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Sasaki/The Record of Linji

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Editor's Prologue

RUTH FULLER SASAKI'S TRANSLATION of the *Linji lu* was one of the first Zen texts I encountered after starting Zen practice in Japan in the early 1970s. Even prior to the publication of the Institute for Zen Studies' 1975 edition (see Furuta Kazuhiro's Preface), typescripts of the translation, minus the notes, had found their way to Western Zen students attending retreats at Ryūtaku-ji 龍澤寺, a Rinzai Zen monastery south of Mount Fuji that was at the time a popular place of practice with foreigners. It was there, at the November 1970 retreat (the first Zen retreat I ever attended), that I was given a well-used sheaf of bound, double-spaced typewritten pages to read in lieu of listening to the daily Zen *teishō* (lecture) in Japanese. This initial encounter, I must confess, was not particularly auspicious. We Westerner participants, clutching our *Record of Linji* manuscripts, made our way up a long flight of wooden stairs to a cold tatami room, where we attempted to find reasonably comfortable sitting positions as we contemplated the text's puzzling pronouncements. For some reason the following passage remained ingrained in my mind:

When Linji was planting pine trees, Huangbo asked, "What's the good of planting so many trees in the deep mountains?" "First, I want to make a natural setting for the main gate. Second, I want to make a landmark for later generations," said Linji, thumping the ground with his mattock three times. "Be that as it may, you've already tasted thirty blows of my stick," replied Huangbo. Again Linji thumped the ground with his mattock three times and breathed out a great breath. "Under you my line will flourish throughout the world," said Huangbo.

This famous passage, so inspiring to generations of Zen monks, left me utterly mystified. Together with the late autumn cold, the excruciating leg pain, the lack of sleep, and all the other discomforts of the retreat, it made me wonder just what exactly I was doing in this far distant land practicing a strange, incomprehensible foreign religion.

As it was, I remained intrigued enough by Zen to remain in Japan, making my way seven months later to Shōfuku-ji 祥福寺, a monastery in the city of Kobe, where I spent three years as a lay monk under Yamada Mumon 山田無文 (1900–1988). Mumon Roshi saw Shōfuku-ji as a place of Zen training not only for ordained Zen monks but also for laypeople, and consequently

opened the doors of the meditation hall to ordinary Japanese and Westerners who were interested in experiencing the full monastic life. Mumon Roshi also served as president of both Hanazono University and the Institute for Zen Studies in Kyoto, and it was with his support that the plan to publish an abbreviated version of Ruth's manuscript finally got under way, resulting in the 1975 edition.

It was also around this time, in 1973, that I first met Matsunami Taiun 松濤泰雲, the Zen monk who was later to become priest of Ryōsen-an 龍泉庵, the Daitoku-ji subtemple restored by Ruth Sasaki. At the time he was a monk at the monastery Bairin-ji 梅林寺 on the southern island of Kyūshū. Our paths crossed again five years later when I was a guest monk at his home temple, Kōtoku-ji 廣徳寺 in Tokyo. When Rev. Matsunami was installed as priest of Ryōsen-an in 1985, I was living at Hōshun-in 芳春院, the Daitoku-ji subtemple just north of Ryōsen-an.

The Ryōsen-an that he entered was pretty much as it had been at the time of Ruth's death eighteen years earlier. The kitchen was still outfitted with her 1950s-vintage American refrigerator and gas stove, and the library still housed her excellent book collection, complete until 1967, the year of her death. The thick black looseleaf notebooks containing the laboriously compiled material for *The Record of Linji* lay, untouched and dusty, on the shelves of the temple storehouse. Feeling that republication of the *Record* (this time in an edition containing her note material) would make the most suitable memorial for Ruth, Rev. Matsunami considered ways of seeing the project through to completion. In 1998, when I assumed my present position as an associate researcher at the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism (IRIZ) at Hanazono University, he approached Dr. Urs App (former IRIZ Assistant Director) and Dr. Michel Mohr (former Staff Research Fellow) about the possibility of my completing Ruth's work as an Institute project. The idea was submitted to Prof. Nishimura Eshin and Prof. Okimoto Katsumi, the former directors of the IRIZ, who approved the proposal. Following this, Dr. James Heisig and Dr. Paul Swanson of the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture agreed to handle the final editing of the manuscript as part of the Nanzan Library of Asian Religion and Culture, for publication by the University of Hawai'i Press.

