

CHANOYU Quarterly
TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 67



The embossing on the cover is adapted from a gold embroidered fabric called *Hōun kinran*, favored by Sen Sōshitsu XV, fifteenth generation grand master of the Urasenke tradition of chanoyu. The motif is composed of a phoenix (*hō*) amid clouds (*un*), and is the graphic representation of his Buddhist name, Hōunsai.

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TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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NUMBER 67

<i>Sen Sōshitsu XV</i>	Knowing Contentment	5
<i>Koga Kenzō</i>	<i>Utsushi</i> : The Aesthetic of Imitation	7
<i>Patricia Yamada</i>	The Bodhisattva Jizō: Humanity's Refuge in the Six Realms of Existence	35
	<i>Temae</i> — Tea Procedure: <i>Irekodate (Ro)</i>	57
	Book Reviews	66
	Glossary	79
	Chronology	80

The names of Japanese persons are written surname first, in accordance with the Japanese practice. Kanji for names, titles of works, and other terms marked with the symbol † are given in the Glossary.

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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 Grand Master Sen Sōshitsu XV, the Urasenke Foundation seeks to encourage the further development of these arts and to promote a worldwide understanding of the spirit of chanoyu.

Knowing Contentment

Sen Sōshitsu XV

At Ryōanji temple in Kyoto, there is an extraordinary stone water basin by the tea room. It has an ingenious design of four kanji, 吾唯足知, each of which uses the central square hole in the basin as the 口 component. The reading of these characters is “*ware tada taru (o) shiru*,” meaning “I only know contentment.”

Although I am not sure who was responsible for designing that stone water basin, the idea of “knowing contentment” (*chisoku anbun*)* is a fundamental Buddhist teaching that also stands at the core of the Way of Tea. We see it expressed, for instance, in Sen Rikyū’s famous teaching recorded at the beginning of the “*Oboegaki*” [Memoranda] section of the *Nampō Roku*:

To delight in the splendor of a dwelling or the taste of a sumptuous meal belongs to worldly life. There is shelter enough when the roof does not leak, and food, when it keeps one from starving. This is the Buddha’s teaching and the fundamental intent of chanoyu.

Let me put this in terms of the *kaiseki* meal served in chanoyu. The term *kaiseki* itself derives from a Zen monastic custom. The most severe Zen practice of prolonged seated meditation starts on December 1 and continues for eight days, for it is said that the eighth day of the twelfth month was the day on which the Buddha attained enlightenment. During this intensive period of meditation, the monks used to heat up stones when they burned the leaves that they had swept up while cleaning the monastery yard, and they would place these heated stones (*seki*, *ishi*) in their garments near the bosom (*kai*; *futokoro*). The warmth of the stones would ease their hunger pangs while they were meditating. Just as the heated stones were to alleviate hunger pangs, the meal served before having tea should be just enough to satisfy one’s hunger.

* *Chi* and *soku* are alternate ways of pronouncing *shiru* and *taru*, “knowing contentment”; *anbun* is written 安分 and also has the meaning “knowing contentment.”

In Japan today, people enjoy an abundance of food at their tables everyday, and, as though it is not enough to have sufficient food, the country is experiencing a so-called gourmet boom. We are informed that there are many people in other parts of the world who are starving or suffering from malnutrition, but there are not many Japanese who really realize this fact. People are generally more concerned about their desire to stay trim while also enjoying the choicest delicacies.

Our desires seem to escalate. Or once one desire is satisfied, another arises to take its place. Because of this, our feelings are always in turmoil, and we know no true peace. Only when we are able to know what is enough and free ourselves from unnecessary desires will we be able to achieve true, lasting inner peace and happiness. This is the state of being contented. A person who does not know contentment would not be at peace even if he or she were in heaven.

Among the many kinds of utensil shelves that we use in chanoyu, there is one which my father originated which is called the *Chisoku-dana*, which may be translated, literally, as the "'Knowing Contentment' Shelf." It has a base shelf and one upper shelf, the latter of which is not a full round board but is just a bit short or 'reserved' at the front. ㇿ

Utsushi: The Aesthetics of Imitation

Koga Kenzō

Imagination is a better creator than imitation. . . .
Imitation produces only that which is already known,
while imagination creates that which
has never been seen.

Flavius Philostratus (fl. ca. 217)

Introduction

Imitation is how the nursing babe eventually comes to understand its mother's words and gestures. The human being grows to independence through constant repetition and imitation, even as unexpected changes and new experiences foster the imagination and mold individuality. And imitation extends to the peculiarly human tendency to decorate ourselves and our surroundings. We adorn our homes with pictures of animals and plants and we dye our clothing in a kaleidoscope of colors. This activity, initially a process of imitating nature, stimulates our imagination to enhanced artistic creativity.

The Japanese word 写し, "*utsushi*," which is commonly used in reference to artistic imitations is defined in the Japanese-language dictionary as: 1) a duplicate of an original text (such as a certified copy or duplicate of an official document); and 2) an item patterned on an original (such as a counterfeit or a picture traced from an original). The key ideas, thus, are that an *utsushi* is a facsimile, or is something modeled on something else. 写 (reproduce, reproduction) is also the root word in such compound terms as *shajitsu* (写真), *shasei* (写生), and *sha-i* (写意). *Shajitsu*, or "literalism," refers to the graphic portrayal of objects and events exactly as they

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from the feature article "*Utsushi no Bigaku: Wagakuni ni Dokutoku na Bi no Kanshō Sekai*" 「写しの美学：わが国に独特な美の鑑賞世界」 appearing in the September, 1990 issue of *Nagomi* (Tankōsha Publishing Co., Tokyo). Unless otherwise specified, photos courtesy of the Nomura Art Museum, Kyoto.

are. It is part of the critical vocabulary of realistic art and literature that avoids romanticization. *Shasei* — in common usage, referring to the act of sketching or drawing from nature — is the objective depiction or reproduction of things just as they appear in life. In Japanese art history, a *shasei* school of painting emerged in the late nineteenth century whose influence extended to tanka and haiku poetry and other forms of literature. The word 意 in the term *sha-i* has such meanings as “spirit,” “emotion,” “thought,” and “feeling.” *Sha-i* therefore refers to the concept of expressing a subject’s intrinsic quality. It stands at once in contrast to the realism of *shajitsu*, yet at the same time can be perceived as an essential element of *shajitsu* realism, for a realistic work of art must inherently capture the inner essence of the subject matter.

Utsushi in Painting

The painter Kishida Ryūsei[†] (1891–1929) placed special importance on the concept of *sha-i*: “Realism in art is not a bad thing, but neither is it the deepest level of artistic creation. Realism incorporating *sha-i* is preferable, but I believe one will find that *sha-i* in its most profound meaning actually requires an omission of realism. . . . [The omission of realism] is the source of beauty found in a variety of forms. . . . But rather than appearing as a beauty without realism, this kind of beauty is more commonly experienced as decorative aesthetics and would perhaps be better referred to as a decorative element.”

This helps to explain why, for example, artists of the Shijō school of painting of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often added the character “写” to their signatures, not to mark their work as an imitation but to indicate that it was a work capturing the spirit of the piece upon which it was modeled.

Nonetheless, one of the intents of an *utsushi*, as I have already pointed out, is to mimic something that already exists. This involves an effort to simulate reality as closely as possible. Portrait painting is a good example. The *nisé-e* style portraits by the Kamakura-period painters Fujiwara no Takanobu[†] (1142–1205) and his son Fujiwara no Nobuzane[†] (ca. 1177–ca. 1265) are notable for their realistic approach, as are the commemorative portraits of samurai and the *chinsō*-style portraits of Buddhist Zen masters of the late Muromachi period.

Utsushi in Calligraphy

— Transcriptions and Copies

The definition of an *utsushi* as being a duplicate of an original text relates to the matter of transcribed copies (*shoshabon*[†]) as opposed to original, holographic works (*gempon*[†]). Most of the sutras, official documents, letters, poems, and stories known as “ancient writings” (*kohitsu*[†]) belong to the former. The mid-eleventh century *Kōya-gire*[†] (Mount Kōya fragments), which constitutes the oldest extant manuscript of the *Kokin Wakashū* (*Kokinshū*), is probably a transcript of the original text or of another earlier transcript of it. Another rare example of ancient calligraphic transcription believed to have been executed around the same time as the *Kōya-gire* is a scroll of poems copied from Book Four of the *Man'yō Shū*, the oldest extant collection of Japanese poetry, completed near the end of the eighth century. This scroll is referred to as the *Katsura-bon Man'yō Shū*[†] or the *Togano-ō-gire*[†] (Togano fragments).

Sutra-copying, long a popular form of devotion and penitence, primarily involves the copying of Chinese translations of ancient Buddhist sutras. These are not necessarily exact duplications of the original Chinese format or calligraphy, and often reflect the copier's personality. In fact, calligraphy is regarded as telling evidence of human character. Furthermore, certain calligraphic styles have been popular at different times in Japanese history, and a copy can often be dated by its stylistic tendencies even when its writer is unknown.

Exact duplication is distinguished in Japanese by the terms *rinmo*[†] and *rinsho*[†], meaning to copy from a copybook. *Rinsho* copies are treasured by historians because they offer hints of what a lost, original text probably looked like. Thus, transcribed works vary in significance and in the way in which they are valued according to whether they were meant to be an exact duplication or a freehand copy.

Practitioners of *jibokudō*[†] — a literary term for calligraphy taken from an incident involving the Chinese Wang Xizi[†] (J., 王羲之; 321–379), considered the greatest calligrapher of all time — seek to imitate the stylistic characteristics of the calligraphy of revered masters. The many schools of calligraphy that exist in Japan today have evolved for the most part from the imitation of past masters. The Sesonji[†] school, for example, is based on the calligraphic style of Fujiwara no Yukinari[†] (972–1027); the Gokyōgoku[†] school, on that of Fujiwara no Yoshitsune[†] (1169–1206); and the Sadaie school, on that of Fujiwara no Sadaie (Teika)[†] (1162–1241).

The influence of master calligraphers extended into other genres. Take-no Jōō[†] (1502–55), for example, greatly admired Teika's calligraphic style

and sought to incorporate it into chanoyu. He thus initiated a Teika-style tradition within the world of chanoyu that was carried on by other tea masters such as Kobori Enshū[†] (1579–1647) and Matsudaira Fumai[†] (1751–1818). This kind of imitation and adaptation of the work of past masters of calligraphy is another kind of *utsushi*.

— *Tekagami*

Tekagami[†] are copybooks or samplers in the form of accordion-style folding books. In the case of *kohitsu tekagami*, devoted to ancient writings, calligraphic examples of sutras, waka, letters, and the like are pasted in according to an orderly sequence. Extant *kohitsu tekagami* include the *Ō-tekagami*,[†] which is designated a National Treasure and belongs to the Yōmei Bunkō; the *Kambokujō*[†] in the MOA Museum of Art; the *Minu Yo no Tomo*[†] in the Idemitsu Collection; and the *Moshiogusa*[†] belonging to the Kyoto National Museum.

Sometimes *tekagami* are devoted to a single type of writing, such as only *tanzaku* (strips of paper on which are written verses of poetry), and there are also those devoted to pictures or to fabric samples. However, as implied by their name — “*te*” literally meaning “hand(writing),” and “*ka-gami*” meaning “example” or “mirror” — *tekagami* were originally collections of specimens of the script of outstanding calligraphers of the past. The *Kokon Chomonshū*,[†] a Kamakura-period collection of moral lessons in the form of stories, says: “A single character can win enduring fame for the writer. Of all the various arts, calligraphy is one of the most outstanding.”

It should be added, however, that although master calligraphers of the past — such men as Ki no Tsurayuki[†] (872?–945), Ono no Tōfū[†] (894–966), Fujiwara no Sukemasa[†] (944–998), Fujiwara no Yukinari, and Fujiwara no Kintō[†] (966–1041) — were regarded with high esteem for their talent in calligraphy, together with this, they were also esteemed as the foremost poets of their day. As expressed by the phrase “*ka-sho ittai*,” or “poetry and calligraphy are one entity,” these two arts have traditionally been considered inseparable.

Utsushi in Poetry

Utsushi has its place in poetry as well — in the practice referred to as allusive variation (*honka-dori*), a technique involving the adaptation of well-known classical poems (*honka*). An example is given in Fujiwara no Teika’s major critical work on poetry writing, the *Maigetsushō*[†] [Monthly Notes] of 1219, as follows:



The *Ō-tekagami*. National Treasure. Yōmei Bunkō Collection, Kyoto. Photo courtesy of Yōmei Bunkō.

春立つといふはかりにやみ吉野の山もかすみて今朝は見ゆらん
haru tatsu to / iu bakari niya / miyoshino no / yama mo kasumite /
kesa wa miyuran

As if to say spring has come,
the hills in fair Yoshino are shrouded in haze
and cannot be seen this morning.

(classical poem from the *Shūishū*, ca. 985)

み吉野は山もかすみて白雪のふりにし里に春は来にけり
miyoshino wa / yama mo kasumite / shirayuki no /
furinishi sato ni / haru wa kinikeri

In fair Yoshino the hills are shrouded in haze
— To the village that was laden with white snow,
spring comes.

(adaptation)¹

¹ This is a verse by Go-Kyōgoku Yoshitsune (1169–1206), included as no. 1 in the *Shin Kokinshū*.

In giving this example, however, Teika warns against the excessive use of the technique, saying: "It is unbecoming to adapt too many verses from the classics."

A subtler technique similar to allusive variation is that of literary allusion (*bungaku-teki rensō*). Teika uses this technique in the following poem, which is based on the "Suma" chapter of the *Tale of Genji*.

見渡せば花も紅葉もなかりけり浦の苫屋の秋の夕暮
Miwataseba / hana mo momiji mo / nakarikeri /
ura no tomaya no / aki no yūgure

Casting wide my gaze, neither flowers nor scarlet leaves:
A bayside hovel of reeds in the autumn dusk.²

(*Shin Kokinshū*, ca. 1205)

Teika's genius was in using this kind of literary allusion as a takeoff point to explore an imaginary realm that was purely his own. One can even discern in his application of the technique the development of a peculiarly Kamakura-period kind of *yūgen* or subtle elegance. Allusions to classical verse were never meant to be mere imitation but tools of creative original expression, and Teika practiced what he preached: to neither totally dispense with nor rely too heavily upon poetic imitation. Allusive variation [as well as literary allusion] gives a poetic work the added weight of tradition while preventing it from being a smug expression of personal conceit.

In chanoyu, famous verses or phrases in classical literature, particularly narrative literature such as the *Tale of Genji*, *Tales of Ise*, *Utsubo Monogatari* [Tale of the Hollow Tree], and *Eiga Monogatari* [Tale of Flowering Fortunes] are used as names (*mei*) for utensils. By receiving this kind of name, the very material from which the utensil is made — whether plain and simple bamboo, wood, or something else — takes on new life. Poetic appellations are pregnant with meaning, and are all the more intriguing when the object and name are found to have some kind of actual historical relationship.

Utsushi in Noh

Matsukaze[†] is a well-known noh drama about two sisters and their tragic love for the poet Ariwara no Yukihira[†] (818–893). The play is said to have been written by Kan'ami[†] (1333–84) and adapted by his son [cont'd, p. 18]

² Tr. Alfred Birnbaum in *Chanoyu: The Urasenke Tradition of Tea* (Weatherhill, 1988), p. 22.

Through the influence of the waka poet Shōtetsu[†] (1380–1458), whose promotion of the ideal of *suki* elegance in poetry also had a strong impact on chanoyu, and Murata Shukō's[†] (1422–1502) combining of Chinese and Japanese artistic tastes within chanoyu, and finally Takeno Jōō's admiration for Fujiwara no Teika, there eventually evolved the custom in chanoyu of naming favorite utensils with words and phrases taken from classical poetry. Some of the most interesting names were given to Seto-ware tea caddies, and to teascoops.

