

CHANOYU Quarterly
TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 20



"Houn" Kinran

The cover design is an adaptation of a gold embroidered fabric favored by Oiemoto Soshitsu Sen. The motif is a Chinese "phoenix", *ho*, amid clouds of fortune *un* and is the graphic representation of his Buddhist name, Hounsai.

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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Urasenke Foundation of Hawaii

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Rates:	Published quarterly	<i>International</i>	<i>Japan</i>
	Subscription (four issues):	U.S.\$12.00	¥3,600
	Single copy:	U.S.\$ 3.50	¥ 900
	Postage: add \$.50 or 200 yen per single copy and \$2.00 or 800 yen per subscription.		

Single copies of back issues are available at single copy rate.

1977
Number 20

Contents

5	The Green Oasis	Soshitsu Sen
7	Glimpses of the Life and Poetry of Ryokan	Furuta Shokin
15	The Calligraphy of Ryokan	Itami Matsuo
26	Understanding Ryokan's Calligraphy	Horie Tomohiko
31	The Way of Incense, Part I	Sanjonishi Kinosa
44	A Short History of Toji	Washio Ryuki
58	<i>Chadogu</i> – Tea Utensils: <i>Usuchaki</i>	
64	<i>Temae</i> – Tea Procedure: <i>Chawan Kazari</i>	
79	Books	

The names of Japanese persons throughout the text of this magazine are written in accordance with the Japanese practice, with surname first.

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* * *

Chanoyu, the tea ceremony, is a synthesis of arts and expresses in principle the many aspects of Japanese culture. From its beginnings in Japan during the fifteenth century until the present, it has been both catalyst and medium in the development of distinctive art forms. Under the guidance of Sen Soshitsu, the Urasenke Foundation and the Urasenke Foundation of Hawaii hope to encourage the development of these arts and promote a worldwide understanding of the culture of chanoyu.

* * *

Photographs: Chuo Koronsha Publishing Co., Tokyo; Itami Matsuo, Joetsu City; Kyuryudo Publishing Co., Tokyo; Shibundo Publishing Co., Tokyo; Shoeido, Kyoto; Tankosha Publishing Co., Kyoto and Tokyo.

Photographs appearing in the article starting on page 44 courtesy of Kyogokokuji temple (Toji) in Kyoto.

Illustrations: Sen Art Studio.

Translations: Edna Crawford and Sonia Van Nostrand.

The Green Oasis

Sen Soshitsu

The history of Chado, the Way of Tea, began 600 years ago. Since that time Chado has become the esthetic focus of the Japanese culture. Surely it will continue in this role into the future within the heart of the Japanese people. Tea was originally brought to Japan about 1000 years ago by Zen monks returning from their studies in China. Due to this early relationship the basic principles of the Way of Tea were developed under the influence of Zen Buddhism.

Shelter is enough if it protects from the rain and food is sufficient if it satisfies hunger. With your own hands bring wood and water, boil it, make tea and offer it at the altar, share it with others and drink it yourself. One also arranges flowers and burns incense. These actions are taken together for the purpose of studying the deeds of Buddha.

Around this core my ancestor, Sen Rikyu constructed the Way of Tea by incorporating the appreciation of the arts, morality, spiritual values, philosophy, social interaction and self-discipline. He codified this synthesis into one of the most distinct accomplishments of Japanese culture that has come down to us today. I feel today that there is nothing more important than at the moment tea is served to a guest that it be served with one's true and open heart.

Looking at the state of the world today it seems as though many of our modern ways of pursuing progress have expanded beyond their original purpose and have begun to engulf us. Facing this encroachment on our daily lives we meet various problems and difficulties. Truly, living in this changed world of increasing mechanization is a dangerous situation. Today the most important possession we human beings must have is a definite concept of the manner in which we want to live. This is necessary in the face of life in the twentieth century and applies to everyone the world over. In this case, East is not East and West is not West. People must cooperate with each other in the search for a way of life or a perspective on existence that is irrespective of cultural boundaries and thus relevant to all citizens of the world.

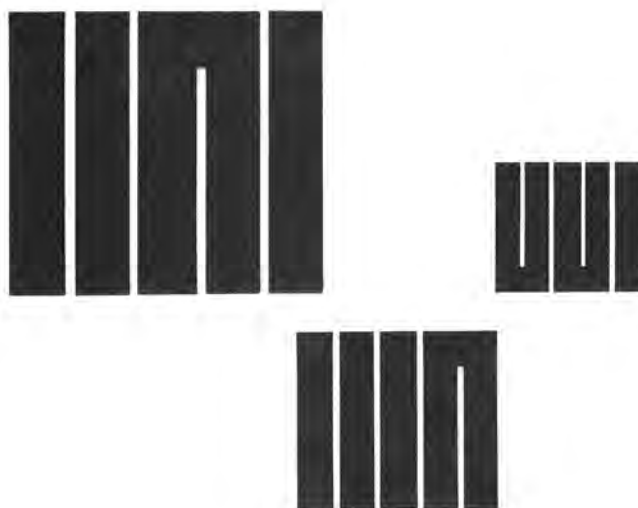
At Urasenke in Kyoto, people from all over the world have come together to pursue the study and life of Chado, disciplining themselves to acquire a fresh perspective on their lives. Unlike our earlier visitors, these non-Japanese students of tea are not intrigued by the exotic. The period when people searched for exotic cultures has passed. Rather, these foreigners are pursuing Chado as a means to find, and ultimately make their own, a deeper understanding of the way of life based on the relationships between people.

The spirit of tea as outlined by Sen Rikyu, in the words *Wa*, harmony, *Kei*, respect, *Sei*, purity and *Jaku*, tranquility is an unchanging truth and is being passed on to people living in circumstances which are changing from day to day. It is a very profound philosophy of life and thought. It teaches one to live in harmony with others, respect one another with a pure heart and through these create an inner self that is strong, resilient and not moved by the chaos of life today. One can realize this spirit in a bowl of tea and therein lies the importance of Chado today. Seeing the various procedures of making tea at first glance, it seems intricately complicated and difficult to master. Many

would-be students shy away from its study due to their initial surprise at its complexity. But any discipline has its conventions or rules which once mastered are effortlessly understood. It is these rules that give order to a discipline. Without such means there is disorder. In fact, it is due to this that a pursuit of Chado will reveal one's true inner self and contribute to the understanding of one's relationship with others. One can easily see that realizing the spirit of tea is more than seeing, reading, hearing and studying technique.

Searching for a way of life in this world is like searching for a green oasis in the desert. In the twentieth century we have forgotten the green oasis that nature promises us. This "green" is in a bowl of tea. Drinking from the bowl of tea in our hands we see and can taste nature's oasis. By drinking tea and experiencing its refreshment we can experience ourselves. Day after day these experiences accrue and that is Chado. In this way Chado becomes an integral part of our character and personality. The world is filled with knowledge gained solely for its own sake. Living the life of tea is certainly a pursuit of knowledge as well. However, coupled with the experiencing of one's self through tea this knowledge becomes wisdom through application. Applying this wisdom each moment is a refreshing fountain of peace and abundant open-heartedness. More than a mere pastime, Chado is a discipline to which one may devote his life. If more people were to practice tea, in other words if more people were to share a bowl of green tea with others, then, I believe, true peace for the world would be attained. For 28 years I have made many efforts to disseminate this idea saying, "Peace in a bowl of tea". I am able to do this because of my belief that we should in the greatest sense serve each other with an open heart.

Chado is not just an exotic pastime in a small island country in the Orient. By its means of serving and sharing a bowl of tea with an open heart one can realize the highest spiritual values in his daily life. Chado is a place where these values can live and grow. To make this known I have taken advantage of every opportunity to spread Chado, the Way of Tea.





Portrait of Ryokan, attributed to Ryokan

Glimpses of the Life and Poetry of Ryokan

Furuta Shokin

In his later years, Ryokan wrote this poem:

*A boy deserted his father
and ran away to another province.
Enduring hardship, he tried to draw a tiger
but could not even make a cat.
Here if anyone asks me what is on my mind
I would say just that I am the same old Eizo.*

This poem is titled "At the Home of Mr. Abe." It was improvised at the home of Ryokan's friend Abe Sadayoshi in the village of Watabe, Echigo (present-day Niigata Prefecture). This short poem roughly describes Ryokan's life.

It has been said that Ryokan came from an old family descended from the Yamamoto and surnamed Tachibana. The family's remote ancestor was Tachibana no Moroe (684-757), a courtier and poet. Ryokan's father Inan and mother Hideko were adopted by the family, whose head for generations had held the positions of headman of the village and Shinto priest. Inan was adopted into the family because the family's only son had died young. Inan studied *haiku* from an early age

because his natural father was a haiku poet. Inan became a haiku poet also, well known in Hokuetsu-Echigo and the neighboring region. However, it seems that he was poor at managing the family business. The family fortune was beginning to ebb while Ryokan was growing up. Ordinarily Ryokan, the oldest son in the family, would have assisted his father and inherited the family business, but Ryokan, who inherited his father's traits, liked learning and had no intention of carrying on the family tradition. When he was 17 he became a disciple of Genjo of the Koshoji temple, near his hometown of Izuizaki, and joined the Zen priesthood. Perhaps Ryokan's father allowed him to become a priest because there was no pressing reason to refuse his desire. Ryokan's father was only about 40 years of age then, and he had another son Yushi, four years younger than Ryokan. The passage 'A boy deserted his father' suggests that there may have been some antagonism between the father and the young Ryokan, but the details are not known.

When Ryokan was 21 years old, Kokusen of the Entsuiji temple of Tamashima in Bitchu (the western part of present-day Okayama Prefecture), who was acquainted with Genjo through the priesthood, stayed at the Koshoji temple when he was in the area on a pilgrimage. Ryokan met Kokusen then. Ryokan adored Kokusen and accompanied him to the Entsuiji temple. "And ran away to another province" must refer to this departure from his homeland to go to Bitchu. This term "... ran away ..." suggests that there was something that influenced Ryokan to make this important decision to leave his homeland, the same as does the term "... deserted his father ...". Ryokan's childhood name Eizo was changed to Fumitaka when he was a little older. He also had the nickname "Magari". Perhaps he was called "Magari" because in a way he was *beso magari*, meaning eccentric. It is not clear when he changed his layman's name to Ryokan and took up the pseudonym of Taigu, "great fool". He must have changed his name after he had entered the priesthood, but it is not known whether he changed it while he was with Genjo or Kokusen.

It is believed that it was after he returned to his homeland Echigo at age 37 that he began to make his contributions as Ryokan. If we are to take this year as a turning point in his life, the 20 years between the time he joined the priesthood and the year he returned to Echigo were the basic training period during which he became Ryokan. Kokusen died at the Entsuiji temple in March of 1791 at age 68. Ryokan spent 12 years with him, if he stayed with Kokusen until his death. Here he experienced the privations that reached his bones.

As he wrote in the poem titled "Entsuiji Temple", Ryokan spent many years of his life in poverty without adequate food and clothing. The poem reads:

*Winters and springs have come and gone many times
since I came to Entsuiji temple.
When my clothes get dirty
I just wash them myself;
When I run out of food
I go out from the temple to
a village of a thousand houses.
Needless to say, I know no one.
I read biographies of priests of high virtue in the past.
It is good for a priest to be poor.*

As Ryokan came from another province, he did not have one friend he knew well, nor was there anyone who was kind to him. During this period, Ryokan encouraged himself to read biographies of virtuous priests from which he received the inspiration to go through his training following their examples with the resolution that all priests should remain poor. In the poem titled "Priests", Ryokan severely criticizes those priests who use Buddhism as means to make a living, lack religious spirit, and are bent on gaining wealth and fame. After Ryokan had joined the priesthood, he found that many priests did not behave as he thought priests should. As described in a passage in the same poem, he "Offered incense and asked Buddha for a lasting strong religious spirit". Ryokan lived up to his pledge to strengthen his religious spirit. He did not settle at one temple to have a parish, and he did not use Buddhism as a means to make a living.

Ryokan prayed for strong religious belief. When he had this strong faith he abruptly returned to his homeland. The villagers must have talked about the priest who had returned looking like a beggar, but of course Ryokan ignored them. If Ryokan's purpose in becoming a priest were to live in a large temple and to wear the purple robe, returning home in torn clothes, saying "When my clothes get dirty/ I just wash them myself", might have meant that he was a defeated man who "tried to draw a tiger/ But could not even make a cat". But Ryokan felt no shame for what he considered his inability to achieve his aims.

Ryokan's struggle at the Entsuji temple was to endure poverty, disregarding all fame and wealth; he had no desire for worldly success. "Here if anyone asks me what is on my mind", he would say I am only Eizo, a son of Inan from the start. Ryokan was not discontent to be the same Eizo. Kokusen must have expected Ryokan to succeed him, but Ryokan did not intend to become Kokusen's successor. Ryokan was satisfied to be a plain monk in training and was content with the life of a begging monk, who had "lived in woods yesterday and visited the village today".

Ryokan was called a Zen priest, a Buddhist monk, and a Buddhist priest, but the man Ryokan was not any of them. As Ryokan wrote in a poem:

*Throughout my life, I was too unsophisticated to raise my position.
I let my life follow its natural course.
Nine pounds of rice in a sack,
one bundle of firewood by the hearth.*

Ryokan joined the priesthood but he was too unsophisticated to prosper as a priest. The best he could do was to submit to his life and let it follow its own natural course. All he needed for daily subsistence was nine pounds of rice in a sack and a bundle of firewood. When he ran out of food, he simply "went to a village begging for food".

Partly due to the decline in his physical strength, living alone in a hermitage in his later years was not free from difficulties. He must have undergone hardship, as described in the following poem:

*Humbly living in a three room cottage,
not to mention it is mid-winter.
The details of hardship are difficult to relate.*

But he was free from concern because he accepted the difficulties as such and did not let them defeat him. Even when he did not have rice for that day, he never lost his peace of mind and composure. He wrote "Calmly muse on. There is no way to make a livelihood. Write a poem in memory of the deceased".

Upon his return to his homeland at about age 40, he started to live in a hermitage. He moved his quarters frequently, centering around Mt. Kugami, and died on January 6, 1831 at age 73. His life was not the passive one of a recluse. As he expressed in a poem, he "asked for unshaken religious spirit", and he kept it. He believed that a priest must have this religious spirit and consistently underwent strict religious training. For that reason poverty was something to be desired not hated.

*Clothed in a monk's robe,
from time to time reflect on the reason for leaving home.*

As can be learned from this poem, he always feared that he might lose his religious spirit and from time to time reflected upon himself.

Ryokan studied the Soto branch of Zen under Genjo and Kokusen. He respected the Zen teachings of Dogen (1200-1253), the founder of the Soto branch, but he did not have any interest in joining that branch. At times he held the faith of the Hokke and Jodo sects. In addition, he must have gained some understanding of the Shingon sect while he lived on Mt. Kugami. Ryokan had many opportunities to become acquainted with various branches of the Buddhist faith. His father Inan believed in Tenshin butsu, his younger brother Yushi became a priest in his later years, and



Gogoan, Ryokan's hermitage in Niigata prefecture

another younger brother Encho became the head (the 10th) of the Emmyo-in temple of the Shingi-Shingon sect. Ryokan's sister Mikako married Chigen of the Jogenji temple of the Jodo Shinshu sect in Izumozaki and later became a nun herself. Another sister, Murako, lived quietly at the Takiya-ji temple of the Hokke sect. Judging from the history of his training, the center of Ryokan's religious faith was Zen, but he was not bound by any particular sect. There are not many men who are so alone. The following poem was written beside the self-portrait of Ryokan reading by a lamp:

*It isn't that I am anti-social
But that I am good at amusing myself.*

He amused himself while living alone and was proud of his solitude.

The intensity with which he lived alone earnestly in spite of old age can be seen in the long poem on winter confinement in Gogoan on Mt. Kugami:

*Wintering on Mt. Kugami,
as snow fell day after day
the pass is buried,
there is no word from the villagers
here I am completely shut off from the world,
I am living in a new year
depending on one life-line, water from the mountain spring,
a line like a strand of rope made by a workman of Hida.*

Ryokan said he disliked "poems written by a poet, calligraphy by a calligrapher, and dishes prepared by a chef", and explained that his poems are not of that kind. In everything, Ryokan rejected pretense and affectation. After becoming a priest, he despised priests who acted sanctimonious; he wished to remain a plain monk, "just the same old Eizo".

Indeed Ryokan was gifted with talents for poetry and writing, and his calligraphy was excellent. He kept his exceptional talents to himself, admonishing himself not to get by with technical skill and to continue to reflect on the world around him. This corroborates the fact that he held to his strong religious spirit and did not seek fame but continued with his training.

Ryokan's learning and cultivation were built on his natural talent and his own efforts. He was mostly a self-educated man. It is said he began reading his family's books when he was very young. According to the library catalogue in his parent's home, the family had several collections of Japanese poems including the *Kokinshu*, the *Gosenshu*, the *Shuishu*, and Saigyō's poems, as well as various biographies and travel books. It seems that he learned to write from reading these books, and he enjoyed writing poems. In addition, Ryokan unwittingly acquired a refined taste from his father. It is presumed that Ryokan also was given a basic understanding and knowledge of Chinese poetry and the Chinese language by his father. After he entered the Zen priesthood he had many opportunities to become acquainted with the analects of Dōgen and others. In his youth, Ryokan mastered the basics of the Chinese language. As Ryokan devoted his life to religious development, he continued searching throughout his life. After he had returned to his homeland, he borrowed and read the *Analects* of the Buddhist Priest Chō Chō and the *Manyōshū*. He was also entranced by the *Tale of Genji* when he read it. In his later years, he copied the scripture of the *Hokke-kyō*, and frequently read the Buddhist scriptures. He also read the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Shikyo*, *Book of Songs*. Ryokan's biographies do not make it clear that he had any scholarly associates; he must have studied alone, continuing his studies untiringly, living in honest poverty till the end.

The surviving letters of Ryokan vividly conjure the image of a priest studying while suffering from scabies and ringworm. "Of what use is a false reputation?" he wrote. He pursued learning and cultivation for his own sake, and he had no intention of becoming famous as a scholar. He could tolerate fish smelling like fish, but he could not tolerate a scholar putting on airs.

The religious spirit of Ryokan who was "just the same old Eizō" included detachment and the child-like innocence that Ryokan had maintained when he was called Eizō. He rejected fulsome-ness and pretense. Ryokan's poems often dealt with simple pleasures—children playing ball, the whereabouts of his lost bowl:

*Spring is here, the winter is over.
I left the hermitage to go begging for rice.
Arriving at a village
I found children enjoying a spring day, bouncing a ball.
I joined them.
A child bounced a ball; I sang one, two, three, four, five, six, seven,
a child sang and I bounced the ball
bounced and sang, sang and bounced.
Playing with children, I spent a long hazy spring day.
a hazy spring day.
I spent the day bouncing a ball with children.

A beloved bowl that I always carry with me when I go begging.
Though I've had it for years
I left it some place on the wayside.
Not knowing what to do and without a clue
I was just distracted.
I looked this way and that in the dusk.
'Here it is', said someone;
The bowl was brought to me.
How glad I was to see the bowl returned unexpectedly.
Poor little bowl of a beggar
left behind while I picked violets in a spring field.
Poor bowl of a beggar.*



A lacquered begging bowl purported to have been used by Ryokan.

A string-covered hand ball once owned by Ryokan.



Ryokan pursued his religious self-training wishing to keep the detachment and the innocence of a child and to develop this into a religious spirit.

*In a hermitage
I am living my days in poverty
but my mind is clear.*

It has been said that this poem was sent to his brother Yushi. Ryokan wanted to attain the simplicity permitting him to say "my mind is clear" at all times while he lived a hermit's life, beginning at Gogoan. We might assume that life in the hermitage was extremely calm, "remove contact with man and follow the natural course", but probably it was not so in reality.

He wrote this poem while at Gogoan:

*I spent days living here
looking at the water flowing
over rocks with no impurities
I know that I must always
be conscious of the task I assigned myself:
to purify the world.*

He wished to clear the impurity of the world like the water of a stream running through rocks clears muddiness. Another poem by Ryokan on this topic:

*Away from the world
high on Mt. Kugami
taking guidance from the water in the stream flowing nearby.*

Of course, "Away . . . high . . ." refers to Mt. Kugami but it also implies that he chose his life in the hermitage not just to get away from the world but rather in search of a higher purpose. Obviously, "Taking guidance from the water . . ." means that he regarded the clear stream water as his teacher. Ryokan continued to work to purify himself further while living in the hermitage.

*Bring more uncertainty
to try me, who forsook the world.*

As he watched the flow of the mountain stream day and night, he must have reflected on himself, asking, "Is my mind clear?" In "Priests" mentioned earlier, he wrote, "As I watch priests, they preach indiscriminately", criticising that they preached too much, reflected on themselves too little. Probably Ryokan never preached in his lifetime. He read much and wrote a lot, but it was primarily for himself. Lists which appear to be admonitions survive, also probably written only for himself. For example, there are instructions for preparing for a trip. They read:

1. Necessities: a hood, towel, tissue paper, fan, money, a ball, marbles.
2. Personal articles: a sedge hat, *kogake* (cloth covers for arms and lower legs), a handkerchief, walking stick, a surplice.
3. Items needed for daily use: clothing, some tung oil, a bowl, a sack.

Read the list above when leaving. Unless one gets back to nature, one will not have freedom.

No doubt Ryokan was able to remember everything by reading over this list. It is interesting that a ball and marbles were included among the "necessities". The mission of a priest is "to seek for a Bodhisattva and to lead all living things with virtue". As Ryokan retired to a hermitage in search of religious spirit, he neglected the activities connected with leading all living things with virtue. Naturally, he received criticism for this. In response Ryokan wrote:

*While those who give themselves to save the world
how can I seek moments in a hermitage?*

However, "how can I seek moments in a hermitage?" is not an expression of shame, but rather a suggestion that what he is doing has the same meaning as giving himself to save the world. Even though he escaped from the world to his life in a hermitage, it was not a simple retirement, as he indicated earlier in his line "High up . . .". Of course, he must have meant that he had no intention to evade responsibility by saying, "How can I seek moments in a hermitage?"

