Passion for Zen:
Two Talks at the San Francisco Zen Center

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Translated and introduced by URS APP

Introduction

THE two talks translated here were part of a series of five talks which Professor Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 gave at the San Francisco Zen Center in late September, 1989. The title of the series was "Zen from the Future." During this first visit to the Western hemisphere, Prof. Yanagida also held several other lectures: the twenty-second annual Evans-Wentz lecture at Stanford University on "Early Chan and the Lotus Sūtra," and lectures at the Zen Center of Los Angeles and at the University of California, Los Angeles, on the different versions of the Ten Oxherding Pictures. In 1990, all of these lectures were published in book form: *Mirai kara no Zen* 未来からの禅 (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin 人文書院). The two talks translated here are found on pp. 53–76 and pp. 77–99 of that book.

The five San Francisco lectures exhibited a quality rarely encountered in great scholars: they were of a very personal, even confessional nature. After having been Director of the renowned Institute for Research in Humanities at Kyoto University for a number of years, Prof. Yanagida reached retirement age and soon began preparations to establish a new institution devoted to Zen research: the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism at Hanazono University, Kyoto. At the start of this new phase of his life, he

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took the occasion of this trip to the United States, and in particular of the five talks held at the San Francisco Zen Center, to reflect upon Zen from an unusual perspective: "Zen from the Future."

In his thoughts about the relevance of Zen for the present and for the future, Prof. Yanagida not only examined the course and motivations of Zen practice and study in general, but also, in keeping with his exceptional ability to examine sources critically and to draw sharp conclusions, turned his gaze to the source of his own activity: himself.

The two talks translated here are more than just reminiscences of times past told by an aging scholar to some of his favorite students. Rather, they are a public examination of that crucial element of one's life and a work that many scholars (particularly in the field of religion) hide as best they can: one's own motivation. These talks thus open up a man's life to give us a rare glimpse into the driving force that propelled him to publish well over fifty books and hundreds of articles and to pursue a scholarly career of truly exceptional quality. This man keeps breaking new ground, and his insatiable curiosity extends to his very own sources and resources: his motives, aspirations, and methods of work. The fact that the reminiscences of one scholar read almost like a history of postwar Zen research and research methodology attests to the unparalleled influence this man has had on his field.

This translation is based on the published version of Prof. Yanagida's talks. I also served as Prof. Yanagida's interpreter throughout his month-long visit to the United States. Some parts of the talks that for various reasons (primarily of time) were omitted at the San Francisco Zen Center are included here. Thus, even those who had the chance to listen to those talks will discover new elements and some more details.

The original talks had no titles; the two titles used here first appeared as section headings for the Japanese book version, and the overall title "Passion for Zen" has been created for this translation. All materials in the notes (references, comments, etc.) have been added by the translator. The printed Japanese version of these talks contains no notes, but during the talks in San Francisco, Prof. Yanagida and I used a blackboard for some of the information that is now added in note form. I also retained a few short explanatory remarks that Prof. Yanagida removed from the Japanese manuscript because his Japanese readers would be familiar with such points.

I: PASSION

I have been studying Zen Buddhism for four decades after the Second World War, and it is due to these studies that I could come to America for the first time and am now able to converse with you. Being in America feels different from being in my home country; it is necessary for me to gain some distance. But let me now introduce myself to you, and let me try telling you about a part of the course that I have traversed in my past. In a sense, this is also a kind of confession.

I was born on the nineteenth of December of 1922 in a small mountain temple in a hamlet called Inae 稲枝 in Shiga prefecture on the eastern shore of Lake Biwa, Japan's largest lake, situated near Kyoto. This temple belongs to a small grouping within the Rinzai denomination of Zen; the main temple of this group is called Eigenji 永源寺. Eigenji is a Zen training center founded about 800 years ago by Jakushitsu Genkō 寂室元光 (1290–1367). Jakushitsu was the Dharma successor of a Song-period Zen master who had come from China, Dajue (Daikaku 大覚, 1213–1278). Jakushitsu himself made a trip to China during the Yuan period. In modern times, Jakushitsu strongly influenced two Japanese philosophers in the European tradition, Nishida Kitarō 西田幾多郎 (1870–1945) and Tanabe Hajime 田辺元 (1885–1962), who were both professors at Kyoto University.

My father was a Zen priest, too, and I was the first child to be born at that Zen temple. So, even before my birth, I was destined to become my father's successor as temple priest. Until around the time of my birth, priests of Zen temples were celibate and grew old while educating young monks to become their successors. They did not have wives and children, or at least they were not officially allowed to have any. This was the rule not only for Zen temples but also for other Japanese Buddhist denominations, with the exception of the True Pure Land Buddhism (Jōdō Shinshū 浄土真宗) founded by Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262). Today, all denominations of Buddhism allow their priests to marry. Since it became the custom for children of priests to assume the succession, it has become quite rare for people from non-temple families to leave home and enter monastic life. Just around the time of my birth, this change began to happen, and Japanese Buddhism underwent a gradual laicization.

Children of temple priests first entered an ordinary primary school and, upon reaching adulthood, had to fulfill their army duty. Some denominations had their own primary and secondary schools, but most children of priests went to public schools. At first, I was quite proud of having been born at a

temple—and particularly that I was born at a Zen temple, rather than a True Pure Land or Nichiren temple with their Japanese founding fathers. I was the son of the priest of a temple of the Rinzai denomination established by a Chinese master, namely, Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (Jp. Rinzai Gigen), who had died in 866. And the temple where I was born, Enjūji 延壽寺, was named after the Chinese scholar-monk Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (Jp. Yōmyō Enju, 904–976) of the Fayan (Hōgen 法眼) lineage of Zen.[1] Yongming is known as the author of the "Record of the Mirror of our Tradition" in 100 fascicles.[2] So, from my birth, I formed part of Chinese Zen history. My first name Seizan 聖山 (literally "holy mountain"), also has a special significance, since it was given to me by my father's Zen master in the hope that I would become his successor.

I am glad to have been born in such circumstances. But looking back now, at close to seventy years old, I have mixed feelings; I am aware of having somehow strayed from what was expected by my father and his teacher, of having broken a tradition. While growing up, being a son of a Zen temple priest named "holy mountain" stimulated me, but I also came to feel the pressure of having to live up to the expectations connected with this. Many times I have rebelled in order to rid myself of this fate, but in the final analysis I have not managed to achieve this and have now accepted to leave it as it is.

So I am now not a real Zen monk; I am a follower of Buddhism who does not belong to any group within Japanese Zen Buddhism. I will never stop being thankful for the chance to meet so many great masters and friends and to be able to study Zen. When someone asks me what my religion is, I do not hesitate in the slightest to answer "Zen Buddhism." In fact, while "leaving home" (出家) usually means to leave one's family to become a monk or nun, for me, born in a Zen temple, it really meant "to leave the home temple" and thus *not* to become a monk.

In Japanese there is the expression *genzoku* 還俗 which signifies the return to lay status after having been a monk or nun; but for me who was, so to speak, a monk by birth, there was no such possibility. In a sense, I am neither

[1] This is the latest of five traditional lineages 五家 of Chan, which the Song Chan historiographers created; the others are the Linji (Jp. Rinzai) 臨濟, Caodong (Sōtō) 曹洞, Weiyang (Igyō) 潙仰, and Yunmen (Ummon) 雲門 lineages.

[2] *Zongjinglu* 宗鏡録 (Jp. *Sugyōroku*). T 48, no. 2016. Yongming is known for his strong conviction that the message of Chan is congruent with that of long-established Buddhist doctrines.

monk nor layman and have left both the monastic and the secular status. At least I managed to have a certain distance from the world of monks and could preserve a freshness or openness of mind that is different from the view one has from the inside. I may not need to stress my effort to safeguard this openness, and, though there were many bends and turns, I think that as a Zen researcher I have shown some consistency in this respect.

Now I am thinking about creating a Buddhist community (*samgha*) that transcends the boundaries of sovereign nations that wage war. When as a child I began to become aware of what was going on around me, the Japanese were fighting neighboring China. Then the war expanded to the Pacific region, and finally Japan was fighting the rest of the world. When Japan capitulated on August 15, 1945, I had thus experienced two great wars. As someone who was brought up while these wars were expanding, I was not ready to make deep reflections about the connection between the nation-state as the sovereign power undertaking the war and Zen Buddhism. Certainly, this was largely due to the fact that I did not directly participate in the war and had been brought up in a remote Zen temple, completely ignorant of what was going on in the world. In the last phase of World War II, I was training as a Zen monk at Eigenji, proud of being away from the secular world and convinced that my total devotion to Zen practice would serve the country.

But with Japan's defeat, I became aware of my own foolishness and developed a deep hatred of myself. From 1945 to 1950, I did not see any objective in life, and I was both mentally and physically in a state of collapse. I had lost many friends; only my life was spared. We had continuously fought against the home country of Zen, China. We believed that this was a just war and did not harbor any doubts. In a state of inexpressible remorse, I could neither physically nor mentally find rest and was day after day ill at ease, just not knowing what to do. There is no need to say how total is the contradiction between the Buddhist precepts and war. How could one deal as a Buddhist with the hundreds of millions of people who had lost their lives in the war? At that time, it first dawned on me that I had believed that to kill oneself for one's country was the teaching of Zen. What a fanatic!

