

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

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“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* 正法眼藏 (*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 Eihei-ji) 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 Translation 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, 35<sup>th</sup> abbot of Eihei-ji, 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 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary memorial of the master's death. Gentō Sakuchū, a charismatic teacher who led reform and artistic movements while serving as the 50<sup>th</sup> 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.

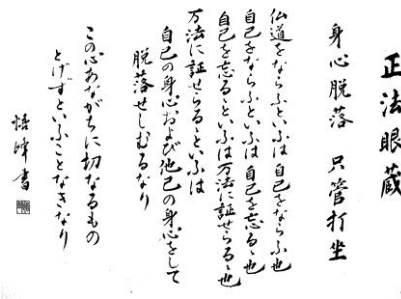


Figure 1. Cover of Honzan Ed. Figure 2. Calligraphy of “Genjōkōan”

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).<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 Rinzaï

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 Eiheiiji 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, Eihei-ji. 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 Eihei-ji. The main fascicles composed at Eihei-ji 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 Eihei-ji 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 Eihei-ji 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 scholarly 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 Kōshō-ji 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 Daijō-ji 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 Nishiyari 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.

Some of the main sources used herein (first Japanese, then English):

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Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆, *Dōgen to sono monryū* (Tokyo: Seishin shobo, 1961).

Kawamura Kōdō 河村孝道, “Shōbōgenzō,” in *Dōgen no chosaku*, eds. Kagamishima Genryū and Tamaki Koshīro (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1980), 2–72, esp. 44–53.<sup>2</sup>

Kawamura Kōdō, et al., eds., *Dōgen zenji zenshū* 7 vols. (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1998–1993), esp. 2:712–717.

Komazawa University link with vast digital files of traditional Sōtō sources: <http://repo.komazawa-u.ac.jp/retrieve/kityou/01-zenseki.html?tm=1498940429560>.

Ōtani Tetsuo 大谷哲夫, *Shōbōgenzō—Eihei kōroku yōgo jiten* (Tokyo: Daihōrinkan, 2012).

“Shōbōgenzō: Shuppan no ashiato—kichōsho ni miru Zen no shuppan bunka,” a 2010 Exhibition Leaflet produced by the Komazawa University Museum of Zen Culture and History 駒澤大学禅文化歴史博物館.

*Shōbōgenzō chūkai zensho*, 11 vols., eds. Jinbō Nyoten and Andō Bun'ei (Tokyo: Shōbōgenzō chūkai zensho kankōkai, rpt. 1957), 11:17–78.

Terada Tōru and Mizuno Yaoko, *Dōgen* 2 vols. (1970–72), II:615–632.<sup>3</sup>

*Zengaku Daijiten* 禪學大辭典 Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1985).

Bodiford, William M. *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).

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<sup>2</sup> 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”).

<sup>3</sup> 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*.

\_\_\_\_\_, “Remembering Dōgen: Eihei-ji and Dōgen Hagiography,” in *Dōgen: Textual and Historical Studies*, ed. Steven Heine (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 207–222.

\_\_\_\_\_, “Textual Genealogies of Dōgen,” in *Dōgen: Textual and Historical Studies*, ed. Steven Heine (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 15–41; this is a revised version of the unpublished typescript essay, “Major Editions of the Shōbōgenzō,” originally seminar notes.

Heine, Steven. *Did Dōgen Go to China? What He Wrote and When He Wrote It* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Readings in Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō* (New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming).

Kim, Hee-Jin, *Dōgen Kigen: Mystical Realist* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), rpt. *Eihei Dōgen: Mystical Realist* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004).

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Rutschman Byler, Jiryu Mark, “Sōtō Zen in Meiji Japan: The Life and Times of Nishiarī Bokusan,” M.A. Thesis (UC Berkeley, 2014).

Tanahashi, Kazuaki, et. al., trans., *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (Boston: Shambhala, 2010), esp. xxi–xcvii.

Waddell, Norman and Masao Abe, trans. *The Heart of Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002).