It is important to remember that the religious spirit based on detachment and child-like innocence is included at the foundation of Ryokan's poems as an earnest prayer. It is of particular significance that Ryokan wrote in "Priests", "He offered incense and asked Buddha for a lasting strong religious spirit".

Ryokan studied the poetry of Han-shan thoroughly, but in his own work went far beyond Han-shan. He studied Japanese poems, from the *Manyoshu* to the *Kokinshu*, finally going from the *Manyoshu* and developing his own tone. These changes can be seen not only as modifications in the tone of the poems but also as the deepening of the religious spirit behind them. As might be expected, works of Ryokan's later years confirm this.

On November 3, 1828, when Ryokan was 70 years old, the Sanjo area was struck by a great earthquake. At that time Ryokan wrote to his friend Yamada Toko in Yoita:

*Isn't it sad
to have lived long unexpectedly and
to live to suffer this kind of disaster.*

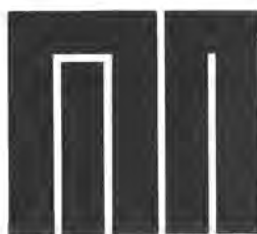
In a note attached to this poem, he said:

*But if one has to meet with misfortune, it is well to meet it directly.
When it is time to die, it is well to die. This is the secret for avoiding
misfortune.*

Here the state of truly deep, unconstrained detachment of his later age is seen. Although it is the way of the world, it must have been unbearable for Ryokan who had prayed for a lasting strong religious spirit to lose his physical and mental strength in old age. Several long poems that touch on grief over old age, the problems of aging, and graying hair evoke a strong image of Ryokan's sorrow. Perhaps the pathos that is common to all of his poems derives from the fact that the strong religious spirit that he had sought and prayed for was not always present and from the sad fact that his religious spirit weakened, despite his prayers, as he grew old.

Ryokan died on January 6, 1831, three years after the earthquake, leaving a farewell poem:

*Falling maple leaves
showing the topside,
then the bottom.*





Wood portrait sculpture of Ryokan (Author's collection)

The Calligraphy of Ryokan

Itami Matsuo

Among the works left by Ryokan, that which is most familiar to us is his calligraphy. Many Japanese and Chinese poems are difficult to appreciate without much research and study, but calligraphy can be enjoyed and appreciated on sight, though there may be differences in the degree of understanding and appreciation. In this sense, from the time of Ryokan, there has been no art form that has been valued as highly as calligraphy.

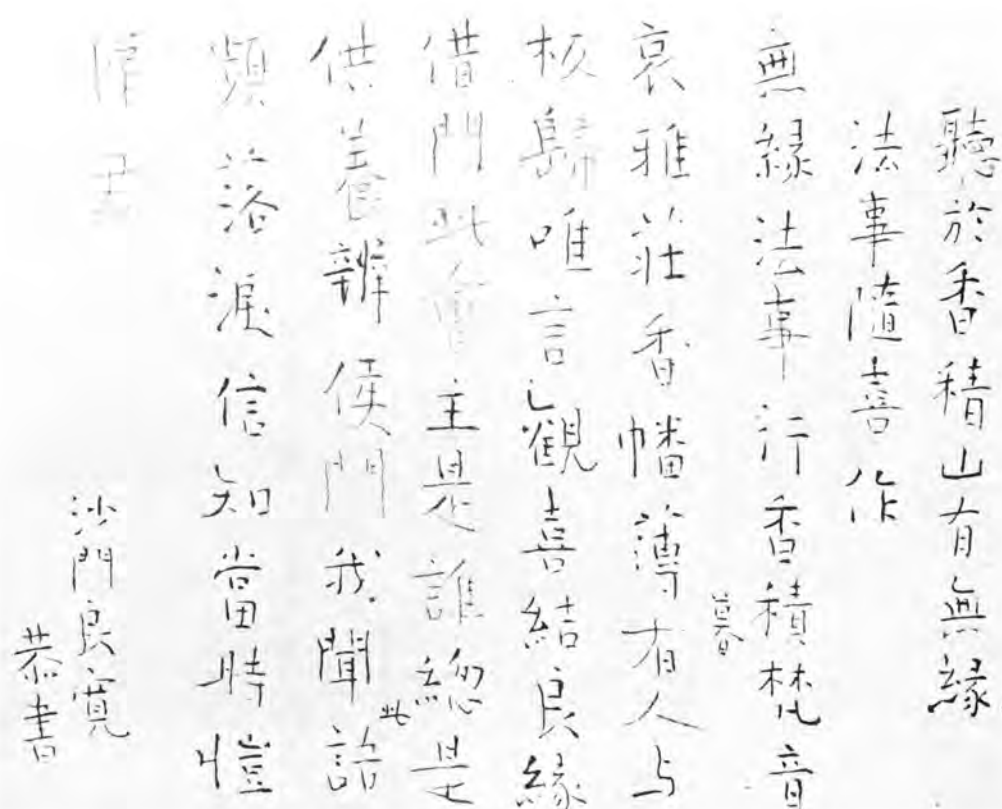
There are many tales describing how the people of Ryokan's time sought to obtain specimens of his calligraphy. It has been said that Ryokan wrote the characters of the famous calligraphy "*Tenjo Taifu*" in response to a child who begged him to write something on a piece of paper with which he was to make a kite. The words refer to the wind which helps kites soar. Sadly, it appears that an adult used this child to squeeze calligraphy from Ryokan. The details of how Ryokan came to write it can be learned from Suzuki Bundai's commentary mounted with the calligraphy.

On the other hand, it appears that there were those who highhandedly tried to coerce calligraphy from Ryokan. Some intimidated the priest to make him write for them. The following passage is contained in *Adventures of the Zen Priest Ryokan*:

A confectioner named Manzo admired the priest's calligraphy and desired to have Ryokan write the signboard for his store. Brush and

秋夜月
清光滿
庭中
桂香
幽
深
處
人
靜
坐
看
天
星
落
屋
梁
上
一
輪
明
如
鏡
照
見
人
心
事
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Detail of "An Autumn Night, Take Delight in the Moon" (Author's Collection)



An example of the *kaisbo*, standard style handwriting, of Ryokan

paper in hand, he chased the priest and caught up to him at a certain home in the post town of Jizodo. Manzo begged and begged until his wish was answered. On that day, the priest told another, "I met with a calamity today . . ." This year, I had occasion to pass through Niigata. The confectioner still displays the signboard written by the priest. I wandered around thinking back upon that time.

The signboard of the confectioner Manzo is very famous, and I believe that it is now in the Prefectural Museum. Why did a confectioner named Manzo chase after Ryokan? It was of course, because people were so eager to have his calligraphy. It is debatable how much Manzo understood or appreciated it.

How did Ryokan develop such excellent handwriting that even the illiterate desired it? First of all he had a great natural aptitude. His father Inan, a *haiku* poet, and Ryokan's younger brother Yushi's specimens of calligraphy are very fine. Some of Yushi's calligraphy looks so much like Ryokan's they are difficult to distinguish.

The Practice of Kaisho

From the surviving works and letters of Ryokan, it seems that he seriously began to practice calligraphy after settling down at Gogoan. If so, it was after 1804, when he was 46 years of age. It is thought that most of the period between the time when Ryokan joined the priesthood at age 17 and when he settled at Gogoan on Mt. Kugami was devoted to training as a Zen priest. An example of his work is a Chinese style poem of seven characters, "An Autumn Night, Take Delight in the Moon", written in 1806. By 1806, his calligraphy was good enough to write for others. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that he began practicing intensively around 1804 when he settled at Gogo-

an. The peace of mind that he achieved from finding a place to settle resulted in his devoting himself to calligraphy, something he liked, had a gift for, and which was an important means for teaching others.

However, after he started intensive practice his calligraphy fell into disorder temporarily, and he even became poor at it. For instance, once Ryokan began studying another's calligraphy, he would copy it fervently until he was able to exhibit his own previous strength. Therefore, his handwriting often seemed to falter. Thus, it is too simplistic to conclude that if a specimen of Ryokan's writing is poor it must have been written while he was young.

Unfortunately it is not clearly known which of his works were done at which times in his life. However, as mentioned he seems to have seriously started to practice calligraphy around 1804, emulating Wang Hsi-chih. Wang Hsi-chih's style was easy for him to copy for Ryokan grew up with the Oie style of calligraphy. It was probably very natural for him to study it. The following is a list of forerunners whose calligraphy Ryokan is believed to have studied, and the copybooks he used in these studies.

Japanese calligraphy: *Akibagi-jo*, attributed to Ono no Michikaze (894-966), *Roei*, author unknown, *Ryoen-cho*, by Imperial Prince Son'en (1289-1356).

Chinese calligraphy: works of Chang Chin (sometime during the Later Han period), Wang Hsi-chih (307?-365?), Wang Hsien-chih (344-388), Chow Hou Ming (514?), Chang Hsu (early 8th century), Huai Su (sometime during the T'ang period), Huang Ting Chieng (1045-1105) and the books *Shu Tzu Shib Tieb* (777), *Chien Tzu Wen* (T'ang period), *Shu Lu Sun Chi Hou* (1091).

Probably, the works that had the greatest influence on Ryokan's small *kaisho*, a standard style handwriting, were those of Ike no Taiga (1723-1776). When one takes a close look at Taiga's *Gokunei* or *Jubenzu-daishu*, he is amazed to find how much Ryokan's small *kaisho* resemble them. Taiga's *kaisho* are more ample and softer than Ryokan's; Ryokan's small *kaisho* started from Taiga's style but adhered strictly to the structure of the characters. Ryokan frequently stayed in Kyoto. It is easy to understand that it was natural for him to pay attention to the specimens of calligraphy written by Taiga, who was very popular among cultured men of Kyoto at that time.

On the other hand, the soundness of the composition or balance of Ryokan's writing is astonishing. He attained this remarkable ability particularly after he settled at Gogoan. The reason for this is probably Ryokan's practice in painting.

Ugan, a Buddhist priest, became Ryokan's friend through Buddhist activities. He went through intensive training and was a Zen priest worthy of the calling. He liked to paint and used the pseudonym Kaio. He studied painting under Kano Baisho. It seems that these lessons did not improve his painting much, but Ugan taught Ryokan how to paint and studied calligraphy with Ryokan in return. Perhaps because his teacher Ugan was a poor artist, Ryokan did not attain proficiency in painting, but as an unexpected fruit of these lessons he acquired skill in the ability to compose his calligraphy. He became very skillful at utilizing space. One letter or character can almost pass as a painting as is. Incidentally, Ryokan was also much influenced by Ugan's handwriting. Ryokan's work "Bronze" is one such example.

Taking one more look at the poem "An Autumn Night, Take Delight in the Moon", it is by no means poor calligraphy, but the characters are all huddled together, and the calligraphy is not unique to Ryokan.

Now, take a look at the calligraphy shown on page 19. Two characters, "*Tai U*", meaning tinged with rain, that were taken from a T'ang Period Chinese poem, are written with fairly large strokes and signed "written by Ryokan". It is a well-known fact that Ryokan loved rain. However, for Ryokan who depended on religious mendicancy for his livelihood, rain and snow were great hardships. Rain was not something simply to be loved. He faced the rain that was painful to the marrow and made of it an instrument of self-improvement. Rain had a deep meaning for Ryokan.

What is important here is "*Tai U*" as a work of calligraphy. The elegance exhibited in the molding of the character "*tai*" is beyond description. It goes beyond the excellence of the form alone, showing a great deal of forcefulness. To draw a circle, he did not simply move the brush but



"Tai U", Tinged with Rain (Author's collection)

completed the circle by putting emphasis in key places. The character for "rain" tends to be light and weak, so he coordinated the work by writing his signature rather roughly. Its composition and molding are remarkably well done. Of course, this was a work of his mature period, probably done while he was living at the Otogo shrine. While much influenced by Huai Su and other accomplished calligraphers, in the final analysis Ryokan developed a beautiful and expressive calligraphy that was unique.

Yet, "*Tai U*" is still lacking something. It is still at the level that can be attained with skill alone. In order for Ryokan's characters to attain perfection, a further maturing of the man as a human being had to take place, or put another way, he needed "seasoning". Ryokan's calligraphy was finally perfected about the time he lived at the Otogo shrine, when he was about 60 years of age. Ryokan lived there until he was 68 years old.

Though it may be unpleasant to say, perhaps some physical handicap is necessary to achieve a well-seasoned handwriting. A feeling of roughness created by a hand that has complete freedom of movement is different from the handwriting of a person who is suffering somewhat from palsy. Paintings by Tomioka Tessai (1836-1924) done after he was 80 years of age are very fine. It is sad, but his perfected art was achieved at a very high price. Similarly, Ryokan wrote calligraphy that was to impress the hearts of people for years to come, but he too paid dearly for it. Ryokan attained masterful, well-seasoned calligraphy during the last five years of his life, age 68-73, when he lived in Shimazaki.

Consider the poem "The Beggar Begg for Food" from the standpoint of calligraphy. Obviously, this work is seasoned, and the last part of it gives the impression that it took great effort to write. Probably it was written during the Shimazaki period; if written during the Otogo shrine period, it was done in the latter part.

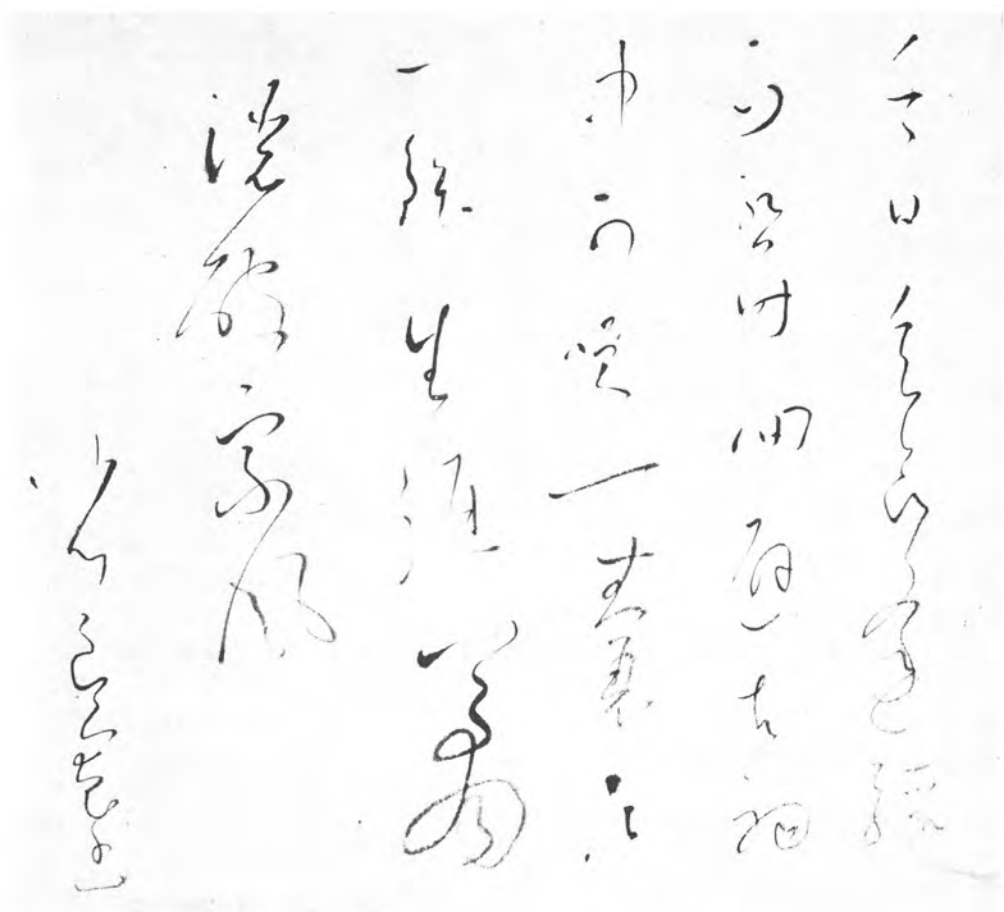
Ryokan's calligraphy which began with "An Autumn Night, Take Delight in the Moon" matured to "*Tai U*" and to "The Beggar" increasingly exhibits a well-seasoned zest. Many thoughts come to mind when one views the progress of this priest's calligraphy, supported by strenuous practice and perfection of the self.

The Practice of Kana

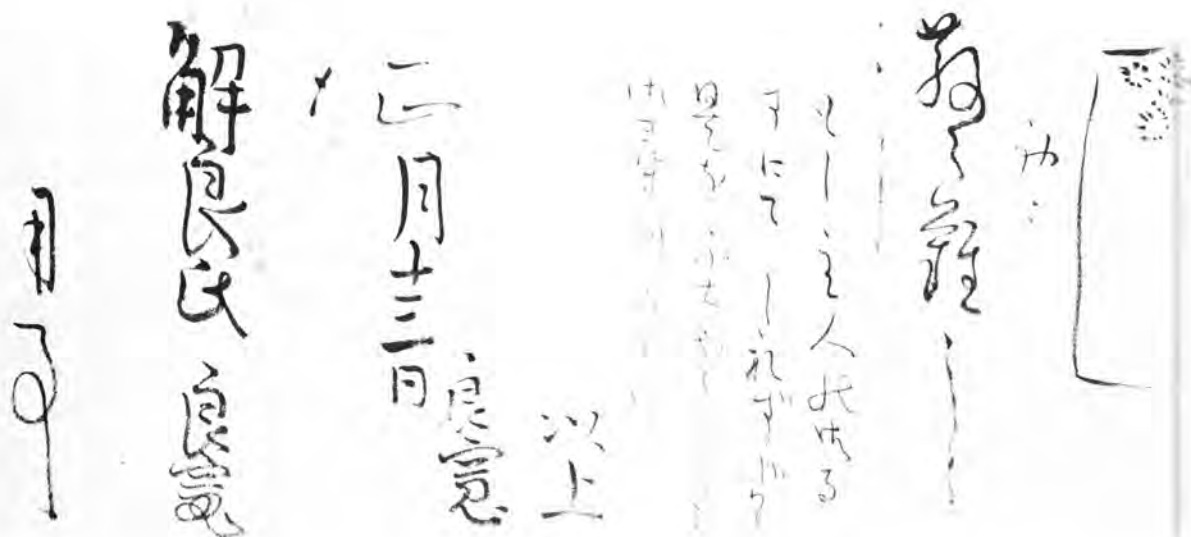
Let us consider Ryokan's *kana*, the Japanese syllabary. Basically, the *kana* used by Ryokan do not need to be considered separately as *kana* because their style was the *Manyogana*, which are actually characters. However, it is true that when these characters are used as *kana* they do show the tone of *kana*.

The writing of the long poem, "In Front of the Large Hall of Kugami . . ." has a style that immediately reminds one of the *Akibagi-jo*. Clearly this was a work of the Gogon period. In viewing each character in this poem separately one finds that it lacks elegance and is not particularly good. But when the poem is viewed as a whole, its inexpressible appeal captures the viewer. Each of the lines is particularly interesting; its curved strokes are like waves, and it is like watching waves rippling on a lake. The diversity shown in the latter half of the poem is excellent. Also, the curved signature "Buddhist priest Ryokan" unites the work harmoniously. If he had signed it just "Ryokan", with only two characters, the signature would not have had the force to unite the entire work. We must surmise that the author had calculated the effect and signed it that way. The Ryokan who attained this level of capability must have been a very sensitive person. Ryokan was a genius. He was endowed with an outstanding talent and the strength to endure extremely hard times.

It is known that a Japanese Confucian scholar, Kameda Hosai (1752-1826), who spent some time in Echigo (present-day Niigata prefecture) admired Ryokan's literary attainments, particularly his calligraphy. He copied Ryokan's handwriting to the point that it was teasingly referred to in a short humorous verse. It reads:



"Ame o Saku", an example of the cursive style of Ryokan



*Because Hosai just returned from Echigo
his handwriting is curved.*

Take a look at another piece of Ryokan's work in kana.

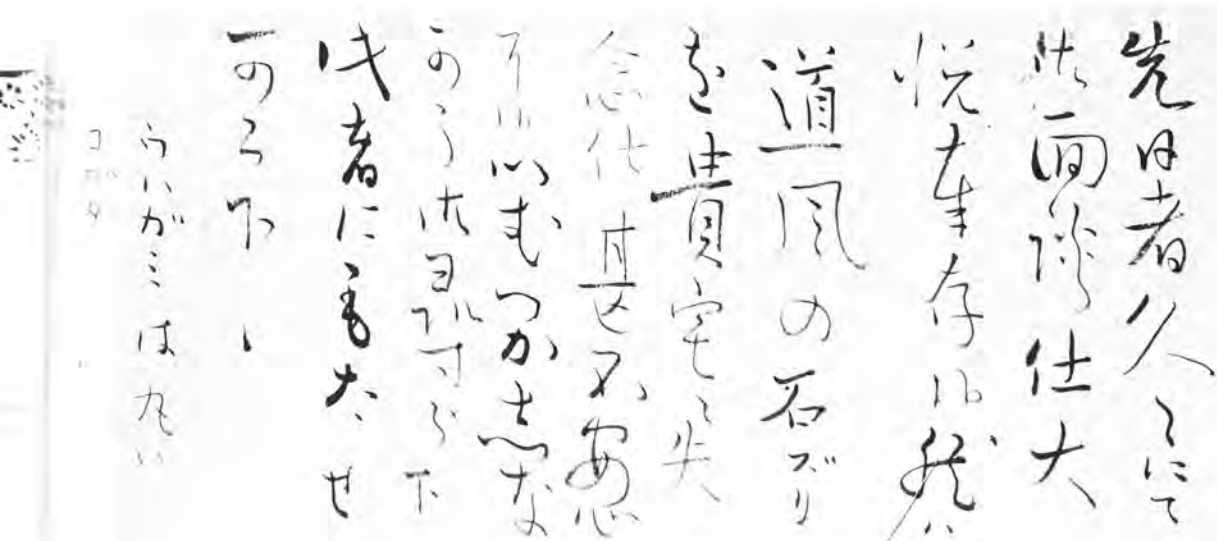
*From the sake served at the party,
I am feeling quite high
from the sake served at the party,
celebrating the building of a new house
celebrating the building of a new house
celebrating the building of a new house.*

Written by Ryokan

The letters are written smoothly with very thin strokes, like a piece of wire, yet they are forcefully written. It is a short piece but there is no problem in calling it one of the masterworks.

