

CHANOYU Quarterly
TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 33



Houn Kinran

The embossing on the cover is adapted from a gold embroidered fabric favored by Sen Soshitsu XV, fifteenth-generation grand master of the Urasenke school of tea. The motif is composed of a *ho*, phoenix, amid *un*, clouds, and is the graphic representation of his Buddhist name, Hounsai.

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CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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The names of Japanese persons throughout the text of this magazine are written in accordance with the Japanese practice, with surname first. Chinese characters for the important romanized terms and proper nouns occurring in the articles are listed following the book reviews.

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Chanoyu is a synthesis of arts that gives expression to many aspects of Japanese culture. From its beginnings in the fifteenth century down to the present, it has been both catalyst and medium in the development of distinctive art forms. Under the guidance of Sen Soshitsu XV, the Urasenke Foundation seeks to encourage the development of these arts and promote a worldwide understanding of the spirit of chanoyu.

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Traditional Greeting—East and West

Sen Soshitsu XV

When receiving guests in the traditional Japanese fashion in a room with tatami floors, it is obvious that everyone will be seated on the floor; thus, cushions are usually provided. The traditional parlor or reception room will have a tokonoma; the tatami mat directly in front of it is the place of honor. Thus, the areas in the room are clearly identified—the place of honor and the respective lower seats. The most distinguished guest is seated in the place of honor, the remaining guests in the lower seats, and the host at the other side of the room facing the main guest and the tokonoma.

The very fact that the most distinguished guest is offered a seat in front of and, moreover, with his back to the tokonoma is a sign of the host's respect for the guest. The tokonoma is a revered area. To sit so near, with one's back to it, is a privilege. This is commonly understood, and everyone recognizes the seating order to be a matter of degree of privilege.

This "higher" versus "lower" relationship in the structure of the room means that the persons within the room perceive each other in perpendicular terms—that is, of higher or lower. Such distinction of social order is made with little conscious thought, however, for the seating arrangement is systemized. They acknowledge their perpendicular relationship, their relative status, as a matter of course. In this way, in a traditional Japanese style room, there is an inherent identification of social order not only between host and guests, but also among the guests.

Now, let us consider the typical Western-style parlor with sofas and chairs. The room does not dictate any particular seating order, and thus the matter of position, both physical and social, does not come up. There are no "higher" or "lower" seats; rather, all are on an equal level. Accordingly, the individuals regard each other in the same manner, along horizontal lines.

Such differences are exemplified further when we compare the custom of shaking hands as opposed to that of bowing. A guest received in a tatami room does not shake hands with the host. Rather, the two bow to each other in either one of three prescribed styles—*shin*, *gyo*, or *so*—depending upon the particular circumstance and occasion. The *shin* bow is a very deep, formal one; the *gyo* is medium in degree and formality; the *so* is the slightest in depth and the least formal.

Relative to the circumstance and occasion, the most important guideline in one's choice of bow is the status of the other party, and by bowing in a particular way, both sides mutually reinforce each other's status. In a way it is an opinionated gesture, for although it comes quite instinctively, there are three alternatives from which to choose.

Western style parlors have become increasingly common in Japan, and with them the custom of shaking hands has also been adopted. Due to this biculturalism in Japan, both the bow and the handshake are combined by some people when the setting

is "Western." However, even when combined with the bow, shaking hands is considered inappropriate in traditional situations, as it is felt that a handshake denotes no differentiation of age or social rank. It is one-dimensional in nature, and both parties treat each other as equals. It does not, in itself, express to the other party one's feelings of humbleness and respect.

Comparing these dissimilar acts of greeting, one recognizes the diversity between the cultures from which they originate. Furthermore, one cannot help but realize from what perspective the Japanese, as opposed to Europeans or Americans, view and treat each other.

In this way, comparative studies of almost any aspect of human conduct in various countries leads to an understanding of cultural differences, and it is this understanding, and acceptance, which is basic for world peace.

Through this English publication, *Chanoyu Quarterly*, we at Urasenke are striving to further cultural understanding by presenting the Way of Tea to peoples of other cultures, and in so doing we hope that Japanese culture and Japanese people may be better understood. To understand the all-encompassing way of chanoyu is to understand the culture of Japan, and to bring us closer in mind and spirit. 

Six Circles, One Dewdrop The Religio-Aesthetic of Komparu Zenchiku

Richard B. Pilgrim

Komparu Zenchiku (1405-1468) stands as one of the key figures in the development and understanding of Noh. Son-in-law and artistic heir to the great Noh actor, playwright, and theorist Zeami Motokiyo (1368-1443), Zenchiku carried on the work of Zeami, virtually founded the Komparu school of Noh which still exists today, and added plays and theoretical writings to this dramatic tradition. Thoroughly steeped in the sophisticated culture of the Nara-Kyoto area, Zenchiku is particularly important for his clarification of the nature of Noh and the Japanese arts as based in and seeking to express a religio-aesthetic experience. Indeed, as Donald Keene has suggested,¹ the aesthetics of Noh in its subsequent history may well owe more to Zenchiku than to Zeami, since it is in Zenchiku's work that the Buddhist and Zen influences become dominant, as reflected in his characteristic stage settings and acting.

In his theoretical writings, Zenchiku not only expands upon many of the themes found in the writings of Zeami, but also adds his own unique stamp by clearly and consistently relating Buddhist ideas to artistic ideas. A Noh performance, according to Zenchiku, is grounded fundamentally and ideally in the Buddhist experience, and *yugen* (sublime, ineffable beauty) is the aesthetic manifestation of that experience. This idea is expounded in his *Rokurin Ichiro no Ki* (Essay on Six Circles, One Dewdrop), written in 1456.

Zenchiku writes that the inspiration for his "six circles, one dewdrop" formulation came from the Bodhisattva Kannon during meditation at the Hase Kannon temple. This suggests that he felt his work was not simply an amendment or footnote to Zeami's. I think we can assume, both because of his inspiration during meditation and from his "six circles, one dewdrop" itself, that Zenchiku was very familiar with the thought and practice of Buddhism and that his theoretical formulation was largely grounded in his own religious and aesthetic experience. Any assumption short of this does Zenchiku a disservice and fails to recognize the profundity of his work.

This article intends to "listen" as closely as possible to what Zenchiku says in his writings concerning six circles, one dewdrop and to offer an interpretation.² Before beginning, however, some general comments will clarify both the context and general intentions of Zenchiku's writings, that is, his motives and purposes for setting out his formulation.

First, Zenchiku says clearly, right at the beginning of his initial *Rokurin Ichiro no Ki*:

The way of the *Sarugaku* art [i.e., Noh] consists in moving the body in the most beautiful possible form, and in modulating the voice in patterns. In doing so, the actor is unconscious as to where he moves this hand or stamps that foot.

In accordance with this, the secret teachings indicate that performance, fundamentally, takes place beyond the separation of subject and object, and the function of this on stage is the indescribably marvelous (*myō*). This being the case, six circles and one dewdrop provisionally expresses this teaching.³

Most certainly, he picks up here on Zeami's concern for an art based ultimately in *mu* (nothingness, or no-thingness: awareness beyond subject-object separation), expressed in the ineffable sublimity of *myō* and *yūgen*. Zenchiku, however, goes beyond Zeami and relates his formulation more clearly and deeply to Buddhist concepts, establishing the idea of a performing art grounded in a religio-aesthetic experience which is Buddhist in character.

Second, Zenchiku's faithfulness to key Mahayana Buddhist perspectives and distinctions is important, particularly when he distinguishes between the absolute truth and the relative or provisional truth. This distinction is important in most of Mahayana Buddhism, and it clearly underlies Zenchiku's whole project.

Briefly, the Buddhist point is that the absolute, as a radically existential and immediately lived experience, is beyond naming, descriptions, distinctions, and explanations. However, especially for purposes of teaching and reaching out to others, Buddhism admits of a relative, multiple world and a relative truth which may be named and explained to help others enter the Truth. Zenchiku is quite aware of this distinction. In fact, we might say as he does, that this whole theory is merely an exercise in provisional, relative truth for the sake of those who follow in the tradition. As the influential Mahayana text *The Awakening of Faith* says:

All things from the beginning are neither matter nor mind, neither wisdom nor consciousness, neither being nor not being; they are ultimately inexplicable. And yet they are still spoken of. It should be understood that the Tathagatas, applying their expedient means, make use of conventional speech in a provisional manner in order to guide people, so they can be free from their deluded thoughts and can return to Suchness [i.e., enlightenment].⁴

Third, I am convinced that the six circles do not represent a cause-and-effect sequence. While there is some linear progression and hierarchical ordering in the fourth to sixth circles, the larger, more important structure and meaning lie elsewhere. I feel that Zenchiku's brief writing *Nika Ichirin* (Two Flowers, One Circle) provides the key to this structure and pattern of meaning. Basically, this structure includes the first, second, and third circles as *together* pointing to enlightenment or Buddha Mind, the one aspect of true performance (not to mention true living) upon which everything else is based. The fourth, fifth, and sixth circles emphasize the functioning of this enlightenment or Buddha Mind in performance.

In presenting Zenchiku's comments, I have generally brought together within one paragraph his relevant comments on any given item from two and sometimes

three different places in the writings I am considering (see footnote 2 herein). The single paragraphs translating Zenchiku on each item therefore should not be considered continuous, uninterrupted, single passages. Where relevant, I have also added the comments of Shigyoku (1383-1464), a Kegon Buddhist master whose comments follow Zenchiku's for each item in the initial work *Rokurin Ichiro no Ki*. All other comments and interpretations are my own. The diagrams are Zenchiku's own and are found in slightly varying styles throughout all his writings.⁵

The Six Circles

1. *Jurin* (The Circle of Life)

For Zenchiku, the Circle of Life represents the fundamental basis upon which all else rests. In varying places he says of this circle that:

It is the absolute ground giving continual birth to heaven and earth, and to all forms of existence. It is the culmination of all truths—Shinto, Buddhist, or Confucian—and represents both absolute and relative truth together (*shinzoku*). As such, it is the ultimate ground of all forms, the letter “A” as the [esoteric Buddhist] expression of fundamental reality (*aji-hompusho*), and the origin or ground of birth/death. It is the Mind-ground which, like the breath, moves out into form and returns to formlessness in a constant circular fashion. Particularly for Noh, it is the fundamental source and inexhaustible vessel for *yugen*, and for every aspect of performance. It is the fundamental breath for song and dance which arises upon and returns to itself in circular fashion. All two-sidedness is in this circle, and it is the one Mind or one breath giving birth, grounding, and uniting all moments and forms.⁶

About this circle, Shigyoku adds that “*Jurin* represents true emptiness (*shinku*, or *sunyata*), true suchness (*shinnyo*, or *tatbata*), formless/markless existence (*muso*), and the emptiness realization (*kujaku*) which forms the wondrous base (*myodai*) of all functions and forms. It is the fundamental nature of Buddha as emptiness, and the *aji* or absolute unity and ground for all sentient and nonsentient existence. It is the windless sea upon which the waves of subject/object arise and a world is born.”⁷

From the preceding and from Zenchiku's drawing, it is clear that he is pointing to emptiness-suchness awareness. (The drawing in the initial work has words superimposed on it, but elsewhere in Zenchiku's writings it is empty—as is the sixth circle with which it is later identified.) *Jurin* represents the Mind which is beyond all distinctions and all subject-object predication; that Absolute which includes both absolute and relative truth, as well as all two-sidedness and all distinctions; that Mind-ground upon which the world of form and multiple objects arises and has its being; that circular Mind which continually moves out into form from emptiness-suchness, and returns. *Jurin* is the ground of all art, all existence, all life.

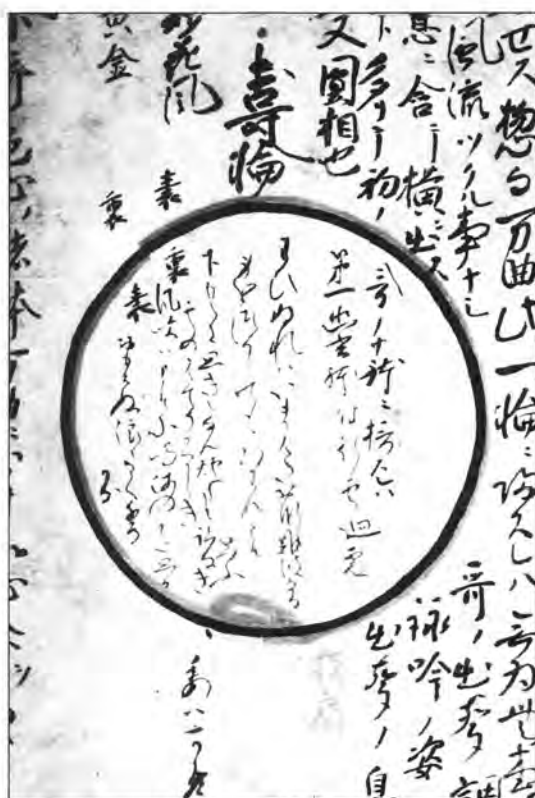
The circularity of this Mind is absolutely central here. Zenchiku's whole formulation is based on circles within circles within circles. The circle is the governing image or root metaphor for the whole work. While every one of the six circles, as well as other circular patterns discussed later, imply this circularity, we might best look at it as it first appears—as a symbol of the Absolute—for everything else that is to be done and said rests upon such symbolism.

Certainly, Buddhism generally and Zen specifically has made good use of circular images to express fundamental truth. The round mirror and full moon are two examples. The empty calligraphic circle has long been an image of fundamental truth in Zen, and the famous ox-herding pictures are all drawn within circles.

However, circularity may possibly be more easily understood in its relationship to the Buddhist experience itself, that is, experience which continually “disjoins/enjoins,” or empties/fills the world. It is the “middle way” awareness or experience, which grasps neither emptiness nor forms but stays in between. As formulated in the teachings of the Tendai school of Buddhism, it falls in the middle of emptiness and the relative world. It is the *pratitya-samutpada* (mutual dependence) experience to which the Buddha is said to have awakened and which Nagarjuna called “emptiness.” It is experienced in a variety of forms of Buddhist meditation, but perhaps the best analog is Tendai meditation, or *shi-* (emptying/stilling) *kan* (insight into the world). It is the wisdom (*prajna*) which penetrates both emptiness and form and which says, as does the Diamond Sutra, that “a thing which is no-thing is a true thing,” or as the Heart Sutra does, that “form is emptiness, emptiness form.” A continual cycle of movement from the depths to the shallows and back again seems to be the pattern, and the circularity of that process, plus its continuity in every waking moment, is the Buddhist experience referred to here. As Zenchiku says, it is a continual process of giving birth to form and, like breath, returning once again in a constant circular fashion. To use his metaphor, it is continually breathing life into life.

In light of this, it is no coincidence that in Japanese Buddhism the term *en* (circle or round) forms part of the compound words which indicate nirvana (*enjaku*), enlightenment (*engaku* and *endon shikan*), and the esoteric teachings (*enmitsu*). Moreover, in the Kegon school with which Zenchiku was slightly associated, there is the *engyo* (round doctrine). After all, to be round is to be whole, perfect, complete, and satisfied (*enman*), and, as it were, saved. More specifically, in Zenchiku and his art it is the *shikijin enso* (form mind in round aspect), the *jitsugetsu seishin* (sun-moon spirit), the *daienkyochi* (great round mirror wisdom), and, in a wonderful way that ties all this to aesthetics and art, the *kabuyudo no enso* (poetry-music-dance indescribable Way roundness). This circular mind is meant to be lived out in the immediacy of every continuing moment, and especially every continuing artistic moment. In the latter case, as Zenchiku says, it becomes the “fundamental source and inexhaustible vessel for yugen.”

This circular mind, therefore, implies: (1) emptiness-suchness as its ultimate ground, (2) a world of particulars arising on that ground, and (3) the mutual interdependence of these two in a “middle way.” This threefold character of the circular mind is precisely what Zenchiku envisions as the first three circles. The first of these



Jurin (The Circle of Life). It is the absolute ground giving continual birth to heaven and earth, and to all forms of existence. * All photos accompanying this article are of originals written by Zenchiku, and are courtesy of the Nogami Memorial No Drama Research Institute of Hosei University, Tokyo.



Shurin (The Circle of Arising). It makes . . . a coming into appearance and consciousness of the deepest feeling, of pure song, of both height and width, of the spirit. It is where *yugen* makes its appearance in/with music and dance. It is the arising of the ten thousand shapes and sounds out of the one letter ["A"].

is Jurin, the Circle of Life. It is like the *ku* (emptiness) in the Tendai doctrine of *santai* (three truths). Similarly, it is the Kegon *sangan* (three meditations): (1) *shinku-kan*, the view that emptiness is the true nature of all things; (2) *riji-muge-kan*, the view that all phenomena arise on the basis of *shinnyo* (suchness); and (3) *shuben-gan'yo-kan*, the view that every particular is itself the whole of *shinnyo* and reflects the entire phenomenal world. With the *sangan* in mind, we can further interpret Zenchiku's first circle as representing true emptiness.

In some aspects, the first circle is also like the *Dharmakaya* (Truth or Essence Body) in the idea of the *trikaya* (three bodies) of Buddha, found throughout Mahayana Buddhism. Like the *Dharmakaya*, it is the Absolute which admits of no distinctions, is beyond language and subject-object discrimination, and is understood to be emptiness-suchness itself. It is clear, for example, in *The Awakening of Faith*, that the *Dharmakaya* is enlightenment, that it "knows no such thing as distinguishing this from that and yet is the essence of corporeal form."⁸ The *Dharmakaya*, like Zenchiku's first circle, is the basis for all life, the illumination of all truth, the circular mind that moves out into form and returns, the one mind that gives breath to all aspects of life, and that which includes within it all two-sidedness. In addition, for Zenchiku the first circle is also the inexhaustible vessel for *yugen*, that out of which and upon which *yugen* makes its appearance known and its effects felt.

