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JAPAN STUDIES REVIEW

1997 – 2023 | Volumes I – XXVII

Publications by Dr. Steven Heine

Articles, essays, and book reviews

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EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

The aim of this volume is to gather all the contributions to the annual peer-reviewed journal, *Japan Studies Review*, that were produced by Dr. Steven Heine, Professor of Religious Studies and History and founding director of the Asian Studies Program at Florida International University.

Heine served as editor of the journal for twenty-six volumes, starting from 1998 until the final issue in 2023, and authored numerous articles, essays, translations, and book reviews that are gathered in this special edition. Many thanks go to the efforts of Dr. María Sol Echarren, the main copyeditor since 2010 and co-editor of the *Japan Studies Review* since 2018. Echarren has expertly brought the contributions into a single volume, published in this 2024 issue.

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Re: Journal Archive and Contact Information

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CROSSING THE *BITCHI-BASHI*: CONSTRUCTIONS AND DECONSTRUCTIONS OF JAPANESE WOMEN IN AMERICAN FILMS

Steven Heine

During a period of half a dozen years in the late fifties and early sixties, Hollywood produced nearly two dozen films (see filmography below for a chronological listing with synopsis) that deal directly with the American experience of Asia, and especially with love affairs between American men and Asian women, particularly Japanese. This was a remarkably rich though generally dismissed or even scorned period in Western constructions of Asia and Asian women. It came just over the midway mark in a cultural arc extending from *Madama Butterfly* (1904), produced near the end of a long period of "Japonisme," or post-Perry Japanese influences on Western literary, dramatic, and fine arts (Chiba 1994), to what playwright David Henry Hwang refers to as a "deconstructivist Madame Butterfly," *M. Butterfly* (1988) (Hwang 1989: 95). (Hwang's play coincided with the production of *Miss Saigon* lest one assume that there has been a straightforward, simple, linear progression from oppressive to liberating representations of Asian gender issues). In terms of a political arc, this period of Hollywood films occurred midway between the end of the Pacific and the Vietnamese wars, as well as midway between Korea and the onset of Vietnam, and reflected America's attempt to reconcile with one Asian enemy, once demonized and now condescendingly befriended or symbolically "married" in a kind of bourgeois ceremony, while bracing to mount a cultural as well as military assault on another "yellow peril" opponent. This period was also in the middle, marked by the peak of the cold war, of an historical arc extending from Pearl Harbor to the "Nixon shock." Another perspective on the development of cultural constructions indicates that this period, taking place at the same time Japan was exporting *Godzilla, King of Monsters* (1958), occurred halfway in the arc beginning with between-wars novels *Lost Horizon* and *The Razor's Edge* (film versions in the thirties and forties respectively, with the latter film reprised in the early eighties), in which Asia is depicted as a paradise that offers the possibility of a solution to human conflicts, and leading to the post-Vietnam films *Apocalypse Now* and *The Deer Hunter*, which portray Asia as a Hades consisting of dehumanizing, abominable acts that corrupts everyone who comes in contact with it.

One of the most interesting aspects of this period is that a good number of the films, such as *Bridge on the River Kwai*, *South Pacific*, and *Sayonara*, were at the forefront of popular mainstream culture. The films are notable not merely as cult classics or collector's items of interest primarily for Asianists, although historian H. D. Harootunian refers to *The Barbarian and the Geisha*, which dramatizes the adventures of Townshend Harris, the first American ambassador to Japan who arrived in 1858, four years after Commodore Perry, as "that long-forgotten classic . . . [that] was able to convey the sense of perplexity Harris must have experienced when greeted by the puzzled Shimoda officials who had not expected the American's arrival" (Harootunian 1993: 197). Rather, several of the movies were among the most popular and critically successful films of the era, garnering a fair share of Academy Award nominations and featuring some of the leading actors of the day. In addition to John Wayne's portrayal of Harris, Marlon Brando, probably the biggest star of the time, was featured in two films, *The Teahouse of the August Moon* and *Sayonara*, which is regarded as one of his most moving and remarkable performances that was "heartbreaking in its behavioral authenticity" as Brando improvised a Southern accent to highlight how much prejudice his character overcame in falling in love with an Asian (Schickel 1991: 157). Other box office stars who figured prominently in this period include William Holden in three films (*The Bridges at Toko-ri*, *The World of Suzie Wong*, and *Love is a Many Splendored Thing*), Alec Guinness in two (*Bridge on the River Kwai* and, playing a Japanese, *A Majority of One*), Rock Hudson (*Battle Hymn*), Laurence Harvey (*A Girl Named Tamiko*), Charlton Heston (*55 Days at Peking*), and even Ronald Reagan (*Hong Kong*) and comedian Jerry Lewis (*The Geisha Boy*). Furthermore, several of the most successful films were based on artistic material that completed the pop culture "circuit"—from best-selling book to Broadway stage smash to silver screen hit—including *South Pacific*, which ran for five years straight after opening in London, *Teahouse*, and *Suzie Wong*.

These films deal with a variety of themes, including historical topics, such as *Barbarian* and *55 Days at Peking*, and movies explicitly on war, including *The Bridges at Toko-ri*, *Bridge on the River Kwai*, in which a British troop becomes perversely obedient to its Japanese captors, and *South Pacific*, in which American forces stage a surprise counterattack in the Pacific theater. However, the vast majority of the films—all but nos. 9, 15, and 22 in the Appendix are not period pieces or war films but rather love stories between Americans and Asians (women and in some cases—nos. 1, 13, and 14—children). This includes *Barbarian*, which focuses on Harris' legendary affair with a geisha, and *South Pacific*, which revolves around two love affairs, one involving a G.I. and Liat, the Tonkinese daughter of "Bloody Mary," and the other between an army nurse and a French widower with two half-Polynesian children. The films are primarily human dramas rooted in and at times symbolic of the postwar atmosphere

of rapidly shifting international relations at the peak of the cold war. For example, in *Sayonara* "Marlon Brando played male America to [Miiko Taka's] female Japan" as a model of the image expressed in Kato Norihiro's *Amerika no Kage* (America's Shadow), which suggests that a photo of MacArthur and Hirohito in 1945 "can be read as a momento of a marriage with all of its attending associations of a sexual relationship and conjugal bliss between Japan and the United States at the beginning of the Occupation" (Harootunian 1993: 199). Yet, the films are not primarily political allegories but are reflective of changing cultural values and senses of personal identity as both American and Japanese people reckoned reluctantly with the process necessitated by historical circumstances—originating for different reasons but converging at a common point—of internationalization. Of course it was a time considerably before the current economic boom of the so-called East Asian dragon states when America, at least in appearance, was considered uniquely desirable as a land of safety and opportunity. Yet, while America may have been coveted by foreigners including Asians, Hollywood was depicting a breakdown in corporate lifestyle and middle class values in such late fifties films as *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, *Ten North Frederick*, and *The Apartment*. The first films in the Asian genre, *Hong Kong* and *Japanese War Bride*, were produced in the early fifties. But the peak of the period was in the years 1957 and 1958, during which nearly a dozen films were released, including many of the most successful ones. This was a time when political realignment and the social condition of mixed marriages involving "war brides" adjusting to new cultural perspectives had become more firmly entrenched.

The single, overriding message of these films is an impassioned plea against racism, discrimination, and hatred, and for tolerance, international goodwill, and the universality of human nature. In the dramas, American men fall in love with Asian women against their will and in spite of knowing better, and they must deal at first with a sense of uncertainty or even revulsion about their emotions toward "round-face" or "Buddha-head" women, as they are referred to repeatedly in the book version of *Sayonara*, though it is clear that the real demons in that story are a couple of blatantly prejudiced colonels. In several key examples, the men are caught in a love triangle as they are already having an affair or have made a commitment to a very attractive and available American. But their reservations are eventually directed away from themselves and their own doubts and turned toward a frustration and anger with the small-minded, bigoted, hypocritical quality inherent in American society that disdains mixed racial relationships while espousing a philosophy of democratic equality.

There is an important psychological dialectic as the men become attracted to Asian values through the women they love and simultaneously reject American women out of disdain for conventional lifestyle and identity. In a scene in the novel *Sayonara*, Major Lloyd Gruver (Brando) is ridiculed by officers' wives while he is in the P.X. buying "weekies" for the

Japanese wife of Kelly, one of the men in his company, and he comments, "But as I left these tough, bitter women and walked away from their circle of bleak and unforgiving faces . . . I almost cried aloud with pain to think that something had happened in American life to drive men like Mike Bailey [another officer] and me away from such delectable girls" (Michener 1953: 121). This shift in attitude causes the men to embark on a wholesale reevaluation of American values and the American girlfriends to challenge their own presumed roles in traditional society. At the peak of their passion, the Americans struggle to prevail against social and political obstacles and objections to their forbidden love. The drama results either in tragedy and hopelessness or in success and acceptance, as exemplified in the radically different endings in the book and film versions of *Sayonara*. In the book, Gruver and his lover Hana-ogi are separated by circumstance and he seems destined to marry the American he has jilted, yet in the film the lovers at first part but then are reunited in a love conquers all final scene. In several other films the Americans decide to stay and build their lives in Asia.

Pearl Buck, who authored a 1952 novel set in Japan dealing with similar themes, *The Hidden Flower*, recognized the importance of Michener's book, originally published at the same time in *McCalls* magazine and then one year later in an independent volume:

> I have just finished reading James Michener's new novel, *Sayonara*. It is a love story, set in Japan, the characters are valid and the hero and heroine are attractive and true to life. The book is, for me, the author's best work, and it can and should be read for any or all of several reasons as a moving story, told in spare strong prose; as illuminating description, original and unusual, of a rarely beautiful country; as a powerful portrayal of Americans and Japanese as they must now live together upon Japanese soil. But deeper than this, if anyone cares to go deeper, is the authentic explanation of why, if we Americans do not change, we can never win in Asia.

The Butterfly Syndrome and Orientalism

However, in retrospect, the communicative power of the love stories of this period seems to be diminished and can in fact be subjected to criticism and even scorn as contributing to the cause rather than the solution of the social problems they highlight. Despite their good-natured, well-meaning intentions, these romances seem to be locked into a simplistic, black-and-white moralism characteristic of the fifties; they offer only a glimmer of a liberated perspective in an otherwise thoroughly repressive era. It is helpful to recall that the 1967 production of *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*, featuring an all-star cast including Spencer Tracy, Katherine Hepburn, and Sidney Poitier in a tale of an engagement between a wealthy white woman and her well-educated, highly successful black physician boyfriend, won numerous awards but was also referred to by some critics as the "best film of the year—the year 1957." In that vein, critic Richard Schickel writes that the film version of *Sayonara* "as it was finally released, is pretty, bitter-

sweet, 'moving' on some simple, tear-jerking level." Furthermore, "With its earnest effort to portray what was then an exotic culture respectfully, thus imparting to the film an air of expensive and 'beautiful' spectacle, with its careful attempt to preach racial amity in romantically approachable terms, with its stately pace and soberly 'thoughtful' manner, *Sayonara* is a paradigm of Fifties movie-making, Fifties American culture" (Schickel 1991: 156, 158).

But criticism of the period can easily become much more severe and devastating. From the standpoint of how the films portray Asia, they may perhaps at best be seen as one-sidedly reflecting the state of mind of Americans, occupying and for the first time extensively traveling in Asia, who are forever changed by falling in love, which is invariably requited though often not consummated or fulfilled. Yet these stories are told entirely from the point of view of male Americans, who seem all too eager to give up everything, including a woman for whom they genuinely care on some level, for an Asian who is at once beyond accessibility and yet readily available. Asia is depicted as a mere stomping grounds, a cultural playground, a place of adventure and intrigue where lonely, lost, disillusioned men find themselves through relationships with fragile, compliant, yielding, and totally subservient women who are also remarkably sensuous and alluring. Asians are not genuine characters with real psychological motives, but "'insipid, showy, stereotypic and patronizing personas'" (Pao 1992: 1, citing reviewer William Wong). Any interest in these films would appear to be merely for the sake of nostalgia—a longing for the exotic yet tamable Orient and for a simpler time of American hegemony. A similar criticism was often made about the popularity of several productions about India in the mid-eighties, *Gandhi*, *Passage to India*, *The Jewel and the Crown*, and *Heat and Dust*. Despite the fine quality of the films and the basic sympathy they expressed with the aspirations of Asians, many critics felt they reflected little more than a British nostalgia for the Raj at the time of economic difficulties.

Taking this line of criticism a step further, the fifties films can be situated as prime examples of Orientalist discourse based on their romanticized, idealized image of Asian women, which is made all the more reprehensible because of their pretentiousness and inability to recognize the problematic standpoints they represent. Several of the films in this period were attacked by a variety of commentators in a BBC documentary on the "butterfly syndrome" and contrasted with the more astute, de-Orientalizing standpoint of *M. Butterfly* (*Butterfly: Myth of an Oriental Woman* 1991). The films often fall into a pattern of conflating the exotic (intuitive, unknowable) with the erotic, or the sensational with the sensuous, and in suggesting a mythic ideal that Asian women somehow love men better than Americans do they contribute to a quasi-mystical racism-sexism stereotyping that caters to those fascinated with the "mysterious East." For example, Gruver asks Bailey why Japanese women are so attractive, and he replies,

"'One thing explains it all. You ever had your back scrubbed by a Japanese girl . . . who really loved you?'" When Gruver seems perplexed, Bailey reprimands him, "'Ace, either you understand or you don't'" (Michener 1953: 105-06). Sometime after this conversation, Gruver now deeply in love describes Hana-ogi, famed star dancer in an all-female troupe and the namesake of an Edo era geisha celebrated in floating world art (*ukiyo-e*) as "the radiant symbol of all that was best in the Japanese woman; the patient accepter, the tender companion, the rich lover" (Michener 1953: 128). As Lisa Lowe has shown, in the anti-feminist tendencies of the butterfly syndrome the submissive feminine is equated with the character of the Orient itself in that the "'oriental woman' is a complicated representation of intersecting inscriptions: she is a forbidden object of desire as well as a material object of exchange, the barricaded city and the virgin priestess, the infinite beauty of *la nature*, and the sacred, violent oriental world" (Lowe 1991: 81).

Furthermore, the comments by David Hwang in the afterword to *M. Butterfly* raise the stakes considerably by explicitly identifying the butterfly syndrome as a form of Orientalist discourse that is in the service of disguised imperialist and colonialist agendas, which generate a formula repeatedly carried out in popular Western culture that "good natives serve whites and bad natives rebel." "Because they are submissive and obedient," Hwang suggests, "good natives of both sexes necessarily take on 'feminine' characteristics in a colonialist world. Gunga Din's unfailing devotion to his British master, for instance, is not so far removed from Butterfly's slavish faith in Pinkerton" (Hwang 1989: 99). In light of Hwang's remarks, it is not surprising to find that Pearl Buck has characterized the importance of *Sayonara* not in terms of becoming familiar with Asia for its own sake, but because ironing out social misunderstanding is essential in order for America to "*win* in Asia" (emphasis added).

My aim is not to refute such criticism and defend the fifties film period, but to suggest in light of the critiques a more balanced reading than is provided either by Buck's supportive comments or by the harsher contemporary analyses. A balanced interpretation is based on taking into account several key factors. One factor is the need to highlight and preserve the basically positive and generous attitude the films express toward Asia in contrast with the recent Japan-bashing of *Rising Sun* (1993) or the image of Asians, despite some noble or compassionate counter-examples, as domineering and manipulative in *Saint Jack*, *Yakuza*, *The Year of Living Dangerously*, *Shôgun*, and *Gung-Ho* in the seventies and early eighties. Given the nature of the historical-political arc in which it occurred, the fifties period has less affinity with Puccini than it does with Hwang, who argues that his play is not

> an anti-American play, a diatribe against the stereotyping of the East by the West, of women by men. Quite to the contrary, I consider it a plea to all sides to cut through our respective layers of cultural and sexual misperception, to

> deal with one another truthfully for our mutual good, from the common and equal ground we share as human beings" (Hwang 1989: 100).

This seems the thrust of Michener's sentiments as well.

The second factor contributing to a balanced reading is to recognize what has become increasingly apparent in the twenty years since Said's seminal work: the complex and multifaceted quality of the phenomenon of Orientalism and the difficulty in extricating from its octopus-like grasp, especially in the post-colonial, post-modern era. It is often less difficult to expose and denounce the structures of Orientalism than it is to develop a de-structuring that fully and finally resolves them without recreating an inverse or reverse structure (Chen forthcoming; Eoyang 1993; Faure 1995; Sharf 1993; Wixted 1989). As Robert Young points out, "if Orientalism as a discursive structure is so determining on this long history of writers about the East, how can [Said] escape himself? . . . Said's account will be no truer to Orientalism than Orientalism is to the actual Orient, assuming there could ever be such a thing" (Young 1990: 138, 128). Furthermore, as Hwang's somewhat defensive posture indicates, attempting to deconstruct Orientalism often has a boomerang effect, so that a discourse that appears from one perspective to solve a problem ends up causing problems from an equally worthwhile perspective, and vice-versa. If the fifties can be criticized for presupposing a good/bad, either/or standpoint, so can some kinds of analysis which assume that Orientialism, easily categorized and labeled, is simply wrong, and that freedom from it, even if not always adequately portrayed, is just as simply good. How is freedom from Orientalism attained, and at what price? It is necessary to examine and sort out, in addition to the structures of Orientalism, the full range of intersecting and overlapping inverted, reverted, and reverse structures in order to suggest tentatively the possibilities of formulating de-structuring discourses. Said for the most part has failed to explore difference, ambivalence, and heterogeneity in the formation of Orientalist structures and restructures (Behdad 1994: 9-13; Lowe 1991).

A third factor is based on adopting an interpretive model that is appropriate to the period's textuality in the fuller sense of the term encompassing the inseparability of author and reader, text and context. Here I will attempt to follow some of the suggestions, though in support of different conclusions, made in Angela Pao's analysis of misinformed, unsympathetic reviews of *M. Butterfly* that "show an astonishing and telling breakdown of . . . professional competencies" (Pao 1992: 4). Pao argues that the failure of many reviews at the time of the play's premiere was due to the one-dimensional nineteenth century model of theater criticism which either recommends or discourages the reader's attendance largely for commercial, bottom-line reasons. Instead, she advocates an interpretive model that is sensitive to the specific "cultural narrative" requiring a "cultural competency" or memory expressed in the particular theatrical product. In the case of *M. Butterfly* the cultural narrative is based on an Asian-American male's

attempted overcoming of multiple historical levels of racial and gender stereotyping, in which all Asians are treated as female, as butterfly.

But for the fifties films, the cultural competency reflects a middle class narrative context of postwar America finding its identity by temporarily losing itself in Asia, or by crossing a threshold of liminality in the Turnerian sense through engaging and at times surpassing the butterfly syndrome. For example, the fighting in which Americans are involved in *South Pacific* is not so much a matter of attacking the Japanese military as it is of young soldiers wrestling with their own consciences as they encounter the otherness of Pacific animism and racial differences. The key to a balanced interpretation is to see how the films represent a reevaluation and transformation of values at a critical turning point in American political and cultural history, and how they indicate a form of liberation in part inspired by Asia even though Asia itself is not necessarily constructed in a genuinely liberated way. Therefore, my aim is not to condemn or to applaud this period's vision of Asia, but to appreciate that in depicting the postwar identity crisis in America, Asia is portrayed as a place of redemption rather than retribution, of truth rather than errancy, and that this image has an enduring resonance and merit over thirty years later in the aftermath of the cold war and another era of political realignment and cultural change.

De-Orientalist Structure of the Romantic Triangle

An interesting way of understanding the relation between de-structuring or de-Orientalist elements occupying the same textual territory as Orientalist structures in the fifties films is to compare the nearly opposite finales in the two versions of *Sayonara*. The transition from the poignant ending in the book published in the early fifties to the triumphal ending in the film released five or six years later could be seen as a sell-out to a typical Hollywood formula incapable of depicting harsh realism, thereby exacerbating the Orientalist tendencies toward romanticization and idealization. However, the issue is considerably more complex than this when discussed in terms of the graphic increase in "war bride" marriages in the interim period as well as the broader cultural significance of the butterfly syndrome. In order to clarify the comparison it is helpful, in turn, to situate *Sayonara* in the context of several other films which share the basic narrative structure of the romantic triangle, *South Pacific*, *The World of Suzie Wong*, and *A Girl Named Tamiko*.

South Pacific and *Sayonara* both involve military heroes. In the former, Lt. Joe Cable is in the midst of the Pacific war and he chooses to go off and ultimately dies in battle as an escape from confronting his confused feelings about his Tonkinese girlfriend; and in the latter film Major Gruver is a Korean war hero on working vacation in Japan, where he has been brought by General Webster, father of his intended, so that he will have time to meet with Eileen and arrange their wedding plans. *Suzie Wong* and *Tamiko* both

involve post-military disaffected expatriates—the character played by William Holden in the former film is in Hong Kong struggling to become an artist, and the Laurence Harvey character in *Tamiko* is trapped by circumstances as a photographer in Japan and trying desperately to get to America. In all four stories, the men must choose between an American woman who represents the chance for a relatively uncomplicated life in mainstream society and a forbidden or inaccessible Asian woman who represents the possibility of true, passionate, unconditional love. In seeing the men choose their Asian lovers against all odds, the rejected Americans in an ironic way appreciate the freedom and moral heroism they find for the first time and are themselves liberated by this model of courage from their own confined roles in a repressive society—or, rather, in a society which is repressive in an insidious and disguised way that claims to overcome but in some respects actually mirrors the repression of women in traditional Asia. The American women see the Asian transcending a more overt structure of repression while they, despite an air of smug superiority, remain trapped in a covert structure.

The narrative of *South Pacific* is a bit of an exception to the pattern in that Cable's girlfriend is back home and never plays a direct part in his decision-making. But unlike the anecdotal quality in the book, *Tales of the South Pacific*, which is a collection of basically unrelated stories, the film narrative weaves together two romances so that Cable's crisis occurs at the same time that his friend, nurse Nellie Forbush, must decide on a marriage to De Becque, a French plantation owner, that would give her half-Polynesian step-children. *Sayonara* has the most complex and poignant plot because it includes the marriage of Kelly and the pregnant Katsumi which culminates in their double suicide (*shinjû* 心中) after Kelly is given orders to leave the country and their house is condemned. Tragically, the suicides occur just days before the repeal of the law forbidding American servicemen from bringing home their Japanese wives. Here Michener clearly evokes the classic eighteenth century Bunraku plays of Chikamatsu, especially *Shinjû Ten no Amijima*, which the two couples attend prior to the suicides, as well as the ethic that tragedy often visits those whose intentions are beyond reproach.

Chikamatsu's double suicide dramas generally focus on outcasts—orphans and low-level geishas—who are driven to the act by shame and a desperate, millenarian hope for other-worldly redemption (Heine 1994). Kelly, who grew up in an orphanage and had a lifelong history of disciplinary problems, including being accused of manslaughter, until his marriage rejuvenates and transforms him into a tragic hero, clearly fits the mold, though in this case there is no reference to salvation but rather to the decidedly secularized, ironic redemption provided by the law's repeal. Michener's other heroes are well ensconced in mainstream society and the expectation of inheriting their father's profession, and they are considered the type of eligible men "who could get any girl they want." Kelly and Katsumi

loved because they had experienced rejection, but Gruver and Hana-ogi are rejected because of their love. Both Cable and Gruver risk undergoing a fall from grace, but in the book versions they withdraw and abandon their Asian lovers out of fear. Cable in the film version meets an untimely death in battle, and Gruver in the film persists and reunites with Hana-ogi. Although Katsumi's personal history is not developed enough to indicate exactly why she marries and commits suicide with Kelly, other Asian women in this period are portrayed as outcasts. For example, Suzie Wong is a young prostitute whose son was fathered by a powerful government official who continually threatens to gain custody. Suzie hides the boy she has named Winston and spends all her income to pay for his nanny, yet when he dies in a flood her last ties to traditional society are broken. Also, Tamiko is rejected by her family for her affair. In addition, Hana-ogi, though a famous dancer, had been sold into prostitution by her impoverished father. Once she was fortunate enough to have her honor restored by entering the troupe, she remains compelled to live a severely restricted lifestyle in which any romance, let alone to an American soldier, is strictly taboo and, like Suzie Wong, she uses all her money to support her relatives.

On the one hand, the general narrative structure of the fifties films clearly exemplifies elements of the butterfly syndrome in its eroticization/exoticization of Asian women. Yet, if the period is not stereotyped from a kind of reverse Orientalist standpoint as being hopelessly trapped by fifties moralism, the structure can also be seen to contain elements that contribute to the de-structuring of Orientalism by using images in positive and at times uplifting instead of merely stereotypical ways. The portrayal of Asian women does not necessarily arise from or perpetuate Orientialism but rather helps liberate from it by remaining true to the model provided by the Japanese classics. Of course in some ways the suicide of Cio-Cio San and the implied criticism of the callous Pinkerton in *Madama Butterfly* does this as well.

This theme can be further demonstrated by breaking down the pattern of the romantic triangle into three stages. Each stage has a dialectical quality in encompassing a simultaneous movement toward Asia and away from America. This corresponds to the transition toward interior self-reflection out of a newly recognized internationalized perspective and away from parochial, externally-imposed, unexamined views. The first stage establishes the dialectic of the hero questioning and challenging American values based on falling in love with an Asian. It is important to note the sequence of this development. It is not the case, for example, that the Americans first flee from their homes and then love an Asian as a consequence of rebelliousness and disillusionment—that would represent a more pronounced Orientalism in the sense that Asia is depicted as a place that is pursued not because it has merit but only out of discontent or despair. Rather, the sequence is reversed, so that the Americans are fascinated by and fall in love with an Asian first and then from this new vantage point they begin to view

their homeland as staid, conformist, unimaginative, and, worse, bigoted and hypocritical, thus suggesting that Asia provides an aesthetic and moral lens by which to examine the flaws and limitations in postwar America.

For example, Gruver starts out as one of the most sarcastic and disdainful critics ridiculing and repudiating enlisted men like Kelly who are married to Japanese. He echoes the military sentiment that the only ones attracted to foreign women are hapless losers who cannot do any better. But when he meets Hana-ogi the deep reservations Gruver has long held about the prospect of his own quasi-arranged military marriage based on the lifetime of unhappiness he has witnessed in his parents forcefully dawn on him. He recalls the turning point of his life in prep school when he considered pursuing a more creative career in acting until he was intimidated by his father. His mother supported him at that time, which reflected the rift in his parents' relationship that had also given Eileen misgivings about military marriage, though she remains uncritical of her own stubborn mother. Gruver now calls off his relationship with Eileen and he even learns to accept and enjoy Hana-ogi's satire of Americans when she apes his every gesture while playing Pinkerton in the dance troupe's mock play *Swing Butterfly*. Similarly, Cable and Nellie help each other overcome their prejudices, which are especially deeply ingrained for the nurse from Arkansas who has been raised on white superiority and ranks Polynesians below Javanese and Tonkinese (Michener 1947: 138). Although the William Holden character in *Suzie Wong* follows the general pattern, his motives are somewhat of an exception to the rule. An older bachelor, he has come to Asia after leaving the business world to experiment with painting and he thinks of himself as freeing Suzie from her bondage, in particular the dehumanizing (Asian) tendency to separate mind, which is supposedly incorruptible, from her body, which is for hire.

The second stage in the dialectical movement continues the questioning of the hierarchical and manipulative marriages of convenience, military protocol, and political advancement characteristic of an American society that rests on a foundation of racism and the supposed impossibility of mixed relationships. In this stage, the inconceivable happens: a wholehearted preference for Asian values which foster a unique sense of love and contentment in contrast to the cold, self-deceptive American lifestyle. This is where the films can be taken to task for uncritically romanticizing Asian society without always taking fully into account its restrictive rules. Americans fully embrace and convert to the other, and in so doing reject the familiar, including the attractive American women who seem to be their natural mates. Gruver invites the wrath of Eileen's father as well as his own father who is a higher ranking general and, indeed, the entire military ethic which cannot abide losing its "Ace." The Holden character gives up an opportunity to marry the daughter of his banker who could help him out financially and who has hypocritically voiced support for mixed marriages while privately condemning them. The Laurence Harvey character loses his

chance to go to San Francisco, which had been his long-standing dream, in the company of an American woman who loves him but is trapped in an unhappy relationship as surrogate daughter/mock mistress to a wealthy man.

The tables-turning all-out love for the Asian—Liat, Hana-ogi, Suzie Wong, and Tamiko—as the only source of happiness might be considered to foster the butterfly syndrome. It may seem too extreme a romanticization to assume that somehow these foreign women have nobility and beauty in abundance that are nearly altogether lacking in the Americans. The character of "Lotus Blossom" in *Teahouse* is certainly a caricature, at once condescendingly and ideally portrayed. Shirley MacLaine in *My Geisha* parodies many of the earlier portrayals. Actress France Nuyen who played Liat on film and Suzie Wong in the London stage production has commented that her career was subsequently plagued by a casting stereotype as well as criticism from Asian feminists about her contribution to the butterfly syndrome. She has defended Suzie for her determination, fortitude, and essential decency, and it is helpful to recognize that the Asian women are also shown coming to a moment of self-determination and self-identity in the struggle against monumental social pressure. This is especially clear in the case of Hana-ogi, whose own restrictions as a leader of the all-female conglomerate-owned dance troupe as well as responsibilities to the honor and financial well-being of her family mirror and are actually even more intense than Gruver's. On some level only hinted at in the book or film, Hana-ogi has used the American pilot because the growing reputation of their forbidden love helps evoke memories of her namesake, the famous Edo geisha immortalized in woodblock prints (Michener 1953: 157-164; 1954: 177-178). Her deciding to leave Gruver (book version) or to join him (film) is symbolic of Japan coming to terms with its defeated, occupied place in the postwar world. Also, Tamiko struggles against her family's rebukes through sincere Buddhist penance, and Suzie Wong, who suffers such an outcast status, demands to be respected rather than merely embrace America through her lover in a mundane and ambitious way.

The final stage, which is intertwined and overlapping with the second stage from a linear sequential view of plot development, focuses on the American women who are also liberated as the men act out of the courage of conviction to seek a path in Asia even while they themselves are being rejected. Although these characters are the least well drawn and sympathetic in the triangle, the films do not necessarily adopt an anti-American feminist standpoint, because the American women are portrayed as passing through an important character-determining crisis in an uplifting way. For example, Eileen, who asked Gruver early on why he did not try to "carry her off to a shack somewhere" as a demonstration of his passion and commitment, questions their marriage if it is to be only one of convenience rather than love. She is also proud of the pilot at the height of the personality conflicts for standing up to her domineering parents. In *Tamiko*, Har-

vey's American lover renounces an abusive relationship to a man who has mistreated her once she sees Harvey remain true to his feelings by giving up his trip to the States in order to stay with Tamiko. Also, in *Suzie Wong* the banker's daughter appreciates the beauty of Holden's paintings of Suzie and helps sell them to European galleries, though this is done partly as a strategy for winning him back.

The Two Versions of Sayonara

In Michener's books the relationships end in frustration, futility, and tragedy. Cable learns that Liat will wed a despicable French plantation owner who intends to exploit her just as his heart is beginning to soften on the prospect of fathering children with her. In *Sayonara*, after witnessing the double suicide of their friends, Hana-ogi leaves with her troupe for Tokyo. Gruver, while at first protesting, seems destined and reconciled to following once again the advice of his father, who has had secret conversations with Hana-ogi, to return to Eileen, who has apparently forgiven his indiscretions. The message highlights the hopelessness and heartache of Asian-American relations. But in both film versions the endings are considerably, even radically, altered, though in opposite directions. The film version of *South Pacific*, which is faithful to the Broadway production, makes the tragedy and pessimism even more extreme with Cable's untimely death occurring at the time when Liat and Bloody Mary go to the army base to look for him. However, the ending also has a bittersweet yet optimistic side not found in the book as Nellie, who ends up in the position of telling Liat the bad news, decides to marry De Becque, who returns from battle where he had fought with Cable. Her decision is inspired in part by sympathy for the children who were endangered by their father's absence. In the case of *Sayonara* there is a complete reversal from the separation and sense of defeat in the book to the reunion and triumph of Gruver and Hana-ogi in the film.

There were actually a number of significant modifications in the film version of *Sayonara* based on a variety of factors, including revisions on the script by Michener, rewrites and improvisations suggested by Brando, the input of director Joshua Logan, casting decisions on some Japanese characters who are played by Nisei or Americans, and production problems arising from filming on location in the Kyoto area in cooperation with the Takarazuka dance company which eventually withdrew support (Schickel 1991: 155-160). The project was apparently first conceived by Logan, co-adapter and director in the stage and film versions of *South Pacific*. Logan encouraged Michener to write the book, first serialized in *McCalls*, as a vehicle to display Japanese traditional performing arts to an American audience, especially Noh, Kabuki and Bunraku, that might serve as the basis for another musical. Michener, married to a Japanese, transformed the idea into a plea for racial tolerance and a condemnation of the armed forces practice of discouraging marriage with the "indigenous population."

Brando, who had just finished playing the Okinawan, Sakini, in the film version of *Teahouse* (several years before his own relationship with an Asian on the set of *Mutiny on the Bounty*), apparently was interested in the script for its moral message, but he eventually became dissatisfied. In a famous *New Yorker* interview with Truman Capote, whose comments tended to ridicule the rebellious actor who was then planning to open an independent production studio, Brando referred to *Sayonara* as "(t)his wondrous hearts-and-flowers nonsense that was supposed to be a serious picture about Japan." Another problem was that the Japanese collaborators, miffed at the choice of Ricardo Montalban to play a leading Kabuki actor (actually well-acted though it recalls the casting of Mickey Rooney as a ludicrous Japanese stereotype in *Breakfast at Tiffany's*), became increasingly uncooperative, and the use of the Takarazuka company name was dropped in favor of the fictional Matsubayashi Company.

Actually, the addition of the Montalban character is one of the interesting changes in the film. He seems to have a well beneath-the-surface romantic interest in Eileen, who at one point considers confiding in him but strictly on a platonic level. Ironically, Eileen who has an aesthetic attraction to Kabuki, introduces Gruver to Japanese theater. Another important change is that Hana-ogi, played by a Nisei, speaks fluent English and eloquently expresses the overwhelming challenges to their prospective relationship in her first rendezvous with Gruver. In both versions, Hana-ogi initially resists Gruver's advances as well as English conversation due to trauma from her family's suffering during the bombing. But in the book she learns to speak only hesitantly and her use of stilted textbook expressions provides an emotional release for Gruver who is otherwise in awe of her acting and dancing abilities, though eventually the struggle with the language barrier binds them at the time of the suicides. The film version also tends to leave out several experiences which continue to embarrass and revulse Gruver long after he has fallen in love, such as the "weekies" incident and, more significantly, the time Hana-ogi takes him to a Kyoto gallery to see paintings of the Edo geisha who he finds thoroughly unattractive. Gruver unlike Kelly never fully embraces the alien culture yet feels that common sense and decency will prevail to persuade all sides. But in his noble neutrality he proves incapable of understanding traditional Japan, and this cultural gap foreshadows the concluding episode. In addition, the book explores more extensively Gruver's relation with his father who, it is revealed by Gen. Webster, was also tempted by love for a lower class girl at the time of his military marriage.

Nevertheless, the general narrative pace is the same in the book and the film, and it appears that the ending could go either way. In both versions, at the time of the double suicide Gruver is attacked by a gang and is quickly rescued by a group of neighborhood friends who appreciate his affection for Japan. In the book, this incident plus the psychology of cultural embarrassment and paternal pressure, as well as Hana-ogi's misgivings about

sacrificing her honor and career, make the ending convincing in its realism. The idealistic ending in the film may seem like an exploitative Hollywood concoction. However, several factors internal and external to the production mitigate against such an interpretation. First, the uncompromising ending in *South Pacific* in addition to Michener's intimate knowledge of Asian culture make a simplistic commercial rationale highly unlikely. Another crucial factor to take into account is that between the early and late fifties there was a surprisingly high rate of success and stability in war bride marriages when the couples settled in America, as reported in several studies (Strauss 1954; Schnepp and Yui 1955). Furthermore, in the interim period there likely developed an increasing awareness and sensitivity to the multicultural dimensions of mixed relationships, in particular, to the fact that it was often the Japanese families rather than the Americans who resisted and protested the marriages, or who remained unforgiving of their children for breaking with tradition (Williams 1991; Michener 1953: 155). In other words, there was reason for optimism, or at least motives for trying to evoke positive feelings, instead of dwelling exclusively on hopelessness and tragedy, as a way of inspiring those directly affected.

There are several modifications in the narrative especially toward the end of the film version that set the stage for a radically different finale. First, the suicide victims are discovered by Gruver, played with understated agony by Brando, who is accompanied only by his friend Mike Bailey rather than by a host of thoughtless MPs, as in the book version. Then the attack on Gruver by thugs looking for a scapegoat takes place right after, instead of right before, the suicides, making him realize both the unforgiving, xenophobic and the compassionate, forgiving sides of Japan. In the book, the word "sayonara" first appears on the last pages as Gruver reflects, "And you, Japan, you crowded islands, you tragic land—sayonara, you enemy, you friend" (Michener 1953: 208). However, in the film Hana-ogi utters "sayonara" to Gruver and her deceased friends as she gazes in from the doorway, and she then heads off to Tokyo seemingly convinced that her affair with Gruver is doomed. In addition, when Gruver hears of the repeal of the law concerning Japanese wives from Gen. Webster, instead of giving in to rage or frustration (more typical of earlier brooding, rebellious Brando characters) he is inspired by revisiting a shrine to which he had been introduced by Hana-ogi where two rocks in water are tied together by a rope, representing marriage and harmony.

In the penultimate scene, Gruver now AWOL in Tokyo meets Hana-ogi backstage and challenges her to give up any inhibitions based on society, tradition, or race by confronting the need to be honest about her feelings and the value of life here and now. Finally Hana-ogi decides to announce their wedding plans in public. Gruver, his every move trailed by military journalists seeking to sensationalize the controversy, is asked what he will say to the military brass as well as to Japanese leaders who are going to swiftly repudiate and perhaps punish their decision. His reply, the cryptic

phrase "Tell them I said 'sayonara,'" suggests that he is paradoxically inverting the meaning of the word so that it at once suggests "good-bye" to hierarchical oppression and intolerance and "hello" to a new era of genuine international democracy and mutual understanding. It is both a rhetorical slap in the face and a welcoming utterance. In a sense this completes the reversal of *Madama Butterfly* by revealing the possibility for prevailing rather than surrendering to the inevitability of betrayal, sacrifice, and tragic death. The traditional Japanese way of transcending the inevitability of repression due to a social preference for duty (*giri* 義理) over passion (*ninjô* 人情) was to commit suicide based on the chanting of the *nembutsu* and the hope for other-worldly salvation by Amida Buddha, as exemplified—minus any supernatural expectation—by Kelly and Katsumi. But the modern way suggested by the case of Gruver and Hana-ogi is to refuse to conflate circumstance with fate and to fight for independence and the integrity of *ninjô*. Yet there is also an important implication that it requires the privileged, famous couple Gruver and Hana-ogi to make a change that Kelly and Katsumi were unable to consider.

Conclusions: Orientalist Structures, Re-structures, De-structures

This paper neither defends nor repudiates the fifties films but situates the period in the broader context of understanding the structures and possibilities for de-structuring the butterfly syndrome as an example of Orientalism. Rather than posing a clear-cut, black or white question of whether some form of expression should be considered Orientalist or not, the aim is instead to recognize and categorize overlapping, mutually reinforcing and undercutting levels of the structures, re-structures, and de-structures of Orientalist discourse. Furthermore, these levels must be grasped from a neutral, relativist standpoint attuned to the appropriate domain of cultural narrative/competency, and not evaluated monolithically by a single, absolute standard that is externally imposed, no matter how worthy its intentions.

Therefore, in order to explore the potential for de-structuring Orientalism, it is necessary to consider the range of the interacting structural levels that must be overcome. One level is the *inverted* Orientialist structure, in which the stereotypes are turned upside down but the essential structure is left intact. A prime example is *The Lover* (1992), based on Marguerite Duras' semi-autobiographical novel, in which an adolescent French girl takes an older Chinese lover near the end of the colonial era in Indochina. The Chinese eventually leaves her, despite the genuine love they share though never dare admit or reveal, because he must fulfill his father's commitment to an arranged marriage. True to the trans-gender quality of the butterfly syndrome, the Chinese is portrayed in the book even in the midst of their first passion as essentially "feminine": "The skin is sumptuously soft. The body. The body is thin, lacking in strength, in muscle, he may have been ill, he may be convalescent, he's hairless, nothing masculine about him but his

sex, he's weak, probably a helpless prey to insult, vulnerable" (Duras 1985: 38). In the end, he, like Asia, is passive, submissive to his father's will, and unable to resist the tides of fate. An example of inverted structure in *Sayonara* is Montalban's Kabuki character, an *onnagata*, who is emasculated in his relation to Western women and knows better than to actively pursue Eileen.

Another level is the *reverted* structure, when the Orientalist stereotyping seems to have been surpassed but then resurfaces seemingly untarnished and undiminished, as if it had never been subject to scrutiny and criticism. From a historical standpoint, this category applies to films such as *Yakuza* and *Rising Sun* in the late seventies and early nineties which appear decades after more liberated representations of Asia in the fifties. The level of reversion is also deliberately built into *Sayonara* through the communicative distance established by the narration. For example, Gruver first discovers Hana-ogi when Bailey takes him to the *bitchi-bashi* bridge which the dancers cross daily on their way to the theater. He and Kelly, long after they have fallen in love with Japanese, wonder in private conversation why they are so satisfied by their women, who they continue to refer to as "Buddha-heads," echoing the most despicable of the American military officers who enforces the rules of segregating soldiers from the indigenous population.

An example of the level of *reverse* structure—that is, reverse Orientalism or Occidentalism—is also crafted in *Sayonara*. Hana-ogi, who plays the male character Pinkerton in *Swing Butterfly* to enthusiastic Japanese audiences—a culturally subversive act during the occupation and an inversion of the traditional *onnagata* performance—is in the beginning far more aware of the serious consequences and in the end becomes the more reluctant and demanding partner. It is she who chooses to leave Gruver, who in the film sacrifices everything to find her and commit to staying in Japan, and this at least partially reverses the paradigmatic structure presented in *Madama Butterfly* of an Asian killing herself for love of an American who rejects, shames, and mistreats her. An interesting, rather convoluted example of reverse Orientalism is the bi-national production, *Living on Tokyo Time* (1987), in which a Japanese woman living in America plans for immigration purposes to marry a Nisei who is not familiar with Japan or Japanese, but coolly decides to return home despite being aware of how much he has grown to love her.

At the same time, *M. Butterfly* can in some respects be considered an example of the reverse structure in its unrelenting criticism of the West, embodied by Gallimard, who has long mistaken his Chinese male lover for a woman and who becomes the butterfly in the finale and commits *seppuku*. The Chinese spy Song, disguised for twenty years as a woman, one-sidedly accuses Gallimard, on trial as a traitor, of the conceptual crime of Orientalism, and he extends the finger-pointing to the entire Occident, which "thinks of itself as masculine—big guns, big industry, big money—so the East is feminine—weak, delicate, poor. . . . The West believes the East,

deep down, *wants* to be dominated—because a woman can't think for herself" (Hwang 1989: 83). Yet Song never considers or admits to his own duplicity and, thus, complicity in either crime: treason or Orientalism. In this case, the reverse structure is constituted in its condescending critique of the positive structure.

From a historical standpoint, *M. Butterfly* does complete a reversal of *Madama Butterfly*, but that does not necessarily represent a full and final liberation from or a de-structuring of the paradigmatic butterfly syndrome. In that light, it seems misleading to judge the fifties period as Orientalist and *M. Butterfly* as deconstructive discourse. In both cases, it is clear that a new level of Orientalism comes to the surface in the attempt to eradicate or suppress it, and the potential for offering a de-structuring is inseparable from the fundamental Orientalist structure. Furthermore, both discourses are praiseworthy in pursuing the basic goal Hwang articulates:

> a plea to all sides to cut through our respective layers of cultural and sexual misperception, to deal with one another truthfully for our mutual good, from the common and equal ground we share as human beings.

FILMOGRAPHY

1. *Hong Kong* (1951), Ronald Reagan stars as a soldier of fortune who tries to heist a Chinese orphan's treasure but falls for and adopts the boy.
2. *Japanese War Bride* (1952), the first film on the increasing phenomenon of postwar American military men marrying Japanese women.
3. *Three Stripes in the Sun* (1955), based on a true story in which a US Army sergeant, once prejudiced, raises money for a Japanese orphanage and falls in love with a Japanese woman.
4. *Love is a Many Splendored Thing* (1955), William Holden stars as an American war reporter who has a doomed love affair with a Eurasian doctor.
5. *The Bridges at Toko-ri* (1955), William Holden stars as a Korean War pilot in the film version of a James Michener novel who runs dangerous missions while his wife waits patiently back home.
6. *The Teahouse of the August Moon* (1956), an adaptation of the successful Broadway play, starring Marlon Brando as Sakini, the wise Okinawan narrator commenting on American postwar foibles.
7. *Battle Hymn* (1957), Rock Hudson stars as an American soldier whose plane crashes during the Korean War and who tries to help Korean orphans.
8. *Sayonara* (1957), Marlon Brando stars in the Michener story as a famous American fighter pilot who detests G.I. marriages with Japanese women until he falls in love with star dancer, Hana-ogi.
9. *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), an epic World War II account of submission and subversion by British troops captured by the Japanese in mainland Asia.
10. *Escapade in Japan* (1957), two boys, a US diplomat's son whose plane is forced down and his Japanese friend, explore Japan together while trying to reach his parents. They discover that people are the same all over—"a film of international goodwill."

