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History of Zen



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Respectedly dedicated to:

Wuchi Tashih Shihtou Hsichien
(*Musai Sekitō Zenji*, 700–790)

And

Abbot Hsu Yun
(*Kiun*, 1840–1959)

谨献给
无际大师石头希迁
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Introduction

In 1976, the author published (in Chinese) *History of Chinese Zen Masters* 禅宗师承记 with eight charts on the dharma lineages. In 1977, the author published (in Chinese) *History of Japanese Zen Masters* 日本禅僧师承记 with twenty-eight lineage charts. In the present volume, most of the basic materials are taken from the two previous volumes. However, in rendering certain passages from Chinese into English, it is deemed desirable to utilize many excellent translations that are already available to the English-reading public. Although it is possible to give all personal names in English either according to the Chinese pronunciation or to the Japanese pronunciation, in the main text, the Japanese pronunciation is preferred for the reason that many English-reading readers are already familiar with the Japanese pronunciation from recent books on Zen.

This volume is divided into two parts: each part has eight chapters. Part I is concerned with “History of Zen in China.” Chapter 1 tells the brief story from Daruma the First Patriarch to Gunin the Fifth Patriarch. Chapter 2 is concerned with Enō the Sixth Patriarch and his disciples. From the First Patriarch to the Sixth Patriarch, Zen School had a single line of transmission. After Enō, it must be pointed out that Zen lineage did not limit itself to a single line of transmission. As was well known, Enō had at least *five* prominent dharma-heirs, which included Shen-hui (Jinne), with an Imperial-designated title of the Seventh Patriarch.

The two famous branches—Nangaku branch and Seigen branch—are the headings of Chaps. 3 and 6, respectively. Both branches flourished from their second-generation masters to the present day. Nangaku’s dharma-heir was Baso (Matsu), and Seigen’s dharma-heir was Sekitō (Shih-tou), whose body was recently enshrined at Sōji-ji, Tsurumi, near Yokohama, Japan.

In Chap. 3, the Igyō School, founded by Isan and Kyōzan, was included. Chapter 4 is concerned with the Rinzai School (in China). Both the Igyō School and the Rinzai School belonged to the “Five Houses,” but only the Rinzai School and the Sōtō School have flourished both in China and in Japan until the present day. As the Rinzai School was divided into the Ōryū and Yōgi Sects, Chap. 5 is concerned with both Sects. It can be pointed out that although the Ōryū Sect Masters succeeded in the transmission of the lamp to Eisai, founder of the Rinzai School in Japan, the

dharma descendants of the Yōgi Sect were responsible for carrying the torches further on. Note that Master Kidō, the teacher of Nampo Jōmyō, belonged to the Yōgi Sect. Ingen Ryūki, who went to Japan in 1654, and became the founder of the Ōbaku School, also belonged to the Yōgi lineage. There were four famous Chinese painters who were monks by the end of the Ming Dynasty. Pa-Ta 朱耷 and Shih-tao 石涛 (1641–1708) were Zen monks, and Shih-tao's dharma teacher was Lü-an Pen-yueh 旅庵本月 (Ryo'an Hongetsu, d. 1676). Ryo'an Hongetsu was a contemporary of Ingen; both Ryo'an and Ingen were second-generation dharma-heirs of Mitsu'un Engo 密云圓悟 (1566–1642).

As mentioned before, Chap. 6 is concerned with the Seigen branch, and Seigen's dharma-heir was Sekitō (700–790). Just as Baso's line led to Rinzai, Sekitō's line led to Tōzan and Sōzan, founders of the Sōtō School. Chapter 7 is concerned with the Sōtō School (in China). Master Nyojō of Tendō became the dharma teacher of Dōgen, who was the founder of the Sōtō School in Japan. Since Dōgen studied under Eisai's disciple, Myōzen, Dōgen could also be considered as belonging to the Rinzai School in Japan.

The Ummon School and the Hōgen School were included in Chap. 8, the last chapter in Part I.

