

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 72



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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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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.

Symposium: "Human Beings, Culture, the Earth"



The people of Japan have long nurtured such forms of culture as poetry, flower arrangement, and chanoyu within their daily lives. Can these traditional forms of Japanese culture help alleviate the hazards faced by the earth's environment? On December 22, 1992, a symposium entitled "Human Beings, Culture, the Earth" (*"Ningen, Bunka, Chikyū"*) was held at the Japan Press Center in Tokyo under the auspices of Population Forum 21 and the Interdependent World Institute, and sub-sponsored by the United Nations Population Fund and the Population Problems Research Council of The Mainichi Newspapers, to consider this question. Attending as special guests were Their Royal Highnesses, Prince and Princess Takamado. The keynote speech was presented by the Urasenke Iemoto, Sen Sōshitsu XV, followed by a two-and-a-half hour panel discussion by Ogura Kazuo (Chief, Economic Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Chieko Mulhern (Professor, Fukuoka Jogakuin College), Gregory Clark (Professor, Sophia University), and Ōya Eiko (journalist). Hereunder is a synopsis of the keynote speech presented by Sen Sōshitsu XV at this important symposium.

Synopsis of Keynote Speech*

Japanese Culture and the Global Environment

presented by Sen Sōshitsu XV

There is a story from the writings of the Chinese sage Chuang-tzu that I believe can serve as a valuable warning to us today. It tells how the mythical king of the southern seas, named Shu, and the king of the northern seas, named Hu, went to pay their respects to Hun Dun, the central ruler of the land. Hun Dun was delighted to see them and entertained them very generously. Now Hun Dun did not have any orifices in his body, like human beings, so Shu and Hu decided that as a gesture of appreciation for the wonderful hospitality they had enjoyed, they would give their host the seven orifices of the human body, and promptly set about their work. But as they completed the final and seventh orifice, Hun Dun suddenly vanished into thin air.

Human beings have a way of being so self-centered they cannot see what they are really doing. Shu and Hu had perfectly good intentions, but because they thought only in terms of their own measure of what was good and desirable, they ended up obliterating their sovereign and benefactor. In this story, Hun Dun is Nature. Chuang-tzu is telling us how Shu and Hu quite unintentionally destroyed Nature.

It behooves us to heed this story. We are hard at work, changing the natural landscape of Japan to suit our own fancy, and not even noticing that we are on the verge of destroying it. During Japan's rapid economic growth, which was an extraordinary but abnormal period of our history, I became very concerned that the landscape of the entire country might be despoiled by cruel, human-centered development projects. Around Kyoto, as forests were leveled and hills reshaped to create golf courses, I issued a plea asking that ways be found that do not destroy Nature. Before we know it, we could wreak total havoc with the environment because *we could not see beyond our own way of thinking*.

Now let me tell you another story. I once went to the Ube Coal Mine in Yamaguchi prefecture to teach chanoyu. We toured the mine, which tunnels under the sea, and when we came back out into the daylight, I was temporarily blinded by the brightness. But the area around the entrance was lush with vegetation, and as I gazed at the trees, my vision gradually returned to normal. I realized then the impressive power of the color green.

* Taken from the Japanese synopsis appearing in the January 16, 1993 edition of The Mainichi Shimbun. Translation, by Lynne E. Riggs.

to soothe the nerves, and this was corroborated by the miners. As we made tea and served them, I noticed that they were slow to drink, gazing into their bowls for a long time before quaffing the tea. Later, when I asked them why, one answered, "There was something wonderfully natural about the green of the tea. As I gazed at it, the tiredness I felt just seemed to melt away."

Sen Rikyū (1522–91) served green tea in lustrous black bowls to the mighty warriors of the Warring States period in which he lived. Glancing into the bowl of tea, these men of great martial courage and valor were able to enjoy precious moments of spiritual peace in Rikyū's tearoom.

Indeed, green is a color that makes us feel at one with Nature; it reminds us of the hills and rivers of country places where we grew up. I believe it can remind us of the importance of looking back and realizing how precious is the natural environment we are exploiting to the point of destruction. After hearing that comment by the Ube miner, I felt keenly that he had put his finger on a very basic — and perhaps very Japanese — source of spiritual peace.

Inspired by the thought of "the peacefulness to be found in a bowl of tea," I have since traveled very widely to teach chanoyu. Over the years, my goal has not been simply to teach the steps of the *otemae*, but to show people how, by taking in one's hand a bowl of freshly prepared green tea, one can attain a sense of inner calm that comes from the reassurance that we are one with nature.

Sen Rikyū taught the spirit of chanoyu in terms of four concepts: peace, respect, purity, and tranquility. The essence of "peace" is the spirit of mutual service — the idea that our actions should not be only for our own sake, but for the sake of others. There are many people today who suffer because they cannot bring themselves to say words expressing gratitude, or hospitality, or deference. Chanoyu also teaches us to say, "Thank you," "May I serve you . . .," "Excuse me," and "I gratefully accept [this]." It seems to me that if the members of the United Nations tried a little harder to cultivate this sense of mutual service, to think not only of their own interests but of the welfare of humankind and settlement of global problems, they would be more likely to achieve genuine peace in the world.

The necessity of the spirit of mutual service to achieve peace was the fundamental message of both Jesus and Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, as Sen Rikyū apparently discovered. Among his chanoyu disciples were powerful and influential people who had been converted to Christianity, including Takayama Ukon, Furuta Oribe, Hosokawa Tadaoki and his wife, who is known by her Christian name, Garcia, and from them, he learned a great deal about their faith. I believe he was able to complete chanoyu as the "way of tea" by skillfully integrating Christianity and Buddhism.

I had a very vivid experience of what I call “mutual service” when I served tea in the Church of St. Anselmo at the Vatican. I had not discussed anything about the procedures for serving tea with the Father beforehand. I commenced the *olemae* to the side of the altar as he began the service, made the tea, and carried it to the altar. There, as if he had planned it, the Father had completed a purification ritual and, without a moment of awkwardness, stood ready to receive the bowl of tea I proffered. It was a symbolic moment, I felt, in which the cultures of East and West were neatly knit into one.

“Respect” means respect for each other. We must believe that “human-kind is one,” and learn genuine empathy with other people as fellow human beings, no matter what the color of their skin.

“Purity” refers to the ability to cleanse oneself of selfishness and self-centered thinking. Human beings tend to be splendid defenders of their own position and convictions, and voluble and vindictive prosecutors of the acts of others. We work hard to justify our actions and scramble to make a good impression on others. Purification of the self means striving to do the same *for others*.

“Tranquility” symbolizes the preparation, mental and physical, we make in order to ready ourselves for the undertakings we face. It is very important to invest the requisite time and attention in preparedness *before* we plunge into any kind of action.

Human beings today are exhausted by the turmoil and rapid pace of their lives, and in their exhaustion they no longer have the leeway to be considerate or thoughtful of others. Humankind will not be destroyed by loss of money or things but by the shrivelling up of the human spirit. If we truly value our own selves and our own feelings, we must give more consideration to others.

We must open up our hearts and learn to see our world from the point of view of the entire human race. If human beings but cultivate correct knowledge and insight in themselves, they can prevent the extinction of their own kind and protect their planet from destruction. The commitment of all of us, young and old, to the idea of mutual service and the pursuit of true happiness will pave the way for protection of the environment, which will in turn sustain and nurture human life. ☂

The Three Sen Families

Sen Sōshitsu XV

Many people know that there are three Sen Family lines of chanoyu, the Omote, the Ura, and the Mushanokōji. There may not be so many people, however, who know when and why the family became divided into these three lines. Before talking about my own past, I want to give a brief introduction of the history of the Sen Family.

The family's ancestry can be traced back to Emperor Seiwa (r. 858–876), which is to say that the family belonged to the main Seiwa Genji line, and was a distinguished household of the warrior class. After the Ōnin War (1467–77), however, the family relocated to Sakai in Izumi Province and became merchants belonging to what was called the *nayashū* (warehouse-owners' guild). Rikyū's grandfather, Tanaka Sen'ami, was one of the *dōbōshū* who served under Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–90). He was active during the same era as Sōami, the man who compiled the *Kundaikan Sōchōki* record of the interior decoration of the Ashikaga shōgun's mansion. During the Higashiyama Era of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, such arts as noh, kabuki, flower arrangement, and chanoyu — the traditional Japanese arts which have come down to us today — began to flourish. The *dōbōshū* served as attendants to the shōgun, and were his experts in charge of artistic affairs and etiquette.

Having a background such as this, it was rather natural for Rikyū to leave the business which had been handed down to him from his father, seek instruction in chanoyu from Takeno Jōō and others of Jōō's sphere, and ultimately unify the practice of chanoyu as a philosophical pursuit (*dō*), distinguished as *chadō*, or "the Way of Tea." Serving as *chadō* advisor to Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Rikyū was one of their trusted advisors and received a large fief that consisted of present-day Izumi City (in Osaka Prefecture). Also, he was granted the name and title Rikyū Koji from Emperor Ōgimachi.

As for the reason why Rikyū was ordered to commit ritual suicide, the common story is that it was because the placement of a wooden statue of himself in the main temple gate which he had donated to Daitokuji

* Translated from the serial "Watakushi no Rirekisho" [My Personal History] (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1986–87).

temple had provoked the despot Hideyoshi's displeasure. Most likely another factor, however, was the threatening presence which Hideyoshi felt in Rikyū, who, as the leading cultural figure of the day, possessed great influence and counted such powerful daimyō as Takayama Ukon, Furuta Oribe, and Hosokawa Sansai among his chief followers. Rikyū also served as what we might call Hideyoshi's "peace ambassador," holding tea gatherings during the Odawara Campaign and at other such times, where peace talks could take place. However, Rikyū opposed Hideyoshi's plan to invade Korea. This was another act of Rikyū's which incensed Hideyoshi.

On the twenty-eighth day of the second month, 1591 (Tenshō 19), Rikyū calmly carried out the order from Hideyoshi to commit ritual suicide, and ended his life at the age of seventy. The wooden statue that was the direct cause of his death is now enshrined in the Onsodō (ancestral hall) within Konnichian, and my daily routine, as iemoto, includes performing a religious service in the hall each morning, and offering tea and prayers to our family ancestors. The short sword bearing the name "Yoshimitsu," with which Rikyū took his life, has also been handed down in our household. When I was about to depart for military service, my father brought it out and instructed me to fight in a manner that everyone could be proud of, as a descendant of Rikyū Koji, who, when confronted with war, always remembered peace.

After Rikyū's death, the Sen house was ordered to be closed down, but, through the good offices of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Maeda Toshiie, and others, the family was soon permitted to reestablish itself. Rikyū's son-in-law, Shōan, was granted a piece of land along the Ogawa stream northwest of the Kyoto Imperial Palace. There he built his tearoom and residence, named Fushin'an. Shortly thereafter, Shōan decided to retire and leave things up to his son, Sōtan, Rikyū's third-generation heir.

Sōtan received position offers from many daimyō and government officials, but he was not ignorant of the foul play that his grandfather had been victim to in his final days, and so he refused them all. On the other hand, however, he sent his third son, Sōsa, to serve as chadō magistrate for the Tokugawa family of Kishū, and his fourth son, Sōshitsu, to similarly serve the Maeda family of Kaga. After that, he bequeathed Fushin'an to Sōsa, built Konnichian on the adjoining plot, and, together with Sōshitsu, transferred his residence there. Furthermore, his second son, Sōshu, had resigned his position as official for the Takamatsu clan, and built Kankyūan on Mushanokōji street further down the Ogawa stream, where he set up his household.

Eventually, it seems that the people of Kyoto generally started to refer to Fushin'an as the "front" Sen house (Omotesenke), and, in relation to this, Konnichian as the "rear" Sen house (Urasenke), connoting the fact that Konnichian was contiguous with the Fushin'an building. Further-

more, Kankyūan came to be referred to as the Sen house on Mushanokōji street (Mushanokōjisenke).

All three Sen houses continue to transmit the chanoyu tradition of the Sen Family, and, to this day, we stand solidly together as what I would call kinsmen rather than mere relatives. As such, it is vital that, with plenty of the feeling of friendly rivalry, we exert our ingenuity and strive towards the continued development of the Way of Tea. 

Patriarch Zen and the Kōan: An Introduction to Zen Training

Akizuki Ryōmin, with Preface by D. T. Suzuki

Preface

Zen is said to be “A separate transmission outside the scriptures, not relying on words or letters.”¹ No one is more secretive, however, than Zen monks with their ancient texts. They add up the number of kōan they have passed and try to find out how far others have advanced. Passing kōan in this way is not a deep discovery within oneself; it is something explained by the master out of grandmotherly kindness, greatly relying on written words taken from within sacred texts. Where indeed is this separate transmission outside the scriptures? What does this not relying on words or letters mean? Originally, “A separate transmission outside the scriptures” already distinguishes inside from outside; and the very expression “Not relying on words or letters” — how’s that for putting your foot in your mouth? The Zen sect is spoken of as something of great profundity, but in reality maybe it is better called a web of lies. With kōan, you can imagine to what extent Zen is a matter of startling people by shouting in a vacuous voice and making bizarre, frightening gestures.

In this work, Mr. Akizuki attempts to scrutinize these kōan. Rather than saying it is creating waves on a calm sea, I might say it is more like stirring up muddy water. When you think about it, it is unnecessary meddling. However, since Mr. Akizuki has exhaustively gone through the various kōan, he can be said to be the most appropriate writer to do such a thing. I believe this work will be of great benefit not only for those who are attached to kōan and think there is no Zen without it, but for the general public as well.

¹ From a verse attributed to Bodhidharma, the first patriarch of Chinese Zen, as follows: A separate transmission outside the scriptures, / Not relying on words or letters; / Pointing directly to our own Self (人・心), / We see into our nature and attain Awakening.

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from the Preface and section 1 of Chapter 1, “*Sanzen Nyūmon*” [参禅入門], in *Kōan* [公案] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1987), originally published in 1965 as no. 70 in the Chikuma Shobō Green Belt Series, and included in vol. 10 of the Collected Works of Akizuki Ryōmin (*Akizuki Ryōmin Chosaku Shū*). Unless otherwise specified, footnotes are by the translator; romanized names and titles in parentheses indicate the reading in Japanese.

Thinking about it, there is nothing so mysterious as human existence. After falling into a snare of our own making, we then writhe in agony, and we contrive to get free. It really makes one wonder what life is for. From "moving," or in other words "working," it is good to go on and participate in a world of "seeing," but the one who "sees" comes to see himself as an independent existence completely isolated from the one at "work."² Those enslaved by kōan Zen are one example of this kind of person. A person who has moved from "working" to "seeing" must now once again return to the midst of work. Is that not the meaning of "Finally returning to sit at ease among the dust and ashes"?³ I love this phrase. I believe in modernizing this sentiment so that Zen can serve as a vital force today.

Master of the Sokuhian⁴ (i.e., Akizuki Ryōmin), please accept this in way of a preface.

June, 1965
Suzuki Daisetz

Tathagata Zen and Patriarch Zen⁵

The time was just before the Meiji Restoration of 1868; the place was the Yōtokuji monks' training hall in the town of Kitsuki, in Bungo (present-day Ōita Prefecture), on Japan's southern island of Kyushu. A new monk was there named Gensetsu, at the time twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old—a little older than most incoming monks. He already had a reputation in the Rinzai sect as a leading Buddhist scholar.

