

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 68



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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The names of Japanese and Chinese persons are written surname first, in accordance with the customary practice in these countries.

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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.

“Bokuseki are Foremost”

Sen Sōshitsu XV

One of the first things that the host of a tea gathering must do in preparation for the gathering is to decide what combination of utensils he or she will use; that is, to think about the purpose of the tea gathering and nature of the guests, and, with those things in mind, decide upon the hanging scroll, powdered-tea container, fresh-water container, teabowl, and so forth. This is what has given rise to the saying that the pleasure of a tea gathering goes “seven-tenths to the host and three-tenths to the guest.” In presenting a tea gathering, that pleasure enjoyed by the host begins with his or her choosing of the combination of utensils.

Among the group of utensils which the host selects, the most important item is the hanging scroll. This is because the hanging scroll directly reveals the theme of the gathering. For example, if the gathering is to commemorate a happy event, an appropriate one-line calligraphic work, piece of Japanese poetry, or other such work is selected, and the kettle, teabowl, teascoop, and other items are in turn chosen in accordance with the chosen scroll.

As for the hanging scroll that, hence, is the central item of a tea gathering, although there is a broad range of types, beginning firstly with *bokuseki* and including also *kaishi*, *shikishi*, *kohitsu*, *shōsoku*, and more, *bokuseki* have traditionally been regarded as the highest in rank. The *Nampō Roku* [compendium of the teachings of Sen Rikyū] states:

No utensil ranks with the scroll in significance. Contemplating it, both guest and host attain wholeness of mind and realization of the way in chanoyu-samadhi. Calligraphies of Zen monks (*bokuseki*) are foremost among scrolls. With veneration for what is written, one savors the virtue of the calligrapher, of practicers of the way, and of the patriarchs.*

This expresses the fact that *bokuseki* make us remindful of the virtue of the great monks and teach us to ascribe to the Buddhist teaching, and that this spirit is highly important in the Way of Tea.

* Tr. Dennis Hirota in “Memoranda of the Words of Rikyū: *Nampōroku* Book I,” *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 25 (1980), p. 37.

Although there are differing stories pertaining to just how *bokuseki* came to be used as “tea hangings” (*chagake*; a hanging scroll displayed in the context of a tea gathering), one of them states that the first instance of the use of a *bokuseki* as such was when the early pioneer of the Way of Tea, Murata Shukō (1421?–1502), conducted a chanoyu and, for it, hung a *bokuseki* by Yuanwu Keqin in the tokonoma, having received the *bokuseki* from the Daitokuji priest Ikkyū Sōjun at the time of his discipleship under the latter. It is said that Ikkyū at that time told Murata, “The Buddhist teaching (*buppō*) lies within chanoyu, too,” and that these words are what awakened Murata [to the potential of tea practice]. According to Ikkyū, Buddhist training and chanoyu training were in essence the same, and there was no particular need to distinguish between them. His message was that, if one made tea with all one’s heart and soul and thus entered into chanoyu-samadhi, the same state reached through Buddhist training would, of its own, open itself up to one.

Because no documentary evidence dating from that actual period has yet been discovered to verify the above story, I can not say that there do not exist some doubts about the story’s authenticity. According to research carried out by Haga Kōshirō, the earliest known document expressing the idea that “Tea and Zen [possess] one [i.e. the same] flavor” (*cha-zen ichimi*) is the *Kentōroku* of Daikyū Sōkyū, the twenty-fifth abbot of Myōshinji temple, who befriended Murata’s heir, Sōshu. The words that appear there are: “*Cha no Zen-mi o kanuru wa ka nari*” (It is good if the Zen flavor of tea is concurrent). Rephrased, this means that chanoyu must have the flavor of Zen.

After the time of Murata Shukō, the *cha-zen ichimi* idea increasingly penetrated chanoyu and became emphasized in its practice, as revealed by this *Nampō Roku* passage: “Chanoyu of the small room is, above all, a matter of practicing and realizing the way in accord with the Buddha’s teaching.”* And with Rikyū’s words which I quoted earlier, stating that the scroll is the most significant utensil in chanoyu and that *bokuseki* are foremost among the various types of scrolls, the notion is considered to have reached its culmination. ➤

* Ibid., p. 33.

Calligraphy and Bokuseki

Haga Kōshirō

In China, calligraphy, like painting, has from ancient times been considered one of the important accomplishments of the scholar-bureaucrat — the “superior man” noted for his skill at the lute, chess, calligraphy, and painting. As if to support this, noted calligraphers such as Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (Ō Gishi; 321–379) and Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (Ōyō Jun; 557–645) appeared one after another, and their works have continued to be highly regarded and appreciated.

The term *bokuseki*, written either 墨蹟 or 墨跡 (literally, “ink traces”), refers to characters written on paper or cloth with a brush using black ink, and was originally a synonym for calligraphy in general. As has been pointed out by previous scholars, and in Morohashi’s *Daikanwa Jiten* (Chinese-Japanese Dictionary), calligraphy was called *bokuseki* from as early as the Six Dynasties period (early 3rd c. – late 5th c.), as evidenced by the appearance of the term in the “Biography of Fanye” section of the *Song-shu* 宋書 (*Sōsho*).¹ Entering the Tang dynasty (618–ca. 907), the term also appears in a line in the *Gaojunxianyenming* 高君仙硯銘 (*Kōkunsengenmei*) of Hanyu 韓愈 (Kanyu; 768–824), the great Tang writer. However, it is thought that the term did not come into general use until the Song period, when the literary arts reached further heights of appreciation. We finally begin to find it frequently used in literary works of this period; for example, the “Royal Biography of Zhenzong” in the *Song-shi* 宋史 (*Sōshi*)² contains the phrases “granting the emperor’s *bokuseki* to the country” and “stored among old examples of calligraphy and *bokuseki*.” In this period, it was nevertheless used as a synonym for a calligraphic work, though with perhaps some emphasis that the work was that of a master.

The high regard with which calligraphy was held in China was also reflected in Japan from an early period. Works by Chinese masters of calligraphy were brought to Japan, noted Japanese calligraphers such as the

¹ The *Song-shu*, composed by Shen Yue (441–513), is the official history of the state of Liu Song (420–479). Fanye (Hanka; 398–445) was author of the *Hou Han-shu* (History of Later Han). —Tr.

² The *Song-shi* is the official history of the Song dynasty, whose third emperor was Zhenzong (r. 998–1098). —Tr.

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from “*Sho to Bokuseki*” 書と墨蹟 in *Sōjimboku Shoen: Chadō Bijutsu, Bokuseki* 草入本書苑：茶道美術 墨蹟 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1982). Romanization of Chinese is in accordance with the Pinyin system. Unless otherwise specified, parenthesized names following names of Chinese persons and works indicate their Japanese pronunciation.

so-called Three Brushes and Three Traces appeared,³ and, by the end of the Heian period, waka poetry came to be written in the elegant kana script. All of those works could, in the original sense of the word, be considered *bokuseki*. However, in Japan the use of the term *bokuseki* was greatly limited as an idiom and has referred exclusively to the calligraphy of Zen priests.

Esteem for *Bokuseki* in Zen Temples

In the *Wuwenyin* 無文印 (*Mumon in*; 1273), an anthology by the Southern Song dynasty Chan (Zen) priest Wuwen Daocan 無文道璨 (*Mumon Dōsan*; ?–1271), we find the words “epilogue written in the *bokuseki* of Jiao Ruhui (Kō Jokai).” In view of the circumstances which I shall explain hereunder, this can be regarded as an early indication that the *bokuseki* of Zen priests were highly esteemed in Zen temples during the Song dynasty.

The leading Zen priests possessed the spiritual heritage of Zen which had been maintained and transmitted through the relentless efforts of the masters of the past, and it was their highest duty and most important responsibility to ensure that by passing that heritage to those of their students who were capable of receiving it — to “one person or half a person” [*Blue Cliff Record*, 2] — the heritage remained unbroken. Hence, from the master’s point of view, transmission of the Dharma was of prime importance, as was being the recipient of that transmission, from the student’s point of view. But in Zen the transmission is from “mind to mind,” as typified by the tradition that, when the Buddha lifted some flowers during the assembly on Vulture Peak, only Kashyapa understood his meaning, and indicated that understanding by smiling.⁴ Because Zen does not rely on written scriptures, there was nothing in terms of written teachings; no volumes containing the secret tradition, that could be passed on to the student. Nevertheless, there had long been a custom of bestowing on the student something material as a mark of the transmission, as for example when the Fifth Patriarch, Hongran 弘忍, gave the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng 慧能, the robe and bowl said to have belonged to Bodhidharma. During the Song dynasty, it became the custom for a master to give a student an inscribed portrait of himself (*chinzō* 頂相)⁵ or a certificate verifying the student’s enlightenment (*inkajō* 印可狀), containing words to the effect: “You have succeeded to my Dharma and have the qualifications to act as

³ The Three Brushes (*sampitsu*) are generally listed as Kūkai (774–835), Emperor Saga (786–842), and Tachibana no Hayanari (d. 842); the Three Traces (*sanseki*), as Ono no Tōfū (894–966), Fujiwara no Sukemasa (944–998), and Fujiwara no Yukinari (974–1027). —Tr.

⁴ This famous scene is referred to by the phrase “*nengemishō*” 拈華微笑.

⁵ For example, that given Enni Bennen (1202–80) by Wuzhun Shifan (1177–1249), which remains in the possession of Tōfukuji temple, Nara.

master." For the student, such a portrait or certificate was a priceless treasure. He would mount it on a scroll, store it away, and bring it out and hang it up on the anniversary of the master's death and other special occasions, when he would make offerings of incense, flowers, and candles in a spirit of reverence and deep gratitude.

Chinzō and certificates of enlightenment were so esteemed and valued that priests hesitated to display them on ordinary occasions. What they used for display were writings in the master's or the patriarch's own hand which called them to mind; items such as their Dharma talks (*hōgo* 法語), religious verses (*geju* 偈頌), or letters (*sekitoku* 尺牘). Since these tended not to have been written with particular effort or concern and so showed an unfettered individuality, they were very suitable for recalling to mind the humanity and personality of the master. Zen has always stressed practice and enlightenment over doctrine, and so it has revered the historical masters who actually existed — "the truth become flesh" — over the idealized and universal buddhas and tathagatas. Thus, Zen priests prized *bokuseki* in which the character of the master was clearly apparent, and mounted them on scrolls and hung them in the rooms they used everyday, to serve as a reminder of him.

In all things, from mode of life to vocabulary, Japanese Zen temples were faithful copies of Song temples. The reverence for *bokuseki*, too, was transmitted in its entirety by Japanese priests who had studied in China or Chinese priests who had come to Japan, and from the Late Kamakura period (1249–1382), it spread rapidly within Zen society. This was due in particular to the fact that Japanese priests would travel to various parts of China visiting esteemed masters, and would request to receive *bokuseki* written by them as a mark of their study-visit, which they brought back with them when they returned to Japan. This is evident from the large number of *bokuseki* from this period containing variations of the formula: "I write this at the request of (receiver's name), of the Eastern Seas."

In his introduction to the history of research into *bokuseki*, contained in the *Shintei Zusetsu Bokuseki Soshiden* 新訂図説 墨蹟祖師伝 [Newly Revised and Illustrated Records of the Masters in Bokuseki], my colleague Imaeda Aishin 今枝愛真 has pointed out the existence of the phrase "*bokuseki* and so forth by people of old" in the *Fumon'in Zōsho Mokuroku* 普門院藏書目録 [Catalogue of Writings Stored within Fumon'in], the record of works brought back from China by the founder of Tōfukuji temple, Shōichi Kokushi 聖一國師 (a.k.a. Enni Bennen 円爾弁円; 1202–80). The expression *bokuseki* can also be found in the *Jōun'an Jōjū Shōmontō Mokuroku* 祥雲菴常住証文等目録, a catalogue dated the fifth month of Bumpō 2 (1318), and the *Ryūshōji Rutsūmotsu Sōshinjō* 龍翔寺流通物送進狀, a catalogue compiled by Zetsugai Sōtaku 絶崖宗卓 and dated the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month, Gen'ō 1 (1319). A separate category for *bokuseki* appears in the *Engakuji Butsunichian Kōmotsu Mokuroku* 円覺寺仏日菴公物目録 [Cata-

logue of Engakuji-Butsunichian's Official Items] (dated fourth month, Jōji 2 [1363]), and this is further divided into *bokuseki* from China and those from Japan. These records tell us of the growth of esteem and appreciation for *bokuseki* within Zen temples, expanding in step with the prosperity of the Zen sect in general, from the mid-Kamakura to early Nambokuchō periods.

Of note is the division of *bokuseki* into Chinese and Japanese examples in the Engakuji-Butsunichian catalogue. However, as an indication of the heightening esteem for *bokuseki* and the budding tendency to value the works of Japanese masters as well, of particular note is a passage in the entry for the twentieth day, tenth month, Eiwa 1 (1375), in the *Kūge Nikku-shū* 空華日工集 (full title: *Kūge Nichiyō Kufū Ryakushū*), the diary of Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–88), Dharma successor of Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351). The passage in question states:

I search out and gather together the writings, letters and replies, and things of that sort, of old and eminent priests. They light up my gaze as I look through them, one after another. I used to say to students in my care: "You should keep and treasure the words and phrases of masters of the past and of those students who are senior to you. In the future they may very well provide facts to add to priests' biographies. Be careful not to throw them away or destroy them."

I also said: "In general I keep nothing for long except my robe and my bowl. The only other thing I keep in my possession are the *bokuseki* of masters and seniors. This I call 'Gidō's heirlooms.' You all should be careful to look after these. You should keep even the work of the newest arrival. How can you look down on it now, when in the future it might be the basis of the buddhas and patriarchs?"

It appears that one reason Gidō carefully preserved the *bokuseki* of old friends and his former seniors, and also collected the works of students who were younger than him, was so that they could be used in the eventual compilation of priests' biographies. But, above all, he appreciated them in the quietness of his heart, and they were a remembrance for him of those who had written them.

Though I am omitting much, there is one thing that I should point out. From the Tang to the Five Dynasties period, the Southern school of Zen, which was the chief stream of Zen in China, was composed of five sects [the so-called Five Houses]: the Weiyang 滙仰 (Ikyō), Linji 臨濟 (Rinzai), Caodong 曹洞 (Sōtō), Yunmen 雲門 (Ummon), and Fayan 法眼 (Hōgen). By around the end of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), however,

the Weiyang, Yunmen, and Fayen fell into decline, while the Caodong was subdued and possessed little cultural interest. It was the Linji alone — in particular, the Zen of one of its substreams, Yangqi 楊岐 (Yōgi) — that flourished and dominated Zen circles. Hence, even though Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215) brought Rinzaï Zen to Japan in the form of its substream called Ōryō 黃龍 (Ch., Huanglong), and Dōgen 道元 (1200–53) brought Sōtō Zen, it was the Yōgi stream of Rinzaï that dominated Japanese Zen circles from the Kamakura through Nambokuchō periods and made the greatest cultural contribution, and the great majority of Japanese priests who studied in China and Chinese priests who came to Japan belonged to this stream. Such being the case, almost all the *bokuseki* brought to Japan in that period were works by priests of the Yōgi stream of the Rinzaï sect.

Following the Nambokuchō period, the *bokuseki* of both Chinese and Japanese Zen priests, particularly those of the Yōgi stream of Rinzaï, became widely esteemed and appreciated within Japanese Zen temples, as reminders of the legacy of the patriarchs and the venerable masters of the past. What was to give the greatest impetus to the permeation of *bokuseki* within not only the Zen temples but also society as a whole was the nascent chanoyu.

Chanoyu and *Bokuseki*

Interest in drinking tea grew with close links to Zen and its associated culture, and stemmed in part from an interest in anything Chinese. The *bokuseki* of Chinese Zen priests and the paintings of Chinese artists served admirably to satisfy this yearning for Chinese things. During the Nambokuchō to early Muromachi periods, however, *chayorai* — party-like “tea get-togethers” centering on tea-tasting competitions — were popular, and, as the *Kissa Ōrai* 喫茶往來 [Letter on Tea-drinking] (late 12th c.) makes clear, the only types of scrolls used to decorate the rooms where these were held were paintings brought from China.

In the middle of the Muromachi period, the retired eighth Ashikaga shōgun, Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1436–90), and such close associates of his as Nōami 能阿弥 (1397–1471), who was a painter and curator of the shōgun’s collection of Chinese paintings, developed an aristocratic form of tea gathering, the *shoin* style of tea, where appreciation of artistic objects, particularly those from China, was paramount. However, the decoration of the tokonoma for this style of chanoyu remained confined to paintings brought from China.

The *Kundaikan Sōchōki* 君台觀左右帳記, which describes the works of art, tea articles, and room decorations treasured by Ashikaga Yoshimasa, contains details about Chinese painters and descriptions of tea containers

(*chaire*), but not one word about *bokuseki*, which tells us quite clearly that *bokuseki* had virtually no place in the *shoin* style of tea. In this era, the appreciation of *bokuseki* was still confined to Zen priestly circles.

