorded in several variations. See Introduction and *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. ix, no. 2, pp. 2-4.

⁵² A statement of Ju-ching's Dôgen was often to quote later. See *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. vii, no. 1, p. 119.

I asked: "What is 'body and mind dropping off'?"

The head priest said: "' Body and mind dropping off' is zazen. When you do zazen singlemindedly, you are freed from the five desires and eliminate the five restraints."⁵³

I asked: "The idea of freeing oneself from the five desires and eliminating the five restraints is also found spoken of in the doctrinal schools. Does that mean you are referring to someone who is a practitioner of both Greater and Lesser Vehicles?"⁵⁴

The head priest taught: "Descendents of the patriarch Bodhidharma should not shun arbitrarily teachings of either Greater or Lesser Vehicle. Should a student betray the holy teachings of the Tathagata, how could he dare call himself a descendent of the buddhas and patriarchs!"

16. I asked: "Recently, though, doubters [of that] say: 'The three poisons are, as such, the Buddha Dharma; the five desires are the Way of the patriarchs.'⁵⁵ If you eliminate them you are in effect choosing the good and rejecting the bad just like followers of the Lesser Vehicle.' What about that?"⁵⁶

⁵³ *Five desires* (*goyaku* 五欲): appetites for property, sexual love, food, fame, and sleep. *Five restraints* (or "covers"; *gogai* 五蓋): five types of evil passion covering over the mind: greed, anger, sloth, excitability, doubt.

⁵⁴ Here and elsewhere in *Hakyo-ki*, the term Lesser Vehicle (*shōjō*), rather than referring to the Hinayana school as such, often indicates followers of Zen and other Mahayanists ("doctrinal schools") who fall into views which, from the standpoint of the speaker's understanding, are unorthodox.

⁵⁵ *The three poisons* (*sandoku* 三毒) are covetousness, anger, and ignorance, which are noxious to right conduct.

⁵⁶ Dōgen's question (and Ju-ching's answer) reflects the feeling that there was a tendency in contemporary Zen to understand evil passions = enlightenment-type statements superficially, equating the passions and enlightenment in an easy formula that would downgrade the role of practice and realization. Such statements appear with some frequency in the recorded sayings of Zen masters. *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, a popular text of the time, preaches that all obstructions to the right path are ultimately enlightenment; attaining to the Dharma and going counter to it are equally *prajñā*; wisdom and ignorance are *prajñā*, and so forth. Ui, p. 81. Ui also cites for reference here a

The head priest taught: "If you don't rid yourself of the three poisons and five desires, you're no different from the non-Buddhist groups that were found in the realms of Kings Bimbisara and Ajatasatru."⁵⁷ If a follower of the buddhas and patriarchs rids himself of even one hindrance or desire, it will bring immense benefit. It's the time he meets the buddhas and patriarchs face to face."⁵⁸

17. I asked: "In the course of a dialogue, Attendant Priest Hao-yueh and Reverend Chang-sha take up the doctrine that the nature of the karmic hindrance is originally empty. I'm sceptical of this. If the karmic hindrance is emptiness, the other two hindrances, the retribution hindrance and the passion hindrance, should be too. They shouldn't be talking about whether the karmic hindrance alone is emptiness, should they?"⁵⁹

"Not only that, Hao-yueh asks, 'What is original emptiness?' Chang-sha says, 'The karmic hindrance is.' Hao-yueh says, 'What is the karmic hindrance?' Chang-sha says, 'Original emptiness.'⁶⁰

passage from the *Vimalakīṣī Sūtra*: "The Buddha says he preaches that freeing oneself from evil passions is Deliverance for the sake of those deluded by pride and egoism. If one is free of such illusions, he preaches to him that the nature of the evil passions is Deliverance." *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ See fn. 34.

⁵⁸ *I.e.*, as a buddha-patriarch himself.

⁵⁹ For the three hindrances, see fn. 37. Generally, the three are regarded collectively as functioning in a related sequence.

⁶⁰ The dialogue appears in the *Ching-te chuan-teng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (*Keitoku denō roku*), ch. 9, in a parenthetical note in the section on Hui-k'o. It is cited by Dōgen in *SBGZ sanji-gō*: "Attendant Priest Hao-yueh posed a question to Priest Chang-sha: 'A worthy master of the past [Yung-chia] said that if you are enlightened, karmic hindrance is originally empty, and if you are not, you must pay your outstanding karmic debts. Only what about enlightened patriarchs like Simha and Hui-k'o [who met violent deaths]. Why did they have to pay the debts they did?' Chang-sha said; 'Worthy priest, you don't understand original emptiness.' 'What is it?' asked Hao-yueh. 'It's karmic hindrance,' said Chang-sha. 'What is karmic hindrance, then?' asked Hao-yueh. 'Original emptiness,' replied Chang-sha. Hao-yueh was silent . . ." *SBGZ*, pp. 689-90. A full translation of *SBGZ sanji-gō* is found in Yokoi's *Zen Master Dōgen*.

"Could Chang-sha be right?⁶¹ If the Buddha Dharma were as he says, then why the buddhas' appearance in the world? Why Bodhidharma's coming from the West?"⁶²

The great Zen master, head priest Ju-ching, taught: "Ultimately, what Chang-sha says is mistaken. He didn't understand yet about karmic retribution through the three periods."⁶³

18. I asked: "Outstanding teachers of past and present all say you should read sutras of Total Truth and not sutras of Partial Truth. What are sutras of Total Truth?"⁶⁴

The head priest taught: "Sutras of Total Truth are those in which the World-honored One preaches about such things as practice and attainment in his and his disciples' previous lives and various forms of birth. If a sutra in preaching about these circumstances of past lives deals with names but not origins, or with places of residence but not the lives themselves, it does not totally express the truth. Preaching which

⁶¹ In comments elucidating this dialogue (fn. 60) which he wrote many years later, Dōgen declares that Chang-sha's great error is in saying that original emptiness is karmic hindrance; karmic hindrance is created by man's own actions and as such could not be by nature empty. In denying the real and ineluctable nature of karmic hindrance, he denies the law of causality (good acts bring good retribution, bad acts, bad), without which there could be no enlightenment in the Buddhist sense. Unless sentient beings had a chance to attain enlightenment there would be no need for buddhas to appear in the world or for Bodhidharma to have travelled to China. *SBGZ*, p. 690.

⁶² These should be understood as stock phrases.

⁶³ *Karmic retribution through the three periods (sanji-gō, 三時業)*. Retribution for one's actions in this life, though invariable, may come in any one of three periods in time: (1) in this life, (2) the next, or (3) in some life beyond that. By the same token, retribution one receives now may be from actions in this life or from some prior existence, perhaps many lives in the past. Hui-k'o's murder must have been the result of some past karma which had at that moment matured.

⁶⁴ One generally accepted definition says that sutras of Perfect Truth (*Ryōgi-kyō* 了義經) are those which preach truth directly without recourse to skillful means (*upāya*), while sutras which do use skillful means (the Pure Land sutras, for example) are sutras of Partial Truth (*Fu-ryōgi-kyō* 不了義經). *Mahā-ratnakūṭa sūtra* 大寶積經. Cited in the *Hōkyō-ki tekijō shū* 法華集 (Kyoto, 1878), vol. 2, 15.

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is exhaustive on all matters, about kalpas, countries, surnames, family names, lifespans, kinsmen, deeds, servants, and so on, leaving nothing unspoken, is total truth."⁶³

I asked: "If even a single word or phrase of it perfectly expresses the truth of things, it should be termed total truth. Why call a preaching total truth simply because it covers an extensive range of subjects? Even if a sutra were to expound with a torrent of eloquence, if it didn't succeed in elucidating the meaning and the reason, shouldn't it be called a sutra of Partial Truth?"