The present volume therefore represents the culmination of decades of work involving a large number of individuals, from Ruth's husband Sōkei-an in the 1930s and 1940s, to Ruth and the research staff at the First Zen Institute at Ryōsen-an in the 1950s and 1960s, to the people who produced the 1975 edition, and finally to all those who have participated in the publication of this Nanzan Library edition. In many respects, though, the central figure was, and remains, Ruth Fuller Sasaki, the remarkable woman whose



Photograph from 1 February 1955. Seated (left to right): Philip Yampolsky, Gary Snyder, Donatienne Lebovich, Ruth Fuller Sasaki, Miura Isshū, Vanessa Coward, Manzōji Yōko, Walter Nowick, Yanagida Seizan. (Photo, courtesy of Gary Snyder)

energy, vision, and force of personality have inspired the project throughout. Although considerations of space do not permit a lengthy account of her life here, any proper introduction of her *Linji lu* translation requires, at the very least, a summary of her life and work.¹

RUTH FULLER SASAKI

Ruth was born in Chicago on 31 October 1892, to Clara Elizabeth and George E. Fuller, a wealthy couple of Canadian background. She had a brother named David, three years her junior. Ruth attended private high school in Chicago, and while still a student traveled in Europe. Following graduation she returned to Europe to study music (particularly piano) and receive private instruction in French and German. Her educational opportunities appear not to have been solely the result of her privileged family circumstances—already in high school Ruth, who served as president of the Theta

1. Ruth's story is fully deserving of book-length treatment, and fortunately a monograph on her life is now available. *Zen Pioneer: The Life and Works of Ruth Fuller Sasaki*, by Isabel Stirling, presents Ruth's biography and reprints of three of her lengthy essays on Zen and Zen practice—essays as valuable now as they were in the mid-twentieth century. Much of the material in the following biographical sketch is based on Stirling's book.

Society and editor of the yearbook, showed exceptional intelligence, energy, and leadership.

These were qualities that served Ruth well following her marriage in 1917, at the age of twenty-four, to the wealthy attorney Edward Warren Everett (1872–1940), a senior partner in one of Chicago's major law firms. Edward and Ruth and their daughter Eleanor, born in 1918, became a prominent presence in the Chicago social scene, often mentioned in the society columns of the Chicago newspapers. Ruth was fully up to the demands of her position as mistress of the house. Her capabilities were eloquently described by Mary Farkas (1911–1992), a friend and colleague of Ruth at the First Zen Institute of America. Farkas noted that, although Ruth would sometimes refer to herself as an ordinary American woman and housewife, this

by no means described her skill in the feminine arts nor indicated the scale of her abilities as a hostess. As the wife of a prominent Chicago attorney she had had a great deal of experience at entertaining. There was no dish she wouldn't try to make, no problem of gardening, decorating, or construction she wouldn't undertake to solve. Servants in her employ left trained professionals. I asked her one time how she had learned to do all the things she did so well. Her blue eyes blazed. "When I was a young woman I would watch how others did things. I assumed if they could do them I must be able to." Cooking, gardening, driving, typewriting, book designing, cataloguing, written Chinese and Japanese, all were achieved by diligent application. Her early education had included extensive travel abroad and study of various languages, but in a sense she was a self-made rather than the spoiled society woman the popular press tends to make of her. Her unflagging industry and perseverance dismayed as well as impressed those of lesser energy. (FARKAS 1967)

Despite her social status (or perhaps in part because of it), Ruth's concerns at this time started to move beyond literature, music, and the skills required of a well-to-do housewife. She reports that she became "conscious of another hunger than that for food, and of another thirst than that which water can quench. There comes a great yearning to understand the 'WHY' of existence and a longing to find one's own place in and relationship to the great Universe" (FARKAS 1967). In a "Personal History and Academic Background," prepared by Ruth in 1958, she reported that already in 1917 she had become interested in Theravada Buddhism and started to practice meditation. In 1923 and 1924 Ruth and Eleanor, both of whom had developed some medical problems, stayed at a resort in Nyack, New York, run by an exponent of yoga and Eastern religion named Pierre A. Bernard (1875–1955), also known in the popular press as "Oom the Omnipotent." It may have been there that she first started to practice yoga; in any event her drive to excel

apparently expressed itself in this area too, since Alan Watts (the well-known Buddhist writer and scholar, who married Ruth's daughter Eleanor in 1938) later described her as "a graciously handsome woman who could go through the most astonishing hatha-yoga contortions I have ever seen, although Virginia Denison of Los Angeles comes a close second" (WATTS 1972, p. 146). Ruth's interest in Eastern religions led her in 1927 to begin a two-year study of Pali, Sanskrit, Buddhism, and Indian philosophy at the University of Chicago. She may have attended as an unofficial student, since Farkas mentions "a year of Sanskrit at Chicago University plus two years of private instruction and some self-taught Pali" (FARKAS 1967).

Ruth's studies of Theravada Buddhism did not bring her what she was seeking, and she eventually became interested in Zen Buddhism. She described her contacts with the respective Buddhist traditions and her encounter with Zen as follows:

When I came to read the life and teachings of Gotama Buddha for the first time I found a satisfactory answer to my own questionings. When Gotama was asked about the future life, he answered to this effect, that when men had learned all there was to know about this life, then only might they begin to learn about the future life. His teaching, he said, had to do only with unhappiness (that is, the misery and sorrow of this everyday life), the cause of unhappiness, the way that unhappiness might be got rid of, and the path which led to the getting rid of unhappiness in this life. He himself had tested out the path and found it successful. His teaching was the technique of walking in that path. But each man would himself have to tread the path and only as he found the results successful was he to accept the teaching as true. Each man was to work out his own salvation. Salvation, Nirvana, Satori, this was an affair not of the future but was to be obtained here and now, today, in the midst of this everyday life.