All of Japan's Buddhist organizations—which had not only contributed to the war effort but had been one heart and soul in propagating the war in their teachings—flipped around as smoothly as one turns one's hand, and began to ring the peace bells. They were just as reprehensible as those leaders of the country who until then had egged us on by belching out big words about the

"just cause." But while I couldn't do much about my country, which, as a whole, was supposed to have become a civilized country overnight, there was a wound in my heart that did not heal. I am not saying what the country or what others should have done: for me there was no pardon. Again and again, I thought of killing myself.

I had older friends who wanted, on the basis of a similar self-examination, to come to terms with their past by getting on the wagon of social revolution, and close friends who became members of a peace movement. While I respected that very much, I could not join them because I was utterly discouraged and caught in infinite gloom. The so-called responsibility for the war cannot be apportioned indiscriminately; I think that each person's case is different. When I now talk to young students about this, they all ask me with one voice why we did not oppose the war earlier on. It's easy for them to say this, and we cannot but be silent. One may say that at the time we could not afford to think this way, or that in a state of physical or mental starvation a correct judgment is impossible. But of course the young are right, and we are quite at a loss.

Luckily, I did not completely despair and commit suicide. In fact, it is thanks to Hisamatsu Shin'ichi 久松真一 (1889–1980) sensei[3] that I, after having lingered for five or six years in the sphere of utter collapse, could somehow go on living. Hisamatsu sensei was a teacher of philosophy at Kyoto University and stood in the tradition of Nishida Kitarō's thought. At the time, Nishida's philosophy was the object of many a student's longing, and so was Kyoto with its Buddhist connections. So I joined friends with similar things on their minds at Hisamatsu sensei's place to devote ourselves singlemindedly to sitting meditation (*zazen* 坐禅). Having been born and brought up in a Zen temple and educated at a Zen High School, I was familiar with zazen; but only then, sitting in this group, did I discover that in zazen I myself am at stake. The physical and mental collapse of those five years after the war became my motivation for just sitting (*shikantaza* 只管打坐). Hisamatsu sensei was sitting with us, and through sitting with him we came back to life.[4]

[3] Though a layman, Dr. Hisamatsu lived for many years in a subtemple of Myōshinji 妙心寺 and never married.

[4] The members of his group not only included students who later made academic careers but also budding Zen masters, artists, philosophers, and professionals of both genders. Hisamatsu's group was at that time known as "Gakudō dōjō" 学道道場. Later, the name was changed to "FAS Society," a Zen movement which still holds weekly meetings in Kyoto and publishes, among other things, a yearly journal (*FAS Society Journal*).

Again, thanks to my friends who participated in weekly meetings and joined in our visits to our teacher, the seed of scholarship was planted in my heart. Up to that point, school education had been a stereotyped affair consisting of nationalistic indoctrination, one-sided propagation, and rote learning. We had never yet come into genuine contact with Zen Buddhism or Japan. At any rate, what we had learnt about Japanese and Chinese Buddhism had dissolved with the end of the war into something utterly useless: Buddhism was just propaganda with no connection to us.

"Why did all this happen? Where was the mistake? I want to clarify the cause! I want to find a real Buddhism of the future which cannot go astray a second time! I don't want to rely on anybody, I want to know for myself!" When such somewhat hazy guidelines took form in me, I was determined to have nothing to do with organizations; and, having become aware of my position outside of temples, the only thing I was sure of was that I wanted to pursue my study of Buddhism independently of temples and organizations, until I was satisfied.

Faced with the problem of how to study Buddhism, I decided that to study some stereotyped view of it in existing textbooks through rote learning was no good. I wanted to find materials that nobody had studied, to find new texts. With this determination I chose early Zen texts, some found in the Dunhuang caves and others from Korea, such as the *Chanmen cuoyao* 禪門撮要 (Compendium of Zen)[5] and the *Zutangji* 祖堂集 (Collection from the Founders' Halls),[6] and I began to read them on my own. I was privileged to be able to discuss anything I wanted with Sakamoto Seiichi 坂本静一 (1894–1953) sensei, a great pioneer in reading Zen texts. In contrast to Hisamatsu sensei, Mr. Sakamoto was an unknown scholar who, after having studied under Iida Tōin 飯田櫟隠 (1863–1937), spent every day reading Zen texts by himself. He seemed also to have mastered Chinese. At any rate, he read what Zen texts he could lay his hands on, and he always read them aloud in a mixture of Japanese, Chinese, English, and the Japanese way of reading classical Chinese—a weird way of reading these texts, but a way that definitely had the taste of Zen. I started reading Zen texts thanks to Sakamoto sensei.

Luckily I knew from my childhood at the temple how to recite Chinese

[5] Jp. *Zenmon satsuyō*. This is a collection of various Zen texts from China and Korea which was found in a Korean temple in 1907.

[6] Jp. *Sodōshū*, Kor. *Chodang chip*. This text was compiled in 952 in China but was never printed there. It was published in 1245 at the Haein monastery (海印寺) in Korea. See below for the story of its rediscovery.

sūtras the Japanese way, and the *kambun* instruction at the two Buddhist universities at which I had studied was also useful.[7] In this way, my own brand of study saved my wounded self and brought me back to life. Since at the time I was reading texts that no one else was reading and could not find at a bookstore, it goes without saying that I had to copy these texts by hand—a primitive kind of training that proved very effective. When the hand-made texts were completed, I had already in some sense finished reading them: before my eyes and my mouth read them, my hands had already read them once. If one reads a text with eyes, mouth, and hands, one assimilates it not just partially but integrally; this way of reading has a surprising efficacy.

The Zen texts from Dunhuang and the materials about early Zen that had made their way to Korea were original sources suited to such a way of reading. They had been discovered around the beginning of this century, but until we started reading them after the war, hardly anybody had touched them. Most Dunhuang materials are stored in England, France, and the Soviet Union, and apart from some specialists, few people paid attention to them. During the war, they were guarded like precious treasures by the scholars of these various countries. The same was true for the texts from Korea.

One can say that through these texts from Dunhuang and Korea we could hear the fresh voice of Zen Buddhism when it was still young. The Bodhidharma who in later ages received that fearful face came into sight not as the "First Patriarch of Zen" but simply as an Indian monk who had come to China through the Western territories—a traveler whom one would spontaneously greet: "Hello! Welcome!" He was not that person about whose "purpose in coming from the West" (西來意) one gets clumsily asked, but rather the one who *himself* was asked this question. Talking about international dialogue already sounds stiff. At any rate, there was no need to talk about "international" since Bodhidharma was in fact a living dialogue between India and China—and the Dunhuang text called *Treatise of the Two Entrances and the Four Practices*[8] is its record.

I published this text with an annotated Japanese translation under the title of *The Records of Bodhidharma* in 1969, thirty-five years after D.T. Suzuki

[7] *Kambun kundoku* 漢文訓読 is a peculiar Japanese way of reading texts written in Classical Chinese. Because of marked differences in Chinese and Japanese word order and grammar, the Japanese rearrange the Chinese text while reading with the aid of symbols indicating changes in word order. Additionally, they add verb endings etc. in the margins to account for inflexions that exist in Japanese but not in the original text.

[8] 二入四行論 (Jp. *Ninyūshigyōron*, Ch. *Errusixinglun*).

had discovered it as part of another text (the *Six Gates to Shaoshi*)[9] in Beijing and had made it known to the world. Though one part of the *Treatise of the Two Entrances and the Four Practices* had been widely known as one of the traditional sources, its reputation in scholarly circles was rather bad. So Suzuki's work on this text, too, generated little attention. There is also no indication that a different manuscript of the same text, the one included in the *Chanmen cuoyao* (Compendium of Zen) that had been transmitted to Korea, was being read. So great was the authority of the later fiction surrounding Bodhidharma. Content with meeting the Bodhidharma of the *Blue Cliff Record*[10] and of the *Records of Serenity*,[11] people showed no interest in the history of early Zen.

Two years before the publication of *The Records of Bodhidharma*, in 1967, I had published my *Collected Research on Historical Sources for Early Zen* (*Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū* 初期禅宗史書の研究), which was a synthesis of fifteen years of my work after the war. It appeared the very year Ruth Fuller Sasaki, the foundress of the First American Zen Institute headquartered in New York, died in Japan. With the death of Mrs. Sasaki, this fifteen-year-long postwar period of study came to an end and I entered a new phase. In brief: from that year I started publishing materials that I had studied for the *Collected Research on Historical Sources for Early Zen* in a series of annotated translations called Recorded Sayings of Zen (*Zen no goroku* 禅の語録), the first volume of which was entitled *The Records of Bodhidharma* (*Daruma no goroku* 達磨の語録). It was only natural that the Zen materials from Dunhuang that had become accessible after the war were of central importance. One could even say that the *Zen no goroku* series, which started with *The Records of Bodhidharma*, was my preliminary documentation for the submission of the *Collected Research on Historical Sources for Early Zen*.

"Preliminary documentation" is a dossier that is filed in court before an oral argument in a civil suit in which the person concerned states the relevant provisions. I have recently heard this with great interest from a friend who works at the court. Humanistic studies have always had some similarity to a

[9] 少室六門 (Ch. *Shaoshi liumen*, Jp. *Shōshitsu rokumon*). T 48, no. 2009. Shaoshi refers to Mt. Shaoshi where Bodhidharma is said to have stayed, and hence this term stands for Bodhidharma.