In fact, Gensetsu's former teacher had once told him, "I'm really brave and brilliant, but you're a noble-minded genius. Anyway, neither of us are run-of-the-mill." This was Zen master Maigan of Kongōzan in the town of Uwajima in Iyo (present-day Ehime Prefecture), himself so respected as a great scholar-monk in the Zen world during the closing days of the Tokugawa shogunate (1615–1867) that it was said, "If Maigan doesn't know [the word], there is no such word." After only ten years of study under Maigan, Maigan had admitted, "You have exhausted this old monk's ocean of learning; not one drop remains." Then he had added,

² Cf. *Hataraku Mono kara Miru Mono e* 『働くものから見るものへ』 [From the Working (or Acting) to the Seeing] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1927) by Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945), renowned Japanese philosopher and friend of D. T. Suzuki's.

³ This is the final line of the fifth stanza on the Five Ranks, attributed to Dongshan Liangjie (Tōzan Ryōkai; 807–869).

⁴ 即非庵; the name of Akizuki Ryōmin's study room, as well as his literary name.—E.

⁵ Nyorai Zen 如來禪 and Soshi Zen 祖師禪, respectively.

"Leave here and devote yourself to Zen training." Gensetsu was a person of such caliber that his teacher recommended he train under Zen master Razan, formerly of the Bairinji monks' training hall but now at Yōtokuji. Naturally, Gensetsu was rather proud of his status as a scholar-monk. Like his teacher Maigan, he was often haughty about his learning; he would boast and say things like, "This Zen training is boring. I'd rather read books!" Even though it was his teacher's recommendation, Gensetsu had himself decided to enter the monks' training hall, and of course he wanted to see what Zen was all about.

One day Gensetsu became ill and was ordered to the sickroom attached to the training hall, where he joined the senior monk Kōshin. At one point while they were convalescing, Gensetsu started up a conversation with Kōshin.

"It seems that there is tathagata Zen and patriarch Zen. Could you tell me what the difference is?"

Assuming Zen is one sect of Buddhism, is it really necessary to have this patriarch Zen when we already have the Buddha Dharma-truth expounded by the tathagata? For Gensetsu, who had learned all about the teachings of the tathagata but did not yet know what Zen is, such a doubt would certainly have been inevitable.

Senior monk Kōshin responded: "I suppose I could do that. But in return, since you're such a scholar, could you lecture on the Heart Sutra for me?"

They agreed and Kōshin himself wrote out the short Heart Sutra as a text. From that day or perhaps the next, Gensetsu proudly began his lectures. Beginning with the title, he continued lecturing up to the passage, "Form itself is Emptiness, and Emptiness, form." Then Kōshin, who had listened quietly up to this point, spoke up.

"Wait a minute." It was summer and it seems Gensetsu was using a hand fan as he spoke. From out of the blue, Kōshin pointed to the fan and inquired, "Is that fan you're holding form or Emptiness?" Of course without a second thought Gensetsu replied, "Form (i.e., matter)." Then Kōshin stuck out his right hand and said, "Fine. I've got the form. Now give me Emptiness." With this, Gensetsu was stopped dead in his tracks.

Even if Gensetsu had crammed all the Buddhist teachings into his head, because he has not yet opened his spiritual eye, which in Zen is called satori, when he hears something like "Now give me Emptiness," what can he do? — He is lost. Kōshin then nailed him with the *coup de grace*: "This is patriarch Zen." After that, Gensetsu was greatly spurred; he put all his Buddhist learning up on the shelf and began to do Zen practice in earnest without worrying about theory.

Unfortunately, Zen master Razan passed away soon after this. Gensetsu then went to the Shōgenji monks' training hall in Ibuka (present-day Gifu Prefecture) to continue his training under Zen Master Settan, but Settan retired after a short time. Next, Gensetsu determined to train under Zen



Bodhidharma 一筆達磨. Painting and inscription by Shōkai Reiken 性海靈見 (1315–96). Muromachi period; dated 1394. Property of the Umezawa Memorial Gallery, Tokyo.



The Sixth Patriarch 六祖挾担圖. Painting attributed to Zhiweng 直翁 (dates and identity uncertain); Southern Song dynasty (12–13th c.). Designated a National Treasure. Property of the Daitōkyū Memorial Library, Tokyo.

master Ekkei of the Shōkokuji monks' training hall in Kyoto, but at the time Ekkei was just going into retirement. Thus Gensetsu had no choice but to train under Ekkei's successor, Zen master Dokuon. Then one day, upon hearing a thunderclap, great satori dawned upon him and he finally realized for himself what patriarch Zen is. Unable to contain himself, he entered the master's room and expressed his realization. Dokuon immediately concurred. Gensetsu had always admired Ekkei's religious character however, so when Ekkei came out of retirement and took over as Zen master of the Myōshinji monks' training hall in Kyoto, Gensetsu promptly went to train under him and worked with all his might, without regard for life or limb. Finally in the autumn of 1873, in his thirty-seventh year, he received Zen master Ekkei's dharma transmission seal (*inki/inkajō*⁶) and succeeded him as resident priest of Daihōji temple in Iyo Yawatahama. The following year he paid his respects at the founder's stupa of Myōshinji temple, and at that time he changed his monastic name (from Gensetsu) to Genku, and gave himself the Buddhist name Kasan. His name as a Zen master was Fukoan (later, Taikyūken).

This is the story of Zen master Fukoan Kasan Genku's⁷ (1837–1917) entrance into Zen. He came to be praised as “a master who could use both the sword of the teachings (*kyōsō*)⁸ and the sword of Zen power,” and was even called “a master who united the teachings and Zen,” a rare honor in the Rinzai sect. The above-mentioned monk Kōshin went on to become Zen master Kōshin Hakuju,⁹ head abbot of the Ōbaku Zen sect.¹⁰ Incidentally, his name as a Zen master, Meigenshitsu, is said to have been given to him by Zen master Kasan. I heard about these two Zen masters' “patriarch Zen *mondō* question-and-answer” from the renowned scholar Kōda Rentarō, who is now deceased. He told me that he had heard it from Zen master Kaikō, dharma heir of Zen Master Kasan, during a chat over tea. “When I tell it,” he said, “it doesn't sound very interesting, but Master Kaikō told it in a really lively, animated fashion.”

Zen is Chinese in Origin

In a *kōan* collection compiled in Japan called the *Shūmon Kattō Shū*,¹¹ we find such *kōan* as “The Buddha preached directly; why do the patriarchs

⁶ 印記、印可狀

⁷ 不顯庵禾山玄叟

⁸ 教相

⁹ 高津栢樹

¹⁰ The Ōbaku Zen sect is one of the three Zen sects in Japan, besides the Rinzai and the Sōtō. It is loosely affiliated with the Rinzai sect.

¹¹ 『宗門葛藤集』

twist the teaching?" (case no. 50) and "An ancient worthy has said: 'The Buddha expounded the principle, the patriarchs reveal the functioning'" (case no. 178).

Tathagata Zen is, needless to say, the Zen of the tathagata — the Zen taught by Sakyamuni the Buddha — and could be called Indian Zen. In contrast, patriarch Zen is the Zen from Bodhidharma on, especially after the sixth patriarch of Chinese Zen, Huineng (Enō; 638–713); the Zen of the patriarchs of the Tang dynasty (618–906) in China, which suddenly blossomed, full of vigor and life, like the contrasting beauty of orchid and chrysanthemum. In short, patriarch Zen is the Zen of China (and later, Japan). What we call Zen is in no way the same as Indian dhyana-meditation (*zenna/zenjō*¹²). (In this sense, the "yoga" popular today is not at all like the Zen of Zen Buddhism.) We can clearly say that Zen was brought to perfection in China. (This has already become an established theory in the world of Zen studies since D. T. Suzuki first stated it.) Zen has been said to "reign supreme over Buddhism," and Zen people themselves, out of a sense of pride that only they transmit the real spirit of the Buddha, have labelled their sect "the Buddha-mind Sect" (*Busshinshū*¹³). And it is none other than the Zen people themselves who emphasize the unbroken and authentic transmission of the Buddha Dharma through the patriarchal lineage of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs (from Sakyamuni to Mahakasyapa and on finally to Bodhidharma) and the six Chinese patriarchs (Bodhidharma to Huineng).

It is certain that Zen springs from that source which is the authentic Awakening of the great sage Sakyamuni under the Bodhi tree. Indian dhyana, however, is finally no more than dhyana-meditation as one of the three essential teachings of the Buddhist way; namely, sila-morality [i.e., keeping the precepts], dhyana-meditation, and prajna-wisdom.¹⁴ In contrast, Chinese Zen is, according to the sixth patriarch Huineng, "The oneness of dhyana-prajna." That is, dhyana is at once prajna, and prajna just as it is, dhyana; the Zen of "The non-duality of dhyana-prajna." The sixth patriarch emphasized this aspect, calling it *kenshō* (Ch., *jianxing*¹⁵; penetrating insight into and thoroughly seeing Buddha nature, that is, one's own original nature). (One point which needs to be emphasized is that *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* seems to have been given that name in connection with the precept platform for ordination. Thus, for the sixth patriarch prajna-wisdom was not just identified with dhyana-meditation but with sila-morality as well.) A disciple of the sixth patriarch, Heze Shenhui (Kataku Jinne; 670–762), referred to this as "The one word

¹² 禪那, 禪定

¹³ 仏心宗

¹⁴ In Japanese these are *kai* 戒, *jō* 定, and *e* 慧, respectively.

¹⁵ 見性

'prajna' is the gate of many mysteries." This explains why around the time of the fifth and sixth patriarchs the Diamond Sutra, being a more straightforward teaching of prajna-wisdom, came to play a more important role than the Lankavatara Sutra handed down since Bodhidharma. One aspect of this was the Sinification of the infinitely profound and subtle philosophical thought of Indian Mahayana Buddhism as expressed in prajna-wisdom, *vijnapti* matra-consciousness only, *gandavyuha*-flower garland, etc., and the formation of an indigenous Chinese, practical Buddha Dharma of the particular thing (concrete and practical) rather than a universal principle (abstract and philosophical); namely, the creation of something new — "Zen Buddhism" as the Self-Awakened Way of the absolute Subject. Without this Chinese assimilation of Buddhist doctrine, the coming into existence of Zen would be unthinkable. Therefore, we can clearly assert that Zen is a creation of the Chinese mentality. This is why it is said that, whereas the Buddha expounds the noumenon (as a static universal principle), the patriarchs reveal the functioning (as dynamic activity). Tathagata Zen and patriarch Zen should be completely one and the same as a universal principle (*ri*¹⁶) (all-as-one), but it is an undeniable fact that there is a distinction between the two as regards the particular [phenomenal] thing (*ji*¹⁷) (all-as-distinct).

Kenshō and Samu

Another thing that has been emphasized since around the time of the sixth patriarch is *samu*¹⁸ (physical labor). Zen master Baizhang Huaihai (Hyakujō Ekai; 720–814) is renowned as the patriarch who established the "Baizhang Pure Rules" (*Hyakujō Shingi*¹⁹; i.e., rules to guide pure monks in their daily life), the first regulations specifically designed for independent Zen institutions, which until that time had functioned as Zen meditation halls temporarily attached to temples of the Vinaya-precepts School (Ch., Lu-zong; Jp., Risshū). He refused to stop his daily *samu* regimen, even in his old age. In Zen the word *fushin*,²⁰ which now refers to all the monks working together at a task, originally meant communal labor performed simultaneously by the entire work force, from the master on down.

Seeing their master labor so hard in spite of his old age, Baizhang's disciples felt pity for him and begged, "Please master, take a rest." But he steadfastly refused to listen. Then one of his disciples hid the master's

16 理

17 事

18 作務

19 『百丈清規』

20 普請

tools, hoping in this way to give him a break. And indeed, that day the master did no *samu*. In response, however, he stubbornly refused to pick up chopsticks and eat a single thing the entire day, no matter how much his disciples pleaded. At that time he is said to have uttered his renowned expression: "A day without work is a day without eating."

For Zen master Baizhang, *samu* was not mere mundane manual labor. It was Zen itself, prajna-wisdom of the oneness of dhyana-prajna, because it was none other than the natural and spontaneous *activity* of his satori itself. The sixth patriarch spoke of this as "In all places, whether moving, staying, sitting, or resting, the sole and straightforward self (*ichi jikishin*²¹) is always at work." This is in complete accord with Nanquan Puyuan's (Nansen Fugan; 748–835) expression: "Everyday self [prior to discrimination as such] is the Way"²² (i.e., the ordinary mind, just as it is, is the Way). (Actually, the expression goes back to Nanquan's teacher Mazu Daoyi [Baso Dōitsu; 709–788].) There are never any "incidental chores" in Zen; for the Zen person of "Everyday self is the Way," all one's daily words and actions are, just as they are and at once, Zen.

Once a monk made the following request: "I am new here; please master, give me your teaching." The master, Zhaozhou Congshen (Jōshū Jūshin; 778–897), a disciple of the above-mentioned Nanquan, asked, "Have you eaten your morning gruel?" When the monk answered "Yes, I have," the master responded, "Well then, wash your bowls" — a very well-known Zen *mondō* question-and-answer.

In this way, for the person who has *kenshō*, prajna-wisdom must be none other than dhyana-meditation which is at the same time observing the sila-precepts. This *kenshō* [i.e., satori] is the one and only aim of Zen. As it has been said of old, "Zen is attaining satori and living in accord with that." The expression in the Sōtō tradition, "A solemn and dignified manner is itself the Buddha Dharma; proper etiquette, our doctrine,"²³ must also arise from this. [In Sōtō-tradition terms,] if the *kenshō* of "body-mind fallen away" does not give rise to the *activity* of the subject's "fallen away body-mind," it is not Zen. Thus we can say the very *kenshō* spoken of by the sixth patriarch is the beginning of the Buddha Dharma in Zen, as well as its end.

Now, what in the world is this *kenshō*, this Zen satori? Let me introduce below the *kenshō* of two preeminent masters of the Chinese Tang dynasty, Linji Yixuan (Rinzai Gigen²⁴; d. 866), and Deshan Xuanjian (Tokusan Senkan²⁵; 782–865). They were representative patriarchs so admired in the

21 一直心

22 "Byōjōshin kore dō" 平常心是道

23 "Igi soku buppō; sahō kore shūsū" 威儀即佛法, 作事是修行

24 臨濟義玄

25 德山宣鑑

Japanese Rinzai tradition that they are considered on a par with Bodhidharma.

Linji's *Kenshō*

Reflecting on his own experience, Linji spoke like this:

In my former practice I devoted myself to the Vinaya-precepts, then for a time I learned the sutras and sastra-commentaries, and studied the philosophy of gandavyuha-flower garland, vijnapti matrata-consciousness only, and the like, seeking after the Buddha Dharma there. Later, when I realized they were all temporary expedients for worldly redemption—like written prescriptions for medicine [and not the needed medicine itself]—I threw them all away at once and promptly entered the Zen Way. Then I had the good fortune to meet teachers of great virtue and wisdom, such as Huangbo Xiyuan (Ōbaku Kiun; d. ca. 850) and Gaoan Dayu (Kōan Kaigu; n.d.). Thanks to their kind guidance, my Dharma eye was clearly opened and I was able to attain true insight. Then, for the first time I could see through to the heart of all teachers under heaven and clearly discern the true from the false. This is nothing like an understanding one naturally has upon being born from out of a mother's womb. On the contrary, only after exhaustive practice and intense diligence, then in an instant I awakened to my true self.²⁶

He also said:

In the past, when this mountain monk (I) did not yet have his eye opened, it was utter darkness indeed. You must not waste your time idly! With gut on fire and mind racing, I ran about inquiring after the Way.²⁷

At first he went to practice under Huangbo, and was pure and direct in behavior and earnest in training. The head monk, Chen Zunsu (Chin Sonshuku; 780?–877?), sensing that young Linji was especially promising, asked him one day: “How many years have you been here?”