The head priest compassionately taught: "You are wrong. Whatever the World-honored One preaches, whether extensive or abridged, consummates the ultimate truth. Although extensive, it elucidates it exhaustively; though summary, it does the same. Nothing in his meaning or reason fails to attain to fundamental truth. His holy silences and his holy utterances are equally Buddha-work. Thus the radiant light he emits performs Buddha-work. It is Buddha-work when he eats. His birth in the highest heaven, his descent to this world; his leaving home to become a monk, engaging in austerities, subduing evil demons, attaining the Way, mendicancy, and nirvana, all of this is the work of Buddha. All sentient beings who see or hear of this gain benefit from it. That is why it is essential for you to realize that it is all total truth. Any fact preached within the Dharma like this constitutes a sutra of Total Truth. This is the Dharma of the buddha-patriarchs."⁶⁴

I said: "The learning and maintaining of what you have just so compassionately taught, master, is surely the Buddha Dharma and Patriarchal Way. The teachings of head priests in all the other Zen temples and those of the idlers in my own Japan from long in the past are devoid of essential truth. All my previous knowledge presumed a consummate truth merely from a standpoint of partial truth. Today, having heard your teaching, I see for the first time that there are sutras of Total Truth above

⁶³ This significant interpretation is Ju-ching's own.

⁶⁴ Here Ju-ching presents Dōgen with the "facts" or actualities of the principles (truth, meaning, reason) he spoke of above.

and beyond the sutras of total truth so called. It is truly 'something difficult to happen upon, and hard to encounter.'⁶⁷

19. I asked: "Last night during the third watch [11 p.m.—1 a.m.], in your talk to the brotherhood, you told us: 'Reverer and revered are by nature empty; interacting communion of appeal and response is beyond comprehension.' Surely that contains profound meaning, yet I find it difficult to fully comprehend. With my shallow understanding I cannot help having some doubt. The doctrinal teachers also speak about a doctrine of 'interacting communion of appeal and response.' Could its principle be the same as that of the Way of the patriarchs?"⁶⁸

The great Zen master, head priest Ju-ching, compassionately taught: "You should know what has arisen by virtue of the interacting communion of appeal and response. If it were not through interacting communion of appeal and response, buddhas would not have appeared in the world; Bodhidharma would not have come from the West. Moreover, we should not look on the doctrines expounded in the sutras with spite. Were we to regard the doctrinal teachings which have come down to us as mistaken, we would have to use round robes and square bowls [to show we are different from the doctrinal teachers].⁶⁹ We do not employ them yet, and you should know that that too, without any doubt, is owing to the interacting communion of appeal and response."

⁶⁷ Phrase from the *Lotus Sutra*.

⁶⁸ 能離所離性空寂，感應道交難思議。The latter half of this saying appears in T'ien-t'ai literature, e.g., Chih-i's *Fa-hua Hsuan-i* 法華玄義 (*Hokke gongi*). Ui also quotes a verse of Chih-i: "Not rising above the water nor falling below its own orb, a single moon appears everywhere in all waters at once. Buddhas do not come and sentient beings do not go to them, but thanks to compassion and good works such things are seen. Thus we speak of this as the wonder of the call and response." p. 77. Zen sometimes speaks of the buddha/sentient being, master/disciple relation as a simultaneous pecking of a chick within an eggshell and a mother hen without, which is able to break open the wall keeping the chick from emerging into the freedom of the world of reality.

⁶⁹ I.e., followers of Zen should not make a special point of being different from the rest of Buddhism (which Ju-ching feels is the case with most of his Zen contemporaries). See Kagamishima, pp. 87-100. Buddhists traditionally use round begging bowls and robes cut to a rectangular pattern. Elsewhere, in the world at large, square bowls are used and "round"-cut garments worn.

20. I asked: "The other day when I met head priest Ta-kuang of A-yu-wang shan,⁷⁰ he said in response to some rather critical questions I put to him that 'The Way of the buddhas and patriarchs and the lectures of the doctrinal teachers are like water and fire, as remote from each other as heaven from earth. Anyone who accepts what the doctrinal teachers say stands forever outside the family style of the patriarchs.' Is Ta-kuang right?"

The head priest compassionately taught: "Ta-kuang isn't the only one who says such foolish things. The head priests in all the Zen monasteries are the same. How could they make clear the right or wrong of a doctrinal teacher? How could they understand the most recondite regions of the patriarchs? All their time is spent peddling their own random, ill-conceived notions."

21. I asked: "The Buddha's Dharma has from the beginning been transmitted in two compilations, one by Manjusri, the other by Ananda. It is said the Mahayana sutras were compiled by Manjusri and the Hinayana sutras by Ananda.⁷¹ Why is it that now Mahakashyapa alone is regarded as the first patriarch, the one Sakyamuni entrusted with his Dharma transmission, whereas Manjusri is not considered the legitimate inheritor of his Dharma? Especially since Manjusri is said to be the teacher of all the buddhas, including Sakyamuni.⁷² Why doesn't he qualify to receive the Dharma transmission as the Buddha's heir? What is said at present, that Mahakashyapa was entrusted with the Tathagata's

⁷⁰ Ta-kuang 大光 of A-yu-wang shan. Facts of his life are unknown. In *SBGZ busshō* (p. 26), Dōgen states that Ta-kuang was head priest of the important Kuang-li monastery on Mt. A-yu-wang 阿育王山廣利寺 when he visited there in summer of the first year of Pao-ching (1225). He quotes one of Ta-kuang's own monks as saying Ta-kuang lacked true understanding. See trans. of *SBGZ busshō* in *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. IX no. 1 p. 101. Kuang-li monastery, one of the so-called "Five Mountains," was an important Zen institution located very near Mt. T'ien-t'ung. Dōgen visited it several times.

⁷¹ This is based on a tradition dating from the time of the *Ta-chih-tu-tan* 大智度論 (*Daichidōron*). Uj, p. 86. The Mahayanist assertion of there having been a special Mahayana compilation is of course without historical basis.

⁷² A statement found in the *P'u-chao san-mei ching* 普超三昧經.

'exquisite mind of nirvana, the treasure of the right Dharma eye,' is probably a notion promulgated by those of the Lesser Vehicle, is it not?"⁷³

The head priest taught: "What you say is true. Manjusri is the teacher of all the buddhas. And that is why he did not figure as a legitimate successor to Sakyamuni's Dharma. If he had been a disciple of Sakyamuni he would certainly have been eligible to receive it. And the theory that Manjusri compiled the Mahayana canon represents only one view. It is not the prevailing one. Further, it is hardly possible he did not know the teaching, practice, practitioners, and truth of the Hinayana tradition as well. Ananda compiled the sutras of both the Mahayana and Hinayana. All he did was to hear a great many sutras being preached, and he had the ability to remember them; he merely compiled the sermons the Tathagata preached during his lifetime. Mahakashyapa was the chief disciple during Sakyamuni's entire career of salvation, the most outstanding of all the patriarchs. That is no doubt the reason why Sakyamuni entrusted his Dharma to him. But even if he had transmitted it to Manjusri, you would then have a similar doubt about that. Just rest assured in the knowledge and belief that the Dharma of the buddhas is like I said. You must not give way to this or that doubt about it."

