blind fool, standing neither in the sacred nor in the profane, neither Buddha nor demon, will leap free, and with this repay his deep obligations to the Buddhas and the Patriarchs.

Techniques such as these are called the "talons and teeth of the Cave of Dharma" and the "supernatural talisman that wrests life from death."[55] They are of great benefit to people of superior talents. Those of medium or inferior talents leave such things alone and quite disregard them. The people of the Pure Land school, in fact, are opposed to them. But the Pure Land is still a teaching to which veneration is due. Amida Buddha, with the skillful concentrated practice of great compassion, on the basis of his forty-eight vows, was endowed with the three minds[56] and four practices.[57] These techniques were established solely for those of medium and inferior talents and are of benefit to ignorant and stupid beings, enabling them to escape from the ten evils and five deadly sins. Giving primary importance to the golden words "to gather [all sentient] beings and to cast aside none,"[58] they make the low important and require still more lowliness, they make the easiness essential and venerate still more easiness. Therefore they tell you: "Even though you have studied well all the teachings of the Buddha, consider yourself an ignorant, illiterate fool, and just single-mindedly practice the calling of the Buddha's name. For these degenerate later days, filled with evil and turmoil, this is a technique that must not be omitted even for a single day."

In Zen it is as though giants were pitted against one another, with victory going to the tallest. In Pure Land it is as though midgets were set to fight, with victory going to the smallest. If the tallness of Zen were despised and Zen done away with, the true style of progress toward the Buddha mind would be swept away and destroyed. If the lowness of the Pure Land teachings

[55] See "Orategama I," fn. 41.

[56] The three ways of assuring rebirth in the Pure Land: perfect sincerity, deep resolve to be reborn there, and the resolve to turn one's merits to benefiting others.

[57] To have deep respect for the Buddha and all sages; to call Amida's name and to give him praise exclusively; to carry out this practice without interruption; to carry out this practice throughout one's life.

[58] *Kuan wu-liang-shou ching* (T12, p. 343b).

were despised and cast aside, stupid, ignorant people would be unable to escape from the evil realms.

Think of the Buddha as the Great King of Healing. He has set up eighty-four thousand medicines to cure the eighty-four thousand diseases. Zen, the teaching schools, Ritsu, the Pure Land are all methods used to treat a disease. Think of these methods as the four classes of people in the world: warriors, farmers, craftsmen, merchants. The warrior is endowed with both knowledge and benevolence. He perfects his command of the military works, protects the ruler, subdues the rebels, and brings peace to the country. He makes his lord like a lord under Yao and Shun,[59] the people like the people under Yao and Shun. He need not show anger, for the people fear him more than the punishment of the axe and halberd, and venerate the severe austerity of his bearing. Indeed he is a beautiful vessel, worthy of respect.

The merchant opens a large store and his ambition is to see it grow by selling his goods, his silks, cottons, grains, fish, and meat. He complies with the demands of everyone, be he monk or layman, man or woman, be he old, young, respectable or disreputable. If the warrior feels envy at the magnitude of the trader's operations and, coveting the tradesman's goods and profits, should try to become a merchant himself, he will discard his capacity for archery and horsemanship, forget the martial arts, and become a laughing stock to his friends. His lord will become enraged and will drive him away. If the merchant, envying the strict dignity of the samurai, girds a sword to his side, mounts a horse and, pretending to be a military figure, rides recklessly about here and there, everybody will laugh at him, and his family calling will be destroyed.

As I said before, if you cannot attain to Zen, then when you face death, try to be reborn in the Pure Land. Those who try to practice both at the same time will be able to obtain neither the fish nor the bear's paw,[60] but instead will cultivate the karma of

[59] Legendary sage rulers, seen before in "Orategama I."

[60] An adaptation of *Mencius* 6A, 10, 1: "I like fish and I also like bear's paws. If I cannot have the two together, I will let the fish go and take the bear's paws."

birth and death, fail to cut off the root of life, and will never be able to attain the joy where the "Ka" is shouted.

When I talk about the similarities of the *Mu* koan and the calling of the Buddha's name, I do not mean that they are not without differences when it comes time to test the quality of the virtue gained and the depth or shallowness with which the Way is seen. In general, for the hero who would seek enlightenment, and would cut off the seepages of emotions and conceptions, and destroy the film of ignorance that covers the eye, nothing surpasses the *Mu* koan.

