

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF SUZUKI'S UNDERSTANDING
OF
CH'AN (ZEN) BUDDHISM

by

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

This thesis is a critical examination of Suzuki's understanding of Ch'an Buddhism in the light of the Chinese Ch'an Buddhism. The contributions of modern scholarship to the subject are also taken into consideration. Suzuki's interpretation of Ch'an history and philosophy are examined; his subjective emphasis is noted, together with his tendency to ignore more objective historical scholarship. The suggestion is made that in a study of Ch'an, both the subjective and the objective approaches should be employed. The most positive contributions of Suzuki are (1) his emphasis on Satori, 'enlightenment-experience' and (2) his interpretation of Ch'an in terms of a balance of freedom and love.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Aim of the Study

This thesis will be concerned with an understanding of Zen Buddhism¹ in the thought of D. T. Suzuki, with particular reference to the history and philosophy of Ch'an Buddhism in China.² Zen represents one of the main streams

1

Reiho Masunaga, "The Place of Dogen in Zen Buddhism", Religious Studies in Japan (Tokyo, 1959), p. 339. "...Zen is the Japanese pronunciation of the Prakrit jhana, suffering the loss of the final vowel. The Sanskrit equivalent of jhana is dhyana, meaning 'to think'... In early Sanskrit translation into Chinese the word 'ch'an' was rendered 'thought and practice.'" Daito-Shuppansha (大東出版社) Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary (日英佛教辭典) (Tokyo, 1965), p. 335. "...However, Zen does not exactly coincide with the Indian dhyana. Dhyana is generally translated as meditation, but it is really the practice of mental concentration in which the reasoning process of the intellect is cut short and consciousness is heightened by the exclusion of extraneous thoughts, except for the one which is taken as the subject of meditation. Thus one approaches the plane of pure thought and attains enlightenment. Owing to the enormous variety in the conceptions of Zen the term cannot be confined to any particular practice."

2

Ch'an Buddhism in China refers to the creative period of the Ch'an Masters which was before the end of the Tang Dynasty according to the traditional accounts.

of Mahayana Buddhism in Eastern Asia.³ Suzuki is acknowledged throughout the world as a leading authority in the area of Zen Buddhism and he is one of the foremost scholars through whom Zen was introduced to the Western world.⁴ Therefore, a correct understanding of Zen and of Suzuki's interpretation of it is important for the understanding of Buddhist history and philosophy in Eastern Asia.

According to Suzuki the central concept of Zen is

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Shih Hu, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method", Philosophy East and West (Honolulu, 1953), pp. 3-4, cf. Yu-Lan Fung, History of Chinese Philosophy II (Princeton, 1953), p. 386, "Of all the schools of Chinese Buddhism, the most uniquely Chinese and probably the best known outside of China is that of Ch'an."

4

Kazumitsu W. Kato, "Book Reviews", review of D. T. Suzuki's The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk (New York, 1959), ETC., Vol. 9, July 1962, p. 245. "Dr. Suzuki is too well known as the world authority on Zen to need more than this brief comment by S. Wada in The Japanese Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies, Vol. IV, No. 1, (Tokyo, 1956): 'To study Mahayana Buddhism we must consider Dr. Suzuki as the keystone.'" Nakamura's introduction to Suzuki's Toyotekina migata (東洋の学見方) (Tokyo, 1942), p. 161, states: "Suzuki is one of the greatest men to present oriental culture to the West." The philosopher Martin Heidegger in Zen Buddhism: Selected Writings of D. T. Suzuki, (ed) William Barrett (Garden City, 1956), p. xi, is quoted as saying: "If I understand (Dr. Suzuki) correctly, this is what I have been trying to say in all my writings." Lynn White in Frontiers of Knowledge in the Study of Man (New York, 1966), pp. 304-5, predicts: "It may well be that the publication of Suzuki's first Essays on Zen Buddhism in 1927 will seem in future generations as great an intellectual event as William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Aristotle in the Thirteenth Century or Marsiglio Ficino's of Plato in the Fifteenth." Charles Morris in the Buddhist Personality Ideas as Expressed in the Works of Daisetsu Teitaro Suzuki, Buddhism and Culture (Kyoto, 1960), p. 10, states: "If Buddhism has a significant future

"knowledge of the unknowable" (無知の知) and "discrimination of non-discrimination" (無分別の分別).⁵ Zen is neither knowledge nor conception. It means prajñā (intuition) and inner experience.⁶ Because Zen is considered irrational and illogical, it lies beyond historical analysis and beyond intellectual comprehension.⁷ He saw history in terms of

in the English speaking world--and the signs seem to say that it has--Daisetsu Suzuki will in historical perspective stand alongside the Indian scholars who carried Buddhism to China and the Chinese scholars who carried it to Japan." Thomas Merton in "Suzuki: The Man and His Work", The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. II, No. 1, (August 1967) (Kyoto), states: "...the active leaven of Zen insight which he brought into the already bubbling ferment of Western thinking in his contacts with psychoanalysis philosophy, and religious thought is like that of Paul Tillich."

5

D. T. Suzuki, Zen no Shiso (禪の思想) (Tokyo, 1943), p. 10. cf. Suzuki, Studies in Zen (London, 1955) p. 119ff. "The logic of Soki-hi (即非の論理) (lit. 'not therefore') was formulated by Suzuki as the logic of Prajna, i.e. intuition, as 'A is not A, and therefore A is A.'"⁷

6

D. T. Suzuki, Zen no mikata to okonai kata (禪の見方 禪の修行) (Tokyo, 1941) pp. 11-12.

7

cf. S. Myamoto, "In Memoriam: Dr. Daisetsu T. Suzuki", The Japanese Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies, Vol. XV, No. 2, March 1967 (Tokyo), p. 990, "...undiscriminated primary realm of Suzuki converge in the middle way of non-duality... Suzuki speaks the essence of Zen truth is Nisia (西田) theory of 'self-identity of absolute opposites.'" Also Charles A. Moore, "An attempt at World Philosophical Synthesis", Essays in East-West Philosophy, (Honolulu, 1951), pp. 24-25, "Suzuki said, 'Paradoxical statements are...characteristic of prajana-intuition. As it transcends vijnana or logic it does not mind contradicting itself; it knows differentiation, which is the work of vijnana... prajana is vijnana and vijnana is prajana.'" D. T. Suzuki, Essays on Zen Buddhism (London, 1933), p. 189, "Zen is above

Satori.⁸ This meant that his interpretation of history has been primarily subjective and only secondarily objective.⁹ He stated that he was not interested in an objective historical study of Zen for this kind of study could be undertaken by historians in the field.¹⁰ However, whilst he did not feel that objective historical study was unnecessary, he did not always follow the conclusions of the scholarly historians of Zen. In his writings he preferred to work with the traditional histories of Zen.

From his study of Zen philosophy, Suzuki could believe that Zen was illogical and irrational. It was experience in totality. Knowledge, he believed, could not of itself reveal that which was real. The limitation of thinking and words had to be realized. Something could be known through an intuition which went beyond experience and

space-time relation, and naturally even above historical facts." Again, D. T. Suzuki, Living by Zen (Tokyo, 1949), p. 20, "All that we can therefore state about Zen is that its uniqueness lies in its irrationality or its passing beyond our logical comprehension."

⁸ Fumio Masutani (文雄 増谷), Suzuki Daisetsu (鈴木大拙) Gendai-Nihon-Shiso Taikai (現代日本思想大系), No. 8, (Tokyo, 1964), p. 36.

⁹ D. T. Suzuki, "A Reply to Hu Shih," Philosophy East and West, op. cit., p. 26.

¹⁰ D. T. Suzuki, Zen Shiso-shi Kenkyu, Vol. II, (禪思想史研究 次=卷) (Tokyo, 1951), p. 10.

logic.¹¹ He considered knowledge to have a dualistic character, but emphasized that a man who wished to hold to knowledge must be willing to give it up. Giving it up did not imply mental chaos, but rather transcending the limits of knowledge in its strictest sense. Thus he did not reject knowledge, but accepted it without being bound by it.¹²

This interpretation of Zen must be called into question on two counts. In the first place, Suzuki tacitly accepts the traditional views of Zen history. The traditional views involved two notions in particular: (a) that Zen history began with the coming of Bodhidharma from the West (520 A.D.); (b) that the historical founder of Chinese Zen Buddhism was Hui-neng.¹³ In the second place, he assumes that Zen philosophy is irrational and illogical.

For the purpose of this thesis, it will be necessary to examine Suzuki's interpretation of the traditional history of Ch'an about Bodhidharma and Hui-neng. In places where he seems to be mistaken on points of historical fact,

11

H. Nakamura, Hikyo Shiso Ron (比較思想論) (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 309-310.

12

D. T. Suzuki, (Taiwa) Ningen ikani Ikubekika (人間いかに生くべし) (Tokyo, 1967), p. 132.

13

See Suzuki, Essays on Zen Buddhism, First Series, p. 176 (re Dharma), and Suzuki, Zen Buddhism (New York, 1956) p. 74 (re Hui-neng).

his views will be examined in the light of modern scholarship on the history of Zen.¹⁴ Further, Suzuki's interpretation of Zen philosophy will be evaluated on the basis of what the classical Zen masters of China taught.¹⁵ The inquiry will also be carried out in the light of the original texts and the opinions of other scholars.

The study will make a two-fold evaluation of Suzuki's work, one negative and the other positive. On the negative side, Suzuki's views will be shown to be out of harmony with modern scholarship on points of historical detail. It should be noted that while Suzuki dates Bodhidharma's arrival in 520 A.D. and claims that Hui-neng was the founder of Ch'an, Hu Shih suggests an earlier date for Bodhidharma's arrival and states that Hui-neng was not the founder of Ch'an.

On the positive side, Suzuki's argument that Zen was mainly illogical and irrational is only partially correct in the light of the classical Ch'an masters. According to them, Zen was not primarily concerned with logical categories

14

Chinese scholars such as Hu Shih (胡適), Fung Yu-lan (馮友蘭), Kenneth Ch'an, etc.; Japanese scholars such as Ui Hakuji (宇井伯壽), Sekiguchi Shindai (関口真大), Yanagida Seizan (柳田聖山), etc.

15

The Chinese Zen masters are (a) Dharma (達磨), (b) Huiko (慧可), (c) Seng-ts'an (僧璨), (d) Tao Hsin (道信), (e) Hung-Jen (弘忍), (f) Shen-hsiu (神秀), (g) Hui-neng (慧能), (h) Shen-hui (神會), (i) Shih-tou (石頭), (j) Tung-shan (洞山), (k) Matsu (馬祖), (l) Linchi (臨濟).

as its approach to knowledge included something besides them.

There are three particular difficulties associated with a study of Suzuki's interpretation of Zen (Ch'an). The first is that his thought has little system to it: Suzuki said, "Zen has nothing to teach us in the way of intellectual analysis."¹⁶ The second difficulty is that Ch'an literature itself is unsystematic and difficult for the mind to comprehend. Finally, there has been very little academic study of Suzuki's work. Professor Masutani Rmio has said: "There is no original academic study of Suzuki, with the exception of Suzuki Daisetsu no hito to Gakumon (鈴木大拙の人と学問) which explained many scholars' opinions of Suzuki."¹⁷

Before passing on to the next section of the thesis, it will be useful first to present a brief biography of Suzuki, and secondly to sketch the course of the development of Ch'an as background for the subsequent chapters.

II. Suzuki's Life and Work

Suzuki was born on October 18, 1870 to the Rinzai family in the city of Kanazawa, Japan. His birth was in the

¹⁶
D. T. Suzuki, Introduction to Zen Buddhism (Kyoto, 1934), p. 38.

¹⁷
Masutani (増谷), op. cit., p. 406.

era of the Meiji (明治) Regime, in which for the first time Japan became open to the Western world.¹⁸ His father was a physician and a scholar in the field of Chinese literature, but his academic influence upon his son was rather minimal since he died when Suzuki was only six years old. It was, however, the death of his father which oriented Suzuki's life and thought in the direction of the study and philosophy of religion.¹⁹ His family's religious background was the Rinzai Zen sect and this fostered an interest in the study of Zen Buddhism. Also, the city where he was born was Kanazawa, a cultural center called "Little Kyoto". This might have been a big factor in making Suzuki a cosmopolitan scholar. Also, his high school classmate and lifelong friend, Nishida Kitaro, one of the greatest philosophers in Japan,

18

"At that time two schools of thought were predominant 'Japanese spirit and Chinese learning' (和魂漢才) or 'Japanese spirit and Western learning' (和魂洋才), Suzuki favored the latter alternative in preferring to see the East through Western eyes. The significance of this is that he compared Eastern thought to Western thought through Zen Buddhism." This comes from the introduction to Suzuki's Zen ni yoru Seikabu (禪による生活) (Tokyo, 1957), p. 174.

19

D. T. Suzuki, The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk, (Kyoto, 1934), pp. xi-xii. cf. Ayumin Akizuki (龍岷秋月), Suzuki Daisetsu no Kotoba to Shiso (鈴木大拙の言葉と思想) (Tokyo, 1967), p. 18, "The first small biography of Suzuki was written by a Japanese writer Iwakura Seiji (岩倉政治) who said: 'Perhaps Suzuki's brave character comes from his father, and his religious character comes from his mother.'"

played an important role in his life.²⁰

Suzuki's study at the University of Tokyo centered around English literature, yet his main interest was focused upon the study and practice of the Zen of Kamakura under the teacher Roshi Imagita (老师今北); this ultimately caused him to leave the University. Upon the death of Roshi, he continued his study of Zen with Roshi's successor, Soyen Shaku (宗演释)²¹ under whose guidance he attained "enlightenment" in the year 1897. He studied Zen not purely for academic purposes but rather as a means of reflecting upon the personal religious experiences of his youth.

Upon the recommendation of Soyen, he went to Chicago to become Assistant to Paul Carus, a free lance philosopher and editor of the Monist. The journal Monist was published by the Open Court Publishing Company which was instrumental in bringing Suzuki to the United States and this introduced him to the Western world.²² In 1909, upon his return to Japan, he became Professor of English at Gakushuin (学习院) and lecturer at Tokyo University. In 1911 he married an

20

S. Miyamoto, op. cit., p. 5.

21

He was the author of Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot (Chicago, 1906).

22

J. M. Kitagawa, "Appreciation of Daisetsu Suzuki", Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies, Vol. XV, No. 2, (Tokyo), p. 10.

American girl whom he had met in the United States, Miss Beatrice Erskine, a Harvard graduate and Buddhist scholar. It was this circumstance which ultimately introduced his thought to the West, for it was his wife's competence in English that allowed his books to be published in that language. In 1921, a book expressing his most important thought was published in English. In the same year, he became professor of Buddhist Studies at Ohdani University, a position which he retained until his retirement.²³ It was this University that conferred upon him, at the age of 63, the degree of D. Litt. (1933) for his work entitled Studies in Lankavatara Sutra.

During his long academic career, he travelled widely in both the East and West.²⁴ In the United States he taught as visiting professor at Columbia and was a guest lecturer at Harvard, Yale, Chicago, Princeton and other centers of learning.

His literary output was phenomenal. He wrote over one hundred volumes in Japanese and over thirty in English.²⁵

23

Ibid., p. 11.

24

He travelled in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Korea, China, India, etc.

25

Takeshi Shimura (武志村), Suzuki Daisetzu Zuibun Ki (鈴木大拙 隨聞記) (Tokyo, 1967), p. 49.

and also made numerous contributions to religious and philosophical journals.

III. Development of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism

Ch'an (Zen) started in India and developed in China in its own right; it also spread to Korea and Japan.²⁶

The Ch'an sect is usually said to have been founded by Bodhidharma (菩提達摩) (d. 532), the twenty-eighth successor of Buddha in India.

Bodhidharma's idea of Ch'an was propagated by Hui-K'o (慧可) (487-593), Seng-ts'an (僧璨) (d. 606), Tao-hsin (道信) (580-651), Hung-Jen (弘忍), and Hui-neng (慧能) (638-713). Meanwhile, through the influence of the fourth successor, Tao-hsin, the Niu-Tou Tsung (牛頭宗) was developed by Fa-jung (法融) (594-657). Through the influence of the fifth successor, Hung-jen, the Northern School (北宗) was developed by Shen-hsiu (神秀) (605?-706), and the Southern School (南宗) by Hui-neng. But the sixth legitimate successor was Hui-neng and two systems were developed by his followers. As soon as the Northern School was defunct, Hui-neng's Southern School was developed.²⁷

26

Reiho Masunaga, op. cit., p. 339.

27

Shindai Sekiguchi (興大関口), Zen Shu Shiso shi (禪宗思想史) (Tokyo, 1964), p. 2.

Amongst Hui-neng's disciples, there were Nan-yueh Huai-jan (南嶽懷讓) (677-744), Ch'ing-Yuan Hsing-ssu (青原行思) (d. 740), Ho-tse Shen-hui (荷澤神會) (670-762), Win Chiang Shun Chun (永嘉玄覺) (665-713), and Nan-yang Hui-chung (南陽慧忠) (d. 775). They were known as "the five great mates of the school,"²⁸ (五大宗匠). The leading disciples of Nan-Yueh were Ma-tsu Tao-i (馬祖道一) (709-788), Huang-po Hsi-yun (黃蘗希運) and Lin-chi I-hsuan (臨濟義玄), Kuei-Shan Ling-yu (嵩山靈祐) (771-853), Yang-Shan Hui-Chi (仰山慧寂) (807-883); they founded the Huang-po-Tsung (黃蘗宗), the Lin-chi-Tsung (臨濟宗), and the Kuei-Yang-Tsung (嵩仰宗). The leading disciples of Ching-Yang were Shih-tou Hsi-Ch'ien (石頭希遷) (700-790), T'sao-shan pen-chi (曹山本寂) (840-901), who founded the T'sao Tung-Tsing (曹洞宗) and Yun-men Wen-Yen (雲門文偃) (862/4-949) who founded the Yun-men-Tsing (雲門宗) and also Fayen Wen (法眼文益) (885-958) who founded the Fa-yen Tsung (法眼宗).²⁹ Five schools of Ch'an were Linchi, Yang-Kuei (Yang-Shan and Kuei-Yang), T'sao-Tung, Yun Wen and Fa-yen.³⁰ Two of these schools

28

Dumoulin and Sasaki, The Development of Chinese Zen, (New York, 1953), p. 4.