22. During a night talk the head priest said: "Yuan-tzu, do you know how to put on *betsu* while you're seated on your zazen seat?"⁷⁴

⁷³ The origin of the Zen sect is attributed to an incident during a sermon on Vulture Peak when the Buddha held up a golden lotus flower and Mahakashyapa smiled his understanding, whereupon the Buddha said, "I have the true Dharma eye, the marvelous mind of nirvana. This I now transmit to you, Mahakashyapa." On the basis of this tradition, Mahakashyapa is regarded as the first of the Indian patriarchs of Zen. The story, however, appears late. It is thought to date from late T'ang or early Sung times. The first written work in which it appears was first published in the Northern Sung. See *Zen Dust* (Kyoto, 1966), pp. 151-2. Ananda and Mahakashyapa are two of the Buddha's ten great disciples, the former known for his great memory, the latter as a master of discipline.

⁷⁴ *betsu* (also *besshi*) 襪. A kind of sock worn in cold weather; like Japanese tabi but with no toe-separation. Ui, p. 86-7. Said to have been fastened with a lace. *Sanshō*, p. 90. Yuan-tzu 元子: a familiar name Ju-ching sometimes used when speaking to Dōgen.

I bowed and said, "How could I know of it?"

The head priest compassionately taught: "When you are doing zazen in the monks' hall and want to put on your *batsu* while seated on your zazen seat, do it after covering your crossed legs with the right sleeve of your robe. That way you avoid showing disrespect to Manjusri Bodhisattva."⁷⁵

23. The head priest compassionately taught: "When practicing zazen and concentrating on negotiating the Way, do not eat rush oats."⁷⁶ It may cause you to develop a fever."

24. The head priest compassionately taught: "You should not do zazen any place which is exposed to draughts of wind."

25. The head priest compassionately taught: "When you begin to walk upon rising from zazen you should employ the method of a breath and a half-step: When you take a step, it does not exceed one half the length of your foot, and each movement of your feet must occur in one inhalation and exhalation of breath."⁷⁷

⁷⁵ An image of Manjusri Bodhisattva is usually enshrined in the center of the Monks' Hall where zazen is performed.

⁷⁶ 胡蘆. A grain sometimes used as food. *Ui*, p. 87.

⁷⁷ Ju-ching's method of "a breath and a half-step" 一息半步 is not clearly ascertainable from the description alone. The translation must be regarded as tentative. See *Senzō*, pp. 16-17. Cf. entry 12, where Dōgen says Ju-ching gave him a practical demonstration of this method.

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PART II

TRANSLATED BY N. A. WADDELL

26. The head priest compassionately taught: "In the past, Zen monks all wore the two-piece robe, though occasionally there were some who wore a one-piece robe.¹ Recently, the latter has come to be worn almost exclusively. It is a degenerate custom. If you want to emulate the ways of patriarchs of the past, you should wear the two-piece robe. Today, monks visiting the imperial court always wear it. It is also worn when the Dharma robe is transmitted,² and when the bodhisattva precepts are given. What Zen priests these days tell you, that the two-piece robe is only for brethren of the Vinaya temples, is wrong. They are ignorant of the old Dharma."

27. The head priest compassionately taught: "Never at any time since I became a temple master have I ever put on a figured or multicolored robe.³ In the Zen temples, arbitrary priests following their own self-styled inclinations now make a practice of wearing ceremonial robes while engaged in various activities with their monks, as if they lack the

* The first part of this translation appeared in the previous issue of the *Eastern Buddhist*.

¹ *Two-piece robe*. The *pian-shan* (褊衫, Jap. *hensan*), a short robe-like garment covering the upper part of the body which in regular or formal dress was worn together with the *ch'ien* (褊 *hien*), a wrap-around skirt worn from the waist down and secured with a cord. The *one-piece robe*, *chih-to* (直裰 *jikitotsu*), a gown-like garment which was made by combining the *pian-shan* and *ch'ien*, became in time the most commonly used Buddhist robe.

² The robe conferred by a master to his disciple as material proof of the Dharma transmission. Probably the same as the figured robe and ceremonial robe of the next paragraph.

³ 袈裟. Robes with figured designs or colored patterns. Here it seems to indicate (fine) ceremonial robes; the Dharma robe of transmission. "My late master Ju-ching did not wear patterned or colored robes. He had received the golden brocade robe of transmission which had once belonged to [the Tsao-t'ung master] Fu-yung Tao-k'ai, but he

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actual experience of the Buddha Dharma. That is why I never wear my ceremonial robe.

"Throughout his religious life the World-honored One wore a rough-woven patch robe.⁴ He never wore fine robes. Still, we should not make a special point of wearing poor, coarse robes. That would be unbuddhist, the practice of the ascetic Kambala school.⁵

"Descendents of the buddhas and patriarchs are those who wear the robes they should wear. They do not cling blindly and intolerantly to one way alone. What is more, only small men would spend their energy in fashioning robes.

"The patch robe of discarded cloth⁶ is a testament of ancient times. Remember that well."

28. Offering incense, I respectfully asked: "When was it that the World-honored One imparted the gold-brocade robe of transmission to Mahakashyapa?"⁷

The head priest compassionately taught: "An excellent thing to ask. No one else does, so there is no one who knows about it—a distressing thing for a teacher of the Dharma. Once years ago, when I was with my late master Hsueh-tou, I inquired about it.⁸ He was extremely pleased.

"The World-honored One entrusted his Dharma and golden robe to

did not use it, even when he ascended the Dharma seat to preach . . . [He always said that] most of those who now merely borrow the name of the patriarch's Way wear their fine Dharma robes in an arbitrary manner, whenever they themselves feel the inclination." *SBGZ shisho*, p. 352. Also see entry 31.

⁴ The *samghati* or great robe 僧伽梨服. See Yokoi and Victoria's *Zen Master Dōgen*, p. 100.

⁵ A way of religious practice espoused by Ajita Kesakambala, one of the Six Non-buddhist Teachers (see Part 1, fn. 35). He advocated a hair-cloth woven from one's own hair, holding to the view that the suffering induced through self-torture assures happiness in the next life.

⁶ *Pāmsūla*. Chin. *fen-sao* 糞掃 Jap. *funzō*. See *Zen Master Dōgen*, p. 95.

⁷ Among other sources, Hsuan-tsang's seventh century *Records of Western Countries* (*Hsi-yu chi*), ch. 9, states that Sakyamuni gave such a robe to Mahakashyapa as evidence of his Dharma transmission. The story became part of the Zen tradition. Dōgen's question is: At what point during the fifty some years Mahakashyapa served as the Buddha's disciple was he entrusted with the Dharma transmission?

⁸ Tsu-an Chih-chien (是庵智鑑 Sokuan Chikan), of Mt. Hsueh-tou, 1105-1192, a monk of the Tsao-t'ung (Sōtō) line of Zen. See introduction, Part 1, p. 112.

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Mahakashyapa the very first time he set eyes on him, when the latter came to commit himself to the Buddha's teaching. This made Mahakashyapa the first of the patriarchs. He received the robe and Dharma with reverence, and began a day and night observance of all the disciplines of Buddhist practice⁹ which he continued unremittingly throughout his life, never even lying down to sleep. He kept the Buddha's robe on the top of his head while doing zazen,¹⁰ visualizing in himself an image of the Buddha or the Buddha's stupa.¹¹

"Mahakashyapa was an old buddha and bodhisattva. Whenever the World-honored One would see him coming, he would make a place for him and have him share the Dharma seat. Of the full thirty-two characteristic features of a Buddha,¹² he lacked only two: the radiant tuft of white hair between his eyebrows and the fleshly protuberance on the crown of his head. So it was a joyous sight for men and devas to see him sitting there on the same seat with the Buddha. He had been entrusted with all the Buddha's supernatural power and wisdom and his entire Dharma, without a single omission or diminution.