2. *Shurin* (The Circle of Arising)

Of the second circle, Zenchiku says in varying places:

It makes an arising, a coming into appearance and consciousness of the deepest feeling, of pure song, of both height and width, of the spirit (*seishin*). It is where *yugen* makes its appearance in/with music and dance. More clearly, it is the dividing and distinguishing of heaven and earth, pure and impure, up and down. It is form and shape arising on and out of the one breath [i.e., *Jurin*]. It is the divine origins and fundamental sea [i.e., *Jurin*] with golden waves (*shokai kinba*). It is the arising of the ten thousand shapes and sounds out of the one letter [i.e., "A"]. It is the awakening of the highest admiration and the birth of pure music and dance.⁹

On the second circle, Shigyoku comments that "Shurin indicates birth or coming into existence. Upon the fundamental sea (*shokai*) of realized formless existence (*muso kujaku*) the one wave of conditioned impermanent existence (*ui tempen*) arises. 'Upon the windless fundamental sea (*shokai mufu*) the golden waves arise.'¹⁰

Certainly from a Buddhist point of view, the key to the second circle is the golden waves. It is the world of thoughts, feelings, actions, and objects that arise in consciousness upon the fundamental sea of emptiness-suchness awareness. The *shu* of *Shurin* is a vertical shaft or warp which separates and clarifies the otherwise inseparable world of *Jurin* into this and that, up and down, height and width, subject and object, heaven and earth, and pure and impure. Furthermore, as Zenchiku now begins

to emphasize, Shurin is the arising into consciousness of the particular aesthetic characteristics of Noh. The round, mirror-mind of Jurin becomes conscious of itself as subject apprehending a multiple world of objects. This is the world of golden waves arising on the fundamental sea of enlightenment, or emptiness-suchness awareness.

In traditional Buddhist formulations, this is equivalent to the Tendai concept of *ke*, that there is a world of temporary and provisional objects—temporary and provisional in relation to the Absolute which forms its base. It is similar to the Kegon *riji-muge-kan*, that the provisional, relative, multiple world must be seen as arising on the ground of shinnyo. It is the Absolute as it opens itself to a world of relative truths in which there are marks, qualities, attributes and multiple things. It is also the *Sambhogakaya* in the “three-body” doctrine of Buddha, for the Sambhogakaya, as “bliss” or “enjoyment body,” becomes conscious of itself and the world, and enjoys enlightenment. While Dharmakaya is the fundamental sea, Sambhogakaya may be emphasizing the golden waves (enlightened mind and consciousness functioning in relativity).

Such parallels to traditional Buddhist formulations certainly help account for the meaning of Zenchiku’s (and Shigyoku’s) comments, insofar as his theory is clearly Buddhist in content. However, Zenchiku also wants to relate this Buddhist content to Noh specifically, and that is why he speaks of *yugen* as being expressed in and through music and dance. The crucial point here seems to be that “*yugen*,” a term and concept for a distinguishing quality of our relative world, names the aesthetic spirit which arises in and with the performance of Noh. Shurin thus marks the appearance and coming to consciousness of the deepest feeling, of “pure” music and dance, and of *yugen* as the primary aesthetic manifestation of the circular mind on stage.

3. *Juurin* (The Circle of Dwelling)

Of the third circle, Zenchiku says:

Each and every form, and certainly each and every action or event of Noh, is settled securely and dwells fundamentally in the circle. The settledness in the circle is the “place” of all performance and of all life—a settled, secure place (*anso*), and a wondrous place (*myoso*) as well. . . . While heaven is heaven and earth is earth, yet are all the myriad things, and the teachings, the whole of causal existence and birth/death itself settled and dwelling in this place. Phenomenal existence itself is the Dharma state (*hossho boi*), this world itself is the unchanging essence (*sekenso joju*). Scattered flowers and fallen leaves right before our eyes are the unchanging essence. If one does not realize this, he does not know the original source and his flowers are broken off. In the performance of Noh as well, all that takes place moves [in circular fashion] out of and back to this dwelling place.¹¹

Zenchiku uses this circle as an example of the middle way of Buddhism. In terms of the three truths of Tendai Buddhism, this circle represents the middle or mean

between emptiness-suchness (the Absolute) and the relative, provisional world of objects. In terms of the three meditations of Kegon Buddhism, it is the *shuben ganyo* view that each and every particular is itself the fullness of reality. In terms of the three bodies of Buddha, it might possibly be understood as *Nirmanakaya*, or the manifested/transformed body by which emptiness-suchness awareness is actually lived out in the particulars of existence. Perhaps it is Hui-neng's "ten thousand hundred billion Nirmanakaya Buddhas" of our own nature,¹² wherein each and every moment's action, thought, feeling, and object becomes the particular dwelling place of enlightenment. Seen as such, every moment's content dwells securely in the circular mind and is, as Zen master Dogen says, the fullness of being and time. Each and every moment, each "place" of our activities, is itself the true dwelling place and the unchanging essence. *Samsara* [paligenesis] is Nirvana and, as Zenchiku says, if we do not realize this, the flowers of our art (and of our life) will be broken off and disconnected from the stem of the fundamental source.

Shoka (Essential Flower)

One of Zenchiku's intentions, as the suggested connections to various Buddhist doctrinal formulations point out, is the self-contained grouping of the first three circles, Shoka. After all, Tendai's three truths, Kegon's three meditations, and the "three bodies" idea in general all form a whole and complete picture of something; namely, enlightenment or Buddha-existence. This intention of Zenchiku's is confirmed in his writing *Nika Ichirin*, in which he says that the first three circles constitute the "Essential Flower" (Shoka) which permeates horizontally in all directions and vertically into the three worlds.¹³ I understand this to mean complete and total enlightenment as experience which, on the one hand, penetrates the three "realms" of existence (form and desire, form without desire, and formlessness) and, on the other hand, transforms the whole, multiple world into Nirvana so that every particular moment dwells in emptiness-suchness and the circular mind.

As relates to art, however, Zenchiku goes on to say that in Noh the first three circles represent the

... supreme state of indescribable (*yu*) feeling and profound (*gen*) depth which is the pure spirit (*shojo no seishin*) of the supremacy of *yugen* The form mind in round aspect (*shikijin enso*) lives in each move of the sleeve, each style of every form, each stamp of the foot, and each sound of music. All dwells securely in *yugen*.¹⁴

This seems to indicate that the circular mind lived out in artistic form is *yugen*, and that *yugen* is both the central aesthetic ideal of Noh and closely associated with a particular (Buddhist) mode of experience.

Thus, the first three circles as Shoka indicate the essence of the art of Noh, even of life itself. Taken together, they express the enlightened mind and the spirit of *yugen*. With this in mind, we can now turn to the remaining circles.



Juurin (The Circle of Dwelling). Each and every form, and certainly each and every action or event of Noh, is settled securely and dwells fundamentally in the circle. The settledness in the circle is the "place" of all performance and of all life—a settled, secure place, and a wondrous place as well.



Zorin (The Circle of Phenomena). Though there is the universal roundness of the first three circles upon which all is based, yet are there mountains and rivers, the myriad phenomena, the five seed grains, the seasons, and the poetry, song and dance of Noh—each having its own laws and characteristics.

4. *Zorin* (The Circle of Phenomena)

In this fourth circle, and the fifth as well, Zenchiku shifts to the effective functioning of the first three circles in the practical, multiple world of Noh in particular. The fourth and fifth circles represent the *Yoka*, "Functional Flower," and he says of the fourth circle:

It is the effective functioning in the multiple, changing, crowded world of phenomena. Though there is the universal roundness of the first three circles upon which all is based, yet are there mountains and rivers, the myriad phenomena, the five seed grains, the seasons, and the poetry, song and dance of Noh—each having its own laws and characteristics. *Zorin*, based in the upper three circles [and still drawn within a circle!], effectively functions in the myriad variety of images and phenomena, and understands the order and relationships that obtain. In Noh this is the appearance of *yugen* in phenomenal forms, and a standing directly in the "circularity midst the poetry-song-dance of this wondrous Way" (*kabuyudo no enso*).¹⁵

This circle is not unlike the third circle. It emphasizes, as Shigyoku says, that "the phenomenal world is the realm of Dharma; each and every thing is the body of Buddha."¹⁶ However, the shift from essences to functions, and the increasing concern here for the practical character of the particular art form of Noh, introduces a distinct and unique message: Effective functioning in a specific artistic form implies the whole world of Noh training, techniques, styles, roles—in short, the whole tradition of Noh as an artistic accomplishment, including the *yugen* or subtle beauty of phenomenal form. The fourth circle implies "learning the ropes" of the art and being fully initiated into its images, phenomena, laws, characteristics, orders, and relationships. It speaks of the accomplished artist who not only stands in the roundness and circularity of the first three circles, but effectively functions within a particular world—both the world of life in general and the world of Noh specifically.

5. *Harin* (The Circle of Breaking)

As in the fourth circle, Zenchiku's primary concern here is with the actual functioning of the essential flower (the first three circles) on the Noh stage. The fifth and fourth circles together are *Yoka*, the second of the two flowers in the writing *Nika Ichirin*. Specifically of this fifth circle, however, Zenchiku says:

Though all the myriad forms and phenomena dwell in the midst of the circle, some may seem to temporarily break with circularity. This apparent breaking is found in those unusual styles of dance and music that seem to go beyond the rules and the traditional patterns or styles. After all, birth/death itself is Nirvana, and the very passions (*bonno*) are themselves

enlightenment. Therefore, peculiar and unusual styles which may seem to break the rules are themselves grounded in the circle and carry the profound *yugen* effect.¹⁷

This circle seems to imply at least two things: On the one hand, from a Buddhist point of view it suggests that while we must, indeed, function in a world of particular forms, phenomena, images and symbols, we must not mistake those for the immediately lived reality which is the circular mind. As in the Zen saying, we must not mistake the finger for the moon. This is Mahayana's iconoclasm; its consistent message urging us to break through images, objects, forms, and phenomena. The radical character of this is expressed in the phrase "the very passions are enlightenment," for the iconoclasm is so complete that no particular relationships, symbols, rules, or thoughts can encompass or define enlightened existence.

On the other hand, Zenchiku is clearly referring to the consummate actor who, having attained the heights (or depths) of religio-aesthetic accomplishment in Noh, may break with the stylistic traditions and rules, with the icons of the tradition. This is much like Zeami's *ran'i* (returned style or stage) which is reserved for the master actor who has reached both the spiritual and artistic heights, yet returns to the roles and styles of acting that are beneath or outside the traditional style of *yugen*. As for Zeami and Zenchiku, however, such breaking of traditional style is still grounded in the religio-aesthetic circle, namely, in emptiness-suchness and *yugen*. Just as the very passions are enlightenments, the peculiar styles which seem to break the rules are, in fact, grounded in the circle and carry the profound *yugen* effect.

Yoka (Functional Flower)

In distinguishing Shoka and Yoka, Zenchiku may well have the Buddhist notions of the distinctions between the absolute and the relative in mind. Or, he may have Zeami's distinction between the no-mind (*mushin*) and the distinction-making mind (*yojin*) in mind. In either case, he clearly distinguishes the first three circles, as a group, from the fourth and fifth circles, which he emphasizes as the concrete functioning of the circular mind (i.e., the essential flower) in "the particulars of the world"—most specifically, the world of Noh; its training and its performance. In Yoka, Zenchiku is thus talking about learning to function in a particular tradition and order, as well as taking that functioning to its logical ends (Buddhistically and artistically) in iconoclasm and transcendence.

6. *Kurin* (The Circle of Emptiness)

Of the sixth circle, Zenchiku says:

It is beyond subject and object, marks the heights (of attainment), and returns to the first circle. It is associated with the old master who, while having exhausted poetry and dance,

reveals the substance of lingering flowers, attains the style of Nothingness (*mufu*), and returns to the Circle of Life (*Jurin*). This is the final and greatest achievement in the art. Enlightenment or non-enlightenment, it's all the same. Each sound, each dance step, returns to the very first bud though the flowers are like those of an old cherry tree—withered and childlike. All return to the original circular aspect.¹⁸

Emptiness-suchness awareness, or the Absolute, is seen here both as the culmination of and the return to the fundamental ground with which we began. In some sense, it culminates in enlightenment and returns us *full circle* to the first circle. The six circles together form a cyclical pattern; they are not a linear or hierarchical progression, for the “return” is definitely not a return to an earlier or lower stage.

In confirming this, Shigyoku says of the sixth circle that “emptiness necessarily returns to emptiness.”¹⁹ We should note that Zenchiku’s drawing is exactly the same for the first and sixth circles, that is, totally empty. As in *Jurin*, we are beyond subject and object, and such distinctions as enlightenment-nonenlightenment are transcended. The whole cycle of the six circles is, as Zenchiku has already said of the first circle, “the Mind-ground which, like the breath, moves out into form and returns to formlessness in a constant circular fashion.”

On the other hand, Zenchiku is also clearly referring to the old master actor who, as in Zeami’s work as well,²⁰ may exhibit the unique style or “flowers” of the old cherry tree. These flowers, of course, are grounded in a cherry tree, that is, in the circular mind and the yugen spirit. As in *Harin*, the Circle of Breaking, the styles may differ and stand outside the canons of the art, but they are nonetheless manifestations of the basis of the art.

The sixth circle, as well as the fourth and fifth, therefore implies *some* linear progression. Minimally, it is a progression in age and/or seniority, since the fourth circle speaks for artistic mastery. The progression *may* imply levels of artistic ability; but this is surely not important to Zenchiku. In fact, the six circles in general are better understood as one large circular pattern and as several ways of looking at basically one thing, that is, enlightened consciousness lived out in an art. Unlike Zeami, we do not have here a hierarchical ranking-system or a progression from the novice to the master.

It should be mentioned that the sixth circle seems to play no part in Zenchiku’s formulation concerning “two flowers, one circle”; the “one circle” is not the sixth of the six circles. To my knowledge, while Zenchiku does not explain how or where the sixth circle functions in terms of his “two flowers, one circle,” I think it is safe to assume that, like the first circle with which it is identified, it is beyond all distinctions and all functions. It is the Absolute, and as such, one might say that it rejoins and returns to the first circle—to the fundamental basis, the essence of the essential flower and of the whole process.

Ichiro (One Dewdrop)

For Zenchiku, the one dewdrop is more often the sword of prajna, or the sword of true nature (*shoken*). Of the dewdrop or sword, Zenchiku says:



Harin (The Circle of Breaking). Though all the myriad forms and phenomena dwell in the midst of the circle, some may seem to temporarily break with circularity.



Kurin (The Circle of Emptiness). It is beyond subject and object, marks the heights (of attainment), and returns to the first circle.

All distinctions between emptiness and form collapse and, in absolute freedom (*jizai muge*) not a speck of dust is hindered. Therefore, the one dewdrop takes the form of the sword of true nature (*shoken*). It is the spiritual Mind (*seishin* or *shojin*) connecting the six circles, as well as the underlying vitality of heaven and earth, the spiritual energy (*seikon*) out of which the myriad things are born, the marvelous principle of the absolute, immobile, sharp sword—the realized sword of Wisdom (*naisho chiken*). As such, it is the Mind Sword (*Shiken*) which cuts through the myriad obstacles. It is the great round mirror Wisdom (*daienkyochi*). It is the eight-sided jewel, yet, in this theory, it does not have even one side. While these seven stages [i.e., six circles, one dewdrop] each have their own names and features, yet the sword of true nature returns everything to one Mind.²¹

Shigyoku adds to this that “rain, frost, and snow all disappear and are concentrated into one dewdrop. The sword of true nature, that is, the sword of Manjusri Bodhisattva (the Bodhisattva of Wisdom *par excellence*), cuts through all obstacles and transcends all distinctions between [for example] samsara and Nirvana or the six gates [i.e., the six circles, or perhaps the six senses].”²²

Just as the waves of all distinctions are of one water, all distinctions condense and collapse into the one dewdrop. As the “Hymn to Perfect Wisdom” in the *Rabulabhadra Prajnaparamitastotra* says:

As the drops of dew in contact
With the sun's rays disappear;
So all theorizings vanish
Once we have obtained Thee.²³

Exactly as Shigyoku says, the Sword of Wisdom cuts through all obstacles and all distinctions; the one dewdrop collapses all separate aspects.

In some ways, this brings us back to Jurin and Kurin, beyond subject and object discrimination and residing in the Absolute. However, there is an important difference: Jurin and Kurin are two among six ways of naming, distinguishing, theorizing, and explaining this religio-aesthetic experience and mode. As such, they and the whole theory belong just there—to the realm of explanation, theory and relative truth. The Absolute is emptiness-suchness awareness immediately (non-dualistically) lived, and is not a theory or something that can be named. It is the “great-round-mirror Wisdom,” the *adarsajnana* which is true and complete enlightened existence. It is the “eight-sided jewel” of enlightenment which has no sides, no aspects, no distinguishing characteristic or marks, whether thought of in eights, sevens, sixes, or twos. It is the diamond and the sword which cut through all distinctions, all theorizing. It is, as the following Zen koan expresses, the immediate revelation of truth:

Enquirer: "In phenomena, what is true?"
Master: "The very phenomena themselves are true."
Enquirer: "Then how should it be revealed?"
The master lifted the tea tray.

This completes Zenchiku's theory of "six circles, one dewdrop," at least as it appears in his *Rokurin Ichiro no Ki*. However, as we have seen, other writings and later commentaries expand on or reconceive the original formulation. This is particularly true of the *Nika Ichirin*. Having discussed the two flowers in reference to the first six circles, let us turn to the one circle.

Ichirin (One Circle)

The ichirin (one circle) of *Nika Ichirin* is designed, I believe, to make more explicit and graphic the same point that the dewdrop and sword make in Zenchiku's original formulation. As he says, this one circle is (also) "the great-round-mirror Wisdom," and "the sun/moon spirit" (*jitsugetsu seishin*) and the awakened state (*goi*) of perfect Buddhahood (*bukka enman*).²⁴

As the illustration suggests, the "one circle" encompasses all the seven distinctive sides or aspects of the original theory. The sevenfold distinction is, thus, lost in the eight-sided jewel that has no sides.

The Buddhist point is, therefore, clearly and consistently made that ultimately we must "lift our tea tray" and transcend explanations about these matters.

The aesthetic point in all this seems to rest fundamentally in the close relation or identification of the great-round-mirror Wisdom and yugen. Insofar as yugen and emptiness-suchness are closely related, yugen is both the aesthetic ground upon which all takes place, as well as the tone, feeling, style, and atmosphere manifested in the particular art forms of Noh. Emptiness-suchness lived out on the stage seems almost necessarily to carry yugen with it. Even more, however, it is as though any possible "lifting of the tea tray" will manifest yugen. How much more so, then, the lifting of the tea tray via the artistic forms of song, dance, and poetry in Noh? If one is to enter into explanation (as Zenchiku is doing), then yugen names the aesthetic presence such a mind brings with it, especially as lived out in song, poetry, music, and dance.