“It has been three years now,” replied Linji.

²⁶ Cf. Ruth F. Sasaki, tr., *The Record of Lin-chi* (Kyoto: Institute for Zen Studies, 1975), pp. 24–25.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.



Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄. Painting attributed to Soga Dasoku 曾我蛇足 (dates unknown); Muromachi period. Property of Shinjuan, a subtemple of Daitokuji temple, Kyoto.

"Have you sought out the master for instruction?"

"No, not once. I do not even know what to ask."

"Why don't you enter the master's room and ask him the ultimate meaning of the Buddha Dharma?" suggested the senior monk, attempting to guide him in the right direction.

Linji went and did just as he was told. But before he had even finished asking the question, Huangbo struck him. With a heavy heart, Linji withdrew. The senior monk was waiting for him and asked, "How did it go?"

"Before I finished asking the question, the master hit me. I don't even know what for."

"You'd better go ask him once more."

Linji went again, and was hit again. And the same thing happened over and over. It states in the text that he went "three times," but this should not be taken literally. At this point even someone of Linji's caliber was at the end of his rope. He said to the senior monk, "According to your kind instruction, I have been going to see the master, but whenever I do he just soundly wallops me. My past karma must be obstructing me, so, unfortunately, I'm none the wiser. Since I don't seem to have any affinity with this place, I beg your permission to leave."

"Well, that's too bad. But before you go, you'd better take your leave of the master," responded head monk Chen Zunsu. Then he went to see Huangbo ahead of Linji, and advised the master: "That young man is a great Dharma vessel. If he comes to take his leave, please find some means to instruct him. In the future, through his own training, he will surely become a great person who will save many in this world."

Thus, when Linji came to take his leave, Huangbo told him, "Don't you go anywhere else but to Gaoan Dayu's place. He'll explain it to you for sure."

Linji went to visit Dayu as he was told. Without a moment's hesitation, Dayu asked, "Where have you come from?"

"From Huangbo's monastery."

"What did Huangbo teach you?"

"Whenever I went to inquire about the essential meaning of the Buddha Dharma, all he would do is give me a good, sound beating. I have no idea where my fault lies that he had to hit me so."

"What! Huangbo was so kind in caring for your troubles, and now you have the nerve to come to me and ask whether you were at fault or not?!" yelled Dayu.

The time and circumstances must have been ripe, for with these words Linji immediately Awakened. The unexpected yet self-evident clarity of the true world in the midst of satori caused Linji to spontaneously burst out with extreme bluntness, "Ah! Is that all there is to Huangbo's Buddha Dharma?!" What a futile, roundabout path to arrive at the Way so close that it lies right at one's feet!

When you kill a person, make sure and see the blood. Dayu immediately seized Linji and pressed him: "Why, you bed-wetting little brat! You just showed up here, and now you're boasting that there's not much to Huangbo's Buddha Dharma. What exactly have you seen? Speak, speak!"

But Linji is not the person he used to be. Grabbing Dayu, he gave him a couple of good pokes in the rib. Dayu, realizing this was the real thing, pushed him away and said: "Your teacher is Huangbo. I know nothing about it. Go back to him now; get out."

Linji took his leave of Dayu and returned to Huangbo's monastery. Seeing this, Huangbo hailed, "Hey you, going and coming like this, when will it end?"

"Due to your great kindness, I have returned here," replied Linji. Then he quickly bowed and stood by his teacher's side.

Huangbo queried, "Where have you been?"

"The other day you kindly allowed me to seek guidance from Master Dayu."

"And what did Dayu have to say?"

Linji then reported what had happened. Upon hearing this, Huangbo remarked, "Oh, how I'd like to catch that old fellow [Dayu] and give him a good thrashing!"

"What a lukewarm thing to say — 'I'd like to, . . .' Have a taste of this right now!" Having said this, Linji immediately gave the master a slap across the face that must have really hurt.

Huangbo burst out in laughter and said, "You lunatic! Coming back to me like this and daring to pull the tiger's whiskers!"

"Ka—!" roared Linji. This was his first "Ka—!" shout [for which he later became so famous].

Hearing this shout, Huangbo was satisfied. "Attendant, take this lunatic to the monks' hall."²⁸ Back then, this was called "receiving the dharma transmission" (*inka*).

From this account we can see the wondrous, incisive conversion in Linji's character before and after Awakening. This is Zen Awakening, the *kenshō* of "suddenly realizing oneself."²⁹

Deshan's *Kenshō*

Zen master Deshan Xuanjian was such a scholar of the Diamond Sutra that he was nicknamed "Diamond Zhou" (Zhou was his surname). Hearing that in the south there was a heretical doctrine of "demon zen" which

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 50–52.

²⁹ "Ichō mizukara seisu" (一徹水くらしす) 128.

teaches such things as "Pointing directly to our own Self, we see into our nature and attain Awakening" [see note 1] and "Self is Buddha" (i.e., this very self or mind, as it is, is Buddha), he decided to teach this band of scoundrels a lesson. Setting out from the Four Rivers District of Szechwan, carrying on his back a box with his copious notes and commentary on the Diamond Sutra, he traveled all the way down to the Southern Lakes area of Hunan. Arriving in Hunan, he came upon a roadside teahouse where an elderly woman was selling fried rice cakes, so he took off his heavy book pack and ordered some for "refreshment" (*tenjin*³⁰; "refresh-the-mind").

At this point the old woman queried, "What kind of books are you carrying on your back?"

"My notes and commentary on the Diamond Sutra," answered Deshan.

The old woman continued, "I have one question for you. If you would be so kind as to answer it, I will give you the rice cakes as an offering. But if you can't answer my question, please go somewhere else to buy them."

Thinking to himself how silly this was, Deshan replied, full of confidence, "Go ahead. Ask anything you like."

"I have heard that there is a passage in the Diamond Sutra, 'Past mind is unattainable, present mind is unattainable, future mind is unattainable.' If, as the sutra says, none of the three minds of past, present, or future are attainable, Reverend sir, which mind is it that you wish to refresh (*tenjin*)?"

Not even the great Deshan could think of a response. Concerning Deshan at this juncture, an ancient worthy has commented that "It's really a pity he didn't pick up something from this encounter!"

Knowing now that he could not rely on the doctrinal teachings, Deshan was directed by the old woman to seek out Zen master Longtan Chongxin (Ryōtan Sūshin [alt. reading, Ryūtan Sōshin]; n.d.). No sooner had Deshan arrived at Longtan's monastery than he declared, "I have long admired Zen master Longtan, but coming here I see no lake nor does any dragon appear at all!" [The Chinese characters for Longtan mean "dragon" and "lake."] This smacks a bit of the old woman's "wild fox zen" (*yako zen*³¹).

Then master Longtan slipped behind a folding screen and said, "You have arrived at Longtan in person."

Did he mean that there is no place where Longtan cannot be found? Or was he for the moment accepting Deshan's view, and dangling the carrot on the stick a bit?

At this point Deshan bowed and retired for awhile, then in the evening

³⁰ 點心.

³¹ Refers to giving half-baked, scoffing remarks when, during the course of Zen training, satori has not been reached.—E.

he entered the master's room. Completely immersed in questioning until late at night, master Longtan finally said, "You'd better go back now."

Deshan bowed, raised the bamboo blind, and left the room. Outside, it was pitch dark, however, so he returned to the master and said, "It's pitch dark outside."

The master lit a candle and handed it over to Deshan. The moment Deshan tried to take it, however, the master blew it out. Total darkness through and through! [As a waka poem expresses it:] Hearing the cry of the silent crow / in the black of night — / I yearn for my father / before birth.

All of a sudden Deshan had great satori, and he immediately prostrated himself before the master. Seeing this, Longtan straightaway unleashed his second arrow.

"What did you see that you bow so?"

"From now on, I will never doubt the words of the great Zen masters!" responded Deshan. He clearly affirmed, "Self is Buddha" as well as "We see into our nature and attain Awakening."

The following day, master Longtan ascended [the platform in] the Dharma Hall and declared:

There is one man here whose teeth are like rows of blades, his mouth a plate of blood. Hit or strike as you will, he'll not turn 'round. Some day this man will establish my Zen way on the summit of a lone mountain peak.

In this way he praised Deshan's great and wondrous activity. Again, the ancient worthies considered the above statement as a dharma transmission. On the other hand, they are compassionate words with which the master, by suggesting the barrier beyond which one must progress, lifts up with one hand and pins down with the other, for even though you ascend to the top, if you do not know how to descend, you are good for nothing.

Thereupon, Deshan piled up in front of the Dharma Hall all his treasured Diamond Sutra notes and commentary that he had been carrying around for so long, held up a burning torch, and exclaimed:

Even though you thoroughly master the various and sundry profundities, it is all like a single hair in the vastness of space! To exhaustively study all important worldly affairs is like throwing a drop of water into an immense gorge!³²

³² Cf. Zenkei Shibayama, *Zen Comments on the Mumonkan* (Harper & Row, 1974), case 28, pp. 201ff.

Then he burned them all. This is the birth of the famed stick-wielding Zen man Deshan, who declared: "If you can speak — thirty blows; and if you can't — thirty blows just the same!" Thus "Deshan's stick" came to be known alongside "Linji's 'Ka—!'"

Actually, Zen is not just such lively and energetic, extreme Zen opportunities as that of young Deshan's, Linji's, and the like. Zen opportunities are in no way limited to the wondrous activity of "staff, fist, stick, and shout." Let me end here by simply praising the Zen of complete self-transformation which directly turned the two anxious intellectuals Deshan and Linji, by their suddenly realizing themselves, into powerful Zen men.

The Advent of the Kōan

After the sixth patriarch, from the Tang through the Five Dynasties (907–960) and into the Song (960–1279) period, Zen quite literally blossomed in profusion, like the contrasting beauty of orchid and chrysanthemum, into "Five Houses and Seven Schools" (the five houses of Guiyang [Igyō], Linji [Rinzai], Caodong [Sōtō], Yunmen [Ummon], and Fayen [Hōgen], plus the two schools which branched out from the Linji House — the Huanglong [Ōryō] and Yangqi [Yōgi] — to make seven). Throughout the Tang dynasty, many outstanding and brilliant Zen people emerged one after the other. During this time the creative life of Zen was burning like wildfire, so there was no particular need to ponder over kōan as such. (A kōan is a problem given by a master to a disciple in order to learn the Zen way.) The kōan became a matter of concern from the end of the Tang through the Five Dynasties and into the Song period, when Zen's creative vitality began to burn out and it was feared that, if neglected, the Zen life would not continue into the next generation. In his preface to *The Blue Cliff Record*, Sanjiao Laoren (Sankyō Rōjin; d. 1212) says:

Formerly, reciting the records of the patriarchs' teachings was called kōan. They were first given voice in the Tang; in the Song, they flourished.

It seems safe to say that the kōan was used extensively during the Song dynasty, once people became aware that the creative life of Tang Zen had declined. Zhongfeng Mingben (Chūhō Myōhon; 1263–1323) says:

The opportune occasions of the Buddhas and patriarchs — these are called kōan.

[Explaining the Zen meaning of the two Chinese characters *kō* (公: "public") and *an* (案: "records")], he says:

Kō is the single track of the sages and wise men; *an* are the orthodox writings which record their principles.³³

The word “*kōan*” refers to a public, written plan; an authoritative, official public document, as opposed to a private document. [In Zen] it can be thought of as an abstraction, to meet educational demands, of the “Dharma Principles” for Zen Awakening expressed in the speech and conduct of the Buddha-patriarchs. In short, the *kōan* is a means that Zen people worked out to help induce *satori* in their disciples (i.e., a teaching device or method set up by a master for the disciple’s edification). Linji left his “Four Discernments [of subject and object]” (Ch., *siliaojian*; Jp., *shiryōken*³⁴) as a means to educate future generations. “Discernment” (*ryōken*; literally, “weigh and choose”) refers to classifying; a standard or measure. In the *Transmission of the Lamp* (Ch., *Chuandenglu*; Jp., *Dentōroku*³⁵), these “Four Discernments” are simply called the “Four Phrases”; in the *Record of Fengxue*³⁶ by Fengxue Yanzhao (Fuketsu Enshō; 896–973), mention is made of these “Four Discernments” in a *mondō* question-and-answer between Fengxue and his master, Nanyuan Huiyong (Nan’in Egyō; d. 930), a second-generation disciple of Linji’s. According to *The Record of Linji*:

At an evening gathering the master [Linji] addressed the assembly, and said, “Sometimes I snatch the person [i.e., subject] without snatching the surroundings [i.e., object]. Sometimes I snatch the surroundings without snatching the person. Sometimes I snatch both the person and the surroundings. Sometimes I snatch neither the person nor the surroundings.”³⁷

This statement is liable to interpretations both broad and narrow; but if it is realized as a method by which a master guides his disciples to Awaken to the “Dharma Principles” through these “Four Discernments” or categories, then this statement can also be considered a *kōan* in the broad sense of the term.

This kind of *kōan* is a function of the master’s compassion to try somehow to guide disciples to Awakening; it must be said to be a naturally-emerging consciousness of the “Dharma Principles” in teaching. In other Buddhist sects, the disciple tries to accept authoritative dogma by listening to an explanation of the doctrine; a Zen person will always

³³ Cf. Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust* (Kyoto: First Zen Institute of America in Japan, 1966), pp. 4ff.

³⁴ 四料簡

³⁵ 『伝燈錄』; a classic Zen work compiled in the 11th c.

³⁶ 『風穴語錄』

³⁷ Cf. Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi*, p. 6.

let the disciple go the way himself and discover for himself. This is the creation of a unique Zen pedagogy in which outstanding Zen people guided many disciples one after the other to Awakening. The words and actions, and the occasions for the satori of these famous Zen people, eventually came to be used consciously as kōan. At first, these outstanding Zen people freely used whatever happened to be around at the moment, and responded to each person as they wished. (This is the so-called immediately present kōan [*genjō kōan*]³⁸). This expression appears for the first time in the *Transmission of the Lamp* as the words of Chen Zunsu.)³⁹ In this way, from one generation to the next, Zen people were educated. During that time, a number of outstanding Zen people naturally developed appropriate means with a common “Dharma Principle” character. Such “public authority” occasions of satori by the Buddha-patriarchs, and the free words and actions that issued from their satori, are “kōan.” They all express their predecessors’ Awakened world, so that those already Awakened immediately nod in agreement; but for those not yet so, the kōan was one great doubt that they just could not sink their teeth into. It was the lone, deadly serious problem that needed to be solved. For those coming later, “kōan” served as an authoritative signpost to satori. In this way, after such creative geniuses of Zen were gone, their superlative scent was preserved in model cases, and a trend naturally developed to study these “ancient cases” (*kosoku*⁴⁰; “model cases of the ancients”).

In the commentary on case 76 of *The Blue Cliff Record*, the following words are found:

When Baofu [Congzhan; d. 928] and Changqing [Huileng; 864–932] were together in Xuefeng’s [Yicun; 822–908] congregation, they would often take up and discuss kōan of the ancients.⁴¹

Here is an example of practitioners working together with kōan to refine their understanding. And in the *Record of Yunmen*,⁴² Yunmen Wenyan (Ummon Bun’en; 862/4–949) refers to the words and actions of people like Sakyamuni and Zhaozhou as “kōan,” comments on them based on his own insight, and uses them in his Dharma talks to instruct his disciples. After this, Zen masters came to assign these kōan as problems for their disciples, and a clearly defined “kōan Zen” practice developed to Awaken disciples through the use of kōan.

