

CH'AN AND MYSTICISM IN LATER TIMES

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The practice of Ch'an was brought to China by the South Indian monk Bodhidharma. He was the third prince of the King of Gandhakufī, studied under and adopted the tradition of Prajñātāra, and at sixteen years of age took the sea route to China, arriving around 470 at the Southern border of the Sung. He appears to have journeyed to Wei before 516. According to the legend, upon being summoned by Liang Wu-ti, he went to Nanking, but, knowing the time was not ripe for propagating his teaching, he left forthwith and went to the Shao-lin temple on Mount Ch'ung where he remained in meditation facing a wall for nine years. He died in the second year of Ta-t'ung, 大通 i.e., 528; or, according to another theory, the second year of Ta-t'ung 大同, i.e. 536. He was called the Master of the Universal Dharma and was revered as the founder of Ch'an in China. The widely popular Daruma-dolls are based on the legend that, facing the wall in *zazen*, he never neglected practice.

It is interesting to note that one of the determining factors of Ch'an is the fact that it appeared during the breakup of the centralized, unified state in China. The movement of the Huns from the central part of the Eurasian continent took advantage of the collapse of centralized, unified states in both the East and the

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West. The Chinese dynasties were afflicted by the Huns. India was invaded by the Huṇa (Sanskrit for Huns) from the Northwest in the middle of the fifth century, and the Gupta dynasty was attacked in 455. After 480 even the previously glorious Gupta dynasty waned and around 500 the Huṇa King Toramāṇa was enthroned in India. For the next half century Huṇa control continued in sections of India. Afterwards King Harṣa united Northern India, but the unification of all India was not completed before the Islamic invasion.

The introduction of Ch'an into China by Bodhidharma took place during this breakup of the early centralized Indian states and it spread in the confused political situation of China. We must attempt, then, to understand the distinctive features of this initial establishment of Ch'an in light of this historical context.

In the first place, we note that, in these new circumstances no economic assistance from the nobility or donations from the landed estates could be expected. One of the specific characteristics of the Buddhism of the era of established, centralized government was the fact that it had received assistance both from the court and from rich merchants. But in an age of disorder, new religions had no such assured social foundation. The legendary fact that Bodhidharma received nothing from Emperor Wu of Liang is here significant. A striking feature of this new religion is its image of the pilgrim and the wanderer. There were no established temples during the time of the first Patriarch Bodhidharma, the Second Patriarch Hui-ku'o, or the third Patriarch Seng-ts'an (d. 604). Seng-ts'an lodged at such temples as Lü-yüan, but as an itinerant pilgrim he lived by begging his food.

Secondly, this pilgrim life-style rendered it impossible for one to maintain the high station of a spiritual elite. Even those who might have cherished such an inner pride had to live in close contact with the common people on whom they depended. A mutual rapport developed with the common people and among the Chinese Buddhist sects Ch'an came to take on the qualities of the common people.

Thirdly, having originated in India, Buddhism was a foreign religion to the Chinese. If it were to become popular, it had to

become inculturated. Ch'an came to be identified with the Chinese people and, adopting indigenous patterns of thinking, became the most sinified of all the sects. Thus when in a later age the Buddhist sects were suppressed, Ch'an alone remained a popular religion, and it has continued until the present to spread throughout all levels of the society.

Fourthly, since there was no political or economic assistance forthcoming from either the nobility or the wealthy merchants, the Ch'an adherents found it difficult to establish any scholastic theology. Hui-yüan of Ch'ing-ying temple and Master Chi-tsang of the San-lun school composed their scholastic treatises, but the Ch'an people have left behind nothing even resembling a book. They have bequeathed only poetry and aphorism, for they had indeed "abandoned" and been "liberated" from all previous or contemporary doctrinal systematics. They referred to this as "not maintaining learning" 不立文字, i.e. the non-establishment of doctrinal systematics. In later ages there was no school which lacked textual sources more than Ch'an. Nevertheless one may ask whether this "not maintaining learning" is not contradictory, since, not being committed to any particular dogma, Ch'an could give rise to an unlimited amount of "learning."

Fifthly, not being committed to doctrinal systematics, the Ch'an masters stressed the role of spontaneous intuition and contemplative awareness in the apprehension of truth. Herein the importance of *zazen* was emphasized. In their words, truth is transmitted apart from any language-formed doctrine (教外別伝), for we attain enlightenment by penetrating directly into the original mind (見性成佛).