Part II is concerned with "History of Zen in Japan." Chapter 9 starts with Eisai, the founder of the Rinzai School in Japan, after his return from his second trip to China. Chapter 10 is concerned with the Era of the Five Mountains. As the Kenchō-ji was founded by the Chinese monk Rankei Dōryū and the Engaku-ji was founded by the Chinese monk Mugaku Sogen, the close relationship between the Chinese Zen School and the Japanese temples was evident. Enji Ben'en, Shōichi Kokushi, founder of the Tōfuku-ji, and Mukan Fumon, founder of the Nanzen-ji, were "return monks" from China. There were so many Japanese monks who went to seek and learn Zen in China that the Chinese influence kept on from Sung to Yuan times. Of the founders of the forty-six sects in Japanese Zen, sixteen were Chinese Masters; fifteen were Japanese Masters who visited Sung-China, and fifteen were Japanese Masters who visited Yuan-China.

Chapter 11 is concerned with the Era of Daiō, Daitō, and Kanzan. Nampo Jōmyō (1235–1308), Daiō Kokushi, went to China in 1259 and became the most important disciple of Kidō Chigu (1185–1269). His disciple Shūhō Myōchō (1282–1336), Daitō Kokushi, was the founder of Daitoku-ji. Shūhō's disciple Kanzan Egen (1277–1360) was the founder of Myōshin-ji. Both the Daitoku-ji and the Myōshin-ji have flourished until the present day. The author accompanied by his wife Wei Zing made a special trip to Kyoto in July 1978 to visit the Myōshin-ji.

Chapter 12 starts with Hakuin (1685–1768) and traces the Inzan (1751–1814) and Takujū (1760–1833) lines to the present day. The Institute for Zen Studies at Hanazono University, Kyoto, has kindly supplied the author with a big chart tracing the lineages from Shōgen Sūgaku 松源崇岳 (1132–1202), Kidō's dharma grandfather, to the present. So it is gratifying for the author to report the lineages of Reverend Kajiura Itsugai 梶浦逸外 (1896–1981), the recently retired Chief Abbot, and Reverend Yamada Mumon 山田無文 (1900–1988), the present chief Abbot of

Myōshin-ji. (In Chart 14, *History of Japanese Zen Masters* by the author these two lineages can be easily completed.)

Chapter 13 is concerned with the Ōbaku School in Japan founded by Ingen Ryūki.

Chapter 14 is concerned with the Sōtō School in Japan. Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253), founder of the Sōtō School, may well be “the strongest and most original thinker that Japan has so far produced,” according to Father Dumoulin, author of *A History of Zen Buddhism* (English translation by Paul Peachey, Pantheon Books, 1963).

Chapter 15 starts with Keizan Shōkin (1268–1325), the Fourth Patriarch of the Japanese Sōtō School, and traces the Gasan Shōseki (1274–1365) and the Myōhō Sotetsu (1277–1350) lines to the present day. The author and his wife made a special trip in July 1978 to the Sōtō School’s Daihonzan Sōji-ji at Tsurumi to pay homage at the shrine of Musai Sekito Zenji 无际石头大师 (700–790). The author was fortunate to receive the help of Sōtō-shū Main Office in Tokyo, to obtain important lineages from the newly published *Sōtō-shū Zenshō*. The author was further gratified to receive official documents from Sōji-ji concerning the lineages of Reverend Iwamoto Shōshun 岩本勝俊, the recently retired Chief Abbot, and Reverend Ichikawa Kin’ei 乙川瑾映, the present Chief Abbot of Sōji-ji. Mention must be made of the monumental work of Reverend Keidō Chisan 瑩堂智灿 (1879–1967) entitled *History of Zen School* 禅宗史 in Japanese, first published in 1919, and its second edition recently published in 1974. This *History* includes both the History of Zen in China and the History of Zen in Japan.

As a child, the author visited the Tien-nin Temple 天宁寺 (Tennei-ji) at Changchow (near Wusih) in the company of his grandmother. During the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), the author had the opportunity of meeting with Abbot Tai Hsu 太虚 (Taiki) at Tsin-yun Shan 缙云山 (Shin’un Zan). Then, in June 1941, the author visited the Nan-hua Temple 南华寺 (Nanka-ji) at Shao-kuan, paid homage at the shrine of the Sixth Patriarch, and met with Abbot Hsu Yun 虚云 (Kiun, 1840–1959), the foremost Zen Master in China. On January 7, 1943, the author had the good fortune of meeting with Abbot Hsu Yun again at Tzu-yun Temple 慈云寺 (Jiun-ji) near Chungking. In the autumn of 1975, the author wrote a long poem commemorating Musai Sekitō Zenji, as his body was enshrined at Sōji-ji at Tsurumi, near Yokohama, Japan. In July 1978, the author, accompanied by his wife, visited the shrine of Master Shih-tou Hsi-chien (Sakitō) in Japan. So this humble volume is respectfully dedicated to Master Shih-tou (700–790) and Abbot Hsu Yun (1840–1959), on the fifteenth day of the seventh month in the year of the horse (1978), the ninety-fifth birthday of the author’s beloved mother. (A sad note must be added to record the passing of the author’s older brother, Dr. Yo-chi Ku, M.D., on August 5, 1978, corresponding to the second day of the seventh month, at the age of seventy-eight.)