Ryokan seems to have been a man who wrote very slowly. A hard look at the first character in "Tai U", for example, makes one realize that it could not have been written quickly. I assume that the priest frequently wrote with a slow brush movement, but he must have written quickly at times. For instance, when he wrote the works that are suggestive of Ugan's, he must have moved the brush quite rapidly.

As another example, Ryokan's letter addressed to Kera Giheita was written deliberately at first, but gradually he accelerated the brush as if he were angered, and then finished it gently. The beautiful handwriting in the address is especially impressive. The address is written in the exact image of the Oie style of calligraphy. When he ends with a strong brush stroke, Ryokan's calligraphy very naturally falls into the rules of the Oie style. This intricacy indicates the latitude of Ryokan's calligraphy as well as the intensity of his training. Counterfeits of Ryokan's calligraphy were many when



Ryokan's letter addressed to the Kera family

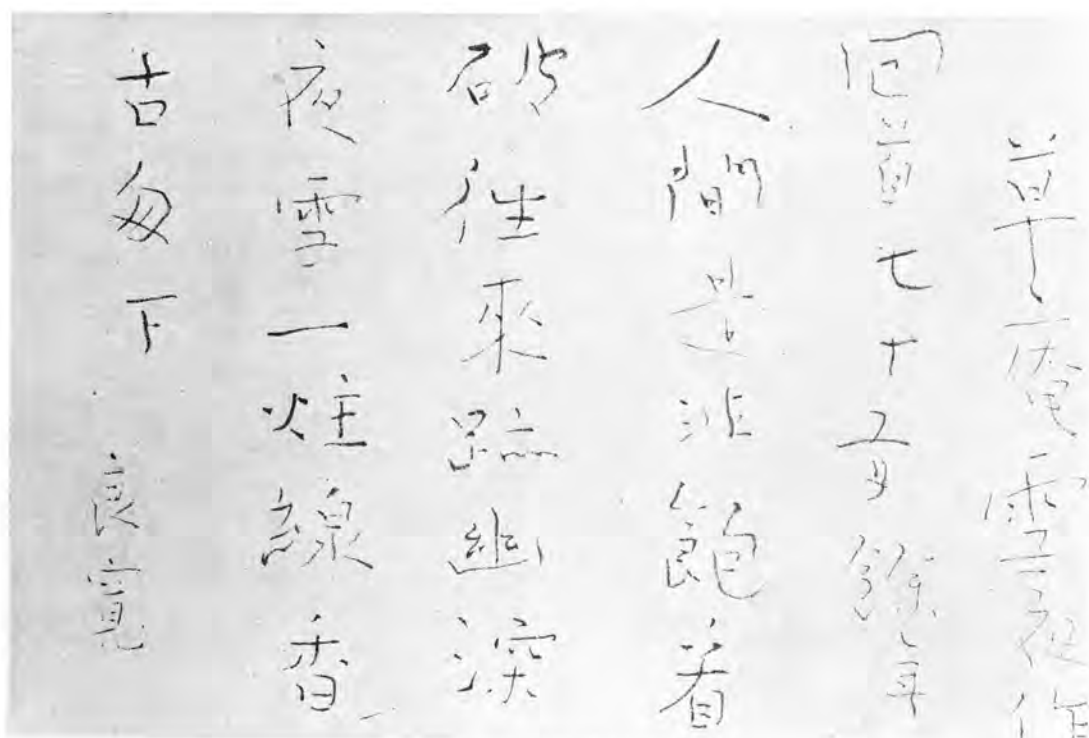
he was still alive, but their increase in number in the past fifty years is astonishing. At any rate, imposters like Maki Ryokan in Maki, Jizodo Ryokan in Jizodo, and Tsubame Ryokan in Tsubame, persisted in various locales, and a tremendous number of what was purported to be Ryokan's calligraphy were produced. The number of counterfeits increases every day. Today, only one out of a hundred pieces with Ryokan's signature is truly his work.

Distinquishing Characteristics of Ryokan's Own Work

It is not a simple task to distinguish Ryokan's calligraphy from its counterfeits. In order to do this, one must see if the specimen has the characteristics of Ryokan's calligraphy discussed earlier: the profound zest created by his steady brush movements, wave-like lines of continous characters, soundness arising from intensive basic training, and the total harmony created by a superb artistic sense. One of the problems in making the identification is that even Ryokan did not write perfectly every time. Some of his works were written when he was not feeling too well, and some were written even while he was ill. There are some that are very difficult to identify. However, generally it becomes clear upon close observation, and ones that take a long time to judge are rare.

In general, it seems that the counterfeits are written on poor quality paper with a poor brush and ink. There is a saying, "The clever workman does not quarrel with his tools", but this is not true at all. Masters are more careful in selecting their materials than laymen. Ryokan was no exception. Considering his upbringing alone, there is no reason to think that he would have been satisfied with poor paper and silk. Ryokan's life was as described in the poem below:

*It is hard to be so poor
as not to have brushes and paper;
I asked for them at a temple yesterday
today I asked for them at a doctor's.*



"Work in a Hermitage on a Snowy Night"

Ryokan was poor, but the fact that he was poor was beneficial in one sense. The persons Ryokan had to ask for materials for calligraphy belonged to the village headman class, were in charge of shrines or temples, or were physicians or wealthy merchants. So, in most instances Ryokan received fine materials. Consequently, the calligraphy done with poor materials is generally not his own.

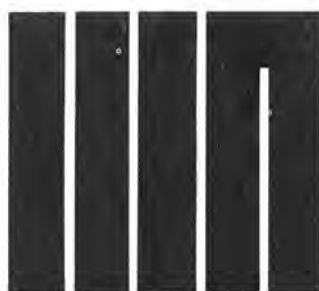
The mounting is also important. People were frugal in the old days, and a paper mounting is an indication of respectable handling. If Ryokan's calligraphy is mounted with paper, it is excellent. Therefore, Ryokan's calligraphy with a silk mounting was mounted in recent years, and is not the original mounting. Ryokan's calligraphy mounted with paper hanging in a alcove of a thatched roof house achieves a perfect balance and setting. If a work attributed to Ryokan is mounted with silk, its authenticity must be carefully verified. Occasionally, works of Ryokan have survived that have not been made into a hanging scroll, a folding screen, or have not been pasted on a sliding panel. At any rate, Ryokan was a poor priest, and there were not too many people who could afford to mount his calligraphy. Various works ended up in chest drawers while the owner thought someday he would get it mounted. The calligraphy of the poem, "In Front of the Large Hall of Kugami . . ." is one such example. When I first saw it, it had only a backing and looked as fresh as if it were written the day before. I, who have poor eyesight, didn't pay much attention to it, thinking it was a typical fake. When I saw it again after it had been mounted, the calligraphy looked so splendid it was eye-opening. This was partly due to the unusual skill of the mounter, but also because the mounting clearly brought out the age of the paper, adding repose. Mounting is very important.

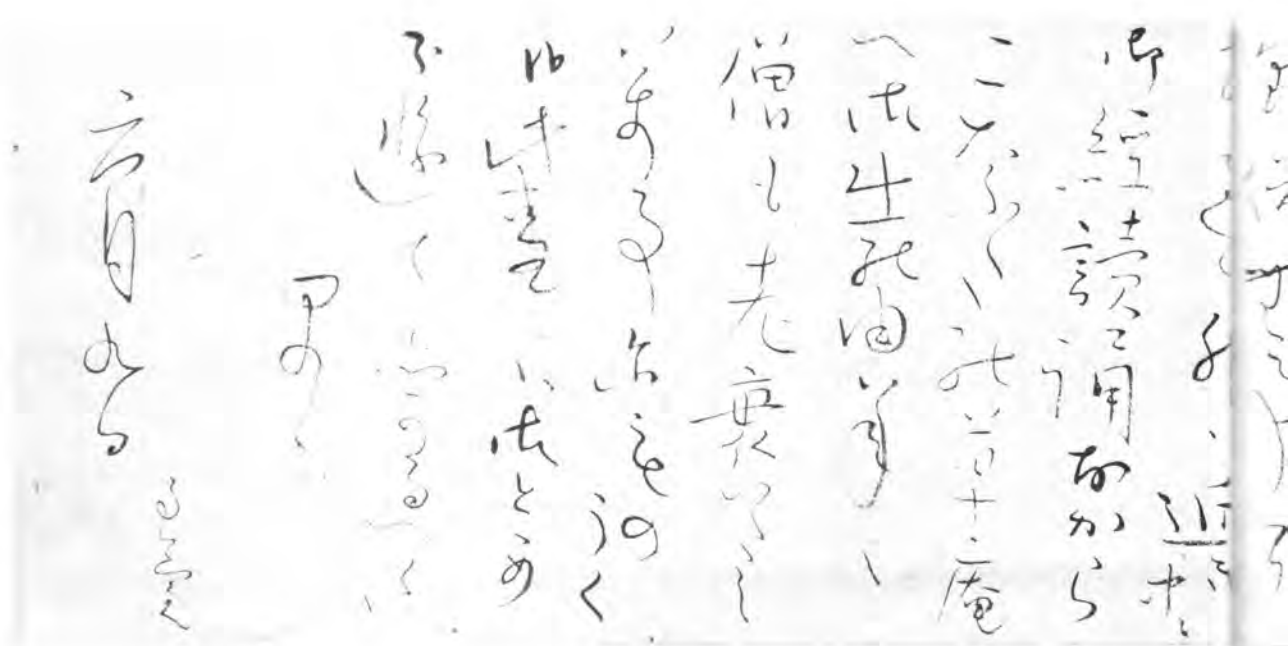
If I were to select now only one specimen of calligraphy by Ryokan that has survived, I would probably choose "Work in a Hermitage on a Snowy Night". Because it was a work of his closing period after he had grown old and infirm, it shows some frailty as well as maturity, but the scrupulous sensitivity and seasoning seen in the calligraphy more than overcome the frailty. The

poem is good also. The calligraphy is so splendid that a comment like skillful hardly applies.

Slightly thin and weak lines are characteristic of Ryokan and there have been those who disliked his calligraphy for this reason. However, in recent years Ryokan's calligraphy has become highly appreciated and hardly any voice of criticism is heard. This is an indication that Ryokan's calligraphy is widely admired. Exhibits related to Ryokan have been shown in many areas, and a succession of books on Ryokan have also contributed much to this. There are increasing numbers of people who wish to become acquainted with Ryokan directly by visiting places associated with him. People with an interest in rubbed copies have also increased, and various reproductions of Ryokan's calligraphy have been sold. All these trends have awakened interest in Ryokan's calligraphy.

Ryokan's work towers in the history of Japanese calligraphy. Today, the best representatives of the calligraphy of the Edo period (1615-1867) are believed to be the works of Hon'ami Koetsu and Ryokan. The magnificent writing of the amateur calligrapher Ryokan will be handed down for a thousand years to come.



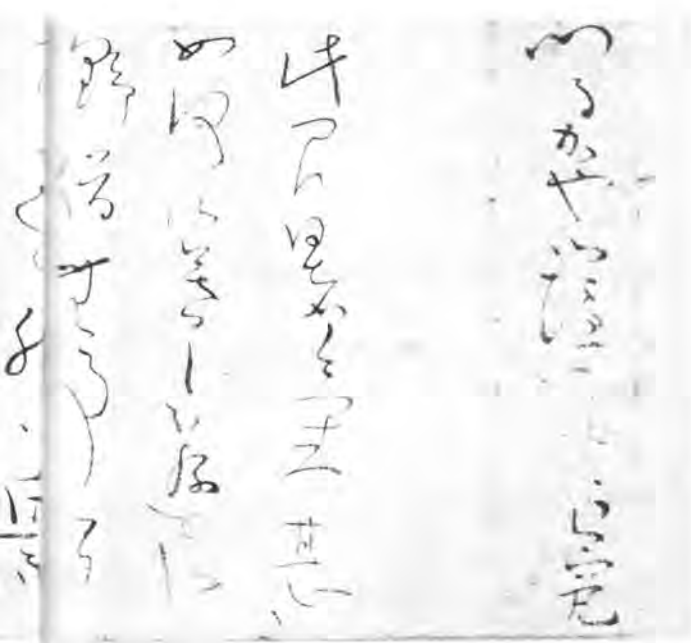


Understanding Ryokan's Calligraphy

Horie Tomohiko

What makes Ryokan's calligraphy beautiful? Of course, there are many points of view, but I would like to consider it from three standpoints. The first is its clarity of line. It is very clean, clear and gentle. Its purity reminds us of designs by Matisse or writings of the skilled Chinese calligrapher Ch'uan shan (Ch'ing chu, 1607-84). However, it is characteristic of Ch'uan shan's calligraphy that it shows a sustained and prolonged tone, giving a slightly gloomy feeling. On the other hand, Ryokan's calligraphy is crisp and rapid, showing the difference in blood lineage. I have always viewed with amazement the difference in the calligraphy of these two Orientals and the similarity between Ryokan's smart, clear, and modern line and that of Matisse. Ryokan especially loved calligraphy with pure and clear lines.

The second point is its flow as a whole. I think it is rare to find a man who pursued the beauty of the continuity of the whole of each work of calligraphy as Ryokan did. It appears almost as if the structure of the individual characters was disregarded. Or rather, it might be more pertinent to say that he was fascinated by the beauty of the flow to the extent that he was unaware that the structure was sacrificed. This is why it is said that Ryokan's calligraphy is difficult to read. Also, there are not many people who omit characters when writing their own poems as Ryokan did. In his case, we must consider the possibility that the omission occurred, even if he had notes beside him, because he did not pay much attention to the order of the characters as a result of his emphasis on



Ryokan's letter addressed to Tori-i Naoemon

the flow. This is very different from omission of characters due to carelessness. His emphasis on flow caused him to write in an extremely simplified, cursive style.

The third point is Ryokan's skillful handling of space. The balance of the space between the adjoining lines is masterly, and his handling of the placement of characters is perfectly beautiful. The treatment of the space within a character is similarly well executed. I mentioned earlier that he simplified the structure of the characters almost to the extreme. However, Ryokan's simplification is fundamentally different from simplification of structure by those with poor handwriting. Ryokan anchored a dot or drew a line at the critical spot to skillfully maintain the balance of power of the whole and prevent the disruption of the character. If the position of the dot or the line were shifted even slightly the character's structure would be completely lost. Therefore, it can be said that his cursive writing is not a result of his lack of interest in the rules of calligraphy, but rather that he accepted the challenge to recompose the structure of the characters through simplified cursive writing. His quick perception or delicacy in disposing the space between lines or the space taken up by a character is considered inherent with him, because it is executed very naturally and shows no sign of artificiality. There are those who say that Ryokan's calligraphy is beautiful because his brush movement is detached, in disregard of the rules of calligraphy. Such a view is absurd and misses the point. Ryokan's calligraphy is beautiful for its superb and unparalleled structure.

Ryokan's calligraphy is not so simple that its distinctive style, which towers above his contemporaries, can be explained simply by the naivete seen in his poems or his eccentric personality, as imagined from the many stories of his strange behavior.

Let us consider Ryokan's personality which is important to know in order to understand his calligraphy. Two of Ryokan's letters are selected here to obtain a glimpse into his personality.

The town of Yoita is a little over 5 kilometers southeast of Shimazaki village, Santo County, Niigata Prefecture, where Ryokan spent the last years of his life. It seems that Ryokan went to Yoita

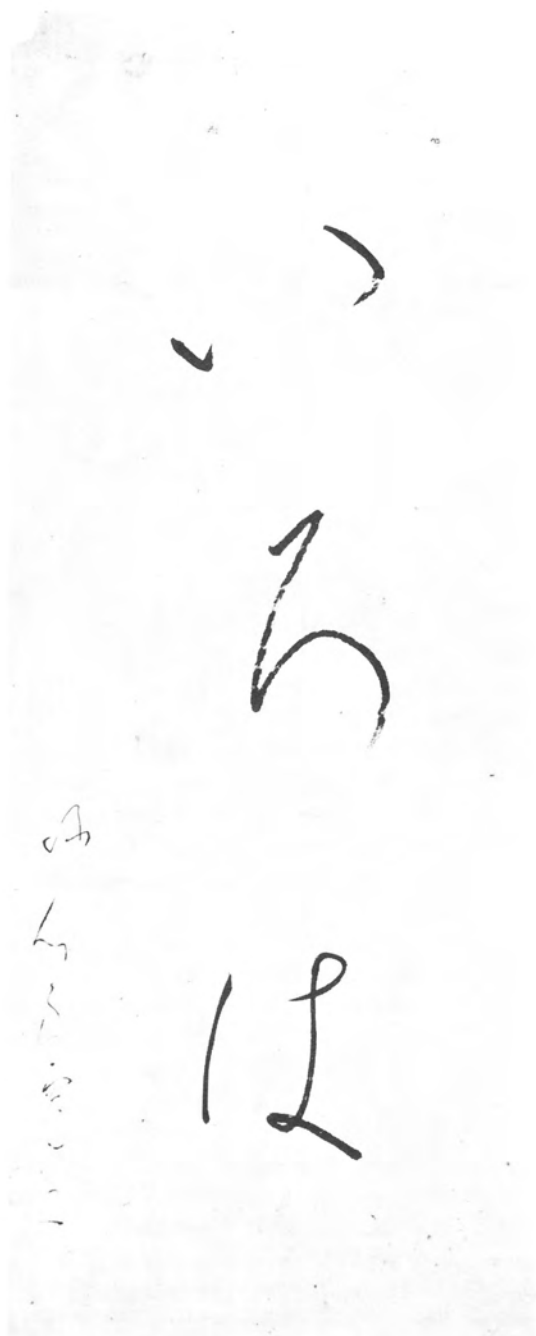


above

"Ichi ni san", One, Two, Three

right

"I ro ha", the first three characters of the Japanese syllabary



occasionally. He went there because the proprietor of the Yamadaya *sake* shop in that town was a man of taste who wrote *haiku* under the pseudonym of Toko. Around that time, there was a young woman named Oyoshi at the shop. Naturally, Ryokan became acquainted with her also. A letter written by Ryokan to Oyoshi remains today. It reads:

To Oyoshi, Yamadaya

October

Herewith I am returning the quilted garment which I borrowed. Cold weather is here. The glow of fireflies is gone. Who will give me the golden water (sake)?

Firefly

It seems that Ryokan usually arrived at Yamadaya at twilight. One day Oyoshi said to him, "You always come around dusk. You are like a firefly." An anecdote has been told that since then, Ryokan called himself "Firefly" when he was communicating with Oyoshi.

He probably borrowed a quilted garment upon leaving the Yamadaya one morning after spending a night there. The early cold weather that arrived in this northern country in October by the lunar calendar was unbearable for Ryokan. When one looks at this letter intently, it seems that Ryokan's personality is vividly revealed. It is amusing that Ryokan asked her for some sake, even though it is questionable that the young woman was able to read the letter. Ryokan favored the use of *Manyogana*, an old form of writing the Japanese alphabet. His use of this writing, regardless of whether the receiver of the letter could read it or not, makes one keenly aware that Ryokan was a man who did not contrive. His open and simple nature had put even this young lady so at ease that she teasingly referred to him as a firefly. It would seem that there is a strong relation between his mien and the straight and clear style of his calligraphy. This woman in the sake shop must have been quite talkative; Ryokan gave her the nickname "sparrow".

The content of the other letter, dated January 1, is as follows:

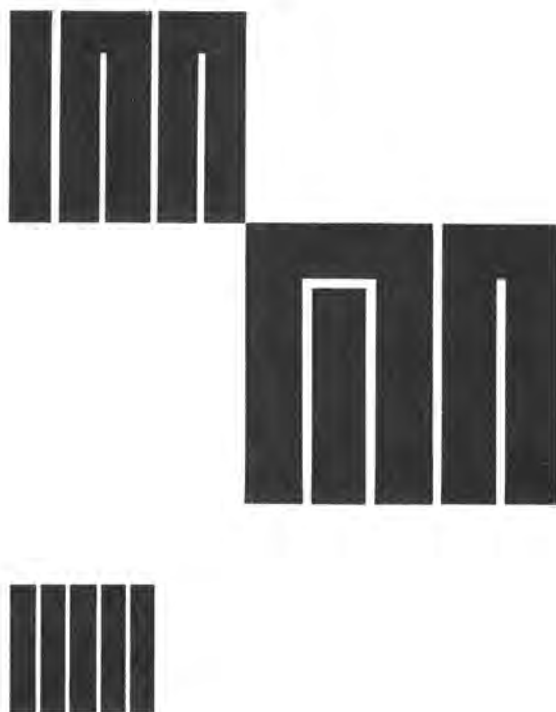
This person lives in my neighborhood. Her husband went to another part of the country to work, but he did not return last winter for some reason. She has many children all under the age of ten. Since spring, they have lived on what they received by begging around the villages. I wanted to give them something to help them but I am a poor priest myself and there is not much I can do for them. I hope you can help them in some way.