Deeper study of Hinayana Buddhism and of various forms of the Mahayana at first brought me great disappointment. They had all grown far away from and had forgotten what seemed to me to be the essential teaching of Buddhism. It was not until I came to the study of Zen that I found that simple and eloquent truth again re-established. (Quoted in FARKAS 1967)

Ruth's first actual contact with Zen was in 1930, when she and her husband traveled to China and Japan. On their return voyage, after their ship docked in Kobe, Ruth traveled to the nearby city of Kyoto and there met the Zen scholar D. T. Suzuki and his wife, Beatrice Lane Suzuki, through the introduction of a friend, Dr. William M. McGovern. Their meeting went well, marking the beginning of a cooperative relationship that was to last, with some ups and downs, until Suzuki's death in 1966.² At this initial meeting they had

2. Apparently Beatrice did not always share the friendship; in one unpublished letter to Suzuki she expressed annoyance with Ruth's "conquering heroine" attitude.

dinner at the Miyako Hotel, a first-class Western hotel where Ruth was often to stay during subsequent sojourns in Kyoto. Several days later they visited the monastery Enpuku-ji 圓福寺, in the town of Yawata just south of Kyoto, where Kōzuki Tesshū 神月徹宗 Roshi (1879–1937) had established facilities for Westerners interested in Zen practice. Suzuki's unpublished diaries mention a number of meetings with Ruth over the course of the next decade, both in Japan and the United States (in one intriguing entry dated 19 June 1936, made during a visit to Chicago, Suzuki writes, "Talk on Zen with Mrs. Everett under the apple tree"). Ruth also helped proofread some of Suzuki's work, particularly his *Essays in Zen Buddhism, Third Series* (1934).

Suzuki's help was instrumental when, in March 1932, Ruth returned to Japan with the intention of practicing Zen at a formal training monastery. Suzuki met her at the port of Yokohama and accompanied her to Kyoto, where he tried first to arrange a stay at Daitoku-ji 大徳寺 monastery. When the authorities there proved unwilling to accept her, Suzuki turned to Nanzen-ji 南禅寺 monastery, then under the guidance of Kōno Mukai 河野霧海 (1864–1935). Kōno Mukai, usually referred to by his teaching name, Nanshinken 南針軒, was more open to the idea of having a foreign seeker train at his temple. On 1 April 1932 Ruth began her practice there, staying at a rented house nearby during the evenings and spending her days doing zazen at Nanshinken's private temple, Senko-an 僊壺庵. After a month she was allowed to sit in the *zendō* (meditation hall) with the monks. Ruth continued her practice at Nanzen-ji until the end of the June *sesshin* (week-long meditation retreat) and returned to the United States in the late summer.

In 1933 Ruth met the Zen master who was to become her main teacher during the late 1930s and early 1940s. In April, on the recommendation of Dwight Goddard (best known as the author of *A Buddhist Bible*), Ruth visited Sasaki Shigetsu 佐々木指月 (1882–1945) in New York, where he was teaching Zen to a small group of students. She and Sasaki (more commonly known by his teaching name, Sōkei-an 曹谿庵) continued to meet occasionally when Ruth was in New York or Sōkei-an was in Chicago, though their formal master-disciple relationship had not yet begun. Ruth returned to Japan in the autumn of 1933 for ten months of further training under Nanshinken, and received from him the Buddhist name Kūge 空花 (*kū* 空 means both "sky" and "sūnyatā"; *ge* 花 means "flower").

Ruth's husband Edward had been in declining health for some time. Although well enough to accompany Ruth and D. T. Suzuki to China in 1934, by 1935 he had to retire from his Chicago law firm, and in 1938 he entered a sanatorium in Hartford, Connecticut, for treatment of mental illness. Ruth, too, left Chicago at this time and moved to New York, a few hours by train from Hartford. Edward died in January 1940, aged sixty-seven years.

Ruth's move to New York allowed her finally to begin serious Zen study under Sōkei-an. At that time Sōkei-an had been living in the United States for about thirty years. Born in 1882, he had learned the craft of woodcarving in his youth and later entered the Imperial Academy of Arts, where he studied sculpture. While at the academy he also became interested in Zen and joined the lay Zen group under Shaku Sōkatsu 釋宗活 (1869–1954), in the lineage of Shaku Sōen 釋宗演 (1859–1919).³ Sōkei-an married Tome, one of Sōkatsu's students, and joined Sōkatsu when the latter left for the United States in 1906 intending to establish a Zen farm near San Francisco. Although the venture proved unsuccessful and Sōkatsu returned to Japan in 1910, Sōkei-an stayed on in America with Sōkatsu's blessings. He moved the family to Seattle, supporting them with woodcarving and other activities. When Tome returned to Japan in 1913 with their children, Sōkei-an again chose to remain. He moved east and took up residence in New York. Twice, from 1919 to 1921 and again from 1926 to 1928, he returned to Japan for further study under Sōkatsu, and at the end of his second stay received *inka* (dharma transmission) and permission to teach. Back in New York, he rented a two-room apartment and began to offer Zen instruction to the group of students that gradually formed around him. In June 1938 Ruth began sitting with this group, then known as the Buddhist Society of America. In a ceremony on 10 December she became a full member and was given the name Eryū 慧龍 (Wise Dragon).