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) Eihei-ji, and also at Keizan's Yōkō-ji and Sōji-ji 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 Eihei-ji under Ejō and Giun and at Hōkyō-ji 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 5<sup>th</sup> abbot of Eihei-ji

**12 fascicles**, mainly used at Keizan's temples; this text, long rumored but not identified as such until a manuscript found at Yōkō-ji in 1927; it includes one fascicle, "Ippyakuhachihōmyōmon," that was never part of the Honzan edition, thus creating a new 96-fascicle edition

**28 fascicles**, apparently kept privately by Ejō at Eihei-ji 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-fascicle 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. 孤雲懷奘 Koun Ejō (1198–1280)**

光明藏三昧 Kōmyōzō zanmai [Samadhi Treasury of "Kōmyō"] 「正法眼藏光明」卷の敷演. Contemplative elaboration on "Kōmyō" by Dōgen's main disciple

**2. 詮慧・経豪 Senne (n.d.) and Kyōgō (n.d.)**

正法眼藏聞書抄 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)**

正法眼藏品目頌著 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. 大智祖繼 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 Eihei-ji) and an 84-fascicle or Bonsei edition (at Daijō-ji, 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 Rurikō-ji 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 200<sup>th</sup> death anniversary. It was repeatedly copied in the following centuries before Menzan emended it significantly in the *Teiho Kenzeiki* in 1752 for the 500<sup>th</sup> 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 *Shōbōgenzō* 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 seminars, 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 Chan 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 conventional 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 *Shōbōgenzō* "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 involving 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 50<sup>th</sup> abbot of Eihei 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 550<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 (600<sup>th</sup> anniversary) edition.

5. 月舟宗胡 Gesshū Sōko (1618–1696)

正法眼藏謄写 *Shōbōgenzō tōsha* [Transcribed Edition of *Shōbōgenzō*]

6. 版撓晃全 Hanjō Kozen (1627–1693)

正法眼藏九十六卷ノ結集謄写 *Shōbōgenzō Kyūjūrokumaki no kesshū tōsha* [Complete Transcribed Edition of 96-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*]

7. 卍山道白 Manzan Dōhaku (1636–1715)

正法眼藏ノ編集校定 *Shōbōgenzō no henshū kōtei* [Revised Edition of *Shōbōgenzō*]

(卍山本八十九卷) (Manzanbon Hachijūkyūmaki) [Manzan's 89-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*]

永平正法眼藏序・四篇 Eihei Shōbōgenzō jō—yonben [Prefaces to Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō—four versions]

跋永平正法眼藏・二篇 Batsu Eihei Shōbōgenzō—niben [Postscripts to Dōgen’s Shōbōgenzō—two versions]

跋正法眼藏安居卷 Batsu Shōbōgenzō Ango maki [Postscript to Shōbōgenzō “Ango”]

答客議並序跋類 Tōkaku gibeijo hatsurui [Answers to Various Kinds of Queries]

#### 8. 天桂伝尊 Tenkei Denson (1648–1735)

a. 正法眼藏弁解 Shōbōgenzō benge [Comments on Shōbōgenzō]

b. 正法眼藏弁註 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 fascicles 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)

永平正法眼藏序 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

正法眼藏僭評 Shōbōgenzō senpyō [Critical Comments on Shōbōgenzō]

臨濟禪の立場から『正法眼藏』（円山結集八十四巻本）各巻（溪声山色・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.** 正法眼藏聞解 *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.** 正法眼藏涉典錄 *Shōbōgenzō shōtenroku* [Record of References Cited in *Shōbōgenzō*]

六十卷本を本輯とする九十五卷本（面山編輯本）の渉典. References from Menzan's 95-fascicle edition pertinent to the 60-fascicle collection.

**c.** 正法眼藏關邪訣 *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.** 正法眼藏述品目贊 *Shōbōgenzō hinmoku jutsuzan* [Poetic Remarks on *Shōbōgenzō*]

面山編輯の九十五卷本（本輯六十卷、別輯三十五卷）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.** 正法眼藏和語鈔 *Shōbōgenzō wagoshō* [On the Use of Japanese Vernacular in *Shōbōgenzō*]

**f.** 正法眼藏編集・謄写 *Shōbōgenzō henshū—tōsha* [Edited Transcribed Edition of *Shōbōgenzō*]

**g.** 正法眼藏渉典和語鈔 *Shōbōgenzō shōten wagoshō* [Comments on the Use of Japanese Vernacular in the Standard Edition of *Shōbōgenzō*]

和語・漢語に涉つての語録. 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.** 議永平排遣楞嚴門覺弁 *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)**

正法眼藏統緒講義 *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) Shōbōgenzō 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)侶道坦 Banjin Dōtan (1698–1775)**