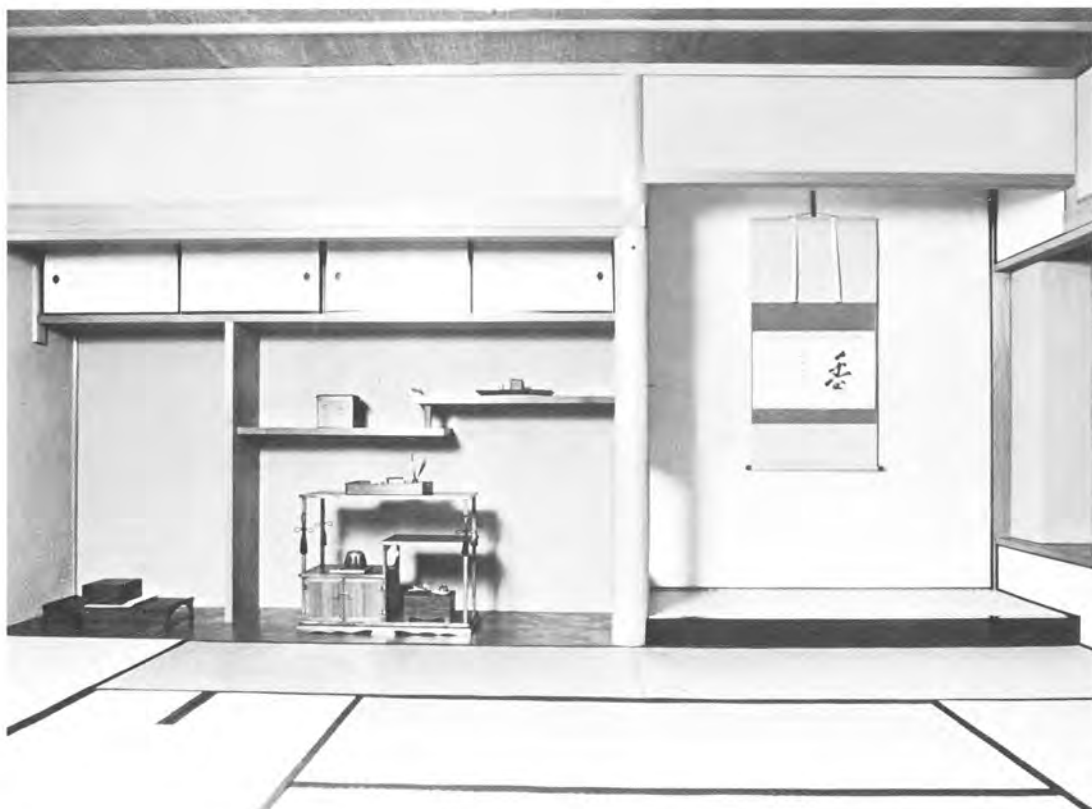
Ryokan wrote this letter while he was living in Gogoan to Kera Jyakumon, who had been supporting Ryokan in many ways. Jyakumon must have been surprised to receive a letter introducing a beggar to him, around the New Year holidays of all times. Ryokan might have been remembering his own childhood as he watched those children and the poor woman who was deserted by her husband. Anyone might feel Ryokan's full warmheartedness between the lines of this friendly letter, written crudely and fragmentarily. Ryokan was not a man to ignore the suffering of others. He had a tender heart and never lost the fresh sensitivity of a child throughout his life. The warmth and friendliness seen in Ryokan's calligraphy are very much derived from this aspect of his personality.

Generally, beautiful calligraphy can be divided into three categories: (a) those that are written methodically, strictly following the orthodox rules of calligraphy, (b) those that are based on the orthodox rules of calligraphy yet are not restrained by the rules, showing some individuality, (c) those that are written from the start without regard for the rules of calligraphy and exhibit only the individuality of the calligrapher. In concrete terms: (a) remains in an infantile state as an art because it lacks individuality, (b) includes all the distinguished specimens that have been valued as noble calligraphy in China and Japan since ancient times, (c) are the specimens of calligraphy that express in varied ways the zest of the calligrapher's personality formed in the different environments

of each genre, such as a warrior's, a scholar's, an artist's, or a priest's. There is no question that calligraphy of category (c) impresses each viewer with a different type of beauty; some with a strong soul, some with a serene profoundness backed by high culture, and some with delicate feelings. However, the fact that each one possesses some form of beauty does not necessarily mean that it has high artistic quality. The calligraphy in category (b) which impresses everyone with harmonious beauty should be ranked at the top. Using these criteria, Ryokan's calligraphy clearly ranks among these.

Ryokan did not have his own temple; he was a poor priest who lived a life dependent on the protection provided by others. However, it is imagined that his calligraphy was in demand because he was surprisingly popular among the people of his homeland for his cheerful, easygoing personality and his natural friendliness. Of course, there must have been those who desired his calligraphy because they truly appreciated the flavor of Ryokan's poems and the beauty of his style, but probably the level of appreciation of most of those who desired his calligraphy was such that they would accept just anything as long as it was written by Ryokan. To illustrate this, there is a famous pair of hanging scrolls consisting of "*i, ro, ba*," the first three characters of the Japanese syllabary and "*Ichī ni san*", one, two, three, treasured by Yamaga Sadanobu of Niigata prefecture, that is said to have been written in response to a request to write something the recipient could read easily.





A room prepared with the utensils necessary for an incense gathering. (Shoeido)

The Way of Incense, Part 1

Sanjonishi Kinosa

Transitions in the Elegant Pastime of Burning Incense

I no longer know
the hearts of the people
in my old village.
Yet, the blossoms have
the same fragrance still.

Ki no Tsurayuki

In the *Manyōshū* there are not many poems related to fragrance but in the *Kokinshū*, a strikingly large number can be found. The Heian aristocracy perfumed their clothes with incense and began to find it pleasurable in other ways. Eventually it passed into the realm of elegant leisure pastimes and became as popular as the painting and poetry contests that were already fashionable at the time.

In this respect, what in later times was called *ganko* “playing with fragrance” or *monko* “listening to fragrance” had its beginning during this period. *Monko* as such, is usually thought of as having begun in the later Muromachi period (16th century). However, as Professor Hayakawa



Silver censer from the Shosoin repository

Jinzo has suggested, it should not be thought of as a phenomenon of the medieval period but should be regarded as having originated in the court life of early Heian times. It was not long before it passed on to the warrior class and then into the hands of recluses. Near the end of the Muromachi period it was introduced among the wealthy merchants, and when the Edo period arrived, the circle of people who took pleasure in incense had expanded until it had reached the society of the common people. Thus even though the term "listening to fragrance" only came to be used during the early modern period, the initial concept must have been developed earlier by the court literati of the Heian period.

Interest in the use of incense in Japan began very early. Fragrant woods were probably first introduced to Japan with the transmission of Buddhism around the 6th century. If this is true, then they were imported by way of China and were not sent directly to Japan from their place of origin. And again, if they were introduced with Buddhism, it is probable that the use of incense was first introduced in a religious context. Incense has been widely used in a religious way, not only in Buddhism, and the use of incense has long been intimately connected with religion. In Japan, if it was introduced with Buddhism, the use of incense for religious purposes can be considered the first stage. The accepted religious use of incense was for purification before the Buddha. When one burns incense, a different kind of fragrance rises into the air, and it is possible to feel that it materializes the atmosphere of a world separated from mundane reality.

One's heart may be at rest when one stands quietly in the midst of incense, and people must have felt that it had some sort of mysterious power. One way or another, the custom of burning incense when paying homage to the Buddha was transmitted also to Japan. The kind of incense burner for that ceremony is called an *ekoro*, handled censer, which is not ordinarily used now. However, the incense burners that officials of the Tendai and Jodo sects use when receiving offerings are of this type. When incense is burned at a funeral, an *ekoro* is not used, but the custom itself has been continuously observed since the introduction of Buddhism. The offering of incense before the



Ekoro, handled censer, from the Shosoin repository

Buddhist altar in any household is an abbreviated version of that ceremony. In the religious use of incense, the fragrance was used to purify the surrounding area, and there do not seem to have been particular rules about the types of fragrance to be used. The incense burned as an offering to the Buddha is called *kuko* “offering incense”.

Before long, perhaps taking their inspiration from this “offering incense”, the nobility in the later part of the Nara period (8th century) began the custom of burning incense in their own homes. The incense used for this was called *soradakimono**, incense for pleasure or “play”, to distinguish it from offering incense. As far as the actual incense burned is concerned, it was virtually the same as offering incense. The primary difference between the two is that offering incense is burnt for the Buddha while incense for pleasure is burnt for other people and oneself. As one might suppose on the basis of this difference, the latter is practical and an individual concern, not a companion to formal activities. It attains its aim if one simply lights incense in the corner of a room with no one knowing about it.

In the Shosoin repository in Nara, there are two famous censers, one silver and one copper. Because they are large, they were most likely not used for offerings but for pleasure or for impregnating clothes with a fragrance. They are both round and split in two at the middle. One of them is splendidly constructed; the iron lighting chamber inside is gimbaled so that even if the censer is rolled around, the lighting chamber itself remains level. In order to disperse the fragrance, an intricate pattern of lion and phoenix over a floral ground has been carved in open-work filigree. Such a design allows the fragrance to pass through the spaces in the filigree to the outside. Around the 17th century, small censers called *sodekoro*, sleeve censers, were made in the same shape. They were probably meant to be hidden away in sleeves. The 17th century was the period when the apprecia-

**Soradakimono* was *ko* burnt for one's pleasure and sometimes to receive guests.

tion of fragrance was at the height of its popularity and, because the circle of practitioners was large, these round censers were made in many materials to suit different tastes. Examples exist in silver, others were beautifully filigree-carved in wood, and some were made out of precious stones. However, it seems that the use of sleeve censers did not continue into the Meiji period (1868-1912).

Incense pillows, too, were popular around the 17th century. These generally consisted of a long square box about the same size as the wooden pillows then in use. The upper side of the box was carved openwork. The box had a drawer inside which was fitted a small monko censer. When women went to bed they had an ordinary wooden pillow, but on the outside of that they placed an incense pillow. Over the incense pillow, they draped their hair and let the fragrance from the incense in the drawer flow through their hair until morning.

The word *takimono*, literally "burning thing", is an important term in incense and means blended paste incense. In the art of incense, an indefinable fragrance is esteemed. Takimono is not simply aromatic woods as such, but a fragrant material made by blending aromatic woods with various materials, both plant and animal. From the Heian to the Muromachi period it was takimono that was most familiar in the world of fragrance. The nobility of the Heian court made the blending of paste incense one of their greatest pleasures.

For impregnating clothes with incense, censers of the Shosoin type were probably used; however, by the time of the *Genji Monogatari*, this had changed. A large basket was overturned and inside it a kind of incense burner was placed; then the clothes were laid over the basket and they absorbed the fragrance of the incense. By the 17th century the basket had been replaced by a simple framework made with pieces of wood. The name *fusego*, originally used for the basket, came to be applied to this wooden frame as well. We can see an example of this new design in a painting on the cedar doors of the Ekansanso, the tea house built by the nobleman, Ichijo Ekan (1605-1672) that was constructed about the same time as the Katsura Detached Palace. Inside the fusego was placed a censer covered with a wire net. Around the perimeter of the censer there was a round vessel filled with water, over this vessel the wire net was placed. The censer used was large. Nowadays this has become a container for keeping the reserve coals needed to reset the fire rather than for burning incense itself. The old custom of actually burning incense in this censer has died out. It is not clear precisely when this occurred, but one can suppose that the custom of impregnating clothes with the fragrance of incense in this manner had, except for a small group of people, generally died out by the 16th century. The cause for the extinction of this long standing custom may perhaps lie in the state of the society during the Onin war (1467-1477). Perhaps the most important effect of that troubled time was that the leisure and abundance needed for the blending of takimono essentially disappeared.

People then searched for methods by which incense could be more simply made. They powdered various incense materials and, without kneading them into paste, simply put them into small bags. With names like *hanabukuro*, "flower sachet", *ukiyobukuro*, "sachet of the 'floating world' " and *tagasode*, "whose sleeves", these sachets became widely known. The great popularity of sachets is a phenomenon which began in the late medieval period but their origin can probably be traced back as far as the Nara period. Indeed these too can be seen among the articles in the Shosoin repository. There seems to be a relationship between their rise in popularity in the late medieval period and the falling into disuse of the fusego.

There must have been a demand for the fragrance of aromatic woods and incense among people who still followed the classical way. As described before, small round censers surpassing the older censers in artfulness appeared. The people who used these censers, although called "common people" were the wives and daughters of the great merchants belonging to a wealthy class low only in social status. And it seems the ladies of the entertainment world thought up novel and ingenious ways of using these censers.

Another important term in the history of incense is *myogo*. It generally referred to the incense burned before the Buddha such as *byakudan*, sandalwood, *jinsui*, "sinks in water" (an aromatic wood grown in the tropics, so dense it sinks in water) and others. Around the 16th century, the term *meiko* was used as an abbreviation of *meibutsuko* indicating incense with a long tradition behind it or incense made of the finest materials. This is the meaning of meiko in the *Hyaku-*

bachijushu Meiko, One Hundred and Eighty Varieties of Meiko, owned by Sasaki Doyo (1306-1373), *Rokujuichishu Meiko*, The Sixty-one Varieties of Meiko, and *Choku Meiko*, The Imperial Meiko.

Among the many kinds of meiko, the sixty-one varieties are the most esteemed among connoisseurs of incense. This is because the aromatic materials used in each are of superb quality, and the tradition behind them is of long and established standing. Furthermore, they were chosen by Sanjonishi Sanetaka (1455-1537), who was a man of great culture in the late Muromachi period. He selected meiko that had been handed down for many generations in the imperial family and those handed down in the Ashikaga shogun's family; these were recorded in a work known as *The Sixty-six Varieties*. Included are ten varieties of meiko:

Horyuji
Todaïji
Shoyo
Miyoshino
Kojin
Koboku
Nakagawa
Hokkekyo
Hanatachibana
Yatsunashi

These are followed by an additional six varieties:

Shakusendan
Onjoji
Tanka
Nenju
Butsuza
Jingai

He then selected another fifty varieties. Later, the Shino family revised the work and it came to be known as the *The Sixty-one Varieties*.

Remembering the list of sixty-one varieties of incense was not a simple task. The incense connoisseurs thought up various methods for memorizing them. One result of this was the composition of "word chains" that contained the names of the sixty-one varieties. These were free-associative prose poems composed in the easy to remember line lengths of five and seven.

Around the 10th century, with the popularity of soradakimono, incense was brought into the realm of entertainment. Incense contests were held. The comparison of various articles was very popular at the time and incense was added to the list. The *monoawase*, comparison of things, that we know of today included a wide range of activities from intellectual ones like poetry and picture matching to more impromptu amusements like root comparing and chrysanthemum matching. Incense matching contests adopted the same rules as poetry contests and gradually developed as a companion event.

Around the 14th century, participants were no longer content simply to compete over the quality of fragrance, and literary embellishment was added to the contest. Some opinions have it that the focus of interest then switched to literature. Accordingly, the qualifications for those taking part in these contests became increasingly limited to literary people, and the fashion of explaining fragrance with waka poems came into vogue. The names of incense as well began to take on literary association, and many were chosen from waka. Then, having made up names for the incense, they also sought to name the various kinds of aromatic woods. The sixty-one varieties of meiko previously mentioned also contain many names with literary reference.

Around the end of the 15th century, aromatic woods came to be used in the *takimonoawase* and these *koawase*, fragrance contests, were like the early *takimonoawase* contests. When the aromatic woods used were of ordinary quality, the contests were simply called *koawase*. When famous



Several censers of the type used for impregnating clothes with fragrance

materials were used it was called *meiko awase*. Koawase was centered mainly among the nobility, daimyo and recluses but its popularity extended to ordinary men of letters. The increase in popularity of koawase was a result of the great popularity of *renga* and *haiku*, and people who took pleasure in them were of the kind who were also able to appreciate the realm of koawase. Once it became popular among the literati, the circle of people practicing it continually widened, and by the 17th century incense was appreciated with unprecedented enthusiasm.

This was the period when *takitsugiko* evolved from the koawase. Many names for the various kinds of incense were compiled. Aside from the sixty-one varieties of incense mentioned before, many new kinds of meiko appeared, having been selected by prestigious people of the day and arranged in groups like One Hundred and Twenty Meiko, Two Hundred Varieties of Meiko, and the New Sixty Varieties of Meiko. A way of playing with the names of incense in a *renga*-like style was invented. It could be played with any number of people. The name of the first incense lit became the base, after that the players would in turn light incenses with certain names selected in accordance with *renga*-like rules. This was called *takitsugiko*, lighting incense in succession. When in the end all the incense names were linked together they formed a prose composition of some kind or, other times, it was played using only two or three names, composing a *waka* with them. Soon incense was inseparable from the world of literature. The 17th century is usually spoken of as the renaissance period in Japan or the period of literary revival; the practice of incense in this way, welcomed generally with much enthusiasm, made this the golden period also for the art of incense. In art and letters, Saikaku, Chikamatsu and Basho were active. It was because literary men of this intellectual caliber appeared that incense could achieve recognition as a "Way" in its own right.

However, by the 18th century koawase and *takitsugiko* gradually ceased to be performed. That was because the way of playing with incense changed. After these declined, an amusement based on incense groupings, *kumiko*, dominated the world of incense. As previously mentioned, the kind of koawase hitherto practiced developed as an amusement centered around judging the quality



The lacquered wood frame, censer and water-containing vessel arranged to impregnate a kimono with fragrance.

of two kinds of fragrance, and it was organized in such a way that the literature related to the names of the incense appeared as an addition to koawase as it had been practiced. In kumiko more than two kinds of incense were used and the participants tried to express a single theme by means of fragrance. This was the basic difference between koawase and kumiko. In kumiko, the name for the match is established and in accordance with that, the method of play and the number of scents used varies. For example, in the *Keiba ko* the number of scents was set at four and the idea was to celebrate the Kamo horse race theme with fragrance. The *Genji ko* used five fragrances and was to evoke the atmosphere of the *Genji Monogatari*.

Generally speaking, the older the establishment of the kumiko, the more its structural essentials were expressed with numbers. Around the 18th century when the creative kumiko were at their height, numbers for identification were almost never used; nouns and adjectives expressing a general concept were picked for the key titles and sometimes phrases from waka were used. The result of the change from numbers to ordinary nouns and adjectives was to deepen the association of kumiko and literature. Many new kumiko appeared.

The height of the popularity of kumiko was the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 18th. However, the concept of kumiko did not originate in that period. Because kumiko as such came out of the milieu of incense connoisseurship, it is a very difficult matter to ascertain who invented it and when it came into being. One form of incense game was popularly practiced around the 14th century; it existed as a complementary game to koawase. By the 15th century the practice of kumiko was more frequent than koawase.

By the 16th century, many kinds of kumiko had come into being. Ten types of representative ones were chosen. These were called *tokumiko*, and came to be regarded as the classic form of amusement with incense. The utensils for the practice of this were contained in a box called *jushu ko bako*. The utensils placed inside were as follows:



An incense matching game set that celebrates the horse race of the Kamo shrine in Kyoto

kikigoro censers, one pair

These were censers without smoke guards which outwardly resembled tea cups.

bi dogu fire utensils, one set

This is the general term for small utensils used in fire tending and incense burning. They were usually wrapped in folding paper and included the following:

kyoji chopsticks

These were used for picking up incense.

kosukui incense aid or incense spoon

It is used when burning the incense.

koji fire chopsticks

These were used for adding pieces of charcoal and making holes in the ashes. Correctly, the old *koji* had extended ends with small serrated teeth. These also doubled in the role of *kyoji* and thus they were crafted in such a way that they wouldn't allow the incense to drop.

baioshi ash pusher

A utensil for moving ashes around. It came in many shapes but the two most common types were one in the shape of a folded fan and another one in the shape of a fan whose surface rib when folded is not flat. Around the 17th century not only

many different shapes appeared but also ones embellished with patterns.

ginyo basami "silver leaf" pincers

A utensil for picking up flakes of mica which was called "silver leaf".

baboki feather brush

A feather brush, used for dusting down the ashes inside the censer. Those made with the feathers of the Toki heron have the best color, a beautiful delicate pink. The hardness of the feathers is also prized; however, strong feathers of any kind can easily be substituted.

uguisu bush warbler, poetic name for a needle

A needle that pinned and held the paper-wrapped incense after it had been burned. It was made of silver and was about ten centimeters long. According to the *Anzai Zuibitsu*, vol 18, the needle came to be called *uguisu* because of Tofukumonin's poem in the *Zoku Goshu Wakashu* which went:

Unsatisfied,
we break off a branch
of plum blossoms.
Seeking fragrance, we hear
the call of the bush warbler.