After the Sung dynasty Ch'an took on its specific characteristics. Sung Neo-Confucianist writings exhibit points of difference from those that preceded, but in Ch'an changes occurred on an even larger scale. *The Blue Cliff Record* (*Pi-yen lu*) was put together by Fu-kuo K'o-ch'in (d. 1135), *The Barrier of Wu-men* (*Wu-men kan*) by Wu-men Hui-k'ai (d. 1260), and *The Record of Leisurely Discussions* (*Tsung-yung lu*) by Wang-sung Hsing-hsiu (d. 1247). Upon the introduction of these books into Japan, this Chinese style of thinking met a ready acceptance in the new soci-

ety of Japan. (If the stages of development had not been parallel, this new form of Buddhism would not have been so quickly accepted.)

We can also note that the Japanese Buddhists of the almost contemporaneous Kamakura period enunciated Buddhist teaching in a similarly non-scholastic vernacular. Hōnen's *Ichimai kishōmon* was written in 1212. Dōgen brought the Sōtō sect of Zen to Japan in 1227 and left us many works written in a straight-forward Japanese style. At exactly the same time Indian teachers of some schools were composing books in modern Indian vernaculars and had consciously abandoned the classical language of the old texts in favor of these languages. At almost the same time Eckhart was expressing religious truth in a vernacular German. In 1211 in Korea Chi-nul of Silla established Korean Ch'an (Jo Kye-Jong).¹ He was almost contemporaneous with Dōgen in Japan, and the similarity of his thought and practice with that of Dōgen is recognized by scholars.

In Ch'an great importance is placed on the relationship between disciple and master, just as in esoteric Buddhism, under the influence of the absolute value placed on the teacher (*guru*) in the Tantric teachings which put him in the place of the Buddha himself, the teacher (*ācārya*) was regarded as a Transformation Body of Buddha.

Parallels to these movements are found in the medieval German and Dutch mystics, such as Meister Eckhart² (1260?-1326), Johannes Tauler (1300-1361), and Jan van Ruysbroeck (1293-1381).

Further parallels can be seen in the appearance of Sufism which transformed Islamic culture. Sufism is regarded as having appeared between the eighth and ninth centuries. Its literature gradually grew after the tenth century until its doctrine was systematized after the eleventh century.

Western mystics of the same period were not composing systematic writings, for their works were free and unrestricted, almost independent from the traditional theology. Eckhart had indeed been influenced by Thomas Aquinas, but driven from within he broke through the limitations of Thomas' system. Because he stressed the pure spirituality of devout faith, Eckhart proclaimed

that Church teachings were meaningful only as external provisional symbols.

Free and unrestrained speculation on "nothingness" is discernable in the Kabbalah, the mystical oral tradition of Judaism, which reminds one of the teachings orally handed down in Japanese Tendai.

In later times Ch'an was divided into the five houses and the seven sects. In Japan the three sects of Rinzai, Sōtō, and Ōbaku Zen were established, while subsects with subtle differences were set up within Tantric Buddhism. In rough terms, these divisions paralleled the Indian split between a Vedic orthodox sect on the right and a sect on the left which carried out lascivious rites. But even within this division, further subsects were established, the differences between which are difficult to identify even for the specialist. Such sectarianism did not occur, however, among Western mystics. Eckhart was judged to be a heretic only after he had passed away. Because the external control of the Catholic Church was a powerful unitive force, there was no room for any independent activity by the Western mystic thinkers.

Despite the fact that there is a remarkable resemblance between Ch'an and Tantrism, there are important differences. Tantric religion preached a path of devotion (*bhakti-mārga*). The goddess Kālī, who was the consort of the god Śiva, was regarded as the creative source of everything. Other goddesses, such as Tārā and Bhagavatī, were also worshipped in Tantric Buddhism. But Ch'an payed reverence to no female creative power nor to any force of nature. By contrast, Western mystics such as Hugh of St. Victor (12th century) stressed both knowledge and love. He said:

God dwells in the human heart in two ways: through knowledge and through love. All who know God, love him, but no one can love Him without knowing Him.³

In any Tantric text five themes had to be treated: (1) the creation of the world, (2) the end of the world, (3) the worship of the gods, (4) the attainment of mystic powers, and (5) union with the highest reality. But these themes are never discussed in Ch'an, for it

never engages in such metaphysical questioning. In modern philosophy, especially in American philosophy which is the vanguard of the machine culture, metaphysical speculation is rejected, while pragmatic and positivist understanding is sought. Similarly, European philosophy of the past and the Vedanta philosophy of the East felt metaphysical speculation to be inappropriate. On this point Ch'an is fully in harmony with the thinking of the modern machine culture. It should also be noted that the practice of prayer formulas (*mantras*) is not recognized in Ch'an at all.