Chapter 1

From Daruma to Gunin

Bodhidharma or Daruma was the First Patriarch of Chan (Zen) Buddhism, developed in China some 1500 years ago. According to historian Tao-hsuan (Dōsen, 596–667) in his *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* (645 A.D.), Daruma reached the southern coast of China from India in 470 A.D., that was, near the end of the Sung (Sō) Dynasty (420–479). This Sung Dynasty succeeded the Eastern Tsin (Tō Shin) Dynasty, which ended in 420, the sixteenth year of the Yi-Hsi (Giki) era. A historical account can also be found in Tao-yuan's (Dōgen's) *Ching-te Chuan-teng lu* (*Keitoku Dentō Roku*), compiled in 1004 A.D. We shall refer to this reference as simply the *Lamp Records* from now on. Another reference is *Lieh-dai Fa-pao Chi* (*Rekidai Hōbō Ki*), which will be referred to as simply the *Dharma Records*. Both the *Lamp Records* and the *Dharma Records* were reproduced in Vol. 51 of the *Buddhist Encyclopedia* (*Daishō Daizōkyō*). For example, Daruma's record as given in the *Dharma Records* appears on pp. 180–181 in Vol. 51, while Daruma's record as given in the *Lamp Records* appears on pp. 217–220 in Vol. 51 of *Daishō Daizōkyō*.

In 520 A.D., the first year of the Pu-Tung (Futsu) era, Daruma arrived at Chingling (present Nanking). The ruling King, Wu-ti (r. 502–550), of the Kingdom of Liang (or Liang Dynasty) asked Daruma what he had brought from India. Daruma answered: “Not a word.” Liang Wu-ti asked: “I have built many temples, copied numerous Buddhist sutras, and put up many Buddhist images, for the salvation of my people, do I have achieved any merit or virtue?” Daruma answered straightforwardly: “No merit or virtue at all!” The King could not understand and was apparently offended. So Daruma left the Kingdom of Liang and travelled north to enter the Kingdom of Wei.

Wei Wen-ti, the King of later Wei, ascended the throne in 471 A.D. and moved his Capital to Lo-yang (Honan Province) in 494 A.D. He built the Shao-lin Temple (Shōrin-ji) at Sung Shan (Mount Sū) in 496 A.D. and died 3 years after. Wei Wu-ti succeeded to the throne and died in 515 A.D. Wei Ming-ti succeeded to the throne in 517 A.D. and built the Yung-ning Temple (Einei-ji), which was destroyed by fire in 534 A.D. Daruma did visit the Yung-ning Temple before its destruction. In the Lo-yang chieh-lan Chi (*Rakuyō Garanki*), authored by Yang Hsuan-chih

(Yō Genshi) in 547, it was mentioned that when Yang was visiting the Yung-ning Temple, he came upon Bodhidharma (Daruma), the monk from the western land (India), sitting in quiet admiration before the beauty of the shrines and the pagodas. The old monk (Daruma) said that he was 150 years old and had come from far away, traveling over many lands. This account authenticated the appearance of Daruma at the temple between 517 and 534.

There were three possible dates concerning Daruma's passing: (1) 528 A.D., (2) 532 A.D., and (3) 536 A.D. It is more probable that Daruma passed away in 532 A.D., as his disciple and dharma-heir Hui-ke (Eka, 487–593) moved around for some years after the Master's passing by the Yellow River, before he went to Nih-tu, the Capital of the eastern half of the Wei Kingdom (534–537). Dumoulin in his *A History of Zen Buddhism* mentioned that Daruma "died (before 534 A.D.) at a ripe age." (See English translation by Paul Peachey, Pantheon Books, 1963.)

