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CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 75



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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.

Early Training

Sen Sōshitsu XV

My first formal lesson (*keiko hajime*) in tea took place on the sixth day of the sixth month when I was six years old — that is, six years old in terms of calendar years, meaning that I had not yet entered elementary school. At this time, I received my initial *temae* instruction from the iemoto. For two or three months preceding this, unbeknown to my father, I had been learning how to fold a *fukusa* and how to wipe a tea container from my mother. Thanks to this, the lesson went relatively smoothly.

I conducted the *temae* in front of the iemoto, and offered the tea to him. He took my hands and, movement by movement, taught me how to do the various procedures in the *temae*. Even though the iemoto was my own father, he impressed me as being perfectly august. It was then that I first became conscious that, as the first-born son in the Sen family, maybe this was the kind of thing that I was destined to continue on with.

After the lesson, I performed the *temae* once again in front of the elders and representative followers who had been invited, and received their words of congratulation (“*Omedetō gozaimasu!*”). This was followed by a celebration, and, with that, all ended well. From that day forward I was officially permitted to receive tea lessons, and occasionally I was made to sit in waiting behind my father when he had guests.

When guests came, my mother would often tell me to “do the carrying,” and I would carry the teabowls to the guests. By repeatedly doing such things, I learned how to walk and sit without tripping on my *hakama*. At first I was elated at the thought that I was being treated as an adult, and so I was full of enthusiasm. However, it soon came to seem tedious, and I wished for an escape.

In 1930, I entered the elementary school affiliated with the Kyoto Teachers College, and started lessons in arts other than tea, too. These were calligraphy and the form of dancing called *komai* (short dance occurring within *kyōgen*, the interlude drama connected with *noh*).

I had a brother two years younger than myself, Yoshiharu, and another who was six years younger than myself, Mitsuhiko. One day, as I

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

was about to go to my calligraphy lesson after coming home from school, Yoshiharu said that he wanted to go with me. Mother dismissed his plea by telling him that he would begin taking lessons very soon, too. Nevertheless, he tagged along with me, saying that he would just watch. At the teacher's house, I began my practice but my brother wasn't given any paper or brush. Feeling sorry for him, I asked the teacher to please let him write something. The teacher, however, refused to allow anyone who was not even enrolled as his student to try their hand at it just for fun, and told Yoshiharu to wait. He was a strict teacher.

Not being able to sit still, my brother started jiggling my arm and disrupting my practice. I became irritated and smeared my ink brush onto his face. Seeing this, the teacher was furious. He scolded me, saying that a brush is a tool to write with, and if I were going to use it to smear ink on people's faces, I needn't come to lessons from tomorrow. I prostrated myself and bowed my head low, and was forgiven, but, even though I was still but a child, the incident painfully enlightened me as to the severe nature of lessons. ◡

The History of Chanoyu in Early-Modern Japan

Kumakura Isao

Introduction

Until recently, the prevailing view of the history of chanoyu has been that Sen Rikyū (1522–91) developed chanoyu to its zenith, and the succession of tea since then has not exceeded Rikyū's heritage. And indeed, although considerable creativity is apparent in the chanoyu of Furuta Oribe, Kobori Enshū, and others, theirs would not receive the same high acclaim as that of Rikyū. Moreover, chanoyu history since the middle of the Edo period (1603–1868) has focused almost exclusively on the tea of Matsudaira Fumai and Ii Naosuke, and it can be said that this period has been given exceptionally light treatment.

Is this all there is of value to be found in the chanoyu of modern times? Believing this not to be the case, I and other scholars have undertaken closer examinations of the chanoyu of this period to draw connections and elucidate developments which have thus far been ignored. This essay represents a general introduction to those efforts.

Looking back over the history of chanoyu, one finds that there are various phenomena in present-day chanoyu for which no previous examples exist. Take, for instance, the wide-ranging popularization of chanoyu, which is said to involve several million people, or the grand tea gatherings which bring together several thousand people at a time, the increase in research on chanoyu, and the internationalization of the way of tea, to mention just a few. It might be said that the present conditions surrounding the world of chanoyu constitute a new state of affairs unlike those in Rikyū's, Enshū's, or even Sotan's time.

Current tea practitioners, regardless of their preferences, are certainly living in a world of modern chanoyu, and it is necessary to clearly recog-

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from the essay "Kindai no Chanoyu" in *Chadō Shūkin*, 6: *Kindai no Chanoyu* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1985), pp. 73–85. Unless otherwise specified, footnotes are by the translator.

nize the fact that, as a cultural symbol of modern Japan, this chanoyu could not possibly be the chanoyu of four hundred years ago. Furthermore, if this recognition is to occur, it is imperative to clarify the origins and nature of the environment surrounding this new chanoyu, as well as the character imparted to chanoyu by these new conditions. Otherwise, by merely discussing the Rikyū of four hundred years past, without directing a steady gaze upon the chanoyu right under our very noses — the chanoyu with which we are in contact — our understanding of the history of chanoyu will be inadequate.

Disassociation from the 'Genteel Pastimes'

When inquiring what kind of chanoyu modern chanoyu is, one must ask what the aims of modern chanoyu were that headed it down a new path. I believe that the starting point for modern chanoyu was the departure from chanoyu as a genteel pastime (*yūgei*). To phrase this another way, it is the manner in which the affected chanoyu of the Edo period was criticized that is the seed of this modern departure.

In 1872 (Meiji 5), Kyoto Prefecture levied a tax on the local trades, and granted licenses with the aim of increasing regulation. At this time, grand masters of tea traditions were reportedly licensed as mere 'Genteel Entertainers.' Led by Gengensai Sōshitsu (1810–77; eleventh grand master of the Urasenke tradition of tea), the grand masters of the three traditions of tea stemming from Sen Rikyū declared that they were nothing of the sort. Gengensai expressed this protest in the form of a brief manifesto which has come to be known as "The Basic Idea of the Way of Tea" (*Chadō no Gen'i*). In other words, society's view of tea practitioners was as the deplorably low equivalent of artistically inclined entertainers, and Gengensai and the others were acutely aware of the need to dispel this view and exhort chanoyu's sublime ideals.

This disassociation from genteel pastimes had begun before Gengensai's time. Although these pioneers technically fall outside the framework of the modern period, I would like to touch briefly upon Matsudaira Fumai and Ii Naosuke, two practitioners of the way of tea in the closing days of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

As the entertainments of people during the Edo period, there are aspects of the so-called 'genteel pastimes' which rightly deserve praise. However, with the waning of the Edo period these pursuits were vulgarized, and degenerated into self-righteous decadence. Chanoyu was no exception, and from the mid-Edo period onward the illiteracy and buffoonery of chanoyu practitioners was of such an extent that it was even

reviled with derisive laughter in published materials. Chanoyu in this state of demise strongly repulsed Matsudaira Fumai. Evident in his *Kokon Meibutsu Ruijū* [Classification of Masterpieces, Ancient and Modern], Fumai's stance on tea utensil research was critical of the obscure information concerning implements that had hitherto been passed down through secret teachings and oral transmissions. By recording accurate descriptions and shapes in this work, Fumai strove to build the foundation for research regarding tea utensils. His task lay in clarifying the tradition of masterpieces by eliminating the haphazard tea utensil assessments which affected, Edo-period chanoyu had tolerated, and to utilize a more scientific method of classifying and ranking them. It can be understood that the chanoyu which resulted from Fumai's efforts was succeeded by the *sukisha*, or 'tea aesthetes,' who came to the fore in the Meiji period.

If Fumai sought to create a new chanoyu with tea utensils as its pivot, Ii Naosuke was the tea master who sought a departure from affected chanoyu through spirituality. When discussing Naosuke, attention should be given to his work *Chanoyu Ichie Shū* [Singular Encounters in Chanoyu] and, particularly, its last chapter, "*Dokuza Kannen*" [The Spirit of Solitary Reflection]. This concept of reflection in solitude is the quintessential expression of Naosuke's new interpretation of chanoyu. After the guests have retired from the tearoom and have been seen off, the host returns to the tearoom's hearth where, seated alone sipping a bowl of tea, he reflects upon the singular nature of encounters in the uncertain span of life (*ichigo ichie*). I believe that the meaning of this ideal, embraced by Naosuke, can be interchanged with the exegesis of most philosophy of the modern period. It should be understood that the originality of Naosuke's 'spirit of solitary reflection' also owed to the fact that, within chanoyu up to that time, nowhere was there a tea intent upon individual contemplation. Since the middle ages, chanoyu had been a social form of artistic entertainment. The goal of this socializing was to bring people together who could sympathize with one another and form alliances. Naosuke, however, proposed the ideal of solitary reflection as an aim of a higher order. This stern and, what might be called, individualistic spirituality was conceived to be the aim of chanoyu, and was in turn a powerful critique of chanoyu as an affected pastime. The source of this new spiritually-suffused cultivation for which modern chanoyu strove can be discerned in the tea of Ii Naosuke.

The Meiji Restoration and the Decline of Chanoyu

Within Japanese history, the upheaval of the Meiji Restoration is worthy of being called a revolution. The long-entrenched Tokugawa Shogunate

collapsed, removing with it the foundations of the warrior class. Furthermore, the menace of American and European powers was closing in around Japan. Within this overall dire state of internal and external affairs, it was probably unavoidable that society took a dim view of chanoyu, which had come to be regarded as a frivolous pastime. The result was chanoyu's decline.

The decline of chanoyu was not an isolated phenomenon. Much traditional culture which depended upon the financial patronage of the daimyō and samurai, such as noh and incense appreciation, fell upon hard times with the demise of the warrior class. Even the grand master of the Kanze tradition of noh, accompanying the head of the Tokugawa clan when the clan moved from Kyoto to Shizuoka prefecture, was without so much as a single disciple, and is said to have suffered extreme poverty. In this way, espousing 'Civilization and Enlightenment,' the Restoration government was extremely indifferent to traditional culture. As is well known, when modern education began, traditional culture was not incorporated into the curriculum. Music was entirely devoted to Western music, and all but the smallest fraction of schools shunned curricula which incorporated Japanese dance, tea, and flower arrangement. As far as traditional culture was concerned, the new era of Civilization and Enlightenment was a long stretch of winter.

To a greater or lesser extent, the grand masters of chanoyu traditions were unavoidably subject to the influence of the decline of traditional culture. It might even be said that having experienced the period of severe decline further strengthened chanoyu's resuscitative powers later on. Guarding the way of tradition with their very lives on the one hand, the grand masters of chanoyu were also desperately searching for a path that would enliven a chanoyu suited to modern society.

The manner of preparing and receiving tea while seated in chairs (*ryūrei*), introduced by Gengensai Sōshitsu in 1872 (Meiji 5), can be viewed as one effort in that direction. In March of that year, the first Kyoto International Exposition began. With traces of the bloody battles of the Restoration still visible around Kyoto, products from throughout the country were assembled in anticipation of visitors from many foreign countries. To stimulate enthusiasm for the Exposition, the Miyako Odori was created for entertainment,¹ and in addition there was a request from councilor Makimura Masanao for Gengensai to devise a tea preparation method whereby chanoyu could be enjoyed while seated in chairs. Subsequently, the *ryūrei* method of preparing tea on a table was introduced through Gengensai's leading disciple, Maeda Zuisetsu (1833–1914). Within the Horinouchi tradition, too, a *ryūrei* tea procedure utilizing a

¹ Miyako Odori, a dance revue performed by groups of young geisha, known as *geiko*. Still presented every year in the Gion district of Kyoto during April, and associated with cherry blossom viewing.

lacquered table adorned with a gold filigree design of calabash made an appearance at an informal tea gathering in 1875 (Meiji 8), and implements for tea gatherings were developed to accommodate a Western lifestyle.

In contrast to chanoyu's decline, there was the growing popularity within society of *sencha* (steeped tea). The fact that, during the closing days of the Tokugawa Shogunate, *sencha* was attracting many adherents from the affected form of chanoyu which was then under siege implies that *sencha* aspired to a culture of elegance based on the tastes of the literati. These tastes coincided with the artistic preferences of high officials during the Restoration, and gained great popularity. From the last years of the Tokugawa Shogunate through the era of Civilization and Enlightenment, numerous 'grand' *sencha* gatherings were held, and records from many of these have been published with catalogs and sketches detailing their decorations, utensil names, etc. One such example is the Tsuizen *Sencha* Gathering held during November 1875 in Maruyama, Kyoto, by Kumagai Suikō'ō, the head of the incense manufacturing establishment Kyūkyodō. At this gathering, 478 art objects and scrolls from 132 households were displayed, and several thousand people attended the twenty-four *chaseki* which were prepared.²

The tremendous popularity of *sencha* gatherings probably even exerted a variety of influences on the world of chanoyu. I believe that one of these influences was perhaps this form of 'grand' tea gathering to which many guests were invited. Open even to participants without invitations, grand tea gatherings accommodated great numbers of guests, and were the favored venue of *sencha*. However, by looking at the pamphlet known as the *Nishi-Kyō Chaen Ki* [Western Kyoto Tea-Drinking Record], which came out in 1876 (Meiji 9), it becomes clear that while its entries concern gatherings for chanoyu, *sencha* was being emulated in the form of grand tea gatherings. This occurred when, in 1876, tea utensil dealers prepared seven *chaseki* within Daitokuji temple, and displayed various masterpieces. In another instance during the same year, an extended tea gathering, beginning on March 15th and lasting one hundred days, was held within Kyoto's Imperial Palace during which time the grand masters of the three Sen families, and others, prepared tea at the Nishikidai and Izumidono pavilions. It can be understood that the precedent for the form of these 'grand' chanoyu gatherings, rather, was *sencha*.