This seems only confirmed when Zenchiku, having made very clear that the six (or seven) factors really collapse in living wisdom, says: "These seven items are all present in each melody, each word, and each style of performance."²⁵ This means that each stage moment, each stage event, each lift-of-the-tea-tray on stage, is to be the dewdrop, sword, and one circle that is True Wisdom. Since yugen is crucial to this, and since the Absolute has already been said to be the vessel and basis for yugen, and yugen the spirit of indescribable feeling and profound depth, clearly it will be present; how much more so when the tea tray is lifted within the context of artistic form.

Zenchiku's formulation does exactly what he said he intended it to do; it expresses the fact that "performance, fundamentally, takes place beyond the separation of subject and object," and that "the function of this on stage is the indescribably marvelous."²⁶ Both the religious and the aesthetic are inextricably and inseparably

present, as the term “religio-aesthetic” tries to suggest. In such an understanding of art, each performance moment is a Buddha moment—a golden wave on the fundamental sea, a yugen moment out of the inexhaustible vessel, a flower born out of the roots of emptiness-suchness. Such is Zenchiku’s *kabuyudo no enso*, his “circularity midst the poetry-song-dance of this wondrous Way.”



Notes

1. Donald Keene, *No: The Classical Theatre of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha Int., 1966), p. 43.
2. The specific writings which form the basis for this article are *Rokurin Ichiro no Ki* (Essay on Six Circles, One Dewdrop), *Rokurin Ichiro no Hichu* (Further Notes on Six Circles, One Dewdrop), and *Nika Ichirin* (Two Flowers, One Circle). These are to be found in Ito Masayoshi and Omote Akira (ed.), *Komparu Kodensho Shusei* (Tokyo: Wanya Shoten, 1969); hereafter referred to as KKS. Other secondary sources and partial translations consulted include Benito Ortolani, “Zenchiku’s Aesthetic of the No Theatre” in *Riverdale Studies* no.3 (1976); Nobori Asaji, “Zenchiku’s Philosophy of Noh Drama” in *Hiroshima Bunkyo Joshi Daigaku Kenkyu Kiyo*, 1 (1966); and Myung Whan Kim, “Zenchiku’s Philosophy of Wheels and the Yeatsian Parallel” in *Literature East and West* nos. 15-16 (1971-72).
3. KKS, p. 197.
4. Trans. in Yoshito Hakeda, *The Awakening of Faith* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 79.
5. The first circle, for example, is clearly meant to be absolutely empty, and does indeed appear that way in all other places except in the initial writing. There it seems to have been superimposed on writing already there, or writing was added after the circle was drawn. That writing, however, is not significant for the diagramming of *Jurin*, or its meaning.
6. KKS, pp. 197, 215, 219.
7. KKS, p. 198f.
8. Hakeda, *op. cit.*, p. 71f.
9. KKS, pp. 199, 216, 219.
10. KKS, p. 199. The internal quotation is from Sohaku Taishi.
11. KKS, pp. 200, 216, 219.
12. Trans. in Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 143, 181.
13. KKS, p. 223.
14. KKS, pp. 217, 220.
15. KKS, pp. 201, 217, 219.
16. KKS, p. 201.
17. KKS, pp. 202, 217, 219.
18. KKS, pp. 203, 218f.
19. KKS, p. 203.
20. See especially Zeami’s *Kyu’i Shidai* (The Ranking of the Nine Stages) as discussed in Richard Pilgrim, “Zeami and the Way of No,” *History of Religions* (12/2, 1972), pp. 136-148.
21. KKS, pp. 204, 218f.
22. KKS, p. 204.
23. Trans. in Edward Conze, *Buddhist Texts through the Ages* (New York: Harper and Row, 1954), p. 148.
24. KKS, p. 223.
25. KKS, p. 219.
26. KKS, p. 197.

Fujiwara Teika

Ishida Yoshisada

The Teika Vine

The stage is set for the Noh play "Teika." An itinerant priest, who has come to the capital, Kyoto, from a great distance, is standing in front of a tombstone. At first, he stares at the strange appearance of this tombstone, for there is a vine coiled all around it, covering it entirely. A local woman relates the story of this tombstone to him. She says that this is the grave of the Imperial Princess Shikishi (Shokushi), and that the vine is called the Teika vine. Lord Teika and the princess had made a deep pledge of love to one another, so binding that after death he became a vine and coiled himself around her tombstone, in eternal witness to the anguish of their love.

The embrace, a joyous moment for a man and woman, is here an embrace between a vine and a stone—a tenacious embrace that refuses separation even after death. The people of medieval times thought that the more beautiful a love was, the more it would overcome death—overcome the human state. It is a fiercely strong bond, never to be broken, that will express itself even through inanimate objects.

The itinerant priest sighs deeply and looks up at the clouds moving across the sky. From the depths of his heart, he laments the misery of humanity and the transience of erotic love. The melancholy atmosphere of the medieval world is revealed to us here in all its poignancy.

The Noh play "Teika" was created out of a legend. Yet, the term "Teika vine" became the scientific name for that type of vine, a fact that indicates that there may be some truth behind the legend.

There is another legend about Teika and Princess Shikishi. When Shunzei, Teika's father, admonished his son because of the many rumors concerning Teika and the princess, Teika left without uttering a word. He had, however, dropped a piece of paper behind, on which, in what was obviously the handwriting of the princess, was written the following poem:

<i>tama no o yo</i>	If my life is to end,
<i>taenaba taene</i>	Let it be soon;
<i>nagaraeba</i>	For if I live on,
<i>shinoburu koto no</i>	My heart may grow too weak
<i>yowarimozo suru</i>	To keep concealing my love.

After reading this, Shunzei said no more about the matter. Is it not likely that behind these legends lay an actual case of passionate love?

"Fujiwara Teika" is a translation and adaptation of the author's "Fujiwara Teika" which appeared in *Rekishi no Kyoto* vol. 4, published in 1971 by Tankosha Publishing Company.

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A scene from the Noh play "Teika." The ghost of Princess Shikishi, clad in a vine-patterned outer garment, stands before her tombstone and tells of the love between herself and Lord Teika. Photo courtesy of Mr. Konma Kiyonori, Osaka.

At the base of Teika's artistic greatness is a strong sexuality. It is the sexuality of a type of beauty called *yoen* (fascinating, sensual charm), based on a woman's pathos and anguish. Is there not a connection of some kind between this sexuality and the passionate love portrayed in the legends of Teika and the Princess? As this is a question that I am constantly pondering, I would like to touch cautiously upon the relationship between Teika and Princess Shikishi in a way that does not infringe upon their beautiful privacy.

The Imperial Princess Shikishi was the daughter of the Retired Emperor Go Shirakawa. Due to poor health, she retired early from her service at the Kamo Shrine. She remained single throughout her life and adhered to an extremely well-disciplined lifestyle. An illustration of this is seen in the description in the diary of Minamoto no Ienaga of some young noblemen gathered for a lively game of kickball in the large courtyard of her Oidono residence. There was not a single young lady-in-waiting watching the game through the slits in the lattice doors, an aroma of incense drifted from the interior, and one could hear the sounds of bells and gongs, indicating that religious services were being observed. Although it was usual for young ladies of the court to watch kickball games, it seems that this time no one did so because the princess was present. Ordinary love affairs, also, had no place at the Oidono. In those days, romantic alliances took the form of visits by the man to the woman, and required the good offices of a sympathetic lady-in-waiting, but such arrangements were unthinkable under the scrutiny of the princess.

What are we to make, then, of the fact that this princess composed a large number of love poems which speak of "concealed love," and which were violent lamentations, such as the one above and the following two?

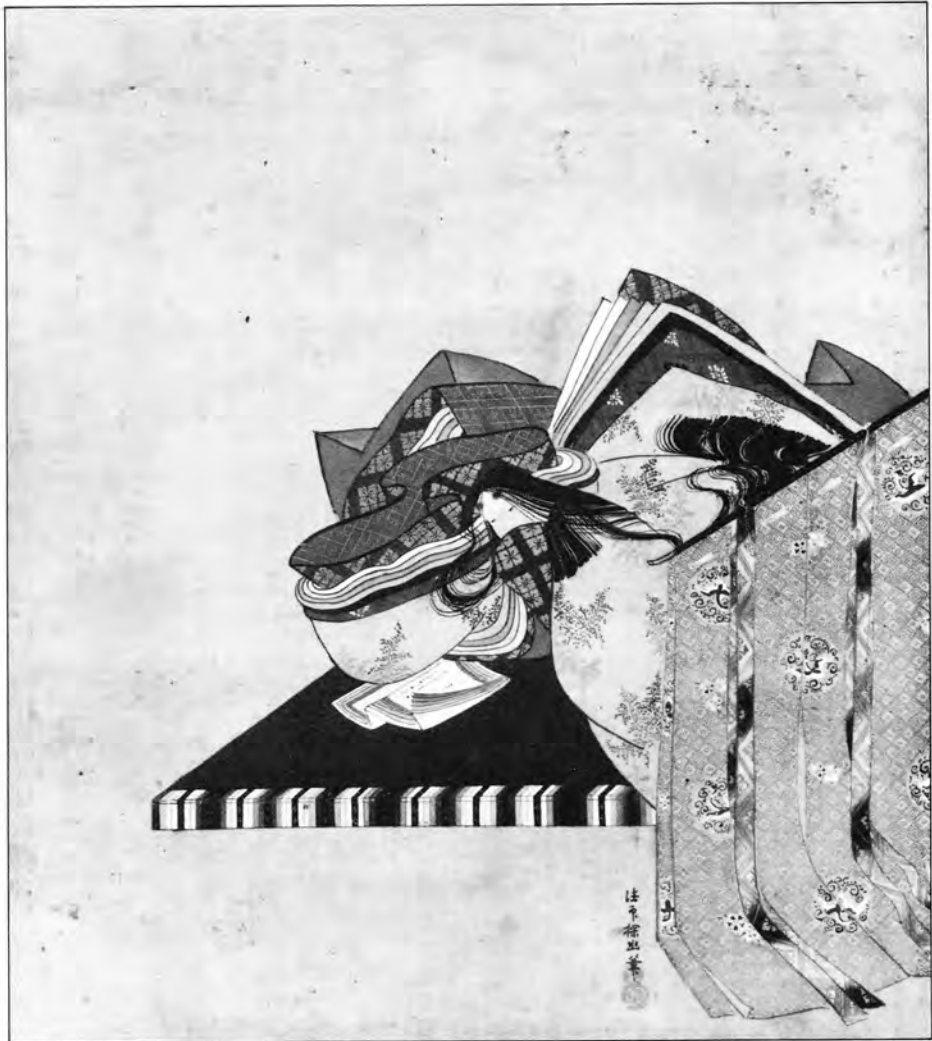
<i>waga koi wa</i>	No one knows
<i>shiru hito mo nashi</i>	About my love—
<i>seku toko no</i>	Do not betray
<i>namida morasuna</i>	My secret tears,
<i>tsuge no omakura</i>	O little pillow of boxwood.*

<i>ikite yo mo</i>	I cannot live
<i>asu made hito wa</i>	Until tomorrow—surely my beloved
<i>tsurakaraji</i>	Will not be cruel,
<i>kono yugure o</i>	If you can come this evening,
<i>towaba toekashi</i>	Please come.

These are not ordinary love poems, but rather, are undisguised wails of anguish.

Teika was about ten years younger than Princess Shikishi, and he would have been forty when she died at the age of fifty. Teika's family were attendants to the princess' household. His two elder sisters were in service there, and Teika's father and

*The Japanese for boxwood is "tsuge." This is a play on the word "tsugeru" meaning to reveal or inform.



Portrait from the *Hyakunin Isshu Gajo* of Princess Shikishi clad in the formal Heian period court costume. Painted by Kano Tanyu (1602-1674). Edo period, colors on silk. Height 31.5 cm., width 27.5 cm. Photo courtesy of Gakushu Kenkyusha, Tokyo.

Teika himself occasionally visited the palace to participate in poetry events. Teika was, therefore, one of the very few men who had access to the princess' household.

From about a year before her death, the princess was bedridden with a severe illness. From Teika's diary we know that he visited her daily. He writes anxiously about her doctors, medicines, fevers, swollen feet, and so on. His diary does not contain similar expressions concerning his mother and sisters, giving substance to the theory that the relationship between Teika and the princess was not of an ordinary nature.

Assuming it was Teika about whom the princess wrote in the above three poems, we can imagine what internal distortion and transformation this intense feeling of longing must have undergone as it was severely repressed and confined within beautiful, self-imposed limits.

It seems, however, that Teika, too, was not the sort of person who could boldly engage in erotic love. For example, it happened once that some business made it necessary for him to stay overnight at the home of the wetnurse of a certain infant named Mitsuna. In his diary, he writes, "Tonight I am staying at the home of Mitsuna's wetnurse. This sort of thing should not be done, but a necessary matter brought me here. People will be suspicious. I should have brought my wife along."

There was also the following incident. When the Retired Emperor Gotoba went to Minase, he ordered several women of pleasure called in from the Eguchi district, and at nightfall he gave one to each of his courtiers. Far from being pleased, Teika writes, "We did not share the same lodging. I rented a small house and had her stay there." Indeed, Teika was fastidious to the point of timidity. We would almost certainly be correct, then, in assuming that whatever love existed between Teika and the strictly disciplined princess could not have gone beyond a certain, definite limit.

There is a groan of passionately burning sexuality in the legend of the Teika vine, and in the aesthetic principle of *yoen* expressed in Teika's writing. Is this not the inescapable nature of human beings?

Teika the Person

Fujiwara Teika, second son of the great poet Shunzei, was born in 1159, three years after the Heiji Rebellion. His father, in the dim light of a candle, wearing a sooty ceremonial robe and hugging a wooden brazier, concerned himself with the writing of poetry. By his side was Teika, with his somewhat high cheekbones and fearless countenance, growing up in this atmosphere.

At the age of nineteen, Teika began to keep a diary, which he continued for about fifty-five years. At the beginning of this diary we find expressions such as "The bright moon in a cloudless sky. A plum tree in the garden is in full bloom, spreading its fragrance all around," and "Not long after the moving of the capital, creepers and weeds fill the garden, and many screens have fallen down. The bleak color of old trees, yellow leaves. . . ." Nonchalantly breaking the centuries-old custom of writing diaries in Chinese, he writes in Japanese, with characters that reveal an aspiring young man of letters.



Six-panel folding screen, entitled "Ogurayama," depicting Fujiwara Teika composing a poem at Mount Ogura. Painted by Shimomura Kanzan (1873-1930). Colors on gold foil. Central area: height 157.56 cm., width 334.21 cm. Photo courtesy of Gakushu Kenkyusha Co., Tokyo.

His was an era that harbored a strong atmosphere of revolution and change. In the same manner that Honen and Dogen made their appearance in the religious world, a bearer of change was due to emerge on the literary scene as well. We may consider Teika to have been that person.

Teika was a man of genius. It is said that a genius is close to being a madman, and Teika was a good example of this. He was frightfully emotional, and would fly into a rage in a moment. The diary of the Kujo family whom he served shows that when Teika was twenty-four, he got into a fight in the palace with the Chief Councillor of State's son, hit him with a paper torch, and was consequently struck from the court register.

As a father, Teika was surprisingly doting. When his son Tameie received the slightest praise or achieved any kind of success, Teika would shed tears of joy, calling him "a child of supreme filial piety." If his child's behavior was in the least unsatisfactory, however, Teika would immediately become furious. When Tameie, at the age of about fifteen or sixteen, was interested in nothing but kickball and was neglecting his studies, Teika reprimanded his son severely and wrote long passages of lamentation in his diary, using expressions such as "My wailing knows no end," "the downfall of our family," and "It is with the utmost mourning and weeping that I record this matter."

A letter which Teika sent to his master Michiie, who was Minister of the Right, is recorded in the diary of the Kujo household. In it, he expresses his indignation at what he considers the "degeneration" of the court ceremonies. This opinion was provoked by an error in the seating order between the Middle Officer of the Right and the Lesser Officer of the Right, which had occurred at a recent court ceremony. The letter is filled with extreme statements such as, "Is this not a crucial matter to be greatly lamented?" and "This matter should be exposed to the derision and ridicule of the public." Indeed, there appears to be a touch of insanity in such exaggerated complaints about such a minor mistake.

Another of Teika's characteristics was his extreme rebelliousness. When the Retired Emperor Gotoba rejected a poem which Teika had submitted and used someone else's instead, Teika insulted Gotoba's choice far and wide, and finally incurred imperial censure. Although he knew full well what a fearful dragon the retired emperor was, he could not help denouncing him. This is just one more example of an emotionalism bordering on insanity.

Teika had an extraordinarily strong desire for fame, and aspired hotly after promotions in official rank. Even at the age of seventy, when he was so weak that he had to lean on others' shoulders in order to walk, he visited the Kasuga Shrine in Nara to pray for a promotion to Middle Councillor of State. He was a person of extraordinary persistence who never gave up whatever he started. For this reason he was able to copy down many classics. For example, at the age of sixty-nine when he copied the *Tendai Shikan*, he worked on it every day for a year and nine months even though, according to his diary, he was plagued with colds, hemorrhoids, pain in the hands, toothache, back pain, cough, palsy, trembling hands, swollen hands, and so on. While writing, he would have several leeches stuck onto his cheek as a remedy for toothache.

Teika's Aesthetics

Teika reviled the retired emperor's choice of poems and was served an imperial censure. Let us examine the situation which gave rise to this. A clarification is necessary because, no matter how great Teika's pride in his genius might have been, behavior of this nature would normally be unthinkable.

Here, then, is what actually took place. At the time, Teika was the greatest poet in the land, and his poems enjoyed the highest prestige. Teika was almost twenty years older than the retired emperor, however, and this generation gap resulted in a corresponding difference in their poetic styles. To make matters worse, Teika was constantly making innovations in his poetry, widening the gap even further. For this reason, the retired emperor and his entourage spoke unfavorably of Teika's poems behind his back, while Teika, on the other hand, did not think very highly of the retired emperor's poetic style. Evidence of this situation is seen in Teika's insulting comment found in the anthology *Kindai Shuka* which he presented to Minamoto no Sanetomo: "The immature younger generation today think they are writing real poetry, but actually they know nothing about it."