In Tao-hsuan's biography of Daruma, and also in the text of *Two Entrances and Four Acts* with a Preface by Tan-lin (Donrin), Daruma mentioned the Two Entrances as: (1) the Entrance by Reason (*li*) and (2) the Entrance by Conduct (*hsing*). According to Tan-lin's Preface:

In the Entrance by Reason, the unity of all living beings in the one true nature is grasped, a nature which cannot fully disclose itself because it is hidden by the dust of external things and by confusing ideas. When one, abandoning the false and embracing the true, in simplicity of thought abides in *pi-kuan*, one finds that there is neither selfhood nor otherness, that the masses and the worthies are of one essence.

Tan-lin was one of Daruma's students, although he was not considered as a Zen master. The term, *pi-kuan*, literally "wall-gazing," was praised by Tao-hsuan as Daruma's greatest achievement in his teaching of Mahayana Buddhism. A companion term, *chueh-kuan* (Kakukan), meaning "vision of enlightenment," is also to be found in Zen literature. To quote Dumoulin-Peachey in *A History of Zen Buddhism*, p. 71:

The calming of the spirit through sudden enlightenment and the understanding of the true Buddha nature is designated in the text (of *Two Entrances and Four Acts*) as the 'Entrance by Reason', while the goal which is attained is called *tao*.

Note that the Entrance by Conduct consists of the Four Acts. To quote again:

In the Entrance by the Four Acts, the general Mahayanist attitudes, based on various passages in the *Vimalakirti* and the *Nirvana Sutras* and issuing from the doctrines of the Perfect Virtues (*paramita*), *karma*, and the emptiness of all things, are set forth.

The Chinese text can be found in Abbot Yin-shun's *History of Zen School in China* (in Chinese), 1971, 1975, pp. 8–13.

Hui-ke (Eka) was born in 487 A.D., the eleventh year of the Tai-Ho era under the reign of Wei Wen-ti, and passed away in 593 A.D., the thirteenth year of the Kai-Huang era under the reign of Sui Wen-ti (first Emperor of Sui Dynasty). Eka was a native of Wu-lao (Burō) in present Honan Province. His father was waiting anxiously for a child. One night he became aware that the bedroom was filled with a strange light, and his wife conceived a child. So the new born child was named

Kuang (Kō), meaning “light.” Later when he was 40 years old, Eka dreamed of a divine giant advising him to go south and then changed his name to Shen-Kuang (Jinkō), meaning “divine light.”

According to the *Dharma Records*,² Hui-ke visited Daruma at the age of forty. He stood before the Master while the heavy snow reached his waist. He cut off one arm in order to show his devotion to seek the Dharma. The Master was impressed and accepted him as one of his disciples. After 6 years, he received the sacred transmission as Daruma’s dharma-heir. As the story was told, Hui-ke received his Master’s marrow; Tao-fu (Dōfuku) received his skin, Taoyu (Dōikū) received his bones, and Nun Tsung-chih (Ni Sōji) received his flesh. So Hui-ke became the Second Patriarch in the Zen School. Daruma gave Eka the *Lankavatara Sutra* in 4 *chuan*, according to Dōsen’s *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*, with the words: “I have observed that in this land of China there is only this *sutra*. If you depend upon this *sutra*, you will be able to save the world.” Eka was advised by Daruma to be a hermit; accordingly he spent about 40 years in Nee-Shan (Gei-san). After he found his dharma-heir Seng-tsan (Sōsan), he entered Shi-kung Shan (Shikū-san) and pretended to be a lunatic. It was a dangerous undertaking to spread the Dharma of Chan (Zen), and Eka was executed. However, Emperor Wen-ti of Sui (Zui) Dynasty regretted that an old monk of 107 years of age was thus brutally treated. So Eka was revered as a Bodhisattva, and Buddhism was revived.

Eka’s doctrine can be given as follows. (See D.T. Suzuki: *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, First Series, pp. 194–195).

The deepest truth lies in the principle of identity. It is due to one’s ignorance that the mani-jewel is taken for a piece of brick, but lo! when one is suddenly awakened to self-enlightenment it is realized that one is in possession of the real jewel. The ignorant and the enlightened are of one essence, they are not really to be separated. We should know that all things are such as they are. ... When we know that between this body and the Buddha there is nothing to separate one from the other, what is the use of seeking after Nirvana (as something external to ourselves)?