In contrast to later Ch'an which was fond of enigmatic sayings, the Tantric sects practiced the chanting of prayer (seed) formulas, such as am, ām, um, and ū. Through such chanting, mystic supernatural powers are obtained. Of course, this popular belief had already been introduced in Indian Mahāyāna, in the last chapter of *The Lotus Sutra*, for example. But the chanting of meditative formulas (*dharāṇī*) and the reliance upon the power of these incantations rose and fell together with the popularity of the Esoteric teaching.

Such magical practices are not recognized in Ch'an. Those who are fond of the Tantric stream in modern Indian religion take this as a weak point, but Ch'an regards it as no loss at all. Here the mystic Jewish Kabbalah is closer to Indian Tantrism.

From our present day perspective, Tantrism has points that demand our attention. It did not approve caste distinctions and in this is close to the Ch'an order in welcoming all people from whatever origin.⁴ There were even medieval Easterners who advocated the equality of women, but as a general rule the discriminative treatment of women was an accepted fact. In the West too women were treated with disdain. Discriminative treatment was not permitted in Tantrism either: "Whether man or women, they constitute the same, identical human kind." This is identical with the position of Dōgen in Japan who severely criticized the systematic prohibitions against women in Japan.⁵ Again Tantrism forbade the custom of the immolation of widows (*satī*) on the funeral pyre of their husbands. There was no such custom in Japan, but the suicide of retainers upon the death of their lord did occur. This custom was criticized by Suzuki Shōsan and it was not followed by

the Zen monks.⁶ But the prohibition of suicide came more from statesmen than from Buddhists, a fact which shows that Japanese Zen was not a main source for social revolution.

The non-doctrinal stance of Ch'an can also be seen in the fact that Ch'an teaching is extremely artistic, emotive, and concrete. Indian philosophical poems, even in their Chinese translations, are clearly logical in content and even in the Ch'an sect the content of the poetry in the old meditation manuals (e.g. *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*) is quite logical. However the compositions of the meditation manuals written during this period aim at an artistic, emotive, and concrete presentation rather than at logical consistency. This is probably due to the fact that these poets took full advantage of the artistic qualities of the Chinese ideographs.

As instances of meditation manuals demonstrating this new tendency we can mention *The Blue Cliff Manual*, *The Barrier of Wu-men*, and *The Record of Leisurely Conversations*. Just as the final meaning of Ch'an is transmitted secretly to the disciple only in the master's room, so the Tantric formula must not be transmitted to those who have yet to be initiated into *tantra*. Thus, despite the fact that Ch'an was a popular movement rebelling against fixed, doctrinal traditions, because of its esoteric nature, in later times it gradually came to take on an aristocratic flavor. It was the same with Tantrism. "The Vedas, the Śāstras, the Purāṇas are like a common women, but this mystical Śaiva science is like a high-born women."⁷ Thus it could not be employed by frivolous persons.

Here we can consider again the meaning of the *kōan*. A particular master and a particular disciple communicate in a determined setting. Communication of the *kōan*'s meaning does not take place through other people or in any other place. Being based on this utterly individual foundation, it is not spoken publicly at all. Thus striking home in the individual, it is more concrete and experiential than doctrinal, and its enunciation is largely artistic.

To sum up, both Eastern and Western mysticism have undergone a long process of development bearing the marks of their distinct historical settings. But they preserve a universal truth

that runs through the thinking of large numbers of people and is presented symbolically in various particular formulations. Transcending historical periods and temporal limitations, that truth carries forward a vital meaning for us and for people in other cultures.

PERSONAL DIRECT AWARENESS

During the Middle Ages many mystics appeared in the West who talked about a direct awareness of the absolute. Among the Buddhists of India and China, among the Neo-Confucianists of Sung China and Meiji Japan other mystics spoke in similar terms of the need to rely upon direct awareness. Here we shall treat this theme as it is found in Ch'an and then relate it to other systems of thought.