It was in this atmosphere that the Saisho Shitennoin incident took place. When it was decided that the colored paper for the sliding doors of the newly built Saisho Shitennoin would be inscribed with poems about famous scenic spots, various poets were commanded to submit poems. Teika put himself to the task with extraordinary enthusiasm. As though determined to demonstrate what real poetry was, he submitted a poem into which he had put his utmost efforts. Indeed, he seemed to have staked his very existence as a poet on this poem:

*aki todani
fukiaenu kaze ni
iro kawaru
Ikuta no mori no
tsuyu no shitakusa*

In a breeze too early
To be called an autumn wind,
The dew-covered plants
Under the trees of Ikuta Forest
Are already changing color.

Yet the retired emperor rejected this poem in favor of an inferior one by someone else. Thus, it was only natural that the violently emotional Teika should be enraged by such an insult, which to him was more insufferable than death itself.

In order to determine the nature and magnitude of its beauty, let us now turn our attention to this poem. The focus is on "dew-covered plants." Summer has not yet come to an end, and Ikuta Forest is still dark with summer foliage. Only the small wild plants beneath the trees are tinged with color, like the cheeks of a shyly blushing woman. For Teika there was an overpowering beauty in such an image, and it was on this that he staked his reputation as a poet.

This kind of beauty is referred to as *yoen*. As the expression of woman's mysteriously fascinating pathos and impermanence, it was, in Teika's eyes, the highest form of beauty imaginable. It seems that the retired emperor, however, had absolutely no understanding of an aesthetic of this kind, for he commented that the poem spoke

of nothing but “a few withered plants under the trees of a forest” (*Gotobain Onkuden*, Record of the Spoken Words of Gotoba). It is clear, then, that in their aesthetic sensibilities, Teika and the retired emperor were completely out of tune with each other.

To better understand the beauty of the preceding poem, I would like to look at a similar image from Kawabata Yasunari’s novel *Thousand Cranes*. One of the characters in the book is Ota-san, a widow in her mid-forties. After the death of her lover, she becomes intimate with his son, a young man named Kikuji. Although they visit an inn in Kita Kamakura together a few times, her love for him is hopeless and she finally commits suicide. Afterwards, her daughter sends Kikuji a beautiful Shino teabowl, saying it is a memento of her mother. On the rim of this teabowl there is a faint crimson stain; according to the daughter, her mother had once said it was from her lipstick.

What can we say about the beauty of this faint crimson stain, this red coloring on the teabowl which is placed before the heroine’s beloved? Could there be a more beautiful expression of a woman’s pathos and impermanence? Truly, it is this pathos and impermanence of woman that constitutes the essence of the beauty of *yoen*. We might say that this beauty is in the sigh and the fragrance of a woman, of a woman’s life, of life itself.

Teika senses a beauty almost identical to this in the delicate plants under the trees of Ikuta Forest. What he portrays is the lipstick stain on Ikuta Forest, the lipstick stain on the summer world. Even the small plants, which are objects of nature, transmit to Teika a feeling of woman’s pathos and shyness.

When Teika composed the line “Miyako no yama wa tsuki hosoku shite” (a thin moon over a mountain in the capital), he sensed in the moon, more slender than a thread, the pathetic visage of a woman just separated from her lover; and in “koromo harusame iro ni idetsutsu” (coming out in a robe the color of spring rain), he captured the enchanting beauty of a woman’s body in the fine, threadlike lines of a spring rain.*

Yugen and Teika’s Aesthetics

At the bottom of Teika’s idea of beauty lies the fact of destruction, death, and impermanence—the immense anguish of life. To escape from this reality, as Baudelaire said, human beings must become intoxicated. Whether by alcohol, poetry, or women, they must become intoxicated. Trying to forget one’s anguish in the glittering, sensual beauty of the red lantern district of drinking and entertainment establishments, in delicious wine, in beautiful women, or in songs with shamisen accompaniment, is the very principle of Teika’s aesthetic of *yoen*. The painful fusion of pathos and beauty, the intense blending of agony and sensuality—this is what constitutes the structure of Teika’s aesthetics.

The quality that emerges from this blending, and which permeates Teika’s aesthetics, is normally referred to as *yugen* (subtle, mysterious beauty). The people of medieval times, with their deeply rooted consciousness of the anguish of decline and death, were drawn to the beauty of this mysterious quality. Depending on the artist

* Both lines quoted in the paragraph are found in *Shuigusa*, Teika’s collection of his own poems, dated 1216.

and the type of art, there are some works possessing a strong aroma of sexuality, some displaying only splendor, and others darkly colored with bitterness; but all these forms have the same root quality, which is *yugen*. *Yugen* is the ocean, and all other types of beauty are waves upon its surface.

The *Heike Monogatari* is one example. In this work, the attempt to express the tragedy of fate in brilliant poetry is based on the same principle as Teika's aesthetics. Similarly, medieval *waka* (31-syllable poem), *renga* (linked verse), as well as the arts of *chanoyu* and flower arrangement all are rooted in *yugen*.

The quality of *yugen* present in the *chanoyu* of Rikyu, where *wabi* reached its perfection, came to be beautifully expressed in the *chanoyu* of Kobori Enshu. It is from these origins that the *chanoyu* of today inherited its fascinating atmosphere. The art of flower arrangement, too, in its original form, is rich with the flavor of enchanting feminine beauty, for there is something feminine at the root of *yugen*.

The art that has best carried on Teika's particular interpretation of *yugen* is the Noh drama. According to Zeami, the most important element in Noh is *yugen*, which reaches its height in the presence and bearing of a woman of nobility. For Teika's poetry, Zeami had only the highest praise. Those who truly wish to experience the beauty of Teika's *yugen* would do well to see excellent Noh performances, especially those of the type called *kazura mono* (woman plays). There, the beauty that Teika sealed into his poetry is developed in a dazzling combination of form, color, movement, and music, exhibiting itself without reserve even in its innermost aspects. Among these plays, the one I recommend most highly is "Matsukaze." There is an old saying, "Yuya, Matsukaze and boiled rice" (Like boiled rice, the Noh plays "Yuya" and "Matsukaze" are staples of which one never tires).

The stage for "Matsukaze" is pervaded by an air of deep sadness. The setting is the seashore at Suma; there is a moon in the sky and the sea is seen below. Two young women—sisters—appear pulling carts. Their great yearning for their lover [whom they followed in death] has brought them back from the other world on this night of the full moon, and they draw salt water as they did long ago. The beauty of the moonlight, the beauty and pathos of the women drawing salt water—who would think woman's pathos could be expressed with such overwhelming beauty as this? It is here that I always think of the amazing nature of *yoen*.

Soon the sisters recede out of view pulling their carts. In the buckets on top of the carts, the moon is reflected in the salt water. The water moves, the moon moves, and the waves on the Suma shore see them off with deep pathos.

Teika's *Hyakunin Isshu* (Poems by One Hundred Poets)

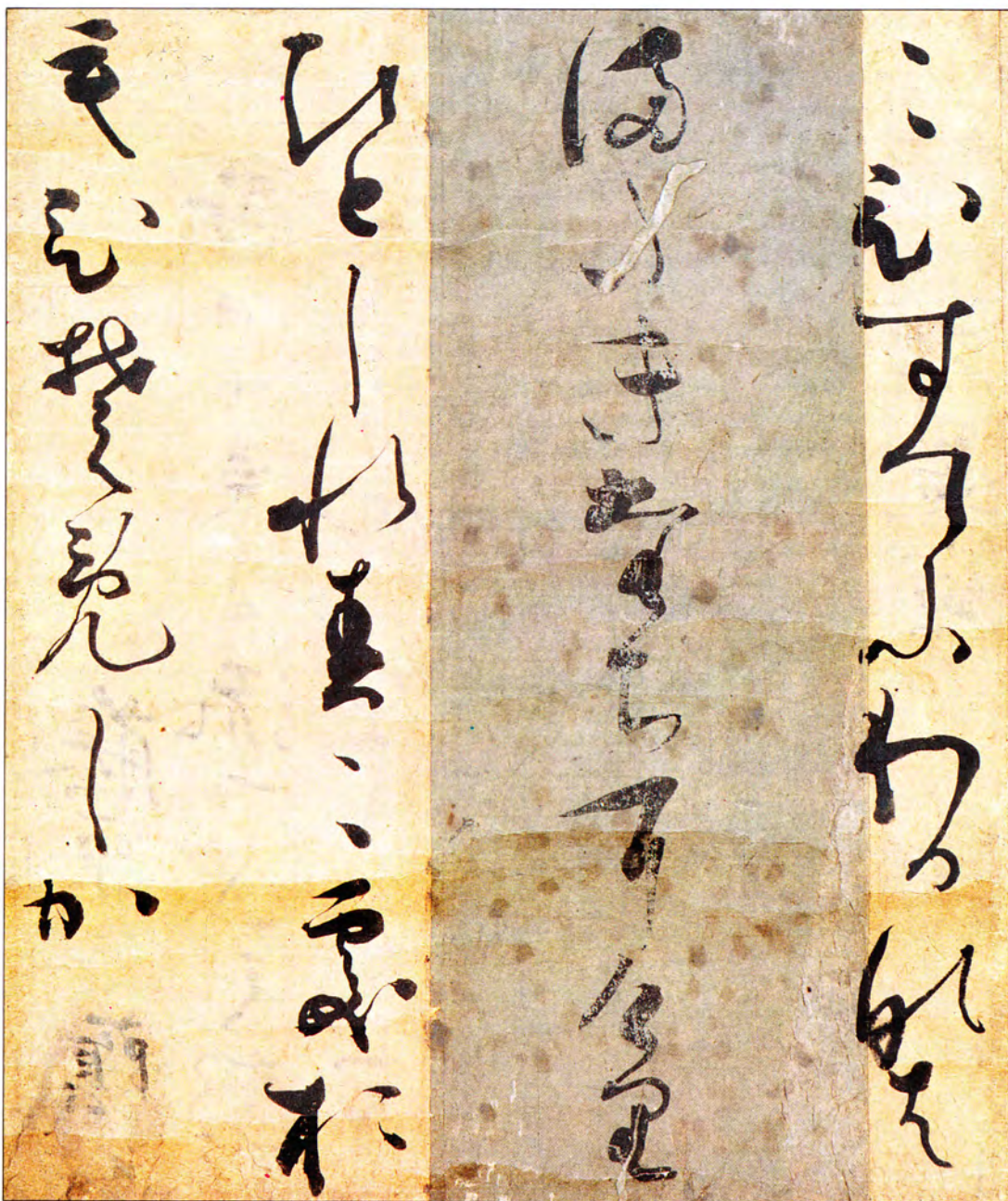
amatsu kaze
kumo no kayoiji
fukitojiyo
otome no sugata

shibashi todomen

O heavenly wind,
Blow closed the way
Through the clouds
That the forms of the
celestial maidens
May be detained down here
a little longer.



A scene from the Noh play "Matsukaze." "The place is the seashore at Suma; there is a moon in the sky and the sea is seen below. Two young women . . . draw salt water as they did long ago." Photo courtesy of Mr. Konma Kiyonori, Osaka.



One of the poems in the *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu*. Poem by Mibu no Tadami. Calligraphy by Fujiwara Teika. Ink on paper, Kamakura period. Central area: height 18.5 cm., width 15.3 cm. Photo courtesy of Tokugawa Reimeikai, Tokyo.

The above poem by Soshō Henjō is found in the *Hyakunin Isshu* which was compiled by Teika. Upon hearing this poem, one is carried away by fond recollections of youth and nostalgia for the classics. Teika was truly an amazing person. Throughout his life he may not have felt true union in his heart toward a single person, and may have endured a rocklike solitude—yet his poetry and sense of beauty charmed all the people of his time, and such works as his *Hyakunin Isshu* in particular continue even now, some seven hundred years later, to be cherished as enduring classics. What is the secret of this charm?

After he was seventy, Teika spent three full years single-handedly compiling the *Shin Chokusenshu* [a waka anthology compiled by imperial command]. When he finished this work in March of the second year of Bunryaku, 1235, he was completely exhausted and went to take a rest at his villa in Saga. About a thousand meters from his villa, in the district of Chuin, was the recently constructed villa of his father-in-law Utsunomiya Nyudo. This Utsunomiya Nyudo belonged to the clan said to be the richest and most powerful in Kanto, and his villa was apparently a most gorgeous one. As a relative, Teika was invited to this villa a couple of times, where he participated in such activities as making linked verses. There was a splendid great hall there, and at that time Teika was asked to write poems on one hundred sheets of colored paper for its sliding doors. The resultant work became known as the *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu*.

Immediately after being asked to write the poems for the sliding doors, Teika returned to Kyoto, noting in his diary that as his own villa in Saga was located at the foot of Mount Ogura, rain water tended to collect there, and such a damp place was bad for his health. In Kyoto, in his house at Ichijo Kyogoku, he proceeded to write out the poems on one hundred sheets of colored paper. He finished the work on May 27, and took it to Utsunomiya Nyudo's house that very day. He had returned to Kyoto from Saga on May 5, so it took him twenty-two days to complete the task.

It is most likely that the poems of the *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu* were accompanied by likenesses of the poets, as was customary in those times and is still the practice today. Teika's nephew Fujiwara Nobuzane was a famous portrait painter who did the paintings for the "Portraits of Thirty-six Prominent Poets"; it is unthinkable that the rich and aggressive Utsunomiya Nyudo would miss the opportunity to have him do the job. Each panel, then, was probably papered with two sheets of colored paper inscribed with poems and two with portraits, making a total of four sheets per door.

In fact, the poems of the *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu* are grouped into pairs. Examples of these pairs are the emperors Tenchi and Jito who were father and son, the master poets Hitomaro and Akahito, the brothers Yukihiro and Narihira, the celebrated poetry contest opponents Kanemori and Takami, the mother and child Murasaki Shikibu and Daini Sanmi, and the rivals Teika himself and Ietaka.

Unlike *chokusenshu* (a poem anthology compiled by imperial command), the *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu* was written for the purpose of papering sliding doors and Teika was thus free to select the poems according to his inclination. The collection is characterized by the fact that he chose brilliant and striking poems, out of consideration for ornamental effect. Teika preferred poems of the *yoen* type from his middle age onward, and it is especially noticeable that there are many *yoen* poems in his *Hyakunin*

Isshu. For example, the following poem by Komachi is an incomparable expression of *yoen*, lamenting the passing away of flowers, spring, and youth.

<i>bana no iro wa</i>	The color of the flowers
<i>utsuri ni kerina</i>	Has faded away;
<i>itazurani</i>	As with empty thoughts,
<i>wagami yoni furu</i>	I watch
<i>nagame seshima ni</i>	The endless rain.

Similarly, there is boundless *yoen* in the poem by Kokamonin no Betto:

<i>Naniwae no</i>	Is one to continue to love
<i>asbi no karine* no</i>	Till the end of one's life
<i>bito yo yue</i>	Because of one night's promise
<i>mi o tsukushite ya</i>	By the cut-off reeds
<i>koi watarubeki</i>	Of Naniwa Bay?

Poems of this type form the core of the collection. This is the reason card parties using the *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu* cards are always pleasurable occasions which rouse the spirits of young men and women. We may say, also, that Teika's choice of poems of this nature was an indication of the kind of atmosphere he hoped to impart to the great hall of the Utsunomiya villa.

Teika and Kyoto

About three years ago, I spent two nights at an inn in the Higashiyama area of Kyoto. Fortunately, it rained the whole time, so I took hardly a single step outdoors, preferring to spend the time looking down from a second-floor window onto the city of Kyoto, dimly visible through the spring rain. I do not know from which temple it came, but the sound of a temple bell could be heard the entire day.

In the ringing of that bell, softly dampened by the rain, I sensed an enchanting beauty that is never heard in Tokyo. It may have been because I had been thinking about Fujiwara Teika for quite some time—in any case, there was for me something in that sound that gave it an enchanting quality charged with pathos, a beauty very close to the idea of *yoen*. In Kawabata Yasunari's *Utsukushisa to Kanashimi to* (Beauty and Sadness), there is a scene in which a man and a woman, lovers twenty years ago, after long years of pathetic yearning, together listen to the sound of a bell on New Year's Eve near the Chion temple in the Higashiyama area of Kyoto. Woman's pathos and beauty are truly well expressed here; and it was something close to this that I heard in the sound of the bell that day.

Not only is this quality missing from Tokyo, but it cannot be found in Nara or in Osaka, or anywhere else except ancient Kyoto. Furthermore, it is a quality characteristic not of the *Genji Monogatari* (Tale of Genji) but of the *Shin Kokinshu* [an

* "Karine," here, means both "stubble" and "to sleep together for one night."

anthology of waka], not of Murasaki Shikibu but of Teika. It is the mood of Yosano Akiko's poem,

*Kiyomizu e
Gion o yogiru
sakura-zukiyo
koyoi au hito
mina utsukushiki*

As I walk through Gion
Toward Kiyomizu,
The people I pass
Viewing cherry blossoms by moonlight
All look beautiful.

and of Yoshii Isamu's poem,

*kani kakuni
Gion wa koishi
neru toki mo
makura no shita o
mizu no nagaruru*

In many ways,
I miss Gion—
Even at night,
Under my pillow
I hear the Shirakawa River flowing.*

It is a beauty that seems to have the warmth of a young woman's skin; and it is the *maiko*, apprentice geisha's, lyrical beauty, with its elusive hint of pathos. Within the waka genealogy, too, it is indeed not so much the beauty of the *Kokinshu* waka anthology, compiled by Ki no Tsurayuki, as it is of the *Shin Kokinshu* compiled by Teika.

When Kawabata Yasunari attempted to describe the beauty of Kyoto in his novel *Koto* (Old Capital), what he captured, after all, was the elusive pathos of the young woman and the sensuality of the dazzling Nishijin textiles. There is a quality that cannot be approached by haiku, nor by Bunraku or Kabuki; but in Kyoto this quality has soaked into the ground and permeated the souls of the people.