11. *South Pacific* (1958), adaptation of the Broadway musical based on Michener's first novel about two love affairs in the Pacific theater, an American G.I and a Tonkinese girl, and an American army nurse and a French widower with two half-Polynesian children.

12. *The Barbarian and the Geisha* (1958), John Wayne stars as Townshend Harris, the first American ambassador in Japan after Perry who has a legendary affair with a geisha while struggling to establish diplomatic relations.

13. *The Geisha Boy* (1958), a touching comedy in which Jerry Lewis is a bungling magician who befriends a young orphan boy in Japan and decides to stay.

14. *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness* (1958), Ingrid Bergman stars as a missionary in China who leads children to safety during the war.

15. *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1958), a film version of the Jules Verne classic in which the heroes spend some time in Asia.

16. *The World of Suzi Wong* (1960), an adaptation of a play in which William Holden is an expatriate artist who falls in love with a Hong Kong prostitute played by Nancy Kwan.

17. *My Geisha* (1961), Shirley MacLaine plays an actress posing as a geisha to win back her husband, a director filming Madame Butterfly in Japan who insists on having a native lead.

18. *Flower Drum Song* (1961), an elaborately staged musical in which Nancy Kwan plays a betrothed Chinese woman who falls in love with another man.

19. *A Bridge to the Sun* (1961), based on Gwen Terasaki's autobiography, Carroll Baker is an American married to a Japanese diplomat during the war and faces animosity and suspicion from his government.

20. *A Majority of One* (1962), Alec Guinness in the tale of a Japanese widower, an important diplomat involved in postwar trade negotiations, who romances a Jewish war widow from Brooklyn first while she is in Japan and then in America.

21. *A Girl Named Tamiko* (1962), Laurence Harvey, a disaffected Eurasian struggling in Tokyo, falls for a Japanese woman and gives up a chance to return to America.

22. *55 Days at Peking* (1963), Charlton Heston in a tale of political chaos during the Boxer rebellion of 1900.

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FEATURED ESSAYS

MUST AREA STUDIES BE SO DARN INTERDISCIPLINARY? A REPORT ON THE TITLE VI ASIAN GLOBALIZATION & LATIN AMERICA PROJECT AT FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Steven Heine with Melissa Sekkel

Mission of the Project

The Asian Globalization and Latin America Project (AGLA) is a unique, integrative trans-regional program at Florida International University (FIU) that enhances Asian studies through collaborations with other area studies programs. It has been funded in part by a Department of Education Title VI grant (1999-2002) for the development of curriculum supporting a new certificate program and the enhancement of language instruction and study abroad opportunities for FIU students. The seed for the project was the visit of Ronan Pereira, formerly of the University of Brasilia, in October 1999 for lectures on Japanese Cults in Brazil and the role of Asian Studies in Latin American universities in fall 1998.

AGLA at FIU aims to strengthen the interaction between area studies in order to address new challenges in international programs by linking two major regional studies centers: the Latin American and Caribbean Center (LACC), which has long been designated a National Resource Center, and the rapidly growing Institute for Asian Studies (IAS) that has implemented a new BA program. The project has focused on establishing or examining points of intersection between the regions of Asia and Latin America by analyzing issues such as: diaspora and migration patterns, cultural and national identity, trade and political economy, systems of education and reform, environmental and labor issues, and internet commerce and technology, with an emphasis on contemporary society as part of a comprehensive investigation of the significance of globalization.

The AGLA project has promoted the integration of a variety of disciplines focusing on trans-regionality, such as International Relations, Economics, History and Religious Studies. This has been particularly important for the creation of the AGLA certificate program, which has provided students with the opportunity to learn about the two regions

through diverse approaches. Also, lectures and workshops sponsored by the Project have enabled faculty and students at FIU to deepen their knowledge about Asia and Latin America through the experience and knowledge of recognized scholars and professionals.

Some of the high points have been workshops on comparative literature, global economics, Asian ethnicity, social development, and inter-regional commerce; in addition to events ranging from the performance of Japanese-Brazilian dance, the participation of Asian Studies in the Tigers of Asian trade show in Miami Beach and a symposium on China's relations with Latin American countries sponsored by LACC. The presence of visiting scholars Masaru Tamamoto and Andre Gunder Frank as well as lectures by Peter Smith**,** Karen Yamashita, and Ivan Schulman, among others, have been particularly stimulating. In addition, Dale Olsen gave a fascinating demonstration of shakuhachi in comparison with flutes indigenous to Latin America. In November 2001, we had a demonstration of Butoh dance by a performer from Nicaragua and a lecture by a speaker from Brazil—even as another Brazilian expert on Japanese dance had to cancel her travel plans.

Methodological Question

The intriguing question of " Why must Area Studies be So Darn Interdisciplinary?" became the theme for several workshops and research efforts, and is an important topic as IAS develops, largely through interdisciplinary and other kinds of collaborative programming. The appeal of "area studies" is that it enables scholars and students to look beyond the horizons of their discipline and engage in broader kinds of inquiry. Interdisciplinarity allows specialists to deepen their understanding of the larger cultural and economic context of the region on which their work focuses.

But the question arises, Can we, or do we really want, to forego our disciplinary base? The FIU trans-regional Asian/Latin America Project demonstrates that specialists seeking to cross borders can explore other options for accomplishing this goal. These include transcending barriers of region and culture while remaining within a disciplinary method. Prime examples are studies of Chinese and Japanese ethnicity in Latin American cultures, social and economic development issues in a comparative or global context, and Asian influences on Latin American literature, film, religion, and thought.

One way of looking at this issue is to consider the following global situation. For many decades there was a saying that when the U.S. sneezed (or had an economic or political crisis) Latin America caught a cold. For the past couple of decades the same analogy was used in the case of Japan and its regional neighbors in Southeast Asia. By the 1990s it became clear that there was a broader context, because when Japan sneezed mightily in 1997 the cold was caught as far away as Brazil.

Project Themes

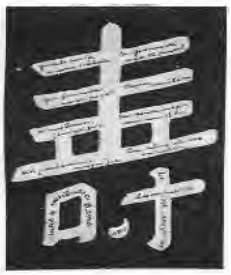
The AGLA Project has focused on several main themes in developing new curriculum and supporting faculty research that reflect a comparison of the relation between increasingly interactive regions in the context of globalization:

1) **Ethnic Identity**, including the function of the Japanese communities in Brazil and Peru and the Chinese in Cuba and Panama, as well as Japanese-Latin Americans (*Nikkei*) returning to the homeland as laborers (*dekasegi*).

Japanese Torii Gate in Liberdade, São Paulo

Japanese Nikkei from Peru

2) Comparative Literature and Thought, such as the influence of Asian culture on Latin American literature, philosophy, and film, especially figures like Octavio Paz, Jorge Borges, and Jose Marti, and comparisons of "magical realism" in the respective literary traditions.



"Guided by his pale hand a silkworm is his brush, that formed upon the paper the black chrysalis of a mysterious hieroglyph whence, like flower, sprung a magnificent thought with wings of flying gold: subtle and mysterious flame in the lamp of the ideogram."

-Jose Juan Tablada, 1920

3) Linguistics and Bilingualism, how languages and styles of language pedagogy and heritage language retention reflect issues of cultural interaction and social identity.
4) Social and Political Issues, including development, security, governance, labor, drug trafficking, medical ethics, environmental concerns, human rights, and related topics dealing with China in Latin America.
5) Trade and Economics, such as the effect of a global economy on both regions and, in particular, the impact of the 1997 Asian financial crisis on Latin American economic development.
6) Area Studies, including studies of world regions and international issues as conducted in universities and institutes in Asian and Latin American countries, in order to understand how the academic leaders of each area understand the other.

Maps appearing in a Japanese textbook about
Latin American Studies

Faculty Development

The Faculty Development portion of AGLA has been especially successful in supporting the research projects and course planning of numerous faculty members. The project has, for example, led Steven Heine, director of the Institute for Asian Studies as well as the AGLA project, to travel to Mexico, Panama, and Brazil for research on Chinese and Japanese ethnic communities. He has also become familiar with the

status of Latin American studies in Japanese universities, and interdisciplinary area studies in the context of worldwide academics. At the same time, Eduardo Gamarra, director of LACC, attended a conference in Japan for the first time and presented a paper dealing with "Asians and the Andes."

Several other Asianists had an opportunity to learn about Latin America. For example, Alan Gummerson of the department of Economics, traveled to a Mercosur conference and workshop sponsored in part by the FIU Center for International Business Education and Research. More significantly, a number of Latin Americanists became involved with Asian Studies. For example, Theodore Young, associate director of AGLA, infused a course on Brazilian Film with examples of cinema created to reflect Japanese cultural identity. He also helped organize workshops led by Jeff Lesser on Asian identity issues in Brazil, and by Dain Borges representing the University of California at San Diego project on Pacific Rim-Latin American studies.

Erik Camayd-Freixas in the department of Modern Languages gave two lectures related to the AGLA program. One was on "Magical Realism: A Trans-Pacific Perspective" and the other was on "The Tao of Mexican Poetry." Camayd is presently editing a collection of essays entitled "Orientalism and Identity in Latin America." He defines Orientalism as "influences and perceptions of primarily the Far East, but also the Middle East, in the Latin American tradition."

Alfred Lopez of the English department received an invitation from two prestigious literary organizations in India to visit their country for the purpose of presenting papers at their annual conference. AGLA support helped him develop his current book project, an edited collection of essays to be entitled "Postcolonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader."

Tori Arpad of Visual Arts has traveled to Japan and Korea for exhibitions, and has organized a major exhibit of East Asian artists in venues throughout Miami that has stirred the entire arts community.

For several years Maida Watson of Modern Languages has contributed to the AGLA Project by organizing the Annual Seminar on Asian Influences on the Hispanic Canon. The Seminar helps faculty and students analyze the literary and cultural relationship between Asia and Latin America. She also helped organize the first study abroad program to Japan in summer 200l that was directed by Japanese instructor Asuka Haraguchi and Randall Martin of the Business School. Watson traveled to Peru to explore contacts between universities from that country and FIU,

and to Panama to plan a joint course on relations between Asia and the Hispanic world.

Catherine Marsicek, the Latin America and Caribbean Information Center Librarian, supported the Asian Globalization and Latin America initiative by developing a research guide to selected library resources, entitled "Asians in Latin America: A Guide to Resources." This annotated finding aid guides users to key works regarding the field, including reference works, books, journal articles, electronic databases, government documents and Internet Resources. With over 1000 entries of major works and articles discussing the history and the influences of Asians in Latin America, this is a major contribution to facilitate research in the field. Visit this website at: http://www.fiu.edu/~asian/global/index.htm.

Curriculum Enhancement

One of the main aims of the AGLA project has been to create and infuse courses with Asian and Latin America material. The Project stimulated faculty in the field of Latin America to infuse courses with Asian content.

Alfred Lopez, English, developed an infused course combining Latin American and Asian studies. The course is a survey of literatures known collectively as "magical realism."

Damian Fernandez, International Relations, infused the course "Development and Third World". The empirical basis for the course is a comparative study of Latin America and Asia on specific issues of development.

Erik Camayd-Freixas, Modern Languages, created a new course, "Eastern Thought and Latin American Literature: The Age of Octavio Paz." He also infused one course, "Introduction to Spanish American Literature," which is a survey course of Spanish American literature from its origins to the contemporary period. Ana Roca, Modern Languages, created a course on "Bilingualism and Heritage Language Learning" in Asian and Spanish ethnic communities, and Joan Torres-Pou, Modern Languages, has developed a new course that focuses on Asian-Hispanic literature, especially in the context of the Philippines.

Orlando Garcia**,** School of Music, infused the course "Music of the Americas" with information regarding Asian cultures in different parts of Latin America, including Brazil and Colombia

Douglas Kincaid, Sociology and Anthropology Department and Vice Provost for International Studies, infused the course "Comparative

Sociology" that is organized around comparisons of cultures, societies, and nation states. Using the core sub-fields of sociology—including socialization, deviance, race and ethnicity, gender, religion, and social change—the course emphasizes contrasts and similarities among Latin American and Asian countries to illustrate the insights to be gained from careful comparison. Another theme of the course is the contemporary impact of globalization. Guillermo Grenier, Sociology and Anthropology Department, also infused the course on "Comparative Sociology" which is organized around three interrelated themes: the historical development of societies, comparison of cultures and world regions, and the impact of globalization on societies.

As for the Asian faculty, Steven Heine, Religious Studies and History, infused a course on "Meditation and Mystical Traditions" with material on Octavio Paz and Jorge Borges, and Umbandah and Mayan ritual, and also created a course on Asian Religions in the Americas; Alan Gummerson, Economics, infused the course "Comparative Economic Systems," which compares the development policies in East Asia and Latin America; and Anjana Mishra, International Relations, infused the course "World Prospects and Issues" with Latin America content.

The following is a complete list of courses that were created for the AGLA project in humanities, social sciences and professions that are part of the new AGLA certificate program.

Modern Languages: "Eastern Thought and Latin American Literature," on the influence of Asian philosophy and culture on magical realism in Latin America.
Modern Languages: "Japanese Culture and Calligraphy," on the history and practice of Japanese calligraphy in comparative context.
Modern Languages: "Asia in 19th Century Hispanic Literature," on Asian influences in Hispanic writers, especially in the Philippines.
Modern Languages: "Eastern Thought and Latin American Literature: The Age of Octavio Paz," on Asian influences on Latin American literature and thought.
Modern Languages: "Bilingualism and Heritage Language," Asian and Latin American influences on North American pedagogy.
Religious Studies: "Asian Religions in the Americas," Asian religious movements in North and South America.
Religious Studies: "Sacred Space, Sacred Travels," on pilgrimage sites and practices in Asian and Latin American locales.

Sociology: “Globalization and Society,” on how developing countries in both regions are affected by globalization.
Sociology/Anthropology: “Labor Movements in Developing Countries,” the history of labor movements in the development of Asia and Latin America.

The infused courses include:

Economics: “Comparative Economic Systems,” compares the developmental policies of Asia and Latin America.
Education: “Art Education,” how this field is conducted in Asia and Latin America.
English: “Literature and International Relations,” deals with classic examples of fiction that highlights issues in Asian comparative politics and society.
English: “Comparative Post-colonialism,” comparison of literature in Asian countries with Latin America literature.
History: “Special Topics: International Drug Control,” theories and policies related to drug control.
International Relations: “Japan and the US,” discusses the relations between the two countries.
International Relations: “Development and the Third World,” compares Latin America and Asia on issues of development.
International Relations: “World Prospects and Issues,” deals with political and economic issues if East Asia in comparative perspectives.
Modern Languages: “Spanish American Culture,” to include Asian influences.
Modern Languages: “Brazilian Film,” to focus on the impact of the Japanese ethnic community.
Music: “Music of Asia,” deals with different varieties of rhythms and styles of Asia.
Music: “Music of the Americas,” deals with Asian music in Latin America cultures.
Religious Studies: "World Religions,” Examines the origins, teachings, and practices of selected world religions.
Religious Studies: “Meditation and Mystical Traditions,” deals with the mystics of different religions in both regions.
Sociology/Anthropology: “Comparative Sociology,” on the effects of regional integration programs.

Lectures and Workshops

The following is a brief description of some of the main workshops supported by the Project.

LASA 2000

In a collaboration with the Japan Consul General's Office and the FIU Latin America and Caribbean Center, the Institute for Asian Studies sponsored a panel at the meeting of the Latin American Studies Association held in Miami in March 2000. Professors Shoji Nishijima, Nobuaki Haraguchi, and Neantro Saavedra-Rivano came from Japan as featured speakers dealing with the way Japanese economists study the region of Latin America. The discussants were Peter Smith of University of California at San Diego and FIU's Eduardo Gamarra, director of LACC.

Global Ethics

A major event of the AGLA Project dealt with comparative medical ethics. Professor William LaFleur of the University of Pennsylvania, discussed the ethical implications of abortion and organ transplants in Japan. LaFleur presented the Asian perspective, and Chris Gudorf of FIU, who specializes in Latin American perspectives, developed comparative themes. Both speakers examined the view of ethical choices in medical technology in countries where medical techniques are influenced by indigenous, non-Western sources as well as Western medicine.

Area Studies

Several of the main speakers examined the role of area studies and trans- regional programs in relation to the process of globalization. Dain Borges and Peter Smith, both of University of California at San Diego, spoke on the four-year program at UCSD on studies of the Pacific Rim in relation to Latin America. Richard Baum of UCLA described Asian and Asian-American studies on his campus, and also gave a lecture on relations between China and Taiwan.

Latin America Area Studies in Japan

In another conjunction with the office of the Japanese Consul in Miami, Professor Akio Hosono of Tsubuka University in Japan led a faculty workshop on trans-regional studies. Hosono is the leading Japanese scholar of Latin American studies, particularly economics and trade relations. He examined trends both before and after the Asian economic crisis of 1997.

Asian Literary Influences

One of the main AGLA events are the Panels on Asian Influences on the Hispanic Canon. There have been already a total of five Panels. In

the Panels, there were lectures and workshops in Spanish and in English, dealing with Asian influences in Latin American Literature.

The III Annual Panel featured a workshop by Linda Ehrlich, who discussed the image of Orpheus in film as a symbol of transcendence. Also, Chiyoko Kawakami lectured on the image of ghosts in Japanese literature and modern urbanization.

The IV Annual Panel on Asian Influences on the Hispanic Literary Canon featured Karen Yamashita of the University of California at Santa Cruz, doing a reading from her latest book on Japanese-Brazilians (Nikkei) entitled *Circle K Cycles*. Yamashita is the noted author of *Through the Arc of the Rain Forest* and *Brazil Maru*. Other speakers included Ivan Schulman, emeritus at the University of Florida, who is a specialist on Cuban literature, and Maria Carmen Simon Palmer of the Universidad Nacional a la Distancia who deals with Orientalist themes. The V Annual Panel on Asian Influences on the Hispanic Cannon also featured Maria Carmen Simon Palmer "17th Century Spanish Perceptions of Japanese Eating Habits."

Oxford University Conference

An Oxford University Symposium was held on Asian and Latin American trade, economic and political relations. This featured FIU faculty members Mohammed Farouk, Paul Kowert, Mohiaddin Mesbahi, and William Walker.

China and Latin America

This panel was sponsored in conjunction with the Latin American and Caribbean Center. It dealt with the international trade and politics between China and Latin America, which has attracted increasing attention. Feature guest speakers included: Bud Cole, National Defense University; Dave Finkelstein, Center for Naval Intelligence; Linda Robinson, Harvard University; Jack Sweeney, Strategic Forecasting; Cynthia Watson, National Defense University.

Visitors from Kanda University

Several visitors from FIU student exchange partner, Kanda University of International Studies located just outside Tokyo, came to FIU to present lectures. Kazuei Tokado, a specialist in Spanish and Latin America political economy, was among the visitors and gave a workshop for FIU faculty.

Asian Ethnicities

Several lecturers discussed the role of Asian ethnicity and ethnic identity in the Latin America social context. Kathleen Lopez of the

University of Michigan discussed her sociological research on the Chinese community in Cuba, and Jeff Lesser of Emory University examined Japanese as well as Jewish and Arab identity issues in Brazil.

Music Festival

Orlando Garcia produced the New Music Miami Festival in spring 2002, which contained a representation of composers from Japan as well as other parts of Asia and Latin America. The event featured contemporary chamber, solo, and electro-acoustic music and included concerts, panels, and forums. Fredrick Kaufman, Director of the School of Music, presented a world premiere of "Kaminarimon" ("Thundergate"), which consisted of a composition for Taiko drums and Flamenco dance.

Ongoing Research Activities

The AGLA Project has spawned a variety of ongoing research activities conducted by FIU faculty.

Bilingualism and Heritage Languages: based on Ana Roca's studies of Asian languages in comparison to Spanish.

"Magical Realism" in Asian and Latin America Literature: Erik Camayd-Freixas is editing a book on the subject.

Asian Ethnic Identity in Latin America. Maida Watson is developing a faculty development trip to Panama, in connection with the College of Business.

Trans-Regional Political Economy. This project involves a combination of faculty in International Relations, Economics and Business.

Asian and Latin America Musicology. Fred Kaufman, director of the School of Music, is composing a Taiko and Flamenco piece to be previewed at the FIU Music Festival in November 2002.

Asian influence on Spanish-American writers. Juan Torres-Pou is researching the influence of Asia in 19th century Spanish and Spanish-American writers and pre-independence Spanish-Philippine literature.

Furthermore, several graduate students have developed research projects. These include Tatiana Mackliff in the field of International Development Education. She is working on ethnicity studies, with a particular focus on Japanese-Peruvians dating back to 1899. In this period, the first group of Japanese immigrants arrived in Callao to work as contract laborers on sugar plantations in the coastal region of Peru. Interestingly, after a period of 100 years, history reversed itself and Peruvians of Japanese descent became the source of low-cost labor in the flourishing economy of

Asia. Mackliff conducted a complete study in the city of Miami. For complete transcripts of revealing interviews visit: www.fiu.edu/-mackliff."

Also, Erin Westin completed a MA thesis on the spread of Mahikari, a recent Japanese New Religions movement, to the island of Martinique and the questions of adaptation in the Caribbean setting. Isabel Morales, as part of her MA research on Cuban religiosity, did fieldwork in the Chinese and Japanese communities in Havana.

Future Prospects

By the completion of the AGLA Project grant cycle the Institute for Asian Studies housed two flourishing certificate programs and implemented a new B.A. degree. The program also entered into collaboration with Florida Atlantic University and Miami-Dade Community College for a Title VI funded project, the South Florida Consortium for Asian Arts and Culture. Another partner in the Consortium is the prestigious Morikami Japanese Museum and Gardens in Delray Beach. Asian Studies and the Morikami are involved in several joint efforts including establishing a new database on Japanese migration to the Americas, developing new interlibrary loan policies, and most importantly, working toward the creation of a Japanese garden and culture center on the FIU campus.

These linkages are part of a larger network of statewide institutional connections called "JapaNet." To launch this network in November 2002 a meeting of the Southern Japan Seminar will be held at FIU to coincide with Japan Night at the Music Festival. This event will feature the composition by Fred Kaufman, who did research during his first trip to Japan, along with other performances. The weekend will include a workshop at the Morikami Museum and Japanese Gardens.

EVIL, SIN, FALSITY AND THE DYNAMICS OF FAITH

Masao Abe, edited by Steven Heine

I

The apparently similar concepts of evil, sin, and falsity, when considered from our subjective standpoint, are somehow mutually distinct and yet at the same time somehow related. This essay examines these concepts in relation to the dynamics of the awakening of faith.

What is called evil opposes the rules of morality dictated by reason, even if it knows well what they are. The awareness of such an opposition exists because there is evil *as* evil. In contrast to this kind of evil, there is also what is called the awareness of the root evil. The awareness of the root evil means the awareness of a high degree of evil. This is the kind of evil that exists when the standpoint of reason itself, which activates a persistent obedience to the rules of morality that should be able to overcome the kind of evil discussed in the previous sense (i.e. evil as evil), realizes clearly the anti-moral quality of the self. This quality involves an unconscious attachment to the self itself in that, by emphasizing the rules of morality and actually adhering to these rules, it comes to be attached to the rules. The thoroughness of the principle of good that the standpoint of morality necessarily requires—in other words, the absolutization of the autonomy of reason—is aware of the self-contradictory nature within the standpoint of morality, which is that the self cannot avoid or evade the so-called Pharisaical hypocrisy (of attachment to the rules).

Therefore, in its awareness of the root evil, the morality of the self is made to become aware of its own limits and encounters nothingness when realizing these limits. At the extreme point of this tendency, the awareness of evil necessarily becomes one with the awareness of nothingness. Hence, in spite of the excellent insight into the awareness of evil in Kant's philosophy, we must say that the awareness of evil that is not yet connected with the awareness of nothingness is a level of understanding that is not yet thoroughgoing.

In the midst of bottomless nothingness that fully encounters the consequences of the thoroughgoingness of the standpoint of such a morality, when seeing the light of God transcending in the direction of the self or when hearing Buddha's voice the self enters anew, through the

awareness of nothingness, into a relation with God. When illuminated by this light of God, "the absolute autonomy of human reason" is already being realized, again, not simply as evil, but as sin, that is, as an opposition to the will of God that is hardly to be forgiven. In other words, the way of being of the self that has been realized as a self-opposition to immanent human reason is here realized again as the opposition to the will of the transcendent God. Therefore, this means that the "fundamental subject" is an axis that mediates the awareness of sin and transforms itself from the human being to God. In entrusting everything to God's will as such a fundamental subject, one takes God's will for its will, and when one discovers the basis of subjectivity through the subjectivity of God an awareness of salvation is realized.

Within the standpoint of such a belief, nothingness related to the awareness of evil is overcome, and the self revitalizes as a new self, or a true selfhood that can rather bear the true nature of God. But, in this case, the true nature of God and the subjectivity of the human being are not completely identical. The subjectivity of the human being is actually cut apart from God and the human being is seen as something that does not possibly escape it's own sinful nature, while at the same time the true nature of God appears to human reason as an absolute absurdity that is in the final analysis impossible to fathom. But the unity of subjectivity and the ordinary nature of truth is realized only when the subjectivity of the human being transcends the ordinary self through the awareness of sin and makes a decision based on faith to choose to adhere to the true nature of God. Moreover, such a transcendence of the self is possible only when God loses a sense of manifesting the self-transcendence of God by surpassing and crossing over the gap from the other world.

In contrast to the transcendent function of the moral self that is not the transcendence of the actual self but is simply the transcendence toward a standard self established objectively within the self trying in this way to seize such a self objectively, the transcending function of the standpoint of faith breaks through the whole realm of immanency. It is the entire self-transcendence that leaps into a relation with the transcending God, and in this case the objectification of the self as something that seizes the self objectively is entirely sublated. That is, within the standpoint of faith, along with the fact that the self of the human being is realized subjectively to the last end and, moreover, is realized as a complete self that has entered into an absolute relation with God, at the same time God appears not as God in a general sense but as a subjective, humanistic God. That is, God appears as

the "Thou" who voluntarily activates the will to save and tries to completely save the self of the human being. This is the very subjective, humanistic God that calls on this very subjective human "I." The God of the philosophers is a God that has a common name, but the God of the religious believers must be a God that has a proper or personal name. This is a God that has a proper name and saves this "I" that has a proper name.

However, even if we say that the religious self is subjective, through the attitude of faith in such a God that sees Him as a "Thou," it is a subjectivity that stands only as an object that receives the action of God as the fundamental subject. It rather entrusts everything to God because of the awareness of groundlessness (*Grund-losigkeit*), which indicates that by no means are we humans able through our own power to be subjective. By becoming the object of God's salvation, we participate in the subjectivity of God and in this way we regain our own subjectivity. At this point, for the first time, the absolute actual self that, indeed, cannot be achieved through its own power becomes a true self because of God's subjectivity.

Yet, only in the standpoint of faith is there the possibility that absolute reality, which is itself truth, mediates between the awareness of sin and salvation. In this process there is a split or divide that can be surpassed only by God, as well as a twofoldness that can become a oneness only based on God. After all, along with the fact that the self that stands on faith realizes itself as being a sinful self that rebels against God with the whole existence of the self, the self returns to God with the whole of such self-existence and realizes itself as a self that believes in salvation by God. This is based on the fact that the self that thus stands on faith is endlessly divided and consists of an opposition between the side of self that is completely sinful and the side of the self that is completely saved. That this self can actually exist as a complete self is based on nothing other than the reason that the self leaps into a relation with God in the midst of this division, and it becomes the container of the will of God through faith.

Therefore, the fact that there is a self that becomes one—even if the complete self as it is in itself is split transcendentally into an opposition, as indicated above, and is not split immanently into an opposition as in the case of morality—is nothing other than the manifesting of a situation that is completely the same situation as the oneness of God and the self, which are split transcendentally into an opposition. That is, on the one hand, even if the self is a faithless self that is contrary to God, on the other hand, because of the awareness of sin it returns to God as the faithful self that obeys the will of God. Then, the very thing that mediates the twofold split into an

opposition between the fundamental gap between such a self itself and God is the awareness of sin and salvation as being the will of God that penetrates the self through or the action of God's love.

Consequently, the reason for which it is said that the standpoint of faith has absolutely other-power-oriented existentiality lies in the action of God's love—which affirms and absorbs the sinful self that disbelievingly contradicts the will of God to offer salvation—as the manifestation of the absolute that the human self has difficulty evading. The very thing that surpasses the twofold split into an opposition previously discussed, and that unifies this from the direction of the transcendence, is nothing other than the action of the love of such a God. Within the standpoint of faith, the twofold that is split into an opposition to the end becomes one just because it is split in that way; but the one is not simply one, it is one just because it encompasses the twofold. The self is one with God because it is dichotomized from God and God is dichotomized from the self, and that is exactly why God absorbs the self and becomes one with it.

Along with the mystery of faith, we must wonder whether this standpoint of the twofoldness encompassed by oneness is also a problematic feature of faith.

II

Even if from the standpoint of faith the absolute split between the self and God is realized, it is ceaselessly surpassed through the transcendence from God, overturned, and elevated to a subjectivity that becomes one. But it must be said that there is some function of objectification to the extent that the oneness is not a pure oneness, but a oneness that includes the twofold. Nevertheless, even if we speak about a function of objectification here, it is not a function of objectification like the one found previously in the standpoint of morality that tries to grasp objectively the normative self and is transcendentally established in the inner side of the self. This not being the case, the standpoint of faith completely sublates such an objectification and breaks through the immanency, and the complete self that stands before the transcendent God is a subjective standpoint to the end. Nevertheless, this subjective standpoint participates in the subjectivity of God by realizing the *Grund-losigkeit* of the self and completely becoming the object of the salvation of God as the fundamental subject.

From the standpoint of subjectivity that thus recovers from groundlessness and can be well founded, at this point is there not an objectification of God based on the self that is made in the form in which

the self becomes entirely the object of the salvation of God? This is the function of objectification that cannot be realized as an objectification that is not objectifiable. Then, the objective grasping of such a meaning of God is nothing other than the objective grasping of the self that is accomplished when grasping, in this way and at the same time, God objectively. The self grasps the self itself objectively in grasping God objectively. If we explain this more concretely, even in the standpoint of faith that has transcended the entire self, is there not left over a tinge of the shadow of the self in *the very action of the confirmation that further takes faith as properly faith*? Or, in the very process that absolutely negates self and world while transcending towards God or, further, establishing the self by facing God, is there not a self-affirmation *that is turned inside out*?

When this process tries to penetrate subjectively the standpoint of faith, does it not necessarily actualize itself and try to break up the very thing called faith? We should say that this involves a kind of antinomy in the standpoint of faith, in that the thoroughness of the standpoint of faith is in and of itself the biggest anti-faith act. Yet, at this point, we should pay attention to the fact that, even if we say that the self-affirmation that is turned inside out is actualized, this does not mean that there is a deepening of the awareness of the sin. Believing firmly in the certainty of salvation that appears more and more when accompanying a deepening of the awareness of sin is the standpoint of faith. For this reason, in the standpoint of faith, the deepening of the awareness of sin as egotism that rebels against God becomes the very proof of faith and by no means does it mean the dissolution of faith. That is the very paradox of faith, rather than the antinomy of faith.

The antinomy of faith that we are trying to define here is an antinomy that is lapsed into because of an objectification of God that is not brought to an appropriate level of self-awareness. In this way, a self-attachment that is only partially brought to an awareness, which lies hidden in the root of the standpoint of such a paradoxical faith, is nothing other than the revelation of self-affirmation that creeps into the very fact of emphasizing the paradox of such a faith. The repetition of the succession of faith, and of religious decision-making—and generally, the very fact of emphasizing the paradox of faith—is based on the persistence of faith, and as a result is there not a self-attachment that penetrates to what is called "faith"?

Such an awareness necessarily leads to the *awareness of falsity* as if keenly splitting oneself or to the awareness of the falsehood of the

fundamental self, such that the self that can bear religious truth does not completely free itself from the standpoint of self-attachment and love of self. The self that stands on faith, at the ultimate conclusion of the subjective thoroughness of that standpoint, realizes the root falsity that still lurks at the basis of that religious truth, breaks off relations with God within the awareness of this falsity, and for one moment is made to return to the absolutely real self. Therefore, at this point, we must say that it is not that absolute reality is itself directly the truth, but that the absolute reality is a matter of certainty itself certainty. One way or another, this means that even faith as self-negation is again realized as the activity of the transparent self, or as the radical self deeply refracted within itself–the most certain level of selfhood that cannot be negated by any other thing. That is the absolute self as the self, which as a self that has once been made transparent by negation from faith, finally negates again faith and is completed so that it takes "faith" for being a falsity. Moreover, this self is a self that does not transcend falsity within the awareness of falsity, but is more and more aware of the certainty of falsity within the awareness of falsity. It is a self that stands on a reliable sense of falsity simply without having any faith in truth, or a self that stands on a simple certainty of falsity without believing in any kind of truth.

By entering into a relation with God, however, the self overcomes nothingness encountered in the failure of morality and becomes the religious self, but at this moment it is drawn again into the dark abyss of groundlessness or nothingness because of the inevitable failure of faith to transcend falsity. Therefore, we must say that the awareness of falsity, along with being unified with the awareness of nothingness in and of itself, is an awareness in which the falsity that is surpassed by faith is thus made opposite to itself and is transformed into a twofoldness by being directly aware of itself once again. Now, if we call the awareness of nothingness due to the failure of morality a kind of nihilism based on the awareness of evil, this would imply the possibility of the self being overcome by believing in a transcendental divinity mediating within the human being as the nothingness faced in the very moment of the failure of immanent human reason.

Nevertheless, we must say that the nihilism implicit in the awareness of the falsity that we are now discussing, as the awareness of nothingness directly faced because of the failure of such a transcendental divine faith, is nihilistic in the most original sense of nihilism that cannot be overcome even through the transcendental God, not to mention the

immanent function of reason inside the human being. Then, if we suppose the existence of that which is called “true religion,” this must refer to an experience of faith that which is able to overcome nihilism caused by such a profound awareness of falsity.

Richard M. Jaffe, *Neither Monk nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001. xxii +286 pages. ISBN: 0-691-07495-X.

Steven Heine, Florida International University

This is a thoroughly researched and impeccably written book on a fascinating but long overlooked aspect of modern Japanese Buddhism, that is, the fact that the male clergy is almost entirely married and meat-eating (*nikujiki saitai*). As Richard Jaffe, an authority of Meiji era religion and culture, shows, "The presence of the temple wife is now so taken for granted that today, along with the usual Buddhist doctrinal texts, histories, and popular religious manuals found in Buddhist bookstores, one can also find pan-sectarian works like *Jite fujin hyakka* (Encyclopedia for temple wives)" (p. 2). Although marriage along with issues of gender and sexuality is foremost in the discussion, Jaffe actually focuses on two interrelated aspects of the modernization of clergy. The second issue is meat-eating, which was another practice similarly restricted and prohibited by basic Buddhist monastic regulations now taken for granted.

How and when did this arise and go on to become so widespread? What were the premodern precedents for this practice, as well as the various forces of modern secularization that brought the process to fruition? Why is the case of Japan so anomalous among Buddhist cultures? Who were the key players in different Buddhist movements in relation to social and political pressures, and how did they react pro or con to the new trend? The answers to all of these questions and much more are amply provided by Jaffe's study. He carefully traces the history of pre-Meiji examples that demonstrate the prevalence of the temple wives, as evidenced by the enforcement of anti-fornication ordinances, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The "Introduction" shows how the case of Japan's departure from a monastic and ascetic emphasis is unique among Buddhist cultures and to a large extent reflects the Meiji era "attacks on Buddhist temples, forced laicizations of the clergy, seizure of temple lands, and abolition of clerical perquisites" (p. 4). Chapter two discusses pre-Meiji antecedents going back to classical (Nara and Heian) and especially Tokugawa era violations of the precepts regarding sexual transgressions and non-violence or eating meat. The next chapter analyzes the origin of the term *nikujiki saitai* in light of the context of Tokugawa political, legal, and social changes which in restricting

and restraining Buddhist clergy brought to light just how commonplace these seemingly anti-monastic practices already were. At that time, the center of the debate was the Shin clergy, which came under increasing attack for long permitting clerical marriage, whereas other sects seemed to sanction clandestine activities.

Chapter four analyzes the changes in policy regarding Buddhist clergy enacted in the early Meiji period, around the early 1870s, in light of the persecution of Buddhist institutions in *haibustu kishaku* (destruction of Buddhist iconography) and *shinbutsu bunri* (separation of kami and buddhas) campaigns, as well as sweeping reforms of many sectors of society that dissolved similar regulations governing other groups. These changes included laws allowing commoners to use surnames in public and samurai, who were banned from carrying swords by the mid-1870s, to cut off their top knots, while the outcaste communities (hinin and eta) were eliminated. On May 31, 1872, there was a straightforward edict that read, "From now on Buddhist clerics shall be free to eat meat, marry, grow their hair, and so on. Furthermore, they are permitted to wear ordinary clothing when not engaged in religious activities" (p. 72). One main result was the rapid diminution in the numbers of clergy and temples, thereby weakening the overall Buddhist monastic structure.

The remainder of the book traces a kind of zigzag progression in the evolution of *nikujiki saitai* laws and practices from surprising support by Buddhist clergy to adamant resistance in some quarters and eventually to the widespread acceptance and even encouragement of the practices. For example, by the mid-1940s, the Sōtō sect was holding seminars for temple wives and ordination ceremonies to induct them as nuns. Jaffe shows in chapter five that during the early Meiji period there was a trend emphasized by Ōtori Sessō, a Sōtō monk who worked for the Ministry of Doctrine, among others, to modernize Buddhism and eliminate the dissonance between traditional monasticism and secularized, industrialized society. Not only was there a decriminalization or *nikujiki saitai*, but Japanese subjects were being warned against "corrupt customs" like vegetarianism and celibacy.

Chapters six, however, discusses the way that Buddhist clerical protests quickly became a factor. Fukuda Gyōkai led the charge to say that the reform of Buddhism should go in the opposite direction of a stricter adherence to the precepts. The precept restoration movement held that Buddhist codes are immutable and inviolable for all who want to wear robes and shave their heads.

What changed matters, as examined in chapters seven through ten, was the gradual emphasis on laicization – that is, more involvement of the lay community and more acceptance of the idea that the lives of clergy were not so distanced from laymen – that was part and parcel of modernist and secularist social trends. This wore down factions of resistance and gave a tacit acceptance of *nikujiki saitai*. By the early part of the twentieth century, bans on clerical marriage were being removed and regulations concerning precept adherence were being compromised. Tanaka Chigaku, one of the founders of a Nichiren-based new religion, devised a Buddhist wedding ceremony, one of the earliest religious marriage rituals created in Japan, and other voices advocated sexuality as a healthy, natural drive rather than the source of delusion and defilement. At the same time, the exposing "of such phenomena as temple poverty, illegitimacy, and dispossession of widows as social problems" (p. 213) forced Buddhist institutions to become protectors of women and to embrace the role of temple wives. Presently, there remain factions, especially in Sōtō Zen, which reject clerical marriage and hold to a traditional stance that it results in corruption and antinomianism that cannot be reconciled with the precepts.

One minor criticism is that this book, which takes a pan-Buddhist approach covering the major sects and key new religious movements, tends to lose a focus on what the particular groups believe or have come to accept. We get the overview but sometimes lose the trees for the forest. In conclusion, Jaffe's work is clearly the definitive study of the social changes in the lives of clergy from Meiji period on, and it vividly depicts how various Buddhist schools have struggled with the gap between the traditional and the modern.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A JAPANESE STUDIES PROGRAM AT FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY*

Steven Heine
Florida International University

Overview of the Development of Japanese Studies in Florida

Less than ten years ago, Florida International University (FIU) in Miami – one of ten public universities in the state of Florida system of higher education and ranked number one in the country in serving Hispanics – offered only a short list of basic Japanese language courses taught by a part-time instructor and very few area studies courses. Now, FIU's Institute for Asian Studies (IAS) offers at least six language classes per semester by two full-time instructors and adjuncts with nearly 300 students attending each academic year, plus a strengthened study abroad program. There are also a number of courses regularly offered in various disciplines, including religion, history, international relations, and political science, including an innovative and popular course on Zen and the Art of Tea Ceremony. Japanese studies, which includes creative elements in research and publication projects, conferences, outreach activities, cultural events, study abroad initiatives, student clubs, and the like, has become a significantly well-rounded program that forms the core of the recently implemented Asian Studies B.A. (2002) and M.A. (2005) programs.

Based in large part on a combination of grants from the U.S. Department of Education, The Japan Foundation and other private funding agencies, IAS has supplemented curriculum in Japanese studies through the recruitment of specialized faculty and the creation of new courses. Japanese language and area studies at FIU has grown into a substantial program that is one of the leaders not only in the state university system, but in the Southeast region of the U.S. By working with other institutions in Florida, ranging from the University of Florida, Florida Atlantic University, and Miami-Dade College to community organizations, such as the Office of the Japanese Consul-General in Miami, the prestigious Morikami Museum and

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*Note: This was originally presented at the 2005 annual meeting of the Japanese Studies Association of Brazil held at the University of Brasilia. Other panelists included representatives from Argentina, Australia, Brazil, France, Mexico, and Russia.

Japanese Gardens, the Southeast US-Japan Trade Association, and the Association of Florida Teachers of Japanese, IAS has helped build a network of Japan-related education and outreach associations. Known as *JapaNet*, this has been recognized by the Japanese Foreign Ministry for promoting friendship and exchanges between countries. During the past year, the Japan Foundation selected FIU on two occasions to sponsor a language pedagogy workshop in summer 2005 and to support a panel on the state of Japanese Studies in the Southern U.S. as part of the Southern Japan Seminar meeting held in March 2006.

In the late 1990s, some faculty at FIU were skeptical about whether a Japanese studies program would ever be able to develop successfully in Miami, often called the "capital" of Latin America with its focus on the southern hemisphere. There was a chicken-or-egg issue of how to get started. If the courses were not well enrolled, how could we be confident about the extent of student interest? At the same time, how would it be possible that student demand be mobilized and demonstrated if the curriculum was not available and if interested students were not sure that beginning the study of Japanese would pay off in completing two or three years of coursework along with related educational opportunities. The Institute for Asian Studies, then a fledgling interdisciplinary program, took a "build it and they will come" approach that has proven to be a great success, in large part through the support of higher administration, including President Modesto "Mitch" Maidique and then Provost Mark B. Rosenberg, currently Chancellor of the Board of Governors of the state system.

By taking small, incremental steps at program building and through gradually increasing the course offerings in language and area studies, a strong level of student support was grown and maintained. Currently, momentum is increasing on different fronts. Academic programs including the major, minor, masters, and Japanese Studies certificate enroll over 250 students at undergraduate and graduate levels, and research components include the publication of this annual peer-reviewed journal. Study abroad initiatives have resulted in successful intensive summer language programs housed at partner institutions Ritsumeikan University and Aichi Prefectural University, attracting students from throughout the state university system, in addition to semester exchanges with Ritsumeikan, Kansai Gaidai, and Kanda University of International Studies.

IAS EXTERNAL FUNDING

Department of Education

Asian Studies Initiative (1997-2000), $160,000
Asian Globalization and Latin America (1999-2002), $160,000
South Florida Consortium for Asian Arts and Culture (2001-2005), $365,000

Japan Foundation

Library Support Program-Category A2 (2002), $5,000
Japan-Language Teaching Material Donation Program (2002, 2003), $1,000
Training Program for Teachers of the Japanese Language (2003), $5,000
Support Program for Japanese-Language Courses Abroad-Salary Assistance (2003), $71,000
Center for Global Partnership - Grass Roots Educational/Public Outreach Program (2004-2007), $60,000
Miscellaneous Grants for Pedagogy and Teaching Resources (2001-2006), $25,000

National Endowment for the Humanities

Development of Asian Languages (2006-2008), $75,000

Fu Foundation

Scholarships for Students Traveling to Asia (2001-2006), $18,000

Outreach has become a major focus through a Center for Global Partnership-funded professional development project for training teachers selected from K-12 schools throughout South Florida to infuse Japanese studies materials in their classrooms. The teachers participate in workshops featuring FIU faculty and a variety of national and international speakers. A wide variety of cultural events both on and off campus have included a lecture by Ambassador Ryozo Kato in May 2005 and the recent performance of a composition for Taiko and Flamenco created especially for IAS by then Dean of the School of Music and renowned composer, Fredrick Kaufman. The performance of "Kaminarimon" was applauded by the *Miami Herald* in 2002 as "one of the most creative artistic events of the year," and has been expanded and revised for additional performances at venues around the country.