Ch'an Buddhism centers upon the practice of sitting in meditation. Its motto is "Just keep to your seat!" Meditation is also emphasized in Western mysticism. For instance, St. Bernard and his followers sought religious truth not in reasoning, but in personal experience and meditation. Saint Theresa said:

Meditation is the first step in attaining virtue. It is important for all Christians to begin practicing it.⁸

The famous Ch'an maxim, "pointing directly to the mind of man" (直指人心) was written to stress the necessity of an actual, personal realization of the fact that from birth we all have the Buddha mind. The reality of that Buddha nature must be personally experienced. The practitioner relies upon the guidance of his master, but enlightenment arises within the realm of the eternal. It is the action of the absolute and not something we do ourselves. Another Zen maxim states, "Directly looking into one's own nature" (見性), for looking into this Buddha mind is the realization of Buddhahood. One must experience the fact that one is oneself Buddha.

A very close parallel from Western mysticism of the same period is found in Angelus Silesius, Johannes Scheffler, (1624-1677) who also advocated "seeing into one's nature."

Even if Christ were to be born in Bethlehem a thousand times,
If he be not reborn within you, your soul will be in despair.
The cross on Golgotha will not save you.
Only the cross within your own mind can perfect you.⁹

The *Theologia Germanica* (ca. 1425) identifies "that which I am," "my very self," "I," "me," "mine," as the source of our estrangement from reality and it continually stresses the necessity of being liberated from "blindness and illusion."¹⁰ "Self-will" is repeatedly forbidden in this book, reminding one of the Buddhist doctrine of no-self. (One cannot deny that, compared to the Japanese, the focus on self was stronger in the West, yet even there mystics taught no-self.) This teaching of "liberation from blindness and illusion" of the *Theologia Germanica* corresponds to Ch'an's "breaking the lacquer tray" and to Dōgen's "abandonment of body and mind."¹¹ Furthermore, according to the *Theologia Germanica* a spiritual person is moved by an "understanding" and "love" wherein no "I," "me," or "mine" remains. This corresponds to the course of the Mahāyāna path of wisdom (*prajñā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*).

But this direct awareness is not a chance occurrence or a haphazard event. The truth of enlightenment must be communicated from mind to mind, from person to person. "There is a special transmission apart from what has been written down" (教外別伝). It does not rely upon doctrinal systematizations of the scriptures, for truth is transmitted otherwise. Therefore, in order to reach the goal of Ch'an, one must first receive guidance from a true master. Ch'an places its faith in the presence of our original Buddha nature and, under the guidance of a master, inculcates as its training method the practice of sitting in meditation and focusing upon the manifestation of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs within us. With such an intent one has to concentrate more upon felt experience than upon the words of scripture. Taking a master is not listening to some secret, mystic jargon. Rather it is a deci-

sion resulting from contact with felt experience. (From this perspective, any dexterous manipulation of Ch'an sayings that has no meaning for the common people is entirely unrelated to the original spirit of Ch'an.) In the West Plotinus expressed the same idea:

Having abandoned controversy, we appeal to vision. We call to people who are ready for us to show them the path. Our teaching is a guide to that path. Such insight must be achieved personally by each of those who have made such a commitment.¹²

Those who have gone forth on this path (Tathāgata as the Wayfarer) serve as the model for those who seek the way. Personal, direct awareness is dynamic and tends toward progress along that path.

One example of such progress is the Vietnamese Emperor, who, as some Vietnamese scholars relate, when the Mongolian army invaded Vietnam, exerted himself to self-discipline by following the teaching of the monks who proclaimed that "Buddha does not dwell in the mountains, but in your mind," thus serving the Vietnam nation with all his mind and body.¹³ (A Vietnamese version of Hōjō Tokimune (1251-1284), who resisted the Monguls under similar circumstances).

Iconoclasm arose naturally in conjunction with this emphasis on actual experience. The Ch'an monk Tan-hsia t'ien-jan collected many images of the Buddha, broke them into pieces, threw them into a fire, and burned them up.¹⁴ He was always saying things like "the rolls of the scriptures do make good toilet paper." From Islam to the Sikh faith, the rejection of images is probably to be understood in contrast to some previous mind-set that venerated those images. Emperor Leo III of the Eastern Roman Empire resisted the Islamic invasions, yet in the year 716 he forbade the worship of sacred images and ordered them destroyed. His grounds for doing this were that one should emphasize the spiritual nature of Christian faith through the awareness that human representations were odious.