[Photo, facing page]

(Upper right) *Seto Shibugami-de katatsuki chaire*, “Moshio” — Seto ware Shibugami type angular-shoulder tea caddy named “Moshio,” or “Seaweed Salt.” *Chūkō-meibutsu*. (Lower left) *Gamō Ujisato saku tomo-zutsu chashaku*, “Moshio taretsutsu” — Teascoop with accompanying storage tube, by Gamō Ujisato, named “Moshio taretsutsu” [literally, “While the seaweed salt drips”; i.e., while weeping]. Both items, property of the Nomura Art Museum. Photo by Nimura Haruomi. Courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Tokyo.

Gamō Ujisato's[†] teascoop named “Moshio taretsutsu,” and the Hafu-ware (a variety of Seto ware which includes, as a sub-variety, the ware called Shibugami) tea caddy named “Moshio,” as well as the *meibutsu* old Seto tea caddy named “Wakuraba” all take their names from a classical poem composed by Ariwara no Yukihira (see p. 18 for poem and translation), which is quoted in the noh play *Matsukaze* [Wind in the Pines], telling about the tragic love of two sisters, Matsukaze and Murasame (Village Rain), who draw sea water (*shiokumi*; refers to making sea salt). When Kobori Sōchū (Masayasu; 1786–1867) acquired the tea caddy “Moshio,” he composed a companion verse to the classical original:

よそにさへこがれわびぬるもしほゆえあらしの心くまれもぞする
Yoso ni sae / kogare wabinuru / moshio yue /
arashi no kokoro / kumaremo zo suru

Even others pine sadly after the seaweed salt, so
 feel for me that my heart is divided in turmoil.

By being provided with a lid and a cloth pouch, just about any small ceramic container could be transformed into a tea caddy. But it is the name, inscribed on the tea caddy's box or lathed container (*hikiya*), that gives it personality and presence. Most of the poetic names (*utamei*) given to *chūkō-meibutsu*¹ (items mainly created after Rikyū's era and appraised by Kobori Enshū as masterpieces) were taken from love poems, and one imagines that the poetic imagery was meant to express the tea connoisseur's love for the object.



[Photo, facing page]

Iroe unkin nadeyohō-bachi — Enameled-ware cherry blossom and maple leaf motif rounded-square bowl, by Nin'ami Dōhachi. Property of the Nomura Art Museum.

The aesthetics of *utsushi* are perhaps most readily evident in the work of Nin'ami Dōhachi[†] (1767–1855). Nin'ami succeeded to the Dōhachi name after his father, the potter Takahashi Dōhachi.[†] He mastered pottery by imitating the wares of China, Korea, and Annam (present-day Vietnam). Later, Nin'ami copied freely of the forms and decorative motifs employed by Nonomura Ninsei[†] and Kenzan (Ogata Shinsei).[†] Despite his imitative techniques, however, Dōhachi managed to evolve a style uniquely his own. Like Ninsei, Dōhachi received the character “nin” from the temple Ninnaji for his professional name, and he later received the honorific title “-ami” from the Daigoji Sambōin monastery. Undoubtedly, the honorific title “-ami” was conferred upon Dōhachi because he was helping to keep alive a native ceramic tradition at a time when Chinese T'ang style wares were in vogue. Dōhachi's so-called imitations have, in fact, a life of their own completely independent of any *honka* prototype they are supposedly imitating. The unusual combination of spring flowers and autumn leaves of his *unkin*[†] bowls, in particular, has a flavor that is neither Ninsei nor Kenzan but representative of Dōhachi's time, the final decades of the Tokugawa shōgunate. Not one of the *unkin* bowls still existing today is quite like the other. Some are large, some are small, some have split lips, some are of a rounded-square shape, some are shaped like the fruit of a Japanese flowering quince, some are deep, some are shallow. The fact that these bowls almost look as if they could have been made by Kenzan goes to show how thoroughly Dōhachi grasped the subtleties of *sha-i*, the capturing of a work's essential nature.



Zeami[†] (1363–1443), the two principal creators of noh drama. But even this supposedly original piece can be traced to a play called *Shiokumi*[†] [The Saltbeds] said to have been written by Kameami,[†] a Kan'ami predecessor in *dengaku*,[†] the precursor of noh. Thus, *Matsukaze* is actually an adaptation or *utsushi* of the play *Shiokumi*. Evidence of this is seen in a classical verse [included as no. 962 in the *Kokinshū*] mentioning the gathering of seaweed salt on Suma Bay [noted for its saltbeds, and as the place where Genji, in the “Suma” chapter of the *Tale of Genji*, was exiled] which is quoted in the *Matsukaze* script, as follows:

町中に問ふ人あらば須磨の浦に藻塩たれつゝわぶとこたへよ

Wakurabani / tou hito araba /

Suma no ho ni / moshio taretsutsu / wabu to kotaeyo

If from time to time anyone should ask after me, answer them this:
on Suma Bay, with tear-drenched sleeves, I gather seaweed salt.³

Even before the creation of *Matsukaze*, the story of the life of Ariwara no Yukihiro was often associated with that of the character Genji in the *Tale of Genji*, and this overlapping of the various images has effectively endeared the play to audiences throughout the centuries.

In one of his critical writings on noh, the *Sandō*[†] [The Three Ways; also known as the *Nōsakusho*,[†] The Book on Noh Composition], Zeami says there are three aspects to noh: the seed (source material); the tillage (script composition); and the text (rhetoric). In reference to the first of these, Zeami urges going back as much as possible to original texts of mythology, legend, poetry, narratives, and tales. There is no need, he warns the aspiring noh writer, to warp a perfectly good story with arbitrary leaps of imagination. Zeami's philosophy is obviously based on the concept of allusive variation (*honka-dori*) in poetry, a concept that was broadly applied in all Japanese arts and which has served to ensure that traditional culture would be preserved and passed on to future generations.

Allusive variation can also be interpreted as a kind of creative imitation involving a process whereby imperial art and literature are taken in, thoroughly digested, and, finally, reproduced in creative form. In the case of noh, this works to give historical reality to the characters in a play while at the same time keeping a tight rein on the drama through elegant simplicity and the sublimation of joy and sorrow.

Since the Muromachi period, when it first developed, noh was an entertainment of the warrior class. But its influence was to infiltrate the arts and culture of all classes of Japanese society. In chanoyu, for example, there are a number of famous utensils with names originating [cont'd, p. 26]

³ Tr. Laurel Rasplica Rodd with Mary Catherine Henkenius in *Kokinshū* (Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 325.

[Photo, page 20]

(Honka) Sabie yukisasa tebachii — (Original classic) Underglaze iron snow-covered bamboo motif serving bowl with handle, by Kenzan. Property of the Tekisui Art Museum, Ashiya. Photo from Tekisui Art Museum.

Kenzan (Ogata Shinsei; 1663–1743) built his Narutaki kiln northwest of Kyoto in 1699. There he molded local clay into a number of masterpieces of rustic simplicity, this handled serving bowl being counted among the best of his output. The wonderful combination of the bowl's shape, its sturdy body, and the snow spray of white slip are all pure Kenzan style. This work is a *honka*, an original classic, through and through.

[Photo, page 21]

(Utsushi) Yukisasa tebachii — (Imitative) Snow-covered bamboo motif serving bowl with handle, by Nin'ami Dōhachi. Property of the Itsuo Art Museum, Ikeda. Photo from Itsuo Art Museum.

Though this piece seems an almost exact duplicate of Kenzan's handled serving bowl, close inspection reveals major differences of form. A major feature, the handle, for example, is lower and more complex in shape than Kenzan's original, and reveals the touch of a master. The spray of white slip, too, is softer, gentler, and more evocative of a quiet snow scene than Kenzan's energetic splashes. The differences between the *honka* and the *utsushi* reflect the differences between Kenzan, a literary man who happened to take an interest in ceramics, and Nin'ami, a trained potter and craftsman. The differences also stem from the differences in the two artists' cultural milieu: Kenzan was a product of the early to mid Edo period; Nin'ami, of the later Edo period. When compared with Kenzan's piece, this work by Nin'ami offers one of the most easily discernible examples of the considerable creative potential to be found in imitative *sha-i*.





As Rikyū once said, that which makes a good tea utensil — a utensil that is comfortable to use — is its *nari*, referring to its size and weight when held in the hands, and its *furi*, referring to its appearance and shape. Certain sizes and shapes of chanoyu utensils endure, and this is because they have passed the test of utility. In chanoyu, this is why imitation of the *nari* and *furi* of such utensils has taken precedence over originality and novelty. The place for change and novelty is in the heart and mind of the maker rather than in the tea utensil itself. As the ideal is to achieve a perfect merging of form and content, however, this may sometimes find its expression in the mere copying of a ware's general traits, so that the end product is actually an imaginative copy of a *honka* original that never existed. This is when utsushi truly becomes a creative endeavor.

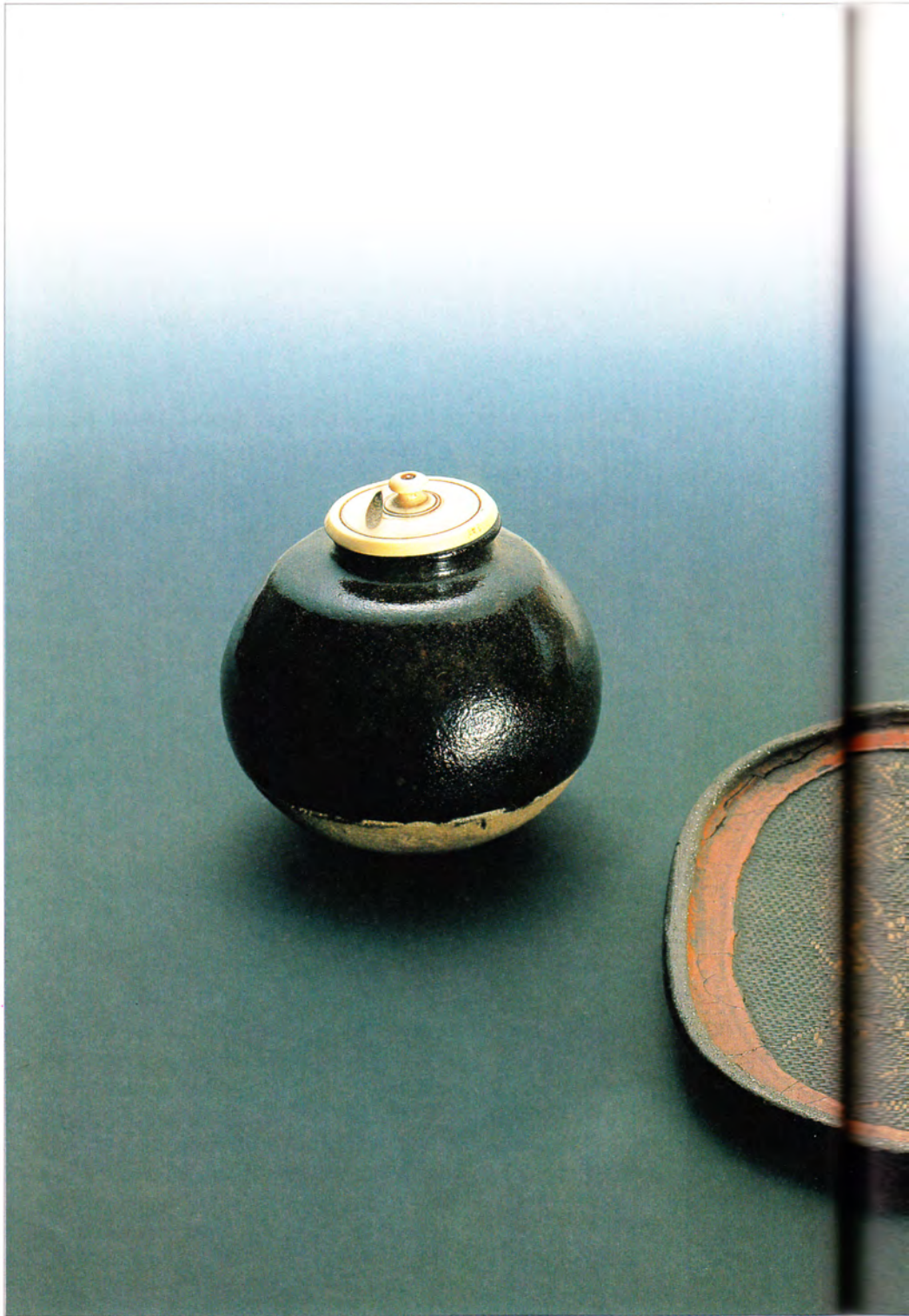


Oribe-utsushi chawan, “秀一” — Oribe-style tea bowl named “Shūitsu,” by Raku Tannyū. Property of the Nomura Art Museum. Tannyū[†] (1795–1854) succeeded his father Ryōnyū[†] at the Kishū Kairakuen kiln to become the tenth generation Raku in the line established by Chōjirō. The name “Shūitsu” was given to this tea bowl by Kyūkōsai Sōsa[†] (1788–1860; 10th-generation head of the Omotesenke tea lineage), who had bestowed the character “tan” from the name Sōtan to Tannyū in 1845. The bowl is formed in imitation of the Oribe shoe-shape style, but the lustrous glaze and the famous Raku stamp appearing inside and outside are pure Tannyū, making this one of the great masterpieces of his lifetime.

[Photo, pages 24-25]

Karamono bunna chaire — Chinese *bunna* shape tea caddy; (right) *honka* and (left) accompanying *omae-tachi*. *Ōmeibutsu*. Property of the Nomura Art Museum. Photo by Nimura Haruomi. Courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Tokyo.

The *bunna*[†] shape takes its name from the fact that it resembles both the *bunrin* (apple) and *nasu* (eggplant) tea-caddy shapes. Legend has it that the hegemon Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98) coined the term the first time he saw the *bunna honka* shown here. This particular tea caddy is said to have been given to Sen Rikyū by Hariya Sōshin[†] and to have later passed into the possession of Koide Yoshichika,[†] the Lord of Ise, in whose family it remained until around 1941. It has accompanying cloth pouches (*shifuku*) of fabrics favored by Rikyū, Furuta Oribe, Kobori Enshū, and Kanamori Sōwa. The accompanying *omae-tachi*[†] is of black Raku ware. Of note is the fact that the *Taishō Meiki Kagami*,[†] a Taishō-era illustrated encyclopedia of famous tea caddies and tea bowls, mentions “one Seto ware *bunna* copy.”



Honka is a term taken from poetry and refers to the classic verse upon which later variations are based. The term is also widely used to refer to any kind of original work or prototype of style, as distinguished from an imitative work. In the case of the various series of Japanese (*wamono*[†]) Seto-ware tea caddies produced as offshoots of [Chinese *karamono*[†]] prototypes, as they were merely modeled after those *honka*, they are referred to as being “of the same style” (*dō te*[†]; rather than being outright *utsushi*). It was common practice for copies to be made of especially important tea caddies, those regarded as *ōmeibutsu*, for example, or which had been received as reward from a local lord or the shōgun. The copy was the one that was more often used, the *honka* being considered too precious to risk breakage. Since the copy was the one that appeared in front of people save for very special occasions, it was sometimes called the *omae-tachi*, the one that stands before people.



in noh literature. Gamō Ujisato (1556–95), one of the so-called Seven Disciples of Sen Rikyū, named his teacup “*Moshio taretsutsu*” (from the above passage in the noh play *Matsukaze*), while Agata Sōchi’s[†] (1656–1721) inscription of “*moshio*” on a Shibukami-de (a kind of Seto ware) container for powdered tea is an obvious reference to the same noh play. Gempaku (Sen) Sōtan[†] (1578–1658) was another with a liking for noh reference. His teacups have noh-inspired names such as “*Matsukaze*,” “*Murasame*,” “*Yorobōshi*,” and “*Futari Shizuka*.” As with names borrowed from poetry, such names were not merely literary allusions but were meant to indicate the individuality of a particular utensil, an individuality born of the utensil’s bamboo or clay consistency and its character when in use. The practice of giving poetic names to chanoyu utensils has always been an important means of breathing life into those inanimate objects and imbuing them with artistic and aesthetic character. The borrowing of words or phrases, with all their inherent ramifications, from noh literature was an effective means of achieving this.