In the past couple of years, a new form of skepticism has arisen with regards to Japan's decline in the world scene, while interest in China and other Asian countries is coming on strong. While the Institute for Asian

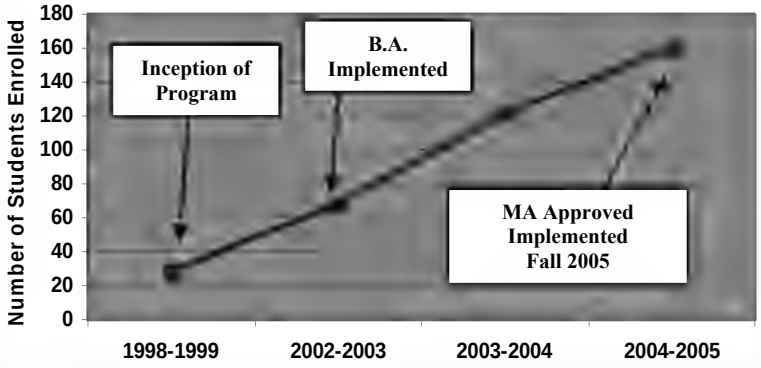
Studies is eager to see and accommodate the development of demand for Chinese studies and Asian studies more broadly conceived, we note that national trends show that there remains a longstanding and sustained interest in Japanese society and culture, with Japanese language enrollments holding their own. In some studies, Japanese is listed as the language with the third highest enrollments in American colleges (following Spanish and French, especially since demand for other European languages such as German and Portuguese has been diminishing, although it is the case that Chinese studies has been increasing). Our conviction is that Japanese studies is not a passing fad because the impact of Japan remains strong and pervasive, as can be seen by the ongoing popularity in the West of the "3N's": Nintendo, Ninjas, and aNime.

Growth of Japanese Language Enrollments and Asian Studies Academic Programs

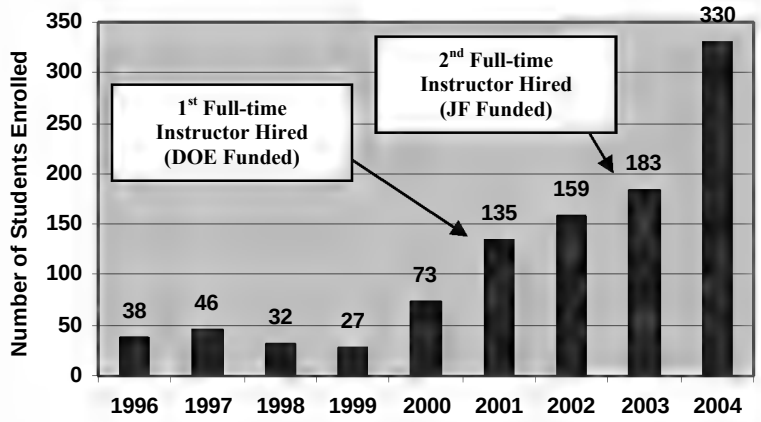
IAS offers a variety of undergraduate and graduate academic programs. On the undergraduate level there is a B.A., a minor, and several certificate programs, including a certificate in Japanese Studies. At the graduate level, there is a certificate and a newly approved M.A. Because of the strength of our Japanese studies program, nearly 90 percent of Asian Studies majors are currently concentrating in Japanese. An important development was the approval of the major as a "stand-alone" program, although many students pursue a second major in international relations or international business.

Other developments that have enabled the programs to grow include: 1) strong student clubs, including the Anything Goes Anime Club, said to be the largest student organization on campus that sponsors conferences every summer with over a thousand attendees, the Asian Student Union, which produces cultural events in the student center, and several specialty clubs for martial arts; 2) new acquisitions of Japanese vernacular reference materials for the library; and 3) continuous upgrade of the language lab and internet learning resources. The first table below shows the steady growth of IAS academic programs, and the second table demonstrates how the language enrollments have been steadily increasing with the implementation of full-time instructors supported by external funding.

Growth of Asian Studies Academic Programs



Growth of Japanese Language Program (AY 1996-2004)



The Asian Globalization and Latin America Project (AGLA) is an innovative new trans-regional program, which originated at Florida International University partly through funding support from a U.S. Department of Education Title VI grant. This program brings together two major area studies programs at FIU, the prestigious Latin American and Caribbean Center, which has long been designated a National Resource Center, and the rapidly growing Institute for Asian Studies. The project focuses on links or points of intersection between the regions of Asia and Latin America by examining issues such as migration, identity, trade, education, and technology, with an emphasis on contemporary society as part of a comprehensive investigation of the significance of globalization affecting all regions.

Because this program remains unique, every month we receive messages from people around the country and the world who are eager to learn or participate in our project, and comment on how innovative it is. Similar projects emphasizing research have been undertaken at the University of California at San Diego and at Stanford University, and there may be initiatives at other universities as well. However, the FIU project seems to be the only one with a significant curriculum component including an ongoing certificate program that offers students a credential, making them competitive for graduate school or the workforce.

The following is a list of some of the main speakers who have contributed to the project:

> *Japanese Brazilian Migrants in Japan* (Joshua Roth, Mt. Holyoke College)
>
> *Janpanese Brazilian Identity* and *Japanese Immigrants, Other Minorities and Ethnic Identity in Brazil* (Jeffrey Lesser, Emory University)
>
> *Kaminarimon*: Taiko and Flamenco Performance
> (Fred Kaufman and Karen Fuller, Florida International University, School of Music)
>
> *The Shakuhachi and Japanese Subcultures in South America* (Dale Olsen, Florida State University)
>
> *Japanese Butoh Dance* (Christine Grenier)

Butoh Dance Demonstration (Helena Thevenot)

Japanese Dance Traditions in Brazil (Susana Yamauchi, Japanese Brazilian dancer/choreographer)

Asian Cults in Brazil (Ronan Pereira, University of Brasilia's Center of Asian Studies)

Zen Buddhism in Brazil (Cristina Rocha, University of Western Sydney)

Nikkeijin in Japan (Natali Garcia-Diaz, FIU Student)

In addition, several lectures have stressed the role of Chinese in Cuba, including:

The People's Republic of China in Latin America: Economics or Strategic Maneuvering?
(Speakers and Discussants: Ralph S. Clem, FIU; Bud Cole, National Defense University; Dave Finkelstein, Center for Naval Intelligence; Linda Robinson, Harvard University; Jack Sweeney, Strategic Forecasting; Cynthia Watson, National Defense University)

Chinese Ethnic Communities in Cuba (Kathleen Lopez, University of Michigan)

Asian Languages in the United States (Yu-Lan Lin, Boston Public Schools)

The table below is a partial list of some of the new and infused interdisciplinary courses featuring the Asia-Latin America connection in cultural studies such as migration and diaspora or political economy including trade and commerce.

New and Infused Courses	
Department	**Course Title**
International Relations	Asia and Latin America in World Affairs
International Relations	International Relations of Developing and Third World Countries
Modern Languages	Asian & Latin Heritage Languages in North America
Modern Languages	Japanese Culture and Calligraphy
Modern Languages	Asia in 19th Century Hispanic Literature
Modern Languages	Eastern Thought & Latin American Literature
Religious Studies	Sacred Space, Sacred Travels
Religious Studies	Asian Religions in the Americas
Sociology/Anthropology	Labor Movements in Developing Countries
Sociology/Anthropology	Globalization and Society
Theater/Dance	World Perspectives in Dance

The Consortium Approach in Florida

In addition to collaborating with Title VI centers at FIU, including the Latin America and Caribbean Center, the Center for Transnational and Comparative Studies, and the Center for International Business Education and Research, Asian Studies has grown by working with other universities in Florida. With the Asian Studies Program at the University of Florida (UF) in Gainesville, we have formed the Florida East Asia Consortium, a dynamic network for organizing events and coordinating outreach efforts, such as a conference on Japanese films and a symposium on the theoretical writings of Natsume Soseki featuring an international group of scholars. UF is the flagship school in the state system and has an outstanding program in Asian languages and literatures supported in part by Freeman Foundation funding and producing over 50 Japanese majors per year. More locally, we have established the South Florida Consortium for Asian Arts and Culture involving Florida Atlantic University and Miami-Dade College, as well as

the Morikami Museum. Furthermore, we work closely with the Florida-Japan Linkage Institute housed at the University of West Florida, which has hosted two Florida-Japan Summit conferences, and other faculty statewide, particularly John Maraldo of the University of North Florida.

Study Abroad

IAS encourages study abroad opportunities for students to Japan, including semester or year-long exchange with Ritsumeikan University, Kanda University of International Studies, and Kansai Gaidai University. In summer 2005, we offered a new intensive language program in collaboration with Aichi Prefectural University (APU). The group of 15 students spent six weeks at the APU campus located outside Nagoya and took team-taught courses in Japanese language and culture as well as economics, history, and international relations. They also had the opportunity to visit Kyoto and Tokyo, and to experience directly the Japanese lifestyle through weekend homestays. This program, the first of its kind in the state system and successful in recruiting students from other universities in Florida, has been expanded to include Ritsumeikan. In addition, IAS has been gradually increasing the number of JET participants, having sent a dozen graduates in the past three years – the second highest number among universities in the state system.

Japan-Related Events

IAS sponsors activities with local businesses, colleges, schools, and other institutions to promote an awareness of Asian and Asian-American culture. Sponsored by IAS, the Southern Japan Seminar held March 3-4, 2006 in Coral Gables included a panel on linguistics organized by Stan Dubinsky (University of South Carolina), and featured lectures by Ann Wehmeyer (University of Florida) and Mark Ravina (Emory University) on the state of the Japanese studies field in the southern region. The Seminar held its third spring meeting at the Wolfsonian-FIU Museum on South Beach on February 25-26, 2005. It included a keynote presentation by Jeffrey Lesser (Emory University), *The Pacific Rim in the Atlantic World: Imagining Brazil's Japanese*, on the meaning of being Japanese and the role of the Japanese in Brazil. Following were two panels. One was on modernization, featuring John Mertz (North Carolina State University) and Martha Chaiklan (Milwaukee Public Museum). The other panel focused on women and society, and included discussions by Jan Bardsley and Hiroko Hirakawa (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), and Kinko Ito

(University of Arkansas). The Seminar meeting ended with a roundtable discussion on global affairs in the post-Perry era. The Seminar will hold its next meeting on Japanese Business on November 17-18, 2006.

In collaboration with the Consulate General of Japan in Miami, FIU was proud to host Japanese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States, Ryozo Kato, who spoke about US-Japan Relations, in addition to several other "hot topics" on May 10, 2005. In his speech, the Ambassador also discussed Japan's presence in Iraq, the situation in Korea, and future relations with China.

Between June 26-July 2, 2005 FIU had the privilege of hosting a state-wide professional development workshop for Japanese instructors held by The Japan Foundation Los Angeles Office. FIU instructors Asuka Haraguchi and Hiromi Tanis helped coordinate and also participated in the program. As Vice President of the Association for Florida Teachers of Japanese (AFTJ), Haraguchi also works closely with K-12 teachers in the state to develop standardized curriculum.

Research and Publications

IAS in conjunction with the Southern Japan Seminar publishes an annual peer-reviewed journal, *Japan Studies Review*, edited by Steven Heine, which involves interdisciplinary studies of modern Japan. The current volume (Vol. X, 2006) includes articles on Tokugawa era poetry theorist Kagami Shikō, the recent boom in the use of subtitles in Japanese television, the local importance of laquerware in the Tsugaru region, and the Korean television program "Winter Sonata" and its relation to Japan. Also appearing are featured essays, including one that provides a detailed view of Japanese studies and another dealing with the Japanese view of Nikkeijin. Past issues have included articles on the Japanese in Latin America and the Caribbean such as:

1. *Japanese Religions and Religious Diversity in Brazil* (Vol. III, 1999) by Ronan Pereira.

2. *The Appropriation of Zen Buddhism in Brazil* (Vol. IV, 2000) by Cristina Rocha.

3. *Circle K Recipes and Circle K Rules* (Vol. V, 2001) by Karen Tei Yamashita.

4. *Transcultural Possessions in/of Mahikari: Religious Syncretism in Martinique* (Vol. VI, 2002) by Erin Weston.

5. *Foreign Workers in Japan: A Look at Japanese Cultural Perspectives Regarding Nikkeijin* (Vol. X, 2006) by Natali Garcia-Diaz.

In the past few years Steven Heine, director of IAS, has presented lectures at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, Cambridge, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Hawaii, Pennsylvania, UCLA, Emory, Florida, and Florida Atlantic, in addition to the University of Tokyo and Komazawa University. Among his recent publications are *White Collar Zen: Using Zen Principles to Overcome Obstacles and Achieve Your Career Goals* (Oxford University Press, 2005), an edited book with Dale S. Wright, *Zen Classics: Formative Texts in the History of Zen Buddhism* (Oxford University Press, 2006), and an article, "Zen in the Workplace: Applying Anti-Structure to Enhance Structure," in *Global Business Language* 9 (2004), pp. 95-106.

Laura Nenzi, assistant professor of History and IAS assistant director for Asian area studies, has published articles in prestigious journals including *Monumenta Nipponica* and *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*. Also, her manuscript entitled *Intersections: The Place of Recreational Travel in Edo Culture and* Society, was accepted by the University of Hawaii Press and is forthcoming. Nenzi has presented papers at the national meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, and the International Conference of the European Association of Japanese Studies. This past year, she also presented lectures at Harvard University and Oxford University.

Paul Kowert, associate professor of International Relations and IAS Graduate Director, has received support from the Social Science Research Council and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science for his continuing research on the causes and limits of national identity in US-Japan relations for which he has been conducting research in Kyoto and Aichi prefecture. Kowert also teaches a highly successful course on U.S.-Japan relations, and recently created a new graduate course entitled "New Asian Century."

Asuka Haraguchi, instructor of Japanese and IAS Assistant Director for Asian languages, won the Japanese Ambassador Cup, a prestigious national award in Shotokan karate, and was selected to be a member of the U.S. national team. She has also been elected to serve as the

vice president of the Association of Florida Teachers of Japanese, including organizing the annual Japan Bowl and speech contests for K-16 students. Haraguchi has received several Japan Foundation awards for pedagogy and teaching materials.

Bongkil Chung, Professor of Philosophy, teaches Buddhist thought and the philosophical traditions of China and Japan, and is an expert on Korean Buddhism. Chung has published a major translation of the Korean Won Buddhist school teachings published by the University of Hawaii Press. Eric Messersmith, full-time lecturer of Asian Studies, teaches several courses at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, such as Zen and Tea Ceremony, International Relations of East Asia, Politics of the Far East, and History of Japan. In addition to his regular teaching load, Messersmith recently developed a new, innovative online course on the cultures of Asia. This course will be offered on a regular basis and will be available to students at FIU and other schools. He also helps to organize cultural events such as tea and martial arts demonstrations. Messersmith serves as the faculty advisor for the very popular Shorinji Kempo student club.

In addition, there is faculty strength in FIU professional schools, especially the Colleges of Business and Law, which is planning to develop a study abroad trip to Japan. Faculty at other institutions in South Florida, including Florida Atlantic University, University of Miami, and Miami-Dade College, along with the very active Association of Florida Teachers of Japanese, provide a base for research and teaching initatives, as well as for outreach programs.

JapaNet: **South Florida's Center for Studies of Japan in the Global Environment**

A major component of *JapaNet* is a professional development project for certified K-12 teachers and other participants in South Florida funded by the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership (2004-2007), as well as a network of Japan related organizations in South Florida. The project is an ideal introduction to Japanese culture, history, and society that demonstrates to teachers how to infuse Japanese materials into their classrooms. In addition to these topics, the project develops the following three themes:

a) Japan-U.S. Relations in the Post-Perry Era: Building on the 2003-04 celebrations of the arrival of Perry and opening of Japan-U.S. relations taking place in Miami, this theme examines developments in public affairs

and political theory, including contemporary trade and economic issues with an emphasis on pre- and post-war eras.

b) Japanese Migrations to the Americas and National Identity: In connection with the centennial anniversary of the settlement of the Yamato Japanese colony in South Florida that was commemorated by the Morikami Museum in 2005, *JapaNet* will examine Japanese diaspora in North America and Latin America, with an emphasis on Brazil, Peru and representative smaller settlements in the Caribbean, including returnees to Japan.

c) Global Exchange in the Post-Bubble Era: The final theme focuses on the overall impact on Japan and Japanese heritage communities in light of globalization trends, including trade policies and regulation, socialization and assimilation, and expressions of ethnic identity.

By the end of the grant cycle, the project will produce a permanent record of teaching resources, including sample lesson plans created by project participants that will be disseminated throughout the region and nationwide. During the first two years of the project, teachers representing over three dozen schools in South Florida have submitted 60 lesson plans on topics including the Minamata disease, human rights abuses against women and children, the arrival of Commodore Perry's "Black Ships," and *Tako* (Japanese kites).

One of the many highlights was the involvement of two science professors, Joerg Reinhold (associate professor of physics) and Gene Rosenberg (associate chairman of biology), who have both traveled and researched extensively in Japan. During the second year of the project they presented a lecture on scientific investigation in comparative contexts. *JapaNet* also includes a diverse list of cultural activities sponsored both on and off campus through a network of associations, especially with the Morikami Museum, the Office of the Consul-General of Japan in Miami, and the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership.

Duncan Ryūken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005. xiv + 241 pp. ISBN 10: 0-691-11928-7 (hbk), $55.[1]

Reviewed by Steven Heine

This long-awaited volume by Duncan Williams is based on his outstanding Harvard University doctoral dissertation, "Representations of Zen: A Social and Institutional History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Edo Japan" (2000), also recommended to readers since it contains valuable material which did not find its way into the book version. *The Other Side of Zen* makes a great contribution to our understanding of the history of Zen in the early modern or Tokugawa (Edo) era of Japanese history (1600-1868). It goes a long way toward filling a crucial historical gap between William Bodiford's seminal work on the Kamakura era (1200-1600), *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (University of Hawaii Press, 1993), and works on the Meiji era (1868-1912) including Richard Jaffe's *Neither Monk Nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton University Press, 2001). It also complements Helen Baroni's *Ōbaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (University of Hawaii Press, 2000).

Williams has two overarching concerns, one specific and one general. The more specific concern is to explain how Sōtō Zen rose from a relatively small school at the beginning of the Tokugawa era to become the single largest school of Buddhism in Japan by the early eighteenth century. In dealing with this issue, the approach in *The Other Side of Zen* is particularly notable for making the most of recently disclosed sources that reveal the role of Sōtō Zen as a popular religious movement. "Indebted to the many local history and temple history projects that have emerged in the past twenty years," Williams points out, "the representation of the Sōtō Zen tradition offered here was made possible by newly discovered letters, temple logbooks, miracle tales, villager's diaries, fund-raising donor lists, talismans, and tombstones" (p. 123).

The second, more general concern is with moving interpretations of Zen away from an emphasis on the image of Zen monks serenely

[1] This review was originally published in *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 12 (2005): 84-87.

entranced in meditation, which was in fact rarely practiced by Tokugawa era Zen priests, to an emphasis on their performance of diverse kinds of ritual practices. Eschewing a focus on the great literary Sōtō monks of the era, such as Manzan Dōhaku and Menzan Zuihō, who are examples of what he calls "'ceramic plate priests,' extraordinary exemplars brought out of the cupboard of the Sōtō Zen tradition in terms of proselytization...or on special occasions" (p. 119), Williams concentrates on the aspects of Zen that negotiated boundaries between this world and the next through funerary ceremonies, between illness and wellness through healing rites, and between the other-world and practical benefits through pilgrimages and talismans.

I will first consider the substance of Williams's findings regarding popular religiosity in the middle chapters of the book (Chapters 2-5) and then comment briefly on the value of his social historical approach for the discourse, or in this case anti-discourse, concerning the nature – and different sides – of Zen as emphasized in the opening and concluding chapters.

Following the discussion in Chapter 1 on the significance of undertaking a social historical analysis (part of Williams' more general concern), the next chapter shows how several key factors that unfolded at the dawn of the Tokugawa era attracted followers and bolstered the number of parish households. These factors included the participation of Sōtō Zen in the anti-Christian campaign and the implementation of the temple-registration system. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Sōtō school "was able to retain this membership generation after generation through a set of ritual and economic obligations that bound the parish household to each of its nearly 17,500 parish temples" (p. 22). At the end of the second and throughout the third chapter, Williams explores the role of Zen as part of "funerary Buddhism" (*sōshiki Bukkyō*) in bestowing posthumous ordination names (*kaimyō*) and developing other forms of managing the dead, carried out in large part as a means of fundraising.

The price to be paid for the expanded role of the death cult, Williams shows, is that Sōtō Zen helped legitimate methods of discrimination against social outcastes and women. The result was the fostering of an apparently hypocritical outlook whereby some parishioners (upper-class males) were guaranteed the attainment of a state equal to that of Buddha at the time of death, while the downtrodden were instructed to expect immense suffering without relief in the afterlife. In supporting the role of the *Ketsubonkyō* (Blood Pool Hell Sutra), which damned women to a

state of pollution, priests informed the sufferers that only the efficacious cleansing rituals and chants of the Sōtō school could provide salvific powers, performed on demand as initiated by significant family donations.

The fourth and fifth chapters analyze various ways that Zen offered other avenues for parishioners and adherents to receive the benefits of its rites. In a detailed case study of the prayer temple at Daiyūzan Saijōji temple in Odawara, Williams gives a fabulous depiction of religious life involving pilgrimage routes to festivals and the acquiring of potent talismans to cure ailments, ward off misfortunes, and gain practical benefits. These practices are centered on the ceremony for displaying a hidden deity (*kaichō*), the statue of the flame-engulfed Dōryō *tengu*-goblin riding on a flying white fox. This section is followed by a careful analysis of the importance of the manufacture and sale of "sacred medicine" in the Sōtō school, in particular, the panacean herbal pill, Gedokuen.

The use of Gedokuen as a cure for everything from fatigue and flu to gonorrhea was originally based on a legend of Dōgen's recovery from illness during his travels in returning from his trip to China while accompanied by Dōshō through the intercession of the rice fertility deity, Inari. Williams points out that this account appears in the *Teiho Kenzeiki,* the 1753 annotated version of the traditional sectarian biography, the *Kenzeiki.* "What is striking here," he writes, "is that none of the handcopied versions [from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included in a critical edition edited by the modern scholar Kawamura Kōdō] includes the story about Dōshō and the medicine" (p. 94). However, this is not so startling because Kawamura has demonstrated that it is just one of over a dozen discrepancies between the original *Kenzeiki* and the more hagiographical entries in the *Teiho Kenzeiki*. The chapter includes two other fascinating case studies of temples in Tokyo, one involving the "splinter-removing" Jizō (Togenuki Jizō) enshrined at Kōganji temple and the other dealing with smallpox prevention talismans associated with Mawari Jizō at Senryūji temple.

Regarding the book's more general concern with focusing attention on the role of popular religiosity in the spread of Sōtō Zen, Williams does an admirable job that contributes to the anti-discourse of deconstructing the stereotypical view of Zen as remote and reclusive. However, the book could perhaps benefit from a more sequential rather than purely thematic structure which makes it difficult for readers to get a sense of the chronological development of the Sōtō school.

I question the title, derived from an influential article on medieval Japanese culture by Barbara Ruch. By using the definite article and singular noun, rather than "Other Sides of Zen," – or even "Sides of Zen" – Williams implies that there is a "first side," but what is this? If it is the notion of meditative Zen, then he is far from the first to challenge the apparent simulacra that has been constructed around the tradition. If the first side of Zen is the Rinzai school as the subtitle might suggest, or the elite monks of Sōtō that are not discussed here, then he needs to develop a more nuanced view. This is hinted by the comment regarding the Daiyūzan deity to the effect that beliefs in "this Zen monk-turned-tengu attest to the power and vitality of Sōtō Zen prayer temples that reveal a different side of the Sōtō Zen tradition from both the austere monasticism and funerary Zen." Indeed, save for the Manzans and Menzans – although it should be pointed out that Menzan himself was the one responsible for inserting unsubstantiated hagiographical elements in the *Teiho Kenzeiki,* including the Gedokuen legend – Williams has exposed the reader to a rich range of materials revolving around multiple perspectives of what it meant to practice Tokugawa era Zen Buddhism. We need not even ask which side he is on.

BOB DYLAN'S ZEN GARDEN: CROSS-CULTURAL CURRENTS IN HIS APPROACH TO RELIGIOSITY[1]

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Dylan's Spiritual Influences, Eastern and Western

It has been said, "Religion looms large in Dylan's worldview."[2] During every phase of his career, Bob Dylan has portrayed himself as an outcast or misfit, a drifter or wanderer, or a stranger in a strange land toiling in perpetual exile yet struggling to gain redemption by breaking through the ever-challenging gates to heaven. From the mournful pleas of the "Man of Constant Sorrow" on his first album *Bob Dylan* (1962) to awaiting mixed blessings "When the Deal Goes Down" on the recent *Modern Times* (2006), Dylan's ongoing quest for elusive paradise has continued unabated.

As a critic of Dylan points out, "Folklore, ethnomusicology, linguistics, anthropology, literary criticism, and philology: none of these can be left aside in a thorough attempt to gain insight into the rich dynamics and designs of Bob Dylan's performance artistry."[3] The same must also be said for the field of religious studies, and while the main focus has been on various aspects of Western traditions, this makes the case for injecting Eastern mysticism into the multi-disciplinary, multi-cultural mix because of Dylan's wide-ranging affinities with Zen Buddhism, which are in part historical/biographical and also spiritual/intellectual. Examining Dylan's relation with Zen underscores that the more remote and exotic the cultural

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[1] This paper was originally presented at a symposium on Bob Dylan held at the University of Minnesota in March 2007, and some of this material appears in *Bargainin' for Salvation: Bob Dylan, A Zen Master?* (New York: Continuum, 2009). All quotes of Bob Dylan's lyrics are taken from the official website, http://bobdylan.com, by permission of Dylan's manager, Jeff Rosen.

[2] M. Cooper Harriss, "Religion in *Modern Times*," *Sightings* (August 10, 2006); http://marty-center.uchicago.edu/sightings/archive_2006/0810.shtml.

[3] Catherine Mason and Richard Thomas, "Introduction [to special issue on Bob Dylan]," *Oral Tradition* 22/1 (2007): 3.

context he pursues, the more intimate and familiar the sense of truth it reveals.

Dylan's songwriting was greatly influenced by American folk/blues music as well Beat poetry and a variety of other literary sources. In considering the role of religious imagery, the most prominent source of inspiration seems to be an extensive use of biblical references. Whether interpreted from either a Judaic/Old Testament perspective or a Christian/New Testament one, citations from the Bible appear in just about every album. This includes, but is not limited to, his gospel stage that began in the late 1970s and endured until the early '80s.[4] But is the Bible the sole factor needed to assess the spiritual dimensions of Dylan's life work?

It is clear that Japanese culture, Zen Buddhism in particular, was making an imprint on Dylan's approach to music-making during the mid-1970s. This phase, marked by several direct references and indirect allusions in Dylan's writings, lasted for several years through the time of his first Far East tour in 1978. It culminated with an explicit mention of Zen gardens visited in Kyoto in album liner notes that appeared just months before his conversion to Christianity less than a year later. The rise and fall of an interest in Zen in relation to the awakening of a Christian consciousness is a very important biographical juxtaposition that is generally overlooked in the field of Dylanology. This is primarily because most critics are not sensitive to the issue of Eastern affinities and possible influences.

Dylan's initial exposure to Zen undoubtedly came through the auspices of poet and avowed meditator Allen Ginsberg, along with other Beat movement writers who were involved extensively with pursuing the Buddhist dharma either in their narrative writings, such as Jack Kerouac, or in their religious practice and poetry, such as Gary Snyder. Dylan befriended Ginsberg and read the works of other Beats when he first arrived and became ensconced in the bohemian scene that was flourishing in New York's Greenwich Village in the 1960s. For the members of the Beat movement, the appropriation of a Zen way of living freely in the eternal moment was considered a crucial component of their literary endeavors,

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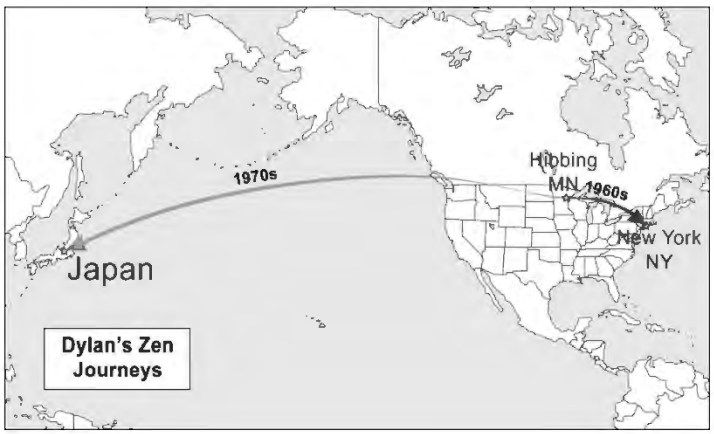
[4] See Michael J. Gilmour, *Tangled Up In the Bible: Bob Dylan and Scripture* (New York: Continuum, 2004); and Stephen H. Webb, *Dylan Redeemed: from Highway 61 to Saved.* (New York: Continuum, 2006); and Seth Rogonoy, *Prophet, Mystic, Poet* (New York: Scribner, 2009).

which expressed an obsessive search for individual freedom and spiritual truth beyond the conventions of modern, mechanical society.

As early as the mid-'60s, or over a decade before his travels to Japan, there were lyrics in a number of Dylan songs indicating the inception of a Zen-like outlook. These deal with the quest to find a haven of solitude and detachment in a world where the boundary between reality and illusion is continually breaking down with each act of social or personal injustice, hypocrisy, and inauthenticity. This spiritual longing is conveyed in songs such as "Chimes of Freedom," with its compassion for the misunderstood and downtrodden, "It's Alright, Ma (I'm Only Bleeding)," which expresses a strict adherence to intellectual and cultural integrity and disdain for self-deception, and "Desolation Row," in which the aloofness of resignation and detachment seems to be the only answer for profound social ills.



Two Journeys Leading to Zen

In songs in which the Beat literary influence is particularly strong, Dylan seems to reflect the Zen attitude of "seeing things as they really are," by overcoming delusion and remaining free of blinders, distortions, or bad faith. Affinities with Zen also seem evident in lyrics that express a view of moral causality which resembles the Buddhist notion of karma. Several songs from *Blonde on Blonde* in 1966, including "Stuck Inside of Mobile with the Memphis Blues Again," "Visions of Johanna," and "4th Time Around," refer to the notion that "'Everybody must give something back/For something they get.'" Another example of Zen inklings is the

cycle of songs on *The Basement Tapes* recorded in 1967 (released in 1975) that explore the implications of an experience of nothingness, or the spiritual void, in "Too Much of Nothing," "Nothing Was Delivered," and "You Ain't Goin' Nowhere."

The Village in Early '60s and Japan in Late '70s

Dylan's possible interest in a Zen outlook was no doubt greatly enhanced by his travels in Japan a decade later. Dylan's music gained popularity and a cult following in Japan beginning in the '60s when songs like "Blowin' in the Wind" and "Like a Rolling Stone" were hit singles, and he became a role model for Japan's student protest movement during the Vietnam War era.

Dylan '60s Record Jacket in Japan

Dylan's arrival for the 1978 tour was eagerly anticipated and documented by scores of journalists. When he was asked at a press conference held at Haneda Airport why he had come to their country, Dylan told Japanese reporters rather playfully that it was because "we are living in a Zen age."[5] Although Dylan sang unconventional arrangements of his

[5] Greeted with the newspaper headline "Bob Dylan has arrived!"("Bobu Diran ga yatte-kita"), Dylan was also asked if he should be considered a "god of folk songs," to which he responded, "no," and when queried how he should be thought of, he replied, "I'm just a person." Skeptics have seen the motive for the tour tied to a need for money to pay alimony after a

classic songs, accompanied for the first time in his career by a back-up band with sax, bongo drums, and distaff singers, the reception was very positive. A headline in an entertainment rag back in the states ran, "Dylan Zaps Japs."

Upon leaving Japan at the conclusion of the tour, Dylan spoke fondly of the Zen temples he visited there, including Kinkakuji Temple (The Temple of the Golden Pavilion) and the most famous Zen rock garden located at Ryoanji Temple in Kyoto. Remarks on the cover of *Live at Budokan*, which was originally planned along with the greatest hits collection *Masterpieces* for a Japan-only release, mention his fascination with the teachings of Zen:

> The Japanese people can hear my heart still beating in Kyoto at the Zen Rock Garden – Someday I will be back to reclaim it.

From '78 Far East/Budokan Tour Program

Sitting Buddha versus Precious Angel

Dylan's "Zen garden," a stage that included explicit references to Zen or Asian mysticism, was probably initially cultivated in 1974 on *Planet Waves*, which includes liner notes that evoke the image of Native American poets seeking a sense of the Buddha as part of their spiritual journey. The

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difficult, contested divorce. See Naoki Urasawa and Koji Wakui, *Diran wo katarou: Talking About Bob Dylan* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2007); and also see Mihashi Kazuo, *60 nendai no Bobu Diran* (Tokyo: Shinko Music Pub. Co., 1991).

album also contains the song "Dirge," which says cryptically much like "Desolation Row": "I paid the price of solitude, but at least I'm out of debt." This implies that a Zen-like transcendence of ordinary attachments is worth the sacrifice of superficial companionship or seeking the approval of peers.

In an outtake version of "Idiot Wind" recorded for *Blood on the Tracks* a year later, Dylan explicitly evokes an ancient Asian religious text, the *I-Ching* (or *Book of Changes*), originally composed nearly three thousand years ago and translated many times into English. This scripture, which introduces the doctrine of the balance of opposing but complementary forces of Yin (yielding) and Yang (assertive), is known for its distinctive view of reconciling the conundrum of human choice versus fate determined by external powers through the doctrine of synchronicity, or the confluence of mutually determining factors that defy logical explanation. From this standpoint, there is no such thing as coincidence in the conventional sense of random, arbitrary occurrences because free will and destiny are interwoven possibilities in each and every action.

According to this version of "Idiot Wind," "I threw the *I-Ching* yesterday, it said there might be some thunder at the well/I haven't tasted peace an' quiet for so long, it seems like livin' hell."[6] The reference to "thunder in the well" indicates the occasion of dramatic change or upheaval, and suggests that the consolation of solitude and quietude is not easily attained until the emotions of resentment and doubt are overcome. In addition, the final verse of an unofficial version of "Simple Twist of Fate" also recorded for *Blood on the Tracks*, concludes the anguished love song about missed opportunities amid the misfortunes of fateful circumstances by saying that the complex situation is "leaving me to meditate/One more time on a simple twist of fate."[7] Here, fate implies the inescapability of inevitable circumstances that may cause turmoil or upheaval yet must be accepted with calm resignation.

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[6] "The officially released version is, "I ran into the fortune-teller, who said beware of lightning that might strike/I haven't known peace and quiet for so long I can't remember what it's like." One wonders why he removed the Asian reference.

[7] The officially released version is, "She was born in spring, but I was born too late/Blame it on a simple twist of fate."

In "Up to Me," another song recorded for *Blood on the Tracks* but not included on the official release, Dylan cryptically downplays the typical Christian explanation of moral consequences based on the beatitudes, including the ideals of turning the other cheek and the meek inheriting the earth: "We heard the Sermon on the Mount and I knew it was too complex/It didn't amount to anything more than what the broken glass reflects." The broken glass image suggests the Zen view of embracing multiple, fractured perspectives as the best way of taking part in, yet remaining detached from, a fragmented and relativistic universe. The song indicates that the Asian outlook is more attuned to natural circumstances and, therefore, of equal weight or perhaps superior to the biblical account of morality.

Furthermore, a few months later in April 1975, Dylan did a radio interview with Mary Travers (of the renowned folk trio Peter, Paul, and Mary) in which he chided listeners like Travers who would say they "enjoyed" listening to *Blood on the Tracks*, because it reveals so much inner pain (she conceded that she meant to say "appreciated"). He also discussed with Travers that day how the Zen notion of time as an eternal present moment helped to inspire the revival of his artistry after a lull in his songwriting during the early '70s. This period of composing was also influenced by Dylan's painting teacher Norman Raeban.[8] Although Raeban, a descendant of famed Yiddish writer Shalom Aleichem, did not introduce Zen, he taught Dylan "a new way of seeing" based on a comprehensive scope that has affinities with Eastern mysticism. According to Dylan, this helped to spark his innovative approach to constructing narrative structures by integrating past and future vantage points with current perspectives.

In his next album*, Desire* released in 1976, explicit references to Buddhism come to the fore in the hit song "Hurricane." Dylan ironically evokes the image of a Buddhist meditation hut, which is traditionally "ten-foot square" in honor of the abode of the humble lay saint Vimalakirti, who was said to have defeated Buddhist deities in a heavenly debate. This image conveys a sense of empathy for the listener with the plight of the unfairly imprisoned black boxer, Rubin "Hurricane" Carter: "Now all the criminals in their coats and their ties/Are free to drink martinis and watch the sun

[8] See Clinton Heylin, *Bob Dylan: Behind the Shades Revisited* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 2000), pp. 368-369.

rise/While Rubin sits like Buddha in a ten-foot cell/An innocent man in a living hell."

Carter was a rising prizefighter who "one time… could-a been/The [middleweight] champion of the world," but who in the racially divided environment of Patterson, New Jersey in the 1960s was framed for a bloody murder he did not commit. Hurricane continued to contest and appeal his case through the legal system while he remained in prison for ten years after Dylan's involvement in the cause, and he was eventually freed from jail in 1985 after serving nearly two decades. Some time later, he was awarded two honorary doctorate of law degrees from universities in Canada and Australia, and was celebrated in a film starring Denzel Washington.

In the song, Dylan's first overt protest lyric in half a decade (since "George Jackson" recorded in 1970 about another apparently falsely accused black prisoner who died in jail), Hurricane becomes a kind of modern-day Zen hero. By turning incarceration into an opportunity for contemplation and purification in rising above all detractors and obstacles, Carter demonstrates the qualities of patience, fortitude, and equanimity coupled with self-assurance and self-assertiveness. Hurricane is said to summon his considerable inner strengths to become spiritually liberated from prolonged physical suffering due to blatant racism and social injustice. It is very interesting that Dylan chose to cast this issue in terms of Eastern imagery of meditative self-determination rather than the Western ideal of sacrificial martyrdom.

There are several lyrics in *Street Legal*, Dylan's next album of original material released in 1978, the same year the live album was recorded in Japan, that contain references or allusions to Zen. In particular, a line in "We Better Talk This Over" cites one of the most famous of the enigmatic Zen koans, or succinct, unanswerable yet edifying spiritual riddles, regarding the difficulty of communicating intuitive awareness: "But I don't think it's liable to happen," Dylan says, perhaps mockingly, about the possibility of reconciliation, "Like the sound of one hand clappin'."

This album also contains songs influenced by the Mississippi Delta Blues tradition, which has greatly affected Dylan's music-making throughout his career, including "New Pony," a rewrite of a classic Charley Patton tune ("Pony Blues," one of Patton's biggest commercial hits in the late 1920s). *Street Legal* makes a couple of allusions to another great bluesman, Robert Johnson, in lines in "Where Are You Tonight?" about "the juice running down my leg" and about anxiety "killing me by degrees." This highlights those songs of the itinerant, long-suffering early twentieth-

century American Blues singers in pursuit of redemption, which was crucial to the development of many subsequent forms of modern popular music, and bears striking affinities with the attitudes and spiritual poetry created by unconventional Zen pilgrims seeking their path in medieval East Asia.

Another lyric in that song, "There's a white diamond gloom on the dark side of this room and a pathway that leads up to the stars/If you don't believe there's a price for this sweet paradise/Remind me to show you the scars," evokes the classical mystical experience of enduring the "dark night of the soul" in order to find higher truth. This corresponds to the Zen notion of suffering, that is inextricably linked with the attainment of enlightenment.[9] In addition, this song's classic blues putdown of a foe, "It felt outa place, my foot in his face," sounds like a comparable Zen saying about dismissing a rival, "Why is his nose in my hands?"

However, a major transition in Dylan's religious orientation was about to happen with his new, or possibly revived, interest in Christianity. It turned out by the time of the release of *Street Legal* in the summer of 1978 that there was yet another twist of faith taking place, and that Dylan's Zen garden stage would be heading for a collision course with his rather abrupt conversion to fundamental Christian doctrine. The encounter and conflict between the two religious views came to a head in 1979 with the album *Slow Train Coming*, in which Dylan explicitly repudiates Buddhism as part of embracing a new belief, though some would argue he had long been involved with the gospel but was not aware of it. After finding a "Precious Angel" (reported to be one of his backup singers) who facilitated his born-again experience, Dylan chides the ecumenical interests apparently of his recently divorced wife Sara, who had perhaps helped to indoctrinate him to Eastern religiosity: "You were telling him about Buddha, you were telling him about Mohammed in the same breath/You never mentioned one time the Man who came and died a criminal's death."

With a Zen light shining on the sitting Buddha seemingly eclipsed and cast aside by the Christian angel's glow, one wonders whether Dylan's affinity with the East would tend to diminish and perhaps disappear altogether. However, the relation between the impact of Christianity, which Dylan seemed to have abandoned by the early '80s, and other spiritual

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[9] In *Chronicles: Volume One* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 2004), p. 288, Dylan associates this theme with Robert Johnson, and it is also connected with Arthur Rimbaud's "*Je est un autre*" or "I is someone else."

cultural worldviews remains complex and contested. One way to answer this question of whether or not Dylan may have lost an interest in Zen and Asian mysticism is that there are important indicators of his continued involvement with Japanese culture that have emerged over the three decades of the post-gospel period.

For example, in the early 1980s, the video of "Tight Connection to My Heart (Has Anybody Seen My Love)" was shot in Tokyo. Originally recorded for *Infidels* but released on *Empire Burlesque*, the song deals with the ambiguous image of an idealized, spiritual "Madame Butterfly." As with so many of Dylan's innovations, this proved to be years ahead of its time. The video's extensive use of imagery from contemporary Japanese society presages other American pop cultural interests in the Orient, such as Gwen Stefani's chorus known as the "Harajuku Girls" that rose to prominence over twenty years later, as well as Swedish pop icon Robyn's "Konnichi wa." Furthermore, during a tour of Japan in the early 1990s, outstanding performances of "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" and "Ring Them Bells" were delivered in an orchestral setting, unusual for Dylan, as part of the "Great Music Experiment" that was recorded in the ancient capital city of Nara.

A few years after this, at the turn of the millennium, the bestselling Japanese book *Confessions of a Yakuza* infused some of the lyrics of *"Love and Theft"*, especially "Lonesome Day Blues," which also includes extensive references to the works of classical poet Ovid.[10] In addition, one of the verses from "Sugar Baby" sounds like a description of the notion of suffering (*dukkha*) that comes straight out of a traditional Buddhist text with its emphasis on overcoming self-deception coupled with disappointment and anxiety in relation to the flux of impermanence:

> Every moment of existence seems like some dirty trick
> Happiness can come suddenly and leave just as quick
> Any minute of the day the bubble could burst
> Try to make things better for someone, sometimes,
> you just end up making it a thousand times worse.

[10] See Richard F. Thomas, "The Streets of Rome: The Classical Dylan," *Oral Tradition* 22/1 (2007): 30-56.

Dylan's Career Trajectory as Swinging Pendulum

The full extent of Dylan's involvement, direct or indirect, with Zen and other branches of Asian mystical thought is not clear, but must be acknowledged as rather limited in scope. How important, then, are affinities with Zen for understanding Dylan's work? Does it play a key role, or is it a veritable blip on the screen compared to other aspects that seem to have had a more dramatic affect on his religiosity? The factors of Western spirituality include Dylan's Jewish upbringing, conversion to Christianity that lasted for at least a few years, and fascination with diverse spiritual sources ranging from Blues music and Beat poetry, to the classics and the philosophy of Nietzsche; It also includes a wide variety of literary and cultural elements, especially from American folk music and the society it reflects yet seeks to transform.

The juxtaposition and sharp contrast between Dylan's appreciation of the Zen rock garden in Kyoto in 1978 and his reverence for Christ that was awakened less than a year later highlights the fact that there have always been two main worldviews, at times competing and at times complementary, in Dylan's mind. Stepping back from that particular time frame to survey his overall production of nearly half a century, it seems clear that many of the singer-songwriter's lyrics echo the Zen philosophy of seeking enlightenment through experiencing life's hardships, continually questioning assumptions and stereotypes, and searching within for reprieve and transcendence.

Various kinds of lyrical or intellectual affinities and indirect connections between Dylan and Zen have taken place throughout different periods of his career, and are by no means limited to the one rather compressed time-frame of the mid- to late-'70s (*Blood on the Tracks* through *Street Legal*). A Zen perspective seems to play a crucial, if frequently indirect, role at times of the disillusionment Dylan expressed in stages during the 1960s and the 1980s in addition to the 1970s. During these phases of his songwriting, Dylan rejected any and all symbols of authority that might obstruct his dedicated pursuit of authenticity and autonomy, which is realized during key moments of Zen-like detachment and compassion.