Sōkei-an's approach to teaching was in many ways very traditional, centering around koan practice and formal *teishō*, although he did not demand that students adopt the cross-legged sitting position (a practice that Ruth later made efforts to implement). He gave *teishō* (lecture) twice a week, preceded by *sanzen* (individual meditation guidance) and a short chanting service. One of the principal texts on which he lectured was the *Linji lu*, for which he prepared his own English translations—translations that, in effect, formed the first draft of the present work.

Ruth, with her energy, leadership skills, and financial resources, soon became a central figure in the Society. Within several years she was its vice-president and the editor of its newsletter, *Cat's Yawn*, and was planning to provide the organization with a larger headquarters. This she did by purchasing and renovating a brownstone at 124 East 65th Street, to which the Society relocated in December 1941, just prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' subsequent entry into WW II. As a result of the war Sōkei-an was interned, first at Ellis Island and then at Fort Meade, Maryland.

3. Shaku Sōen Roshi was the master of Engaku-ji 圓覺寺 in the city of Kamakura, on the coast south of Tokyo. He became the first Japanese Zen master to visit the United States when he attended the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893.

Although his students helped secure his release in August 1943, by then his health had considerably weakened. Soon after leaving the internment camp he suffered a coronary thrombosis, necessitating a long period of convalescence. One bright spot was that following his release the name of the Buddhist Society of America was changed to the First Zen Institute of America, in accordance with Sōkei-an's long-standing wish.

In spite of his weak health, around this time he and Ruth decided to marry. Several explanations for the union have been offered, including a desire on the part of Sōkei-an to leave his family name to Ruth so that she could more effectively carry on his work after his death. It is unlikely, in any case, that the two would have considered marriage unless there had been some genuine affection between them, and that, according to Alan Watts, was certainly the case: “[Sōkei-an] and Ruth had just fallen in love, and we were the fascinated witnesses of their mutually fructifying relationship—she drawing out his bottomless knowledge of Buddhism; and he breaking down her rigidities with ribald tales that made her blush and giggle” (1972, p. 145). At the time Sōkei-an was still married to his estranged wife Tome, so there were legal issues to consider. The couple went to Arkansas, where Sōkei-an obtained a divorce and, on 10 June 1944, married Ruth in a civil ceremony.

Sōkei-an's health problems continued, ultimately leading to his death on 17 May 1945, less than a year after his marriage to Ruth. Ruth remained in New York for several years, continuing the Institute's activities and seeking ways to find a new Zen master. The main person to whom she turned for help was Gotō Zuigan 後藤瑞巖 (1879–1965), chief abbot of Daitoku-ji and Sōkei-an's dharma brother under Shaku Sōkatsu. When repeated appeals failed to bring about any concrete results, Ruth decided to go to Japan herself to present the Institute's case.

She arrived in Kyoto in November 1949, and soon met with Zuigan Roshi. While proceeding with her search for a new Institute master, Ruth began *sanzen* and translation work with Zuigan Roshi and within a short time sought his help in finding a more permanent place to live in the vicinity of the monastery. Zuigan Roshi's successor, Oda Sessō 小田雪窓 (1901–1966), offered her a house on the Daitoku-ji grounds that had been the residence of a former master, Den'enshitsu (an interesting development, as Den'enshitsu had been abbot of Daitoku-ji when Ruth was denied permission to practice there in 1932). This house was located on the site of the defunct but once-important subtemple Ryōsen-an, which had served as the headquarters of one of Daitoku-ji's four sublineages—the sublineage to which Sōkei-an, unknown to him, had been affiliated. This house, soon renamed Ryōsen-an in honor of the former temple, was to serve as the headquarters of Ruth's activities in Japan until her death nearly two decades later in 1967.

Ruth moved into her new quarters in August 1950, and within a year had embarked on the building program that, over the years, was to give Ryōsen-an its present complement of buildings and restore it as a fully operating temple. In 1951, to remedy the shortage of storage space, Ruth built a two-story storehouse in the Japanese style with thick, fireproof plaster walls. In 1956 she financed construction of a library and adjoining study room, the latter a well-designed, comfortable Japanese structure with white plaster walls, exposed wooden beams, a small Western-style fireplace, and a hardwood-floored area with space for five or six desks. Facing the fireplace was a large, well-stuffed couch. The following year she built a meditation hall, designed along traditional monastic lines but smaller in scale, and with the same architectural warmth as the study room.