**a.** 正法眼蔵秘鈔 Shōbōgenzō hishō [Private Comments on Shōbōgenzō] 『正法眼蔵聞書抄』からの万侶による抜鈔. 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「正法眼蔵辨註」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.** 正法眼蔵涉典補闕録 Shōbōgenzō shōtenzoku hoketsuroku [Critical Comments on References Cited in Shōbōgenzō]

七十五巻本に依る涉典註解、面山の涉典の闕を補うもの. 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 53<sup>rd</sup> fascicle, “Busso”]; note that numbering system varies

**i.** 正法眼藏大修行卷弁 Shōbōgenzō Daishugyō makiben [Discussion of Shōbōgenzō “Daishugyō”]

**j.** 正法眼藏第六十大修行卷辯 Shōbōgenzō dai rokujū Daishugyō makiben [Discussion of Shōbōgenzō's 60<sup>th</sup> fascicle “Daishugyō”]; note that numbering system varies

**k.** 正法眼藏秘鈔 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.** 無情說法語 Mujō seppō hōwa [Discussion of Shōbōgenzō “Mujō seppō”]

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

**o.** 正法眼藏諫蠹錄 Shōbōgenzō kantoroku [Responses to Criticisms of Shōbōgenzō]

**p.** 高祖破斥臨濟德山大滙雲門等弁 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)

天桂不知正法眼藏之由來事 Tenkei shirazu Shōbōgenzō no yuraigoto [Reasons for Tenkei's Misunderstandings of Shōbōgenzō]

**18.** 衡田祖量 Hirata Soryō (1702–1779)

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

**19.** 洞明良瓚 Tōmyō Ryōsan (1709–1773)

**a.** 正法眼藏謄写 Shōbōgenzō tōsha [Transcribed Edition of Shōbōgenzō]

**b.** 校閱正法眼藏序 Kōestu Shōbōgenzō jō [Preface to Shōbōgenzō Manuscript]

**20.** 瞎道本光 Katsudō Honkō (1719–1773)

**a.** 正法眼藏却退一字參 Shōbōgenzō kyakutai ichijisan (a.k.a. Shōbōgenzō sanchū 正法眼藏參註) [Annotated Studies of Kanji References in Shōbōgenzō]

瞎道による九十五卷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.** 正法眼藏座禪箴抽解經行參 Shōbōgenzō Zazenshin chūkai kyōgyōsan  
[Practical Instructions Based on Interpretations of Shōbōgenzō  
“Zazenshin”]
- c.** 正法眼藏生死卷穿牛皮 Shōbōgenzō “Shōji” makisengyūhi [Piercing the Ox  
of Shōbōgenzō “Shōji”]
- d.** 正法眼藏都機卷禿若掃記 Shōbōgenzō Tsuki makitokushō sōki [Account of  
Sweeping Aside Misreadings of Shōbōgenzō “Tsuki”]
- e.** 錯不錯・野狐變 Shaku fushaku—yakoben [Mistaking or Not Mistaking—  
Story of the Shape-Shifting Wild Fox]  
正法眼藏大修・深信因果卷に引用される「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.** 正法眼藏品目頌金剛莖草參 Shōbōgenzō hinmonkuju kinkōjisōsan [Diamond  
Notes on Giun’s Verse Commentary on Shōbōgenzō]

**21.** 慧亮忘光 Eryō Bōkō (1719–1774)

- a.** 正法眼藏玄談科釈 Shōbōgenzō gendan kaseki [Deep Conversations  
Interpreting Shōbōgenzō]
- b.** 正法眼藏新刻校讐辨 Shōbōgenzō shinkoku kōshūben [Evaluating the New  
Edition of Shōbōgenzō]  
本山版九十五卷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.** 正法眼藏那一宝 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.** 正法眼藏那一宝稿本 Shōbōgenzō naippō kōhon [Definitive Edition of  
Precious Comments on Shōbōgenzō]

**23.** 玄透即中 Gentō Sokuchū (1729–1807)

- 正法眼藏九十五巻本山版梓行 Shōbōgenzō Kyūjūgomaki honzanhan shigyō  
[Official Honzan Edition of the 95-fascicle Shōbōgenzō]



**24. 雑華藏海 Zakka Zōkai (1730–1788)**

**a.** 正法眼藏傍註 *Shōbōgenzō bōchū* [Additional Annotations on *Shōbōgenzō*]

**b.** 正法眼藏私記 *Shōbōgenzō shiki* [Personal Notes on *Shōbōgenzō*]

瞎道を『正法眼藏』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)**

正法眼藏ノ手入レ *Shōbōgenzō no te'ire* [Revised Edition of *Shōbōgenzō*]