³⁸ 現成公案

³⁹ Cf. Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust*, p. 154.

⁴⁰ 古則

⁴¹ Cf. T. and J.C. Cleary, Jr., *The Blue Cliff Record* (Shambhala, 1992), case 76, p. 421.

⁴² 雲門語

Introspecting the Kōan and Silent Illumination

This was the Zen of “introspecting the kōan” (*kanna zen*⁴³; i.e., trying to Awaken by looking into the kōan) of the Song-dynasty monk Dahui Zonggao (Daie Sōkō; 1089–1163), who continued the tradition of the Zen masters Wuzu Fayan (Goso Hōen; 1024?–1104) and Yuanwu Keqin (Engo Kokugon; 1063–1135). The Zen of “introspecting the kōan” is in contrast to the Zen of “silent illumination” (*mokushō zen*⁴⁴; i.e., trying to achieve “body-mind fallen away” by just sitting, without using kōan) espoused by Hongzhi Zhengjue (Wanshi Shōgaku; 1091–1157) and others. Eventually, in China and Japan the former came to express the distinctive character of practice in the Linji (Rinzai) tradition, and the latter, that of the Caodong (Sōtō) tradition.

Dahui, however, said, “Just grasp Zhaozhou’s ‘Wu!’”⁴⁵ And this “just” is none other than the “just” of “just sitting.” Dahui and Hongzhi were personally very close: when Hongzhi was about to pass away, he entrusted his affairs to Dahui — from this alone we can see that they acknowledged each other as Zen men. One must be very careful about using discriminating intellect with the kōan, turning it into the demon zen of introspecting the kōan; at the same time, one must be very careful about sitting like a dead person, turning it into the demon zen of silent illumination. Both introspecting the kōan and silent illumination arrive at the same destination of Zen. But only kōan Zen, which was transmitted to Japan and developed into the so-called kōan system through the successors of Hakuin Ekaku (1686–1769), still survives today as living Zen. This is proof of the superiority of kōan Zen in educating disciples — at least this is what we Rinzai Zen people believe.

Patriarch Zen is secondary;
How do you understand the unspoken
prior even to it?

— Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253)

[The father of Japanese Sōtō Zen]



Translated by Jeff Shore

⁴³ 看話禪

⁴⁴ 默照禪

⁴⁵ Cf. Shibayama, *Zen Comments on the Mumonkan*, case 1, pp. 19–31.

Early History of The Teahouse

PART IV

Nakamura Toshinori

A Utopian Realm

In the previous parts, I presented details regarding the *kaisho* buildings of the fifteenth century in an attempt to recreate the structure of the *kaisho* and their surroundings. Now let us consider the following question: Why was the area for *suki* (aesthetically refined pursuits), with its “ten scenes,” including the *kaisho*, created in the first place? Was it only meant as a scenic place in which to enjoy one’s leisure? I do not think so. If it were, there would have been little reason to include religious structures such as Kannon Halls and chapels. In my opinion, this area was a re-creation of the Pure Land of Mount Potala (Jp., Fudaraku¹), the eternal realm of Kannon. Earlier, during the Heian period, when the world was believed to have entered the age of the Latter Dharma, members of the Fujiwara family vied with one another to erect Buddhist temples and statues. But the goal of the Fujiwara nobles was to achieve rebirth in the ideal Pure Land of Amida Buddha beyond the ordinary world of experience. The situation was quite different in the war-ridden Muromachi period. The areas of *suki* formed by the Muromachi gardens were meant to symbolize both a transcendental and, at the the same time, an actual world — the world of the immortals beyond aging and death.

As Matsuda Osamu notes,² the people of the Japanese medieval period envisioned Potala as an island realm of the immortals which could only be reached by ship. On this island, there was said to be a mountain (called Mount Potala) on whose peak was a lake surrounded by palaces. As a

¹ 補陀落

² Matsuda Osamu 松田修, *Nihon Tōbō Gentan* 『日本逃亡幻譚』 (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1978).

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from the Introductory Chapter, “*Sōan Chashitsu Seiritsu Zenshi — ‘Haitsumi-e’ no Sekai kara*” 『序章 草庵茶室成立前史—『掃墨絵』の世界から—], in *Machiya no Chashitsu* 『町家の茶室』 (Kyoto: Tankōsha Publishing Co., 1981). This part completes the translation of the chapter; the previous three parts appear in *Chanoyu Quarterly* nos. 69–71. Unless otherwise specified, illustrations courtesy of the author.



The Golden Pavilion. Originally built as part of the Kitayama-dono villa of the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (r. 1369–95).

matter of fact, there actually was a temple called Mount Potala Temple in the Zhou-shan Islands in Hangzhou Bay off the coast of Zhejiang Province in China. The Japanese superimposed the image of Mount Potala onto the floating island of the immortals which they believed existed far out in the sea. Mount Potala was a utopian realm necessary for people of the medieval period, who always lived in fear of imminent death. The wares imported from Song and Ming China, which filled the pavilions and *kaisho* surrounding the garden lake, may also have served to evoke an image of Mount Potala.

The scheme of the “ten scenes” found in later Zen temples had its precursor in the layout of Kenchōji, a temple in Kamakura, where the Chinese Zen monk Ishan Ining (Jp., Issan Ichinei; 1244–1317) once resided. Ishan Ining, known as the monk who transmitted the Song style Zen monastic discipline based on the *Zen'on Shingi* to Japan, arrived in Japan in Shōan 1 (1299) after having practiced



The Hiunkaku, or "Flying Cloud Pavilion," at Nishi Honganji temple in Kyoto. This structure, containing rooms in the *shoin* style and a tearoom called the Ikujakutei, offers an extant example of what the "pavilion for tea-drinking" described in the *Kissa Ōrai* may have looked like.

zazen at Mount Potala Temple. He came to Japan as an emissary of Emperor Chengzong of the Yuan Dynasty, and ended up staying in Japan. When he first arrived, he was suspected of being a spy by the Regent Hōjō Sadatoki and was incarcerated at Shuzenji in Izu. However, once his innocence was proved, he was invited to reside at Kenchōji temple. Ishan Ining may have laid out Kenchōji with an eye to recreating the ideal realm of Mount Potala within the temple grounds. Later, he resided at Engakuji in Kamakura and Nanzenji in Kyoto.³

Since Musō Soseki practiced Zen under Ishan Ining in Kamakura, it is probable that Musō was deeply influenced by him. The Golden Pavilion at Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Kitayama-dono palace has close affinities with the gold-covered Kannon Hall of Kenchōji.⁴ Although the Golden Pavilion is generally identified as a Buddha Relic Hall, its second story, called the

³ Imaeda Aishin 今枝愛真, *Chūsei Zenshūshi no Kenkyū* 『中世禅宗史の研究』 (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1970).

⁴ After Yoshimitsu's death in 1408, the Kitayama-dono was converted into a temple and given the name Rokuonji. Musō Soseki was designated the temple's honorary first abbot. Rokuonji is popularly called Kinkakuji, the Temple of the Golden Pavilion.—E.

Chōondō, enshrines a statue of Kannon, and the third (top) floor, called the Kukyōchō, is the actual Buddha Relic Hall, holding a statue of Amida Buddha. This three-storied structure has its direct model in the Kannon Hall (Ruriden) built by Musō Soseki at Saihōji.⁵ The Kannon Hall (Shōondō) at Yoshimitsu's Muromachi-dono, as well as that (also called the Shōondō) at Yoshimochi's Sanjō Bōmon-dono, were of this same format. As for the first floor of the Golden Pavilion, it is laid out like a water pavilion and is built in the late *shinden-zukuri* style; that is, a Japanese style. The second and third stories are covered with gold leaf and are built in a Chinese style. The fact that this pavilion was the central structure of the garden is another clue revealing that it probably served to represent the Kannon Hall of Mount Potala, the eternal home of the Buddhist deity Kannon.

Concerning the decoration of the "pavilion for tea-drinking" described in the *Kissa Ōrai*, we find the following passage:

To the left was a multi-colored painting of Sakyamuni by Si Gong. It brilliantly showed the spectacle [of Sakyamuni's preaching] on Numinous Mountain. To the right was an ink painting of Kannon by Mu Chi. It magnificently showed the form of his appearance on Mount Potala.

The fact that scrolls such as described here decorated the room provides another clue that the setting for *suki* was considered the realm of Mount Potala.

Hermitages for *Suki*

Superficially, a forerunner of the setting for *suki* is seen in the residence of Yoshishige Yasutane (ca. 931–1002), a man of letters who later entered the Buddhist priesthood. Yasutane's house was built on a plot of vacant land on Rokujō street in Kyoto. It was surrounded by a wall on four sides, and had a gate to the east. In his celebrated essay, the *Chiteiki* [Record of My Pond and Hut (982)], Yasutane describes his residence as follows:

Where the ground is high I made a little artificial hill, in the sunken part I dug a small pond. West of the pond, I built a small hall to house the Buddha Amida, east of the pond, I put up a small building to hold my books, and north of the pond, I constructed a low house for my wife and children. In general, the buildings cover four-tenths of the area, the pond three-

⁵ Saihōji is popularly called Kokedera, or the Moss Temple. In 1339, Musō Soseki converted this Pure Land temple into a Zen monastery.—E.

ninths, the vegetable garden two-eighths, and the water-parsley patch, one-seventh. In addition, I have an island with green pines, a beach of white sand, red carp, white herons, a little bridge, and a little boat. Everything I've loved all my life is to be found here. In particular, I have the willows on the eastern bank, in spring misty and lithe; in summer, the bamboos by the northern door, clear breezes rustling through them; in fall, the moon in the western window, bright enough to read a book by; and in winter, the sunlight by the southern eaves, just right for warming my back.⁶

As this account shows, Yasutane built an Amida Hall to the west of the lake. Similarly, to the east of the lake, he constructed a library. The grounds also included a vegetable garden. According to Yasutane, upon returning from his duties at the court,

I ascend the western hall, call on the Buddha Amida, and recite the Lotus Sutra. When my supper is done, I enter the eastern library, open my books, and find myself in the company of worthy men of another era.⁷

In this way, he imagined that he was in the mountains, far away from the capital.

Yasutane's residence, which was deeply influenced by the Confucian ideal of a quiet pastoral life, was a place in which he sought to escape from the real world, a defiled world that he detested and sought to leave by living in seclusion. Although the existence of the Amida Hall and the library in the garden appears to prefigure the "ten scenes," their functions were quite different. The Muromachi-period areas for *suki* were centered on the *kaisho*, a place for meeting with people. In contrast, Yasutane says,

As for the people and the affairs of the contemporary world, they hold no attraction for me. If, in becoming a teacher, one thinks only of wealth and honor and is not concerned about the importance of literature, it would be better if we had no teachers. If, in being a friend, one thinks only of power and profit and cares nothing about the frank exchange of opinions, it would be better if we had no friends. So I close my gate, shut my door, and hum poems and sing songs to myself.⁸

⁶ Translation, from Burton Watson, *Japanese Literature in Chinese*, vol. 1: *Poetry and Prose in Chinese by Japanese Writers of the Early Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975): 59–60. —Tr.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:63.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Thus, the Muromachi residences should not be considered identical to Yasutane's residence. It is difficult to connect Yasutane's abstract ideal world, with its emphasis on the transcendental absolute realm, to the realistic Muromachi setting for *suki* adorned with numerous Chinese wares.⁹ The development from the one to the other was mediated by the revolutionary events of the Japanese middle ages.

Yasutane's *Chiteiki* became the model for Kamo no Chōmei's (1156?–1216) *Hōjōki* [Record of the Ten-Foot-Square Hut]. In the *Hōjōki*, Chōmei describes his hermitage at Hino, near Kyoto, in the following way:

Since first I hid my traces here in the heart of Mount Hino,
I have added a lean-to on the south and a porch of bamboo.
On the west I have built a shelf for holy water, and inside
the hut, along the west wall, I have installed an image of
Amida. . . . Above the sliding door that faces north, I have
built a little shelf on which I keep three or four black leather
baskets that contain books of poetry and music and extracts
from the sacred writings. Beside them stand a folding koto
and a lute.¹⁰

From these lines, we do not get the image of Chōmei as a devout Buddhist recluse living apart from the secular world. Instead, his hermitage was tastefully arranged with various instruments for his artistic pursuits. Instead of seeking salvation in the world to come, Chōmei, even more so than Yasutane, was deeply attached to matters of the present world. He could not bring himself to live a totally anchoritic life; rather, he was a relatively humanistic recluse. Such recluses were accepted by society in the Japanese middle ages.

Another representative example is Yoshida Kenkō (ca. 1283–ca. 1352), the author of the famous essay, *Tsurezuregusa* [Essays in Idleness]. While dependent on secular powers for patronage, he lived as a recluse outside the reach of secular authorities. This was a highly effective way of surviving the upheavals of the middle ages. The two recluses who were instructed to remain at Sasaki Dōyō's mansion are also examples of such worldly recluses. Recluses were often employed as *dōbōshū* (monastical advisors) by powerful warriors, and they became experts in the major art forms of the middle ages, including *renga* (linked verse), music (especially those forms using stringed musical instruments), *sōga* (a form of rhythmic

⁹ On this point, I disagree with the position taken by Miyagami Shigetaka. See Miyagami Shigetaka 宮上茂隆, "Yoshishige Yasutane no Chitei: Chūsei Jūtaku ni okeru Suki to Jōdo" [慶應保胤の池亭—中世住宅における数寄と在土], *Kenchiku Zasshi*, November 1975.

¹⁰ Translation, from Donald Keene comp., *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (New York: Grove Press, 1955): 206–207.—Tr.

singing and music), dance, flower arrangement, and painting. The settings for *suki* would not have evolved without the contribution of these "secular recluses."

As this indicates, the concept of a recluse changed over time. Although originally a recluse referred to a person who had totally set himself apart from all human relationships, by the middle ages the notion of a "recluse who works within a master-servant relationship" was no longer considered self-contradictory.¹¹ Retirement to a hermitage (*an*) became one form of living a life of *suki*.

The setting for *suki* constituted a realm unencumbered by court rituals and precedents. The people who gathered there expected to be surprised by the novel yet elegant objects on display, and it was believed fashionable to act in an eccentric manner there. The parties held there were mostly Chinese in atmosphere, as the following passage attests.

Recently in rural villages, people gather in decorated rooms and have interesting banquets, calling them the Chinese style.¹²

The fact that the *kaisho* buildings possessed architectural features that later came to define the *shoin-zukuri* style probably was due in large part to the fact that the *kaisho* were built as meeting places for such gatherings. These architectural features were common to all buildings, including hermitages, which were constructed as settings for *suki*-style activities. These buildings constituted a realm which gave priority to artistic rules which deviated from established principles.

The Keisōan Hermitage — A Precursor of the *Sukiya-zukuri* Style

On the fourteenth day of the fifth month, Ōei 12 (1405), the residence of Middle Councillor Yamashina Noritoki, located at the corner of Ichijō and Karasuma avenues in Kyoto, burned down. Noritoki immediately undertook its reconstruction. First, he rebuilt the structure for everyday living. *Shitomido* for five bays, *tsumado* for three bays, and *yarido* for five bays were ordered, which shows that the structure was not as large as that of an average-size shōgunal residence. Nonetheless, it probably served as the formal "public" space of the residence.¹³ Next, the *tainoya* (buildings parallel to the main structure) and the library were built,

¹¹ Matsuda Osamu, *Yami no Yūtopia* 『闇のユートピア』 (Shinchōsha, 1975).

¹² Zenrin Shōka 『雑林小歌』.

¹³ Noritoki-kyō Ki, articles for 6/8, 7/16, 7/22, and 7/29, Ōei 12.