During these years of building Ruth maintained her usual full schedule of activities: writing articles, assisting Western Zen students, and working on a growing number of translation projects. Periodically she returned to America to help manage the First Zen Institute, where she still kept an apartment. The gate of Ryōsen-an was always open to visitors, and Ruth made efforts to cultivate a wide circle of friends and colleagues. A number of these acquaintances were later to assist her in her work. One of the first of her Japanese assistants, whom she met soon after her arrival in Kyoto, was Kanaseki Hisao 金関寿夫 (1918–1996), a professor of English literature at Dōshisha University. By 1954 she was working with Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 (1910–1998), a specialist in Chinese at Kyoto University, on the translation of the *Pang jushi yulu* 龐居士語錄 (Record of Layman Pang) and other texts. When, with the completion of the library in 1956, Ruth decided to establish a Ryōsen-an branch of the First Zen Institute of America, she had already formed connections with many of the young scholars—Philip Yampolsky (1920–1996), Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 (1922–2006), Burton Watson, and Gary Snyder—who were to form the core of the Institute's research staff.

Ruth's successful efforts to reestablish Ryōsen-an as a temple and organize it as a center for spreading Zen to the West were recognized in 1958 when Daitoku-ji formally ordained her as a priest; Ruth became the first Westerner ever to receive this honor. She was given the name Jōkei 紹谿 by the Daitoku-ji officials and appointed the first *jūshoku* (abbess) of the newly restored Ryōsen-an.

From the very beginning, one of the Ryōsen-an research staff's principal tasks was to continue work on Sōkei-an's *Linji lu* translation. Owing to its connections with Sōkei-an, this translation was a project close to Ruth's heart and the one that she hoped to complete first. Progress proved to be slow, however. Ruth was convinced that the Institute's work had to meet the highest academic standards if the Buddhist teachings were to receive the respect

they deserved, and consequently her approach to scholarship was meticulous and time-consuming. It was decided that much of Sōkei-an's original work could not be used, as many problems with the traditional Zen readings were pointed out by the scholars of Chinese on the staff. This necessitated a reexamination of the entire work, which was carried out in meetings where the nuances of every word and phrase were discussed and possible translations considered. Detailed notes were prepared on the content and grammar of the original text, and work was also started on a lengthy descriptive bibliography of all the classical Buddhist texts directly and indirectly related to the *Linji lu*. In the meantime other projects, like *Zen Dust*, came up that were valuable in themselves but that diverted the staff's energies for years.

The situation was further complicated by personal tensions that arose between Ruth and the staff. Ruth was by all accounts a formidable personality, competent in her work, accustomed to running things, and never lacking in self-confidence. These qualities were important in helping her accomplish all that she did, but they were often the cause of friction between her and her associates. Such frictions emerged within a few short years of the Institute's establishment. At the beginning of 1960 Walter Nowick, a Zen student who had assisted Ruth as vice-president of the Institute, submitted a formal resignation. Also in 1960 her teacher, Zuigan Roshi, cut her off as a *sanzen* student because, he explained to senior members of the Institute, she had insisted on purchasing Zuiken, a Daitoku-ji property located adjacent to the Daitoku-ji monastery, to use as a dormitory for foreign students—a project he had specifically requested her to stop.

At the Institute itself dissatisfactions were growing over Ruth's approach and the slow pace of progress—Yampolsky commented that “little of substance was being accomplished; the atmosphere was becoming oppressive” (HALPER 1991, p. 68). Things came to a head in July 1961, when Ruth, suspecting that Yampolsky was intending to publish the Institute's *Linji lu* work as his own, confronted him in front of the staff. Though her suspicions were shown to be without foundation, they led to Yampolsky's dismissal; Burton Watson and Gary Snyder resigned in protest. Ruth was left to work on her publication projects with the help of only her Japanese associates. The remaining staff carried on bravely, but progress was further slowed.

Ruth eventually mended fences with Zuigan Roshi, and Gary Snyder returned to the staff after several years. In 1963 Leon Hurvitz started to help with research on *The Record of Linji*. Ruth, then in her seventies, hoped to focus more completely on her translation work, reducing her involvement with the increasing number of foreign students drawn to Japan by the international interest in Zen. Ruth had long had plans to publish English versions

of other important Zen works, including the *Wumenguan* (J. *Mumonkan*) and the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, but for the time being limited her efforts to the Institute's ongoing projects. *Zen Dust* was published in 1966, and sections of the *Linji lu* translation approached final draft form. Work on the *Pang jushi yulu* continued.

Virtually all of this activity ceased with Ruth's death from a heart attack on 24 October 1967. Ruth had hoped to arrange things so that the Institute could continue its activities after she was gone, but at the time of her sudden death no preparations had been made. As described in Furuta Kazuhiro's Preface, several members of the staff continued work on the unfinished manuscripts, resulting in the publication of *The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang* by Weatherhill in 1971 and *The Record of Lin-chi* by the Institute for Zen Studies in 1975.