Utsushi in Chanoyu

The Two Aspects of Imitation

Broadly speaking, there are two kinds of imitation: external imitation and internal imitation. External imitation is the imitation of physical form and can be discerned immediately. Internal imitation, on the other hand, can be either ideological and spiritual or psychological and mental. The former emphasizes form; the latter, content.

Among the imitative tea utensils (*utsushimono*) found in chanoyu, there are some which belong to the realm of external imitation. Consider, for example, the early-generation kettles that take after the Amidadō, Yohō, Temmyō Mochizuki, and Ashiya Shinnari kettles favored by Rikyū. The challenge was to see how closely they could be made to resemble Rikyū’s prototypes; a matter resting upon the craftsman’s technical skill.

Depending upon whether priority is placed on replicating the prototype’s physical form or its spirit, however, the final outcome — the *utsushimono* — will of course vary. If the sole intent were to produce a technically perfect replica of an object, a wax impression of the original would be sufficient. Without the box inscription or certification (*kiwame*[†]) of the person who made the replica, however, this could easily become mere forgery. In contrast, an imitation made after careful contemplation of the prototype’s style and feel is an original creation in its own right, despite being an *utsushi*, and would never be considered a forgery even if its box inscription were lost. Real or fake is a kind of judgement completely [cont’d, p. 30]

[Photo, page 28]

(Honka) Namban imogashira mizusashi — (Original classic) Namban potato-shape water jar. Owned by Sen Rikyū. *Ōmeibutsu*. Property of the Eisei-Bunkō Museum, Tokyo. Photo from Eisei-Bunkō Museum.

This simple round jar in what is called the potato shape was imported from southern China or the Philippines. An example of the wabi aesthetic, this water jar was used by Rikyū in the informal *sōan* style chanoyu. Of relatively thin-walled construction, the jar's wheel-thrown ribbing shows through a light coating of brown glaze. It has a matching lid. This jar acquired lasting fame when it was used at the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering of 1587.

[Photo, page 29]

(Utsushi) Izumo-yaki imogashira mizusashi — (Imitative) Izumo ware potato-shape water jar. Owned by Matsudaira Fumai. Property of the Nomura Art Museum.

Matsudaira Fumai (1751–1818), who was lord of Izumo Province (present-day eastern Shimane Prefecture), studied chanoyu under Isa Kōtaku[†] (1684–1745) of the Sekishū school of chanoyu and also diligently conducted research into other schools of chanoyu. He became the leading tea connoisseur of his day and a major collector of tea utensils. His collection of famed utensils is known to us through his *Unshū Kurachō*[†] [Records of the Izumo Province Repository]. He mentions the *ōmeibutsu* Namban potato-shape water jar in his *Kokon Meibutsu Ruiju*[†] [Classified Collection of Renowned Wares of Ancient and Modern Times], but it seems that the jar that served as the model for the various *utsushi* produced in later generations was itself an *utsushi* belonging to the Hosokawa family. The jar shown here was made at an Izumo kiln under Fumai's direction, and was one of his favorite water jars. The water jar's lid takes after the inverted lids seen on Hannera (a primitive type of Namban ware) jars. Though Fumai's jar lacks the rustic simplicity of a true Namban piece, it has the kind of bright and sophisticated character that one usually associates with Fumai. There is a striking lack of resemblance between the Namban *honka* and Izumo *utsushi*. The *utsushi*'s stronger appeal is indicative of the considerable creative potential in imitation and reflects the refined aesthetic sensibilities of the person who ordered the jar to be made and the craftsman who actually made it.





different in nature from traditional Japanese criteria of evaluation, which evolved within an artistic and cultural tradition spanning a thousand years. The Japanese eye perceives subtle grades of differentiation between the extremes of real and fake. *Utsushimono* may perhaps be best understood as belonging to one of these intermediary categories and to be of certain value in and of themselves.

The closer imitation approaches original creativity, the greater its value. However, the foremost criterion of craftsmanship must necessarily be utility. This can be a major obstruction to the unimaginative craftsman, but for the truly creative artisan it can be a challenge and a stimulus.

Creativity in *Utsushi*

Form and style are extremely important in chanoyu. A favored early type of flower container was the Chinese bronze container shaped like a hand-drum. Chinese-made copies of this form in celadon and blue-and-white porcelain existed well before Japanese potters attempted their own imitation, and there is a world of formative difference between the Chinese and Japanese versions of this shape. The Chinese bronze drum-shaped flower container in the Nomura Collection (photo, facing page), for example, is quite distinct from the Yellow Seto drum-shaped flower container bearing Rikyū's cipher belonging to the Kubosō Memorial Museum of Arts in Izumi City, Osaka Prefecture. Both are more original creation than copy.

A red tea bowl called "*Dōjōji*," by Chōjirō[†] (1516–92), is probably an imitation of such predecessors as the Korean katade-style tea bowl called "*Ki-no-shita*" believed to have been made in the Kongju region sometime during the early Yi dynasty (1392–1910) and the highly famed (*ōmeibutsu*) katade-style tea bowl known as the "*Ibitsu Kōrai*." The "*Dōjōji*" is nevertheless so different from these prototypes that Chōjirō can legitimately be credited with having transcended the boundaries of imitation to create a whole new kind of form. Many similar so-called imitations, unique in and of themselves, were made by craftsmen with a special flair for formation or were made under the direction of persons of unusual talent, such as Rikyū.

There are, as well, imitative works with unexpectedly fresh appeal. Such is the lily-shaped *mukōzuke*[†] by Nonomura Ninsei (fl. mid-17th c.; master of the Omuro kiln in Kyoto) (photo, facing page), believed to have been made under the direction of the tea master Kanamori Sōwa (1584–1656). Often referred to in Ninsei's day as Omuro ware or Ninnaji ware, this particular piece may have been inspired by the split-berry *mukōzuke* style that was being made in Karatsu and the Agano area around the same time. Though it was a variation on an already existing theme, Ninsei's lily-shaped *mukōzuke* reflects an original and witty ingenuity.



Above: Old bronze hand-drum shaped flower container. Below: Lily-shaped mukōzuke by Nonomura Ninsei. Both, property of the Nomura Art Museum.





Karatsu-utsushi chawan — Karatsu-style tea bowl, by Nonomura Ninsei. Private Collection. Though the clay of this tea bowl would appear to be that of Karatsu, Ninsei made the tea bowl out of clay which he got at Kurodani in northeastern Kyoto. In a work entitled *Tōhō Densho*[†] [Record of Pottery-making Techniques], written by the second-generation Ninsei and presented to Kenzan, there is a passage revealing how such imitation was achieved. It was indeed typical of Ninsei, the master that he was, to attempt to imitate a ware such as Karatsu or even Shigaraki without using the actual clay from the region and, instead, by simply applying a thin glaze that would make the clay appear like it. There is a hidden stamp (*kakure in*) on the underside of the bowl's foot.



Karatsu-utsushi chawan — Karatsu-style tea bowl, by Eiraku Hozen. Private Collection. The shape, appearance, and glaze application of this bowl give away its Kyoto identity, though the rust-red of the clay seen around its high foot certainly has the character of Karatsu clay. A gray glaze with traces of cobalt blue coats the bowl inside and out, dripping down to its base in blue rivulets. It is one of the most impressive pieces created by the Kyoto potter Eiraku Hozen[†] (1795–1854) during the prime of his career. It is more an example of Kyoto ware with Karatsu elements than it is of a Karatsu *utsushi*. Its rough simplicity is in strong contrast to the elegant painted Kyoto ware that was in vogue in the final years of the Tokugawa (Edo) period.

Kenzan, a student of Ninsei's and master artist in his own right, took the split-berry style one step further with his lily-shaped *mukōzuke* trimmed with iron glaze. In this piece, the iron glaze trim evokes a simplicity and power not evident in Ninsei's elegant version. Neither piece is better than the other. Whereas Ninsei appeals with sophisticated urbanity, Kenzan attracts attention with common familiarity. Kenzan's "copy" comes very close to Ninsei's "original," yet is, at the same time, a refreshingly free interpretation. Kenzan could do this because he was more a man of cultural refinement than professional potter and could devote himself to single-minded pursuit of artistic expression without regard for technical considerations of glaze, clay, and technique.

Conclusion

The evolution from *honka* to *utsushi* involves an aesthetic progression from appreciation to criticism to creative production. Only when the creator of a work has gone through each step of this progression is imitation transformed into creativity. Otherwise, the final product remains mere forgery of the lowest order.

In seeking out the artistic value of a utensil and the meaning of its name, we must refer back to its source of inspiration and pass clear-eyed judgement backed by well-grounded aesthetic concepts, specifically Japanese aesthetic concepts born of Japanese arts. ➤

Translated by Susan Murata

The Bodhisattva Jizō: Humanity's Refuge in the Six Realms of Existence*

Patricia Yamada

Buddhism, which originated in India about six hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era, went through a series of sweeping changes in the centuries after the death and passing into final enlightenment (S:¹ *nirvana*) of the historical buddha, Shakyamuni. From a small, peripatetic group held together by an oral tradition based on the

teachings of Shakyamuni, the Buddhist community developed into an established religion with large monastery-teaching complexes scattered throughout India and Sri Lanka. Over the centuries, Buddhism produced a varied body of religious writings that included sutras (scriptures), commentaries, and rules on ritual and conduct. Buddhism also absorbed deities from other Indian religions and from the countries to which it was transmitted. Elaborate rites and cults grew up around certain deities of the Buddhist pantheon, some of which have been passed down through the centuries and adapted to modern living and concerns. Veneration of the Bodhisattva Jizō is one such inheritance.



A votive Jizō at Yasumiya Shrine, Shunara Tōge, Nagano Prefecture, showing childish facial features common to many stone images made from the Edo period on.

The Buddhist Concept of the Bodhisattva

Two of the most important changes that took place in early Buddhism were acceptance of belief in multiple buddhas stretching infinitely into the

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¹ S: Sanskrit, C: Chinese, J: Japanese.

past and future, a single buddha dominating a great cycle of time (Shakyamuni having been the latest as opposed to the only buddha), and of the doctrine that enlightened beings called bodhisattvas, who have gained transcendental wisdom (S: *prajna*), out of boundless compassion (S: *maha karuna*) defer their own entrances to nirvana in order to work in this world to bring suffering, ignorant beings to enlightenment.² These two concepts form the core of the Mahayana (Great Vehicle) stream of Buddhism that was transferred from India through the small countries bordering the Silk Roads of Central Asia to China, Korea, and Japan in the early centuries of the Common Era (CE).

The Evolution of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha

In India, a figure called Kshitigarbha (C: Ti-tsang, J: Jizō) appears as one of eight crowned and jeweled bodhisattvas that surround Shakyamuni in an esoteric wall painting called the “Eight Great Bodhisattvas Mandala” and in another meditational painting called the “Five Buddhas and Five Bodhisattvas Mandala.” Both paintings are in the Buddhist cave temples at Ellora (near Bombay) which date from 450 to 700 CE.³ This is the first evidence of the existence of Kshitigarbha and indicates that he is a product of the esoteric stream of Indian Buddhism, the early written traditions of which can be traced back to the third or fourth century.⁴ His name also appears in a number of early tantric lists of bodhisattvas to be venerated,⁵ and he is one of eight bodhisattvas who surround the Great Sun Buddha (S: Mahavairochana, J: Dainichi Nyorai), the supreme deity of esoteric Buddhism. Directions for constructing a meditational mandala with Vairochana at the center surrounded by these eight bodhisattvas are given in the “Great Sun Buddha Sutra” (S: *Mahavairochana sutra*, J: *Dainichi-kyō*), the main sutra of esoteric Buddhism. There is no evidence, however, that an independent cult of Kshitigarbha ever existed in India. It is later, in Central Asia and China, that this bodhisattva apparently comes into his own as an object of separate veneration.

Just where his cult originated is not clear, but there are suggestions of non-Buddhist influences from the Zoroastrian, Manichaeian, and Nestorian religions, which is plausible, as these religions flourished along with Buddhism in the melting pots of cultures that were the Silk Road states of

² Literally, one who has the highest wisdom; i.e., enlightenment. See Kawamura for a discussion of the bodhisattva doctrine and the different types of bodhisattvas.

³ deVisser, 1914, pp. 19–21; Matsushima, p. 17; Gupte, pp. 44–48.

⁴ Bhattacharya, 1980, p. 19.

⁵ Such as the *Sadhanamala*, composed between the 3rd and 12th centuries CE.

Central Asia.⁶ Chinese records report the worship of Ti-tsang in the Nanking area as early as the fifth century and his veneration in Szechwan in the sixth to seventh centuries at the time of the spread of the Teaching of the Three Stages (C: *San chieh chiao*, J: *Sangaikyō*)⁷ promulgated by Hsin-hsing (540–594), which divides the period from the coming of the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni, into three stages. The first stage is the “one vehicle” that existed in the generation after the nirvana of Shakyamuni, when his teachings could still be understood and enlightenment obtained by individuals (the True Dharma, J: *Shōbō*). The second stage is the “three vehicles,” when enlightenment could be obtained by adherence to a particular stream of Buddhism or buddha (the Semblance Dharma, J: *Zōbō*). The third stage is the “diffusion of the [Buddhist] law”; the final stage of the Shakyamuni cycle (the Last Dharma, J: *Mappō*), in which, the ignorance and vices of humanity being so great, people would have to rely on all the buddhas, all forms of Buddhist teaching, and the performance of good deeds as the only possible hope of salvation.⁸ A 650 CE copy of one of the main Jizō sutras, the “Sutra on the Ten Wheels” (C: *Shih-lun ching*, J: *Jūrin-kyō*)⁹ has an opening sentence that includes the words, “this world’s demise of the Dharma teachings,” a reference to that year being in the period of the final stage.¹⁰ Although Three Stage writings were suppressed soon after the death of Hsin-hsing, belief in these stages continued to influence Chinese Buddhism, and in the year 800, the extant books of this teaching were incorporated into the Complete Chinese Buddhist Canon. One such book contains one hundred ten references to the “Sutra on the Ten Wheels,”¹¹ and this is convincing evidence of close ties between Ti-tsang veneration and the Three Stage School. The function of Ti-tsang as the refuge of humanity in the buddhaless time, as expounded in his sutras, together with the teaching that the days of the Last Dharma were at hand, led to the exceptional popularity of this bodhisattva.

Another wave of belief in Ti-tsang swept through Tang Dynasty (618–906) China. It was based on his efficacy as savior of the dead and psychopomp (guide to paradise). The paradises, or pure lands, of various deities were associated with Ti-tsang: the pure land of Mi-lo-fo, the Buddha to come (S: Maitreya, J: Miroku); the Trayastrimsha Heaven of Brahma; and

⁶ The Zoroastrians were driven out of Persia by the expansion of Islam. The Manichaeans and Nestorians were expelled from Europe and Asia Minor after the unification of Christianity under Constantine in the 4th century.

⁷ deVisser, 1914, pp. 55–56; Teiser, p. 19 and 186; Hayami, pp. 32–34. For a fuller discussion of the Teaching of the Three Stages, see Yabuki, pp. 638–658.

⁸ For an English explanation of *Mappō* thought in India, China, and Japan, see Marra, 1988 (I & II).

⁹ An earlier anonymous translation (ca. 412–439) is the “Great Extended Sutra on the Ten Wheels” (C: *Ta fan kuang shih-lun ching*, J: *Dai Hōkō Jūrin-kyō*). This sutra has methods of divination and other Chinese elements.

¹⁰ Hayami, p. 33. In China, the final stage was believed to have begun at the end of the 6th c. See also Marra, 1988 (I & II) for the various Chinese and Japanese chronologies of the three stages.

¹¹ Hayami, p. 33, quoting Yabuki Keiki’s research.

the pure land (S: *Sukhavati*, J: *Jōdo*) of O-mi-t'ō fu (S: Amitabha / Amitayus, J: Amida). This faith in Ti-tsang as the psychopomp par excellence, fueled by the belief that the days of the Last Dharma were at hand, turned people's thoughts from the concerns of "this world" to those of the "other world" — life after death.