"So it was that very first time he saw the Buddha that he got the Buddha's robe and the Buddha's Dharma."

29. I asked: "There are four kinds of temples in the land: Zen temples, Doctrinal temples, Vinaya temples, and unaffiliated temples where the priests do not belong to any authorized lineage."¹³

"In Zen temples, descendents of the buddhas and patriarchs devote themselves to singleminded practice and transmit directly from master to disciple the wall-sitting zazen of the First Patriarch Bodhidharma. 'The treasure of the right Dharma eye, the Buddha's exquisite mind of nirvana'¹⁴

⁹ *Dhuta*. Twelve disciplines, relating to clothing, food, and dwelling, through which a Buddhist disciple cleanses his mind of worldly desires and attains enlightenment.

¹⁰ One of the ways of venerating the Buddhist robe. Mentioned by Dōgen in *SBGZ kasakudoku* p. 642; translated in *Zen Master Dōgen*, pp. 105-6.

¹¹ In the *Mahā-ratnakūṭa sūtra* (大寶積經), eight ways of venerating the Buddhist robe are described which include visualizing a buddha or a buddha's stupa in one's robe.

¹² A detailed list of these may be found in Leon Hurvitz's *Chia-i* (Brussels, 1962), appendix K.

¹³ Chin. *i'ia-ti yuan* 徒弟院; Jap. *tsuchi-in*. These seem to be temples in which the abbots have not received sanction from a master as successor to an established line, such as is possessed by head priests in the Zen temples.

¹⁴ Words Sakyamuni is said to have spoken to Mahakashyapa when he entrusted him with the transmission of the Dharma. See Part I, p. 138, fn. 73.

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is kept in the Zen temples. They are indeed the legitimate inheritance that has come down from the Tathagata and the central headquarters of his Dharma. All other temples are branches subordinate to the Zen temples, and should never, I think, be considered on the same level with them.

"In temples of the Doctrinal school, the teachings and contemplations of the T'ien-t'ai prevail.¹⁵ Dhyana master Chih-che was the only Dharma son of Dhyana master Nan-yueh Hui-ssu.¹⁶ He received in transmission from him the Three Cessations and Three Contemplations of the One Mind, and attained the wisdom-power of the Lotus Samadhi.¹⁷ In his case, it can truly be said that what he received from his teacher coincided perfectly with what he had learned from the scriptures.¹⁸

"Having made an extensive study of the views of teachers of sutras and shastras, I find that Dharma master Chih-che stands supreme in the completeness of his understanding of [all facets of] the Buddha's teachings. His brilliance overshadows all who have come before or after him.

"Nan-yueh Hui-ssu received the Dharma from Hui-wen of the Northern Ch'i dynasty. After the religious mind awakened in him, he was able to enter the fundamental stages of dhyana.¹⁹

¹⁵ Here, *Doctrinal school* refers specifically to T'ien-t'ai. See Part 1, fn. 54.

¹⁶ The first three T'ien-t'ai patriarchs are Hui-wen 慧圓 (usually 文; Emon, *n.d.*), Nan-yueh Hui-ssu 南嶽慧思 (Nangaku Ēshi, 515-577), and T'ien-t'ai Chih-che 天台智者 (Tendai Chisba, 538-597), the latter being regarded as the actual founder of the school. Accounts of the latter two are included in the Zen school's *Ching-te chuan-ting-lu* (Keitoku denjōroku), ch. 27.

¹⁷ The *Three Cessations* (*san-chih* 三止) and the *Three Contemplations* corresponding to them (*san-kuan* 三觀), representing the aspects of dhyāna and prajñā respectively, deal with the Three Truths: emptiness, unreality, and the middle way. They occur in one and the same mind. It is said that when the evil passions obstructing the middle way are by means of them put to rest, the "marvelous principle" of the Three Truths in perfect, harmonious integration becomes clearly manifest, and the practitioner enters the Lotus Samadhi, attaining the capability of free and unrestricted spiritual activity.

¹⁸ Allusion to a passage in the *Larger Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra*, 30. "Men of good birth, if you practice like this, before long you will hear and attain the prajñā-pāramitā. Whether you hear it from the sutras or hear it preached by a Bodhisattva-teacher, what you will hear and attain is nothing but the prajñā-pāramitā." Uj, p. 92.

¹⁹ *Ken-pen ch'an* (根本禪 *kompon zan*) refers to the four stages of dhyāna which enable one to achieve bliss in the world of form by eliminating illusion. "Unless these four stages are learned well, you cannot come to know the dhyana which lies beyond them. Therefore they are called the fundamental stages of dhyana." *Hōkyō-ki monji* 2, 29v.

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"The initial impetus for Hui-wen's teaching came when he reached back over his shoulder and picked a work at random [out of the Tripitaka]. His grasp fell on Nagarjuna's *Treatise on the Contemplation of the Middle Way*.²⁰ He went on to work out the doctrine of One Mind and Three Contemplations. Ever since then the fundamental principle in Doctrinal temples throughout the land has always been the teaching of T'ien-t'ai. But although Hui-wen depended on the *Treatise on the Contemplation of the Middle Way*, all he did was to read what had been produced by Nagarjuna. He neither encountered the producer Nagarjuna nor received his Dharma sanction.²¹ Besides, temple regulations and the rules governing the use of the various temple buildings were as then still undetermined.

"In China today rooms are built in some Doctrinal temples for the practice of the Sixteen Pure Land Contemplations. These contemplations appear in the *Meditation Sutra*. But the genuineness of that sutra still is questionable.²² It has long been regarded with doubt by Buddhist scholars. How can the Sixteen Pure Land Contemplations be equated with the Three Contemplations of the One Mind of T'ien-t'ai? The former is a teaching saddled with expediencies, the latter a doctrine which reveals true and fundamental reality. There is a world of difference between them; like fire and water, one works against the other. It would seem Buddhist scholars in the great Sung do not clearly understand the doctrines and contemplations of T'ien-t'ai and use without reason those Sixteen Contemplations containing expedient elements.

"It is obvious that the Doctrinal temples cannot be said to have transmitted the style of the monasteries during the lifetime of the Buddha. And the temples prior to T'ien-t'ai surely must have reflected a style that was brought here by Kashyapa Matanga and Gobharana.²³

²⁰ *Chung-kuan lun* (中觀論 *Chūgan-ron*), attributed to Nagarjuna. Translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 409. The principal work of the Mādhyamika, or Middle School.

²¹ Hui-wen told his disciples he had realized the Three Truths (fn. 17) by himself without a teacher thanks to the *Chung-kuan lun*.

²² Sixteen ways of meditating on Amida and his Pure Land preached by Sakyamuni in the *Meditation Sutra* (Chin. *Kuan tou-liang shou-fo ching* 觀無量壽佛經 Jap. *Kan myō-jubutsu kyō*). Modern scholars tend to the view that it is a forged sutra, first written in Chinese. One of the three principal sutras of the Pure Land school.

²³ The Indian priests Kashyapa Matanga and Gobharana are said to have arrived in China in 67 A.D. Thus the interval covered here is from 67 until the fifth century when T'ien-t'ai evolved.

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"The Vinaya temples trace their origin to Nan-shan.²⁴ But Nan-shan never went to the great western land of India. He merely read some of the fragmentary writings which had filtered into the eastern lands. Although he may [as he writes²⁵] have learned from teachings the devas communicated to him, how can that compare to receiving personal instruction from a wise and saintly teacher? Therefore, in the minds of a great many scholars and practitioners, the halls and other structures of the so-called Vinaya institutions today, laid out in a long row like the scales on a fish or teeth on a comb, are the subject of considerable scepticism.