The growing enthusiasm for ritual tea offerings (*kencha*) at Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples in the late 1870s to early 1880s also began as a result of new efforts by chanoyu lineages during their period of decline. Early on, during the late 1870s, such offerings began to be made at Kitano

² *Chaseki*, literally "tea seating," refers to a space which is prepared for serving tea to guests. Often, many groups of guests will receive tea, in succession, in the same *chaseki*, which may or may not be an actual tearoom.

Shrine in northwestern Kyoto, and in 1880 (Meiji 13) a ritual tea offering was conducted at Kōzanji temple as part of the services to commemorate the 650th anniversary of the priest Myōe's death.³ Then, in 1886, a ritual tea offering was made at the 300th anniversary of the Kitano Ōchanoyu, and one after another ritual tea offerings began to be made elsewhere.

In spite of these various efforts by chanoyu lineages, the power they generated was insufficient to bring a quick halt to the decline of chanoyu. In search of reprieve from these hard times, the thirteenth generation grand master of the Urasenke tradition, Ennōsai Sōshitsu (1872–1924), moved to Tokyo and, as recorded by his second son, Iguchi Kaisen, lived without even enough rice and salt. Images of the impoverished eighth generation grand master of the Mushanokōjisenke tradition, Isshisai Sōshu (1848–98), and the twelfth generation grand master of the Omotesenke tradition, Rokurokusai Sōsa (1837–1910), also appear in recollections of the era. It is noteworthy that, in the midst of these dire conditions, a new school of chanoyu arose through the efforts of an uncelebrated young man. His name was Tanaka Senshō (1875–1960), and he established the Dai Nihon Chadō Gakkai (Japan Association of Tea Ceremony).

Tanaka Senshō studied at Urasenke under Ennōsai, but, at the age of twenty-three, criticized the lineage system, appealed for the opening of the secret teachings, and set himself up independently. Of particular interest here is his advocacy of a departure from chanoyu as a genteel pastime. As a theoretical basis from which to achieve this, Confucian ethics and Zen were both reappreciated, and spiritual education was espoused. This was one type of Civilization and Enlightenment-era assertion that was intended to break down the old framework of feudal society and open up the secret teachings, an aim it pushed forward, quite interestingly, through the publication of books and magazines. This attempt to enlarge the exclusive society of chanoyu by making use of so-called “mass communication” — that is, large-volume printing enabled by new movable type — may also be called a formative agent in the development of the iemoto system thenceforth. In this way, chanoyu finally began to show signs of revival.

The Advent of Sukisha

The revitalization of chanoyu during the Meiji period also developed from another direction, one which was unrelated to the desperate efforts of the

³ Myōe Shōnin (1173–1232), Buddhist priest of the Kegon sect. The Zen priest Eisai (1141–1215) brought tea seeds back from China, and Myōe is reputed to have planted them near Kōzanji temple in Togano'o, Kyoto.

chanoyu lineages themselves. These new standard-bearers were the *sukisha*, a group composed of government officials, justices, doctors' families, and new financial cliques — individuals who were the force behind Civilization and Enlightenment policies. In modern times, *sukisha* pursued chanoyu tenaciously as a hobby, and were primarily wealthy individuals who collected tea utensils famed as masterpieces (*meibutsu*). Already since the Edo period, however, chanoyu had been enjoyed as a hobby by wealthy farmers and by many influential city merchants in Kyoto, Osaka, and Tokyo. Although, in the way of successors, individuals such as Hirase Rokō (1839–1908) were also active as *sukisha* during the Meiji period, the core group of *sukisha* was to be comprised of individuals who became active in the world of politics and industry with the birth of modern Japan.

What occasioned the appearance of *sukisha* in the world of Meiji chanoyu, reigning in its decline, was the collecting of tea utensils. This opportunity, however, did not actually materialize until the latter half of the Meiji period. In 1896 (Meiji 29), in the course of administering the collection of a *sukisha* named Watanabe Ki (1830–96), a scroll by the famous Zen priest Qingzuo Zengcheng (Jp., Seisetsu Shōchō; 1274–1339) could be sold for no more than two thousand yen — an indication of the low level of appreciation for tea utensil masterpieces at that time. As the turn of the century approached, collectors of tea utensils began appearing one after another. In particular, high officials of the Meiji government directed their excess income into fine art objects as the target of investment. Among these officials, Segai Inoue Kaoru (1835–1915) had the most enthusiastic passion for collecting. Within his vicinity were the brothers Donnō Masuda Takashi (1848–1938) and Masuda Katsunori (1850–1903), and Segai was also backed by none other than the Mitsui Conglomerate. There were many tea utensils within the collections of such individuals and, naturally, this led to the pursuit of chanoyu as a hobby among collectors.

Stepping back a few years to 1887 (Meiji 20), a visit by the Meiji emperor to the residence of Inoue Kaoru has great importance in the history of traditional Japanese culture. One aspect of this importance was the presentation of kabuki as entertainment for the emperor, an opportunity which gave formative direction to the development of kabuki in modern times. The other significant occurrence was a tea gathering held for the emperor. Ostensibly, this visit by the emperor was for the purpose of attending the opening ceremony for the tea house constructed within the Inoue residence, and tea was offered to those in attendance up to and including Her Majesty the Empress. In doing this, one could say that chanoyu's public nature was being reacknowledged, with its stature as a national culture also being reconfirmed. As when Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi offered tea to Emperor Ōgimachi in the 16th century, here, too,

tea seems to have been burdened with a political role. Be that as it may, the chanoyu which had come to be criticized as a genteel pastime had now been graced with an imperial audience, and its presentation to society as a public, ceremonially correct form of culture had a widespread effect.

When discussing the activities of the sukisha, one epoch was defined by Donnō's creation of the Daishikai (lit., 'Great Teacher Gathering') in 1896 (Meiji 29).⁴ Beginning tea at the suggestion of his younger brother, Masuda Katsunori, Donnō obtained a calligraphic work attributed to the Buddhist priest Kōbō Daishi, in 1895 (Meiji 28), and from the following year on held private banquets in commemoration of Kōbō Daishi which he called "Daishikai."⁵ Unlike the Daishikai today, wherein anyone is allowed to participate in tea gatherings upon becoming a member, without a personal invitation from Donnō, one could not attend. These tea gatherings were so popular that in one instance a member without an invitation actually stole through the hedge in order to take part. The source of this popularity probably lay in the fact that, if one managed to attend the Daishikai, the social nature of the gathering brought one into contact with the captains of government and industry, including Inoue Kaoru. Within the tea of the sukisha there developed a chanoyu which functioned as a form of social interaction, and this was the basis of chanoyu's tremendous popularity among modern political and industrial leaders.

A Portrait of the Sukisha

Renowned among the groups of sukisha who held tea gatherings was the Wakeikai (lit., 'Harmony and Respect Gathering') which was established in 1900 (Meiji 33). According to an account by one of its members, Ishiguro Kyōō (1845-1941), the members of the Wakeikai were as follows:

Sharing my interest in chanoyu there were these fifteen men: Count Higashikuze Tsūki, Count Shingetsu Matsuura Sen, Viscount Gen'en Itō Yuma, Viscount Fusen Tōin Jō, Ninsō Hisamatsu Katsunari, Baron Sōyū Itō Shunkichi, Shiin Totsuka Bunkai, Shōrai Mitsui Hachirōjirō, Hokō Mita, Shōō Yasuda Zenjirō, Enchū Okazaki Tadamoto, Mujin Matsuura Kō, Sōfu Kanazawa San'uemon, Tankai

⁴ Although at this time Masuda Takashi was not yet known by this name, I will refer to him as "Donnō" in keeping with common practice. —Author

⁵ Kōbō Daishi is the posthumous name of the priest Kūkai (774-835), founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism, and proponent of art as integral to religious practice.

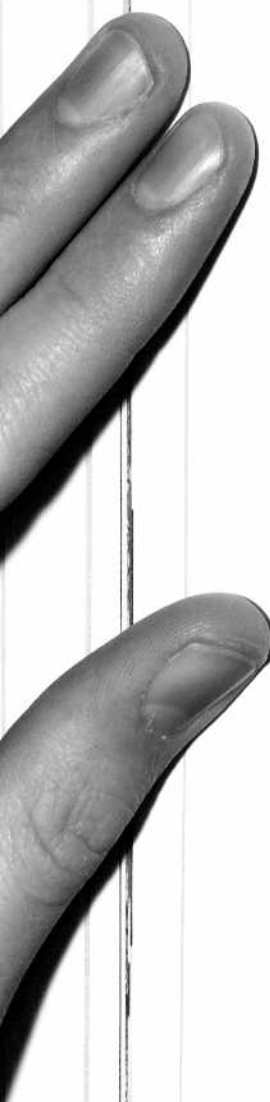
Aochii Kujirō, and Ganzen Iwami Kanzō. Together in Meiji 33, we formed the Wakeikai, and engaged one another warmly in the course of observing the rules of tea. Because altogether we were sixteen, we were referred to as the "Sixteen Arhats," and by other appellations, and among us there were court nobles and daimyō, military officers and doctors, wealthy farmers and scholars, as well as rice and lacquer merchants, and we were indeed agreeable companions.

(Kyōō Chabanashi)

[The Tea Discussions of Ishiguro Kyōō]

In time, vacancies occurred in this Wakeikai membership, and the remaining members were joined by the likes of Masuda Donnō and Takahashi Sōan (1861–1937), whereupon it developed into a true sukisha tea gathering. Thanks to a kind of 'house-warming party' to which Tominaga Fuyuki invited the Wakeikai members, and at which he likened them to arhats, serving them Buddhist foods in the style of India, the Wakeikai also came to be known by the alias "Rakankai" (lit., 'Arhat Gathering'). From this episode, one catches a glimpse of just how freely conceived were the origins of chanoyu for such sukisha. It can also be said that, particularly in this era, the tea practitioners assembled in the Rakankai were not entangled in the Edo-period style chanoyu dominated by affiliations (*ryūgi chadō*), and yet they were also free from ultra-nationalistic idealism. The appeal of their persuasion of tea lay in its entertaining of 'fanciful constructs' (*mitate*) where, as mentioned above, each guest might be likened to one of the Buddha's sixteen disciples. With such constructs, however, there was the danger of one false step plunging everything to the level of a hackneyed pun. The tea of the sukisha had the magnanimity, so to speak, to play along that fine line.

Just after the inauguration of the Wakeikai in Tokyo, the Jūhachikai was born in the Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe area. The formation of the Jūhachikai (lit., 'Eighteen Gathering') was occasioned by Matsukata Matsu-yoshi being invited to a tea gathering by Kanō Kakuō (1862–1951), after which, beginning on February 18th, 1902 (Meiji 35), eighteen tea gatherings were held beginning with one by Yamanaka Kichirōbe'e. The members of this group were Matsumoto Sōken, Murayama Gen'an, Tamura Yūshō, Tanaka Tokufukutei, Fujita Rosetsu, Kanō Kakuō, Sumitomo Shunsui, Takaya Keidō, Nishimura Tekisui, Toyota Chōsetsu, Sakagami Shōsui, Isono Geishun, Shibagawa Tokusai, Kanō Gyokusen, Ueno Yūchiku, Koami Kōnan, and Tonomura Heiuemon. Furthermore, with the addition of such sukisha as Ōta Roan, Uemura Ibundō, and Kishi Senshōan to this core group, the Jōenkai was inaugurated in 1908 (Meiji 41). Around this time, the chanoyu of sukisha in western Japan, which



Takahashi Sōan had criticized as inactive in comparison to that of Tokyo, was gradually gaining momentum, and in 1915 (Taishō 4), with the scenery of Takagamine as the stage, the Kōetsukai was inaugurated as a memorial to Hon'ami Kōetsu.⁶ The Kōetsukai is the basis for a grand tea gathering that continues today. As a kind of 'tea gathering critique,' Takahashi Sōan first compiled a work dealing mainly with tea gatherings in Tokyo, entitled *Tōto Chakai Ki* [Record of Tokyo Tea Gatherings]. The expansion of this critique to a nationwide scale after 1920 (Taishō 9), in the form of the *Taishō Chadō Ki* [Record of the Way of Tea in the Taishō Era], was the result of this thriving world of tea in western Japan.

The Distinctive Character of Sukisha Tea

Sukisha began turning their attention to traditional Japanese art objects just at the time when Meiji-era thought began the enormous transition from policies favoring Westernization and modernization to those emphasizing national culture. Japanese leaders who had been completely partial to Western ideas now had the leeway to turn and take a look at their own traditions. Subsequently reflecting on his own art collecting, Masuda Donnō, in his autobiography (*Jijo Masuda Takashi Den*), says in effect: if one visits foreign countries, one finds that each has confidence in its own national culture, and that representative objects of that culture have been assembled for the intended appreciation of visitors from other countries. Drawing on the comprehensive framework of Japanese art, Japanese people, too, must have objects capable of exalting their national culture. As concern for traditional culture has been very low since the Restoration, however, outstanding examples of Japanese art have made their way abroad. In order, also, to check this outpouring, it is urgent to collect art objects. For these reasons, I [Donnō] have gathered many utensils.

In fact, the number of art objects — especially items of Buddhist art — which were spared from foreign export through the collective acquisitions of Donnō and his circle was not inconsiderable. And although, unmistakably, these sukisha were busily involved in tea-utensil collecting in order to preserve financial assets on the one hand, their role as guardians of traditional culture cannot be denied.

The effect of this was that, inevitably, the tea of the sukisha began to give chanoyu a new character. In other words, although sukisha were captivated by chanoyu more than anything else, their insatiable desire for

⁶ Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637). Famous potter, lacquer artist, and calligrapher. Also known as an outstanding pupil of the tea master Furuta Oribe.

utensils, namely art objects, surpassed even this interest in chanoyu. Disengaging from previous concepts of tea utensils, the framework of their collections became broader and deeper than ever before. In this, it might be said that new character was added to chanoyu as a format for the appreciation of fine art.