The bush warbler thus became associated with "living in fragrance" *ka ni tomaru* from the poem, and since *tomaru* also means to pin or hold, it came to be the name for the utensil that holds or pins the incense together.

hi ajimi something that tests the flavor of the fire

A utensil for measuring the depth of the coals buried under the ashes. Around the 17th century the right degree of fire for burning *meiko* was fixed, therefore this utensil came into being.

tadon ire charcoal container

A small box containing the incense charcoal.

ginyo "silver leaf", poetic name for mica

A piece of mica trimmed with silver and gold on which the *ko* is placed to burn. When burning incense for no particular reason or incense not suitable for careful appreciation because of its poor quality, *ginyo* was not used. The word therefore came to mean good quality incense that was placed on top of mica and was suitable for appraisal.

kyoji tate kyoji stand

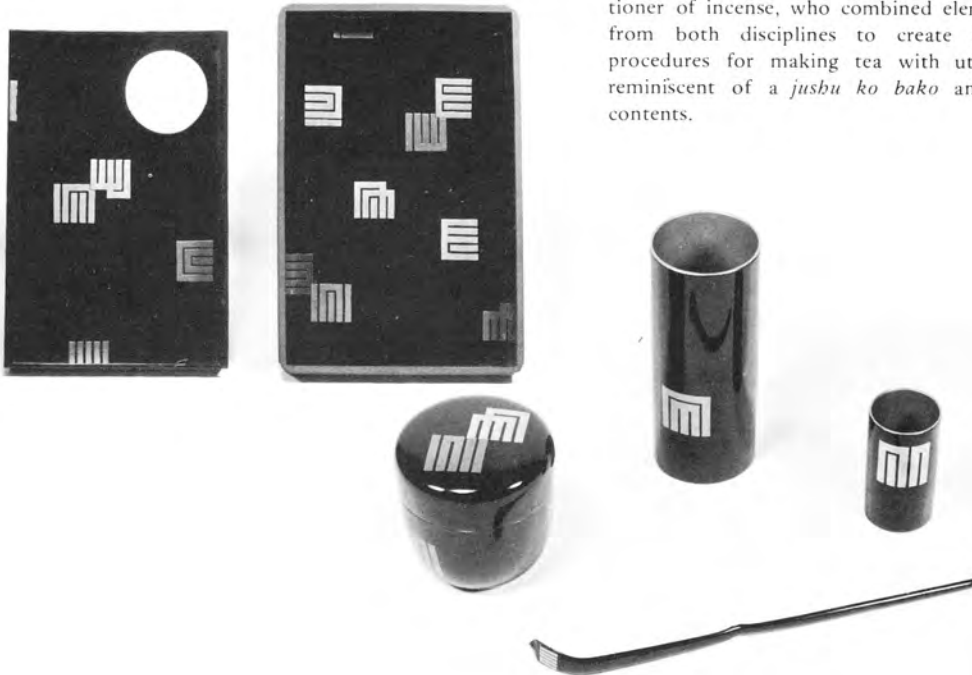
A vessel for standing up the incense utensils. It came in many different shapes.

jukogo layered incense container

This was originally a container only for the packets of incense and aromatic materials. Originally the *kogo*, incense box, and the ash container for the burnt remains of incense were separate containers but when they were put together into one, it was called a *jukogo*. It was



*Above, the "Genji chabako", to the left and below, the decorated underside of the lid, divider and some of the utensils contained within, all designed by Gengensai (1810-1877), the Urasenke tea master and practitioner of incense, who combined elements from both disciplines to create many procedures for making tea with utensils reminiscent of a *jushu ko bako* and its contents.*





A *jushu ko bako* and its contents that were used for an amusement based on incense groupings.

usually in three tiers; the incense packets and mica were put in the upper two levels, and ashes were put in the third and lowest level which was therefore lined with tin.

kokoromi koban rest for testing incense

A small tray, often with feet, with three to six flat flower-shaped rests on the surface where the mica was placed after testing incense.

bonkoban rest for true incense

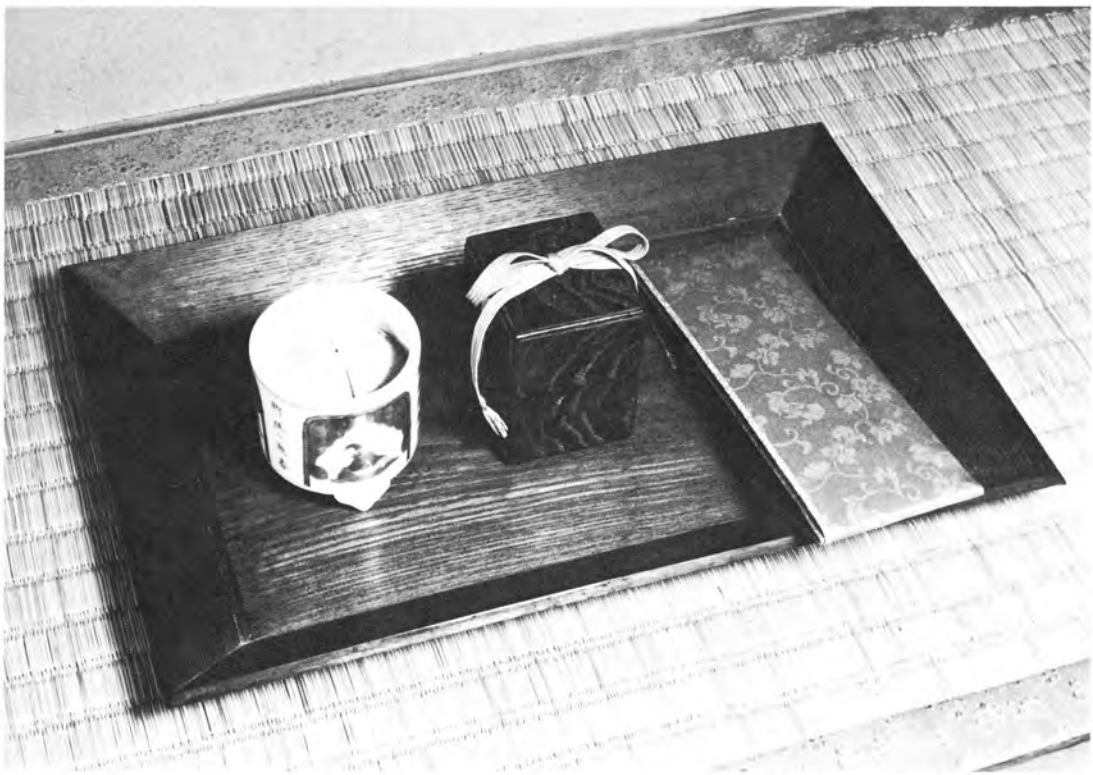
This tray was about twice the area of the *kokoromi koban* and the number of flat flower-shaped rests was correspondingly between ten and twelve. Upon these rests were placed, the mica used for burning the true incense.

kofuda incense cards

When large and special *kumiko* were being held, these small cards made of sandlewood took the place of name banners. On the backs of the cards were designs either of the four seasons, birds, animals often the designations first, second, third, etc. Some of these cards were made of ivory or bamboo and the sound they made when handled differed accordingly.

fuda zutsu incense-card container or *orisue*

The *fuda zutsu* was a cylinder or hexagonal container for collecting used cards. The *orisue* served the same purpose but was a container made of folded paper.



Above, mulberry wood tray holding an incense burner, stacked incense container and utensils wrapped in folded paper used for present-day incense gatherings. *Below*, a closer view of the incense burner showing the arrangement of white ash.



uchijiki place spread

This was a thick paper painted with gold or silver on which the contestant placed his set of utensils. Originally a fine paper was used which needed to be replaced every time. Gradually they came to make them more long-lasting with surfaces of gold and silver which were principally decorated with pictures of cranes and tortoises.

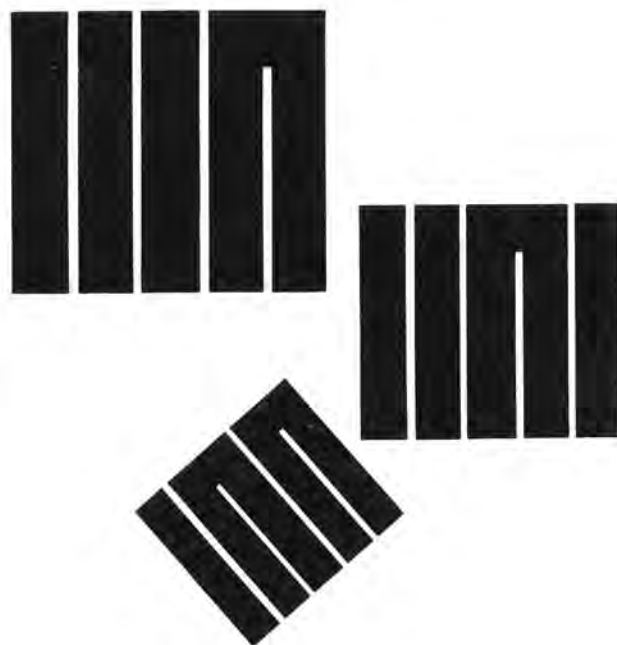
komoto suzuri incense master's ink stone

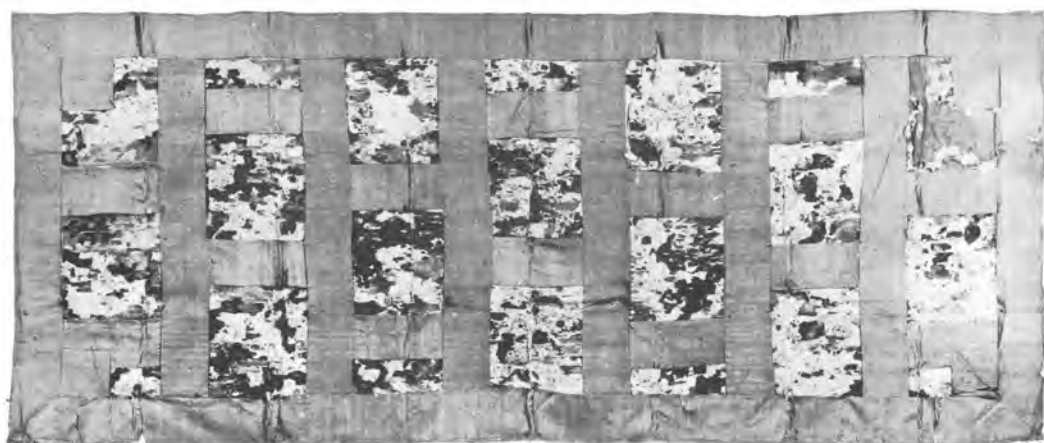
Contained in a small calligraphy box used by the master directing an incense contest or the scribe making a record of the incense presented. Some of these were also constructed in two levels, one for black ink and the second for scarlet ink.

so zutsumi general wrappers

These were beautiful wrapping papers for the incense packets. Sometimes strips of cloth were also used.

The practice of comparing incense or "listening to fragrance" has a very long and colorful tradition in Japan. Always it begins with coming to know the flavor of each fragrance and ends with that awakening sense. The lighting of incense is the beginning of this understanding.





Kenda Kokusbi monk's surplice brought by Kukai from T'ang Dynasty China (Kyoogokokuji temple)

A Short History of Toji

Washio Ryuki

Formation of Esoteric Buddhism

Shingon esoteric Buddhism was introduced to Japan from China during the T'ang Dynasty by its Japanese founder Kukai, posthumously given the title Kobo Daishi, by which he is generally known. In Japan it underwent its own unique development. Exoteric Buddhists, comprising all the non-esoteric Buddhist sects, consider the founder of Buddhism to be Sakyamuni, but esoteric Buddhists consider Mahavairocana to be the founder. Sakyamuni is considered to have been a transient appearance in this world of the absolute Buddha, Mahavairocana. The prime quality symbolizing the inner nature of Sakyamuni, the ascetic of the mountains, and Mahavairocana, the true absolute being, is called Sattva.

About eight centuries after the death of Sakyamuni, Nagarjuna (Japanese, Ryumyo) entered an Iron Tower in southern India and learned about the true absolute being from Sattva. Following this, Nagarjuna reformed Buddhism in India and many people embraced the Buddhist faith. Nagarjuna's teachings spread gradually. The foundations of esoteric Buddhism were established in the seventh century with the creation of the *Dainichikyo*, the basic sutra of the sect and the *Kongochogyo*, a religious doctrine on how to attain the states of buddha and bodhisattva. Nagabodhi (Ryuchi), who carried on Nagarjuna's teaching, continued the spread of esoteric Buddhism in southern India.

Esoteric Buddhism in China

Subhakarasiṃha (Zhenmù) and Vajrabodhi (Kongochi) brought esoteric Buddhism to China. Of course esoteric Buddhism had been introduced to China earlier but this was in an impure form, *zomitsu*. These two priests introduced pure esoteric Buddhism, *jumitsu*, which had been handed down from Mahāvairocana to Sattva, Nāgārjuna, and Nāgabodhi. It centers around the *Dainichikyo* and the *Kongocho-gyo*. Subhakarasiṃha had been the king of Magadha in the eastern part of India, but he joined the Buddhist faith and studied it after abdicating the throne. At the advanced age of 80 he decided to take the teaching of Buddhism to China. He crossed the Tien Shan mountains and went north, arriving in Ch'angan in 716 with many volumes of sutras. In 720 Vajrabodhi, who had studied the *Kongocho-gyo*, came to Luoyang via the sea route and began teaching esoteric Buddhism to the Chinese.

Esoteric Buddhism made great strides in China through the work of Amoghavajra (Fuku), Vajrabodhi's disciple who accompanied him to China. Amoghavajra was sixteen years of age when he came to China. After the death of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra went to Ceylon along with many of Vajrabodhi's other disciples. After mastering the teachings of esoteric Buddhism there, he returned to Ch'angan. He served three emperors of the T'ang Dynasty—Hsuan-tsung, Shun-tsung, and Tai-tsung—and converted them to esoteric Buddhism. He translated many sutras and spread the faith all over China. In addition, he trained many disciples. As a result Buddhism, which had been declining in China, was quickly revitalized, initiating the golden age of esoteric Buddhism.

Among Amoghavajra's disciples were those known as the Six Great Disciples. One of these, Hui-kuo of the Chinglung temple in Ch'angan, is very important because he taught Kūkai and is thus the direct forefather of Shingon esoteric Buddhism in Japan.

Another of the Six Great Disciples was I-hsing, a disciple of Subhakarasiṃha who translated the *Dainichikyo* into the Chinese language while he was in China and commented on the sutra. I-hsing assisted in this translation work and composed the *Dainichikyoso*, Subhakarasiṃha's commentary on the *Dainichikyo*. Those two played important roles in the propagation of esoteric Buddhism in China. It is not clear who I-hsing's immediate successor was, but the teaching was continued by Hui-kuo. The Shingon sect in Japan recognizes the contributions of Subhakarasiṃha and I-hsing and they are included in the seven founders of the Shingon sect: Nāgārjuna, Nāgabodhi, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, Subhakarasiṃha, I-hsing and Hui-kuo (some add Kūkai to this group).

Systematic Doctrine of Esoteric Buddhism Formulated by Kūkai

Thus, Shingon esoteric Buddhism was introduced to China from India and then to Japan through Kūkai. It was Kūkai who established its independent systematic formula. He also established original doctrines not seen in India or China.

In a book titled *Ben Ken Mitsū Nikyō Ron*, comments on the sutras of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism, Kūkai designated the four sects of Mahāyāna Buddhism: Kegon, Tendai, Hosso and Sanron, together as exoteric Buddhism. Exoteric Buddhism is the teaching of Śakyamuni, the living Buddha, and the teaching is clear and brief. On the other hand, esoteric Buddhism is the teaching of Mahāvairocana, the absolute and real substance. It is profound and is the true doctrine. Kūkai compared the merits and demerits and the relative depth of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism.

Kūkai also wrote the *Himitsu Mandala Jyū Jyū Shin Ron* and the *Hizo Hoyaku*. In these books he divided the state of mind, transmigrating from illusion to spiritual awakening into ten progressive states. Everything from the worldly code of conduct and morals to the beliefs of the highly refined mahāyāna sects like Kegon and Tendai was included in those ten stages, and he demonstrated that the Shingon sect ranked at the tenth stage, the highest. This assessment of highest value to the Shingon sect, after examining all aspects, was achieved for the first time by Kūkai. It can therefore be concluded that while Shingon esoteric Buddhism originated in India, its systematic doctrine was formulated by Kūkai and it had a unique development in Japan.

Practice of Attaining Buddhahood During Life

The practice of attaining Buddhahood in one's lifetime and the realization in this world of mandala, the state of spiritual awakening attained by buddhas, are characteristic doctrines established by Kobo Daishi. The aims and practice of esoteric Buddhism are to reach the highest state of awakening as a man and a perfect religious personality in this world during one's lifetime. Kukai discussed this problem in his book, *Sokushin Jobutsu Gi*.

The Buddhism that developed during the Nara period (647-794), except for the Shingon sect, explained that man cannot attain spiritual awakening unless he is reincarnated many times and goes through endless years of spiritual training. On the other hand, esoteric Buddhism reasons that man can reach the ideal religious state by improving the functioning of his body, his mouth and his mind in order to get closer to these same elements of a buddha; these are referred to as *sanmitsu* meaning the three esoteric practices. Put another way, the teaching of esoteric Buddhism is that a man can attain the spiritual awakening of the absolute Buddha in this world even with his body full of earthly desires, by going through the spiritual training of the *sanmitsu*. Kobo Daishi said "Everything without exception becomes a buddha, including grass, trees, land and soil"; not only man but every earthly thing can become a buddha.

Realization of the World of Mandala

The world of mandala, the state of spiritual awakening attained by a buddha, is attained by the practice of the *sanmitsu*. Kukai referred to Shingon esoteric Buddhism as esoteric mandalaism. The mandala depicts the secret world of esoteric Buddhism. It is a chart of various buddhas, bodhisattvas and gods superimposed on an established form describing the spiritually awakened world of the various buddhas. There are *kongokai* mandalas and *taizokai* mandalas. The former are based on an explanation given in the *Kongocho-gyo* and the latter are drawn in accordance with the *Dainichikyō*. *Kongokai* mandalas symbolize the spiritual world and signify masculine principles. The *taizokai* mandalas symbolize the material world and feminine principles. Thus, these mandalas expound two views of the world, but they are both the world of Mahavairocana, the absolute being, and show the dual characteristics of Mahavairocana who is the only being.

The two mandalas subsume all things in the universe. Centering around Mahavairocana, all beings, from numerous buddhas and bodhisattvas to hungry demons and beasts, are depicted in these two mandala charts, showing that all beings in the universe are other spirits and selves of Mahavairocana. Kukai further taught that by practicing the *sanmitsu*, each thing reveals its native spirituality and attains buddhahood, and thus can be placed on the mandala chart.

Kukai Joins the Priesthood

Kukai was born in June, 774, in what is presently called Zentsuji City in Kagawa prefecture and as a child was called Mao. It has been said his birth was the second coming of Amoghavajra, because Kukai was born in the year of the death of Amoghavajra.

In 788 when he was fourteen, Kukai went to the new capital city of Nagaoka and studied Confucius', *Analects* and the *Book of Filial Duty*, under his uncle Ato Otari. He entered an academy in 791, receiving training preparatory to becoming a civil servant. Probably because he became dissatisfied with the school, he eventually embarked on a tour of Murotomisaki in Kochi prefecture, Ishizuchi-yama in Ehime prefecture, and other places. With this he began his training in the Buddhist faith.

After undergoing valuable religious experiences, Kukai wrote *Roko Shiki* (later called *Sango Shiki*) and announced his decision to enter the Buddhist faith. *Sango* refers to the three teachings: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. In the book Kukai uses the dramatic form to illustrate that Taoism is superior to Confucianism, and Buddhism is superior to both. This book completed the transformation of Kukai's beliefs and is his declaration to join the Buddhist priesthood. He accepted the commandments of Buddhism when he was either nineteen or twenty years old. It is probable that he became a Buddhist acolyte in the Makinoo temple in present Osaka prefecture in 798 at the

age of twenty-four, according to the *gonzo* rituals of the Daian-ji temple. He formally became a Buddhist priest in 803 when he was twenty-nine. He accepted the *gusokukai*, precepts that are to be followed by a priest, the following year at Todaiji temple and then took the name Kukai.

Travels to T'ang Dynasty China

Shortly after this, Kukai went to China, which at that time was under the T'ang Dynasty. He boarded the first ship of the fleet carrying the official embassy to the court headed by Fujiwara Kadamaro. The ship sailed from Naniwa, present day Osaka, on May 12, 804. Saicho, later to be known as Dengyo Daishi, boarded another ship of the same fleet in Kyushu. Kukai and Saicho, founders of the Shingon and Tendai sects, left for China on the same fleet of ships, which later was scattered by storms. The flagship, with Kukai aboard, arrived in Chinanchen, Changhsi hsien, Fuchou, on August 10, after drifting for a month. The party arrived in Ch'angan, the capital, on December 13th.

After his arrival in Ch'angan, Kukai looked for a distinguished teacher of esoteric Buddhism while becoming acquainted with the culture of the T'ang Dynasty. He met Hui-kuo at the Chinglung temple toward the end of May in 805. Hui-kuo was to become his lifelong teacher. He received Kukai's visit with welcome and subsequently performed the successive rites of *kanjo*, the ceremonial transmission of the tenets of Buddhism by a teacher who is a priest of high virtue. Hui-kuo performed the rite of *taizokai* on June 13, the *kongokai* rite in early July, and the *dempo kanjo*, the rite making Kukai an *acarya*, a teacher and a priest of high virtue, on August 10. Kukai received the title and authority to teach the tenets of the Shingon sect in less than three months.

The rites of *kanjo*, involving the pouring of sweet water that symbolizes immortality over the head of the disciple, are designed to perpetuate the teaching of Buddhism. These are the most important rites of esoteric Buddhism. A person is to receive the *kechien kanjo* on entering the Buddhist faith and the *dempo kanjo* when the teaching of the supreme enlightenment is handed down. After completing the rites of *kanjo*, his mentor Hui-kuo gave Kukai sutras, mandalas, paintings of Buddhist subjects and objects used in Buddhist religious ceremonies. Many of these remain in Toji temple today.

After he had provided Kukai with all the important teachings of the Shingon sect, Hui-kuo died suddenly on December 15 of the same year. Kukai left for Japan, earlier than he had planned, after the funeral service in January of the following year. He arrived in Kyushu sometime early in October.

Imperial Grant of the Toji temple

There is no reliable historical information on the movements of Kukai for a short time following his return from China. Eventually he settled in Kyoto and began to work vigorously with the support of the Emperor Saga. In 812 he established an altar for the performance of *kanjo* in the Takaosan temple (currently Jingoji temple), performing the *kechien kanjo*, *kongokai* and *taizokai* rites there. According to lists which still exist, three priests received the *kongokai* and 145 the *taizokai* rites. Saicho's name appears on both lists. As far as esoteric Buddhism is concerned, Saicho was a disciple of Kukai.

The performance of the *kanjo* rites in the Takaosan temple firmly established Kukai's position in the world of Buddhism in Japan. With this a firm foundation for the propagation of the Shingon sect was established.

On June 19, 816, Kukai asked Emperor Saga in writing to grant Mt. Koya in Wakayama prefecture as a training center for Shingon Buddhism. His request was granted, and Kukai himself climbed the mountain the following year. The building of a temple there began in earnest around 819.

In 823, Emperor Saga gave Kukai Toji, the eastern temple, to be the basic seminary for the esoteric Buddhist priesthood. It is believed that Toji was started when Emperor Kanmu moved the

capital to Heian-kyo (Kyoto) in 794. It was called the eastern temple in contrast to the Saiji temple, the western temple, as it was built on the east side of the Rashomon gate, which protected the entrance to the city from the south. It is believed that the building of Toji and Saiji was meant to coincide with the building of the capital, but it did not progress smoothly. When the emperor granted Toji to Kukai, the main hall of the temple was barely completed. Kukai himself, who also had talents for construction work, aggressively encouraged the completion. With the gradual completion of the lecture hall and a pagoda Toji finally developed the appearance of a temple.