It is generally said that *bokuseki* began to be hung in the tokonoma of tea rooms after Murata Jukō (also read Shukō) 村田珠光 (1422–1502), known as the founder of chanoyu, created the smaller and simpler form of tea room of four-and-a-half mats and incorporated a sense of wabi into tea gatherings. The *Yamanoue Sōji Ki* 山上宗二記 [Record of Yamanoue Sōji] [1589], in a section headed “Concerning *Bokuseki*,” mentions a *bokuseki* of Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (Engō Kokugon; 1063–1135), at that time belonging to Iseya Dōwa of Sakai, and comments: “In the past this *bokuseki* was given to Jukō by the priest Ikkyū. It was the first *bokuseki* displayed [in a tea room].” Many records attest to the fact that Murata Jukō studied Zen under Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394–1481), and in view of the fact that it was Murata who combined the various forms of tea gathering then current — the tea etiquette (*sarei* 茶礼) of Zen temples, the aristocratic tea gathering, and the popular style — into a tea gathering marked by a sense of wabi, we may be permitted to accept the tradition that the first instance of a *bokuseki* being hung in a tea room was when Murata did so with the Yuanwu *bokuseki* which he had received from Ikkyū.

The custom of hanging a *bokuseki* in the tokonoma of a tea room spread widely as the wabi style of tea gained in popularity among the newly rich merchants of Sakai and Kyoto. One thing, in particular, which helped this custom gain a firm hold was that many of those tea connoisseurs among the rich merchants had close associations with Zen priests. For example, Murata Sōshu 村田宗珠, Jukō’s successor and inheritor of the Yuanwu *bokuseki*, was close to Daikyū Sōkyū 大休宗休 (1468–1549) of Myōshinji temple, while many others, such as Jūshiya Sōgo 十四屋宗悟 (dates uncertain), who studied Zen under Kogaku Sōkō 古岳宗亘 (1464–1548) of Daitokuji temple, and Takeno Jōō 武野紹鷗 (1502–55), who practiced under Kogaku’s Dharma successor, Dairin Sōtō 大林宗套 (1480–1568), became closely associated with the Zen priests of Nanshūji temple (in Sakai) and Daitokuji temple (in Kyoto).

The chanoyu diary kept by Tsuda Sōtatsu 津田宗達 (1504–66), a wealthy Sakai merchant who was head of the Tennōjiya, is the best document we possess for knowing the circumstances of the early period of chanoyu proper, the middle of the sixteenth century. In it he records some 430 tea gatherings that he attended during the nineteen years between 1548 and 1566. In some instances he merely notes that a meeting was “the same as always,” or just lists those who took part. Thus there are a number of entries which do not specify what the tokonoma contained. Of those that do, approximately one hundred mention that it contained not a hanging scroll but items such as large jars for storing tea leaves, small containers for powdered tea (*chaire*), or flowers. The mentions of paintings

number about one hundred times, and *bokuseki*, about sixty. Sometimes a painting or a *bokuseki* was hung for the first part of the gathering and then exchanged in the second half for flowers or a jar, while there were also instances where the scroll consisted of a picture containing an inscription. Time constraints prevent me from formulating a precise calculation taking these factors into consideration, but the above figures can be seen as indicating the general trend.

To summarize, then: The traditions from the *shoin* style of tea continued to influence the chanoyu of this time, and paintings by Chinese artists such as Muxi 牧溪 (Mokkei; late 13th c.), Yujian 玉璣 (Gyokukan; mid-13th c.), Liangkai 梁楷 (Ryōkai; early 13th c.), and Zhaochang 趙昌 (Chōshō; dates uncertain) remained popular. Nonetheless, the instances of the display of *bokuseki* had reached sixty percent of those of paintings.

Listed roughly in the order of frequency in which their works appear to have been used, the writers of many of those *bokuseki* were people such as:

Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (Kidō Chigu; 1185–1269)
 Yuanwu Keqin (Engo Kokugon)⁶
 Liaoran [Nantang] Qingyu 了庵 (南堂) 清欲 (Ryōan [Nandō]
 Seiyoku; 1288–1363)
 Chushi Fanqi 楚石梵琦 (Soseki Bonki; 1297–1371)
 Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (Chūhō Mimbon [also read
 Myōhon]; 1263–1323)
 Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (Bujun Shiban [also read Mujun
 Shiha]; 1177–1249)
 Mieweng Wenli 滅翁文禮 (Mettō Morai; 1167–1250)
 Wuchu Daguan 物初大觀
 (Busso [also read Mossho] Taikan; dates uncertain)
 Dachuan Puji 大川普濟 (Daisen Fusai; 1179–1253)

It is noteworthy that the calligraphy of literary figures such as Feng Haisu 馮海粟 (Fu Kaizoku; dates uncertain), Zhao Ziang 趙子昂 (Chō Sugō; 1254–1322), Zhao Jizhi 趙即之 (Chō Sokushi; 1186–1266), and Mi Yuanzhang 米元章 (Bei Genshō; 1051–1107) were used in the same manner as *bokuseki*; that, as for *bokuseki* by Japanese Zen priests, the works of Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (a.k.a. Daitō Kokushi 大燈国師; 1282–1337) and Shunrin Sōshuku 春林宗叟, the 98th head of Daitokuji temple, were used; and that — though of no direct connection to *bokuseki* — Fujiwara Teika's calligraphy of Japanese poetry known as the *Ogura sansō shikishi* 小倉山莊色紙 and the calligraphy of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455–1537), the teacher of Japanese classics to Takeno Jōō, were also employed. This trend

⁶ This listing is based on the assumption, in keeping with the generally accepted theory, that *bokuseki* attributed to "Founder" (*kaisan*) are by Yuanwu.

is also revealed in the chanoyu diary kept during the same period by Matsuya Hisamasa 松屋久政 (d. 1598), a wealthy merchant and tea connoisseur from Nara.

The tendency for *bokuseki* to be prized as scrolls to be hung in the tokonoma of the tea room grew even stronger in tea circles during the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568–1600), when the world of tea was led by men who had close relations with Zen priests at Daitokuji — such men as Imai Sōkyū 今井宗久 (1520–93), Tsuda Sōgyū 津田宗及 (d. 1591), and particularly Sen Rikyū 千利休 (1522–91), who was a student of Zen under Shōrei Sōkin 笑嶺宗訢 (1504–68) and was praised by Kokei Sōchin 古溪宗陳 (1532–97) as a great lay practitioner for his thirty years of Zen training. An examination of the section regarding others' tea gatherings in the *Tsuda Sōgyū Chanoyu Nikki* 津田宗及茶湯日記 [Chanoyu Diary of Tsuda Sōgyū], which covers the years 1565–85, shows that paintings were used 147 times as compared with 150 times for *bokuseki*, while the *Sōtan Nikki* 宗湛日記 [Chanoyu Diary of Kamiya Sōtan 神屋宗湛 (1551–1635)], covering the period 1586–99, reveals 23 instances of paintings as opposed to 58 of *bokuseki*. *Bokuseki* had taken a firm lead. The same trend should also be apparent if we examined other records from the period, such as the relevant section from the *Matsuya Kaiki* 松屋会記 [Matsuya Record of Tea Gatherings], the latter part of the *Hisamasa Nikki* (Matsuya Hisamasa's diary), and the *Hisayoshi Nikki* (Matsuya Hisayoshi's diary).

Yamanoue Sōji (1544–90), who lived in much the same period as Sen Rikyū, made a special chapter in his *Yamanoue Sōji Ki* dealing with *bokuseki*, and listed three scrolls by Yuanwu, seven by Xutang, and three by Wuzhun Shifan as famed masterpieces (*meibutsu*). Following this, he states:

There are many of the sort such as by Dahui [Zonggao] 大慧宗杲 (Daie Sōkō; 1089–1163), Mian [Xianjie] 密庵咸傑 (Mittan Kanketsu; 1107–86), Ningjueh Daochong 癡絕道冲 (Chizetsu Dōchū; 1178–1250), Nantang [a.k.a. Liaoan], Qingzhuo [Zhengcheng] 清拙正澄 (Seisetsu Seichō; 1274–1338), Mao Gulin 茂古林 [a.k.a. Gulin Qingmou 古林清茂] (Mu Kurin, Kurin Seimu; 1262–1329), and Yin Yuejiang 印月江 [a.k.a. Yuejiang Zhengyin 月江正印] (In Gekkō, Gekkō Shōin; b. 1267); many *bokuseki* of the various predecessors during the nineteen generations since Hui Xian 惠西岩 [a.k.a. Xian Liaohui 西巖了惠] (E Seigan, Seigan Ryōe; 1198–1262) and Yuanwu (Enge). In general, of first importance with *bokuseki* is the master [who writes it], of second [importance are] the words themselves, and then [follows] the style, which constitutes aesthetic taste. Such is highly valued. There are many oral traditions concerning this. There are also oral traditions concerning how to judge if [a *bokuseki*] is genuine or not.

We can see from this how highly *bokuseki* had come to be esteemed.

During the Edo period, chanoyu spread widely socially and geographically and was practiced by samurai, court nobility, priests, and townspeople alike. Together with this, noteworthy changes occurred in the scrolls displayed in the tokonoma. Firstly, *bokuseki* came to be greatly preferred over paintings, and their use dramatically increased. Secondly, the use of *bokuseki* written by Japanese Zen priests, particularly those of the Daitokuji school, increased. Thirdly, *kohitsu* 古筆, specimens of Japanese calligraphy from the Heian period cut out of poems and songs and individually framed, became popular.

One of the best sources for examining the chanoyu at the beginning of the Edo period is the section of the *Matsuya Kaiki* called the *Matsuya Hisashige Chakaiki* [Tea Gathering Record of Matsuya Hisashige], which covers the years 1604–50. Of the scrolls displayed, paintings were used about 25 times; *bokuseki*, about 115 times; and *kohitsu*, about 30 times. These figures are rough, but they are sufficient to indicate the basic trend. From them we can discern the heightened popularity of *bokuseki* since the time of the aforementioned *Tsuda Sōgyū Chanoyu Nikki*. As in the earlier record, there appear works by Chinese Zen priests — such figures as:

Zhuoan Deguang 拙庵德光 (Settan Tokukō ; 1121–1203)
Mian Xianjie (Mittan Kanketsu)
Poan Zuxian 破庵祖先 (Haan Sosen; 1136–1211)
Xutang Zhiyu (Kidō Chigu)
Lingshi Ruzhi 靈石如芝 (Rinshii Nyoshi; dates uncertain)
Zhongfeng Mingben (Chūhō Mimbon)
Ningjue Daochong (Chizetsu Dōchū)
Longyan Dezhen 龍巖德真 (Ryōgan Tokushin; dates uncertain).

Of note, however, is the large number of works by Chinese priests who had come to Japan, such as:

Lanxi Daolong 蘭溪道隆 (Rankei Dōryū; 1213–78)
Wuxue Zuyuan 無學祖元 (Mugaku Sogen; 1226–86)
Daxiu Zhengnian 大休正念 (Daikyū Shōnen; 1214–88)
Zhuxian Fanqian 竺仙梵僊 (Jikusen Bonsen; 1292–1348)
Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (Issan Ichinei; 1247–1317)

Also noteworthy is the popularity of works by Japanese Zen priests of the Daitokuji school, such as:

Ikkyū Sōjun
Yōsō Sōi 養叟宗頤 (1376–1458)

[cont'd, p. 33]

[Facing page]

古林清茂 送別の偈
Farewell *gatha* by Gulin Qingmau
National Treasure
Scroll: 113.0 cm. x 101.0 cm.
Work proper: 35.7 cm. x 99.3 cm.
Property of the Gotoh Museum

This is a *gatha* written in farewell by the Yuan priest Gulin Qingmau (Kurin Seimu; 1262–1329) at the request of the Japanese priest Betsugen Enshi 別源円旨 (1294–1364) on his return to his own country.

(TEXT)

Zen [man En]shi, you have stayed three years under my care. In your practice you have endured thirty rattan sticks. Well have you come from the far land of the sun in the east, your truth-seeking mind adamant. You are still much hard training away from the realm of enlightenment, but at some time, as you continue your training, you will be called a child of my house.

At the request of Zen man [En]shi, who in seeking the Way has spent three years with me. Seeking the words, he travels to Jiangxi to pay respects to masters there. Inscribed the second day of the ninth month, second year of Taiding [1125].

Jinlingfengtai Qingmau



Gulin Qingmau was the Dharma successor of Hengchuan Rugong 横川如珙 (Wansen Nyokyō) of the Songyuan 松源 (Shōgen) stream of the Linji (Rinzai) sect, and was a well-known Zen master during the Yuan dynasty. His pseudonym (gō) was Jingangchuang 金剛幢 (Kongōdō) and his title was Xiujusou 休居叟 (Kyūkyosō). After his transmission, he became head of Baiyunsi (Hakuunji) in Pingjiang-fu, then of Yongfusi (Eifukuji) in Raozhou, and later, in 1322, of Baoningsi (Honeiji) in Jinlingfengtai. Eight years later, on the 22nd of the 11th month, 1329 (Tianli 2), he died at the age of sixty-eight. His style of Zen was transmitted most prominently while he was at Baoningsi; his disciples included Liaoan Qingyu (Ryōan Seiyoku) and Zhuxian Fanqian (Jikusen Bonsen), who came to Japan. He had a number of Japanese students of Zen, of whom the best known are Getsurin Dōkō 月林道皎 (1293–1351) and Sekishitsu Zenkyū 石室善玖 (1294–1389). Betsugen Enshi was another.

Betsugen Enshi was born in Echizen, and after training for twelve years at Engakuji, traveled to China in 1320. He stayed there eleven years, visiting many temples in pursuit of Zen training. After returning to Japan in 1330, he founded Kōshōji temple in Echizen, and in his later years received the patronage of Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshiakira, and became the 44th head of Kenninji temple. His verses are collected in the *Nan'yūshū* 南遊集 [lit., “south float” collection] and the *Tōkishū* 東歸集 [“east return” collection].

This farewell *gatha* was written for Enshi at his request in the 9th month of 1325. Gulin was sixty-four when he wrote it. The verse is full of encouragement and high expectations. Together with the example called *Getsurin Dōkō ni ataeru Getsurin-gō* [The Pseudonym Getsurin Given to Getsurin Dōkō] at Chōfukuji temple, and the *Yūzennin ni ataeru ge* [*Gatha* presented to Zen Man Yū] in the collection of the former Matsunaga Memorial Gallery (now in the Fukuoka Art Museum), it is typical of Gulin's *bokuseki*.

Kōshōji temple gave this work to one of its patrons, the Asakura family, and after the fall of that family it passed into the hands of Oda Nobunaga, who gave it as a prize for military valor to Niwa Nagahide (1535–85). It was long held as a family treasure by the Niwa family.

無準師範 書翰 板渡の書翰

"The Letter Concerning the Sending of Planks," by Wuzhun Shifan

National Treasure

Scroll. 139.5 cm. x 115.5 cm.

Work proper: 32.3 cm. x 100.4 cm.

Property of the Tokyo National Museum

This is a letter of thanks sent by Wuzhun Shifan (Bujun Shibān; 1177–1249) to the founder of Tōfukuji temple, Enni Bennen 円爾弁円 (a.k.a. Shōichi Kokushi 聖一国師; 1202–80), who, having heard that his master Wuzhun's temple, Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshousi 徑山興聖万寿寺 (Kinzan Kōshō Manjuji), had burned down, had sent a thousand wooden planks to help toward its reconstruction. For this reason, this highly prized scroll is called "The Letter Concerning the Sending of Planks."

(TEXT)

Shifan sends greetings personally to the respected priest and head of [the temple of] Shōten in Japan. It is now the height of summer. I trust that your health is even. At the beginning of last autumn the eminent priest Neng came bringing your letter with him. I was delighted to hear that you are working as the head of Shōtenji, and I think of you so far away. On the occasion of the important task of rebuilding this temple, the thousand planks you have sent will be of great help. Thank you sincerely. I never thought that such a large ship would come. Though many ships have foundered and lives been lost [in the crossing between China and Japan], fortunately the ship [carrying the planks] arrived safely at [the port of] Huating. However, since Huating is in an area under the direct control of the [Song] court, we were not permitted to have them [immediately], and they were kept there for a year. Recently we received permission [from the court] and we sent a priest from the temple to Huating, where he took possession of 530 of them. Three hundred and thirty have arrived in Qingyuan, but we have not yet been able to get them. Another 140 were sent by another ship, which has not yet arrived. [For this reason], the eminent priest Neng will remain yet awhile at Jingshan, and he will depart [for Japan] after he has verified the number of planks. At that time I plan to send a letter of thanks to the great patron [of Buddhism], Xie Guomin.