Let me relate the circumstances during this time from a different perspective. Takahashi Sōan, who, along with Donnō, became one of the prime movers behind the tea of modern sukisha, reflected on the early Meiji period as follows:

In 1877 (Meiji 10) the Satsuma Rebellion ended, a measure of composure finally reached peoples' hearts, and the beginnings of a tea gathering revival appeared, with people holding tea gatherings here and there. At this time, after the downfall of the various daimyō, only tea masters among the general populace remained to conduct tea gatherings. Naturally the style of this tea was vulgar, and, eschewing the use of tea utensil masterpieces, tea masters were uninterested even when many famous utensils could be had for almost nothing. If you look at the records of tea gatherings in the late 1870s, their pathetically low level is evident in comparison to the gatherings held by various families during the Taishō and Shōwa periods.

(*Sō no Ato*)

[Autobiography of Takahashi Sōan]

Undeniably, common sense among chadō lineages until this time dictated that even more than the most famous items, utensils cherished and designed by their lineage predecessors were most highly valued. Still more, items such as Buddhist art, paintings, and other objects, which are not even considered implements for tea, could not have been called "tea utensils." However, according to Sōan, the tea of these chadō lineages was vulgar. 'Masterpieces, especially, are [tea] utensils; if something is a superior work of Japanese art, there is nothing at all to hinder its incorporation into chanoyu.' By this point, a large disparity had developed in the thinking about tea utensils. The collections of sukisha, consequently, resulted in the creation of new records of masterpieces, and precipitated the birth of art museums.

From 1912 (Meiji 45), Takahashi Sōan removed himself entirely from public duties, and resolved to live a life absorbed in chanoyu. Then he undertook two projects. The first of these was to compile a detailed critique of chanoyu, and to write a private diary recording to the smallest detail information garnered outside of tea gathering records. The second

of these, in an era when masterpieces were appearing in public one after another, was to create an accurate pictorial record of famous works. With regard to the former, there are a total of nineteen volumes of tea gathering records following the *Tōto Chakai Ki*, and the *Banshō Roku* [Record of Ten Thousand Images] is a fifteen-volume diary. Concerning the latter of his two projects, the *Taishō Meikikan* [Taishō Era Catalog of Famous Utensils] is a major work comprised of eleven volumes. While it follows in the tradition of Matsudaira Fumai's *Kokon Meibutsu Ruijū*, the *Taishō Meikikan* might be singled out as the work which best expresses the distinctive features inherent to the tea of the sukisha. Taking advantage of modern color printing technology, Sōan produced large pictorial collections of tea bowls and thick-tea containers incorporating actual photographs of masterpieces supplemented abundantly with information about their past ownership, accessories, and so forth, while at the same time establishing anew the ranking of tea utensils. Although, when viewed by today's standards, there are some problems with these utensil appraisals, the value of the appraisals is probably not lacking in the slightest with regard to the appreciation of famous utensils in the context of sukisha tea.

The collections of most sukisha have been preserved in the form of private art museums. Not merely in their sheer volume, but also through their inclusion of diverse items such as ancient Chinese bronzes and ceramics from overseas — by the fact of their expansive range — these collections well exemplify the unique character of the tea of these sukisha, which, by its very nature, extended beyond the framework of the way of tea.

The Popularization of Grand Tea Gatherings

The fading of sukisha chanoyu can first be detected in the late 1930s to the early 1940s (Shōwa 10–20). This impression is strengthened by the fact that, during about the mid-1930s, noted sukisha such as Umakoshi Keshō (1844–1933), Masuda Donnō, Takahashi Sōan, and Nezu Seizan (1860–1940) passed away one after another. However, almost as if synchronized with the demise of the sukisha, the grand masters of traditional tea lineages began to reemerge at the head of the masses.

On October 8, 1936 (Shōwa 11), the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu was begun at Kitano Temmangu shrine in Kyoto. Commemorating the 350th anniversary of the Kitano Ōchanoyu held by Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Sen Rikyū, it lasted for five days and about one hundred *chaseki* were prepared. The planned event was announced in the newspapers, and reservations from members of the sponsoring group flooded in one after another. The reservations of regular dues-paying members alone num-

bered over three thousand, and with the inclusion of members from a supporting group, the Kōetsukai, total attendance reached four thousand people. Once the tea gathering was actually held, it turned out that in the large public *chaseki* Tenshōsha, more than twelve thousand sweets were served.

Who could have anticipated that the world of chanoyu, which a half century earlier was in such a state of decline that there were almost no new students, would once again thrive to this extent.

In the case of the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu, it was the *sukisha* who led the way, if anyone, and what enticed people studying chanoyu to participate in this tea gathering was their interest in tea utensil masterpieces. Nevertheless, four years later, at a tea gathering commemorating the 350th year since Rikyū's death, which was held over the course of three days in Daitokuji temple beginning on April 21, 1940 (Shōwa 15), *sukisha* influence was already scant, and without a doubt tea practitioners of the Sen lineage, held together by the grand masters of the three Sen families, played the dominant role. More than five thousand people gathered during the three-day event, the highlight of which was a ritual tea offering inside the lecture hall of Daitokuji temple. Additionally, there was the unprecedented live broadcast of this by a local Kyoto radio station.

To be certain, a surprising number of people also gathered for the Kitano Ōchanoyu three hundred and fifty years earlier, but of course it was nothing compared with the turnout for the Shōwa gathering. Undeniably, this new state of affairs naturally brought on unprecedented chaos. Such disarray invited behavior unbecoming of tea practitioners. A journalist specializing in the way of tea, Sasaki Sanmi, reported the following:

[F]ar too much of the tea person's impropriety, misconduct, and unruliness was graphically displayed at this tea gathering. New members are cultured beyond the level of the middle class, and are ladies and gentlemen who have presumably undergone some degree of training in tea and have at least heard the simple words 'harmony, respect, purity, and tranquility' (*wai kei sei jaku*). All this notwithstanding, their fighting for a place in line, and laying waste of the *roji* upon approaching a teahouse is excusable by comparison ... fortunately, it appeared that at least no utensils were damaged, but the unspeakable conduct on their part, as people of tea, was far too excessive....

As the first grand tea gathering of its kind, such conditions were inevitable. Rather than criticizing, we in the present should learn from this example. At the very least, one huge effect of modern chanoyu was this

extraordinary energy — an energy which, in a brief span of time, attracted the enthusiastic attendance of such large numbers of tea people at grand tea gatherings.

Women and Cultural Education

It must not be forgotten that many of the tea practitioners who attended grand tea gatherings were women. Women, in fact, play the other leading role in modern chanoyu. As mentioned earlier, after chanoyu's decline, a variety of new approaches were attempted to stimulate a revival. One of these was the assertion that, far from being a frivolous entertainment, chanoyu was a path of propriety which could be an aid to proper etiquette. And there appeared individuals who incorporated this into women's education — individuals actually involved in women's education, such as Atomi Kakei (1837–1956). Kakei believed that the instruction in etiquette administered at girls' schools was actually of very little use. Undoubtedly, within the context of a modern lifestyle, there must have been some problems with the rules of etiquette at that time, such as those espoused by the Ogasawara School of Etiquette and others, with their foundations in the medieval samurai code. The way Kakei saw it, rather than etiquette per se, it was more practical to study chanoyu.

A look at the curriculum of the women's division of Gakushūin University in 1907 (Meiji 40) shows the inclusion of 'tea procedures using table and chairs, tea procedures in Japanese style rooms, flower arrangement, and tea preparation.' Likewise, looking at women's schools in Kyoto at the end of the Meiji period, we can see that 'tea ceremony departments' were established, and chanoyu courses were extensive. There is no doubt that this type of instruction in chanoyu, as a part of women's education, led to a steady increase in female chajin. It is my hypothesis that, from the end of the Taishō period through the beginning of the Shōwa period (ca. 1920–30), the ratio of men to women involved in chanoyu virtually reversed itself, transforming the world of chadō into a female-dominated society.

Nonetheless, it is not likely that this degree of sudden popularization of chanoyu was due merely to its incorporation into women's education. As the background for this development, the high evaluation of chanoyu as Japanese traditional culture, and the activities of intellectuals who embraced chanoyu as an embodiment of the cultural refinement modern Japanese people should be possessed of must be considered.

In 1929 (Shōwa 4), *The Book of Tea* by Okakura Tenshin (1862–1913) was translated into Japanese, and Japanese intellectuals were given a glimpse of a small portion of chanoyu through a book written on tea, not

for them but for non-Japanese. On the other hand, Komiya Toyotaka, a disciple of the novelist Natsume Sōseki who found chanoyu bothersome, wrote a general outline of chanoyu, and Nishikawa Issōtei (1878–1938), who had greatly influenced Komiya, established a coterie for intellectuals like Komiya, issuing the coterie's bulletin *Heishi*. These were the events occurring during the early years of the Shōwa period, and as these trends spread through the world of chadō, numerous magazines related to the way of tea were issued and independent books published. In other words, a new perspective on tea found general acceptance wherein an attempt was made to understand chanoyu intellectually.

Research on the way of tea by intellectuals in the early years of the Shōwa period was powerful enough to generate the common-sense belief that chanoyu constituted cultural refinement for modern Japanese people. Because this public understanding existed, chanoyu was able to truly acquire status as a foundation for the citizenry of Japan. By 1935, the increase in research on the way of tea led to the completion of an immense literary work, the fifteen-volume *Chadō Zenshū* [Collected Works on the Way of Tea], published by Sōgensha publishing company. Each volume surpassing seven hundred pages, this encyclopedic work was published with surprising speed, and is said to have found an unexpected number of readers as well. In the same vein, the tenth generation grand master of the Mushanokōjisenke tradition of tea, Yukōsai Sōshu (1889–1953), conducted radio broadcasts on the way of tea in 1936 (Shōwa 11), and within a ten day period the accompanying textbook went through seven printings with 175,000 issues sold. Considering the level of radio ownership at that time, it is astounding that so many people bought textbooks and listened to those first broadcasts on the way of tea.

Conclusion

Since the end of World War II, the unprecedented flourishing of chanoyu has continued. With regard to the era of sukisha, Kobayashi Itsuō (1873–1957), Matsunaga Jian (1875–1971), and Hatakeyama Sokuō (1881–1971) were the last unique figures active in the postwar world of chadō, after which it may be understood that views tended toward consolidation. Chadō lineages that began to thrive from the late 1930s to the early '40s strengthened their organizations and, in the period of high growth from the mid-'50s onward, showed rapid expansion until today they embrace several million people involved in the way of tea.

Finally, there are two problematic areas concerning this development which I would like to touch upon. The first of these is comprised of questions regarding chanoyu's internationalization, and the second are the

problems surrounding the reevaluation of the iemoto system. The first of these is fraught with modern difficulties, especially the worldwide attention Japan's economic might has attracted, whose beginnings were already afoot in the prewar era, one could say. In other words, based upon an international understanding of Japanese culture, there has probably never been a time when the role performed by chanoyu has been as noteworthy as it is now. Concerning the second problem, simply criticizing the iemoto system as a feudal remnant is insufficient. What is necessary is a new viewpoint whereby the structural characteristics of Japanese society and culture may be reinterpreted. It is by grasping in a comprehensive way the ideals, aesthetics, and founding principles of chanoyu which have crystalized over the ages that we are able to make new discoveries about the chanoyu here and now in our own lives. ㇿ

Translated by Zane Ferry

Zenkiga: Expressing the Spirit of Zen

Okimoto Katsumi

Among the various types of hanging-scroll paintings is a category known as *zenkiga*, which can be roughly translated as “Zen-activity paintings.” The term *zenkiga* might just as well be simplified to *zenga*, “Zen paintings,” if it were not for the fact that the *zenga* genre incorporates both *zenkiga* and *zenyoga* (Zen-function paintings). The “Zen activity” spoken of here is the sparkling spontaneity of the Zen person, a spontaneity vividly depicted in the *zenkiga*.