"The so-called Zen monasteries of today are the leading temples in the country. They include the large monasteries in the noted 'mountains.' Each of them can house upwards of a thousand monks and boasts of a hundred buildings or more. The many-storied edifices and towers standing one behind the other and connected by corridors and passageways running east and west give the impression of an imperial residence. The rules governing such layout and construction are without doubt something passed down through the years from one buddha-patriarch to another in direct oral transmission. Accordingly, everything is laid out as it ought to be. What ought to be constructed is constructed. Indeed, splendid architecture in itself could not be the primary consideration in Zen temples.

"The practice of doing *sanzen* with a master, hearing his teaching, and working in close concert with him day and night must also be something directly determined by the First Patriarch. It cannot be compared to the conduct of others, who rely on words and letters and give themselves to interpreting their meaning. Surely this rule of Zen life is the right one."

"I presume to submit also the following: When the World-honored One our Buddha appeared in the world, he always conformed to the formulas

²⁴ Nan-shan Tao-hsuan (南山遺直 Nanzan Dōsen, 596-667) established the first independent Vinaya (Chin. Lu-tsung 律宗) or Commandment school based upon the *Sau-fen lu* (四分律 *Shibun ritsu*). By the Sung dynasty the Nan-shan school was virtually the only Vinaya school remaining.

²⁵ In his *Kuan-i'ang chuan* 感應傳 *Kan-tsu den*; found in *Fa-yuan chu-lin*, 法苑珠林 ch. 57.

²⁶ The seven are Sakyamuni and the six buddhas who appeared prior to him. In the *Chang-te chuan-teng lu*, ch. 1, the Buddha tells his disciple Ānanda to take his begging bowl and beg offerings, which, he says, is the way of the Seven Buddhas. *Hōkyō-ki tekkyō-shū* (摘葉集, Kyoto, 1878) 2, 53v (this work includes the same text as *Mongi* but also includes the texts of source materials cited or alluded to in *Hōkyō-ki*).

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of old buddhas prior to him. Thus one day he told Ananda to 'follow the rules of the Seven Buddhas.'²⁶ Therefore, the Dharma of the Seven Buddhas of the Past is, as such, the Dharma of Sakyamuni Buddha, and the Dharma of Sakyamuni is, as such, the Dharma of the Seven Buddhas. From Sakyamuni Buddha this Dharma was transmitted for twenty-eight generations until it reached the venerable Bodhidharma. He came personally to China and transmitted here the right Dharma in the right way to deliver sentient beings from their illusion. It was passed further on for five generations until it reached the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng. The descendents of Hui-neng's two chief disciples Ching-yuan and Nan-yueh today wear the title of 'good teacher' and promote the work of deliverance in the Buddha's place.²⁷ The monasteries where they reside must be said to be the rightful and legitimate heritage of the Buddha—comparisons should never be drawn between them and Doctrinal, Vinaya, or other temples. We may liken this to the fact that there cannot be two kings in a country."

Master, under your compassionate gaze I make one hundred prostrations, offer incense, and submit the above in profound veneration.

The head priest compassionately taught: "The statement you have submitted to me is very good. It states the matter correctly. Meaningless names like Doctrinal, Vinaya, and Zen were never heard among the ancients. The present custom of giving such labels to temples is a degenerate one indicative of the modern latter-day period. Members of the imperial court, ignorant of the Buddha Dharma, speak indiscriminately of Doctrinal priests, Vinaya priests, Zen priests, and so on. And when a calligraphic plaque written by the emperor is presented to a temple, the words Vinaya temple, Doctrinal temple, or Zen temple are written on it. Such practices have developed to the point that now the distinction of five kinds of Buddhist priest has become commonplace.

"Thus Vinaya priests are distant descendents of Nan-shan; Doctrinal priests are distant descendents of T'ien-t'ai; Yoga priests are distant

²⁷ Ching-yuan Hsing-anu (Seigen Gyōshi, d. 740) and Nan-yueh Huai-jang (Nangaku Eji, 677-744) became the founders of two lines which turned out to be the main branches of Chinese Zen.

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descendents of Pu-k'ung and others;²⁸ Unaffiliated priests lack any clear line of succession; Zen priests are the descendents of Bodhidharma.

"How regrettable to see such groups as this in our peripheral land in the midst of the latter day. Although they have five divisions in India,²⁹ there they are always one Buddha Dharma. But here in China, with the five priesthoods, it is as if they were not one Dharma. If the country had a wise ruler, such a perversion could not occur.

"I want you to understand clearly that the manner of layout and construction in what are today called Zen temples is all according to the personal directive of the First Patriarch, a direct transmission by the legitimate Dharma heir. The ancient principles of the Seven Buddhas of the Past are thus found in Zen temples alone. Although it is indeed a misappellation to speak of 'Zen' temples, still the Dharma-manner of what is done in them really represents the authentic transmission of the buddha-patriarchs. In view of that, our temples are the headquarters of the Buddha Dharma. The Vinaya and Doctrinal temples are off-shoots. The buddha-patriarchs are therefore the kings of the Dharma. When a ruler of a country ascends the throne he is the monarch of the whole land and all things fall under his sovereignty."

30. The head priest compassionately taught: "Descendents of the buddhas and patriarchs begin by ridding themselves of the five restraints and then rid themselves of the sixth. The six restraints are made up of the five restraints and the restraint of basic ignorance.³⁰ By removing the ignorance restraint, the other five are removed too. But even though the five restraints are gone, if the ignorance restraint still remains then you have not yet attained the practice and realization of the buddha-patriarchs."

I bowed in gratitude before the master. Then, standing up and saluting with folded hands,³¹ I said: "I had never heard before anything like your

²⁸ Yoga (Yu-ch'ieh 瑜伽 Yuga). Pu-k'ung (不空 Fukū), the famous Indian monk Amoghavajra (705-775), was the third patriarch of the esoteric Chen-yen or "True Word" sect, which derives from the Indian Yogācāra School.

²⁹ A division, based on conflicting views of the observance of precepts, which is said to have arisen following the death of the Buddha.

³⁰ See Part 1, entry 15, for the five restraints (greed, anger, sloth, excitability, doubt). Actually, the ignorance (*avidyā*) restraint (無明量) is said to be the root-source of all the evil passions, including the five restraints.

³¹ *Ch'a-shou* 叉手 *shaku*. An expression of respect.

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instruction. None of the elder priests and none of my brother monks know it. None of them have ever spoken a word about it. How fortunate I am today to be singled out to receive your great compassion and suddenly come to learn something I had never heard before. It is a blessing from favorable karma in the past. But is there some secret method for removing the five restraints and six restraints?"

The head priest smiled and said: "What is the practice you have been working on all this time? That in itself is the way to eliminate the six restraints. When buddha after buddha and patriarch after patriarch divorced themselves of the five restraints and six restraints and scolded the five desires³² and the rest away, they did so without any recourse to gradual stages but by pointing straight to the mind and transmitting the Dharma personally. You work singlemindedly on just sitting alone and arrive at the dropping off of your body and mind—that is the way to break free of the five restraints and five desires. Apart from that there is nothing whatever. Not one thing. How could there be a second or a third!"

31. "Since you became the head priest here you have not worn your Dharma robe.³³ What is the reason for that?"

The head priest compassionately taught: "From the time I took the abbotship of my first temple never once have I worn it. Let us call the reason prudence.³⁴ The Buddha and his disciples want to wear patch robes made from cast-off rags, and to use discarded receptacles for their bowls."

Then I said: "The wearing of the Dharma robe in the other temples shows a clear lack of prudence. It even bears traces of greed. When someone like the old buddha Hung-chih³⁵ wears the Dharma robe, however, there can be no question of lack of prudence."