**26. 斧山玄鋤 Fuzan Gentotsu (~1789)**

正法眼藏聞解 *Shōbōgenzō monge* [Recorded Comments on *Shōbōgenzō* (based on and often attributed to Menzan)]

面山瑞方の法孫、玄鋤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)**

本山版正法眼藏校讐・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)**

正法眼藏ノ手入レ *Shōbōgenzō no te'ire* [Revised Edition of *Shōbōgenzō*]

**29. 祖道穩達 Sodō Ontatsu (~1813)**

本山版正法眼藏校讐・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)**

正法眼藏著語 *Shōbōgenzō jakugo* [Capping Phrase Comments on *Shōbōgenzō*]

**31. 無著黄泉 Mujaku Kōsen (1775–1838)**

**a.** 正法眼藏涉典統紹 *Shōbōgenzō shōten zokuchō* [Further Remarks on Menzan's "References Cited in *Shōbōgenzō*"]

**b.** 正法眼藏抄謄写 *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. 祖道穩達・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.)**

正法眼藏抄謄写 *Shōbōgenzō shōtōsha* [Comments on Transcribed Edition of *Shōbōgenzō*]

**39. 法忍 Hōnin (n.d.)**

書寫正法眼藏序並口號三首 *Shosha Shōbōgenzō jōhō kukōsanshu* [Three Verse Comments Introducing a Transcript of the *Shōbōgenzō*]

**40. 大癡 Taichi (n.d.)**

正法眼藏和語梯拾要 *Shōbōgenzō wagotei jūyō* [Essential Comments on the Use of Japanese Vernacular in *Shōbōgenzō*]

万端の「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.)**

正法眼藏逆驢乳 *Shōbōgenzō horyoji* [Milking the Donkey of *Shōbōgenzō*]

面山の『關邪訣』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**

正法眼藏過刻 *Shōbōgenzō kakoku* [Corrected Readings of *Shōbōgenzō*]

七十五卷本の語註. 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 700<sup>th</sup> anniversary, saw the first annual Genzō-e, or *Shōbōgenzō* summer study retreat, held at Eihei-ji and other temples for intensive investigations of particular fascicles, recalling Edo-period 1,000-day retreats as well as teachings delivered at Kichijō-ji and Seishō-ji, 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 Daitōsu Guzen (1786–1859) at Kichijō-ji 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 眼藏家, 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 Eihei-ji branch temple in Tokyo, Chōkokujī.

Since World War II, there have been many multi-volume versions generally referred to as *Zen’yakuchū* 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]  
 禪師御提唱、富山祖英師述・樽林皓堂編で、六十巻本を定本に行われた西有禪師の提唱録。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.** 宗祖としての道元禪師 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 Sawaki]

**50.** 大久保道舟 Ōkubō Dōshū (1896–1944)

『道元禪師全集』 (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 (Eihei-ji)

**52.** 正法眼蔵, 2 vols. (1970–72), 75-fascicles + 12-fascicles

Shōbōgenzō; published by Iwanami shoten in the Nihon shisō taikēi, 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.** 永平正法眼藏菟書大成, 27 vols. (1974–82), plus 10 vols. (1992–2000)  
 Eihei Shōbōgenzō shūsho taisai; [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] 『正法眼藏』, vol. 1

**55.** 水野弥穂子 Mizuno Yaoko (1921–2010)  
 『正法眼藏』 (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『道元禪師全集』に収録された『正法眼藏』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. 『宋代禪宗史の研究』 Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū [Studies of the History of Song Dynasty Zen] (1988) (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha)  
 b. 『中国禪宗史話—真字『正法眼藏』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)  
 『道元禪師の引用経典・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〈真真正法眼蔵〉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 calligraphy. 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.”