To be sure, various forms of traditional beauty can be seen and felt in Kyoto. The beauty of the imperial court, the *Heike Monogatari* type of beauty, the beauty of Zen and chanoyu are a few examples—and all have melded to create the aesthetic charm of this ancient, former capital. Among these is the beauty bequeathed by Teika. If one looks carefully, the nostalgic remains of that beauty can be found even in a single glimpse of a woman walking.

Teika's Kyoto Residences

It is of interest to search out the traces of Teika's residences in Kyoto. The house he lived in when he was about twenty was his father's, located at Gojo. It was here that his young soul would be set on fire to aim for the heavens and achieve great things. Soon after, he moved to Jujo, partly in order to become independent after the birth of his child, and partly for the convenience of being close to the home of the Kujo family, where he had recently entered into service. It was here that he finally set out to revo-

* Gion is the district in Kyoto where one can enjoy "the red lantern, delicious wine, beautiful women, and songs accompanied by shamisen." The Shirakawa River runs through the middle of this district.

lutionize the art of waka. Because of his revolutionary thinking, he was the target of slander and abuse that poured in from around the country when he was with the Kujo family.

Not long after moving to Jujo, he purchased and moved into his Reizei house which was located on land extending over Nijo and Reizei streets. It was while he lived in this house that Teika leaped magnificently into action in the world of his *Shin Kokinshu* poetry. It was here, too, that he hid from the wrath of the Retired Emperor Gotoba, and later saw Kyoto temporarily crushed in the violence of the Jokyu Rebellion of 1221.

After the Jokyu Rebellion, Teika moved to Ichijo Kyogoku. This residence, which he gradually enlarged, became quite a sumptuous mansion. Here, he presided as the dean of Kyoto's poetic world. Poets would gather in this house for poetry and linked verse parties; and while living here he copied down many classical works, compiled the *Shin Chokusenshu* anthology, and wrote out the *Hyakunin Isshu*. Also, it was here that he lived out his final years.

In addition to these residences, there was his villa in Saga, where he went occasionally for diversion and rest. In his diary, he writes of taking his wife and children there on numerous occasions, of climbing Mount Ogura and gathering chestnuts, visiting Koryuji temple and Shakado, and so on. The villa was situated on a large plot of land containing a bamboo grove typical of Saga, and the small shrine where Taira Munemori's wife worshipped was located within his grounds. It seems that there was a fine bath in the villa, which provided one of his chief pleasures during visits there.

Teika's Masterpiece

We may see the essence of Teika's poetic genius in one particular poem. Among his several thousand poems, this is the one he may be considered to have composed with the most confidence, and I think anyone would acknowledge it as his eternal masterpiece. It is, so to speak, the literary monument that will forever commemorate Teika as the person who made yugen poetry a part of Japanese waka history.

<i>shirotae no</i>	At the separating
<i>sode no wakare ni</i>	Of white sleeves,
<i>tsuyu ochite</i>	Tears fall—
<i>mi ni shimu iro no</i>	The piercingly white
<i>akikaze zo fuku</i>	Autumn wind blows.

This poem was composed on the occasion of the *Shin Kokinshu* anthology, for which lords Teika, Ietaka, and Shunzei were especially commanded by Retired Emperor Gotoba to write one poem each, to be placed at the beginning of a volume. Accordingly, Teika's became the introductory poem of volume fifteen of the anthology. Teika must have composed it full of confidence, certain that it would shine eternally along with the *Shin Kokinshu* itself.

This is a poem about a man and a woman taking leave of each other in the morning. "Shirotae no sode no wakare" refers to the separation of the white sleeves that were entwined when sleeping, a metaphorical expression for lovers parting. "Tsuyu

ochite," (lit., "dewdrops falling"), tells of tears shed at parting, and "mi ni shimu iro no akikaze" is the biting, clear-white autumn wind. (White is the color traditionally associated with autumn.) In other words, this is a pure white figure of a woman, expressing a lover's parting at dawn. The white robe, the white dew tears, the clear whiteness of the autumn wind blowing—truly the pathos-filled beauty of this image cast in white is beyond words. Here is the pathos and voluptuous beauty of white, the sensual blending of a morning's parting and an autumn wind. Could we call it icy beauty? or elemental whiteness? Indeed, we find in this poem the vastness of the supreme poetic spirit. In this one poem, Teika became eternal.

From afar I think of Zeami's borrowing of the image of "snow in a silver bowl" in his "Nine Stages" of the Noh actor's development; of Shinkei's words, "There is nothing more beautiful than ice"; of Kawabata Yasunari's novel *Snow Country*. Finally, I think again of the greatness of Teika, who made the aesthetic of *yoen* a part of Japan's poetic history. ♪

Translated by Miriam Eguchi

The One-page Testament Attributed to Rikyu

(*Rikyu Ichimai Kishomon*)

Dennis Hirota

The *Ichimai Kishomon* of Rikyu (hereafter “One-page Testament”) provides an important glimpse into the intellectual and cultural background of chanoyu, specifically into the perspective of Pure Land Buddhism, a mode of Japanese thought and feeling often ignored as an influence on tea.

Both Zen and Pure Land Buddhism were vital elements in the lives of the Muromachi period masters who gave form and direction to the development of chanoyu. Although from as early as the *Yamanoue Sojiki* it has been asserted that “chanoyu arises from Zen,” and the phrase “Tea and Zen are of one taste” goes back even earlier, it is also clear, in examining the major documents associated with Murata Shuko and Takeno Joo, that many of the concepts they employed to formulate their ideals of tea derive from cultural expressions of Pure Land Buddhism. In the “One-page Testament,” we have a document traditionally associated with Rikyu that presents a coherent and persuasive view of chanoyu from the perspective of the Pure Land Way.

The earliest version of the “One-page Testament” is in the *Sukido Shidai*, a collection of writings concerning tea. It is included in the third fascicle, the earliest manuscript copy of which is dated the thirteenth day of the eighth month, Keicho 7 (1602). It appears, then, that the “One-page Testament” was already in existence within ten years after Rikyu’s death in 1592.

A slightly different version of the “One-page Testament” is also included in another collection of old tea writings, the *Chaji Shuran*, in four fascicles, completed in 1852. There it is entitled “One-page Testament on Chanoyu by Zen Master Takuan” (*Takuan Osbo Chanoyu Ichimai Kishomon*), and includes a note, “Also attributed to Rikyu.” Takuan was only thirty in 1602, so while it is not impossible that he wrote the “One-page Testament,” it seems highly unlikely; it is more probable that the document was already in existence from the time of Rikyu, for it expresses the ideals of wabicha developed by Joo and Rikyu. Tsutsui Hiroichi, director of the Urasenke Konnichian Library, states, “At present [the “One-page Testament”] is assumed to be a later composition written in the name of Takuan or Rikyu, but in my opinion, it was by either Rikyu or a person who had close contact with his tradition.”*

* “Ichimai Kishomon” in *Tanko*, February 1975, p. 196.

This is the fourth in a series of translations from classic writings of tea dealing with the fundamental spirit of tea practice. Murata Shuko’s “Letter of Heart’s Mastery” appeared in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 22 (1979); Takeno Joo’s “Letter on Wabi” in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 23 (1980); and “Memoranda of the Words of Rikyu” (*Namporoku*, Book One) in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 25 (1980).

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The "One-page Testament" is modeled after one of the best-known writings of Japanese Buddhism, a document by Honen (1133-1212), the central figure in the establishment of Pure Land Buddhism as an independent school in Japan. The circumstances of its composition are recorded in a biography:

As the master (Honen) lay with the end approaching, [his disciple] Seikan-bo requested him to set down the essentials of the nembutsu-faith briefly in his own hand, even though he had listened to Honen's teaching for some years; he said that he would treasure it thereafter as a keepsake.

The letter Honen wrote in response to Seikan-bo's request—also known as the *Ichimai Kishomon*—is the final statement of his personal faith and is considered one of his most important, a summary of his mature thought in forceful, vigorous language. It was written in the first month of 1212, on the twenty-third day, just two days before his death at the age of seventy-nine.

This statement became so widely known that it was imitated and its basic theme of wholehearted commitment applied to other areas of culture; the "One-page Testament" attributed to Rikyu is an early example.

Ichimai Kishomon (by Honen)

The nembutsu* I have taught is not the contemplative exercise that has been discussed and proclaimed by the accomplished sages of China and Japan. Neither is it to say the nembutsu after having plumbed its essence through scholarly study. It is simply to utter "Namu-amida-butsu," realizing that if you just say it, you are certain to attain birth in Amida's Pure Land: Nothing else is involved.

Concerning the three essential attitudes, the four qualities of practice, and so on: These are all inherent in the thought that one will decidedly be born through Namu-amida-butsu. If you imagine there is some profound matter apart from this, you will isolate yourself from the compassion of the two Honored ones, Sakyamuni and Amida, and will slip through the net of Amida's Primal Vow.

The person who entrusts himself to the nembutsu, though he may have thoroughly studied all the teachings that Sakyamuni taught during his lifetime, should turn himself into a foolish person ignorant of even a single written character; he should become just like an unlettered old woman who has taken religious orders while living at home, and without putting on the manner of a sage, simply say the nembutsu with wholeness of heart.

* All bodhisattvas make vows of wisdom and compassion which they promise to fulfill in the course of their practice for buddhahood. The vow of Amida Buddha embodies the essential spirit of the bodhisattva's compassion, which never rests until all beings are liberated from the world of suffering and brought to the other shore of nirvana. Seeking to embrace every living thing in his compassionate activity, Amida vowed to save all who simply say his Name, "Namu-amida-butsu." Both saying Amida's Name and the Name itself are referred to as "nembutsu."

As testimony, I seal this with imprint of my two hands.

The faith and practice taught in Pure Land Buddhism are exhaustively stated in this single page. I know no special doctrine whatever apart from what is written here. To keep errors from arising after my death, I have recorded the above.

Sealed: Genku (Honen)

One-page Testament Attributed to Rikyu (*Rikyu Ichimai Kishomon*)

Chanoyu as we now practice it is not the chanoyu that has been discussed and proclaimed in the past by the accomplished tea men of China and Japan. Neither is it to partake of tea after having plumbed its essence through scholarly study. It is simply to drink, knowing that if you just heat water, your thirst is certain to be quenched; Nothing else is involved.

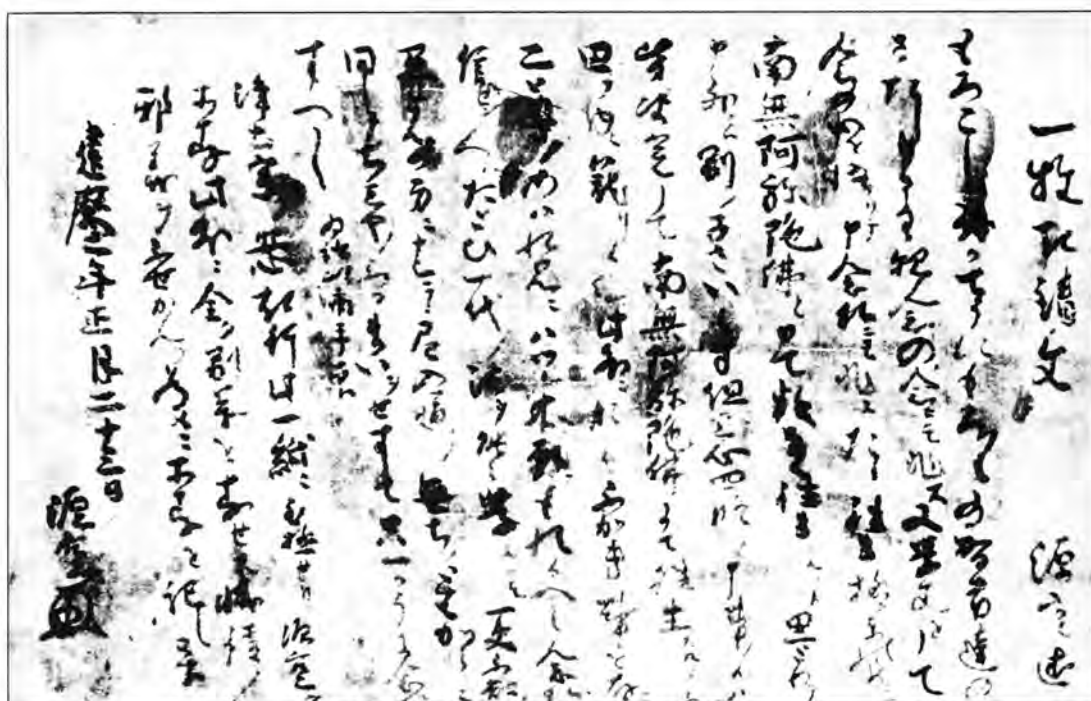
Concerning [the ideal of] suki: Know that when you simply cleanse your heart and mind, everything essential is inherent in that. If you imagine there is some profound matter apart from this, you will isolate yourself from the compassion of others and fail to be among those who manifest the spirit of suki.

The one who entrusts himself to this Way, though he may have acquired fine utensils, both native and Chinese, becomes an impoverished person ignorant of even a single written character; he is just like an old woman who has taken religious orders while living at home, and without putting on the manner of a "person of suki," simply heats the water with wholeness of heart.

Chanoyu from the Perspective of Pure Land Buddhism

In Mahayana Buddhism, wisdom and compassion, the hallmarks of a buddha's realization, are inseparable: wisdom that transcends the dichotomy of self and other is at the same time compassion; compassion that knows the sufferings of others as its own is wisdom. Nevertheless, it is convenient to use these two faces of the Buddha's enlightenment to characterize different paths of Buddhism, and if some, such as Zen, may be called paths of wisdom, Pure Land Buddhism is fundamentally the path of compassion.

The "One-page Testament" may at first seem a strained imposition of Honen's words upon chanoyu, but it is rather, I think, a spontaneous expression of the experience of chanoyu arising from traditions in which tea is deeply rooted. In particular, it points to the element of compassion in chanoyu, without which our practice of tea loses touch with life and our reflections on it fall into abstraction, divorced from the utensils in our hands, our fellows, and our immediate surroundings. By focusing on the concepts of "suki" and of "becoming impoverished" in the "One-page Testament," I will try to clarify the background of this document and to suggest ways in which the



Above: *Ichimai Kishomon* written by Honen and sealed with his handprints, Dated 1212, ink on paper. Photo courtesy of Konkai Komyoji temple. Below: Japanese text of the "One-page Testament" attributed to Rikyu (*Rikyu Ichimai Kishomon*) based on the version in *Sukido Shidai*. Variations in the *Chaji Shuran* text are indicated in small type.

一枚起請文

唐土我朝
御当世の茶湯とは、もろこし本朝にもろもろの
茶湯者の
茶のみ達の沙汰し申さる、茶湯にあらざる。唯学
問をして茶の湯の心をさととりてのめる茶湯にも
あらず。咽のかわきを止んため
只のどかはくをやめん為に何となく湯
を沸しぬれば、疑心なきそとおもひ飲の外
める外にはべつの子細無しと見えたり、ただ数
奇と申ことの候は、我胸のうちさへ奇麗にいた
せば、万事其うちにこもり候とおもひ、この外
に奥ふかきことを存せば、人の憐みにはづれ、
数奇のかずには洩れ候べし。この道を信かうせ
ぬ人は、たとへ和漢の道具を得たるといへども、
物不持
一文不知の貧者身になりて尼入道の輩に同じて
数奇の振舞をせずして唯一向に湯をわかす者に
候と云へり。

Pure Land perspective that it formulates offers a model for understanding the nature of wabicha.

I Concerning the ideal of suki . . .

By the time the "One-page Testament" was composed, the word *suki* had had for nearly a century a meaning that has since disappeared: It was a synonym for chanoyu. This meaning still survives in such compounds as *sukisha* ("person of suki"), someone who is deeply involved in tea, and *sukiya* ("house of suki"), which refers to the style of architecture associated with tearooms.

The word *suki* is the noun form of the verb *suku*, which means to be fond of, like, love, delight in. In the Heian period (794-1192), *suki* was used chiefly to suggest a taste for courtship and an inclination toward amorous adventure, but it gradually began to be used also to indicate devotion to an art, chiefly the art of poetry, suggesting the refined sensibility required for its mastery. During the Kamakura period (1192-1333), this latter meaning of *suki* was developed, and it came to mean a consuming devotion to an art that, at least in the eyes of the practical, workaday world, even bordered on eccentricity in its intensity.

As the art of the *waka* (31-syllable poem) waned and the popularity of tea drinking grew in the Muromachi period (1392-1573), *suki* came more and more to refer to an enthusiasm for tea. An important document in this transition of meaning is the *Shotetsu Monogatari* (Record of Shotetsu), composed in the first half of the fifteenth century. In this work, Shotetsu (1381-1459), an outstanding *waka* poet of the Muromachi period, characterizes different types of *waka* poets by describing three kinds of people fond of tea. First is the "tea enthusiast" (*cha-suki*): "This is one who, keeping his utensils in immaculate order, owns and savors to his heart's content a variety of pieces—Kenzan tea bowls, Temmoku tea bowls, tea kettles, fresh water jars, and so on." Next, the "tea drinker" (*cha-nomi*): "He has nothing in particular to say about utensils and from any will drink the ten bowls of tea" of the format in tea-identifying contests and judge them precisely. Third is the "tea guzzler" (*cha-kurai*): "Be it a mean grade of tea or a lofty one, if only it is called tea, this man will drink it." (*Shotetsu Monogatari* II, 96.) Shotetsu's intent, of course, is to characterize different inclinations among poets by giving graphic and easily recognizable caricatures from the typical tea drinking of the times. A century later, however, the word *cha* in *cha-suki* was to become superfluous; *suki* by itself had come to mean a taste for tea.

Moreover, Shotetsu's foreshadowing of this development was specific, for he reserves the term *cha-suki* proper for the practitioner who is concerned not merely with tea drinking but in particular with appreciating the utensils. *Suki* as a synonym for chanoyu did not mean *any* kind of tea drinking, but the style which devoted attention to orderliness, simplicity, and aesthetic appreciation, in contrast to the tea contests and the lavish, large-scale tea gatherings popular in earlier times. Joao Rodrigues, in his account of late sixteenth century Japan, states:

[Tea masters of Kyoto and Sakai] continued to improve this way of cha-no-yu more and more, and partly changed the an-

cient method of Higashiyama Dono by reducing some less-essential things and then adding some others which they thought were opportune and in keeping with the purpose of the exercise. In this way they established another way which is called *suki* and is now in current use.¹

Thus, when the "One-page Testament" speaks of "chanoyu as we now practice it" or "*suki*," it is referring to the style of chanoyu developed by Shuko, Joo, and Rikyu.