³² The desires for possession, sexual love, food, fame, and sleep. Cf. Part 1, entry 15.

³³ The robe of transmission he received from Tsu-an Chih-chien.

³⁴ *Chien-yueh* 儉約 *kemyaku*. Ui (p. 96) says this means "being content with few desires." *Bukkyō-go daijiten* (929d) has "acting with modesty and reserve."

³⁵ Ts'ao-tung Zen master Hung-chih Cheng-chueh 宏智正覺 (Wan-shi Shōkaku, 1091–1157). The great champion of *mo-chao*, "silent illumination," Zen in the Sung dynasty. Hung-chih lived at Mt. T'ien-t'ung for thirty years and was responsible for rebuilding and greatly enlarging the monastery there.

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The head priest compassionately taught: "When old buddha Hung-chih wore his Dharma robe it was prudence, and it also conformed to the Way. In your native Japan you have no reason not to wear a Dharma robe. I do not wear it here because I do not want to make the same mistake all the other head priests do of coveting fine robes."³⁶

32. One time, the priest instructed: "The zazen of arhats and pratyeka buddhas,³⁷ although it does not attach to the flavor of meditation, lacks great compassion. That sets it apart from the zazen of the buddhas and patriarchs, which in vowing to save all sentient beings places great compassion foremost. Non-buddhists in India did zazen too. Their schools, however, suffer from three weaknesses: attachment to the flavor, wrong views, and prideful arrogance. That means the seated meditation they practice is forever distinct from the zazen of buddhas and patriarchs.

"Again, zazen is practiced among the sravakas. But their zazen is weak in compassion. Although in the world of various dharmas, they do not use their keen intelligence to open the way universally to the true aspect of those dharmas. By working for their own good alone, they destroy the germ of buddhahood. So theirs stands far removed from the buddha-patriarchs' zazen too.

"As for the buddhas and patriarchs, from the very first awakening of their religious mind they take a vow to gather in all the various Buddha Dharmas. Therefore, in their zazen they do not forget or forsake any sentient being, down even to the tiniest insect. They give them compassionate regard at all times, vowing to save them all and turning over to them every merit they acquire. That is the reason buddhas and patriarchs are always found in the world of desire negotiating the Way in zazen. In the world of desire it is Jambudvīpa the southern continent³⁸ alone where the greatest causal conditions [for Buddhist salvation] exist: there, they

³⁶ See above, fn. 3.

³⁷ Taken together in this context, arhat, pratyeka buddha, and sravaka (see below) represent high stages of attainment in the (inferior) Lesser Vehicle.

³⁸ Jambudvīpa is the realm within the world of desire (Sanskrit, *Jambudvīpa*: where the beings are dominated by desire) in which human beings live. (See Part 1, fn. 15). Because of man's relatively short lifespan and the presence of suffering, conditions conducive to religious awakening are present, and thus there alone do buddhas appear in answer to the needs of the inhabitants.

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practice over the course of many lives to accumulate merits of every kind and attain a suppleness of mind."³⁹

I bowed and asked: "How does one attain a supple mind?"

The priest said: "To negotiate in practice and affirm in realization the buddhas and patriarchs' dropping off of body and mind—that is the supple mind. It is what is called the 'mind-seal' of the buddha-patriarchs."

I prostrated myself before the master six times.

33. The head priest compassionately taught: "In the Dharma Hall there are statues of lions placed on the eastern and western edges of the southern step of the Dharma seat.⁴⁰ They face toward the step, with their heads turned slightly to the south. They are white, and should be white all over, mane, body, and tail. They have started making white lions with blue manes. It shows a total ignorance of the tradition which has been handed down from master to disciple. The lions should be white from mane to tail.

"There is a lotus canopy over the Dharma seat, so called because it looks like a lotus flower overspreading the ground. It is eight-sided in shape, with eight mirrors and eight pennants. A small bell hangs from the edge of the pennants at each of the eight sides. The flower petals are arranged in five layers, with a bell suspended from each petal. Everything should be exactly as it is here over the Dharma seat at Mt. T'ien-t'ung."⁴¹

34. After making one hundred prostrations, I said to the master: "I have just heard your gatha on the windbell. The opening line reads, 'The whole body is a mouth suspended in the empty void,' and third line,

³⁹ *Jou-juan hsin* 柔觀心 *nyūkan-shin*.

⁴⁰ The Dharma seat from which the master preaches is also called the Lion Seat; his preaching, the lion's roar, which is able to drive off all baneful influences. In the *P'a-yuan ching* (普賢經 *Fugen-gyō*) it is said that when the Tathagata was born five hundred white lions appeared from the Himalayas and protected him from harm. *Hōkyō-ki tekkyō-shū* 2, 58v.

⁴¹ In the first printed edition of *Hōkyō-ki* (mid-eighteenth century) the editor Menzan's emendation of the text gives what is perhaps the proper context of this sentence: "When you make [in the future] a canopy over the Dharma seat, it should be exactly . . ."

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'Preaching prajñā to all with singleness of heart.'⁴² Can this 'empty void' refer to the phenomenal emptiness of space? Foolish people are certain to imagine that it does. Students of today are uncertain in their understanding of the Dharma. They will take the blue sky and open space for the empty void. They are truly to be pitied."

The head priest compassionately taught: "'Empty void' is prajñā. It is not empty space in the phenomenal sense. It is not impenetrable and it is not penetrable.⁴³ So it is not 'emptiness' as the concept of emptiness, nor 'truth' as the concept of truth.⁴⁴ Since none of my fellow head priests understands even the phenomenal Dharma, they could hardly understand emptiness. The decline of the Buddha Dharma here in the Sung is truly beyond words."

I said: "Your verse on the windbell stands at the pinnacle of all gathas. No head priest anywhere could match it even in an infinite number of kalpas. Each member of the brotherhood should raise it up to his head in reverence. I have come here from a remote border land. I have little knowledge or experience. Yet in reading the collections of Zen records in the *Chuan-teng lu*, *Kuang-teng lu*, *Hsu-teng lu*, and *P'u-teng lu*,⁴⁵ and the individual recorded sayings of various Zen masters, I have yet to find anything to compare to it.

⁴² The full gatha (religious verse), quoted with minor variations by Dōgen in *SBGZ maka hannya haramitsu*: "The [windbell's] whole body is like a mouth suspended in empty space; East, west, north or south, it cares not how the wind may blow. Preaching prajñā to all with singleness of heart—Ti, ting, ting . . . ti ting ting." Dōgen then comments: "The whole body is prajñā. All others are prajñā. We ourselves are all prajñā. East, west, north or south, are all prajñā." *SBGZ*, p. 12.

⁴³ That is, it is not, on the one hand, some solid form or entity which is incapable of interpenetrating with others (*yu-ai* 有礙 *ngai*), nor, on the other, a totally interpenetrating nonentity devoid of form (*wu-ai* 無礙 *ngai*), but is beyond them both.

⁴⁴ Two views regarded by Mahayana Buddhism as partial, limited to one aspect alone; *tan-k'uang* (單空 *tanku*), sheer emptiness which excludes phenomena; and *pien-hsin* (偏真 *heashin*), onesided truth which excludes illusion.

⁴⁵ Their full titles, with dates of compilation or publication: *Ching-te chuan-teng lu* (*Keitoku dentō roku*, 1004), *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng-lu* (*Tenshō kōto roku*, 1096), *Chien-chang ching-kuo Hsu-teng lu* (*Kenchō Seikoku zokutō roku*, 1101) and *Chia-i'ai P'u-teng lu* (*Kalai futō roku*, 1201). These, together with the *Tsung-men Lien-teng Hsi-yao* (*Shaimon renzō kyō*, 1183), make up the "Five Records of the Lamp," and are the principal sources of traditional Chinese Zen history.