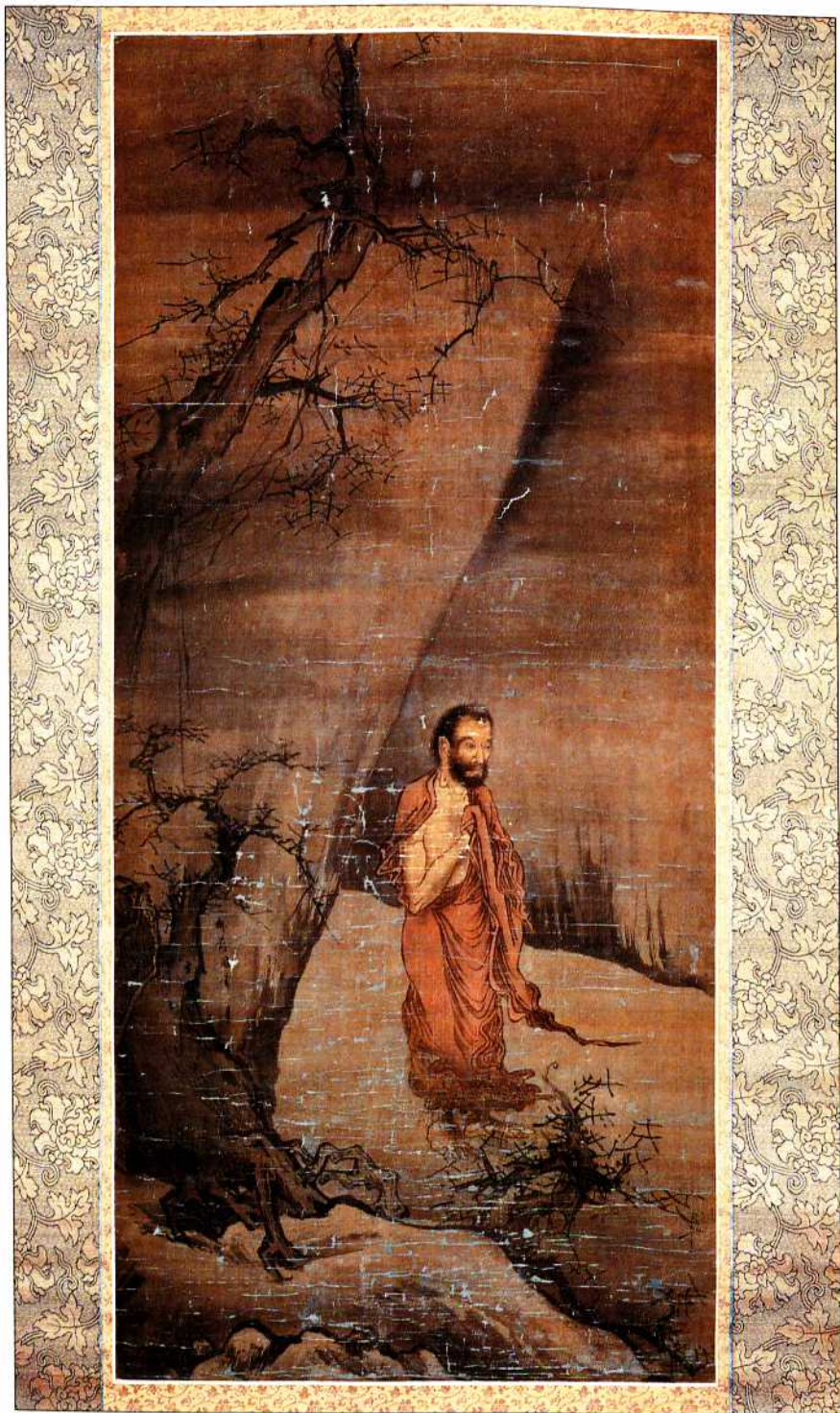
According to the teachings of Zen, each moment of our existence is a manifestation of the *genjō kōan*, the *kōan* of everyday life. There is nothing out of the ordinary to search for, but most of us go through our lives without ever realizing this. The *zenkiga* are there to remind us — sometimes severely, sometimes humorously — of this out-of-the-ordinary ordinariness of life.

Zenkiga are seldom displayed in the *tokonoma* nowadays, but *chanoyu*, with its highly developed sense of the visual, has much to gain from the elegance that these occasionally severe, occasionally unconstrained works of art can lend to the tearoom. And, in fact, these paintings were quite highly esteemed in former times, not least of all for the distinct perspective on Zen that they provide through their profound artistic inspiration. The *zenkiga* are fundamentally no different from the one-line hanging scrolls generally used in the tearoom.

A favorite topic of the *zenkiga* is the eccentric behavior of the “Zen fool.” This theme, based on Zen’s love of the unconventional, forms a consistent expression of Zen’s belief that the true life is lived in a spirit of open-hearted freedom. Or, again, we might see it as a statement of the out-of-the-ordinary ordinariness mentioned above.

Zen signifies the universal, while the *zenkiga* form an expression of Zen’s broad fusion with the land and culture of China. Whether it be Zen, *zenkiga*, or *chanoyu*, things must pass through a stage of solidification and particularization before reemerging into that rich, unlimited realm where in man and nature are one.

Translated and adapted from *Tankō* 1993 Special Issue, pp. 20–52. Unless otherwise specified, photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.



Shakyamuni Leaving the Mountain

出山釈迦図 梁楷筆

(page 24)

Shakyamuni Leaving the Mountain, by Liangkai. Southern Song dynasty, 13th c. Important Cultural Property. In the collection of the Agency for Cultural Affairs.

Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha, left home as a youth of twenty-nine and engaged in severe ascetic practices for six years. Finally rejecting these as counterproductive, he sat under a pipal tree by the banks of the Nairanjana River and meditated until he had attained complete enlightenment. Realizing that the truth he had seen could not be expressed in words, Shakyamuni remained at first in silent meditation, but at the request of Brahma, the creator-god of the universe, he decided to leave his state of tranquility and teach the way to liberation to others.

This picture shows him leaving his place of meditation in the "Snow Mountains" (the Himalayas). His beard and hair are uncut, his body gaunt, and his clothing unkempt, but there is an awe-inspiring dignity about him as he descends from the realm of enlightenment to reenter the ordinary world.

二祖調心図 伝石恪筆

(pages 26 and 27)

The Second Zen Patriarch in Contemplation, attributed to Shi Ke. (Pair of scrolls.) Southern Song dynasty, 13th c. Important Cultural Property. In the collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

The Second Patriarch Huike (487–593), after transmitting the dharma to the Third Patriarch Sengcan (d. 606?), went to live in the city of Yedu. There, hiding his identity, he came and went as he pleased, sometimes appearing in the marketplace, sometimes laboring in the fields. If anyone criticized his behavior he would reply, "I am regulating my own mind. What concern is it of yours?" In these two paintings Huike is shown intoxicated, as an expression of his utterly free spirit. His state can be likened to that in the tenth and final stage of the oxherding pictures, "Entering the Marketplace with Helping Hands."



The Second Zen Patriarch in Contemplation (This and facing page)





Hong'ren Seeing Off Huineng



Xiangyan Enlightened When Hearing a Stone Strike Bamboo

弘忍送慧能図 狩野元信筆

(page 28)

Hong'ren Seeing Off Huineng, by Kanō Motonobu. Muromachi period; dated 1513. Important Cultural Property. In the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. (Originally at Daisen'in subtemple in Daitokuji temple, Kyoto.)

Hong'ren, seeking a successor, asked his students to compose poems expressing their understanding of the dharma. His head disciple, Shenxiu (605?-706), submitted a verse comparing the body with the Bodhi tree and the mind with a mirror that must constantly be cleaned to keep it free of dust. Hearing of this, Huineng responded with the following lines: "Originally there is no Bodhi tree, nor a stand with a clear mirror; from the beginning not one thing exists — what, then, is dust to settle upon?"

Recognizing the deeper understanding of this verse but fearing for Huineng's safety at the hands of the jealous friends of Shenxiu, Hong'ren secretly summoned Huineng at midnight and handed him the robe and bowls that confirmed transmission of the dharma. Then, to aid Huineng's escape, he accompanied him to the river and rowed him across. This painting captures both the suspense of the situation and the deep affection between master and disciple.

香巖擊竹図 狩野元信筆

(page 29)

Xiangyan Enlightened When Hearing a Stone Strike Bamboo, by Kanō Motonobu. Muromachi period; dated 1513. Important Cultural Property. In the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. (Originally at Daisen'in subtemple in Daitokuji temple, Kyoto.)

Xiangyan (d. 898), an eminent scholar-monk, was asked by his teacher, "What was your face before your parents were born?" Unable to find a satisfactory answer in his sutras and commentaries, he finally burned them, stating, "Pictures of food cannot fill an empty stomach." He became a beggar monk, determined to end his days caring for the grave of Zen master Nanyang Huizhong (d. 775). As he was sweeping one day, his broom knocked a pebble against a nearby bamboo. At the resulting sound, Xiangyan was deeply enlightened. This famous story expresses a Zen practitioner's development from intellectual understanding to great awakening.

南山深藏鼉臯
出草長噴毒氣
擬議總須喪身
唯有韶陽不畏



Master Yunmen

雲門大師圖 馬遠筆

(page 31)

Master Yunmen, by Mayuan. Southern Song dynasty, 13th c. Important Cultural Property. In the collection of Tenryūji temple, Kyoto.

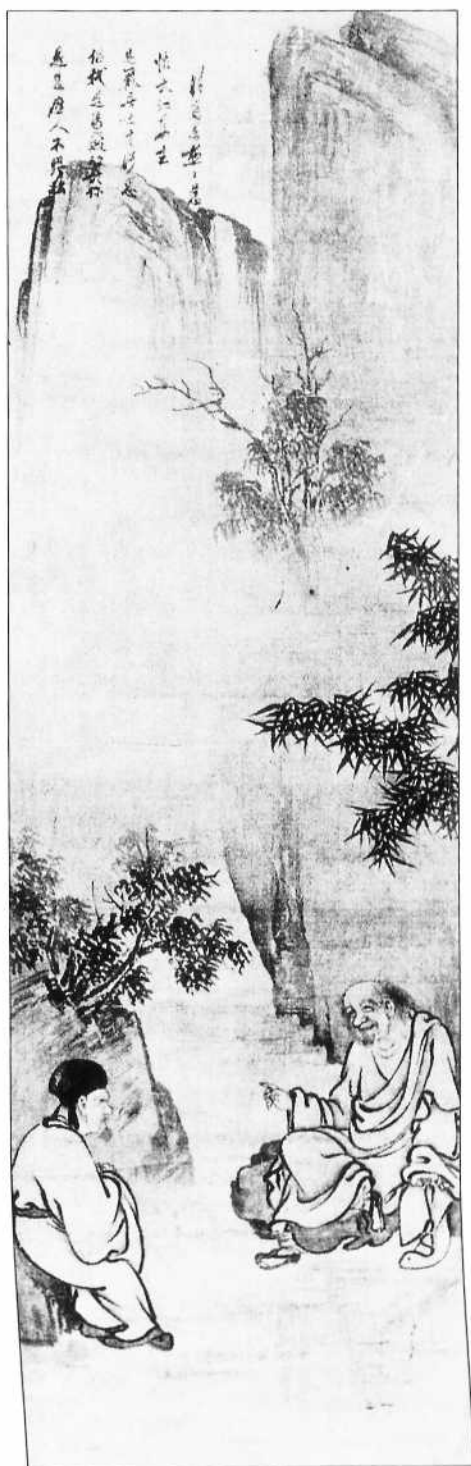
Yunmen Wenyan (864–949), the founder of the Yunmen school of Zen and one of the greatest Zen figures in the history of China, is featured in more cases of the classic kōan collection *Biyān Lu* (Blue Cliff Record) than any other master. Yunmen's answers to his disciples' questions, known as "one-word barriers" for their combination of elegance and sharp, cutting brevity, continue to be used and treasured by Zen people today.

馬祖龐居士問答圖 伝牧谿筆 愚極智慧贊

(page 33)

A Dialogue between Mazhu and Layman Pang, attributed to Muxi. Inscription by Yuji Zhihui. Yuan dynasty, 13th c. Important Cultural Property. In the collection of Tenneiji temple, Kyoto.

Layman Pang (740–808?) was a lay student and dharma successor of both Mazhu Daoyi and Shitou Xiqian (700–790), the two greatest Zen teachers of their day. He is praised in Zen literature as another Vimalakirti, after the famous Buddhist layman of the *Vimalakirti-nirdesa Sutra* who defeated all of the Buddha's greatest disciples in dharma debate. In the exchange depicted in this painting, Pang asked Mazhu, "Who is the person not dependent upon the ten thousand things?" (that is, "What is the absolute self?"). Mazhu replied, "I'll tell you when you have drunk up the waters of the West River in a single gulp." Centuries later, this reply of Mazhu provided the trigger for Sen Rikyū's enlightenment during his Zen training under Kokei Sōchin (1532–97) at Daitokuji.



A Dialogue between Mazhu and Layman Pang



The Morning Sun and the Moon (This and facing page)



朝陽對月圖 仲安真康筆

(pages 34 and 35)

The Morning Sun and the Moon, by Chūan Shinkō. (Pair of scrolls.) Muromachi period. Important Art Object. In the collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

An old verse captures the flavor of a Zen life lived in the midst of nature: "Mend your robe in the morning sun, finish the sutras by moonlight." This theme is often depicted in *zenkiga*, such as the two presented here.

寒山拾得圖 梁楷筆

(page 37)

Hanshan and Shide, by Liangkai. Southern Song dynasty, 13th c. In the collection of the MOA Museum of Art, Atami.

Both Hanshan and Shide are mentioned in such Zen biographical collections as the *Jingde Chuandeng Lu* [Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp], but since nothing historically certain is known of them it may be safer to regard them as legendary figures. Said to have been active in the vicinity of Guoqing temple on Mount Tiantai, their many humorous escapades have endeared them to Zen people ever since. Deeply enlightened, they are even said to have been incarnations of the bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra. The two frequently appear in Zen paintings, with Hanshan often depicted with a scroll and Shide with a broom. The poems attributed to them, along with those of the Zen master Fenggan (ca. 7th c.), have been gathered into the collection known as the *Hanshan Shi* [Cold Mountain Poems], still widely read today.



Hanshan and Shide



The Sixth Patriarch Cutting Bamboo

The Sixth Patriarch Cutting Bamboo, by Liangkai. Southern Song dynasty, 13th c. Important Cultural Property. In the collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

Huineng (638–713), the Sixth Patriarch, worked as a lay laborer in the monastery during his period of training under the Fifth Patriarch Hong'ren (601–674). Incidents from this period have supplied generations of artists with subject matter for paintings. This picture, with its representation of Huineng chopping a length of bamboo, is but one example. The painting skillfully combines spontaneity of movement with the sense of intense focus involved in the Zen practice of "serenity in the midst of activity."

There is another interesting aspect to this work. Hong'ren was known as a planter of pine trees, while his student Huineng is depicted here as a cutter of bamboo. The tension in this relationship between planter and cutter suggests the difficulties inherent in the teacher-disciple relationship, a relationship that entails both transmitting and severing the dharma.