At the same time that *suki* refers to the concrete practice and conventions of *wabicha*, however, it also implies the aesthetic taste or standard that forms its basis. Concerning this, Rodrigues states:

It is a rule of this art [of chanoyu] that its experts do not explain the reason and cause of the things which they do in this matter by words but by deeds only, for they leave everything to the consideration and reasoning of their pupils. . . . This is how the masters of the Zenshu sects teach their doctrine, and the followers of this art imitate them and say that they are doing this only out of *suki*, that is, because it seems good to them thus and it pleases them.²

In its sense of devotion to an art, the word "*suki*" implied an independent mind active beyond the pale of commonsense, and as we see here, at the height of the development of chanoyu, the term maintained the meaning of an indefinable moving spirit, though with a strongly affirmative sense. The "One-page Testament," deriving its force from precisely this context, attempts to elucidate the inner nature of *suki* as the foundation of *wabicha*, and for this purpose it models itself on Honen's words. Just as Honen rejects the doctrinal accretions that prescribed, in technical language, the manner and attitudes thought necessary for saying the *nembutsu* properly, so, through its imitative form, the "One-page Testament" rejects an overriding concern with tea conventions and lore and advocates a return to the fundamental meaning of *suki*. In doing so, it harks back to an older meaning of *suki* that became prominent just about the time of Honen's original *Ichimai Kishomon*, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In that period, in addition to its associations with the aura of courtly romance, *suki* had come to indicate the refined sentiments of a devotion to an art that incorporated and became one with religious aspiration. That is, the life of *suki* came to be modeled not on that of the courtly lover, but on the life of the hermit in the thatched hut who, out of his sensitivity to the impermanence of this world and the vanity of worldly life, awakened an aspiration for the world of Amida's Pure Land. For example, Kamo no Chomei (1155-1216), in his *Hossheinsbu* (Tales on the Aspiration for Buddhahood, 1216) states:

Daini no Sukemichi, a skilled *biwa* player, did not perform any of the usual rituals for his future buddhahood. Going into his private altar room each day, he simply played pieces on the *biwa* while someone kept count, and he directed the merit accruing from this toward his birth in the Land of Bliss. (XV, 9)

The normal practice for Pure Land Buddhists would be to say the name of Amida, "Namu-amida-butsu," and count was often kept of the number of recitations. Chomei goes on, however:

Since religious practices are acts accomplished through effort and aspiration, one should not necessarily think of this (i.e., playing the biwa instead of saying the nembutsu) as ineffectual. In particular there is the spirit of *suki*, by which a person does not delight in joining socially with others, nor sorrow at coming to ruin. He is moved to deep compassion by the opening and scattering of blossoms, and constantly makes his heart and mind pure and lucid whenever he thinks of the moon's rising and setting, seeking above all to keep free from worldly defilement. Thus, the reality of arising-and-perishing naturally manifests itself to him, and attachments to fame and profit completely die away. This is surely the gate of freedom and emancipation.

Here Chomei affirms that the artistic expressions of a man who has awakened to the sadness of things—awakened, that is, a deep sense of compassion—can possess the virtue of religious practice. In fact, on the one hand such an awakening becomes a desire to free oneself of the petty turmoils of worldly life, with its impulses toward fame and profit, and, on the other, an aspiration for buddhahood.

In summary, then, to formulate the question of what it is to know and master chanoyu, the "One-page Testament" employs the term "*suki*," which had come to signify accomplishment in the practice of chanoyu as developed by Rikyu. In confronting this question, the testament identifies *suki*, as the essence of chanoyu, with an older concept of *suki* common in the time of Honen, and thereby reasserts this older ideal as the true basis of manner and connoisseurship in chanoyu—that is, of one's relationships with other people and with things.

II Know that when you simply cleanse your heart and mind, everything essential is inherent in that.

Suki in the "One-page Testament" refers to knowledge of chanoyu; but a knowledge that is not merely mastery of the conventions. It is in essence a compassion for things and for one's fellows. It is the practice of chanoyu as a Way motivated and informed by love. The love termed *suki* is a love in which artistic and religious aspirations are one; hence, it differs from love as desire, possessiveness, or domination. This love takes as its model the compassion of the Buddha, literally termed "great sorrow" (*daihi*). The *Kyokunsho* (Record of Instruction [in Music], 1233), a work close in period to Chomei's *Hosshinshu*, asserts the importance of compassion in *suki*:

The person of *suki* has a sense of compassion and is constantly aware of the deep pathos of things. Day and night he keeps his heart and mind pure. Even when looking upon blossoms



An altar scroll showing a depiction of the wandering monk Ippen (1239-1289). Ippen was known as a *sute-hijiri*, a "sage who had abandoned" all attachments, even to temple life and any settled dwelling, much in the tradition of the Pure Land hermits described in tale collections such as *Hosshinshu*. He spent his life traveling throughout Japan, spreading the teaching by distributing small slips of paper inscribed by woodblock print with the Name of Amida, "Namu-amida-butsu," and the words, "Decisive settlement of birth for all the people throughout the land" (*ketsujo ojo, rokuju-man nin*). Above the figure is an inscription, thought to be in Ippen's own hand, of the six Chinese characters for "Namu-amida-butsu." At the sides, paper slips such as those handed out by Ippen have been attached. Kamakura period, ink on paper. Central area: height 75.9 cm., width 30.3 cm. Photo courtesy of Nihon Mingeikan, Tokyo.

or gazing at the moon, he passes the night in sorrow, passes the day in pensiveness. Rejecting this world, he aspires to buddhahood. (VIII, Postscript)

Other tea writings also speak of the importance of purity of heart, but the purity associated with *suki* in the "One-page Testament" is active and positive in its working. While the life of *suki* in medieval times was one of artistic endeavor, and in this way was distinguished from the monastic life of religious practice, it nevertheless sought a love of things radically free from the fetters of worldly attachments. Chomei gives another example of *suki*:

Chunagon Akimoto was the son of Dainagon Toshikata, and served with distinction under Emperor Go-Ichijo. But from his youth—though he had no complaint whatever concerning his station or rank—his heart was not taken with the successes of this world, and deeply aspiring after the Buddha-way, his only thoughts were of his desire for enlightenment. Ever on his lips were the lines of Po-chu i:

Whose is this ancient grave?
Family name and given name are both unknown,
Transformed, it becomes earth of the wayside;
Year after year the spring grasses grow.

Akimoto was an extraordinary man of *suki* (*sukibito*), playing the *biwa* day and night, and he expressed the wish, "Would that, receiving punishment though guilty of no crime, I might see the moon from a place of exile." (V, 8)

The nexus of art and Buddhism lies in casting off all the delusional, egocentric aversions and attachments that constitute our normal, everyday lives and realizing no-self. When Akimoto expresses his desire to see the moon from a place of exile, he is not simply longing for aesthetic stimulation, some grist for the mill of his poetry. The 'wabi' life of exile had, it is true, been a subject of poetry; but from the standpoint of the relationship to the world termed *suki*, it is possible to say that the moon can be seen truly only from a place of exile. Exile, as a life stripped of social station, of attachment to dwelling and the fixtures of daily life so that no worldly entanglements rise up in the heart to distort one's vision, is a secularized symbol for no-self. To the person in exile, who looks upon the moon utterly free of clinging to possessions or wealth or status, the moon—the Buddhist symbol for things as they truly are—manifests itself. This is what the "One-page Testament" means in the words concerning *suki*, "When you simply cleanse your heart and mind, everything essential is inherent in that."

When one has cast off all clinging, then one's love reaches out beyond the bonds of the self and one perceives things as they are for the first time. At this point, in Basho's words, one can go to the pine to learn of the pine, go to bamboo to learn of bamboo: no barriers of possessiveness or calculative thinking stand between subject and object. Likewise, through becoming free of self-attachment, encounters with others

that are free of all designing become possible. This is the realm in which, to borrow Basho's words again, all that one looks upon is the moon and blossoms; it is the well-spring from which the activity of art flows.

That everything of importance concerning knowledge of utensils and of manner lies in purity of heart, or the realization of no-self, implies that selfless love, compassion, is itself knowledge. The following passage from the modern philosopher Nishida Kitaro, in which he discusses the oneness of knowing and loving, is a clear exposition of this relationship:

To know and to love are usually thought to be two completely different mental functions, but I think that they are fundamentally the same. Briefly stated, both are the function of the fusing of subject and object. They are the function of the self coming into accord with things. 'Knowing' is the fusion of subject and object, for it is when the delusional thinking of the self is eliminated, when the so-called subjective element is completely extinguished and one is in conformity with the true reality of things—that is, when one comes to be in accord with pure objectivity—that one knows things truly.

Further, for us to love something means that we cast aside the self and conform with the other. It is when there is a union of self and other, without the slightest gap between them, that true love arises for the first time. That we love a flower means that we conform with the flower. To love the moon is to conform with the moon. Parent becomes child, child becomes parent: here, for the first time, the love between parent and child arises. Because the parent becomes the child, each gain and each loss of the child is felt as the parent's own, and because the child becomes the parent, each joy and each sorrow of the parent is felt as the child's own joy and sorrow. The more we abandon the ego-self and become purely objective—that is, attain no-self—the more love grows and deepens. Love advances from love of parent and child or husband and wife to love of friends, love of friends advances and becomes love of mankind. The Buddha's love extends to animals and grasses and trees.

Thus, to know and to love are the same mental functioning. To know a thing is nothing other than to love it, to love a thing is nothing other than to know it.³

When "suki" came to mean chanoyu, it implied both knowledge and love, both a mastery of manner and utensils and a sensitivity that imparted life and creativity to the forms. When the "One-page Testament" states that knowledge and taste lie essentially in cleansing the heart, it asserts the primacy of the kind of knowing/loving outlined in this passage.

III The one who entrusts himself to this Way, though he may have acquired fine utensils, both native and Chinese, becomes an impoverished person ignorant of even a single written character.

The essence of chanoyu lies not in scholarship or ordinary learning, nor in a merely inward-turning or “contemplative” chanoyu, but in the kind of knowledge that is also love. In the “One-page Testament,” the attainment of this mode of knowing/loving is called “becoming impoverished” (or “becoming foolish” in a variant text). The expression “become foolish” is paradoxical if we take foolishness as a relative term used in contrast to intelligence or erudition. In that context, it may seem to imply an assumed humility or self-negation bordering on hypocrisy. Its true meaning becomes apparent when we take it as an expression for “cleansing the heart and mind” of all one’s attachments to self and the delusional imposition of one’s judgments and designs on the world. To become poor or foolish implies a transformation in which one’s mind is thus opened to a true vision of things as they actually are. In this sense it may be compared to similar expressions in the various religious traditions that refer to the awakening to that which transcends self in terms of spiritual poverty or unknowing.

In more specifically Pure Land terms, it is said that there are basically two paths to enlightenment. First, there is the way by which a person, through performing austere practices and disciplines, awakens wisdom by freeing himself from his passions. This is called the path of “self-power,” for it depends on the practitioner’s own efforts and capabilities. In addition, however, there is the way of Other Power, by which a person, awakening to the Buddha’s compassion that shines constantly on all beings, abandons such self-power and is brought to enlightenment through the Buddha’s working. When the “One-page Testament” states that the person of *suki*, of the Way of Tea, becomes poor and foolish, it means that he cleanses his mind by abandoning all clinging to his own abilities and learning and thereby enters the realm of Other Power, where love that moves from beyond the self embraces all things just as they are, including himself. In terms of knowing/loving, Nishida states: “Subjectivity is self-power, objectivity is Other Power. We know and love things by abandoning self-power and entrusting ourselves to Other Power.”⁴ *Suki* is this kind of knowing/loving pervading our ordinary lives.

At the same time that “becoming foolish” implies an awakening common to all religious traditions, however, it holds a meaning unique to Pure Land Buddhism, for while it means to abandon attachments to one’s own goodness and wisdom, which are inevitably tainted by egocentric concerns, it does not mean that we simply escape from this self, break through our ignorance, and become enlightened. Rather, the Pure Land Buddhist, through the light cast for him by Amida’s compassion, awakens above all to the true nature of his ignorant, ego-bound self. Hence, while there is joy at being grasped by great compassion, there is also profound humility and sorrow.

In the ideal of chanoyu expressed in the “One-page Testament,” this dual perspective of joy and sorrow is present in the practitioner’s relations with things. When he “simply heats water with wholeness of heart” for tea, he is free, in his humility, from designing and calculation. He does not prepare the water for his own use, but rather participates in the water’s existence as the water participates in and enriches his

own life. In this relationship, he experiences both a wondrousness in the existence of the water, just as it is, and a profound sadness that reverberates through their shared existence. To turn once more to Nishida:

Knowledge as we usually think of it is apprehension of a nonhuman object. Even when the object is human, knowledge is the apprehension of it when it is seen as nonhuman. By contrast, love is apprehension of a human object. Even when the object is nonhuman, love is apprehension when it is seen as human.⁵

Such apprehension of things as human—which is the activity of compassion—lies at the heart of Tea, and the true awareness of things on the one hand and the shared humanness on the other comprise the dual aspects of the tea practitioner's vision. When the poet Robert Bly speaks of a consciousness “out there” in the things of nature that is the opposite of his own “insecure, anxious, massive, earthbound, persistent, cunning, hopeful” consciousness, a “second consciousness” which “has a melancholy tone, the tear inside the stone, what Lucretius calls ‘the tears of things,’ ” he is expressing the two sides of an apprehension of things as they might be experienced by a man of tea.⁶ The aesthetic of wabi, which holds at once a solemn joy in the existence of ordinary things together with a profound sense of sadness, reflects the character of this dual-sided perception, which the “One-page Testament” terms “cleansing the heart and mind” and “becoming impoverished” or “foolish.”

Okakura Kakuzo, in his well-known formulation, speaks of Tea as “the worship of the Imperfect,” suggesting that through the imperfect an image of the perfect can be formed in the mind.⁷ Commenting on this from the perspective of Zen, Hisamatsu Shin'ichi states: “Importance is attached to the negating of completeness rather than completeness itself. Asymmetry and incompleteness in the Way of Tea do not point in the direction of symmetry and completeness. They indicate the self-negation of symmetry and completeness.”⁸ That is, they express the Zen practitioner's awakening to ultimate reality not as something apart from himself or as a transcendence of self, but as his own True Self. From a perspective based on Pure Land Buddhism, I think it is also possible to say that the utensils used in Tea are neither imperfect, nor the negation of perfection, but both perfect and imperfect at the same time. They are perfect in that, grasped in the light of wisdom-compassion just as they are, they are timeless and transcend all the petty judgments and calculations that fill our lives. They are also imperfect in that they participate in our lives and we in theirs, and therefore, they are subject to all the flaws and infirmities of our existence. By this measure, those objects are most treasured which awaken us to this dual nature of our existence, which draw us beyond ourselves into a world of love that is no-self, and which work, as embodiments and as instances of the Buddha's compassion, to save us just as we are. ☯

Notes

1. *This Island of Japon*, trans. Michael Cooper, Kodansha, 1973, p. 272.

2. Ibid.

3. *Zen no Kenkyu*, 1911; appendix “On Knowledge and Love.”

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. *This Tree Will Be Here For A Thousand Years*, New York, 1979, pp. 9-10.

7. *The Book of Tea*, 1906, p. 1.

8. “Zen as the Negation of Holiness,” *Eastern Buddhist* X, 1 (May 1977), p. 9.



Temae—Tea Procedure : Unohana Chabako

A *chabako* is a box which compactly holds most of the utensils needed to prepare and serve tea. Basically, the only other equipment necessary is a *kensui* for the discarded water; a *binkake*, small portable brazier; and a *tetsubin*, spouted kettle. Because of its convenience, it is popularly used for outdoor gatherings, where a blanket or thin mat may be spread on the ground at a pleasant site. In fact, with a bit of improvisation to the basic procedure described here, a thermos could suffice to hold the hot water, in place of the *binkake* and *tetsubin*.

The Unohana *chabako temae* is the first *chabako* procedure that the student is taught. It is not included as a *denmono*, or *temae* which must be mastered to earn a tea certificate. However, it serves to prepare the student for the three *denmono chabako temae*: *Yuki*, the *temae* for wintertime; *Tsuki*, the one for fall; and *Hana*, for springtime. The Unohana *temae* utilizes a *Rikyu-gata* (Rikyu-style) box. The style of tray that is most commonly used is a *yamamichi-bon*, which has an undulating rim, with red lacquer detail along the ridge.

To prepare the box: place a *kobukusa*, folded in half with folded edge to the right, in a teabowl; set a *natsume* into the teabowl, on the *kobukusa*; put this in the box, toward the front. The *chasen* fits snugly in the *chasen* holder, which is set in the far right-hand corner of the box. Rinse and wring the *chakin* as usual; without opening it out after wringing it, put it into the *chakin* holder so that the “ears,” the diagonal corners, stick out at the top; set this between the teabowl and the *chasen* holder. Set the *furidashi*, the container for sweets, filled with *kompeito*—tiny star-shaped rock candies—or similar small, dry sweets, in the far left-hand corner of the box. Place the *chashaku*, face down, diagonally on the *natsume* in the teabowl. Fold your *fukusa* into *so*, which is the form it is folded into to wipe a *chashaku*, and set it on the *chashaku* with the loose ends underneath. Close the box and set it on the tray.

The procedure given here includes *haiken*—the guests’ inspection of the *chashaku*, *natsume*, and box. Because of the informal nature of this *temae*, however, *haiken* is generally omitted. The steps for finishing the *temae* without *haiken* are given at the end. Even when the *temae* is conducted indoors, the host’s door will usually be left open; but it may be closed, depending upon the weather and the temperature of the room. The following description does not include the steps for closing the door.



(1)

The host sits at his entrance and sets the tray down on the side farthest away from the guests. He and all the guests bow (1).



(2)

The host carries the tray in and sets it down in front of the binkake (2). He then exits, returns with the kensui, sits in front of the tray, and sets the kensui down.