On October 10, 823, the year of the imperial grant, the government ordered Kukai to have fifty priests of the Shingon sect in residence at Toji at all times and forbade there being priests of any other sects there. Today, all the sub-temples belong to one sect. The origin of this can be traced back to this prohibition of the mixing of priests of various sects at Toji. Based on a belief that all men are equal, in 828 Kukai built the Shugei Shuchuin as an educational facility for common people who did not have access to education at that time. In December 834, Kukai asked the imperial court to hold there for seven days in early January the service of *goshichinichi mishiho*, a prayer meeting held in accordance with the form of the Shingon sect. The first *goshichinichi mishiho* was held during the following New Year holidays in the Shingon-in prayer hall in the imperial court. Then on March 21, 835, after accomplishing just about everything needed for the establishment of a religious order, Kukai died quietly at the temple on Mt. Koya at the age of sixty or, according to the *Zoku Nippon Koki*, at sixty-three.

Toji During the Heian Period

The *goshichinichi mishiho* begun by Kukai followed the example of those in China. The service was held every year for a seven-day period from January 8 to 14 in the Shingon-in hall of the Imperial Palace, where prayers for the tranquility of the nation and a good harvest were offered. Although there have been a few interruptions since its inception in 835, the practice has continued to this day. Performance of this ritual was suspended in 1871 but restored in 1883. The site was then moved from the Imperial Palace to Toji's Kanjoin. At the present time it is not simply a function of one temple, Toji, but rather it is the largest annual event of the Shingon sect with the heads of all the Shingon temples praying in the Kanjoin of the Toji temple.

The major event for the priests of Toji during the Heian period (794-1185) was the *goshichinichi mishiho*. Since the temple was established by imperial grant, the temple also performed various other Buddhist services as requested by the government. One of these services held annually was the *mikokuki*. It was held on the anniversaries of the deaths of the past emperors and the mother of the emperor to pray for the repose of their souls. According to a record of the early 11th century, services were held on March 17th for Emperor Kammu, on April 29th for Empress Murakami, and on September 29th for Emperor Daigo. In addition, there was the time-honored practice of *shushoe*, a service held for three to seven days starting on January first to pray for the prosperity of the nation. Additional special services were held as the occasion arose. The story that Kobo Daishi contended with the priest Shubin in the Shinsen in the imperial grounds over the effects of their praying for rain is written in many biographies. Kukai began the practice of praying for rain at Shinsen garden in the imperial grounds for the emperors' promenade administered by Toji. From this time on Shinsen was the place where traditionally this exercise was practiced. Also prayers were offered at Toji for dispersing the enemies of the emperor, for quick recovery from illness and for the easy delivery of a baby.

During the Heian period, the Toji temple existed as an official temple for the imperial court. As the government designated the number of priests to be housed there, the priests residing at Toji would hold Buddhist services or prayer meetings whenever requested by the government.

The Image of Kobo Daishi and the Building of the Micido

Though Toji developed as an official temple of the government during the Heian period, often holding services for the protection of the country, it took a new turn in its development during

the Kamakura period (1185-1336). This was accompanied by the formation of a new faith centered around Kobo Daishi.

On October 15, 1233, a wooden image of Kobo Daishi was enshrined, for the first time, in Saiin in the north-western part of the Toji temple.

Saiin was the part of the temple where Kobo Daishi had lived. Unlike Mt. Koya, Saiin was not at first turned into a Mieido where the painting or image of the founder is enshrined. Throughout the Heian period it was the Fudodo for the worship of Acala (Fudo-myō-ō). Kobo Daishi worshiped there daily where the image was enshrined behind closed doors. According to a well-known book on Toji's history, *Tobōki*, there was an inscription said to have been written by Kobo Daishi on the back of the paneled doors of this Fudodo. It read, "Those who drink wine, eat meat and use the five herbs and those who are wearing dirty shoes and clothes must not enter this seminary for the Buddhist priesthood". It has been said that the Fudodo was considered a sacred place. Abbot Shingen, who was in charge of the affairs of the temple, had Kosho, a sculptor of Buddhist images, carve Kobo Daishi's image. It was a long-cherished desire of the chief priest to have an image of Kobo Daishi. He had the image enshrined in the south side of the Fudodo. This was the beginning of the Mieido. seven years later on March 21, 1240, Kakukyo moved the image to the north side, giving the Mieido its final appearance.

When the image of Kobo Daishi was enshrined in the hall that was to become the Mieido, the Toji temple no longer had the magnificent appearance of the past. Damage to the temple caused by the Gempei civil wars, in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, had not been repaired. Priest Monkaku's efforts to rebuild it had collapsed when the priest himself was exiled. It is clear that an awakening of a new faith within Toji was needed to restore this immense temple and its grounds to its former grandeur. The enshrinement of the image of Kobo Daishi signified a new beginning.

From the beginning the regular and traditional functions of Toji like the shushoe or goshichi-nichi mishiho were without exception for the entire nation and the temple was not concerned with the faith of individuals. The building of the Mieido made it possible to cultivate a new faith. The political upheavals of that time intensified the pessimism based on the Buddhist theory of the latter days of the Law. Along with the faith in Amitayus, a buddha believed to preside over the western paradise, the social uncertainty caused by the civil wars strengthened the faith in Maitreya, a buddha believed to be coming to this world in the future to save the people. Kobo Daishi's prediction, made just before his death, that Maitreya would appear at Mt. Koya attracted much interest. In the 17th section of his prophesy, Kobo Daishi predicted that he would appear about 5,650,000,000 years later with Maitreya buddha. The fever of earnest faith awaiting the coming of Maitreya which dominated Mt. Koya was so intense that it seemed the entire mountain could be turned into the Maitreya paradise. Against this background, the devotion of Senyomon-in, a noblewoman caught up in the turmoil of the changing times, was to contribute much to the expansion of Toji.

The Devotion of Senyomon-in

Senyomon-in was the sixth daughter of the retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa. She was born after he was imprisoned in the Tobadono detached palace. In 1191, a year before the retired emperor's death, the exceptional title of *in* was given to her and in 1192 she was bequeathed the immense estate of Chodokoryō. The Chodokoryō had belonged to a temple which was built inside the imperial palace by the retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa. It was the largest group of manors at that time and the income from it was enormous.

Senyomon-in, who had a very comfortable life, suddenly took the tonsure in 1205 when she was twenty-three years old, devoting herself to Buddhism, particularly the Shingon sect, until she died in 1252 at seventy-one. There were various misfortunes brought on by her mother's schemes to increase her own political power around the time of Senyomon-in's tonsure. She witnessed the callousness of the real world in the political struggles developing around her immense income from the Chodokoryō. She must have felt that she had seen the depths of woman's nature in her own mother, exercising her political wiles with a beautiful face. Her mother's glory was as short-lived. Senyomon-in saw the covert acts of men driven by ambition and how the forces of the age could instantly crush them. The experience provoked her into taking the tonsure.

In 1240, Senyomon-in donated a miniature five-storied pagoda for the Mieido of Toji. She was given three minute fragments of treasured *butsu shari*, the remains of Sakyamuni which had been brought to Japan by Kobo Daishi. She placed them in a vessel, enshrined them in the pagoda and requested that the *shariko*, a memorial service, be performed every month on the last day of the month. At the same time it was decided to offer *shojinku* to the image of Kobo Daishi. *Shojinku* is the lighting of candles and offering of rice gruel, warm water and cakes to the image in the same way as was done while he was alive. This *shojinku* was also offered at the Kozan-ji temple after the death of priest Myoe. It was offered three times a day, in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, and has become a long-standing tradition at Toji.

Thus the time-honored functions of the Mieido, the daily services, the *mieiku* memorial service for Kobo Daishi held every month on the twenty-first, and the *shariko* held on the last day of the month, were established. These services: *shojinku*, *mieiku*, and *shariko*, were performed strictly by five priests of the Toji temple, with the result that people gradually began to regard the grounds of the Toji temple as a sacred place. This is noteworthy because it was a major factor in saving Toji from destruction during wars.

To cover the expenses of all these Buddhist services, Senyomon-in donated properties to Toji one after another. These were manors in Nara, Ehime prefecture donated in 1239, and a rice plantation newly developed by imperial order in what is now Hiroshima prefecture, donated in 1242.

These were not the only bequests Senyomon-in left to Toji. In 1241 she had the *kenda-kokushi* robe which had been brought back to Japan by Kobo Daishi repaired. This is the most historic robe in Toji and it has been worn by generations of elders at the important ceremonies of dempo kanjo and mishiho. It has been very carefully cared for and is still used today. Also, she installed over 7,000 volumes of sutras from China in the Mieido hall.

Thus the faith in Kobo Daishi that was to spread widely among the common people began with the devotion of Senyomon-in, and the faith in Toji took a new turn. As mentioned earlier, the character of Toji as a site of religious services for national tranquility, centering around the lecture hall, changed to a new faith in the founder Kukai.

The retired Emperor Go-Uda and Emperor Go-Daigo carried on the work started by Senyomon-in and contributed further to the prosperity and development of Toji. The retired Emperor Go-Uda was the second son of Emperor Kameyama. As a result of his father's influence he had a good understanding of Zen Buddhism, but he was devoted to esoteric Buddhism. Following the example set by the retired Emperor Uda, he walked the path of religious faith; he entered the Buddhist priesthood, received the commandments of Buddhism and then received the kanjo rites. In addition to this passage in the Urachidori volume of the *Zokyo*: "Probably the pious retired Emperor Go-Uda is thinking about the Kampyo era (889-897) of the past, the time of the retired Emperor Uda, while he is studying esoteric Buddhism", other statements concerning the retired Emperor Go-Uda in the *Zokyo* and the *Jinnoshotoki* often compare him to the retired Emperor Uda.

In October 823, Kobo Daishi agreed to maintain fifty priests at the Toji temple. However, the support for the maintenance of that number of priests was not forthcoming and he was forced to reduce the agreed-upon number of priests to twenty-four in 837, fourteen years later. Toji was maintained by that number of priests through the Heian period, but the financing of the temple became very difficult as the power of the imperial court governing the country declined. The devotion of Senyomon-in and the building of the Mieido brought about a change. A memorial service for Kobo Daishi was held for the first time in the Mieido. The service was conducted by five newly installed priests. The functions of these additional priests were clearly different from those recognized by the government in the Heian period in that those new positions were instituted by the independent judgement of Toji to meet a new need. The religious activities of Toji in the middle ages were based on the faith in Kobo Daishi and centered around the Mieido; these were the bases for the newly assigned priests.

In 1252, ten more positions were added to the fixed number of assigned priests, making a total of fifteen. At this time it was decided to place three priests at each of five places, the lecture hall, the main hall, the Kanjo-in hall, the dining hall and the Fudodo, to conduct ascetic services



Kaiibu maki-e kesa bako, decorated lacquered box that contains the monk's surplice shown on page 44 (Kyoogokokuji temple)

throughout the entire day. The financial support for these priests came from the donations made by Senyomon-in. The number of priests was increased to eighteen and then to twenty-one, which formed the system for conducting services at Toji.

The retired Emperor Go-Uda extended further the work of Senyomon-in in support of Toji. Immediately after receiving the rite of *dempo kanjo* from chief abbot Zenjo, the retired Emperor Go-Uda promised before the image of Kobo Daishi in the Mieido to work to make Toji prosper; he subsequently wrote a resolution consisting of six vows. They were:

1. To have fifty resident priests at Toji for the specific purpose of studying the creed.
2. To accomplish this, to build living quarters for the priests.
3. To have a *dharani*, a person who can read Sanskrit fluently, assigned to the Mieido at all times. To support the *dharani*, a piece of property was to be donated to the temple.
4. To set aside the nearby lots that are convenient to the temple.
5. To set up facilities for repair.
6. To perform the Shingon *kengi sbido* semi-annually in front of the shrine of Hachiman, the god of warriors.

These six vows were very important in determining the future direction of Toji. The main aim of the retired Emperor Go-Uda was to strengthen the educational affairs of Toji, as seen in the first vow. This materialized when the first teaching session was held in February, 1312 to explain the *Shingyo biken*, the Heart of the Shingyo Sutra. After undergoing some changes, it was decided in 1315 to hold a semiannual *dempo-e*, a thirty-day teaching conclave, in February and August to discuss the sutra. Raiho was designated the first head teaching priest of the *dempo-e* teaching con-

clave. In 1312 only seven priests were assigned to take charge of this, but the number was frequently augmented until it reached the final number of sixteen including two head priests. The sixteen formed the committee on the teaching conclave that promoted educational affairs at Toji for a long time to come.

Another important function performed by the scholar priests of Toji was the *kangaku-e*, a conference held for advancement of scholarship. This function formally began on March 21, 1322. At that time five priests were selected as members of the *kangaku-e* committee for the advancement of scholarship, with the head priest of the *dempo-e* teaching conclave, Raiho, presiding over them.

As the religious services and educational affairs at Toji became substantial, the need arose to have priests to handle the business affairs of the temple living continually at Toji. During the Heian and Kamakura periods, the business affairs of Toji had been managed by priests from other temples of the Shingon sect like Daigoji, Ninnaji, or Daikakuji, but this was not a satisfactory way to manage a temple. The second of the retired Emperor Go-Uda's vows concerning the building of living quarters for priests reflects his intention to solve this problem. Eventually about twenty-one minor temples such as Kanchi-in or Hobodai-in were built within Toji, but not until the Nambokucho era (1446-1492).

Greater financial backing became necessary as religious services and educational affairs were extended. The third and fourth vows touch on this. On December 7, 1313, the retired Emperor Go-Uda donated four fiefs to the temple with a letter written by his own hand listing the property he was donating. These fiefs were to play a crucial role in the financial support of Toji.

Thus the retired Emperor Go-Uda established a system to encourage scholarship and made provisions for the necessary scholar priests. His aim was to strengthen educational affairs at Toji. Three priests, Raiho, Koho, and Kempo, referred to as the *sambo*, the three treasures, have been admired for a long time as the most accomplished scholar priests of Toji. As mentioned before, Raiho was the first head teacher of the *dempo-e* teaching conclave, and Koho was his disciple. Koho became the first chief priest of Kanchi-in, a minor temple built within Toji. He collected numerous sutras from many places, including Kofukuji temple in Nara and Enryakuji temple on Mt. Hiei, Kyoto. He also mobilized many of his disciples to transcribe sutras. The extensive collection of Buddhist scriptures in existence today at Kanchi-in was amassed mostly by Koho and his disciples. In this way the foundations of the educational component of Toji were completed.

Emperor Go-Daigo and Toji

Emperor Go-Daigo, the retired Emperor Go-Uda's son, took up his father's project. On March 18, 1326, the emperor gave the management of the Saishoko-in temple to Toji and placed twenty manors that had belonged to Saishoko-in under the control of Toji. Emperor Go-Daigo initiated several new projects utilizing the income from these manors. First of all, he assigned six priests to the lecture hall and had them study the Nio sutra. He also assigned three priests to Kanjo-in's Goma hall and had them perform the Buddhist rite of burning cedar sticks on the altar. At the same time he transferred the three priests who had been assigned to Kanjo-in to new posts at the pagoda and had them go through the training of kongo-kai and taizo-kai.

On January 28, 1330, Emperor Go-Daigo donated the Hosogenin temple to Toji. Income from the properties that had belonged to Hosogenin was used to pay for lecture fees for the *kangaku-e* conference.

Prohibition of the Practice of Bestowing Gifts of the Butsu Shari

The prohibition of the practice of making gifts of the *butsu shari* is a memorable act of the Emperor Go-Daigo during his patronage of Toji. The *butsu shari*, fragments of Sakyamuni's remains, in the possession of Toji were brought back from T'ang Dynasty China in 806 by Kukai. There are two so-called great shari, the other being the *butsu shari* in possession of Toshodaiji temple in Nara which were brought back by the priest Kanshin. Toji's possession is listed in Kukai's *Shorai Moku-roku*, Catalogue of Items Brought Back From Abroad, as "Eighty fragments of *butsu shari*, one of them golden in color". These fragments of Sakyamuni's remains are treasures that had been handed

down from the Indian priest Vajrabodhi to Amoghavajra to Hui-kuo along with an image of a bodhi-sattva carved of sandalwood and housed in a miniature shrine, now in the collection of the Kongohuji temple on Mt. Koya. These items were given to Kukai as evidence of the fact that the teachings of supreme enlightenment had been handed down to him.

When Toji was granted to him, Kukai placed the butsu shari and other items brought back from China in the Daikyo store house. In his will Kobo Daishi requested that future generations keep close watch on the butsu shari and not lose even a single fragment. Since then they had been treasured as objects of worship at the goshichinichi mishiho service held in the imperial palace.

The virtues of the butsu shari have been recounted in various tales; one chapter of *Kobo Daishi Gyojo Ekotoba*, A Pictorial Tale of Conduct of Kobo Daishi, is devoted to the butsu shari and emphasizes their importance. Belief in the efficacy of these fragments was held not only by those who were connected with Toji but was widespread. In the early days a few fragments were given to the Hasedera temple and to the Kasuga Taisha shrine by imperial decree. Some were also given to Senyomon-in to be donated to the Okuno-in temple and to the miniature five storied pagoda of Toji. The amount in each gift was five or six fragments, and it was rare to give away more than ten fragments from the late Heian period to the mid-Kamakura period. However, during the late Kamakura period, each gift included more fragments than before. By that time the gift had lost its original meaning and they were given away as casual presents to those held in high ranks in various segments of the society.

After receiving thirty-seven fragments, Emperor Go-Daigo wrote on December 14, 1324, warning against giving away more than three fragments at a time and saying that the butsu shari were "the spiritual treasures of the nation and they protect the imperial household". However, in spite of the prohibition by the emperor on two different occasions, the use of the butsu shari as political gifts continued as before. On the other hand, voices were raised within Toji deploring this practice. Toji's scholar priest Kempo regretted the trend of unbridled generosity and emphasized recognition of the original meaning of the butsu shari and a return to the original religious faith in these relics.

Dissemination of Faith in Kobo Daishi

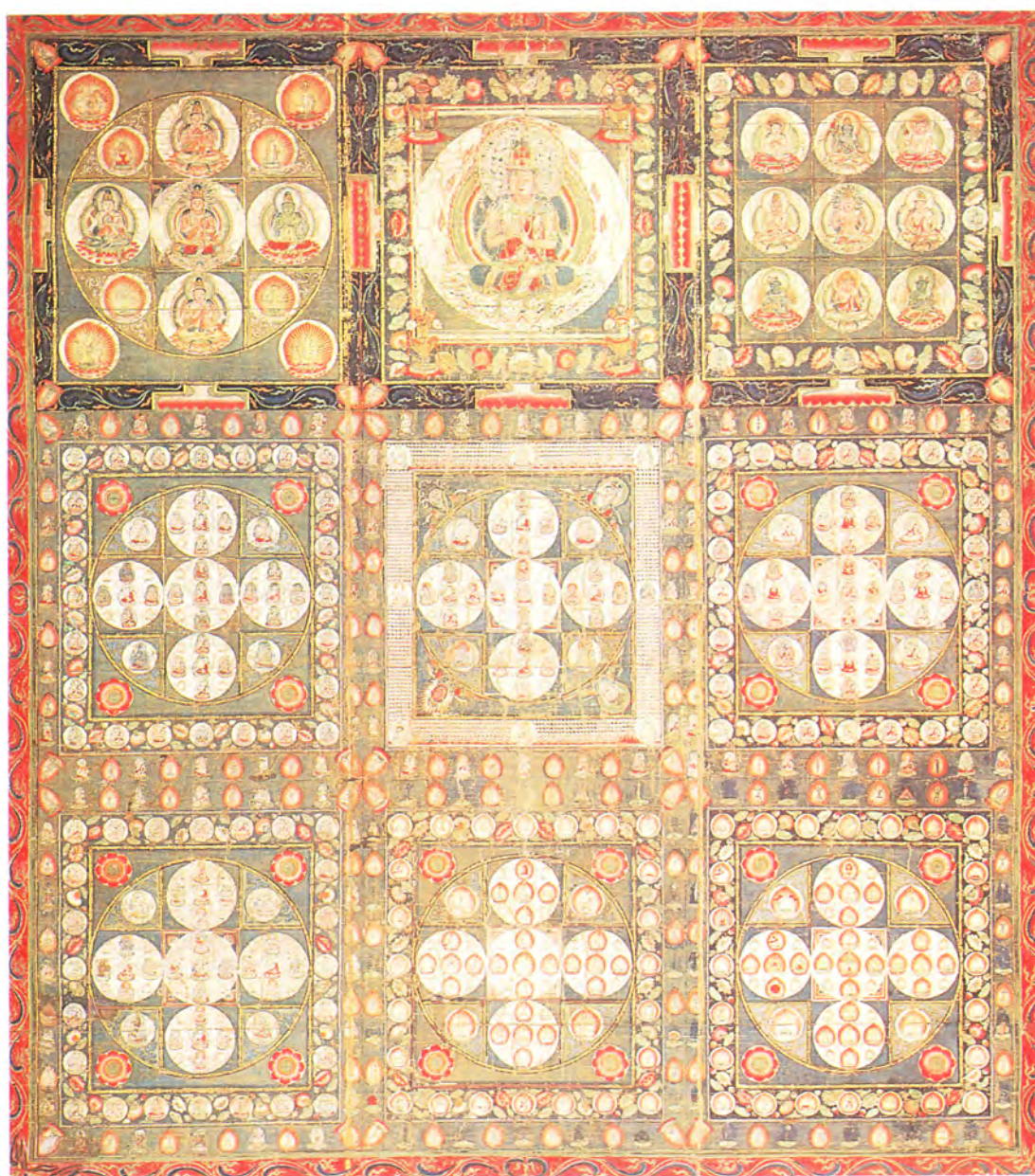
Projects increasing the status of Toji carried on by Senyomon-in, the retired Emperor Go-Uda and Emperor Go-Daigo were indications of the deep devotion to Kobo Daishi felt by members of the ruling family. It should be remembered that faith in Kobo Daishi was also gradually spreading among ordinary people about this time. No other religious leader in the past had such a widespread and deep appeal among the common people.