Xuyou and Chaofu, by Kanō Eitoku. (Pair of scrolls.) Momoyama period, 16th c. National Treasure. In the collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

The legendary Emperor Yao, seeking a man of wisdom to succeed him to the throne, turned to the sage Xuyou (also known as Wu Zhong). Xuyou rejected the offer and left for a life of seclusion on Mount Ji. When an imperial messenger arrived with a renewed invitation from the emperor, Xuyou washed the worldly talk from his ears with water from the River Ying. Downstream, Chaofu had just led his ox to drink from the river, but found the water Xuyou had used to rinse his ears too defiled even for his ox. The episode, illustrating the purity and seclusion of the two men's lives, has a strong flavor of Zen.



Xuyou and Chaofu (This and facing page)





Baizhang and the Wild Ducks

百丈野鴨子圖 春叢紹珠筆

Baizhang and the Wild Ducks, by Shunsō Jōshu (? – 1835). Edo period. Private collection.

Baizhang Huaihai (720–814) was walking one day with his teacher, Mazhu Daoyi (709–788), when they saw some wild ducks fly by. Mazhu thereupon questioned him, “What was that?” “Wild ducks,” replied Baizhang. “Where did they go?” “They flew away.” Mazhu immediately grabbed Baizhang’s nose and gave it a twist. When Baizhang cried out in pain, Mazhu stated, “And where could they possibly have flown off to?” (that is, “They’re still there!”). At this Baizhang was enlightened.

The story provides a concrete illustration of how the myriad circumstances of everyday life are, without exception, occasions for the practice of the *genjō kōan*.

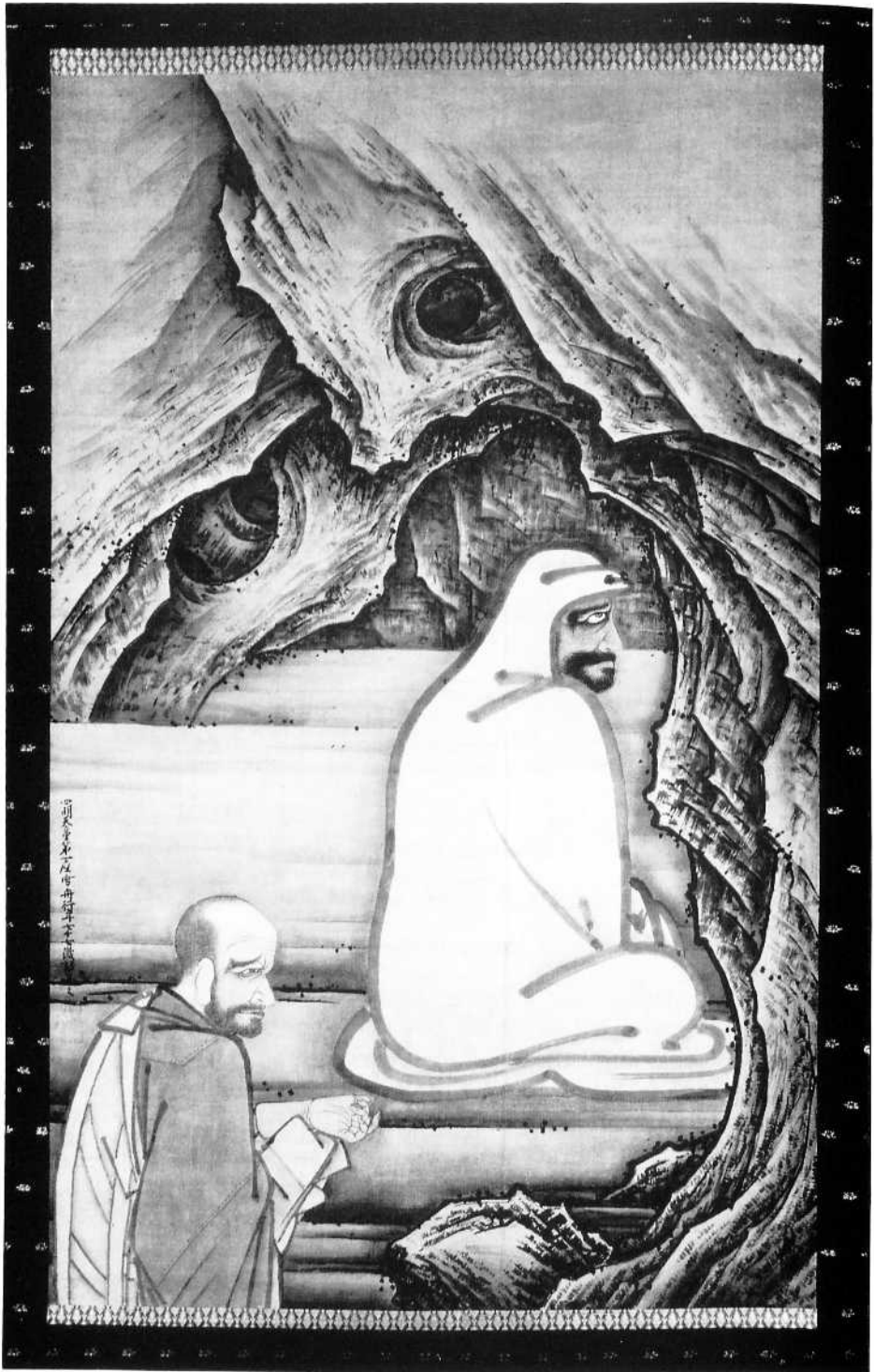


Huang Chuping

黄初平图 雪舟筆

Huang Chuping, by Sesshū (1420–1506). Muromachi period. In the collection of the Kyoto National Museum.

The figure in this painting is a Taoist from the Jin dynasty known as Huang Chuping. As he tended his sheep one day at the age of fifteen, he happened to meet a Taoist sage, and for the next forty years he practiced the Way on Mount Jinhua. It is said that when his elder brother Huang Chuqi finally discovered him, Chuqi was so impressed by his younger brother's mysterious powers that he took up the study of Taoism himself. The painting depicts Chuping transforming white pebbles from the roadside into tens of thousands of sheep.



Huikai Showing His Severed Arm to Bodhidharma



Daitō Kokushi under Gojō Bridge. (From Eisei-Bunko Museum)

慧可断臂图 雪舟筆

(page 44)

Huike Showing His Severed Arm to Bodhidharma, by Sesshū. Muromachi period; dated 1496. Important Cultural Property. In the collection of Sainenji temple, Aichi Prefecture.

This represents an incident said to have occurred while Bodhidharma (470?-573?), the First Zen Patriarch, sat facing the wall in meditation. Huike, who was to become the Second Patriarch, sought Bodhidharma's instruction but was not accepted as a disciple. As he stood waiting outside Bodhidharma's cave the snow piled up around his waist, but still he did not move. Finally Bodhidharma said to him, "Those who seek the dharma must not begrudge body or even life itself," whereupon Huike cut off his own left arm and held it out to him. With this demonstration of sincerity Bodhidharma agreed to teach him. This incident provides a vivid example not only of zeal for the dharma but of the strictness of the master-disciple relationship.

大燈国師五条橋下图 白隠慧鶴筆

(page 45)

Daitō Kokushi under Gojō Bridge, by Hakuin Ekaku (1689–1769). Edo period, 18th c. In the collection of the Eisei-Bunko Museum.

Daitō Kokushi (Shūhō Myōchō, 1282–1338) experienced a deep awakening at the age of twenty-six following years of severe practice, and received the confirmation of his teacher Nampō Jōmyō (1235–1309). He then spent the next twenty years of his life ripening his spiritual understanding, carrying out this post-enlightenment training, it is said, among the beggars under Gojō Bridge in Kyoto. He speaks of this period in his well-known verse, "When one does zazen, the people bustling to and fro on Shijō and Gojō bridges appear as trees in the depths of the mountains." The Zen master Hakuin Ekaku was greatly taken with the story of Daitō as a beggar-monk, and often used it both in his paintings and in his dharma lectures.



Juzhi Raises a Finger

俱胝豎一指圖 春叢紹珠筆

(page 47)

Juzhi Raises a Finger, by Shunsō Jōshu. Edo period. In the collection of Reitōin subtemple in Kenninji temple, Kyoto.

People act in various ways according to the circumstances they find themselves in, but, as in the saying “The myriad things return to the One,” there is a tendency for these responses to assume a single pattern. This was the case with Juzhi (ca. 9th c.), who, when questioned, would simply raise a finger. Juzhi inherited this “one-finger Zen” from his teacher Tianlong (ca. 9th c.) and used it throughout his life. Even then, he said, he had not entirely exhausted it. Juzhi’s one-finger Zen is rich in meaning, and is not easily imitated.

定上座接雪巖欽圖 雪潭紹璞筆

(page 49)

Senior Monk Ding Meets Xuefeng, Yantou, and Qinshan, by Settan Shōbaku (1796–1868). Late Edo period. In the collection of Rokuōin temple, Kyoto.

This painting depicts an encounter between Ding (n.d.), a senior monk under Linji, and the three monks Xuefeng Yicun (822–908), Yantou Quanhua (828–887), and Qinshan Wensui (n.d.). Xuefeng, Yantou, and Qinshan enjoyed traveling together, and were such good friends that the trio came to be known as Xue-Yan-Qin, from the first three characters of their respective names. Hearing of Linji’s teachings, they headed toward his temple in the province of Zhen. On the road they met Ding, who informed them that the master had already passed away. Lamenting their ill fortune, the three begged to hear something of Linji’s teaching, and Ding thereupon spoke to them of the master’s “true man of no rank.” The three listened and gave their responses, but Ding was dissatisfied with Qinshan’s level of understanding; the painting shows him grabbing the fellow for a severe rebuke.



Senior Monk Ding Meets Xuefeng, Yantou, and Qinshan



Three Sages Drinking Vinegar. (From Umezawa Memorial Museum)



Three Sages Laughing in Tiger Ravine. (Courtesy of Tochigi Prefectural Museum)

三酸圖 靈彩筆 野雲贊

(page 50)

Three Sages Drinking Vinegar, by Reisai. Inscription by Noun (note: the reading "Noun" is uncertain). Muromachi period. Important Art Object. In the collection of the Umezawa Memorial Museum.

One day the Confucian Su Dongpo (1036–1101) and the Taoist Huang Tingjian (1045–1105) visited the Zen master Foyin Liaoyuan (1032–98). Foyin, pleased by the occasion, offered his visitors some plum-blossom vinegar. The painting shows the three of them puckering their lips from the sour brew, symbolizing the fundamental unity of their three respective traditions.

虎溪三笑圖 啓孫筆

(page 51)

Three Sages Laughing in Tiger Ravine, by Keison. Muromachi period. In the collection of the Tochigi Prefectural Museum.

Huiyuan (336–416), one of the most important of the early Chinese Buddhist masters, spent the final thirty-five years of his life on Mount Lu. A stream on the mountain flowed down past his monastery and poured into a valley known as Tiger Ravine. Huiyuan remained quite active during his years of seclusion, maintaining a scrupulous discipline, founding and leading the Pure Land White Lotus Society, and receiving many converts from among the upper classes, but never would he venture farther from his monastery than Tiger Ravine.

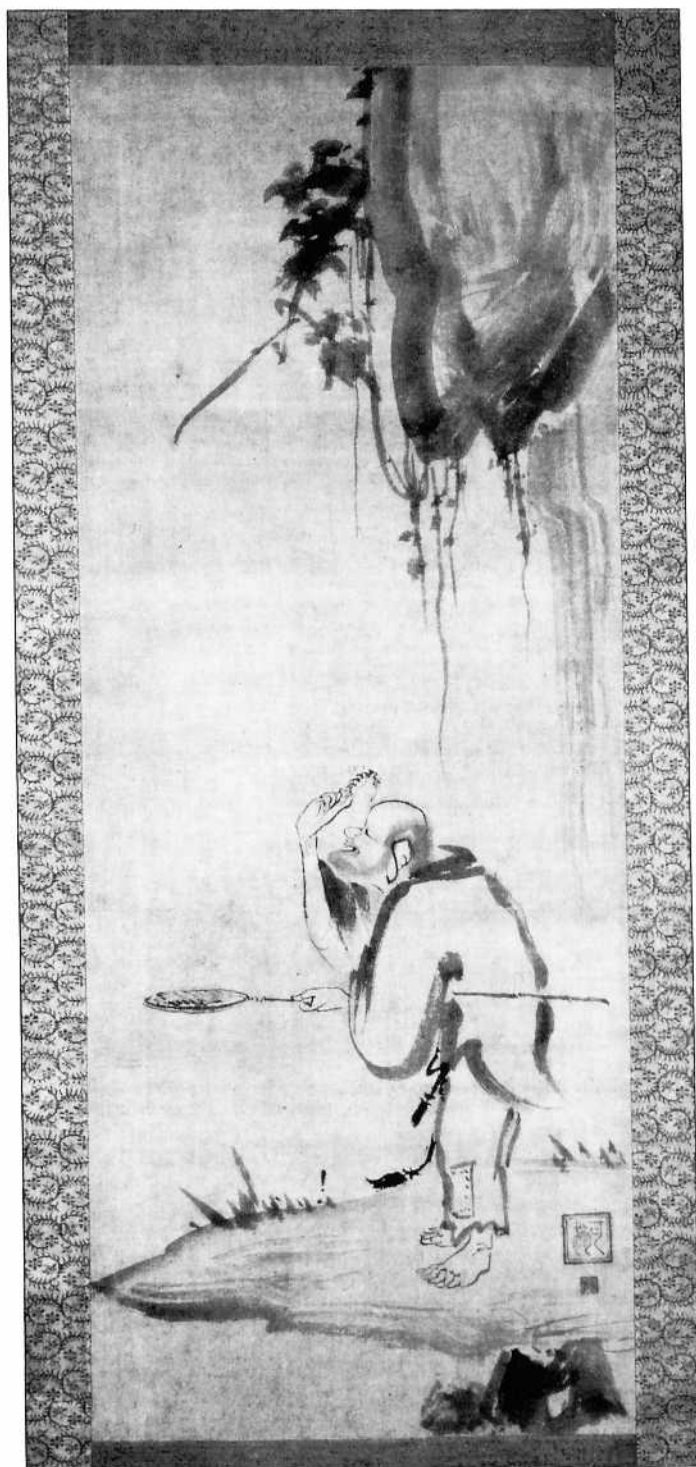
One day the Confucian Tao Yuanming (365–427) and the Taoist Lu Xiu-jing called upon Huiyuan, and the three enjoyed an animated discussion of the Way. As Huiyuan, still talking, saw his visitors off, he forgot his vow and passed beyond the ravine. The painting shows the three of them enjoying a hearty laugh as they realize what has happened.