Oyō-no-Ama Emaki [Illustrated Narrative Handscroll of the Tale of the Old Woman Oyō-no-Ama]; portion of second volume in the two-volume set. Muromachi period, 16th c. Colors on paper. Entire width of each scroll: 14.9 cm. Collection of the Suntory Museum, Tokyo. A Buddhist recluse living in an *an*, or hermitage, along the Shirakawa stream in Kyoto takes an old peddler woman, Oyō-no-Ama, for his wife. In the storage area of his hermitage, there are utensils for making tea; he enjoys a life of *suki* in his humble hermitage. Photo from the Suntory Museum.



and, in the third month of the following year, construction was begun on the carriage house. Later, when the servants' quarters and stable were finished, the residence was by and large completed.

At the same time, structures for the *suki* area of the residence were under construction. First, the water pavilion (*izumidono*) was built. Tatami were spread in the pavilion. The tatami of the seat of honor was decorated with a Korean brocade edge. Probably for heating purposes, a hearth was built into the floor. The pavilion was completed with the installation of a long *oshiita*. In the ancient period of Japanese history, water pavilions were used exclusively for artistic gatherings. However, they gradually grew in size and came to be used as *kaisho*. For this reason, they soon came to be fitted with architectural features of the *shoin-zukuri* style, such as *oshiita*, shelves, and *tsuke-shoin*. Since the Yamashinas were traditionally a family of *shō* (Japanese free-reed mouth organ) experts, the water pavilion was used as a room for *shō* instruction.¹⁴ It was also used for entertaining guests.¹⁵

By this time, Noritoki had already taken the tonsure and was calling himself a Buddhist priest (*nyūdō*). Thus he next embarked on the construction of a hermitage which had the characteristics of a Buddhist chapel. Construction was begun on the twentieth day of the tenth month, Ōei 12. Pillars for the building were raised on the eighth day of the eleventh month, and Noritoki moved in on the eleventh day of the twelfth month. On the nineteenth day of the twelfth month, a ceremony to open the hermitage was held with the abbot of Hōshōin as the guest. This probably indicates that the exterior of the building had been completed by then, for work on the interior of the building still continued. The reason why this hermitage, later named Keisōan, could be built with such extraordinary speed was because it was originally an old house in the residence of Kazan'in Tadasada at the intersection of Konoe and Takakura avenues. Noritoki bought it for 1,500 *hiki* (a measure of cloth), had it scoured in a river, and rebuilt it on his estate. Unfortunately, details about the layout of the Keisōan are unknown. However, it is clear that it had an altar room, a four-bay room called the "alcove room," another four-bay room, and a six-bay room. Attached to the hermitage was a separate structure used as a storehouse. Its pillars were made of chestnut-tree wood obtained in Saga. The hermitage also had a toilet, so it was quite suitable for ordinary habitation.

Let us consider the interior of this hermitage. In a letter to the original owner of the building, Noritoki complained that there was a crack in the *oshiita* of the old house, and that he had to cover it with a new plank.

¹⁴ *Noritoki-kyō Ki*, articles for 5/24/Ōei 13 and 5/25/Ōei 14.

¹⁵ *Noritoki-kyō Ki*, articles for 11/2 and 11/3, Ōei 12.

He demanded compensation for the *oshiita* from Kazan'in. Furthermore, Noritoki's diary, the *Noritoki-kyō Ki*, states that he had a new shelf installed.

Although it is not known in which room the *oshiita* and shelf were located, we do know that in the alcove room there was an alcove having narrow tatami. Whereas the cost of a regular tatami was 150 *mon*, this narrow tatami cost 160 *mon*. Thus it can be imagined that it was not just a tatami in miniature. The alcove was probably similar to the innermost alcove depicted in the *Haisumi-e* discussed previously. Six tatami mats were laid out on the floor of the alcove room. All the other rooms were "covered with rush matting," but the four-bay room was later renovated and covered with five tatami. All the rooms had ceilings.

Both inside and outside, the walls were made of earth with bamboo lattice reinforcements inside. The possibility of finishing the walls with a dappled pattern was discussed, and all the plastering was finished on the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month, Ōei 13. Although it is not certain, this dappled pattern may refer to *sabi-kabe*, in which plaster is laid over earthen walls spiked with old nails, producing spots on the wall. Likewise, the library was "white with spotted pattern." *Akari-shōji* were used in the outermost parts of the house, while *fusuma-shōji* were used in the interior. The elderly Shinzaemon, who lived on Muromachi Street north of Shijō Avenue, was engaged to cover the *fusuma-shōji* with *karakami*. Shinzaemon was a *byōbu* (folding screen) maker from whom Noritoki often bought *byōbu*. The entry for the fourth day of the seventh month of Noritoki's diary states, "The *karakami* artisan for the hermitage came. He covered the *shōji*." Though the line of work done by *karakami* artisans later came to constitute an independent occupation, at this time it was still a side business for *byōbu* makers. This passage in Noritoki's diary, incidentally, is probably the first time that the occupation of *karakami* artisan is mentioned in a written record.

Plans were made to create a sluice gate to draw water into the garden lake, and the garden itself was rebuilt by gardeners known as *banjō* or *kuma hosshi*. A bamboo hedge was created around the garden, and a small earthen gate was procured for the hermitage. As this shows, the Keisōan had many features which were later seen in Sanjōnishi Sanetaka's Kadoya. In particular, when we consider that the walls of the building were made of earth, and that the novel dappled pattern was used to decorate them, we can see that the roots of the later *sukiya*-style *shoin* (i.e., *sukiya-zukuri* style) is already found in the Keisōan.

Yamashina Noritoki was extremely interested in chanoyu. He bought many tea utensils, including tea kettles, *furo*, flower vases, and tea jars. He also ordered tea from various regions, and even received a tea mill as a gift. He obtained a hanging scroll of Hanshan and Shide (Jp., Kanzan



Teinai Yūroku-zu [Illustration of Recreations within a Mansion]; version in the collection of The Japan Ukiyoe Museum, Matsumoto. Detail of a pair of six-fold standing screens. Edo period, latter half of 17th c. Colors on gold-leafed paper. Each screen: height, 94.4 cm.; width, 236.7 cm. Shown here is a portion of the right-most fold of the left screen, depicting a room with built-in *tsuke-shoin* window-desk in the left corner, and a formal *daisu* tea-utensil shelf placed in the far right corner. It is a room for the “public” (*hare*) form of tea. Photo from The Japan Ukiyoe Museum.



Teinai Yûraku-zu. (For particulars, see caption on facing page.) Shown here is a portion of the left-most fold of the right screen, depicting a thatched tea cottage with a sunken hearth (*ro*) cut into the center of the floor. It is a cottage for the "private" (*ke*) form of tea enjoyment. Various elements typical of *sukiya-zukuri* architecture are illustrated. Photo from The Japan Ukiyoe Museum.

and Jittoku) for fifty *mon* from Kaneami, a monochrome ink painter living at Karasuma Ichijō in Kyoto. He also bought additional paintings, such as a "painting of a hermit woman." He had this appraised by Kaneami, who replied that it was "a recent painting done in Japan."¹⁶ This shows that appraisals of Chinese-style painting were already being undertaken by this time; an activity which later developed into such works as the *Kundaikan Sōchōki*.¹⁷

Noritoki often offered tea to his guests, and, as he states in his diary, "if there was tea, we had tea, and if there was food, we had food." From his diary, it appears that he did not indulge in the *tōcha* tea-tasting competitions which were quite popular during this time. Moreover, he clearly distinguishes his tea with guests from ritual offerings of tea presented to Buddhas and gods. Thus Noritoki's offering of tea must refer to some private, everyday type of *chanoyu*. Since entries such as "offered tea (*yutsuke* [rice with hot water poured over it]); sweets" are found in his diary, his teas were of the same nature as the early tea gatherings described in such tea diaries as the *Tennōjiya Kaiki* and the *Matsuya Kaiki*. The Keisōan was not simply a chapel, but was also a space for daily living in which Noritoki entertained guests and enjoyed his leisure. It was similar in function to the northern *shoin* rooms of a *hōjō*. Since a room with hearth was found there, it is quite possible that Noritoki entertained his guests in that room.

Characteristics of the *Sukiya-zukuri* Style

The *sukiya-zukuri* style was a new architectural form which developed in the early modern (i.e., Edo) period. It is usually said that this style arose when design elements from the post-Rikyū *sōan*-style tearoom were united with the early *shoin-zukuri* style of the middle ages. According to Horiguchi Sutemi, its characteristic features were as follows:

The garden and the buildings were built so that they were in organic relationship with each other. Whereas the *shoin-zukuri* style used square pillars, the *sukiya-zukuri* style mainly employed round pillars with the bark still attached, or unpolished pillars. Buildings in the *sukiya-zukuri* style sometimes did not have *nageshi*, or, if they had one, used wood from which the bark had not been removed. While in the *shoin-zukuri* style the

¹⁶ *Noritoki-kyō Ki*, article for 8/5/Ōei 13.

¹⁷ 『君台觀左右帳記』; a work listing 1) painters of the Song and Yuan dynasties, and 2) tea utensils and calligraphy implements, compiled by the Ashikaga family to be used for decorating their *kaishō*.

wall above the *nageshi* was plaster and the wall below it was covered with multi-colored pictures, in the *sukiya-zukuri* style they were often all earthen walls. Even if wallpaper was used, it had either no pictures, or only monochrome paintings. In particular, symmetry was avoided in the *sukiya-zukuri* style.¹⁸

In addition, the remains of early modern *sukiya-zukuri* houses give evidence of other elements of this style: alcoves laid with tatami; elaborately designed shelves; a tendency to diversify the layout of the alcoves and shelves; use of *karakami*; flat ceilings, in contrast to the *shoin-zukuri* style, which used coffered ceilings often with pictures painted in them; transoms with flower designs (*hana ranma*); earthen eaves; bamboo verandas; and painted [stained wood] ceilings and pillars.¹⁹

Of course, in discussing the *sukiya-zukuri* style, one should not simply enumerate its characteristics but treat it in a holistic manner. Even so, among its features listed above, many are design elements found in the Keisōan and Kadoya; for example, the organic relationship between the building and the garden, the earthen walls, the use of *karakami*, and the creative layout of the alcoves and shelves. Furthermore, the fact that both of those structures were made from old houses would seem to have predicated the fact that the *sukiya-zukuri* houses which developed later employed stained wood. Concerning the *nageshi*, the following description of Fujiwara no Narihira's residence is found in Kamo no Chōmei's *Mumyō-shō* [Nameless Notes]:²⁰

Its pillars are unusual. They are called *chimaki-hashira*²¹. . . .
The *nageshi* are all round, without corners. It truly has the appearance of an ancient place.

It seems that unpolished timber was used for the *nageshi*. Furthermore, no *nageshi* was included in the Kannon Hall of Fujiwara Teika's residence. As these examples show, typical elements of the *sukiya-zukuri* style are all in evidence by the middle of the Japanese middle ages. It was under the influence of these structures that the tearoom in the "black-wood style" at the Madenokōji mansion, and the tearoom using bamboo (*chikutei*), came into vogue. Just as the *shoin-zukuri* style was temporarily perfected in the *kaisho*, it is possible to say that the *sukiya*-style *shoin* (i.e., the *sukiya*-

¹⁸ "Shoin-zukuri to Sukiya-zukuri ni Tsuite: Yōshiki-teki Tokuchō to Sono Hattatsu" 「書院造りと数寄屋造りについて―様式的特徴とその発達」 in *Shoin-zukuri to Sukiya-zukuri no Kenkyū* 『書院造りと数寄屋造りの研究』 (Kashima Shuppankai, 1978).

¹⁹ Kitano Takashi 北野隆, "Kinsei Jūtaku ni okeru Sukiya-fū Shoin ni Tsuite" 「近世住宅における数寄屋風書院について」, *Kenchiku Zasshi*, November, 1975.

²⁰ 『無名抄』

²¹ ちまき柱

zukuri style) achieved perfection for the time being in the tearooms and hermitages of the Japanese middle ages.

Conclusion

Although I realize that my presentation has been far from adequate, I would like to state my conclusion in the remaining pages.

The “private” chanoyu which took place in the settings of *suki* (i.e., “hearth tea”) developed by discarding a number of elements of the “public” forms of tea, such as the ritual aspects of the ritual offerings of tea, or the emphasis on gambling, dance, and music found in *tōcha*. And, although the scarcity and high cost of tea hardly made it a commonplace beverage, this “private” chanoyu involved the serving of tea to guests as a form of common hospitality; it was, in other words, an uncommon form of common-day occurrence.

Kumakura Isao points out that the transition from the type of medieval tea gathering depicted in the *Kissa Ōrai*, which was but one form of party amusement, to Rikyū’s *sōan* tea (chanoyu as enjoyed in rustic, thatched tea huts) resulted when the dancing, music, and drinking of wine which took place after the chanoyu in the ceremonial offerings of tea and *tōcha* were eliminated.²² The development of the “private” tea was quite similar to this.

If this is so, then we might say that *sōan* tea developed when elements pertaining solely to chanoyu were extracted and refined from the “public” forms of tea. This differs substantially from the traditional view, which holds that the tea of the nobility developed into *shoin* tea, which in turn gave rise to *sōan* tea under the influence of wabi aesthetics. Instead, I propose that the tea of the nobility and *shoin* tea were carried out simultaneously in the front and back areas of the same *kaisho*. And when the *shoin* tea of the back of the *kaisho* fused with and became a part of another trend, *sōan* tea was born.

This other trend refers to the growing popularity of tearooms and hermitages. These were buildings in which the *sukiya*-style *shoin* (i.e., *sukiya-zukuri*) temporarily achieved perfection. The tea gatherings that took place there were, like the tea found in the “public” areas of the *kaisho*, mainly a form of party entertainment. At the same time, these tearooms and hermitages were “meeting places” used for the everyday reception of guests. And, more so than in the *kaisho*, they were equipped with all the necessities of daily life. In these locations, chanoyu was increasingly purged of its non-essential elements. Tearooms increasingly became

²² Kumakura Isao 熊倉功史, *Chanoyu* 「茶の湯」 (Kyōikusha, 1977).

spaces used exclusively for drinking tea. This trend was crystallized in the *sōan* tearoom.

It has commonly been said that the *sukiya-zukuri* style came into being when elements of the *sōan* tearooms were incorporated into the *shoin-zukuri* style. However, it is my belief that, in the same manner that the *shoin-zukuri* style temporarily reached a state of perfection in the *kaisho* used as a setting for *suki* activities, the *sukiya-zukuri* style also temporarily reached a state of perfection in the tearooms of the time. The *sōan* tearoom was the product of the ultimate refinement of the architectural features of that *sukiya-zukuri* style.

Chanoyu of the Japanese middle ages arose, not from the “public” spaces, but from *suki* environments unencumbered by court rituals and precedents. But there was a dual structure to such settings for *suki*. One part of such settings was a “public” space, while another was a “private” space. Although, in the beginning, the tea of the “private” space was of secondary importance, it gradually became the mainstream. The chanoyu of the early modern period arose in this way. And since it originally was an everyday form of tea, Korean and Japanese implements used in daily life were employed. Here developed the special space in which “the boundaries between Japanese and Chinese styles were blurred.”²³ This was impossible under the “public” form of tea, which was bound by rules concerning implements and decorations, as laid down in such works as the *Kundaikan Sōchōki*.