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"I am so glad to learn of it I could dance with joy. My sleeves are wet with tears of gratitude. I make obeisance to it day and night and raise it to my head in reverence. It is so plain and direct and yet possesses such fine music."

The head priest was about to get into the sedan-chair. He said with a smile: "There is profundity in what you say. It reveals a rare and outstanding spirit. I made that gatha when I was head priest at the Ch'ing-liang monastery.⁴⁶ It has been widely admired, but never before has anyone elucidated it as you have. I, the elder priest of T'ien-t'ung, affirm that you possess a true Dharma eye. If you want to compose gathas of your own, make them be like this one."

35. One night the head priest told me: "If a sentient being transmigrating through the cycle of birth and death gives rise to the religious mind, resolving to seek buddha, then he is a son of the buddhas and patriarchs. I and all other sentient beings become in the same way children of the buddhas. But while that is so, never seek to find where the relationship of father and son begins."⁴⁷

36. The head priest taught me: "When you do zazen place your tongue against the roof of your mouth. You may also rest it against the back of your upper front teeth. If someone has grown fully accustomed to zazen by putting in forty or fifty years of practice and has got to the point where he never drops his head in a doze, it is all right for him to close his eyes when he does zazen. For a beginner, not yet accustomed to zazen, sitting should be done with eyes open.⁴⁸ Should he feel tired sitting for a long time it is all right for him to alternate the position in which his legs are crossed. This is the authentic transmission that has been verified by fifty generations of buddha-patriarchs as it has passed directly down from the Buddha himself."

⁴⁶ Ju-ching served as abbot at Ch'ing-liang (清涼寺, Seiryō-ji), in present Fukien, from 1210, when he was forty-seven, until 1215. It was his first appointment.

⁴⁷ While the meaning here is not altogether clear, it seems to be a caution against seeking any kind of temporal priority with regard to the arising of the Bodhi mind, which, as an eternally changeless phenomenon, is the same for all sentient beings.

⁴⁸ See Dōgen's own instructions for zazen in *Fukan zazen-gi* and *SBGZ zazen-gi*, *Eastern Buddhist* vi, 2, pp. 115-28.

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37. I asked: "Sceptics in Japan and here in China as well say that the zazen being propagated by Zen masters in present-day Zen temples is largely a Dharma of the Lesser Vehicle. How does one answer such criticism?"

The head priest compassionately taught: "Such a contention misconstrues the Buddha Dharma completely. Yuan-tzu,⁴⁹ you must know that the Tathagata's authentic Dharma is something that goes far beyond Greater and Lesser Vehicles. Because of their great compassion, however, old buddhas finally stoop down in order to give help to the unenlightened. And so they offer them skillful means or expedients, such as Greater Vehicle and Lesser Vehicle.

"Understand this, Yuan-tzu: the Greater Vehicle is seven beancakes. The Lesser Vehicle is three ricecakes.⁵⁰ What is more, the buddhas and patriarchs have never had any part in fooling children, pretending to have something for them in their closed hand [or giving them yellow leaves in place of gold]: they give yellow leaves when the occasion requires it, and gold when gold is appropriate.⁵¹ Buddhas give guarantees of buddhahood. They also spoonfeed their children.⁵² Their time does not pass idly by."

38. The head priest compassionately taught: "I have been observing you at your meditation seat in the Monks' Hall doing zazen day and night without sleeping. That is very good! Before long, you are certain to perceive a sweet, exquisite fragrance which has no equal in the ordinary world. It is a good omen. Or it may seem as if drops of oil are falling to the ground before you as you sit. Another good sign. You might experience

⁴⁹ A familiar name Ju-ching used when speaking to Dōgen.

⁵⁰ The Lesser and Greater Vehicles both represent the buddhas' skillful means. While three ricecakes and seven beancakes indicate Lesser and Greater Vehicles respectively, the cakes themselves are equally capable of satisfying hunger.

⁵¹ Two widely used expressions. The first derives ultimately from the *Ta-chih-tu-lun*. In the second, from the *Nirvana Sutra*, a parent gives his weeping child some yellow poplar leaves (here the Lesser Vehicle) saying they are gold (Greater Vehicle). Thinking them to be real gold, the child stops crying. In this context, as in footnotes 50 and 52, it is, Ju-ching says, a question of the buddhas' (who are beyond all such distinctions themselves) using skillful means freely and unrestrictedly according to the demands of the occasion.

⁵² Buddhas spoonfeed sentient beings (= Lesser Vehicle) to help awaken them to the Way; for those who have already awakened to the Bodhi mind, they give absolute assurance or certification that they will attain buddhahood (= Greater Vehicle). Both activities are skillful means.

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various different sensations, but they are all auspicious. Just keep negotiating the Way in zazen with all the zeal you would exhibit in putting out a fire on the top of your head."

39. The head priest said: "The World-honored One said that hearing and thinking about the Dharma was like residing outside the gates of your house but that when you do zazen you are immediately sitting peacefully back at home. Therefore, doing zazen even for a single second or a fraction of an instant has incalculable merit.⁵³ For over thirty years now I have devoted all my time to negotiating the Way in zazen, without once ever slackening. I am sixty-four years old this year.⁵⁴ But as an old man I am all the firmer. You negotiate the Way like that too. That and nothing else is the ironclad guarantee [of Buddhahood uttered] from the golden mouth of the Buddha-patriarch."⁵⁵

40. The head priest compassionately taught: "When you do zazen, do not lean against walls, doors, chairs, or anything else. It will be detrimental to your health. Sit straight and upright according to the instructions given in the *Rules for Zazen*.⁵⁶ Be careful not to deviate from them."

41. The head priest taught: "When you rise from zazen to do *kinhin*, walk in a straight line. Don't walk in a circle. If you wish to turn after twenty or thirty paces, turn always to the right, never to the left. When you step forward, step first with the right foot, and then the left."⁵⁷

42. The chief priest compassionately said: "The footprints of the Tathagata's *kinhin*, performed when he rose from zazen, can actually be seen

⁵³ Cf. *Buddhism, Eastern Buddhist* iv, 1, p. 135.

⁵⁴ Ju-ching was sixty-four in 1227, the third year of Pao-ching, the same year Dōgen returned to Japan.

⁵⁵ The Buddha foreordained that all sentient beings who awaken the mind of Bodhi and earnestly work to achieve Buddhahood will without fail attain it.

⁵⁶ *Tso-ch'an i* 坐禪儀 *Zazen-gi*. Although there are a number of such works, this is probably the one by the twelfth century priest Chang-lu Tsung-mo (長蘆宗謨 Chōro Sōi), contained in the Zen monastery regulations *Ch'an-yuan ch'ing-buri* (*Zen shing*, twelfth cent.). Dōgen's own version, *Fukanzazengi* (1227), follows Chang-lu on the practical aspects of sitting but differs from him on matters concerning zazen's fundamental significance and merit. These differences probably reflect Ju-ching's influence. See *Eastern Buddhist* vi, 2, pp. 117-8.

⁵⁷ See entries 12 and 25 (Part 1).

today in the land of Udyana in western India.⁵⁸ The room in which Layman Vimalakirti dwelled still exists.⁵⁹ The foundation stones of the Jetavana monastery remain as well.⁶⁰ But when one goes to sacred remains such as these and measures them, he finds them sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes extended, and sometimes contracted. Their dimensions cannot be fixed. This is a manifestation of the rush and vitality of the Buddha Dharma itself. You must know that the begging bowl and priest's robe, the raised fist and breathing nostrils⁶¹ which have spread into the eastern lands are things lying beyond man's measurements."