(3)

The host lifts the tray slightly and moves it to the side toward the guests' tatami, setting it down about 3 cm. within the border of the binkake tatami. He places the box on the side opposite the tray (3).



(4)

The host removes the box lid and sets it down in front of the binkake (4).



(5)

R takes the fukusa from the box and flips it over onto L palm. The fukusa is refolded as though to wipe a natsume (5).



(6)

R holds the fukusa and stabilizes the right-hand side of the tray; L tilts the left-hand side of the tray up (6). R, with the fukusa, then wipes the tray as if writing the character 三. The fukusa is then placed at the 9 o'clock position on the tray so that it rests partially over the rim.



(7)

R takes the chashaku from the box, simultaneously turning it face up, and transfers it to L; then R sets it on the tray at the 6 o'clock position, with the tip of the handle resting over the rim (7).



(8)

R takes the furidashi from the box, places it on L palm, rotates it clockwise two quarter turns so that the front faces away from the host, and places it out on the ro tatami (8). The host and guests bow. Then the *shokyaku*, first guest, goes after the furidashi and brings it back to his seat. He sets it outside the tatami border in front of him, slightly toward the *kamiza* (lit., "upper seat").



(9)

The host takes the teabowl from the box by grasping it across the top with R and on the side with L (9).



(10)

R regrasps the teabowl from the side and then both hands set it down on the box lid (10).



(11)

R grasps the natsume from the top, lifts it out of the teabowl, and sets it at the 12 o'clock position on the tray (11).



(12)

R takes the kobukusa from the teabowl and places it between the box lid and the box (12).



(13)

The box is raised slightly and moved about half its length forward (13).



(14)

The kensui is moved forward in alignment with the host's knees (14). The host straightens his kimono and, resting his hands on his lap, pauses for a moment.



(15)

Photo (15) shows the position of all the utensils at this time.



(16)

R takes the fukusa. The fukusa is refolded and the host wipes the natsume (16).



(17)

The natsume is placed back on the tray, this time at the 10:30 position (17).



(18)

The host refolds the fukusa, then wipes the chashaku. The chashaku is returned to its place on the tray (18). After wiping the chashaku, the folded fukusa will be doubled-over in L.



(19)

R takes the fukusa by grasping the bottom right-hand fold; thus, the fukusa will be undoubled with loose corners underneath. With the fukusa, R closes the lid of the tetsubin (19). The fukusa is then returned, as is, to its place on the tray.



(20)

L takes the chashen holder from the box, transfers it to R, and L middle finger pushes the chashen out (20).



(21)

R sets the chashen into the teabowl (21). L then returns the chashen holder to its place in the box.



(22)

R takes the fukusa, L lifts the tetsubin, R holds the tetsubin lid in place with the fukusa, and hot water is poured over the chashen into the teabowl (22). The tetsubin and fukusa are returned to their respective places.



(23)

L takes the chakin holder from the box, R pulls the chakin out, and L returns the holder to its place in the box (23). The chakin is stretched out and folded in the usual manner of preparing a chakin.



(24)

R places the chakin at the 3 o'clock position on the tray (24).



(25)

Chasen-tosbi, the procedure for inspecting the tines of the whisk, is done in the usual manner (25). R then places the chasen upright on the tray, at the 1:30 position.



(26)

Photo (26) shows the position of all the utensils at this time.



(27)

R takes the teabowl; it is transferred to L and the water is emptied into the kensui (27).



(28)

The teabowl is wiped with the chakin in the usual manner (28). Then R sets the teabowl back on the box lid and returns the chakin to its place on the tray.



(29)

R takes the chashaku from the tray and the host tells the shokyaku "dozo okashi o," meaning "please eat the sweets" (29).



(30)

The host takes the natsume with L, removes the lid with R which is holding the chashaku, and sets the lid down at the 6 o'clock position on the tray (30).



(31)

The host scoops the powdered tea into the bowl, then fits the lid back onto the natsume. The natsume and chashaku are returned to their places on the tray (31).



(32)

Hot water is poured over the tea (*see* step 22) (32).



(33)

R takes the chasen, the host whisks the tea, and the chasen is returned to its place on the tray (33).



(34)

R takes the kobukusa and places it on L palm (34).



(35)

With R the kobukusa is grasped, backhand, from the left-hand edge (35) and rotated clockwise so that the bottom edge now faces the guests. It is flipped over and, without yet being released, is set down on the ro tatami so that the folded edge is to the host's right.



(36)

The underneath half of the kobukusa is released (36), and finally, the top half is opened out flat.



(37)

R places the teabowl on L palm and turns it clockwise till the front faces away from the host; it is placed on the kobukusa (37). The shokyaku brings the teabowl, on the kobukusa, back to his seat. He bows to the host, excuses himself to the next guest and drinks the tea. He then returns the teabowl, on the kobukusa, to the ro tatami.



(38)

The host takes the teabowl with R, rests it momentarily on L palm, then places it on the box lid (38).



(39)

R folds the kobukusa in half so that the folded edge is to the right, and places it by the host's right leg (39).



(40)

Hot water is poured into the teabowl (see step 22) (40).



(41)

R takes the teabowl; it is transferred to L and the water is emptied into the kensui. At this moment, the shokyaku says "dozo oshimai o," meaning "please bring the temae to a close." Holding the teabowl in L, the host places R fingertips on the tatami and bows in acknowledgement (41).



(42)

R sets the teabowl down on the box lid. Then the host bows and says "oshimai ni itashimasu," or "I will finish up" (42). Now the shokyaku asks to be shown the natsume, chashaku, and box.



(43)

The host places the kobukusa to the left of the box lid (43).



(44)

Hot water is poured into the teabowl in the usual manner. R takes the chasen; chasen-toshi is done; the chasen is returned to the tray (44).



(45)

R takes the teabowl; it is transferred to L and the water is emptied into the kensui. Then R takes the chakin from the tray and the teabowl is wiped in the usual manner (45). The chakin is placed in the teabowl and R sets the teabowl back on the box lid.



(46)

R sets the chashan on the chakin in the teabowl (46). L moves the kensui back in alignment with the host's shoulders.



(47)

The box is moved back in alignment with the tray and the box lid (47).



(48)

R takes the kobukusa, places it to the far side of the box, and opens it flat (48).



(49)

R takes the teabowl and transfers it temporarily to L; R grasps it again, this time towards the front, and sets it on the kobukusa (49).



(50)

The host picks up the box lid (50), shifts his position to diagonally face the guests, and puts the box lid down in front of his knees.



(51)

R takes the fukusa; the fukusa is refolded; the host wipes the natsume. When the natsume lid is removed during this process, it is placed on the box lid (51). The wiped natsume is set on the box lid.



(52)

The fukusa is again refolded and the host wipes the chashaku. The chashaku is placed to the left of the natsume on the box lid, with the tip of its handle extending from the front edge of the box lid (52). L holds the folded fukusa over the kensui and R pats off the loose powdered tea on it. R then returns it to its place on the tray.



(53)



The host picks up the box lid with both hands (53).



(54)

R holds the far right-hand corner of the box lid; L holds the near left-hand corner (54).



(55)

The box lid is turned clockwise a quarter turn (55).



(56)

Once again, R holds the far right-hand corner of the box lid; L holds the near left-hand corner; and it is turned another quarter turn. Then the box lid is held from the sides and placed out on the ro tatami (56).



(57)

The host shifts position to face the binkake and picks up the box (57).



(58)

The host again shifts to face the guests, and sets the box down in front of his knees. The box is rotated two quarter turns, in the same manner as the box lid (*see* steps 53-56), but keeping it low and putting it down after each turn (58).



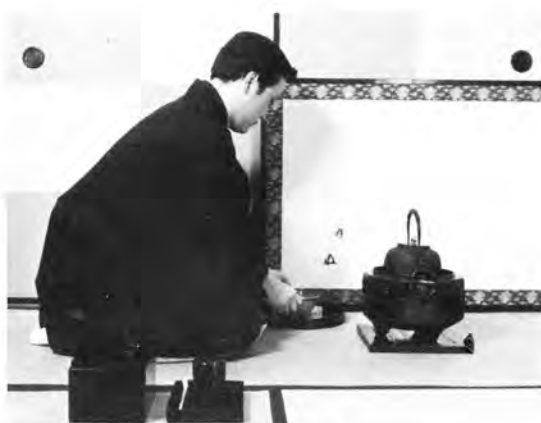
(59)

The box is placed beside the box lid, to the lid's *shimoza* (lit., "lower seat") side (59).



(60)

The host shifts back to face the binkake, and moves the tray over to the left, below the kobukusa and teabowl (60).



(61)

The host takes the teabowl, on the kobukusa, with both hands (61) and places them on the center of the tray.



(62)

The host shifts to face diagonally away from the guests; L takes the kensui; the host rises and exits with the kensui (62). The shokyaku takes the utensils on the ro tatami back to his seat, inspects them, and passes them on to the next guest. When the last guest returns them to the ro tatami, he also returns the furidashi, setting it to the kamiza side of the box lid.



(63)

The host comes in and sits facing the ro tatami. He answers the shokyaku's questions about the utensils (63).



(64)

The host picks up the box lid, shifts position to face the binkake, and puts the box lid down in front of his knees (64).



(65)

The host shifts to face the guests again and picks up the box (65). He shifts back to face the bin-kake.



(66)

The box is set down to the left, in alignment with the host's knees (66).



(67)

R takes the furidashi and places it to the right of the box lid (67).



(68)

R takes the chasen from the teabowl; L takes the chasen holder from the box (68). The chasen is fitted into the holder and L returns it to its original place in the box.



(69)

R takes the chakin from the teabowl; L takes the chakin holder from the box (69).



(70)

R presses the chakin against the side of the chakin holder and forms the chakin into a roll (70); the chakin is fitted into the holder; L returns it to its original place in the box.



(71)

R moves the natsume further up on the box lid (71).



(72)

R takes the teabowl and transfers it temporarily to L (72); then R places it on the box lid.



(73)

R folds the kobukusa in half (73) and places it in the teabowl.



(74)

R takes the natsume and sets it on the kobukusa in the teabowl (74).



(75)

R grasps the teabowl from the side; it is transferred to L; R grasps it from the top and, with the help of L, returns it to its place in the box (75).



(76)

R momentarily rests the furidashi on L palm and then sets it in the box. Next, R takes the chashaku; it is transferred to L; R grasps it toward the center, at the same time turning it face down, and places it diagonally across the teabowl in the box (76).



(77)

R takes the fukusa and opens the tetsubin lid slightly (77).



(78)

The fukusa is refolded (78). R sets it on the cha-shaku in the box.



(79)

The box lid is fitted onto the box (79).



(80)

The host places the box on the tray, then sets the tray in front of his knees (80). Finally, the host grasps the tray firmly, rises, and exits. Just outside his entrance, he turns and faces the guests, sits, and places the tray to the side (*see* step 1). The host and all the guests bow.

Unohana Without Haiken

When the host has set the teabowl down on the box lid after step 41, the shokyaku returns the furidashi to the ro tatami. Then the host bows and says “oshimai ni itashimasu” and the shokyaku bows in acknowledgment.

The host places the kobukusa to the left of the box lid (*see* 43). R then takes the furidashi from the ro tatami and places it to the host's right, where the kobukusa had been. R holds the tetsubin lid closed with the fukusa; hot water is poured into the teabowl; the fukusa is returned to the tray. R takes the chasen and chasen-toshi is done. At the end of chasen-toshi, the chasen remains held in R; L takes the chasen holder from the box; the chasen is fitted into the holder; and L returns it to the box. R takes the teabowl; it is transferred to L and the water is emptied into the kensui. R takes the chakin and wipes the teabowl in the usual manner. R sets the teabowl back on the box lid and then takes the chakin from the teabowl. L takes the chakin holder from the box; R forms the chakin into a roll against the side of the holder (*see* 70); the chakin is fitted into the holder; L returns it to the box. R takes the fukusa from the tray; it is refolded; the host wipes the chashaku; the chashaku is returned to the tray. L holds the folded fukusa over the kensui while R pats off the loose tea on it. R then returns it to its place on the tray. L moves the kensui back in alignment with the host's shoulders. The box is moved back in alignment with the box lid and tray. R takes the kobukusa and places it in the teabowl, then takes the natsume and places it in the teabowl. R grasps the teabowl from the side and transfers it temporarily to L; then R grasps it from the top and, with L helping, returns it to the box. R takes the furidashi and rests it on L palm; then R sets it in the box. R takes the chashaku; it is transferred to L; R grasps it toward the center, turning it face down, and places it diagonally across the teabowl in the box. R takes the fukusa and opens the tetsubin lid slightly. The fukusa is refolded; then R sets it on the chashaku in the box. The box lid is fitted onto the box; the box is placed on the tray; then the tray is placed in front of the binkake. The host shifts position to face diagonally away from the guests; L grasps the kensui; and the host rises and exits. He comes back and this time exits with the tray. Just outside the entrance, he turns and faces the guests, sits, and places the tray to the side. He and all the guests bow.

Book Reviews

Poetry on the Wind: The Art of Chinese Folding Fans from the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties. By Tseng Yu-ho Ecke. Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1981. 161 pp. U.S.\$24.50.

Poetry on the Wind is the first major exhibition of later Chinese fan paintings to be held in the United States, and as such deserves comparison with the Hong Kong Museum's exhibition of Ming (1368-1644) fans in 1965 and the Reitberg (Zürich) Museum's 1979 exhibition of Ming and Ch'ing (1644-1911) fans. This exhibition, organized by Tseng Yu-ho Ecke and the Honolulu Academy of Arts, is Professor Ecke's third travelling exhibition, and comes ten years after her monumental *Chinese Calligraphy* show of 1971. It consists of seventy-four fans ranging in date from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries A.D., lent by the Academy, New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, the John Crawford Collection of New York, and the Mitchell Hutchinson Collection in Chicago. Of these, forty-four of the fans are painted, and thirty decorated with calligraphy. The catalogue includes an introduction on the history of fans and fan painting as well as entries on the actual exhibits.

In the first section of her seven-part introduction, Ecke gives the reader an overview of fans in Chinese history. As pointed out by Professor John Hay of Harvard University in his paper on fan painting delivered at the Percival David Colloquy on Chinese Painting and the Decorative Style in 1975, fans have a long history as adjuncts to Chinese life and art. From at least as early as the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) and Six Dynasties (317-589) periods, fans had symbolic functions at the Imperial court, usually denoting rank. Anecdotes concerning fans occur in Chinese literature as early as the Han dynasty, and mentions of painted silk fans are often found in Six Dynasties period texts, suggesting their great popularity. Early fans were often made of feathers, bamboo, and other substances, as can often be seen in Han stone and ceramic reliefs, and Six Dynasties Buddhist stone carvings. The type of folding fan which forms the subject of this exhibition was not widely used in China before the early Ming dynasty (1368-1644); before this, most painted fans were made of silk stretched on bamboo or metal frames.

The majority of surviving round and oval silk fans with painted decoration date from the Sung dynasty (960-1279); indeed, it is true, as Hay has shown, that "A great proportion of surviving Southern Sung paintings are in the fan format." It is clear from literary records, however, that folding fans were known in Sung times. Folding fans appear to have been invented in the late Nara period (710-794) in Japan, and the oldest extant paper folding fans, dating to the twelfth century, are those preserved in the Shitennoji temple in Osaka. From Japan this type of fan was passed on to Korea, and from there to China. Ecke quotes a number of Northern Sung dynasty authors who describe such folding fans from Korea, including the art historians Kuo Jo-hsü and Teng Ch'un, and the calligrapher Huang T'ing-chien. Whether such folding fans were used any earlier in China is not presently known. She cites an interesting passage by the Northern Sung historian Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-1086) in which he interprets a "girdle fan" used by the Southern Ch'i dynasty official Ch'u Yüan (435-482) as the counterpart of the Sung folding fan (*che-tieh shan*). She further suggests that "... the folding fan had a much earlier use in China than has generally been assumed, and the invention of the folding fan perhaps cannot be solely attributed to Japan." While this would appear improbable (particularly from the conspicuous lack of artistic depictions of folding fans in sculpture or painting during the Six Dynasties period), it is certainly not impossible.

The second part of Ecke's introduction describes the evolution of the folding fan in China from the early fifteenth century onward. This section is well written and includes much information on the techniques and materials used in the construction of folding fans. Of particular interest is the mention of two Ming dynasty fans found recently in mainland China. The first is a fan which was

discovered on a shelf in the Palace Museum in Peking (formerly the Tzu-chin Ch'eng, or Forbidden City), painted by the Hsüan-te Emperor in 1426. It is a significant find in that it is both the oldest dated folding fan yet discovered and the largest, measuring over 1.5 meters in width. The second is a fan which was discovered in a tomb dated 1515 in Kiangsu province. This folding fan is made of two layers of silk, between which a paper-cut composition depicting a magpie seated on a plum branch has been inserted (this motif forms a rebus in Chinese, "Hsi shang mei shao," which may be roughly translated as "Happiness up to your eyebrows!"). The magpie and the plum branch appear only when the fan is held against the light.

The third section of the introduction, "The Aesthetic Climate," introduces some of the major styles of Chinese painting of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. These include the early Ming Academic style, the Che and Wu schools of the early and middle Ming dynasty, the Individualists of the Ming to Ch'ing transition, and the Orthodox school of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Since many of the fans in the exhibition are by well-known literati (*wen-jen*) artists, considerable space is given to an explanation of their ideals and theories of painting. This is followed by a succinct description of the "Northern" and "Southern" school theory concerning the development of Chinese painting based on an analogy with the schools of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China, a theory promulgated by the great painter-official Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636). Also included here is a short discussion of the function of calligraphy in fan decoration. Some of the finest fans in the exhibition have only calligraphic decoration, and this is owing to Ecke's selection. Those who wish more information on this subject are directed to both Ecke's *Chinese Calligraphy* catalogue of 1971 and Dr. Shen Fu's *Traces of the Brush* exhibition catalogue of 1977.