Iconoclasm appeared in Japan in a different form. Although they did not oppose the indigenous religion of Shinto, medieval Shinto thinkers (Ise Shinto) did resist the existing universal religions with their various highly developed ritual systems, especially Shingon Esotericism. These medieval Shintoists advocated that "that which pleases the gods is not material offerings. The true offerings are virtue and sincerity." Purity of mind was particularly stressed.

Yet such movements for the rejection of images were not lasting. In the West the Catholic Church, which might have been expected to reject images, enthusiastically venerated the sacred image of Mary. The Zen introduced by Dōgen into Japan was a simple affair, but with the development of the religious orders, numerous images were set up. When Śaṅkara established his monastery at Śrīṅgeri, there was only a single image used as an emblem (only the Śrīcakra), but under the auspices of the Vaijayanaga dynasty the great monasteries were constructed and many images came to be venerated.

THE TRANSMISSION OF MYSTIC AWARENESS

We must raise the question of whether the mysticism of later times differed from this early (either ancient or medieval) mysticism. We will treat this question as the transmission of mystic experience in specific lineages.

Ch'an claims a special lineage wherein the true spirit of Ch'an was transmitted from Mahākāśyapa, the great disciple of Śākyamuni. When Śākyamuni on Vulture Peak twirled and held up a flower, the entire assembly remained silent and nobody was found to respond to the Buddha's action except Mahākāśyapa, who, understanding its meaning, simply smiled. Thereupon Śākyamuni said, "Only he has received the truth of the treasury of the eye of True Reality, the wondrous mind of cessation, the absence of image that is the true image, the subtle, marvelous doctrine, the unwritten text, the special transmission apart from teaching."¹⁵ This account is not found in Indian Buddhism, but is a parable

often recounted in Ch'an temples after the Sung dynasty as the basis for the founding of the Ch'an sect. It is a development of medieval thought.¹⁶

"The unwritten text and the secret transmission" became the Ch'an hallmark. Tibetan Lamaism also professed this position.¹⁷ Western mystics too never repudiated the transmission of mission from Jesus Christ to Peter.¹⁸ Since the Gospel was meant for all people, it alone was recognized as having a special lineage. Here there is a striking resemblance with medieval Indian Tantrism, for in Tantrism, which is Indian mysticism, one lays emphasis on the secret teaching and ceremony related by Śiva, the principal god of the world, to his consort (Durgā or Kāfi). This resembles the Ch'an account of Mahākāśyapa receiving the truth in secret when he smiled subtly at Śākyamuni's twirling of the flower.

The various Tantric texts were regarded as presenting the teaching and ritual for this evil age (*kaliyuga*) and thus they were to be carried out until the end of this Kali-age. But, the most august, "the highest transmission" of Tantrism is said to have issued from the fifth mouth of the god Śiva. As such, it cannot be transmitted in any particular scripture and is secret and uncharacterizable.¹⁹ "The Vedas, the Śāstras, and the Purāṇas are like a common woman (i.e. they can be seen by anyone), but this mystical Śaiva science is like a high-born woman (secluded and secret)."²⁰

By contrast, Western mystics of the same period did not compose their own scriptures, a fact due probably to the overwhelming authority of the Church. But there was a tendency to deviate from ecclesiastical orthodoxy. For example, Eckhart inherited the thought of Thomas, but he went far beyond his teacher. He was untiring in his attempts to put into words the deep and strong feelings which sprung from his pious heart, and, driven by his inner nature, he broke away from systematized norms and regarded the dogmas of the Church as provisional symbols.²¹ Such an attitude also characterized the early Ch'an monks in China.

Gaining insight into one's nature and relying upon a particular tradition are clearly contradictory. In view of the universality of direct awareness, it can hardly be true that only what has been

handed down in tradition is applicable to the human predicament. Human nature encompasses these two contradictory aspects of tradition and direct awareness.

But the tendency to revere tradition is not seen in the early mystics. It becomes apparent only several centuries after the common era, a fact to be understood in light of social conditions. In contrast to early mysticism, a reverence for one's own particular tradition appeared—even among mystics themselves—in conjunction with the formation of feudalistic social patterns. But this tendency will probably disappear shortly with the formation of modern society.