蜆子和尚圖 可翁筆

(page 53)

The Priest Xianzi Catching Shrimp, by Kaō. Kamakura period, 14th c. Important Cultural Property. In the collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

Zenkiga often portray free-spirited figures outside the pale of convention. Xianzi (n.d.), "the clam priest," is one such figure. After receiving dharma transmission from Dongshan Liangjia (807–869), Xianzi lived among the common folk by the riverside. Neither wearing robes nor keeping the precepts, he lived on the shrimp and shellfish he caught in the river. He was known, nevertheless, as a man of no mean ability.



The Priest Xianzi Catching Shrimp



The Four Sleepers

四睡图 秀盛筆

The Four Sleepers, by Shūsei. Muromachi period, 15th c. In the collection of Shōin'an subtemple in Nanzenji temple, Kyoto.

The theme of "the four sleepers," in which Hanshan, Shide, Fenggan, and a tiger are all portrayed together fast asleep, is a popular one among Chinese and Japanese Zen painters. A variation on the theme, known as "two sleeping and two awake," has Fenggan and the tiger asleep while Hanshan and Shide look on. In either case the scene is one that skillfully depicts these Zen eccentrics in a pose of tranquility.

臨濟栽松图 仙厓筆

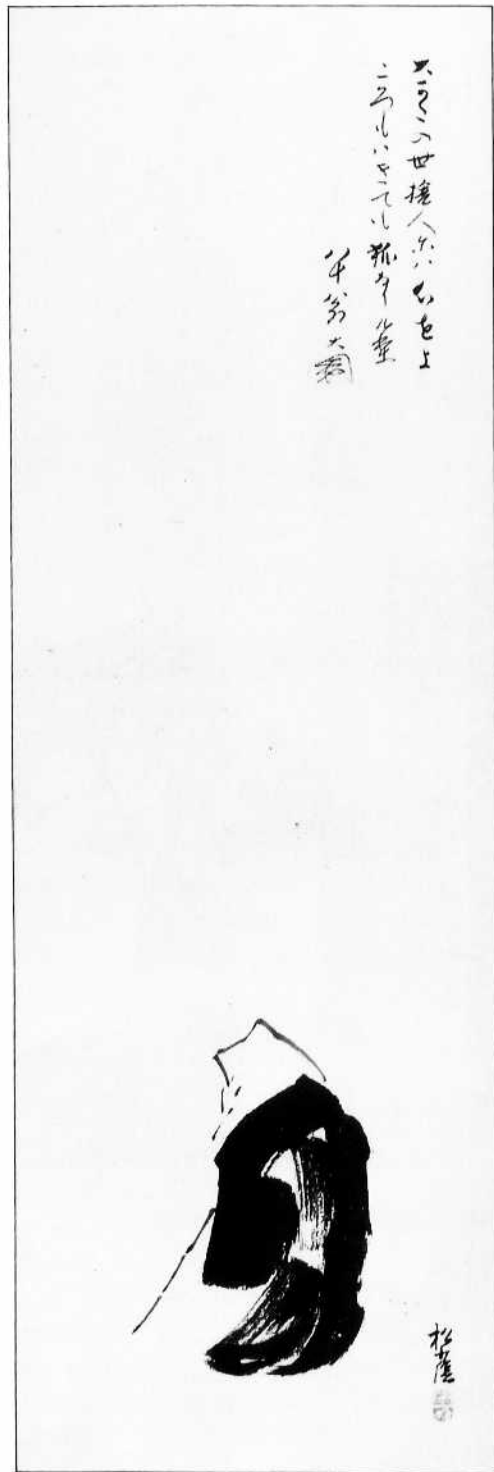
(page 55)

Linji Planting Pine Trees, by Sengai (1751–1837). Edo period. In the collection of Genjūan temple, Fukuoka.

This painting represents a well-known incident from the life of Linji Yixuan (founder of the Rinzai Zen sect; d. 866). One day, when he was still a monk in the monastery of Huangbo (d. 850), he was planting some pines. When Huangbo asked him why, he replied, "First, to create a good environment for the monastery. Second, to mark the way for later generations." These are words that clearly reveal the fountainhead of Rinzai Zen.



Linji Planting Pine Trees



只今この世境へかゝるも
二もいふまゝに報ゆる
年分大春

松尾
印

Hakuzōsu

Hakuzōsu, by Shōin. Inscription by Daikō Sōgen (1772–1860). Edo period. In the collection of Nanzenji Monastery.

There once was a man named Yasaku who made his living by hunting foxes. An old fox decided to transform itself into Yasaku's uncle Hakuzōsu, and, in that form, try to dissuade the hunter from taking life. The fox ended up killing Hakuzōsu and completely assuming his identity. From that time foxes that take on the identity of a priest have been known as "Hakuzōsu."

The same name written with one slightly different character refers to a fox that used to live at Shōkokuji temple. It is said that every evening this fox would transform itself into Gempaku Sōtan and visit tea people for the sweets they would serve. For this reason it was also called the "Sōtan fox." ☽

Translated by Thomas Kirchner

Temae — Tea Procedure

Furo Nagaita Sō Kazari, Usucha



One of the most popular manners of displaying tea utensils on the *dōgu tatami* (utensil mat) when the room is four-and-a-half mats or larger in size is to place them on a *nagaita*, a long wooden board usually finished in glossy black lacquer (*shinnuri*).^{*} The use of such a board adds an atmosphere of elegance and formality to the tearoom, while maintaining a sense of simplicity.

The *nagaita* belongs to the “*daisu*” category of portable shelves, in that it is patterned after the bottom board of the traditional, formal *daisu*. Two sizes of *nagaita* have been developed: one, approximately 84.8 x 36.4 x 1.8 cm in dimension, for *furo* use; the other, approximately 72.7 x 30.3 x 1.2 cm, for *ro* use.

The standard *nagaita* temae are nearly identical with those of the *daisu*, and involve the *sō kazari*, or “full display,” of utensils: a *mizusashi*, *shakutate* with *kazari* (i.e., *sashitōshi* type) *hishaku* and *kazari hibashi*, *kensui* with *futaoki*, and, in the *furo* season, the *furo-kama*. Depending upon the nature of the tea presentation and style of *nagaita*, a set of matching *mizusashi*, *shakutate*, *kensui*, and *futaoki* is often used. Such

^{*} As with *daisu*, the use of *nagaita* is not appropriate in rooms of less than four-and-a-half mats, or where the tea-preparation space is of less than four-and-a-half mats.

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.

sets are referred to as *kaigu*. Besides the *sō kazari* format for displaying the utensils on the *nagaita*, there is also the simpler *futatsu-oki*, or “two-item placement” (*mizusashi* and *furo-kama*), for use in the *furo* season, and the *hitotsu-oki*, or “one-item placement” (*mizusashi* only), for use in the *ro* season. The *temae* with these simpler utensil displays are basically no different from plain *hiradema*.

To prepare for the *nagaita sō kazari usucha temae* in the *furo* season, place the larger, *furo*-size *nagaita* sixteen lines of *tatami* weave from the imaginary front line of the half-mat constituting the *dōgu tatami*. If the *nagaita* has visible woodgrain, place the end corresponding to the base of the tree to the side away from the guests. Place the *furo-kama* on the left half of the *nagaita*, and leave the *kama* lid slightly ajar. Place the *mizusashi* at the center of the right half, and the *shakutate* toward the rear between the *furo-kama* and *mizusashi*, with the *hishaku* leaning to the front and the *hibashi* leaning to the back. Then place the *kensui*, with *futaoki* in it, in front of the *shakutate*. The other utensils (*chawan* with *chakin*, *chasen*, and *chashaku*; *natsume*; *mizutsugi*) are prepared just as for a standard *usucha hiradema*.



(1)

Sit at *sadōguchi* with *chawan* and *natsume* placed to side away from guests, and bow together with guests (1).



(2)

Simultaneously hold *natsume* with right hand (hereafter, R) and *chawan* with left hand (hereafter, L), go and sit squarely in front of *nagaita*, and simultaneously place *natsume* and *chawan* down in front of the *mizusashi* (2).



(3)

With both hands, take kensui from nagaita, and set it to your left with L (3).



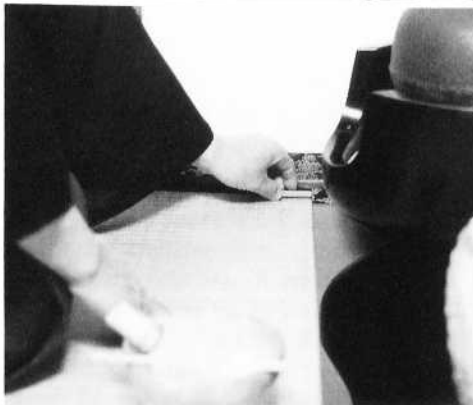
(4)

Place fingertips of both hands on tatami. With L fingertips remaining in this position, lift hibashi out from back of shakutate with R (4) and, keeping them vertical, pass them around right-hand side of shakutate and then left-hand side of space where kensui formerly stood, and bring them out to the front of the nagaita.



(5)

Turn tips of hibashi to the left, bringing hibashi parallel to your knees. Hold hibashi underhand toward the center with L, slide R to hold the finials, and swivel hibashi so the tips point away from your body (5).



(6)

With R, regrasp hibashi underhand near center, to far side of L. Slide L toward body to hold hibashi finials overhand, thumb on right-hand side and fingers around left. Place fingertips of R on tatami, and lay hibashi to left of nagaita with L, placing them as far in as hand will comfortably allow (6).



(7)

Remove futaoki from kensui with R, rest it on L palm, regrasp it with R, and place it in front of shakutate on nagaita (7). As usual, move kensui slightly forward with L, straighten your clothing, then place hands on lap and pause for concentration.



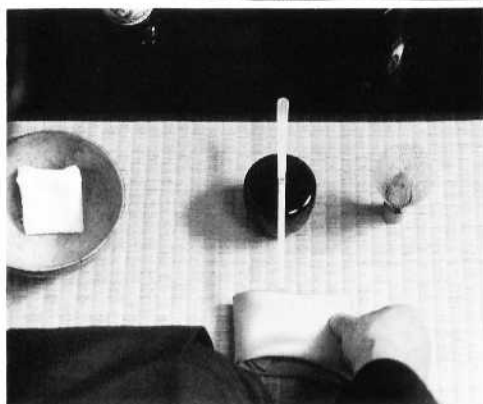
(8)

Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, regrasp it at side with R, and place it in front of knees, leaving space for the natsume. Pick up natsume from top with R, and place it between chawan and knees. In standard manner, purify natsume with fukusa (8), then place it slightly left of center in front of mizusashi.



(9)

Refold fukusa, purify chashaku as usual, and place chashaku on natsume. Take chasen from chawan and stand it to right of natsume. Move chawan closer to knees (9).



(10)

As governed by the usual rules, either return fukusa to obi if it is not to be used to handle the kama lid, or temporarily place it near right knee (10).



(11)

Place fingertips on tatami as before, and with R, lift hishaku out of shakutate from right-hand side (11). Passing hishaku handle around right-hand side of futaoki, bring hishaku out to front of nagaita.



(12)

Hold hishaku handle above R with L, then hold the hishaku briefly in "mirror pose." If fukusa was placed near right knee in step 10, now pick it up with R and use it to remove kama lid (12) and rest the lid on the futaoki; then place fukusa in back of kensui with R. Otherwise, remove kama lid and rest it on futaoki with R bare fingers.



(13)

Take chakin from chawan with R, and set it on kama lid (13).



(14)

Hold hishaku for use, pour hot water into chawan, and rest hishaku on kama (*oki-bishaku*). In standard manner, conduct *chasen-tōshi* (14), return chasen to its place on tatami, discard chawan water into kensui, and wipe chawan with chakin.



(15)

Return chawan to tatami, and return chashaku to kama lid. Take chashaku from natsume with R, and, placing L fingertips on tatami, invite the guest to partake of the sweets (15).



(16)

Take natsume with L, remove lid with R, and place lid before right knee. Scoop appropriate amount of tea into chawan (16). Replace lid onto natsume, and return natsume and chashaku to their former positions.



(17)

Remove mizusashi lid with R, hold it at left-hand side with L and bring it vertical, regrasp it above L with R (17), and, with R, lean it against left-hand side of mizusashi.



(18)

Take hishaku, scoop hot water, and pour appropriate amount into chawan. Return remaining hot water to kama, and rest hishaku on kama (*kiri-bishaku*). In standard manner, take chasen and make the tea (18), then return chasen to its position on tatami.



(19)

Pick up chawan, turn it so the front faces the guest, and place it out on adjacent tatami (19). When the guest tells you he or she will partake of the tea, bow in acknowledgement.



(20)

If fukusa was placed behind kensui in step 12, when main guest takes first sip of tea, take fukusa with R and return it to obi (20).



(21)

When chawan is returned, take it with R, rest it briefly on L palm, and place it in front of knees with R. As usual, pour hot water into it, return hishaku to kama (*okibishaku*), and discard chawan water into kensui (21).