In these sections I found a few points of disagreement. On page xxvi, Ecke states that during the late Kamakura period (1185-1333), painted fans by Chinese literati artists were imported to Japan, ". . . thereby introducing the Chinese, or *Nanga* (Southern Painting) style into Japanese art." Although it could be argued that a type of "Southern school" painting was practiced in Japan during the Muromachi period (1334-1573) by such artists as Sesshu, this was still some time before the theoretical division of previous Chinese painting history into "Northern" and "Southern" schools, which occurred in the seventeenth century. More important, the *Nanga* style as such did not develop in Japan in either the Kamakura or Muromachi periods, but later, in the Edo period (1615-1868). Furthermore, *Nanga* was not so much influenced by Chinese fan paintings as by printed painting manuals with wood-block illustrations such as the *Mustard-Seed Garden Painting Manual* (*Chieh-tzu Yüan hua-chuan*) of 1679, and paintings in the hanging scroll and handscroll formats by minor Chinese artists of the seventeenth century (many of whom fled to Japan after the Manchu invasion of 1644).

A second point here is the author's assertion (p. xxix) that "Fans continued to be painted in the twentieth century, but with the lack of talented and original artists working in this genre, as compared to the heyday of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, the art of fan painting has become largely static and commercialized." While it is no doubt true that there are fewer twentieth-century artists who work in the fan format, the abundant existence of brilliant fan paintings by such modern figures as Ch'i Pai-shih, Huang Pin-hung, Chang Ta-ch'ien, Wu Hu-fan, Pu Ju, Fu Pao-shih, and Chiang Erh-shih, to name but a few, would hardly suggest that the art of fan painting has become either static or commercialized.

In "The Fan and Its Settings," Ecke discusses the fan as a social object, particularly among well-known circles of artists, and its use in Chinese drama. As she rightly points out, many of the most famous artists who decorated fans during the Ming dynasty were also dramatists. Included in this category and represented in the exhibition are Shen Shih, Hsü Lin, Chang Feng-i (a famous patron of Wen Chia), Wang Heng (the father of Wang Shih-min), and Ch'en Chi-ju. Several of the most famous painters and calligraphers also wrote opera lyrics, including Chu Yün-ming, T'ang Yin and Wang Ch'ung. In "The Fan and the Arts," the author gives illustrations of fans as symbols in Chinese poetry (for exam-

ple, the "Autumn Fan" of the Han dynasty imperial consort Pan Chieh-yu, likened to a woman rejected in love, just as a fan is stored away in the cooler weather of autumn).

The final section of the introduction, "Characteristics of the Folding Fan," covers some of the considerations taken into account in fitting a pictorial or calligraphic composition to the folding fan format. Here the reader is given some useful information which may not be immediately clear from looking at a fan, for example, the fact that artists generally worked on fans before they were actually mounted onto either a frame or "fan-bones" or "ribs". Concluding the introduction, the author contrasts some of the possible approaches in composing landscapes in the fan format, and discusses the collection and appreciation of fans, which often combine in a most original and satisfying way the "Three Perfections" of poetry, calligraphy, and painting.

The catalogue itself consists of entries on each exhibit, giving the artist's name, dates, place of origin, alternate names (*tsu* and *bao*), a description of the composition, materials and size, date, and translation of the signature and collectors' seals. Chinese characters of the artists' names, seals and collectors' seals are in turn transcribed at the end of the catalogue; this is extremely helpful and is a detail often omitted from Chinese painting catalogues. Following this basic entry information is a short but concise commentary on each fan.

Professor Ecke's selection of the fans themselves is excellent, and as a result the viewer is given a superb overview of this often ignored area of Chinese art. Certain fans are rare examples from well-known artists' oeuvres. Such an example is no. 1, a superb landscape by the fifteenth-century literati artist Liu Chüeh, in ink and light colors on gold paper. This is possibly his earliest surviving work (dated 1438). Furthermore, many of these are previously unpublished, such as the Ch'en Hung-shou "Landscape" (no. 53) from the John Crawford collection with its marvelously discontinuous horizons. Of the seventy-four fans, sixty are illustrated with clear black-and-white photographs and fourteen with color plates. It is naturally unfortunate that all of the fans could not have been illustrated in color, even those which consist of calligraphy alone.

Over a third of the fans are by artists of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century Wu school. These are some of the finest fans in the exhibit, including landscapes by Shen Chou and Wen Cheng-ming, the two leading artists of this school. Several fans are good examples of joint compositions, such as Wang Ku-hsiang's "Narcissus, Plum Blossoms and Rock" with calligraphy added by Wen P'eng, P'eng Nien, and Wen Chung-yi (Wen Cheng-ming's nephew).

One of the high points of the exhibition is the inclusion of examples of calligraphy by the finest Ming masters of this art. Among these are works by Shen Chou, Wang Ao, Chu Yün-ming, Wen Cheng-ming, and Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang. Issue might be taken with the use of the terms "actional" and "draft" for the running (*hsing*) and cursive (*ts'ao*) script forms, which can be confusing. The 1971 *Chinese Calligraphy* catalogue used the more common terms "running" and "cursive."

The remainder of the exhibition consists of twenty-six examples of late Ming painting and calligraphy, twenty fans by Ch'ing artists, and three by nineteenth-century painters. While the catalogue is generally well done, there remain several points which deserve some comment. A problem is the more than sixty typographical errors which were not covered by the initial errata sheet; the majority of these are not serious, but several could be confusing. Also, the set of dates given for the artist Wang Chih-teng should be 1535-1612 instead of 1494-1533. The word colophon is consistently misspelled as "colophone." The spelling of the T'ang dynasty monk with whose calligraphy Wen P'eng's calligraphy is compared should be Huai-su, not Hui-su. The last Ming emperor was Ch'ung-chen, not Ch'ung-cheng.

In the entry on Chang Feng-i's poem in running ("actional") script, the author states that "His calligraphy is rarely seen except on fans," and "His style exhibits the rigidity and plainness of the pre-T'ang dynasty." The first statement is not true, as there are many surviving examples of Chang's writing which are not on fans (the San Francisco Asian Art Museum has two); the second statement is quite vague, since pre-T'ang calligraphy is typically neither rigid nor plain; furthermore,

knowing which dynasty the author meant would have been helpful. A similar note concerns the late Ming artist Ch'en Kuan, about whom Ecke states that "Except for a few fan paintings, Ch'en Kuan's works are rare today." This is contradicted by the fact that some of Ch'en's best works are hanging scrolls and handscrolls, several of which are in Western collections (for example, the landscape of 1631 in the Reitberg Museum, Zürich, and the landscape of 1638 in the collection of Professor James Cahill, Berkeley, respectively published in Chu-tsing Li's *A Thousand Peaks and a Myriad Ravines* and Cahill's *The Restless Landscape*). The comparison of Ch'en Hung-shou's figures to those in the Eastern Han dynasty stone-carvings at the Wu Liang Shrine in Shantung province is misleading, primarily because Ch'en's figure style owes a much greater debt to such early Six Dynasties Period artists as Ku K'ai-chih (compare the British Museum's "Admonitions of the Court Instructress" handscroll).

Finally, the structure of the catalogue might have benefitted from a separate glossary of Chinese characters for the introduction, instead of characters among the footnotes. As they are, the characters are occasionally blurred and consequently difficult to read.

Despite these problems, *Poetry on the Wind* is an important catalogue of an important exhibition, and will be a useful reference work on the art of later Chinese fan painting to scholars and nonscholars alike. The breadth of the selection is laudable, as it illustrates to great advantage the range in style, subject matter and technique of Ming and Ch'ing fan painting. Such an exhibition in the United States was long overdue, and Tseng Yu-ho Ecke deserves praise for having chosen to take on the task of illuminating this fascinating and long-ignored field.

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A Guide to the Gardens of Kyoto. By Marc Treib and Ron Herman. Tokyo: Shufunotomo Company, Ltd., 1980. 210 pp. US\$9.95, ¥1500.

Kyoto's gardens constantly change. Every hour and day these extraordinary arrangements of plants and stones vary, with the sunlight and the seasons, the caretakers and the crowds of visitors. An unexpected shower may add sparkle, texture, and a pungent scent to a patch of dry moss. An overcast sky can rob a rock grouping of the shadowy interplay essential to its compositional unity. A swept walkway welcomes strolling. The arrival of a tour bus can turn a solitary site into a bustling commercial establishment. Such daily differences delight or displease the regular visitors who choose their moments to enjoy these gardens. For the foreign tourist, pressed for time and unfamiliar with the language, good advice has long been lacking on how and when to see the many gardens open to the public. Two professors and practitioners of landscape architecture and graphic design from the University of California at Berkeley have compiled such useful information in a small guidebook to over fifty Kyoto gardens.

In *A Guide to the Gardens of Kyoto*, Marc Treib and Ron Herman act as careful observers and knowledgeable critics as they record the varying aspects and basic elements of Kyoto's landscape forms. Both men have spent nearly two decades studying these gardens. They comment on how designs have evolved and attempt to explain why. They note the effects of seasonal changes and recommend the best times of day or year to visit many sites. They direct our attention to the special

features of each location, describing how it differs from or typifies certain Japanese garden types. The authors relate each work to the social and political history of Kyoto and try to create a context for better understanding the physical forms. Thus, their guide is more than just how and when to visit gardens but is also an explanation of what the sites might mean.

The guidebook has four parts. Two short essays describe "The Japanese Garden and its Cultural Context" and "Making the Landscape of Kyoto." Eight pages of striking color plates provide a brief photohistory of the major sites, and 140 pages are devoted to individual entries on various temples, imperial residences and private gardens. The articles are written for the general reader, and were culled from lectures given at Berkeley's School of Environmental Design, where the authors have regularly conducted a survey course on Japanese architecture and gardening. These writings are social histories as well as formal analyses. They stress Japan's urban development and artistic patronage. For the newcomer to Japanese gardens, such overviews and generalizations prove useful. The authors themselves admit that their remarks are far too brief and simple to satisfy readers who already know Japan's history and are familiar with Kyoto's layout. This book was intended for the first-time visitor who wants to see and learn more than what is offered in the JTB brochures.

My only complaints about this book concern dating and attributions of gardens. The authors too willingly repeat temple traditions about when and who created the gardens, and these stories are seldom founded on factual evidence. They write in the Introduction, "Exact dating and attribution, if either could be firmly established, are not critical to the contents of this book," and yet take special pains to record the many overly generous and far too early attributions to the fifteenth century artists Soami and Sesshu. This discrepancy is particularly unfortunate in the discussion of Ryoanji as a Muromachi-period Zen garden. Few Japanese garden scholars date the present walled gravel design earlier than the seventeenth century, and many see the work as a product of mid-eighteenth-century landscape tastes. Similarly, the authors laud the Nishi Hongwanji Daishoin as "one of the most superb pieces of Momoyama architecture extant," but Bunkacho restoration reports on the structures convincingly prove that the buildings have never been moved and probably date from the 1630s. These factual errors seem minor in the body of the work, but the information is given as major supporting evidence for the theories of Japanese garden history offered in the two essays.

Treib and Herman define several distinct garden types and associate these forms with particular political periods (e.g., the Nara river-style, the Kamakura *kare sansui*, the Edo stroll garden, and so forth), using the standard era names employed by Japanese historians. As far as patronage was concerned, such government changes may, indeed, have affected the location, funding and ownership of some gardens, but political periodization does little to explain the development of garden styles and design techniques. There is far more continuity of form from century to century than is implied by the categories Kamakura and Momoyama. The authors are quite correct in their categorization of landscape types and their ideological interpretations of Kyoto gardens. They should not have burdened their theories with unnecessary segmentation of styles based on political events. These garden types are products of aesthetic and religious currents rather than governmental shifts.

Since this volume is a guidebook, some concluding remarks will evaluate its effectiveness in getting garden seekers to their destination. Fortunately, each garden has its name and address written in kanji along the margin of each entry, and the authors encourage readers to ask directions of the ever helpful local residents. This book is packed with maps that show major train stations and streets where buses stop. Thus, with a JNTO bus map and a bit of courage, most tourists should easily find their way. Unfortunately, this book was planned before the Kyoto subway opened, and no reference is made to its existence or convenience. Hopefully, this oversight can be corrected. In the final analysis, this guidebook is handy, insightful, and most appropriate to recommend as a resource for any first-time visitor to Japan who wants to see the famous gardens of Kyoto. The book

captures and celebrates the constantly changing qualities of those carefully constructed and maintained environments and helps us understand how they came into being.

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Japan's Renaissance—The Politics of the Muromachi Bakufu. By *Kenneth Alan Grossberg*. Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981. 207 pp. US\$15.00.

In this relatively small volume of 207 pages, of which 66 are given over to appendixes, notes, a bibliography, a glossary and an index, Grossberg has managed to accomplish several purposes. He has described and analyzed the politics of the Muromachi Bakufu. He has also evaluated the commerce and economy of the period and has explained their vital relationship to politics. He has set forth the thesis that because the economy of the period was vigorous and extensive, providing new and varied sources of income for the Bakufu, the country was able to begin the process of turning away from feudalism during the Muromachi period, a full century or two earlier than traditional interpretations have placed it. Grossberg also notes that the Ashikaga shoguns and their regimes were strengthened in the process, much in the manner of the Renaissance monarchies of Europe; hence the inclusion of the term "renaissance" in the title of the work. Still another purpose of the book is to review and assess the interpretations of leading contemporary Japanese scholars, such as Sato Shin'ichi, Nagahara Keiji and others, regarding the place of the Muromachi period in Japanese history.

Much of the discussion of politics is concerned with the struggle for power between the shogun and the local lords—the so-called *shugo-daimyo*—some of whom, like Shiba, Hosokawa and Hatakeyama, were strong enough to propel themselves into the very center of politics in Kyoto and to share with the shogun the highest political authority of the land as the shogun's *kanrei*, or chief minister. The shogun, on the other hand, was not averse to using every tactic and stratagem to keep the shugo-daimyo at bay and under control, such as playing one shugo-daimyo against another, or elevating the lowly provincial squire (*kokujin*), or the even lowlier yeoman-farmer (*myosbu*) to the status of direct-retainer in order to counterbalance the power of the shugo-daimyo. Among the more novel maneuvers employed by the shogun to control the shugo-daimyo was the requirement that the latter reside in Kyoto, thereby compelling them to divert a substantial part of their domain's annual income to the capital in order to pay for the cost of building and maintaining a second residence there. This scheme, credited to Yoshimitsu, anticipated the *sankin kotai* system of the Tokugawa by more than two hundred years.

But it was the substantial commercial economy of such cities as Sakai, Nara, Tennoji and Kyoto, all conveniently situated within easy reach of the Bakufu, and on which the Ashikaga shoguns could and did levy taxes, that made the greatest impact on the politics of the period. Whether consciously or not, it made the Muromachi Bakufu less dependent for its income on a land-based economy, which is characteristic of feudalism, and more dependent on an urban-based economy, which is characteristic of modern societies.

A regrettable feature of the work is that there may be only a handful of readers who have the necessary in-depth understanding of both European and Japanese history to appreciate Grossberg's comparison of the Muromachi Bakufu with the French and English Renaissance monarchies. I am

not one of them. But it is my feeling that future historians will take the comparative route more and more as Grossberg has done and as the late Professor Asakawa of Yale did with Japanese feudalism in the past. That Professor Asakawa was such a brilliant interpreter of Japanese feudalism may have been due to his intensive studies of European feudalism as well, and of his ability to make cogent comparisons.

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Glossary

ajihompusho	阿字本不生	kabuyūdō no ensō	哥舞幽道ノ円相
Amida	阿弥陀	Kamo no Chōmei	鴨長明
bonnō	煩悩	kazura mono	髪物
bukka enman	仏果円満	Kindai Shūka	近代秀歌
Chaji Shūran	茶事集覧	Komparu Zenchiku	金春禅竹
cha-kurai	茶食	kū	空
cha-nomi	茶飲み	kūjaku	空寂
cha-suki	茶数寄	Kūrin	空輪
chokusenshū	勅撰集	Kyōkunshō	教訓抄
daienkyōchi	大門鏡智	Matsukaze	松風
daihi	大悲	mu	無
en	円	mufū	無風
engaku	円学	Murata Shukō	村田珠光
engyō	円教	musō	無相
enjaku	円寂	musō kūjaku	無相空寂
enman	円満	myō	妙
enmitsu	円密	myōdai	妙代
Fujiwara Teika	藤原定家	naishō chicken	内證智鉤
Gotobain Onkuden	後鳥羽院御口伝	namu-amida-butsu	南無阿弥陀仏
Harin	破輪	Nembutsu	念仏
Hōnen	法然	Nika Ichirin	二花一輪
Hosshinshū	発心集	Nishida Kitarō	西田幾多郎
Ichirin	一輪	Noh	能
Ichiro	一露	Ogura Hyakunin Isshu	小倉百人一首
Ishida Yoshisada	石田吉貞	ran'i	蘭位
jitsugetsu seishin	日月精神	renga	連歌
jizai muge	自在無碍	riji-muge-kan	理事無礙觀
Jurin	壽輪	Rikyū	利休
Juurin (Jūrin)	住輪	Rikyū Ichimai Kishōmon	利休一枚起請文

Rokurin Ichiro no Ki	六輪一露之記
sangan	三觀
santai	三諦
seikon	精魂
seishin	精神
sekensō jōjū	世間相常住
Shigyoku	志玉
shikan	止觀
shikijin ensō	色心円相
Shikishi (Princess)	式子 (内親王)
Shin Chokusenshū	新勅撰集
Shin Kokinshū	新古今集
shinkū	真空
shinkū-kan	真空觀
shinnyo	真如
shinzoku	真俗
shōjin	精心
shōjō no seishin	清淨ノ精神
Shōka	性花
shōkai	性海
shōkai kinha	性海金波
shōkai mufū	性海無風
shōken	性鉤
Shōtetsu Monogatari	正徹物語

shūhen-gan'yō-kan	周遍含容觀
Shūigusō	拾遺愚草
Shūrin	豎輪
suki	数寄
sukibito	数寄人
Sukidō shidai	数寄道次第
sukisha	数寄者
sukiya	数寄屋
suku	好く
Takeno Jōō	武野紹鷗
Takuan Oshō Chanoyu	沢庵和尚茶湯
Ichimai Kishōmon	一枚起請文
Tendai Shikan	天台止觀
Tsutsui Hiroichi	筒井絃一
ui tempen	有為轉變
waka	和歌
Yamanoue Sōjiki	山上宗二記
yōen	妖艶
Yōka	用花
yūgen	幽玄
Yuya	熊野
Zeami Motokiyo	世阿弥元清
Zōrin	像輪

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