At the same time, there are songs in various career stages that reverberate with Judeo-Christian precepts of believing in a higher power, obeying moral codes, and submitting to judgment. Dylan's Judeo-Christian-oriented lyrics evoke a dualistic worldview in the sense that Duality refers to two competing forces, such as good and evil, or heaven and hell. The

Duality side is where Dylan is looking for a single higher power to offer solutions to personal and social dilemmas. The higher power provides justice or a sense of retribution for social ills for people that are not following the highest moral standards. In "When the Ships Come In," for example, he writes, "Then the sands will roll/Out a carpet of gold/For your weary toes to be a-touchin'/And the ship's wise men/Will remind you once again/That the whole wide world is watchin'." This is a judgmental view dating back to the Old Testament prophets that Dylan has embraced in some periods of his career.

But in other songs, Dylan leans more toward the non-dualistic worldview of Zen Buddhism. The Non-Duality side is where Dylan sees that instead of one single truth that is making a judgment and offering retribution, there are multiple relativistic truths. In the world of the interaction of Yin and Yang forces, all contrasts, including the relation between reality and illusion, break down. A line from the final verse of "Tangled Up in Blue" in 1975, "All the people I used to know are an illusion to me now," is an example of Dylan expressing resignation toward the relative, illusory world.

To sum up, the Duality worldview is based on a vertical, top-down sense of the universe in which a monolithic truth creates moral judgment and retribution. The Non-Duality worldview is based on a horizontal, side-by-side sense in which there is a plurality of truths that co-inhabit the universe in Yin/Yang fashion and are best dealt with through stoic acceptance and resignation. Both views make extensive use of paradoxical imagery. For example, a line in "The Times They are A-Changin'" from the early '60s, "Rapidly fadin'/And the first one now/Will later be last," is an example of vertical paradox in which opposites are conjoined but with a clear sense of priority (echoing Mark 10:31, "But many that are first shall be last; and the last first"). On the other hand, a lyric in "Silvio" from the mid-'80s, "I can stroke your body and relieve your pain/Since every pleasure's got an edge of pain," expresses horizontal paradox in which opposites are forever intertwined and are of equal value and weight.

Dylan's emphasis has swung like a pendulum alternating between the two worldviews through his half a century as a recording artist (see the Appendix for a pendulum-like diagram illustrating the full flow of Dylan's trajectory). During Dylan's folk-protest era, 1963 to 1964, his lyrics often invoked themes of morality and justice. But during his folk-rock period, 1965 to 1967, Dylan's work was more quixotic and searching. For example, in "Tombstone Blues" Dylan insists that excessive verbiage reflecting false

knowledge must be discarded: "Now I wish I could write you a melody so plain/That could hold you dear lady from going insane/That could ease you and cool you and cease the pain/Of your useless and pointless knowledge."

This is reminiscent of a Zen master, influenced by the Daoist view that it is necessary to unlearn and eventually forget conventional understanding, who comments: "The Dao is not subject to knowing or not knowing. Knowing is delusion; not knowing is blankness. If you truly reach the genuine Dao, you will find it as vast and boundless as outer space. How can this be discussed at the level of affirmation and negation?" Both Zen masters and Dylan use language in a special, deliberately perplexing way to go beyond ordinary knowing and speaking in order to reach what a medieval mystical text called the "cloud of unknowing." This state-of-mind reflects a kind of intuitive knowledge that surpasses conventional logic and understanding.

Following the dramatic shift that took place in the 1960s, Dylan's lyrics have continued to move back and forth between the Judeo-Christian and the Zen worldviews, the pendulum swings between idyllic family life (Duality) and the disappointment of separation (Non-Duality) in the 1970s, and an affirmation of the gospel (Duality) and frustration with this belief system (Non-Duality) in the 1980s. Dylan's process of exploring different spiritual paths corresponds to the manner in which Zen masters relentlessly seek a constructive compromise between two approaches: a dedicated commitment to self-discipline or self-reliance as the key to realization known as the path of Self Power; and a calm acceptance of fateful circumstances and divine forces operating beyond anyone's control known as the path of Other Power. Like Zen's approach to multiperspectivism based on "turning things upside down and topsy turvy," Dylan demonstrates an ability to hold in the mind disparate realities with a creative tension that brings out the best and does not interfere with both possibilities.

Therefore, in accord with Zen metaphysics that encompasses the productive interaction of contradictions along the way toward realizing a synthesis, an analysis can be applied to three main periods of Dylan's career. Extending from the early '60s through the '70s to the late '80s, each of the three main periods encompasses two seemingly opposite, pro-and-con stages either supporting or refuting an ideological standpoint of Duality or Non-Duality. That is, each period contains a Yang or assertive phase that puts forward a viewpoint favoring Duality which is followed by a Yin or withdrawn phase that tends to unravel and negate the single higher truth of

dualism from the opposing standpoint of the relative, complementary truths of Non-Duality. The three periods include:

> (1) Period I: From 'Protesting' to 'Detesting' (1962-1967) – the first very intense outburst of Dylan's creativity is at first dominated by topical protest songs in an acoustic folk style (Duality), and ends with songs of disdainful disillusionment about the capacity of music to change a world filled with hypocrisy and corruption played in the electric, folk-rock style (Non-Duality).
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> (2) Period II: From 'I'll Be Your Baby' to 'You're an Idiot, Babe' (1967-1979) – following Dylan's motorcycle accident and marriage in the mid-'60s, the stage of country music affirms a wholehearted commitment to family values over social concerns (Duality), but culminates in a despairing account of being disillusioned and discouraged with all manner of human relationships in the aftermath of the Vietnam and Watergate (Non-Duality).
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> (3) Period III: From 'Serving Somebody' to 'Letting the Echo Decide' (1979-1988) – following Dylan's divorce and the relative lack of success of several creative ventures, this period begins with gospel music expressing Dylan's conversion to fundamental Christianity (Duality), and concludes with an apparent disillusionment with all theological answers and an awareness and openness to accepting relative truths (Non-Duality).

The zigzag quality lasted, I suggest, until the late 1980s when Dylan began to find a middle path, or a constructive compromise between the extremes. The career trajectory leads finally to the current "Modern Era," which is how I refer to the creative resurgence marking the music from the '90s to the present and reaching a middle way which integrates the oppositions that dominated the previous three periods. This was first suggested by the song "Man in the Long Black Coat," which juxtaposes two verses, one commenting dualistically that "every man's conscience is vile and depraved" with the following verse remarking non-dualistically that "people don't live or die, people just float."

In subsequent albums, especially *Time Out of Mind*, *"Love and Theft"*, and *Modern Times*, he has continued to place side-by-side the

respective standpoints and seems comfortable with their compatibility. Thus, during the most recent phase of his work that has lasted for two decades, Dylan has developed an approach demonstrating that East versus West as well as Duality versus Non-Duality are not always polarized as alternating opposites or engaged in a standoff, but can be linked together as mutually enhancing cross-cultural possibilities of the ongoing spiritual quest. According to a verse in "Nettie Moore," a song about a vengeful yet regretful lover, "The Judge is coming in, everybody rise/Lift up your eyes/You can do what you please, you don't need my advice/Before you call me any dirty names you better think twice." The first two lines evoke dualism, but the final part of the passage suggests the chaos of fragmented approaches to truth.

Are Birds Free?

Dylan's work has demonstrated a remarkable variability that is reflected in his ability to make the most of a rich variety of genres from blues to rock, country, and gospel that reveal fundamental inconsistencies from the early to the late periods of his career. The genres include personal romantic narratives with profound social significance, such as "Visions of Johanna" or "Tangled Up in Blue"; topical, state-of-the-union message statements, such as "Desolation Row," "Slow Train," or "Political World"; apocalyptic pronouncements, as in "Shooting Star" or asking whether this is "Lincoln County Road or Armageddon?" in "Senor"; barbed-wire fence-straddling howls of desperation, such as "Can You Please Crawl Out My Window" and "Cold Irons Bound"; and confessional, repentant anthems, such as "Ballad of Frankie Lee and Judas Priest," "I Believe in You," and "Not Dark Yet." Underlying these thematic approaches is the ever mysterious presence of Dylan taking on the guise of the Drifter, Alias, Jack of Hearts, Jokerman, Man in the Long Black Coat, or Jack Fate. Accepting chaos while wondering if chaos will ever accept him and remaining busy being born rather than busy dyin', Dylan finds shelters from the storm… most of the time.

While it is important to acknowledge and appreciate diverse Western influences, sacred as well as secular, the main theme of this article is to swing the pendulum, so to speak, by highlighting the spiritual significance of enigmatic Dylan seen in relation to the equally elusive and ambiguous utterances and mannerisms of traditional Zen Buddhism. This is done not to assert the superior impact of Zen, but to help to locate and interpret the fulcrum or leverage point that is crucial for understanding the

crisscross paths of dualist and non-dualist worldviews in Dylan's career. The point is that Dylan's affinity with Zen is not limited to certain periods but cuts across all phases in reflecting the ongoing quest to uphold authenticity and autonomy in a world characterized by the absurdity of disruptive turmoil and petty conflict.

Traditional Zen thought was generally expressed in the "sparse words" of minimalist yet evocative verse, often accompanied by eccentric gestures or body language as well as other forms of creative expression. Zen masters sought to attain liberation from bondage to inhibiting psychological and social structures in pursuit of spiritual freedom, regardless of ideology. Their teachings, preserved in the voluminous records of medieval Chinese and Japanese literary culture, remain alive today in part by contributing to modern interfaith and cross-cultural exchanges regarding diverse paths to spiritual realization. The inventive philosophical queries and commentaries of Zen discourse in particular had a strong impact on the New York bohemian environment of the 1960s, as evident in the extensive role they played in the life and works of Beat writers, and also bear a striking similarity to Dylan's corpus.

Dylan's work seems Zen-like in puzzling passages about impenetrable states of consciousness like, "She knows there's no success like failure, and that failure's no success at all," "I need a dump truck mama to unload my head," and "You know it blows right through me like a ball and chain." In addition, there are quixotic queries influenced by Pete Seeger's "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?", such as "How many times must a man look up/Before he can see the sky?", "Where have you been, my blue-eyed son?" (following the traditional "Lord Randall"), and "[Did] I ever become what you wanted me to be/Did I miss the mark or/Over-step the line/That only you could see?" These recall the classic examples of seemingly unanswerable Zen questions known as koans, "Does a dog have Buddha-nature?" and "What is the sound of one hand clapping?"

Both Dylan and Zen demonstrate an ability to use language creatively while remaining cognizant of the limitations of verbal discourse in order to convey the heights and horizons, as well as the depths and defeats, of an inner dimension of spirituality characterized by self-reflection and self-correction. Zen frequently depicts a damned-if-you-do and damned-if-you-don't situation with seemingly absurd examples like holding up a container and demanding of a disciple, "Tell me what this is without calling it a water pitcher and without not calling it a water pitcher. Tell me!"

Zen's "wild and extraordinary" discourse resonates with Dylan's marvelous and haunting inquiry – a true modern-day Zen koan – into the realm and limit of freedom in the concluding (yet inconclusive) verse of "Ballad in Plain D." After bemoaning the loss of someone he genuinely loved through tragic circumstances of betrayal and arrogance, the song's narrator responds to his "friends in the prison", metaphorically speaking, who ask "how good does it feel to be free", by questioning them "so mysteriously": "Are birds free from the chains of the skyway?"

When the capacity of language to express truth is exhausted, Zen masters evoke the importance of maintaining a noble silence, and when asked about its meaning they often remain "silent about silence," lest speech corrupts the contemplative moment. Dylan similarly recognizes the value of no-words when he comments in the *Bringing It All Back Home* liner notes that "experience teaches that silence terrifies people the most." He sees that silence is a useful and sometimes necessary tool to put an end to the blowing of the "Idiot Wind," and to rouse listeners from their spiritual or ideological slumber.

Yet, Dylan and Zen masters are well aware of the limitations of reticence that make it necessary to abandon a reliance on silence if it is used in a stubborn, withdrawn way and to speak up out of moral outrage or to express social criticism. Dylan has said, "I used to care/But things have changed," implying a reluctance to get involved and ensnared in the strife and struggles of the world. Underlying or complementing this detachment is a genuine compassionate concern and commitment for the well-being of self and others. Knowing when to be reticent and when to be proactive in articulating a vision or demanding moral rectitude is an important skill and domain of responsibility taken on by the spiritual master. For Dylan, the Delta Blues musical genre of Patton and Johnson has long been the primary venue that enables forceful yet frequently ambiguous, quixotic expressions of concern in a way that resembles the elusive, probing quality Zen Buddhist koans and verse.

Every Blade of Grass is Numbered

There are additional significant similarities between Zen masters and Dylan in their respective dual roles as mystical seekers and recluses, as well as prophets and social critics. Zen became prominent as a medieval Buddhist monastic tradition in which the leading patriarchs attained the heights of spiritual liberation but remained keenly aware of the ambiguities, struggles, and tensions that continue to plague the religious path. Thirteenth

century Japanese Zen master Dogen referred to attaining truth as a matter of "disentangling entangled vines," which can never be fully straightened out. In a parallel way, Bob Dylan is a poetic singer "still searching for another joint" as "revolution is in the air," who glimpses freedom now and again while "knockin' on heaven's door," but keeps wondering "If I could only turn back the clock to when God and her were born." Zen and Dylan take paradox and irony to the level of an art form in seeking to find truth amid the entanglements and distractions of illusory existence.

A fascinating comparison between the two approaches is seen by examining Dogen's majestic philosophical/poetic essay titled *Shōbōgenzō* "Genjokoan," which can be translated as "Realizing Enlightenment in Everyday Life."[11] The opening passage describes the need to reconcile the duality of form or phenomena, that is, daily existence, with emptiness or the manifestation of enlightenment. After delineating the overcoming of polarities such as delusion and realization, life and death, or sentient beings and buddhas, Dogen remarks, "Weeds still spring up to our dismay and flowers still fall to our chagrin." He thereby acknowledges the continuing presence of *samsara* or the frailty of impermanence, and the causal effects of desire and aversion that exist within the efforts to realize the transcendence of nirvana. To put it in Western terms, heaven and hell are never so far apart.

In his hymn "Every Grain of Sand" about the "time of my confession, in the hour of my deepest need," Dylan uses the symbolism of flowers and weeds to comment inspirationally on the inner struggle to come to terms with the impact of karma on spiritual life: "The flowers of indulgence and the weeds of yesteryear/Like criminals they have choked the breath of conscience and good cheer." For Dogen in "Genjokoan," these flowers fade while weeds proliferate even as the Buddha Way "leaps clear of abundance and scarcity" and of all polarity. Dylan, who perhaps had Mark 4:13 in mind, suggests that the indulgent flowers and karmic weeds are obstacles, even as he hears "ancient footsteps like the motion of the sea" and is "hanging in the balance of the reality of man."[12]

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[11] For more on the comparison of Dylan and Dogen, see Steven Heine and Taigen Dan Leighton, "Dylan and Dogen: Masters of Spirit and Words," *Kyoto Journal* 39 (1999): 4-11.

[12] An alternative version to the last phrase in some Dylan performances is, "perfect finished plan."

Dylan proclaims that "every hair is numbered, like every grain of sand." This emphasis on each and every particular element is no doubt influenced by biblical teaching such as Psalm 139:17-18, as well as Matthew 10:28-31 and Luke 12:6-7, but also recalls the William Blake stanza at the beginning of *Songs of Innocence* published in the early 1800s: "To see a World in a Grain of Sand/And a Heaven in a Wild Flower/Hold Infinity I the palm of your hand/And Eternity in an hour." Despite the biblical background they evoke, the writings of both Blake and Dylan are similar to Dogen's poem composed on the occasion of his return from the remote mountains of Eiheiji temple in the provinces to the capital city of Kyoto to seek medical care shortly before his death. According to the last verse Dogen composed in 1253, which in turn reminds us of the opening lines of Walt Whitman's *Song of Myself*, "Like a blade of grass/My frail body/Treading the path to Kyoto/Seeming to wander/Amid the cloudy mist on Kinobe Pass."[13]

Here and elsewhere, while influenced by Western religious and literary sources, Dylan's work seems to approach the Zen worldview, which finds liberation through recognizing and resigning to, rather than denying, the transient world characterized by illusion and self-doubt. Dylan emphasizes transforming bad-faith perspectives into wisdom that accepts disillusionment through detachment. Some prominent examples include:

- "I try my best/To be just like I am/But everybody wants you/To be just like them/They sing while you slave and I just get bored" ("Maggie's Farm", 1965).
- "Everybody said they'd stand behind me/When the game got rough/But the joke was on me/There was nobody even there to call my bluff/I'm going back to New York City/I do believe I've had enough" ("Just Like Tom Thumb's Blues," 1965).
- "Life is sad/Life is a bust/All ya can do is do what you must./ You do what you must do and ya do it well" ("Buckets of Rain," 1975).

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[13] Steven Heine, trans., *The Zen Poetry of Dogen: Verses from the Mountain of Eternal Peace* (Mt. Tremper, NY: Dharma Communications, 2005), p. 106.

- "So many roads, so much at stake/So many dead ends, I'm at the edge of the lake/Sometimes I wonder what it's gonna take/To find dignity" ("Dignity," 1989).
- "Standing on the gallows with my head in a noose/Any minute now I'm expecting all hell to break loose/People are crazy and times are strange/I'm locked in tight, I'm out of range/I used to care, but things have changed" ("Things Have Changed," 1999).

In a comparable expression of a creative seeker who longs for the authenticity of the inexpressible haven of solitude amid a world of rank uncertainty and ambiguity, fifth century Chinese Daoist poet Tao Qian, an important precursor of Zen verse, wrote "Drinking Wine," which has a contemporary resonance:

> I made my home amidst this human bustle,
> Yet I hear no clamor from the carts and horses.
> My friend, you ask me how this can be so?
> A distant heart will tend towards like places.
> From the eastern hedge, I pluck chrysanthemum flowers,
> And idly look towards the southern hills.
> The mountain air is beautiful day and night,
> The birds fly back to roost with one another.
> I know that this must have some deeper meaning,
> I try to explain, but cannot find the words.

Dylan further resembles Zen when he embraces a relativist worldview that is resigned to the delusory status of everyday concerns, as expressed in a lyric from "Not Dark Yet," "I've been down on the bottom of a world full of lies/I ain't looking for nothing in anyone's eyes." Similarly, in "Genjokoan" Dogen invokes the sense of ultimate awareness as dynamic and evolving yet always somehow incomplete and in need of renewal: "When dharma [Buddhist truth] does not fill your whole body and mind, you think it is already sufficient. When dharma does fill your body and mind, you understand that something is missing." This paradoxical irony further resembles Dylan's song, "Trying to Get to Heaven," which includes a line about emotional loss that also plays with the tension in the ultimate casting off of illusion that comes with spiritual insight. Dylan says, "Just when you think you've lost everything, you find out you can always

lo-o-o-o-ose a little more," crooning "lose," sung low over a few extra measures for added emphasis.

One of the most important aspects of the worldview of Zen, known for its exquisite rock gardens, calligraphy, tea ceremony, and other forms of art and ritual, is that it seeks to go beyond pessimism by affirming the frail beauty of concrete reality while recognizing and accepting transience and relativism. According to a Zen verse, "To what shall I liken the world/Moonlight, reflected in dewdrops/Shaken from a crane's bill." Beauty, generally associated with the forms of nature in Zen, is appreciated all the more for being ephemeral and frail.

Furthermore, as an expression of their mystical vision, Dylan and Zen both speak poetically with paradoxical phrasing about the true wisdom embedded in the harmonious world of nature. In an early masterpiece, "Lay Down Your Weary Tune," Dylan sings, "The ocean wild like an organ played/The seaweed wove its strands/The crashing waves like cymbals clashed/Against the rocks and sands." As Dylan personifies the music-making of waters, Dogen speaks of the omnipresence of flowing water and also of the phantasmagoria of the walking of mountains in his evocative essay, *Shōbōgenzō* "Sansuikyo" ("The Sutras of Mountains and Waters"). He concludes, "There are mountains hidden in the sky. There are mountains hidden in mountains. There are mountains hidden in hiddenness. This is complete understanding." For Dylan in his song as for Dogen in his philosophical works, the natural elements are not only symbols or mirrors for behavior, but are very much alive as powerful spiritual guides that can enhance or hinder the path.

This further recalls a variety of Dylan songs from periods of disillusionment in which he expresses a profound appreciation for nature while acknowledging the pathos of human relations that defies placing it on a pedestal as an eternal godlike image. In "When the Deal Goes Down," Dylan writes, "In this earthly domain, full of disappointment and pain/You'll never see me frown," and in "Highlands," "Well, my heart's in the Highlands at the break of day/Over the hills and far away/There's a way to get there, and I'll figure it out somehow/But I'm already there in my mind/And that's good enough for now." To see the twin aspects of absurdity and tragedy for what they are and to at once protest and detest human foibles while calmly standing back and distancing oneself is the quality that links Dylan and Zen. Is Dylan a Zen master? The question itself provides the answer to the question.

James Mark Shields, *Critical Buddhism: Engaging with Modern Japanese Buddhist Thought*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2011. 206 pp. ISBN: 978-1-4094-1798-9. $89.95.

Reviewed by Steven Heine[1]

Critical Buddhism (*hihan bukkyō*) is an innovative methodological movement that was formed by a couple of Buddhist scholars at Komazawa University in Tokyo, which houses the largest Buddhist Studies department in Japan that is affiliated with the Sōtō Zen sect. The approach initially developed in the mid-1980s in response to a nexus of sociopolitical issues that were at the time plaguing Sōtō and other Japanese Buddhist schools. As James Mark Shields explains in the "Introduction" to his new book, at a major conference on world religions held back in 1979 a representative of the Sōtō sect declared that there was no discrimination against the outcast community of Burakumin by Buddhism in Japan. Because egregious examples of such bias were well documented over many decades, the expression of denial triggered a round of protests. This, in turn, caused Sōtō leaders to respond by commissioning a group of professors to investigate the history of Buddhist teachings and attitudes that may have led to ethical lapses and an uncritical acceptance of societal problems. A related issue examined was the pre-World War II Buddhist backing, or at least a lack of denouncing, of Japanese super-nationalism and imperialism. Why was Buddhism in Japan, it was asked, operating for the most part as a force for supporting and reinforcing the status quo rather than for disputing and attempting to reform social deficiencies?

By 1985, the Critical Buddhist movement had emerged with the writings of Hakamaya Noriaki and Matsumoto Shirō, which gained a high degree of sympathy but also some disapproval from colleagues. Hakamaya and Matsumoto were particularly noted for their rather harsh manner of condemning Zen and other forms of Japanese Buddhism for failing to adhere to basic ethical principles. By allowing its moral philosophy to be corrupted over the centuries through a variety of cultural and historical factors, authentic Buddhist behavior was subverted and lost, the Critical Buddhists claimed. For example, a genuine understanding of the notion of karmic rewards and punishments was turned into an insidious justification for

[1] Author's note: Published by permission, this book review will also be included in the Fall 2015 issue of *Philosophy East & West*.

discrimination and nationalism through an outlook that can be characterized as, "you get what you deserve." Shields describes how Critical Buddhism was of small proportions in being constituted by a handful of scholars but with great aspirations in attacking the sanctity of the Japanese Buddhist institution and its multifarious spokespersons. This confrontation was carried out through a critical analysis of the discrepancy between fundamental Buddhist doctrines and current practices in light of modern examples of critical Western philosophy, especially Rene Descartes and his detractor Giambattista Vico, among others.

Although there is no division mentioned in the table of contents, the structure of *Critical Buddhism* seems to fall naturally into two parts. The first part consisting of the introduction and the initial three main chapters, which constitutes about seventy percent of the volume, provides an historical overview of the origins and implications of the methodological movement in relation to diverse social and intellectual developments in Japan. This major section of the book is very successful in illuminating the central features of Critical Buddhist philosophy and its connections as well as disconnections with the works of related schools of thought. These range from the writings of the Kyoto School, which Hakamaya and Matsumoto criticize for supporting imperialism, to Rinzai Zen priest Ichikawa Hakugen, known for his condemnation of prewar Buddhist trends. Ichikawa has a great affinity, alongside differences, with Critical Buddhism that is analyzed appropriately here.

Shields' introductory essay explains that Critical Buddhism sets up a contrast between its approach to criticism (or "criticalism"), inspired in large part by the Cartesian tradition in the West, and topicalism, or a substantive (Skt. *dhātu-vāda*) philosophical outlook that undermines Buddhist doctrines of impermanence and emptiness and detracts from a reliance on the ethical principles of causality and karmic retribution. Then, Chapter 1 on "Buddhism, Criticism, and Postwar Japan" provides a survey of a variety of societal and political issues as well as ideological responses over the course of a century since the Meiji era that helped give rise to Critical Buddhism and related approaches offering a sometimes devastating cultural criticism of Japanese modernity. In these chapters, Shields points out that the movement's method based on a philological analysis of texts, which emerged out of the discipline of Buddhology, tends to weaken its arguments regarding the extent of collective injustice in Japan, which probably requires a more sophisticated social scientific examination.

The next chapter on the "Roots of Topicalism" investigates Critical Buddhism's major philosophical argument for understanding the basis of problems with contemporary Buddhism's conceptions of self and reality that have been intruded upon by Japanese nativist trends and other indigenous ideologies. This critique is seen in regard to comparable observations made by Ichikawa, although postwar Buddhist reformer Ienaga Saburō probably should have been mentioned in this context. Chapter 3, "Problems of Modern Zen Thought," delivers a sustained examination of Critical Buddhism's analysis of unintended topical conceptions of the absolute that support nationalism by Kyoto School philosophers, including Nishida Kitarō, Nishitani Keiji, and Watsuji Tetsurō. According to Shields' assessment of the conclusions of Hakamaya and Matsumoto, Kyoto School representatives must be seen as "complicit in the devastation wrought by Japan on its own and other peoples during the first half of this [sic] century" (123).

While the discussion in the main part of the book is insightful and compelling, I am more skeptical of the final two chapters. This section embarks on the ambitious aim of constructively situating and critically reflecting on the role of Critical Buddhism in terms of contemporary Western philosophy. Chapter 4 on "Criticism as Anamnesis" makes a very promising start by engaging a wide variety of modern Japanese and Western thinkers ranging from Hisamatsu Shin'ichi to Ludwig Wittgenstein, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Jacques Derrida in relation to the goal of developing a "truly critical Buddhist hermeneutics" (144), although that objective remains undefined.

In Chapter 5 on "Radical Contingency and Compassion," some problematic scholarly tendencies undercut Shields' arguments. Shortcomings include a lack of familiarity with some of the Buddhist sources, including misleading references to the Huayan and Mādhyamaka schools on pages 172 and 173 (where the latter's doctrine is conflated with Zen), as well as a letdown in choosing to use the best translations available, such as citing Dōgen via Thomas Cleary's *Rational Zen* (Cleary has a lot of reliable renderings, but this is not one of them). There is also an overreliance on the early writings, up through the mid-1990s, of both Hakamaya and Matsumoto without referencing their more recent works. Newer studies by both thinkers of Kamakura-era Buddhist leaders, including Hōnen, Shinran and Myōe, who continue to exert great influence, shed much light on the underlying views of Critical Buddhism regarding modern Japanese religiosity.

Nevertheless, many of the philosophical musings in the second part of Shields' book are rich in ideas and reflections on the role of Critical

Buddhism as a mode of thought that has worldwide significance, especially in trying to link a decentered metaphysics with a commitment to ethical behavior. Given the strengths of the opening chapters, his work overall has much of merit to offer readers seeking to relate current Buddhist conceptual trends to the complex challenges of the sociopolitical context in modern Japan, and it can be highly recommended for its many interesting and perceptive discussions of this and related comparative philosophical topics.

OUTSIDE OF A SMALL CIRCLE:
SŌTŌ ZEN COMMENTARIES ON DŌGEN'S *SHŌBŌGENZŌ*
and the Formation of the 95-Fascicle Honzan (Main Temple) Edition

Steven Heine with Katrina Ankrum
Florida International University

"Sutras and Sastras have teachers; so do the Raised Fist
and Eyeball." – Dōgen, "Kankin" fascicle (paraphrase)

On the Construction and Deconstruction of the Honzan Edition

The primary aim of this work-in-progress, bibliographical essay is to informally introduce and examine some materials and observations regarding the extent and content of voluminous, multifaceted traditional (especially from Edo period, with some modern examples) commentaries on the masterwork of Eihei Dōgen 永平道元 (1200–1253), founder of the Sōtō Zen sect. This is done to show how the diverse set of works helped shape the formation of the most famous version of the treatise known as the *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼蔵 (*Treasury of the True Dharma Eye*), even though it is not favored by most scholars in Japan today. That version is known as the Honzan (Main Temple of Eiheiji) edition that includes 95 fascicles (non-sequential chapters), and forms the basis for major complete translations into English, including those by Kosen Nishiyama and John Stevens, Hubert Nearman, Gudo Nishijima and Chodo Cross, and Kazuaki Tanahashi with a team of collaborators (who make numerous changes). A notable exception is the forthcoming Stanford Soto Zen Translastion Project based on the 75-fascicle edition plus the 12-fascicle edition, with an additional 16 fascicles.

A careful analysis of the history of traditional commentaries reveals that the first compiler of 95 fascicles, Hanjō Kozen, 35th abbot of Eiheiji, did not initiate this edition until around 1690, nearly 450 years after Dōgen died. Other editions consisting of 75, 60, 12, or 28 fascicles were already well known and discussed in Sōtō circles continually since the Kamakura period; the first three groupings were organized and debated by Dōgen himself, who first referred to his collection of sermons in 1245 as "Shōbōgenzō," a title he used for two other works. In addition, later versions with 83, 84, and 89 fascicles were available. According to a postscript by his disciple Ejō, Dōgen's unrealized aim was to complete 100 fascicles. Several alternative editions to Kozen's effort, which aimed to be

a complete compilation in chronological order of all the works Dōgen authored in Japanese vernacular (*kana*), rather than Sino-Japanese (*kanbun*), were proposed during the eighteenth century. Then, a revised version of the 95-fascicle edition that was still incomplete (missing five fascicles) was published over the course of twenty years beginning in 1796, as part of the 550th anniversary memorial of the master's death. Gentō Sakuchū, a charismatic teacher who led reform and artistic movements while serving as the 50th abbot of Eiheiji temple, oversaw this publication. A modern typeset edition of the 95 fascicles did not appear before 1906. Since the 1970s, this version of the text has been for the most part rejected by mainstream Japanese scholarship, especially at Komazawa University, in favor of a version that combines older groupings, especially the 75- and 12-fascicle editions with miscellaneous fascicles also included.

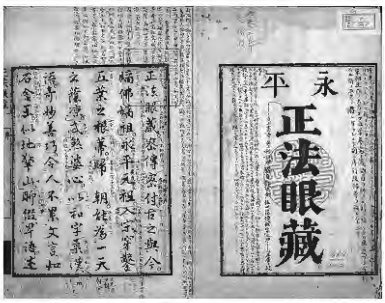

Figure 1. Cover of Honzan Ed.

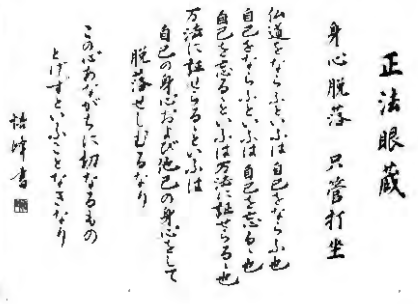

Figure 2. Calligraphy of "Genjōkōan"

An introduction to an excellent English translation notes, "Until it was first published in 1811, *Shōbōgenzō* had existed only in manuscript form and was presumably little known outside of a small circle within the Sōtō hierarchy" (Waddell and Abe, xii).[1] Aside from the fact that the date is a bit misleading for reasons to follow, the suggestion that interest in the text was severely limited to a small circle prior to the nineteenth century does not do justice to all of the various versions and commentaries that were constructed over the course of several centuries. Nevertheless, the

[1] The authors do point out that Rinzai priests Mujaku and Hakuin also paid attention to *Shōbōgenzō*, with the former joining sectarian critics led by Tenkei and the latter very sympathetic and supportive of Dōgen's writings.

translators' implication that Dōgen's text took a long time to take shape is relevant.

The *Shōbōgenzō* is a provisional and fluid work; this was true for Dōgen, when we take into account his own corrections, deletions, and emendations as seen in handwritten manuscripts still extant, and therefore the situation of textual uncertainty applies even today. William Bodiford notes:

> The *Shōbōgenzō*, however, is not just a single text, or even just different versions of one text. It consists of many different books (*maki* or *kan* 巻), which are bound together as ordered fascicles (*sasshi* 冊子) of the whole. Dōgen composed the books not as independent works, but as related parts of a larger whole that consists of a beginning, middle, and end. Dōgen repeatedly revised the individual books, and he rearranged their order at least two or three times. Subsequent generations compiled new versions of Dōgen's text, adding or rejecting individual books and rearranging them thematically or chronologically.

How was it that the Honzan version took so long to come into existence, why does its reputation persist despite challenges and what are the alternative versions that should be considered for a serious study of the work? The missing link for understanding this topic bridging the origins of the sect as well as the author's intentionality and contemporary interpretations and appropriations is to survey critically the ample set of commentarial writings produced during the Edo period. Though usually portrayed as a part of an extended phase when there was at most a limited revival of *Shōbōgenzō* studies following a dearth of scholarship in late medieval Japan, this essay demonstrates that the Edo commentaries are a remarkably rich resource consisting of dozens of texts by numerous commentators. We present below forty authors responsible for over eighty different commentarial works during the Edo period. The most prolific Edo authors, who contributed collectively nearly half of the writings, may have favored the notion of having some version of a 95-fascicle edition, but they also regularly took into account other available compilations. These authors are:

万仞道坦 Banjin Dōtan—16 works
面山瑞方 Menzan Zuihō—9 works
瞎道本光 Katsudō Honkō—6 works
卍山道白 Manzan Dōhaku—6 works

It should be noted that while Tenkei Denson produced just two texts, he and others in his faction played a crucial role in shaping textual hermeneutic debates, while putting forward his own version of 78 fascicles based on philosophical reflections derived from a philological analysis of the Chinese Zen sources Dōgen cited. The Manzan-Banjin-Menzan faction took great pains to refute and even repudiate Tenkei's approach, which earned a reputation for heresy since it called into question Dōgen's abilities with Chinese. Terms like "parasites," "worms," and "pitiable fools" were used freely. Their works were written during a time of intense intra-sectarian disputes about the meaning of Dōgen's compositions, which led to a ban or prohibition against publishing the then-controversial *Shōbōgenzō* that was proposed by the sect and enforced by the shogunate from 1722 to 1796. However, the majority of commentaries were actually penned during this time, partly as a way of circumventing the proscription, since explanatory texts were thought of differently from actual editions. The main debate concerned whether Dōgen used the large amount of Chinese sources he cites appropriately, since he frequently alters or recasts their wordings in examples of what some observers refer to as the master's "creative misreading" that bring out deeper levels of meaning by reading between the lines or plumbing the hidden profundities in seemingly ordinary phrases. A prime example is when he interprets in the "Uji" ("Being-Time") fascicle the conventional term for "sometimes" 有時 *(uji* or *arutoki*) to suggest that "all beings (*u* 有) are all times (*ji* 時), and all times are all beings."

Alternatively, some observers ask, was it simply the case that Dōgen was not as infallible as presumed? This debate involved many of the same figures, including Tenkei and his supporters questioning Dōgen's facility with Chinese, as opposed to Banjin, Menzan, Honkō, and Manzan promoting Dōgen, who took part in another discord involving the process for selecting temple abbacy succession. In any case, many of these and numerous other Edo-period commentators were remarkable figures, who produced much philosophy, philology, and calligraphy regarding Dōgen and numerous other Zen texts, including those usually associated with the Rinzai

sect, in addition to contributing in other ways to the growth of the religious institution.

Since World War II, based on studies of Edo commentaries in addition to the discovery in the 1920s of crucial long-lost Dōgen materials, especially the 12-fascicle edition of the *Shōbōgenzō* and the *Mana Shōbōgenzō* (or collection of 300 kōan cases in Chinese script), the 95-edition has been challenged by nearly all recent Japanese scholars. They generally prefer an edition based on the division of 75 fascicles + 12 fascicles, plus other miscellaneous sections, for a total of anywhere from 92 to over 100 fascicles. Sometimes this editing effort results in 95 fascicles, but it is different from the standard 95-edition in sequence and some of the content, whereas some versions of the Honzan edition actually contain 96 fascicles. To clarify the different meanings associated with the term "95-fascicle edition," since the distinctions are not usually made clear, we propose using the following categories:

> **95K**—the original Kozen version in the 1690s, which has 96 fascicles in some versions (one was spurious and dropped)
>
> **95H**—the Honzan edition first published by Gentō that included only 90 fascicles by 1816, because the editor chose to leave out 5 fascicles that were later added to it
>
> **95M**—any modified version that alters some aspects of the sequence of fascicles, which applies to some of the available English translations as well as numerous eighteenth-century and some later Japanese editions
>
> **95D**—a "de facto" 95-fascicle version that represents 75+12+8 others = 95, although the total number varies

Following this brief introductory section, which includes at its end a list of selected contemporary sources, is an attempt to develop a comprehensive list of traditional commentaries, starting with the Kamakura era (1185–1333), in addition to selected examples from the modern era. A set of explanatory notes accompanies the list to explain some of the main features of *Shōbōgenzō* scholarship in each historical period: Kamakura, Muromachi (1336–1573), Edo (1603–1868), and Modern (1868–). The

significance of this interpretative context was discussed with Eitan Bolokan, an Israeli researcher translating Dōgen into Hebrew, who pointed out that Moshe Halbertal, an eminent scholar of Maimonides at Hebrew University, once remarked that the more commentaries there are about the works of a pivotal thinker, the more it clarifies the significance and depths of his words. On the other hand, this also points to the fact that these teachings were not so coherent, consistent, and easy to grasp, but rather complicated, subversive and multifaceted, so generations of students need to try to clarify them from different standpoints.

To explain briefly the significance of the text and its author, Dōgen founded Sōtō Zen in early Kamakura-period Japan and based his philosophy of just-sitting meditation (*shikan taza*) on studies of Chan he had conducted in China that lasted four years from 1223 to 1227, during which he attained enlightenment under the tutelage of mentor Rujing at Mount Tiantong monastery. The *Shōbōgenzō* was written beginning about five years after Dōgen's return to Japan, when he "came back empty-handed (*kūshū genkyō*), knowing only that his eyes are vertical and nose horizontal, and that the rains pour down while clouds float above the mountains." That is, he had a head full of ideas based on his studies and practice of meditation, rather than hands loaded with regalia or ritual objects as trophies. The title is based on a Zen saying in the crucial dialogue between Sakyamuni and Mahakasyapa that implies the text represents recorded insights (*gen*) into the quintessential reservoir *(zō*) of Buddhist truth (*shōbō*). The text consists of a series of sermons, lectures, and essays, most of which were delivered to an assembly of monks in a growing monastic community, first at Kōshōji temple in Kyoto until 1243 and then at Eiheiji temple, which opened a year later in the remote provinces north of the capital, near the sacred peak of Mount Hakusan. The sermons were recorded and edited either by Dōgen himself or his main disciple and scribe, Ejō (1198–1280), who was involved in the further editing of various versions after Dōgen's death.

Appreciated for its intricate and inventive way of citing Chinese sources with elucidations in Japanese vernacular, the *Shōbōgenzō* has long been the cornerstone of the Sōtō approach to theories of non-dual reality encompassing all humans in addition to sentient beings living in accord with rigorous reclusive training based on the unity of practice and realization (*shushō ittō*). This view sees enlightenment not as a final goal but a continuing process of self-cultivation. The text is also highly prized in the Japanese intellectual historical tradition for its eloquent exposition of the metaphysics of impermanence (*mujō*) that has a resonance with the works

of Chōmei (*Hōjōki*) and Kenkō (*Tsurezuregusa*), among other non-Zen Buddhist writers of the period. Moreover, the *Shōbōgenzō* is increasingly celebrated in worldwide studies of comparative philosophy of religion by Kyoto School thinkers in Japan and numerous Western interpreters. Dōgen is appreciated for presaging a modern worldview by examining the existential quest for spiritual awakening in the context of a dynamic view of existence and a deconstructive approach to discourse, while maintaining a strict commitment to unvarying ethical standards yet accommodating the shifting concerns of particular situations and relativity of human perspectives.

As important as it is for historical and philosophical reasons, the *Shōbōgenzō* remains a mysterious and confusing text that has given rise to numerous misunderstandings or misleading appropriations about its background and intentionality. Modern scholars in Japan have shown that, largely because the collection of essays was not published in the master's lifetime and, in fact, was still being revised and edited by Dōgen and Ejō at (or after) the time of his death, there are many basic misconceptions about its construction. Indeed, the first statements typically made about the what, when, and why of the work can be called into question. The *Shōbōgenzō* is usually depicted as consisting of 95 fascicles and written over a period of nearly twenty-five years (1231–1253) aimed for monks practicing at Dōgen's best-known religious site today, Eiheiji. In contrast to this stereotype, there are, as mentioned, many different editions with varying numbers of fascicles that were primarily composed (over two-thirds) during an intense period of activity from 1240 to 1244, which was prior to the establishment of Eiheiji. The main fascicles composed at Eiheiji are part of the 12-fascicle edition that in many ways has a different rhetorical favor and ideological bent than the previously written fascicles.

Even a cursory look at some of the titles of Edo-period commentaries reveals how much diversity and conflict transpired concerning the meaning and significance of the *Shōbōgenzō* as seen in relation to the various editions, although any sense of discord was eventually eclipsed for the sake of preserving sectarian identity by a unified vision of the 95-fascicle edition. Our aim is not to try to show that the 95-edition is wrong or flawed, but that it represents but one of numerous options, including editions of 75, 60, 12, and 28 fascicles, among other variations, so we can understand the reason that it is no longer preferred in mainstream scholarship. So far, very little has been written about the role of traditional commentaries in Western research, and what does appear tends to reveal a

dubious standpoint based on two misleading assumptions. According to William Bodiford, an expert on the various editions, "Today, when someone remembers Dōgen or thinks of Sōtō Zen, most often that person automatically thinks of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō*. This kind of automatic association of Dōgen with this work is very much a modern development… In earlier generations, only one Zen teacher, Bokusan Nishiari (1821–1910), is known to have ever lectured on how the *Shōbōgenzō* should be read and understood… The study of Dōgen, and especially his *Shōbōgenzō*, has become the norm in the 20th century." Another scholar argues that, "prior to the last decades of the Tokugawa period, the *Shōbōgenzō* was largely unread." However, while Nishiari was an important Meiji-period figure, who helped initiate Genzō-e study retreats now held annually at Eiheiji and other temples since 1905, he and his colleagues clearly built their repertoire of knowledge on studies of dozens of Edo-period works that can no longer be overlooked.

One misleading assumption is a significant overestimation of a period of supposed dormancy of the text that is said to have lasted four hundred years from around 1300, when two main early commentaries were written, to 1700, when there was a revival of interest. It is said, for example, "By the end of the fifteenth century most of Dōgen's writings had been hidden from view in temple vaults where they became secret treasures." It is true that after the first commentaries produced by the early 1300s, one in prose for the 75-fascicle edition and one in verse for the 60-fascicle edition, there were no other major works until the mid-1600s. But, based on other kinds of activities that took place with regard to the text, thus giving evidence of intense interest lasting through at least the middle of the fifteenth century, the so-called dormancy probably persisted less than 200 years (mid-1400s to mid-1600s, at the most). Furthermore, dormancy is not at all surprising in that much of Dōgen's corpus was being read and circulated in certain circles, but not formally commented on in an era otherwise dominated for both Sōtō and Rinzai Zen sects by *Shōmono* 抄物 or *Missan* 蜜参 textual materials. These documents were passed in esoteric fashion directly by a teacher to a single or a small handful of disciples. This was also an era prior to the explosion of woodblock printing that occurred in late 17th century Japan. Nevertheless, it is clear that copies of various editions of *Shōbōgenzō* were still being made the whole time as two major editions were produced in the 1400s: one in 84 fascicles by Bonsei at Daijōji temple founded by Gikai based on expanding the 75-fascicle edition; and

the other in 83 fascicles by Kakuin at a branch of Eiheiji temple by expanding the 60-fascicle edition.

The inactivity of the Muromachi period is significantly overestimated, ironically as a kind of echo of the narrative of Edo revivalists of Dōgen eager to account for why there was an apparent lack of scholarstic studies. According to that view, the hiddenness of the text reflected the philosophical point that reading it was not needed by the enlightened and, conversely, paying too much attention was a sign that its true meaning had been forgotten.

The second misleading assumption is a rather drastic underestimation of productivity during the Edo-period revival as part of the movement known as Restoring the Origins of the Sect 宗統復古 (*shūtō fukko*). This was begun in the early Edo period by Ban'an Eishu 万 (萬) 安英種 (1591–1654), who moved Kōshōji temple from the outskirts of Kyoto to the town of Uji and commented on many important non-Sōtō Zen classics, including the records of Rinzai and Chinese kōan collections. Gesshū, an abbot of Daijōji temple who wrote the first Edo-period commentaries on *Shōbōgenzō* that are extant, continued the reform efforts. Figures such as Manzan, Menzan, and Tenkei, all Gesshū disciples despite severe disagreements between Tenkei and the others are generally mentioned in brief discussions of the era (see Appendix V). For example, a brief essay by Nishiari cites with idiosyncratic evaluations just three Edo commentaries (*Monge* by Menzan, *Shiki* by Zōkai, *Ichijisan* by Honkō), as if this was a complete record, although he does mention two more items that were controversial, *Benchū* by Tenkei, who criticized Dōgen, and *Zokugen kōgi* by Otsudō, who refuted Tenkei. A full list goes significantly well beyond these few names to cover dozens of commentaries.