Parallel to the development of this new form of tea was a revolutionary change in Japanese architectural style. Due to its character as an audience chamber governed by rituals and precedents of the warrior class, the *kaisho* grew into the main structure of the warrior class residence at the beginning of the early modern period. This resulted in the demise of the *shinden*, which, since the ancient period, had been the main structure of the residence and had served as the “public” space. It was in the context of such change that the *shoin-zukuri* form, the representative form of architecture of the early modern period, was perfected. ㊦

Translated by Robert F. Rhodes

²³ *Shukō Furuichi Harima Hosshi ate Isshi* [珠光古市播磨法師宛一紙] (paper from Murata Shukō to Master Furuichi Harima).

Temae—Tea Procedure

Daisu Furo Koicha



General background information regarding daisu and their usage during the furo season was presented in the introduction to "*Daisu Furo Usucha*," the first temae in our daisu temae series beginning with the preceding issue, *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 71. For this second temae in the series, daisu koicha during the furo season, the only thing to add is that, besides the usuchaki displayed in the center of the top shelf (*ten'ita*) of the daisu, a chaire containing just the right amount of powdered koicha tea for the number of guests (approximately three rounded chashaku-scoops of tea powder, or 3.75 grams, per person), and clothed in its shifuku, is displayed on the tatami, directly in front of the mizusashi.

For daisu temae, due to the display of the hishaku as well as a pair of kazari hibashi in the shakutate, some techniques not relevant to most other temae come into play: the removal and then replacement of those two items from or back into the shakutate. A detailed description of these techniques was given in the illustrated guide to the daisu usucha temae, so again, readers are requested to refer to *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 71 for step-by-step details. The following guide presumes the reader's thorough familiarity with the daisu usucha as well as standard furo koicha temae.

Within the context of a full, formal tea gathering, the guests will have already partaken of a sweet during the preceding portion of the gathering. When they enter the tearoom for the koicha temae, they find the *dōgu tatami* decorated as seen in the photograph above, and the sadōguchi door closed. The guests take their seats, and the host sits just outside the sadōguchi with the prepared chawan in front of the knees.

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.



(1)

Open sadōguchi door, pick up the chawan (1), and enter the tearoom.



(2)

Before proceeding to the temaeza, sit in front of sadōguchi, place chawan in front of knees, and close the door (2).



(3)

Hold chawan and go sit squarely in front of the daisu. Rehold front-left of chawan with the left hand (hereafter, L), and temporarily place chawan to the left (3).



(4)

Resituate chaire slightly to right in front of mizusashi (4).



(5)

Pick up chawan with L, hold it with the right hand (hereafter, R), regrasp it with L, and place it to left of chaire (5).



(6)

With both hands, take kensui from daisu (6), and set it to your left side with L.



(7)

Place fingertips of both hands on tatami. With L remaining in this position, lift hibashi out of shakutate with R (7) and bring them out of the daisu.



(8)

Regrasp hibashi with L, holding them overhand with thumb on right-hand side and fingers around left. Place fingertips of R on tatami and lay hibashi to left of daisu with L. Slide hibashi in so finials extend only 1 cm. from front of daisu (8).



(9)

Remove futaoki from kensui with R, rest it on L palm, regrasp it with R, and place it in front of shakutate on daisu, slightly closer to front of daisu than it was when in the kensui (9).



(10)

Bow together with the guests to officially commence the temae (10). Then move kensui slightly forward with L, straighten kimono, and, placing hands on lap, pause for concentration.



(11)

Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, regrasp it with R, and place it in front of knees, leaving space for the chaire (11).



(12)

Pick up chaire with R, place it between chawan and knees, and undo shifuku cord in the standard manner (12).



(13)

Remove chaire from shifuku (13). Placing chaire between chawan and knees with R, smooth out the shifuku gathers, hold shifuku with R, and flip it over onto L palm so that the cord knot is on the side toward the guests.



(14)

Rehold shifuku with R, transfer it to L, and place it on near left-hand corner of the daisu *ten'ita* (14).



(15)

Take fukusa from obi and conduct *yohō-sabaki* (inspection of the four sides) (15).



(16)

In standard manner, purify chaire with fukusa, then place it to front left of mizusashi (16).



(17)

Refold fukusa, and purify chashaku (17).



(18)

Place chashaku on chaire (18), then take chasen from chawan and stand it to right of chaire. (If the mizusashi lid is a lacquered one, now hold fukusa with R, tuck left-hand side under with L and secure it with R fingers, dust the front half of the lid in two horizontal strokes, and rehold fukusa with L.)



(19)

With R, move chawan closer to knees (19).



(20)

Place chakin on mizusashi lid (20). If fukusa is not to be used for handling the kettle lid, now return it to obi. If however, as governed by the usual rules, it is to be used, take it with R.



(21)

Remove kettle lid and rest it on futaoki (21).
(If using fukusa, now place fukusa in back
of kensui with R.)



(22)

Place fingertips on tatami and, with R, lift
hishaku out of shakutate and bring it out of
the daisu (22).



(23)

Rehold hishaku for use, and pour hot water
into chawan (23). Rest hishaku on kettle
(*okibishaku*).



(24)

Conduct *chasen-tōshi* as usual (24), then
return chasen to its place on tatami.



(25)

Discard chawan water into kensui, wipe chawan with chakin (25), and return chawan to tatami.



(26)

This time place chakin on kettle lid (26).



(27)

Take chashaku with R, and take chaire with L. Remove chaire lid and place it to right of chawan. Place three scoops of tea in chawan (27), then rest chashaku face up across right-hand side of chawan.



(28)

In standard manner, revolve chaire to empty the tea into the chawan (28). Wipe lip of chaire with R fingertips, wipe fingertips off on kaishi in kimono bosom, replace lid onto chaire, and return chaire to former position with L.



(29)

Hold chashaku with R, smooth the tea powder with it (29), lightly tap chashaku on chawan rim to dislodge adhering tea, and replace chashaku on chaire.



(30)

Remove mizusashi lid with R, hold it with L, regrasp it with R, and lean it against left-hand side of mizusashi (30).



(31)

Take hishaku handle overhand, rehold hishaku for use, and scoop ladleful of cold water (31).



(32)

Pour the cold water into the kettle (32).



(33)

Immediately scoop ladleful of hot water and pour appropriate amount into chawan (33). Return remaining hot water to kettle, and rest hishaku on kettle (*kiribishaku*).



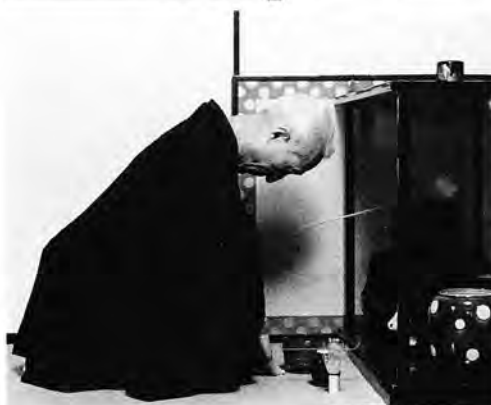
(34)

Make the koicha in the usual manner. Pick up chawan, turn it to face the guests, and place it on the adjacent tatami (34). If the chawan is other than Raku ware, take kobukusa from kimono bosom, and place it out to right-hand side of chawan.



(35)

After the first guest takes one sip of the tea, ask how it is ("*Ofukukagen wa?*"), and when you are assured it is fine, shift sitting position to diagonally face guests. After the second guest starts drinking, the first guest asks the name and grower of the tea, etc. Answer the questions (35).



(36)

When the last guest takes his final sip, shift sitting position to directly face daisu, pour ladleful of cold water into kettle, and again rest hishaku on kettle (*hikibishaku*). (If fukusa is lying below kensui, now return it to obi.) When chawan is returned, place it in front of knees. (If kobukusa was provided, first return kobukusa to kimono bosom.) Bow together with guests (36).



(37)

Take hishaku, pour hot water into chawan, rest hishaku on kettle (*okibishaku*), discard the chawan water into kensui (37), and replace chawan in front of knees.



(38)

Bow and tell the guests you will finish the temae ("*Oshimae itashimasu*") (38).



(39)

Take hishaku from kettle, rehold it for use, scoop cold water (39), and pour the water into the chawan. Rest hishaku on kettle (*hikibishaku*).



(40)

Conduct *chasen-tōshi* as usual for finishing temae (40), return chasen to its place, and discard chawan water into kensui. With R, place chakin in chawan, place chawan in front of knees, and place chasen in chawan.



(41)

Take chashaku with R, move kensui back with L, take fukusa from obi, and fold it for wiping chashaku. Wipe chashaku (41), then set it on chawan. Dust fukusa off over kensui, and return it to obi.



(42)

Move chaire to front right of mizusashi (42). Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, rehold it with R, and set it to left of chaire. [This arrangement is referred to as *hon-jimae*.]



(43)

Take hishaku from kettle, rehold it for use, and pour ladleful of cold water into kettle. Do *yugaeshi* (scoop ladleful of hot water and pour it back into kettle) (43).



(44)

Bringing hishaku upright, hold handle near the center with L, regrasp it near the center with R, and, L fingertips on tatami, return hishaku to shakutate (44).



(45)

Place kettle lid ajar on kettle with bare fingers of R (45).



(46)

Immediately pick up mizusashi lid with R and, reversing the removal procedure, replace the lid on the mizusashi (46).



(47)

At this point, the main guest asks to inspect the chaire, chashaku, and shifuku. Bow in acknowledgement (47).



(48)

Pick up futaoki with R, rest it on L palm, regrasp it with R, and set it further back on the daisu, at position where it originally rested in the kensui (48).



(49)

Pick up hibashi, hold them like a pencil, place L fingertips on tatami while bringing hibashi into vertical position, and return hibashi to shakutate (49).



(50)

Pick up chawan at right-hand front with R, transfer it to L, regrasp it with R, and set it to the far left (50).



(51)

Pick up chaire with R, rest it on L palm, shift sitting position to diagonally face guests, and, in standard manner, purify chaire with fukusa. Turn it to face the guests, place it out on adjacent tatami (51), and return fukusa to obi.



(52)

Shift sitting position to directly face daisu, take chashaku from chawan with R, transfer it to L, again shift sitting position to diagonally face guests, and place chashaku to right of chaire so that the handle faces the guests. Again shift sitting position to directly face daisu, and take shifuku from daisu *ten'ita* with L (52).



(53)

Grasp shifuku with R, place it on L palm, and shift sitting position to diagonally face guests. With R, place shifuku to right of chashaku so that the base is toward the guests (53).



(54)

Shift sitting position to direction diagonally facing away from guests, pick up kensui with L, stand up (54), and proceed to sadōguchi.



(55)

Sit, place kensui in front of knees, open the door (55), again pick up kensui with L, and take kensui to mizuya.



(56)

Return to temaeza, sit squarely before daisu, pick up chawan (56), and return it to mizuya.



(57)

Return to temaeza with mizutsugi, sit in front of mizusashi, and place mizutsugi down to the left, so that it is at center of tatami and the spout and handle are parallel with front edge of the daisu. In standard manner, add water to mizusashi (57). Return mizutsugi to mizuya.



(58)

Return to temaeza with cleansed kensui in L. Sit squarely before daisu, and place kensui in front of knees with both hands. Pick up futaoki with R, rest it on L palm, rehold it with R, and place it in kensui (58). Pick up kensui with both hands, and return it to its original position on daisu.



(59)

Exit the tearoom, sit outside the sadōguchi, and close the door. When the inspected items have been returned, enter tearoom and sit directly facing them. Answer the main guest's inquiries about them, and make a formal *shin* bow. Pick up shifuku with R and rest it on L palm. Pick up chashaku with R, set it diagonally on L shifuku, and secure it with L thumb. Hold chaire with R (59), stand up, and exit the tearoom.



(60)

Just outside sadōguchi, sit down, place the utensils to side away from the guests, bow together with the guests, ending the temae (60), and close sadōguchi door. ☂

Book Reviews

China in the Tokugawa World. By *Marius B. Jansen*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992. xviii + 137 pp. US\$24.95.

Marius B. Jansen, a Princeton University professor for over three decades, is one of the *genrō* of Japanese studies in the United States, and in this small volume demonstrates the breadth of his scholarship in the history of Japanese relations with China. The heart of the volume is a series of three lectures delivered in 1988 at Harvard University's Fairbank Center in memory of Edwin Oldfather Reischauer, Jansen's mentor and, until his death, a leading American historian of Japan.

What distinguishes this volume is the author's attempt to approach his subject from a variety of perspectives. Most authors confine their study to one or another topical format: diplomatic contacts, art, religion, intellectual studies, trade relations, or the like. Jansen, however, integrates all of these and others as well, as he examines the one foreign relationship that has been paramount through most of Japanese history.

The first third of the volume looks particularly at the more concrete and physical aspects of the relationship, especially at the beginning of the Tokugawa regime through the reign of Yoshimune and including the Manchu seizure of China. By now, historians have accepted the notion that the *sakoku* wall erected around Japan during this era was far more porous than was supposed a generation ago, and Jansen shows this to be the case. Though Europeans participated only peripherally in the economic and intellectual life of Japan during the period, China's trade was central. Nagasaki became the eastern and northern terminus of a Chinese network that reached into Southeast Asia. The appetite of Japanese elites for Chinese goods eventually drained the country of precious metals and led to a tightening of controls. Yoshimune's "internationalization," in his famed relaxation of the ban on foreign books, may have been motivated by the desire to learn techniques that would reduce Japan's dependence on foreign imports. Jansen remarks dryly, "In some respects these events have a curiously contemporary flavor and relevance" (p. 41).

The middle portion carries the coverage through the end of the Tokugawa era. The author reminds his readers that there were many Chinas for the Japanese, rather than a single one. He conveys the complexity of the image of China by surveying a series of fields in which China exercised influence

ranging from Zen Buddhism at Mampukuji temple in Uji through art and into law. In many respects, though, the dominant image was one that began to show signs of erosion. The Manchu takeover of China in 1644 permitted Japanese, like Koreans, to argue that China itself had lost the purity of antiquity through barbarian conquest. Ogyū Sorai could argue that the signifier Great (*Dai*) fitted Japan better than it did China, while Yamaga Sokō found Japan more central than the Central Kingdom itself (p. 79). On a less intellectual level, the appearance of pejorative terms for Chinese, such as *chankoro*, or the use of Tōjin (literally, Tang person) as a term of disrespect, reflected the declining image of China in the popular mind. By the end of the era, the disarray of China itself added to the perception. Jansen suggests, "Perhaps this mind-set helps to account for the alacrity with which nineteenth-century Japan was prepared to 'part with Asia,' in Fukuzawa's words, and join the circle of imperialist powers" (p. 88).

The title, though it suggests an emphasis upon China in the Tokugawa era, does not adequately cover the entire content, for the final third of the book carries the topic into the Meiji era. Capstone more than epilog, it depicts the modern evolution of China's image in Japanese eyes. Jansen shows that it was a natural outgrowth of the earlier perceptions that distinguished between the China of the Sages and the land ruled by the Manchus. But it was also subordinated to the new reality of Western power and unequal treaties. Japan's relations with both China and Korea became less ends than means to larger goals of Japanese security and treaty revision. In that relationship, competition quickly supplanted cooperation. The China that Japanese were able to witness at first hand seemed a place of filth and poverty, and the experience confirmed Japanese observers in the wisdom of their approach. Competition ultimately became war and China's defeat at the hands of Japan. Jansen ends the volume with an account of a meeting between Li Hung-chang and Mori Arinori. Though both were advocates of change, the one in China and the other in Japan, Li fell into the role of defender of tradition while Mori stood for practicality and a willingness to abandon the past. Though Jansen admits that it is wrong to expect individuals to stand for whole civilizations, he uses the encounter as the epitome of a relationship that had declined in economic and intellectual significance for Japan.