29

Kogen Mizuno (弘元水野), Shin Bukkyo Kai-Daijiten (新佛教解題事典) (Tokyo, 1966), p. 33.

30

Seizan Yanagida, "Chukoku Zenso-Shi", Koza Zen III (Zen no Rekishi) (Tokyo, 1967), p. 68.

Lin-chi-Tsung (Japanese pronunciation as Rinzai School), and T'sao-Tung-Tsing (Japanese pronunciation as Soto School), spread as far as Japan leading to the development of the Zen School in Japan. The Japanese Rinzai School was started by Eisei (1141-1215), and Bankei (1622-1693) and Hakuin (1685-1768).³¹ The Japanese Soto School was started by Togen (1200-1253).³²

In the light of the diversity of the Ch'an Buddhist School, it will, therefore, be examined to see Suzuki's thought within proper perspective.

31

Today in Japan, the Rinzai School counts 6,000 temples, the Soto School 15,000 (and the Obaku School only 500). The three Zen schools combined have more than 8,000,000 followers and the second largest members of clergy among the Japanese religious schools. cf. Reiho Masunaga, op. cit., p. 343.

32

D. T. Suzuki, Zen Shiso-shi Kenkyu I (禪思想史 第一卷) (Tokyo, 1964), p. 68.

Chapter 2

SUZUKI'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE HISTORY OF CH'AN ZEN

This chapter examines Suzuki's understanding of the history of Ch'an in the light of modern scholarship.

His exposition raises two questions. He argues that:

(1) the interpretation should be primarily subjective and only secondarily objective; (2) the history of Ch'an traditionally began with the coming of Bodhidharma from the West (520) A.D.) thus making the historical founder of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism Hui-neng, the sixth successor to Bodhidharma.

These points require a two-fold examination: (a) a critical study of Suzuki's 'subjective' interpretation of Ch'an history; and (b) a critical study of the evidence found against Suzuki's interpretation of the role of Bodhidharma and Hui-neng.

A. A Critique of Suzuki's Subjective Interpretation

1. Ch'an History in General

Suzuki's grasp of the history of Ch'an (Zen) according to Professor Yoshida Shohin, is "not merely historical

but the history of thought in terms of Zen experience..."³³
 This means that in as much as Zen is beyond empirical knowledge, its history must primarily be grasped subjectively. No historical criticism is in order as the record is not factual.

Dr. Suzuki's approach has been criticized by the Chinese historian, Dr. Hu Shih: "Ch'an can be properly understood only in its historical setting, just as any other Chinese philosophical school must be studied and understood in its historical setting..."³⁴ Furthermore: "Any man who takes this unhistorical and anti-historical position can never understand the Zen Movement or the teaching of the Great Zen Masters. Nor can he hope to make Zen properly understood by the peoples of the East and West.

33

Shokin Furuta (紹欽如), Suzuki Daisetsu Sensei no Shogaiteki Ayumito Gakumon Teki Ayumino Igi (鈴木大拙先生の生涯の歩みと学問の歩みとを論ずる), Suzuki Daisetsu no hito to Gakumon (鈴木大拙の人と学問), (Tokyo, 1961), p. 58. cf. D. T. Suzuki, Zen Shiso-shi Kenkyu, Vol. II (禪思想史 研究 第二), pp. 3-4. "What is Dharma Ch'an? (法華禪とは何であるか) What is Hui-neng Ch'an? (慧能禪とは何であるか) How could they develop as Koan Zen (公案禪). It was said that Dharma gave Lanka Vatara Sūtra (楞伽經) to Hui Ko (慧可) and Hui-neng was enlightened through Vajra-sutra (金剛經). How could these two become as one...? It seemed to be divided in ideas. What kind of experience made and developed them to be one principle of Zen (同一禪旨). I was continuing with these kinds of questions. This was my hope and I did not give up the problem of solving these questions through the history of Zen thought, through special characteristics (singularity) of expression (of Zen) and through the deepening of Zen experience."

³⁴Shih, Hu, Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method, op. cit., p. 3.

The best he can do is to tell the world that Zen is Zen and is altogether beyond our logical comprehension."³⁵

The central thrust of Shih's arguments against Suzuki following upon the above statements may be summarized as follows: (1) Ch'an is an integral part of Chinese Buddhism and must be viewed in its historical perspective, subject to the influences of Chinese religion and culture. (2) Ch'an is an historical movement which can be understood intellectually and rationally; the fact that there are irrational elements within it does not remove it from the realm of historical examination. (3) The irrational element in Ch'an does not mean that it should not be examined and interpreted in terms of Mahayana Buddhism and Chinese religions; these external sources may cast further light on its history and nature.³⁶

Why then does Dr. Suzuki, in the study of the history of Zen place the prime emphasis on the subjective rather than objective? What would be his answer to Dr. Hu Shih's challenge?

Suzuki counters Hu Shih thus: (1) Zen is not unfolded by mere intellectual analysis. Since the intellect is limited to words and ideas, it fails to reach the heart of Zen; (2)

³⁵ Shih, op. cit., p. 4.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 1-4.

when Zen is treated historically, Hu Shih's historical framework is insufficient as it fails to grasp the essence of Zen. He insists that Zen must first be comprehended as it is and then only may one proceed to study the historical objectivity as Hu Shih does.³⁷ Dr. Suzuki did not develop historical ways of studying Zen not because he was in principle opposed to them but because he had a low estimate of the contribution they could make to the understanding of Zen.

Dr. Suzuki explained Zen as essentially religious. Thus historical facts are of lesser concern and importance. And so Dr. Suzuki concludes, as Zen is true and as it enjoys enduring value, what does it matter whether it originated with Bodhidharma in China or with the Buddha in India! But Suzuki would concede that from the historian's point of view, which seeks to ascertain the source and the course of development in Zen Buddhism, it is of importance to discover a logical relation between the Mahayana Doctrine of Enlightenment in India and its practice and application by the Chinese.³⁸ But he would add that the role such historical investigation can play is not central to the understanding

37

Suzuki, "A Reply to Hu Shih," op. cit., p. 26.

38

Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, I, op. cit., p. 169, cf. Suzuki, Zen Buddhism, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

of Zen.

Therefore, Dr. Suzuki gave the objective study of Ch'an history only a secondary place for the following reasons. He feared the loss of that which was essentially religious because religious essence can not be recognized by objective study. The objective study of the history of Zen sets a limit to the growth of its spirit.³⁹ And, again, the followers of Zen claim that they transmit the essence of Buddhism. This claim rests on the belief that Zen makes vital contact with the spirit of the Buddha stripped of all its historical and doctrinal garments.⁴⁰ Suzuki maintained that since discourse and argument are aimless, they ought to be shunned in the study of Zen.⁴¹ The objective study of the history of Zen invites chaos for the reason that it fails to reach general and unified conclusions, that the historical data is wanting, that much of the early history is lost, and that later writings are aimed at religious faith rather than at historical facts.⁴² Suzuki

³⁹
Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, I, op. cit.,
p. 53.

⁴⁰
Ibid., p. 54.

⁴¹
Suzuki, Studies in Zen, op. cit., p. 189.

⁴²
cf. Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, op. cit.,
p. 168. "This fact is, however, specially mentioned for

conceded that the objective study of the history of Ch'an may have value for historians, but had little meaning for him since he was not an historian. He also argued that the knowledge of history had definite limitations.⁴³ The specialist in the field of history may revel in the study of Zen history, but Suzuki found little interest in history as it failed to reveal reality.⁴⁴

Zen must be understood from the inside, not from the

the first time, as far as we know, in a Chinese Zen history called The Records of the Spread of the Lamp, compiled by Li Tsun-Hsu, in 1029, and also in The Accounts of the Orthodox Transmission of the Dharma, compiled by Chi-sung in 1604, where this incident is only referred to as not quite an authentic one historically. In The Records of the Transmission of the Lamp, written in 1004, which is the earliest Zen history now extant, the author does not record any particular event in the life of Buddha regarding the Zen transmission. As all the earlier histories of Zen are lost, we have at present no means to ascertain how early the Zen tradition started in China." cf. Shindai Sekiguchi (真大関口), Zen Shu Shiso Shi, op. cit., p. 3, "It is infected with history books which were edited after the establishment of the Zen Sect in contradiction to the Tendai Sect: Keitoku Dentoroku (景徳禪燈錄) edited in 1004, Dembo Shojuki (傳教正宗記) edited in 1061, etc. They are basic volumes of the Zen Sect history which contain an abundance of false descriptions." Fung Yu-Lan, History of Chinese Philosophy, II, (Princeton, 1953), p. 255. "How far we can depend on the earlier part of this traditional account (of Ch'an) is much questioned for it is not supported by any documents dated earlier than the eleventh century... Suffice it to say that no scholar today takes the tradition very seriously."

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Suzuki, Zen Shiso-shi Kenkyu II, op. cit.,
p. 18.

⁴⁴
Ibid., p. 16.

outside. One needs first to attain what is termed "prajna-intuition" and then to proceed to the study of all its objectified expressions. To look for the heart of Zen by the assembly of so-called historical data and to search therein for a solution or conclusion which will precisely index the character of Zen per se, or Zen as vouchsafed in one's inner being, is clearly a faulty approach.⁴⁵ Suzuki deemed it prejudiced and unfair for historians whose criteria rest on preconceived notions and mere logic to search in history for the essential meaning of Ch'an.

For these reasons, Suzuki considered the historical study of Zen as irrelevant to the discerning of its essence, although a reconstruction of traditional history might in itself be useful for other reasons. Constant debate over historical details would not clarify the essence of Zen, and yet it is Zen's essence which is Suzuki's concern. Frequently objective studies neglect to view religion in its entirety and in its relevance to all life. Accordingly Suzuki correctly interpreted Zen in terms of everyday life.

While objective study does not qualify or modify the essence of Zen Buddhism, it is nevertheless conducive to a healthy grasp of the larger truth. However, Suzuki's view of objective historical study has its weak points. To declare

⁴⁵Suzuki, "A Reply to Hu Shih", op. cit., p. 26.

as Suzuki does, that the objective historical study of Zen has no value in understanding its essence, is to reveal faulty thinking.⁴⁶ If this was the case, why did Suzuki himself depend so much on the history of Dharma and Hui-neng? And again, if history is of no significance, why did the Ch'anists write history? If Zen had its birth in India and its development in China, its course of history and culture is highly important for a background understanding of Ch'an. While historical data may not be totally correct or complete, the windows of history admit much light which may foster a truer understanding and appreciation of Zen.⁴⁷

To refuse the light of history is to turn a blind eye to possible further light on the history of Zen. Modern scholarship, in relation to either the ancient and current problems of Zen, invites fragments of truth from whatever angle or source they may be extracted.

Because Suzuki is not an historian, he is not excused from holding fellowship with historians. And the history of Zen ought to welcome the enlightenment which historical study and objective inquiry may release.

When Dr. Dumoulin has occasion to reply to Suzuki,

46

See footnote No. 38.

47

Shindai Sekiguchi (吳大 関口) Daruma no Kenkyu,
(達磨の 研究) (Tokyo, 1967), p. 365.

as in all his works, he cites copiously the words and anecdotes of the early Chinese Zen Masters, and thereby places the reader in a definite intellectual milieu. It is therefore, not a matter of indifference in one's interpretation of Zen to become acquainted with the Chinese heroes of the T'ang and Sung periods who figure in these anecdotes, and to gain some knowledge of their education and their view of life, together with their customs and ancestral faith. We are driven of necessity to historical inquiry.⁴⁸

Such reasonable comments challenge Dr. Suzuki to desist from his purely subjective, experiential position in the interpretation of Zen and to recognize the need for communication with modern scholarship in the objective study of Ch'an.

Zen, without subjective study, may not be viewed fully in its intrinsic religious nature, but Zen, without an objective study which invites its readers to a definite intellectual milieu, falls short of its total implication. Thus may it not be that neither the subjective nor the objective aspects of the study are dispensable, but both positions need to join forces towards the larger and richer experience of Zen!

48

H. Dumoulin, History of Zen Buddhism. (New York, 1963), pp. 52-52.

2. Ch'an History in Relation to Chinese Buddhism in General and to other Chinese Religions

Dr. Alan W. Watts in the preface to his book, The Way of Zen, states that Professor Suzuki failed to give "a comprehensive account of Zen which includes its historical background and its relation to Chinese and Indian ways of thought, and the relation of Zen to Chinese Taoism and Indian Buddhism."⁴⁹

In criticism of this, an outline of Suzuki's position shows that Suzuki believes that Ch'an is a purely Chinese Buddhist movement beginning from Bodhidharma and Hui-neng without tracing a real connection with the earlier Buddhism of India and of China, nor to Chinese religions such as Taoism.

If we compare Dr. Suzuki's position with Dr. Hu and Dr. Ui, Dr. Suzuki agrees with Dr. Hu that Chinese Ch'an has almost nothing to do with the Indian practice of dhyana.⁵⁰ But the difference between Suzuki and Hu is that Suzuki wanted to see Zen as originating from Hui-neng; Hu believed it originated from Shen-hui. Further Dr. Hu wanted to see Ch'an in the light of the general history of China and

⁴⁹
Alan W. Watts, The Way of Zen (New York, 1957), p. xi.

⁵⁰
Wm. Theodore De Bary, (ed.) Sources of Chinese Tradition, Vol. I, (New York, 1960), p. 349.

Buddhism in China; Suzuki did not entirely deny Ch'an came from Buddhism but he refused to see Ch'an in the light of general Buddhism in China or India.

Contrary to Suzuki's position, it is noted of Dr. Ui and Masunaga Reiho: "They also took into consideration the predecessors of Zen in China before the time of Bodhidharma, as well as Indian background of the Zen movement."⁵¹

Why did Dr. Suzuki not accept Dr. Ui's understanding of Ch'an in general terms, or the Buddhism of China and India?

When Dr. Suzuki declared, "If Zen is at all a form of Buddhism, or even the essence of it as is claimed by its followers, it cannot be separated from the general history of Buddhism in India,"⁵² he did not ignore the necessity of studying its Indian history, but he believed it was impossible to locate Zen history in India. He said:

It was too late in the day to unveil the mysteries of Buddhistic philosophy resident in the soil of India. Its heart had been transplanted to the climate of China and it was there where the X-ray treatment must focus. A measure of value may be gained from the recorded heart-throbs of earlier Mahayana Buddhism in India. But the simple truth was that Zen in its cur-

⁵¹
H. Dumoulin, History of Zen Buddhism, op. cit.,
p. 53.

⁵²
Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, Vol. I, op. cit.,
p. 164.

rent form never existed in India.⁵³

The fact remained, according to Suzuki, that the story of Zen had its genesis in China. Zen was the outgrowth of Buddhism in a Chinese soil and climate.⁵⁴ Suzuki further states, "The Chinese mind completely asserted itself in a sense, in opposition to Indian mind. Zen could not rise and flourish in any other land or among any other people."⁵⁵ It was through a revolution that Ch'an came completely into its own.⁵⁶

To summarize this section, Suzuki's primary study is concerned with the traditional viewpoint of the Zen School. Rightly so, but it is defective in that his study of Zen history ignores the light of earlier Buddhism, Indian or Chinese, and the influence of Chinese religions such as Taoism. The organic relation of Ch'an to its antecedents and its influence on Chinese cultural history must be properly noted, which Suzuki failed to do.

Strangely enough, Suzuki speaks of the Hua-Yen as

⁵³
Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, Vol. I, op. cit.,
p. 164.

⁵⁴
Ibid., p. 160

⁵⁵
Suzuki, "A Reply to Hu Shih", op. cit., p. 40.

⁵⁶
Ch'an, Source Books in Chinese Philosophy, op. cit.,
p. 425.

the basis of Zen Buddhism, and of The True Pure Land () doctrine of Buddhism, which he regarded as a necessary complement to Zen.⁵⁷ Why then, is the history of Zen silent with reference to early Chinese Buddhism and to the Tien t'ai Sect to which Zen gave birth, and with respect to the Buddhist scholars of Ch'an schools, such as Tao Shin (c.a. 360-434) and Hui-yan (334-410). It should arrive at a balanced interpretation of Ch'an. Suzuki's account of Dharma Zen ought to recognize the Tao Shen and Tien t'ai Sect in the light of early Chinese Buddhism and Chinese religion such as Taoism and possibly also its Indian pre-history.

Two questions arise. Firstly, why should Zen be seen in the context of early Chinese Buddhism and of the Tien t'ai Sect? Secondly, why should Zen be understood against the background of Chinese religions (e.g. Taoism) and Indian Buddhism.