During this time, the debate between Tenkei and Manzan over temple succession was more or less the same debate that occurred in regard to interpreting the *Shōbōgenzō*, particularly Dōgen's use (or misuse?) of Chinese sources as well as his occasional attacks on some Chinese Chan teachers. Tenkei's point was that a freewheeling revision of the master's texts based on his own sense of correcting the questionable Chinese usage in many *Shōbōgenzō* passages was acceptable because, ultimately, it took part in the freewheeling spirit of Dōgen, or it was at least preferable to devoted copying. For the Manzan-Menzan-Banjin faction, that effort was not permissible, even though these leaders were in agreement with Tenkei in commenting on Song Chinese texts, including kōan collections. A third

faction included Shigetsu and Honkō, who disagreed with Tenkei but tried to be more objective in their analysis than the Manzan group. Yet another clique included Tenkei offshoots Genrō Ōryū 玄樓奥龍 (1720–1813) and Fūgai Honkō 風外本光 (1779–1847), composers of the *Iron Flute* (*Tetteki tōsui*) kōan collection.

In the Edo period, the most vigorous activity in commentarial literature took place during the period of the publication ban of 1722–1796, a phase that covered Menzan's entire career. Then, to break an impasse caused by Manzan's advocacy of an 89-fascicle edition derived from the 75-edition and Tenkei's promotion of a 78-fascicle edition based on the 60-edition, first Kozen and then Gentō a century later worked on publishing the 95-edition. The guiding organizational principle was to capture in the chronological order of their composition all of Dōgen's vernacular writings, including "Bendōwa," which was not included in other editions but, after being discovered in the seventeenth century, was positioned as the first fascicle since it was written earliest, in 1231. The heyday of the Honzan edition lasted through World War II, especially with the prominent 3-volume paperback edition edited by Etō Sokuō and published in 1939 by Iwanami bunko. By the postwar era, Etō's version was discredited for various reasons and taken out of print. This version of the Honzan edition was more or less replaced by the newer 75+12 editions, especially in another Iwanami bunko publication edited by Mizuno Yaoko in 1990, who developed an important chart for understanding the relation between the various editions (translated as Appendix III–A and B). In these versions, "Bendōwa" is included as a supplemental fascicle. Significant scholarship by Ishii Shūdō, Kagamishima Genryū, Kawamura Kōdō, Itō Shūken, Tsunoda Tairyū, and many others has continued to make advances in the post-Honzan direction, with a recent theme emphasizing about half a dozen "alternative" versions 別本 (*beppon*) of fascicles, particularly "Bukkōjōji" and "Daigo" that, if understood, are seen as being crucial to the shaping of the entire collection.

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[2] Kawamura considers the most important: *Goshō* by Senne-Kyōgō in 1283–1308 on the 75-edition; *Ichijisan* by Honkō in 1770 on the 95-edition; *Shiki* by Zōkai in 1779 on *Goshō* as seen in the context of Honkō's 95-edition; *Benchū* by Tenkei in 1726, putting forward a 78-fascicle edition; *Naippō* by Rōran in 1791, supporting Tenkei in light of criticism by Manzan, Menzan, Banjin, and others; and *Monge* by Menzan in the 1760s, later revised by Fuzan in 1776, on some fascicles from the 95-edition (the simple, direct style led to the moniker Baba Menzan or "Grandma Menzan").

[3] This highlights *Goshō*, Menzan's *Monge*, Honkō's *Sanchū*, Zōkai's *Shiki*, Tenkei's *Benchū*, Rōran's *Naippō*, Menzan's *Shōtenroku*, Mujaku Kōsen's *Shōtenroku zokuchō*, Nishiari's post-Edo *Keiteki*.

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The lists below, divided by period, are consecutively numbered in chronological order, while recognizing that some dates for authors and the works they produced are overlapping or, alternately, unknown. Additionally, some of the entries have a brief notation explaining the work's significance.

Many of the works have either generic or obscure titles, so that translations are tentative in numerous instances.

Kamakura Period (1185–1333)

There were only two major commentaries produced during the Kamakura period by Senne-Kyōgō and Giun, but these both remain the most important and influential in the history of the tradition, although these have barely been introduced into the world of English scholarship on Dōgen. By the end of the Kamakura period, there were four main editions, two with important commentaries:

> **75 fascicles**, mainly used at Senne's Yōkōan temple in Kyoto, established after he left (or perhaps never went with Dōgen to) Eiheiji, and also at Keizan's Yōkōji and Sōjiji temples in Noto peninsula; an interlinear prose commentary, *Kikigaki*, was written by Senne, the only commentator who actually heard most of Dōgen's original sermons, in 1283 (or earlier), and this was supplemented by his disciple Kyōgō in *Kikigakishō* in 1308; the text is known collectively as *Goshō* or *Gokikigakishō*, although the works can stand independently
>
> **60 fascicles**, which includes 7 fascicles from the 12-fascicle edition that are not included in the 75-fascicle edition, mainly used at Eiheiji under Ejō and Giun and at Hōkyōji temple founded by Jakuen, Dōgen's main Chinese disciple who was followed by Giun; then, Giun wrote poetic commentary with capping phrases in 1329 while he served as 5th abbot of Eiheiji
>
> **12 fascicles**, mainly used at Keizan's temples; this text, long rumored but not identified as such until a manuscript found at Yōkōji in 1927; it includes one fascicle, "Ippyaku-hachihōmyōmon," that was never part of the Honzan edition, thus creating a new 96-fascicle edition
>
> **28 fascicles**, apparently kept privately by Ejō at Eiheiji and known as Himitsu, or Private, Shōbōgenzō, which includes fascicles not found in and thus is supplementary to the 60-fascicle edition

Senne also edited the first volume of Dōgen's 10-volume *Eihei kōroku* (*Extensive Record*), which includes *kanbun* sermons given at Kōshōji, as well as the ninth and tenth volumes that cover Dōgen's *kanbun* poetry with over 250 examples. Giun, along with Gien and others, assisted Ejō in transcribing and editing some of the *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles, especially in 1279 when he worked on "Kōku," "Ango," and "Kie sambō," before discovering a manuscript of the then-lost *Hōkyōki* in 1299 and becoming abbot at Eiheiji in 1314. At this juncture, there simply was no sense of creating a 95-fascicle edition, which was mainly triggered later by Manzan's 89-fascile edition produced in 1684, just a few years before Kozen's text that took him several years to complete. It would take another century before the project of completing an authoritative edition was realized in a woodblock print.

1. 孤雲懐奘 Koun Ejō (1198–1280)
光明蔵三昧 Kōmyōzō zanmai [Samadhi Treasury of "Kōmyō"] 「正法眼蔵光明」巻の敷演. Contemplative elaboration on "Kōmyō" by Dōgen's main disciple

2. 詮慧・経豪 Senne (n.d.) and Kyōgō (n.d.)
正法眼蔵聞書抄 Shōbōgenzō kikigakishō [Recorded Comments on Shōbōgenzō]
七十五巻本に関する最古の註釈書で、道元禅師の直弟子詮慧・経豪の共著。詮慧の註釈メモ『聞書』（十巻）を参釈合収した経豪の註抄三十一冊。別に「影室鈔」ともいう
Dōgen's direct disciples, Senne and Kyōgō, are authors of the oldest commentaries on the 75-fascicle edition. Kyōgō's 31-part (1308) remarks on Senne's 10-volume Kikigaki text (c. 1283) are known as Inner Chamber Comments (Kageshitsusho 影室鈔) and the combined text, since Senne's work is no longer extant independently, is known variously as Kikigakishō, or Goshō 御鈔, or Shōbōgenzō shō; this was the only interlinear prose commentary prior to the Edo period

3. 義雲 Giun (1253–1333)
正法眼蔵品目頌著 Shōbōgenzō hinmokujujaku [Verses with Capping Phrases on Shōbōgenzō]
六十巻本の品目と各巻の注意を七言絶句で頌し、一転語を著けたもの. This includes Giun's 7-character, 4-line *kanbun* verse poems, along with capping phrases, explicating the various fascicles of the 60-fascicle edition. This was the only other major commentary prior to the Edo period

4. 大智祖継 Daichi Sokei (1290–1367)
大智和尚偈頌二首 Daichi oshō geju nishu [Two Verse Comments by Priest Daichi]; this includes two kanbun poems, one on the theme of receiving a copy of the text of Shōbōgenzō and the other on the "Zazenshin" fascicle by Daichi, an anomalous 14th century Sōtō monk who traveled to study Zen poetry in China; in the Edo period there were numerous commentaries interpreting his overall poetry collection

Muromachi-Period (1336–1573)

The Muromachi period is usually portrayed as a fallow phase in Dōgen scholarship, during which the *Shōbōgenzō* was neglected as part of what Hee-Jin Kim calls the "dark age of sectarian studies," which emphasized not the study of texts but personal relationships that were sometimes recorded and eventually published but were generally kept privately in archives. That stereotype is true to the extent that there were no major commentaries composed, and the Sōtō sect seemed preoccupied with different forms of expression, particularly Shōmono materials including Kirigami (lit. "paper strips"), in addition to recorded sayings texts of leading masters such as Gasan and Tsūgen that often incorporated comments on the Five Ranks (*goi*) and other aspects of Chinese Chan thought, including many topics and references usually associated with the Japanese Rinzai sect. During this phase, not only *Shōbōgenzō* but also almost all other Dōgen writings were not subjected to critical analysis or interpretation. Only a small handful of works were in circulation, including *Eihei goroku* (a highly condensed version of the *Eihei kōroku* first published in 1358), *Fukanzazengi*, *Gakudōyōjinshū*, and *Tenzokyōkun* (and perhaps other essays that in 1667 became part of the *Eihei shingi* collection). Dōgen's other major work, *Eihei kōroku*, was not printed or commented on until the Edo period.

Meanwhile, the *Shōbōgenzō*, which was not yet in a published form, was apparently available in manuscripts held at numerous temples, but with so much variety and variability to the versions that the notion of forming a standard edition that could be recognized as authentic by all parties, while introduced, was far from being realized. However, in contrast to the commonly held view that the *Shōbōgenzō* was only used in a formal or symbolic sense of generating prestige by a temple or teacher owning a copy but without necessarily even reading it, there clearly were important scholastic activities related to organizing and, by doing so, at least indirectly interpreting the significance of the collection. Although some sectors of

Sōtō Zen became known for good works, such as building bridges and irrigation, or for folk religious elements, such as exorcisms in which *Shōbōgenzō* sayings such as "genjōkōan" 現成公案 were sometimes used, the absence of textual commentaries does not necessarily reflect an overall lack in erudition, as is often reported.

Some of the main activities of the Muromachi period were the publication in the 1350s of Giun's recorded sayings, including his *Shōbōgenzō* commentary that was continually copied by his followers, and the organization of an 83-fascicle edition (at Eiheiji) and an 84-fascicle or Bonsei edition (at Daijōji, with an 83-fascicle variation). Both of these combined the 75-fascicle edition with additional fascicles culled from the 60-fascicle edition, including some of the fascicles also contained in the 12-fascicle edition. The 83-edition was compiled in 1433 by Kakuin Eihon (1380–1453) at Rurikōji temple, based on Giun-follower Sōgo's copy of the 60-chapter edition, while adding twenty-three extra chapters from a 1430 copy of the 75-fascicle edition. This edition represents an early effort to compare the 60- and 75-fascicle versions, and it is noteworthy that Kakuin considered the 60-fascicle edition more authoritative. Moreover, in addition to Sōgo's copies of Giun's commentary and various fascicles of *Shōbōgenzō*, many copies of the 75-fascicle edition were being made throughout the period, including in 1333, 1339, 1472, 1500, 1532 and 1546, thus showing the primacy of this version. A notable copy of the 60-edition was produced in 1510, and this scribal activity continued through the Edo period.

Moreover, the main sectarian biography of Dōgen, the *Kenzeiki*, which is important for understanding the sequential development of the *Shōbōgenzō* in connection with other events in Dōgen's life, was produced in 1452 as part of the 200th death anniversary. It was repeatedly copied in the following centuries before Menzan emended it significantly in the *Teiho Kenzeiki* in 1752 for the 500th death anniversary. Therefore, if there was dormancy in terms of scholarly interest, it lasted far less than two hundred years, rather than the four centuries that is frequently mentioned. Nevertheless, there may have been a sense that *Shōbōgenzo* was a sacred writing that defied analysis or simply was beyond understanding due to its arcane references to Chinese sources, and it took various external factors generated by changes in Japanese society for intense interest in commenting extensively on Dōgen's masterwork to be renewed.

Edo Period (1603–1868)

The Edo period saw the beginning of 1,000-day retreats for studies of the *Shōbōgenzō*, as well as the role of lectures given at Sōtō seminaries, such as Kichjōji and Seishōji temples in Tokyo. This helped trigger an explosion of dozens of commentaries written by many leading teachers examining the philosophy and philology of Dōgen's writings, including reference works such as dictionaries, lexicons, concordances, and citation indexes, in addition to elucidations of hermeneutic issues interpreting the text's meaning from both personal/experiential and objective/holistic standpoints. Other stimulations included the impact of Neo-Confucian-oriented textual studies and the effects of the new Ōbaku sect brought from southeastern China in the mid-seventeenth century, causing a revival of reading and writing in *kanbun* as well as attention to the issue of ethical behavior related to theoretical expositions based on studying traditional continental texts, especially voluminous Song dynasty Chann sources. In addition, the Edo-period *danka* (parish) system established by the shogunate forced all Buddhist sects to emphasize the identity and value of their respective approaches distanced from rival viewpoints, thus elevating the status of Dōgen's magnum opus as the major claim to fame of Sōtō Zen. There was also a concerted effort by Menzan to stamp out the proliferation of Kirigami-based teachings for representing too much concession to esotericism at the expense of coventional scholasticism.

Near the beginning of the Edo period, several important commentaries were composed by Ban'an (not extant), Gesshū, who wrote the earliest one available that greatly influenced both the Manzan and Tenkei factions, and other monks. Gesshū favored the 84-fascicle edition, and copies were made of his version in 1680 and 1708. This helped set the stage for subsequent developments in studies of the philosophy and philology of the *Shōbōgenzō* as well as practices related to the text, such as extended periods of retreat along with ritualized sermons and prepared lectures. An underlying factor in new approaches to interpreting *Shōbōgenzō* was the controversy about whether succession should be based on face-to-face transmission sometimes, requiring a change of lineage, as apparently endorsed by *Shōbōgenz*ō "Menju" and promoted by the Manzan faction (this effort started in 1657 even before Manzan), in contrast to the older cross-lineage process (*garanbō*) of succession supported by the Tenkei faction.

The controversy about succession was linked to two other main intra-sectarian debates: (a) whether and to what extent Dōgen may have

misunderstood the many Chinese sources he cited, a position supported by Tenkei along with Rinzai scholastic monk Mujaku Dōchū, so that both were considered heretical by mainstream Sōtō monks, or creatively developed and refined the Chinese sources for his own philosophical purposes, as supported by the Manzan-Menzan-Banjin faction; and (b) the distinct practices of attaining *kenshō*/*satori* for Tenkei and of emphasizing goalless *shikan taza* for Manzan's faction, which refuted Tenkei's views on sectarian transmission and his evaluation of Dōgen's philology evident in *Shōbōgenzō*.

In the late seventeenth century, Manzan compiled an 89-fascicle edition in 1684 and Kozen compiled a 96-fascicle edition (with one fascicle that proved spurious). Tenkei, whose original commentary was on the 60-fascicle edition favored by Giun (although probably for different reasons), eventually countered in the 1730s with a 78-fascicle edition in which he revised and even rewrote some fascicles, although this was not published due to the ban. The underlying point invovlving succession and philology controversies was a classic discord between the themes of the continuity of identity (Manzan) and the emphasis on individuality and difference (Tenkei). In any case, tracking the citations (*shutten* 出典) used by Dōgen influenced all factions, including Tenkei and Menzan. Due to his knowledge of Song Chan texts in citing the works of Hongzhi and kōan collection commentaries, Giun's commentaries were greatly appreciated.

The prohibition on publishing the *Shōbōgenzō* lasting from 1722–1796 was proposed by the mainstream Sōtō temple institution, which was concerned with stifling the multiplicity of (supposedly false) approaches to interpreting Dōgen by Tenkei, Mujaku, and others, and the Bakufu government supported this stance. However, that period of three-quarters of a century was perhaps the most fruitful for commentaries and reference works by various eminent masters, including Menzan, Banjin, Zōkai, Shigetsu, Honkō, Rōran, and more. Many of these commentaries continued to refer to the 75-fascicle and 60-fascicle versions, especially the Senne-Kyōgō *Goshō* commentary on the former edition. A number of commentaries acknowledged or supported the newly developed 95-fascicle version, but often had discrepancies or disagreements about the order and sequence of the fascicles in question. Generally, "Genjōkōan," an anomalous work that was written in 1233 as a letter to a lay follower, a trend popular among Chan teachers but not used again by Dōgen, remained the first fascicle in various editions (75, 60, one of the 95 versions including

Tenkei's *Benchū*, Menzan's *Shōtenroku*, Rōran's *Naippō*, and Zōkai's *Shiki*). But it was not so in Manzan's 89-fascicle edition (it was "Makahannya haramitsu") or in most versions of the 95-fascicles, including Honkō's *Sanchū* ("Zazenshin") and Gentō's Honzan edition ("Bendōwa").

In addition to commenting on *Shōbōgenzō*, there were extensive commentaries written on other Dōgen texts, ranging from *Eihei goroku* to *Eihei shingi*, *Fukanzazengi*, and *Gakudōyōjinshū*, which had been in circulation during the late medieval period, to newer trends such as looking at the full version of *Eihei kōroku*, *Mana Shōbōgenzō*, and *Sanshōdōei* (Japanese *waka* poetry collection), all texts previously unavailable. Sōtō commentators also investigated Mahayana sutras and Song Chinese texts, including various kōan collections, such as *Hekiganroku*, *Shōyōroku*, *Mumonkan*, *Ninden gammoku*, plus the records of Dongshan, Rinzai, Yunmen, and many more.

The Honzan edition of 95-fascicles was first published from 1796–1806 by Gentō, the 50th abbot of Eiheii known for wide-ranging efforts to maintain the Manzan-inspired (actually started by Ban'an and Gesshū before him) attempt to "restore" 復古 the thirteenth-century teachings of Dōgen and Ejō. This edition was part of the 550th death anniversary celebration of Dōgen held in 1802; another important example of restoration was the production of the *Teiho Kenzeiki zue* illustrated edition of Menzan's annotated biography of Dōgen originally produced by Kenzei, the 14th abbot of Eiheiji several centuries before. The Honzan edition was completed with a boxed set issued in 1815, although five fascicles (Den'e, Busso, Shisho, Jishō zanmai, and Jukai) were still withheld from release until they were included for the first time in an 1852 (600th anniversary) edition.

5. 月舟宗胡 Gesshū Sōko (1618–1696)
正法眼蔵謄写 Shōbōgenzō tōsha [Transcribed Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

6. 版撓晃全 Hanjō Kozen (1627–1693)
正法眼蔵九十六巻ノ結集謄写 Shōbōgenzō Kyūjūrokumaki no kesshū tōsha [Complete Transcribed Edition of 96-fascicle Shōbōgenzō]

7. 卍山道白 Manzan Dōhaku (1636–1715)
正法眼蔵ノ編集校定 Shōbōgenzō no henshū kōtei [Revised Edition of Shōbōgenzō]
(卍山本八十九巻) (Manzanbon Hachijūkyūmaki) [Manzan's 89-fascicle Shōbōgenzō]

永平正法眼蔵序・四篇 Eihei Shōbōgenzō jō—yonben [Prefaces to Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō—four versions]
跋永平正法眼蔵・二篇 Batsu Eihei Shōbōgenzō—niben [Postscripts to Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō—two versions]
跋正法眼蔵安居巻 Batsu Shōbōgenzō Ango maki [Postscript to Shōbōgenzō "Ango"]
答客議竝序跋類 Tōkaku gibeijo hatsurui [Answers to Various Kinds of Queries]

8. 天桂伝尊 Tenkei Denson (1648–1735)
a. 正法眼蔵弁解 Shōbōgenzō benge [Comments on Shōbōgenzō]
b. 正法眼蔵弁註 Shōbōgenzō benchū [Annotations on Shōbōgenzō]
六十巻本を真本とした江戸期最初の註釈書. Initial Edo period commentary on the 60-fascicle edition; note that Tenkei also devised his own 78-fascicle edition by adding 18 fasciles to the 60-fascicle edition with corrections in addition to revisions of the original text, while also rejecting some fascicles outright even though he included references to his version of a 95-edition

9. 徳翁良高 Tokuō Ryōkō (1649–1709)
永平正法眼蔵序 Eihei Shōbōgenzō jō [Preface to Eihei Shōbōgenzō]

10. 定山良光 Jōzan Ryōkō (d. 1736)
正法嫡伝獅子一吼集 Shōbōchakuden shishi'ikushū [Collected Lion Roars from the Direct Lineage of the True Dharma]

11. 無著道忠 Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1745) Note: a Rinzai monk
正法眼蔵僭評 Shōbōgenzō senpyō [Critical Comments on Shōbōgenzō]
臨済禅の立場から『正法眼蔵』（卍山結集八十四巻本）各巻（渓声山色・伝衣・嗣書・心不可得・神通・仏向上事・行持・授記・栢樹子・説心説性・諸法実相・密語・仏経・面授・春秋・菩提分法・自証三昧・大修行・他心通・王索仙陀婆）の所説を論難したもの. Explicating differences between Shōbōgenzō teachings and Rinzai Zen based on various fascicles used in Manzan's 84-fascicle edition, including "Keisei sanshoku," "Den'e," "Shisho," "Shinfukatoku," "Jinzū," "Bukkōjōji," "Gyōji," "Juki," "Hakujushi," "Sesshin sesshō," "Shohō jissō," "Mitsugo," "Bukkyō" (Buddhist Sutras), "Menju," "Shunjū, "Bodaibunpō," "Jishō zanmai," "Daishugyō," "Tajinzū," "Ōsaku sendaba"

12. 面山瑞方 Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769)

a. 正法眼蔵聞解 Shōbōgenzō monge, 現成公案 "Genjōkōan," 弁道話 "Bendōwa," 三昧王三昧 "Zanmai ō zanmai" [Recorded Comments on Three Shōbōgenzō Fascicles]; see also Fuzan Gentotsu

b. 正法眼蔵渉典録 Shōbōgenzō shōtenroku [Record of References Cited in Shōbōgenzō]
六十巻本を本輯とする九十五巻本（面山編輯本）の渉典. References from Menzan's 95-fascicle edition pertinent to the 60-fascicle collection.

c. 正法眼蔵闢邪訣 Shōbōgenzō byakujaku ketsu [On Correcting Misunderstandings of Shōbōgenzō]
天桂の『辨解』（後に「辨解」と改む）に対する論難. Criticisms of Tenkei's Shōbōgenzō benge

d. 正法眼蔵述品目賛 Shōbōgenzō hinmoku jutsuzan [Poetic Remarks on Shōbōgenzō]
面山編輯の九十五巻本（本輯六十巻、別輯三十五巻）に、義雲の「頌著」に倣って各巻の注意を述べ、偈によって賛したもの. Poetic comments on Giun's poems and capping phrases on the 60-fascicle edition, based on the versions used in Menzan's 95-fascicle edition (including the collection of 60 fascicles with an additional 35 fascicles)

e. 正法眼蔵和語鈔 Shōbōgenzō wagoshō [On the Use of Japanese Vernacular in Shōbōgenzō]

f. 正法眼蔵編集・謄写 Shōbōgenzō henshū—tōsha [Edited Transcribed Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

g. 正法眼蔵渉典和語鈔 Shōbōgenzō shōten wagoshō [Comments on the Use of Japanese Vernacular in the Standard Edition of Shōbōgenzō]
和語・漢語に渉っての語録. On recorded sayings cited in Shōbōgenzō based on Japanese and Chinese sources.

h. 雪夜爐談竝序跋辯 Yukiyorodan hō jobatsuben [Preface and Postscript to Fireside Chat on a Snowy Evening]

i. 議永平排遺楞厳円覚弁 Gi Eihei oshiyuiryō toshimitsukakuben [Reflections on How to Discern Complete Enlightenment in Light of Criticism of Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō]

13. 乙堂喚丑 Otsudō Kanchū (~1760)

正法眼蔵続絃講義 Shōbōgenzō zokugen kōgi [Supplemental Lectures on Shōbōgenzō, or: One Continuing Thread]

天桂の「辨註」に於ける授記・面授・嗣書の三編を中心に、その所説を弁駁したもの. Refuting the theories contained in Tenkei's Shōbōgenzō benchū, based mainly on examining the "Juki," "Menju," and "Shisho" fascicles

14. 指月慧印 Shigetsu Ein (1689–1764)
a. 正法眼蔵序・二篇 Shōbōgenzō jō—niben [Prefaces to Shōbōgenzō—two versions]
b. 拈評三百則不能語 Nenpyō Sanbyakusoku funōgo [Prose Comments on the Inexpressible Truth of the 300-case Shōbōgenzō]; the initial work on the Mana (Kanbun) Shōbōgennzō composed in 1235 featuring kōans without comments, and its connections to the Kana (Vernacular) Shōbōgenzō

15. 直指玄端 Chokushi Gentan (~1767)
正法眼蔵弁註浄書 Shōbōgenzō benchū jōsho [Clarifications of Tenkei's Annotations on Shōbōgenzō]

16. 万(萬)仞道坦 Banjin Dōtan (1698–1775)
a. 正法眼蔵秘鈔 Shōbōgenzō hishō [Private Comments on Shōbōgenzō] 『正法眼蔵聞書抄』からの万仞による抜鈔. Banjin's comments on the Kikigakishō commentary
b. 正法眼蔵傍訓 Shōbōgenzō bōkun [Additional Investigations of Shōbōgenzō]
c. 正法眼蔵諫蠹録 Shōbōgenzō kantoroku [Responses to Criticisms of Shōbōgenzō]
天桂伝尊の「正法眼蔵辯註」に対する論難. Counter-criticisms of Tenkei's Shōbōgenzō benchū
d. 正法眼蔵補闕録 Shōbōgenzō hoketsuroku [Additional Comments on Critiques of Shōbōgenzō]
e. 正法眼蔵渉典補闕録 Shōbōgenzō shōtenzoku hoketsuroku [Critical Comments on References Cited in Shōbōgenzō]
七十五巻本に依る渉典註解、面山の渉典の闕を補うもの. Remarks on Menzan's studies of references cited in the 75-fascicle edition
f. 正法眼蔵面授巻弁 Shōbōgenzō Menju makiben [Discussion of Shōbōgenzō "Menju"]
g. 正法眼蔵仏祖巻弁 Shōbōgenzō Busso makiben [Discussion of Shōbōgenzō "Busso"]
h. 正法眼蔵第五十三仏祖巻辯 Shōbōgenzō dai gojūsan Busso makiben

[Discussion of Shōbōgenzō's 53rd fascicle, "Busso"]; note that numbering system varies

i. 正法眼蔵大修行巻弁 Shōbōgenzō Daishugyō makiben [Discussion of Shōbōgenzō "Daishugyō"]

j. 正法眼蔵第六十大修行巻辯 Shōbōgenzō dai rokujū Daishugyō makiben [Discussion of Shōbōgenzō's 60th fascicle "Daishugyō"]; note that numbering system varies

k. 正法眼蔵秘鈔 Shōbōgenzō hishō [Private Comments on Shōbōgenzō]

l. 永平破五位辯 Eihei ha goiben [Discussion of Dōgen's Approach to Five Ranks]

m. 無情説法語 Mujō seppō hōwa [Discussion of Shōbōgenzō "Mujō seppō"]

n. 三教一致辯 Sankyō itchiben [Discussion of "Three Teachings are One"]

o. 正法眼蔵諫蠹録 Shōbōgenzō kantoroku [Responses to Criticisms of Shōbōgenzō]

p. 高祖破斥臨済徳山大潙雲門等弁 Takaso sunaseki Rinzai Tokusan Daii Unmon nadoben [Considering Criticisms by Dōgen of Linji, Deshan, Guishan, Yunmen, etc.]

17. 午菴道鏞 Guan Dōyō (1701~) (a.k.a. Kōon)

天桂不知正法眼蔵之由来事 Tenkei shirazu Shōbōgenzō no yuraigoto [Reasons for Tenkei's Misunderstandings of Shōbōgenzō]

18. 衡田祖量 Hirata Soryō (1702–1779)

面山編集正法眼蔵謄写 Menzan henshū Shōbōgenzō tōsha [On Menzan's Edited Transcribed Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

19. 洞明良瓚 Tōmyō Ryōsan (1709–1773)

a. 正法眼蔵謄写 Shōbōgenzō tōsha [Transcribed Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

b. 校閲正法眼蔵序 Kōestu Shōbōgenzō jō [Preface to Shōbōgenzō Manuscript]

20. 瞎道本光 Katsudō Honkō (1719–1773)

a. 正法眼蔵却退一字参 Shōbōgenzō kyakutai ichijisan (a.k.a. Shōbōgenzō sanchū 正法眼蔵参註) [Annotated Studies of Kanji References in Shōbōgenzō]

瞎道による九十五巻本の本文漢文訳と漢文註. This represents the first annotations and comments on the kanbun sections of the 95-fascicle edition as compiled by Honkō

b. 正法眼蔵座禅箴抽解経行参 Shōbōgenzō Zazenshin chūkai kyōgyōsan [Practical Instructions Based on Interpretations of Shōbōgenzō "Zazenshin"]
c. 正法眼蔵生死巻穿牛皮 Shōbōgenzō "Shōji" makisengyūhi [Piercing the Ox of Shōbōgenzō "Shōji"]
d. 正法眼蔵都機巻禿苕掃記 Shōbōgenzō Tsuki makitokushō sōki [Account of Sweeping Aside Misreadings of Shōbōgenzō "Tsuki"]
e. 錯不錯・野狐変 Shaku fushaku—yakoben [Mistaking or Not Mistaking—Story of the Shape-Shifting Wild Fox]
正法眼蔵大修行・深信因果巻に引用される「百丈野狐」話に因む語を評釈したもの.
This interprets the kōan of "Baizhang's Wild Fox" based on the Shōbōgenzō "Daishugyō" and "Jinshin inga" fascicles
f. 正法眼蔵品目頌金剛莖草参 Shōbōgenzō hinmonkuju kinkōjisōsan [Diamond Notes on Giun's Verse Commentary on Shōbōgenzō

21. 慧亮忘光 Eryō Bōkō (1719–1774)
a. 正法眼蔵玄談科釈 Shōbōgenzō gendan kaseki [Deep Conversations Interpreting Shōbōgenzō]
b. 正法眼蔵新刻校讐辨 Shōbōgenzō shinkoku kōshūben [Evaluating the New Edition of Shōbōgenzō]
本山版九十五巻の年時順編輯例次開版本に対し、七十五帖本に準ずべきで、余他の巻は七十五帖の後に例次することが、宗祖の撰定の祖意に違失しないことを述べる.
On the sectarian ancestral implications of organizing the Honzan Edition of the 95-fascicle Shōbōgenzō in relation to the 75-fascicle edition as well as various fascicles not found in the 75-fascicle edition

22. 父幼老卵 Fuyō Rōran (1724–1805)
a. 正法眼蔵那一宝 Shōbōgenzō naippō [Precious Comments on Shōbōgenzō]
老卵は天桂伝尊の法孫.「辯註」に準拠して、九十五巻に註釈. Rōran, a Dharma-heir of Tenkei, interprets the 95-fascicle edition as influenced by Tenkei's Benchū commentary
b. 正法眼蔵那一宝稿本 Shōbōgenzō naippō kōhon [Definitive Edition of Precious Comments on Shōbōgenzō]

23. 玄透即中 Gentō Sokuchū (1729–1807)
正法眼蔵九十五巻本山版梓行 Shōbōgenzō Kyūjūgomaki honzanhan shigyō [Official Honzan Edition of the 95-fascicle Shōbōgenzō]

24. 雑華蔵海 Zakka Zōkai (1730–1788)
a. 正法眼蔵傍註 Shōbōgenzō bōchū [Additional Annotations on Shōbōgenzō]
b. 正法眼蔵私記 Shōbōgenzō shiki [Personal Notes on Shōbōgenzō]
瞎道を『正法眼蔵』参究の師とし、「影室鈔」に拠って参究した達意的註釈. Interpretative annotations investigating Kyōgō's Inner Chamber Comments through studies of Katsudō Honkō's Shōbōgenzō kyakutai ichijisan

25. 如得龍水 Jōtoku Ryōzui (~1787)
正法眼蔵ノ手入レ Shōbōgenzō no te'ire [Revised Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

26. 斧山玄鈯 Fuzan Gentotsu (~1789)
正法眼蔵聞解 Shōbōgenzō monge [Recorded Comments on Shōbōgenzō (based on and often attributed to Menzan)]
面山瑞方の法孫、玄鈯による九十五巻本の註釈. In the lineage of Menzan, Fuzan interprets the 95-fascicle edition that the master compiled

27. 大愚俊量 Taigu Junryō (1759–1803)
本山版正法眼蔵校讐・開版作業 Honzanban Shōbōgenzō kōshū—kaihan sakugyō [On the Compilation and Publication of the Honzan Edition of the Shōbōgenzō]

28. 慧輪玄亮 Erin Genryō (~1813)
正法眼蔵ノ手入レ Shōbōgenzō no te'ire [Revised Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

29. 祖道穏達 Sodō Ontatsu (~1813)
本山版正法眼蔵校讐・開版作業 Honzanban Shōbōgenzō kōshū—kaihan sakugyō [On the Compilation and Publication of the Honzan Edition of the Shōbōgenzō]
30. 黙室良要 Mokushitsu Ryōyō (1775–1833)
正法眼蔵著語 Shōbōgenzō jakugo [Capping Phrase Comments on Shōbōgenzō]

31. 無著黄泉 Mujaku Kōsen (1775-1838)
a. 正法眼蔵渉典続貂 Shōbōgenzō shōten zokuchō [Further Remarks on Menzan's "References Cited in Shōbōgenzō"]
b. 正法眼蔵抄謄写 Shōbōgenzō shōtōsha [Comments on Transcribed Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

32. 本秀幽蘭 Honshū Yūran (~1847)
a. 正法眼蔵ノ註ト手入レ Shōbōgenzō no chū to te'ire [Revised Edition with Annotations of Shōbōgenzō]
b. 正法眼蔵抄謄写 Shōbōgenzō shōtōsha [Transcribed Edition of the Senne-Kyōgō Commentary on Shōbōgenzō]

33. 惟一成允 Tadaichi Seiin (~1861)
正法眼蔵ノ手入レ Shōbōgenzō no te'ire [Revised Edition of Shōbōgenzō]
34. 祖道穏達・大患俊量 Sodō Ontatsu (d. 1813) and Taikan Junryō (n.d.)
彫刻永平正法眼蔵録由・凡例並巻目例次 Chōkoku Eihei Shōbōgenzō rokuyu—hanreihō makimokureiji [On Polishing the Records of Shōbōgenzō—Examining the Customary Sequence and Ordering of Fascicles]
本山版（永平寺開版）『正法眼蔵』九十五巻の録由、編輯例次について述べたもの. Discussing the formation of the Honzan Edition of the 95-fascicle Shōbōgenzō with particular examples of the editing of the text

35. 万瑞 Banzui (n.d.)
正法眼蔵和語梯 Shōbōgenzō wagotei [Further Comments on the Use of Japanese Vernacular in Shōbōgenzō]
和語のみに限っての註. Remarks on Japanese vernacular citations

36. 全巖林盛 Zengan Rinsei (n.d.)
正法眼蔵撃節集 Shōbōgenzō gekisetsushū [Collected Comments Keeping to the Beat of Shōbōgenzō]
『正法眼蔵』八十四巻本（梵清謄写本系）の各巻の注意を七言八句の偈を似て頌したもの. Zengen, in the Bonsei lineage at Daijōji temple, provides 7-character 8-line poetry explaining various fascicles of Bonsei's 84-fascicle edition of Shōbōgenzō

37. 徳峰尚淳 Tokumine Naoatsu (n.d.)
a. 正法眼蔵聞書抄謄写 Shōbōgenzō kikigaki shōtōsha [Transcribed Edition of the Senne-Kyōgō Commentary on Shōbōgenzō]
b. 正法眼蔵参究紀行 Shōbōgenzō sankyū kigyō [Records of Investigations of Shōbōgenzō]
c. 正法眼蔵和語鈔謄写 Shōbōgenzō wagoshō tōsha [Comments on the Use of Japanese Vernacular in Transcribed Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

38. 柏峰良樹 Kashimine Yoshiki (n.d.)
正法眼蔵抄謄写 Shōbōgenzō shōtōsha [Comments on Transcribed Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

39. 法忍 Hōnin (n.d.)
書寫正法眼藏序竝口號三首 Shosha Shōbōgenzō jōhō kukōsanshu [Three Verse Comments Introducing a Transcript of the Shōbōgenzō]

40. 大癡 Taichi (n.d.)
正法眼蔵和語梯拾要 Shōbōgenzō wagotei jūyō [Essential Comments on the Use of Japanese Vernacular in Shōbōgenzō]
万瑞の「和語梯」を伊呂波順に例字編輯して刊行したもの. Further examples of instances of the Japanese syllabary as cited in Banzui's work on vernacular references

41. 心応空印 Shinnō Kuin (n.d.)
正法眼蔵逆驢乳 Shōbōgenzō horyoji [Milking the Donkey of Shōbōgenzō]
面山の『闢邪訣』の所説を反駁し、師祖天桂の所説を弁護したもの. Comparing Tenkei's theories as contrasted with Menzan's theories in Shōbōgenzō byakujaku ketsu

42. 作者未詳 Author Unknown
正法眼蔵過刻 Shōbōgenzō kakoku [Corrected Readings of Shōbōgenzō]
七十五巻本の語註. Linguistic remarks on the 75-fascicle edition

Modern Period (1868–Present)

The following list covering briefly the period of modern Japan, from the Meiji era to the present, is highly selective and includes only a relatively small handful of representative editions and scholarly studies from among the hundreds of works now available. These range from finely detailed scholarly reference and interpretative materials to many introductory primers (*nyūmon* 入門), how-to-read-it books (*yomikata* 読み方), discussion topic works (*wadai* 話題), reflective comments (*shinshaku* 新釈), and even comic book (*manga* 漫画) versions. In addition, there are other kinds of publications, such as a host of "translations into contemporary Japanese" (*gendaigoyaku* 現代語訳), since the original language used by Dōgen, like that of Chaucer and many other examples of traditional religious or literary works, could not possibly be understood by the typical current

reader without the crutch of paraphrases and simplified sentence structure or vocabulary.

Ōuchi Seiran, a prominent lay teacher and activist for modern Buddhist reforms, edited the first modern typeset edition of the 95-fascicle text published in 1885. Ōuchi was largely responsible for creating the *Shushōgi*, a tremendously abbreviated version of the *Shōbōgenzō* (which he read seven times in preparation) that does not mention meditation and is used mainly for Sōtō liturgy and confessionals. In 1879, Teizan Sokuichi (1805–1892) published an emendation of Ejō's text on "Kōmyō." The summer of 1905, a few years after the 700th anniversary, saw the first annual Genzō-e, or *Shōbōgenzō* summer study retreat, held at Eiheiji and other temples for intensive investigations of particular fascicles, recalling Edo-period 1,000-day retreats as well as teachings delivered at Kichijōji and Seishōji, Edo period seminaries in Tokyo, by leading masters such as Menzan.

Oka Sōtan (1860–1921), a dharma-disciple of Nishiari, who was first exposed to the text when he heard lectures in 1841 by Daitotsu Guzen (1786–1859) at Kichijōji and later trained under Gettan Zenryū (d. 1865), led this effort. Followed and in some ways surpassed by another disciple, Kishizawa Ian (1865–1955), Nishiari wrote the main commentaries (*Keiteki*) of the early twentieth century that in part assessed the value of some of the main examples of Edo-period commentaries. Nishiari's interpretations were severely attacked by a former disciple, Yasutani Hakuun (1865–1973). Another early commentator was Akino Kōdō (1858–1934). The term Genzō-ka 眼蔵家, or "Dōgen specialist," started to be used for eminent scholar-monks. The next year, 1906, was marked by the publication of the first official and complete typeset version of the 95-fascicle Honzan edition; this edition was used as the basis for the massive *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* Buddhist texts compilation in 100 volumes, with the *Shōbōgenzō* appearing in vol. 82 #2582. The initial modern example of *Dōgen's Complete Works* was published in 1909 by the Eiheiji branch temple in Tokyo, Chōkokuji.

Since World War II, there have been many multi-volume versions generally referred to as *Zenyakuchū* 全訳注 (*Complete Annotated Modern Translations*), that provide interpretations, commentaries, and paraphrases with notes and clarifications of various editions (either the 95-fascicle edition or the 75-fascicles + 12-fascicles edition), usually with varying degrees of accuracy and reliability. There are at least four major postwar editions all known as *Dōgen zenji zenshū* (*Dōgen's Complete Works*),

although they have different editing styles and results in the respective versions of the text. A convenient, but at this point rather hopelessly outdated from a technical standpoint, online edition of the 75-fascicle + 12-fascicle + others edition is found at: http://www.shomonji.or.jp/soroku/genzou.htm.

Through the various periods, with their permutations, from the medieval to the modern period, including the postwar phase, the original *Goshō* commentary on the 75-fascicle edition has remained the single most important interpretative guidepost influencing so many other commentators. But it is the Edo-period commentaries that most greatly impact the seminal modern scholarship of Kagamishima Genryū as highlighted in a 1965 book, *Dōgen zenji no in'yō goroku – kyōten no kenkyū*, which documents Dōgen's sources found in Chinese Chan and other Mahayana Buddhist writings. Since then, there have been several main trends in *Shōbōgenzō* studies in Japan.

The first main trend was to continue the Edo-period focus on developing citation indices to determine how and why Dōgen referred to Chan texts. This led Ishii Shūdō, for example, to argue the reason Dōgen seems to misread Chinese is that he relied on an obscure source called the *Zongmen tongyaoji* 宗門統要集 (*Shūmon tōyōshū*), which was popular at the time of his travels to the continent but eventually fell out of fashion or was eclipsed by other versions of Zen stories in numerous Song-Yuan editions.

A second major trend was stimulated by timely ethical issues involving questions of social discrimination and nationalism, which compelled contributors to the Critical Buddhism (Hihan Bukkyō) methodology to emphasize the priority of what Dōgen referred to as the "new draft" of the 12-fascicle collection compared to the "older drafts" of the 75-fascicle and 60-fascicle collections. This was seen vis-à-vis Dōgen's own ethical stance as contrasted with contemporary practice. Whether it was approved or not, this standpoint has caused nearly all scholars to accept that the 12-fascicle edition must be juxtaposed with the 75-fascicle edition.

Finally, the most recent important trend in textual hermeneutics of the *Shōbōgenzō* has been to examine internal evidence involving the way Dōgen was revising or sometimes rewriting various fascicles, a process seen in manuscripts that included deletions and insertions. There were several alternative or changed versions known as *beppon* 別本, which reveal important convergences with other texts, especially *Eihei kōroku*.

43. 穆山瑾英 Bokusan Kin'ei (a.k.a. Bokusan Nishiari 西有, 1821–1911)
a. 正法眼蔵ノ手入レ Shōbōgenzō no te'ire [Revised Edition of Shōbōgenzō], 95 fascicles
b. 正法眼蔵開講備忘 Shōbōgenzō kaikōbibō [Introductory Notes to the Shōbōgenzō]
c. 正法眼蔵啓迪 Shōbōgenzō keiteki [Edifying Comments on Shōbōgenzō]
禅師御提唱、富山祖英師述・樗林皓堂編で、六十巻本を定本に行われた西有禅師の提唱録.ただ、惜しいことに現在では半分の三十巻分しか現存しないらしい.
Nishiari's sermons on the 60-fascicle edition, edited by disciples Tōyama Soei and Kurebayashi Kōdō and published in 1930; unfortunately, half the original text or 30 fascicles is no longer extant. Also, in the late 1890s, Nishiari published his lecture notes on Shōbōgenzō, plus annotated editions of Zōkai's Shiki, Menzan's Wagoshō and Byakujaketsu, and Otsudō's Zokugen kōgi, plus comments on other Edo-period works

44. 岸沢惟安 Kishizawa Ian (1865–1955)
『正法眼蔵全講』 Shōbōgenzō zenkō (n.d.) [Complete Commentary on Shōbōgenzō], 95 fascicles
老師御提唱.九十五巻全巻に対する提唱. Kishizawa's 24-volume sermons on the 95-fascicle edition

45. 弘津説三 Kōzu Setsuzan (n.d.)
承陽大師聖教全集解題 Shōyōdaishi seikyō zenshū kaidai (1909) [Explanations of the Complete Sacred Works of Dōgen], 95 fascicles

46. 大正新脩大藏經 (1912–24)
Taishō shinshū daizōkyō, [Taishō-era Collection of Buddhist Tripitaka], vol. 82.2582, 95 fascicles

47. 神保如天, 安藤文英師, Jinbō Nyoten (1880–1946) and Andō Bun'ei (n.d.)
『正法眼蔵註解全書』 (1914, rpt. 1957) Shōbōgenzō chūkai zensho [Annotated Collection of Shōbōgenzō], 95 fascicles

48. 衛藤即応 Etō Sokuō (1888–1958)
a. 『正法眼蔵』 Shōbōgenzō [Shōbōgenzō], 95 fascicles
校注岩波文庫［絶版］、後に国書刊行会・３巻本）本山版 95 巻本にしたがって編集されたもの.他に拾遺を収めている.第3巻の末尾には「字彙」を収録しており、良い.