I have heard that in Japan the sects of the doctrine and the precepts flourish, but that the schools of Southern Chan [Zen] are not yet vigorous. But the Elder Priest [Enni] has already done

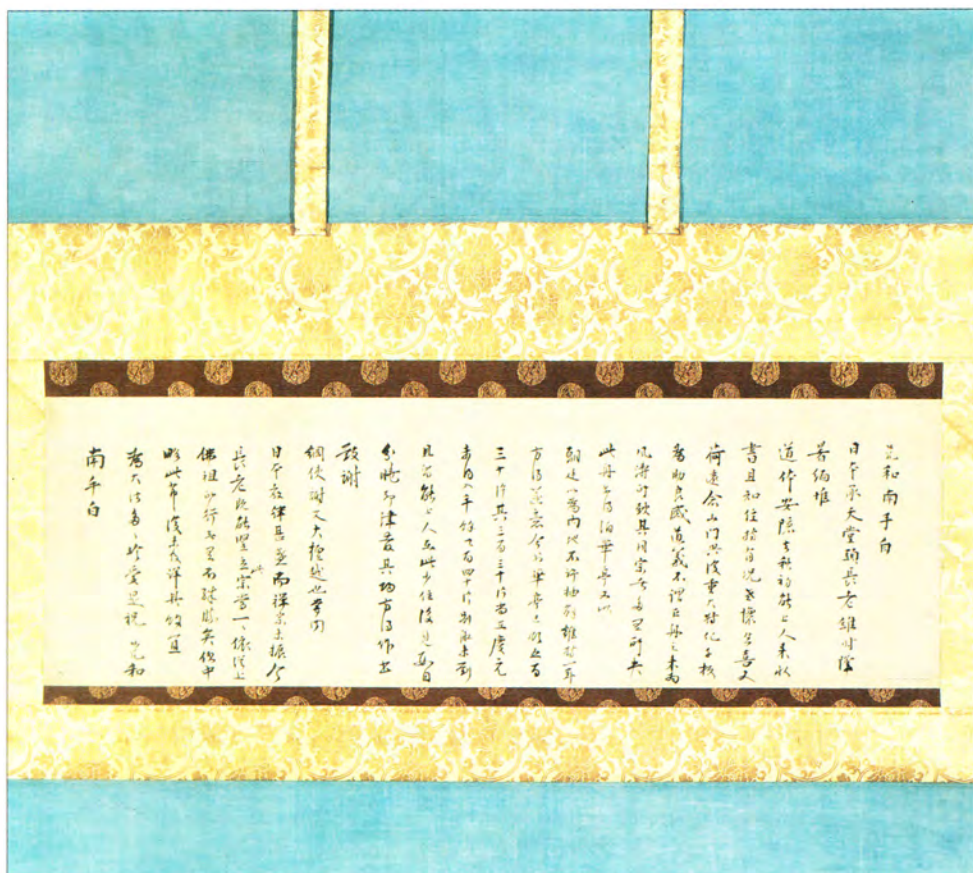
much to establish the [Chan] school there. If, in all things, you follow the exemplar of the Buddha and the patriarchs, your efforts will surely meet with success. Since I still do not have a full report to make, this letter cannot be too detailed. I pray for your continuing health as you work on behalf of the Great Dharma. Shifan prostrates himself before you as he sends this letter.

COMMENTARY

Wuzhun Shifan was born in 1177, at Jianzhou in Szechwan. He became ordained at the age of nine, and after traveling extensively to various regions studying under various masters, he became a disciple of Poan Zuxian 破庵祖先 (Haan Sosen; 1136–1211) of Lingyinsi (Rinninji) and became his Dharma successor. He served successively as head of Jiaoshan Pujisi (Shōzan Fusaiji), Xuedoushan Zishengsi (Setchōzan Shishōji), and Yuwangshan Guanglisi (Iōzan Kōriji), and spent his last twenty years at Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshousi (Kinzan Kōshō Manjuji), the foremost of the Five Mountains. Wuzhun Shifan's teaching prospered, and his Dharma heirs include Xueyan Zuqin 雪巖祖欽 (Setsugan Sokin; d. 1287), Wuxue Zuyuan 無學祖元 (Mugaku Sogen, 1226–86), Wuan Puning 兀庵普寧 (Gottan Funei; d. 1276), and Enni Bennen. In 1233, Wuzhun Shifan was invited before the emperor Lizong of the Southern Song dynasty to teach Zen, and was conferred with the title of Fojian Yuanzhao Chanshi 仏鑑円照禪師 (Bukkan Enshō Zenji). He died in 1249, at the age of seventy-three.

Enni Bennen was born at Warashina in the province of Suruga. He entered Kunōzan as a boy, and there studied Kusha and Tendai doctrines. Later he studied under Shakuen Eichō (also read Yōchō) 釈円榮朝 (d. 1247) and Taikō Gyōyū 退耕行勇 (1163–1241), followers of Eisai, and went to China in 1235. There he spent six years under Wuzhun Shifan at Jingshan, and was accepted as a Dharma heir by that master. He returned to Japan in 1241. For some two years after his return, he sought to spread the new Zen teachings from the temples Shōtenji and Sōfukuji in Hakata. He was invited to the capital in 1243 by the former regent, Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193–1252), and there became the founder of Tōfukuji, the temple built by Michiie. He was also invited to Kamakura by Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1226–63). He spread Zen teachings among court and warrior aristocracy alike, and had many Dharma heirs, including Mukan Fumon 無関普門 (1212–91), the founder of Nanzenji temple. He died in 1280 (Kōan 3), at the age of seventy-nine.

In the summer of 1242, the year after Enni took his leave of Wuzhun Shifan and returned to Japan, Wuzhun's temple on Jingshan was destroyed in a fire. At that time Enni was in Hakata, where, with the financial backing of a wealthy Chinese merchant called Xie Guoming 謝国明, he was establishing



Shōtenji temple. When he heard the news of the fire on Jingshan, he sent, with the help of Xie Guoming, a thousand planks to aid reconstruction. This *bokuseki* is the letter Wuzhun sent in thanks.

The letter reflects the sympathy that existed between master and disciple. It is not dated, but, from the phrase “they were held there one year,” it seems likely that it was sent the year after the fire, which would make it the summer of 1243. The *bokuseki* is carefully written, and is similar in calligraphic style to the verse inscribed on the portrait scroll of Wuzhun in the keeping of Tōfukuji temple. Many other excellent examples of Wuzhun’s calligraphy also exist, including the scroll of two large characters, 帰雲 “Ki-un,” in the collection of the MOA Museum of Art.

In the opening years of the nineteenth century, the letter came into the keeping of Matsudaira Fumai (1751–1818), and was esteemed as a great treasure by the Matsudaira family of Matsue (Izumo). In the late 1920s, it was given to the Imperial Household Museum by the Matsudaira family, and remains in the collection of its successor, the Tokyo National Museum.

[Page 25]

圓悟克勤 法語 流れ圓悟

Excerpt from a sermon, by Yuanwu Keqin

Known as the "*Nagare Engo*"

National Treasure

Scroll: 129.0 cm. x 64.0 cm.

Work proper: 44.0 cm. x 52.0 cm.

Property of the Tokyo National Museum

Yuanwu Keqin (Engo Kokugon; 1063–1135) was famous as the priest who expanded the *Blue Cliff Record*. He gave this *bokuseki*, the first half of a Dharma talk, to his Dharma successor Huqiu Shaolong 虎丘紹隆 (Kukyū Jōryū; 1077–1136) in 1124. This work has long been considered the preeminent of all *bokuseki*, both in consideration of Yuanwu's important place in Zen history and because it is the oldest extant example of a Zen *bokuseki*.

(TEXT)

Since the time of the Buddha and the patriarchs, [our Chan school] has [esteemed] a single transmission directly pointing [to the mind], and does not rejoice in making fools of people by guiding and training them according to the relative truth expressed in spoken words or written letters. Master Shakyamuni, in more than three hundred assemblies, taught according to the potentialities and dispositions [of his hearers], providing a model for the world, and speaking in a very roundabout manner [about the relative truth]. However, finally he transmitted his Dharma to the [one with the] supreme capability [Kashyapa]. Of the twenty-eight patriarchs from Kashyapa [to Bodhidharma], a few have revealed the barrier gates corresponding with the capacities [of the students], and many have revealed the Dharma theoretically; however, when it came to transmitting the Dharma, there were none who did not reveal the truth directly face to face, [for example,] the knocking down of the flagpole [Kashyapa's confirmation of Dharma transmission to Ananda]. [Kanadeva's] throwing a needle into a cup of water and [Nagarjuna's] assuming the aspect of the moon, the flying of the scarlet banner [signalling victory in debate] and being endowed with the clear eyes of the Way, and the verse, like an iron shaft, of the transmission of the Dharma. Bodhidharma destroyed the six sects, revealed the principle for the heterodox schools, and brought tranquility to the realm, arguing "I am a deva, you are a dog." All [of these examples] are the wondrous teachings of direct truth, and there is no speculation or theory in them at all.

[Bodhidharma], coming to Liang, [then crossing the Yangzi and] wandering in Wei, widely expounded [the principles] "a separate transmission outside the scriptures," and "a single

transmission, the seal of the mind." The six patriarchs passed the robe as a symbol of transmission. It came to Dajian [Huineng] of Caoxi, and he was deeply familiar with the teachings of Chan and taught them extensively. Long years have passed since then. The great masters, emancipated and with true eyes [of the Way], have accommodated their teachings to changing circumstances. They have been unconcerned with fame and outward appearances, and have deplored degeneration into theoretical teaching and empty words. Animatedly, they have responded without hindrance to need, for example the stick [of Deshan Xuanjian], the shout [of Linji Yixuan]. They returned words with words, met disposition with disposition, attacked poison with poison, and destroyed function with function. But in the seven hundred years, branches have separated and streams divided, and each has upheld its own tradition, in noisy contention, separate and ununited. However, though it seems that each school is separate, they have not departed from [Bodhidharma's] "directly point at one's mind." If the mind-ground is illumined, there are no hindrances even the width of a string. There is release from all views and thoughts that discriminate victory and defeat, self and other, right and wrong, and one penetrates the realm of great ease and tranquility. How can there be two purposes [in Chan]? A hundred rivers flow into the one ocean.

You have the disposition to attain the supreme stage, you have broad and deep discernment and the will to further extend [shaolong], the Dharma inherited from the Buddha and the patriarchs, and certainly will hereafter enter deeply into the heart [of Chan], attain great faith, and have the marrow [of the Buddha and Bodhidharma]. Thus it is fitting that I now verify your seeds of buddhahood with the seal of the Dharma. I enjoin you to keep this [certification] secret from the world and be cautious how you pass [the Dharma] on. Do not relax your efforts.

有祖也。未唯務乎傳直指不委帶。水施打露布列
 案廣鈍置人蓋釋迦老子三萬餘會對機設教。立世
 範大設周施。是故最後徑截省要。穩最上機。雖自迦葉
 於八世。少示機。開多顯理。致至什度之際。靡不直而提持。如
 倒刺竿。無水設針。示因光相。執赤端把。明鑑說如鐵福
 子。僧徒傷達。慶感六宗。無不道盡。義於下太平。者轉我天。尔
 狗。皆神機。運轉非擬。儀思作。而則洎到。舉游觀。尤後跟
 言。教外別行。果傳心印。六代傳衣。而指點著。意事。便
 大鑒。詳示。說通。宗通。歷代。久具。正眼。大解。脫。宗。師。家
 筆。通。達。傳。不。帶。名。相。不。理。性。言。說。故。為。活。卓。地。脫。洒
 自由。妙。檢。透。見。行。持。行。明。以。言。達。言。以。機。發。機。以。毒。攻
 毒。以。用。破。用。而。以。流。傳。七。五。年。故。分。派。別。各。擅。家。風
 法。三。真。難。莫。知。紀。極。然。窺。其。歸。看。無。出。直。指。心。心。地
 既。明。無。毫。毫。隔。礙。服。去。葛。藤。我。是。非。知。見。解。會。通
 到大。休。大。歇。安。穩。之。場。生。方。二。致。我。而。謂。百。而。異。派
 同。歸。子。海。要。領。具。个。而。上。根。器。具。之。識。遠。見。不。知。降
 佛。祖。志。氣。然。後。能。保。入。圓。奧。徹。底。信。得。直。下。把
 得。住。始。可。印。證。堪。為。種。草。檢。此。切。宜。實。杜。慎。詞。勿
 作。客。教。行。也

In the *Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* 圓悟仏果禪師語錄 (*Engo Bukka Zenji Goroku*; Record of Sayings of the Enlightened Zen Master Engo) and the *Yuanwu Xinyao* 圓悟心要 (*Engo Shinyō*; Essence of the Heart of Engo), there is recorded a Dharma talk entitled “*Shi Long Zhizang*” 示隆知藏 [Addressed to Priest-in-Charge-of-Sutras Long] with the same text as that in this work, which comprises the first half. The second half consists of some 350 characters, and concludes with the following:

Long-gong zhi-cang spent more than ten years studying under masters in Huxiang and Beishan, and he is a true man of the ragged robe — [a Zen priest] who seeks out the Way. Already, for three years he has given to guidance students. By imperial command I am moving to Tianning. I hope that, having received these words of the Dharma, he will display his commitment to the Way. Thus I leave these lines.

Sixth year of Xuanhe (1124), middle of the 12th month
The old priest Foguo Keqin

From this it is clear that this Dharma talk was given by Yuanwu to Huqiu Shaolong as a certificate of enlightenment (*inkajō*). Yuanwu Keqin (properly Wuzhu Keqin 無著克勤 [Mujaku Kokugon]) was from Pengzhou. After studying under Huitang Zuxin 晦堂祖心 (Maidō Soshin; 1025–1100) and other masters of the Huanglong (Ōryō) school, he became a student of Wuzu Fayuan 法演 (Goso Hōen; d. 1104), and eventually his Dharma successor. He was active as a prime mover in the propagation of Koan Zen, and brought to completion the *Blue Cliff Record*, based on the collection of one hundred koans of the Songgu (Juko) of Xuetou Zhongxian 雪竇重顯 (Setchō Jūken; 980–1052). He served as head of a number of great temples; in 1114 he received the title Foguo Chanshi (Bukka Zenji) from the Northern Song emperor Huizong, and, in 1128, the title Yuanwu Chanshi (Engo Zenji) from the Southern Song emperor Gaozong. Toward the end of his life he returned to Zhaojuesi in Chengdu, and died at the age of seventy-three in the 8th month of 1135.

Huqiu Shaolong, who was from Hanshan in Hezhou, entered Buddhism as a young child. He studied under Yuanwu and became his Dharma successor, and is known, with Dahui Zonggao (Daie Sōkō), as one of the two great teachers of the Truth. After residing at Kaishengsi in his home district, he went as temple head to Yunyanchansi (Unganzenji) on Huqiushan, the ninth of the *shi cha* (Ten Temples), where he was very influential as a teacher of Buddhism. He died in the 5th month of 1136, at the age of sixty. One of his Dharma successors was Ying'an Tanhua 應庵曇華 (Ōan Donge; 1103–63).

The Dharma talk of our text summarizes the history of Chan and describes the nature of the Bodhidharma's Chan, while emphasizing the importance of transmitting the Dharma and the responsibility of maintaining the great teachings of Buddhism. Yuanwu earnestly gives instruction to his Dharma successor Huqiu, and even a single reading shows it to be a great and profound Dharma sermon.

This *bokuseki* is known as the “*Nagare Engo*” [Drifted Engo], based on the tradition that it was washed ashore at Bōnotsu in Satsuma (Kagoshima). Though there are doubts about its authenticity (the brush strokes are slow, there are signs of stoppages, and there are mistakes in the characters themselves), we must respect the work in view of the fact that its provenance is well known and it has been esteemed for many centuries.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was in the possession of Gyōhō Zōsu 堯甫藏主 (dates uncertain). It eventually went to Daisen'in, a Daitokuji subtemple, and then came into the possession of Tani Sōtaku 谷宗卓 (1558–1615), a wealthy merchant and tea master of Sakai. The *Tsuda Sōgyū Chanoyu Nikki* and *Sōtan Nikki* mention about this work being displayed, and the *Yamanoue Sōji Ki* refers to it as a famous work. At that time it had not been cut into two. Later, the scroll left the Tani family and was taken to Shōunji temple. In 1805 it was sold to Matsudaira Fumai for 2,500 *ryō* plus also thirty bales of rice annually in perpetuity. It passed to the Matsue branch of the Matsudaira family and was donated by the family to the Imperial Household Museum in the late 1920s. It remains in the possession of the Museum's successor, the Tokyo National Museum.

Accompanying this scroll are a *bokuseki* by Dongyan Jingri 東巖淨日 (Tōgan Jōnichi; 1623–?), a Chan master of Yuan-dynasty China; another, by Shitang 師倘 (Shishō; dates uncertain) and Xingzhen 行珍 (Gyōchōin; 1624–94), also of Yuan-dynasty China; calligraphies by Kogaku Sōkō and Un'ei Sōi; a letter addressed to Furuta Oribe (1544–1615) from Shun'oku Sōen; and a letter addressed to Tani Sōtaku from Daté Masamune (1567–1636).

[Facing page]

宗峰妙超 法語

Dharma talk, by Shūhō Myōchō

Important Cultural Property

Scroll: 124.6 cm. x 90.0 cm.

Work proper: 32.3 cm. x 78.0 cm.

Property of the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts

This is part of a talk which Shūhō Myōchō (a.k.a. Daitō Kokushi, 1282–1337), the founder of Daitokuji temple, gave on the eve of the winter solstice (*tōji shō-san*). He wrote it out for a student, Sōen Zennin 宗円禪人 (dates uncertain).

(TEXT)

Nothing in the entirety of the universe has even been hidden.

This is the most difficult thing for ordinary people to understand,
as this is the hardest season to bear.

It is just like releasing a black chicken in the middle of the night.

Though we face to every direction and look left and right, we can
distinguish no light.

If you directly realize that darkness passes, light comes, snow is
chilly, and ice is freezing,

You will make the great activity of our Zen tradition prosper in
every place.