[10] 碧巖録 (Ch. *Biyanlu*, Jp. *Hekiganroku*). T 48, no. 2003.

[11] 從容録 (Ch. *Congronglu*, Jp. *Shōyōroku*). T 48, no. 2004.

court hearing where the preliminary documentation presented by the plaintiff is examined from all sides and finally a verdict is reached. The judge does not conduct his own investigations, question the suspects, or summon specific witnesses. Rather, he restricts himself to a thorough examination of the documents, and if they are not sufficient, he refuses to accept them. If necessary, he can order an additional investigation, but it is his job to judge the admissibility or inadmissibility of a lawsuit and to decide on the sentence. The plaintiff can file an objection, but to that end he must again hand in preliminary documentation. In short, the judge reaches his verdict, to which both the plaintiff and the defendant must finally conform, by careful scrutiny of the preliminary documentation and on the basis of the documents that have been filed. He does not do anything beyond this.

Of course, careless identification of research in the humanities with the investigation of a judge is problematic, but the core of my *Collected Research on Historical Sources for Early Zen* consists of the careful scrutiny of documents, and it is certain that I intentionally did not make any on-site investigations or a survey of "remains." For research on early Zen at that time, little was expected from archaeological remains or data and anthropological fieldwork. This research is different from the experiments of a physicist, the analysis of a psychologist, or the clinical examination or autopsy of a physician. The documents called "Recorded Sayings of Zen" were originally just records from the daily life of some ordinary people. The scrutiny of these documents has something in common with the various sciences mentioned above whose findings are all of some use. But even if he may profit from various findings, the most important point for the researcher of Zen records is to find out what each author (or authors) of these texts is claiming. Isn't this quite similar to the investigation of a judge who scrutinizes the preliminary documentation?

My *Collected Research on Historical Sources for Early Zen* is not an investigation of early Zen history. It has already been misunderstood in this manner. My aim was the research of documents, which is something different from a history of early Zen. It was thought as an objection against some earlier scholarship that had been much too hasty in making all kinds of assertions about history. I found previous religious studies too apologetic and too full of practical self-interest. So I hoped to present a work of a different kind, which restricted itself to presenting evidence. It was in this frame of mind that I passed several decades.

In fact, when I started to read Zen texts from Dunhuang, I did not even

think that this could be the work of a lifetime. I just wanted to read untouched Zen texts, texts that were not apologetic and not like the *Blue Cliff Record* or the *Gateless Barrier.*[12] The same was true for my research on the *Record of Linji* 臨済録 of which I will speak later: I wanted to read these documents in a free manner, not bothering about the way in which the Zen masters had read these texts through the ages. I did not yet have the confidence to call this "scholarly," but I wanted the freedom for everybody to speak out. In the case of Zen records, too, I did not want to grant complete authority to the tradition; rather, I wanted to take these texts first of all as objects of historical and linguistic objective analysis and read them divorced from tradition. For this purpose, untouched texts without commentaries and commenting sermons were needed, and the Dunhuang and Korean materials fit this requirement perfectly. Even the "historical sources for early Zen" were in fact later compilations.

At that time, a group of researchers at Kyoto University's Institute for Research in Humanities, under the direction of Prof. Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, began to read Zen records in a fresh manner. Building on a strict basic training in Chinese and modern research on colloquial language, this was a venture into untouched territory. After examining Yuan dramas and modern novels, this team set out to study a genre that could be considered representative for Chinese colloquial literature, namely, the Zen records. Traditional readings were corrected one by one, and of course the written commentaries of various Japanese Zen masters with their entrenched reading habits were put on the chopping board. This research group set out to read anew texts that for the most part had been published in the Iwanami pocketbook series, for example the *Record of Linji*, the *Records of Huangbo*,[13] and the *Essential Gate to Immediate Realization.*[14] The *Blue Cliff Record* was read in this manner many years later, but a fresh reading of this text was one of the objectives from the start.

After having studied Zongmi's "Preface"[15] and Hu Shih's *Collected Works of Shenhui*,[16] Prof. Iriya's research group began to read Zen texts

[12] 無門関 (Ch. *Wumenguan*, Jp. *Mumonkan*). T 48, no. 2005.

[13] 傳心法要 (Ch. *Chuanxin fayao*, Jp. *Denshin hōyō*). T 48, no. 2012A.

[14] 頓悟要門 (Ch. *Dunwu yaomen*, Jp. *Tongo yōmon*).

[15] Zongmi 宗密, *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (Jp. *Zengen shosenshū tojo*). T 48, no. 2015.

[16] Hu Shi 胡適, *Shenhui heshang yiji* 神會和尚遺集, Adong dushuguan 亞東圖書館, 1930. Re-edition: Taipei: Hu Shi jinianguan 胡適記念館, 1970.

from Dunhuang, and the *Collection from the Founders' Halls*,[17] the *Zutangji*. For the work on Shenhui, Jacques Gernet's French translation[18] was examined. Just around that time, the Dunhuang materials stored in Paris and London were made accessible, and microfilm reproductions of all those texts were brought to Tokyo and Kyoto. A detailed catalogue of these scriptures was also published. In this way a comprehensive survey of Dunhuang materials began, in the course of which new Zen texts were discovered. So my humble search for a way, which began with my despair and confusion after the war, became at this point connected with the tradition of East Asian studies at the Humanistic Research Institute of Kyoto University.

For some time now, I have thought that there are two different strands of Buddhism in present-day Japan. The first is the Buddhism of the Northern transmission, which came to ancient Japan during the Asuka and Nara periods via Central Asia, China, and Korea. With the Buddhist scriptures that had been translated into Chinese as its core, this was a vehicle of Central Asian, Chinese, and Korean culture and civilization. This strand of Buddhism was extremely important in the formation of Japanese nationhood and civilization, and out of it grew some of the major streams within Japanese Buddhism during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, for example with Dōgen, Shinran, and Nichiren.

However, another strand played a role in the formation of modern Japan and in international exchange: the Buddhism that had once been prevalent in Ceylon, Burma, and Northwestern India and, having taken root in Southeast Asia, found its way to Japan together with the spread of modern European civilization. In modern Europe, Buddhism became the object of scholarly study because its character was different from that of ancient Greek and Roman culture and from Christianity. The texts that were studied were mostly written in Pāli, Sanskrit, Thai, and Tibetan, and they were read according to the methods of the modern European sciences of religion, ethnology, and anthropology. These studies, which also profited from the achievements of Biblical philology, produced interesting results; similarly to what was happening in Biblical studies, this was an attempt to rediscover the historical Buddha, who had been hidden behind myths and legends, to let his unretouched face reappear, to let his voice resound, and to thus bring original

[17] 祖堂集 (Ch. *Zutangji*, Kor. *Chodang chip*, Jp. *Sodōshū*).

[18] Jacques Gernet, *Entretiens du maître de Dhyâna Chen-houei du Ho-tsö (668–760)*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1949.

Buddhism back to life. By incorporating the results of Western European research, modern Japanese research on Asia took a fresh start. In contrast to the Buddhism of the northern tradition which I mentioned before, this triggered an awareness of the standpoint of the southern tradition. In the eyes of the northern tradition, the southern tradition is called "Lesser Vehicle" or Hīnayāna and was always criticized as a primitive form of Buddhism. We will reflect on the reasons for this at a later point.

Today, we approach the Buddha through study of both the northern and southern traditions which differ in their histories, texts, and methods of study. Modern Japanese Buddhism stands at the point where these two streams join. The lively activities of the new religions, too, have their roots in this juncture. Concerning Zen Buddhism, one may thus say: It is natural if there is, apart from the traditional Zen establishment, the standpoint of early Zen, which bases itself on Chinese texts. The series of translations of Recorded Sayings of Zen[19] that I initiated with my *Records of Bodhidharma* was nothing other than the first humble step towards this second Zen Buddhism. And, as mentioned before, another project that was deeply connected to postwar Japanese-American cultural exchange became a test case: Ruth Fuller Sasaki's English translation of the *Records of Linji*, in which we unexpectedly became involved.

Ruth Fuller Sasaki was the wife of Sasaki Shigetsu 佐々木指月 rōshi who died in 1945. We always called her Mrs. Sasaki. Sasaki rōshi had the Dharma name of Sōkeian 曹溪庵 and belonged to the Kamakura Engakuji 円覚寺 line of Rinzai Zen. Being the third successor in the line of Shaku Sōen 釈宗演, he was a master in an illustrious tradition. He came alone to America in 1930 and opened a Zen Hall in New York. Ruth Fuller was among the first disciples to receive Sasaki rōshi's instruction, and with the spread of the Pacific War she became involved in the management of the Zendō. Finally, Ruth Fuller married Sasaki rōshi, who was sent to an American internment camp for the Japanese, where he died before the war was over, in the spring of 1945. In accordance with Sasaki rōshi's will, Mrs. Sasaki managed the Zendō and went to Japan just after the war in order to look for a successor.