IS IT POSSIBLE TO INFLUENCE ONE'S NEIGHBOR?

One of the criticisms leveled at mystics is that they ignore differences in the phenomenal world. The sensed world comes to be regarded as illusory and the scientific spirit is snuffed out among men. The first stirrings of science in the ancient world did not attain full cognizance of its potential and only human qualities were considered worthy of study. Thus the desire to understand theoretically the natural world and to revolutionize the structures of the human world was extinguished. This criticism probably applies to Platonism, Indian Advaita monism, and to Chinese and Japanese Zen.

Although the world religions were yet in process of formation, there were mystics who were altogether unconcerned about the sufferings of others. Viewing the corpses of those killed in battle Krishna says:

I am saddened because you are not sad. But you speak the words of wisdom. The Sage is not sad over those who have lost their lives or over those who are still alive.²²

A like opinion is expressed by Plotinus:

Carnage, death in all its shapes, the destruction and looting of cities,—in our perspective all these are nothing more than the movements in a play. They are all but elements in one drama, the putting on and taking off of costumes, the stage acting out of sorrows and lamentations. We act out all these things upon the stages we ourselves construct. The tears and anguish in the changes of human life on earth are not the soul; they are nothing more than the exterior shadows of the true men of this age.²³

There is no sympathy shown here for suffering and tormented people and we can see the limitations of mysticism in the practical sharing of life with others.

This cold attitude of Plotinus is clearly paralleled by that of the Saṃkhya philosophers. According to their theory, pure spirit (*puruṣa*, the spiritual self) is completely unfettered to the world. "There is nothing bound. There is nothing liberated. There is nothing that transmigrates."²⁴ Just as a dancing girl retires from her dance after she has shown her form to the audience, so in the same way the original source (*prakṛti*) returns to its pure simplicity (*puruṣa*) after it manifests itself.²⁵ That pure simplicity is a detached (*upekṣaka*) onlooker (*draṣṭṛ*).²⁶ It remains aloof from the sufferings of this world and is seen only in quietude.²⁷ The Vedanta school of Advaita²⁸ terms a person of such realization "one who is liberated while living" (*jīvanmukta*).²⁹

The philosopher Sureśvara³⁰ of this school offered as an explanation of the continued bodily existence of one who has been liberated a continuance that a cause leaves behind as its result. (To turn a potter's wheel one must apply force, but then the wheel continues to turn.) Sureśvara explains that just as the fear occasioned upon seeing a snake dissipates only gradually after the snake has been removed, so as a continuing result of mistaken illusion the body does exist for a while even after that illusion has been eliminated.³¹

In such a liberated state, subsequently performed actions are no longer connected with the mystic himself. And, with the passage of time, past actions are eradicated. Such a person well

understands that worldly things obstinately desired are deceitful and, upon reaching the point of eliminating past actions entirely, he no longer experiences the world as before. Yet his liberated soul, living as a part of the world in the world, maintains the body and continues to live.

Another extreme example is that offered by some of the Chinese Ch'an monks who, no matter how depraved they became, would follow no rules. Furthermore, the left wing of the Wang Yang-ming school developed from the belief that one transcended both good and evil. A considerable number of the followers of Wang Yang-ming fell into "wild beast Ch'an." In the 1570s many of his followers really thought that self-indulgence in sex and wine constituted the "truest path of freedom" known among men.³² Such tendencies are also found in Indian Tantrism.

Thus the question urges itself upon our consideration: is the presence of enlightened persons meaningless to others? In responding to this question, Mahāyāna Buddhism generally interpreted the content of enlightenment by dividing it into a "fundamental wisdom" and a "subsequently attained wisdom." When one attains fundamental enlightenment, that of itself issues in phenomenal activity. It is this phenomenal activity that is termed "subsequently attained wisdom," which is the carrying out of compassionate practices.