THE 2008 EDITION

Although Ruth's death in 1967 put an end to the *Record of Linji* project on the large scale that she had envisioned, the labor she and her team of scholars had invested was far from lost. As mentioned above, their full translation, along with an abridged version of the notes, became available with the 1975 Institute for Zen Studies edition. Furthermore, the late Yanagida Seizan and Iriya Yoshitaka—Ruth's two chief Japanese collaborators on the project—published much of the original research they had done (together with the results of further study and reflection) in their detailed Japanese-language monographs on the *Linji lu* (YANAGIDA 1977 and IRIYA 1989).

Nevertheless, as someone who found the detailed notes in *Zen Dust* to be one of that work's most valuable assets, I could not help feeling a sense of disappointment when I read the 1975 edition and came across Furuta Kazuhiro's words in the preface that “a wealth of information of great value to specialists and scholars, which in the original plans was to have been included in the second volume, had to be eliminated. It is still preserved in thick notebooks in the Ryōsen-an library” (p. xiii, above). It was thus with great anticipation that in early 1999 I took up the present project and started editing the very notebooks that Furuta had mentioned.

These notebooks contained, in addition to the manuscript for the *Linji lu* translation, Dr. Yanagida's lengthy Historical Introduction outlining Chinese Chan history, providing biographical information on Linji, and explaining the development of the “recorded sayings” (*yulu* 語錄) literature; hundreds of notes at various stages of completion; and rough-draft entries for the planned descriptive bibliography of Chinese and Japanese Zen texts.

Of these, the portion needing the least work was, of course, the transla-

tion, since this portion had been put into final form for the 1975 edition by the remaining members of Ruth's team, and given a final revision for style by Dana Fraser. The only further changes that I thought were justified were some further stylistic polishings and the correction of several errors of interpretation that had been brought to light by Dr. Yanagida and Dr. Iriya in their subsequent research on the *Linji lu*. Alterations that affect the meaning are identified and explained in the present edition in "Editor's Notes" added to Ruth's original annotation.

The material in the Historical Introduction and Text and Note sections reflects the state of Buddhist scholarship as it was in the 1950s and 1960s, and is thus dated in many ways. At the time, the general supposition among scholars was still that the Chan classics more or less adhered to the actual words of the masters they were attributed to. However, subsequent textual research has revealed that the actual situation was considerably more subtle and complex. In the years (and occasionally the centuries) that separated the lives of the masters from the compilation of the records that were issued in their names, the texts often underwent a significant process of change. This is not to assert that the resulting works are no longer genuine reflections of the original teachings and spirit of the masters, but simply to recognize that Chan texts, like religious texts everywhere, evolved in response to the historical and doctrinal development of the Chan lineages themselves. This is particularly true of the case of the *Linji lu*, the representative text of the lineage that came to dominate Chinese Buddhism.

Dr. Yanagida nevertheless advised against revising the content of the Historical Introduction and Text and Note sections for this new edition, feeling that the original manuscript possessed its own unique historical value as a work of the times, and that as a presentation of materials and views that are still very much accepted in the Zen tradition today it would be of continuing use to those practicing Zen meditation. This point of view was supported by the IRIZ and Nanzan Institute. In any event, much of the manuscript would not have required updating anyway, based as it is on translated passages from primary sources (often the first translations of the respective passages into English). Such material is as relevant now as it was then, and it was Ruth's emphasis on this type of textual scholarship that makes her earlier book, *Zen Dust*, so eagerly sought by scholars even today.

For the most part, whatever stylistic alterations I made were related only to matters of format and academic convention, and were made as much as possible in accordance with what I believe would have been Ruth's preferences had she been alive today to oversee the final revisions. For example, Ruth was deeply concerned with adherence to current scholarly protocol, and would almost certainly have chosen nowadays to romanize Chinese

terminology using the Pinyin system, rather than the Wade-Giles system that she used at the time. I have thus changed all readings of Chinese words to this system.

Certain alterations in usage and convention were made in the hope that they would render the work a bit more congenial to the modern reader. In particular, there has been since Ruth's time a major change in the use of gender-specific terminology. As was standard practice at the time, Ruth routinely used "he" as a general-use pronoun, and "man" as a neutral term meaning "person." Such usages can grate on the ear nowadays, and I have therefore tried to make the language as gender-neutral as possible (usually the result is stylistically preferable as well). Also in the last few decades there has been a tendency away from the capitalization of many religious terms, such as "buddha" (when used as a general term for "awakened one," and not as the honorific name of the historical buddha, Śākyamuni). I have thus opted to use the lowercase for many words that were generally capitalized at the time Ruth was compiling the present volume.

In the case of certain other academic conventions, however, I have followed Ruth's preferences as indicated in *Zen Dust*. Ruth always provided glosses for foreign titles, for example, and repeated dates and other identifying information for figures who appeared only infrequently in the notes. She was also careful that Sanskrit and Japanese terms had the proper diacritical marks; the only such words that I have left without diacritics are those that have long since passed into common usage, such as "sutra," "koan," "Mahayana," "roshi," and "nirvana". I have followed the convention used by certain scholars of not italicizing Sanskrit terminology.