The faith of ordinary people manifested itself directly in donations of small pieces of property, equivalent to a quarter or a half of an acre, usually donated to the Mieido. The first donation of real property to Toji was made in January, 1244 by a Buddhist priestess called Joa. The donation consisted of about six acres of farm land in Kyoto prefecture; the income from it was to be used for lamp oil. Most donations made around the time of completion of the Mieido were relatively large ones, consisting of one to two acres.

However, following Kenyu's donation of a one-quarter acre lot near Toji to the Mieido on July 21, 1303, donations of small pieces of property, one-quarter to a half acre of land, began. Most of these small pieces of property were located in the area surrounding the temple. In practice these donations amounted to donations of income from the property. From the late Kamakura period to the Muromachi period (1336-1568), a tremendous amount of real property was donated in this manner. By this time faith in Kobo Daishi was not limited to members of the ruling class, nobility, courtiers and the warrior class, but had thoroughly spread among the general public.

Faith in Hachiman and Ashikaga Takauji

According to a tale told at the Toji temple, when Emperor Kammu built the temple he asked for the intercession of a god to protect the capital and built within Toji a shrine for the guardian god, Hachiman, the god of warriors. During the Kusuko rebellion Emperor Saga prayed to Hachiman for



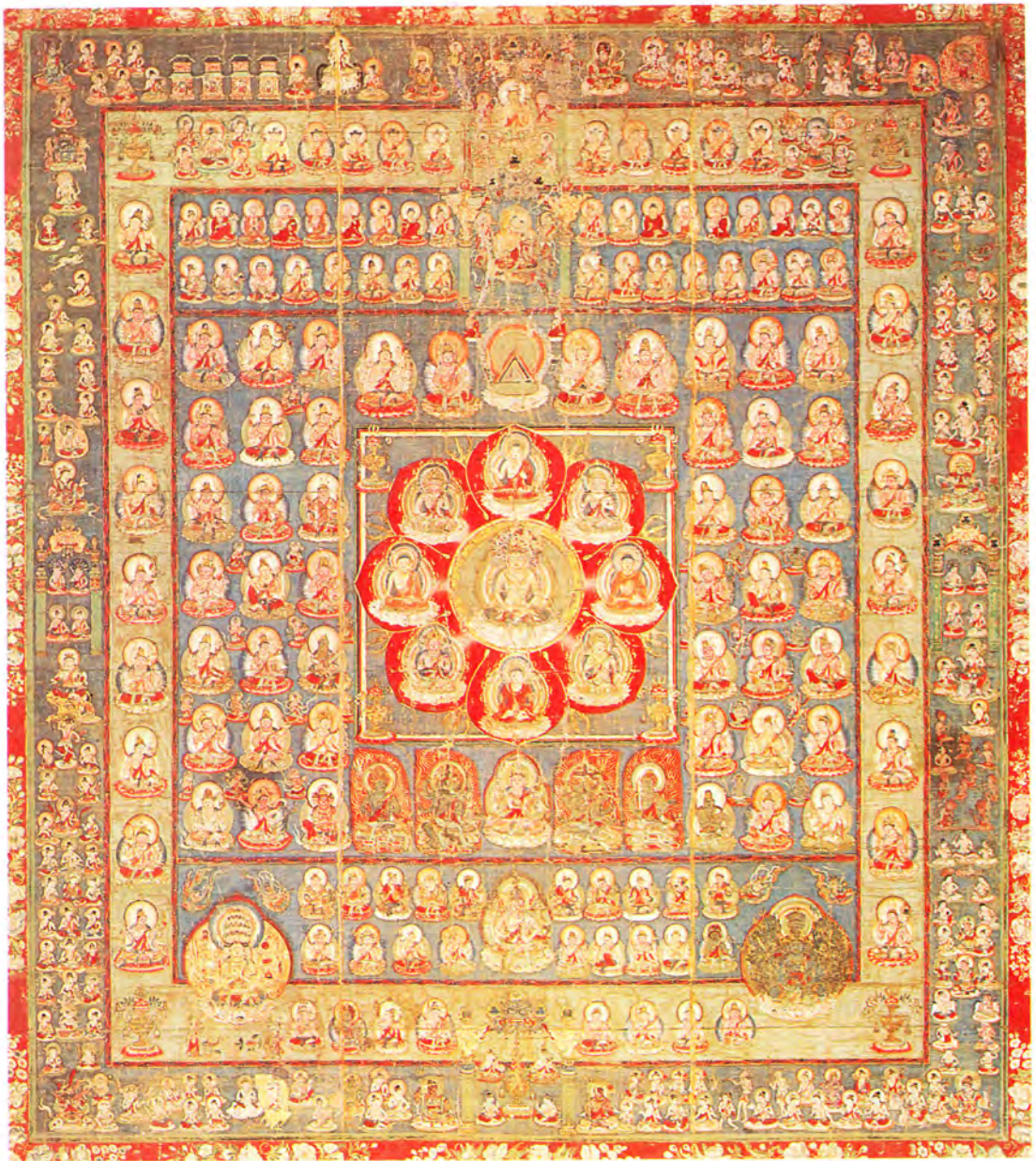
Ryokai Mandara-zu Kongokai Mandara, mandala (Kyoogokokuji temple)

victory after consulting with Kukai. When the war was over and the emperor built a sanctuary to deliver his offerings of prayer, Kukai carved an image of the god.

While the faith centered around Kobo Daishi was spreading, another religious development was also taking place. In the Nambokucho era the Hachiman shrine prospered due to the devotion of Ashikaga Takauji, who established the Ashikaga shogunate in 1336.

Hachiman was called the guardian god of the Minamoto clan and the fortunes of the two were closely linked. It is said that Minamoto Yoshiie (1041-1108) underwent the ceremony of assuming manhood at the Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine and took the name of Hachiman Taro. Since then Hachiman had been adored by the Minamoto clan and eventually he came to be worshiped as the god of warriors. Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199) enshrined Hachiman at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman shrine after he had established the shogunate in Kamakura in 1192.

Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358), who claimed to be a descendant in the direct line of the



Ryokai Mandara-zu Taizokai Mandara, mandala (Kyoogokokuji temple)

Minamoto clan, worshipped Hachiman. It was in 1333 at the Shinomura Hachiman shrine in Kyoto prefecture that he joined the forces of Emperor Go-Daigo, rising in revolt against the Kamakura shogunate under the Hojo clan. Successive shoguns frequently worshipped at the Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine as a shrine corresponding to the Tsurugaoka Hachiman shrine in Kamakura.

At first Ashikaga Takauji joined the forces of Emperor Go-Daigo in revolt against the Hojo clan. Emperor Go-Daigo had hoped to restore to the imperial family the political power that had been lost to the shogun by overthrowing the Kamakura shogunate of the Hojo clan. However, when Ashikaga Takauji saw the opportunity to seize power himself he fought against the emperor, and eventually succeeded in becoming the shogun.

Upon his arrival in Kyoto leading a large armed force, Takauji entered Toji on June 14, 1336, using the ex-emperor Kogen as his figurehead. Takauji established his headquarters at Toji. On the next day, the 15th, Takauji prayed for "peace in the country and prosperity of the Ashikaga

clan", and donated to Toji a manor which had belonged to Kusunoki Masashige, a great warrior who was loyal to Emperor Go-Daigo and had been defeated by Takauji. This was the beginning of frequent donations of property to Toji by the Ashikaga shogunate. The largest of the Buddhist services initiated by Takauji was the reading of the *Sutra of Great Wisdom* held every month on the first. He also instituted some other services centering around the Hachiman shrine. After entering Kyoto, Takauji's forces fought the forces of Emperor Go-Daigo in various parts of the city. On June 30, Nitta Yoshisada attacked with a large force, challenging Takauji to fight a decisive battle. Both sides fought bravely in several parts of Kyoto, including one struggle at the intersection of Rokujo and Omiya streets near Takauji's headquarters. After his defeat Yoshisada retreated to the town of Sakamoto to the east of Kyoto. After this battle it was hopeless for Emperor Go-Daigo and his supporters to recover Kyoto and they retired to Yoshino near Nara. This was the beginning of the Nambokucho era that lasted for 57 years until Emperor Go-Kameyama returned to Kyoto in 1392.

Toji, which had been Takauji's headquarters, was considered to be the lucky spot where his "war fortunes turned upward". In later days, this event was incorporated with the faith in Hachiman and became a legend. The legend is that arrows with turnip-shaped heads that made sounds as they flew from the Hachiman shrine toward the enemy lines defeated swarms of enemy soldiers instantly. According to the legend, it was this incident that turned Takauji's war fortunes upward and led the way to the establishment of the Ashikaga shogunate. The tale appears in a document which was written three years later in 1339, indicating that the legend was widely believed.

On the day after the decisive battle, July 1, 1336, Takauji donated to the Hachiman shrine the *jitosbiki*, the privilege and income that goes with the position of manager, of the Kuze Jogesho manor in the Kyoto area and a service was held to pray for peace and order in the country. Thirty priests were assigned to the Hachiman shrine to perform services such as the reading of the Sutra of Great Wisdom, the *bojo-e* ceremony, a releasing of captive birds or animals, and the *biyaki*, ceremonial fire burning on the first and fifteenth of every month. Support for these thirty priests and their services was provided from the income from the Kuze Jogesho manor. At present the reading of the Sutra of Great Wisdom is offered at the Mieido every month on the first and the fire burning ceremony is held annually in front of the Fudodo where the Hachiman god is enshrined.

Toji's history shows that various ceremonies and services were begun during the Kamakura period and the Nambokucho era. Many of these ceremonies and services have died out and some have been transformed, but the basic ones have been continued faithfully to this day.

Toji Since the Muromachi Period

The devotion of Ashikaga Takauji to Toji was continued by successive Ashikaga shogun. The second Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiakira, donated the privileges and income from the managerial position of the Uematsusho manor in Kyoto prefecture to Toji, and the third shogun, Yoshimitsu, made a mortmain of the managerial position of the eastern and western sections of Kujo to Toji as a repair fund. Obviously, these donations of property contributed much to the strengthening of Toji's financial foundations. The Nambokucho era and the Muromachi period were an age of civil wars. The shogun himself often led the soldiers on the battle fields. It was customary to make Toji the headquarters on those occasions, and the shogun would leave for a long expedition from Toji after spending a night there. Probably each one hoped to follow the good fortune of Takauji in 1336; they began their long expeditions after offering most reverential prayers to the Hachiman god. This indicates how devout successive shoguns were.

The practice of making gifts of the butsu shari had continued in spite of Emperor Go-Daigo's prohibition. Throughout the Kamakura period, recipients were limited to the nobility and court members centering around the imperial family. However, during the Muromachi period they were given to shogun and daimyo who held important positions in the shogunate government. The practice reached its peak during the time of Yoshimitsu, the third Ashikaga shogun. In September, 1406, Yoshimitsu visited Toji and saw numerous treasures including the image of Kobo Daishi. For centuries Toji's butsu shari had been kept under seal by an imperial order. However, Yoshimitsu ignored

the order and received some, acknowledging the gift with a receipt in his own handwriting. Yoshimitsu is the only Japanese subject ever, before or since, to have opened up items sealed by an imperial order and to have added a note to it.

Reverence toward Toji shown by shogun and high class samurai penetrated to the warrior class in the provinces also. Minamoto Tokishige, a member of a powerful family in the northern part of Kyoto prefecture, donated a fief, Ouchigo Yoshii-sho in northern Kyoto prefecture, to Toji's Mieido and also to the Hachiman shrine. This was followed by the donation of fiefs to Toji by other powerful families in various sections of Japan. Probably most of those donations were more a formality than substance and did not have much effect on Toji's finances, but they should be noted as signs of spreading faith in Kobo Daishi or in Hachiman.

Faith in Kobo Daishi among ordinary people became even more widespread during the Muromachi period, including the period of civil strife during its last hundred years. Donations of land to the Mieido, which began during the Kamakura period, increased in number tremendously. Buddhist services supported by the income from these donated properties numbered seventy to eighty annually. Although those donations came from ordinary people, they were people who owned some acreage and could afford to donate part of the income from it to Toji. There is no way of knowing how people below that level contributed to the temple. Records kept at Toji during the Muromachi period noted the problem of allocation of cash offerings collected at the mieiku memorial service held every month on the twenty-first. It appears that the number of visitors to the temple was considerable by that time. It is also known that there was a teahouse, located in front of the south gate of Toji, where tea was sold for one *sen* per person. The "Kobo san" festival held on the twenty-first of every month began in the Edo period (1615-1868), but its forerunners can be traced back to the Muromachi period.

Faith in Toji

Toji was developed by Kobo Daishi as a basic seminary for the Buddhist priesthood. It has adhered to the teaching of Buddhism for 1200 years. The temple buildings, the main hall, the five-storied pagoda, and the dining hall, all centered around the lecture hall, give the appearance of esoteric Buddhism of the Heian period whose primary aim was to safeguard the nation. Images of various buddhas, surrounding Mahavairocana, which are enshrined in the auditorium, were said to have been made according to the rules and rituals of esoteric Buddhism under the personal direction of Kobo Daishi (a few of them are replacements made in later days) and their solemnity makes a strong impression when one enters the lecture hall.

As mentioned, Sain, said to have been used as Kobo Daishi's living quarters, was turned into the Mieido during the Kamakura period. Since then memorial services for Kobo Daishi have been held there continuously and it has become a place of worship for common people. When one sits in front of the image of Kobo Daishi in the Mieido, with the air filled with the fragrance of burning incense, he feels the warm benevolence of the founder.

Stately temple buildings with tiled roofs and the graceful Mieido with its roof of cypress bark express the two sides of Toji—esoteric Buddhism that developed during the Heian period and the faith in Kobo Daishi held by ordinary people. The two are in perfect harmony and form today's Toji.

It is most fortunate not only that Buddhist teaching has been carried on since the days of Kobo Daishi, but that treasures directly handed down by him have been preserved in their original form at Toji. The treasures include items brought back to Japan by Kobo Daishi, the butsu shari that were given by Hui-kuo as mentioned earlier, the kenda kokushi robe, images of founders of the Shingon sect, items used in esoteric Buddhist rituals and letters in Kobo Daishi's handwriting. These are important treasures that transmit the essence of Kobo Daishi's teaching, as well as being irreplaceable cultural assets. In addition to more than half a dozen treasures handed down directly from the founder, numerous others added through the years remain at Toji. Each one is closely related to the faith of the sect, but their cultural significance should be remembered as well as their place in Toji's long religious traditions.



"Kinrinji usuki", height 9.2 cm., diameter 7.3 cm.

Chadogu—Tea Utensils

Usuchaki

When tea leaves are packed in a *tsubo*, a large ceramic storage jar, the leaves that are later ground for thick tea are wrapped in small paper packets and these are then packed in the leaves of a lesser grade of tea. After grinding, the lesser grade leaves are used to make thin tea. Until the early Edo period (1615-1867) thin tea was not considered an integral part of the tea service. In many instances the host merely added hot water to the thick tea remaining in the bowl at the end of the thick tea service and whipped this tea for a second bowl of thinner tea called *usucha*. Tea annals record that the service of *usucha* was deleted altogether or held in a second room. It follows, therefore, that the *usuchaki*, container for powdered *usucha* commonly called *usuki*, have a lower status compared to the ceramic *chaire*, container for powdered *koicha*, thick tea. Nonetheless *usuki* are among the most diverse and interesting of tea utensils. They bear the imprint of emperors, men of tea and craftsmen. Not being confined to the more serious atmosphere of the thick tea presentation but used in the more relaxed and informal *usucha* service, these utensils are truly personal expressions of the taste and spirit of the host.

To follow the myriad shapes and designs of *usuki* is to trace both historical and artistic traditions through the sensibilities of the famous men of tea. The container pictured above is a classic example of a tea utensil rich in historical associations. In fact, its importance as a functional tea utensil is somewhat eclipsed by its historical importance. It is said that the Emperor Go-Daigo



"Saga sansui-zu makie nakatsugi" usuchaki, height 8.3 cm., diameter 7.4 cm.

(1288-1339) had this container made from the root of a giant ivy that grew on the mountain in Yoshino where he was pursuing Buddhist studies. It was used to serve tea to the monks in the monastery where he was practicing the *Ichiji-kinrin no Ho*, worship of a Buddhist divinity to prevent poisoning, ward off evil spirits and avert disasters, and so is called the "Kinrinji usuki". On the underside of the lid it bears an inscription indicating it was made by imperial order. It was later owned by Ashikaga Yoshimasa who is said to have inscribed the reference to sutra that appears on the bottom. A recently found container, similar in shape to that of the Kinrinji usuki, had a paper sutra scroll sealed inside. This sutra container and the Kinrinji usuki are both lidded containers and derive their form from a bronze sutra container prototype from an earlier period.

However, it was not until a much later date that the Kinrinji usuki was actually used at a formal tea gathering. Although first used as a container of koicha, the Kinrinji usuki, during the middle of the Edo period, began to be used as a container for usucha. Sen Rikyu (1522-1591) is purported to have ordered copies of the Kinrinji usuki made by a lacquer craftsman. His copies were slightly shorter and lacquered black on the inside with a clear lacquer coating on the outside.

Both the cylindrical *nakatsugi* shape, so called because of the middle, *naka*, joint of body and lid pictured on page 59 and the *natsume*, jujube, shape pictured on page 60 derive from the *bikiya*, a cylindrical wooden storage container for chaire that were imported from China. Made to fit a particular chaire, a *bikiya* is protective in function and is made of lacquered or unfinished lathe-turned wood. The actual usage of either of these two shapes of usuki was originally dictated by the shape of the chaire. If a tall, high-shouldered chaire was selected for the koicha service a *nakatsugi* shape usuki was used to contain powdered usucha. If a more compactly shaped chaire, such as the eggplant or apple shape, contained the tea for the koicha service then the *natsume* shape usuki was most appropriate for the service of usucha. This is because tall chaire were stored in a *bikiya* similar in shape to the *nakatsugi* and the more compactly shaped chaire were stored in a *natsume* shaped



Three standard proportions of the natsume shape usuchaki; *left*, height 7.3 cm., diameter 7.5 cm., *center*, height 6.7 cm., diameter 6.7 cm., *right*, height 5.7 cm., diameter 5.8 cm.

hikiya. From this basic relationship of chaire and usuki most, if not all, subsequently designed shapes of usuki find their origin. It is interesting that this connection with the chaire enables containers of these two shapes to sometimes be used in place of the ceramic chaire for the koicha service.

The "Saga Sansui-zu makie nakatsugi" usuki pictured on page 59, because of its gorgeous lacquer decoration would best be used and seen in the more relaxed and informal usucha service. The original black lacquer base has turned with age to a rich dark brown color. The resultant softness of contrast between the brown lacquer and the gold decoration subtly colors one's response to this usuki. The decoration depicts a scene of Saga in the western hills of Kyoto which has been, since ancient times, a retreat from Kyoto. Both courtiers and peasants found relaxation in communing with the gentle nature of these hills enjoying the autumn tints and spring cherry blossoms. The scene on this beautiful utensil, a raftsmen poling past the blooming cherry tress, recalls the lovely elegance of the Muromachi period (1392-1573). The decoration is rough, very subtle and in marked contrast to the sumptuous decorations characteristic of the following Momoyama period (1573-1615). Yet in contrast to that tendency is the somber natsume shape usuki designed by Sen Rikyu during the Momoyama period. Commonly called a natsume, this container has since that time become the standard for all usuki. To meet the exacting demands of succeeding men of tea the standard natsume proportion has been changed and now a natsume can be more squat in shape like the example shown on page 62. Natsume of all proportions have been decorated in countless ways and made of a variety of materials. However, the quiet elegance and dignified simplicity of the undecorated natsume make it a perfect tea utensil and reflect the sensibility of its creator, Sen Rikyu.

Part of the tea master's art is to select utensils that are not only esthetically pleasing but that incorporate the quiet spirit of chanoyu. A master's utensils are a key to understanding this spirit, for they embody in concrete form the spirit within the man himself. Functioning as explorers and



Tamba tsurutsuki usuchi, height 5.7 cm., diameter 8.4 cm.

teachers, the men of tea selected or designed utensils that in retrospect serve as instructional milestones in the transient and perishable art of tea. The study and understanding of these objects preferred by the men of tea provide valuable insight into the personal and philosophical sensitivities of the tea master and his age.

The stories of tea masters finding or discovering objects that reflected their concepts of chanoyu are numerous. For example, Senso (1621-1697) discovered the usuki pictured above among old pieces of Tamba ware. Its soft lines, subtle color effects of the natural ash glaze and simple shape make it a perfect example of the style of tea he was striving to achieve. The original has three protective boxes, each signed by different generations of tea masters. The extreme care exercised to preserve this rare piece is evidence that it greatly affected its successive owners. When either a wooden nakatsugi shaped container or natsume is used in the koicha service a ceramic container such as the Tamba tsurutsuki usuki of Senso is preferred for the usucha service. Again, this balancing and harmonizing of utensils is a key to understanding the underlying principles of chanoyu.