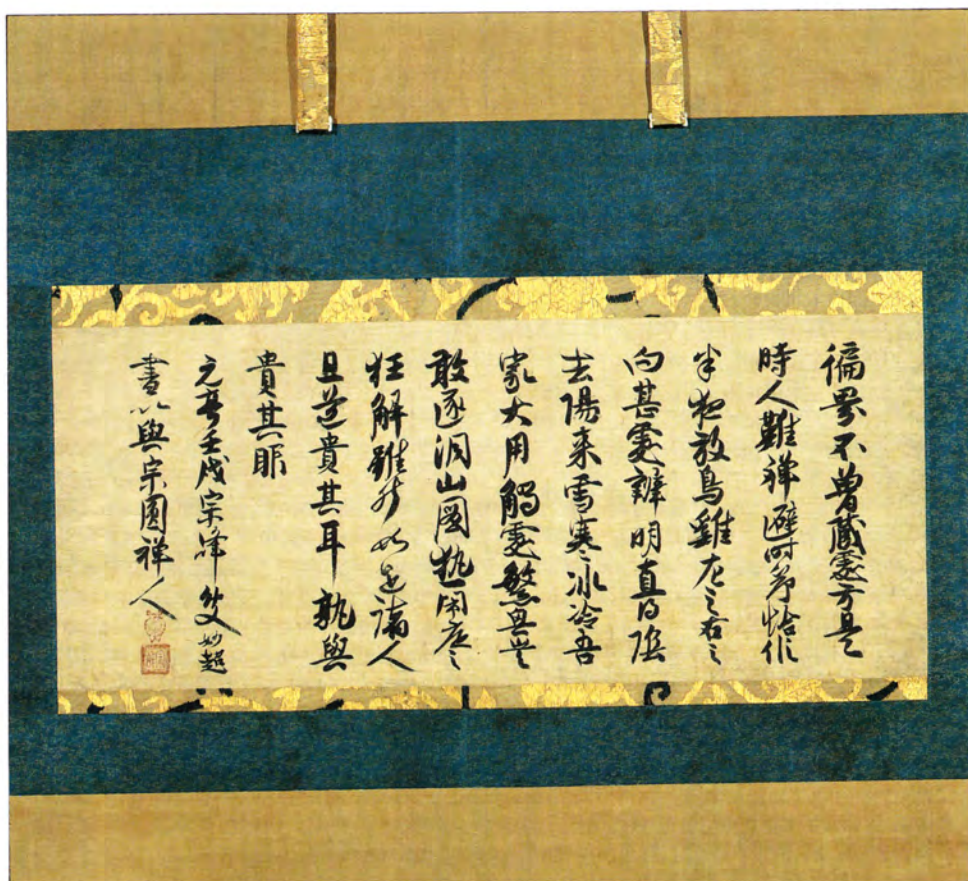
How can you pursue the confused understanding of Dongshan's
teaching of heat and noise?

Do you understand what I am saying? I ask you:

Do you value your ears or do you value your eyes?

Genkō 2 [1321] Shūhōsō Myōchō

Written for Sōen Zennin



Though the *Daitō Kokushi Goroku* 大燈国師語録 [Record of the Sayings of Daitō Kokushi] does not identify when this talk was given, we know that it was a sermon given by Shūhō to explain the principle of Zen to the students studying under him, on the occasion of *tōji shōsan* (a short lecture meeting held on the eve of the winter solstice). It is extremely difficult to elucidate the profundities of Zen, but I will venture here to throw some light on Shūhō's powerful words.

At the winter solstice, the days are at their shortest, and the nights are at their longest. After it, the rays of the sun creep a little further along the floor each day. It is a time when the positive and the negative seem to be at a balance; the year's waning has stopped, and there are the tiniest signs of the sun's waxing. This is an excellent metaphor for two religious principles, that brightness and darkness make a pair, and that the ultimate and the phenomenal are mutually penetrating. Thus, in Zen temples the winter solstice is revered as the time of one of the four major Buddhist services. It was customary that, on the eve of the winter solstice, a lecture meeting was held in the quarters of the head priest, and, on the day of the solstice, a formal lecture was given in the Dharma Hall. At these times it was usual to expound upon the balance of the negative and the positive, upon the fact of brightness and darkness being a pair, and upon the mutual penetration of the ultimate (darkness, great and perfect mirror-wisdom) and the phenomenal (brightness, the wisdom of observing the equality of all things). The words contained in this *bokuseki* are of this type.

The opening line, "Nothing in the entirety of the universe has even been hidden," very obviously expresses the clear discrimination of the phenomenal degree. The great life-force of the universe, which allows all things, including humankind, to exist as they are (Buddhism calls this "Thusness" or "in accordance with Thusness," and Confucianism calls it "the will of Heaven"), manifests itself "brightly" and "clearly" in all phenomena, with nothing hidden.

To the enlightened gaze, "Thusness," the "will of Heaven," fills the universe from one end to another and reveals itself in clearly differentiated beings and forms. A Zen saying says: "The falling of the plum blossoms — the intention of the coming from the west." The meaning of Bodhidharma's going to China, that is, the true meaning of Zen, is not reflected just by plum blossoms. "The intention of the patriarch is in the myriad things" — mountains, rivers, the great earth itself, all majestically manifest the basic truth of the universe.

To completely understand the meaning of the opening line, a person must have deeply penetrated koans such as "Zhaozhou's oak tree in the yard" [To a student's question, "What is the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the west, Zhaozhou answered, "The oak tree in the yard"] and have awakened to enlightenment. Those ordinary people who have not yet attained enlightenment will not be able to understand at all. The great life-force of the universe, the basic truth, shows itself everywhere, hiding nowhere. Of what we see with our eyes, hear with our ears, touch with our feet, there is nothing that is not an expression of Thusness, the will of Heaven. It fills the universe to the extent that wherever we go we meet it; we are completely unable to avoid it. Still, those who are unenlightened have no idea where it is or how it appears. It is like releasing a pitch-black chicken at the darkest time of night. However, left

and right and all around are the manifestations of the great life-force of the universe, and wherever we look is full of what Zen priests call "This," the fundamental principle (*shako* 這箇). "Where and how should you revere this line?" asks Shūhō. We must distinguish carefully.

"Releasing a black chicken on a dark night" refers to not being able to make out anything in pitch-blackness. Thus, in contrast to the brightness of differentiation of phenomenal things, there is the darkness and the equality of the "one taste" of the ultimate. In this opening sentence of the talk, Shūhō speaks of the combination of brightness and darkness and the mutual penetration of the ultimate and phenomena, themes which fit in well with the change from darkness to light that comes after the winter solstice. He urges his students to become awakened to true enlightenment and to attain the state of understanding. In the next sentence, he touches more directly on the winter solstice and talks about the tradition of the main stream of Rinzaï transmitted through Xutang Zhiyu (Kidō Chigu), Nampo Jōmyō (a.k.a. Daiō Kokushi; 1235–1308), and himself, in order to fire their enthusiasm. He opens with words appropriate to the winter solstice, "Yin goes, yang comes; snow is chilly and ice is freezing." After the winter solstice, the sun begins on its return journey; winter passes and spring comes. The motion of nature is in truth the working of Thusness. Every ordinary thing, the chilliness of the snow, the bitter cold of the ice, the astringency of a persimmon, and the sweetness of sugar, are in themselves aspects of Thusness. If you can really understand this, then your eyes of enlightenment are bright and clear. "Learn well," says Shūhō, "about our Zen tradition, inherited from Xutang, and its great activity and responsiveness, so that you are able to demonstrate it anywhere at all. The result will be the great flourishing and prosperity of the true stream of Rinzaï Zen." However, he points out that tradition and activity is very different from the confusion that has existed from the time of the founder of Sōtō Zen, Dongshan Liangjia 洞山良价 (Tōzan Ryōkai; 807–869), being concise and direct. And so he roars, "How can you pursue the confused understanding of Dongshan's teaching of heat and noise?"

The meaning of this phrase has traditionally been explained in terms of the koan that is recorded as Case 43 of the *Blue Cliff Record*, called "Dongshan's cold and heat."

A priest asked Dongshan: "Cold and heat come upon us. How can we avoid them?"

Dongshan said: "Why don't you go to a place where there is no cold or heat?"

The priest said: "Where is a place where there is no cold or heat?" Dongshan said: "When it is cold, let it be completely cold. When it is hot, let it be completely hot."

Perhaps the meaning is clearer, though, from the following koan:

The Chan master Dongshan Liangjia, while eating a fruit one winter evening (the winter solstice), asked Tai, the senior of the students: "There is one thing which, above, supports the heavens, and, below, supports the earth. It is as black as lacquer. It is constantly within motion but cannot be placed within motion. There seems to be a problem here somewhere."

Shūhō expresses in the text: "On the evening of the winter solstice, when Dongshan was eating fruit, he spoke in theories. But I do no such thing; my Zen is concise and direct; I do not set up barriers like Dongshan's indirect method." Thus, he erases the misunderstanding of the people. He adds: "But even so, everyone, do you understand what I am saying? There is a saying that seeing is far better than hearing. Which do you value the most, your eyes or your ears? Which do you think is superior, Dongshan's talk that you hear, or mine which you see?" These are the main points of the text.

This *bokuseki* was written when Shūhō was forty-one, in 1321 (Genkō 2), which means that it is one of his earlier works. There is none of the strength and sharpness of his later works, written under Song influence. There is rather an emphasis on pliancy and thickness in the Japanese fashion. In this sense, it is a superb example of Shūhō's *bokuseki*.

The scroll is accompanied by letters by Ikkyū Sōjun, Takuan Sōhō, Ten'oku Sōjiku 天室宗竺 (1605–67), and others, and writing by Kokei Sōchin and Rankei Sōei 藍溪宗璣 (1570–1658).

Shumpo Sōki 春浦宗熙 (1416–96)
 Kogaku Sōkō
 Kokei Sōchin
 Shun'oku Sōen 春屋宗園 (1529–1611)
 Ittō Jōteki 一凍紹滴 (1539–1612)
 Un'ei Sōi 雲英宗偉 (1560–1603)
 Gyokushitsu Sōhaku 玉室宗珀 (1572–1641)
 Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭 (1573–1645)
 Kōgetsu Sōgan 江月宗玩 (1574–1643)
 Ten'yū Jōka 天祐紹果 (1586–1667)
 Seigan Sōi 清巖宗渭 (1588–1661)

A particularly interesting phenomenon is that a great many of the *bokuseki* consisted of one-line Zen sayings.

Space limitations prevent a detailed consideration here of the reasons underlying these new trends. Briefly, however, we can point out the following: The growth in popularity of chanoyu and the frequency with which tea gatherings were held had expanded the demand for hanging scrolls, but there were not a great many paintings and *bokuseki* that had been brought from China, and those that had were in the possession of the shōgun family and the daimyō. Therefore, some sort of alternative was required. Such being the case, the choice of alternative was stimulated by the close ties that had existed between chanoyu and the Daitokuji stream since the time of Jukō and Ikkyū, and the fondness that priests such as Takuan and Kōgetsu had for the Zen form of chanoyu.

These tendencies continued well into the Edo period. The *Nampō Roku* 南坊録 [Southern Record]⁷ states:

There is no object (*dōgu*) more important in chanoyu than the scroll (*kakemono*). Through it, guests and host can together reach the one-minded samadhi of chanoyu. Best of all are *bokuseki*. We esteem the intention of the words written and admire the virtue of the masters and men of the Way who wrote them. Works by secular calligraphers are not displayed. However, poems on Buddhist themes by secular poets may be displayed. . . . The most treasured scrolls are superior in the words that they portray and in the virtue of the calligrapher. The next [most treasured scrolls] might not be written by the hand of a great priest, but are hung for the meaning of the words of the Buddha or the patriarchs used.

⁷ In form, a compendium of Sen Rikyū's way of tea recorded by a close disciple and Zen monk, Nambō Sōkei (dates uncertain). The oldest manuscript copy was discovered by Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655–1708), and dates from about the the end of the 17th century. —E.

As suggested by the above passage, the use of *bokuseki* was bolstered by the idea of the oneness of tea and Zen, and *bokuseki* were revered as “the most important object in chanoyu” for setting the atmosphere for a gathering. This attitude has continued within chanoyu circles to the present, and *bokuseki* remain in high esteem today. They are valued not only as accessories to chanoyu and as works of art, but as historical records of Zen culture and Japanese-Chinese cultural exchange, and many have been designated National Treasures and Important Cultural Properties.

Form and Content of *Bokuseki*

Bokuseki differ greatly from one example to another in form and content; nonetheless, in terms of form, they can be broadly divided into verse (*im-bun* 韻文), parallel prose (*shiroku henreitai* 四六駢儷体), and prose (*sambun* 散文). The verse form consists of *ge* 偈 and *ju* 頌, often called *geju*. Simply speaking, these are religious poems (Skt., *gatha*). They are in no way different in form from secular verse, following the rules of poetry even in terms of rhyme and tone. In terms of content, however, they deal with some aspect of Zen teachings and express the writer’s depth of enlightenment. Although the writer may be a Zen priest, if the verse does not fulfill these latter conditions it cannot be called a *geju*. Zen has traditionally avoided logical explanation, instead favoring “direct pointing [to the mind]” and suggestive, symbolic expression. Since *geju* are very suitable for such expression, they have long been composed by Zen priests. During the Song dynasty in China in particular, Chan (Zen) prospered with the support of members of the scholar class, those who had received a literary education, and so there grew a Chan literature centering on the *geju*. Characteristic of this literature are the one hundred explanatory verses (*geju*) that Xuedou Zhongxian 雪竇重顯 (Setchō Jūken; 980–1052) appended to the hundred koan that made up his *Biyanli* 碧巖錄 (*Hekigan Roku*; Blue Cliff Record). Subsequently, virtually all Zen priests seem to have composed *geju*. This trend further heightened during the Yuan dynasty (1280–1368). *Geju* can be divided into various categories according to their motivation and purpose. These include (1) verse on religious appellations (*dōgō no ju* 道号の頌), (2) verse of enlightenment (*tōki no ge* 投機の偈), (3) verse of farewell (*sōkō no ge* 送行の偈), (4) death verse (*yūige* 遺偈), (5) verse explaining koan (*juko* 頌古), and (6) inscriptions on paintings (*gasan* 画賛). In form, *geju* span various types of Chinese poetry, including the “old” form in four-syllable, four-line verses, the *jue-ju* 絕句 (*zekku*; quatrains), and the *lǜ-shī* 律詩 (*risshi*; regulated verse), in eight lines.

(1) Verse on religious appellations (*dōgō no ju*)

Zen priests received a religious name (*hōki* 法諱) upon ordination, and another religious appellation (*dōgō*), given to them by their master, upon their completion of training, when they became qualified as masters. Let us take the case of Xutang Zhiyu (Kidō Chigu). Xutang was his religious appellation and Zhiyu was the name he received at ordination. When he received the appellation, his master wrote it in two large characters, then composed a verse which explained its meaning and expressed the master's congratulations and his hopes for Xutang's future. To write such was the custom. (Those written in prose were called *dōgōsetsu* or *jisetsu*.) Apparently, when Japanese priests studied in China, they would have the masters of the various temples at which they studied write verses concerning their religious appellations. Because most of them received these verses, and because they carefully preserved them, a comparatively large number are extant today.

(2) Verse of enlightenment (*tōki no ge*)

When priests penetrated the great barrier through their training and gained an understanding of their innate buddha-nature, that is, when they gained enlightenment, or gained further great enlightenment as a result of more training, they expressed their understanding in the verse type known as *tōki no ge*.

(3) Verse of farewell (*sōkō no ge*)

When it came time for a priest to leave the Zen temple at which he had been training, he would write a verse which expressed to his master and fellow trainees his thoughts on parting. This was also called *senge* 餞偈. Japanese priests in China also regarded these as proof of their having received training, and would ask for them and keep them carefully preserved, which probably explains why many have come down to us to this day as *bokuseki*.

(4) Death verse (*yuige*)

When a Zen priest was approaching death, he would write a verse expressing the state of his mind. Artless in style, most death verses are filled with a tremendous Zen spirit.

(5) Verse explaining koan (*juko*)

Zen priests wrote verse commentaries on their interpretation of koan. Those of Xuedou Zhongxian (Setchō Jūken) in the *Blue Cliff Record* are typical. Similar is the *nenko* 拈古, explaining a koan.

(6) Inscriptions (*gasan*)

Inscriptions on priests' portraits (*chinzō*), landscape paintings, and so forth are sometimes found in prose, but predominantly in verse. Those written on *chinzō* (in which case they are referred to as *shinsan* 真贊) may be by the subject of the *chinzō* (*jisan*), or by other Zen priests (*bussosan*).

Some *bokuseki* are in "parallel prose," a distinctive form that developed during the Han, Wei, and Six Dynasties periods, and which was particularly popular among Chan priests from the Song to the Yuan. The best examples of this type of prose are memorials (*sho* 疏) written to superiors, and notices (*bō* 榜) giving information to the general populace. Notices informing a Zen priest of his appointment to the headship of a temple (*nyūji hōgo*), information to lay supporters concerning ceremonies at the temple (*butsuji hōgo*), and announcements of a priest's death (*nenkō hōgo*) were generally written in parallel prose or a form close to it. Few examples of these are used today as scrolls for chanoyu, and as it is impossible to deal with the topic fully here, I refer you to the work of my colleague Tamamura Takeji 玉村竹二, *Gozan Bungaku* 五山文学 [Gozan Literature] (Shibundō, 1966).⁸

Let us now briefly examine those pieces of writing which may include some poetry but are, in the main, prose.

