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Treasury of the True Dharma Eye

Number 8

The Mind Cannot Be Got

Shin fukatoku

心不可得

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The Mind Cannot Be Got

Shin fukatoku

Introduction

According to its colophon, this brief essay was composed during the summer retreat of 1241, at Kōshōji, on the southern outskirts of the capital at Heiankyō (modern Kyoto). The actual date of composition, however, is subject to some doubt. The chapter occurs as number 8 in the seventy-five-chapter compilation of the *Shōbōgenzō* but is not included in the sixty-chapter compilation; instead, it is preserved as title number 4 in fascicle 1 of the so-called *Himitsu* collection of twenty-eight *Shōbōgenzō* texts. In the Honzan edition, where it appears as number 18, it is followed by another chapter of the same name (typically referred to as the "Go Shin fukatoku" 後心不可得, or the "latter" text) that was also preserved in the *Himitsu* collection, as number 3 of fascicle 1. This second version of the "Shin fukatoku" (translated below, in Volume 7, as Supplementary Text 4) bears a colophon identical with the one found in our text here, but the content is rather different.

The first half of this second work is quite similar to our text, while the second half represents material found in the "Tashin tsū" 他心通 chapter, a work of 1245 recorded as number 73 in the seventy-five-chapter compilation. It has been suggested that the "Go Shin fukatoku" was composed first, in 1241, as indicated in its colophon; while our text represents a later revision, perhaps dating from around the time that the "Tashin tsū" was written.

"The Mind Cannot Be Got" represents Dōgen's comments on a single kōan, the famous story of the old woman selling cakes who defeated the monk Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑, a leading scholar of the *Diamond Sūtra*. The Zen tradition valued this story because the victory of the old woman over the scholar monk nicely dramatized the tradition's dismissal of book learning and church hierarchy. For his part, however, Dōgen seems disappointed by the quality of the exchange between the monk and the old woman: Deshan, he says, is quite pathetic; and for that very reason, he is unable to test the depth of the old woman's understanding. Thus, Dōgen wonders what she might have to say if she were really challenged and offers his own suggestions on how the conversation between the two could be improved.

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正法眼藏第八

Treasury of the True Dharma Eye
Number 8

心不可得

The Mind Cannot Be Got

[08:1] {1:82}

釋迦牟尼佛言、過去心不可得、現在心不可得、未來心不可得。

Buddha Śākyamuni said, "The past mind cannot be got; the present mind cannot be got; the future mind cannot be got."[1]

[08:2]

これ佛祖の參究なり。不可得裏に過去・現在・未來の窟籠を剜來せり。しかあれども、自家の窟籠をもちいきたれり。いはゆる自家といふは、心不可得なり。而今の思量分別は、心不可得なり。使得十二時の渾身、これ心不可得なり。佛祖の入室よりこのかた、心不可得を會取す。いまだ佛祖の入室あらざれば、心不可得の問取なし、道著なし、見聞せざるなり。經師・論師のやから、聲聞・緣覺のたぐひ、夢也未見在なり。その驗、ちかきにあり。

This is the investigation of the buddhas and ancestors. Within "cannot be got," they have scooped out the holes of "past," "present," and "future."[2] Nevertheless, they have been using holes of their own house.[3] "Their own" here means "the mind cannot be got." The present thinking and discrimination is "the mind cannot be got"; the whole body that "employs the twelve times" is "the mind cannot be got."[4] Once one en-

1 **Buddha Śākyamuni** (*Shakamuni butsu* 釋迦牟尼佛): Quoting the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T.235.8:751b27-28).

2 **they have scooped out the holes of "past," "present," and "future"** (*kako genzai mirai no kutsurō o enrai seri* 過去・現在・未來の窟籠を剜來せり): The grammatical subject here is unexpressed; the translation takes it as "the buddhas and ancestors," but it might as well be understood as "Buddha Śākyamuni" or "this [saying]."

3 **holes of their own house** (*jike no kutsurō* 自家の窟籠): Presumably, meaning something like, "the categories [of past, present, and future] as understood by the buddhas and ancestors."