A Korean priest whose religious name was Chin Ch'iao-chio, and who lived in a hermitage on Mount Chiu hua in Anhwei Province in the latter half of the eighth century, was considered to have been a manifestation of Ti-tsang. After his death, this mountain, which was believed to have an entrance to the "other world," became sacred to the bodhisattva and a place of pilgrimage where filial Chinese went to pray for a good rebirth for their deceased parents.¹² It was later designated one of the "Four Famous Mountains" (C: *Ssu ta ming shan*) sacred to Buddhism that guarded the Chinese heartland.¹³ Even in modern Communist China, Mount Chiu hua remains a place of pilgrimage as well as of tourism. Moreover, throughout the world, wherever overseas Chinese have erected Buddhist temples there is always an altar arrayed with photographs and mortuary plaques of the recent dead that is presided over by a crowned image of the bodhisattva Ti-tsang.

Ti-tsang Becomes Jizō

The date considered official for the introduction of Buddhism to Japan is 538 CE, but not until the Nara period are there known records of writings about Jizō and of Jizō halls and images. In this period, the first Japanese priests went to Tang China to study, and Chinese priests came to the great monasteries of the capital at Nara bringing with them the most important scriptures, commentaries, and books on ritual of that period, among which were those on Jizō.

The Buddhism of the Nara period was monastic rather than popular. Moreover, it was regulated by the imperial court. Therefore, belief in Jizō as the savior of the dead and guide to enlightenment emerged first among the monks, and then among the aristocrats. The first records of Jizō images and memorial halls (*bodai-ji*) are of those donated by the powerful Fujiwara clan to the leading Nara temples Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji in memory of

¹² For a description in English of how Chiu hua shan came to be sacred to Ti-tsang and what the pilgrimage was like in the early 1900s, see Johnston, Chps. 6–10.

¹³ The others are Wu Tai shan in Shansi Province (north), sacred to the bodhisattva Manjushri (J: *Monju*); Puto Shan on Puto Island off the coast of Fukien (east), sacred to Avalokiteshvara (J: *Kannon*); and Omei Shan in Szechwan Province (west), sacred to Samantabhadra (J: *Fugen*). These four famous mountains were selected in the Sung Period (960–1279) in order "to place a physical pillar of Buddhism at each of the four cardinal points of the compass" (Johnston, pp. 22–23).

deceased Fujiwara nobles.¹⁴ Also at this time, there was within the monastic community an esoteric meditation (S: *samadhi*) on Jizō among the various ascetic practices carried out by monks in their quest for enlightenment. But it was not until the succeeding Heian period that Jizō veneration spread widely among the aristocracy and later to the common people spurred by itinerant monks called *hijiri* and the *yamabushi* who journeyed from one sacred mountain to another throughout Japan in order to practice religious austerities aimed at attaining suprahuman powers and enlightenment; by the spread of belief in the imminent end of this Buddhist cycle; and by the emergence of Amidism, initially as an important part of Tendai belief, then as the independent Pure Land sect (J: *Jōdo-shū*) established by Hōnen in 1175.

It was in the Nara-Kyoto Buddhist center that the Japanese Jizō cults originated, later to be disseminated throughout Japan with the spread of temples and the proselytizing of the *hijiri* and *yamabushi*. These itinerant spreaders of esoteric and Amidist beliefs apparently gave the ancient village-protecting, phallic stones called *sai no kami*¹⁵ the character of Jizō. In this way, the bodhisattva of esoteric Buddhism entered Japanese popular (folk) religion, which ensured his continued and varied veneration through the centuries.

Jizō in Sutras and Literature

Of the many sutras and books on ritual that deal specifically with Kshiti-garbha/Ti-tsang/Jizō, some were translated into Chinese from Sanskrit originals that may have arrived in China via, or been written in, Khotan, a tiny southern Silk Road country that was a major crossroads of western and eastern cultures. Information given in some writings show they are of Chinese or Japanese origin.¹⁶ That Jizō was considered important enough for sutras to be written about him both by Chinese and Japanese monks is evidence of his great popularity and the successful adaptation of his worship to the indigenous natures and concerns of these cultures.

The "Great Extended Sutra on the Ten Wheels," which dates from the first half of the fifth century,¹⁷ and a longer version, the "Sutra of the Great

¹⁴ Matsushima, p. 20. The Fujiwara already were marrying their daughters to emperors and crown princes. One of the first donations was made in 758 by the Fujiwara empress, Kōmyō. She dedicated a triad of Jizō, Kannon, and Kokūzō to Tōdaiji temple in memory of her husband, Emperor Shōmu (701–756).

¹⁵ For a treatment of the *sai no kami* in English, see Czaja.

¹⁶ 'Spurious' Jizō sutras are mentioned in Nakamura, 1980. In one sense, all sutras are spurious, as none were written until several centuries after Shakyamuni's pari-nirvana.

¹⁷ See fn 9.

Collection of the Greater Vehicle on Ti-tsang's Ten Wheels,"¹⁸ translated from Sanskrit by Hsüan tsang between 602 and 644, were very popular in Tang China. They were brought to Nara and copied in the mid-700s. In this sutra, Jizō is described as preaching the Buddhist law in the deepest hells, taking the places of sufferers in those hells, and assuming myriad forms (even the form of a demon warder or one of the ten king-judges (*Jūō*), Yama or Tai-shan-ō) in order to bring the spirits of the deceased to enlightenment. It also tells of ten blessings that accrue to those who make an image of the bodhisattva and present it offerings.¹⁹ Later in the sutra, the blessings are expanded to twenty-eight.²⁰

Another Jizō scripture popular in Japan is the "Sutra on the Original Vow of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha" (C: *Ti-tsang P'u-sa pen yuan*, J: *Jizō Bosatsu Hongan-kyō*)²¹ translated from Sanskrit into Chinese between 695 and 700 by the Indian monk Shishkananda, who came to China from Khotan. In it, Shakyamuni preaches to a multitude of bodhisattvas and minor deities in Indra's heaven and tells them of Kshitigarbha's great vow to bring all sentient beings to enlightenment in the buddhaless time (5,670,000,000 years) between Shakyamuni's enlightenment and the appearance of the buddha of the next cycle, Maitreya. During this teaching, Jizō appears before the group in multiple bodies "as numerous as the sands of the Ganges" and affirms that he will manifest himself in myriad forms in the six karmic worlds of transmigration (J: *rokudō*—the realms of multiple Hells [S: *naraya*, J: *jigoku*], Hungry Ghosts [S: *preta*, J: *gaki*], Animals [J: *chikushō*], Warring Titans [S: *ashura*, J: *shura*], Humans [J: *ningen*], and the Deva Heavens [J: *ten*]) in order that all beings shall attain enlightenment and escape suffering. His vow to rescue even those consigned to the deepest hells because of the gravity of their transgressions had strong appeal for both the Chinese and Japanese who believed that they were living in the sin-filled days of the Last Dharma and desired enlightenment or a good rebirth for themselves and their relatives.

Eight Jizō sutras and the Jizō-related "Sutra on the Ten Kings" (C: *Yü hsin shih wang sheng ch'i ching*, J: *Jūō-kyō*)²² are preserved in the Japanese collection of the Buddhist canon.²³ Of these, the "Sutra on Divining Good and Evil Karmic Retribution"²³ and the "Sutra on the Ten Kings," are Chinese creations that contain many Taoist elements. The *Jizō Bosatsu Hosshin*

¹⁸ C: *Ta-sheng ta-chi ti sang shih-lun ching*, J: *Daishō Daishū Jizō Jūrin-kyō*.

¹⁹ The Jūrin'in in Nara, today a Shingon temple, has as its main image a nearly life-size, standing stone Jizō flanked by the Ten Kings (*Jūō*), five on each side, and by Shakyamuni and the buddha to come, Maitreya (J: Miroku), the generals that guard the four directions (J: Shi Tenno), Kannon, and Fudō-myōō. All are carved in granite and so arranged that the grouping can be circumambulated. This hall once was a part of the the Fujiwara clan's Kōfukuji-Kasuga Shrine complex that had close associations with Jizō.

²⁰ Hayami, pp. 12–14; Manabe, pp. 73–83; and, in English, deVisser, pp. 13–15.

²¹ For English translations, see Johnston, pp. 175–195; deVisser, pp. 6–13; and Heng Ching.

²² The *Taishō Shinshū Daizō-kyō*, currently 30 vols.

²³ C: *Chan-ch'a shan-o yeh-pao ching*, J: *Sensetsu Zen-aku Gōhō-kyō*.

經曰
 一者少人恭產
 二者身根具足
 三者衆病悉除
 四者壽命長遠
 五者聰明智慧
 六者財寶盈溢
 七者衆人愛敬
 八者穀米成就
 九者神明加護
 十者證大菩提



The Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha (Jizō) and his ten basic vows. Print from an 18th c. woodblock print carved by an anonymous Japanese monk. The author's collection.

*Innen-kyō*²⁴ (a scripture of happenings in the past which explains the awakening of aspiration for enlightenment of the bodhisattva Jizō) and *Emmei Jizō-kyō*²⁵ (sutra on the Jizō of longevity) were written in Japan in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respectively, probably in an attempt by esoteric monks to counter the spread of Amidism.

Iconography and Esoteric Veneration

In the sutras, Jizō is usually portrayed as a typical bejeweled bodhisattva seated on a lotus throne,²⁴ but sometimes as a young tonsured monk. This latter iconography is rare for a bodhisattva, but it is the form in which he is most often depicted in Japanese Buddhist art. Stone images from the Edo period often show a monk with the face of a child, whereas earlier ones depict him as a young man. His color is given as white or flesh tone, and he makes various gestures (S: *mudra*) and holds one or more implements, the most common of which are the six-ringed monk's staff (J: *shakujō*) and a miraculous pearl-like gem (J: *hōju/hōshu*) that illuminates the Buddhist hells and grants petitioners worthy desires.²⁵

Jizō sutras associated with Tendai and Shingon, the esoteric streams of Japanese Buddhism, assign him several mantra — series of Sanskrit syllables rendered by sound into Chinese and Japanese. The most common is *On-ka-ka-ka-bi-san-mae-hi-sōhaka*.²⁶ If this seemingly meaningless phrase is intoned with faith and deep resolve, it is believed the bodhisattva will be invoked and bring the petitioner blessings. This mantra can be seen on plaques set beside Jizō statues in temples and incised on his stone images set up as wayside deities or as gravestones. These last two are common sights in Japan.²⁷

The first part of his name, *Kshiti-* (*Ti-*, *Ji-*), means “the earth,” and the last part, *gharba* (*-tsang*, *-zō*) is variously translated “storehouse,” “treasure house,” or “womb.” He is the adamant essence of the great earth.²⁸ Jizō has his own section in the Mandala of the Womb World (J: *Taizōkai*

²⁴ As frequently seen in Korean and Chinese paintings; in particular, those from Tun Huang that are now in the Musée Guimet and the Stein Collection in the British Museum.

²⁵ Yamada, (unpublished lecture) 1987; Matsushima, plates, *passim*.

²⁶ Given in the *Kongōchō-kyō*, the “Diamond Peak Sutra,” one of the three main sutras of esoteric Buddhism, and in the *Jūrin*, *Hongan*, and *Emmei* sutras. ‘ka’ is Jizō’s representative Sanskrit character.

²⁷ Many of the modern Jizō gravestones are those of children.

²⁸ He has been said to be a transformation of the Indian earth goddess Prithivi, but it is more likely that he is her male complement, Prithivi being the goddess of the fruits of the earth and Kshiti-gharba representing the solidity of the earth, itself. Prithivi has been assimilated as one of the twelve guardian deities of esoteric Buddhism (J: *Jūni Ten*) and occupies a place as a guardian deity on the northern border of the Taizōkai Mandala. (See Hatta, pp. 183, 192–93). Matsunaga, A., p. 22, note on the functions of the *Jūni Ten*.

*Mandara*²⁹), esoteric Buddhism's visual conception of the phenomenal world.²⁹ Meditation on this mandala and the Mandala of the Diamond World (J: *Kongōkai Mandara*[†]), or on selected sections from them, constitutes a major practice of Tendai and Shingon monks in the quest for enlightenment. In Japan, the esoteric stream of Buddhism — in particular, the Tendai sect — helped to establish Jizō as a popular cultic deity by designating him the *honji*,[†] or "true ground," of twenty-five native kami.³⁰ Moreover, it was through the esoteric sects-associated *yamabushi* and their veneration of mountains as numinous places, combined with the ancient belief that mountains marked the site of, or entrances to, the "other world," that Jizō became associated with important mountain worship cults.³¹ In addition to saving humankind from the sufferings of the "three evil ways" (J: *sammaku*[†]; rebirth in a hell, as a hungry ghost, or as an animal) and leading them to rebirth in a deva heaven or a buddha's pure land, Jizō promises worldly benefits to those who have faith in him and who spread his veneration; in particular, good harvests, continuity of the family line, abundant riches, long life, removal of evil influences [enemies], his divine protection, the fulfillment of all [worthy] desires, the elimination of evil dreams, and the friendship and counsel of holy sages.³² These "this world" benefits are the basis for the multiplicity of Jizō cults that have flourished in Japan over the centuries.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw faith in Jizō spread from the nobility to the populace. Jizō halls (*Jizō-dō*, *Jizō-in*) were built that enshrined larger-than-life, *jōroku* (16-foot) images, a number of which remain in the Kyoto-Nara region and elsewhere. In these temples the bodhisattva was venerated concurrently as savior of the dead and giver of worldly blessings. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries his statue was placed in halls called *Jūō-den*, where he presided over grimacing statues of the Ten Kings.³³

²⁹ The Jizō-in section of the Chinese Taizōkai Mandala was originally much larger. Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi), founder of the esoteric Shingon sect in the early 800s, rearranged the Womb World Mandala to balance the sections. He made part of the Jizō-in into the Unsurpassed Attainment Hall (J: *Soshitsuji-in*), which has eight bodhisattvas but no central deity (Yamasaki, p. 131; Hatta, pp. 160–65). The Jizō-in has eight bodhisattvas: Jizō and seven 'relatives.'

³⁰ Matsunaga, A., p. 237. This work in English deals with the assimilation of native gods into the Buddhist pantheon and their amalgamation with Buddhist deities.

³¹ The Sannō cult, in which Jizō is the *honji* of the Jūzenji shrine, began on Mount Hiei (Kyoto) as an adjunct to the Tendai sect. In the Kasuga cult practiced at Kasuga Shrine and Kōfukuji in Nara, Jizō is the *honji* of the kami of the third shrine, Kasuga Myōjin. In the Atago cult he is the *honji* of the 'landlord' god of Mount Atago (Kyoto), Atago Gongen, and of the main kami at Mount Daisen in Tottori. In the complex Kumano worship he is the *honji* of one of the thirteen kami venerated, and at Osore-zan and Tateyama, as *honji* he is associated with deliverance from rebirth in the hells and the limbo called the *Sai no Kawara*. These cults were spread throughout Japan by the *yamabushi* (*shugen-gyōja*).

³² Given in the *Jūrin*, *Hongan*, and *Emmei* sutras.

³³ Many of the *Jūō-den* were demolished and their statues destroyed or scattered at the beginning of the Meiji era (1868–1912), in an attempt to separate the traditionally syncretic Buddhist-Shintō religion, and in the consequent attempts to irradicate Buddhism as a pernicious foreign influence and turn Shintō into a state religion.