I rose from my seat and immediately prostrated myself before the master, putting my head to the ground with tears of joy.

43. The head priest compassionately taught: "When you do zazen you place your mind at various locations.⁶² All of them are expressly prescribed. To place the mind on the palm of the left hand is the way rightly transmitted by the buddha-patriarchs."

44. The head priest compassionately taught: "Sramanera Kao of Yao-shan did not receive the full precepts of the bhikṣu, but that does not mean he did not receive the precepts of the Buddha rightly transmitted by the buddha-patriarchs. Although [he was thus called a sramanera] he still wore the robe of a [full-fledged] Buddhist monk and carried the begging bowl. That makes him a bodhisattva-sramanera.⁶³

⁵⁸ Located in the northern part of Gandhara. Stones bearing the Buddha's footprints are described in Hsuan-tsang's *Records of Western Countries* (*Hsi-yu chi*), A.D. 656-8, and Fa-hsien's fifth century *Records of Buddhist Countries* (*Fo-kuo chi*).

⁵⁹ According to the *Fa-yuan chu-lin* 法苑珠林, a man named Wang Hsuan-so visited the city of Vaisali in central India during the years 656-660 and there measured the dimensions of Vimalakirti's room. Ui, p. 101.

⁶⁰ The monastery associated with Sakyamuni and his disciples. The ruins are described by Hsuan-tsang.

⁶¹ The raised fist is said to represent the master's activity, breathing nostrils, his silent countenance. Ui, p. 102.

⁶² The tip of the nose, the lower abdomen, and so forth.

⁶³ 高沙彌 Jap. Kō Shami. fl. first half of the eighth century. A *sramanera* (*shami*) is a novice monk who has taken his initial vows but has not received the full 250 commandments making him a full-fledged monk or bhikṣu in an orthodox sense. Kao never bothered to receive the full commandments (see story below) so he was always known as Sramanera Kao; yet he wore the priest's robe and carried the begging bowl, the marks of the authentic monk. In *SBGZ jukai* Dōgen identifies the bodhisattva (= Mahayana)

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"When there is a ranking of monks, it is decided according to when the bodhisattva precepts were taken, not the sramanera precepts. That is the orthodox transmission we have inherited."⁶⁴

Yuan-tzu, you have a firm and constant resolve in seeking the Dharma. It is a cause of great joy to me. You are just the person to entrust with the line of Tung-shan."⁶⁵

45. I asked: "Studying the Way under a teacher is a superlative vestige from the lives of past buddha-patriarchs. Some people, at the time the initial mind of Bodhi awakens in them for the first time, are already like men of the Way. But when they gather practitioners around them and begin

precepts ("the precepts of the Buddha"), those which have been correctly transmitted by the patriarchs, as the three refuges, the three pure precepts, and the ten grave prohibitions. Then he says: "Both T'ien-jan of Mt. Tan-hsia and Sramanera Kao of Mt. Yao received and observed [these sixteen precepts]. There may be some patriarchs who never took the full bhikṣu precepts, yet there has never yet been one who did not receive the bodhisattva precepts rightly transmitted by the buddhas and patriarchs." *SBGZ*, p. 622.

The story of Sramanera Kao's decision not to take the full precepts is given in several versions. The following is given in *Ui* (pp. 102-3): "Kao, a sramanera monk, went to Yao-shan. Yao-shan said: 'Where have you come from?' 'From Nan-yueh,' was the reply. 'Where are you going?' asked Yao-shan. 'I'm going to Chiang-liang,' said Kao. 'I'm going to take the [full] precepts.' 'What do you expect to achieve by that?' said Yao-shan. 'I hope to avoid the sufferings of birth and death,' said Kao. 'There is a man who avoids birth and death even though he has not received the precepts,' said Yao-shan. 'Do you know him?' Kao said, 'If that's true, then what use are the Buddhist precepts?' 'You lip-flapping novice!' said Yao-shan.

With that, Kao came to realize his original mind and did not take the full precepts. He decided to leave Yao-shan and go live in a hermitage. Yao-shan asked him, 'Birth and death is the matter of greatest importance, so why don't you take the precepts?' Kao said, 'If you know that, then lay off. What do you mean, "precepts"?' Yao-shan gave a loud shout, and said, 'You garrulous novice. Come build your hermitage around here. I want to see you again from time to time.' "

⁶⁴ It has been suggested that this entry is connected in some way with an episode related in biographies of Dōgen written after his death, according to which, when Dōgen first arrived at Mt. T'ien-t'ung (when Wu-chi, Ju-ching's predecessor, was head priest), he was assigned to the lowest rank in the brotherhood of monks on the grounds that he was a foreigner and in spite of the years which had elapsed since he had taken the bodhisattva precepts in Japan. See Ōkubo, *Dōgen den no kenkyū*, pp. 124-8; Takeuchi, pp. 114-17; Part 1, introduction, fn. 18.

⁶⁵ The Ta'ao-tung (Sōtō) line of Zen, whose founder (or co-founder) is Tung-shan Liang-chieh (Tōzan Ryōkai, 807-869).

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to preach, it seems as if there is no Buddha Dharma. Then, some seem not to have a trace of enlightenment when the initial mind emerges. But when they begin their career of preaching the Dharma and elucidating the Way, they then reveal a disposition so extraordinary as to rival even the masters of the past. In view of this, which of the two minds can we regard as the attainment of the Way, the initial mind or the later mind?"

The head priest compassionately taught: "That is the very thing the bodhisattva Subhuti once asked the World-honored One about. Moreover, it is included in the teachings which have been authentically transmitted throughout the past in both India and China. The question is: 'If the Dharma neither increases nor decreases,⁶⁶ how is enlightenment possible? Only a buddha could attain it. What relevance could it have for a bodhisattva?'⁶⁷

"The right transmission by all buddhas and all patriarchs says enlightenment is not merely the initial mind alone, but it is not separable from the initial mind. How can that be? Were the Way attained solely in the initial mind, then a bodhisattva should be a buddha immediately when the Bodhi mind first awakens within him, and that is not true. If there were no initial mind to begin with, how could a second mind and a third mind arise, or a second Dharma, and a third? Hence the later mind is rooted in the initial mind, and the initial mind gains its end in the later mind.

"Now let me illustrate the relation between the two with an analogy. Take, for example, the burning of a lamp wick. The flame which is now burning is not the same as the initial flame. But neither is it different from that flame. It cannot reverse its course and it cannot change itself. It is neither new nor old. It is not itself and it is not another. The lamp is the Way of the bodhisattva. The lamp wick is basic ignorance (*avidya*). The burning flame is like the *prajñā* that is proper to the initial mind. When buddha-patriarchs devote themselves to the cultivation of the One-Practice Samadhi,⁶⁸ the *prajñā* suited to the practice of the samadhi burns

⁶⁶ That is, it is not less in the beginner's mind and greater when experience is gained.

⁶⁷ The same question and the following analogy appear in the *Ta-chih-tu-lun* (*Dziki-doron*), 75.

⁶⁸ 一行三昧. This appears in the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana* 大乘起信論, where it is described as a samadhi in which all buddhas and all sentient beings are one universal, non-dualistic body. In the *Platform Sutra*, Hui-neng says it is the constant working of the single mind of suchness in all places and at all times, "whether going or staying, sitting or lying down."

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away the illusions which stem from ignorance. There is in this no before or after and no separation from before and after. This is the fundamental principle rightly transmitted by the buddhas and patriarchs."