In answer to these questions, many aspects of Zen

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cf. Zyoti Suetuna, "In the Field of Kegon", The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 78-79. "I consider that it is this philosophy of jijimuge (華嚴), (the philosophy that all forms of phenomenal existence in the world blend with each other without impediment), adopted from the Kegon thought (Fayen 華嚴) that constitutes the basis of innumerable expositions of Zen Buddhism that Dr. Suzuki made in the past." cf. Shokin Furuta, "Daisetzu T. Suzuki", The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. II, No. 1, op. cit., p. 119, "Still later, he came to concentrate on Zen and on the teachings of Pure Land Buddhism, which added--especially the Zen--a new depth to the breadth he had already acquired."

can only be understood in relation to Buddhism (e.g. Hinayana dhyana, bodhisattva dhyana, and tathagata-subha dhyana. Further, Buddhism includes certain concepts which must be understood initially in this context; e.g. Sila (precept) samadhi (meditation), prajna (wisdom).⁵⁸ In early Chinese Buddhism, these latter three aspects are important: the study of prajna (an aspect of Pravacana, to teach doctrine) led to the Tien t'ai Sect and the Hua-Yen Sect; the study of sila led to the Ritsu Sect; the study of samadhi led to Chikuan (止観) and Zazen, to become ultimately the Ch'an sect. In addition, the idea of returning to belief in Bodhisattva led to the Pure Land Sect.⁵⁹

So it may not be positive to understand Ch'an fully without relating it to early Chinese Buddhism. Fung Yu-Lan states (speaking ideologically) that the origin of the Ch'an school goes back to Tao-Sheng (c.a. A.D. 360-434) since the historical origin of "Sudden Enlightenment" (the main doctrine of Ch'an Buddhism) was taught by Tao-Shen long before Hui-neng.⁶⁰

Dr. Ch'en, supporting this statement, said, "However,

58

Hakuzu Ui, Bukkyo Shiso Kenkyu (佛教思想研究) (Tokyo, 1940), p. 313.

59

Daisaku Nitta (大佐新田) "Zen to Chugoku Shiso" (禅と中国思想) Zen no tachiba (禅の立場), op. cit., p. 87.

60

Fung, History of Chinese Philosophy II, p. 388.

the meditation doctrine had already become widely accepted and practical following its advocacy by An Shih-Kao (A.D. c.a. 150); the doctrine of sudden enlightenment had also been advanced earlier by Tao-Sheng (d. 434)."⁶¹

Japanese Zen Buddhologist, Dr. Ui said, "His (Tao-Sheng) teaching was to a large degree Zen-like and his influence was great."⁶²

Dr. Allan Watts also supports this: "Even closer to the standpoint of Zen was Sen-Chao's fellow student Tao-Sheng (360-434), the first clear and unequivocal exponent of the doctrine of instantaneous awakening."⁶³

If the Ch'an concept came from the concept of meditation and originated with Tao-Sheng (d. 434), it is not possible to understand Zen without relating it to early Buddhism. Fur-

61

de Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, Vol. I, op.cit., p. 348. cf. Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., p. 360. "The emphasis of the Southern Ch'an school of Hui-neng on complete instantaneous enlightenment would appear to point to some historical connection between this school and Tao-Sheng though Tao-Sheng enunciated his thesis of sudden enlightenment back in the fifth century."

62

Dumoulin, A History of Zen Buddhism, op.cit., p. 66.

63

Watts, The Way of Zen, op.cit., p. 83, states, "If Nirvana is not to be found by grasping, there can be no question of approaching it by stages, by the slow process of the accumulation of knowledge. It must be realized in a single flash of insight, which is tun Wu, or in Japanese, Satori, the familiar Zen term for sudden awakening."

ther, it is important to note that the Zen sect influenced the Zazen aspect of the Ten tai sects.

Also, Shindai Sekiguchi states:

The Zen Sect, however, arose in fact in the ninth century. Before that there had been no sect named Zen Sect which propagandized the thought of Zen, Tendai, however, had referred to the whole of Buddhism by the one word "Zen" already in the sixth century. Moreover, summing up all Buddhist practices into the one practice of Sitting Zen, he completed a volume on the disciplines of Sitting Zen. Various books dealing with the disciplines of Sitting Zen which have been edited later on by the Zen Sect in China and Japan have been without an exception, either direct or indirect extracts from this volume by Tendai Chigi, Shogaku Za Zen Shikan Yomon (初学坐禅止观要门) (An Introductory Course on Sitting Zen), or popularly called the Tendai Sho Shikan (天台小止观). This shows without any consideration, the Zen Sect as immensely influenced by Tendai's thought.⁶⁴

Dr. Yanagida supports this position and states that Dharma's line on the Ch'an School (part of a new stream of Chinese Buddhism) originated in the famous writings of Tendai Chih Kai; few examples, Mokochi Kuan (摩訶止观) and Fa Hua Shun Yi (法華玄義).⁶⁵

64

Sekiguchi, Zen Shu Shisoshi (an abstract), op. cit., pp. 2-3.

65

Seizan Yanagida, Takashi Umehara "Munotankyu" (Chugoku Zen) Bukkyo no Shiso II Kadokawa Shoten (角川書店) (Tokyo, 1969), p. 102, cf. Yanagida, who also states, "even though Bodhidharma's (528) activities were earlier than Chih-kai (538-597), the founder of the Tientai sect, and Chih-kai's teacher, Nan Yuen Yuishi (南岳慧思), was sometimes understood to be a student of Bodhidharma, there is no proof of this and no proof that Bodhidharma's thought

From the above discussion, we realize that Ch'an was a part of the development of Buddhism in China, that the "sudden enlightenment" concept was originated by Tao Sheng, and that Ch'an also influenced the Tien t'ai sects.⁶⁶ Finally, Zen Buddhism should be studied in the contexts of Taoism and Confucianism,⁶⁷ and even of Indian Buddhism.⁶⁸

influenced Chih-kai."

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cf. Watts, The Way of Zen, op. cit., p. 90. "One must not overlook Hui-neng's contemporaries for he lived at a time which was most creative for Chinese Buddhism as a whole. The great translator and traveller Hsuan-tsang had returned from India in 645, and was expounding the vijnaptimatra ("representation-only") doctrines of the Yogacara in Ch'ang-an. His former student Fa-tsang (643-712) was developing the important school of the Hua-yen (Japanese, Kegon) based on the Avatamasaka Sutra, and which later provided Zen with a formal philosophy. Nor must we forget that not so long before these men Chih-kai (538-597) had written his remarkable treatise on the Mahayana Method of Cessation and contemplation" (Ta-ching Chih-kuan Fa-men, Taiso 1924) "containing the fundamental teachings of the Tien-t'ai School, which is in many ways close to Zen. Much of Chih-kai's treatise foreshadows in both content and terminology the doctrines of Hui-neng and some of his immediate successors."

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Watts, The Way of Zen, op. cit., pp. 4-10. "Taoism and Zen is largely responsible for the impression that 'the Oriental mind' is mysterious, irrational and inscrutable... Taoism...is a kind of outward symbol of an inward liberation from the bounds of conventional patterns of thought and conduct. For Taoism concerns itself with unconventional knowledge, with the understanding of life directly, instead of in the abstract, linear terms of representational thinking." Ibid., p. 80. "The creation of Zen would seem to be sufficiently explained by the exposure of Taoists and Confucians to the main principles of Mahayana Buddhism." Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op. cit., pp. 361-2. "The Ch'an movement is but one aspect of the whole liberating tendency that characterized the age...certain aspects of philosophy of Taoism unquestionably played some part in the development

B. A Critique of Suzuki's Interpretation of Ch'an History
with Reference to Bodhidharma and Hui-neng

Concerning the traditional history of Ch'an, Dr.

Suzuki was a keen exponent of the dual contention that

of the movement. Ch'an writings and artists emphasized spontaneity and naturalness and against artificiality.... Both Taoism and Ch'an stress the idea of the worldless doctrine." Van Meter Ames, "Current Western Interpretations in Zen", Philosophy East and West, 1959-61, pp. 9-10, "...there will then be a sense of freedom in the midst of them, a sense of humor that goes back to the relaxed Taoist inheritance of Zen, the cultivation without cultivation, the doing without ado."

Haku Gen Ichikawa (白弦市川), Zen To Gendai Shiso (禪と現代思想) (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 14-15. This concept of "non-being" in Lao-Tzu seems to be the origin of the creation of freedom from the bondage of the "unworldly". 'Lao-Tzu' and 'Shin Shih Mei' emphasized both without distinction between good and bad. Chang Tzu's "true man" is the type of useless man who is one in nature and transcends the world, in which there is good and bad, profit and loss. The Rinza concept of "true man without title" is similar to the concept of Chang Tzu; both of them emphasized that "true man" should give up propriety and distinction.

The psychological experiences of Taoism (such concepts as "heaven and earth are same origin", "everything is one", "I and things are one") are also similar to Ch'an. The concept of "everything is one" in Taoism was given to Ch'an Buddhism as the foundation of Chinese thought. It is also worthy of note that Confucianistic concepts (such as 'affirmation of this world', 'trusting human ability' and 'practical aspect of life') are the other side of the foundation of Ch'an.

68

Suzuki, Toyo no kokoro (東洋の心) (Tokyo, 1965), p. 95, "Zen can say that it is particularly Chinese but that it originated in India, founded on Buddha's satori (enlightenment experience); likewise the concept of prajna in Zen was originally the same as the prajna of Wisdom Sutra. The satori of Zen was the successor of the concept of prajna of Mahayana Buddhism." cf. Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Buddhism, (Tokyo, 1958) p. 18, and Essays in Zen Buddhism, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 164. From the above statements, Zen came from India and its con-

Bodhidharma arrived on the Chinese scene in 520 A.D., introducing Ch'an Buddhism, and that Hui-neng qualified as the founder of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism. The accuracy of Suzuki's exposition, however, has been widely challenged by modern scholarship. This problem requires a critical examination and is the theme of this section. This scrutiny involves a three-fold inquiry, namely:

1. Can Bodhidharma, as an historical character, be identified?
2. Did Bodhidharma come to China in the year 520 A.D.?
3. Was Hui-neng the true found of Chinese Ch'an?

1. Can Bodhidharma as an historical character be identified?

Dr. Suzuki adhered to the positive position that Bodhidharma could be identified as an historical character,

cepts originated in Buddha's satori and the prajna of the Wisdom Sutra, so how could Suzuki avoid studying the Indian origins of Zen Buddhism?

cf. Dumoulin, History of Zen Buddhism, op. cit., "the final step beyond the Indian dhyana meditation was the most important fact in the early development of Zen in China." The Lankavatara Sutra came from the philosophy of Yogacara (the Mind-only (vijnaptimatra)). cf. Chen-chi Chang, "Nature of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism", Philosophy East and West, 6, 1956-57, p. 342-3. "From the viewpoint of Mahayana Buddhism, there is no essential difference between Zen and conventional Mahayana Buddhism, except the unique techniques applied and the unconventional expressions used by Zen in illustrating the prajna-truth of the mind-essence. Zen agrees with the basic philosophy of both Yogacara and Madhyamika. Zen embraces the essence of both these teachings."

the first ancestor of the Ch'an School, and that those who thought and spoke of Bodhidharma as a fictitious person were grossly in error.⁶⁹

Because the Japanese scholars, Drs. Sekiguchi and Yanagida, have challenged this position, and as the pertinent question concerning the historical reality of the Bodhidharma is not an established fact, a discussion of this basic controversy is appropriate. What then are the arguments of those who claim that Bodhidharma was not a real person in history?

One argument is etymological. The human tendency concerning a cumbersome nomenclature, such as "Bodhidharma" was to shorten its spelling and sound. The record shows that "Bodhishih" (菩多師) or "Bodhi" was deleted and "Dharma" took on a common usage. Pronunciation also was the same; and the last letter was different. "Dharma" (達摩) was also pronounced "Dharma" (達磨). The former existed in the "Tang" period, while the latter persisted in the "Sung". In a similar fashion, the name "Hui-neng" had a dual letter (惠能'慧能'), wherein the sound was the same. Thus a contradiction or challenge developed: "Was 'Dharma' identical with 'Bodhidharma'?" According to Dr. Sekiguchi Shindai (岡口真大) the name "Bodhidharma" in important documents

appeared in selective fashion, as: (1) Bodhidharma (菩提達摩) and Dharma (達摩) in Lo-yang chia-lau-chi (洛陽伽藍記) (...547 A.D.); (2) Bodhidharma (菩提達摩), Bodhi (菩提) and Dharma (達摩) in Su-ka-o-seng-chuan (續高僧傳); (3) Dharma (達摩), Bodhidharma (菩提達摩) and Dharmatola (達摩多羅) in Li Tai fa Pao Chi (歷史法寶記), 774 A.D.; (4) Dharma (達摩) and Dharmatola (達摩多羅) in Yuan-chueh Ta-shu Ch'ao (圓覺大疏鈔) 841 A.D.; (5) Bodhidharma (菩提達摩) and Dharma (達摩) in Tzu Chang Chi (祖堂集), 852 A.D.; (6) Bodhidharma (菩提達摩), Dharma (達摩) and Bodhitola (菩提多羅) in Ching-Te-Chuan-Ten Lu (景德傳燈錄), 10004 A.D.; (7) Bodhidharma (菩提達摩), Dharmatola (達摩多羅) and Bodhitola (菩提多羅) in Hsuan-fa cheng-tsung-chi (傳法正宗記), 1061 A.D., etc.⁷⁰

From the foregoing observations, it is obvious that Bodhi (菩提) and Dharma (達摩) could be used interchangeably with Bodhidharma, and could often be used with the multiplied modifications employed in the documents.

If Bodhidharma was a genuine historical character, why are there such varied forms of nomenclature? Why was his identity buried in a heap of names? Several interpretations have been suggested. Among them are the following: There

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Sekiguchi, Zen shu Shiso Shi, op. cit., p. 18.

was more than one person with the label "Dharma". Instead of a group of persons bearing the name "Dharma", there was but one person and the name "Dharma" had undergone a series of changes reflecting and corresponding to the succession of social periods. Dr. Sekiguchi held that Bodhidharmatola, while a modification of Dharma, and later changed to Dharmatola, represented a person different from Bodhidharma.⁷¹ The foregoing difficulties led to doubt about the genuinely historical character of Bodhidharma.

Another argument on Bodhidharma's historicity hinges on a symbolic interpretation. Dr. Sekiguchi proceeds to explain that Bodhidharma as employed in Ch'an thought, instead of being essentially a person, was rather a symbolic synthesis representing the thoughts and patterns of the characters and biographies of Tien-t'a-ta-shi (天台大師), Niu-Tou Fa-jung (牛頭法融), Nan-yueh Hui-ssu (南岳慧思), Fu ta Shih (傅大士), latterly of Ta t'ung Shen-hsi (大通神秀), and of Hue Lin Hsuan-Su (鶴林玄素); in all cases it was a mental, exemplary image, labelled "Dharma".⁷²

Further some historical references are adduced in order to reinforce the argument. Dr. Sekiguchi adds that Bodhidharma as a real historical person was disowned by Shen-

71

Sekiguchi, Zen shu Shiso Shi, op. cit., p. 22.

72

Sekiguchi, Dharma no-Kenkyu, op. cit., p. 369.

hui in the eighth century before Pao-lin Chuan. Here Bodhidharma was merely the personification or impersonation of the characteristic mission of the thought of the contemporary Ch'an School. This mental concept called "Bodhidharma in progression" was actually a phenomenon and not a personality.⁷³

The name "Dharma" was added to many of the handbooks of the Ch'an School, such as Dharma Ch'an Shih Lun (達磨禪師論), Dharma ho-shang Chueh Kuan Lun (達磨和尚絕觀論), Dharma Ta Shi Wu-hsin-lun (達磨大師無心論). These books give a changing image of the founder of Ch'an Schools and each school boasted its own peculiar founder.⁷⁴

Dr. Yanagida, a fellow-student of Dr. Sekiguchi, supports his interpretation of the early history of the Ch'an School and points out that many scholars accepted the gist of the Ch'an biographical studies until the dawn of this century, through critical and scholarly historical study; it was only later that the traditional truth of the Ch'an Schools was questioned and described as being of doubtful character. Thus the difficulty of discovering the real historical data respecting the dawn of the Ch'an School is increased.⁷⁵

⁷³ Sekiguchi, Zen shu Shiso Shi, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

⁷⁴ Seizan Yanagida (聖山柳田), Shoki Zen Shushino Kenkyu (初期禪宗史研究), (Tokyo, 1967), p. 481.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 419

Whilst the critical period of development in Ch'an Buddhism appeared to speak of "Bodhidharma" as the first patriarch, the same period in the Tien t'ai and San-lun Schools of Buddhism documented the dawn in the T'ang dynasty. Thus in the later history of Ch'an, the biography of Bodhidharma is almost an unknown thing.⁷⁶

How then, does Dr. Suzuki react to this analytical study by Drs. Sekiguchi and Yanagida? He maintained a wise silence, and refused to be disturbed unduly by the variety of names and the historical analyses relating to Bodhidharma.

Dr. Suzuki, whilst he studied the Tun-huang data, in the main ignored the historical analyses of Drs. Sekiguchi, Yanagida and Hu Shih, and persisted in the traditional views concerning Bodhidharma. Despite later controversy, Dr. Suzuki did not deny that Bodhidharma became the founder of the Ch'an School. Suzuki maintained that Zen students recognized the contrast between their School and other Buddhist schools and they postponed the question as to who founded the Ch'an School.⁷⁷ Such traditional questions being deferred eventually led to a new inquiry into

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Yanagida, "Chugoku Zenshu Shi" (中國禪宗史), Koza Zen, Zen No Rekishi (禪の歴史), op. cit., pp. 10-11.

⁷⁷
Suzuki, Zen Shiso-shi Kenkyu II, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

the problem.