4 **the whole body that "employs the twelve times"** (*shitoku jūni ji no konjin* 使得十二時の渾身): The "whole body" (*konjin* 渾身; also read *konshin*) is a common expression in Dōgen's writings for one's entire being. The notion of "employing the twelve times" (into which the twenty-four hours of the day were traditionally divided) occurs frequently in the *Shōbōgenzō*; it comes from a popular saying attributed to the famous Tang-dynasty Chan master Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778-897); see Supplementary Notes, s.v. "Employ the twelve times."

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ters the rooms of the buddhas and ancestors, one understands "the mind cannot be got"; one who has yet to enter the rooms of the buddhas and ancestors does not question, or speak of, or see and hear, "the mind cannot be got." Fellows like the sūtra masters and treatise masters, types like the *śrāvakas* and *pratyeka-buddhas*, *have never seen this even in their dreams.* The signs of this are near at hand.[5]

[08:3]
いはゆる徳山宣鑑禪師、そのかみ金剛般若經をあきらめたりと自稱す、あるひは周金剛王と自稱す。ことに青龍疏をよくせりと稱す。さらに十二擔の書籍を撰集せり、齊肩の講者なきがごとし。しかあれども、文字法師の末流なり。あるとき、南方に嫡嫡相承の無上の佛法あることをききて、いきどほりにたへず、經書をたづさへて山河をわたりゆく。ちなみに龍潭の信禪師の會にあへり。かの會に投ぜんとおもむく、中路に歇息せり。ときに老婆子きたりあひて、路側に歇息せり。

Chan Master Xuanjian of Deshan used to claim that he had clarified the *Diamond Prajñā Sūtra* and to style himself "Zhou, King of the Diamond."[6] He especially claimed mastery of the *Qinglong Commentary*.[7] He further compiled twelve piculs of books and seemed without peer as a lecturer.[8] Nevertheless, he represents a late line of dharma masters of letters.[9] Once, upon hearing that, in the south, there existed an

5 **The signs of this are near at hand** (*sono ken, chikaki ni ari* その驗、ちかきにあり): A reference to the story of Deshan that Dōgen is about to relate.

6 **Chan Master Xuanjian of Deshan** (*Tokusan Senkan zenji* 徳山宣鑑禪師): Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (or 宣鑒, 780-865), disciple of Longtan Chongxin 龍潭崇信; his biography can be found at *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (T.2061.50:778b21); *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (T.2076.51:317b13). The version of the famous story of Deshan and the old woman selling cakes that Dōgen tells in Japanese here does not seem to accord exactly with any extant source; for other versions, see, e.g., *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要, ZZ.136:755b1-12; *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄, T.2003.48:143b23-c8.

Diamond Prajñā Sūtra (*Kongō hannya kyō* 金剛般若經): I.e., Kumārajīva's translation of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* (*Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T.235).

"Zhou, King of the Diamond" (*Shū kongō ō* 周金剛王): After Deshan's lay surname, Zhou 周.

7 ***Qinglong Commentary*** (*Seiryū sho* 青龍疏): Identified as the *Yuzhu Jingang bore boluomi jing xuanyan* 御注金剛般若波羅蜜經宣演 (T.2733), said to have been written at the request of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 by Daoyin of Qinglongsi 青龍寺道氤 (668-740).

8 **twelve piculs of books** (*jūni tan no shojaku* 十二擔の書籍): The picul (*dan* 擔) is a unit of weight equal to 100 *jin* 斤 ("catty"); traditionally defined as what could be carried by a shoulder pole, it is often reckoned at 50 (or sometimes 60) kilograms, the exact weight varying with time and place.

9 **late line of dharma masters of letters** (*monji* [also read *moji*] *hōshi no matsuryū* 文字法師の末流): I.e., a descendant of those Buddhist teachers who simply study texts; a dismissive expression not occurring elsewhere in the *Shōbōgenzō*.

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unsurpassed buddha dharma inherited by successor after successor, he was overcome by indignation; and, packing his books, he crossed mountains and rivers, eventually to encounter the community of Chan Master Xin of Longtan.[10] As he was headed to join this community, he paused for a rest on the road. An old woman came along and rested by the side of the road.