Other indications of the bodhisattva's importance from the eleventh century on is his presence in many illustrated handscrolls that relate the histories and legends of temples and shrines, and in the *Jizō Bosatsu Reigenki*³⁴ compiled by Jitsuei, a high-ranking Tendai monk of Onjōji temple (also called Miidera) in Otsu, Shiga Prefecture. The Jizō miracle tales from the *Reigenki* found their way into other collections such as the *Konjaku Monogatari*, *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, *Shasekishū*,³⁵ and *Jizō Bosatsu Kannō Den*³⁶ (legends of Jizō's receptiveness and responsiveness), all of which were in wide circulation during the medieval period, their contents being passed down to the common people by itinerant professional storytellers, many of whom were monks and nuns.³⁶

The mid-Heian period, when faith in Jizō burgeoned, was a time of traumatic economic and political change that coincided with a calculation making the year 1052 the onset of the period of the Last Dharma. This date might not have been taken seriously had not the old *ritsuryō* land system, the economic underpinning of Heian society, failed because most of the tillable land had passed into private ownership by the great temples and a few noble families, and had not the chief government offices become the preserve of members of the powerful Fujiwara clan. Moreover, repeated earthquakes, famines, epidemics, outbreaks of rebellion, and a growing lawlessness reinforced the belief that the days of the Last Dharma had indeed arrived. A sense of despondency, particularly among the lesser aristocracy and officials, is seen in the period's great novel, the *Tale of Genji*, and in contemporary diaries of courtiers and monks.

People's thoughts now became centered on escaping the karmic wheel of transmigration by attaining birth in a buddha's or bodhisattva's pure land, which was to be achieved by placing one's faith in "other power" (*Jitai*). Many evinced faith in the vow of the buddha Amida that birth in his pure land is obtainable solely by reverent recitation of his mantra, *Namu Amida Butsu* (I place my faith in Amida). But the pure lands of buddhas are beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals and far removed from the sufferings of everyday life; therefore, the monklike figure of Jizō spreading beneficence through the buddhaless world was a particularly attractive savior figure. What better than to place one's faith in this accessible, human-looking bodhisattva designated by Shakyamuni as the guide to enlightenment until the advent of Miroku, the Buddha to come.

With the rise of Amidism in the esoteric Tendai sect, Jizō came to be seen as a particular manifestation of Amida's boundless compassion as well as being a manifestation of the cosmic buddha, Dainichi Nyorai. In miracle tales, he is sometimes even said to be the same as (*dōtai*, same

³⁴ See the English translation by Dykstra.

³⁵ See Ury, Mills, and Morrell, respectively, for translations of these three collections.

³⁶ See Ruch for a discussion of medieval jongleurs, the *biwa hōshi*.

body) Amida. Ryōgen (912–982), the head abbot of the Tendai mother temple, Enryakuji, on Mount Hiei, added him to the usual Amida triad together with Nagarjuna (J: Ryūju),³⁷ and placed this pentad in the Samadhi Practice Hall (*sammai jōgyō-dō*) in the temple's Yokawa precincts, in which three forms of meditation on Amida were practiced. Ryōgen's disciple, Genshin (942–1017), who compiled the *Essentials for Birth [in Amida's Pure Land]* (*Ōjōyōshū*), listed Jizō, under the name Muhenshin, in a hymn (*wasan*) as one of twenty-five bodhisattvas who accompany Amida when he comes to welcome the 'soul' of the dead believer to his pure land (*raigō*).³⁸ Paintings and sculptures of these bodhisattvas serve as backdrops for single Amida images or triads in many Japanese temples, and Jizō stands out with his shaven head, monk's garb, and precious jewel. A number of paintings also exist showing Jizō as one of eight bodhisattvas with Amida.³⁹ Others show him attendant on Miroku, the Buddha to come. Some of the most beautiful portrayals of Jizō show him as a solitary *raigō* figure descending on a cloud or lotus petal to guide the believer to a pure land.

The Roku Jizō, Sai no Kawara, and Jizō Bon

The "Sutra on the Ten Kings" markedly intensified belief in Jizō in China and Japan. Sequential judgement of the dead in ten tribunals and final assignment to rebirth in one of the six realms of transmigration is graphically portrayed in hanging scrolls, many of which came to Japan during the Kamakura period when there was a major importation of Sung Buddhist paintings, some brought by Chinese Ch'an (Zen) monks who had been invited to the great Zen monasteries in Kyoto and Kamakura. The Ten Kings, garbed as typical Chinese bureaucrats, are usually shown at their desks passing judgement on the dead. Below them, graphic depictions are given of the tortures that await the condemned, and sometimes above them are medallions showing their *honji*. In Japan, the fifth judge, Emma-ō (S: Yama), came to represent all the kings, probably because Yama is the only Buddhist deity³⁹ among these Taoist judges. The myriad manifestations that the bodhisattva assumes, as described in the "Sutra on the Ten Wheels," led to Jizō being equated with Yama in some miracle tales.

³⁷ The two bodhisattvas that customarily flank Amida are Seishi (S: Mahasthamaprapta) and Kannon (S: Avalokiteshvara). Nagarjuna, considered the founder of Mahayana Buddhism, is one of the first examples of a human regarded as a bodhisattva. (See Nakamura.)

³⁸ Reminiscent of his portrayals with Shakyamuni and Dainichi.

³⁹ Originally the benign ruler of the Vedic heaven of the dead. Assimilated into Buddhism as a minor deity. As one of the Ten Kings, Jizō is his *honji*, but Yama is depicted with a ferocious countenance. See Matsunaga A., pp. 34–38.



Wayside statues of the Roku Jizō in Nagano Prefecture. The characters often seen near statues of the six Jizō read, "In the three worlds [of evil rebirth], ten thousand miracles." The bibs and stones piled at the feet of the six Jizō are prayers for release of those reborn in a hell or the realms of hungry ghosts and animals, and for the souls of children stranded on the Sai no Kawara.

The Roku Jizō (Six Jizō) represent the bodhisattva's vow to enlighten all those in the six realms of transmigration. They are portrayed in paintings,⁴⁰ but more commonly are found sculpted in stone separately or as a group and are prominently placed in temple precincts, within graveyards, and along waysides. Each figure represents the bodhisattva's presence in one of the worlds of the six realms of transmigration, and holds an implement or makes a mudra that usually is based on the iconography seen in the Jizō court of the Taizōkai Mandala. The attributes used vary with the sect of Buddhism.⁴¹ Sorting out which of the six realms individual images represent is a problem, as many have been relocated, sometimes to temples of other sects, and the original order changed.

Kyoto has a Roku Jizō Pilgrimage on the 23rd and 24th of August. Legend has it that the Heian period courtier and scholar, Ono no Takamura

⁴⁰ One dating from the Kamakura Period is owned by Jōbonrendaiji temple in Kyoto and is classed as an Important Cultural Property. Plate 90 in *Bodhisattva: Special Exhibition*.

⁴¹ For a discussion in English of the origin, naming, and attributes of the six Jizō, see deVisser, pp. 84–98.

(802–852), became ill and was believed to have died, but his body remained warm. Several days later he revived and told how he had been transported to the other world and the court of Emma-ō.⁴² There he met Jizō rescuing sinners from Emma-ō's sentence of a rebirth in a hell. Jizō told Takamura to return to the world of the living and to make six images of him and enshrine them in a temple. Takamura found a gigantic cherry tree on the mountainside at Kohata (now in Uji) and carved six life-size images of Jizō from it, which he enshrined in a Tendai temple at Kohata (now Roku Jizō in southeast Kyoto). The legend continues that toward the end of the Heian period, Emperor Goshirakawa (1127–92) had the images separated, one remaining in the Kohata temple and the others being placed in small six-sided halls at each of the main entrances into the capital.⁴³ Before each of his many pilgrimages to the sacred mountains of Kumano (*Kumano mōde*), the emperor prayed to the Jizō at Kohata for safety on his journey. Jizō thus was seen as a protector god of the roads, like the ancient *sai no kami*. Even today, before and after a trip many Kyoto residents make a point of visiting one of the Roku Jizō.

During the mid-Edo period it became fashionable to make a pilgrimage to each of the Roku Jizō on the bodhisattva's 'saint's' day (*ennichi*), the 24th of August. Also during this time, several sets of stone Roku Jizō were set up in Edo (Tokyo) and what is now Yokohama, and pilgrimages conducted in emulation of the one in Kyoto. Since the 1950s the Kyoto pilgrimage has again become fashionable, 'pilgrims' coming from Osaka and other areas of Japan in chartered buses which enables them to finish the Roku Jizō Pilgrimage in a few hours instead of a day.

The 24th of August, or thereabouts, is the time for Jizō Bon in western and southern Japan, a festival not found in Tokyo and the north. A common sight at the corners of many streets in the western towns and cities are Jizō shrines that are tended throughout the year by neighborhood associations. Jizō Bon is believed to have been begun in the Edo period by the monk Jōshō from Onjōji temple in Otsu. He fell ill and was thought to have died, but revived on the 24th of August to tell of meeting Jizō in the other world and of the bodhisattva rescuing him from Emma-ō's judgement and returning him to life because, when young, he venerated an image of Jizō. In thanks for salvation from death and judgement, he and the monks of Onjōji set up a Jizō near the temple and held a public festival every year on the 24th of August. The festival was extended to wayside Jizō statues and became the immensely popular Jizō Bon.

On the surface, Jizō Bon today appears to be mainly a children's festival. It continues from morning until well into the evening and has the

⁴² This may be a Japanized version of a tale from the Chinese *Huan-hun chi* (Record of a Returned Spirit) about the monk Tao-ming of the K'ai-yuan ssu who visited hell in 778. See Teiser, p. 187.

⁴³ One version says that the poet Saigyō (1118–90) set up groups of six Jizō at the entrances to the capital.

atmosphere of a neighborhood party. Paper lanterns, each with the name of a child, are hung in front of the person's home, the local Jizō shrine, or in the precincts of a nearby temple. If a neighborhood has no Jizō (as in new areas), it may borrow one from wayside images that have been gathered together in local temples as urbanization has spread.

The day before the festival, Jizō and his shrine are thoroughly cleaned, and if the image is an old, worn stone one, it may be painted with colorful soluble poster paints and its features outlined in black. Throughout the festival day, candles and incense are burned, and flowers, food, and drink offered at the shrine. A priest may be called to conduct a brief service or to chant the *nembutsu* ("Namu Amida Butsu"), or one of the elders of the neighborhood may lead the prayers of petition and thanks. Neighbors drop by from time to time during the day to pray and chat, to serve refreshments, and to organize entertainments such as games and grab bags for the children. At night, all the families of the neighborhood gather for food and drink, as well as for dancing and singing that range from traditional *bon odori* and folk songs to American square dances and *karaoke* (the singing of popular songs to recordings of background music). Though many see Jizō Bon as a children's or neighborhood festival, its basis is the compassion of Jizō for all living beings.

During the medieval period many composite 'mandala'⁴⁴ were painted in which Jizō is portrayed laboring in the worlds of rebirth (particularly in the hells and on the Sai no Kawara) and guiding souls to a paradise; frequently, Amida's Pure Land. The purpose of these paintings is didactic. They are hung and explained to lay persons during (O)bon, the yearly summer remembrance of the dead. In the past they were even seen at shrine festivals.⁴⁵ Thus for Japanese of the middle ages, as for those of today, the hells and pure lands are concrete places. And there, in the midst of the graphic pain and suffering of the six realms of transmigration, is the serene, compassionate figure of Jizō — the promise of "other power" help.

In almost every one of these paintings there is a scene of Jizō standing on the stony edge of a river surrounded by children. This is the Sai no Kawahara,⁴⁶ the "River Beach of Sai," the limbo to which the 'souls' of nonsentient⁴⁷ dead children go. The children pile up cairns of prayer stones hoping to gain merit and release from this place of isolation; but,

⁴⁴ The term *mandala* is here used loosely for any configuration that includes a landscape with Buddhist and/or Shintō deities and religious architecture.

⁴⁵ The Freer Gallery has a Muromachi period folding screen showing scenes of the Sumiyoshi Shrine (Osaka) festival, with one showing a Kumano nun (*bikuni*) explaining one such mandala, a Kumano Jikkai Mandala, to people visiting the festival. For a plate of this scene, see Ruch's article in Hall and Toyoda.

⁴⁶ Usually shortened to Sai no Kawara.

⁴⁷ Traditionally, children were not considered sentient until the age of 7, at which time they were presented to the kami at the village shrine. See Bownas, p. 156. Children who died before this age were not considered capable of understanding the dharma and therefore could neither be enlightened nor obtain rebirth in one of the six karmic realms.

demons come and destroy the cairns making their toil endless. Here though is Jizō providing solace and rescue and fending off the demons.

Originally, the Sai no Kawara was the place where all who died untimely, unjust, or strange deaths went, not just nonsentient children. But, over the centuries it has come to be mainly identified with children. The Sai no Kawara is found only in Japan; there is no precedent for it in Buddhist scriptures nor in Indian or Chinese folk culture. It appears to have originated in the Kyoto area, perhaps at Saiin, now in central Kyoto, which in the Heian period was a desolate, stony potter's field bordering a small stream on the outskirts of the capital. Here the bodies of the indigent, suicides, murder victims, and children were left to the elements. One story is that the itinerant priest Kūya (903–972) held *nembutsu* services and burials here and marked the graves with stone cairns. A hymn (*wasan*) about the lonely souls of children stranded on the Sai no Kawara, which was composed much later in the medieval period, has been popularly attributed to him. This hymn is now associated with the *mizuko* Jizō cult and has been the inspiration for many new paintings of Jizō on the Sai no Kawara that decorate *mizuko* Jizō halls.

Jizō as Surrogate

Over the centuries, Japanese believers have fashioned various forms of veneration based on the vows given in the Jizō sutras. Closely paralleling the bodhisattva's veneration as a savior and guide to enlightenment is his role as a surrogate (*migawari*;⁴⁸ literally, body exchange), seen frequently in the miracle tales of the *Jizō Bosatsu Reigenki* and *Jizō Kannō Den*, and other collections of tales. In this guise Jizō protects the dead from punishment and the living from the evils of war and illnesses, and performs laborious tasks.⁴⁸

An interesting obsolete surrogate cult is that of Shōgun Jizō.⁺ Its origins are not clear, but it may have been started during the early medieval period by Tendai *yamabushi* practicing on Mount Atago in the northwest of Kyoto. They gave the 'landlord' kami of that mountain Jizō as his "true ground." Atago had long been considered the abode of the dead, the "other world" of indigenous pre-Buddhist belief. Jizō was the image in the main Tendai temple built there and in the small hall called the *oku no in* that stood at the top of the mountain. The latter statue was called "*shōgun Jizō*," a term taken from a name given a figure in the Jizō court of the

⁴⁸ The *Shimpen Nihon Jizō Jiten* [Japanese Jizō Dictionary: New Edition] has 338 pages listing individual Jizō images from throughout Japan that are named for the various services the bodhisattva performs.



The stone Shōgun Jizō at Sokujōin, a subtemple of Sennyūji in Kyoto.

Taizōkai Mandala. The Chinese characters used mean “victorious Jizō” — Jizō triumphing over the six realms of transmigration — not “Generalissimo Jizō,” as is popularly believed. Until the separation of Buddhism and Shintō in the 1870s, the Jizō of Mount Atago were venerated as guardians of the Kyoto plain and protectors against fire. When Buddhism and Shintō were separated, the Shōgun Jizō images were moved to Tendai temples.

A popular legend dates the cult of Shōgun Jizō to shortly after the founding of Heian-kyo (Kyoto). It tells of how the abbot of Kiyomizudera temple sent its *emmei* (long life) Jizō to the aid of the first *seii no tai shōgun*,⁴⁹ the courtier Sakanoue Tamuramaro (758–811), when he was fighting in the north of Japan. A young monk mysteriously appeared on the battlefield

⁴⁹ Literally, “barbarian quelling great general,” commonly shortened to *shōgun*.

when Shōgun Tamuramaro was surrounded by the enemy and out of arrows. The monk moved around unharmed, picking up spent arrows which he gave to Tamuramaro, who then was able to defeat the enemy and secure the north for Emperor Kammu. The little monk, however, had vanished. On his return to the capital, Tamuramaro visited Kiyomizudera to give thanks for his victory and safe return. When he spoke to the abbot about the mysterious young monk, he was told that through the abbot's prayers the *emmei* Jizō of Kiyomizudera⁵⁰ had gone to his aid. Whether the cult began, as legend would have it, in the early 800s or, as is more likely, in the late Heian or early Kamakura periods with the rise to political power of the warrior class, Jizō became the 'patron saint' of warriors.