It is frequently asked by non-believers how Ch'an grounds morality. The Ch'an monks themselves do not treat this question, probably because they assume that enlightened persons will spontaneously perform good actions without the need for any listing of specifically good actions. The Tibetan mystic poet Mi-la-ras-pa (1040-1123) said: "For the wise man morality is a by-product of enlightenment rather than a direct objective." This is a position that, in contrast to Eckhart's will, recognizes the superiority of reason. But even in Eckhart it is rational thinking (*Vernünftigkeit*) that occupies the central position in the soul. Before one can love, knowledge must exist.³³

It should be noticed that such a grounding of morality is possible only on the basic assumption that human beings are good and pure in their essential nature. The formation of moral values

is possible only because within our human nature there is a basic principle of goodness and purity. Ch'an Buddhism expresses this as: "All sentient beings are originally Buddha." Eckhart teaches that the basic nature of the spirit is covered by "the edges of the robes of goodness," thus suggesting the notion of essential goodness (*perseitas boni*). Medieval intellectualism discoursed on the rationality of goodness.³⁴ Compassion then is manifested concretely within practice. Saint Theresa says:

The highest proof of one's progress (*prajñāpāramitā*) is shown in that one considers oneself last of all, carries that out in practice, and in all one's actions seeks the happiness and welfare (*hita-sulka*) of others. This is the most authentic test. (The Sanskrit words in brackets have been inserted to suggest parallels with Buddhist thought.)

The Buddha nature (*buddhadhātu*), the essential goodness (*perseitas boni*) possessed by human beings spontaneously issues in the possibility of good actions. Such is the thinking of both Eastern and Western mystics.

NOTES

1. Nukariya Kaiten 忽滑谷快天, *Chōsen zenkyōshi* 朝鮮禪教史 [A History of Son in Korea]. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1930, pp. 181-194.
2. For a comparison of Eckhart and Buddhism see the now dated book by Karl Eugen Neumann, *Die innere Verwandtschaft buddhistischer und christlicher Lehren*, 1891. Eckhart can be understood in some sense as an anti-doctrinal thinker (sometimes quite close to Mahāyāna Buddhism) in medieval Western intellectual history. He has not been much studied in Japan. We can mention only the following Japanese translations and studies. a) Aibara Nobusaku 相原信作, *Ekkuharuto "Kami no nagusame no sho"* エックハルト『神の慰めの書』 [Eckhart's Book of Divine Consolation]. Chikuma Shobō, 1949 (reprinted in 1952). Besides the first part which presents *The Book of Divine Consolation* in four chapters, a second part explains

that teaching in eight chapters, and a third part presents his tradition in two chapters on Eckhart's life and times. b) Takada Takeshirō 高田武郎, *Maisuteru Ekkuharuto no "Quaestiones Parisienses" no honyaku oyobi ni kenkyū* マイステル・エックハルトの "Quaestiones Parisienses" の翻並びに研究 [Translation and Study of Meister Eckhart's "Quaestiones Parisienses"], Parts 1 and 2 in Dōshisha University's *Bungaku nenpō* 文化学年報 2, 1952, pp. 2-23 and 3, pp. 52-66. Part 3 in Dōshisha University's *Jinbungaku* 人文学, 29, 1957, pp. 37-55. c) Takemura Kiyoshi 竹村清, *Ekkuharuto oyobi doitsu shinpi-shugi* エックハルト及独逸神秘主義 [Eckhart and German Mysticism]. Tokyo: Shinseidō, June 1931. Includes a translation of *The Book of Divine Consolation*. d) Hashimoto Fumio 橋本文夫, *Dorukuhaimu "Maisuteru Ekkuharuto"* デュルクハイム『マイステル・エックハルト』 [Dürckheim's "Meister Eckhart"]. Nov. 1943. This work contains a translation of *A Response in Questions to the Papal Charges*, pp. 190-199. e) Nishitani Keiji 西谷啓治, *Kami to zettai mu* 神と然対無 [God and Absolute Nothingness]. Tokyo: Kōbundō. August 1948 (third ed., 1950). Contains many quotations from Eckhart. f) Kadowaki Kakichi 門脇佳吉, *Tōzai shinpi taikai to gendai: Zen to Ekkuharuto no baai* 東西神秘体験と現代: 禅とエックハルトの場合 [Eastern and Western Mystical Experience and the Present Age: The Case of Zen and Eckhart]. *Sophia* 22/1, 1973.