[08:4] {1:83}

ときに鑑講師とふ、なんぢはこれなに人ぞ。婆子いはく、われは賣餅の老婆子なり。德山いはく、わがためにもちひをうるべし。婆子いはく、和尚、もちひをかふてなににかせん。德山いはく、もちひをかふて點心にすべし。婆子いはく、和尚の、そこばくたづさへてあるは、それなにものぞ。德山いはく、なんぢきかずや、われはこれ周金剛王なり。金剛經に長ぜり、通達せずといふところなし。わがいまたづさへたるは、金剛經の解釋なり。

Lecturer Jian said, “Who are you?”

The old woman said, “I’m an old woman selling cakes.”

Deshan said, “Sell me a cake.”

The old woman said, “Why is the Reverend buying a cake?”

Deshan said, “I’m buying the cake for a refreshment.”[11]

The old woman said, “What is that load the Reverend is carrying?”

Deshan said, “Haven’t you heard? I’m Zhou, King of the *Diamond*. I’m an expert on the *Diamond Sūtra*. There’s nothing [in it] I haven’t penetrated. What I’m carrying here are commentaries on the *Diamond Sūtra*.”

[08:5]

かくいふをききて、婆子いはく、老婆に一問あり、和尚これをゆるすやいなや。德山いはく、われいまゆるす、なんぢこころにまかせてとふべし。婆子いはく、われかつて金剛經をきくにいはく、過去心不可得、現在心不可得、未來心不可得。いまいづれの心をか、もちひをしていかに點ぜんとかする。和尚もし道得ならんには、もちひをうるべし。和尚もし道不得ならんには、もちひをうるべからず。

Hearing him speak thus, the old woman said, “This old woman has a question. Does the Reverend grant it?”

Deshan said, “Granted. Feel free to ask.”

---

10 **Chan Master Xin of Longtan** (*Ryūtan no Shin zenji* 龍潭の信禪師): I.e., Longtan Chongxin 龍潭崇信 (dates unknown), a disciple of Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟 (748-807), in the lineage of Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思.

11 **“I’m buying the cake for a refreshment”** (*mochii o kaute tenjin ni su beshi* もちひをかふて點心にすべし): The translation “refreshment” for *tenjin* (Mandarin *dianxin*, known in the West by the Cantonese *dimsum*) obscures the old lady’s subsequent play on the word that is the key to the story. She takes it, not as the common noun for a light snack, but as a verb-object construction meaning something like “to spark the heart,” or “to refresh the mind.”

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The old woman said, "I once heard it said in the *Diamond Sūtra*, '*The past mind cannot be got; the present mind cannot be got; the future mind cannot be got.*' Now, which mind will you refresh with the cake?[12] If the Reverend can answer, I'll sell you the cake; if the Reverend can't answer, I won't sell you the cake."

[08:6]

徳山、ときに茫然として、祇對すべきところをおぼえざりき。婆子、すなはち拂袖していでぬ。つひにもちひを徳山にうらず。

Deshan was at a loss and could not think of how to respond. The old woman thereupon shook out her sleeves and left.[13] She never sold Deshan the cake.

[08:7]

うらむべし、數百軸の釋主、數十年の講者、わづかに弊婆の一問をうるに、たちまちに負處に墮して、祇對におよばざること。正師をみると、正師に嗣承せると、正法をきけると、いまだ正法をきかず、正師をみざると、はるかにことなるによりてかくのごとし。徳山、このときはじめていはく、畫にかけるもちひ、うえをやむるにあたはず、と。いまは龍潭に嗣法すと稱す。

What a pity. A commentator of several hundred fascicles, a lecturer of several tens of years, gets but a single question from a tired, worn-out old woman and is immediately defeated, without so much as a response. This happens because of the great difference between one who has met a true master, who has inherited from a true master, who has heard the true dharma, and one who has not yet heard the true dharma nor met a true master. At this time, Deshan first said, "A painted cake can't satisfy hunger."[14] Now, it is said he inherited the dharma from Longtan.[15]

12 **"Now, which mind will you refresh with the cake?"** (*ima izure no shin o ka, mochii o shite ika ni ten zen to ka suru* いまいづれの心をか、もちひをしていかに點ぜんとかする): Or, more literally, "which mind now, and in what way, will you try to refresh with the cake?"