(A) Records of formal sermons given on the Buddha platform in the *hatto* (lecture hall) of the temple at stipulated times, such as the first day of the new year, the first day of the summer training period, the last day of the summer training period, the beginning of winter, *tango no sekkū* (fifth day, fifth month), and *chōyō no sekkū* (ninth day, ninth month). Called *jōdō no hōgo* 上堂の法語, they were written at the request of student priests. Only a small number survive.

(B) Records of informal lectures (*shōsan*) given by the head of the temple, time and place unstipulated. These are called *shōsan hōgo* 小参法語. They have survived as *bokuseki* in only rare cases.

⁸ For a condensed discussion, see Tamamura Takeji, "Literature from the Gozan Zen Temples: A Historical Overview," *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 43 (Fall 1985), pp. 14-29. —E.

(C) Records of talks (*jishū* 示衆, *suiji* 垂示) given by a Zen priest to his students concerning the meaning of Zen and the correct attitude toward the practice of Zen. These *jishū hōgo* fall into various types: farewell messages to students leaving the temple, letters to students in far places, answers to a student's questions, and so on.

(D) Certification of a student's enlightenment (*inkajō*). When a student had mastered the profundities of Zen and became qualified to inherit the master's Dharma succession, the master would certify that student's qualification, thus giving him permission to transmit the Dharma in place of the patriarchs.

(E) Records of discussions between master and student (*mondōgo* 問答語), such as the single question and single answer between Wuxue Zuyuan (Mugaku Sogen) and Kōhō Kennichi 高峰顯日 (1241–1316). *Mondōgo* are the most highly prized sorts of *bokuseki*.

(F) Letters (*shokan*, *sekitoku*). These tend to be uncontrived and reveal the priest as a person; they portray the priest's individuality and his style of religious practice. A comparatively large number have survived as *bokuseki*.

There are also many other kinds of works which today are valued as *bokuseki*: two-character transcriptions of priests' appellations (*dōgō*), transcriptions of temple names (*sangō*, *jigō*, *angō*), lines taken from admonitions of priests for the sake of their Dharma successors, Zen temple regulations, records of the sayings of Zen masters, verses of the ancient masters, sayings of the Buddha and the patriarchs, the verse of poets, and particularly single-line phrases, generally known as *ichigyōmono*, taken from such works.⁹

How to Appreciate *Bokuseki*

There are many things we should pay attention to when viewing and appreciating *bokuseki*. Since I do not have much space, I will list only four.

1. "In general, of first importance with *bokuseki* is the master [who writes it], of second [importance are] the words themselves." (*Yamanoue Sōji Kī*) "We esteem the intention of the words written and admire the virtue of the masters and men of the Way who wrote them." (*Nampō Roku*)

⁹ For typical examples of *ichigyōmono*, see Haga Kōshirō, "The Appreciation of Zen Scrolls," *Chauoyu Quarterly* no. 36 (1983), pp. 7–25. —E.

As these quotations remind us, we should not regard *bokuseki* solely as priceless works of art; rather, we should revere them as embracing the whole personality of the priests who wrote them, feeling as if we were speaking intimately to them. Therefore, it is advisable to know something of the life and religious style of the priest at whose *bokuseki* we are looking.

2. It is difficult to grasp the real meaning of the words of the *bokuseki*. Most are expressions of the inexpressible, using subtle and profound words to transmit the meaning and experience of Zen from one practitioner to another. Moreover, most are written in Chinese using simplified characters, troublesome even for educated modern Japanese to understand. To "esteem the intention of the words," we have to read the words correctly, comprehend their meaning, and grasp the intention of the writer. If we maintain such an attitude, we will show our humility in seeking to learn the teachings of one who has sought the Way.

3. *Bokuseki* are the unhindered expressions of the working of Zen, written by priests, essentially amateurs as calligraphers, who have transcended all standards. Therefore, it is not appropriate to criticize their work according to the standards we would apply to professional calligraphers, or to discuss the degree of skill in their writing. What is of first importance is that we deeply experience the religiosity and Zen spirit of the person who wrote the *bokuseki*, and come into touch with his commanding personality. This leads to the fourth point.

4. The greatest point about Zen, and the most difficult one to understand, is that the mind of the practitioner is perfectly composed and remains that way, without wavering, through each instant of time. Writing is done with a mind fully concentrated. An outstanding work of *bokuseki* is born of such a concentrated mind, a mind composed and aware every instant. Therefore, we must judge a *bokuseki* not in terms of the quality of its text or the skill of its calligraphy, but on the basis of to what extent the mind of the writer is composed and unwavering. 

Translated by Gaynor Sekimori

Temae — Tea Procedure: *Bon Kōgō (Ro)*

Generally, when the host of a tea gathering conducts *shozumi*, or the initial building of the charcoal fire, he places the *kōgō* on the piece of charcoal called *kōdai* ("incense platform") within the *sumitori* and, thus, carries the *kōgō* into the tearoom together with the other charcoal-laying paraphernalia. If he plans to use a *kōgō* that is a *meibutsu* (an item historically renowned as a masterpiece) or that has an especially distinguished background, however, he will carry the featured *kōgō* into the tearoom separately, held on a tray (*bon*). The method for the *shozumi* *temae* in such cases is called "*bon kōgō*."

For "*bon kōgō*," the method for actually laying the charcoal is no different from that for a standard *shozumi* *temae*. Except for the fact that the *kōgō* is placed on a separate tray rather than on the *kōdai* in the *sumitori*, the *sumitori*, *haiki*, and *kami kamashiki* preparations are also the same as for standard *shozumi*. Toward the latter part of this *temae*, the *kama* is replenished and wiped in the same manner as in a standard *gozumi* *temae*. Therefore, a *mizutsugi* must be prepared.

The following guide assumes the students' thorough knowledge of both the standard *shozumi* and *gozumi* *temae*. (Detailed guides to the ro-season version of these are presented in *Chanoyu Quarterly* nos. 55 and 56, respectively.) At the end, we have included an appendix illustrating the guests' etiquette for conducting *haiken* (inspection) of the *kōgō* and its accompanying tray.



(1)

Sit at *sadōguchi* with *sumitori* placed to side away from guests. Bow together with guests (1).

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.



(2)

Carry sumitori to temae tatami, and place it to right-hand side of ro (2). Return to mizuya.



(3)

Carry haiki into tearoom and, before proceeding to temae tatami, sit down and close sadoguchi door. At temae tatami, sit diagonally facing lower corner of the tatami, and place haiki in far lower corner (3). Then shift sitting position to face ro.



(4)

Take habōki (4) and place it between sumitori and ro.



(5)

Take kan from hibashi and place them slightly to left in front of sumitori (5).



(6)

Lay hibashi between habōki and sumitori (6).



(7)

Close lid of kama (7). [Note: use or non-use of fukusa to do this is governed by the usual rules. If fukusa is used, as shown in the photo, immediately return it to belt afterwards.]



(8)

Pick up kan with right hand (hereafter, R), hold one with left hand (hereafter, L), and hook them simultaneously into the kama lugs (8).



(9)

Take kami kamashiki (hereafter, kamashiki) from kimono (R) and place it in standard position on temae tatami (L) (9).



(10)

Move up closer to ro, and lift kama onto kamashiki (10).



(11)

Shift sitting position to face straight toward upper end of tatami, and slide kama together with kamashiki all the way to the far side of temae tatami. Remove kan from kama lugs, and place them to left of kama (L) (11).



(12)

Shift sitting position to again face straight toward ro, and conduct first dusting of ro (*shobaki*) (12). Place habōki in front of sumitori so that it faces diagonally to right. [The guests, each in turn, excuse themselves to the next guest and move up to the ro.]



(13)

Take hibashi from sumitori and, resting their tips on tatami in front of right knee (13), behold them for use.



(14)

Rearrange the "pilot fire" (*shita-bi*) (14).



(15)

Rehold the hibashi in the reverse manner that they were held for use, and return them to sumitori (15).



(16)

Move sumitori slightly away and to the right (16).



(17)

Shift sitting position to face diagonally toward right, and hold haiki. Reshift sitting position to again face ro, and place haiki to right of ro (17).



(18)

Distribute ash around inside of ro in standard manner for *shozumi* (18). Return haiki to its original position.



(19)

Conduct intermediate dusting of ro (*nakabaki*) (19), in the end leaving habōki on tatami as before. Return sumitori to its former position.



(20)

Take hibashi from sumitori and transfer them to L (20).



(21)

Place *dō-zumi* in ro with R (21). Wipe R fingertips on kaishi in kimono.



(22)

Hold hibashi for use with R, and use them to lay the other pieces of charcoal (22). [Once the last piece, the *ten-zumi*, has been laid, the guests, each in turn, excuse themselves to the next guest and return to their seats.]



(23)

Return hibashi to sumitori, and then conduct the final dusting of the ro (*gobaki*) (23).



(24)

Return *habōki* to its original position on sumitori (24).



(25)

Pick up sumitori, shift sitting position diagonally one knee's breadth toward left, and set sumitori down so that it faces straight toward upper end of tatami (25).



(26)

Shift sitting position to face diagonally right, pick up haiki, stand (26), and return haiki to mizuya.



(27)

Return to tearoom with kōgō held on tray — L holding the tray deeply, and R steadying the kōgō on the tray. At temae tatami, sit at kyakutsuki (i.e., body centered with right-hand side of ro frame) (27).



(28)

Place tray to right of ro, at kantsuki position (i.e., horizontally aligned with the kama lugs if the kama were in the ro) (28). Then shift sitting position to directly in front of ro.



(29)

Using both hands, pick up the kōgō (29).



(30)

Rest kōgō on L palm, remove lid with R, and place lid on tray (30).



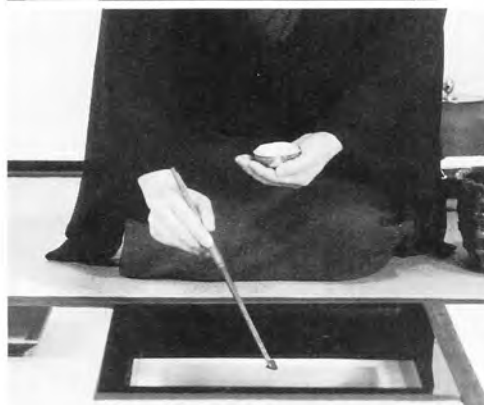
(31)

With R, hold handles of hibashi underhand, and remove hibashi from sumitori (31).



(32)

Rest tips of hibashi on tatami in front of right knee, and rehold the hibashi for use (32).



(33)

Place the incense in the ro (33). Rehold hibashi and return them to sumitori.



(34)

Replace lid on kōgō, and place kōgō on tray (34).



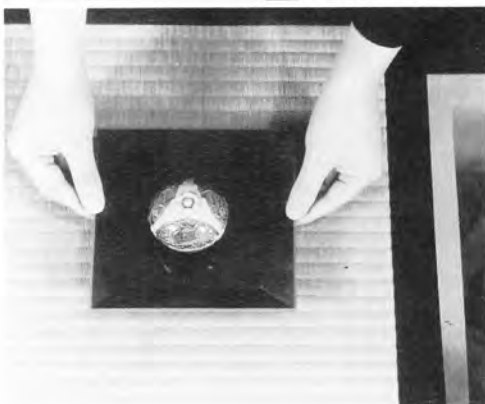
(35)

At this point, the main guest requests *hai-ken* of the kōgō. Acknowledge the request with a bow (35).



(36)

Shift sitting position to *kyakutsuki*. Hold tray at sides and raise it off the tatami slightly. By twice moving R to the far right-hand corner and L to the near left-hand corner and turning the tray a quarter turn clockwise, turn tray so that the front side faces the guests (36).



(37)

Hold tray at sides, and place it at *kantsuki* (37).



(38)

Move a knee's breadth back, and, with hands at your sides on tatami, wait for the main guest to get the kōgō (38). [The main guest takes the kōgō on the tray to his seat, and leaves it toward the upper end and outside the front edge of the tatami. (Note that, depending upon the room's layout, this "front edge of the tatami" may be an imaginary line.)]



(39)

Lifting hands from tatami, move a knee's breadth forward (39), and then move to position in front of ro and facing diagonally toward left.



(40)

Pick up sumitori (40). Shift sitting position to face ro.



(41)

Place sumitori in its original position (41).



(42)

Shift sitting position, place kan on kama lugs, and move kama together with kama-shiki to the position where they were originally placed. Remove kan, hold them with L (42), and place them by left-hand side of kama.



(43)

Go to mizuya. Return to tearoom with mizutsugi, sit directly facing kama (43), and place mizutsugi toward the left.



(44)

Add water to kama in standard manner (44).



(45)

Wipe lid and dampen body of kama in standard manner (45). Return mizutsugi to mizuya. [When the host begins to wipe the kama, the main guest begins the *haiken* of the *kōgō*. See appendix.]



(46)

Reenter tearoom and sit directly facing ro.
Place kan on kama lugs (46).



(47)

Lift kama into ro (47).



(48)

Pick up kamashiki, flick off any loose particles over sumitori (48), and return kamashiki to kimono.



(49)

Adjust kama position as necessary, remove kan, and place kan in sumitori (49).



(50)

Move one knee's breadth back, and set kama lid ajar on kama with bare fingers (50).



(51)

Move sitting position sideways to the right. Pick up sumitori (51), and exit tearoom. Close sadoguchi door.



(52)

When the kōgō and tray have been returned by the guests, enter tearoom and sit directly facing the items. Answer the main guest's questions pertaining to the kōgō (52).



(53)

Pick up tray with kōgō on it, exit the tearoom, place the items to the side (53), and bow together with the guests.

Appendix — Guests' etiquette for
haiken of the kōgō and tray

(A)



Excuse yourself to the next guest, and then place tray with kōgō on it directly in front of yourself, outside the tatami border. Place hands before your knees on tatami, and observe the items overall (A).

(B)



Take kobukusa from kimono, place it on right-hand side of tray (B), and spread it open.

(C)



Using both hands, pick up the kōgō lid and inspect it (C). Then place the lid on the kobukusa.

(D)



Using both hands, pick up the kōgō body and inspect it (D).



(E)

Return the kōgō body to the tray, take the lid from the kobukusa with R, and place the lid on the body (E).



(F)

Place the kōgō on the kobukusa (F).



(G)

Using both hands, pick up the tray and inspect it (G). [Note: When turning it over to inspect the bottom, do so as though flipping over a book page — the main guest, so that the top side is exposed to the other guests as it is flipped; the other guests, so that the top side is exposed to the main guest.]



(H)

Set the tray back down on the tatami, and place the kōgō back on it (H).



(I)

Return your kobukusa to your kimono (I).



(J)

Once again, place hands before your knees on tatami, and view the items overall (J).



(K)

Pass the tray with kōgō on it to the next guest (K). [Note: When the last guest comes to this point, though there is no next guest, he still places the tray with kōgō on it down toward the lower end of the tatami, outside the tatami border.]



(L)

The last guest brings the tray with kōgō on it to the ro tatami, and the main guest meets him there (L). The last guest turns the tray so that the front faces the main guest, and then returns to his seat. The main guest turns the tray so that it faces the host's seat, places it at the spot where the host placed it, and then returns to his seat.



Book Reviews

Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting. Edited by Marsha Weidner. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990. xv + 315 pp., including index. US\$35.00.

In 1988 there were two ground-breaking exhibitions about Asian women artists, *Views from the Jade Terrace* and *Japanese Women Artists, 1600–1900*. Now the organizers of these two shows and catalogues have collaborated on a joint volume, *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting*.

The literary creations of Chinese and Japanese women in poetry and prose are relatively well known to Western audiences through translations, such as the verses of Li Ch'ing-chao* or *The Tale of Genji* by Murasaki Shikibu, but the field of painting and calligraphy by women was virtually unexplored until recently. As Richard Barnhart points out in his graceful foreword, the Taoist philosophy, with its stress on the duality of yin and yang "that is in essence the interaction of male and female throughout history," seems to have been ignored in the case of Asian art history.

Marsha Weidner's introduction posits some of the reasons for this lapse among Western scholars. For example, the late 19th and early 20th century authors (among them the missionaries and wives of diplomats) who transmitted their biased view of Chinese and Japanese women had only a limited exposure to the long history of the civilizations of Asia. On the other hand, Weidner notes that the efforts of women artists were in fact acknowledged in Chinese and Japanese sources. This volume introduces some of the artists, collectors, and patrons who were part of that artistic heritage.

The book contains ten essays, divided into two sections of five essays each for China and Japan, in chronological sequence within each country.

In her excellent introduction, Marsha Weidner acts as a stimulating guide in her overview of the similarities as well as the differences in the women's artistic tradition in China and Japan. In China, for example, there is a greater sense of the continuity of a tradition of women artists than in Japan. One factor in providing that continuity was the pervasive influence of Confucianism. *The Ladies' Classic of Filial Piety*, discussed in an essay by Julia K. Murray, was a didactic text aimed at women readers to parallel the male-oriented Confucian classics. The surviving illustrated scrolls were probably not produced by women artists, but by men to insure that women would be included in the Confucian world order. These texts were important in setting the tone for the society in which Chinese women lived and produced their art.