(22)

If more tea is to be prepared, wipe chawan with chakin and repeat from step 15. Otherwise, if at this point the main guest asks you to finish the temae, place R fingertips on tatami and bow in acknowledgement (22); then place chawan in front of knees with R.



(23)

Bow, and tell the guest you will finish the temae (23).



(24)

Take hishaku from kama, rehold it for use, scoop cold water (24), and pour it into chawan. Rest hishaku on kama (*hiki-bishaku*).



(25)

Conduct *chasen-tōshi* as usual for finishing temae (25), return chasen to its place, and discard chawan water into kensui. Place chakin in chawan, place chawan in front of knees, and place chasen in chawan.



(26)

Take chashaku with R. With L, move kensui back and then take fukusa from obi. Fold fukusa for wiping chashaku, and, in standard manner, wipe chashaku (26), set it on chawan, dust fukusa off over kensui, and return fukusa to obi.



(27)

Move natsume to front right of mizusashi. Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, rehold it at right front with R, and set it to left of natsume (27). [This arrangement is referred to as *honjima*e, or "proper closing."]]



(28)

Take hishaku from kama, rehold it for use, pour ladleful of cold water into kama (28), and do *yugaeshi*.



(29)

Transfer hishaku to L, hold it upright, and place kama lid ajar on kama with bare fingers of R (29).



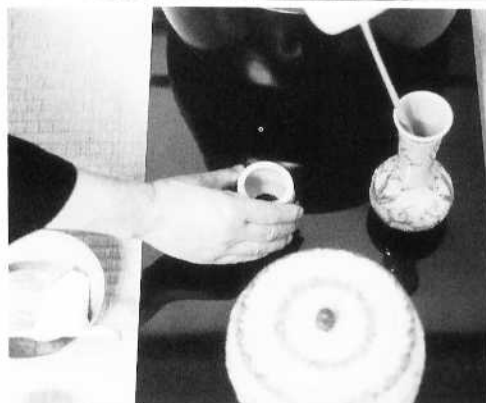
(30)

Keeping hishaku upright, grasp handle near the center with R and, placing L fingertips on tatami, pass hishaku around right-hand side of futaoeki and return it to the shakutate (30).



(31)

Take mizusashi lid with R, and, in reverse of the manner it was removed, replace it on the mizusashi (31). At this point, the main guest asks to inspect the natsume and chashaku. Bow in acknowledgement.



(32)

Pick up futaoki with R, rest it on L palm, regrasp it with R, and set it slightly further back on the nagaita (32).



(33)

Place R fingertips on tatami, and pick up hibashi with L. Grasp them underhand near center with R, regrasp them underhand to far side of R with L, slide R down to finials, swivel finials out to the right, and slide R up underside of the handles, to hold hibashi like a pencil (33).



(34)

Place L fingertips on tatami while bringing hibashi vertical with R, and return hibashi to shakutate (34) as when they were taken out.



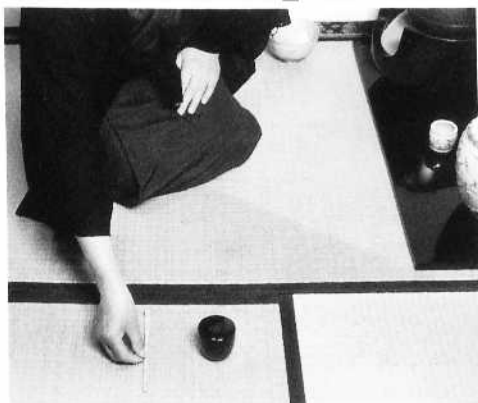
(35)

Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, re-grasp it with R, and set it to the far left. Then pick up natsume with R, rest it on L palm (35), and shift sitting position to *kyakutsuki* (direction diagonally facing the guests).



(36)

Place natsume in front of knees with R, then take fukusa from obi and fold it for wiping natsume. Purify natsume in standard manner (36), set fukusa in front of knees, turn natsume to face guest, and place it out on adjacent tatami. Return fukusa to obi.



(37)

Shift sitting position to squarely face *naga-ita*, take chashaku from chawan with R, transfer it to L, again shift sitting position to *kyakutsuki*, and, in standard manner, place chashaku to right of natsume so handle faces the guests (37).



(38)

Shift sitting position to *kattetsuki* (direction diagonally facing away from guests), pick up *kensui* with L (38), and return *kensui* to *mizuya*.



(39)

Return to temaeza, sit squarely before nagaita, pick up chawan (39), and return it to mizuya.



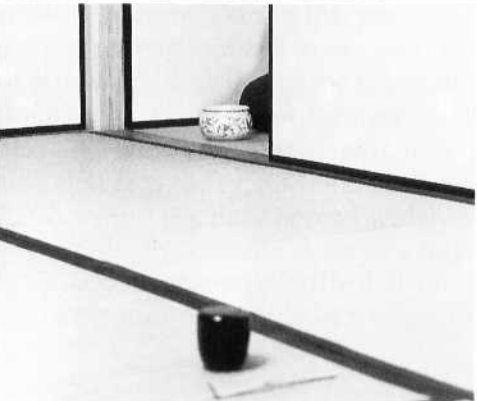
(40)

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 is parallel with front edge of the nagaita (40).



(41)

Remove mizusashi lid with R, grasp it at side with L, and lean it against left-hand side of mizusashi. Add water to mizusashi (41), return mizutsugi to former position on tatami, close mizusashi lid in reverse manner in which it was opened, and return mizutsugi to mizuya.



(42)

While the guests inspect the natsume and chashaku, cleanse and wipe kensui. When the inspected items have been returned, sit outside sadōguchi with kensui before knees (42), check that all is settled in the tearoom, then hold kensui with L and go sit squarely before nagaita.



(43)

Place kensui before knees with both hands. Pick up futaoki with R, rest it on L palm, rehold it with R, and place it in kensui. Then pick up kensui with both hands, and return it to original position on nagaita (43).




(44)

Shift sitting position to directly face inspected items, and answer the main guest's inquiries about them. Pick up natsume with R, rest it on L palm, and hold chashaku with R (44).



(45)

Exit tearoom, turn and sit facing sadōguchi, and place chashaku and natsume to side away from guests. Bow together with guests, ending the temae (45). Close sadōguchi door. 

Book Reviews

Rennyō: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism, with a translation of his letters. By Minor L. Rogers and Ann T. Rogers. Nanzan Studies in Asian Religions, no. 3. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991. xxi + 434 pp., including bibliography and index. US\$75.00, cloth; US\$25.00, paper.

Rennyō (1415–99), a religious figure not widely known even in Japan, is the subject of this full-length study written by two American scholars and published in the United States. It is probably the first such work in a Western language.

The authors are Minor L. Rogers, formerly Professor of Religion at Washington and Lee University in Virginia, and Ann T. Rogers, who teaches Japanese at the same university. Unfortunately, Minor Rogers died in August, 1991, shortly before publication of this book. He first encountered Rennyō during his studies of Japanese culture and history at Harvard University, where he received his doctorate in 1972. Thereafter, he devoted twenty years to research on Rennyō, working jointly with Mrs. Rogers, and the fruits of their labor are crystallized in this volume.

Rennyō was the eighth *hossu* (abbot) of the Jōdo Shinshū or Shin Buddhist path, one of the largest Buddhist schools in Japan, and a descendant of Shinran (1173–1263), the founder of the tradition. Shinran has been highly regarded as a brilliant standard-bearer of the new Buddhism in the Kamakura period. After his death, the movement he founded first passed through a long period of decline, then developed into a major religious order through the energetic activity of Rennyō in the fifteenth century. This was the turbulent era of the Ōnin war, when the values and life-style of the Japanese underwent drastic changes. During this period of storm and stress, Rennyō embarked on daring propagational activity and succeeded in building a large organization of followers, thus laying the foundations for the prominent Honganji order of later times. Were it not for Rennyō, the Honganji — split after Rennyō into east and west branches — would not exist as the extensive religious institution that it is today, and Shinran's teaching of liberation as birth in the Pure Land would not have spread widely among ordinary people.

Ironically, despite Rennyō's importance, research on him in Japan has been scant compared with that on Shinran. Moreover, assessments of his character and his stature as a religious thinker have been low, again, particu-

larly in comparison with Shinran. Accordingly, there has been almost no work seeking to locate Rennyo broadly within the context of Japanese culture. In short, research on him has not reached the level, either in volume or in quality, of that devoted to Shinran.

Considered against this background, the book under review must be seen as an extremely valuable attempt to go beyond the limits of research conducted in the past. It was probably made possible by the authors' pursuit of their study at Harvard and their scholarly exchanges with specialists during periods of research at Ryūkoku University in Kyoto.

Rennyo consists of three parts. Part one is devoted to Rennyo's biography and thought. It sketches his personality and provides an overall view of his activities in society, with broad reference to doctrinal study conducted from the perspective of the Honganji tradition, to contemporary academic research in the fields of social and intellectual history, and to the methodology of comparative religion. The authors have read widely in previous research, weighed the opposing opinions in the scholarly debates over various issues, and produced a balanced, reasonable picture. They provide a careful and well arranged treatment of Rennyo's biography.

The second part consists of a translation, largely by Mrs. Rogers, of Rennyo's Letters (known as *Ofumi* or *Gobunshō*). The *Ofumi* are the collected letters that Rennyo addressed to followers in order to propagate the teaching. In them, he explains in easily comprehensible language the Pure Land path expounded by Shinran and seeks to correct the mistaken views concerning the teaching that arose in various locales. They comprise the most important documents for determining Rennyo's thought and religious beliefs.

As stated before, the Honganji expanded rapidly in Rennyo's generation. As it grew into a large institution, it sought to produce a basic text that would function to guide the faith and lives of followers, a kind of "Honganji Bible." In the generation of Rennyo's grandson, Ennyo, the Honganji adopted the doctrinal policy of selecting, from among Rennyo's numerous letters, eighty representative pieces, editing them, and employing them as a basic text of the *ofumi*. Since this edition was arranged in five fascicles, it came to be known as the "Five-Fascicle Letters" (*Gojō ofumi*), or as the "Selected Letters" (*Jōnai ofumi*). The letters in the first four fascicles are arranged according to date, and undated letters are gathered in the last fascicle. There are, however, a considerable number of letters that were not included in this collection. Moreover, these excluded letters have not been rendered in English by Minor and Ann Rogers in *Rennyo*. In other words, they have translated only the letters recognized by the Honganji and included in the official edition. The problem does not end here. Although the excluded letters (*jōgai ofumi*) are source materials of major importance as historical documents, because they were not translated, they were not brought within the scope of research in the book. In short, the authors have adopted a method of delineating Rennyo's character and activity solely on the basis of materials publicly recognized by the Honganji institution.

To consider this problem further, we must note that, on a number of issues, there are differences between Rennyo's opinions found in letters not included in the authorized edition and those in the officially adopted letters. These include conspicuous discrepancies in thinking concerning the view of human life and matters of salvation and ritual. Moreover, while it is difficult to determine whether these discrepancies in Rennyo's thought should be considered simple contradictions or whether they should be attributed to the breadth and complexity of his character, these issues are pivotal for the fundamental evaluation of him and his place in history. One is forced, then, to wonder why the primary source materials for grappling with these matters — the *jōgai ofumi* or excluded letters — have not been taken up and treated by the authors.

An edition of the basic materials regarding Rennyo's letters, *Rennyo Shōnin Ibun* edited by Inaba Masamaru, was published as early as 1937. In this volume, the framework of authorized (*jōnai*) and excluded (*jōgai*) has been removed, and all extant letters are included in order of date. This editorial practice allows one to view Rennyo's spiritual maturation and his activities in historical perspective. This edition must be said to represent an important page in the history of Rennyo research with regard to source documents. Minor and Ann Rogers, however, while listing Inaba's volume in their bibliography, for some reason have not given much weight to his achievement. Instead of relying on Inaba's critically reorganized text, they have focused wholly on the official Honganji edition. I find in this decision a determinative bias that colors their research.

This policy in research is related to the exclusion from consideration of another important resource for Rennyo studies, the *Yuigon Shijuikkajō* (Forty-one article last testament). This document, which Rennyo left for his children when nearing death, expresses vividly and concretely his thinking concerning human life and society. It is important to note that there are a number of correspondences between the thought and view of life expressed in this document and those in the letters excluded from the official version of the *ofumi*. As documents that reflect another, important side of Rennyo as a person, they are indispensable primary materials for research, but issues related to them are avoided in this volume.

Lastly, the third part of *Rennyo* consists of four chapters devoted to Rennyo's legacy to later periods. These chapters are: "Scripture: *The Letters*"; "Gratitude: Shinshū Piety"; "Nishi Honganji: Guardian of the State"; and "The Legacy Today." As mentioned before, the Honganji as a religious institution underwent extraordinary development during Rennyo's generation, and his legacy has been a guiding factor in the existence of the order down to the present. In these chapters, the authors attempt a critical view of that legacy, including its negative aspects. Thus this section, treating the characteristics of the Honganji's historical transition from pre-modern to modern times, focuses on the theme of differences and similarities in thought and faith between the founder, Shinran, and the second founder, Rennyo. In other words, the dis-

discussion is framed in terms of a contrast between Shinran as the founding religious thinker and Rennyo as the builder of a powerful religious institution.

Through considering Rennyo's legacy, these chapters focus on the problems of his place in history and the assessment of him as a religious figure. The authors refer to the methods of the historian of religion, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, who states, concerning the Qur'an as scripture, that it "is significant not primarily because of what historically went into it but because of what historically has come out of it" (p.8, fn. 9). This is a reasonable methodology. By undertaking an investigation along these lines, it is possible to illuminate the differences in historical phase between Shinran (thirteenth century) and Rennyo (fifteenth century) and to compare the characteristics of their faith.