3. *De Arca Noe morali*, 1:2 in PL CLXXVI, 621; *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* 6:264b.
4. Walter Ruben, *Indisches Mittelalter*, p.112. It was a basic principle of the Zen sect to welcome people from all origins, but in fact discrimination was practiced. According to a letter I received from Professor Sakauchi Tatsuo 坂内龍雄, there was de facto discrimination in three specific areas. First, temples which tried to attract as patrons the famous and highclass warriors did restrict those who might enter. The disabled and those suffering from contagious diseases were excluded and the appearance and physical health of aspirants were closely scrutinized. Second, there was discrimination in regard to admitting monks to full profession. If powerful patrons found it distasteful for a member of the lower classes to become professed as a full monk, they excluded him from that rank. (In this the Pure Land sect differs.) Third, there was discrimination in burial regulations. In the book of rules used by the

Head Priest there was a heading "Rules of Burial for Outcasts (eta)." (For example, one finds the phrase, "The codified regulations for members of the Sōtō sect have been discussed, studied, and recorded secretly," in the publication of the Shōfukuji Temple in Ōi, Saji Village, Yazu District, Tottori Prefecture.) After Meiji it was expected that the equality of the four classes would be implemented, but in some places old abuses could not be corrected in so brief a time.

5. *Shōbōgenzō*, Raihaitokuzui. In *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系, 12:322.
6. *Hogoshū* 復古集. See Nakamura Hajime, *Kinsei nihon no hihan-teki seishin* 近世日本の批判的精神 [The Critical Spirit in Recent Japan], 133.
7. Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 191, as quoted in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 12:193a.
8. St. Theresa, *Way of Perfection*. London: Thomas Baker, 1935, p. 91.
9. Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Buddhismus und Gottesidee*, S. 98.
10. *Theologia Germanica*, translated from the German by Susanna Winkworth, London: Macmillan, 1924. Also New York: Pantheon, 1949 and London: Gollancz, 1950.
11. *Shōbōgenzō*, Zuimonki, 4:8. See *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系, 81:389. Also see *Shōbōgenzō*, Genjōkōan, p. 36 sq. and Gyōji, p. 217.
12. *Enneads*, 6:9.4.
13. Nguyen-dang-thuc, *Asian Culture and Vietnamese Humanism*. Saigon: Vietnamese Association for Asian Cultural Relations, 1965, p. 47.
14. *Keitokudentōroku*, chapter 40. T. 51, p. 310c.
15. *Wu-men kuan*. T. 48, p. 293c.
16. The precise phrase 括華瞬目破顏微笑, "when [the Buddha] twirled the flower with a glint in his eye, [Kaśyapa broke into a subtle smile," is found in the *Jen-t'ien yeh-mu* 人天眼目; T. 48, p. 325. Incidentally, the *Ta-fan t'ien-wang wen fo-chueh-i-ch'ing* 大梵天王問仏決疑經, which is mentioned as having been seen by Wang-an Shih, is not included in the present Tripitaka, but it does appear as a pseudoepigraphon in the San chiao Catalogue.
17. See *Bunka* 文化, 29/2, Showa 40, August, p. 12.
18. Étienne Gilson, *The Mystical Doctrine of Saint Bernard*. London and New York, 1940.

19. A. S. Geden, in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* 12:192.
20. Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 191.
21. Windelband, *A History of Philosophy*, p. 334.
22. *Bhagavadgītā*, 62.
23. *Enneads*, 3:2.15. Plotinus, *The Six Enneads*, translated by Stephen McKenna and B. S. Page in *Great Books of the Western World*, 17, Chicago, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1952, p. 90.
24. *Saṃkhya-gītā*, 62.
25. *Saṃkhya-gītā*, 59.
26. *Saṃkhya-gītā*, 66.
27. *Saṃkhya-gītā*, 66.
28. Gerald James Larson, *Classical Sāṃkhya*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1969, pp. 279-280.
29. Although Fichte and Śaṅkara are far different in time, place, and culture, their theories are remarkably similar. When we discuss these ideas, we have to refer to these two philosophers. See Leta Jane Lewis, "Fichte and Śaṅkara," *Philosophy East and West*, 12/4, Jan. 1963, pp. 301-309.
30. *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, ed., by M. Hiriyanna, p. 199. (R. C. Pandeya, *Indian Philosophical Annual*, 1969, p. 6.)
31. In the state of liberation individual existence returns to nothingness and is destroyed. It is extinguished into the absolute. As Bradley says, it is "merged, blended, fused, absorbed, run together, dissolved, and lost." (Ram Pratap Singh, *Philosophy East and West*, 16/1-2, Jan.-April, 1966, p. 26.)
32. Wing-tsit Chang, *Philosophy East and West*, 12/3, Oct., 1962, p. 207.
33. Windelband, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, p. 278.
34. Windelband, *A History of Philosophy*, p. 332.