Published in three volumes by Iwanami bunko and later by Kokushoin gyōkai, this edition by a professor and former president of Komazawa University (Komazawa Daigaku 駒澤大学), a higher education institution in Tokyo founded by Sōtō Zen in the 1880s that still supports the largest department of Buddhist studies in the world, is an edited version of the Honzan edition; it also includes other materials; there is a useful dictionary at the end of vol. 3

b. 宗祖としての道元禅師 Shūso toshite no Dōgen Zenji [Zen Master Dōgen as Founding Patriarch], a spirited defense of the orthodox standpoint as opposed to secular appropriations of Dōgen as a worldwide philosopher by Kyoto School figure such as Watsuji Tetsurō and Tanabe Hajime; published in 1244 by Iwanami shoten, with a recent translation by Ichimura Shohei

49. 澤木興道 Sawaki Kōdō (1880–1965)
『澤木興道全集』, Sakaki Kōdō zenshū, 18 vols. [Complete Works of Sawak]

50. 大久保道舟 Ōkubō Dōshū (1896–1944)
『道元禅師全集』 (1930, rpt. 1969–1970, and 1989) Dōgen zenji zenshū [Dōgen's Complete Works], 95 fascicles
筑摩書房版、春秋社版とある.なお、博士には筑摩書房版に収録された『正法眼蔵』だけを抜き出した全１巻の『正法眼蔵』という本もあるが入手は困難.
Published first by Chikuma shobō, then reedited and reprinted, and again reprinted by Shunjūsha; but, the Shōbōgenzō in the latter is not the exact same version as in the first volume of the 1969 Chikuma edition

51. 本山版縮刷『正法眼蔵』 (1952)
Honzanban shukusatsu Shōbōgenzō, [Honzan Pocket Edition of Shōbōgenzō], 95 fascicles
鴻盟社・全１巻, 玄透即中が刊行した本山版 95 巻本を、縮刷したもの.全１巻であるため使い勝手が良い. Published in one volume by Ōtorimeisha in a handy pocket edition, this is the 95-edition compiled by Gentō Sokuchū as sanctioned by the Sōtō Zen Main Temple (Eiheiji)

52. 正法眼蔵, 2 vols. (1970–72), 75-fascicles + 12-fascicles
Shōbōgenzō; published by Iwanami shoten in the Nihon shisō taikei, vols. 12&13, edited by Terada Tōru, a French literature scholar who wrote on Dōgen's view of language, and Mizuno Yaoko, a Genzō-ka

53. 永平正法眼藏蒐書大成, 27 vols. (1974–82), plus 10 vols. (1992–2000)
Eihei Shōbōgenzō shūsho taisei; [Formative Works for Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō]; a comprehensive collection of many common and obscure reproductions of the texts, with facsimiles of various versions as well as multiple manuscripts of different editions and collections

54. 曹洞宗全書, 18 vols. (1970–73), plus 10 vols. (1988–93), 95 fascicles
Sōtō shū zensho [Complete Works of Sōtō Sect] 『正法眼蔵』, vol. 1

55. 水野弥穂子 Mizuno Yaoko (1921–2010)
『正法眼蔵』 (rpt. 1990-1993) Shōbōgenzō, [Shōbōgenzō], 75 fascicles + 12 fascicles + 5 others
岩波文庫・４巻本, 校注 筑摩書房版『道元禅師全集』に収録された『正法眼蔵』の見解にしたがって、編集されたもの.現在最も容易に入手可能. In four volumes published by Iwanami bunko based on a revision of Ōkubō's Chikuma edition, this is the most accessible version establishing the new tradition of multiple divisions in the text

56. 道元禪師全集, 7 vols. (1998–1993)
Dōgen zenji zenshū, [Dōgen's Complete Works], 75-fascicles + 12-fascicles + 16 others; with the same name as an earlier Ōkubo edition as well as another more recent edition, published by Shunjūsha with multiple editors including Kawamura Kōdō for vols. 1–2 containing the Shōbōgenzō is still considered the standard modern edition that contains several "alternative" versions 別本 (***beppon***)

57. 石井修道 Ishii Shūdō (1944–)
a. 『宋代禅宗史の研究』 Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū [Studies of the History of Song Dynasty Zen] (1988) (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha)
b. 『中国禅宗史話—真 字『正法眼蔵』に学ぶ』 Chūgoku zenshūshiwa: Mana "Shōbōgenzō" ni manabu [Discussions of the History of Chinese Zen: Studying the Mana Shōbōgenzō (1987) (Kyoto: Zen bunka kenkyūjo)

58. 鏡島元隆 Kagamishima Genryū (1912–2001)
『道元禅師の引用経典・語録の研究』 Dōgen zenji no in'yō goroku—kyōten no kenkyū [Studies of Dōgen's Citations of Zen Recorded Sayings and Buddhist Sutras] (1965) (Tokyo: Mokujisha)

本書の「凡例」に挙示する道元禅師披見の禅宗燈史書・諸家語録類等. The impact of Buddhist sutras and Chinese Zen recorded sayings on the text's formation.

59. 河村孝道 Kawamura Kōdō (1933–)
『正法眼蔵の成立史的研究』 Shōbōgenzō no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū [Historical Studies of the Formation of the Shōbōgenzō] (1987) (Tokyo: Shunjūsha)
正法眼蔵三百則〈真字正法眼蔵〉金沢文庫所蔵本. Studies of the impact of Dōgen's collection of 300 kōan cases in kanbun, or Mana Shōbōgenzō, based on the Kanazawa Bunko edition

60. 袴谷憲昭 Hakamaya Noriaki (1943–)
道元と仏教―十二巻本『正法眼蔵』の道元 Dōgen to Bukkyō–Jūnikanbon Shōbōgenzō no Dōgen [Dōgen and Buddhism—The 12-Fascicle Shōbōgenzō (1992) (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1992)

62. 西嶋愚道和夫 Nishijima Gudō Wafu (1919–2004)
正法眼蔵提唱録』, 12 vols. (1979–1985) (Tokyo: Ita ryōgokudō)

Conclusion

To offer a few concluding remarks on appreciating the role played by extensive pre-modern commentaries on *Shōbōgenzō*, this essay has focused primarily on the impact regarding the historical formation of the 95-fascicle edition in relation to other versions. Future studies may explain the intricate connections between the philosophical implications and the philological analyses provided by the commentaries. Beginning especially with Tenkei's challenge suggesting that Dōgen had misunderstood Chinese, Edo commentators realized that before moving forward with an interpretation of Dōgen's idiosyncratic manner of citing sources, they needed to take into account and respond to this critique. Therefore, their philosophical views were based on examinations of the rhetorical underpinnings of Dōgen's discourse, including his unique appropriation of texts combining Japanese vernacular explications with Song dynasty locutions. In many ways, that concern remains the main area of attention for current researchers in the field, whose methods were previewed and are still largely determined by Edo-period predecessors. One crucial lesson is to learn from the lengthy scholastic history to distinguish between pseudo-linguistics, which derives from ideological assumptions superimposed on

the text based on what it "should" say in terms of Zen theory and/or practice, and an open-ended hermeneutic approach to philology. This outlook enables the text to speak for itself in revealing a distinctive set of discursive contexts that are evaluated in light of contemporary standards for historical assessment.

Another factor to take into account in assessing the situation of Edo commentaries is that so many of the authors were multifaceted figures. Best known in this regard are Gesshū, a calligrapher and artist; Menzan, who wrote over a hundred works, including analyses of earlier commentaries; and Gentō, who also was prolific in scholarship and calligrapbhy. Numerous other figures were very active in a variety of ways, so that their comments on one particular text represent the tip of an iceberg, so to speak, in terms of overall productivity. Moreover, nearly all were involved in wide-ranging institutional reform as well as spiritual revitalization movements.

Finally, this article not only sheds light on the historical formation of the *Shōbōgenzō*, but also indicates how its interpretive traditions were shaped by ongoing editorial efforts to construct the authoritative version of the text. The research on commentaries furthermore shows the outline of what is understood today as the evolution from *sankyū* (studies based on religious practice) to *kenkyū* (objective historical analysis). As such, the complex history of forming the *Shōbōgenzō* bears a strong affinity to the evolution of diverse methodologies of *shūgaku* (denominational studies propagating a point-of-view about the meaning of the text). These standpoints include traditionalism (*dentō-shūgaku*) in addition to reform *(shin-shūgaku*), flexible (*yasashi-shūgaku*), and critical (*hihan-shūgaku*) approaches, which debate whether and to what extent Dōgen's stance was unchanging and varied or shifting and fluid as a provisional (*toriaezu* 取りあえず) body of writing that embodies his own philosophy of the tentative fullness of being-time (*uji*). As Ejō writes of "Kuyō shobutsu" in the 12-fascicle edition, "During the summer retreat of 1255, I made an edited copy from my late master's draft. It was not a polished version, as he would have surely made additions and deletions. Since that is no longer possible, I am leaving the draft intact."

Therefore, the creation of an authoritative text, such as the 95-fascicle edition, functioned as a catalyst for developing somewhat contested and conflicting hermeneutic traditions that over time may have disputed or sought to replace authority based on a revamped sense of authenticity, or being true to the author's intentionality as best it can be determined. These interpretive models were at once an outcome of the editing process and a

strong element in eventually deconstructing its results, once held as the unquestioned authority and now seen as preliminary and in need of correction.

Note that Appendix I, II, III, and IV present various lists and tables docomumenting the different versions of the *Shōbōgenzō* and their roles in the formation of the 95-fascicle edition, whereas Appendix V features a multi-epochal flow-chart highlighting key stages in the process of commentary and text formation.

Figure 3. Steven Heine with Ishii Shūdō and Wakayama Yūkō reviewing a rare photo-facsimile edition stored at Komazawa University in 2016

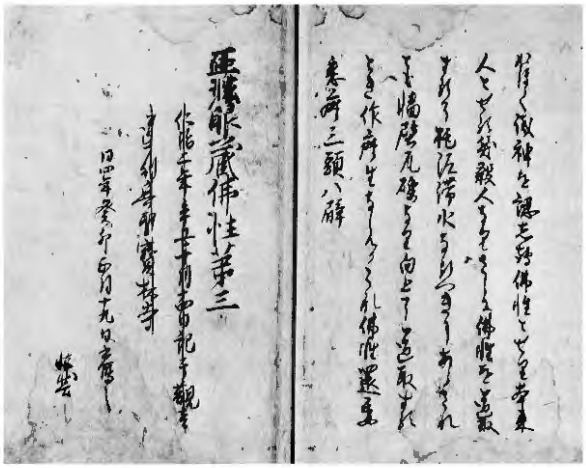


Figure 4. The cover page of "Busshō" fascicle manuscript showing revisions and deletions made by Ejō in the 1240s

Appendices I-V

Appendix I. Shōbōgenzō Editions Timeline

No. Fascicles	Compiler	Date	Manuscript	Period
75 Old Draft[1]	Dōgen	1245	1492-95	Kamakura
60 Old Draft[1]	Dōgen	1245	1329	Kamakura
12 New Draft	Dōgen	1247	1446 (1930)	Kamakura
100 An aspiration[2]	Dōgen (acc. Ejō)	n/a		Kamakura
28 Private (Himitsu)[1]	Ejō	n.d.	? (1998)	Kamakura
75 Goshō comments	Senne-Kyōgō	1308	1598 (1779)	Kamakura
60 Hinmoku	Giun	1329	1406	Kamakura
84 Daijōji temple	Bonsei	1419		Muromachi
83 Rorikōji temple	Kakuin	1492	1510	Muromachi
84 Bonsei revised	Gesshū	1658		Edo
82 Early Edo effort	Manzan	1664		Edo
89 First Edo edition	Manzan	1684		Edo
93 Initial attempt	Kozen	1690		Edo
96 Complete	Kozen	1693		Edo
78 Benchū	Tenkei	1730	1881	Edo
95 After Kozen[3]	Various editors	1700s		Edo
90 Honzan edition[4]	Gentō[5]	1796-1815		Edo
95 Woodblock	Honzan	1852		Edo
95 First typeset	Ōuchi Seiran	1885		Meiji
95 Completed	Honzan	1906		Meiji
95 First modern	Zenshū	1909		Meiji
95 Taishō canon	Taishō editors	1912-1924		Taishō
95 Iwanami bunko	Etō Sokuō	1939		Prewar
93 New Zenshū	Ōkubo Dōshū	1969-70		Postwar
88 Iwanami shoten	Terada-Mizuno	1970-72		Postwar
93 Etō redone	Mizuno Yaoko	1990-93		Postwar
103 Revised version	Zenshū	1988-93		Postwar

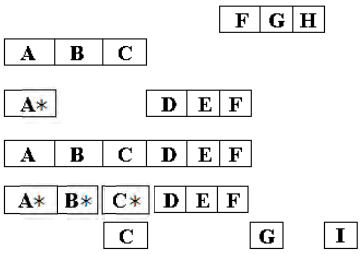
[1] Fascicles in Dōgen's hand include "Gyōji" part 2, "Sansuikyō" from the 28-edition, "Shisho" (two versions), "Soshi seiraii," "Shohō jissō"; other early manuscripts by Ejō and others: "Busshō," "Shinfukatoku," "Zazenshin," "Kūge," "Keisei sanshoku," "Jippō," and from the 28-edition, "Raihaitokuzui," "Den'e," "Bukkyō" (Buddhist Teachings), "Shunjū"; [2] According to Ejō's postscript to "Hachidainingaku," the final fascicle in the 12-edition, this was Dōgen's wish before his death, but Ejō also implies Dōgen preferred the New Draft version; [3] Various versions by Tenkei, Menzan, Rōran, Zōkai, Honkō, and others in the 18th century during the Prohibition; [4] Five fascicles deliberately left out; [5] Gentō also edited Eihei kōroku, Eihei shingi, Teiho Kenzeiki zue, and led in sectarian reforms and literary and visual aesthetics

Appendix II. Locations for Delivery of 95(6)-Fascicle Edition

Anyō'in	1 fascicle	1231	Kyoto
Kannon'in	2 fascicles	1233	Kyoto
Kōshōji	42 fascicles	1238-43	Kyoto
Hatano residence	1 fascicle	1242	Kyoto
Rokuhara temple	1 fascicle	1243	Kyoto
Kippōji	2 fasicles	1243-44	Echizen
Yamashibu	5 fascicles	1243	Echizen
Mountain retreats	2 fascicles	1244	Echizen
Daibutsuji/ Eiheiji	9 fascicles	1245-46	Eiheiji
Unclear	11 fascicles	unclear	Eiheiji
Total	**96**		

Appendix III-A. Various Shōbōgenzō Compilations

(based on Mizuno, *Shōbōgenzō* IV:512)



- 12-fascicle "new" (found at Yōkōji)
- 75-fascicle "old" (remarks by Senne-Kyōgō)
- 60-fascicle "old" (remarks by Giun)
- 84-fascicle (Bonsei at Daijōji, 1419)
- 83-fascicle (Kakuin at Rurikōji, 1433)
- 28-fascicle ("Himitsu Shōbōgenzō," by Ejō)

Note: 75- and 12-fascicles linked together, and 60- and 28-fascicles form another grouping

A（50 fascicles, the 60 and 83-fascicle texts include Gyōji 1-2 as separate, for 51 fascicles: Genjōkōan • Makahannyaharamitsu •Busshō • Shinjin gakudō • Sokushin zebutsu • Gyōbutsu igi • Ikkya myōju • Kobusshin • Daigo • Zazengi • Kaiin zanmai • Kūge • Kōmyō • Gyōji (1 and 2) • Immo • Kannon • Kokyō • Uji • Juki • Zenki • Tsuki • Gabyō • Keisei sanshoku • Bukkōjōji • Muchū setsumu • Kankin • Shoaku makusa • Dōtoku • Jinzū • Arakan • Kattō • Hakujushi • Sangai yuishin • Mujō seppō • Hosshō • Darani • Senmen • Jippō • Kenbutsu • Hensan • Ganzei • Kajō • Ryūgin • Soshiseiraii • Hotsumujōshin • Udonge • Nyorai zenshin • Kokū • Ho-u • Ango

B（6 fascicles, the 83-fascicle text does not include Shunjū):

Zazenshin • Shunjū • Baika • Senjō • Tashintsū • Ōsakusendaba

C（19 fascicles, the 83-fascicle text does not include Shisho):

Shinfukatoku • Raihaitokuzui • Sansuikyō • Den'e • Bukkyō (Teaching) • Shisho • Sesshin sesshō • Shohō jissō • Butsudō • Mitsugo • Bukkyō (Sutras) • Menju • Busso • Sanjūshichibon bodaibunpō • Zanmai ō zanmai • Tenbōrin • Daishugyō • Jishō zanmai • Shukke

D（1 fascicle): Hokke-ten-hokke

E（1 fascicle): Bodaisatta-shishōbō

F（7 fascicles): Sanjigō • Shime • Hotsubodaishin • Kesa kudoku • Shukke kudoku • Kuyō shobutsu • Kie buppōsōbō

G（4 fascicles): Jukai • Jinshin inga • Shizen biku • Hachidainingaku

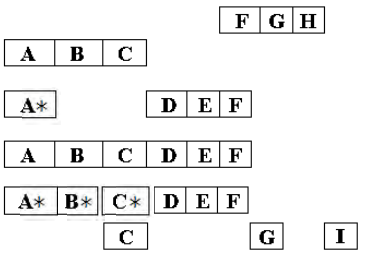
H（1 fascicle): Ippyakuhachihōmyōmon (considered the 96th fascicle, after its discovery)

I（5 fascicles): (Beppon) Shinfukatoku • (Beppon) Butsukōjōji • (Beppon) Butsudō (Dōshin) • Shōji • Yuibutsu yobutsu

Others: (2 fascicles included in 95-fascicle or 96-fascicle editions): Jūundōshiki • Jikuinmon
Additional Beppon: Bendōwa • Shisho • Senmen • Hensan • Daigo • Sanjigō
Question: Did Dōgen hope to complete 100 fascicles, as mentioned by Ejō?

Appendix III-B. Various Shōbōgenzō Compilations

(Japanese version)



- 十二巻本(永光寺本)
- 七十五巻本
- 六十巻本(懐奘所寺本)
- 八十四巻本(留璃光寺本)
- 『秘密正法眼蔵』 二十八巻本
- (懐奘所持本)

A (50 巻 *六十巻本、八十三巻本では「行持」上・下それぞれ 1 巻と教え、51 巻とする):
現成公案 • 摩訶般若波羅蜜 • 佛性 • 身心學道 • 即心是佛 • 行佛威儀 • 一顆明珠 •古佛心 •大悟 • 坐禪儀 • 海印三昧 • 空華 • 光明 • 行持 (上 下) • 恁麼 • 觀音 • 古鏡 • 有時 • 授記 • 全機 • 都機 • 畫餅 • 谿聲山色 • 佛向上事 • 夢中説夢 • 看經 • 諸惡莫作 • 道得 • 神通 • 阿羅漢 • 葛藤 • 栢樹子 • 三界唯心 • 無情説法 • 法性 • 陀羅尼 • 洗面 • 十方 • 見佛 • 遍參 • 眼睛 • 家常 • 龍吟 • 祖師西來意 • 發無上心 • 優曇華 • 如來全身 • 虛空 • 鉢盂 • 安居
B (6 巻 *八十三巻本は「春秋」1 巻を欠く): 坐禪箴 • 春秋 • 梅花 • 洗淨 • 他心通 • 王索仙陀婆
C (19 巻 *八十三巻本は「嗣書」1 巻を欠く): 心不可得 • 禮拜得髓 • 山水經 • 傳衣 • 佛教 • 嗣書 • 説心説性 • 諸法實相 • 佛道 • 密語 • 佛經 • 面授 • 佛祖 • 菩提分法 • 三昧王三昧 • 轉法輪 • 大修行 • 自証三昧 • 出家
D (1 巻): 法華轉法華
E (1 巻): 菩提薩捶四摂法
F (7 巻): 三時業 • 發菩提心 • 四馬 • 袈裟功徳 •出家功徳 • 供養諸佛 • 歸依佛法僧寶
G (4 巻): 受戒 • 深信因果 • 四禪比丘 • 八大人覺
H (1 巻): 一百八法明門
I (5 巻): 別本心不可得 • 別本佛向上事 • 別本佛道 (道心) • 生死 • 唯佛與佛

Appendix IV. Sequence in 95-Fasicle and Several Other Editions

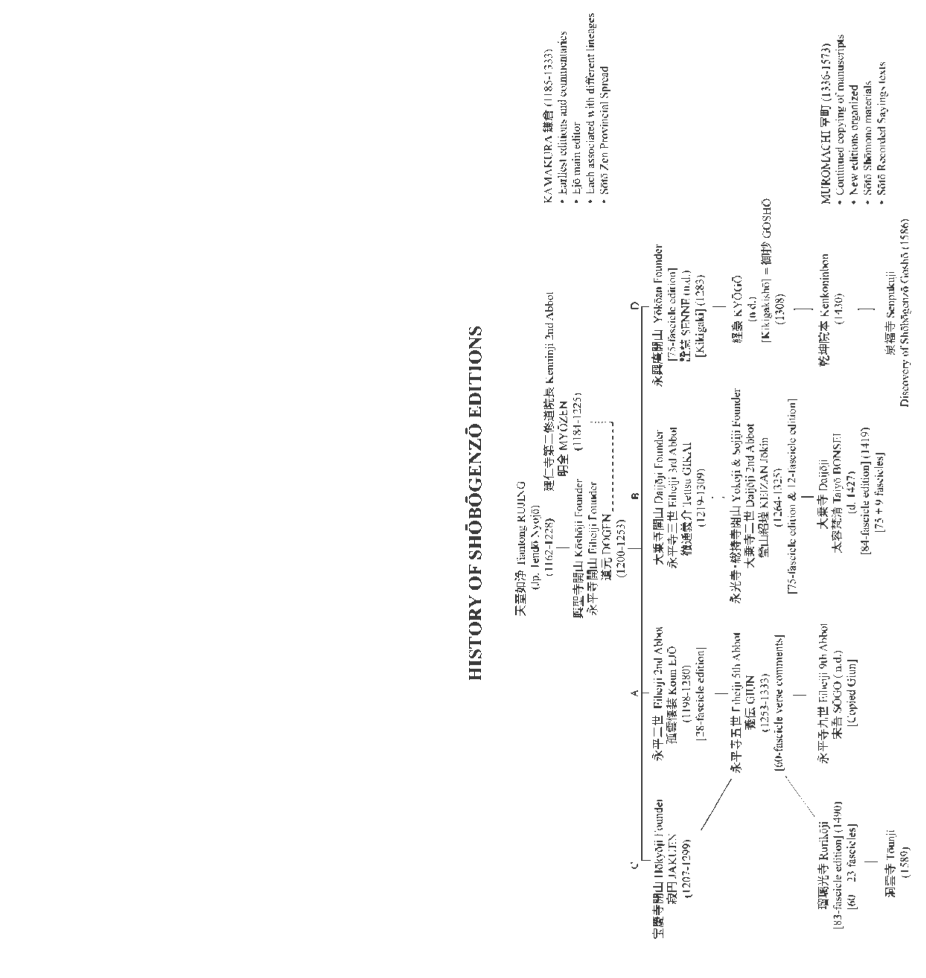
(according to Mizuno, 75 &12 form one group, 60 & 28 form another)

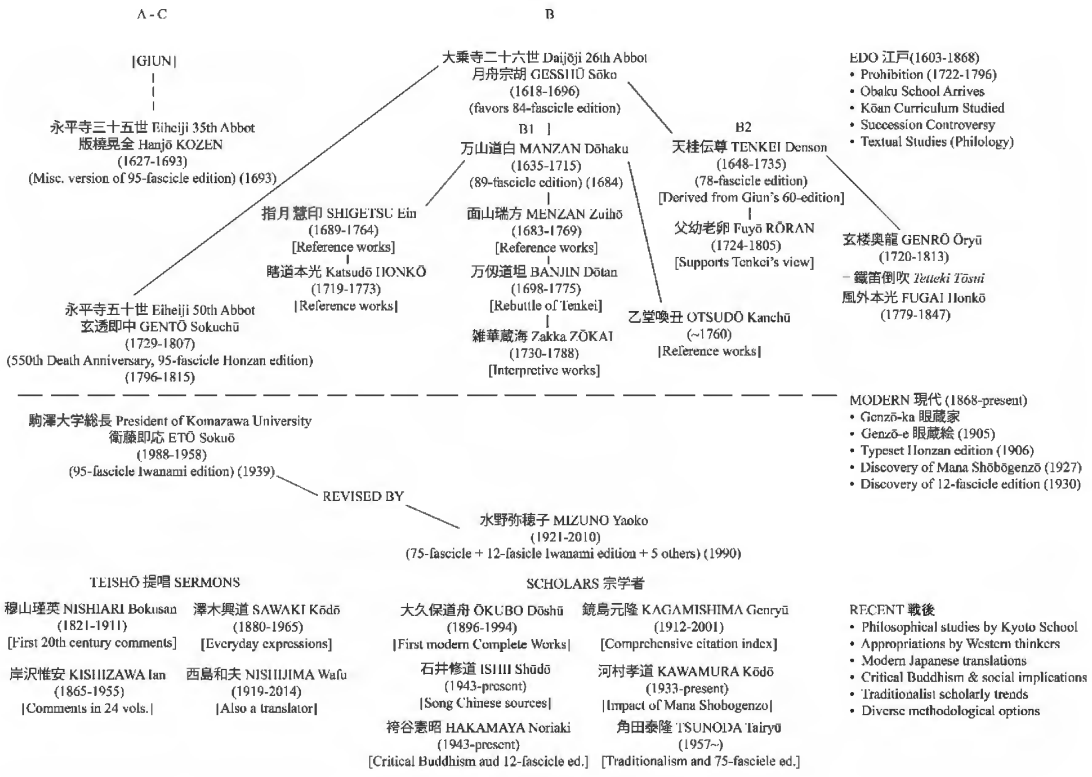
95-Honzan	75	60	12	28	84	89	Kōzen[a]	Date
1. Bendōwa						85	95	1231.8/15
2. Makahannyaharamitsu	2	2			2	1	1	1233.4-7
3. Genjōkōan	1	1			1	2	2	1233.8
4. Ikkya Myōju	7	7			7	3	3	1238.4/18
5. Jūundōshiki						86	4	1239.4/25
6. Sokushin zebutsu	5	5			5	4	5	1239.4/25
7. Senjō	54	54			54	6	6	1239.10/23
8. Raihai tokuzui	28			8[b]	28	7	7	1240.3/7
9. Keisei sanshoku	25	25			25	8	8	1240.4/20
10. Shoaku makusa	31	31			31	9	79	1240.10/1
11. Uji	20	20			20	10	10	1240.10/1
12. Kesa kudoku		41	3		81	13	9	1240.10/1
13. Den'e	32			12	32	12	80	1240.10/1
14. Sansuikyō	29			14	29	11	11	1240.10/18
15. Busso	52			22	52	14	12	1241.1/3
16. Shisho	39			19	39	15	13	1241.3/27
17. Hokke ten hokke		12			77	17	14	1241.4-7
18. Shinfukatoku	8			4	8	16	15	1241.4-7
19. Shinfukatoku b				3			16b	1241.4-7
20. Kokyō	19	19			19	18	17	1241.9/9
21. Kankin	30	30			30	19	74	1241.8/15
22. Busshō	3	3			3	20	21	1241.10/14
23. Gyōbutsu igi	6	6			6	21	18	1241.10/15
24. Bukkyō (Teachings)	34			13	34	22	19	1241.11/14
25. Jinzū	35	35			35	23	20	1241.11/16
26. Daigo	10	10			10	24	22	1242.1/28
27. Zazenshin	12				12	25	52	1242.3/18
28. Bukkōjōji	26	26		1[b]	26	27	25	1242.3/22
29. Immo	17	29			17	26	23	1242.3/20
30A. Gyōji 1	16	16			16	28	26	1243.1/18
30B. Gyōji 2		17						1242.4/5
31. Kaiin zanmai	13	13			13	29	78	1242.4/20
32. Juki	21	21			21	30	28	1242.2/25
33. Kannon	18	18			18	31	27	1242.4/26
34. Arakan	36	36			36	32	29	1242.5/15
35. Hakujushi	40	40			40	33	30	1242.5/21
36. Kōmyō	15	15			15	34	31	1242.6/2
37. Shinjin gakudō	4	4			4	35	32	1242.9/9
38. Muchū setsumu	27	27			27	36	24	1242.9/21
39. Dōtoku	33	33			33	37	33	1242.10/5
40. Gabyō	24	24			24	38	34	1242.11/5
41. Zenki	22	22			22	39	35	1242.12/17
42. Tsuki	23	23			23	40	38	1243.1/6
43. Kūge	14	14			14	41	36	1243.3/10
44 Kobusshin	9	9			9	42	37	1243.4/29
45. Bodaisatta shishōbō		28			78	43	86	1243.5/5
46. Kattō	38	38			38	44	39	1243.7/7
47. Sangai yuishin	41	32			41	45	40	1243.7/1
48. Sesshin sesshō	42			27	42	46	57	1243

49. Butsudō	44			9	44	48	43	1243.9/16
50. Shohō jissō	43			6	43	47	41	1243.9
51. Mitsugo	45			15	45	49	72	1243.9/20
52. Bukkyō (Sutras)	47			25	47	50	42	1243.9
53. Mujō seppō	46	46			46	51	47	1243.10/2
54. Hōsshō	48	48			48	52	44	1243.10
55. Senmen	50	60			50	5	46	1239.10/23 6
56. Darani	49	49			49	53	56	1243
57. Menju	51			26	51	54	45	1243.10/20
58. Zazengi	11	11			11	55	51	1243.11
59. Baika	53				53	56	48	1243.11/6
60. Jippō	55	45			55	57	73	1243.11/13
61. Kenbutsu	56	47			56	58	49	1243.11/19
62. Henzan	57	37			57	59	50	1243.11/26
63. Ganzei	58	44			58	60	54	1243.12/17
64. Kajō	59	43			59	61	53	1243.12/17
65. Ryūgin	61	51			61	62	55	1243.12/25
66. Shunjū	37				37	63	65	1244
67. Soshi seiraii	62	52			62	64	61	1244.2/4
68. Udonge	64	54			64	65	58	1244.2/12
69. Hotsu mujōshin	63	53			63	66	62	1244.2/14
70. Hotsu bodaishin		34	4		80	80	59	1244.2/14
71. Nyorai zenshin	65	55			65	67	82	1244.2/15
72. Zanmai ō zanmai	66			10	66	68	60	1244.2/15
73. Sanjūshichibodaibun	60			11	60	69	63	1244.2/14
74. Tenbōrin	67			16	67	70	66	1244.2/27
75. Jishō zanmai	69			17	69	71	64	1244.2/19
76. Daishugyō	68			18	68	72	67	1244.3/9
77. Kokū	70	56			70	73	68	1245.3/6
78. Ho'u	71	42			71	74	69	1245.3/12
79. Ango	72	57			72	75	70	1245.6/13
80. Tajinzū	73				73	76	75	1245.7/4
81. Ōsaku sendaba	74				74	77	76	1245.10/22
82. Ji kuin mon						87	71	1246.8/6
83. Shukke	75			24	75	78	77	1246.9/15
84. Hachidainingaku			12	20		89	96	(1253.1/6)[c]
85. Sanjigō		8			76	79	84	(1253.3/9)
86. Shime		39	9		79	81	91	(1255.4-7)
87. Shukke kudoku		58	1		82	82	81	(1255.4-7)
88. Kuyō shobutsu		59	5		83	83	85	(1255.4-7)
89. Kie buppōsosanbō		60	6		84	84	83	(1255.4-7)
90. Jinshin inga			7	5			89	(1255.4-7)
91. Shizen biku			10	23			90	(1255.4-7)
92. Yuibutsu yobutsu				28			93	unknown
93. Shōji				2			87	unknown
94. Butsudō (Dōshin)				7			88	unknown
95. Jukai			2	21		88	92	unknown
96. Ippyakuhachihōmyōmon			11					unknown

[a] One fascicle, "Shinzō," originally #94, was considered spurious and deleted from the edition
[b] Different versions for the 28-fascicle edition
[c] Parenthesis indicates copies made by Ejō

Appendix V. History of Shōbōgenzō Editions




A - C
B
[GIUN]
永平寺三十五世 Eiheiji 35th Abbot
版橋晃全 Hanjō KOZEN
(1627-1693)
(Misc. version of 95-fascicle edition) (1693)
大乗寺二十六世 Daijōji 26th Abbot
月舟宗胡 GESSHŪ Sōko
(1618-1696)
(favors 84-fascicle edition)
B1
万山道白 MANZAN Dōhaku
(1635-1715)
(89-fascicle edition) (1684)
B2
天桂伝尊 TENKEI Denson
(1648-1735)
(78-fascicle edition)
[Derived from Giun's 60-edition]
EDO 江戸(1603-1868)
• Prohibition (1722-1796)
• Obaku School Arrives
• Kōan Curriculum Studied
• Succession Controversy
• Textual Studies (Philology)
指月慧印 SHIGETSU Ein
(1689-1764)
[Reference works]
面山瑞方 MENZAN Zuihō
(1683-1769)
[Reference works]
父幼老卵 Fuyō RŌRAN
(1724-1805)
[Supports Tenkei's view]
玄楼奥龍 GENRŌ Ōryū
(1720-1813)
– 鐵笛倒吹 Tetteki Tōsui
風外本光 FUGAI Honkō
(1779-1847)
睹道本光 Katsudō HONKŌ
(1719-1773)
[Reference works]
万仞道坦 BANJIN Dōtan
(1698-1775)
[Rebuttle of Tenkei]
雑華蔵海 Zakka ZŌKAI
(1730-1788)
[Interpretive works]
乙堂喚丑 OTSUDŌ Kanchū
(~1760)
[Reference works]
永平寺五十世 Eiheiji 50th Abbot
玄透即中 GENTŌ Sokuchū
(1729-1807)
(550th Death Anniversary, 95-fascicle Honzan edition)
(1796-1815)
MODERN 現代 (1868-present)
• Genzō-ka 眼蔵家
• Genzō-e 眼蔵絵 (1905)
• Typeset Honzan edition (1906)
• Discovery of Mana Shōbōgenzō (1927)
• Discovery of 12-fascicle edition (1930)
駒澤大学総長 President of Komazawa University
衛藤即応 ETŌ Sokuō
(1988-1958)
(95-fascicle Iwanami edition) (1939)
REVISED BY
水野弥穂子 MIZUNO Yaoko
(1921-2010)
(75-fascicle + 12-fascicle Iwanami edition + 5 others) (1990)
TEISHŌ 提唱 SERMONS
SCHOLARS 宗学者
穆山瑾英 NISHIARI Bokusan
(1821-1911)
[First 20th century comments]
澤木興道 SAWAKI Kōdō
(1880-1965)
[Everyday expressions]
大久保道舟 ŌKUBO Dōshū
(1896-1994)
[First modern Complete Works]
鏡島元隆 KAGAMISHIMA Genryū
(1912-2001)
[Comprehensive citation index]
RECENT 戦後
• Philosophical studies by Kyoto School
• Appropriations by Western thinkers
• Modern Japanese translations
• Critical Buddhism & social implications
• Traditionalist scholarly trends
• Diverse methodological options
岸沢惟安 KISHIZAWA Ian
(1865-1955)
[Comments in 24 vols.]
西島和夫 NISHIJIMA Wafu
(1919-2014)
[Also a translator]
石井修道 ISHII Shūdō
(1943-present)
[Song Chinese sources]
河村孝道 KAWAMURA Kōdō
(1933-present)
[Impact of Mana Shobogenzo]
袴谷憲昭 HAKAMAYA Noriaki
(1943-present)
[Critical Buddhism and 12-fascicle ed.]
角田泰隆 TSUNODA Tairyū
(1957~)
[Traditionalism and 75-fasciele ed.]

SELECTIONS OF ZEN BUDDHIST POETRY IN *KANBUN* REFLECTING EARLY MEDIEVAL CROSS-CULTURAL AND CROSS-SECTARIAN TRENDS

Steven Heine
Florida International University

Introduction

This paper provides translations of a couple of dozen Zen Buddhist poems from early medieval Japan, accompanied by an introductory essay providing the background for understanding the significance and religious symbolism of this literature. The selections mainly represent a particular faction of the Sōtō Zen sect, which is generally not recognized for its contributions to Zen poetry yet did play a major role that needs to be explored and explained. Some of the material included here appears in my recent book *Flowers Blooming on a Withered Tree: Giun's Verse Comments on Dōgen's Treasury of the True Dharma Eye*.[1]

In the intellectual history of Japanese Zen, the Rinzai (Ch. Linji) sect is particularly well known for the production of voluminous poetry written in the *kanbun* 漢文 (Sino-Japanese) style consisting usually of four-line, seven-character verse that was typical of the religious elite. Although there are many exceptions to the basic form, the Zen poems do follow various intricate rhetorical rules for rhyming, tonal patterns, thematic progression, symbolic indicators, and more. During the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, these poems produced the basis of the great artistic movement known as Five Mountains Literature (*Gozan bungaku*) that dominated, along with Zen painting and other practical arts such as gardening and tea ceremony, the cultural scene in both Kyoto and Kamakura, which was strongly supported by the shogunate seeking to promote continental learning and the exchange of ideas.[2]

While some eminent Chinese monks relocated to Japan in order to teach Zen poetry, especially Yishan Yining (1247–1317) who arrived in 1299,

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[1] Steven Heine, *Flowers Blooming on a Withered Tree: Giun's Verse Comments on Dōgen's Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

[2] See David Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains* (New York: Crossroad, 1985).

dozens of Japanese pilgrims who traveled to the mainland to learn the method of writing in the authentic Chinese fashion returned to practice their craft while residing at Kyoto temples. Today, several prominent collections of Five Mountains Literature containing multiple volumes with hundreds of examples of verse represent but a small sampling of the full amount of Rinzai Zen poetry composed in early medieval Japan. In addition, the monks also generally wrote traditional Japanese *waka* 和歌 verse with five lines in thirty-one syllables and participated regularly in *waka* competitions known as *uta awase* that were often held at the shogun's elite salons in order to create linked verse (*renga*) in collaboration with their colleagues.

By contrast, the Sōtō (Ch. Caodong) Zen sect that was established by Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) and significantly expanded by the followers of Keizan 瑩山 (1268–1235) a century later in temples located in the northern provincial territory of Hokuriku (covering the mountains of Echizen, currently Fukui prefecture, and the Noto peninsula, currently Ishikawa prefecture), far removed from the capital, was thought to have eschewed literary pursuits. Instead, Sōtō leaders favored a strict adherence to the notion that "just sitting" (*shikan taza*) in meditation was the only true path to enlightenment, whereby writing was seen as a distraction that detracted from realizing one's spiritual goal.

After all, Dōgen is often cited for proclaiming in a sermon included in the *Miscellaneous Talks* (*Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*), "Zen monks these days are fond of literature and seek to write verses or essays, but this is a mistake…Reading poetry is a waste of time and should be completely cast aside." Adding to the typical view, we find that relatively few Sōtō monks other than Dōgen ventured to China, and those that managed to get involved in the poetry ethos for the most part moved to Kyoto and converted to one of the Rinzai temples.

Nevertheless, there is ample evidence showing that Sōtō monks did take part in the composition of *kanbun* poetry and contributed to the overall Zen literary environment cutting across apparent, but often misleading, boundaries of geography and sectarian divisions, especially up to and during the first half of the fourteenth century when various sociohistorical factors caused the trend to subside rather abruptly. First, Dōgen himself composed more than five hundred poems, including about 450 *kanbun* verses that adhere to continental discursive guidelines in addition to 63 *waka* verse. Although only a tiny handful of his *kanbun* poems are included in the major Five Mountains collections, Dōgen's poetry as well as prose writing, which is highly prized for its profound literary qualities by interpreting Chinese

texts in Japanese vernacular syntax, in addition to his calligraphy, is valued for its literary qualities.

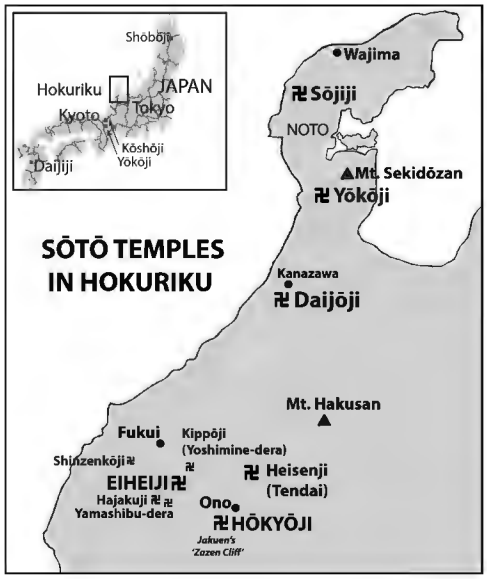

Figure 1. Spread of the Sōtō sect to the far northwestern provinces[3]

Dōgen's texts, for example, are usually grouped along with the *Tale of Heike* (*Heike monogatari*) and Chōmei's *An Account of My Hut* (*Hōjōki*) as examples of thirteenth-century writing that deeply explore the multiple levels of meaning of impermanence. They have also been inspirational for many important figures in the history of Japanese literature that include: Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241), famed *waka* poet who communicated with Dōgen in Kyoto; Yoshida Kenkō (1284–1350), author of *Tzurezuregusa* who appreciated Dōgen's creative discourse; Zeami (1363–1443), the great Noh theater playwright and theorist who integrated the Sōtō founder's philosophy of aesthetics into his thespian approach; *haiku* innovator Bashō (1644–1694), who reported on his visit to the out-of-the-way locale of Dōgen's Eiheiji temple in *Oku no hosomichi* journeys; and Kawabata Yasunari (1899–1972), who surprisingly mentioned the impact of Dōgen's *waka* at the very

[3] Map designed by María Sol Echarren and Steven Heine.

beginning of his 1968 Nobel Prize acceptance speech, "Japan, the Beautiful, and Myself" ("Utsukushii Nihon to Watakushi"). Moreover, Dōgen's work greatly influenced many of the few famous Sōtō Zen poets, ranging from Daichi Sokei (1290–1366), who spent ten years studying in China and is included in some of the Five Mountains collections, and the brilliantly eccentric hermit Ryōkan Taigu (1758–1831), a great poet who evokes Dōgen's prosody numerous times.

One of the main examples of Sōtō Zen poetry from the early medieval period, translated in my latest book, is the poetic remarks by monk Giun 義雲 (1253–1333), the fifth abbot of Eiheiji temple, regarding Dōgen's masterwork, the *Treasur*y (*Shōbōgenzo*). This text titled *Comments on the Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō honmokuju* 正法眼蔵品目頌 is an important early commentary on the 60-fascicle edition of the *Treasury* that was composed in 1329 in the specific *kanbun* style known as *juko* 頌古 (Ch. *songgu*) typically used for interpreting *kōan* (Ch. gongan) cases that was prevalent in voluminous continental Zen records from the Song dynasty.[4]

Giun's text also includes cryptic capping-phrase or *jakugo* 着語 (Ch. *zhuoyu*) remarks, which are epigrammatic expressions that accompany each verse, thereby evoking another literary form that was featured in Chinese Zen sources. Consequently, an alternative title that adds the term "*jaku*," refers to the *Verse Comments with Capping Phrases on the Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō honmokujujaku* 正法眼蔵品目頌着). An additional set of capping phrases on the 60-fascicle edition of the *Treasury* was composed in the Edo period by Katsudō Honkō 活動本興 (1710–1773), a disciple of Shigetsu Ein (1689–1764). Honkō's sayings are part of his own commentary on Giun's text called *Diamond Reflections on Giun's Verse*

[4] The main versions consulted include: a) the edition in volume 82 of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (T82.476a–578a, #2591), the standard modern canon of Buddhist works used in China and Japan that sometimes contains minor misprints; b) a manuscript featuring Japanese grammatical marks (*kundoku*) modifying the original *kanbun* that appears in volume 5 of the *Complete Writings of the Sōtō Sect* (*Sōtōshū zensho*, or SSZ.5.35–40); and c) a partially modernized internet version produced by Eiheiji temple as a component of a summary of the fifth patriarch's life and thought.