When Jizō acted as the surrogate for warriors in time of danger, his image often showed arrow marks, sword cuts, rope marks, or burns which are still to be seen. He was an important deity in Kamakura, the headquarters of the Kamakura shōgunate, temples and images being dedicated to him by members of the Hōjō family, successors of the first Kamakura shōgun, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–99). He was also considered the personal protector of the first Ashikaga shōgun, Takauji (1305–58), who took an image of him on a campaign in Kyushu and painted a *Jizō raigō* that is still treasured. Over the centuries, other famous samurai such as Takeda Shingen and Ōishi Kuronosuke (leader of the famous revenging forty-seven samurai in the Edo period) took Jizō as their protector.

Early sculptures and paintings show Shōgun Jizō dressed as a monk with staff and jewel, light armor over his robes, and a helmet on his head. But, by the mid-Edo period his image had come to look like a full-fledged samurai; mounted, with armor and helmet, and often carrying a sword in place of his monk's staff. With the dissolution of the samurai class at the beginning of the Meiji era, the cult of Shōgun Jizō died out,⁵¹ but images remain here and there in temples and old samurai homes throughout Japan.

As surrogate, Jizō is also noted for performing tasks for ordinary people, as evidenced by the names of many wooden and stone images. Numerous "muddy-," "wet-," and "dirty-" footed Jizō, who have supposedly taken a farmer's place in the rice fields or done a townperson's dirty job, exist throughout the country. Other surrogate statues are known for "fire-kindling," "fire-protecting," "saké-brewing," and "letter-delivering," to name just a few of Jizō's roles in this guise.

⁵⁰ A *hibutsu* (hidden image) that is shown together with the temple's main Kannon image once every thirty-three years. The next viewing will be in 1999.

⁵¹ During World War II, private prayers were directed to statues of Shōgun Jizō for the protection of soldiers and sailors, but the cult was not revived by the military because it was Buddhist, not Shintō.

Jizō as Physician

Jizō also ranks high as a physician because of his vows to prolong life, continue family lines, and serve as a surrogate. As *emmei* Jizō, he is venerated for his ability to cure illnesses, usually by taking them on himself. The Kyoto-Nara-Shiga area is particularly rich in stone and wooden 'doctor' Jizō. The majestic 16-foot wooden statue at Chōgenji temple in central Kyoto is eyesight restoring, as is the miracle-working stone Ki no moto Jizō at Jōshinji temple on the north shore of Lake Biwa. Kyoto's *kuginuki* (literally, nail-pulling) and Tokyo's revered *togenuki* (thorn-pulling) Jizō cure all types of physical and mental pain. Kyoto's small *nurikobe* Jizō in the Fushimi district is a dentist who receives mail from all over Japan, and the massive stone image at Kōsanji temple at Saiin, Kyoto, cures piles and hemorrhoids. Nara has a famous smallpox-curing Jizō; Sakai, a city south of Osaka, a stone Jizō who ministers to alcoholics; and Wakayama Prefecture, a wooden *ashikiri* Jizō that cures foot and leg problems. Countless Jizō throughout the country have been successful in curing vitamin-deficiency diseases (the bane of winter and early spring in past centuries) and epidemic diseases such as typhoid and measles that regularly decimated the population.

Jizō also serves women as a gynecologist and obstetrician, and children as a pediatrician.⁵² Child-granting *yotsugi* and *kosazuke* Jizō have been giving childless couples heirs for centuries, and *haraobi* Jizō sees to it that women who wear a blessed cotton obi have no troubles from the fifth month of pregnancy through birth. In addition, *koyasu* Jizō ensure a safe childbirth, and many double as child-rearing (*kosodate*) images.

A common child-associated sight are Jizō images wearing caps and bibs, often with a verse of the "Heart Sutra" (J: Shingyō) or the petitioner's prayer for a child inscribed on the bib. Red is the traditional color for these bibs and caps because it is said to attract the deity's attention, but nowadays white and figured materials, often from children's clothes, also are used.

New Jizō Cults

Many of the old healing Jizō images associated with birth and bringing-up children have a new appellation, *mizuko* (literally, water child), and now also deal with still births, abortion, and the deaths of young infants.

⁵² This veneration is based on his vows to prolong life and continue family lines, and his fusion with the phallic fertility gods called the *sai no kami*. See Czaja.

Moreover, many temples have been given, or have commissioned, modern *mizuko* Jizō images.⁵³ Most show the bodhisattva holding an infant and/or several infants clinging to his robe. A few have the form of a fetus inscribed on the sphere he holds in his hand that represents the wish-granting jewel. Small, votive *mizuko* figures often look more like kewpie dolls than the monk-bodhisattva. Such statues are usually dressed like human children in hand-knitted caps and sweaters, and are offered sweets, drinks, and toys, as well as incense, candles, and flowers. Frequent offerings made to *mizuko* images are colorful pinwheels, favorite toys of Japanese children.

The performance of memorial rites (*mizuko kuyō*) for women who have suffered miscarriages or still births and for those who have had abortions has brought prosperity (and in several cases notoriety) to temples representative of every sect of Buddhism except the Jōdo Shin sect.⁵⁴ In most cases, the desire for *mizuko* rites have come from women and couples, rather than from priests. This is indicative of the mothers' (and fathers') deep concern for beings who traditionally would have no place in family devotions for the ancestors and of changing ideas about what constitutes a family member. The widespread popularity of the *mizuko* cult symbolizes not only changes in life styles and morals, but a new concern for individuals that has arisen within the traditional sects of Japanese Buddhism.

The *mizuko* cult emerged in the mid-1950s,⁵⁵ coincident with the return of affluence to Japanese society. The severe economic and physical conditions in Japan at the end of World War II brought about the deaths of many children and the widescale performance of abortions. Moreover, the government's emphasis on a two-child family in order to stabilize the population, and its efforts to move young people away from the traditional extended families of the towns and villages to urban industrial centers with cramped housing, were factors that contributed to the *mizuko* phenomenon.

Women and couples who request *mizuko* rites do so for a variety of reasons: to alleviate a nagging sense of loss, to exorcise the physical pains and illnesses associated with age or menopause, and, in the case of an abortion, often to assuage a sense of guilt. After nearly forty years of existence, the *mizuko* Jizō cult continues to thrive and spread; a symbol of a modern religious solution to basic physical and psychological problems.

The extended life spans of Japanese men and women that are a characteristic of the twentieth century have led to even newer varieties of Jizō

⁵³ Kannon and Kishibojin also have *mizuko* cults, but Jizō's is by far the most popular.

⁵⁴ The Jōdo Shin sect's position is that all that is needed is faith in Amida's vow of salvation, but Shin believers often have *mizuko kuyō* done at other sects' temples. For a discussion of this problem in English, see Sasaki.

⁵⁵ To give this cult historical validity, some priests have suggested its existence in the Heian period, but, among the various child-related forms of Jizō veneration at that time, there is no evidence of a *mizuko* cult per se. It is a phenomenon of the mid-20th century.

reverence. These are seen in the large number of elderly people taking part in "pukkuri" (the wish for a quick death) and "boke" (protection from senility) pilgrimages. Fear of long, drawn-out, debilitating illnesses such as palsy, and of becoming a burden on one's children, are frequently given as reasons why buses full of elderly persons regularly visit Jizō temples and why a growing number of temples sell "boke" and "pukkuri" amulets.

In Conclusion

When one considers the immense popularity that the bodhisattva Jizō has had, and continues to have, in Japan, it is clear that he answers the age-old longing of humanity for a compassionate deity — one to whom persons of all ages can readily relate. Men, women, and children, caught inextricably in the sufferings of birth, sickness, ageing, and death, require a power greater than themselves to help them deal with the anguish of living. The concept of the bodhisattva who defers final enlightenment out of boundless compassion for the sufferings of mortals, and the specific figure of Jizō depicted as an affable young monk, meet those basic human needs. For these reasons he remains unsurpassed as the benefactor and savior of the human race. 

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Temae — Tea Procedure: *Irekodate* (Ro)

When preparing usucha according to the basic hiradema procedure, it is necessary that the host enter and exit the tearoom a number of times in order to bring in utensils at the beginning of the temae and remove them at the end, each time rising from and sitting on the tatami. For a person with physical limitations that make it difficult to do this — for example, an infirmed or elderly person, or a young child — there is an usucha temae called *irekodate*. This temae takes its name from the fact that the chawan is carried into the tearoom nested (*ireko*) within the kensui. This alone saves the host the need to bring in the chawan and kensui separately, and because the temae requires a tana (utensil shelf), on which the other utensils are already arranged and on which all but the kensui are left at the end, the entire temae involves only one entry and exit. Indeed, even the usual replenishing of the mizusashi toward the end of the temae is eliminated.

As the drinking bowl (chawan) is nested within the waste-water receptacle (kensui), the rule is to use a brand new bentwood (*mage*) kensui made of unfinished (*kiji*) cedar wood (*sugi*). To prepare this kind of kensui, first thoroughly dampen it inside and out, and then wipe it dry. The chawan, chakin, chasen, and chashaku are arranged as usual, and placed within the prepared kensui. The kensui seam belongs at front center, but, during the temae, when the kensui tends to be in view of the guests, the host rotates it so that the seam is at the side away from them.

Almost any kind of small tana (*kodana*) of the “*oki-dana*” type — that is, on which the mizusashi can be kept on display before and after the temae — may be used. Of course, as the presentation featured here is being done with a ro, the tana must be one which lends itself to ro use. The manner in which the utensils are placed on the tana will depend upon the kind of tana used. Descriptions of various small tana, and general explanations pertaining to their usage, are given in *Chanoyu* Quarterly no. 52 (1987), pp. 45–69. The tana appearing in the following sequence is called a *Kōkō-dana*. Whatever the case, however, the mizusashi, natsume, futaoki, and hishaku will be on the tana before the guests enter, and these, together with both the chawan including the chakin, chasen, and chashaku, as well as the host’s fukusa, will be left on it at the end. This “full display” of the utensils at the end is called *sō kazari*.



(1)

Sit at sadōguchi with kensui-chawan set placed to side away from guests. Bow together with guests (1).



(2)

Take kensui-chawan set in both hands, rest it on palm of left hand (hereafter, L), secure it with right hand (R), and step into the tearoom (2). Before proceeding to temae tatami, turn to face sadoguchi, sit, and close sadoguchi door.



(3)

At temae tatami, sit facing tana and place kensui-chawan set toward the left, at a position on the tatami where an imaginary line extended from the outer edge of the ro frame dissects it horizontally across the center (R + L) (3).



(4)

Take natsume from tana (R) (4) and place it slightly to right of center in front of tana.



(5)

Remove chawan from kensui (R + L) and place it to left of natsume (L) (5).



(6)

Take futaoki from tana (R), rest it on L palm, and shift sitting position to face outer corner of ro frame (6).



(7)

Place futaoki in standard position on ro tatami (R) (7).



(8)

Take hishaku from tana (R) (8) and readjust grasp on hishaku handle (L, R).



(9)

Rest hishaku on futaoki (R) (9). Then grasp kensui with L just to right-hand side of seam, and adjust position of kensui while also rotating it a quarter turn clockwise so seam faces away from guests (L). Correct your sitting position and adjust your clothing if necessary. Pause to gather concentration.

From this point through to the preparation and serving of the tea, the final rinsing and inspection of the chasen, and then the emptying of the chawan rinse water into the kensui, the temae is no different from the standard *usucha ro hiradema*. To finish the temae, proceed as follows:



(10)

Before placing chawan back down in front of knees after emptying the water into the kensui, wipe it with chakin (10), at the end leaving chakin in chawan as usual. Then place chawan in front of knees.



(11)

Take chakin from chawan (R), hold the two diagonal corners with R and L, respectively, and spread chakin out (11). Hold both corners with R to fold chakin in half. Grasp folded end with L and bring it up to R to again fold chakin in half.



(12)

Wring out chakin over the kensui (12).



(13)

Refold chakin in standard manner (13).



(14)

Place folded chakin in chawan (14).



(15)

Place chasen in chawan (15).



(16)

Pick up chashaku (R). Then grasp kensui with L just to right-hand side of seam (16), and draw kensui back while also turning it a quarter turn counter-clockwise so seam again faces lower end of tatami.



(17)

In standard manner, take fukusa from belt and fold it for wiping chashaku. Wipe chashaku (17) and rest it face down on chawan. Brush fukusa off over kensui and return it to belt.



(18)

Move natsume to position right of center in front of tana (R) (18).



(19)

Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, and place it to left of natsume in front of tana (19).



(20)

Scoop ladleful of cold water from mizu-sashi and pour it into kama. Then scoop ladleful of hot water and pour it back into kama (20).



(21)

Transfer hishaku to L and replace lid onto kama with R, leaving lid slightly ajar (21).



(22)

Rest hishaku on futaoki (22).



(23)

Close mizusashi lid (L, R) (23). [Guests' note: In most other temae, the first guest requests to inspect (*haiken*) the natsume and chashaku at this point. However, for this temae haiken is not requested, in consideration of the host.]



(24)

Take hishaku from futaoki (R), readjust grasp on handle (L, R), and place hishaku on tana as appropriate for the particular tana (R) (24).



(25)

Pick up futaoki (R), place it on L palm, and shift sitting position to face tana (25).



(26)

Place futaoki on tana as appropriate (R) (26).



(27)

Simultaneously pick up chawan with L and natsume with R, and place them on tana as appropriate (27).



(28)

Take fukusa from belt, and fold it as for wiping chashaku (28).



(29)

If mizusashi has a lacquered lid, place folded fukusa on mizusashi lid (R) (29); or, if mizusashi has a ceramic lid, place folded fukusa toward right front on top shelf of tana.



(30)

Hold kensui (L), leave the tearoom and, just outside sadoguchi, turn and sit down facing the tearoom. Place kensui out of view of guests, and bow together with guests (30).



Book Reviews

The Japanese-English Zen Buddhist Dictionary 日英禪語辭典. By Yokoi Yūhō. Tokyo: Sankibō Buddhist Bookstore, 1991. 856 pp. + 156 pp. of appendices (index of Chinese characters arranged by stroke number; index of Sanskrit terms; and Wade-style index to Chinese person, place, and text names). ¥9,800 (including tax). Publisher's address: 28, 5-chome Hongō, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113.

This new dictionary actually has three different titles: 1) the one given above; 2) the Japanese title which reads, literally translated, "Japanese-English Dictionary of Zen Terms"; and 3) the title given in the preface, "the Japanese-English Zen Buddhism Dictionary." Which of these three different titles applies? Each one, a little bit; but none is accurate. The difference between my literal translation of its Japanese title and the actual English title is symptomatic of some of this dictionary's serious shortcomings, which will be pointed out in more detail below. These shortcomings lead one to hope that it will neither become *the* dictionary of Zen-Buddhism nor *the* Zen Buddhist dictionary, but rather just *a* dictionary among better ones.

Yokoi says in his preface:

It cannot be denied, however, that there is really a wide gulf in the understanding of Zen Buddhism between East and West. Indeed, the number of English books on Zen Buddhism is gradually increasing along with the international dissemination of Zen Buddhism, but there is no such a book that wholly bridges the above-mentioned differences between the two, thereby cultivating the international affinity and accelerating the worldwide progress of further studies. In this sense, the Japanese-English Zen Buddhism Dictionary will be a good incentive to the Zen-loving and English-speaking people.

Is this the bridge between East and West we have all been waiting for? The author is ambitious, but can he live up to his own claims? Unfortunately, Yokoi does not define his aims in concrete terms. But he does mention the works he used for compiling his dictionary and how he went about his task:

Firstly, I selected about 10,000 words from *Zenshū-jiten* (A Zen-sect Dictionary), edited by Yōgen Fukami and published by the Nakayama-shobō in 1965; *Zengaku daijiten* (A Zen-study Dictio-

nary), edited by Komazawa University, and published by the Daishūkan-shoten in 1978; Notes and glossary of *Zen Master Dōzen* [sic], edited by Yūhō Yokoi, and published by Weatherhill in 1976.

Secondly, I tried to make the content of the words terse and clear by indicating as many sources as possible.

Thirdly, I prepared the index of Chinese characters, Sanskrit and Chinese language for the foreign readers' convenience.