Dr. Yanagida's Historical Introduction was in relatively finished form. Much of the editing work had already been done by Dr. Burton Watson in the course of translating the original Japanese text, and the biographical section on Linji had been further revised and polished for publication in the *Eastern Buddhist* (YANAGIDA 1972). Since the material in the essay was pretty much limited to strictly historical factors, it was suggested that this section be supplemented with an English translation of the long interpretive introduction to Dr. Yanagida's own Japanese *Rinzairoku*. This, however, seemed inadvisable for several reasons. First was the simple matter of space—the present work is long enough as it is, and hardly needs another lengthy section. Second, interesting though Dr. Yanagida's analysis is, it is only one of many possible interpretations. Given that Ruth intended *The Record of Linji* primarily as an authoritative translation of the *Linji lu* rather than as a work of exegesis, I thought it best to present just Dr. Yanagida's historical material along with the translation and notes, and let the reader arrive at his or her

own conclusions as to what Linji meant. This, I imagine, would have been more in line with what Linji himself might have wanted.

The Notes section was more of a challenge than I had expected. The information itself was detailed and valuable, of course, particularly for its abundance of material from primary sources (Ruth's approach, stressed in a comment she typed at the bottom of one of the pages, was to clarify the meaning of the *Linji lu* principally by contextualizing it in the broader Buddhist literature). However, the notes themselves remained in quite unfinished form. The individual entries had been prepared by the team in stages, with Dr. Yanagida composing the original versions of notes pertaining to history and doctrine, and Dr. Iriya handling those relating to grammar. These drafts were then given to Dr. Yampolsky, while he was still part of the staff, for revisions and suggestions. The material was later examined by Ruth for further suggestions and revisions, and for eventual recomposition into her clear, grammatically precise style. As it was, most of the more than five hundred notes existed in two or three versions, carefully dated and typed out on different colors of paper, with many additions, deletions, and rewordings as the versions progressed. The margins often contained corrections and queries written out in Ruth's precise longhand script. In some cases (fortunately quite rare) the notes were simply first drafts, written in Dr. Yanagida's and Dr. Iriya's impressively good English, but obviously not yet examined or edited by Ruth. In a number of other cases (also fortunately rare) there were nothing more than entry headings; here I attempted to piece together something from reference works and the later books of Dr. Yanagida and Dr. Iriya.

Generally speaking, what Ruth intended to include in the final note entries was fairly clear, although in a number of cases some editorial judgment on my part was required. Taking my cue from the information-packed notes in *Zen Dust*, I tried to err on the side of excess, including as much as possible of the material that Ruth and her team had assembled—even, in some cases, material that Ruth had apparently slated for exclusion, but which I regarded as particularly interesting. The notes were anything if not detailed—from all appearances Ruth designed her annotation so that the reader would never have to consult any outside reference material. The example that particularly struck me when I started work on the manuscript was the note on the term “mountain monk” 山僧—the item receives a mere fourteen words in the 1975 *The Record of Lin-chi*, while in the original manuscript the explanation went on for several typewritten pages. Dr. Yanagida recalled that it was an entry that he had particularly enjoyed working on.

A separate notebook, compiled by Dr. Iriya, was devoted to grammatical issues; at one point a special section on grammar seems to have been

planned, but the idea was apparently abandoned as it was not mentioned by Furuta in his description of Ruth's final design for publication (see page xi, above). Dr. Iriya himself expressed reservations about use of this grammatical material when consulted in 1998, having in the intervening years changed his thinking on a number of points. Dr. Iriya had a certain iconoclastic side that occasionally led him to be a bit hasty in criticizing traditional readings—a number of traditional interpretations that were scathingly critiqued in his 1960s-era grammatical notes for Ruth had been quietly rehabilitated by the time he published his own *Rinzai roku* in 1989. This openness to reassessment testifies, of course, to his scholarly integrity. Dr. Iriya's work on Tang colloquial language remains his legacy, providing new insights into the *Linji lu* that have influenced subsequent interpretations of the text.

As it was, Ruth had apparently decided to forgo many of the less important grammatical comments, and to incorporate significant entries within the main body of the notes. That is where they were in the version of the manuscript that came into my hands, and this is the approach that I have followed.

One part of Ruth's original design that I was eager to preserve was her plan to have all notes on the same page as the related text. Among the materials at Ryōsen-an was a short mockup section of the book that Ruth had made, in which the translation occupied a portion of the left-hand page, with the remainder of the page plus the facing right-hand page being devoted to notes. Given the amount of annotation (certain sections of the translation have at least one note for nearly every sentence) this was probably the only workable approach, as endnotes would have required incessant flipping back and forth by the reader. A perfect match of text and annotation was in the end not possible, but I attempted at least to spare the reader the effort of turning more than a page or two.

Adjusting the layout to Ruth's design was a complex process, particularly since the amount of note material declined greatly toward the conclusion of the translation, by which time most of the terms and concepts had already been dealt with. The Preface by Ma Fang, placed at the end of the text in accordance with Ruth's design, required no annotation at all. I was unable to find any explanation among Ruth's materials for her decision to move Ma Fang's Preface from its traditional location. I can only assume that she had good reason for doing so and I therefore decided to respect her wishes.