While Suzuki admitted some doubt concerning Bodhidharma's visit to Emperor Wu, he was content to declare that the Ch'an story as recorded was meritorious. However, he was firm in his emphasis that Bodhidharma truly was an historical person. To him, Bodhidharma was not merely a symbolic figure but a real person. In the nature of things it takes a seed to produce a harvest and in the growth of the Ch'an School in China, Bodhidharma was the most important personal embryo. To his antagonists, Suzuki's answer may be as groundless as their interpretation was to him! ⁷⁸

It is possible to accept in part the view of Dr. Sekiguchi that inasmuch as the data about Bodhidharma were from later writings and involved varied forms of his name, this fact would put a question mark against the traditional view about Bodhidharma in relation to the beginning of the Ch'an School. Again it is admissible that similarity in sense and sound of names relating to Dharma might have led to confusion.

Dr. Suzuki uses an unusual argument when he reasons that while false documents concerning Bodhidharma existed it would be difficult to expect the Chinese populace en masse, which was generally historically minded, to accept a ficti-

tious person as really historical.

It was established that true historical documents existed with reference to the person and place of Bodhidharma.⁷⁹ The disagreement of early scholars as to the identity of Bodhidharma does not settle the case for either side in the present debate.

Many Chinese and Japanese scholars who formerly doubted Bodhidharma's historicity, have since begun to avow the reality of his person.⁸⁰ While the question of

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Seizan Yanagida, in his article "Chugoku Zen Shu Shi" (中國禪宗史). Koza Zen II (Zen no Rekishi) noted historical materials such as Lo-Yang Chi-lau-chi (洛陽伽藍記) and the records of Su Kao-Seng-Chuan (續高僧傳). These are discussed more fully in the next section.

80

Wing-Tsit Ch'an, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., pp. 425-426, states, "Most Chinese and Japanese scholars satisfied that he (Dharma) did come to China". See Hu Shih, Hu Shih Lun-hsueh chin-chu (Recent essays on learned Subjects by Hu Shih), 1931, pp. 486-487, T'ang Yung-t'ung, Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-peich'ao Fachio shih (History of Chinese Buddhism from 206 B.C. to A.D. 589). Shang hai, 1938, pp. 779-780, and Lo Hsian-lin, T'ang-tai wen hua shih (History of the Civilization of the T'ang Dynasty, 618-907), (Taiwan), 1955, pp. 110-123. Tradition said that Bodhidharma came to Canton in 520 or 527. Hu rejects these dates and says he came during 470-475. Lo believes he arrived between 465 and 524. T'an thinks he died in China before 534. For his biography see Hsu kao-seng chuan (Supplement to the Biographies of Eminent Monks), ch. 19, TSD, 50:551, and Chin-te ch'uan-teng lu (Records of the Transmission of the Lamp) compiled during Ching-te period, 1004-1107, SPTK, 3:1b-9b. It is not certain whether he was a Persian or the son of an Indian prince. He first came and settled in a monastery in Canton. Unproved traditional accounts have added that he was invited by the emperor to go to the capital at Nanking. When the emperor asked if there was any merit in building temples or copying scriptures, he said no. Realizing that

Bodhidharma's historicity is not universally settled, the writer is of the view that the weight of the evidence is in its favor.

2. Did the Bodhidharma come to China in the Year 520 A.D.?

Dr. Suzuki, with confidence and courage, accepted the traditional view of the Ch'an sources that Bodhidharma came from a country in South India and migrated to China in 520 A.D. This view also identified Bodhidharma as the third son of the King of Koshi. Within this tradition, several specific historical items have persisted: (a) Upon his arrival in China, Bodhidharma personally counselled with Wu, Emperor of Liang (梁武帝);⁸¹ (b) Bodhidharma exercised

the emperor did not understand, he left and went to Lo-yang. For forty or fifty years he propagated the Lanka doctrine in North China and attracted many followers." cf. de Bary Sources of Chinese Tradition, op. cit., p. 348. "...recent Chinese and Japanese scholarship has definitely established the fact that such a person (Dharma) was in China during the period 420-579."

81

Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, First Series, op. cit., pp. 188-189, cf. Zen Buddhism, pp. 64-65, "according to the Records then, the first general personage Dharma had an interview with when he came to China was the King of Liang, the greatest Buddhist patron of the time. And the interview took place in the following manner: The Emperor Wu of Liang asked Dharma: 'Ever since the beginning of my reign I have built so many temples, copied so many sacred books, and supported so many monks and nuns; what do you think my merit might be?' 'No merit whatever, sire!' Dharma bluntly replied. 'Why?' demanded the Emperor astonished. 'All these are inferior deeds,' thus began Dharma's significant reply, 'which would cause their author to be born in the heavens or on this earth again. They still show the

his meditations with his face to the Wall (面壁) for nine years at the Shao-lin-ssu (少林寺) of Sun-Shan (嵩山) mountain. This period also included a personal visit to Yung ning Temple (永寧寺), to Lo-yang (洛陽); (c) One of Bodhidharma's disciples was Hui-Ko (慧可). Another of his disciples was Seng-fu (僧副); (d) He preached the doctrines concerning Ch'an Buddhism known as "two Entrances and Four Acts."⁸²

How, then, does modern scholarship, such as that of Drs. Hu Shih, Ui and other scholars, react to the position of Suzuki? Buddhist biography, such as that of Tao-hsuan's Hsu Kao Sen Chuan shows that Bodhidharma in the first instance landed at the port of Canton in the Sung province and later advanced to North China in the Wei Empire. The Sung dynasty, however, fell in 479. In this case, Bodhidharma

traces of worldliness, they are like shadows following objects. Though they appear actually existing, they are no more than mere non-entities. As to a true meritorious deed, it is full of pure wisdom and is perfect and mysterious, and its real nature is beyond the grasp of human intelligence. Such as this is not to be sought after by any worldly achievement.' The Emperor Wu thereupon asked Bodhidharma, again, 'what is the first principle of the holy doctrine?' 'Vast emptiness and there is nothing in it to be called holy, sir!' answered Dharma. 'Who is then that is now confronting me?' 'I know not, sire!' The answer was simple enough, and clear enough too, but the pious and learned Buddhist Emperor failed to grasp the spirit pervading the whole attitude of Dharma. Seeing that there was no further help to be given to the Emperor, Dharma left his dominion and retired into a monastery in the state of Wei, where he sat quietly practising the 'wall contemplation', it is said, for nine long years, until he came to be known as the Pi-kuan Brahman."

⁸² See Chapter 3.

could have arrived there no later than 479. Another biography⁸³ in the same series relates that one of Bodhidharma's Chinese pupils in the North moved to the Southern Empire during the years 494-497 A.D.⁸⁴

As to the interview which Bodhidharma is said to have had with Emperor Wu of Liang, there is hardly any historical evidence. It is strange that from the ancient records, which are profuse in such listings, an item such as Bodhidharma's interview should be omitted! Then, too, contemporary historical dates make the so-called "interview" improbable. While Bodhidharma supposedly arrived in China in 470 A.D., the Emperor Wu was not crowned till 503 A.D. Between the fall of the Emperor Sung (420-479 A.D.) and the enthronement of the Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (502 A.D.) there was an interval of twenty-three years. This recorded fact precludes such an extended sojourn in the South of China by Bodhidharma and his traditional interview with the Emperor Wu.⁸⁵

Bodhidharma's reported visit to the magnificent monastery and temple in Lo-yang would support such an assumption.

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See footnote No. 86.

84

Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China", op. cit., pp. 15-16.

85

雁 堯 Hakuze U1 (伯壽 字 井), Zen Shushi Kenkyu (禪宗史) (Tokyo, 1935), p. 9.

Early writings (547 A.D.) make reference to the Temple in Lo-Yang. It was partly damaged, repaired in 526 A.D., and in 534 A.D. was destroyed. All this adds up to the fact that the Temple's glory came into being before 520 A.D., possibly about 515 A.D., and that Bodhidharma was on the North China scene much earlier, spreading Ch'an Buddhism, which would rule out his arrival in 520 A.D.⁸⁶

Then, too, a strong argument supporting the earlier arrival in China of Bodhidharma is the record of dates in the biography of Sen-fu. Sen-fu (464-524 A.D.) was a native of T'ai-yuan and was converted to Ch'an under Bodhidharma. Upon his conversion Sen-fu left the North of China during the period 494-497 A.D. to travel to the South, where in 524 A.D. at the age of 61, he died. These facts suggest that Sen-fu was born about 464 A.D. And since one could not be ordained while under 20 years of age, Sen-fu's conversion must have taken place in the period from 484 A.D. to 494 A.D. The obvious conclusion is that Bodhidharma had resided in North China at the latter date.⁸⁷ In harmony with this inference, we have the testimony of Dr. Hu Shih, who writes:

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Ibid., p. 11, cf. Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism, op. cit., p. 15. cf. Yang Hsuan-Chih's (楊衒之) Lo-Yang Chi-lan-chi (洛陽伽藍記).

⁸⁷ Hu Shih, "P'u-t'i-ta-mo K'ao (菩提達摩考), Hu Shih wen-ts'un san-chi (胡適文存三集) (Shanghai, 1930), pp. 449-465, cf. Hakuzu Ui, op. cit., p. 15, cf. Hsu Kao-Seng Chuan xvi T50, 550 a-c.

"I conclude that Bodhidharma arrived in Canton about the year 470 A.D."⁸⁸ Dr. Ui Hakazu agrees with this. The foregoing is at sharp variance with Dr. Suzuki's assertion in his writings The Essays in Zen Buddhism and Zen Buddhism (1959) that Bodhidharma's arrival date was 520 A.D.

Why then did Dr. Suzuki persist in his repeated and positive assertion? How does he controvert the studied opinions of Drs. Hu and Ui? In his book Zen Shisoshi Kenkyu II, he posits several possible and important views: Firstly, the source matter concerning Bodhidharma is limited in the main to two interpreters--Tsu Tan Chi (1000 A.D.) and Ching-te Ch'uan Teng Lu (1004 A.D.). Even though factual items of history respecting Bodhidharma may be inadequate and incorrect, they do not impair the central message of Zen. Secondly, what does it matter whether Bodhidharma arrived in China in Liang's eighth year or first year! What difference does it make whether Bodhidharma arrived before the Sung period or later!⁸⁹ The problem is merely one for the historian; it does not greatly militate against the interest and concern of the philosopher or the theologian. Thirdly, that which is of popular and personal concern is three-fold:

88
Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China",
op. cit., p. 16.

89
Suzuki, Zen Shisho Shi Kenkyu II, op. cit., p. 16.

Bodhidharma was the first ancestor of the Zen sect; the calibre of his thoughts; and the need for and the nature of the doctrine of Ch'an.⁹⁰

So then let it be understood that the account of Bodhidharma is silent on the date of his arrival and his reported interview; this silence is not meant to be a disavowal of any traditional views with reference to Bodhidharma.

Thus, while open to historical and scholastic views, Suzuki failed to assume any responsibility for historical discussion and reasoned decision as exemplified by the scholars like Drs. Hu and Ui.

Consequently, in the light of closer analysis, my opinion is that Dr. Suzuki's dating of the arrival of Bodhidharma in 520 A.D. is probably wrong. It would seem that Hu Shih and Ui are right when they advance 470 A.D. as the actual date. This question of date may not in itself greatly affect Dr. Suzuki's understanding of the substance of Chinese Ch'an, but it is symptomatic of his inaccurate grasp of history and when such inaccuracies pile up, as they tend to do in this case, the consequence is not entirely negligible. Further, although he is, according to his own testimony, unconcerned with history, because it does not affect his philosophy, still he ranges himself on the side of

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Suzuki, Zen Shiso Shi Kenkyu II, op. cit., p.

traditional and uncritical presentation of historical data. Therefore, either he should have consistently refused to take account of history at all--which might have been alright for him as a philosopher--or he should have accepted responsibility for critical historical investigation rather than be just satisfied with inaccurate history.

3. Was Hui-neng the true founder of Chinese Ch'an?

Dr. Suzuki, in his Introduction to Zen Buddhism, writes:

In the history of Zen, Yeno (Hui-neng, A.D. 638-713), traditionally considered the Sixth Patriarch of the Zen Sect in China, cut a most important figure. In fact, he is the founder of Zen as distinguished from the other Buddhist sects then existing in China.⁹¹

The disclosure cites Hui-neng as the one who really built the structure upon which the School of Ch'an rested. In this event, how were Bodhidharma, who introduced Ch'an Buddhism to China, and the founder, Hui-neng, related? This question is answered by Dr. Suzuki thus:

It is generally recognized that Ch'an was brought to China by Bodhidharma. And be it assured that the advocacy of one sect of Buddhists enforced the decision to designate Hui-neng as the sixth Patriarch and Bodhidharma as the first Patriarch.⁹²

⁹¹
Suzuki, Introduction to Zen Buddhism, op. cit., p. 48.

⁹²
Suzuki, Zen Shiso Shi Kenkyu II, op. cit., p. 383.

The Ch'an Buddhism which Bodhidharma brought into China did not have Chinese dress and color. But Zen, as established by Hui-neng, was genuinely and distinctly Chinese in contrast with other Buddhist sects. And the Ch'an School, as initiated by Bodhidharma and as built up by Hui-neng, acknowledged the former as the initial founder. Thus a two-fold problem is posed. Was Bodhidharma actually the harbinger of Ch'an Buddhism for China and its original founder? And according to the basic history of Ch'an Buddhism, does Hui-neng qualify to be regarded as its historic builder? It is this second part of the dual problem that is critically examined in this portion of the study; in other words, is Hui-neng's position as the real founder of Ch'an fixed by historical data? This criticism is heightened by Dr. Hu Shih's contention that the true founder of Ch'an was Shinhui⁹³ and the argument of Dr. Yanagida in support of a composite authorship.⁹⁴

What are the grounds for saying that Hui-neng was the real founder of Ch'an? There are three grounds, it seems: (1) As the sixth patriarch of the Ch'an School, Hui-neng's thought gave a powerful impetus to the movement; (2) His

92
de Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, op. cit.,
p. 349.

93
Yanagida, Shoki Zen shu Shiso no Kenkyu, op. cit.,
pp. 433-435.

"Platform Sutra" contained one of the central messages of Ch'an; (3) His analysis and adaptation of Zen Buddhism to the Chinese situation was as original as it was necessary --i.e., "sudden enlightenment" and "practical program".

Dr. Suzuki explained that there were two Schools of Ch'an, the one in the North of China and the other in the South. The Northern School recognized the patriarchal line of Shin hsiu and so did not recognize Hui-neng as the Sixth Patriarch.⁹⁴ However, the School in the South acknowledged the patriarchate of Hui-neng and assigned to him the status of the Sixth Patriarch. His position as the Six Patriarch was, furthermore, strengthened by the fact that he was actually preceded by five others who had claim to the patriarchal rule.

But can it be established that these two Schools were contemporary; and if so, that they faced each other as rivals? The records reveal that Shen-hsiu was about thirty four or thirty five years older than Hui-neng. The older age of Shen-hsiu as accepted by Buddhist law of office and succession would entitle him to primacy in the leadership among Buddhist monks. Then, too, Shen-hsiu's longer tutelage under Hung-Jen would favor his succession as a

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D. Suzuki, Zen to wa Nanzoya (禪とは何ぞや)
(Tokyo, 1962), p. 196.

leading Buddhist monk.⁹⁵

Suzuki followed the traditional view concerning Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu, according to which each had to compose a poem in a contest to see which of them would become the sixth patriarch. Hui-neng was successful. This view has been rejected in the following words:

Shen-hsiu wrote a poem which read
 "The body is the Bodhi-tree, The soul is
 like a mirror bright; take heed to keep
 it always clean, And let not dust collect
 on it." Hui-neng wrote the following
 poem: "The Bodhi is not like the Tree,
 The mirror bright is no where shining;
 As there is nothing from the first,
 where can the dust itself collect?"⁹⁶

When Hui-neng arrived in Huang Mei (黃梅), Shen-hsiu had already left, which fact rules out the possibility of their confrontation at that time.⁹⁷

According to Hu Shih, Shen hsiu's success in Lo-yang (and the panic which ensued) as the result of an Imperial order (about A.D. 790), established the supremacy of the South China School, which made Hui-neng the Sixth and Shen-

95
 Joichi Abe (阿部 肇一), Chugoku Zen Shushi No Kenkyu
 (中國禪宗史の硏究) (Tokyo, 1963), p. 8.

96
 Ch'an, The Platform Scripture, (New York, 1963),
 p. 8. cf. Suzuki, Zen Buddhism, op. cit., pp. 67-68. cf. Fung,
A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., pp. 256-57.

97
 Juun Rikukawa (壘雲陸川) Rokuso Yensō (Hui-neng)
Taishi (文祖慧能大師) (Tokyo, 1966), p. 117.

vi
 hsiu the Seventh Patriarch.⁹⁸ Henceforth, the story of Zen is largely the story of the School as it flourished in the South of China. Prior to that, the Empress Wu invited Shen-Hsiu to Ch'ang-an in A.D. 700 and for seven years honored him as "The Master of the Law in the two Capitals and the Teacher to three Emperors". In A.D. 706, Shen-hsiu died. His pupil Pu-ch'i for some years succeeded him and continued in the Imperial favor. In the epitaph on the tomb of Shen-hsiu, there was written by Chang Yueh the so-called first complete genealogy of the Lanka⁹⁹ School, following Bodhidharma, thus:

- (1) Bodhidharma; (2) Hui-Ko; (3) Seng-t'san;
 (4) Tao-hsin; (5) Hung-jen; (6) Shen-hsiu.