The volume is a pleasure to read. Jansen's writing is crisp and clear as he moves across a broad array of topics. Veterans of Jansen lectures will recognize the touches of humor that he finds to inject into his account. He tells us (p. 38), for example, of the triumph of Japanese practicality in coping with the problem of protocol in arranging for the emperor to view a white elephant. The solution was to grant the beast Fourth Imperial Rank (somewhat higher than most daimyo) so that it might qualify for an imperial audience. Footnote readers will be rewarded with a note (p. 74) about the prewar medical bookstore that shelved Lenin's *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder* under Pediatrics.

Most of the notes, in fact, are quite serious, and they are an asset to the

work. The text is well documented with references to up-to-date sources both Japanese and Western. A bibliographical note at the end surveys major works on Sino-Japanese relations and briefly characterizes each. For those with a professional interest in Japanese history, it will be one of the most valuable parts of the book.

Those with an interest in the development of Japanese studies in the United States should also note the preface. The author observes that the chapters were originally Reischauer Lectures delivered at the Fairbank Center of Harvard University, and dedicates the book to both Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank. Marius Jansen was closely associated with both, and was, in fact, the first teaching assistant for the two of them in their famous "rice paddies" course on East Asian Civilization, which was enormously influential in shaping American approaches to Asia. This little volume with a topic that spans national boundaries is an outgrowth of that early association as well as a commemoration of it.

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Patriots and Redeemers in Japan. *By George M. Wilson.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992. xvi + 201 pp., including glossary, bibliography, and index. US\$37.56, hardback; US\$14.95, paperback.

Most histories of the Meiji Restoration have forced the commoners to confess in a few cursory lines that, no, they did not play much of a role: yes, they were largely passive bystanders to a drama monopolized by samurai. George Wilson argues that this embarrassing confession was made under duress. The duress is a historiographic narrative tradition of presenting a single, coherent narrative about who won and who lost power, ensuring that the Restoration will become a story about samurai. Wilson offers here to restore commoners to their rightful place, by suggesting two new approaches to telling this history. One proposal is to write four separate but parallel narratives which each focus on a different set of actors. His four sets of actors are the samurai activists, bakufu and daimyo, foreigners, and popular revivalists. The popular revivalists are those great crowds of commoners who in the last years of the bakufu danced wildly in the streets of many major cities in central Japan. Wilson also intends to study how the motives of each of these four groups interacted: i.e., What did they want? How did their desires conflict or coalesce? The intent is to show that activities of the popular revivalists influenced events and the other actors in ways not yet appre-

ciated. With this book, Wilson successfully brings to our attention the fact that narrative strategies affect history, and his work is thus a valuable contribution to the field.

The greatest weaknesses of *Patriots and Redeemers* are its organization and lack of conscientious editing. Essays on the historiography of the Meiji Restoration, and occasional essays on the craft of history writing, as well as a chapter on the Japanese sense of time, are filled with confusing points and not well integrated into the book. Most of the book focuses on the popular revivalists who participated in the millenarian *eejanaika* protests of 1867–68. The sections on these protests offer the best of the book. But where are Wilson's four actors? The four parallel narratives he proposes to write end up being a mere sixteen pages in the middle of the book. I found the analysis of motives in these pages thin and unconvincing. Foreigners are characterized as "ideologically conservative in the extreme," and Wilson asserts that "foreigners needed to preserve the status quo" (p. 52). But are these adjectives illuminating? What led the French to support the bakufu in changing its armies and navy, and the British, on the other side, to support Satsuma and Chōshū with arms sales? What status quo is served by arming two sides of a civil war? Furthermore, to this observer, the foreigners' desire to create and then maintain international trade was the single most radical and disruptive factor in Japan at that time. In this and in many instances in the book, Wilson relies too heavily on assertive description and not enough on persuasion. It is a stylistic fault that mars the quality of the book; truly regrettable, because it foils appreciation of Wilson's obviously creative thought.

The popular revivalists are placed in the center of the narrative of the second half of the book, and Wilson's other three actors pop up and down to reveal how they perceived or were affected by Wilson's protagonists. The book is thus not four parallel narratives but rather a carnivalesque inversion of traditional narratives, placing samurai at the periphery of a narrative dominated by commoners. This said, Wilson's book is surely the best introduction to a fascinating episode of Restoration history. The mass hysteria of dancing to songs with the refrain "*eejanaika!*" which swept across much of central Japan in 1867 has perplexed many historians. Wilson's translation of the phrase *eejanaika* as "What the hell!" is a gem that expresses the strange mood of carefree despair in the protests. There are a number of good book-length studies on this in Japanese, but nothing in English except a few phrases and paragraphs, mostly dismissive of the protests as peripheral. Wilson offers us some interesting suggestions about the role which the protests played in the Restoration. The protests showed all observers that order was being rejected even by commoners, and thus contributed both to samurai distrust of Tokugawa abilities, and samurai apprehensions of commoner intentions and desires. Claims for "world renewal," often envisioned as the coming of the sun goddess to redeem Japan, revealed a popular desire for change and made the emperor a particularly amenable symbol for Restoration activists.

Wilson sometimes implies or states that the *eejanaika* protesters reflect the commoner's role in the Restoration and the political view of "the commoner." "Commoner" was the most diverse of all groups in the Restoration, and the revellers need to be properly situated within this diversity. If one "reads actions," to use a phrase from Wilson, there were myriad implicit political statements made by commoners who cultivated foreign trade and those who resisted it; by commoners who joined militia and those who ransacked temples. *Eejanaika* protests were limited geographically to central Japan, and their membership was dominated by the urban poor. It will be useful to link Wilson's work to the fascinating research of William Steele, Neil Waters, Stephen Vlastos, and other scholars who have already made significant contributions to the history of commoners in the Restoration. Compared to research on samurai, such research is still relatively thin, and Wilson is to be applauded for arguing that Restoration history will benefit from a more serious look at commoners.

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The Japanese Cult of Tranquillity. By *Karlfried G. Dürckheim*. York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1991. 117 pp. US\$9.95, paperback.

This is a revised edition of the English translation of *Japan und die Kultur der Stille*, 1949, first translated into English in 1960 and published in the United States in 1974.

In the present two-part work, Dürckheim initially draws a sharp distinction between East and West in terms of cultural orientations, especially regarding peoples' awareness of "silence" (*Stille*) and approaches to life and death. He then discusses the nature of the "Japanese culture of inner tranquillity," the prototype of which he finds in Zen practice and related arts. This practice is characterized by the "harmony of the subject and the object" (p. 21) and by the absence of one's "ego" (p. 24). He focuses on the three basic components of the practice: the practice of bodily steadiness (as exemplified by *zazen*), the breathing exercise, and the exercise that locates the ego-free center of being in the "*hara*" (abdomen). Dürckheim claims that these centering activities are an integral part of the daily lives of the Japanese people. He then turns to a metaphysical discussion of the "Great Void" (*śūnyatā*), which is simultaneously "the hidden plenitude" perceived through the practice of meditation and inner quietude. The dissolution of subject and object is the ultimate realization of the oneness of all things in this practice. He thinks that this quality permeates traditional Japanese arts, be they

chanoyu, ikebana, archery, fencing, wrestling, painting, or calligraphy (pp. 60-61). The participants in the holistic unity of subject and object are the perfect medium of creative activity. In conclusion, Dürckheim turns our attention to a stream within the Western tradition that shares a similar insight into this dimension of tranquillity. He quotes Goethe, who said, "If you become still, help is already at hand," and also quotes Meister Eckhart, who taught that "God speaks His eternal word only to the truly tranquil soul" (p. 68).

In Part Two, three delightful Japanese short stories are presented, one on spear fighting, another on swordsmanship, and the third on archery. They are intended to illustrate the observations made in Part One.

Unfortunately, this book is seriously limited by two factors: the passage of time, and translation. According to "About the Author," which is appended at the end of the book, Dürckheim lived in Japan during the Nazi years and returned to Germany after World War II. This explains many of his observations on Japanese culture, which are kind but too idealized and romanticized. For instance:

It is above all the Japanese women whose bearing shows how aware they are of the unifying powers of the center. They, not the men, are the secret center of the home. They live life more in keeping with the center than their husbands, who are forced into the world by their professions and are distracted by worldly struggles and ambitions. Once their confidence has been won, the Japanese may well tell of how their wives will quietly intercede in a moment of stress, and in the unfathomable silence will smooth out life's tangles and bring order to confusion through the power of the living center, and how the wives achieve all this without actually "doing" anything, and without so many words. (p. 47)

I imagine there are many Japanese husbands today who wish their wives were one of those so kindly described by Dürckheim! Mixed in with such romanticized views of Japan are a few critical assessments of the hard reality of Japanese society. For instance:

Foreigners are forcibly struck by the wave of personal ambition in academic and business life in present-day Japan. Contrary to tradition, and to the original rhythm of Japanese life, it is the product of a movement which only set in after the traditional order had begun to dissolve and contact with the civilization of the West had been made. It is indeed a tragic development, and one which has involved the Japanese people in a sort of delayed crisis, such as Westerners have been experiencing for a long time past and which we hope to surmount with the aid of the ancient forces of the East. (p. 42)

Even here, Dürckheim kindly believes in the power of "the ancient forces of the East."

This small book eloquently tells us how approaches in the cross-cultural study of religion have changed in the last four decades. It may have been the case that in 1949, when this book was first published, many Westerners believed "Eastern culture [to be] more primitive than their own" and in turn were surprised to find that the East "considers Western culture inferior to its own" (p. 9). Today, for better or for worse, thanks to the development of technology we are constantly informed of the happenings in countries worldwide. This has at least given us the illusion that we know the other. In this milieu, the sharp dichotomy between East and West is no longer a fashionable scheme to adopt — at least among scholars of religion. We have become more realistic and less romantic about each other. Have we even become "hard-nosed," as someone recently remarked to me?

The present English translation has rendered this book difficult to follow. To begin with, the very title, *Japan und die Kultur der Stille*, should have been translated as something like *Japan and the Culture of Inner Quietude*, and not *The Japanese Cult of Tranquillity*. The choice of the word "cult" is especially disturbing. In German the word for cult is *Kult*, and, just as in English, it has a different meaning from "culture." Also, the word "exercise" which is found throughout the text strikes me as odd. In response to my question as to whether there is a German word which can be translated either as "exercise" or "practice," my German colleague noted that it was most likely *üben / Übung*. Apparently, this word can be used for aerobics as well as for a dedicated pursuit of a certain path of practice, such as meditation. This sheds much light on the translated text. Such sentences as "for us, exercise aims at achievement; for the Japanese, it aims at maturity" (p. 19), or "The basic exercise in tranquillity is threefold — the exercise of immobility of the body, of the breath, and of the center" (p. 28), make better sense if we replace the word "exercise" with "practice." After all, "Zen practice" and "Zen exercise" are two different things! Since I do not have the German original, I cannot check the present translation in its entirety. However, "*Das Schöne scheint in ihm selbst*," quoted on p. 52, is translated in the footnote as "Beauty is self-sufficient," and this strikes a false note. "Beauty radiates or shines forth of itself" is a closer rendering. Based on these few pieces of evidence, I must conclude that the present translation did disservice to the original and made Dürckheim's writing opaque. (I thank my colleague, Dr. Walter Suess, for clarifying for me the semantic scope of German words.)

There are quite a few typographical errors and other sloppy mistakes. For example, p. 5 line 13, "when when" should read "when"; line 24, "nearer" should read "nearer to"; p. 7 line 12, "shamiseu" should read "shamisen"; p. 29 line 14, "soul" should read "(soul)"; p. 47 line 15, "then" should read "than"; p. 87 line 19, "ittari" should read "ittai"; p. 88 line 9, "Takkuan" should read "Takuan"; p. 105, footnote, "Keenran" should read "Kenran."

Despite these shortcomings — one of them technical (translation), and the

other, temporal (cultural observation and the East-West dichotomy) — this book is a testimony to how far we have come in the post-World War II period in our understanding of other cultures and other religious traditions. What is more, it impresses upon us that Dürckheim's essentialist approach still has much to offer. What he discusses, namely "the culture of inner quietude" which is fostered in Zen meditation and in various arts, is a timeless reality and captures the heart of the experience of the inner power. Practice (in any sort of art or path) makes perfect, because through it we realize the oneness of the self and the object of our practice, that is, "we attain technical perfection through long practice so we can do something without conscious effort" (p. 21), and the experience of "unison" (of subject and object) "depends on activity being carried out without the participation of the ego" (p. 22). These words nicely illustrate Zeami's theory of noh actors' training or Nishida Kitarō's view of *kōiteki chokkan*, "action-intuition."

Dürckheim's conclusion that a similar inner awareness of mental quietude exists in the West would have made a more convincing starting point for this book. The somewhat polemical assertions that the Japanese are special in that they are aware of the value of silence, and that, moreover, every single Japanese individual practices this "exercise" in one way or another, do not sell well in today's scholarly world. This very fact seems to indicate that what we need today is a more universal approach to the various religious and cultural traditions of the world, in which both particularity and universality are properly weighed.

This book gave me the occasion to reflect not only on the world of scholarship and cross-cultural dialogue, and on how Japan has changed in recent years, but also on things eternal. This quality of transcendence which is also the life of Zen-related experience is what gives life to this book.

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Saigyō: Poems of a Mountain Home. *Translated by Burton Watson.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1991. 240 pp. US\$23.00, clothbound; US\$16.00, paperback.

The accomplished translator from the Chinese and Japanese, Burton Watson, has provided the reader with another entrée into the world of Japanese *waka*; in this case, with an excellent sampling of the poetry of Saigyō (1118–70). According to Bashō in his *Oi no Kobumi* (Records of a Travel-worn Satchel), Saigyō begins the tradition of Japanese aesthetics that unites poetry (Saigyō), linked verse (Sōgi), painting (Sesshū), chanoyu (Rikyū), and his own haiku.

Aside from their references to nature, as frequently cited, what is the common denominator that unites these disparate art forms?

In his Introduction Watson suggests what that might be when he illuminates the basic characteristic of Saigyō's poetry in contradistinction to the earlier forms of court poetry. Citing works by Saigyō, he demonstrates how they shifted from an intensely subjective to a descriptive-objective view of the world. In his words, "The new style that they evolved was in many respects the antithesis of the *Kokinshū* manner. In it, the subjective element so prominent in the earlier style was reduced and greater space allotted to description, which resulted in fewer and simpler verb forms and a larger proportion of nouns" (p. 8).

This conclusion is also briefly noted by William LaFleur in his fine work on Saigyō, *Mirror for the Moon* (New York: New Directions, 1977): "What Saigyō's verse celebrates, first of all, is not the self but the phenomena which are seen" (p. xxv). But the phenomena observed and captured in words were not simply objects, disjunct from human feeling; rather, they were regarded as "'tomo' or companion." This understanding is central to traditional Japanese poetry, culminating in haiku, for it seeks to create a semantic field which invites the reader to participate in a mode of life, distinct from the conventional, shorn of superficialities, and revealing things, including the self, as they are (akin to *tathatā* or suchness in Buddhist thought), whether it be unrequited love, deep sorrow, or the voice of the bush warbler. Its aim is to loosen the syntactic structure, so that the reader goes beyond a linear, temporal way of thinking and experiences a new horizon opening up. The same holds true in the appreciation of monochrome sumi painting and the art of tea.