Spelling *Dōzen* instead of *Dōgen* and *london* instead of *London* in the preface are early signs of the sloppy proofreading the manuscript received. The English style is stiff, and the reader is bombarded with mistakenly placed definite (the) and indefinite (a) articles. More importantly, as the translation of *Zengaku daijiten* as "A Zen-study Dictionary" (leaving *dai* untranslated) indicates, the quality of translation leaves much to be desired even in the preface — a premonition that is unfortunately borne out in the main body of the dictionary.

The aim and scope of this book are as ill-defined as its various titles. The author does not spell out the criteria that he applied in choosing entries; it contains a mixed bag of names of famous masters, titles of well-known books, *kōans*, Zen terms, place names, objects used in Zen monasteries, functions of monks, Chinese grammatical particles, etc., but it remains unclear what was included or excluded for what reason and who the targeted readers are. If the *Shūmon tōyō* 宗門統要 from the twelfth century is mentioned, why is there no entry for the *Sodōshū* 祖堂集 (Chin., *Zutangji*; Kor., *Chodang chip*; 952), certainly one of the most important source texts in Zen history? It appears that this dictionary's heavy bias in favor of Japanese Zen and its practices is to blame for some of the most glaring omissions: even minor texts connected to *kōan* practice are included (albeit generally without any indication of their historical provenance) while major works such as the above-mentioned *Sodōshū* as well as the 100-fascicle *Sugyōroku* 宗鏡錄 (Chin., *Tsung-ching lu* or *Zongjinglu*) apparently do not deserve an entry.

However, Yokoi could not quite do without such important texts. Both the *Sodōshū* and the *Sugyōroku* figure frequently among the many sources which are supposed to confirm the author's interpretations of terms. Since there are no corresponding entries nor a table of abbreviations, the reader is left stranded with references such as:

Yomo 與麼 Thus; like this. The Chinese colloquial language. cf. *Sodō-shū*, 2.

If I may translate this into English: the term *yomo* signifies "thus" or "like this" [or simply "so"] and was employed in Chinese colloquial language. As mentioned above, one will not find any explanation about the *Sodōshū* in this dictionary, but if one intuits what Yokoi is referring to and starts looking in the second fascicle rather than the second book of that text, one will have to look through no less than thirty-two pages of Chinese text until one comes upon the first of three occurrences of this term in this fascicle. Such references are not only useless, they are an insult to the reader — even more so if he or she knows that Yokoi simply

copied this reference from page 1255 of the *Zengaku daijiten* but did not care to translate or at least refer to the example given there. The wealth of indicated sources which Yokoi promises in his preface thus consists of usually one and sometimes two imprecise references to texts whose identities are not clarified.

To give one more example which will lead us on a small journey through this dictionary: references to a source called *Shōkisen* are very often encountered, but one will not find any information about this source in this book. If one happens to know that *Shōkisen* stands for the *Zenrin shōkisen* encyclopedia written by the great Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1744) and looks under that entry, one finds the following information:

Zenrin-shōkisen 禪林象器箋 Twenty-one sections. A sort of the Zen dictionary; selected by Mugaku Dōchu.

Apart from being a real Zen encyclopedia (not just a sort of the Zen dictionary) authored (and not just selected) by Mujaku, the author's name as given in the entry contains two typos: *Mugaku* instead of *Mujaku*, and *Dōchu* instead of *Dōchū*. This may not seem so grave, but people who enjoy traveling in dictionaries might want to find out more about this Mugaku Dōchu: not to be found under this spelling, of course, but by a stroke of luck the letter "j" is not too far away from the letter "g." He appears under his true name:

Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 I. 1653-1744. A monk of the Rinzai sect. Born in Tajima (Hyōgo Prefecture), he became a monk at the age of seven, visited several Zen masters and later became the chief monk of the Myōshinji Temple. He wrote the *Zenrin-zōkisen*, *Kattō-gosen*, *Shōsōrin-ryaku-shingi*, *Kodōroku-rikō*, *Shōbōsan-shi* and some other works.

Would you guess that *Zenrin-zōkisen* is a wrong (or at least inconsistent) spelling of *Zenrin-shōkisen* (no cross-references supplied), and that the correct title of *Kodōroku-rikō* is *Kidōroku-rikō*? Apart from such annoying mistakes which make looking up information harder or impossible, one might note that the expression *some other works* is quite an understatement: Mujaku wrote a total of 374 works, and his books were so heavily used for the compilation of various Zen dictionaries (including the ones on which Yokoi's is based) that Mujaku should deserve at least an entry without typos.

In order to test the Yokoi dictionary's explanations of Zen terminology, I chose two famous Zen phrases which often appear on scrolls in tea rooms: Ummon's "Every day is a fine day" 日是好日 and Jōshū's "Go have some tea" 喫茶去. The first of these (which appears in case six of the *Hekiganroku* [Blue Cliff Records] kōan collection) is not included among the dictionary's 10,000 entries. I had more luck with Jōshū's saying, which appears in two places, only one of which is cross-referenced:

Jōshū-kissako 趙州喫茶去 The kōan in *Wu-têng-hui-yüan* (J., *Gotō-egen*), Chapter of Chao-chou: Chao-chou offered a cup of tea to a

monk who had said, "I have ever been here," and also to another who had said, "I have never been here."

(p. 297)

Kissako 喫茶去 "Please take tea." This denotes that drinking tea is also the appearance of truth. See Jōshū-kissako. cf. *Gotō-egen*, 4.

(pp. 380-381)

To show once more where Yokoi got his tea, I cite the *Zengaku daijiten*, which also happens to have two entries (pp. 554 and 203; my translation):

Jōshū-kissako 趙州喫茶去 The kōan where Jōshū tests a monk with a question and then tells him to have some tea. "Ko" 去 is a particle. "The Master asked a newly arrived one, 'Have you ever been here?' The monk replied, 'Yes.' The Master said, 'Well, have some tea.' He asked another monk [whether he had ever been here]. The monk said, 'No.' The Master said, 'Well, have some tea.' " [*Gotō-]Egen* 4, *Jōshū chapter*. This signifies that the truth of Buddhism is in the midst of simple daily life where one drinks tea.

(p. 554)

Kissako 喫茶去. "Well, have some tea." This is Jōshū Jūshin's saying, also known as "Jōshū-kissako." Though drinking tea might have the appearance of daily life, it is really nothing other than the Buddhist teaching itself. "The Master asked a newly arrived one, 'Have you ever been here?' The monk replied, 'Yes.' The Master said, 'Have some tea.' He asked another monk [whether he had ever been here], and the monk said 'No.' The Master said, 'Have some tea.' The Master called the head monk. The head monk answered, 'Yes?' The Master said, 'Have some tea.' " [*Gotō-]Egen* 4, *Jōshū chapter*.

(p. 203)

Yokoi appears to have done little more than compress and translate some entries of the dictionaries he mentions in the preface, mostly without searching for better examples or consulting more recent research and existing translations. Professor Iriya has established that "ko" 去 is not a particle here but means simply "go"; Jōshū thus says "Go have some tea." (Cleary & Cleary's *Blue Cliff Record* [Boulder & London: Shambhala, p. 147] render this similarly as "Go drink some tea.") Prof. Iriya maintains that this makes quite a difference: by sending them away to have some tea Jōshū is in effect criticizing their answers and implies that they should come back with better ones. Whether one accepts this interpretation or not, a dictionary appearing in 1991, i.e. thirteen years after the *Zengaku daijiten*, ought to take such published opinions (which are supported by pertinent examples of

usage) into account by at least citing them as alternatives. One might also add that there are many other Zen masters who used the same answer in various different circumstances. For example:

"A monk asked, 'What was the intention [of Bodhidharma] in coming from the West?' Master [Huadu] lifted his fly-whisk. The monk said, 'I don't understand.' The Master said, "Go have some tea!"

(Taisho canon vol. 51, p. 350c17-18)

The *Zengaku daijiten* has similar shortcomings: a heavy national (Japan) and sectarian (Sōtō-Zen) bias, an (ideological?) blind spot regarding Korean Zen (Son), questionable definitions of words based more on Dōgen's writings than older and (for the purposes of definition) much more important sources, few examples of usage, imprecise references, failure to give Mujaku Dōchū his due, little sense for ambiguities, etc. But at least it is rather comprehensive with regard to Japanese and Chinese Zen-related personages, places, objects, kōans, and texts (but *not* for Zen terminology in general). This is not the case with Yokoi's haphazard collection, and if — *faute de mieux* — one is forced to have recourse to it, one should do so with more than customary caution.

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Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology. *Compiled and edited by Helen Craig McCullough.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990. ix + 578 pp. US\$60.00.

No anthology can serve all needs and all readers. The book under review is intended for the serious reader, not the novice. It is founded on the view that abbreviated excerpts, a few pages each of this or that, are not sufficient to give a true idea of an important work of literature. Its topic is "Japanese prose literature dating from the classical age, the centuries during which the preeminent cultural and aesthetic values were those of the Heian court. The age may be said to have begun in the ninth century . . . and to have ended around the seventeenth century" with the innovations of Ihara Saikaku. In an accompanying note, the compiler further states that, because of space limitations, she has omitted "the two long masterpieces of the age, *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tale of the Heike*," and cautions the reader that, in any event, these "deserve to be read in their entirety" (p. 1).

McCullough herself has translated almost all of the selections. Her style is always highly readable, and it admits a certain amount of variety to suggest the variety among the originals. Noteworthy is the fact that she cuts no corners; she

includes, for example, the lengthy *chōka* (poem in multiple couplets) that the author of *Kagerō Nikki* (The Gossamer Journal) sends to an erring husband, the titles of the Buddhist sutras on Kamo no Chōmei's bookshelf (omitted by Donald Keene from his translation of *Hōjōki* [An Account of My Hut] in his pioneering *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, 1955), and even includes a list of names of 34 warriors loyal to the Hōjō clan who disembowel themselves in *Taiheiki* (The Great Peace).

The title, *Classical Japanese Prose*, is not quite accurate, since a substantial proportion of the selections — eight of the twenty-two, by my count — contain large numbers of poems. However, one of the purposes of the volume — never explicitly stated, but surely present in the compiler's mind — is to demonstrate the different ways in which poetry and prose can combine and support each other in works within the classic tradition. In that, as well as in enabling the reader to observe common themes in their many variations — the trials and anxieties of the soon-to-be-abandoned wife, the longing for the past, the subtly differing images of the man of cultivation, the urge to encompass both China and Japan within one representation of experience — this anthology is a thoroughgoing success. For the right reader, indeed, it can be revelatory. It should be read from beginning to end; otherwise, its lessons may be lost.

Restraint in commentary is always admirable; McCullough's commentary is both restrained and sophisticated. The table of contents, however, is too laconic; a glance at it will not indicate whether the selection is partial or complete, whether the translation is new or not. A few items, such as *Taketori Monogatari* (Tale of the Bamboo Cutter), a pair of medieval *otogi zōshi* (companion booklets), and eight *setsuwa* (anecdotal tales) from *Konjaku Monogatari* (Tales of Times Now Past) and *Uji Shūi Monogatari* (A Collection of Tales from Uji) seem to have been included mainly for thematic completeness. Below, I list the principal selections, with a few comments of my own.

Ise Monogatari (Tales of Ise). McCullough's complete translation appeared in 1968; here she presents about a third of the original. The poems have been retranslated to conform with her current practice of imitating Japanese syllabic meter in English. This practice has drawn some criticism — I think unfairly, since the end product is consistently more interesting in its rhythms than her earlier, free-verse translations. Whether it would prove equally fortunate for another translator is open to question, of course; it might well be argued that any discipline in verse is better than none. In this version she has also eliminated the numerous notes appended to the individual stories in the publication; a short essay on classical poetry, one of the appendices to the volume, helps supply the lack. Altogether, the selection makes the Tales much more understandable to students and others who are not (or not yet) specialists.

Tosa Nikki (A Tosa Journal). Complete, this translation originally appeared tucked away at the end of McCullough's *Kokin Wakashū* (Stanford University Press, 1985). The spirited rendering of both prose and verse alone would serve to make it much preferable to Earl Miner's translation in his *Japanese Poetic Diaries* (University of California Press, 1969), quite apart from questions of accuracy. Miner made his translations the subject for some ruminations on the relationship between autobiography and fiction; McCullough, however, argues convincingly in her brief introduction to the work here that its fictions are transparent, and are

meant to be so. I wish she had reproduced the whole of the argument which she presented in *Brocade by Night* (the companion volume to *Kokin Wakashū*), which represents *Tosa Nikki* as essentially a personal poetry collection by a prospective office-seeker making use of a clever framing device to display his varied poetic talents.

Kagerō Nikki. (The Gossamer Journal). The first of the three sections of the memoir of an unhappy marriage, thought to have influenced Lady Murasaki in writing *The Tale of Genji*. The complete work is available as Edward G. Seidensticker's *The Gossamer Years*.

Makura no Sōshi (The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon). Excerpts only, from the massive original. The late Ivan Morris's complete translation is charming but often inaccurate. Lively and observant, Shōnagon speaks very well indeed through McCullough's skill. I wish McCullough could be persuaded to apply herself to the remainder of the work.

Eiga Monogatari (A Tale of Flowering Fortunes). A comparatively brief selection from the compiler's two-volume translation with William H. McCullough (1980). Here, as in other excerpts from historical works, a helpful list of "Principal Characters" eases the reader's task.

Three stories from *Tsutsumi Chūnagon Monogatari*, under the rubric "Short Tales of Aristocratic Life." The translation is by Robert Backus, from his complete version of the work. Backus's language sometimes goes sour (e.g., "and when they looked at the young lady's face, they were startled to see it so scary" [p. 269]), the result of a mistaken intention to translate literally, but the story called "Lamp-black," less familiar than the other two, is wonderful. Someone ought to write an essay on the subject of smudged faces in Heian literature — either a literary topos or a minor obsession; perhaps both.

Towazugatari (The Confessions of Lady Nijō). Book 1 only. The memoir is available complete in Karen Brazell's 1973 translation. Still under the Waley influence, Brazell gives names to the Lady's lovers; McCullough does without. Since one of the things one notices in the latter part of the anthology is how often people refer to *The Tale of Genji* in life as well as in books, I wish that McCullough could have found a way to include the episode in Book 2 in which Lady Nijō and her fellow palace women are made to reenact the rehearsal scene from *Genji*.

Hōjōki (An Account of My Hermitage). Complete. McCullough's Chōmei is more the intellectual than is Keene's.

Tsurezuregusa (Essays in Idleness). Selections, translated by Steven Carter, are very well chosen. The complete work is available in Donald Keene's translation.

Izayoi Nikki (Journal of the Sixteenth-Night Moon). Complete, this is to my knowledge the first readable translation of the thirteenth-century poetic travel diary by the nun Abutsu, a work of some importance in literary history.

Tōkan Kikō (An Account of a Journey to the East). The first translation of this poetic diary by a male traveler, who took the same route as Abutsu, though thirty years earlier. The work is of much interest both for the points in which it may be compared with Abutsu's diary and for the density of its allusions to things Chinese. It is also of interest as a predecessor to Bashō's travel diaries.

Masukagami (The Clear Mirror). Excerpts, translated by George Perkins. This fourteenth-century "historical tale," the last of its genre, is surely unknown to the

general reader even by title, and its text is terra incognita even to most specialists. (McCullough has published a book-length translation of the first example of the genre, *Ōkagami: The Great Mirror* [Princeton University Press, 1980].) Its contribution to the overall purpose of the anthology is in its "attention [to] . . . symbolic affirmations of the court's role as the center of civilization" and its author's stress on "the continuity of court culture by alluding to *The Tale of Genji* at least twenty times, and by endowing Go-Toba, his most fully realized character, with all the taste, elegance, sensitivity, and accomplishments of the Shining Prince" (p. 447).

Taiheiki (The Great Peace). Revised excerpts from McCullough's book-length translation (Stanford University Press, 1959), chosen to illustrate both the work's commitment to the court aesthetic (its account of the exile of Emperor Go-Daigo is very obviously modeled on the exile of Genji to Suma-Akashi, in *The Tale of Genji*) and the new values of the warrior class.