The conservatism of the social order carried over into the cultural sphere. One example of this is the zeal for collecting and preserving works of art. Shen Fu's

* Romanized spelling of Chinese names and terms in this review follows the Wade-Giles system.—E.

essay introduces Princess Sengge Ragi, who assembled an important collection of paintings in the early 14th century. Masterpieces of the past were vital sources of inspiration for Chinese artists of all periods and provided the physical links in the chain of artistic continuity.

As Ellen Johnston Laing notes in her survey of women painters, artistic training was based on the tutorial method, and copying works of art was an important learning mode. While most of the women artists belonged to the gentry, a certain number emerged from the courtesan class. In both cases, the male literati often provided the patronage as well as the example for their female counterparts.

The careers of two Ch'ing women artists are illuminated in the chapters by James Cahill on Lui Yin and by Marsha Weidner on Ch'en Shu. Lui Yin was a courtesan who married a scholar and critic. Her husband encouraged her artistic efforts, and the one work which can most reliably be attributed to her is a handscroll for which her husband provided the poetic inscription.

Ch'en Shu was the more representative example of Ch'ing artists. She was born into the gentry class, married a literatus, and became influential as a teacher. Ch'en Shu's life is well documented, thanks to the biography written by her son. His account dwells not so much on Ch'en Shu's artistic achievements as on her qualifications as the ideal Confucian daughter, wife, and mother.

Confucianism came later and was less central in the lives of the Japanese women artists who are the subject of the second half of this volume. Akiyama Terukazu's essay treats two women painters at the Heian court in the early 12th century. During the preceding three centuries, Japanese women had come to dominate the field of prose literature in Japanese while educated men were writing in Chinese. The works of Sei Shōnagon or Murasaki Shikibu remain as testimony to the literary role played by women, but the evidence is harder to trace in the field of painting. Akiyama does fit together some parts of the intriguing puzzle of the activities of two women who worked in a semi-professional capacity for the Empress Taikenmon'in.

More is known about the early role of aristocratic women as patrons of art. The chapter by Karen Brock focuses on an illustrated Buddhist scroll of the 13th century and on the impact the patron and intended audience can have. The scroll portrays the encounter of a Korean monk and a Chinese maiden who falls in love with him. In the original Chinese version of this Buddhist tale, this incident is treated briefly in a few sentences. But in the 13th century Japanese edition analyzed by Brock, the Chinese maiden becomes the focus of the story and illustrations, because both the patron and the audience for the scroll were women who had entered Buddhist nunneries as a safe haven during periods of civil wars and unrest.

In the 17th century, with peace and stability imposed by the Tokugawa shōguns, women artists became active again in the public arena. Patricia Fister surveys the social and cultural background of these women, whom she divides into three groups: noblewomen, educated townswomen, and atelier professionals. The great majority came from the second category, daughters of merchants or lower ranking samurai. This was the period when Confucianism became the theoretical framework for Japanese society. But unlike the literati in China, Confucian scholars in Japan were not a distinct social class. Women students were encouraged by

the Japanese literati artists and poets. Fister points out that in Japan there was a much closer link between painting and poetry, and many women artists were also talented poets. A number of them were also nuns, perhaps because traditionally it was an acceptable way to shed family and social obligations and pursue creative interests outside the realm of the Confucian world order.

Stephen Addiss portrays the fascinating lives of the women of three generations who owned a teahouse in the Gion district of Kyoto. Kaji, who opened the teahouse in the early 18th century, and her daughter were famed for their poetry, while the third generation Gyokuran became famous as a painter. She married Ike no Taiga, a young fan painter who became a leading literati artist. They led a bohemian life, often dependent on the generosity of friends and patrons. Gyokuran continued to paint, often incorporating calligraphy in the Japanese kana style into her scrolls.

The 19th century artist Chō Kōran, who is the subject of the final chapter by Patricia Fister, also led an unconventional existence with her literati husband, Yamagawa Seigan. They were part of the circle which centered around the Confucian scholar and poet Rai Sanyō. In both her attitude towards her duties as a wife and her painting style, Kōran adhered most closely to the Chinese Confucian and literati models.

The ten chapters of this volume serve to introduce anyone interested in Chinese and Japanese art and in women's studies to an engrossing sphere of research. Each of the chapters has good footnotes and a glossary. My one complaint is that there might be more and better illustrations. Luckily, there are the two catalogues mentioned above which will help fill in some of the visual gaps, and which discuss specific works of art. *Flowering in the Shadows* goes a long way towards rectifying the imbalance of knowledge about male and female artists in China and Japan, and the wide range of periods and social and cultural areas touched upon throughout the essays makes us wish for more.

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Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature. By H. E. Plutschow. Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1990. xiii + 284 pp. 125.— guilders. US\$62.50.

The relationships between religion and literature have been receiving more and more attention lately, but few scholars have the grasp of both fields that Plutschow shows in *Chaos and Cosmos*. Plutschow makes a very clear and convincing case for the intriguing theory that a great deal of early Japanese literature developed in the context of religious rituals.

Plutschow begins by suggesting that ritual is more important in Japanese religious experience than doctrine. This observation is a key to solving what I think has been a riddle for many years. Many scholars have characterized Japan as

an essentially secular society, but I have long suspected that such a view is the result of misapplication of the Western definition of sacred and secular rather than an accurate reflection of Japanese culture. If we look with Plutschow at the pervasiveness of religious ritual in Japanese society instead of looking for evidence of "analytic thought" and intellectual "understanding" (p. ix), we can immediately see that Japan is a very religious culture indeed.

In Part One, "Ritual and Literature," Plutschow defines his perspective and his terms. His basic hypothesis is that a basic human need is to create order/cosmos where there is disorder/chaos. One means to this end is religious ritual, which is "a tool to control a potentially uncontrollable, dangerous environment, helping people impose a human order upon it" (p. 3). This "human order," which sometimes refers to a particular social or political system, requires periodic renewal through ritual. Music was part of such ritual because "music represents order; it orders time, speech and movement" (p. 10). Language was part of ritual because it was believed that "a word contains the power of the thing it stands for" (p. 11). Aesthetics influence ritual because emotions are touched by art and this process of creating cosmos out of chaos is an emotional rather than rational one. The Shinto rituals that Plutschow identifies as having influenced literature are "*tamafuri* (a ritual reinvigoration), *tamashizume* (ritual placation), *mi* (ritual gazing), and *tamagoi* (the beckoning of a *tama* or soul)" (p. 5). The literary arts that were part of these rituals were "*uta* (song), *katari* (recitation), *wazaogi*, an old Japanese term for ritual dramatic action, and *asobi*, which . . . is art used for a variety of rituals" (p. 6).

In Part Two, "Shinto Ritual in Japanese Literature," Plutschow turns from the general to the specific. His discussion of Shinto deities is more lucid than most because he focuses on the relations between people and deities rather than trying to define *kami* abstractly. Having suggested that deities are conceived as possessing polar tendencies, *ara*/wild versus *niki*/calm, Plutschow postulates that Shinto festivals represent an effort to call forth the calm, beneficial aspect of a deity; that is, an effort to exert human control over a deity (p. 44). Such control must be periodically renewed. Much Shinto ritual, therefore, "aims at restoring, at re-strengthening the links that bind men to their deities." A "festival is . . . a kind of resacralization of the everyday order of the human world" (p. 49). Plutschow analyzes a prototypical Shinto festival in considerable detail to support this basic premise.

The theory of *kotodama*, the idea that "a word contains the power of the thing it stands for" (p. 11), leads to new interpretations of early poetry. Revelation of names and local myths were indicative of surrender, either in the context of marriage or political sovereignty. Insofar as travel represented an excursion into chaos and danger, poems by those on the road and those left behind functioned as talismans expected to ensure the traveler's safe return.

One of the most interesting chapters is "Kuni-Mi, or the Ritual of Gazing Upon the Land." Plutschow argues, for example, that *hana-mi* is a ritual act in which one's appreciation of the beauty of the blossoms constitutes anticipation and encouragement of the arrival of spring. Thus, "flower viewing guaranteed the arrival of spring" (p. 112). *Kuni-mi*, or viewing the land from a high place, represents not only renewal of the fertility of the land but also renewal of the "human order established upon it" (p. 107).

There was less that was new to me in Part Three, "Shinto-Buddhist Synthesis and the Ritual Arts," but this is a good account of a major issue; the way poetry was incorporated into Buddhist worship. Poetic metaphor had traditionally been classified in Buddhist thought as falsehood and therefore was viewed as a violation of proper conduct. The importance of poetry in Japanese culture as "the Japanese ritual language par excellence" (p. 167), however, required that the Japanese find a way to rehabilitate poetry according to Buddhist moral values. Plutschow relies heavily on quotes in this section, and he does not make it altogether clear that the Japanese solution to the problem involved the simple assertion of contradictory ideas. Jien, for example, while admitting that poetry is "sinful," simultaneously asserted that it was the language of the Buddhist gods such as Kannon (p. 181). While this might bother a Western logician, it did not seem to confound the Japanese of the medieval age.

Part Four, "Literature and Exorcism," should be required reading for all students of Japanese literature. Plutschow makes a solid case for interpreting *Manyōshū* poetry and *The Tale of the Heike* as efforts to placate the angry spirits of men who had died unnaturally or unjustly. The Japanese feared that such vengeful spirits were responsible for natural calamities, epidemics, and other misfortunes. Poems and stories constituted eulogies that soothed these angry spirits and thus discouraged their mischief-making. This explains the Japanese penchant for lionizing those who failed instead of those who succeeded in political struggles: We must read *The Nobility of Failure* by Ivan Morris in the new light of Plutschow's work.

Plutschow's analysis of *noh* and *kabuki* plays is similar. An added dimension in dramatic literature is the enactment on stage of ghosts telling their own stories. Instead of a placatory eulogy as in poems and storytelling, *noh* drama represents "a belief in a process of self-purgation and renewal like that practiced by patients who undergo psychotherapy today." Through "self-discovery" the ghosts experience "self-healing" (p. 243). Contemporary mental health counseling indeed aims at having the patient retell and thereby re-experience feelings of sorrow and anger in order to gain release from the effects of emotional pain and abuse. The analogy is an excellent one.

One minor problem in the latter half of the book is Plutschow's use of words such as "sin" and "evil" in translating Buddhist concepts. These words denote Christian concepts that seem inappropriate in a Buddhist context. Although a bit unwieldy, words or phrases such as "transgression" or "obstacle to enlightenment" seem preferable to "sin." Plutschow translates *onryō* as "evil spirit" when angry spirit is no worse aesthetically and more accurate. "Evil" connotes something irredeemably bad, while in fact *onryō* were often legitimately angry over some grievous injustice. "Confession" also seems problematic. In a Buddhist context, "realizing" and "revealing" are more accurate than "confessing," which connotes guilt, a concept that I find irrelevant to Buddhism.

In less experienced hands, Plutschow's arguments might have seemed to reduce the texts; to minimize their value as discreet, unique works of literary art. Instead, his analysis of this literature as having had ritual functions deepens and enriches our understanding of it. A less mature scholar might have resorted to jargon in outlining his methodology. In *Chaos and Cosmos*, however, the argu-

ments are presented clearly and cogently. The steep price of the book, an unfortunate number of typographical errors, and the minor quibbles mentioned above do not dampen my enthusiasm for this outstanding piece of scholarship.

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Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation. By Carl Bielefeldt. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. 259 pp., including glossary, bibliography, and index. US\$35.00.

Dōgen Zenji (1200–53), the founder of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Japan, accompanied his master Myōzen (1184–1225) on a voyage to China in 1223. According to traditional accounts, Dōgen was motivated to embark on this dangerous voyage by a deep yearning to resolve his “Great Doubt”: if all living beings already possess the Buddha-nature, why is Buddhist practice necessary? Dōgen wandered in China for several years in search of an authentic master, but was frustrated by his repeated encounters with the corrupt and secularized teachers who dominated Ch’an* in the Southern Sung period. Finally, in 1225, Dōgen met T’ien-tung Ju-ching (1163–1228), who transmitted to him the Ts’ao-tung (Sōtō) practice of “just sitting.” Ju-ching resolved once and for all Dōgen’s Great Doubt, teaching him that true Zen practice is not a means to an end, but is rather identical with enlightenment itself. Dōgen returned to Japan in 1227 and spent the rest of his life spreading the “true Dharma” of “just sitting” as taught by Ju-ching. At his death in 1253, he left behind a monumental corpus which, among other things, vociferously condemns the *kanna* or *kōan* practice advocated by the rival Rinzai teachers of his day.

So goes, at least, the familiar story of Dōgen’s life propagated by tradition and well known to students of Zen in the West.

Perhaps more so than any other Buddhist figure, Dōgen has been touted as the greatest and most profound religious thinker in Japanese history. Accordingly, his writings, notably the *Shōbō genzō*, have attracted a great deal of attention among scholars and lay Zen enthusiasts in Japan and abroad, resulting in a virtual industry dedicated to the explication of “Dōgen’s thought” in largely ahistorical terms. This is not surprising: Zen scholars, influenced in part by twentieth-century Zen apologetics, continue to construe Zen as a tradition intent upon the elucidation and realization of a transcendent truth unsullied by temporal, historical, or cultural contingency. This somewhat misguided conception of Zen facilitates a characterization of Dōgen as “world philosopher” whose sublime teachings prefigure developments in modern Western thought, from phenomenology and deconstruction to ecology and quantum physics. The corollary claim that Dōgen’s thought is strikingly original further contributes to the calculated disregard of historical and social context characteristic of many studies of Dōgen.

* Romanized spelling of Chinese names and terms in this review follows the Wade-Giles system.—E.

In a seminal article published several years ago, Carl Bielefeldt, following recent developments in Japanese Zen scholarship, challenged the historical veracity of the "orthodox" version of Dōgen's biography.¹ The current book builds on the foundation laid in Bielefeldt's previous work, reading Dōgen's corpus not as self-contained systematic philosophy, but in the context of a historiographically critical reconstruction of Dōgen's career.² And the view which emerges of both Dōgen's life and his thought is profoundly at odds with the traditional account.

Bielefeldt's book is centered upon a close reading of a group of related meditation manuals, primarily the *Fukan zazen-gi*, a short text of 800 Chinese characters. This manual is of particular significance to traditional Sōtō exegetes, as it was believed to have been composed immediately after Dōgen's return to Japan. As such, the *Fukan zazen-gi* was thought to represent the pure Sōtō teachings transmitted to Dōgen by Ju-ching. But a recently discovered manuscript of the *Fukan zazen-gi*, believed to be brushed in Dōgen's own hand, has cast doubt on the orthodox view. This "autograph" edition, dated to the year 1233, is clearly earlier than the previously known "vulgate" (or *rufu*) text, which is now believed by scholars to date to the last decade of Dōgen's life. Moreover, both editions of the *Fukan zazen-gi* can be shown to have been shaped in part by Dōgen's troubled relationship with the Japanese Buddhist establishment of his day, and thus neither text can be used as a transparent window through which to view the Ch'an that Dōgen encountered in China. Through careful philological, historical, and doctrinal analysis, Bielefeldt is able to reconstruct the polemic context surrounding the evolution of Dōgen's meditation manuals. In particular, by highlighting the subtle differences between the two editions of the *Fukan zazen-gi*, and the manner in which Dōgen's manuals depart from their Chinese prototypes, Bielefeldt builds the foundation for a challenging new conception of Dōgen's life and teachings.

The book contains many surprises for those already familiar with traditional biographies of Dōgen. We learn that Dōgen did not in fact do much traveling in search of the Dharma in China, but spent most of his time on Mount T'ien-t'ung under the tutelage of his Japanese master Myōzen, becoming a disciple of Ju-ching upon Myōzen's death in 1225. We learn that Ju-ching, far from being a radical opponent of Lin-chi (Rinzai) Ch'an, was a fairly typical Chinese Ch'an teacher of the thirteenth century who, like his contemporaries, unambiguously used kōan in training his disciples. And we learn that Dōgen's own teachings were not nearly as revolutionary as later Sōtō apologists would have it. Indeed, the recent discovery of the "autograph" edition of the *Fukan zazen-gi* has been somewhat of an embarrassment for Sōtō traditionalists: rather than advocating a radical and distinctively Sōtō practice of "just sitting," it promotes a more-or-less traditional zazen technique similar to that taught by Ch'ang-lu Tsung-tse (d.u.) and Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089–1163), monks associated with Rinzai Zen.

¹ "Recarving the Dragon: History and Dogma in the Study of Dōgen," in *Dōgen Studies*, edited by William LaFleur (Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 2; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 21–53.

² *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation* is actually a revision of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "The *Fukan zazen-gi* and the Meditation Teachings of the Japanese Zen Master Dōgen" (University of California at Berkeley, 1980). See also Bielefeldt's article, "Ch'ang-lu Tsung-tse's *Tso-ch'an i* and the 'Secret' of Zen Meditation," in *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, edited by Peter Gregory (Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 4; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 129–161.

In fact, it seems that Dōgen did not begin to emphasize the uniqueness of Ju-ching's teachings and the sole legitimacy of the Sōtō house until well over a decade after his return to Japan. Dōgen's polemics against rival Zen houses appear to have developed in reaction to repeated rebuffs by the Kyoto establishment. Dōgen responded by touting his own brand of Zen as historically distinct from and superior to other forms of Zen then current in Japan.