This basic stance, whether intentional or not, is found in Watson's English translations, when compared, for example, to those by LaFleur. To give just a couple of samples, 1) the original Japanese, 2) the LaFleur version, and 3) the Watson rendition are given below:

- 1) Sabishisa ni
taetaru hito no
mata mo are na
iori naraben
fuyu no yamazato
- 2) Someone who has learned
How to manage life in loneliness:
Would there were one more!
He could winter here on this mountain
With his hut right next to mine

(p. 25)

- 3) If only there were
Someone else
willing to learn this loneliness —
side by side we'd build our huts
for winter in a mountain village

(p. 93)

- 1) Yama fukaku
sakoso kokora wa
kayou tomo
sumade aware o
shiran mono kawa

- 2) By imagining
These mountain depths, some men think
They come and go here;
But, not living here themselves,
Can they know real pathos?

(p. 89)

- 3) Though in mind
you may journey easily
into the depths of the mountains,
without living here,
how can you know their loneliness?

(p. 211)

While both the LaFleur and Watson translations are faithful to the original Japanese, neither is completely satisfactory, yet the latter conveys some semblance of the original. This may simply be a matter of personal preference, and surely other preferred translations will appear in the future.

When we appreciate Saigyō's poetry as a paradigm of Japanese aesthetics, we will also refrain from trying to impose Western categories of the religious and the artistic in trying to understand his work, as Watson seeks to do (p. 4). Saigyō's poetry — and that which connects Japanese painting, chanoyu, and haiku — is a basic attitude to life that seeks to reduce the egocentric, as well as the anthropocentric, and celebrate reality as it is, whether it be spring blossoms or the autumn moon, aloneness in winter or wilted grasses in summer heat. For the same reason, one would never think of reading into the following poem some kind of ethical injunction (not taking life) or religious significance (all beings embody the Buddhist Law):

Fishermen home from
their day's work:
on a bed of seaweed,
little top shells, clams,
hermit crabs, periwinkles

(p. 11)

To add anything more is, like pride, extra and unwanted. This is not to suggest that tension is non-existent in Saigyō's poetry, but it is not the tension between the religious and artistic in the Western sense. Rather, the tension occurs in Saigyō because of his immense struggles to become truly human, affirming all that which traditional Buddhism condemned as defilements (*klesha*). It reflects the shifting center of Buddhist life in twelfth-century Japan from monasticism to lay-oriented practice as pursued in nascent forms of Pure Land Buddhism with which Saigyō himself was involved as a Tendai monk.

In conclusion, we are grateful to Burton Watson for his excellent choices and translations of Saigyō's poetry. It adds immensely to our appreciation of not only the Japanese poetic tradition but also its aesthetic legacy. This legacy may be summed up in the words of Kikai, who wrote the biography of Myōe Shōnin Kōben (1172–1232) and makes reference to Saigyō's view of poetry (quoted in Kawabata Yasunari's Nobel Lecture, "Japan the Beautiful and Myself"). According to Kikai, "Saigyō frequently came and talked of poetry. . . . When he sang of the blossoms the blossoms were not on his mind. When he sang of the moon he did not think of the moon. As the occasion presented itself, as the urge arose, he wrote poetry. The red rainbow across the sky was as the sky taking on color. The white sunlight was as the sky growing bright. It was not something to take on color. With a spirit like the empty sky he gave color to all the manifold scenes, but *not a trace remained* (emphasis added). In such poetry was the Buddha, the manifestation of the ultimate truth."

Taitetsu Unno

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The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen. By Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber (Buddhism), Franz-Karl Ehrhard (Tibetan Buddhism), and Michael S. Diener (Zen). Boston: Shambhala, 1991. xii + 280 pp., including appendix of Zen lineage, and bibliography. US\$19.00.

The juxtaposition of Buddhism *and* Zen in the title of the Shambhala Dictionary (isn't Zen a form of Buddhism?) immediately reminds the reader of an

earlier work by the same publisher which featured the same clumsy distinction and was reviewed by Thomas Blenman Hare in no. 64 of the *Chanoyu Quarterly: The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion: Buddhism, Taoism, Zen, Hinduism*. In fact, the present dictionary is simply a republication of that encyclopedia which omits all entries falling under the labels "Hinduism" and "Taoism." Interestingly, this important fact is only mentioned in the fine print underneath the copyright notice of the new Shambhala dictionary. The editors of *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy* (Stephan Schuhmacher and Gert Woerner) are gone from the title page, where we instead find a large-lettered reminder that this work was "Translated by Michael H. Kohn." We are living in the age of computers and word processors, and the production of dictionaries seems to be getting easier by the day: simply omit a number of entries, attach a new title, strip the original editors of their credit, and publish a "new" dictionary.

More recently, two separate dictionaries have appeared from the publisher of the original German dictionary of which the Encyclopedia was a translation, taking the process one logical step further: the "Buddhism and Zen" mishmash has once more been split, to produce a dictionary of Buddhism (*Das Lexikon des Buddhismus*. Munich: O.W. Barth Verlag, 1992) as well as a dictionary of Zen (*Das Lexikon des Zen*. Munich: O.W. Barth Verlag, 1992). Can we expect Shambhala to adopt the same strategy to sweeten hard economic times by making four books out of one?

Rather than repeating what Tom Hare observed about the overall quality (or lack thereof) of *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion*, I will concentrate on the reviewed book's entries that are marked "Zen" and make some additional observations about the German "Dictionary of Zen." If my intuition proves accurate, my review might thus be about a book which will appear some time after the publication of this review: "The Shambhala Dictionary of Zen." Let us hope that more publishers adopt this scheme: it may save reviewers a considerable amount of time since they will also be able to make a multitude of reviews out of one by simply leaving out a few paragraphs and altering the title. I always thought that computers would brighten the future. Here's the proof.

First a word about the author of the entries on Zen, a "Michael S. Diener, Japanologist, Tokyo." This is a pseudonym, for whatever reason(s), and so far I have been unsuccessful in my admittedly lame efforts to trace this "servant" (which is the meaning of the German "Diener").

The author of the "Guide to Using the Dictionary," whose name is not mentioned (I suspect it is one of the editors now relegated to the fine print somewhere), offers a few words about the view of Zen which is adopted in this book:

Zen, although frequently considered to be one among many schools of Buddhism, had its own independent development to such an extent that it is here treated as a separate subject area.

This also corresponds to its own understanding of itself as “outside the orthodox teaching.”

I must admit that I wish the remark about Zen’s independent development were true; it would certainly make Zen research a lot easier than it is. “Outside the orthodox teaching” is a translation of the first line of a famous quatrain which states that Zen has a separate transmission outside the orthodox teachings 教外別傳. If one should follow a tradition’s “own understanding,” why not also abide by the following line of the quatrain which says that Zen does “not establish words and letters” 不立文字?

Alas, reality is striking back: the Shambhala dictionary’s appended bibliography lists three finely printed pages full of publications on Zen (Primary and Secondary Sources). Like the bibliography to the *Encyclopedia*, this bibliography is a careless rehash of the original German one; it thus contains a substantial amount of German titles, even if they were originally published in English (thus the reader has to figure out for himself or herself that Paul Reps’ *Olme Worte, ohne Schweigen*. Bern, 1976 corresponds to his *Zen Flesh, Zen Bones* — which is nowhere mentioned). Not only that: many names and titles are misspelled (Schleogl instead of Schloegl, Hisamatsu Sen’ichi instead of Hisamatsu Shin’ichi, and so on). A single publication after 1985 is mentioned in this 1991 book. The new German *Lexikon des Zen* (1992), on the other hand, features a longer introduction and an updated bibliography added by Stephan Schuhmacher.

The entries that are marked “Zen” in the original encyclopedia and the present dictionary (and that are thus contained in the *Lexikon des Zen*) belong to the following broad categories (with an approximate number of entries for each, based on a count whose results must be as fuzzy as the categories themselves):

- 1) General Buddhist terms such as “*inga*” (cause and effect), “*jōbutsu*” (becoming a buddha): about 135.
- 2) Terms that can justifiably be called “Zen terms”: about 300. About 100 of these are related to monastic life and Zen practice in Japan.
- 3) General Japanese terms (such as “*haiku*,” “*shinto*,” “*waka*,” “*zabuton*,” “*Noh*,” etc.): 12.
- 4) Information about persons: Buddhas and bodhisattvas (16), Indian “Zen” patriarchs (24), Chan masters of China (140), Zen masters of Japan (35), and a single Son master of Korea.
- 5) Place names (such as “Mt. Hiei,” “Daitokuji,” etc.): 15.
- 6) Information about Zen texts: Chinese texts (13), Japanese texts (20).
- 7) Information about Buddhist sutras: 8.
- 8) Entries that simply refer to another entry: 415.

These admittedly sloppy statistics show, if further proof is needed, how unrealistic the claim of Zen “independence” is. No Zen dictionary can ignore the fact that Zen is just one tradition of Buddhism. It also shows that the Korean Zen (Son) tradition is almost totally ignored in this dictionary, and that the dictionary’s focus lies on Japan. Very few place names are supplied, and information about texts is very sparse; one notices a slightly more detailed coverage of Japanese Sōtō Zen literature. Many masters are discussed; the fact that so many Chinese masters are mentioned may be due to an overall emphasis on kōan practice and masters that are prominent in kōan collections.

The supplied basic information is in general reliable, although one may dispute many of the “literal” renderings that “Diener” gives. For example, the term “hi-shiryō” 非思量 (non-thought) is explained as follows:

Hi-shiryō. Jap., lit. “that which is immeasurable by thought”; Zen expression for enlightenment, which is experienceable but cannot be grasped in concepts; it is thus unthinkable.

A strength, and also a weakness, of this dictionary lies in the author’s interpretations: strength because often the interpretations are original and at times convincing; weakness because the readers (particularly those likely to use this work) often can not tell where “facts” end and “interpretation” starts. For example:

Sampai. Jap., lit. “threefold [san] prostration [hai]”; expression of veneration through prostration customary in Zen, in which otherwise there is a dearth of ceremonial forms. Sampai was probably originally an expression of veneration toward the “three precious ones” (cf. sambō). Under certain circumstances, also “ninefold prostration,” (kyūhai) is practiced.

Sampai is the prostration that a student has to perform during some of the numerous ceremonies at Zen monasteries, for example after entering the room of his master for individual instruction. The reader may believe Diener that “there is a dearth of ceremonial forms” in Zen — until he or she enters a Zen monastery and notices how many hours a day are spent on ceremonies. Talk to any Zen priest at a town or village temple, and he will tell you that “ceremonial forms” are his primary occupation and form his major source of income (funerals, sūtra readings, etc.).

The author’s emphasis on (and involvement in) Zen practice, especially kōan practice, is most noticeable throughout the book. This makes it much more useful for Zen practitioners than that other recent dictionary aimed at “serious students of Zen,” Hisao Inagaki’s *A Glossary of Zen Terms* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodō, 1991), which does not even mention terms as common as “zazen” or “rōhatsu.” Diener makes a conscious effort to include terms that

a Western novice will encounter in a Zen environment, and, in spite of the small overall number of entries, the choice of such words is clearly based on the author's own familiarity with this environment and is thus much better than that of the two other Japanese-English Zen dictionaries (Inagaki's, and Yōhō Yokoi's *Japanese-English Zen Buddhist Dictionary*, Tokyo: Sankibō). The same can be said about the explanations of such practice-related terms. The word "sesshin," for example, is not mentioned in Inagaki's dictionary. Yokoi's and Diener's explanations are as follows:

Sesshin. To concentrate one's mind on a thing. Meditation; zazen.
(Yokoi, 616)

Sesshin. Jap., lit. "collecting (setsu) the heart-mind (shin)"; days of especially intensive, strict practice of collected mind (cf. zazen) as carried out in Zen monasteries at regular intervals.
(Diener, 191)

Diener's definition is followed, as are many of his entries, by a section in fine print with more detailed information about *sesshin* at Japanese monasteries; all these informative sections are regrettably left out in the German *Lexikon des Zen*. We notice that neither Chinese nor Korean periods of intensive meditation are mentioned; the author seems to just describe what he is familiar with. While that has some advantages, it is not the ideal approach for a dictionary.

Scholars of Zen will regret that the covered terms were not more thoroughly researched. Many well-known Zen terms and expressions receive only cursory treatment or are not mentioned at all. If almost a page is devoted to a Taoist term (which Diener labeled "Zen") such as "wuwei 無爲," why discuss a central saying of Zen such as the following without mentioning who coined it, where it occurred, and what important role it played in Zen (including kōan-Zen)?

Sokushin sokubutsu. Jap.; a famous Zen saying, which in effect means "Basic heart-mind [is] basic Buddha."

Explanations about this term (and related ones, such as "Sokushin zebutsu" 即心是佛) would certainly merit at least half of the space attributed to "wuwei"; one might for example mention that this saying occurs in case 30 of the *Gateless Barrier* (無門關, Ch. *Wumenguan*, Jp. *Mumonkan*) kōan collection:

Damei asked Mazu, "What is Buddha?"
Mazu replied, "Just the heart-mind is Buddha."

A quick look at a Japanese Zen dictionary or the Zen texts themselves

would soon show a more studious author that this saying was used in a great number of Zen texts and is one of the central messages of Master Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (Jp. Baso Dōitsu, 709–788). As Diener says in his entry about this master: “More than any other Ch’an master after Hui-neng, Ma-tsu exercised a shaping influence on the development of Ch’an (Zen) in China.”

Information about Zen texts and their authors is also very sparse; the focus of this dictionary lies on present-day Zen practice, kōan collections, and the figures appearing in the kōans. Thus not even texts of major importance such as the *Collection from the Patriarchs’ Halls* (Zutangji 祖堂集) or the *Compendium of the Five Lamps* (Wudeng Huiyuan 五燈會元) are mentioned; just thirteen entries for a corpus of more than three hundred Chinese Zen texts is certainly not worthy of a dictionary of this size. The coverage of Japanese Zen texts is slightly better (twenty texts), but that of Korean Zen literature is downright discriminatory (not a single entry). Information on masters is also to a large extent dependent on their appearance in some kōan or other; thus we find in this dictionary four times more Chinese than Japanese masters, and just one lonely Korean master who was fortunate enough to be mentioned in a Chinese kōan.

The large number of entries which just refer to another page is partly due to the various pronunciations of these masters’ names. Many readers are, partly because of the influence of D.T. Suzuki’s writings, more familiar with the Japanese readings of Chinese names. Thus cross-references are very welcome. However, publications appearing in the 1990s should not continue to feature the outdated Wade-Giles reading as the primary one; Shambhala should, like the whole of China and most university students (and even Shambhala authors such as J.C. Cleary), realize that Pinyin is now the primary transliteration of Chinese. Whatever the transliteration: for a dictionary of this kind it is imperative to add an index of discussed names and terms in the three transcriptions of Chinese characters that Western readers are forced to struggle with: Pinyin, Wade-Giles, and the Japanese Hepburn transliteration.

However grave its shortcomings, this dictionary may at present still be the most useful English work of its kind for Westerners who cannot read Japanese and have a general interest in Zen — for example, readers who would like to get biographical details about a master that they came across in some other book. If one finds it in the transliteration jungle, such information is generally reliable. One only wishes that the editors had exercised more care in the overall choice of entries and that the author had taken a few additional minutes for each entry to check the major Japanese Zen dictionaries. Given the history of this dictionary, that effort would have paid off several times.

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Chronology

Asuka period, 538–645
Hakuhō period, 645–710
Nara period, 710–794
Heian period, 794–1192
Kamakura period, 1192–1336
Muromachi period, 1136–1568
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ERRATA

CHANOYU Quarterly No. 71, p. 79. An error appears in the spelling of the reviewer's name; it is correctly spelled Frederick Franck. The editor expresses sincere apologies for the mistake.

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