13 **shook out her sleeves and left** (*hosshū shite idenu* 拂袖していでぬ): A rude gesture of dismissal; Japanese rendering of such common Chinese phrases as *fu xiou erh chu* 拂袖而出, *fu xiou bian chu* 拂袖便出, etc.

14 **"A painted cake can't satisfy hunger"** (*e ni kakeru mochii ue o yamuru ni atawazu* 畫にかけるもちひうゑをやむるにあたはず): Japanese version of a famous saying in the biographies of Xiangyan Zhixian 香嚴智閑 (d. 898) (see Supplementary Notes, s.v. "A painted cake can't satisfy hunger"); it is not elsewhere associated with Deshan.

15 **Now, it is said he inherited the dharma from Longtan** (*ima wa Ryūtan ni shihō su to shōsu* いまは龍潭に嗣法すと稱す): The translation follows Kawamura's section break, but this apparent non-sequiter might as well be read with the following section — i.e., "Now, it is said he inherited the dharma, but at the time of this story . . . ."

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[08:8] {1:84}
つらつらこの婆子と德山と相見する因緣をおもへば、德山のむかしあきらめざることは、いまきこゆるところなり。龍潭をみしよりのちも、なほ婆子を怕却しつべし。なほこれ參學の晩進なり、超證の古佛にあらず。婆子そのとき德山を杜口せしむとも、實にその人なること、いまださだめがたし。そのゆえは、心不可得のことばをききては、心、うべからず、心、あるべからず、とのみおもひて、かくのごとくとふ。德山もし丈夫なりせば、婆子を勘破するちからあらまし。すでに勘破せましかば、婆子まことにその人なる道理もあらはるべし。德山いまだ德山ならざれば、婆子その人なることもいまだあらはれず。

If we think carefully about this episode of the encounter between the old woman and Deshan, it is obvious that at that time Deshan had not clarified [the dharma]. He was probably still afraid of the old lady even after he met Longtan. He was still a late-comer to study, not an old buddha transcending verification. Although, at the time, the old woman shut Deshan's mouth, it is still difficult to decide whether she was really that person.[16] This is because, having heard the words "the mind cannot be got," she was thinking only that the mind cannot be got, the mind does not exist, when she asked as she did. If Deshan had been a man, he would have had the strength to see through the old woman; and, once he had seen through her, the truth of whether she was really that person would have appeared.[17] Since Deshan was not yet Deshan, whether the old woman was that person also remains unclear.

[08:9]
現在大宋國にある雲衲霞袂、いたづらに德山の對不得をわらひ、婆子が靈利なることをほむるは、いとはかなかるべし、おろかなるなり。そのゆえは、いま婆子を疑著する、ゆえなきにあらず。いはゆるそのちなみ、德山、道不得ならんに、婆子なんぞ德山にむかふていはざる、和尚いま道不得なり、さらに老婆にとふべし、老婆かへりて和尚のためにいふべし。かくのごとくいひて、德山の問をえて、德山にむかふていふこと道是ならば、婆子まことにその人なりといふこと、あらはるべし。問著たとひありとも、いまだ道處あらず。むかしよりいまだ一語をも道著せざるを、その人といふこと、いまだあらず。いたづらなる自稱の始終、その益なき、德山のむかしにてみるべし。いまだ道處なきものをゆるすべからざること、婆子にてしるべし。

Today, in the Land of the Great Song, those robed in clouds and sleeved in mist foolishly laugh at Deshan's inability to answer and praise the old

16 **that person** (*sono hito* その人): An expression occurring several times in the *Shōbōgenzō* in the sense, "a real person," "a person with real understanding."

17 **a man** (*jōbu* 丈夫): I.e., "a real man"; a common Chinese expression for the manly male; a term also used in Buddhist texts for "person" (S. *puruṣa*, *pudgala*, etc.).

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woman as being spiritually acute; this is quite insubstantial and stupid.[18] The reason is that we are not without reasons to doubt the old woman: when Deshan was unable to say anything, why did not the old woman say to him, "Since the Reverend is unable to say anything, ask this old woman, and the old woman will answer for you." Having said this, if what she replied to Deshan's question had been words that were right, that she really was that person would be clear. [As it is,] while she may have a question, she does not yet have anything to say. From ancient times, no one has been considered that person who has yet to make a statement of a single word. That vain boasts from beginning to end are without profit, we should see from Deshan's past; that we should not acknowledge one who does not yet have anything to say, we should know from the old woman.