What makes Bielefeldt's approach so refreshing is the manner in which his reading of Dōgen successfully avoids the two reductionistic extremes which mar so many modern studies of Zen. On the one hand, the historical nature of the study avoids the tendency to reduce doctrinal formulations to mere "expressions" of an ahistorical transcendent truth, rendering Zen doctrine in general, and Dōgen's writings in particular, immune to scholarly analysis and criticism. At the same time, Bielefeldt is far too sensitive a reader of Zen materials to reduce Dōgen's thought to mere posturing in the service of social, institutional, or political "interests."

Thus, while Bielefeldt's investigations into the provenance of Dōgen's manuals reveal Dōgen to have been profoundly shaped by his Chinese sources, Dōgen emerges not as slave to, but master of, those sources. Indeed, unlike some of the other Kamakura reformers with whom he is commonly grouped, Dōgen is seen to be a man of letters — an accomplished exegete in full command of the Ch'an textual tradition and skilled in Mahayana dialectics. Rather than detracting from Dōgen's originality, Bielefeldt's approach accentuates Dōgen's literary and exegetical gifts — gifts all the more astonishing given Dōgen's rather desultory career in China.

Not only were Dōgen's meditation manuals modeled upon Chinese prototypes, but his doctrinal writings, and indeed his whole approach to Zen exegesis and training, revolves round the illumination of kōans. Dōgen's major works, including the *Shōbō genzō*, are replete with references to the "old cases," and Bielefeldt notes that there is not a single refutation of *kanna* ("concentration on a kōan") Zen in all of Dōgen's writings; nor is there any incompatibility between Dōgen's "just sitting" and kōan practice. Indeed, Bielefeldt suggests that Dōgen's famous "nonthinking" (*hi shiryō*) was in fact a kind of *kanna* technique. In other words, the injunction to "think of nonthinking" was not so much a prescription for how to practice as it was an object for contemplation.

It should now be evident that Bielefeldt's book is much more than a philologically critical study of Dōgen's meditation manuals. It is also much more than a sophisticated analysis of Dōgen's thought as found in such works as the *Bendō wa* and *Genjō kōan*, although it is this as well. Bielefeldt's approach to Dōgen involves a careful examination of his Chinese sources, notably the *T'ien-t'ai hsiao chih-kuan* by T'ien-t'ai Chih-i, and Tsung-tse's *Tso-ch'an i*, and this in turn involves an overview of T'ang and Sung Ch'an. Indeed, Bielefeldt's work is perhaps the best and most up-to-date survey of early Ch'an available in English. Bielefeldt includes concise but insightful discussions of Tung-shan ("Eastern Mountain") Ch'an and the "Northern School," the *Platform Scripture* and the sudden-gradual controversy, and the evolution of a distinctively Ch'an approach to meditation theory. The book also contains a superb analysis of the teachings of Ta-hui Tsung-kao and the Ch'an school's use of kōan. And the short but illuminating discussion of the

relationship of Ch'an to East Asian Esoteric Buddhism is, to my knowledge, the best account available to the English reader.

Bielefeldt clearly possesses a prodigious knowledge of both the primary sources and the vast Japanese secondary literature on Ch'an and Zen history. But the hermeneutic suspicion and relentless historical rigor which characterize his handling of the Japanese material is occasionally lacking in his treatment of Chinese sources. While he is highly skeptical of the orthodox characterizations of Zen history in Japan, he is occasionally guilty of accepting as "fact" notions about the Chinese Ch'an tradition which are themselves products of sectarian reconstructions. In particular, he is unduly influenced by traditional Ch'an and Zen historians when he claims that the "Ch'an reformation had established itself as a distinct Buddhist school, complete with its own history, literature, and dogma" by the end of the eighth century (p. 1), and again when he calls the late T'ang and Five Dynasties period the "classic age of Ch'an" (p. 65). In fact, there is little historical evidence to substantiate the claim that Ch'an constituted a self-conscious "school of Buddhism" prior to the Five Dynasties, and the image of a "classical age of Ch'an" dating back to the High T'ang is largely a myth engendered by sectarian exegetes writing during the Sung dynasty.³

Bielefeldt is also misled by Japanese sectarian scholarship as to the nature of the relationship between Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism in the medieval period. Thus he argues that the admixture of Ch'an and Pure Land found in Sung China was a new development brought about in part by the institutionalization of Ch'an in the Sung, and the attendant need to minister to the laity (pp. 66-68). In this regard, Bielefeldt depicts Tsung-tse, the author of one of the first explicitly "Ch'an" meditation manuals in China (the *Tso-ch'an i*), as both "Ch'an prelate and Pure Land pastor," simultaneously interested in discipline in the cloister and ministering the Pure Land faith to the laity (p. 68). Yet a critical survey of the literature shows that Chinese Ch'an teachers had incorporated Pure Land practices, particularly the *nien-fo* (*nembutsu* — recitation of a Buddha's, usually Amitābha's, name), into their teaching from the very beginnings of the movement. The documents associated with East Mountain and Northern School Ch'an masters are replete with traditional interpretations of the Pure Land and appreciatory references to the practice of *nien-fo*, practices which were clearly part of Chinese monastic life irrespective of lineage or sectarian affiliation. And references to *nien-fo* are found throughout the Ch'an *ch'ing-kuei* (monastic codes) of the Sung period, including the most important of these codes, the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* by none other than Tsung-tse. Here, for example, *nien-fo* recitation was incorporated into the liturgy preceding meals, as well as the formal recitation of the sutras undertaken at the request of patrons. And, as students of Chinese Buddhism might expect, the funeral ceremonies for both common monks and eminent abbots were punctuated by the formal recitation of Amitābha's name. Similar casual references can be found in virtually all Ch'an monastic codes; *nien-fo* were clearly a ubiquitous feature of monastic culture and practice, and not merely a form of lay piety. Thus a "synthesis" of Ch'an and Pure Land practice in the Sung (or in any other period) was simply unnecessary — rituals such as *nien-fo*

³ On this issue, see especially "The 'Ch'an School' and its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition," by T. Griffith Foulk (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1987).

had been performed without apology by Ch'an monks for centuries (although we do find some Sung Ch'an exegetes at pains to rationalize this venerable state of affairs in response to a drive for ideological purity, and this is no doubt the source of the confusion).

But these are minor quibbles with what is unquestionably a magnificent piece of scholarship. The book is rendered even more useful by Bielefeldt's excellent translation of a number of Dōgen's meditation manuals, four of which are arranged for comparative purposes along with their Chinese precursor (the *Tso-ch'an i*). *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation* will surely set the critical standards not only for Dōgen scholarship, but indeed for all Japanese Buddhist scholarship, for years to come.

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Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints: The Early Years. By Helen Merritt. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990. x + 334 pp., including 16 pp. of color plates. US\$46.00.

The modern Japanese print now attracts the admiration of connoisseurs in the Western world. A great many books have been published which furnish us with detailed accounts of various aspects of traditional and contemporary Japanese prints, but relatively little has been written about the intermediate period. Helen Merritt's book is a serious study that focuses on the woodblock prints produced in Japan during the first half of the twentieth century, a period when Japanese print artists were searching for an effective fusion of old traditions and modern Western art.

The writings of Michener, Statler, Petit Gaston, and a number of other scholars in the field of Japanese prints have created a receptive atmosphere for the works of these transitional artists and kindled interest in this ambiguous era. The present study, with the accumulation of new information it presents, furnishes us with a better understanding of a complex and difficult subject. The art of any period reflects the attitude of mind of those living in it, as this is affected by the events that shape the age. The author of this volume therefore devotes a great part of her book to the social and historical setting of the times and to the creative strivings of the artists of the period.

This handsomely produced book is written in a fluent style and contains a wealth of accurate information concisely presented in a manner which is useful to the specialist as well as to the general reader or new collector. The author has taken due account of the nature of the material, and has wisely divided the book into three parts. She begins with a brief introduction to "the social and artistic climate into which modern woodblocks were born" (p. ix). This is followed by sections that deal with the developments of the *shin-hanga* (new prints) and *sōsaku-hanga* (creative prints) movements, respectively.

It was more than a century ago that the elegant ukiyo-e of the Edo period first made an impact on the Western art world, and many Western artists have since been strongly influenced by the Japanese print. The influence was, however, by no means a one-way affair. The coming of Westerners to Japan, following the opening of the country during the middle of the nineteenth century, also exposed Japanese artists to Western art and threw the traditional Japanese printmaker into a perplexity which lasted until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Helen Merritt's book covers a period of about fifty years, from 1904 to 1957. Historically, this is a relatively short stretch of time, yet it was a dynamic and creative era in Japan. It was the period during which Japan was transforming itself into a modern industrial state and a world power. Japanese printmakers confronted the challenge of establishing a place for themselves in the modern art world. The influence of Western art was absorbed by the Japanese artists as part of the passionate national enterprise of Westernizing Japanese society at large.

During the first half of the twentieth century, two major schools of woodblock prints flourished in Japan, the *shin-hanga* and the *sōsaku-hanga*. The *shin-hanga* aimed at reviving the ukiyo-e tradition, and followed the traditional practice wherein artists served as print designers for publishers, whose artisans would then undertake the carving of the woodblocks and the task of printing.

It was in 1915 that the publisher Watanabe Shōzaburō published the print entitled "Bathing," by the artist Hashiguchi Goyō. This is considered the first print in the *shin-hanga* manner. Helen Merritt discusses the production of Watanabe and his circle at length, adding valuable new material for the Western reader about a period too often neglected by Western scholars — though, ironically, most early *shin-hanga* prints were designed with Western tastes in mind and sold abroad. However, the *shin-hanga* movement was a short-lived episode and ended with the death of Watanabe in 1962.

While the *shin-hanga* represented a continuation of the ukiyo-e tradition, in that it was ultimately a commercial product inspired by traditional Japanese sources, the *sōsaku-hanga* was primarily a creative movement of artists whose inspiration came from Western art. The artist of the *sōsaku-hanga* believed that his personal involvement in the process of printmaking was essential to his creative proficiency. The *sōsaku-hanga* movement was born in 1904, when a young artist named Yamamoto Kanae, who was trained in Western painting, published a woodblock print entitled "Fisherman" in the seventh issue of the *Myōjō* literary magazine. In the following years, the movement grew stronger, drawing its motivation from its ties with Europe. In 1918, the Nihon Sōsaku-Hanga Kyōkai (Japan Sōsaku-Hanga Association) was established, and a year later it mounted its first exhibition of prints. Although recognition came slowly, the movement gained in strength in the decades of the 1920s and 1930s, despite the indifference of the Japanese art establishment. From the end of the Pacific War until 1957, when the first Tokyo International Print Biennial was held, the technique of woodblock printing dominated the *sōsaku-hanga* movement, to be overshadowed later by the techniques of etching, silkscreen, and other print media.

Helen Merritt's book deals with a relatively large number of artists and covers a crucial period in the evolution of the modern woodblock print. Well-known masters such as Onchi and Munakata, as well as the lesser masters and even little-

known artists, are well represented. However, it may be the author's background as an art-historian which has led her to separate theory from visual understanding by not referring often enough to the reproductions, and not describing individual prints.

The book concludes with useful notes and a bibliography. Speaking generally, many of the notes are helpful, referring directly to original Japanese sources. The bibliography is extensive, but it would have been worthwhile to have divided it into sections by artist and provided a list of works.

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Mingei: Masterpieces of Japanese Folkcraft. *Japan Folk Crafts Museum.* Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1991. 199 pp. US\$35.00, ¥4,900 (including tax).

This splendid book was published to accompany the travelling exhibition of selected items from the Japan Folk Crafts Museum, in connection with the UK Japan Festival, 1991. Many thousands visited the exhibition when it opened in Glasgow, did so again in Sunderland, and continued to do so when it moved to its London venue at the new Crafts Council. It has been almost the first opportunity for Westerners to see an extensive range of Japanese mingei ("folk craft"), whereas many will have been long familiar with some of the more sophisticated products of Japan's distinctive culture. The choice of items from the enormous collection of the Japan Folk Crafts Museum at Komaba was no doubt influenced by factors such as portability, explaining the large number of excellent textiles. Nonetheless, several big ceramic water jars and one superb wooden chest with exquisite metal work have been included. The exhibition contains some lacquer wares, metal work, and pictorial artworks, but revels in a large number of ceramics in which many traditional kilns are represented. Also included are some examples of the work of those who, under Yanagi Sōetsu, founded the Mingei Movement earlier in this century, and some modern 'folk' wares to emphasize the continuity of production.

The book is lavishly illustrated with a complete set of excellent full color plates, and ends with useful "Notes" in which each item is shown again in a black-and-white illustration with a detailed verbal description. The book contains several essays providing essential background information, including accounts of the meaning and development of the Mingei Movement and its philosophy. Yanagi Sōetsu is represented by a piece on the history of the Japan Folk Crafts Museum, and the current director, his son Yanagi Sōri, describes the excitement of the founders of the movement in their search for folk wares and the attempt to account for their beauty and presence. The contribution of Bernard Leach to this movement and his friendship and involvement with its leading members, Hamada Shōji, Kawai Kanjirō, and others, is kept in balance.

Slight irritations with the book concern the printing of some illustrations across the binding. This is not too disruptive for the textiles, but, especially in the case of other items, causes them to lose their full effect (e.g., plates 76 and 91). Offsetting this is the inclusion of exquisite details, such as the close-up of the Okinawan funerary urn (plate 48). The quality of color and photography match the high standards that have been set for art books over the last several years. There is one small error: the name of the kiln in Akita Prefecture, represented by a charming spouted bowl (plate 77), is Naraoka rather than Nagaoka.

Questions still remain as to the validity of the explanations offered by the philosophy behind the Mingei Movement, but we have to be eternally grateful for the solid achievement of the founder and members of the movement in collecting and saving items which were in danger of disappearing. In the late nineteenth century, the substantially agrarian feudal economy of Japan changed with astonishing speed to a city-oriented industrialized one. People were simply unaware of, or perhaps too used to, what we now see in the earlier wares as aesthetic merit combined with suitability for household function. Much was being sacrificed or lost, as 'natural' materials gave way to manmade ones.

Economics is the key. To take the example of ceramics, the viability of small kilns making household wares for local markets was completely undermined by the new industrialization. Most 'folk kilns' collapsed at the time of the Meiji Restoration or within the two or three decades that followed, and the major ceramic centers at Imari, Kyoto, or Seto developed mass-production to unprecedented levels. Some Imari wares are included in the book as examples of simple unsophisticated design or decoration, but it is ironic that the very success of the new Imari kilns helped to put many small old local kilns out of business.

Economics also explains some of the current anomalies. The very exclusivity and related high price of works by 'name' artists, criticized by the Mingei Movement, has turned out to apply to the work of the founding members themselves. Hamada, for example, deliberately did not sign his pots, but they are very distinctive, and even in his lifetime were collector's items. Most traditional folk potteries produced wares for domestic use, for example water or pickle jars, soy sauce pourers, or saké flasks. The Mingei Movement has encouraged some of these kilns to be revived, often by potters graduating from an arts college rather than inheriting a tradition from their families, as used to be the case. All continuing or refounded 'folk kilns' are faced with the problem of economic survival. They often take one of two or three approaches, or even combine them. They may make items such as saké flasks or ashtrays using folk-looking glazes and shapes linked with the traditional characteristics of the kiln, for souvenirs or gifts, rather than for daily domestic use, because that is what sells. Or they may produce tea bowls, water jars, and other utensils for chanoyu because these are relatively higher priced. Sometimes they 'name' their work and, through a series of personal exhibitions, identify themselves with the more exclusive world of expensive decorative wares that we would call 'art' rather than 'craft' in the West, making a distinction that has not always applied in Japan. Such potters often use modern equipment, such as oil- or gas-fired kilns, though some still take the trouble and expense of using wood. Often there are subtle but important differences in glazes produced by wood-firing, and many so-called modern 'folk wares' lack the depth

and interest achieved automatically in the past. Some modern pieces are very self-conscious indeed.

Self-consciousness is the one thing that traditional folk work, be it pottery or weaving, lacquer or metal work, did not have. This lack of pretentiousness in the design or shape, or in the way a glaze was applied or a motif brushed, is the very quality which Yanagi prized most. However, it led the Mingei Movement into making some claims which are difficult to substantiate, implying the ubiquity of a natural and naive talent that is at loggerheads with the rigidity and formality of much artist-craftsman training in Japan. What is true is only that we do not know who designed or produced the traditional wares, and that they often have a freshness and liveliness, a simplicity and unsophisticated quality, a lack of pretension, which appeals across cultures. It is perhaps impossible to continue such a tradition consciously, and what will happen to so-called contemporary 'folk work' in the long run remains to be seen. Nevertheless, if the exhibition and book make us look again at what we are prepared to live with in our homes, or use in our daily lives, and thereby take us away from some of the worst excesses of our mass-production cultures, then so much the better.

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The Japanese Achievement. By Hugh Cortazzi. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd., 1990. xviii + 350 pp. + 32 pp. unpaginated illustrations. £20. cloth. Available in the U.S.A. from St. Martin's Press.