Comments (*Shōbōgenzō honmokuju kongōjitsuzan* 正法眼蔵品目頌金剛茎參), and all those capping phrases are included in my translation.[5]

Giun's religious outlook was most likely influenced by diverse historical and spiritual factors, especially the impact of a small but important Zen movement known as the Wanshi (Ch. Hongzhi)-ha 宏智派 school that was prominent in Japan during the first half of the 1400s based on an emphasis on the writing of *kanbun* poetry to express the Dharma. The Wanshi-ha reflected the profound influence of the writings by Hongzhi Zhengjue (1091–1157, Jp. Wanshi Shōgaku), an essential Chinese Sōtō predecessor of Dōgen whose distinctive approach to poetic composition was also studied by many Rinzai/Linji monks in both China and Japan during this period. Hongzhi is often cited in Dōgen's *Treasury* and in the formal sermons of his *Extensive Record* (*Eihei kōroku*).

A couple of generations after his death, Hongzhi's direct lineage spread to Japan beginning in 1309 with the advent of a follower named Dongming Huiji (1272–1340, Jp. Tōmyō Enichi). There, the Wanshi-ha literary approach greatly impacted both the Sōtō and Rinzai sects for at least half a century. It encompassed various monks who either came from or stayed in China to teach Japanese travelers, especially the renowned poet Gulin Qingmao (1262–1329, Jp. Kurin Seimo), who taught many foreign visitors and sent some of his disciples to the islands.[6] The school's Japanese members included the eminent Sōtō monk-poets Betsugen Enshi (1294–1364) and Daichi Sokei (1290–1366), both of whom traveled for a long time to China to study under Gulin and also visited Eiheiji, in addition to Kōhō Kakumyō (1271–1261) and Chūgan Engetsu (1300–1375), who started as followers of

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[5] In *Shōbōgenzō chūkai zensho* 正法眼蔵注解全書, 11 vols., ed. Jinbo Nyoten 神保如天 and Andō Bun'ei 安藤文英 (Tokyo: Nihon bussho kankōkai, rpt. 1956–1957), volume 11. Honkō was known for his own poetic approach to interpreting Dōgen's philosophy, as in his remark on the notion of "Dreams" (Yume): "The dream of a person dreaming of a world of dreams that cannot be forgotten— / If someone wakes up from such a dream, then that is the true dream."

[6] Several of Gulin's disciples accompanied Japanese visitors to the islands in 1326, at least in part to escape the Yuan dynasty leadership that was not sympathetic to Zen Buddhism in China, and they generally lived happily abroad and often stayed there until they died. See Arthur Braverman, trans., *A Quiet Room: The Poetry of Zen Master Jakushitsu* (Boston: Tuttle, 2000).

Dongming and interacted with Giun at Eiheiji but eventually switched affiliations to the Rinzai sect. This contributed to the misunderstanding that the Wanshi-ha should be seen as a wing of Rinzai rather than connected with Sōtō Zen.

The impact of the Wanshi-ha as a transnational and trans-factional movement is much more significant than has been recognized in recent Western studies of Zen history, and Giun was at the very least an indirect participant. His *Recorded Sayings* (*Goroku*)[7] sermons cite Hongzhi more frequently than Dōgen and occasionally suggest the theory of Five Ranks (*goi* 五位) attributed to Caodong school founders Dongshan (807–869) and Caoshan (840–901).[8] The theory is also associated with numerous later texts, including Hongzhi's poetic writings treating this complex interpretative method in addition to other similar pedagogical devices that were popular in Southern Song-dynasty Zen discourse and transmitted to Japan. According to traditional accounts, Giun enjoyed a reputation for expertise in the subtleties of the Five Ranks (*goi*) that was sought out by adherents of Sōtō and Rinzai Zen, even if his writings offer only a glimpse of this area of specialty. On the other hand, Dōgen's *Treasury* is known for either ignoring or, in a couple of places, refuting the Five Ranks interpretative technique, particularly in the fascicle on "Spring and Autumn" ("Shunjū").

Therefore, Giun's position in Sōtō Zen can well be compared to that of another essential figure from this period, Gasan Jōseki (1275–1366), the major follower of Keizan Jōkin (1268–1325), who was the second most influential Sōto leader after Dōgen. Gasan's evangelical efforts were, in large part, responsible for the rapid spread of the sect throughout the Japanese

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[7] The standard edition of the *Giun oshō goroku* in vol. 4 of the *Nihon no goroku* series edited by Shinohara Hisao (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978), unfortunately, does not contain Giun's *Verse Comments* collection as an appendage to Giun's recorded sayings; neither does another edition edited by Ishii Seijun, *Giun oshō: mukyoku zenji* (Tokyo: Shikisha, 2005). On the other hand, there is a photo-facsimile of an early modern version of the text appears in *Eihei Shōbōgenzō shūsho taisei* 永平正法眼藏蒐書大成, 27 vols. (Tokyo: Taishukan shoten, 1974–82), volume 20:3–8.

[8] See Seong-Uk Kim. "The Zen Theory of Language: Linji Yixuan's Teaching of "Three Statements, Three Mysteries, and Three Essentials" (*sanju sanxuan sanyao* 三句三玄三要)," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 36/37 (2013/2014), 69–92.

countryside in the fourteenth century and he was also very much involved in disseminating Five Ranks theory through various esoteric writings.[9] Also, apparently both Giun and Gasan received visits from well-known Rinzai monks on their way to or from visiting the mainland, where they usually studied poetry with Gulin or his associates. These monk-poets, including Chūgan, Betsugen and some others, were eager to learn the details of the Five Ranks method from Giun or Gasan, despite the fact that the Sōtō leaders had not ventured to China and sojourned in areas remote from the major Rinzai centers in Kyoto or Kamakura. However, unlike Gasan, Giun's base of religious authority was limited to Eiheiji, where many disciples came to read the 60-fascicle edition of the *Treasury*.

Contents

The poems selected for translation below highlight just a few examples of the Wanshi-ha approach, including three sections from Giun's *Verse Comments* plus additional *kanbun* poems composed by Giun and several other prominent monk-poets from both the Sōtō and Rinzai schools in China and Japan. The work of those monks is particularly relevant for providing a context by which to understand the crucial role played by the fifth Eiheiji abbot in shaping the early medieval history of Zen's approach to studying Dōgen's *Treasury* through appropriating Chinese poetic sources, including interpretations of the doctrine of the Five Ranks, and embracing key elements of the boundary-crossing Wanshi-ha movement's literary standpoint for Zen training.

The first part of the translation section contains verses originally included in Giun's *Recorded Sayings*, either from the section of *Treasury* comments, a dedicated segment of fourteen *kanbun* poems, or other portions of the text.[10] The first three poems, which are accompanied by my comments on the symbolism of the verses and capping phrases by Giun and Honkō, cover the "Genjōkōan," "Makahannya," and "Zazengi" fascicles of Dōgen's *Treasury*. Then, the fourth, fifth, and sixth poems by Giun are in the form of

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[9] See Marta Sanvido, "Multiple Layers of Transmission: Gasan Jōseki and the Goi Doctrine in the Medieval Sōtō school," *Annali di Ca' Foscari: Serie orientale* 53/1 (2017), 337–367.

[10] *Giun*, ed. Shinohara Hisao (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978), which includes the *Giun Oshō goroku* 義雲和尚語録 in two parts: the *Hōkyō Zenji goroku* and the *Eihei Zenji goroku* (this verse is from the former).

"eulogies" (*san* 賛), a typical genre used by nearly all Zen masters, in this case dedicated to the memory of the main patriarchs of Giun's Sōtō Zen lineage: Dōgen, the founding abbot of Eiheiji; Ejō, Dōgen's main disciple and the second abbot; and Jakuen, Dōgen's primary Chinese disciple who founded Hōkyōji temple which Giun joined and then led after the death of Jakuen. These poems evoke the essence of the predecessors' largesse of character in that their meditative state "resounds with the crack of thunder" or results in "smashing the clouds and splashing the waters." This small group is followed by two poems expressing "self-praise" (*jisan* 自賛), another poetic category used in Zen records, which emphasize the humility of Giun, who says he simply "eats from and washes his bowl" while yielding to the spiritual power of "spring flowers blooming in the fragrant forest." The five poems that deal with either praise of others or Giun himself are longer and have variations in the number of characters per line compared to the *juko* remarks of the *Verse Comments*.

The other poems in this part of the chapter are four-line verses. Two poems written at a mountain retreat near Eiheiji deal with Giun's feelings of quietude and solitude while meditating alone amid the beauty of nature. Beginning in the Tang dynasty, it was common practice for Zen abbots to occasionally leave the temple grounds for extended periods in pursuit of spiritual renewal by, in part, composing poetry. Giun records the standpoint of his imperturbable mind that remains undistracted by ordinary thoughts or sensations yet, from an enlightened perspective, compares the breeze and moon to the interaction of guest and host, according to the Five Ranks theory. Both verses feature seven characters per line. The next poem with five characters per line is culled from one of Giun's Dharma hall sermons on the notion of the one mind influenced by the pantheistic philosophy of the *Huayan Sūtra*, and the last piece with four characters per line represents Giun's verse on death–anticipation (*yuige* 遺偈), a form of expression that was expected of all Zen masters who could, it is said, know in advance and lyricize about the time of their demise.

The next part of the chapter contains a dozen poems by six Zen monk-poets, who can be considered part of the orbit of figures and ideas that either influenced or were impacted by Giun. The first group includes five poems by Daichi Sokei, an early fourteenth-century Sōtō leader who refined his literary skills while studying in China and returned to establish a temple in his native area of Kyushu, where he received a copy of the *Treasury* and

wrote verse comments on a couple of its fascicles.[11] Daichi is unique in being considered one of the great medieval Zen poets during an era when Rinzai monks who were mainly located in Kyoto or Kamakura, clearly dominated the composition of verse.

This group of poems is followed by a selection of three verses written by Betsugen Enshi, another exceptional Sōtō figure linked to the Wanshi-ha school whose work is included in the list of eminent medieval Zen composers of *kanbun* poetry. Beginning in 1320, Bestugen trained for ten years in China, where he received the seal of transmission from the master, Gulin Qingmao, who received dozens of Japanese visitors and sent some of his main Chinese disciples to teach in Japan. Although his mastery of Chinese language and literature was unsurpassed among foreign disciples of Buddhism, Betsugen is mainly known for expressing feelings of homesickness, as in the first two poems in this group. Once he returned to his native land, as conjured in the third poem, he stayed for years in his native Fukui province, where he maintained ties with Eihejiji and resisted the shogunate's efforts to appoint him head of one of the main urban Rinzai temples.

Next is a poem by Gentō Sokuchū, the renowned reformer who published the Main Temple edition of the *Treasury* with 95 fascicles in the early 1800s following years of delay. Gentō's verse features in four lines two of Dōgen's major notions, *genjōkōan* and *datsuraku shinjin* (or *shinjin datsuraku*). Gentō, who was given his name by the emperor and served as the 50th abbot of Eiheiji, is also renowned in Zen lore for having set fire to the large fish-shaped drum (*mokugyo* 木魚) used for chanting because he wanted to purge Pure Land elements from Sōtō practice. An older dharma brother of the famous Sōtō reclusive Edo poet Ryōkan 良寛 (1758–1831), who also sought to restore an appreciation for Dōgen's writings, Gentō's efforts to "purify" Sōtō of syncretistic elements upset Ryōkan so much that he decided to live out his life as a hermit far from the headquarters of the religious institution.

I conclude with a small group of verses by other monks in Giun's orbit, with one poem each by Gulin Qingmao on the topic of sending off a foreign trainee (Ch. *songbieji*, Jp. *sōbetsuge* 送別偈) to return to his teacher in Japan that uses six sets of reduplicatives in lines five and six; Zhongfeng

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[11] *Daichi: Geju, Jūni hōgo, kana hōgo*, ed. Mizuno Yaoko (Tokyo: Kōdansha, rpt. 1994).

Mingben, another prominent Chinese Rinzai mentor for Japanese monk-poets in the Wanshi-ha, on the philosophy of undertaking the rigorous everyday chores; and Musō Soseki, a famous Rinzai abbot, poet, and garden designer in the first half of the fourteenth century who did not travel to China, but uses the term *genjōkōan* prominently that was also favored by Zhongfeng, showing that Dōgen was not alone in highlighting the concept.

Themes

Musō's verse at the end of the translations raises the important question of whether Zen monks who participate in a "special transmission outside the teachings" (*kyōge betsuden* 教外別傳) should be encouraged or even allowed to write verse or must, instead, be instructed to regard literary pursuits as a distraction and thus an activity that detracts from the path of enlightenment. One of the reasons the Sōtō sect was considered aloof from poetry composition is that in the *Miscellaneous Talks* (*Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*) Dōgen says, "Zen monks are fond of literature these days, finding it an aid to writing verses and tracts. This is a mistake…No matter how elegant their prose or how exquisite their poetry might be, they are merely toying with words and cannot gain the truth." Nevertheless, Dōgen wrote over five hundred poems, with nearly ninety percent in the *kanbun* style and the rest as Japanese *waka*. However, aside from the *Verse Comments*, Giun composed only a small fraction of what the founder produced.

The response to the question of the role of literary production indicated by Musō Soseki's poem is characteristically ambiguous in that he recognizes his responsibility to disclose the truth through "word-branches," but wishes that everyone could be able to realize what is already apparent without needing the crutch of words. Dōgen similarly speaks ambivalently about the function of language in relation to expressing enlightenment in the following verse written at an Eiheiji retreat:

> Living in the world for so long without attachments,
> Since giving up using paper and pen.
> I see flowers and hear birds without feeling much,
> While living on the mountain, I am embarrassed by this meager effort.
>
> 久舍(捨)人間無愛惜
> 文章筆硯既抛來

見花聞鳥風情少
乍在山猶愧不才

It is interesting to note that an analysis of the linguistic structure of the poem shows that Dōgen could execute the AABA rhyme scheme and related tonal patterns that were among the rhetorical options required for Chinese poets:

Jiǔ shè rénjiān wú aìxī
Wénzhāng bǐyàn jì pāo lái
Jiàn huā wén niǎo fēnqíng shǎo
Zhà zài shān yóu kuì bù cái

仄仄平平平仄仄
平平仄仄仄平平
仄平中仄平平仄
仄仄平中仄仄平

In addition, Dōgen's verse recalls the sentiments suggested by one of his Song-dynasty Chinese predecessors, Touzi Yiqing 投子義青 (11th c. 投子義青), who lived a couple of generations before Hongzhi. This verse is from Touzi's collection on "self-realization" (*zijue* 自覺):

Though I am in the business of Emptiness,
I cannot avoid being at the mercy of my inclinations.
Although I have long been practicing Zen meditation,
Instead, I remain preoccupied with literary content…

雖然所業空
免被才情役
忝曾學參禪
叨以習文義

The following *waka* syllables shows that Dōgen used this Japanese genre to reveal the complicated aspects of literary pursuits and surmise the way his writing is received by the audience:

Haru kaze ni	Will their gaze fall upon
Waga koto no ha no	The petals of words I utter,
Chirimuru o	Shaken loose and blown free by the spring breeze,

Hana no uta to ya — As if only the notes
Hito no nagamen — Of a flower's song?

This view recalls that of modern American poet Robert W. Service, who in *Rhymes of a Rolling Stone* (1912) wrote, "I have no doubt at all the Devil grins, / As seas of ink I splatter. / Ye gods, forgive my 'literary' sins — / The other kind don't matter."

Another element found in Musō's verse that also appears in a vast majority of Zen literature, including Giun's, involves an admiration for nature and the turning of the seasons as a reflection and standard for cultivating an intellectual comprehension of unity as well as for moral behavior highlighting the equality of all beings. According to Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), the most famous secular poet of the Song dynasty who often practiced meditation and collaborated in his writings with Zen masters, poems are pictures without forms just as paintings are unspoken poems. Many examples of Zen verse were originally composed as inscriptions for paintings so that they feature an ekphrastic or descriptive quality by providing a vivid depiction of a scene or, frequently, a work of art. Through the imaginative act of narrating and reflecting on the "action" of a landscape, the poet offers a verbal representation of a visual image that may amplify and expand its meaning.

In that vein, we can consider the verse by Betsugen showing that nature is the poet's muse: "The courtyard is so lonely in autumn rain / That I open the window and gaze all day at the peak. / From the very beginning my two eyes / Have been fixed to those mile-high pines far away." Also, another Wanshi-ha member, Chūgan Engetsu 中巖円月 (1300–1375 中巖円月), writes of the natural landscape: "Autumn leaves swirl in the wind, slanting down one by one, / In a single night the mountain cottage is engulfed by them. / Without a thought, this monk-poet sweeps them into a creek: / Not at all like the way he treats falling blossoms in spring." Finally, the tenth volume of the *Extensive Record* includes a poem composed in the village of Fukakusa (literally, "deep grass") around 1230, when Dōgen was back from China but had not yet established his first temple, Kōshōji, that would be built near this location just a few years later:

How pitiful is life and death's ceasing and arising!
I lose my way yet find my path as if walking in a dream.
Even though there are still things that are hard to forget,
The deep grass of Fukakusa settles with the evening rain.

生死可憐休又起
迷途覺路夢中行
雖然尚有難忘事
深草閑居夜雨声

Here we find from a structural analysis that Dōgen uses an ABAB rhyme scheme:

Shēngsǐ kělián xiū yòu qǐ
Mítú juélù mèngzhōng xíng
Suīrán shàng yǒu nánwàng shì
Shēn cǎo xiánjū yèyǔshēng.

生死可憐休又起
迷途覺路夢中行
雖然尚有難忘事
深草閑居夜雨声
平仄仄平平仄仄
平平仄仄仄中平.
平平中仄平中仄
中仄平平仄仄平

During this period, Dōgen was staying in a retreat in the area of Fukakusa to the southeast of the capital that was favored by many of the literati as a pristine getaway from the turmoil of court life. Because the name of the town literally means “deep grass,” this term was ripe for being the source of many puns in Japanese waka of the era reflecting on life in the city versus the countryside. The profound sense of vulnerability and instability Dōgen was experiencing is disclosed in a way that makes such attitudes productive for stimulating dedication to the religious quest. Many of the characters in the second line can also bear an explicit Buddhist connotation, including delusion, awakening, transcendence (literally, “within a dream,” and practice, so that the passage could be rendered, “I practice within a transcendental realm while experiencing both delusion and awakening.” This wording does not alter the meaning but highlights that the verse can be read as directly or indirectly evoking the effects of Buddhist discipline.

Selected Translations

FROM GIUN'S *VERSE COMMENTS ON DŌGEN'S TREASURY*
Fascicle 1: Genjōkōan (Realization Here-and-Now 現成公案)

Capping Phrase: What is it? 是什麼

Do not overlook what is right in front of you,
Endless spring appears with the early plum blossoms.
By using just a single word you enter the open gate,
Nine oxen pulling with all their might cannot lead you astray.

面前一著莫蹉過
空劫春容此早梅
一字入公門内了
九牛盡力挽無迴

Title: "Realization Here-and-Now," based on one of Dōgen's most famous and frequently used expressions, is the opening section of the 60-fascicle and 75-fascicle editions, although it appears as the third section in the 95-fascicle edition. A letter to a lay disciple from Kyushu, who may have been the boatman Dōgen used for his journeys to and from China in the 1220s, the fascicle is generally considered one of the three sections that best introduce Dōgen's primary themes, especially the notion that enlightenment is neither a potential from the past nor a goal to be attained in the future, but the realization of the dynamism of authentic reality (*kōan*) manifested here-and-now (*genjō*). The three major fascicles are referred to as Ben-Gen-Butsu ("Bendōwa," "Genjōkōan," and "Busshō," although the first is not part of the 60-fascicle edition). The term *genjōkōan* was used prior to Dōgen, especially in the Chinese kōan collection commentary, the *Blue Cliff Record* (Ch. *Biyanlu*, Jp. *Hekiganroku*), and other Japanese Zen masters also used it, including Musō Sōseki, albeit with a different emphasis than found in the *Treasury*.

Capping Phrase: *What is it?* 是什麼. This comment reads in the original *kanbun* grammar as an interrogative, but Giun was well aware that Dōgen often interpreted apparent queries as declarative statements to show the

"what-ness" or quiddity of reality; therefore, this capping phrase could be rendered as, "This is what it is" or "This is it!"

Key Terms:
- *Right in front of you* 面前一著. Truth is readily apparent in all phenomena, but it is all too easily overlooked if you overtly seek or expect that it represents a disconnected realm.
- *Endless spring* 空劫春. Spring is not the abstraction of a date on the calendar somehow separable from seasonal manifestations; rather, it exists in and through concrete particulars whenever spring-like conditions become apparent, such as the flowering of plum blossoms.
- *Open gate* 公門. Creative expressions are strongly encouraged by Dōgen, despite the conventional Zen emphasis on "a special transmission outside the teaching," so an appropriate saying functions as a turning word that releases obstructions and enables awakening.
- *Nine oxen* 九牛. An ox symbolizes selfish desires and attachments that need to be tamed and controlled lest they discourage even determined practitioners, who must utilize the utmost single-minded concentration accompanied by minute attention to the finest details; however, nine oxen cannot distract a true adept from realizing the immediacy of each and every moment as it occurs.

Honkō's Phrase: 旣參本卷
Already engaged in studying the fascicle. A trainee is engrossed with this endlessly ambiguous text because *genjōkōan* represents neither an idea nor a set of images, but the standpoint of ongoing practice regardless of whether one has awareness of the process at any given moment.

Fascicle 2: Makahannya (Great Wisdom 摩訶般若)

Capping Phrase: Every single detail is completely clear. 照了綿密

The lamp of knowledge illumines all the shadowy spaces,
Reaching even those occupying a darkened room.
Who doubts that nothing is hidden in the entire universe?
Such is the joy of the perfection of wisdom.

智燈照徹解陰空
什麼處人居暗室
遍界不藏誰敢疑
摩訶般若波羅蜜

Title: "Great Wisdom," also known as "The Perfection of Great Wisdom" ("Makahannya haramitsu" 摩訶般若波羅蜜, Skr: *Prajñāpāramitā*), refers to the vast corpus of Sanskrit literature known as the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras*, which serves as the basis for the main teachings about the notions of emptiness and compassion that is followed by nearly all schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Attributed to the Indian philosopher Nāgārjuna and translated into 600 volumes of Chinese script by Xuanzang and his assistants, the doctrines expressed in these works are drastically condensed in this short fascicle that was written at a cloister outside Kyoto at the time Dōgen's first temple, Kōshōji, was being opened. A year later, his scribe and confidante, Ejō, who would eventually edit nearly all the fascicles, joined him. Dōgen mainly comments in the fascicle on passages from the ever-popular *Heart Sūtra* and does not cite the sayings or records of Zen teachers, except for a brief mention of a poem he particularly admired by his mentor Rujing about the sounding of a wind-bell that signifies multiplicity within emptiness.

Capping Phrase: *Every single detail is completely clear* 照了綿密. An alternative, "The finest of details, once concealed, suddenly become clear," is a lengthy rendering that captures the complex notion that illumination spontaneously brings into focus all aspects of existence as expressions of universality that were covered up by ignorance and attachments.

Key Terms:
- *The lamp of knowledge illumines* 智燈照. The lamp or flame symbolizes the inner wisdom that all beings possess as an innate endowment, according to the Mahāyāna doctrine of universal Buddha-nature and as emphasized by various Zen sayings, especially by the master Yunmen.
- *Shadowy spaces* 暗室. This image suggests that people are typically unconscious of their own capacity to attain insight, so that the light generally appears to be an exterior force emanating from beatific Buddhas, yet it has the capacity to radiate into every possible area of existence.
- *Nothing is hidden in the entire universe* 遍界不藏. A noteworthy phrase included Dōgen's *Instructions to the Chief Cook* (*Tenzokyōkun*), which

indicates that the continuing process of illumination reveals each element of reality without exception manifesting Buddha-nature; according to a saying, "Once your eyes are opened, then everywhere reflects the true teaching."
- *Joy* 蜜. The final line of the poem simply repeats the longer, seven-character title of the fascicle but the last word, which is used as a Sino-Japanese transliteration of the Sanskrit title, implies the "honey" or sweetness of enlightenment contrasted with the sour bitterness of suffering.

Honkō's Phrase: 身心脱落
Casting off body-mind. One of Dōgen's most famous catchphrases uttered at the moment he gained enlightenment in 1225 while practicing zazen.

Fascicle 11: Zazengi (The Principles of Zazen 坐禪儀)

Capping Phrase: Flowers blooming on a withered tree 枯木花開

Flowers blooming on a withered tree 枯木花開
Cattails sitting tall are silently swaying,
Dragons humming as clouds float in the vast darkness.
No longer counting the number of breaths,
Three thousand realms are collected in the sacred sea.

兀兀寥寥倚蒲團
龍吟雲起黒漫漫
箇中消息絶思議
刹海三千祇一般

Title: "The Principles of Zazen" provides instructions on sitting mediation in a way that is similar to two essays by Dōgen, the *Universal Recommendation for Zazen* (*Fukanzazengi*) and *Methods of Practicing the Way* (*Bendōhō*). The fascicle title is derived from a short tract (Ch. *Zuochan yi*) that is included in the 1103 Chinese Zen text on monastic regulations, *Pure Rules for the Zen Garden* (Ch. *Chanyuan qinggui*, Jp. *Zen'en shingi*) by Changlu Zongze. Dōgen borrows heavily from this work in composing his own meditation and other disciplinary guidelines, but he is also critical of Zongze's understanding of Zen, especially in the fascicle on "The Lancet of Zazen" ("Zazenshin"), which is not included in the 60-fascicle edition. In that

section, Dōgen provides an extensive and innovative discussion of a kōan case that is mentioned briefly in "The Principles of Zazen" and the *Universal Recommendation* about the role of "non-thinking" (*hishiryō*) understood in relation to the possibilities of "thinking" (*shiryō*) and "not thinking" (*fushiryō*); for Dōgen all forms of thought are essentially aspects of non-thinking.

Capping Phrase: *Flowers blooming on a withered tree* 枯木花開. This saying, which was used occasionally in early works of the Chinese Sōtō school but does not appear in the *Treasury*, suggests an integration of two extremes: the quietude and timelessness of the leafless, barren tree and the dynamism of spring blossoms coming into view again signifying spiritual renewal.

Key Terms:
- *Cattails sitting tall* 兀兀寥寥. Cattails are narrow-leafed wetland plants that appear to be upright and tall while silently swaying in the breeze, suggesting basic characteristics of zazen meditation: determination and dedication somewhat softened by flexibility and adaptability.
- *Dragons humming* 龍吟. This phrase, which is the title of Fascicle 51, refers to the legend that a dragon's ongoing intonation is a sound resembling that of wind blowing through a desolate grove of trees that is only heard by those whose concentration shows a mastery of just sitting.
- *Counting the number of breaths* 箇中消息. This line reinforces passages in which Dōgen maintains that counting breaths, which is crucial to some forms of meditation, can become a distraction that detracts from, rather than enhances, genuine contemplative awareness.
- *Sacred sea* 刹海. This term symbolizes the idea that the highest meditative state involving the full capacity of samādhi is as broad and expansive as the boundless waters of the ocean.

Honkō's Phrase: 洗足已坐
Sitting still with clean feet. This saying highlights that Dōgen's approach to meditation combines lofty discussions of non-thinking as key to contemplative awareness with specific instructions for cleaning one's feet and related preparatory functions, so that bodily purity is conducive and essential to the attainment of an authentic state of realization without obstructions or diversions.

ADDITIONAL GIUN VERSES

Eiheiji Temple Founding Patriarch: Dōgen 永平初祖

He had an extraordinary capacity for receiving transmission,
By learning thoroughly, the original teaching of Huineng and
expressing its inner nature.
Dōgen grabbed Rujing's staff and brought it back to Japan,
With nostrils inhaling the pure air,
And pupils seeing the radiant light.
A five-petal flower blossoms in the warmth of spring,
And lasts until the chilly breeze during the full autumn moon.

揵俊奇相傳大心量
吸盡曹溪源淵而湛性海
奪取太白柱杖而返扶桑
鼻孔端有衝天氣
眼瞳重具射人光
一花五葉春日暖
嶺月洞風秋夜涼

Eiheiji Temple Second Patriarch: Ejō 永平二祖

His resolve is revealed by his eyebrows,
His mind is as expansive as the landscape,
The core teachings of the Sōtō lineage,
Are an eyeball as blue as the sea.
Treading joyfully an auspicious path,
The hair on his head resembles a snowy forest.
When his jewel-like mind encounters myriad phenomena,
It resembles empty space with nothing hanging in midair.
Ejō's teachings illuminate like a flash of lightning,
And his stately seated posture resounds like the crack of
thunder.

肝膽彰眉目
乾坤斂寸心
湛洞水派兮

眼睛如碧海
繼吉祥踵兮
頂毛似雪林
若寶鑑含萬象
同虛空不掛鍼
閃電威光舒又卷
儼居猊座震雷音

Hōkyōji Temple Founding Patriarch: Jakuen 慶寶初祖

His wondrous forms and illuminated self,
Gaze out from the Peak of Dongshan Mountain,
And permeate the sacred inner chambers of this monastery.
Jakuen contemplates calmly each and every object,
And explains vividly all aspects of momentary existence.
Picking up the flywhisk, he scares the daylights out of his monks.
And gloats while smashing the clouds and splashing the waters.

全相之妙.通身之照
奪得洞山.頂上眼睛
透徹吉祥.堂奥心要
據於塵塵.三昧座床
暢於刹刹.常説曲調
拈弄拂柄兮殃及兒孫
打雲打水兮好一場笑

Self-Praise 自贊: Verse 1

Do not strive to become a sage and do not reject being ordinary,
Just play the melody without trying to put it into words.
The blind turtle has the capacity to float along on driftwood,
The wind is felt the same way up high on peaks and down low in valleys.
Every year the snow piles high on the summit,

While the trees withstand it to reveal their crimson color,
Effortlessly yet wondrously maintaining their place.
For three thousand mornings and eight hundred nights,
I eat from and wash my bowl.

聖也不慕凡也不疎
曲彖倚身未涉箇言路
龜毛横握能質卦爻圖
衣薄洞峯風徹骨
年邁嵩岳雪侵顱
堪攀鐵樹注紅血
倦處天堂受妙娯
朝三千暮八
喫粥了洗鉢盂

Self-Praise 自賛: Verse 2

He who has a deceitful appearance is deceived,
And he who lives humbly in the world is not deceived.
The flywhisk helps to open the eye.
The demon's whisk distracts you from the true path.
On Kichijō Peak [Eiheiji Temple] the moon is shining
bright,
And the spring flowers are blooming in the fragrant forest.

面容醜受彼欺瞞
一世貧無物與人
拂子毫頭眼睛綻
佛魔験了絶齋隣
吉祥峯月孤輝
蒼蔦林花累春

Two Poems from a Mountain Retreat 山居二首

Nobody else is here on the peak of Mount Kichijō.
It looks the same even though the seasons are changing.
Sitting upright in solitary meditation can never be disturbed,
In these deep blue mountains with fluffy white clouds
floating by.

吉祥峯頭不人間
莫作四時遷變看
兀坐寥寥無對待
清山深處白雲閑

Quiet and secluded in the unpretentious realm of the forest,
There is no reason to look anywhere other than toward what is close at hand.
The quiet breeze and clear moon are as related as guest and host,
Anyone who remains steady and committed will never be misled.

林下幽閑一世貧
無由向外問疎親
清風白月賓兼主
去就平常不誑人

From a Dharma Hall Sermon 上堂

心心無異心
一心一切法
念念非異念
一念是萬年

Death Verse 遺偈

For eighty-one years,
I have flouted the teachings and reviled Zen.
Now the sky falls, and earth splits open.
Hidden within the flames lies a bountiful spring.

毀教謗禪
八十一年
天崩地裂
没火裡泉.[12]

[12] Note: On the 22nd day of the 10th month of 1333, Giun presented a poem in anticipation of his death. The whole assembly attended the stūpa ceremony

VERSES BY OTHER ZEN MONK-POETS

Daichi Sokei 大智

"On Receiving a Copy of Dōgen's *Treasury*"

The enlightened mind expressed in the *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye*,
Teaches us the innermost thoughts of past sixty Zen ancestors.
A mystical path stemming from Eiheiji temple reaches my remote village,
Where I see anew an ethereal mist rising from among remarkable shoots.

賀永平正法眼藏到来
正法眼藏涅槃心
ニ三四七密單傳
吉峰路入鳳山塢
又見異苗長淡煙

"Insentient Beings Preaching the Dharma" (Mujō Seppō)
(2 poems) 無情説法話二首

Sentient beings can hear insentient beings preaching the Dharma.
A breeze that rustles the leaves in a wintry forest fills our garden.
However, no one beyond the walls is listening
To whispers that spread everywhere amid lanterns and columns.

無情説法有情聴
風撹寒林葉満庭

---

at Eiheiji, and it was given the name Spiritual Plum Stūpa 師.正慶二年癸酉十月十二日辞世の頌に曰く.全身を吉祥山に塔す.號して霊梅と曰ふ(霊梅塔). The death verse of Rujing reads, "For sixty-six years committing terrible sins against heaven, / Now leaping beyond, / While still alive plunging into the yellow springs of netherworld. / O, why did I once think that life and death are not related?" 六十六年罪犯彌天 / 打箇[足+孛]跳 / 活陥黄泉 / 咦從來生死不相干. Dōgen's verse follows his teacher's pattern but the italicized phrases indicate the changes he makes, "For *fifty-four* years *following the way of* heaven, / Now leaping beyond *and shattering every barrier*. / O, *from head to toe with no more longings*, / While still alive plunging into the yellow springs of netherworld." *五十四*年*照第一*天 / 打箇[足+孛]跳*触破大千* / 咦*渾身無覓* / 活陥黄泉.

踏壁無人却有耳
燈鎖国露柱且低声

Leaning on a handrail gazing at the new moon,
Floating high above the mountains as I fall fast asleep.
In the middle of the night my head falls off the pillow,
Smashing against the floor but staying solid as a brick.

人倚欄 干月在天
月轉山來上床眠
夜深枕子撲落地
無端打破常住塼

"This Very Mind is Buddha" (Sokushin zebutsu)
(2 poems) 即心即仏話二首

Blows received from the master's scolding staff leave their mark,
This mind itself is Buddha is not a matter to be discussed.
A three-foot long hair-splitting sword cuts away all obstacles,
Every evening, celestial light beams down from the Big Dipper.

一棒一痕知痛痒
即心即仏没商量
塵埋三尺吹毛剣
夜夜神光射斗傍

Reality right before us deteriorates if it is weighed and exchanged,
Even in cold bitter times, do not conceal your inner treasure.
Instead, strive to preserve the truth that this mind itself is Buddha,
By releasing the light that emits day and night between the eyebrows.

現成公案没商量
蘗苦氷寒不覆蔵
保護即心心即仏
眉間日夜放毫光

Betsugen Enshi 別源円旨 (1294–1364)

"A Clear Barrier" 清關

Green mountains and white clouds are briskly intertwined,
Now is the time for this disciple to return and follow his teacher.
Though difficult to enter into the gate and come back to that strict style,
I no longer wish to remain on the outside looking in.

山青雲白冷相依
是子歸來就父時
寒淡門風難入作
且從門外見容儀

"A Zen Retreat at Taibai Temple" 太白禪居

A wandering monk comes from the east in pursuit of Zen,
These green mountains are like a great emerald blanket spread wide,
At dawn the light from the stars of the Milky Way starts to fade,
So many years have passed since I last welcomed a disciple.

東晉沙門曾此禪
青山都是舊青氈
長庚星沒天河曉
童子不來經幾年

"The Gateway of 10,000 Pines" 萬松關 [13]

Over a path covered with dark green that lasts for nearly twenty miles,
The billowing of a fresh breeze resounds through the chilly forest.
Its rushing sound brushes by and shakes us while on a leisurely jaunt.
Who can play pipes so fine as the sounds made around this mile-high gate?

廿里蒼髯夾路遙
清風樹々響寒濤

[13] "10,000 Pines" is the name of a temple, to which Betsugen is returning from a trip and appreciates all the more the way its gate captures the sound of the wind.

等閑掉臂那邊過
誰管門頭千尺高

Gulin Qingmao 古林清茂 (1262–1329)
"On Bidding Farewell to a Japanese Visiting Monk" 送別偈

No shackles on this body so you can come and go as you please,
Half a lifetime spent in journeys to prominent temples.
From one blow to the gut, you learned about pain;
With three answers to the call, you passed through the gate.
The essence of essentials and mystery within mysteries are complete.
Effortlessly at ease, you continually remain carefree.
When you meet your master, do not ask questions!
Gazing at one other with knowing smiles to appreciate mutual understanding.

身世無拘任往還
半生行脚為名山
一拳肋下才知痛
三應聲中已透關
要要玄玄并了了
勞勞役役與閒閒
師資會遇都休問
只合相看展笑顏

Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1262–1323)
"Sweeping the Floor" 掃地

Try sweeping away piles of dirt and trash,
But dust still ends up covering the floor.
Once you stop wasting time and toss away its handle,
Five-petal udambara flowers blossom on the broom.

蕩盡從前垃圾堆
依然滿地是塵埃
等閒和柄都拋卻
五葉曇花帚上開

Musō Sōseki's 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351)

Autumn-colored word-branches dropping many leaves,
Frosty clouds carrying rain passing this nook in the mountains.
Everyone is born with the same sort of eyes –
Why can't we see the kōan case that is right in front of us (*genjōkōan*)?

秋色辭柯落葉多
寒雲載雨過山阿
人人自有娘生眼
爭奈現成公案何

Gentō Sokuchū 玄透即中 (1729–1807)
Huayan Sūtra's, "Triple World is Mind Only" 華嚴經三界唯心

The kōan is displayed (*genjōkōan*) right before your eyes,
By autumn chrysanthemums, spring orchids, and plum trees blossoming in the snow.
Body-mind cast off (*datsuraku shinjin*) opens the eye that realizes,
What our ancestors have known well for countless generations.

現成公案呈蹉過
秋菊春蘭冬雪花
脱落身心高著眠
先尼流輩恐滋多

DŌGEN'S APPROACH TO USES OF THE BUDDHIST CANON IN THE "READING SŪTRAS" ("KANKIN" 看經) FASCICLE

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> The practices of "chanting sūtras" 念經, "reading sūtras" 看經, "reciting sūtras" 誦經, "copying sūtras" 書經, "receiving sūtras" 受經, and "upholding sūtras" 持經 all represent the practice-realization 修證 of the buddhas and ancestors 佛祖. —Dōgen

I. Problematizing Terminology and Methodology

The main aim of this essay, originally presented at a national meeting of the Association for Asian Studies several years ago, is to explore some of the multiple levels of discourse embedded in the fascicle, "Reading Sūtras" ("Kankin" 看經), written by Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) in 1241 and included in his masterwork, the *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 [hereafter SH]. I also consider related texts by the Sōtō Zen master in order to try to capture his approach to textuality and canonicity in light of the famous pronouncement by his Chinese mentor Rujing (如淨, 1163–1228), which disclaims the role of the ceremony of sūtra reading (*kankin* 看經) in addition to four other ritual practices normally considered routine at a Zen temple: burning incense, making bows, reciting the name of Buddha, and performing repentance. (All citations of Dōgen are from Dōgen, *Dōgen Zenji zenshū* 道元禅師全集, edited by Kawamura Kōdō, et al., 7 vols. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1988–1993).

These training techniques are all to be abandoned, according to Rujing, in favor of the priority of the dedicated practice of zazen-only or just-sitting (*shikan taza* 只管打坐) as the key to attaining an experience of casting off body-mind (*shinjin datsuraku* 身心脱落). The latter phrase is how Dōgen characterized his own experience of awakening that was attained during a prolonged meditation session while practicing at Tiantong temple under the supervision of Rujing as part of the summer retreat (*ango*) of 1225.

Although the apparent contradiction and controversy about Dōgen promoting the practice of reading sūtras seen in relation to Rujing's denial of the efficacy of this practice is the primary topic, the scope of my inquiry regarding Dōgen's overall view of the Buddhist canon has been broadened by a study of the volume, *Spreading the Buddha's Word in East Asia: The*

Formation and Transformation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, edited by Jiang Wu and Lucille Chia (NY: Columbia UP, 2015). Key points made in that work about the formation of, as well as rituals associated with, the canon have led me to question some basic assumptions about the key terms.

The first question is, what exactly is meant by "reading" sūtras, since the term *kan* 看 literally indicates "seeing" but generally implies "reciting" passages and/or "rotating" the sūtra repository rather than examining texts from a philosophical standpoint; that is, it seems to represent almost anything but actual reading in the conventional sense.

Second, what are the "sūtras," since it is not clear whether *kin* 經 – usually pronounced *kyō* but apparently given a slight twist in medieval Japanese based on the Chinese *jing*; similar examples of Sinicized terms used in Kamakura- era Zen are *tenzo* 典座 and *hattō* 法堂 – indicates mainly the *Lotus Sūtra* along with a small group of other prominent Mahayana sūtras. Or does the term refer to the entire Buddhist canon encompassing Hinayana and Mahayana scriptures translated or composed in Chinese based on the 983 Chengdu edition consisting of 5,048 scrolls (a number occasionally mentioned by Dōgen to suggest symbolically the entirety of Buddhist texts)?

Perhaps, as Charlotte Eubanks suggests in *Miracles of Book and Body: Buddhist Textual Culture and Medieval Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), we should consider that for Dōgen the act of sūtra reading, whether understood in the limited aspect of formal studies of writings or the more expansive ritual aspect of circumambulating while reciting canonical texts, should be considered an alternative form of meditation. In that sense, questions regarding what *kan* and *kin* mean would be viewed in relation to Dōgen's subjectivist outlook regarding the five examples of sacramental religiosity that are dismissed by Rujing.

A third question that is raised by *Spreading the Buddha's Word in East Asia* concerns the extent to which the sūtras included in the canon may function as a talismanic device that has supernatural power since there was, for example, a Buddhist tradition of believing in the capacity of the rites of recitation and circumambulation to be able to cause a physical repository to begin self-rotating, in addition to other examples of miraculous functions.

Analyzing these issues pertains to two key elements of Dōgen's traditional biographical accounts: one suggests that he read the entire Buddhist canon (twice, according to one version) while residing in Kyoto area temples (Enryakuji, Onjōji, and Kenninji) prior to his travel to China in 1223; and the other element indicates that in 1250 Dōgen received at Eiheiji

a new copy of the canon donated by his samurai patron Hatano Yoshishige, as mentioned in a couple of passages of the *Eihei kōroku* 永平廣録 [EK].

In an EK passage about this event, Dōgen considers talismanic implications of sūtras in his typically cryptic and ambiguous fashion. The episode is important because it took place during the phase of his life I have referred to as the "late late Dōgen," when the master was involved in citing for the first time various early Buddhist texts concerning the impact of karmic retribution and the value of sincere repentance in the 12-fascicle edition of SH, yet he also emphasized several uncanny spiritual occurrences that supposedly took place at Eiheiji.

Although "Reading Sūtras" is the main example of Dōgen's approach to the canon, it is not the only SH fascicle that delves deeply into various aspects of the core contradiction regarding Rujing's injunction. "Buddhist Sūtras" ("Bukkyō" 佛經) is another prominent work, as is "Whole Body of Tathagata" ("Nyorai Zenshin" 如來全身), and over a couple of dozen additional fascicles feature key terms or citations culled from the *Lotus Sūtra*, which Dōgen refers or alludes to several hundred times in all.

In a rather unsystematic and idiosyncratic yet highly inventive and intricate way in "Reading Sūtras," Dōgen comments on what Zen monks can and should be doing with scriptural texts. He sandwiches a conventional passage cited from the *Zen Monastic Rules* (C. *Chanyuan qinggui*, J. *Zen'en shingi*) from 1103 on how to perform the ritual of sūtra reading for the sake of donors, or a similar obligation, with nearly a dozen irreverent and even blasphemous encounter dialogues or kōan cases that debunk and disregard, or disorient and reorient, the practice endorsed in monastic regulations. The kōans cited seem to turn the whole matter of sūtra reading on its head by emphasizing interior or contemplative symbolism instead of external ritualism.

What follows is an outline of some of the main biographical (or hagiographical) and ritual topics relevant for understanding Dōgen's distinctive view of textuality coupled with citations of various passages in support of my analysis of the multiple dimensions of sūtra reading, or what I playfully call Dōgen's approach to "Kankinicity," which helps clarify and dispel a focus on contradiction. This method emphasizing diverse aspects of hermeneutics stands somewhat in contrast to Jonathan Silk's view that canon formation "evolves around authority, and therefore around power and the exercise of power" (see "Canonicity," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, 2015).

II. Apparent Disavowals of Reading Sūtras

In a passage that appears with slight variations no less than eight times in Dōgen's corpus, Rujing (whose name is specifically mentioned in six instances) instructs that "reading sūtras" must be considered one of five traditional Buddhist practices that are irrelevant and should be eliminated, since only sitting meditation leads to the awakening experience characterized as casting (or dropping or sloughing) off body-mind. Note that, in a separate debate, the question of whether Rujing used the latter expression or it represents a creative misunderstanding proffered by Dōgen, who may have misheard Rujing's Chinese homophonic phrase indicating "casting dust from the mind" (心塵脱落), has frequently been raised. Here is a list in chronological order of the eight mentions (from *Dōgen Zenji Zenshū*, ed. Kagamishima Genryū, et al., Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1988–1993):

(1) *Hōkyōki* (1226), but probably edited near the end of Dōgen's life
(2) *Bendōwa* (1231) – no mention of Rujing
(3) *Eihei kōroku* 9.85-86 (1236)
(4) *Eihei kōroku* 1.33 (1240) – no mention of Ruing
(5) *Shōbōgenzō* "Gyōji" (1242)
(6) *Shōbōgenzō* "Bukkyō" (1243)
(7) *Shōbōgenzō* "Zanmai ō zanmai" (1244)
(8) *Eihei kōroku* 6.432 (1251)

The fascicle *Bendōwa* 辨道話 is included in the 95-fascicle version but not the 75-fascicle version of SH, so I consider it an independent text. Also, *Hōkyōki*, a record of Dōgen's conversations conducted in Rujing's abbot's quarters from 1226–1227, may represent the first appearance of the passage; although I generally agree with some modern scholars who have identified this as a text Dōgen compiled toward the end of his life, here I follow T. Griffith Foulk's chronology ("Dōgen's Take on Zazen, Sūtra Reading, and Other Conventional Buddhist Practices, in *Dogen: Textual and Historical Studies*, ed. Steven Heine, NY: Oxford UP, 2012), 75–106).