[08:10] {1:85}

こころみに徳山にかはりていふべし、婆子まさしく恁麼問著せんに、徳山すなはち婆子にむかひていふべし、恁麼則爾莫與吾賣餅。もし徳山かくのごとくいはましかば、伶利の參學ならん。

Let us try speaking for Deshan. As soon as the old woman asked him this question, Deshan should have said to her, "*In that case, don't sell me the cake.*" If Deshan had said this, it would have been a sharp study.[19]

[08:11]

婆子、もし徳山とはん、現在心不可得、過去心不可得、未來心不可得、いまもちひをしていづれの心をか點ぜんとかする。かくのごとくとはんに、婆子、すなはち徳山にむかふていふべし、和尚はただ、もちひの、心を點ずべからずとのみしりて、心の、もちひを點ずることをしらず、心の、心を點ずることをもしらず。

Suppose Deshan had asked the old woman, "*The past mind cannot be got; the present mind cannot be got; the future mind cannot be got.* Which mind will you refresh with the cake?" Being asked this, the old woman should have said to Deshan, "Reverend, you only know that the cake can't refresh the mind. You don't know that the mind refreshes the cake; you don't know that the mind refreshes the mind."

18 **robed in clouds and sleeved in mist** (*unnō kabei* 雲衲霞袂): Combining two literary references to the monk, the former seemingly somewhat more common than the latter; occurs several times in the *Shōbōgenzō*.

spiritually acute (*reiri* 靈利): A term of approbation for a wise student, fairly common in Chan literature.

19 **sharp study** (*reiri no sangaku* 伶利の參學): I.e., a "perspicacious understanding." The term *reiri* 伶利 (also written 怜悧) is not common in Dōgen's writing; it is virtually synonymous with the term *reiri* 靈利 ("spiritually acute"), appearing just above.

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[08:12]

恁麼いはんに、徳山さだめて擬議すべし。當恁麼時、もちひ三枚を拈じて徳山に度與すべし。徳山とらんと擬せんとき、婆子いふべし、過去心不可得、現在心不可得、未來心不可得。もし又、徳山展手擬取せずば、一餅を拈じて徳山をうちていふべし、無魂屍子、爾莫茫然。かくのごとくいはんに、徳山いふことあらばよし、いふことなからんには、婆子さらに徳山のためにいふべし。ただ拂袖してさる、そでのなかに蜂ありともおぼえず。徳山も、われはいふことあたはず、老婆わがためにいふべし、ともいはず。しかあれば、いふべきをいはざるのみにあらず、とふべきをもとはず。あはれむべし、婆子・徳山、過去心・未來心、問著・道著、未來心不可得なるのみなり。

If she had said this, Deshan would surely have paused to consider it. At that moment, she should have taken up three cakes and given them to Deshan. When Deshan went to take them, the old woman should have said, "*The past mind cannot be got; the present mind cannot be got; the future mind cannot be got.*" Or, if Deshan did not open his hand to take them, she should have taken up a cake and hit him with it, saying, "*You lifeless corpse. Don't be at such a loss.*" Thus addressed, if Deshan had something to say, fine; if he had nothing to say, the old woman should have said something for him. But she just shook out her sleeves and left, though I doubt she had a bee in her sleeve.[20] And Deshan does not say, "I have nothing to say; old woman, you should say something for me." In this way, not only does he not say what he should say, he does not ask what he should ask. It is pathetic: *the "old woman" and "Deshan," "past mind" and "future mind," "questions" and "statements"* — these are just "the future mind cannot be got."[21]

20 **though I doubt she had a bee in her sleeve** (*sode no naka ni hachi ari tomo oboezu* そでのなかに蜂ありともおぼえず): Sometimes said to be an allusion to the Chinese story of the Phaedra-like stepmother of the paragon of filial piety Yin Boqi 尹伯奇: her affections spurned by her stepson, in anger she places a bee in her robe in order to trick him into trying to remove it for her, whereupon she accuses him of making improper advances. If indeed Dōgen had this story in mind here, perhaps his playful remark might mean "I doubt she had any ulterior motive in this."