While this genealogical record included two names (Tao-hsin and Hung-jen) which were omitted in Tao-Hsuan's list of the Lanka teachers, the latter probably represented but one branch of the Lanka School of Bodhidharma. The strong prestige of Shen-hsiu and his pupil, Pu-ch'i, accorded the former genealogy such authority that it soon enjoyed general acceptance. Any other school, to challenge effectively the high status of this accepted genealogy, was under obliga-

98

Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China", Briggs (ed.) Anthology of Zen, op. cit., p. 23.

99

This is a commonly used shortened form for Lanka-vatara School.

tion either to refute this traditional succession or to produce a genealogy worthy of and able to win recognition.¹⁰⁰

In the North Chinese School of Shen-hsiu, the emphasis on philosophical reasoning and on vivid procedures made the process of "Enlightenment" gradual. But in the School of South China--that of Hui-neng, with its reliance on intuitive awakening--the progress was sudden. These peculiar features attached themselves appropriately and persistently to each of the schools.

In fairness to both schools--the North and the South--it needs to be recognized that while the pronouncement on enlightenment was in contrast and peculiar to each, it was so only to a degree, for each School declined to rule out the emphasis of the other in entirety.

The Diamond Scripture of which Hui-neng is an exponent, has as its core the dictum that the highest wisdom can be attained only by liberating the mind from all that fetters it, and so Hui-neng insisted that only the mind could fathom one's Buddha-nature. In contrast, Shen-hsiu's adherence was to The Lanka Scripture, which asserts that through the philosophical approach--the path of gradual enlightenment--one enters into the realization of non-duality and non-differentiation of the True State.¹⁰¹ But Shen-hsiu did not ignore

¹⁰⁰Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China", Briggs (ed.), Anthology of Zen, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

¹⁰¹Ch'an, The Platform Scripture, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

the possibility of sudden enlightenment as is evidenced in the book Ta Ch'eng Wu Fang pien (大乘五方便), which revealed certain "sudden enlightenment" characteristics. Evidently, arguments for "the sudden" and "the gradual" were inspired more by political reasons than by the doctrinal emphases of Ch'an!

Fung Yu-Lan wrote: "Ideologically speaking, the origin of the Ch'an School goes back to Tao-Sheng (ca. A.D. 360-434). His two famous theses are that "a good deed entails no retribution" and that "Buddhahood is achieved through instantaneous enlightenment." Herein lies the theoretical basis for Ch'an philosophy.¹⁰² This means that the historical doctrine of sudden enlightenment had been taught by Tao-Sheng long before in the South.¹⁰³ While "sudden enlightenment" may argue in favor of Tao-Sheng, the original founder of Ch'an, it does not help to establish the position of Hui-neng as its ideal and historic builder.

The philosophy of Hui-neng was formulated in the Platform Sūtra. However, the discovery of the Tunghuang tzu Liao (敦煌資料) brought to light many diverse Scriptures. Yet forty per cent of them proved be counterfeit and thus

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Fung, History of Chinese Philosophy, II, op. cit., p. 388.

103

Ch'an, The Platform Scripture, op. cit., p. 15.
cf. See T'ang Yung-t'ung, Han Wei Liang-chin Nan-pei Huo-chiao Shih, pp. 625-632.

untrue to the facts of history. Not a few were but later insertions. Then, too, in the Platform Sutra, many of the recorded incidents and influences favorable to Hui-neng and the Southern School did not accord with the facts of history and so were not trustworthy.¹⁰⁴ Dr. Hu Shih is therefore very likely right in his opinion that the Platform Sutra was the work of Shin-hui.

In spite of the foregoing doubt cast upon Hui-neng's authorship of the Platform Sutra, Dr. Suzuki finds a further reason to argue that Hui-neng was the builder of the Ch'an School. That reason lies in the fact that Hui-neng incorporated into Ch'an an element foreign to that of the Indian Buddhist meditation, namely, the characteristic attitude toward the practical life.

It seems this introduction of the practical attitude is not to be attributed to Hui-neng because such an attitude was already in the time of Tao-hsin in evidence in Ch'an Buddhism even before his time. In his monastic program, he introduced an economy of self-support enabling hundreds of monks to live together in this fashion. Farming, odd jobs and kindred tasks provided avenues for the expression and the enrichment of the spiritual life--the main line of Ch'an

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Sekiguchi, Zen Shu Shiso Shi, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

Buddhism.¹⁰⁵

What solution does Dr. Suzuki offer to this problem? One solution found in his English writings (e.g. his discussion of Ch'an history in Essays in Zen Buddhism, Zen Buddhism and "Answer to Hu Shih"¹⁰⁶). In these writings, he generally does not discuss the historical analysis concerning Hui-neng. He repeats the traditional views concerning him as the founder of Ch'an without providing historical analysis. But in his Japanese work (e.g. Zen Shiso Shi Kenkyu II¹⁰⁷), while avoiding the historical discussion concerning Bodhidharma, he took into account historical findings concerning Hui-neng, but did not reject Hui-neng as the founder of Ch'an Buddhism.

In Zen Shiso Shi Kenkyu II he claimed that Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng were not in opposition to one another, but that rather their disciples were. Hui-neng's disciple composed stories which gave the impression of conflict between Hui-neng and Shen hsiu. Later he admitted that these were errors and he was willing to be corrected in the light of Tun huang Tzu-Liao (敦煌資料). Suzuki further acknow-

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Shunsei Noyama (俊静野山) Bukkyoshi Gaisetzu (佛教史概説) Chūgoku hen (中國篇), (Kyoto, 1968), p. 97.

106

cf. Suzuki, "Reply to Hu Shih", op. cit.

107

Suzuki, Zen Shiso Shi Kenkyu II, pp. 320-359.

ledged that many parts of the Platform Sutra were fiction and that the main Ch'an doctrines in this work had been added at a later date. He agreed with Dr. Hu Shih that many parts of the Platform Sutra were Shen hui's own writings. Even after admitting this much, he did not give up the view that Hui-neng was the real founder of Ch'an, mainly because of Hui-neng's theory of "sudden enlightenment" and the practical aspect of Ch'an. And yet it was already admitted that these notions were not originated by Hui-neng but by Tao-Sheng and Tao-hsin.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it is doubtful whether Hui-neng can be accepted as the historical builder of Ch'an Buddhism. It may be true that Hui-neng's opinions of Ch'an became predominant in some places. Because of his low social and political status, his brand of Ch'an remained initially with himself and his immediate disciples.¹⁰⁸ Then through men such as Shen hui, another branch of Ch'an developed.

In the end, Dr. Yanagida's view of composite authorship seems to be the most probable. The composite authorship would derive from such people as Tao-Sheng, Tien tai, Ta Shih, Bodhidharma, Tao-hsin, Shen-hsiu, Hui-neng and Shen-hui. (Improbable, but more credible than the traditional

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Joichi Abe, op. cit., p. 114.

view of Dr. Suzuki, is that of Dr. Hu Shih, who suggests that Shen-hui was the real founder).

If Hui-neng was important as one of the founders of Ch'an, the reason for this was not that he was the sixth Patriarch, nor was it that he was the author of the Platform Sutra, nor yet even on grounds of such doctrines as—"sudden enlightenment" and the practical aspects of Ch'an. Rather, it was through his disciples, men such as Shen-hui, that Ch'an finally became the predominant Southern School.

The question concerning whether or not Hui-neng was the real founder of Chinese Ch'an is of utmost importance in an understanding of Ch'an history and philosophy. Without the view of composite origin, it is difficult to understand Ch'an history and philosophy accurately. Dr. Suzuki's shortcoming was in not gaining an overall view of the Chinese historical sources. Consequently, this has affected both his understanding of Zen as it is in itself and his interpretation of it for Western readers.

Chapter 3

SUZUKI'S INTERPRETATION OF CH'AN PHILOSOPHY

The Introduction

Dr. Suzuki claims that Zen eludes intellectual understanding because it is illogical and irrational; it purports "knowledge of the unknowable" and assigns "discrimination to non-discrimination". Such a description would make Zen incapable of being classified under any known heading, such as philosophy or religion, or some form of mysticism as generally understood in the West.¹⁰⁹ Zen recoils from playing with words and ideas.¹¹⁰ Zen is not dhyana but prajna - for paradoxical characteristics are peculiar to prajna intuition. Suzuki describes Zen as "enlightenment experience".¹¹¹

Consequently his appraisal gives rise to a series of questions. Was Zen correctly interpreted by the Chinese

¹⁰⁹
Suzuki, Studies in Zen, op. cit., p. 84.
see Chapter 1.

¹¹⁰
Ibid., p. 142.

¹¹¹
De Bary, Sources of Japanese Tradition, Vol. I,
op. cit., p. 233.

Ch'an masters? Do the words "illogical" and "irrational" essentially express Zen Buddhism? Does Zen knowledge require the services of a system of logic?

Consequently, Dr. Suzuki critically examines the findings of the following Chinese Ch'an schools and their respective scholars:

- A. The Lankavatara School
 - a. Bodhidharma
 - b. Hui-k'o
 - c. Seng-ts'an.
- B. The Tozan School
 - a. Tao-hsin
 - b. Hung-Jen
 - c. Shen-hsin
 - d. Hui-neng
- C. The Dharma (South Schools)¹¹²
 - 1. Shen-hui School
 - a. Shen-hui

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There are some other Dharma Schools in addition to those mentioned here (Shen-hui Tsung, Huang po-Tsung, Lin-chi-Tsung, Kuei Yeng-Tsung, Ts'ao-Tung Tsung, and Fa-Yeng-Tsung). The three referred to in the text, however, have been mentioned because these are the schools which are central to Suzuki's discussion; his main emphasis was on the Lin-chi School. Furthermore, these three schools are the most important; Shen-hui was the first of the Dharma Schools (although it no longer exists) and the other two are still in existence as the most active of the Ch'an schools. The others referred to at the beginning of the footnote no longer exist and are of less importance.

2. Tsao-Tung School
 - a. Shih-tou
 - b. Tung-shan
3. The Lin-chi School
 - a. Ma-tsu
 - c b. Lin-chi

A. The Lankavatara School

(a) The Bodhidharma was traditionally acknowledged as the initial founder of the Ch'an Schools. The central thought of Bodhidharma was consistently and concisely delineated as follows:

1. "A special transmission outside the scriptures, not founded upon words and letters; by pointing directly to man's (own) mind, it lets him see into (his own true) nature and (thus) attain Buddhahood."¹¹³ This did not mean a neglect of the Scriptures, but rather a priority on "meditation" (dhyāna samādhi). This primacy of "enlightenment experiences" over wisdom (prajñā 智慧) or precepts (戒律)¹¹⁴

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Miura/Sasaki, Zen Dust (New York, 1966), pp.229-230. "教外別傳 不立文字 直指人心 見性成佛".

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Dozen Hoka (洞然芳質), "Zensekio Ikani Yomu Ka"

gave a secondary importance to the Scriptures. Furthermore, such contrasting experience assumes this crystalline focus: it employs letters and words to grasp the correct teaching from the Scriptures and then ignores such tools. In effect, it is a process of their retention and not of their renunciation.

2. Bodhidharma's writings depicted a two-fold entrance, ¹¹⁵ that of reason and of conduct.

Access by reason had two aspects: (1) the

(禪籍と いかん 読むか), Koza Zen 6 (講座 禪 第六卷) Zen no Koten - Chugoku (禪の 古典 (中国)) (Tokyo, 1968), p. 7.

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cf. Suzuki, Manual to Zen Buddhism (New York, 1960), pp. 73-74. "There are many ways to enter the path, but briefly speaking they are of two sorts only, the one is 'Entrance by Reason' and the other 'Entrance by Conduct'. By 'Entrance by Reason' we mean the realization of the spirit of Buddhism by the aid of the scriptural teaching. We then come to have a deep faith in the True Nature which is the same in all sentient beings. The reason why it does not manifest itself is due to the overwrapping of external objects and false thoughts. When a man, abandoning the false and embracing the true, in singleness of thought practises the Pi-kuan he finds that there is neither self nor other, that the masses and the worthies are of one essence, and he firmly holds on to this belief and never moves away therefrom. He will not then be a slave to words, for he is in silent communion with the Reason itself, free from conceptual discrimination; he is serene and not-acting. This is called 'Entrance by Reason.' By 'Entrance by Conduct' is meant the four acts in which all other acts are included. What are the four? 1. To know how to requite hatred; 2. To be obedient to karma; 3. Not to crave anything; and 4. To be in accord with the Dharma."

realization of the spirit of Buddhism through the agency of the Mahayana Sutras, which may be designated as higher intuition; (ii) this process yielded faith in the Buddha nature and was common to all sentient beings, pure minds. Such faith and enlightenment was enhanced and enriched through sustained meditation (坐禪) with one's face and faith to the wall (壁觀). Reaction or access by conduct employed the dicta, "Impression through expression" and "He that willeth to do, shall know of the doctrine".¹¹⁶ The four acts based on the realization of reason did afford to this two-fold access to the Tao an on-going interaction.¹¹⁷

(b) Hui-K'o (慧可), the second patriarch in the lineage of the Chinese Zen sect, was recognized as the direct relayer of Lankavatara Sutra from Bodhidharma. While his words were woven into the record, no book existed to preserve his writings concerning Ch'an.¹¹⁸ For this

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Zunsei Noyama, op. cit., p. 95.

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Daito-Shuppansha, op. cit., p. 220.

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Sokichi Tsuda (さうきちつた), Shina Bukkyo no Kenkyu (シナ佛教の研究), (Tokyo, 1957), p. 406.

reason his ideas must be gleaned from the pages of the Lankavatara Sutra. The gist of this book is summarized by Dr. Ch'en thus: "One of the main texts transmitted by Bodhidharma to Hui-K'o was the Lankavatara Sutra (Descent to the Island of Lanka), which emphasized the doctrine of inner enlightenment. One who had realized this inner awakening no longer saw any duality for he had transcended mental discrimination. This realization was made possible by the presence and pressure of the Tagathata - Womb in all of us. The Lankavatara also taught that words were not necessary for the communication of ideas. In some Buddhist lands, teachings were transmitted by gazing, by the movements of facial muscles, by the raising of the eyebrows, by frowning, by smiling and by the twinkling of the eyes. This revealed a definite affinity between the Lankavatara and the later Ch'an practices."¹¹⁹

The kernel truth in Hui-k'o's idea was "Transmission from mind to mind" (以心傳心). In other words, the innate mind through searching and mental self-discipline fathomed its own depths towards oneness.

(c) Seng-Ts'an (僧粲), the third successor of Bodhidharma, became heir to the Lankavatara Sutra, the philosophy of Hua-yen (華嚴) and Taoist thought. From

his book Believing in Mind (hsin-hsin-Mei) (信心銘)

some important passages may be reproduced:

There is nothing difficult about the Great
Way, But Avoid Choosing

The Believing Mind is not dual;
What is dual is not the believing mind

Beyond all language,
For it, there is no past, no present, no future

Duality arises from unity;
But do not be attached to this unity.

When the mind is one, and nothing happens,
Everything in the world is unblamable.¹²⁰

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Suzuki, Manual of Zen Buddhism, op. cit., p. 76.
By Seng-ts'an. (Died 606 C.E.) Mind = hsin. Hsin is one
of those Chinese words which defy translation. When the
Indian scholars were trying to translate the Buddhist Sans-
krit works into Chinese, they discovered that there were
five classes of Sanskrit terms which could not be satis-
factorily rendered into Chinese. We thus find in the
Chinese Tripitaka such words as prajna, bodhi, buddha, nir-
vana, dhyana, bodhisattva, etc., almost untranslated, and
they now appear in their original Sanskrit form among the
technical Buddhist terminology. If we could leave hsin
with all its nuance of meaning in this translation, it
would save us from the many difficulties that face us in
its English rendering. For hsin means "mind", "heart",
"soul", "spirit"--each singly as well as all-inclusively.
In the present composition by the third patriarch of Zen,
it has sometimes an intellectual connotation but at other
times it can properly be given as "heart". But as the pre-
dominant note of Zen Buddhism is more intellectual than
anything else, though not in the sense of being logical or
philosophical, I decided here to translate hsin by "mind"
rather than by "heart", and by this mind I do not mean our
psychological mind, but what may be called absolute mind,
or Mind."

R. H. Blyth, Zen and Zen Classics, Vol. I,
(Tokyo, 1960), pp. 53-99; cf. Suzuki, Manual of Zen
Buddhism, op. cit., p. 72f. ("至道無難 唯嫌揀擇" "信心不二,
不二信心" "言語道斷,非去來今" "二句一有,一亦莫守" "一心不住."
"百法無答")

The believing mind was akin to the Buddha-mind (佛心) or Original mind. True believing was decisive and without doubt. And furthermore, mind was not objective, but subjective - enlightened, believing and essentially Buddha-like.¹²¹

Thus the core of Seng-ts'an's thought was to strive for adequate living, in essence and freedom, for each and every being. Consciousness and emotions did not constitute the reality of the world. The non-thinking world was real when the mind resided within the realm of cosmic law and when there was unity and equality for large or small. All is one and one is all without hindrance. Seng-ts'an's concept of the oneness of the believing mind was absolute and so the same could not be interpreted in syllables or symbols.¹²²

How then does Dr. Suzuki react to the thought of Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o and Seng-ts'an?

In the teaching of Zen, according to Bodhidharma, Suzuki recognized a pattern distinct from that of other Schools of Buddhism. Whereas the latter maintained that

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¹²¹ Sōgen Ōhomori (曹玄大森) on Hsin-Hsin-Mei (信心銘) Koza Zen, Vol. 6, op. cit., p. 33.