Bendōwa, without mentioning Rujing, offers a Japanese rendition of the original Sinitic injunction:

> From the start (*hajimeyori*) of your consultation (*sanken*) with a wise teacher (*chishiki*), have no recourse (*mochiizu*) whatsoever (*sarani*) to burning incense (*shōkō*), making

> bows (*raihai*), reciting the name of buddha [or buddha-mindfulness] (*nenbutsu*), performing repentance *(shusan*), or reading sūtras (*kankin*). Just (*tadashi*) sit (*taza*) and attain the casting off of body-mind (*shinjin datsuraku suru koto wo eyo*). 參見知識のはじめより、さらに燒香-禮拜-念佛-修懺-看經をもちゐず,ただし打坐して身心脱落することをえよ.

This passage recalls what Hakuin (白隠, 1686–1769) cites in *Orategama*, written centuries later: "The Priest of Shinjū-an has explained it in this way: 'Don't read the sūtras, practice meditation; don't take up the broom, practice meditation; don't plant the tea seeds, practice meditation; don't ride a horse, practice meditation.' This is the attitude of the masters of old regarding the true study of Zen."

Note that the "Bukkyō" fascicle, citing Dōgen's "former teacher" 先師, includes the Chinese term 不用 to indicate the prohibition, rather than the Japanese construction もちゐず, and it also mentions the term *bendō* 辨道:

> 先師尋常道.我箇裏.不用燒香禮拜念佛修懺看經.祇管打坐.辨道功夫.身心脱落.

Also, in EK vol. 9, which consists of Dōgen's verse comments (*juko*) on 90 kōan cases, the source passage is spread into two cases, with each including a 4-line 7-character Chinese verse (*kanshi*) by Dōgen (below is a modification of the translation by Taigen Dan Leighton and Shohaku Okumura, trans. *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, Boston: Wisdom, 2010):

> 9.85: Master Tiantong [Rujing] said, "In my approach, do not use burning incense, making bows, reciting the name of buddha, performing repentance, or reading sūtras, but simply engage in just sitting." 天童和尚云. 我箇裏. 不用燒香・礼拝・念仏・修懺・看経, 祇管打坐始得.
>
> Verse:
>
> A turtle hides its hands and head, but doesn't let go [of its grasp on driftwood].
> Who is it that experiences gain and loss?
> Dragons and snakes mixed together are still dragons and snakes.

> The distinction is based on which is coiled and which takes flight.
> 亀自手頭非不拈 / 之乎者也失将得 / 龍蛇混雑似龍蛇 / 渾坐蟠身元羽翼.
>
> 9.86: Master Tiantong [Rujing] said, "Practicing Zen (*sanzen*) is casting off body-mind." 天童和尚云.参禅者身心脱落.
>
> Verse:
> By playing with a wooden ladle, the wind and waves arise.
> With the benefaction of great and deep virtue, rewards are enhanced.
> Even when seeing seas dried up or feeling cold to the core,
> Don't let the teachings fade or relinquish the steady mind.
> 弄来木杓風波起 / 恩大徳深報亦深 / 縦見海枯寒徹底 / 莫教身死不留心.

In addition, Dōgen concludes a lengthy discussion of zazen in EK 6.432 by saying simply after a pause, "The nose is aligned with the navel, the ears aligned with the shoulders" 鼻与臍対. 耳対肩. The implication is that a constantly contemplative stance symbolized by one's upright and steadfast posture supersedes any distinction between reading sūtras and silence or nonverbal communication.

The main reason for the disavowals indicated by Rujing is that the five practices rely on causal and conditioning factors as a means of producing enlightenment, which ultimately lies beyond yet is inseparable from conditioned reality. Therefore, Dōgen writes in *Bendōwa*, "In reading sūtras you should not expend thoughts in the vain hope that they will be helpful for attaining realization."

But he also argues that, if executed authentically, the practice can certainly be effective: "Actually, the meaning of reading sūtras is that, if you understand and follow the rules of practice for sudden or gradual realization taught by the Buddha, you will unmistakably attain enlightenment." This suggests that authentic practice involves understanding the oneness of cultivation and realization (*shushō ittō* 修証一等), so that, like meditation, the genuine act of reading sūtras is a matter, to coin a phrase, of "just reading sūtras" (*shikan kankin*) without ulterior motives and thus in harmony with ongoing spiritual attainment.

Furthermore, in addition to commenting on a variety of Song-dynasty Chan texts throughout the SH, many of which Dōgen himself heped transport from China to Japan for the first time, Dōgen cites extensively the *Lotus Sūtra* and other Mahayana scriptures. Indeed, as Foulk has shown, all the practices supposedly rejected by Rujing as worthless and criticized as well by Dōgen in sometimes scathing or sarcastic fashion were – with the possible exception of reciting the name of Buddha (*nembutsu*), which is singled out for refutation in *Bendōwa*, where it is compared to the croaking of a frog – are also often cited in positive ways and consistently used in Dōgen's approach to monastic training. Is this one more example of Zen's deliberate duplicity or self-contradiction, and if so, how can that tendency be explained in terms of Dōgen's overall religious outlook evident in his view of sūtra reading?

The "Bukkyō" fascicle – which in some contentious, polemical passages critiques patriarchs from other schools, including Linji and Yunmen, along with Caodong school founder Dongshan (later rehabilitated by Dōgen) as well as views associated with Caodong master Hongzhi– offers a spirited defense of reading sūtras when properly undertaken:

> An ancient once said, "To read sūtras you must have the authentic eye (*gen*) for reading sutras" 古人云. 看經須具看經眼.

This fascicle further maintains:

> An ancient worthy said, "You may be deluded about the sūtras, but it is not the sūtras that are deluding you." There are many accounts of ancient worthies reading sūtras. 古徳いはく. なんぢ經にまどふ. 經なんぢをまよはさず. 古徳看經の因縁おほし.

Dōgen also challenges those deficient monks of the Great Song for their fundamental misunderstandings:

> They often say, "The Buddhist sūtras don't contain the original intention of the Buddha." The patriarchal transmission is itself his original intention. In patriarchal transmission, the mysterious, distinctive, profound, and

> marvelous teaching is passed on. しかのごとくの長老等.かれこれともにいはく.佛經は佛道の本意にあらず.祖傳これ本意なり.祖傳に奇特玄妙つたはれり.

Moreover, Dōgen argues, "If it were as the deficient ones say, and Buddhist scriptures are to be tossed aside, you will be tossing aside the Buddha's body and mind…Hence, you need to realize beyond any doubt that there are Buddhist sūtras within the way of the Buddha. You need to explore the extensive texts and the profound meaning of mountains and rivers and make the sūtras the standard for doing your utmost to train in the Way."

III. The "10 R's" of Sūtra Reading

What exactly is meant by "reading sūtras" 看經, especially when *kan* is used instead of the expected term for "reading," *doku* 讀 (or 誦 *tonaeru*, *yomu*)? Alternative terms are 念經 (thinking of, or mindfulness toward, sūtras), 轉藏 or 轉大藏經 (turning sūtras), and 看轉大藏經 (viewing and turning sūtras).

Does the term *kin* mean a sūtra, a set of sūtras, or the complete canon, which is usually referred to as *Issaikyō* 一切經 or *Daizōkyō* 大藏經 (or 大藏教, with 經 and 教 perhaps used interchangeably)? Other terms are 經典 and 教典, but these are likely modern inventions. In any case, according to an interpreter of Dōgen, the "'authentic eye of *kankin*' (*kankin no manako*) is the same eye as the eye of the 'true dharma eye (*shōbōgen*).'"

In several SH fascicles Dōgen mentions the complete canon by referring to the 1,026 fascicles of the 5,048 scrolls of the 730 Kaiyuan edition, the first printed version in China that was followed by the 983 slightly expanded Chengdu edition. Dōgen cites this in "Jishō zammai" "Sanjūshichihon Bodaibumpō," and "Udambara," which says:

> The holding aloft of one's flower is the flower holding the flower aloft; it is represented by the plum blossom, the spring blossoms, the snow-covered blossoms, and the lotus blossom. The five petals displayed by the plum blossom embody the more than three hundred and sixty assemblies wherein Buddha voiced the dharma, the five thousand and forty-eight volumes of the sūtras, the three vehicles, the twelve divisions of the canon, and the bodhisattva stage of being thrice wise and ten times saintly.

As a compound, the term *kankin* has multifarious implications, and almost always seem to represent ritualism or sacramentalism undertaken to accumulate merit or to satisfy a donor by performing a ceremonial act, rather than scholasticism or textual studies, which becomes seemingly secondary irrelevant in many Buddhist ritual contexts.

Thinking back to the so-called 3 R's of America's Cold War-era education policy, I suggest that *kankin* indicates 10 R's, as listed below more or less in order of importance, with only the last of these involving scriptural studies in the customary sense:

(1) Reciting (chanting)
(2) Rotating (turning the repository)
(3) Remembering (memorizing the words)
(4) Repeating (memorializing the content)
(5) 'Riting (copying passages or the whole work)
(6) Regarding (viewing the scripture as an object)
(7) Rambling (walking around or circumambulating)
(8) 'Rithmetic (counting the numbers of words, lines, scrolls)
(9) Receiving (when gifted by a patron)
(10) Reading (in the sense of studying meanings and reasons).

Again, the emphasis seems to be on anything but reading. An 11th R could be "remaining" in the practice of reciting sūtras 不斷讀經, a 12th R would be the converse of "renouncing" or stopping the practice 斷讀經, and a 13th is "ripping" sūtras, as attributed in famous stories to Huineng, Deshan, and other Chan luminaries.

The significance of the practices of reciting, rotating, and rambling can be seen in the list below of everyday routines at a typical medieval Sōtō Zen temple:

Daily Observances (Mainichi Shogyōji 每日諸行事)

Circumambulation of the monks' hall in the early morning in the Buddha hall:
Sūtra chanting after the morning rice gruel
Sūtra chanting for previous abbots
Sūtra chanting for ancestors of the emperor (or shogun)
Sūtra chanting n the abbot's quarters (*hōjō* 方丈):

Prayer (*kitō* 祈祷) revolving/reciting (*tendoku* 転読) six hundred volumes of the Great Sūtra on the Perfection of Wisdom (*Daihannya roppyaku kan* 大般若六百巻)
Sūtra chanting for the founders [i.e., Dōgen and Keizan an] (*goeidō* 御影堂)
Sūtra chanting for ancestors, whose funerary tablets are enshrined in the mortuary hall
Sūtra chanting to make ties with Buddha (*kechien* 結縁)
Sūtra chanting for the ancestors of the highest daimyō
Reciting the *Lotus Sūtra* for the universal transfer of merit in the Buddha hall
Midday sūtra chanting (*nitchū* 日中) in the abbot's quarters
Intermission (*hisan* 放参), then circumambulation of the hall at hoji [i.e., the hour of the monkey (around 4 p.m. in the Monks' hal)l:
Chanting after zazen and the evening bell (konshō 昏鐘).

An additional point is that the use of *kan* in the term "investigating Zen sayings (or kōans)" (*kanna Zen*, C. *kanhua Chan* 看話禪) does not refer to literally reading the case but attaining spontaneous, intuitive insight into its potency to trigger awakening, which purposefully lies beyond the meaning of the written word. That standpoint can be considered to have its origins in a passage from the *Platform Sūtra* attributed to Huineng, which dismisses the need for literal reading in favor of genuinely spontaneous spiritual insight:

> Section 42. There was another priest by the name of Fada 法达, who had been reading the *Lotus Sūtra* continuously for seven years, but his mind was still deluded, and he did not know where the true dharma abided. [Going to see Huineng, he bowed and asked]: "I have doubts about the sūtra, and because the master's wisdom is great, I implore you to resolve my doubts."
>
> The master said: "Fada, your dharma (*fa*) is not yet proficient (*da*). You have no doubts concerning the sūtra, [but your mind doubts its own understanding]. You are searching for the true dharma with falsehood in your mind. If your own mind were correct and secure, you would know the sūtra. I have never in my life tried to study

> writings, but if you bring a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* and read it to me all the way through, upon hearing the words I will be able to "grasp the dharma" (*fada*) all at once by understanding as if I had read it myself."

This passage furthermore highlights a key point emphasized in "Reading Sūtras," which is that the sūtras mean something different as a direct transmission for the enlightened than they do for the unenlightened, who continually struggle and become hopelessly entangled in questions of ritual protocol. In an EK passage from the mid-1230s, Dōgen emphasizes that those who understand can see the sūtra even in a teacher's flywhisk (*hossu*):

> EK 1.6. Sermon: Even practicing for three great kalpas, your effort is not yet complete. Attaining realization in a single moment cannot be defiled. An ancient said, "Relying on the sūtras by understanding their meaning is the enemy of the buddhas past, present, and future. Departing from the sūtras by one word is the same as demons' speech."
>
> Without relying on the sūtras, and without departing from the sūtras, how could we ever practice? Would all of you like to see the sūtra? Dōgen held up his flywhisk and said: "This is my whisk. What is the sūtra?"
>
> Following a pause Dōgen added, "It would take too long to explain, so I will leave that for another time."
>
> 上堂.修行三祇劫兮. 功満未休.取証一刹那兮. 染汚不得.古人道. 依経解義. 三世仏冤讎.離経一字.即同魔説. 既不依経.既不離経. 又且如何行李.諸人要看経麼.豎払子云. 這箇是興聖払子.那箇是経. 良久云. 向下文長.附在来日.

In light of these passages, I agree with Charlotte Eubanks' view indicating that, "The essay ["Reading Sūtras"] pivots on the crucial idea of 'turning': 'turning the sūtras' meaning over and over in one's mind, the slow turn of breath coming in and going out, the turning of the sūtra scrolls in one's hand, taking a turn around the meditation cushion." Furthermore, according to Eubanks, for Dōgen, who situates these activities in the same ritual space of the temple's practice grounds, "All of these various approaches intimate that the movement of the body through space is a physical enactment of reading, and they suggest that the process of turning

and turning again results in a fine attenuation of sūtra text and the embodied heart-mind should see reading as an instance of circumambulation."

IV. The Canon in the Period of "Late Late" Dōgen

Regarding the question of whether Dōgen, in referring to the Buddhist canon, indicated just the *Lotus Sūtra* and related scriptures or the whole body of literature encompassing diverse Indian and Chinese sources, we need to consider key elements of his traditional biography. First, as reported in the two main sources, he read the entire canon one time by the age of 18, according to *Denkōroku* by Keizan (十八歳ヨリ内ニ一切經ヲ披閲スルコト一, T.2585.82.405b26), or two times, in a passage in *Kenzeiki* (a 1472 authoritative Sōtō sect account) before leaving for China at age 23 (貞應元年壬午. 師歳二十三歳. これまで大藏經を周覧すること二回なり).

Even if that is the case, and similar claims were made for numerous prominent monks in medieval Japan, how much do we know about what was available for reading on Mount Hiei, or elsewhere in Kyoto, at the time Dōgen practiced there from 1216 to 1223? Did Dōgen study Indian texts while still in Japan, or might the study have first taken place in China when he was also trying to absorb the "de facto Chan canon," a vast new body of texts produced during the Song dynasty that had not yet been incorporated into the mainstream canonical collection published at the end of the tenth century?

This question becomes especially important in light of reports that Dōgen received Hatano's gift of the "entire canon" during the late late phase of his life, which some commentators maintain started in the 3rd month of 1248 after Dōgen's return from a six-month trip to Kamakura, where he declined Hōjō Tokiyori's offer of a new temple later bestowed to Lanqi Daolong (J. Rankei Dōryū) as Kenchōji monastery. Dōgen's difficult decision, given that he refused an invitation from the highest authority in the land, was because of his ethical reservations about serving a martial leader who had perpetrated a lifetime of violence. From then on, he placed a strong emphasis on the inviolable impact of karmic causality (*inga* 因果), a standpoint expressed especially in the following works:

> - *Eihei Kōroku* 3.251 (the first sermon after returning from Kamakura) and continuing in various sermons such as 5.381 through the last one, 7.531, delivered in 1252

- *12-Fascicle Shōbōgenzō*, which was mainly composed during the post-Kamakura years and includes fascicles that endorse repentance but repudiate nondual views of causality for harboring antinomian implications
- *Hōkyōki*, which was probably penned, or at least heavily edited, at this late stage by Dōgen, according to a prominent recent theory; the text features several examples Rujing instructing him on the doctrine of causality.

However, the late late phase of Dōgen's career was also marked by several noteworthy supernatural occurrences, as recorded by the images included in the *Teiho Kenzeiki zue* from 1803, which was based on Menzan's 1752 text that is a revision of the original *Kenzeiki*; the relevant sequence of biographical images is numbered here, with the other-worldly examples marked by * and the canonical reference also highlighted:

52 Kamakura visit and preaching to Hōjō Tokiyori beginning in the fall of 1247
53 Lanqi Daolong (Rankei Dōryū) and an exchange of letters about zazen from 1248
54 Gemmyō and the removal of his meditation seat for betraying Dōgen by accepting the shogun's gift in 1248
55* Multicolored clouds appearing over Eiheiji in 1249
56* Appearance of 16 Rakan visualized at Eiheiji in 1249
57 "Tsukimi," or Dōgen's famous moon-viewing pavilion poem composed in 1249
58 Daizōkyō received at Eiheiji from samurai patron Hatano in 1250
59 Purple robe, sent for third time from the government and finally accepted by Dōgen in 1250
60* Bell sounds heard echoing despite lack of an actual ringing in 1251

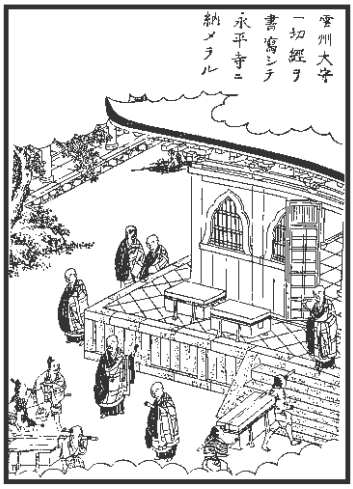

Figure 1. Daizōkyō being brought to Eiheiji in *Teiho Kenzeiki zue*

Two EK *jōdō* sermons record that the reception of the canon occurred shortly after the new year of 1250. The first sermon raises an intriguing issue about possible supernatural functions of the canon by commenting ironically on a citation of a brief dialogue involving Tang dynasty master Touzi Datong (投子大同, 819–914); the original passage reads, 師示眾云… 僧問.表裏不收時如何.師云.你擬向者裏根.問.大藏教中還有奇特事也無.師云.演出大藏教.問.如何是佛向上人.師云.現佛身, X.68n1315.36:

> EK 5.361. Sermon upon the arrival of a letter from the Great Lord of Izumo Province [Hatano Yoshishige] about his having the Tripitaka Canon copied for a donation to this temple:
>
> In a dialogue a monk asked Touzi [Datong], "Is there anything particularly special in the teachings expounded in the Tripitaka?" Touzi said, "The performance [presentation, or carrying out the deeds of] 演出大藏教 of the teachings expounded in the *Daizōkyō*."
>
> The ancient Buddha, Touzi [Datong], has thus spoken. This [donation] brings much joy to the mountain

> gate [of Eiheiji]. On this occasion, I offer a verse for itinerant monks:
>
> > The performance of teachings in the *Daizōkyō* –
> > You should know that great gentlemen,
> > Heavenly beings, and wise sages,
> > Gain protection from this talisman.
> > 演出大蔵教 / 須知大丈夫 / 天人賢聖類 /
> > 幸得護身符.
>
> What is it like at just that moment? After a pause Dōgen says, "There are certainly sages in the world. What is good and evil 善悪 other than cause and effect 因果?"

The key phrase is Touzi's saying 演出大蔵教, which is cited in the first line of the verse and could imply the ritual of reading, the act of bringing the scrolls out of storage for viewing, or a practitioner carrying out and embodying the essence of the sūtras. The second sermon says:

> EK 5.362. On receiving a joyful letter from the Great Lord [Hatano Yoshishige] that arrived in response to [our accepting his donation of] the Tripitaka that wascopied for this temple:
>
> The ocean treasury of Vairocana has been transmitted from ancient times to the present. This is the threefold turning of the Dharma wheel in the multitude [of realms]. On thousands of summits and ten thousand peaks is the color of golden leaves. Sentient beings fully attain the way all at the same time. 毘盧蔵海古今伝. 三転法輪於大千. 千嶽万峰黄葉色. 衆生得道一時円.

Another important composition by Dōgen during this phase of his career was one of the poems contained in the group of "15 Verses on Dwelling in Mountains," which was probably composed in the early 1250s:

> What joy I feel in this mountain dwelling, so solitary and tranquil,
> Where I regularly read 読 the *Lotus Sūtra*.

> With wholehearted contemplation, where is there any longing or attachment?
> How enviable to hear the sounds of evening rain in the depths of autumn.
> 幾悦山居尤寂寞 / 因斯常読法華経 /専精樹下何憎愛 / 妬矣秋深夜雨声.

V. Returning to the "Reading Sūtras" Fascicle

With details of the historical and conceptual background in mind, let us return to a synopsis of the main contents of the "Reading Sūtras" fascicle before outlining some of the main principles of Dōgen's view of "Kankinicity." The fascicle opens with a passage about the metaphorical and metaphysical significance of scriptures.

> Without being buddhas and ancestors, it is impossible to see, hear, read, chant, and understand the meaning of sutras that are being transmitted by carvings on trees and rocks, spread in fields and villages, demonstrated in many lands, and expounded in empty space.

Then, the fascicle continues by commenting on numerous dialogues dealing with various ways of deconstructing the conventional ritual of recitation, including four similar stories marked below, with * indicating an apparent mocking or radical reorientation of the practice. Just as *kankin* seems to represent anything but ordinary reading in favor or reciting/rotating, these kōan cases suggest that the term means anything but ceremonialism:

(1) Yaoshan said, "Sūtras have sūtra scholars. Treatises have treatise scholars. What do you expect from this old monk?"

Dōgen: What Yaoshan taught is that a fist has a fist teacher, and an eyeball has an eyeball teacher.

(2) Huineng taught Fada [in the *Platform Sūtra*] with a verse: "When your mind is deluded, you are turned by the Dharma blossoms. When your mind is enlightened, you turn the Dharma blossoms."

Dōgen: Rejoicing in these instructions, Fada presented the following words of admiration: "After chanting the sūtra three thousand times, I was overwhelmed by Huineng's single verse."

(3) The King asked, "Everyone turns [reads] a sūtra except you, O Venerable. Why is this so?" Prajnatara said, "While exhaling I do not follow conditions. While inhaling I do not abide in the realm of skandhas. I turn hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, and billions of scrolls of sūtras, not merely one or two."

(4)* Zhaozhou got off the meditation platform, walked around it, and said to a messenger, "The canon has been rotated 轉藏已畢." The messenger reported this to the old woman who requested the ritual, and she said, "I asked the master to rotate the entire canon. Why did he only rotate half the canon 如何和尚只轉半藏?"

(5)* Dasui walked around the meditation platform and said to a messenger, "The canon has been rotated." The messenger reported this to the old woman who made the request and she said, "I asked the master to rotate the entire canon. Why did he only rotate half of the canon?"

Dōgen: Now, do not try to interpret this!

(6)* Dongshan, Great Master Wuben, a high ancestor, once given a meal offering and a donation, was asked to rotate the canon by a government official. Dongshan got off the meditation platform and bowed to the official. The official bowed back. Dongshan said, "You and I have chanted the canon together. How come you still don't understand it?"

(7)* After his talk on Dongshan, Rujing drew a large circle with a flywhisk and said, "Today I have rotated the canon for you." Then he threw down the whisk and descended the teaching seat.

Dōgen: You should rotate Rujing's words, which cannot be compared with the sayings of other teachers.

(8) Yaoshan, Great Master Hongdao, never allowed his students to read a sūtra, but one day he himself was reading a sūtra. A monk asked, "Master, you never allow us to read a sūtra. How come you are reading one now?" Yaoshan said, "I need to shelter my eyes [an idiom suggesting to become one with the sūtra]." The monk said, "Can I imitate you?" Yaoshan said, "If you read a sūtra, even a calf's skin would be pierced."

(9) Yefu, Zen master Daochuan, said: "Billions of offerings to buddhas create boundless benefaction. How can it compare to reading an ancient teaching?

Yet, letters are merely inked on white paper. Please open your eyes and see through this immediately."

(10) Yunju once saw a monk silently reading a sūtra in his room. He asked the monk through the window, "Reverend, what sūtra are you reading?" The monk said, "The *Vimalakirti Sūtra*." Yunju said, "I am not asking you about the *Vimalakirti Sūtra*. What sūtra are you reading?" At this, the monk attained realization.

(11) Yaoshan, Great Master Hongdao, asked novice Gao, "Did you get [realization] by reading a sūtra or from personal guidance?" Gao said, "I diidn't get it by reading a sūtra or from personal guidance." Yaoshan said, "There are many who don't read a sūtra or receive personal guidance. How come they don't get it?" Gao said, "I can't say why they don't get it. Perhaps they don't want to hit the mark."

Dōgen: While there are those who do or do not hit the mark in the house of buddhas and ancestors, reading a sūtra and receiving personal guidance are essential as teaching devices commonly used for everyday practice.

These cases debunking the conventional view of sutras are followed in the fascicle by an extended discussion of monastic regulations for the ceremonial use of sutras by citing the 1103 manual, the *Zen Monastic Rules*, which begins:

> Currently in the assemblies of buddha ancestors, there are various occasions for reciting a sūtra. For example, a donor comes to the monastery and asks the assembly of monks to recite a sūtra regularly or on a particular occasion; the assembly aspires to do so on their own; or the assembly recites a sūtra for a deceased monk.

This quote continues with detailed instructions about how the ceremony cn be performed efficiently. It is almost as if Dōgen was oblivious to his own citations in the same essay of eleven kōan cases debunking the practice. However, we can fairly surmise that he seeks to create that impression in a deliberate attempt to disturb and bewilder his followers so as to stimulate their ability to attain more advanced levels of understanding.

V. Conclusion: Multiple Dimensions of Dōgen's "Kankinicity"

Finally, the term "Kankinicity" refers to various aspects of the appropriation and appreciation of Buddhist scriptures articulated in "Reading Sūtras," with the contradictory aspects now cast as complementary rhetorical and practical elements of discourse:

(A) Iconic: sandwiched between commentary on several encounter dialogues is a conventional passage from the *Zen Monastic Rules* with directives for reciting sūtras for donors and the deceased.

(B) Aniconic: despite this, various kōan cases featuring Huineng, Zhaozhou, and other Chan figures reduce and reverse conventional ritual to a mere trifling by suggesting irreverently that one circumambulation of the sūtra repository conveys the entire canon.

(C) De-iconic: Dōgen adds his own evaluative comments to kōans cited, thus showing that Zen texts should not be put on a pedestal or taken at face value becuse they too must be continually dissected.

(D) Herm-iconic: based on words of advice by Rujing and other worthies, novel yet reversible interpretations are continually turned and re-turned by Dōgen's paradoxical wordplays.

(E) Supra-iconic: in that the sūtras also possess a supernatural or talismanic quality; or is this discursive element intended ironically?

(F) Trans-iconic: Dōgen also evokes a metaphysical elaboration by arguing at the end of the fascicle that sūtras are as numerous as the grains of sand or specks of dust in the universe.

(G) In-iconic: this implies intuitive insight by virtue of the dharma eye that sees into and fully penetrates all aspects of reality as sūtras.

In sum, of all Dōgen writings, "Reading Sūtras" offers perhaps the most striking juxtaposition of reverential elements in endorsing sūtra reading and irreverent kōan discourse dismissing this ritual. But the complexity does not stop there, as it incorporates many other rhetorical aspects that greatly expand and occasionally undermine our understanding and appreciation for the depths of meaning involved in appropriating scriptures.

"MERGING SAMENESS AND OTHERNESS": A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE *CANTONGQI* 參同契 WITH CAPPING PHRASE COMMENTARIES

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Introduction

"Merging Sameness and Otherness" or the *Cantongqi* 參同契 (J. *Sandōkai*) is an intriguingly instructive verse consisting of forty-four lines with five characters each (for a total of 220 kanji) attributed to Tang-dynasty master Shitou 石頭 (J. Sekitō, 700–790). In the West today, this poem has become one of the best-known and most widely circulated expressions of classical Chan/Zen thought. There are several dozen different translations available through in-print and online editions, with some of these emphasizing the poem's literary components while others highlight the doctrinal elements. The work is also recited or chanted on numerous ceremonial occasions at various temples and practice centers, particularly in the Sōtō sect.

When considered in addition to another famous didactic poem, the "Song of the Grass-thatched Hut" or *Caoan ge* 草庵歌 (J. *Sōanka*), as well as his various sayings and dialogues, Shitou's reputation is enhanced because he was the progenitor of two main Chinese Chan lineages. One lineage gave rise to the Caodong (Sōtō) school, which competed for primacy with the Linji (Rinzai) school during the Southern Song dynasty and in medieval Japan. The other lineage led to both the Yunmen (Unmon) and Fayan (Hōgen) schools, which along with the Gui-Yang (Igyō) school, had died out by the early twelfth century, although these defunct branches were still frequently referred to for rhetorical purposes in expositions of Chan/Zen discourse.

With so many renderings of the *Cantongqi* already available, why is there a need for one more? The reason is that we present here, for the first time in a Western-language translation, a version of the text that features two appended commentaries (one in capping phrases and the other in prose) which are very useful for explicating the overall meaning and significance of Shitou's work in the context of Chinese intellectual and literary history. Both commentaries, produced by renowned Northern Song Chan thinkers, enhance our understanding of the intricate paradoxical phrasings that

distinguish reality from illusion while fully apprehending the fundamental identity of uniformity and differentiation.

The main commentary is a set of capping phrases or *zhuoyu* 著語 (J. *jakugo*) for each line written by Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (J. Setchō Jūken, 980–1052), a prominent member of the Yunmen school who is considered the premier Chan literary figure of the first half of the eleventh century because he helped develop various styles for annotating *gong'an* (J. *kōan*) cases and related materials. Xuedou produced seven major works preserved in the Buddhist canon that have been continuously studied for a thousand years, including the verse comments or *songgu* 頌古 (J. *juko*) on cases that are featured in the *Blue Cliff Record* or *Biyanlu* 碧巖錄 (J. *Hekiganroku*). Probably composed in 1038, Xuedou's remarks on the *Cantongqi* represent one of the earliest examples of the pithy, ironic capping phrase genre, following the pioneering efforts by Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (942–1024), and applied in this instance not to *gong'an* but to Chan poetry.

The second commentary is a brief prose observation by Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (J. Kakuan Ekō, 1071–1128), using the moniker Jiyin, who was the leading Chan literary figure of the late Northern Song. Juefan was known for challenging the typical view of "no reliance on words and letters" or *buli wenzi* 不立文字 (J. *furyū monji*) by proposing the self-avowed "literary or lettered" or *wenzi Chan* 文字禪 approach, especially in the *Shimen wenzi Chan* 石門文字禪 (J. *Sekimon bunji Zen*). Juefan's comments place Shitou's text in the ecumenical context of maxims mentioned by various eminent Tang (Dongshan and Linji) or post-Tang (Yunmen) Chan patriarchs.

The version of Shitou's verse with remarks added by Xuedou and Juefan that is cited here is published as part of a large Song-dynasty compilation of Chan writings that provides important materials covering each of the so-called Five Houses of Chan (Caodong, Linji, Yunmen, Fayan, and Gui-Yang). The text is the 5th volume of the *Eyeballs of Humans and Gods*, or *Rentian yanmu wujuan* 人天眼目第 5 卷 (J. *Ninden gammoku gokan*), and the passages translated appear in the modern version of the Buddhist canon in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (48.2006.v5.327a-b).

Composed in 1189 to provide a summary of the main trends in the philosophical approaches of different Chan branches, the *Eyeballs* text was transported a century later to Japan. There it became a mainstay of Zen studies along with three other major works still read today: the *Blue Cliff Record* collection of 100 *gong'an* cases; the *Gateless Barrier* or *Wumen guan*

無門關 (J. *Mumonkan*) with 48 cases; and the *Record of Linji* or *Linji lu* 臨濟關 (J. *Rinzai roku*), a compendium of the teacher's life and thought.

Translation

Readers should note that the title of Shitou's verse appears in variable translations, with the first term that implies going forth for religious practice sometimes rendered otherwise. Also, the first and third terms, which have overlapping meanings, can be translated variously as "harmony" or "distinctions." A simple translation of the title, which is the same as that of a second-century Daoist alchemy text, could be "Ode to Unity (or Integration) of Differences."

In our rendering, Xuedou's capping phrases are cited in parentheses after each line of the verse, as in the source text, and Juefan's prose comment appears after the poem. The following represents the full title:

"Merging Sameness and Otherness" by Shitou (J. Sekitō)
[*Shitou Cantongji* 石頭參同契 (J. *Sekitō Sandōkai*)]
With Capping Phrases Appended by Xuedou
[*Xuedou Zhuoyu xintian* 雪竇著語新添 (J. *Setchō jakugo shinsoe*)]

1. The mind of the great sage of India, (Who can uphold it?)
   竺土大仙心 (誰是能舉)

2. Is transmitted directly through east and west. (Look at Shitou's eyebrows)
   東西密相付 (惜取眉毛)

3. Human sensations are beneficial or detrimental, (How true)
   人根有利鈍 (作麼生)

4. But the way does not distinguish ancestors from south or north. (So it is)
   道無南北祖 (且欵欵)

5. The true wellspring is clear and undefiled brightness, (I'm clapping along)
   靈源明皎潔 (撫掌呵呵)

6. Branching streams flow quietly amid darkness. (Not quite integrated)
   枝派暗流注 (亦未相許)

7. Attachment to distinctions from the start is delusory, (Hands wide open)
執事元是迷 (展開兩手)

8. But recognizing principle is not necessarily awakening. (Think this over)
契理亦非悟 (拈却了也)

9. All our sensations, (Let go of calculating long versus short)
門門一切境 (捨短從長)

10. Interact, yet do not interact. (Either heads or tails)
迴互不迴互 (以頭換尾)

11. Interaction leads to greater engagement, (Everyone holds a staff)
迴而更相涉 (者箇是拄杖子)

12. Without this, things stand on their own. (Don't set up a fixed viewpoint)
不爾依位住 (莫錯認定盤星)

13. Forms are always known by their appearance, (Why not open your eyes)
色本殊質像 (豈便開眸)

14. Sounds always seem pleasant or unpleasant. (Either way, cover your ears)
聲元異樂苦 (還同掩耳)

15. In darkness lofty and ordinary words sound the same, (The heart can tell)
闇合上中言 (心不負人)

16. In brightness pure and impure phrases become clear. (Stay silent)
明明清濁句 (口宜掛壁)

17. The four elements revert to their own nature, (It's what they do)
四大性自復 (隨所依)

18. Like a child going to their mother. (Of course)
如子得其母 (可知也)

19. Fire burns and winds keep blowing, (In spring, ice melts on its own)
火熱風動搖 (春氷自消)

20. Water moistens and the ground stays firm. (From dawn until dusk)
水濕地堅固 (從旦至暮)

21. Eyes see forms and ears hear sounds, (Seas are calm and rivers are still)
眼色耳音聲 (海晏河清)

22. Noses smell and tongues taste the salty and sour. (According to the flavor)
鼻香舌鹹醋 (可憑可據)

23. Therefore, for each and every phenomenon, (You must understand this)
然於一一法 (重報君)

24. A leaf's growth depends on the roots. (It's quite clear)
依根葉分布 (好明取)

25. Beginnings and ends return to the same source, (Only I know this)
本末須歸宗 (唯我能知)

26. The valued and humble both are expressed. (Without breaking a rule)
尊卑用其語 (不犯之令)

27. Within light there is darkness, (Darkness must be bright)
當明中有暗 (暗必可明)

28. But don't refer to it as darkness. (Brightness can't be seen)
勿以暗相遇 (明還非覩)

29. Within darkness there is light, (Seeing one thing is seeing all things)
當暗中有明 (一見三)

30. But don't refer to it as light. (There's no difference)
勿以明相覩 (無異說)

31. Light and darkness contrast with each other, (If a distinction is made)
明暗各相對 (若為分)

32. Like walking with one foot in front of the other. (Without any exception)
比如前後步 (不如此)

33. The myriad things each have virtue, (You should investigate)
萬物自有功 (旨爾寧止)

34. Depicted according to their function and position. (In every direction)
當言用及處 (縱橫十字)

35. Things coexisting like a box covered by a lid, (Look carefully)
事存函蓋合 (仔細看)

36. Respond to one another like arrows meeting in midair. (Don't be mistaken)
理應箭鋒拄 (莫教錯)

37. On hearing these words you grasp the source, (It can't be known)
承言須會宗 (未兆非明)

38. But it's not based on convention. (It's beyond discrimination)
勿自立規矩 (突出難辯)

39. If you can't see the way that's right before your eyes, (What for?)
觸目不會道 (又何妨)

40. How will you find the path right beneath your feet? (Nothing's wrong)
運足焉知路 (出不惡)

41. Stepping forward is not a matter of going near or far, (Singing high above)
進步非近遠 (唱彌高)

42. In delusion you wander here and there aimlessly. (Chanting down low)
迷隔山河故 (和彌寡)

43. Politely I urge all those seeking wisdom: (This holds true for everyone)
謹白參玄人 (聞必同歸)

44. Do not spend your days and nights wastefully! (Spoken with sincerity)
光陰莫虛度 (誠哉是言也)

A Prose Comment on *Cantongqi* by Jiyin (or Juefan Huihong)
[*Jiyin yue* 寂音曰 (J. *Jakuon iwaku*)]

Jiyin [or Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪] remarks: My goal is to think deeply about this work, which contains more than forty sentences. A number of these discuss the relation between brightness and darkness. Toward the beginning the text says, "The true wellspring is clear and undefiled brightness, / Branching streams flow quietly amid darkness" [lines 5-6]. This captures the root meaning of brightness and darkness. The text also says, "In darkness lofty and ordinary words seem the same, / In brightness pure and impure phrases become clear" [15-16]. Another passage further develops this outlook by highlighting the fundamental point, "Beginnings and ends return to the same source, / The valued and humble both are expressed" [25-26].

Therefore, the following saying suggests the open-ended relationship between brightness and darkness: Writings that continuously sparkle are by no means false; rather, such speech acts are abundantly clear. For example, Dongshan Wuben [also Liangjie] explains the "Five Ranks of Straight and Crooked" 五位偏正; Linji speaks of "Wisdom within Words" 句中玄; and Yunmen talks about "Following the Waves" 隨波逐浪. By no means do these expressions indicate different flavors. Later generations have received and continue to follow those teachings. Imagine a place where truth is at once concealed and revealed in the midst of brightness and darkness; isn't that paradoxical?

寂音曰. 予嘗深考此書. 凡四十餘句. 而以明暗論者半之. 篇首便曰. 靈源明皎潔. 枝派暗流注. 乃知. 明暗之意根於此. 又曰. 暗合上中言. 明明清濁句. 調達開發之也. 至指其宗而示其趣則曰. 本末須歸宗. 尊卑用其語. 故其下廣序明暗之句. 奕奕綴聯不已者. 非決色法虛誑. 乃是明其語耳. 洞山悟本得此旨故. 有五位偏正之說. 至於臨濟之句中玄雲門之隨波逐浪. 無異味也. 而晚輩承其言. 便想像明暗之中有相藏露之地. 不亦謬乎.

Translators' Remarks

What is the significance for understanding the *Cantongqi* of the cryptic capping phrase comments by Xuedou and the brief prose remark by Juefan Huihong? To respond briefly, the overall message of these annotations is to highlight the role of contrast in apprehending true reality as the continual integration, and splintering and reconnection, of identity and difference. Juefan points out the theme, which is expressed in twelve of the forty-four sentences, regarding brightness in relation to darkness in that these

phenomena can only be known when they are distinguished from one another, even though they are by no means entirely distinct and must be seen as intersecting and overlapping at all levels. The term merging indicates at once rising above the delusions of differences to realize oneness and to plunge back into the world of multiplicity to reach the resolution of conflicts.

Xuedou's phrases comment with various rhetorical voices ranging from irony and contradiction to simple affirmation, which is sometimes feigned or deliberately exaggerated. In some instances, his phrase emphasizes the role of contrast, especially for sentences 5-6, 7-8, 13-14, 15-16, 41-42, while elsewhere he stresses the notion of complementarity, as in 1-2, 3-4, 29-30, 37-38, 39-40.

Also, we consider it helpful that another Northern Song commentator, Longya Huijue 瑯琊慧覺撰 (d.u.), who was a contemporary of Xuedou, has suggested dividing the forty-four sentences of Shitou's verse into ten sections, with the second main part further divvied into seven components. This passage, which helps illumine the structure and meaning of the poem, is from the second volume of the *Chanmen zhuzushi jisong* 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (J. *Zenmon shososhi geju*) or *Verses of Chan Patriarchs* that is included in *Xu zangjing* 66.1298.v2.743a-b. Readers may wish to apply that thematic framework, outlined below, to their way of interpreting the poem's significance:

Part	*Lines*	*Main Theme*
1.	1-4	Explaining the reasons for writing
(2.	7 sections)	Do not deviate from the true wellspring
a.	5-8	Knowing truth, you won't be deluded
b.	9-12	Roots are non-abiding
c.	13-16	Sounds and forms are not obstructed
d.	17-20	Four elements are not defiled
e.	21-26	Twelve sensations depend on truth
f.	27-32	Don't get preoccupied with polarities
g	33-36	All things are no different than true mind
3.	37-38	Conditioning is the basis for discourse
4.	39-44	Coaxing novices to preach the dharma

Another key point is based on the analysis of Shitou's verse by the eminent modern Japanese scholar of Chinese Chan, Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄, in *Yasashiku yomu Sandōkai, Hōkyō zanmai* やさしく読む参同契・宝鏡三昧

(Tokyo: Daihōrinkan, 2018), especially 188-202. According to Shiina, the text of the *Cantongqi* appeared in at least three collections prior to being included in the *Eyeballs of Humans and Gods* and in one a century later:

- *Patriarchal Hall Collection* or *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (J. *Sōdōshū*), from 952 (not included in the traditional canon) vol. 4.
- *Jingde-era Record of Transmitting the Torch* or *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (J. *Keitoku dentōroku*) from 1004, in *Taishō* 51.2076 vol. 30.
- *Cascade Collection* or *Puquan ji* (J. *Bokuonshū*) in the record of Xuedou (also Mingjue 明覺, J. Myōkaku) from 1030, in *Taishō* 47.1996 vol. 6.
- *Poems of Chan Patriarchs* or *Chanmen zhuzushi jisong* 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (J. *Zenmon shososhi geju*) from N. Song, in *Xu zangjing* 66.1298 vol. 2.

Shiina also points out that two Edo-period Japanese Sōtō Zen commentaries are especially important for interpreting the meaning and significance of Shitou's work: one is *The Incomprehensible Sandōkai* or *Sandōkai funogo* 参同契不能語 by Shigetsu Ein 指月慧印 (1689-1764); and the other is *On Chanting the Sandōkai* or *Sandōkai kushō* 参同契吹唱 by Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方 (1683-1769), the premier early modern Sōtō scholiast.

Many other Edo-period Sōtō specialists commented on Shitou's verse, including Manzan Dōhaku 卍山道白 (1635–1715), Banjin Dōtan 萬仞道坦 (1698–1775), and Tenkei Denson 天桂傳尊 (1648–1735). As is the case with Shigetsu (and also Shiina), the *Cantongqi*/*Sandōkai* is often discussed alongside Dongshan's "Precious Jewel Samadhi" or *Baijing sanmei* 宝鏡三昧 (J. *Hōkyō zanmai*), another Tang-dynasty didactic poem that is highly prized by Sōtō sect commentators yet also appreciated by Rinzai interpreters.

We conclude by citing a quip about the first two lines of Shitou's poem from the record of the eminent Southern Song Linji school master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (J. Daie Sōkō, 1089–1163) that is part of a dharma hall sermon or *shangtang* 上堂 (J. *jōdō*), in *Taishō* 47.1998A3.822a:

> "The mind of the great sage of India, / Is transmitted directly throughout east and west": How do you live up to this teaching from the bottom of your heart?
>
> Cry out and beat the meditation cushion one time while saying, "What do these words mean?"
>
> 竺土大仙心. 東西密相付. 作麼生是相付底心. 喝一喝拍禪床一下云. 是何言歟.