One important problem that the authors discuss in this way is faith in Amida Buddha. This is the issue of whether Shinran's concept of *shinjin* (trusting mind) and Rennyo's *anjin* (settled mind) are the same or different. Both *shinjin* and *anjin* refer to a person's complete entrusting of himself or herself to the salvific power of Amida Buddha (Other Power), but there appear to be subtle differences, in verbal expression and in content, between them. Relying on Rennyo's letters as their basic documents, the authors undertake a detailed comparison between the expressions in which these terms are used by Shinran and Rennyo. Their conclusion, however, is that both of these terms are fundamentally identical in content.

But is that actually the case? It is perhaps a reasonable conclusion if, like the authors, one takes up only the official edition of the letters. Is it possible to assert this, however, if one also takes into consideration the worldview expressed in the excluded letters? Further, the problem cannot be restricted to issues surrounding *shinjin* and *anjin*, for it is possible to see, even within the scope of the official edition, differences between Rennyo's thinking about salvation in the first half of his life and that during the time of his experience at Yoshizaki, when Honganji adherents became embroiled in political armed conflict, and afterwards. For example, his catechism on *shinjin* (or *anjin*) during the first half of his life states, "When the one thought-moment of entrusting arises, the Tathagata saves you." What is central here is the earnestness of taking refuge, expressed as entrusting, and the conviction that thereafter salvation will come. The one thought-moment of taking refuge (*shinjin*) occurs first, and afterwards salvation is assured. It may be said that there remains a tension in movement from refuge to salvation.

By contrast, however, from the time of his Yoshizaki experience on, Rennyo frequently used the phrase, "Entrust yourself to Amida with the thought, 'Please save me!' (*tasuke tamae to tanomu*)."

Here, there appears on the surface a plea for aid that is close to a cry of distress. This indicates to me a phase or aspect of *shinjin* that differs qualitatively from the piety of taking refuge expressed, "When the one thought-moment of *shinjin* arises...." Behind this shift in the interpretation of *shinjin* lie, of course, the turbulent changes in the political situation at Yoshizaki and the responses to them of the Honganji order, whose very existence was at stake. The pressure from the side of political au-

thority was understood by applying the Buddhist term, "King's law"— used in contrast to the "Buddha's law"— and Rennyō was forced to make compromises with it, undergoing changes in attitude with great pains. The development in his thinking about *shinjin* is also connected with the problem of how it is to be considered in relation to the King's law. These issues, however, are not pursued by the authors.

Nevertheless, the authors do not simply point out the similarities between Shinran and Rennyō concerning this matter of *shinjin* or *anjin*. Rather, they also employ a framework in which Shinran and Rennyō stand in opposition. We see this, for example, in the assertion that Shinran's faith is individual-centered in character, while Rennyō's is order- or institution-centered. Differences are also seen in the relations of the two men with the state and political power, and in their courses of action in response to the pressures of authority. This perspective no doubt reflects the influence of the work of Robert Bellah, under whom Minor Rogers studied at Harvard.

Moreover, this method of understanding Shinran and Rennyō exhibited by Bellah and Rogers corresponds, in varying degrees, to the views of such political and intellectual historians in Japan as Ienaga Saburō, Kasahara Kazuo, Futaba Kenkō, and Shigaraki Takamaro, who have applied a modern historiographical perspective to post-World War II Shinran studies. These scholars share a common formulation of issues based on a dualistic, comparative framework that places in polar opposition the figure of Shinran, as one who continued to bear the torch of pure faith and who upheld the idea of the centrality of *shinjin*, resisting the power of the state and secular values, and the figure of Rennyō, as one who — for the sake of the maintenance and growth of the order — did not refuse to compromise with authority and who, in addition to the principle of the centrality of *shinjin*, at times employed the trump card of the centrality of the King's law. This may be called an opposition between Shinran's individualism and Rennyō's collectivity. This scheme of contrast between Shinran, who directly perceived the salvific power of Amida, and Rennyō, who encompassed that salvific power in the secular value of gratitude (*on*), underlies the scholarly discussion.

When one assumes such a perspective, the fortunes of the Honganji order from Rennyō on inevitably come to be seen as an arena of the conflicting values of the mundane (*zokutai*) and the supramundane (*shintai*). As a result, one is led to the view that the Honganji order exhibits a history of adhesion to the authority of the state down to the present. In this way, the topic of discussion within the order known as the "two truths — supramundane and mundane" (*shin-zoku nitai*) surfaces. If one pursues this skewed approach, then Rennyō becomes the figure who designed the ideological starting point for the use of the "two truths," while Shinran remains the eternal origin who transcends the entire discussion concerning them. This is the point of view found in *Rennyō*.

According to this view, Rennyō is no more than a secularized copy of Shinran — a convenient figure to be borrowed in order to highlight the contours of Shinran. In this, Minor and Ann Rogers, following Ienaga, Futaba,

and Shigaraki, basically consider Rennyō an epigone of Shinran. This bias is related to their approach in treating only the Honganji-approved collection of Rennyō's letters as their central source documents. Thus, their volume represents a reorganization of the modern historiographical perspective of Futaba and Shigaraki. In addition, one must be concerned that the references in the book are almost wholly to works in the lineage of the Nishi (west-branch) Honganji. This tendency is perhaps also seen in the neglect to give adequate consideration, in analyzing Rennyō's letters, to the edition of Inaba Masamaru, who belonged to the Higashi (east-branch) Honganji. In part three, the authors take up the Honganji as guardian of the state, but here also, they restrict their discussion to the example of the Nishi Honganji, giving their treatment an inherent imbalance.

I have been perhaps severe in my criticism of this book. There is, however, no question in my mind that it is an important work that will serve as an introduction to Rennyō for the English-reading West. It is precisely because it will exert a widespread influence on thinking about Rennyō that I have raised basic issues concerning its methods.

In its concluding chapter, the book takes up Rennyō's "legacy today." The authors refer to an episode in the novel *Black Rain* by Ibuse Masuji, which they use to consider the contemporary meaning of Rennyō's letters. *Black Rain* relates in straightforward language the terrible suffering endured by the people of Hiroshima after the atomic bombing in 1945. In it, there is a scene in which a middle-aged factory worker conducts simple funeral services for people around him who die one after another. He becomes a "temporary priest" and chants the *Amida Sūtra*, which he has learned, and also the passage "On White Bones" from Rennyō's letters. This eloquent, brief letter has long been read as part of Shin funeral services. In the process of performing such funerals as a layman, the factory worker is gradually drawn into the world of Rennyō's vision. The somber, elegiac letter moves him deeply, setting forth with immediacy the sadness of human life, and its perception of impermanence pierces him to the quick.

The authors quote this impressive passage and assert that the religious world given birth to by Rennyō subtly touches the consciousness of impermanence that flows in the depths of Japanese culture. They point out that this is an important aspect of Rennyō's legacy for the present. I think that a new awareness of Rennyō the person will be born from this kind of perception. It is time now to advance, by passing from the narrow and rigid outlook of modern historiography that has posed the choice of either Shinran or Rennyō, to a broader view of the phenomenon of Rennyō.

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Translated by Dennis Hirota

Taiga's True Views: The Language of Landscape Painting in Eighteenth-Century Japan. By Melinda Takeuchi. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992. xv + 211pp. US\$45.00, hardcover.

This eloquent exposition of the landscape painting of Ike [no] Taiga (1723–76) is bound to become a major source for scholars in the field of Japanese art history and an inspiration to those seeking a new approach to Japanese art. In this impressive study, Takeuchi knits together diverse materials to create a convincing interpretation of the artistic concerns of Taiga, especially those that motivated him to paint topographical landscape views. In the process, she establishes Taiga's singular importance.

Along with a handful of contemporaries, Taiga reshaped the face of Japanese painting, drawing extensively upon the traditions of Japanese and Chinese art, but creating a new synthesis which addressed the concerns of a changing society. Taiga broke with the traditions of eighteenth-century art and played a seminal role in the development of *Nanga* ("Southern-school painting," also known as *Bunjinga* ["Scholar-gentleman's painting"]; Japanese literati painting). As Takeuchi demonstrates, Taiga's unique synthesis is most readily perceived in his *shinkeizu* ("true-view pictures"), topographical renderings of actual sites. *Shinkeizu* constitute only about one tenth of the landscape scenes that Taiga painted, but they are the core of his art. (Takeuchi includes a list of forty true-view paintings by Taiga at the end of her text; pp. 170–71.) Her analysis reveals that Taiga's *shinkeizu* reflect the artist's intention to observe nature carefully, tempering what he saw with what he knew, while simultaneously retaining his outlook as a free spirit. She brings to her discussion a great deal of recent scholarship, and she argues cogently that Taiga's *shinkeizu* play a critical role in the history of Japanese art.

Taiga began his professional career at the age of fourteen, when he opened a fan shop in Kyoto. In these early years, he made his living inscribing lanterns, painting fans, designing fabrics, and crafting functional objects, as did other *machi-eshi* ("town painters") of the old capital. He eventually set himself apart from other *machi-eshi*, broadening his knowledge by studying Chinese literature and art, and traveling around Japan to study the natural environment of his native land. His commitment to naturalism was rooted in Chinese philosophy, particularly the Confucian advocacy of rational inquiry and empirical study, which was so important to the scholarly community of eighteenth-century Japan.

In developing his approach to *shinkeizu*, Taiga was clearly inspired by Chinese art theory and visual sources. Takeuchi traces the concepts underlying *shinkeizu* to Chinese landscape theories of the Five Dynasties (907–60) and Northern Song (960–1126) periods. She infers that Taiga, in his application of early Chinese theory to his art, rejected contemporary artistic standards in favor of something more personal. She writes: "Archaism offered one alternative to the autocracy of established schools of painting in eighteenth-century Japan, and it enabled an artist to deepen the expressive content of his work

through allusions to the Chinese past — an unimpeachable source of authority” (p. 86). One of the concepts in early Chinese aesthetic writings that engaged Taiga was the notion of *fang* (Jp., *hō*), or the creative imitation of old styles. Taiga relied on Chinese models, but he was no mere imitator of earlier art or of the world around him. Verisimilitude was not an overriding concern for Taiga; instead, he was an interpreter of his surroundings. He sought to capture the unchanging essence of nature while also revealing his own insights and feelings. As Takeuchi notes of his *shinkeizu*, there are three key factors at work: *shai* (“painting the idea”), *shasei* (“painting life”), and *ikkaku* (the artist’s untrammelled personality).

Taiga learned painting techniques from Chinese paintings and printed books, and he also drew upon Chinese gazetteers, picture-maps, and topographical diagrams. He painted many famous sites of China based on these visual materials. Despite his diligent study of Chinese sources, however, his earliest recorded works are portrayals of sites in Japan rather than China. The earliest surviving work by his hand, the hanging scroll of the *Minoo Waterfall* of 1744, is an unusual painting for its day (plate 3). It illustrates a particular site in Japan, but with clear references to China. For Taiga, the choice of Japanese scenery did not conflict with his admiration for Chinese culture. In fact, Takeuchi suggests that “. . . Taiga, in choosing to depict local Japanese scenery, may have thought that he was being very Chinese in doing so” (p. 82).

In addition to Chinese culture, Taiga was inspired by the traditions of his own land, including *waka* (31-syllable poems; a form of ancient court poetry). Takeuchi uncovers the effect *waka* had on Taiga’s *Fuji in the Twelve Months*, a set of twelve hanging scrolls (plates 33–44). Moreover, Taiga drew upon Japanese artistic forms that reverberate with lyrical impressions, especially *yamato-e* (traditional, “Japanese-style” painting). A characteristic feature of *yamato-e* is its evocation of mood through reference to a specific site. In his *shinkeizu*, Taiga transformed *yamato-e* and other artistic traditions. As Takeuchi states, his *shinkeizu* “manipulate the language of received painting,” taking what had come before and making from it something new.

In her probing analysis of selected *shinkeizu*, Takeuchi uncovers many layers of meaning, opening up the working of the artist’s mind for us; however, one implication of her interpretation I question is that Taiga easily accepted the Chinese tradition. I suspect that he was intimidated by this tradition at times, and struggled to hold his own against it. In certain works, Taiga appears to contend with his admiration for the distant, unreachable land of China. Immersing himself as he did in Chinese texts and images, he must have felt overwhelmed now and then with the lofty Chinese ideal. The challenge for the artist was substantial: how to make that ideal his own; how to merge the foreign vision of perfection with the reality of his own experiences.

What was Taiga’s artistic mission? Certainly he felt compelled to face what he most admired and make it his own, without being overwhelmed by it. But perhaps he also wanted to see China with his own eyes, to go beyond

the limits imposed on him by the Edo government. Was his engagement in Chinese culture a reaction against the repressive laws of Edo-period Japan? Or were his motives purely creative? In entertaining the initial question of Taiga's mission, we enter a realm of inquiry that arises from the study of any truly creative act. Perhaps the question tells us more about our recognition of greatness than about the creative act itself.

Takeuchi's clear, engaging style makes for enjoyable reading. Her pages are filled with elegantly crafted sentences and interesting turns of phrase (e.g., about the story of Taiga's life, she writes that it "unfolds with as many facets as the fans he produced" [p. 1]). Her descriptions of paintings are precise, yet evocative and suggestive. A wealth of illustrations further enhance the text. Some of the black-and-white illustrations are slightly unfocused, but there are a number of superb color plates that stretch across two pages, capturing an expansive composition along with its details, as in the breathtaking panorama of the *True View of Mount Asama* (plate 29). These images are a wonderful supplement to Takeuchi's masterly study of the true-view paintings by Ike Taiga.

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