But she had another task to fulfill in Japan: her husband had left English draft translations of the *Records of Linji* and some other basic Zen texts, and, with the help of Japanese and foreign specialists, she planned to revise and publish them as Sasaki rōshi's collected works. She brought together a group of diverse scholars who resided in Kyoto and founded a study group. Apart

[19] This series (禅の語録) was published by Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房 in Tokyo.

from specialists from Columbia University such as Leon Hurvitz, Burton Watson, and Philip Yampolsky, she also invited the poet Gary Snyder and Dana Frazer as well as some Japanese specialists of American literature, sinologists, art historians, and scholars of Buddhism. It was certainly not a straightforward task, but the work made some progress, and finally they got involved with the *Records of Linji*. It was just at this time that Prof. Iriya took me to Mrs. Sasaki's place and introduced me to her.

On the basis of our work at the Institute for Research in Humanities at Kyoto University, we corrected Sasaki rōshi's manuscript of the *Records of Linji*. Since this work is the fundamental scripture of the Rinzai denomination, the rōshi had adhered to a traditional reading, with set interpretations, and Mrs. Sasaki did her best to preserve as much as possible of her late husband's translation. The differences of opinion became ever more marked. Mrs. Sasaki was not at all satisfied with the only parts of the *Records* that until then had been translated into English by D.T. Suzuki and Wing-Tsit Chan. She wanted her husband's translation to become the first edition in the world, and the definitive one that not only adhered to the tradition but was also of high scholarly reliability. Apart from the translation, she planned to include notes and commentaries to the text that could live up to the highest scholarly standards. This necessitated very concentrated work.

In the final analysis, Mrs. Sasaki's aspirations were too high, and the translation of the *Records of Linji* could not be achieved in her lifetime. She died on October 24, 1967; the continuation of the study meetings became difficult, and then the work ground to a halt. It was only in 1975 that Prof. Iriya published a final version of the translation at the Institute of Zen Studies in Kyoto. All other translation manuscripts were left unrevised and unpublished.

In this manner, at least the English translation of the *Records of Linji* was completed. Through my continuous involvement in this project, this text had become an imperative to me. I who had groped for the historical sources for early Zen, starting with Dunhuang Zen literature and Korean texts, challenged myself to generalize, and, encouraged by Iriya sensei, I published an edited and annotated text of the *Records of Linji* in 1961.[20] In some sense, this book was an intermediate report on the work done in the research group of Mrs. Sasaki. The second part of that project could afterwards base itself on my book.

In any case, the result of our efforts drew the attention of people like Hu

[20] 訓註臨済録 (*Kunchū Rinzairoku*). Kyoto: Kichūdō 其中堂, 1961.

Shih, then old and retired in Taiwan, the sinologist Paul Demiéville of the Collège de France in Paris, and Prof. Heinrich Dumoulin of Sophia University in Tokyo and had thus some effect on international exchange in Zen research. I was able to witness how the work of a person who had limited his interest to reading Zen literature and had almost steered clear of archaeological remains and anthropological fieldwork suddenly got an international echo—an event that also showed in a nutshell how precious international peace is.

While waiting for the Sasaki group's English translation, Prof. Demiéville took my annotated text as his basis for the first translation of Linji's Records into a Western language. His French translation appeared in 1972,[21] three years before Sasaki's English translation.[22] Prof. Demiéville was always wellknown; he had studied the Dunhuang materials stored in Paris and written an epoch-making work, *Le concile de Lhasa*, published in 1952.[23] I had not been aware of that work and had concentrated on my own, but we had joined the same line of battle, and eventually this led both of us to the *Records of Linji*.

So, while trying to keep a respectful distance from traditional texts such as the *Records of Linji* or the *Blue Cliff Records* and concentrating on studying previously unread Zen texts from Dunhuang and Korea, I hit upon a sore spot of traditional scholarship. The previously unknown texts not only filled gaps in our knowledge about early Zen, they also permitted a clearer look at and an entirely new reading of supposedly known texts, a reading that obliterated the boundaries between "known" and "unknown." During my work on the historical sources of early Zen, it was not really necessary to worry too much about the research on Zen history that would grow out of the philological groundwork.

The Zen materials from Dunhuang and Korea had been hidden in the shadow of the long war; it appears that they had not been read straightforwardly but had partly met biased interests. When the discovery of such materials becomes a goal in itself, study of their content is left over. Nobody could understand their content and judge their historical, philosophical, and religious import. As is well known, the Dunhuang caves were discovered in the

[21] Paul Demiéville, *Les entretiens de Lin-tsi*. Paris: Fayard, 1972.

[22] Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Lin-chi Hui-chao of Chen Prefecture*. Kyoto: Zenbunka Kenkyūjo 禅文化研究所, 1975.

[23] Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*. Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1952.

oasis town of Dunhuang in the western reaches of China at the beginning of this century, and most of the material was brought to England, France, and the Soviet Union. The rest was moved to Beijing, and nothing was left in Dunhuang but the caves themselves. The opening of these caves to the world and the rise of historical and artistic interest in them took place mostly after the establishment of the modern communist state, and it was far from a straightforward process. Nowadays, the cave temples of Dunhuang and the name of the Thousand-Buddha Grotto have become internationally famous in the context of interest in the Silk Road and the history of cultural exchange; but the 100,000 documents found in those caves do not seem related to that interest at all.

To focus again on the Zen texts that were found at Dunhuang and excited our interest: already in the 1930s, the great international scholars Hu Shih and D.T. Suzuki had seized the opportunity of doing research abroad to pull off a kind of virtuoso performance that attracted great attention, but proper philological research on the whole corpus of texts was quite delayed. As I have said before, it was not until the 1970s that all of the Dunhuang materials in England and France were made accessible. Prof. Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, who after the war had formed a research group at the Institute for Research in Humanities at Kyoto University to study the microfilms of the Stein collection, remarked that up to that point Dunhuang research had been like fishing with a single line in the ocean—and geniuses like Suzuki and Hu Shih had each, with just one line, already caught some of the biggest fish. Research groups like Prof. Fujieda's, on the other hand, used deep sea trawlers to catch and sort out the great mass of remaining materials.

In fact, the Zen texts that were brought to light by this method are numerous. It indeed turned out that Hu Shih and D.T. Suzuki had made big catches. The collection of Shenhui materials 神會和尚遺集 published in 1930 by Hu Shih in Shanghai can be regarded as representative of Dunhuang Zen literature and is of high value. Inspired by that publication, D.T. Suzuki published two years later in Japan a different text, the *Recorded Sayings of Shenhui* 神會語録. The publication of these two texts marked the beginning of the process of rewriting the history of early Zen.

In the forty-eighth volume of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, which was published in 1928, the Dunhuang version of the Sixth Patriarch's *Platform Sūtra* 六祖壇經 is included. Its original title is very long, but we simply call it the "Platform Sūtra" 壇經. The meaning of this title became clear only in 1935, more than a thousand and some hundred years

after it was written, when another version of the records of Shenhui entitled "Platform Words" 壇語 was discovered. At any rate, the 1930s were epoch-making years during which we began, thanks to the Dunhuang texts, to gradually get a clearer picture of the state of historical sources for early Zen history.

The one hundred volumes of the *Taishō Canon* were compiled on the basis not only of texts that had repeatedly been amended and included in the Chinese Buddhist Canon since the Song dynasty, but also on the basis of ancient texts that had survived in Japan and texts discovered in Dunhuang. I may not have to mention that this was the first great scholarly enterprise in which the fruits of the Southern tradition of Buddhism, the *Āgamas* ("*Hīnayāna*" *sūtras*), were also included. Looking closely at the *Taishō Canon*, one certainly finds mistakes and omissions and other things that must be criticized, but one cannot but praise this effort to present to the modern world such a fundamental collection of Buddhist texts. Most Dunhuang texts were included in volume 85, but some earlier volumes (such as 48 and 51) also contain a variety of Zen-related Dunhuang texts.

At any rate, the new presentation of Shenhui by Hu Shih and D.T. Suzuki stimulated effort to correct and augment this singular body of Buddhist literature. Some time later, a Song-dynasty version of the *Platform Sūtra* was discovered at Kōshōji.[24] With the publication of this text, a critical study of the text became possible. If one calls the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* "original," it is due to the marked differences it shows from versions dating from the Ming. With the discovery of a Song version, we were in a position to ascertain the historical development. Again, around the same time, the existence of an original copy of a biography of the Sixth Patriarch,[25] which Dengyō Daishi[26] had brought back from China, was confirmed. Of course, Hu Shih marveled at these developments in Japan, and in the paper dedicated to D.T. Suzuki's ninetieth birthday, he expressed his wish that a comprehensive and systematic survey of materials on early Zen that are preserved in Japan be made in order to round off the *Taishō Canon* and form a conclusion to his own work.

Furthermore, during a period of about ten years, it gradually became clear

[24] Kōshōji 興聖寺 is a Rinzai temple on Horikawa Street in North Kyoto.

[25] 曹溪大師傳 *Caoqi dashi chuan* (Jp. *Sōkei daishi den*). See Ishii Shūdō's 石井修道 recent translation into Japanese in vol. 12 of the *Daijō butten* 大乗仏典 series: *Zen goroku* 禅語録. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論社, 1992, pp. 5–39.

[26] The founder of the Japanese Tendai school, Saichō 最澄 (767–822).

that the Zen manuscripts of Dunhuang comprised, apart from Chinese texts, also many related materials written in Tibetan and other languages. Naturally, the bulk of these materials consisted of translations from the Chinese that show the influence this new movement gained in neighboring countries. These documents are worthy of close attention as sources on early Zen. The Tibetan materials are about as extensive as the Chinese. But why was so much material on early Zen preserved in an oasis in northwestern China? With the investigation of non-Chinese Dunhuang materials, the answer to this question is gradually emerging.