The Meiji period (1867-1912) was a time of reorganization. During this period the financial and authoritative base of the tea masters shifted from the great families of the Edo period to the respective schools themselves. At that time there was a decision to classify many of the traditional art forms, including the study of tea, as leisure pastimes. Gengensai (1810-1877), the head of the Urasenke family, appealed this governmental decision and succeeded in re-establishing the practice of chanoyu as a serious study and path to self-realization. Gengensai was a master organizer, innovator and teacher. His work in copying, restoring and designing utensils that would serve successive generations is in marked contrast to the age when all things Japanese were being scrapped in the rush to "westernize". The "Tokufu hira-natsume", shown on page 62, designed by Gengensai, reveals the energy and commitment of this man to preserve and restore chanoyu to its original task of quenching spiritual thirst. It is broader than the regular natsume and has an inscription in silver lacquer on the



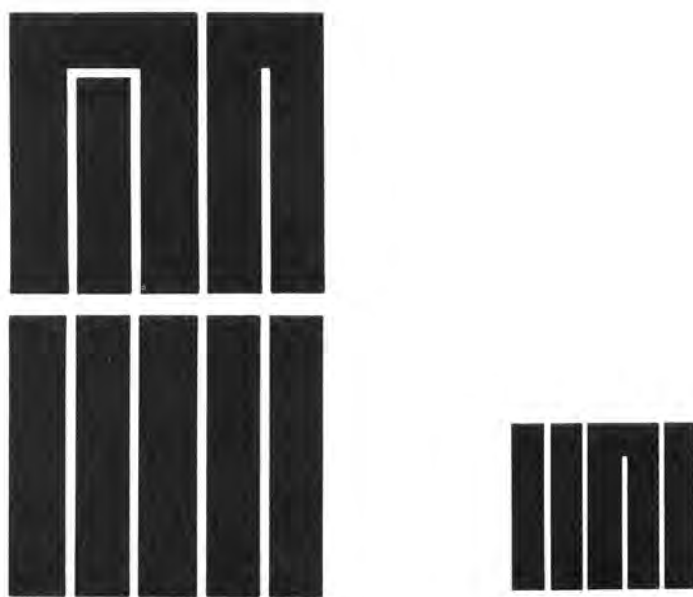
"Tokufu hira-natsume", height 5.7 cm., diameter 8.2 cm. *Below the gold and silver decoration appearing on the underside of the lid*



lid which reads, "from one grain ten thousand fold". The inside of the lid is also decorated with scattered rice grains in gold lacquer.

The development of the usucha service and of the usuki is still continuing from the time that Sen Rikyu and Toyobo Chosei are said to have formulated the original procedure for serving usucha. Since that time containers made in China, Southeast Asia and Europe have been imported into Japan to be used as usuki. Today, almost any small, clean, lidded container can be used for the usucha service. This variety invites the greatest personal involvement from the practitioner of tea in esthetic and spiritual expression. Selecting the utensils with which to present the usucha service gives the host one of the best opportunities to exercise his powers of esthetic judgment. Therein lies the dynamism and attraction of the usuki.

Koicha remains the original form of tea, and it is only after experiencing its somber quietness that the lighter, more personal usucha can be appreciated with appropriate perspective. From the time of Sen Rikyu it has been the more overt, outgoing and personal aspect of a spiritual art form. It can be said that whereas koicha is a statement of the intensely spiritual aspect of the way of tea, usucha is the personal involvement of the host in that spirituality.





(1)

After placing the kensui containing the futaoki and hishaku in front of him, the host opens the host's entrance, the left hand (L) picks up the kensui and the host stands, enters the room, turns and after placing the kensui in front of him closes the host's entrance. As L again grasps the kensui, the host stands, turns, pauses and then proceeds to the host's mat. The host sits in the middle of the tatami facing the utensils and L rests the kensui to the left. L picks up the hishaku, lifts it in front of the host whereupon the right hand (R) steadies it (1).

(2)



R picks up the futaoki from within the kensui and places it to the left of the furo. R rests the hishaku on the futaoki with a sharp rap and lowers the hishaku handle to the floor whereupon the host and guests bow in unison to signal the beginning of the presentation (2). L moves the kensui forward. The host pauses briefly to gather energy and concentration.

Temae—Tea Procedure

Chawan Kazari

This is the second of four articles outlining *kazarimono*, a series of *koicha*, thick tea, presentations in which one of the utensils is handled in a particular manner or in which attention is called to an individual utensil or object. Originally *kazarimono* was presented if the utensil or object had a special distinction or was an object of renown; today the presentation may focus on any particular object that has significance to the host. Perhaps the object was a gift from a tea master on a special occasion; however any object may be the focus of the presentation.

The utensil which is the focus of the *koicha* presentation is displayed in the *tokonoma* during the first part of the tea gathering. When the *chawan* is to be featured, it is wrapped in a purple silk bag and placed on a fully opened *fukusa*. The guests seeing this special display in the *tokonoma* are made aware that the *chawan* is to be featured and that the *koicha* presentation will be *chawan kazari*.

Prior to the presentation of *chawan kazari* the host places the folded *chakin* on the *mizusashi* lid, just in front of the handle, and rests the *chasen* on it. To the right of the *chakin* and *chasen*, the host places the *chashaku*. Finally, the featured *chawan* containing the *chaire* in its *shifuku* is placed in front of the *mizusashi*.

(3)

R assisted by L picks up the chawan containing the chaire (3).



(4)

R and L place the chawan in front of the host (4).



(5)

R picks up the chaire while L steadies the chawan and places it in the space between the chawan and the host's knees. As L steadies the chaire, R pulls the knot open (5).



(6)

R turns the chaire so that the fixed knot is to the left. L and R spread the shifuku gathering. R picks up the chaire and places it in the palm of L whereupon R separates the shifuku from the right side (6) and then the left side of the chaire.





(7)

As L holds the bottom of the shifuku R draws the chaire from the shifuku and places it between the chawan and the host's knees. L and R straighten out the shifuku gathering. R grasps the shifuku, turns it over and then places it between the furo and mizusashi, aligning its drawstring with the far side of the furo base-board (7).



(8)

L removes the fukusa from the host's sash. R and L fully open the fukusa, turn it slowly to examine all four edges (8) and fold it. L places the fukusa in R and picks up the chaire. R, using the fukusa, wipes the far side and then the near side of the chaire lid, R holds the fukusa against the right side of the chaire as L turns the chaire counter-clockwise three full revolutions to purify it.



(9)

As L grasps the chaire R draws the fukusa down and L places the chaire to the left in front of the mizusashi (9).



(10)

L and R refold the fukusa and R places it in the palm of L. R picks up the chashaku and places it upon the folded fukusa and the host purifies it (10). R places the chashaku to the left of the small knob on the chaire lid.



(11)

R picks up the chasen and places it to the right in front of the mizusashi (11). R takes the fukusa from L and together R and L replace it in the host's sash.



(12)

R picks up the hishaku, transfers it to L, removes the lid of the kama and places the lid on the futaoki. L transfers the hishaku to R to ladle hot water into the chawan and R returns the hishaku to the kama (12).

R picks up the chasen and, as L steadies the chawan, places it into the chawan (13).



(13)

R assisted by L moves the chawan toward the host's knees (14). The host inspects the chasen by twice raising it from the chawan with R while L steadies the chawan. After rinsing the chasen in the chawan, R places it to the right of the chaire.



(14)

(15)

R assisted by L picks up the chawan (15) and after raising it in front of the host transfers it to L.



(16)



L discards the water into the kensui (16).

(17)



As L holds the chawan, R picks up the chakin from the mizusashi lid and wipes the chawan (17). R places the chakin in the chawan. L transfers the chawan to R and together R and L place the chawan in front of the host's knees. R removes the chakin and places it on the kama lid which is resting on the futaoki.

(18)



R picks up the chashaku (18).



L picks up the chaire and, as L holds it at a slight angle over the left edge of the chawan, R removes the lid and places it to the right of the chawan (19). R measures three scoops of tea into the chawan and rests the chashaku on the right edge of the chawan. L and R both grasp the chaire and turn it counter-clockwise so that the remaining tea is spilled into the chawan. The thumb and first finger of R wipe the mouth of the chaire and then wipe any excess tea on kaishi kept inside the front of the kimono. R replaces the lid on the chaire and L places the chaire to the left of the chasen.

(20)



R grasps the chashaku and as L steadies the chawan, levels the tea in the chawan (20), gently taps the chashaku on the edge of the bowl to remove any excess tea and replaces it to the left of the small knob on the chaire lid.

(21)



R removes the lid of the mizusashi, L grasps its left edge and transfers it to R. R rests it against the side of the mizusashi (21).

(22)



R picks up the hishaku, ladles cold water from the mizusashi into the kama and then ladles hot water into the chawan (22). R pours the remaining water in the hishaku into the kama, replaces the hishaku on the kama, picks up the chasen and, as L steadies the chawan, kneads the tea. Once the tea and water are blended R leans the chasen against the left inside edge of the chawan.



(23)

R ladles hot water from the kama. L picks up the chasen and R pours hot water, sufficient to achieve the proper consistency, over the tines of the chasen (23).



(24)

L leans the chasen against the left inside edge of the chawan. R pours the remaining water in the hishaku into the kama (24) and replaces the hishaku on the kama.



(25)

As L steadies the chawan, R again picks up the chasen and blends the tea to the proper consistency. R slowly raises the chasen from the chawan, allowing the tea collected on the tines to fall, and replaces the chasen to the right of the chaire (25).

(26)

R, assisted by L, picks up the chawan and rests it in the palm of L. As R steadies the chawan the host makes a quarter turn in the direction of the guests (26).



(27)

R grasps the chawan and as L steadies it places it in front of the host's knees (27).



(28)

R pulls the kobukusa from inside the front of the kimono (28).



(29)

R places the kobukusa on the palm of L (29). (Note: the fold is toward the host's right) R crosses over the kobukusa and with the thumb on top grasps the kobukusa. R then places the kobukusa on the adjacent tatami so that the back of the thumb of R is on the tatami. R opens the kobukusa to the right.



(30)

R and L grasp respectively the far and near sides of the chawan and turn it 90°. Repeating this motion a second time the host turns the chawan so that the front faces the guest (30).



(31)

R and L pick up the chawan and together place it on the opened kobukusa (31).



(32)

Placing his hands on his knees the host slides back his left knee, then his right knee and again his left knee and places his hands at his sides, knuckles to the tatami (32).



(33)

After the main guest has taken the chawan to his position the host places his hands on his thighs. After the main guest has tasted the tea the host asks if the taste is suitable (33). As the second guest begins to drink, the host answers any questions asked by the main guest concerning the tea and sweets.



(34)

After the last guest finishes drinking, the host slides his right and left knees forward and turns to face the utensils, R ladles cold water into the kama and replaces the hishaku on the kama (34).





(35)

After the chawan and kobukusa are returned to the tatami adjacent to the host, the host makes a quarter turn toward the guests and answers any questions they may ask concerning the significance of the chawan to the host (35).

(36)



R, assisted by L, picks up the chawan (36).

(37)



R, assisted by L, places the chawan in front of the host's knees (37).

(38)



R grasps the right edge of the opened kobukusa (38), folds the kobukusa and picks it up by its folded side.

(39)



R places the folded kobukusa, its folded side down, inside the front of the kimono (39).

(40)



R, assisted by L, grasps the chawan (40).

(41)



R places the chawan in the palm of L (41) and steadies it as the host turns to face the utensils.

(42)



R, assisted by L, places the chawan in front of the host's knees (42).



(43)

The guests and host bow in unison (43).

(44)

R ladles hot water into the chawan and, after replacing the hishaku on the kama, R assisted by L picks up the chawan (44) and after raising it in front of the host transfers it to L to discard the water into the kensui. L transfers the chawan to R and assists in placing it in front of the host's knees.



(45)

The host bows saying he will finish the presentation (45).



(46)

R picks up the hishaku, ladles cold water into the chawan and replaces the hishaku on the kama. R picks up the chasen and rinses it in the chawan, steadied by L, raises the chasen once for inspection, draws it from the chawan, and replaces it to the right of the chaire. R assisted by L picks up the chawan and after raising it in front of the host transfers it to L to discard the water into the kensui. R picks up the chakin and places it into the chawan (46). R grasps the chawan and, assisted by L, places it in front of the host's knees.





(47)

R picks up the chasen and rests it on the chakin in the chawan (47).



(48)

R picks up the chashaku, L draws back the ken-sui and takes the fukusa from the host's sash and, after R and L fold the fukusa, cleans the chashaku. R places the chashaku on the chawan (48), brushes the tea off the fukusa into the ken-sui, and L returns the fukusa to the host's sash.

(49)

R grasps the chaire and places it to the right in front of the mizusashi. R, assisted by L, picks up the chawan, transfers it to L, grasps the front part of the chawan again and, still assisted by L, places it to the left of the chaire (49).



(50)

R picks up the hishaku, ladles cold water into the kama, transfers the hishaku to L and places the lid on the kama. After resting the hishaku on the futaoki, R replaces the lid on the mizusashi whereupon the main guest asks to examine the chaire, chashaku and shifuku. The host bows in acknowledgement of the request (50).





(51)

R picks up the hishaku and transfers it to L to place it on the kensui. R picks up the futaoki and transfers it to L to place behind the kensui. R picks up the chawan, transfers it to L and then R grasps the chawan again to place it near the wall ahead of the kensui (51).

R picks up the chaire and places it in the palm of L. The host makes a quarter turn toward the guests and R places the chaire in front of the host's knees. L takes the fukusa from the host's sash; together L and R fold the fukusa and purify the chaire. R places the folded fukusa in front of the host's knees and removes the lid of the chaire and places it on the far side of the folded fukusa. As L holds the chaire R picks up the folded fukusa and wipes the mouth of the chaire. R replaces the folded fukusa on the tatami and replaces the lid on the chaire. R turns the chaire clockwise 90° twice so that the front is toward the guests and places it on the adjacent tatami. R picks up the fukusa and with L replaces it in the host's sash. The host returns to his original position. R picks up the chashaku and transfers it to L. The host again makes a quarter turn toward the guests and R places the chashaku to the right of the chaire. The host returns to his original position. R picks up the shifuku and rests it in the palm of L. The host makes a third quarter turn toward the guests and R places the shifuku to the right of the chashaku. The host returns to his original position. L picks up the hishaku, transfers it to R, picks up the futaoki and also transfers it to R. L picks up the kensui, the host turns slightly to the left, stands, turns, and walks to the host's entrance, sits, opens the door and leaves the room. The host returns to the room and sits in the middle of the tatami facing the furo and mizusashi. R picks up the chawan and after lifting it in front of the host places it in the palm of L and steadies it as the host stands, turns, and leaves the room. The host returns, sits in front of the mizusashi, L and R pick up the mizusashi and the host stands, turns and leaves the room. At the host's entrance the host turns, sits, places the mizusashi in front of his knees and closes the door. After the guests examine and return the utensils to the mat adjacent to the host's mat, the host sits, opens the door, stands, enters the room and sits with the utensils in front of him facing the guests, to answer any questions the guests may have concerning the chaire, chashaku and shifuku. R picks up the shifuku and places it in the palm of L. R picks up the chashaku and places it on top of the shifuku where it is secured by the thumb of L. R picks up the chaire. Holding all of these utensils the host stands, turns, leaves the room and, at the host's entrance, sits and places the utensils to his side in view of the guests. He then bows to signal the end of the presentation (52).



(52)



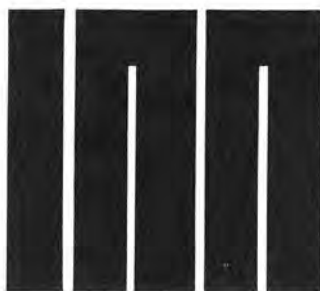
The host, carrying the kensui, futaoki and hishaku sits aligning his body with the lower left outside corner of the hearth frame.



As R steadies the full chawan the host makes a quarter turn toward the guests and aligns his body with the lower right outside corner of the hearth frame. R grasps the chawan and as L steadies it places it in front of the host's knees.

Variations of chawan kazari when presented with the ro

Other than the basic difference of furo and ro presentations, chawan kazari koicha when presented with the ro differs from the standard furo presentation in several ways. When the host, carrying the kensui, futaoki and hishaku, sits he aligns his body with the lower left outside corner of the hearth frame. When the host, holding the full bowl of tea, makes a quarter turn toward the guests he aligns his body with the lower right outside corner of the hearth frame and places the full chawan in front of his knees near the end of the hishaku handle.



Books

One Robe, One Bowl: The Zen Poetry of Ryokan, translated by John Stevens. New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1977, 85 pages. \$3.50.

The line dividing simpleton and saint, genius and madman, can be drawn by very few. Ryokan (1758-1831) a Zen monk living in a small hut away from the world seems to have tread that fine line. His spirit, passed down from the Edo period through his calligraphy, poems and the countless anecdotes about his sublime simplicity and childishness, has been epitomized as embodying the lighter, freer side of Japanese culture and character. To capture this spirit for an English readership is the primary aim of this short book of poems. Like the nun, Teishin, who spent her life devoted to the memory of this singular man, Mr. Stevens' purpose in the book is not so much to give the reader a sense of the actual poetry of Ryokan but rather the poetry in the life of the man. As a frontispiece, Mr. Stevens has selected a poem-admonition from Ryokan:

*Who says my poems are poems?
My poems are not poems.
After you know my poems are not poems,
Then we can begin to discuss poetry!*

The selection, mainly dealing with the time that Ryokan spent in Gogoon, a small hermitage on Mt. Kugami in present day Niigata prefecture, includes one hundred Chinese style and one hundred and three Japanese style poems. The Chinese poems, due in part to their length and structure, give a sense of the essential foundations of the man: solidly grounded, disciplined, and philosophical. On the other hand, the Japanese-style poems, short and with a natural flexibility, give flight to the spirit: brief, human and sentimental, endearing the person in the reader to the personal in the life of the writer.

*Waiting for a visitor, I drank four or five
cups of this splendid sake.
Already completely drunk, I've
forgotten who is coming.
Next time be more careful.*

Although the original Japanese and romanization would be a welcome addition to the book, for as Mr. Stevens states, "The poems are beautiful when chanted," this does not seriously detract from the merit of the book. The intent to bring us to a realization of the inner depth and outward simplicity of the man, Ryokan, is nonetheless achieved. The translation aims at "avoiding all refined or poetical expression . . . keeping the original freshness and without ornamentation or ostentation." The poems, coupled with the amusing and informative introduction, do give a feeling for the spirit of Ryokan, a man able to refresh and enlighten with the supreme poem that was his life.

If poems are not poems, and translations are the reverse of tapestries, why this book? Truly, very little can be said of Zen. The appeal of this book is its childlike simplicity which goes directly to the child-mind of the reader. In reading it one makes a friend of the Ryokan within and realizes that a Ryokan is in each man. If in only this, and nothing else, Mr. Stevens has succeeded admirably.

*Priest Ryokan must fade
like the morning flowers,
But his heart will remain behind.*

Leonard Nuvoloni

Great Historical Figures of Japan, The Japan Culture Institute, Tokyo, 1978, 327 pages, \$13.95/
¥2,800

The Japan Culture Institute was founded in 1973 for the purpose of conducting studies of Japanese culture in an international context and making these known worldwide. This is apparently the first of their three publications to deal exclusively with Japan's history.

Westerners often tend to regard the history of Japan as beginning with the "opening up" of the country by Admiral Perry's armed ships 120 years ago. But as long ago as the end of the Western Roman Empire, powerful clans in what is now the Nara area were increasing their influence and creating small states which, by the time of Charlemagne's coronation in 800, with the founding of Kyoto as the capital had formed the nucleus of what we know today as Japan.

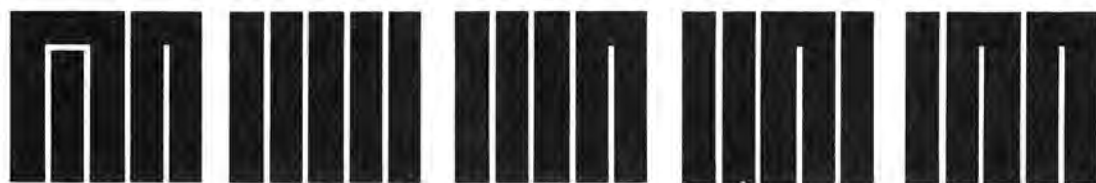
The general reader has long deserved to know Japan's great heroes and heroines of these past 1500 years more intimately, but until recently we have had mainly general surveys of the sweep of Japanese history, or legends of Paul Bunyan-like characters.

Collected in this volume are 28 essays and brief biographies, all by non-Japanese research scholars, teachers, translators. The consequent unevenness of writing styles tends to be detrimental to the unity of the book, though this has been somewhat overcome by giving the chapters interesting titles and arranging them so as to illuminate chronologically the lives of more than forty men and women who, representing almost every facet of the Japanese culture and character, influenced the course of their homeland's history. Some were emperors like Shotoku Taishi whose life was caught up in political intrigue, or Tenmu who ruled as well as reigned; some were eminent women like the court writers Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shonagon, or powers behind the throne such as Hojo Masako; Yoritomo and Yoshitsune, brothers who became enemies; the Tea Master Sen Rikyu; the Christian baron Takayama Ukon; the "holy fool" Ryokan; the peasant rebellion leader Miura Meisuke; Nobel Prize-winning novelist Kawabata Yasunari; their lives and energies have left their imprint on all that the modern Japanese are. We can be grateful for this "history as personal glimpses".

At the end of the book is a chronological table correlating events in Japan with those of the Western world. There is also a useful map of the old provinces of Japan, as well as an index of names and terms. Not very large, this book is still somehow heavy for its size. The chapters are not too long, though the small print makes reading a little tedious. An attempt has been made to include a picture of each of the persons described, though unfortunately the quality of the paper seems to have "muddled" the pictures. It is too bad that such a potentially exciting collection is thereby made to appear to the eye difficult and dull.

Still, this book is more than adequate in presenting little-known aspects of Japanese history to the lay reader who, almost always, enjoys personal stories in preference to a date-oriented account. In that respect, this collection is well worth reading.

Constance Kimos



Five of the 52 designs that represent all but two of the 54 chapters of *The Tale of Genji*. 18th century practitioners of incense used these designs in a *kumiko*, amusement based on incense groupings, called *Genji ko*. Five kinds of incense were presented in varying order and frequency to evoke by means of fragrance the differing atmospheres of the chapters of *The Tale of Genji*. The combinations of lines are dictated by the various groupings of the five kinds of incense. The five examples shown above from left to right represent the chapters titled *Kiritsubo*, *Habakigi*, *Utsusemi*, *Yugao* and *Wakamurasaki*.

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