In 535 A.D., when Seng-tsan (Sōsan) was over 40 years old, he paid his respects to Hui-ke and said: “I am diseased; I beg you to cleanse me of my sin.” Hui-ke said: “Bring me your sin and I will cleanse you of it.” Seng-tsan thought for a long while, but could not find the sin. Hui-ke then said: “I have cleansed you of your sin. From now on, obey Buddha, Dharma, and Sengha.” Seng-tsan said: “Since I met you, I know Sengha, but what are Buddha and Dharma?” Hui-ke said: “Mind is the Buddha; Mind is the Dharma; Dharma and Buddha are one, and so is Sengha.” Seng-tsan said: “Now I realize that the nature of SIN is neither inside, nor outside, nor in between. Just as the Mind, Buddha and Dharma are one.” Hui-ke then ordained him and gave him the name “SENG-TSAN,” meaning Monk the Brilliant. Hui-ke warned him that there would be great disaster later. Seng-tsan became a hermit at Nee-Kung Shan (Geikū-san) for more than 10 years. He passed away in 606 A.D., while standing, holding a tree branch in his hand.

In 592 A.D., the twelfth year of the Kai-Huang era under the reign of Sui Wen-ti, a young monk of 14 years of age by the name Tao-hsin (Dōshin, 580–651) came to

salute Seng-tsan, the Third Patriarch, and served under him for 9 years before he received the ordainment and the transmission.

Seng-tsan left an important document to posterity, known as *Hsin-hsin-ming* (*Inscribed on the Believing Mind*). Dr. D. T. Suzuki made an English translation, which appeared in his *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Series I, pp. 196–201. R. H. Blyth in his *Zen and Zen Classics*, Vol. 1 (The Hokuseido Press, 1960, 1974, Tokyo) also gave an English translation. We shall compare the two versions as follows:

(Suzuki) The Perfect Way knows no difficulties
 Except that it refuses to make preference:
 Only when freed from hate and love,
 It reveals itself fully and without disguise.

A tenth of an inch's difference,
 And heaven and earth are set apart:
 If you want to see it manifest,
 Take no thought for or against it.

(Blyth) There is nothing difficult about the Great Way,
 But, avoid choosing!
 Only when you neither love nor hate,

Does it appear in all clarity.
 A hair's breadth of deviation from it,
 And a deep gulf is set between heaven and earth.
 If you want to get hold of what it looks like,
 Do not be anti-or pro-anything.

There are altogether 146 lines. Let us just compare the last twelve lines:

(Suzuki) What is the same with what is not,
 What is not is the same with what is:
 Where this state of things fails to obtain,
 Be sure not to tarry.

 One in all,
 All in one—
 If only this is realized,
 No more worry about your not being perfect!

The believing mind is not divided,
 And undivided is the believing mind—
 This is where words fail,
 For it is not of the past, future, or present.

(Blyth) What is, is not;
 What is not, is.
 Until you have grasped this fact,
 Your position is simply untenable.

One thing is all things;
 All things are one thing.
 If this is so for you,
 There is no need to worry about perfect knowledge.

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.

These 146 lines were the sources of many dialogues in the future generations.

Tao-hsin (Dōshin, 580–651) became the Fourth Patriarch. Contemporary with Dōshin was the Japanese monk Dōshō (Tao-chao), who was a disciple of Hui-man (Eman), Seng-tsan's dharma brother. In 617 A.D., Tao-hsin (Dōshin) arrived at Chi-chou (present Kiangsi Province) with his disciples, while the city was under siege by the bandits. A miracle happened such that the bandits retreated at the sight of Dōshin's group, and the city was saved from destruction. In 624 A.D., Dōshin moved to Pu-tou Shan (literally, "Broken-Head Mountain"). The mountain was later known as Shuang-feng Shan ("Double-Peak Mountain").

While visiting Huang-mei (Ōbai) in the present Hupeh Province, Dōshin met a child of extraordinary features. He asked the child's parents to let the child be a monk under his care. This child was later known as Hung-jen (Gunin). In 643 A.D., Emperor Tai-tsung of the Tang Dynasty wished to summon Master Dōshin to visit the Capital. For three times, the Master refused the invitation. In the fourth time, the Emperor sent word that if the Master could not come, the emissary should bring his head instead. The Master was extremely calm and ready to give up his head. The Emperor did order the emissary not to harm the Master and revered him even more after this incident. Dōshin lived to 72 years old. Besides Hung-jen (Gunin), the Fifth Patriarch, Dōshin had another disciple, Fa-yung (Hōyū, 594–657), founder of the Niu-tou Shan (Gozu-san) School.