As I said before, Paul Demiéville of the Collège de France had soon after the war published *Le concile de Lhasa*, in which he clarified the historical connection between Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism on the basis of a Chinese text entitled "Ratification of the True Principle of the Great Vehicle of Immediate Awakening."[27] *Le concile de Lhasa* was the pioneer study of this domain. Through Demiéville's research, the origins of Tibetan Buddhism—which had so far been shrouded in a veil of legends—became connected to early Zen. Thus, research on Tibetan Buddhism brought back historicity to the movement of Zen in its land of origin, China. The transport of early Zen texts to the oasis town of Dunhuang was connected to the establishment of Tibet as a nation and to the movements of the Uighurs and the Xixia. Although the full picture is still unclear, research on the historical sources for early Zen could not be limited to Chinese Buddhism but took on a broader significance. Indeed, the oldest source of the word "Zen sect" 禪宗 (Ch. *chanzong*, Jp. *zenshū*) is the "The Ratification of the True Principle of the Great Vehicle of Immediate Awakening," the record of the Council of Lhasa. A comprehensive view of Zen was gained by looking at it from the outside.

As I said before, the same movement could also be seen in Korea and Japan. In Demiéville's last years, the results of his research on the Council of Lhasa were supplemented through the full release of Dunhuang materials. Thus it happened that his French translation of the *Records of Linji* became the final result of *Le concile de Lhasa*. The history of early Zen showed a breadth that could not be sufficiently grasped and interpreted by the tradition, and the study of the *Records of Linji* went likewise far beyond the sphere of the so-called "Rinzai Zen" of Japan. The *Records of Linji* again use the term "Zen sect" in its original context.

[End of Talk One]

[27] 頓悟大乘正理訣 *Dunwu dasheng zhengli jue*.

II: ZEN LITERATURE FROM DUNHUANG AND KOREA

Today I would like to tell you more about my involvement with a text of which I briefly mentioned yesterday. It is the text called *Zutangji*, the *Collection from the Founders' Halls*.[28] After the war, I was captured by this text for over forty years, and even today I am not yet released. Even though I have, like a silkworm eating mulberry leaves, eaten every single letter of this text, I have not yet spun the cocoon. There always remains something inexplicable that drives me on.

The *Zutangji* was compiled in 952 in the Zhaoqing 招慶 monastery located in the harbor town of Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian 福建. In its time, this text was a comprehensive history of early Zen.

While writing my research on the historical sources of early Zen, I was in fact moving towards this book, but I did not quite reach it. The *Zutangji* takes Zen after Mazu[29] as its objective, and its sections on the twenty-eight Indian and six Chinese patriarchs have all been borrowed from another text, the *Baolinzhuan* 寶林傳 (Jp. *Hōrinden*). The *Baolinzhuan* had been compiled by a disciple of Mazu and is the earliest Zen historical scripture of the "Southern School of Caoqi 曹谿." "Baolin" is the name of the monastery of the Sixth Patriarch in Caoqi.[30]

I started to get involved with these two books, the *Zutangji* and the *Baolinzhuan*, around 1950. At the time, these were virgin materials, texts that had not been thoroughly studied by anyone—and they were texts that were hardly accessible. But as soon as one managed to get hold of them, they exerted such a strange fascination that one could hardly put them away again. First of all, the *Zutangji* has an exorbitantly big format, and the Chinese characters in which it is written are large, too. From top to bottom and left to right, the characters are lined up in equal distance, and one gets the impression that one could read it from any side or angle.

The large format is due to the fact that this text forms part of the Korean Buddhist Canon. The format was originally designed for books folded like an accordion, but now it is bound at the back. In any event, texts printed in such large type exert some kind of attraction. Luckily, the Hanazono

[28] The text (see note 6) was published in Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha 中文出版社, 1972.

[29] 馬祖道一 (Ch. Mazu Daoyi, Jp. Baso Dōitsu); 709–788.

[30] Caoqi is located in northern Guangdong province which lies north of Hong Kong. The "School of Caoqi" was a common term for Zen and is, in its Korean pronunciation, still used in Korea (Chogye).

University Library owned a good print which Ogata Sōhaku 緒方宗博 (1901–1973), a disciple of D.T. Suzuki, had obtained at the Haein monastery in Korea. Ogata went to the United States right after World War II and represented the international aspect of Zen.

I borrowed that print and began copying the text. At the time, "copying" meant something quite different from today since no handy copy machines were available. First I copied the text character by character into a notebook, but when the number of people participating in the study meetings grew, the text had to be reproduced on a mimeograph machine. The manuscript was written with a steel pencil and put into this machine, and prints were produced one sheet at a time by rotating the drum by hand. The number of characters per line and of lines per page was identical with the Korean original, but the size of characters and the paper were very different. In the first place, so soon after Japan's defeat, there was scarcely any paper or ink, and manuscript paper for the mimeograph was also hard to come by. Since a mimeograph is a kind of engraving, it belongs to the most basic methods of distributing information and tends to be used in a variety of circumstances. For example, the status of the leaders of the student movement was linked with being in charge of writing mimeographs. When I watched news about the Tiananmen incident on TV, I saw students printing mimeograph fliers. I felt a heat rise in my chest and cried in spite of myself.

At any rate, each one of us cherished those pieces of low-grade paper with handwritten text printed in cheap ink, and we began to hold study meetings. We were deprived of reference books and dictionaries, and everyone of us was starving for books. Exchanging our limited knowledge, we wrote notes into our text. This crude method of producing text was continued over several years. The *Zutangji* is a text in 20 fascicles and is printed with many unfamiliar variant forms of Chinese characters—about 200,000 of them.

In the beginning, several of us took turns in producing the mimeograph originals, but in the course of the work I took over this task, thereby ensuring that there would be fewer mistakes and that the writing style would be uniform throughout. I wrote out the entire text three times. Later, I also produced a concordance to the *Zutangji*, which necessitated writing each phrase of the entire text on a number of cards. Thus, I copied that whole text I don't know how many times by hand. By writing this text over and over again, I learned to read books through the tips of my fingers; the meaning of those Chinese characters sank in through my fingers, and I gained a particular power of comprehension. To really read a Chinese text means to copy it with

one's own hand. This is doubly so when one deals with a text that features as many variant and unusually written Chinese characters as the *Zutangji*. When one copies a text character by character, the feelings of the people who first wrote it and of those who carved the letters into wood are transmitted.

In 1950, I prepared a mimeograph edition of the whole 20 fascicles of the *Zutangji*. When the work was finished in the autumn of 1952 and I gave a copy to each of the participants of our study meetings, we were just about to finish the first reading of the text. Waiting impatiently for each copied page, we had held study meetings almost every day. It was of course only a rough first reading, and we had made many mistakes, but we were proud of having read the entire text and hugged each other in a burst of emotion—particularly also because we had managed to do this in 1952, exactly one thousand years after its authors had completed this book. The original text was first carved in wooden plates in 1245, and the printing plates were stored at the Haein monastery in Korea. Thanks to their preservation we could, in the seven hundred and eighth year after the first printing, complete the first reading of the whole text.

A bridge had been built from China to Korea to Japan, a bridge that took one thousand years to build. Even now, I can fully relive the emotions of that day. When the printing of the Korean Canon began, Korea's capital was taken by the Mongol army. The whole of Korea was subjugated by the Mongols, its people were forced to join the foreign army in an attempt to invade Japan, and the country was ruined. When the *Zutangji* was written between China's Five Dynasties and the unification of the Song period, too, the times were remarkably like our postwar period: people were gaining new hope for a peaceful future after having gone through total disaster. I have already described my personal circumstances at that time. I had no way of knowing what would happen to Japan and to the world, but through this book, the people of ancient troubled times gathered around me, and I felt a miraculous power.

When we had the whole text at our disposal, we again held study meetings. The number of participants increased, and we ran out of copies. We kept producing new copies, and in the process we became a kind of publishing enterprise. Though it was only a copy of poor quality, we even received orders from abroad and simply could not keep up with the demand. Until we finally handed the text to Chūbun, a publishing house specializing in sinology that had opened next to Kyoto University, we had continued making copies of the *Zutangji* though we could literally barely live. But during that ten-year

period, we witnessed the development of a broad scholarly exchange in connection with this text, both inside Japan and with foreign countries. Prof. Demiéville from the Collège de France said that he wanted it so much that he was ready to steal it! Through an article that he wrote later, we know how much he needed this text to make progress with his French translation of the *Records of Linji*.

As I mentioned in my last talk, it was also through our work at Kyoto University's Institute for Research in Humanities that we met Mrs. Ruth Fuller Sasaki. This also corresponded to the wish of Ogata Sōhaku who was by then already in the United States. The English translation of the *Records of Linji* formed the central aim of Mrs. Sasaki, but she put me in charge of the bibliographic work and the writing of comments. This involved defining the position of the *Records of Linji* within early Zen history on the basis of and in relation to Dunhuang Zen texts and the *Zutangji*. Mrs. Sasaki encouraged me to include an English translation of the *Zutangji* among the projects of her First American Zen Institute.