¹²² Koken Mizuno, Sin Bukkyo Kaidai Jiten (新佛教解題事典), op. cit., p.

an exploration of self and an exultation in Buddha, apart from the Scriptures, could be gained only by a series of successive stages in the practice of contemplation, Bodhidharma held that such revelation of the true self and realization of the true Buddha was achieved directly by a special disclosure of enlightenment without a gradual preparation as prescribed by the scholars.¹²³ In other words, the principle of Zen in terms of two entrances, those of reason and conduct, was absorbed by intuition rather than being a process of steady growth of instruction.¹²⁴ To this emphasis on revelation, Bodhidharma added reason and reaction in the quest for the Buddha nature.

With reference to Hui-k'o, Dr. Suzuki writes, "Bodhidharma, the founder of Zen in China, entrusted to his first Chinese disciple, Hui-k'o, the Lankavatara Sutra"¹²⁵

¹²³
Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, I, op. cit., p. 176.

¹²⁴
Suzuki, Zen no Shiso, op. cit., p. 191.

¹²⁵
cf. Suzuki, The Lankavatara Sutra (London, 1959), pp. xi-xli. "To realize the Cittamatra is the object of the Lanka, and this is done when Discrimination is discarded, that is, when a state of non-discrimination is attained in one's spiritual life. Discrimination is a logical term and belongs to the intellect. Thus we see that the end of the religious discipline is to go beyond intellectualism, for to discriminate, to divide, is the function of the intellect. Logic does not lead one to self-realization. Hence Nagarjuna's hair-splitting dialectics. His idea is to prove the ineffectiveness of logic in the domain of our spiritual life. This is where the

as the only current literature in existence in China in which the principles of Zen were taught.

When Zen unconditionally emphasized one's immediate experience as the pivotal fact on which it was established, it well-nigh rejected all Scriptural sources as unessential to its truth. In like fashion, its followers have neglected the study of the Sūtra. However, for those who crave some knowledge of Zen and who as yet are ignorant of its tenets, an external authority and conceptual arguments may be resorted to in full harmony with its basic truth.¹²⁶

Accordingly, Bodhidharma endorsed the Sūtra. It is in the light of this that a study of Lankavatara Sūtra must be approached and appraised. And thus, Dr. Suzuki conceived of the Sūtra as "Sacred Wisdom gained by self-reliance."¹²⁷

Dr. Suzuki evaluated Seng-ts'an's philosophy in terms of his book, Believing in Mind. Seng-ts'an propounded the thesis that diversity or duality argues for unity. "The

Lanka joins hands with the Madhyamaka. The doctrine of the Void is indeed the foundation of Mahayana philosophy. But this is not to be understood in the manner of analytical reasoning. The Lanka is quite explicit and not to be mistaken in this respect."

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Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, I, op. cit., p. 87.

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Zenkei Shiyama (全慶柴山) "Zatankai Chugoku no Zen", op. cit., Koza Zen 3, p. 330.

two (or more) existed because of the One." These two may consist of subject and object, or self and others, or being and non-being. This dualistic existence harks back to a Oneness. Without "the One" there could be no "twos". Oneness is the ground of Truth.¹²⁸

A critical survey of the views of Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o and Seng-ts'an concerning Ch'an philosophy, compels Dr. Suzuki to concede that Zen was not the product of a Western logical system. Zen springs, rather, from an enlightenment-experience, a "knowledge of the unknowable", the issue of prajna-intuition.

To this end, Bodhidharma contends that the human mind is king to its own nature, keeps company with the mind of Buddha, and knows this experience instinctively, inherently, and immediately without recourse to objective aids. Dr. Suzuki interprets this contention as correct and commendable!

Hui-k'o's theory was that the innate mind grasps the truth concerning self by a "do-it-yourself" process, that of introspection and subjection. Dr. Suzuki seems to agree with this.

Then, too, Dr. Suzuki does not challenge Seng-ts'an's

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Sogen Ohomori, Koza Zen, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 37.

doctrine as expressed in his book Believing in Mind. The one and indivisible mind defies any satisfactory elucidation by letters or words.

The three high-lights in the interpretation of the Ch'an philosophy interlock in several aspects. They do not invite the rationalistic element of logic; it is intuition which takes the ascendancy. They do not fail to reckon with the idiom of the Scriptures. So far, Dr. Suzuki gives approval. But there is one further aspect of Zen which Suzuki does not take into account, namely its relationship to the earlier Mahayana Scriptures and its dependence on them at certain points.

B. The Tozan School

(a) Tao-Hsin, the fourth patriarch in the Chinese Ch'an sect was the incarnation and inspiration of the Tozan Group. The doctrine of Tao-hsin had a two-pronged objective: First, the progressive practice of Zazen, whose secret was to sit in meditation in order to observe and to explore the mind; second, the study or service manual listing five ways to encourage concentration.

Repeatedly, Tao-hsin admonished his disciples,

Sit earnestly in meditation! The sitting in meditation is basic to all else. By the time you have done this for three to five years, you will be able to ward off starvation with a bit of meal. Close the door and sit! Do not read the sutras, and speak to no man! If you will so exercise

yourself and persist in it for a long time, the fruit will be sweet like the meat which a monkey takes from the nutshell. But such people are very rare.¹²⁹

Tao-hsin placed primary emphasis on spiritual meditation and realization. Reading the Scriptures or conversing with kindred minds had for him less interest and importance. He gave only secondary importance to a free and original interpretation of the Sutra. The unity of all dharmas or laws of the Buddha and the spirituality of all reality springing from them embraced the heart of his teaching.¹³⁰

Tao-hsin's basic theme was formulated as follows: "There is no Buddha outside of the minds of mortals. The mind is the Buddha." He developed this thesis in five points.

Firstly, the essential mind of man is originally and wholly pure and of a quality identical with that of the Buddha.

Secondly, one knows that the function of the mind is born of one of the three treasures (i.e., the teachings of the Buddha are regarded as the measures of the Law).

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Dumoulin, History of Zen Buddhism, op. cit., pp. 78-79. cf. Masunaga, "Koitsu Shozenseki no Kenkyu" (Studies of the sources of the early history of Zen), in NBN, No. 15, (Tokyo), 1949.

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Ibid.

The movement of the mind is originally silent at all times and to know suffering is an illusion.

Thirdly, the mind is always awake and not motionless; the mind of pure thought (i.e., capable of enlightenment from within) is always before the eyes; the law (Dharma) of pure thought is always individual and has no form (i.e., the appearance of things).

Fourthly, the body is always immaterial (a condition and disturbance). The internal and external are one. The body and the realm of cosmic law (i.e., the realm as an object of the mind) are free from conflict.

Fifthly, man must conduct himself well to be true to himself and maintain a quiet mind. Such a man will always abide and can see clearly the Buddha-nature in himself and can thus become an enlightened-one.¹³¹

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Sekiguchi, Zen shu Shiso shi, op. cit., p. 78.
cf. Tao-hsin's words. Original Chinese verses quoted from:

是心是佛，是心作佛，當知，佛即是心，心外更無別佛也
略而言之 凡有五種

- 一者 知心體，體性清淨，體與佛同
- 二者 知心用，用生法賢，起作恒寂，萬感皆如
- 三者 常覺 不停覺心在前，覺法無相
- 四者 常規 身空寂 內外通同，入身於法界之中 未曾有礙
- 五者 身一不移 動靜常住 能令覺者，明見佛性

cf. Taisho Shinshu Daizokugo, Vol. 85, p. 1288a; cf. Yanagida, Chugoku Zen Shushi", op. cit., p. 24.

(b) Hung-jen, the fifth patriarch in the lineage of the Chinese Ch'an sect described his fundamental thought as follows:

If a man desires to know the Law of Buddha, it is essential to keep a pure mind. The man who keeps a pure mind lays the foundation for the state of enlightenment which is the important gate to entering the Way (i.e., becoming a monk). The pure mind is the main doctrine of the twelve types of Scriptures and the origin of the Buddhas, past, present, and future.¹³²

"Keeping a pure mind" is the central thought of Hung-jen, a practical summation of the way of self-cultivation, the Way, and the grounds for the state of Enlightenment. Also, he said, one should sit for meditation and observing the mind. Hung-jen developed his own special method in accordance with the Avatamasaka Sutras.¹³³ Fundamentally, there is no difference between "keeping a pure mind and real mind" and "the practice of sitting in meditation to observe the mind". "Keeping a pure mind" is a method of self-cultivation and good conduct. According to the principles of the teaching (教) and the truth to be attained by principle (理) it might be called the One vehicle (一乘), or the supreme vehicle (最高乘). But from the standpoint of Enlightenment (悟) and

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Sekiguchi, Zen Shu Shiso Shi, op. cit., p. 81.

"欲知法要 存心第一 此存心者 乃是涅槃之根本入道之要門 十二部經之宗 三世諸佛之祖"

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Dumoulin, A History of Zen Buddhism, op. cit.,

Witness (證) the self-mind can be said to be the principle ("truth) (自心是道).¹³⁴

It is significant that Hung-jen commended to his disciple, Hui-neng, The Diamond Sutra. Subsequently, this Sutra became central to the Ch'an School.

(c) Shen-hsiu was recognized as the founder of the Ch'an School for Northern China. At the age of fifty-five, he was introduced to Hung-jen, who became his guide in the art of meditation. This guidance, stressing the importance of knowing one's mind, employed a dual training: Firstly, an appreciation that the enlightenment of the mind was a gradual process; secondly, an acceptance of Ta ch'eng Wu Feng Pien Men (大乘五方便門) as the acme of this discipline and education.

As to the gradual enlightenment, Dr. Dumoulin commented:

The original mind was to be experienced in enlightenment which is regarded as the sudden awakening to the realization of one's own Buddha-nature. Basing their views on the Lankavatara Sutra, which taught gradual exercises and sudden realization, Shen-hsiu and his disciples attached great importance to the preparatory practices. Through these, all obscurities, all dust, were to be wiped from the mirror of the pure original mind. Obscurities and passions (klesa) they re-

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Sekiguchi, Zen Shu Shiso Shi, op. cit., p. 82.

garded as something actually existing, the removal of which required great effort and could be achieved only gradually, step by step. The instantaneous character of the experience of enlightenment was not denied, but because of the shift in emphasis to the gradual process their opponents accused them of gradualism.¹³⁵

Ta cheng Wu Feng Pien Men was the blue-print for Shen-hsiu's doctrine of the heart and the house of the Buddha. The pilgrimage of the original mind to the heights of Buddha was punctuated by five so-called gates:

"Firstly, the body of Buddha (which was also called the gate of leaving all thought); secondly, to open the gate of Wisdom (the gate of the quiet mind); thirdly, the gate beyond thought and words; fourthly, the gate of all dharmas (which have) right nature; fifthly, the gate of no difference."¹³⁶

These five gates, according to Dr. Sekiguchi, were interpreted thus: (a) a clear appreciation and apprehension of the central idea of the North Ch'an School or a sudden awakening to its prospect and program; (b) the recognition that Wisdom was the reward of diligent application according to the laws of Buddha; (c) the freedom of

¹³⁵ Dumoulin, A History of Zen Buddhism, op. cit., p. 86.

¹³⁶ Sekiguchi, Zen Shu Shiso Shi, op. cit., p. 106.
 言五門者 第一總彰 佛體 亦名 離念門 第二開 智慧門
 亦名 不動門 第三顯 不思議門 第四明 諸法正性門
 第五了 無異門

doing not as one pleases but as one ought; (d) a commitment to the laws of Zen as the road to liberty and life; and (e) confidence and obedience marks the way that leads to the enjoyment and enrichment of the original mind: keen know-how hinges the portal to the gardens of Buddhistic truth.¹³⁷

Drs. Dumoulin and Sekiguchi agree in the characterization of Shen-hsiu's teachings on enlightenment as both sudden and gradual.

(d) Hui-neng, the sixth patriarch in the lineage of the Chinese Zen sect, expressed his central idea as "seeing into one's own Nature" (見性). His emphasis was on sudden enlightenment. Withdrawing from the world of letters, he attained to the status of "non-mind", of "non-objectivity", and of "non-attachment". And further, he equated calmness with wisdom.

The Platform Sutra expressed Hui-neng's thought thus:

...They would be able to see their own nature and immediately would be enlightened and become Buddhas...¹³⁸

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Sekiguchi, Zen Shu Shiso Shi, op. cit., p. 107.

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Ch'an, The Platform Scripture, op. cit., p. 29.

“即得見性，直了成佛”

...calmness and wisdom are the foundations of my method. First of all, do not be deceived into thinking that the two are different. They are one substance and not two...¹³⁹ Those who understood the method of sudden enlightenment through absence of thought will reach the stage of the Buddha...¹⁴⁰ ...It is useless to study the Law if one does not understand his own mind...¹⁴¹

He rejected letters and Zazen, but not education. Generally, he did not speak of abstract knowledge in an academic sense, but his teachings came from the inner nature through wisdom. In the Platform Sutra he also employed simple language and a manner able to interpret the profoundest truth of Zen.

What verdict does Suzuki pronounce upon the four representative Masters of the Tozan School: Tao-hsin, Hung-jen, Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng?

Suzuki confirms the dictum of Tao-hsin that "The mind of a sentient being is that of the Buddha" emphasised in its five points. These five emphases served as signposts along the mind's pilgrimage to Buddha. Suzuki decides that Tao-hsin's conclusion was acceptable and commendable.¹⁴²

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Ch'an, The Platform Scripture, op. cit., p. 45.

"我此法門以定慧為本。(才)勿迷信定慧到

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定慧體一不二"

Ibid., p. 83. "悟無念頓法者, 至佛位地"

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Ibid., p. 39. "不識本心, 學法無益"

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Suzuki, Zen Shiso Shi Kenkyu, op.cit., pp.239ff.

As to Hung-jen, Dr. Suzuki conceded that this master-mind in the Ch'an School outlined a prescription that could not be gain-said when it declared the intent and defined the content of "Keeping the original mind". Dr. Suzuki states that the central idea of Hung-jen was "sacred wisdom, self-realization."¹⁴³

Suzuki approved of Shen-hsiu's reasoned recital of his five successive gates on the rising road to the Buddha Gardens of Truth in terms of enlightenment.¹⁴⁴ Suzuki stated that Shen-hsiu stressed the gradual enlightenment of the mind. Shen-hsiu also emphasized dhyana first and presented quietism in Ch'an.¹⁴⁵

With reference to Hui-neng's interpretation of "Seeing into one's nature" as fundamentally "Intuitive knowledge",¹⁴⁶ with a status of "no-mind", Suzuki disagreed

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Nishidani, "Chugoku Zen Shu Shi", op. cit., p. 27.

144

Suzuki, Zen Shisoshi Kenkyu, Vol. 3 (禪思想史 研究 第三卷) (Tokyo, 1968), p. 142.

145

Suzuki, Zen Shisoshi Kenkyu, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 224.

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Ibid., p. 223. cf. Suzuki, Zen Buddhism, op. cit., pp. 74-80. "How then did Hui-neng understand Zen? According to him Zen was the 'seeing into one's own Nature.' This is the most significant phrase ever coined in the development of Zen Buddhism. Around this Zen is now crystallized, and we know where to direct our efforts and how to represent it in our consciousness. After this the progress of Zen

and declared that quiet meditation was but a half-way house to the truth, and that seeing goes beyond sudden enlightenment. It was an active process succeeding itself en route to the incarnation of Zen.

For Suzuki, "Seeing into one's nature" was vastly more than a philosophy or a morality. It was an experience --a redemptive experience, so to speak. It was not merely a doctrine to proclaim. It was, rather, a devotion to express.

The four Ch'an Masters and their Judge, Dr. Suzuki, were in substantial agreement on one point that Ch'an in its form of knowledge was intuitive rather than analytic (as Western thought might be).

Buddhism was rapid. ...Hui-neng, however, was fully aware of its signification, and impressed the ideal unequivocally upon the minds of his audience. ...The seeing is an instant act as far as the mental eye takes in the whole truth at one glance--the truth which transcends dualism in all forms; it is abrupt as far as it knows no gradations, no continuous unfolding. ...When the seeing into Self-Nature is emphasized and intuitive understanding is upheld against learning and philosophizing, we know that as one of its logical conclusions the old view of meditation begins to be looked down on as merely a discipline in mental tranquilization. And this was exactly the case with the sixth patriarch. Hui-neng did not forget that the will was after all the ultimate reality and that enlightenment was to be understood as more than intellection, more than quietly contemplating the truth. The Mind or Self-Nature was to be apprehended in the midst of its working or functioning. The object of dhyana was thus not to stop the working of Self-Nature but to make us plunge right into its stream and seize it in the very act. His intellectualism was dynamic."

The main thesis, respectively of each Master, had a common target. Tao-hsin's "there is no Buddha apart from the minds of mortals"; Hung-jen's "Keeping an original mind"; Shen-hsiu's "Knowing one's mind"; and Hui-neng's "Seeing into one's nature"--all underlined the inner nature through Prajna (intuition).

Dr. Suzuki agreed with Tao-hsin and Hung-jen in their view that in the experience of enlightenment one discovered and developed his own Buddha nature. "Keeping an original mind" was interpreted not as a "standing-still" process but as a true progression--mounting, running, walking!

Suzuki distinguishes between the Shen-hsiu and the Hui-neng Schools in their attack upon the understanding of Zen. The former's method was dhyana; the latter's was prajna. The former counselled "to sit in meditation, to still all passions and disturbing thoughts, and to stimulate the inherent purity of the self-nature." The latter emphasized "seeing the self-nature" and advocated an awakening or an arousal of the unconscious--"seeing" together with mind, mood and motive!

This contrasting interpretation appeared to be unfair to both Schools. Actually, in the two schools, it was not "either-or" but "both-and". Shen-hsiu, while giving priority to dhyana, recognized both dhyana and prajna. Hui-neng likewise recognized both dhyana and prajana.