Kasshi Kikō, or *Nozarashi Kikō* (The Journey of 1684) and *Oku no Hosomichi* (The Narrow Road of the Interior). Complete translations of the haikai master Bashō's first and greatest poetic diary. No work has been translated from the Japanese more often than *Oku no Hosomichi*; McCullough's is the only translation of it that I would use in a classroom, because it is the only one that allows the reader to see the full depth of the poet's commitment to both the Japanese and the Chinese traditions. It is the only translation I have found that allows the skeptical reader to see the great work that it is in the original.

Stanford University Press has announced as forthcoming a companion volume of classical poetry, compiled by Steven Carter. A volume of classical Japanese drama is rumored to be in the offing. It would also be interesting to have a volume of later pre-modern literature, if the right scholar could be found to set to work on it. Professor McCullough deserves great thanks both for her labor on the present volume and the authority she has brought to it. Whether she will receive such thanks remains to be seen.

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The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea: The *Vajrasamādhi-Sūtra*, a Buddhist Apocryphon. By Robert E. Buswell, Jr. Princeton Library of Asian Translations. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989. xviii + 315 pp. US\$39.50.

Robert E. Buswell, Jr.'s *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea* is undoubtedly one of the most original and provocative studies on early Ch'an (Zen in Japanese, Sōn in Korean) Buddhism to appear in recent years. Professor Buswell, presently teaching at the University of California at Los Angeles, is well known as the author of *The Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Works of Chinul* (University of Hawaii Press, 1983), the best study on Korean Sōn Buddhism available today. In

his new volume, he takes up the Buddhist apocryphal text called the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* (*Book of Adamantine Absorption*, cited hereafter as *VS*).

The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea is divided into two sections. The first section consists of an extensive study of the authorship and doctrinal background of the *VS*. The second section contains a complete annotated translation of the *VS*, which, as Buswell notes in the Preface, is the first in any Western language. The more interesting part is the first section, where the author advances several new startling yet extremely convincing hypotheses concerning its origin. His points are as follows:

1. The *VS* was created in Korea around 686.
 2. Its author was associated with the East Mountain school of early Ch'an.
- In this review, I will concentrate on presenting Buswell's views on the authorship of the *VS*.

The Chinese Buddhist canon contains numerous apocryphal sutras; that is to say, sutras which, although claiming to be the records of the Buddha's sermons (and hence Indian in origin), were actually composed in China by Chinese Buddhists in order to provide scriptural authority for their own distinctly Sinitic understanding of Buddhism. Modern scholars, including Mizuno Kogen and Walter Liebenthal, have argued that the *VS* is one such Chinese apocryphal sutra. However, as Buswell states, the legend surrounding the appearance of this sutra clearly points to a Korean origin. According to this legend, a consort of an unidentified Korean king falls ill with a mysterious disease, and an envoy is dispatched to T'ang China to find a medicine to cure her. But while the envoy is crossing the ocean to reach China, an old man appears among the waves in front of the ship. Led by this old man, the envoy is taken to the underwater palace of the Dragon King, where he is informed that the consort's illness is just a pretext for luring him to the palace to receive the *VS* which needs to be propagated in the world. The envoy then carries the sutra back to Korea, where, in accordance with the Dragon King's explicit command, the erudite scholar-monk Wŏnhyo composes a commentary on it.

This story suggests that the *VS* was created not in China, as previously believed, but in Korea. A careful analysis of the various catalogues of Buddhist scriptures compiled in China strongly supports this view. According to Buswell, the earliest reference to the *VS* is found in Tao-an's (312–85) *Tsung-li chung-ching mu-lu* (*Comprehensive Catalogue of All the Sutras*), which was completed in 374. However, the *VS* seems to have disappeared from China soon thereafter. Most subsequent sutra catalogues list the *VS* as a lost sutra. Although several catalogues compiled after the *Mu-lu* include the *VS*, they all ultimately prove to be quotations from Tao-an's catalogue. Evidently, the compilers of these catalogues included the *VS* in their listings of Buddhist scriptures for the sake of comprehensiveness, without actually having ascertained whether or not the text still existed.

The *VS* suddenly reappears in the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu*, a T'ang Dynasty catalogue compiled by Chih-sheng in 730. Although Chih-sheng may have believed that this *VS* was the long lost sutra formerly cited in Tao-an's catalogue, in fact it was a totally different work which, as legend would have it, was recently delivered to Korea from the Dragon King's palace. However — and this point is

crucial to Buswell's argument — the *VS* existed in Korea almost half a century before it made its way into the *K'ai-yüan* catalogue. This is shown by the fact that Wōnhyō wrote his well-known commentary on this sutra just before his death in 686. Thus, even as the *VS* was being circulated and studied on the Korean peninsula, it remained unknown in China for a long time. Significantly, the Chinese sutra catalogue *Ta-Chou kan-t'ing chung-ch'ing mu-lu* compiled in 695, almost a decade after Wōnhyō's death, still lists the *VS* as a lost sutra. The evidence is clear. The *VS* was first compiled in Korea sometime before 686 and then transmitted to China.

The second hypothesis which Buswell advances is that the *VS* was written by a partisan of the East Mountain school of early Ch'an. Although it failed to become one of the major schools of the mature Ch'an movement, the East Mountain school was one of the most important groups within Ch'an during its early formative years. When the *VS* was being written in Korea around 686, Ch'an was still in its embryonic stage of development in China. During this period, it advocated doctrines and meditative techniques quite different from those found in later classical Ch'an schools. Previous scholars, notably Mizuno Kogen, have pointed out that a number of such early Ch'an concepts can also be found in the *VS*. Chief among them are (1) the doctrine of "two accesses and four practices" found in the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*, the earliest known Ch'an text (this work, though attributed to Bodhidharma, was actually authored by T'an-lin, a close associate of Bodhidharma's disciple Hui-k'o), and (2) the meditative technique known as *shou-i*, or "guarding the one," which was especially important in the East Mountain school.

Thus it is clear that the author of the *VS* was familiar with a wide range of concepts which circulated among the followers of early Ch'an. However, as Buswell points out, the *VS* does not accept all of these Ch'an doctrines uncritically. For example, while the *VS* discusses the two accesses and four practices at length, it ultimately rejects this doctrine as dualistic. On the other hand, the *VS* endorses the *shou-i* meditation, praising it as the direct path to enlightenment. What accounts for this difference in attitude towards these Ch'an doctrines? In view of the fact that *shou-i* meditation was a central element of the East Mountain school, Buswell concludes that it was because the author of the *VS* was a follower of this particular school of early Ch'an Buddhism.

Finally, who, then, was the author of the *VS*? Buswell speculates that he was Pōmnang, who is credited with the introduction of Ch'an to Korea. Pōmnang travelled to China during the years of Queen Sōndōk's reign (i.e., between 632 and 646) and studied under Tao-hsin, one of the founders of the East Mountain school. Later, sometime after 676, he returned to Korea and propagated the teachings of Ch'an without, however, achieving much success. Thus, Pōmnang fits all the qualifications necessary to be the author of the *VS*: he was a Korean, he was residing in Korea around 686, and he was knowledgeable about Ch'an and the East Mountain doctrines in particular. For these reasons, Buswell credits the authorship of the *VS* to Pōmnang, and argues that this monk composed the *VS* in order to introduce the teachings of the East Mountain school to Korea.

Although I have focused my review on the question of the *VS*'s authorship, *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea* is an impressive work which deals with a large number of issues concerning early Ch'an. Throughout this

book, Buswell demonstrates complete mastery over the primary texts of Chinese and Korean Buddhism, as well as modern scholarship on Ch'an and the VS in Korean, Japanese, and Western languages. Moreover, his analysis of the various Buddhist and Ch'an doctrines which inform the VS, based as it is on a sweeping grasp of the main philosophical currents of Chinese Buddhism, is particularly illuminating. This is a study which deserves to be read and re-read by all who are interested in Sino-Korean Buddhism.

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Reaching for the Moon on Asian Religious Paths. By Kenneth W. Morgan. Chambersburg, PA: Anima Publications, 1990. 207 pp. US\$18.95.

Kenneth W. Morgan's *Reaching for the Moon on Asian Religious Paths* is a sympathetic overview of Asian approaches to religion based on his interviews with practitioners of Asian religious paths and his twenty-five years of experience as a professor of religion at Colgate University. Although he does not use the term "spirituality," he treats Asian religions as systems of spirituality, calling them paths by which people of different traditions "live in harmony with what they hold to be true, with what is recognized as good, and with the Sacred that has been discovered in the realities of human existence" (pp. 1-2). The author does not examine Asian religious traditions one-by-one, but rather deals with them wholesale, describing how all Asian religions show an awareness of various sacred realities, how they provide guidance to their practitioners through sacred writings, persons, rituals, and arts, and how they help their practitioners develop their ability to think and act in harmony with the true, the good, and the sacred, through systems of reflective and devotional meditation. It would seem that the book is primarily aimed at Westerners with little or no experience with Asian religion who are interested in personal spiritual development, rather than at scholars of Asian religion. It would be of particular value to dogmatic-minded Christians who see little value in other religious traditions, for one of his theses seems to be that as people become aware of other religious traditions, they discover that they can learn from them.

Morgan is at his best when he recounts anecdotes of his numerous personal encounters with Asian religious leaders. In the early 1930s, as a graduate student of philosophy and religion, he studied for a year in India under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Mission, and had an opportunity to meet such luminaries as Tagore and Gandhi. His account of Gandhi's instructions on meditation techniques is particularly interesting, since it sheds light on the ascetic side of Gandhi's personality. Morgan's account of an incident in which Gandhi playfully rolled away an eight year old boy who tried to kiss his beloved Bapuji's feet three times (as a sign of his status as a holy man) brings to life again Gandhi's childlike saintliness.

Even more interesting are Morgan's accounts of some of the less venerable Hindus, such as a dogmatic and arrogant *sadhu* (ascetic) who had duped simple villagers into providing him with a comfortable livelihood (including his favorite imported cigarettes), or temple priests who regularly took the lion's share of contributions intended for beggars. There are also interesting accounts of his encounters with Vietnamese Buddhist monks like Thich Tri Quang, and Zen masters like Shibayama Zenkei.

Unfortunately, not nearly enough of Morgan's book consists of such interesting anecdotes. The bulk of his exposition of Asian religion, while generally accurate, is superficial, and contains little information that is not available elsewhere in a more complete, insightful, and interesting form. What is worse, the author frequently lapses into vague and pointless generalizations, a problem that derives in part from his decision to discuss all Asian religious paths together rather than to examine different traditions separately. This leads to frequent statements like the following, which are so wide-ranging in scope that they end up saying virtually nothing:

Teachers in the various religious groups in Asia tell us that back of all that exists is the reality that shapes our lives: a supreme God, or many Gods, or no deities; or there is a Sacred Mystery, a Divine Order, or a process that makes the good possible. (p. 2)

At other times there seems to be little excuse for the pointless generalizations, such as when the author states what must be obvious to even the most uneducated reader:

Writings provide in an available form religious insights that have been treasured for many generations in many cultures, as well as new insights yet to be examined and tested. Writings have the advantage that they may be read and reread when the time is right for the meditator. (p. 138)

At other times Morgan engages in such pedestrian moralizing that one wonders whether he or his editor ever considered that readers too might be capable of intelligent moral thought:

When we think about how little we know about all the different mosques, temples, pagodas, shrines, ashrams, monasteries, churches, and synagogues there are in our human communities, and of how little we know about the different religious insights expressed through those buildings, and about the ways they have been used, we realize that all of us need to be exploring religious ways other than our own in order that we can learn from each other and live more harmoniously together. (p. 111)

Nevertheless, the author is obviously a genuinely religious man, and while this does not justify his frequent waste of his readers' time, it does make this book

fundamentally worthwhile, especially at this painful moment of world history. Throughout the book, Morgan shows great compassion for human suffering and an acute awareness of human beings' penchant for cruelty, "not with the ferocity of the tiger, but with the dull insensibility of the cart wheel" (p. 43. The author is here quoting Mark Rutherford). He shows great understanding of the importance of religion in the lives of ordinary people, and perhaps his best anecdote is the following account of a market accident he witnessed in Damascus, which illustrates both the pettiness and sublimity of human nature:

Once, in Damascus years ago, when I was strolling along the street called Straight — wondering whether it is truly the most ancient street in the world that has served without interruption as a market place — I watched as a man who was riding slowly through the crowd on a bicycle with a basket of oranges precariously balanced on the handlebars was bumped by a porter so bent by a heavy burden that he had not seen him. The burden was dropped, the oranges were scattered, and a bitter altercation broke out between the two men, surrounded by a tight circle of on-lookers. After an angry exchange of shouted insults, as the bicyclist moved toward the porter with a clenched fist, a tattered little man slipped from the crowd, took the raised fist in his hands and kissed it. A murmur of approval ran through the watchers, the antagonists relaxed, then people began picking up the oranges and the little man drifted away. I have remembered that as a caring act, an act of devotion there on the street called Straight by a man who might have been a Syrian Muslim, or a Syrian Jew, or a Syrian Christian. (p. 172)

Given the current strife in the Middle East, one can only wish that everyone could read this story from *Reaching for the Moon on Asian Religious Paths*.

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Glossary

[] denotes Japanese reading

Agata Sōchi	縣宗知	<i>Jizō Bosatsu Kannō Den</i>	地藏菩薩感應傳
Ariwara no Yukihiro	在原行平	<i>Jizō Bosatsu Reigenki</i>	地藏菩薩靈驗記
<i>bunna</i>	文茄	<i>Jūō-kyō</i>	十王經
Chōjirō	長次郎	<i>Jūrin-kyō</i>	十輪經
<i>chūkō-meibutsu</i>	中興名物	<i>Kambokujō</i>	翰墨城
dengaku	田樂	Kameami	龜阿弥
<i>dō te</i>	同手	Kan'ami	觀阿弥
Eiraku Hozen	永樂保全	Kanamori Sōwa	金森宗和
<i>Emmei Jizō-kyō</i>	延命地藏經	<i>karamono</i>	唐物
Fujiwara no Kintō	藤原公任	<i>Katsura-bon</i>	桂本万葉集
Fujiwara no Nobuzane	藤原信実	<i>Man'yōshū</i>	
Fujiwara no Sadaie (Teika)	藤原定家	Kenzan (Ogata Shinsei)	乾山 (尾形深省)
Fujiwara no Sukemasa	藤原佐理	Ki no Tsurayuki	紀貫之
Fujiwara no Takanobu	藤原隆信	Kishida Ryūsei	岸田劉生
Fujiwara no Yoshitsune	藤原良經	<i>kiwame</i>	極め
Fujiwara no Yukinari	藤原行成	Kobori Enshū	小堀遠州
Gamō Ujisato	蒲生氏郷	<i>kohitsu</i>	古筆
Gempaku Sōtan gempon	元伯宗旦原本	Koide Yoshichika	小出吉親
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Hariya Sōshun honji	針屋宗春本地	<i>Kokōn Meibutsu Ruiju</i>	古今名物類聚
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<i>jibokudō</i>	入木道	Kyūkōsai Sōsa	吸江斎宗左
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		<i>mizuko kuyō</i>	水子供養
		<i>Moshiogusa</i>	藻塩草
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Ono no Tōfū	小野道風
Ō-tekagami	大手鑑
raigō	来迎
rinmo	臨模
rinsho	臨書
rokudō	六道
Ryōnyū	了入
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Sandō	三道
Sesonji	世尊寺
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utamei	歌銘
wamono	和物
Wang Xizi	王羲之
[Ō Gishi]	
Zeami	世阿弥

Chronology

Asuka period, 538–645
 Hakuho period, 645–710
 Nara period, 710–794
 Heian period, 794–1192
 Kamakura period, 1192–1336
 Muromachi period, 1336–1568
 Momoyama period, 1568–1603
 Edo period, 1603–1868
 Modern period, 1868–

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P. 37 photo caption should read: "Property of Ōbaiin Temple," not Kōbaiin Temple. The editor expresses apologies for the error.

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