21 **the "old woman" and "Deshan," "past mind" and "future mind," "questions" and "statements" — these are just "the future mind cannot be got"** (*basu Tokusan, kako shin mirai shin, monjaku dōjaku, miraishin fukatoku naru nomi nari* 婆子・徳山、過去心・未來心、問著・道著、未來心不可得なるのみなり): A tentative reading, following Kawamura's punctuation, of a sentence in mixed Chinese-Japanese syntax difficult to parse and variously interpreted. However exactly it is to be read, generally taken to mean that the dialogue between Deshan and the old woman never gets at the issue.

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[08:13] {1:86}
およそ徳山、それよりのちも、させる發明ありともみえず、ただあらあらしき造次のみなり。ひさしく龍潭にとぶらひせば、頭角觸折することもあらまし、頷珠を正傳する時節にもあはまし。わづかに吹滅紙燭をみる、傳燈に不足なり。

Even after that, we do not see that Deshan had any clarification; he just engaged in rough hasty acts.[22] Had he long attended on Longtan, the horns on his head might have been broken off, and he might have had occasion to transmit directly the jewel at the chin.[23] But all we see is the paper lantern blown out, not enough to transmit the flame.[24]

[08:14]
しかあれば、參學の雲水、かならず勤學なるべし、容易にせしは不是なり、勤學なりしは佛祖なり。おほよそ心不可得とは、畫餅一枚を買弄して、一口に咬著嚼盡するをいふ。

Thus, monks who study this should always be diligent in their study: those who have taken it easy are not right; those who have been diligent in their study are buddhas and ancestors. In sum, "the mind cannot be got" means to buy a single painted cake and chew it up in a single mouthful.

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22 **rough hasty acts** (*araarashiki zōji* あらあらしき造次): Possibly a reference to Deshan's reputation for teaching through "thirty blows."

23 **the horns on his head might have been broken off** (*zukaku sokusetsu suru koto mo aramashi* 頭角觸折することもあらまし): Likely meaning that he might have lost some of his pretentions. The term *zukaku* 頭角 ("horn on the head"), normally used in reference to great promise, can also carry the sense of something impossible, unnecessary, or worthless.

the jewel at the chin (*ganju* 頷珠): The jewel beneath the chin of the black dragon (*riryū* 驪龍); here, no doubt, the wisdom of Longtan 龍潭 (whose name means "dragon depths").

24 **the paper lantern blown out** (*suimetsu shishoku* 吹滅紙燭): The story of Deshan's awakening when his paper lantern was blown out is well known in Chan literature (see, e.g., Dahui Zonggao's 大慧宗杲 *Zhengfayanzang* 正法眼藏, ZZ.118:114a11-14; *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄, T.2003.48:143c11-14). Here is the version recorded in Dōgen's *shinji Shōbōgenzō* 眞字正法眼藏 (D.5:180, case 104):

> 至夜入室、侍立更深。潭曰、子何不下。師遂珍重、揭簾而去。見外面黑、却回云、外面黒。潭乃點紙燭度與。師方接次、潭便吹滅。師於是忽然大悟便禮拜。
>
> At evening, he [i.e., Deshan 德山] entered his [i.e., Longtan's 龍潭] room, where he waited in attendance till deep [into the night]. Tan said, "Why don't you retire?" The Master [Deshan] thereupon paid his respects, raised the screen and left. When he saw that it was dark outside, he came back and said, "It's dark outside."
> Tan then lit a paper lantern and offered it to him. Just as the Master took it, Tan blew it out. At this, the Master suddenly had a great awakening and bowed.

transmit the flame (*dentō* 傳燈): I.e., inherit the dharma from his teacher; playing here on the story of the paper lantern.

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The Mind Cannot Be Got
Number 8

[Ryūmonji MS:]

爾時仁治二年辛丑夏安居于雍州宇治郡觀音導利興聖寶林寺示衆
Presented to the assembly at Kannon Dōri Kōshō Hōrin Monastery, Uji District, Yōshū; summer retreat of the junior metal year of the ox, the second year of Ninji [28 May-28 August 1241]

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