Suzuki, furthermore, sharpened the contrast between the two schools, when he labelled the Shen-hsiu School as "~~sudden~~" enlightenment. This contrast seems to be out of order because Shen-hsiu's gives "sudden" enlightenment a prominent role. Dr. Wing-tsit Ch'an also bore witness to this: "Shen-hsiu did not rule out 'sudden' enlightenment, nor did Hui-neng discard 'gradual' enlightenment entirely..."¹⁴⁷

A typical example of Hui-neng's simple language in expounding the profoundest truth of Zen may be seen in an incident in his Platform Sutra.¹⁴⁸ Two monks were arguing whether it was the wind or the flag that was moving. For a long while they could not settle the problem. Then Hui-neng, in the audience, arose and settled the argument: "It was neither the wind nor the flag; it was the mind which moved!"

C. The Southern Schools of Zen Buddhism

1. The Shen-hui School

Shen-hui, the founder of the Ho-tse School of Chinese Zen, was a disciple of Hui-neng (Eno), the sixth Patriarch of the Chinese Ch'an sect.

¹⁴⁷ Wing-tsit Chan, The Platform Scripture (New York, 1963), p. 15.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

Shen-hui contended that "knowledge or intuition (Chih...) as the gateway to all mysteries" was "a hindrance to bodhi (enlightenment)". He shunned all forms of meditation (tso-ch'an 禪) as being wholly non-essential. On record is his utterance, "if it is right to sit in meditation, why should Vimalakirti scold Sariputta for sitting in meditation in the woods? In my school, to have no thoughts is meditation--sitting, and to see one's original nature is dhyana (ch'an)."¹⁴⁹

While Shen-hui repudiates the most highly honoured Northern School in the Empire, in the same breath he announces a new and revolutionary form of Ch'an which in reality renounces traditional Ch'an itself. He does not claim the doctrine of sudden enlightenment to his own theory or that of his teacher, the illiterate monk of Shaochow, namely Hui-neng, but he claims it to be the teaching of all the six generations of the school of Bodhidharma.¹⁵⁰ —

Shen-hui explained that Sudden Enlightenment is in keeping both with principle (li) and wisdom. The theory of sudden enlightenment spells out understanding as a native faculty with no reliance on gradual steps. In sudden enlightenment, the human mind is free from all encumbrances

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Hu, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China," op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

from the beginning and reaches to fruition in terms of the dharmas without any modification. This is the mark of the true wisdom.¹⁵¹

To achieve full knowledge, this Master tabooed all forms of sitting in meditation and kept intuition on the main line. For him, however, intuition did not preclude intellectual capacity and resources.

2. Tsao-Tung School (Sŏtō)

Shih-tou, one of the most gifted and effective Ch'an masters of his time and era was one of the creative builders of T'sao-Tung Zen. Ascribed to him is the writing Ts'an-t'ung-chi (參同契) and Ts'an (參) with its Ts'an Chi (參差) of variety, its T'ung (同) of reality and equality, and its Ch'i (契) of unity, rendering Ts'an-T'ung-Ch'i a composite treatise at once metamorphic, yet monotonous in issue." It is a sameness with a difference. The essence is a unit. The effect may be a multiple. That essence of the truth demands an experience.¹⁵²

The Laws of Buddha are not intelligible through Sutras or theories--they are only understood by experience.

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Ch'an, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., pp. 441-42.

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Genru Kagamijima (元隆 鏡島) "Ts'an-tung-chi, Pao-ching sam wei", (參同契 宝鏡三昧) Koza Zen, Vol. 6, op. cit., pp. 51-52. cf. Dumoulin and Sasaki, The Development of Chinese Zen, op. cit., p. 6.

A truth becomes vital only when proved in personal experience.

Tung Shan's theory becomes clear in two of his works, Pao-ching-sam wei (宝镜三昧) and Tung-shan wu-wei sung. The former depicts the process of purification in the quickening of the One mind and nature. This spiritual function accrues through zazen. The latter book probes this singleness of mind in terms of an interpretation of principle (reason), Tung shan wu-wei sung, Shih-tou and others, which he developed.¹⁵³

The five roads which converge towards a correct understanding of the universe, according to Tung-shan Liang Chieh are: (1) Ultimate reality does not transcend temporal phenomena; (2) The diversity of the phenomenal world is other than the unity underlying that world; (3) Even in the state in which discriminative thinking is transcended, there exists the power to manifest the function of all phenomena; (4) Even in the phenomenal world of diversity there exists the power to reach ultimate unity; and (5) The state in which the preceding four conditions are perfectly blended.¹⁵⁴

In the commentaries on the Five Points or Ranks

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Dumoulin and Sasaki, The Development of Chinese Zen, op. cit., p. 6.

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Daitō Shuppansha, op. cit., p. 294.

(Tung-Shan wu-wei Sung) the comparisons play an important role. The most famous is Sozan Honjaku's parallel of "lord and Vassal"--a simile which is often attached to the Five Ranks. Their logic may be expressed thus: (1) The Lord sees the Vassal; (2) The Vassal turns towards the Lord; (3) The Lord (alone); (4) The Vassal (alone); and (5) The Lord and Vassal in union. Due to logical trickery employed in this connection, at a later date, the Five Ranks fell into disrepute.¹⁵⁵

Dr. Dumoulin adds, "The doctrine of the 'Five Ranks' (Tung-Shan wu-wei Sung) of Tung-shan Liang Chieh is characteristic of the dialectic of Zen. The 'five ranks' of Tsao-tung School do not present any pure speculation, but point directly to enlightenment and thus to concrete reality."¹⁵⁶

It does not illustrate a gradual development of five successive steps or stages. It rather involves five different Zen experiences.

3. The Lin-chi School (Linzai)

Ma-tsu was the dominant figure during the third generation after Hui-neng. He stood in the mainstream of Chinese Zen, out of which emerged the powerful Linchi sect.

In his teachings, Ma-tsu's goal was to unveil ulti-

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Dumoulin and Sasaki, The Development of Chinese Zen, op. cit., p. 28.

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Ibid., p. 25.

mate reality through direct intuition--an instantaneous act of self-realization which dispersed all confusion. Ma-tsu's doctrine of "ordinary mind" seeks revelation through everyday thoughts and commonplace activities. And he propounded it as follows:

Ordinary mind does not function with intentional action but is free from right and wrong, reception and release, permanence and impermanence, sainthood and commonness. All our daily activities--walking, standing, sitting, lying down--all response to situations as they arise, our dealings with matters as they come and go--all this is Tao.¹⁵⁷

Ordinary mind, then, is pure self-consciousness or pure intuition, free from any dichotomy, negation or affirmation. It is not merely a concept derived from a logical process but it is activity itself. Prajna is not an abstract idea or anything static. It is dynamic and concrete.¹⁵⁸

Ma-tsu pioneered the use of shouting, known as "Katsu" (Chin: ho) as a means to usher the disciple into enlightenment. In Ma-tsu, paradox was mixed with rudeness. On one occasion, at the close of a paradoxical debate, he suddenly grabbed the nose of his disciple pinching and twisting it so violently that the latter cried out in pain--and

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Chan-chi Chang, "The Nature of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism", Philosophy East and West, op. cit., p. 42, cf. Chuan-teng Lu, Records of the Transmission of the Lamp, Chuan 28, Ch'ang chou, T'ien-neng Szu, 1919, p. 96a.

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Chang, op. cit., p. 42.

in this experience attained enlightenment.¹⁵⁹

The chronicler graphically depicts this robust character, Ma-tsu. His appearance was remarkable. He strode along like a bull and glared about him like a tiger. When he extended his tongue, it protruded over his nostril; on the soles of his feet two circular markings were imprinted.¹⁶⁰

To the paradoxical words and peculiar actions introduced by Ma-tsu, there is no logical answer. The paradox discloses itself in the pregnant meaning of meaninglessness, the same to be found in the concrete situation of the truth of sudden enlightenment. The enlightenment which can express itself universally is alone valid and vital.¹⁶¹

While Ma-tsu echoes the core of Hui-neng's teaching in "Seeing into one's nature and becoming a Buddha"¹⁶² yet he adopted a completely different approach. Instead of prescribing elaborate logical formulae and then neutralizing them, he used startling and graphic irrationalities. In his dialogues, the paradoxical potency presented an impasse to logic which had to be surmounted.

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Dumoulin, History of Zen Buddhism, op. cit., p.97.

160

Ibid., p. 97.

161

Ibid., pp. 99-100.

162

Chang, op. cit., p. 48.

Linchi was the founder of the Linchi sect. He was reputed for his violent howling, shouting and beating methods. Evidently these were not concomitant with emotional passion, but were cultivated as psychological attributes in pedagogy. He aimed to surrender knowledge and the sutras, and sought directly to challenge one's own mind and to explore one's own nature.

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In this objective, Linchi's four-fold position attempted to wean away his students from their attachments to subjects and objects. The first position was to remove the subject and to retain the object. The next was to dismiss the object and to retain the subject. The third was to cancel out both subject and object. And the fourth position was to retain both subject and object. This process gives an inkling of "The Chinese Mind" with its preference for the pictorial whether or not words were employed.

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Keikyo Hayasi, "Rin-chi-roku" (臨濟錄) Koza Zen, Vol. 6, op. cit., p. 227. cf. See Ch'an Source of Chinese Tradition, op. cit., pp. 360-63. cf. Yu-Lan Fung, A Short History of Chinese Philosophy (New York, 1966), p. 258. "Hence the Ch'an Master Yi-hsuan... said: 'If you want to have the right understanding, you must not be deceived by others. You should kill everything that you meet internally or externally. If you meet Buddha, kill Buddha. If you meet the Patriarchs, kill the Patriarchs... Then you can gain your emancipation.'" (Record sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chuan 4).

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Wood, Ernest, Zen Dictionary (New York, 1962), p. 74.

The record of Linchi's doctrine, "The Linchi Lu" divulges a person of vast vitality, and oracular originality. "The true man of no rank" is Linchi's term for the self as life activity.¹⁶⁵ In his lectures to his students, he was informal and often "racy" in his speech. In a real sense, Linchi enlisted the total strength of his personality to constrain the student into an immediate awakening to the presence of and pressure of the truth!

How does Dr. Suzuki rate the Master of the Southern School of Zen?

Suzuki rated Shen-hui as more intellectual in his appreciation of Zen than Ma-tsu, Shih-tou and others. Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i, central in his thought, places prajna intuition

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Suzuki, Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis (New York, 1960), p. 32. "One day he gave this sermon: 'There is the true man of no rank in the mass of naked flesh, who goes in and out from your facial gates (i.e., sense organs). Those who have not yet testified (to the fact), look, look!' A monk came forward and asked, 'Who is this true man of no rank?' Rinzai came down from his chair and, taking hold of the monk by the throat said, 'Speak, speak!' The monk hesitated. Rinzai let go his hold and said, 'What a worthless dirt-stick this is!' 'The true man of no rank' is Rinzai's term for the Self. His teaching is almost exclusively around this Man (nin, jen) or Person, who is sometimes called 'the Way-man' (donin or tao-jen). He can be said to be the first Zen master in the history of Zen thought in China who emphatically asserts the presence of this Man in every phase of our human life-activity. He is never tired of having his followers come to the realization of the Man or the real Self. The real Self is a king of metaphysical self in opposition to the psychological or ethical self which belongs in a finite world of relativity. Rinzai's Man is defined as 'of no rank' or 'independent of' (mu-ye, wu-i), or 'with no clothes on,' all of which makes us think of the 'metaphysical' Self."

(Chih),¹⁶⁶ not knowledge (in its originally accepted sense) as the gateway to all secrets.

Suzuki's estimate of Shih-tou, as the exponent of Ts'an-t'ung ch'i arose from the following incident.¹⁶⁷

Shih-tou remarked, "Words and actions are of no avail."

To this Yueh-shan said, "Even when there are no words, no actions, they are of no avail." Shih-tou replied, "Here is no room even for a pinhead." Yueh-shan added, "Here it is like planting a flower on the rock."¹⁶⁸ And Shih-tou expressed his full approval!

Suzuki ranked Tung-shan as an interpreter of the "experience" school. He elaborated this system into five separate channels of experience, uniting in one self-awakening as the true, spiritual enlightenment.¹⁶⁹ In metaphoric but simple speech,¹⁷⁰ Tung-shan made his popular appeal--an extension of Lankavatara Sutra.

In Ma-tsu, Suzuki found an advocate of the saying

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Suzuki, Zen no Shiso, op. cit., pp. 52-60. cf. Suzuki, "Reply to Hu Shih", op. cit., p. 28.

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Suzuki, Zen no Shiso, op. cit., p. 194.

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Suzuki, "Reply to Hu Shih", op. cit., p. 30.

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Koshi Hirada (高士平田) "Tung-shan Wu-wei Sung" (洞山五位頌) Koza Zen, Vol. 5, op. cit., pp. 63-72.

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Suzuki, Zen Shiso Shi, Vol. 3, op. cit., pp. 523-524.

"My everyday thought is the Tao."¹⁷¹ In other words, Zen Buddhism for him was as a subjective phenomenon growing out of experiential situations.¹⁷²

Suzuki reckoned the status of Linchi thus: "He (Rinzai) did not like the round-about way in which Buddhist experience was treated by philosophers and learned doctors. He wanted to reach the goal directly. He obliterated every obstacle in his approach to Reality. All rival thinking had to be expunged to allow free and independent concentration on spiritual enlightenment."¹⁷³ Every hindrance to such focal experience must be instinctively hurdled! His central idea was the spirituality of enlightenment as in Zen.¹⁷⁴

Dr. Suzuki has committed himself to the position

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Suzuki, The Zen Doctrine of No-Mind, (London, 1949), p. 131. cf. Suzuki, "A Reply to Hu Shih", op. cit., p. 29. cf. Tao Yuan (道原) Ching Te Chuan Teng Lu (景徳成燈錄). "My everyday thought is the Tao" (平常心是道). This is explained by him thus: "Everyday thought means to be doing nothing special: it means to be free from nihilism as well as eternalism, to be neither a saintly nor an ordinary man, neither a wise man nor a bodhisattva. My going about, standing, sitting, or lying-down; my meeting situations as they arise; my dealing with things as they come and go--all this is the Tao."

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Suzuki, Zen Shisoshi, Vol. 3, op. cit., pp. 117-124.

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Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, Vol. 3, op. cit. p. 33.

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Suzuki, Zen Shisoshi, Vol. 3, op. cit., pp. 344-350.

that Ch'an was "illogical" and "knowledge of the unknowable", and so for him, primarily, the Ch'an experience was born in intuition. However, in the light of the theories of the Dharma Schools and the knowledgeable Masters of the Southern Zen Movement, is the Suzuki contention tenable? According to the evidence presented here, there are certain logical aspects in Ch'an.¹⁷⁵

If the foregoing support for Suzuki is acceptable, what merit resides in the vast variety of strange gestures in word and deed to effect experiential enlightenment? Suzuki cites Dr. Hu Shih, who witnessed the fact that basic to such techniques, there was not always an illogical factor but a principle of education which avoided speaking too plainly and used a method of stern discipline in which the human made its discoveries by a "do-it-yourself" process in the wake of his or her own ever-widening life-experience.¹⁷⁶

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cf. Chung-Yuan Chang, "Chan Buddhism: Logical and Illogical", Philosophy East and West, Vol. 17, 1967, p. 47. "The truth of Tao, however, is inexpressible. Therefore, when Shih-t'ou Hsi-chien asked P'ang Yun: 'What is daily activity?' P'ang Yun answered, 'When you ask about daily activity I cannot even open my mouth.' Daily activity is the unity of one's inner reality, free from contradictions and beyond intellectual disputation. ...Rejection of an answer does not necessarily imply that the answer is incorrect in any intellectual sense. Rather, the purpose is to reveal the depths of the inner experience; to free one from the bondage of logic and discursive thinking. ...Matsu as representative of the logical and illogical teachings, respectively of Ch'an."

Other masters, like Me-tsu, at times taught in simple speech rather than resorting to enigmatic words, gestures or acts in order to convey instructions to their disciples in the quest for Zen enlightenment.

Suzuki's rejection of the intellectual aspects of the Ch'an Masters must not be over-emphasized. The Ch'an Masters were not bound by the Scriptures but were concerned with the practical cares and concerns of daily living in order to introduce persons directly to spiritual enlightenment. However, the ironic fact remains that though the Zen monks claimed to bypass the Scriptures, with no reliance upon words and letters, yet these same monks wrote many more books than those of any other Buddhist sect in China. Then, too, the Ch'an Masters were men of greater intellect than the average contemporary people.¹⁷⁷

Strong evidence of Suzuki's endorsement of the Linchi doctrines lies in the fact that Dr. Suzuki promoted these tenets in the West. Furthermore, some Japanese "soto" scholars are presently making preliminary efforts to introduce the "soto" doctrines to the West. In support of this view, Dr. Kaplan declared: "Zen as expounded in the writings of Daisetz Suzuki--a member of the Rinzaï (Linchi) sect of

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Hu, "Chan (Zen) Buddhism in China", op. cit., pp. 21-22.

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Chang, op. cit., p. 338.

Zen--tends to make it rather more bizarre and paradoxical than is true of the other major sect, Tsao-Tung School (Soto)."¹⁷⁸

Primarily, the writer believes these statements to be true. Dr. Suzuki's writings, which purported to introduce "Soto" to the West, have been too feeble, and his emphasis on the irrational aspects of Ch'an have been too general!

Nevertheless, Dr. Suzuki's Japanese writings, Zen no Shiso and Zen Shiso Shi, Vol. III, were studies in a more serious vein about Tsao-Tung School (Soto) and other Zen sects, indicating in terms of intellectual emphases and experiences, that they excelled the Linchi sect.