In fact, the annotated bibliography and the comments to the English translation of the *Records of Linji* are still incomplete. However, a research method I learned at Mrs. Sasaki's institute involved the making of cards for titles of books, titles of cited texts, and citations themselves. To write cards was much easier than engraving the mimeograph originals for the *Zutangji*. Ever since, I have been afflicted by a kind of card-disease. At the time, Japanese Buddhist scholars had not yet discovered the effectiveness of the use of cards, or if they had, they did not fully apply this method. The purchase of cards and card boxes also involved considerable expense. I prepared all kinds of cards for Mrs. Sasaki and arranged them according to radical.[31] Cards are the first step in the creation of a dictionary, and mistakes in their sequence result in a lot of unnecessary effort and necessitate repeated sorting. The arrangement according to radical had the advantage—unlike that according to either Japanese or Chinese pronunciation favored by common Japanese and specialists able to read Chinese—of allowing also scholars in other fields to look up characters. If one familiarized oneself with the radical numbers in the *Great Character Dictionary* 大字典 by Ueda Bannen 上田万年, one could then look a character up by counting its remaining strokes. Since becoming involved in using this method of Chinese character arrangement at

[31] This is one of the traditional ways of arranging, sorting, and looking up Chinese characters.

Mrs. Sasaki's place, I got used to arranging all sorts of information according to radical. My *Concordance of the Zutangji* is also a result of this. The sorting of characters according to radical and stroke number is in fact not the most efficient; at the time, specialists in East Asian studies adopted the new Four-Corner System, but I have never been able to relate to that method. At any rate, for me, the study of Chinese texts by using cards was epoch-making. At the time, cards were not used for much more than memorizing the vocabulary of foreign languages. Someone is said to have remarked that making cards works not for learning things but for forgetting them; but for me, making cards gave me a sense of security and relief.

Before, when we encountered some unknown word or other problem in reading Zen texts, we used to first ask an expert. That was all right once or twice, but one could not go and ask all the time. Experts have their own affairs and their time is limited. And what is most bothersome: when a so-called "walking dictionary" has a good day, it may be fine, but when he has a bad day, he may just answer one or two out of ten questions to satisfaction and for the rest provide irrelevant information. So the matter just gets more complicated, and the effort is in vain. Fruitless efforts also are part and parcel of research, but the greater the workload, the more efficiency becomes important. One has to be frugal with one's time.

So I came to understand that there was no way around making cards if I wanted to be exact and efficient. Though it may seem to be a detour, one at least knows when something is not in one's cards and when one thus ought to ask someone else. But first one must strengthen one's home base. In order to answer Mrs. Sasaki's unexpected questions, I started putting information from basic texts of Chinese Buddhism onto cards, one by one. So I made cards of all names of persons in the *Jingde chuandenglu* 景徳傳燈録,[32] the expressions in the *Zenrin kushū* 禅林句集,[33] etc., and I classified them. In this way, making cards became a habit to me, a sort of infatuation. Every bit of information was written on a card, and in my particular code I also added a reference to the source of that information. The card themes grew incessantly, and Mrs. Sasaki was also glad to see that these cards turned out to be quite useful for the work on the *Records of Linji*. So I accumulated a basic stock of about 50,000 cards. With a change in card search strategy, their value began to show even more.

[32] Jp. *Keitoku dentōroku*. T 51, no. 2076.

[33] A much used edition is: Shibayama Zenkei 柴山全慶, *Zenrin kushū* 禅林句集. Kyoto: Kichūdō 其中堂, 1952.

The idea of making a concordance of the *Zutangji* came to me right in the middle of this card-illness. I can't help feeling somehow uneasy when I don't have something big in mind, and I had thought of several other big projects. But given the choice among similar projects, there was no question that I would choose the *Zutangji*. So it came about that a concordance became the final goal of my work on this text. Mrs. Sasaki died soon after this decision, and there was no question of making an English translation of the *Zutangji* since even the *Records of Linji* was not completed. While I continued making cards of the *Zutangji* on my own, I was lucky enough to get a research grant from the Japanese government and could thus, with the help of public funds, finish making the 200,000 basic cards in about 10 years. They were sorted according to character radicals, but we also made other indices based on Japanese pronunciation, and so the concordance gradually took form. In the end I moved to the Institute for Research in Humanities at Kyoto University, and the publication of the concordance could be achieved with public funds. The three volumes came out in 1980, 1982, and 1984; so it took another five years to bring this great publication project (1740 pages) to a conclusion.

Even now, I feel satisfaction about that work. It took, from the first mimeograph copies of the text to the publication of the last volume of my concordance, thirty-three years. Come to think of it, I have spent a large part of my life together with the *Zutangji*. There is also some feeling of futility, but it is quite different from the utter discouragement of the days when I was hungrily loitering around. As I mentioned before, the age of the authors of the *Zutangji* one thousand years ago, and the times when it was printed in Korea seven hundred years ago, were also periods of war—yet those people achieved so much. Though the times now are tranquil and friendships are on the rise due to internationalization, the future of our planet is in danger, and we ought to be equipped with the wisdom of Mañjuśrī. With regard to the *Zutangji*, however, I feel that the work that I originally envisioned is yet to be achieved: the review of early Zen on the basis of the *Zutangji*.

One of the things that irks me most today is the computerization of scholarship. I personally have a strong allergy to this, but this development can hardly be stopped. The feeling of futility of which I spoke may have its cause in this: if the work that took me forty years to do can be achieved by computer in only a few years, I may have wasted my life. The old realization that useless efforts also form part of one's work may still hold true; so the question is how to make something productive out of my present confused

feelings. So I am pondering again, just like forty years ago—not over questions concerning software, the production of programs, or hardware, but on the future of Zen—or rather, on Zen Buddhism *from* the future.[34] I would like to receive advice from all of you about this; this is what I earlier called my "grievance." If possible, I would like to dig out the roots of early Zen and look for the multi-layered traces of the past. And I think the time has come for people to walk on the field that opens up there; the time has come for analyzing their state of mind and for finding Buddha-nature.

Anyway: the book called *Zutangji* was compiled in 952, towards the end of the Five Dynasties period, in the city of Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian. Quanzhou was, together with Yangzhou 楊州 in the north and Guangzhou 広州 in the south, one of the rare Chinese harbor cities open to the outside world, a new kind of trading city. It flourished as a trading port only after the Song, but the trend was already conspicuous during the Five Dynasties.

The *Zutangji* was completed in 952, the 10th year of the Baoda 保大 period of the Southern Tang 南唐 kingdom.[35] The Southern Tang had conquered the city of Quanzhou seven years earlier, in 945. Quanzhou had been an important southern stronghold of the kingdom of Min 閩, one of the Ten Kingdoms of the Five Dynasties period. Quanzhou lies in territory that was brought under the control of the three brothers Wang,[36] and the son of the second of these brothers, Wang Yanbin 王延彬 became the ruler of this city. But I will now not go into more historical detail about the Kingdom of Min.[37]

The Southern Tang held out the longest of the Ten Kingdoms, and there are many economic, military, and other reasons for this. We note that in the midst of the troubled Five Dynasties era a new international culture was created in the two powerful port towns of Yangzhou and Quanzhou, cities with an active foreign trade. Especially Quanzhou, around the time of the redaction of the *Zutangji*, was a thriving, attractive port city. One can say that it was the Chinese anchor-base of the maritime Silk Road and that it played an important role in the cultural exchange with the West.

[34] This was the overall theme of the lectures Prof. Yanagida held in San Francisco and also the title of the Japanese book in which they were published (see Introduction).

[35] This was one of the ten kingdoms of China just before the Song unification. It took over the kingdom of Min (909–946) and lasted from 937 until 975.

[36] Wang Chao 王潮, Wang Shengui 王審邽, and Wang Shenzhi 王審知 (862–925).

[37] See the detailed description of the history of this region in Edward H. Schafer's *The Empire of Min*. (Rutland/Tokyo: Tuttle, 1954).

Thus there were definitely some reasons why the *Zutangji* was compiled in the city of Quanzhou. As you may know, this text disappeared in China and was printed in the year 1245 in Korea, a country that was linked by sea to Quanzhou. Today, Quanzhou is also linked to Japan and America; indeed, when coming to the port town of San Francisco and seeing Chinatown and Japantown and its variety of religions, I was reminded of Quanzhou. Both the kingdoms of Min and Southern Tang perished, and the Song court that had conquered the Southern Tang was at some later point taken over by the Mongols. But the *Zutangji* survived.

Recently, I obtained from a student of Komazawa University who studied in Beijing, Mr. Ogawa Takashi 小川隆, a text in two fascicles entitled *Annals of the Kaiyuan Monastery in the City of Quanzhou* 泉州開元寺志. It includes the biography of the man who wrote the preface of the *Zutangji*, Wen Deng 文僜 (also called Chan master Jing Xiu 淨修禪師) who lived from 884 to 972. We now have quite detailed knowledge of the Kaiyuan monastery (which had before the Song been called Zhaoqingyuan 招慶院), its occupants and patrons. Among the patrons of Wen Deng's later years was the mayor of Quanzhou during the Southern Tang, Liu Congxiao 留從効. During this man's term of office the city of Quanzhou entered the sphere of influence of Arab and Islamic culture. According to other sources, Mayor Liu had fortifications built and planted thorny paulownia around these walls. The Chinese name of this plant, *citong* 刺桐, is of Arab origin, and Westerners called the city of Quanzhou "Zayton." This city acquired the reputation of being China's foremost trading port.