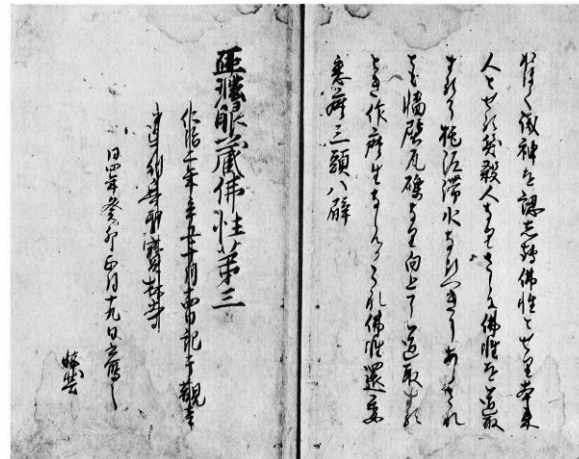
Therefore, the creation of an authoritative text, such as the 95-fascicle edition, functioned as a catalyst for developing somewhat contested and conflicting hermeneutic traditions that over time may have disputed or sought to replace authority based on a revamped sense of authenticity, or being true 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 documenting 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 <sup>1</sup>	Dōgen	1245	1492-95	Kamakura
60 Old Draft <sup>1</sup>	Dōgen	1245	1329	Kamakura
12 New Draft	Dōgen	1247	1446 (1930)	Kamakura
100 An aspiration <sup>2</sup>	Dōgen (acc. Ejō)	n/a		Kamakura
28 Private (Himitsu) <sup>1</sup>	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 <sup>3</sup>	Various editors	1700s		Edo
90 Honzan edition <sup>4</sup>	Gentō <sup>5</sup>	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

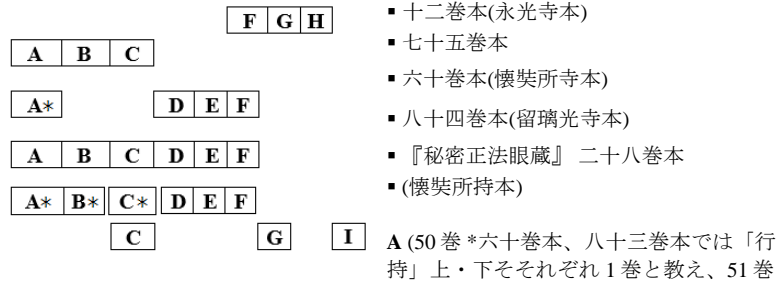
<sup>1</sup> Fascicles in Dōgen's hand include "Gyōji" part 2, "Sansuikyō" from the 28-edition, "Shisho" (two versions), "Soshi seirai," "Shohō jissō"; other early manuscripts by Ejō and others: "Busshō," "Shinfukutoku," "Zazenshin," "Kūge," "Keisei sanshoku," "Jippō," and from the 28-edition, "Raihaitokuzui," "Den'e," "Bukkyō" (Buddhist Teachings), "Shunjū"; <sup>2</sup> 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; <sup>3</sup> Various versions by Tenkei, Menzan, Rōran, Zōkai, Honkō, and others in the 18<sup>th</sup> century during the Prohibition; <sup>4</sup> Five fascicles deliberately left out; <sup>5</sup> 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 fascicles	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
<b>Total</b>	<b>96</b>		



### Appendix III-B. Various Shōbōgenzō Compilations (Japanese version)



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)・怎麼・觀音・古鏡・有時・授  
記・全機・都機・畫餅・谿聲山色・佛向上事・夢中說夢・看經・諸惡莫作・道得・神通  
・阿羅漢・葛藤・栢樹子・三界唯心・無情說法・法性・陀羅尼・洗面・十方・見佛・遍  
參・眼晴・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卷\*八十三卷本は「春秋」1卷を欠く): 坐禪儀・春秋・梅花・洗淨・他心通・王索  
仙陀婆

C (19 卷 \* 八十三 卷本は「嗣書」1 卷を欠く): 心不可得・禮拜得髓・山水經・傳衣・佛教・嗣書・說心說性・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 卷): 法華轉法華**

**E (1 卷): 菩提薩捶四掇法**

**F(7卷):** 三時業・發菩提心・四馬・袈裟功德・出家功德・供養諸佛・歸依佛法僧寶

**G (4 卷): 受戒・深信因果・四禪比丘・八大人覺**

**H (1 卷):** 一百八法明門

I(5 卷): 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-Fascicle and Several Other Editions**

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

95-Honzan	75	60	12	28	84	89	Kōzen <sup>a</sup>	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. Ikkyū 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 <sup>b</sup>	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. Bussō	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. Bukkyōjōji	26	26		1 <sup>b</sup>	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	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) <sup>c</sup>
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

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

## Appendix V. History of Shōbōgenzō Editions

## HISTORY OF SHŌBŌGENZŌ EDITIONS