According to the *Lamp Records* (see *Daishō Daizōkyō*, Vol. 51, pp. 226–228; English translation in Professor Chang Chung-yuan's *Original Teachings of Chan Buddhism*, pp. 17–26), Niu-tou Fa-yung was a native of Yenling in Jun-chou (now Chinkiang, Kiangsu Province). When he was 19 years old, he was thoroughly acquainted with all the Chinese classics. Subsequently, he read the *Mahaprajna-paramita Sutra* and gained a deep understanding of the real void. One day, he realized that the *prajna* doctrine of Buddhism was the ferryboat that takes one to the other shore. He shaved his head and went into Mount Mao. Later, he stayed in a rock cave in a cliff north of the Yu-hsi Monastery in the Niu-tou Mountain. As the legends went, a hundred birds brought flower offerings to Fa-yung.

In the middle of the Chen-Kuan era (627–649) of the Tang Dynasty, the Fourth Patriarch, Tao-hsin, observed the Niu-tou Mountain from a distance and conjectured that some outstanding Buddhist must be living there. Therefore, Tao-hsin went to the mountain and searched for him. On his arrival he saw Fa-yung sitting, quiet and self-possessed, paying no attention to his visitor.

The Patriarch asked him: "What are you doing here?"

"I am contemplating Mind."

"Who is he that contemplates and what is the Mind that is contemplated?"

Fa-yung did not answer, but immediately stood up and made a deep bow. ...

The Fourth Patriarch expounded thus:

All systems of Buddhist teaching center in Mind, where immeasurable treasures originate. All its supernatural faculties and their transformations revealed in discipline, meditation, and wisdom are sufficiently contained in one's mind and they never depart therefrom. All the hindrances to the attainment of *bodhi* which arise from passions that generate *karma* are originally non-existent. Every cause and effect is but a dream. There is no Triple World which one leaves, and no *bodhi* to search for. The inner reality and outer appearance of man and a thousand things are identical. The Great Tao is formless and boundless. It is free from thought and anxiety. You have now understood this Buddhist teaching. There is nothing lacking in you, and you yourself are no different from Buddha. There is no way of achieving Buddhahood other than letting your mind be free to be itself. You should not contemplate nor should you purify your mind. Let there be no craving and hatred, and have no anxiety or fear. Be boundless and absolutely free from all conditions. Be free to go in any direction you like. Do not act to do good, nor to pursue evil. Whether you walk or stay, sit or lie down, and whatever you see happen to you, all are the wonderful activity of the Great Enlightened One. It is all joy, free from anxiety—it is called Buddha.

Hung-jen (Gunin, 602–675) was only 7 years old, when Dōshin adopted him as his protegee. For 30 years, he never left the Fourth Patriarch. He was eight feet (Chinese measure) tall and had extraordinary features. He was the founder of Tung-Chan Temple (Tōzen-ji) at Huang-mei, Hupeh Province. The time had finally come for a full proclamation of Chan (Zen). So the Fifth Patriarch was the first to preach openly and give lessons to his five hundred pupils.

Hung-jen (Gunin) had many promising disciples, among them were Shen-hsiu (Jinshū, d. 706), Hui-neng (Enō, 638–713), and Chih-sien (Chisen, 609–702). Shen-hsiu (Jinshū) was very brilliant, and he was Chief Priest at the Tung-Chan Temple. Later he became the founder of the Northern School. Hui-neng (Enō) was a kitchen aide and came from the Canton region. A well-known anecdote told the unusual story that both Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng submitted gāthās to the Fifth Patriarch, who would decide the dharma-heir based upon the understanding of basic ideas revealed in these gāthās. Shen-hsiu's gāthā was written on the wall of the Meditation Hall. The English translations are as follows:

(Suzuki) This 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.

(A.W. Watts) The body is the Bodhi Tree;
The mind like a bright mirror standing.
Take care to wipe it all the time,
And allow no dust to cling.

Hui-neng submitted his gāthā and asked somebody who could write to write it on the wall. The English translations follow:

(Suzuki) The Bodhi is not like the tree,
The mirror bright is nowhere shining;
As there is nothing from the first,
Where can the dust itself collect?

(A.W. Watts) There never was a Bodhi Tree,
 Nor bright mirror standing.
 Fundamentally, not one thing exists,
 So where is the dust to cling?