In fact, this mayor of Quanzhou city was already mentioned in a well-known book by the Japanese orientalist Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原隲蔵 entitled *The Traces of Pu Shougeng* 蒲寿庚の実蹟 (1923). Pu Shougeng was an Arab Muslim born in Quanzhou and rose to high rank in the Chinese government of the late Song and early Yuan. He was also connected with the attempted Mongol invasion of Japan. I am told that the residence of this man still exists. So, when looking at how Arab culture was adopted and sinified by the Chinese, one must confront Mayor Liu of Quanzhou city, the patron of the temple where the *Zutangji* was written. And the *Zutangji* shows a similar international conception.

For example, the *Zutangji* says that Bodhidharma was the third son of a southern Indian king. This had already been noted in a Dunhuang text entitled *Treatise of the Two Entrances and the Four Practices*, but the *Zutangji* is the first text to identify his country as "the land of Xiangzhi 香至國."

"Xiangzhi" corresponds to Kāñcīpuram, a southern Indian port town that still exists. This town first became known in China because it was mentioned by Xuanzang 玄奘, the famous Chinese pilgrim and scholar of Yogācāra. He noted in his *Record of the Regions West of Great Tang* [*China*] 大唐西域記 that his Yogācāra teacher Hufa 護法 (Dharmapāla) came from that southern Indian city. The authors of the *Zutangji* must have known Xuanzang's *Record*; at any rate, we notice that this element of Bodhidharma's biography was added in the city of Quanzhou, China's gateway to the southern hemisphere.

As archaeological data attest, Quanzhou harbored not only Muslims but also Christians, Zoroastrians, and adherents of other religions; it must have been quite an extraordinary place where the world's religions intermingled. Within Zen, too, there was a similar feeling of opening up. Stories such as those at the beginning of the *Zutangji* about the creation of heaven and earth and about Śākyamuni's ancestors were wellknown; but here they appeared for the first time in a historical Zen text. They have a kind of Western smell to them—a fact which acquires added significance when seen against the background of Quanzhou. The *Zutangji*'s verses about the seven Buddhas of the past, too, have a fantastic side—and fantasy is in Chinese eyes a characteristic of Western culture. The religion that began with Bodhidharma, Zen Buddhism, is above all rich in fantasy.

For instance, this Bodhidharma who had been thought to have arrived in Northern China by way of Central Asia was, since Shenhui's *Treatise on Set Facts about Bodhidharma's Southern Tradition* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論, said to have come by the southern maritime route and arrived in the "Southern Capital," Nanjing. The *Zutangji* states that he arrived in a specific city in Southern China, namely Guangzhou, and that he was summoned by Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 502–549) of the Liang 梁. The *Zutangji* thus illustrates the change from the continental Silk Road to the maritime one. Among the most recent Zen materials found in Dunhuang, the *Songs about the Thousand Buddhas and the Founders that Newly Arrived in Quanzhou* 泉州千佛新著諸祖師頌 has a deep connection with the origin of the *Zutangji*. When one considers the role that the cities of Dunhuang and Quanzhou played in the cultural exchange with the West, one sees strong parallels. It seems likely that there are additional interesting materials linking these two cities. There are also connections between Quanzhou and the two ancient Chinese capitals of Luoyang 洛陽 and Changan 長安. It would certainly also be worthwhile to look into songs such as *The Bodhisattva Barbarian* 菩薩蠻 and *The*

Herdsman Guards 牧護歌 and other songs from the West, but I will not delve into this now.

In brief, the city of Quanzhou was from the end of the Tang and the Five Dynasties the eastern base of the maritime Silk Road. The fact that just this city was the place where—as one movement of Tang culture—the synthesis of Zen Buddhism started, is very suggestive. Beginning with the *Jingde chuandenglu* 景徳傳燈録 (1004), the Zen histories were in some sense compiled by imperial order. The disappearance in China of the *Zutangji* was due to the sudden rise in prosperity of the city of Quanzhou. Even though it was brought to Korea, survived there, and found its way into the Korean Buddhist Canon, it has the character of a private compilation and is thus doubly suited for the study of the history of early Zen. The other day, Prof. Kim Ji Kwŏn 金知見 of Dongguk University 東國大学 came for a visit and presented me with a new copy of the *Zutangji* from the original wooden printing blocks at the Haein monastery. These printing blocks are now a designated Korean national treasure and are thus rarely used.

So far I have, by way of speaking about the *Zutangji*, expressed some of my feelings and thoughts. Beyond the already blossoming international exchange, the future can be discerned. Now is the time to read the *Zutangji* anew, just when I entertain some sad and regretful thoughts.

What this book conveys in a particularly lively manner are the words of Zen monks who lived in times of upheaval, monks such as Mazu 馬祖 and Linji 臨濟, Dongshan 洞山 and Zhaozhou 趙州.[38] Because the *Zutangji* had disappeared and had not been read by anyone, it escaped being subject to alterations. In all of the later Zen histories, beginning with the *Jingde chuandenglu*, the hands of editors and publishers played a role in making them, in one way or another, compatible with the goals of the nation. But with the *Zutangji* this was not the case.

When writing a book called Tales from the *Zutangji,*" I made the following introductory remarks:[39]

> These are tales from the time when neither "ゼン" nor "ZEN" had yet appeared—these are pure tales from the middle ages of classical China. The time: ninth century. The stage: the great green and

[38] Jp.: Baso and Rinzai, Tōzan and Jōshū.

[39] Yanagida Seizan, *Junzen no jidai: Sodōshū monogatari* 純禅の時代: 祖堂集ものがたり. Kyoto: Zenbunka Kenkyūjo, 1983.

> hilly region north and south of the Yangtze river. "Zen monasteries" and "the Zen sect" did not yet exist, and there was no separation between kōan and zazen. People just cultivated the earth and ate, pursued the Way and went on pilgrimage, posed questions and got answers. Each person lived Zen his or her own way, and nonprofessional buddhas were hidden here and there. No need for some third person to wrap it all up, and no time to preach about its benefits. One's own inner realization, sanctioned by one's own conscience, was everything.

Reading these words of mine again, I have nothing more to add. But let me use the remaining time to give you some impression of how the *Zutangji* compares to passages of other texts that show particularly strong traces of editorial influence. One gets a deeper understanding of the value of this text when one traces, with the help of my concordance, such differences character by character and sentence by sentence.

Let us look at an episode involving Linji (Rinzai) and Puhua (Fuke).[40] They were both a kind of outlaw in their time, and both came to be revered, with a thick layer of added makeup, as founders of Zen branches. With a little exaggeration, one could say that all the people of the *Zutangji* were outlaws. Even the term "mountain monk" by which they habitually refer to themselves in place of the pronoun "I" implies a monk who has no idea about the affairs of the world, an outlaw or tramp.

Linji's sermon in fascicle 19 of the *Zutangji* (952) starts out with the following sentence:

> Let this mountain monk tell you clearly: In this body of yours, composed of the five elements, there is the true person without rank. It is perfectly obvious, and there is not the slightest distance or separation. Why don't you recognize him?[41]

Later, this was to become the most famous passage of the *Records of Linji*, but the context changed considerably.[42] In the *Chuandenglu* (1004), the

[40] Puhua 普化 (Jp. Fuke). A Chan master of the Tang who became the model case of the "crazy monk."

[41] *Zutangji* 祖堂集 5.98.13–5.99.1.

[42] The "corresponding" famous passage in the *Records of Linji* (T 47, 496c10–14) reads: "The Master took the high seat in the Hall. He said: 'On your lump of red flesh is a true man without rank who is always going in and out of the face of every one of you. Those who have

twelfth and twenty-eighth fascicle portray this differently, and the Song, Yuan, and Ming editions again show important differences. The version included in the *Zongjinglu* 宗鏡録 (961) varies again.[43]

When one compares all versions, it turns out that the one included in the *Zutangji* is the oldest. This man who calls himself "mountain monk" points out where the "true person without rank" is. There is a long tradition of commentary about this "true person without rank." D.T. Suzuki called it "Man", and we held heated discussions at Mrs. Sasaki's place about whether we should write the word "man" with a capital M or not. In my present context, this true person is the outlaw—or Shinran's "evil man who is the proper recipient of Amida's grace,"[44] or in Vimalakīrti's words "the lotus in the mud," the mud of the body composed of the five elements. At any rate, it certainly is something which is non-conforming and beyond any kind of belief or faith, something concrete that radiates salvation. The expression "red lump of flesh" does not appear in the *Zutangji*, and one ought to note that the exchange with a monk that follows this statement by Linji is also quite different from the commonly known versions.

Prof. Iriya Yoshitaka has recently drawn our attention to the fact that Master Xuansha,[45] who lived some years after Linji, criticized the saying of Linji which I have just cited. Already in Xuansha's *Chuandenglu* biography we find the expression "the Master of the body that consists of five elements, the bright and subtle wisdom of the heart-mind"—but this is not attributed to Linji, only to "some master." Xuansha criticized this by saying that this means acknowledging the robber as one's own child; i.e., just this "Master of the body" is the ground of life-and-death.[46] Leaving aside whether this critique is to the point or not, we observe that the *Zutangji* is the best source for Master Linji looking daggers at the practitioners in front of him, and for letting us behold his unpainted, unretouched face. As for Xuansha, he did not

not yet proved him, look, look!' Then a monk came forward and asked, 'What about the true man without rank?' The Master got down from his seat, seized the monk, and cried, 'Speak, speak!' The monk faltered. Shoving him away, the Master said, 'The true man without rank—what a shit-wiping stick is he!' Then he returned to his quarters." (Trans. Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *Recorded Sayings of Lin-chi*, p. 3. Based on more recent research, "shit-wiping stick" should be replaced by "a dry piece of shit"). Compare Demiéville, *Lin-tsi*, p. 31.