In his recent book, *The Japanese Achievement*, British diplomat-turned-writer Hugh Cortazzi is operating in the tradition of the late George Sansom, whose three-volume *A History of Japan* (Stanford University Press, 1963) and *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Cresset, 1931) still turn up on reading lists in university survey courses. Cortazzi was Great Britain's Ambassador to Japan from 1980–84, concluding a foreign service career which included four assignments in Tokyo. The author acknowledges his debt to Sansom and other scholars, admitting his own amateur status and including a disclaimer that his book "does not pretend to be a piece of original research or to present any definitive interpretations" (p. xv). Instead, it is offered as an introductory work for a general audience.

Cortazzi's book is the twelfth volume in Sidgwick & Jackson's "Great Civilizations" series, which includes titles such as *The Wonder That Was India*, and *The Viking Achievement*. Rather than taking a similar "dead civilizations" approach (e.g., treating only the Heian period), Cortazzi has written a survey of Japanese history through the middle of 1989.

Cortazzi's book has a number of virtues. The author covers religion, literature, art, drama, music, politics, economics, and other aspects of Japanese history, society, and culture, synthesizing a great deal of information from standard English-

language secondary works. Though the book is an introductory survey, Cortazzi offers some of his own candid opinions, particularly on postwar leaders and events. Despite numerous typographical errors and a few stylistic problems, the information is generally reliable and the writing is clear.

Several features make the book useful for its intended audience. Many important figures and events are cross-referenced parenthetically in the text. Endnotes point readers to Cortazzi's sources and provide such valuable information as the locations of artworks mentioned in the text. Although the book is directed at a general readership, romanized Japanese terms are copiously included in the text and glossary to aid more serious students. Unfortunately, kanji are not also provided. Japanese poetry and some prose passages are quoted from the standard English translations, along with the romanized Japanese. The use of so much Japanese is undoubtedly intended to encourage the study of the language, one of the author's stated aims.

With the aid of rather small print, Cortazzi has synthesized a remarkable quantity of information into just over three hundred pages of text. In such an undertaking, some problems are to be expected. In its haste to present data quickly, the narrative at times degenerates into virtual lists of information tacked together. The many typographical errors are merely irritating in the case of English terms, but potentially misleading when they occur (less frequently) in Japanese ones. Non-specialists who use this book as a reference (pre-collegiate educators, for example) should proceed with caution.

Insensitivity and ethnocentrism appear from time to time. Some readers will object to Cortazzi's expression "young turks" (p. 228), referring to radical nationalists in the Japanese military during the 1920s and 1930s. The term originally applied to the party, including military officers, who instigated the Turkish Revolution of 1908. Although the two groups are analogous in some respects, Cortazzi does not draw out the analogy. He merely uses the term in a pejorative sense which it has acquired, to mean something like "unruly upstarts," a category which is offensive when associated with a particular nationality. In a passage on Buddhism, the author's phrase, "In Christianity we . . .," (p. 20) makes a specious assumption about his audience. In the introduction, Cortazzi grants that the works of Japanese writers and artists can "stand comparison" with those of their Western counterparts (p. xvi), imperiously taking Western aesthetics as the standard for beauty. Chanoyu practitioners will cringe at Cortazzi's use of the phrase "cult of tea" (p. 120), although he can not be blamed for this, because it remains in the idiom of cultural historians of Japan.

At the beginning of *The Japanese Achievement*, Cortazzi relates his goals: "[The book] will have filled its purpose if it introduces readers to the nature of Japanese culture and induces them to delve more widely in the many excellent books in English about Japan, its history and culture" (p. xv). By these standards, *The Japanese Achievement* should be a success, although the book would have benefitted from more careful proofreading and sensitive editing.

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The Way of the Carpenter. By William H. Coaldrake. Tokyo: Tankō-Weatherhill, Inc., 1990. viii + 204 pp., including index. US\$35.00, ¥3,500.

The lure of Far Eastern architecture and artisan skills has enticed Westerners for over a century. A romantic mythology has emerged based on a lot of pictures and very little firsthand experience. The traditional artisan and the scholar are separated by language and social custom keeping them in two different worlds only guessing at each other's meanings, motives, and actions. In *The Way of the Carpenter*, William Coaldrake, being an outsider with roots in Japanese culture and language, is able to cut through this separation to a remarkable degree.

The Way of the Carpenter is a valuable resource to the background and history of Japanese tools and architecture for the artisan as well as the layman. This work goes a long way toward dispelling the myths and cutting through the romantic notions to get to the heart of true woodworking practice.

Coaldrake's approach is inclusive, dealing with all aspects of carpentry — social relations, religion, apprentice training, tools, materials, and design — as an interrelated totality. Especially interesting is his insight into the interaction between tool development, building techniques, and design.

His direct personal experience shows through his statement, "Having been exposed to the subtle psychology of this system, I know that its techniques establish a progression defined not by formal curriculum but by behavioral initiation, and that the whole being is permeated with special attitudes toward collaborative process while the techniques of tool use and building construction are being mastered." Nonetheless, it would appear that most information was gathered from informants and books rather than from the long process of a direct working relationship with the tools and materials, making it difficult to distinguish between personal preferences and empirical evidence. For example, the description of the difference between the woods *hinoki* (cypress) and *keyaki* (zelkova) is very personal. I suspect Coaldrake occasionally fell prey to long stories told to amuse while drinking saké.

The long description of tools is a good overview for laymen. A clear history is given of the evolution of tools and the architectural styles that went with them. It is free of the mythology that often clouds such discussions. Also, Coaldrake gives full weight to the importance of the Chinese influence on the Japanese.

In describing things in English, however, there occurs the inevitable tendency to separate activities and label objects for clarity, and to thereby make distinctions which the practitioners themselves would not make. It takes many years of daily use to master most tools, and no amount of verbal description can substitute.

The Westerner's love of the tools themselves is shown by the fact that Japanese tools are available at many tool stores and through tool catalogues outside of Japan, and are bought by people who cannot use them. In Japan, carpenters generally play down tools and emphasize trained physical skill and concentration of mind, sometimes taking a macho pleasure in old, broken, and limited tools, and in being able to work with a seemingly reckless speed.

Coaldrake describes the *daiku*, or carpenter, as "artisan and artist, architect and builder — all in one," and he does not spend much time on the typical orga-

nizational pattern and interrelationships within a carpentry company. These consist of the boss (*oyakata*), foreman (*tōryō*), director (*kantoku*), journeyman (*shokunin*), and apprentices, all of whom together form the *daiku* whole. The organizational pattern and interrelationships could be instructive to non-Japanese, and, as a whole, I felt that Coaldrake was too quick to dismiss them, as well as the old designs and techniques, as obsolete.

The book contains a wonderful history of the Meiji period, when the Japanese borrowed from the West to modernize their country. For example, it describes how the Japanese *shaku* measure was made equal to the English foot, so that English architects and engineers on contract in Japan and the Japanese workers could converse with each other in familiar units. Later, in 1883, the *shaku* was redefined in terms of the metric system, and its length was set as 3.3 *shaku* to the meter.

Some of the tools sold as traditional Japanese tools today are new in this century in Japan — i.e., the double bladed plane (*nimai-ganna*) and the double edged saw (*ryōba nokogiri*) — creating a wonderful hybrid vigor in the world of Japanese carpentry, which we in the West are just now starting to share.

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Warren MacKenzie: An American Potter. By David Lewis. Tokyo & New York: Kōdansha International, 1991. 191 pp. US\$65.00, ¥9,400 (including tax).

In the arts and humanities, the phenomenon of a visionary leader inspiring and coalescing others around him is not an uncommon occurrence. One thinks of Ralph Waldo Emerson, the eighteenth century American transcendentalist from Concord, Massachusetts, whose writings motivated Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, and Bronson Alcott, toward individualism and self-reliance. Others that come to mind are the contemporary American writer Jack Kerouac, leader of the Beat Generation, Alfred Stieglitz, photographer and New York art promoter, and, in American ceramics, Peter Voulkos at the Otis Institute in California. Each was the center of a widening ripple.

Perhaps no person more profoundly affected American functional ceramics during the past fifty years than the English potter Bernard Leach. *A Potter's Book*, published by him in 1949, became a beacon for many young potters searching the aesthetic underbrush for standards and values. Some came to his door at St. Ives as moths to the light, to visit or to seek work. A tall, fussy Edwardian gentleman who wore a shirt and tie while throwing pots, he preached as meaningfully to his native English as to 'heathen' Americans. His message of simplicity and truth to materials spanned cultures and continents.

I saw Bernard Leach only once, during the somewhat controversial 1950 tour of the United States (American pottery had no root, he said), when he was ac-

accompanied by Hamada Shōji and Yanagi Sōetsu. However, I have talked to several of the *dramatis personae* connected with him, and gained some insight into the phenomenon that is Bernard Leach. At various times I have interviewed or spoken with his wife, Janet, his son David, his grandson John, the New Zealander Harry Davis, John Reeves of Canada, Gwyn Hanssen Pigott of Australia, the author Susan Peterson, and the American potters Byron Temple, Clary Illian, and Warren MacKenzie, the latter three of whom apprenticed at the Leach Pottery. Each person contributed differing perspectives, and left me increasingly intrigued.

Warren MacKenzie and his wife Alix began their apprenticeship at the Leach Pottery in 1950, and it was the beginning of a life-long friendship with Bernard Leach. MacKenzie returned to the United States to set up a pottery in rural Minnesota, and began making the functional ware for which he is justly famous. In a way, he has never left St. Ives. Although living and working within the caustic culture of American technology and seductive consumerism, and, in addition, being a university academic with the accompanying pressures, MacKenzie has never wavered in his integrity to the aesthetics and morality of the Song-dynasty pot as first imprinted on him during his two years' apprenticeship with Bernard Leach.

Warren MacKenzie: An American Potter, a splendid new book by David Lewis, with photographs by Peter Lee, afterword by Shimaoka Tatsuzo, and published by Kōdansha International, now brings the life and work of this important living potter into print. MacKenzie has always been a potter's potter, enjoying the highest esteem of associates in the field; this book elevates his pottery to a level whereby it can be welcomed by a large and critical audience and given the attention it deserves.

David Lewis, the author, is an architect and MacKenzie's long-time friend. In his gracefully written text, he recounts that they first met while Lewis was curator of the gallery of the Penwith Society of Arts in St. Ives. Bernard Leach, Ben Nicholson, Barbara Hepworth, Priaulx Rainier, together with other painters, musicians, and sculptors, showed in the gallery. The postwar ferment in the arts was underway and nourished all. The Leach Pottery was in full swing, and Leach himself was deeply involved in active friendships with Japan's leading critics and potters, particularly Hamada and Yanagi. Lewis is especially good at describing the relationship — a respectful but not always sympathetic one — between Leach, Hamada, and Yanagi. "Yanagi," wrote Hamada, needling his friend and mentor, "was a critic and dealt with words. . . . In my case, being a workman . . . beauty is not in the head or in the heart, but in the abdomen" (p. 63).

"In the gut" is the implied aesthetic used in the book to describe Warren MacKenzie's life and work, through his apprenticeship in England, early production pottery in Stillwater, Minnesota, the death of his wife Alix, teaching at the University of Minnesota, the widening circle of students that have become colleagues, workshops he has taught, academic honors received, his retirement, and his present pot-making. MacKenzie has always explained his work in terms of sensitivity to surface, form, gesture, and color, but it seems less motivated by intellectualism than by deep, unspoken feelings. "Let the pots speak!" MacKenzie says, turning aside fancy wordplay.

His pots speak magnificently. The photographs by Peter Lee are stunning. Pages full of jars, bowls, and vases meet the eye, rich in form and glaze texture, their color (slightly red-enhanced) leaping from the pages into virtual reality. Counterpoint to the color are the black-and-white photographs of MacKenzie at work: mixing clay, throwing, tooling, decorating, glazing pots, and firing the kiln. One can read in the record his casually deceptive skill in making pots.

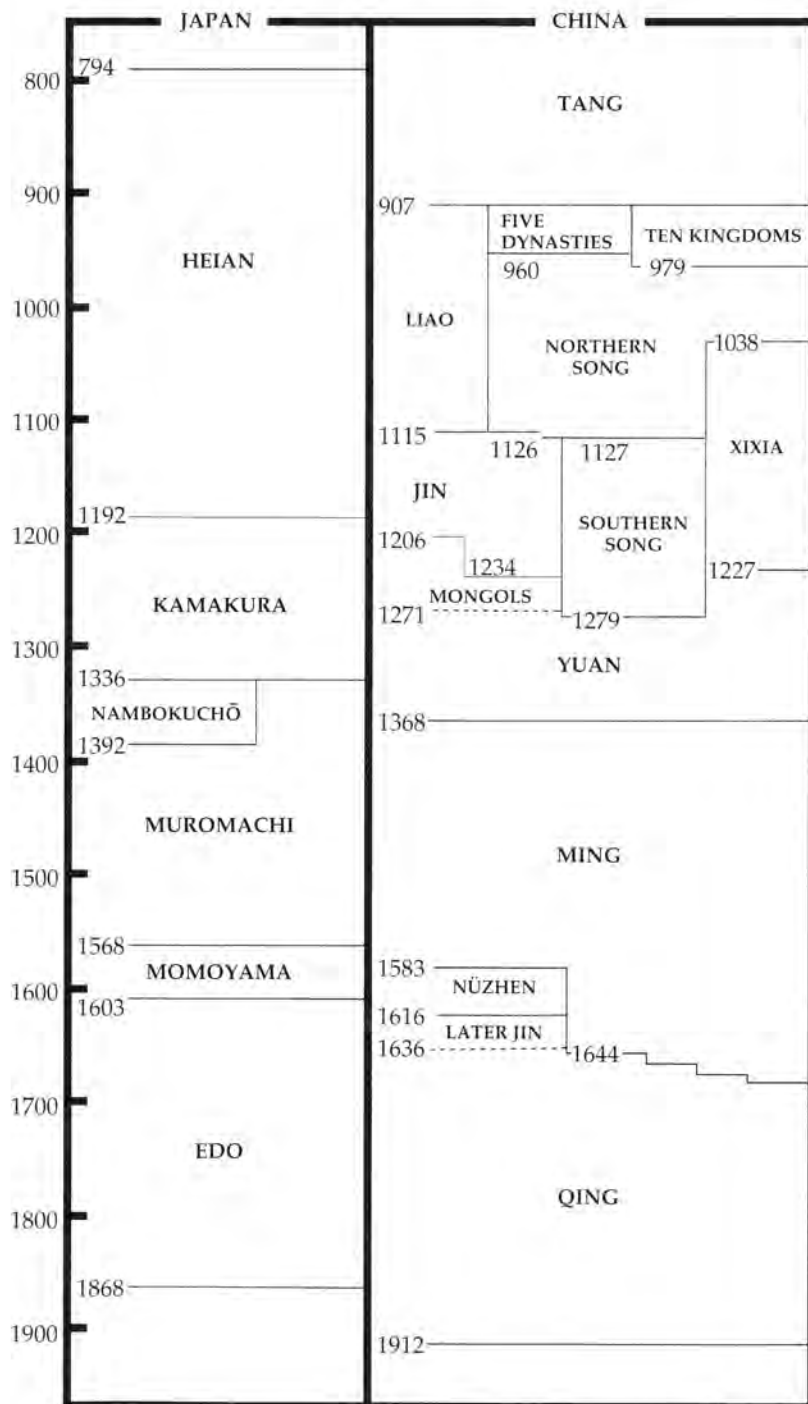
I have some quibbles over the book's design. I object to important color plates crossing the gutter or spine; better a gatefold than a disappearing belly. Worse, designing the text with an empty space above each page seems a gesture inconsistent with the frugal utility of MacKenzie's working style. And why place Shimaoka's essay — a wonderful piece of sympathetic writing by an important colleague — as an afterword instead of a foreword?

A more serious criticism relates to the author's text. In his acknowledgement he states that it is based on one he had written in 1989 for a catalogue of a retrospective exhibition of Warren MacKenzie's work at the University Art Museum at the University of Minnesota. Perhaps this explains the author's anecdotal fillers on food served to guests, on paths through woods to the workshop, and on green pots bought by Lewis, which should better have been left in the catalogue. The chapters on MacKenzie's working procedures are shallow in content, at least from this potter's point of view, and contain one crucial technical typo (p. 96, "... cone 6, which means about 1830° F.," should read cone 06). The morphology and iconography of MacKenzie's pots are dealt with briefly but without much critical reference to other contemporary American pottery being done. The excerpts from correspondence with Bernard Leach are excellent, but scholarship in the book is limited on the whole to eight footnotes and five portions of MacKenzie's writings, with no subsequent bibliography. References on which future scholarship can be built are missing; for instance, MacKenzie's essays in books (he wrote an essay on his Leach Pottery experience in *Apprenticeship in Craft* [Daniel Clark Books, 1981]) and several useful periodical articles (e.g., a eulogy to Bernard Leach [Studio Potter, vol. 8, no. 1]).

"Finding Warren MacKenzie" is the name of the opening chapter of *Warren MacKenzie: An American Potter*. The author does find MacKenzie's pottery, of course, there at the end of the lane in the dark woodland where the blue jay's wing flashes. Finding MacKenzie's heart and soul is more of a challenge. I believe, however, that the book successfully reveals MacKenzie's creative start, that it defines the relationship with his mentors at an impressionable stage in life, and that it explains the source of his deep commitment to tradition and to the values of functional pottery.

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CHRONOLOGICAL CHART



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