Thereby the Fifth Patriarch secretly chose Hui-neng (Enō) to be the Sixth Patriarch. Hui-neng was advised by Hung-jen to leave Huang-mei, and go south. The story will be told in Chap. 2. Hui-neng (Enō) was noted for his *Platform Scriptures*, an English translation was recently made by Professor Wing-tsit Chan and published by St. John's University, Jamaica, N.Y. Professor Chan's translations of the two gāthās will be given in Chap. 2.

Shen-hsiu (Jinshū) had two able disciples: Pu-chi (Fujaku, 651–739) and Yi-fu (Gifuku, 658–736). Pu-chi's disciple, Tao-hsuan (Dōsen, 702–760), went to Japan. Dōsen's disciple, Hsing-piao (Gyōhyō, 722–797), was the teacher of Saichō (767–822), who visited China and went back to Japan to become the founder of the Tendai School in Japan. While in China, Saichō studied under Yu-lao Hsiao-jan (Gyokurō Kyūnen), who was Ma-tsu Tao-i's (Baso Dōitsu's) disciple. While Tao-hsuan (Dōsen) brought to Japan the Zen teachings of the Northern School, Saichō was able to bring back the Zen teachings of the Sixth Patriarch. Saichō also visited many masters of the Tien-tai (Tendai) School in China. The Tien-tai School (in China) considered Nagarjuna as its First Patriarch. The Ninth Patriarch was Ching-chi Chan-jan (Keikei Tannen, 711–782). Keikei's disciple was Tao-sui (Dōsui), and Saichō became Dōsui's disciple. After Saichō went back to Japan, he became the founder of the Tendai School in Japan. However, out of respect for his Chinese teacher, the official honorary founder of the Japanese Tendai School was Dōsui.

Going back to the Niu-tou Shan School, the lineage was given below:

- (1) Fa-yung (Hōyū, 594–657);
- (2) Chih-yen (Chigen, 600–677);
- (3) Hui-fang (E'hō, 629–695);
- (4) Fa-chih (Hōji, 635–702);
- (5) Chih-wei (Chii, 646–722);
- (6) Hui-chung (Echū, 683–769).

Hui-chung's dharma brother was Hsuan-su (Genso), whose disciple was Ching-shan Tao-chin (Keizan Dōkin, 714–792).

Besides Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng, the Fifth Patriarch (Gunin) had another disciple: Chih-sien (Chisen, 609–702), whose dharma-heirs were successively:

- (1) Chu-chi (Shojaku, 665–732)
- (2) Wu-hsiang (Musō, 684–762)
- (3) Wu-ji (Muju, 714–774)

The Sixth Patriarch and his disciples will be the subject of Chap. 2.

To conclude this chapter, the posthumously bestowed honorary titles of the first Six Patriarchs in the Chinese Zen School will be given:

Bodhidharma (Daruma) - Yuan-Chueh Ta-Shih
(Engaku Daishi) bestowed by Dai Tsung (r. 763–779) of Tang Dynasty
Hui-Ke (Eka, 487–593) - Ta-Tsu Ta-Shih (Daiso Daishi) bestowed by Te Tsung
(r. 780–804) of Tang Dynasty
Seng-Tsan (Sōsan, d. 606) - Chien-Chih Ta-Shih (Kanchi Daishi)
bestowed by Hsuan Tsung (r. 713–755) of Tang Dynasty
Tao-Hsin (Dōshin, 580–651) - Ta-I Chan-Shih (Dai-i Zenshi)
bestowed by Dai Tsung (r. 763–779) of Tang Dynasty
Hung-Jen (Gunin, 602–675) - Ta-Man Chan-Shih (Daiman Zenshi)
bestowed by Dai Tsung (r. 763–779) of Tang Dynasty
Hui-Neng (Enō, 638–713) - Ta-Chien Chan-Shih (Daikan Zenshi)
bestowed by Hsien Tsung (r. 806–820) of Tang Dynasty