Several other features of Ruth's original plans for *The Record of Linji* proved to be impractical. One that Ruth herself appears to have abandoned (or at least failed to reach a final decision on) was for a romanized Japanese text for the original *Linji lu*. This was intended to help Westerners who wished to study *Linji lu* koans under Japanese Zen masters. The difficulty was

that the original Chinese can be rendered into Japanese in various different ways depending on how one understands the text—Chinese is a remarkably flexible language, with the same word potentially serving several different grammatical functions. As a result the same scholar or Zen master will often offer several possible readings for the same line; there is no single “correct” Japanese reading for the *Linji lu*, and Ruth seems to have decided in the end that disciples of Japanese masters are best off learning their teacher’s preferred readings directly from the teacher.

Another of Ruth’s planned sections that had to be modified for the present edition was the comprehensive descriptive bibliography of Chinese and Japanese Zen texts. Even the existing first-draft manuscript, if completed in the way that Ruth envisioned, would have been of nearly book length, with much material only distantly related to the *Linji lu*. Such a text might make a useful reference work in itself, but as a bibliography for a *Linji lu* translation it seemed disproportionately large. In the end I included in the present edition’s descriptive bibliography basic information on all of the texts mentioned in the book, incorporating a significant amount of the material that Ruth had assembled as well as information from standard reference works, both published and digital. Among the materials that were especially helpful were the *Oxford Dictionary of Buddhism*, by Damien Keown; *The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, by the English Buddhist Dictionary Committee of Soka Gakkai; the *Sōgō Bukkyō daijiten* 総合佛教大辞典, by Yokochō Enichi 横超慧日 et al.; the *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten* 大蔵経全解説大事典, by Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 et al.; the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 佛書解説大辞典, by Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙 et al.; the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, maintained by Charles Muller; and the *WWW Database of Chinese Buddhist Texts*, maintained by Christian Wittern.

A table giving the Wade-Giles and Japanese readings of all Pinyin Chinese names appearing in the present volume is appended to the Bibliography. In addition, the Japanese readings for the names of several Chinese masters who are known primarily for their work in Japan or their connection with Japanese Zen monks have been provided in the text where appropriate.

The Nanzan editorial staff added marginal numbers in the Translation to indicate the pages of the corresponding passages in the Commentary. Thus readers who wish to read the translation straight in the Translation section can quickly locate the relevant comments for items or passages on which they would like more information.

All in all, Ruth’s original plans for the present book seem symptomatic of the perfectionism that was one of her greatest strengths as a scholar and yet at the same time one of the reasons why *The Record of Linji* and many of her other projects remained unfinished even after years of work. However, it is

also this perfectionism that we have to thank for the wealth of information in the work that she did complete, like *Zen Dust*, and for the valuable material that now appears in *The Record of Linji*. Even in unfinished form, the notes and other sections were fascinating to edit. The enthusiasm of Ruth and her staff for the work, and their commitment to solid scholarship, were evident on every page. The information offered—historical facts, traditional biographical sketches, translated passages from the Buddhist literature—adds much to the body of material presently available on Chinese Chan, and is certain to contribute greatly to the experience of reading the *Linji lu*.

Preparation of *The Record of Linji* involved for Ruth and her staff a long process of painstaking research, but nevertheless much remained to be done at the time of her death. In the course of my editorial work I attempted to check information that seemed incomplete or otherwise questionable, but, given my lack of full academic training in the field of Buddhist studies, I am certain that errors remain. I accept full responsibility for these, of course, and would greatly appreciate any corrections that readers can provide, in the event that this book is fortunate enough to see a second edition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The process of publication always involves many individuals, but this is especially true in the case of *The Record of Linji*, a project that continued over several decades. The central figures in this project were, of course, Sōkei-an and Ruth Sasaki, without whose vision and dedication the original work never would have gotten under way. Of nearly equal importance were the researchers on Ruth's staff at Ryōsen-an: Kanaseki Hisao, Iriya Yoshitaka, Yanagida Seizan, Philip Yampolsky, Burton Watson, Gary Snyder, Dana Fraser, and others. Thanks to the thoroughness of their work, my own job was largely limited to purely editorial tasks.

The notebooks containing the results of these individuals' efforts would still be gathering dust on the shelves of the Ryōsen-an storehouse had it not been for the desire of Matsunami Taiun, abbot of Ryōsen-an, to produce a complete, fully annotated edition of *The Record of Linji* as a memorial to Ruth. Rev. Matsunami was thus in many ways responsible for initiating the present edition, and has been a constant source of support throughout the editorial process.

Production of the present volume was facilitated in many ways by the Institute for Zen Studies' 1975 *The Record of Lin-chi*, which provided in convenient form the final translation produced by the First Zen Institute staff and a complete Chinese text of the *Linji lu*. Permission to use the material in the 1975 edition was generously granted by Rev. Toga Masataka, adminis-

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