Thus the writer concludes that although Ch'an is primarily irrational and the Ch'an masters generally did not give logical answers,¹⁷⁸ yet it is meaningless when represented wholly apart from its intellectual constituents. The Zen Masters do not reject in toto the intellectual components from their treatises. And yet it is this very constituent which Dr. Suzuki neglects to incorporate in his

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Yu-Lang Fung, A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., p. 265. cf. Ibid., p. 390. "All Ch'anists however, irrespective of which interpretation they accept, emphasize five main points: (1) the Highest Truth or First Principle is inexpressible; (2) "Spiritual cultivation cannot be cultivated"; (3) in the last resort, nothing is gained; (4) "There is nothing much in the Buddhist teaching"; (5) "in carrying water and chopping wood; therein lies the wonderful Tao."

interpretation of Zen.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSION

Suzuki's appreciation of Ch'an can be summarized as follows: Zen was the most irrational and inconceivable religious system in the world. Zen was not subject to logical analysis or to intellectual negotiation. The main course of Ch'an was that of "Prajna" (intuition) and the major concept was that of "Satori" (enlightenment-experience). While Suzuki's attack is against the rational and logical faculty in the quest for Zen, he does still recognize that the intellect is not taboo and does concede that it has its own province. The censure on Suzuki is not that of an indiscriminate disregard for the intellect but rather that of his rigid obsession with the illogical aspect of Ch'an. His position is in sharp conflict with that of modern scholarship, both on the Ch'an masters in China and the degree of irrationality in their philosophy.

In Chapter 1, Suzuki's credentials as a leading authority in Ch'an Buddhism were examined. He was well acquainted with Ch'an from early in his life; he studied it academically and came to a further understanding of it. Subsequently, he sought to introduce Zen philosophy to the

West.

Two assessments were made: on the negative side, Suzuki was criticized on the grounds of not having fully grasped the historical standpoint of Chinese Ch'an; on the positive side, his philosophical position was thought to be correct.

In Chapter 2, it was noted that Suzuki contended that an interpretation of the Ch'an experience must be primarily subjective and the history of Ch'an must be seen in the context of the Ch'an School and that Bodhidharma arrived in China in 520 A.D. He also contends that Hui-neng was the founder of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism. All these arguments have been challenged by modern critical scholarship.

In criticism of Dr. Suzuki, we have maintained that the study of Ch'an ought to balance both a subjective and an objective approach that such a history of Ch'an should recognize not only the Ch'an School but also other schools of Chinese Buddhism, other Chinese religions, and also Indian Buddhism. While it is conceded that Bodhidharma was probably an historical person, it is held that the date of his arrival in China was in error and that Hu's choice of 470 A.D. is more likely. Furthermore, the contention that Hui-neng was the founder of Ch'an is unlikely. The composite authorship of Ch'an generally supported by the leading scholars appears the strongest possibility.

In Chapter 3 Suzuki's criticisms of three Schools

of Buddhist thought, the Lankavatara, the Tozan and the Southern schools, is described. Suzuki's interpretation of Ch'an was primarily irrationalistic; "irrationality" and "experience" colour his interpretation of these schools. Although logical thinking is secondary, it did form a part of original Ch'an. Dr. Suzuki had not noticed this, apparently.

Suzuki's understanding and interpretation of Ch'an thus suffered from a lack of balance, partly from an insufficient grasp of the historical data and partly from a failure to set it firmly in the context of the other Chinese sources. He picked certain aspects of Ch'an (e.g. enlightenment and irrational intuition) which best suited his personal bent or philosophical purpose, but in doing so, he failed to account for the pragmatic and secondary aspects of Ch'an. Thus manual labour and hard work for self-support were a part of the Ch'an emphasis according to the Tao-Shin School; Suzuki's only reference to this was in connection with Hui-neng. A further example of this lack of balance may be seen in his treatment of Linchi and T'sao-Tung (Soto), the former being given very full treatment but the latter being mentioned only briefly in spite of his significance for the intellectual aspects of Ch'an.

Dr. Suzuki's stress on the philosophical and spiritual aspects over and against the historical and practical aspects of Ch'an may be a subconscious movement towards its

Indian origins: The Chinese are a more historically-minded and practical people than the Indians amongst whom this religion originated.

There were a number of standard Schools of Buddhism in China of which Ch'an was but one. Suzuki, for the most part, sought to see Buddhism as such and the related Schools in particular, in the light of Ch'an. He was not too hospitable to elements of Truth gleaned by other schools and students--some more philosophical and others more practical than he! Suzuki did not greatly profit by the saying: "I can learn something from every one I meet!" and "He who does not learn from history, is doomed to re-live it!"

Suzuki was slow to grasp the truth that the subjective and objective parts of experience were correlative. The subjective informed the objective, and the objective transformed the subjective. Because Ch'an was produced in China at a certain time, by a certain people, in a certain place, it assumed a specific colour and character.

Ch'an was planted and cultivated in the soil of Chinese mentality. The seed of Buddhism was India. The soil of Zen was Chinese. The Schools of Buddhism were interracial and international. The System matured through union with the fruits of historical, scientific and philosophical research of even "such a time as this!"

What then is the net contribution to Zen Buddhism according to Suzuki? While the intellectual approach to

religion has its limitations, nevertheless it is a hand-
maiden to "enlightenment-experience" en route to the truth
of Buddhism. Suzuki's early experience attests this!
Suzuki's emphasis on "experience" as primary and "knowledge"
as secondary, indicates his desire to make Ch'an real and
dynamic. Concomitant to his attempt to make prajna-intui-
tion a transcendent vehicle of knowledge, was Suzuki's
inner desire to have fellowship intimately with the Chinese
Ch'an Masters!

Further, he did not make a proper balance between
illogical (intuitive) and the logical (rational) aspects
of Ch'an. These are an important part of the Indian
origins and also of certain Chinese traditions (e.g.,
the Taoist Tradition).

Then, too, the primacy of knowledge which he accorded
to the "illogical aspect of Ch'an" gave evidence that "ra-
tional thinking" was not the sole approach to the whole
truth. In other words, the "logical" and the "illogical"
in search of the truth of Ch'an or any other philosophy of
religion, can and ought to be used together.

In summary, the contribution of Suzuki--the philo-
sopher--to Zen is subjective and down-to-earth. His approach
is in terms of personal realization and reality. He affirmed
that in order to find the religious truth that is the essence
of Ch'an, one must be freed from slavery to logic. The truth,
he emphasized, was a "self-identifying of absolute opposites."

Possibly the most unique contribution of Suzuki to the entire system of Buddhism was his understanding of the relationship between wisdom and love.¹⁷⁹ Suzuki explained the relationship between the two as freedom of knowledge. He said that in Buddhism (i.e., Zen), there were three aspects, "great wisdom", "great love", and "great appropriate means".¹⁸⁰ The final reality was the existence of the "void" (空), which was "without nature", (i.e., nothing has an independent nature of its own). The world "without nature" is unknowable, unreal, the "void". Zen generally emphasized "great wisdom". Pure Land Buddhism emphasized "great love" through Bodhisattva. The "great appropriate means" fall somewhere between these two; by this means, thorough and free thinking (which was not conceptual analysis) was cultivated. "Great wisdom, great love,

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Suzuki, Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis, op. cit., p. 58, "Prajna plus Karuna, wisdom plus love." cf. Ibid., p. 70. "Love and compassion, we can thus see, are the essence of Buddhahood and Bodhisattvaship. These 'passions' make them stay with all beings as long as there is any one of them still in the state of unenlightenment." cf. Thomas Morton, "D. T. Suzuki: the Man and His Work", The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. II, No. 1, op. cit., p. 5. "Dr. Suzuki saying...was 'the most important thing is love' ...truly Prajna and Karuna are one (as the Buddhist says) or Caritas (love) is indeed the highest knowledge." cf. by Toko Kodo (登子 = 藤) translated by Suzuki, Zen (Tokyo, 1965), pp. 14-15, cf. Matzudani, Suzuki Daisetsu, op. cit., p.58.

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Mahopaya (火方便), expedient method of teaching by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

great appropriate means" are important for thought; non-existence is their aim.¹⁸¹

Suzuki saw the fundamental aspects of Buddhist philosophy to be contained in "great wisdom" and "great compassion". "Great wisdom" was essentially compassion without dualism.¹⁸² Suzuki interpreted "wisdom" in Satori as freedom of knowledge; when one attained the enlightenment experience, one was free from abstract knowledge. He said: "Zen aims at presenting your vitality, your native freedom, and above all, the completeness of your being."¹⁸³ Again "Suzuki is adamant...(that) the goal of Zen is 'the attainment of freedom; that is freedom from all unnatural encumbrances."¹⁸⁴ But Suzuki guarded the independence and freedom of "Satori" from being determined by the intellect. The independence and freedom of "Satori" from thought is invariably true, but this does not mean that "Satori" could never be expressed in terms of thought. The "freedom" aspect of "Satori" actually means "reason of non-reason",

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Suzuki, Ningen ikani iku bekika, op. cit., pp. 80-84.

182

Ibid., p. 200.

183

Suzuki, An Introduction to Zen Buddhism, op. cit., p. 64.

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Harold McCarthy, "The Natural and Unnatural in Suzuki's Zen," Chicago Review, Vol. XII, No. 2 (Summer).

or "discrimination of nondiscrimination."¹⁸⁵

In fact, Suzuki's religious program was that the essence of Ch'an should be a balance between freedom and love. Suzuki stated: "Our mission...(is) making it possible for love to achieve her end."¹⁸⁶ He recognized that unlimited freedom was dangerous; it tended towards disorder. Likewise, aimless freedom without love tended to be irresponsible (e.g. "...irresponsible in a bad sense; they are anti-moral, they are not at all free").¹⁸⁷ And in Suzuki's unique interpretation of Ch'an, its basis was a balance between "freedom" and love as "Satori" (enlightenment-experience).

Finally, the question arises concerning whether Suzuki's presentation of Zen is that of a creative thinker or rather an interpretation of Ch'an. In his book, Thirty Years of Buddhist Study, Dr. E. Conze states: "As a creative thinker, Suzuki tells...Zen must be grasped within, ... and that only by actually becoming Zen can one know it... when he condemned the intellect as inhibiting our original spontaneity, Suzuki took it for granted that, once the

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Hiroshi Sakamoto, "A Unique Interpretation of Zen" The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. II, No. 1, op. cit., p. 43.

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Sohaku Kobori, "The Enlightened Thought", Ibid., p. 100.

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Suzuki, "The Philosophy of Zen", Philosophy East and West, 1-2 (1951-53), pp. 8-9.

intellect is eliminated, the tao will take over."¹⁸⁸ There are two claims made here: (a) that Suzuki is a creative thinker, and (b) on the grounds of this, he emphasized a knowledge "beyond expression" which was not conceptual knowledge.

This appreciation of Conze was not seen as Suzuki's unique interpretation of "Satori" in Zen in terms of freedom and love, as the present writer has claimed. Rather, he claims that it lies in Suzuki's emphasis on the experience-centered nature of Zen.

On another point, too, the present writer cannot entirely agree with Dr. Conze. Dr. Suzuki is not so much a creative thinker as he is a genuine interpreter of Zen in the light of Ch'an Masters.¹⁸⁹ But what is unique about

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Edward Conze, Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies (Columbia, 1968), pp. 28-29.

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cf. Hiroshi Sakamoto, "A Unique Interpretation of Zen", The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. II, No. 1, op. cit., p. 44. cf. "To return to the main issue, Dr. Suzuki devotedly worked on the interpretation of historical forms of Zen thought as well as Buddhist philosophy. Among his interpreting works of special importance are those on the Zen thought of such Zen masters as Hui-neng, Shen-hui, Lin-chi, Chao-chou, Bankei, Hakuin, on the other hand, and Shinran and some nyokonins. (Wondrously excellent fellows (like a lotus flower); a praiseful appellation for the wondrously accomplished Pure Land devotee) of Pure Land School tradition on the other." We see in them the characteristics of Zen thought clearly and most forcefully exhibited. As for Dr. Suzuki's own thought, he did not develop it as an independent system..."

Suzuki's interpretation? In addition to the remarks already made in the third chapter, some final observations may be made. Suzuki interpreted Bodhidharma as being free from abstract knowledge, according to tradition ("A special transmission outside the Scripture; no dependence upon words and letters..."). According to a passage in the Lankavatara Sutra, which Bodhidharma is said to have given Hui-K'uo, "Wisdom is free from the idea of being and non-being. Yet a great compassionate heart is awakened in itself."¹⁹⁰ Again Suzuki interpreted the central emphasis in Hui-neng's thought as "the doctrine of no-mind," which is not thought but feeling (i.e. sphere, place). This is related to prajna-intuition, as are freedom of knowledge¹⁹¹ and sudden enlightenment.

Suzuki characterized Linchi's "true man of no rank" in terms of absolute subjectivity, "the cosmic unconsciousness" or prajna-intuition. Herein lay the liberated and creative activity of "man". He is above conceptual thinking and above having a mind of "nothingness", which knows neither subjective nor objective.¹⁹²

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Sohaku Kobori, "The Enlightened Thought", op. cit., pp. 105-106. cf. The opening stanza recited by Mahamati in the Sung translation of the Lankavatara Sutra. See D. T. Suzuki, Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra (London, 1941), p.215.

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Yanagida, Mu no Danku, op. cit., pp. 256-65.

The distinctiveness of Suzuki's work may also be seen in his interpretation of the freedom aspect of Zen, according to the Zen monks.¹⁹³ The same is true of his discussion of compassionate aspect of Zen, and of his linking of this aspect with the Pure Land School.¹⁹⁴

Thus Suzuki's interpretation of freedom and compassion in Ch'an is not creative, but rather a reinter-

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Yanagida, Mu no Danku, op. cit., pp. 278-9. cf. Masano, "Zen and Compassion", The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 6-63. cf. Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture (New York, 1959), pp. 165n. cf. Suzuki, Studies in Zen, op. cit., pp. 80ff.

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Suzuki, "Introduction", in Legge, The Texts of Taoism (New York, 1959), p. 45. "Especially, in Zen we find a unique development of Karuna ideal; for instance, in the form of Kyakujo's 'no work, no eating' and Joshu's 'wanting to be the first one to go to hell.'" Masano, "Zen and Compassion", op. cit., pp. 65-66. "Dr. Suzuki's appreciation of Chao Chou's Zen...it can be found in the following words of Dr. Suzuki: 'It ought to be said that the most distinguished character of Chao Chou's Zen lies in his teaching on 'suffering from passion for the salvation of all living beings' ...In Zen, properly speaking, Prajna and Karuna are not two but one. Says Dr. Suzuki, 'Vimalakiviti's words, 'I am sick because my fellow-beings are sick' expresses the essence of religious experience. Without this there is no religion, no Buddhism, and accordingly no Zen. It must be said that Joshu's Zen well realizes this insight (Joshu Zen no Ichitokusei ('A Characteristic of Chao-Chou's Zen')). Gendai Bukkyo-Koza (Series on Modern Buddhism) (Tokyo: Kadokawa-Shoten, 1955), Vol. I, p. 308.

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cf. Suzuki, The Essence of Buddhism, op. cit., p. 77. "Amida's vow is eternal; he knows that there will be always some beings whose enlightenment is not yet quite fully matured, and therefore he will never rest until the last one is brought to enlightenment and salvation." See footnote 189.

prétation and an approach in terms of modern understanding.

We may recall also that Suzuki's interpretation was not limited to the Ch'an masters (although he sought to limit it here), but took account also---either consciously or unconsciously---of Taoism,¹⁹⁵ the Buddhist tradition, and Hua-Yan Sect.¹⁹⁶

Finally, then Suzuki's interpretation of Ch'an emphasized experience, to a greater extent than is the case with scholars whose interests have tended more towards the linguistic and historical aspects. Though Suzuki can be

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Legge, The Texts of Taoism, op. cit., p. 37.

"...The inner consciousness is where what I call 'subjectification' reaches its limit, it is where there is no consciousness of a dichotomy of whatever nature. There is no opposition here between subject and object, therefore no ear to hear, no eye to see. It is all hearing, all seeing, all doing. What Taoists and Zen men try to tell us of with such paradoxical phraseology is this experience." Ibid., p. 41. "Where Chuang-tzu gives us another compound fo wang (to forget) in tso-wang. Tso means "to sit". Tso-wang, therefore, literally, is sitting-forgetting. ...Tso-wang (sit-forget) and wo sang Wu (I lost myself) and hsu (emptiness) as the outcome of mind-fasting---these three correspond to what is known in Zen as Satori (Wu), enlightenment experience). As Chuang-tzu makes Yen Hui define the nature of tso-wang, it transcends all forms of intellectual discrimination, moral evaluation and dialectic subtlety. Ibid. "As to Zen philosophy it has enough of Taoism, mysticism, transcendentalism, unworldliness, all of which are closely woven into the background of high flown Indian speculation. What, however is the most distinctly characteristic hallmark of Zen is its insistence on the awakening of pratyatmajna. Pratyatmajna (Sanskrit) is an inner perception deeply reaching the core of one's being (hsin or hridaya)". Ibid., p. 44. "Taoism...we may call it a form of mysticism, but the Oriental specimen is not the same as the Western. In the West it is too closely associated with the Biblical God and to that extent it is, I would say, tainted. The

criticized for a lack of appreciation of those linguistic and historical aspects, ultimately Ch'an emerges in his interpretation as something real and living.

essence of mysticism is to feel the mystery of being; to feel that being is becoming and becoming is being; that $0 = \infty$ and $\infty = 0$; that freedom is necessary and necessary is freedom...."

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See Chapter 2.

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