Note that Emperor Hsuan-tsung (Gensō), who reigned 713–755, was the first Tang Emperor who bestowed a posthumous honorary title to a Zen Patriarch, who was the Third Patriarch Seng-tsan. Emperor Dai-tsung (Daisō), who reigned 763–779, bestowed posthumous honorary titles on Bodhidharma (Daruma), the First Patriarch, Tao-hsin (Dōshin), the Fourth Patriarch, and Hung-jen, (Gunin), the Fifth Patriarch. According to Dr. Hu Shih, in his *Biography of Shen-hui*, p. 72, it was in the first year of the Chien-yuan (Kengen) era, i.e., 758 A.D., under the reign of Shu-tsung (Shukusō, r. 756–762) that General Kuo Tzu-i recommended to the Emperor Shu-tsung to bestow an honorary title to the First Patriarch, probably at the request of Shen-hui, the able disciple of Enō, the Sixth Patriarch. However, it was not until the reign of Dai-tsung (Daisō, r. 763–779) that Bodhidharma received the title of Yuan-chueh (Engaku) Ta-shih, meaning “Perfect Enlightenment.” The Second Patriarch, Hui-ke (Eka, 487–593), received the posthumous honorary title, Ta-tsu (Daiso) Ta-shih, meaning “Great Founder.” The Third Patriarch’s posthumous honorary title, Chien-chih (Kanchi) Ta-shih, bestowed by Hsuan-tsung, meant “Mirror Wisdom.” From Tao-hsin (Dōshin) to Hui-neng (Enō), the honorary titles were designated Chan-shih (Zenshi) instead of Ta-shih (Daishi). The Fourth Patriarch’s title Ta-i Chan-shih (Daii Zenshi) meant “Great Healing,” while the Fifth Patriarch’s title Ta-man Chan-shih (Daiman Zenshi) meant “Great Fulfillment.” The Sixth Patriarch posthumous honorary title, bestowed by Emperor Hsien-tsung (Kensō, r. 806–820), Ta-chien (Daikan) Chan-shih, meant “Great Mirror.”

According to the *Biography of Shen-hui* by Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (Keihō Shūmitsu, 780–841), Shen-hui (Jinne, 670–762) received the posthumous honorary title of Cheng-tsung Ta-shih (Shinsō Daishi) in 770 A.D., the fifth year of the Ta-lieh (Daireki) era under the reign of Dai-tsung (Daisō, r. 763–779). Then in 796 A.D., the twelfth year of the Chen-yuan (Teigen) era, under the reign of Te-tsung (Tokusō), Shen-hui was bestowed the title of the Seventh Patriarch by the Emperor. Note that by declaring Shen-hui (Jinne) as the Seventh Patriarch, the Sixth Patriarch

in the Chinese Zen School was definitely his dharma-teacher, Hui-neng (Enō). As it was mentioned before, Hui-neng (Enō) did not get his posthumous honorary title until Emperor Hsien-tsung (Kensō, r. 806–820) came to the throne.

The list of Buddhas and Patriarchs in India was taken from the *Lamp Records* (*Daishō Daizōkyō*, Vol. 51, pp. 202–220. See Appendix). The Japanese pronunciations were based on Rōshi Ji-yu Kennett's *Zen is Eternal Life*, p. 284, and also supplied by Reverend John Daishin Buksbazen, Vice President for Education, Zen Center of Los Angeles.

Appendix

Buddhas and Patriarchs 七佛天竺祖师

- (1) Bibashi Butsu 毗婆尸佛
- (2) Shiki Butsu 试诘佛 (尸弃佛)
- (3) Bishafu Butsu 毗舍浮佛
- (4) Kuruson Butsu 拘留孙佛
- (5) Kunagonmuni Butsu 拘那含牟尼佛
- (6) Kashō Butsu 迦叶佛

Shakyamuni Butsu 释迦牟尼佛

- (1) Makakashō 摩诃迦叶
- (2) Ananda 阿难陀
- (3) Shōnawashu 商那和修
- (4) Ubakikuta 优婆鞠多
- (5) Daitaka 提多迦
- (6) Mishaka 弥遮迦
- (7) Bashumitsu 婆须蜜
- (8) Butsudanandai 佛陀难提
- (9) Fudamitta 伏駄蜜多
- (10) Barishiba 婆栗湿缚 (胁尊者)
- (11) Funayasha 富那夜奢
- (12) Anabotei 阿难菩底 (马鸣大士)
- (13) Kabimora 迦毗摩罗
- (14) Nagayaharajuna 那迦阇刺树那 (龙树大士)
- (15) Kanadaiba 迦那提婆
- (16) Ragorata 罗侯罗多
- (17) Sōgyanandai 僧迦难提
- (18) Kayashata 伽耶舍多