[43] *Zongjinglu*, T 48, no. 2016. Cf. note 2 above.

[44] *Akunin shōki* 悪人正機.

[45] Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備 (Jp. Gensha Shibi, 835–908).

[46] In other words, this "Master" is the problem, not the solution.

call himself "mountain monk" but rather "the third son of the Xies in the fishing boat."[47]

One more example: the Linji biography of the *Zutangji* gives an ancient account of the dealings of Rinzai with Dayu 大愚 (Great Fool).[48] This episode also appears in the *Records of Linji*,[49] but in the *Zutangji* it is presented as a reminiscence of Huangbo, Linji's teacher. Young Linji is said to have asked Huangbo and then immediately left to see Dayu. In texts after the *Chuandenglu*, the role of the head monk in Huangbo's monastery is emphasized;[50] this appears to be a later addition. The original account of Linji's life is found in the *Zutangji*.[51] Dayu and Huangbo were fellow students under Mazu Daoyi[52] who had gone to this master without first visiting Baizhang.[53] But leaving such historical details aside: the "Zen sect" which began with Mazu was epitomized by Linji, and this forms one of the original fountainheads of Zen.

Soon after the war, Rikugawa Taiun 陸川堆雲 wrote his *Studies about Linji and the Records of Linji*,[54] and first noticed that the *Zutangji* was the most original source. This book was the reason why Demiéville said that he wanted a copy of the *Zutangji* so badly that he was ready to steal one. The research value of the *Zutangji* received its first strong confirmation in connection with research on Linji. It contains a lot of interesting information such as the year of Linji's death, the name of his stūpa, a mention of a text that the *Zutangji* calls "Separate Record" which is the original *Record of Linji*, and so on. But now I will turn my attention from Linji and towards Puhua.

[47] Xie 謝 used to be Xuansha's family name, and Sanlang 三郎 is a designation for the third son. The "third son of the Xies" is also used for someone who can neither read nor calculate.

[48] This is the master young Linji was sent to by his teacher Huangbo 黄檗 and under whom he awakened.

[49] See Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *Recorded Sayings of Lin-chi*, pp. 50–52. Compare Demiéville, *Lin-tsi*, p. 207.

[50] This head monk is said to have been Muzhou Daoming 睦州道明, who is also known as the teacher of Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864–949).

[51] Paul Demiéville has translated the *Zutangji* biographies of both Huangbo and his disciple Linji in an excellent article that also furnishes additional information about the *Zutangji*: "Le recueil de la salle des patriarches (*Tsou-t'ang tsi*)." *T'oung-pao* vol. 56 (1970), pp. 262–286.

[52] Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (Jp. Baso Dōitsu, 709–788).

[53] Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懐海 (Jp. Hyakujō Ekai, 749–814).

[54] Rikugawa Taiun, *Rinzai oyobi Rinzairoku no kenkyū* 臨濟及び臨濟録の研究, Tokyo: Kikuya Shoten 喜久屋書店, 1949.

In the seventeenth fascicle of the *Zutangji* there is a section on Puhua. Puhua was a contemporary of Linji and demonstrated what a "mountain monk" was around Zhenzhou 鎮州, the town where Linji had a temple. One could call him "field monk" or "town monk." In the *Zutangji* the following episode is recorded about him:

> The master [Puhua] used to go to sleep at sunset between the graves, and in the morning he went into town. Ringing a little bell, he called out: "Coming in brightness, I strike; and coming in darkness, I strike, too."
>
> When he heard this, Reverend Linji ordered his attendant to go seek him out. The attendant did so and asked Puhua: "How about when it is neither bright nor dark?" Puhua replied, "There will be a feast tomorrow at the Monastery of Great Compassion." When the attendant returned and related this to Linji, Linji was pleased and said, "How can I meet him?" Not long after that Puhua himself came to see Linji. Linji was overjoyed, sent for some food, and they sat down and ate. Puhua just took the food from the lower [tray] and ate it all up. Linji said, "You're eating like a donkey!" Puhua got off his chair, put both hands on the ground, and imitated the cry of a donkey. Linji was left speechless. Puhua then said, "Linji, poor thing, you've got just one eye!"[55]

The Monastery of Great Compassion is the name of an old temple in Zhenzhou whose main image was Guanyin and which probably had some set days when it donated meals to the poor. Waiting for this day, the people endured hunger, and Puhua was one of them.

Could it be that those mysterious words that Puhua sang on ordinary days when going into town have a connection to food? Indeed, the character for "hitting" 打 is also used in a food context for "preparing" food 打飯. At any rate, this story in the *Zutangji* turns around food. Food was so difficult to get that it even became the theme of Zen. Only some time later did Zen Buddhism become a topic of conversation by specialists, a topic removed from daily life. Zen may even be seen as a fierce reaction against such a tendency, as a kind of protest movement—and the *Zutangji* is its record.

In fact, Linji himself was in danger of falling victim to this trend. Puhua called Linji a "poor thing" who "has only one eye" because he was

[55] *Zutangji* 祖堂集 5.15.9–5.16.3.

dumbfounded when confronted by Puhua the donkey. This is a splendid anecdote.

"Having just one eye" 只具一隻眼 is something different from "having the single eye" 却具一隻眼; that would mean that he has a special eye different from ordinary eyes and would be meant as a compliment. But "having just one eye" is definitely not a compliment. In the *Comprehensive Records of Baizhang*, we also find the phrase "words of someone with one eye,"[56] and it is not meant as a compliment. "One eye" in the *Zutangji* story means that Puhua acknowledges that Linji compares him to a donkey. But when he put his hands on the ground and brayed, Linji was dumbfounded. He was no match for this donkey.

The Puhua section of the *Jingde chuandenglu* also features this story, and as usual it is different in the Song, Yuan, and Ming editions. In these versions we see the feeling of presence getting gradually lost. And the emphasis of this story shifts toward "having the single eye": Linji is sanctified. The current *Record of Linji* features the final products of this process of corruption.[57]

So Puhua got on his hands and feet and brayed like a donkey. But what did Puhua the donkey bray?

From the days when I was translating the *Records of Linji*, the major problem in translating this story was how to render the braying. I could not help

[56] *Baizhang guanglu* 百丈廣録, *Dainihon zokuzōkyō* vol. 118: 86a12.

[57] There are two related stories in the *Records of Linji*. The first is found in T 47, 503b17–19. Ruth Sasaki's translation (*Recorded Sayings of Lin-chi*, p. 42, which should be compared to Demiéville, *Lin-tsi*, pp. 180–82) renders these stories as follows:

> One day P'u-hua was eating raw vegetables in front of the Monks' Hall. The Master saw him and said: "Just like an ass!"
>
> "Heehaw, heehaw!" brayed P'u-hua.
>
> "You thief!" said the Master.
>
> "Thief, thief!" cried P'u-hua, and went off.

The second story (T 47, 503b20–24) goes:

> P'u-hua was always going around the streets ringing a little bell and calling out:
>
> Coming as brightness, I hit the brightness;
> Coming as darkness, I hit the darkness;
> Coming from the four quarters and eight directions, I hit like a whirlwind;
> Coming from empty sky, I lash like a flail.
>
> The Master told his attendant to go and, the moment he heard P'u-hua say these words, to grab him and ask: "If coming is not at all thus, what then?" [The attendant went and did so.] P'u-hua pushed him away, saying, "There'll be a feast tomorrow at Ta-pei-yüan."
>
> The attendant returned and told this to the Master. The Master said: "I've always held wonder for that fellow."

wondering how Chinese donkeys brayed in the days of Puhua and Linji. When I had collected as much material as I could, from West and East and past and present, and asked knowledgeable friends about this, I was surprised to find how few people had actually heard a donkey bray. As a matter of fact, this was not the only problem we encountered in translating the *Records of Linji* into English.

"'Heehaw, heehaw!' brayed P'u-hua": this is how Ruth Sasaki's translation renders the braying, a result achieved after repeated arguments. In fact, this "heehaw, heehaw" is fine for English, but in Chinese and Japanese there is no onomatopoeic rendering of a donkey's cry. Indeed, this English onomatopoeia is truly faithful to the original Chinese text. Faithfulness to the original text is not just a matter of literal rendering but rather no more and no less than bringing out completely in translation what the original author meant to say. In the *Zutangji*, there is an identical passage with a braying donkey. That is okay; but wherever the texts differ, the same problem is hidden, and one must find in each case a different answer.

This is what reading the *Records of Linji* and the *Zutangji* really means: taking our present life and getting a taste of these texts by truly experiencing them and thus producing the present text. As I said in my preface to the *Tales from the Zutangji*: "One's own inner realization, sanctioned by one's own conscience." This also sums up the question of how my concordance of the *Zutangji* will be used in the future.

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