The Master Fa-yen of Mount Wu-tsu has said in a verse:

> The exposed sword of Chao-chou
> Gleams brilliantly like cold frost.
> If someone tries to ask about it,
> His body will at once be cut in two.[61]

To all intents and purposes, the study of Zen makes as its essential the resolution of the ball of doubt. That is why it is said: "At the bottom of great doubt lies great awakening. If you doubt fully you will awaken fully."[62] Fo-kuo[63] has said: "If you don't doubt the koans you suffer a grave disease." If those who study Zen are able to make the great doubt appear before them, a hundred out of a hundred, a thousand out of a thousand, will without fail attain awakening.

When a person faces the great doubt, before him there is in all directions only a vast and empty land without birth and without death, like a huge plain of ice extending ten thousand miles. As though seated within a vase of lapis lazuli surrounded by absolute purity, without his senses he sits and forgets to stand, stands and forgets to sit. Within his heart there is not the slightest thought or emotion, only the single word *Mu*. It is just as though

[61] This verse is found in *Fa-yen ch'an-shih yü-lu* (T47, p. 666c). It concerns, of course, Chao-chou's *Mu* koan. Wu-tsu Fa-yen (Goso Hōen, 1024?–1104) is an important Sung monk.

[62] Source not identified.

[63] Fo-kuo (Bukka) is the posthumous title of Yüan-wu K'o-chin (Engo Kokugon, 1063–1135), a disciple of Wu-tsu Fa-yen. The source of the following quotation has not been traced.

he were standing in complete emptiness. At this time no fears arise, no thoughts creep in, and when he advances single-mindedly without retrogression, suddenly it will be as though a sheet of ice were broken or a jade tower had fallen. He will experience a great joy, one that never in forty years has he seen or heard. At this time "birth, death, and Nirvana will be like yesterday's dream, like the bubbles in the seas of the three thousand worlds, like the enlightened status of all the wise men and sages."[64] This is known as the time of the great penetration of wondrous awakening, the state where the "Ka" is shouted. It cannot be handed down, it cannot be explained; it is just like knowing for yourself by drinking it whether the water is hot or cold. The ten directions melt before the eyes, the three periods are penetrated in an instant of thought, What joy is there in the realms of man and Heaven that can compare with this?

This power can be obtained in the space of three to five days,[65] if the student will advance determinedly. You may ask how one can make this great doubt appear. Do not favor a quiet place, do not shun a busy place, but always set in the area below the navel Chao-chou's *Mu*. Then, asking what principle this *Mu* contains, if you discard all emotions, concepts, and thoughts and investigate single-mindedly, there is no one before whom the great doubt will not appear. When you call forth this great doubt before you in its pure and uninvolved form you may undergo an unpleasant and strange reaction. However, you must accept the fact that the realization of so felicitous a thing as the Great Matter, the trampling of the multi-tiered gate of birth and death that has come down through endless kalpas, the penetration of the inner understanding of the basic enlightenment of all the Tathāgatas of the ten directions, must involve a certain amount of suffering.

When you come to think about it, those who have investigated the *Mu* koan, brought before themselves the great doubt, experienced the Great Death, and attained the great joy, are countless in number. Of those who called the Buddha's name and gained a small measure of benefit from it, I have heard of no more

[64] *Yüan-chüeh ching* (T17, p. 915a). Only the first clause is found in the *Sūtra*.

[65] Presumably after the great doubt has appeared before the student.

than two or three. The abbot of Eshin-in has called it the benefits of wisdom or the power of faith in the mind. If you investigate the *Mu* or the Three Pounds of Flax or some other koan, to obtain True Reality in your own body should take from two or three months to a year or a year and a half. The efficacy gained from calling the Buddha's name or reciting the sutras will require forty years of strenuous effort. It is all a matter of raising or failing to raise this ball of doubt. It must be understood that this ball of doubt is like a pair of wings that advances you along the way. A man such as Hōnen Shōnin was virtuous, benevolent, righteous, persevering, and courageous. As he read the sacred scriptures in the darkness, if he used to some extent the luminescence of his eye of wisdom, he must, to the extent that this ball of doubt was formed, have attained to the Great Matter in the place where he stood, and have determined for himself his rebirth. What a tragedy it was that the rope was too short, so that he could not draw the water from the bottom of the well.

Although there were countless billions of Buddha names and countless billions of *dhāraṇī*, such great Masters as Yang-ch'i, Huang-lung, Chen-ching, Hsi-keng, Fo-chien, and Miao-hsi[66] selected, from the vast number of gates to the teaching available, this *Mu* koan alone for their students to study. Is this not the strong point of the teaching? Consider then that the *Mu* koan easily gives rise to the ball of doubt, while the recitation of the Buddha's name makes it very difficult to bring it to a head.

Moreover, in the Zen schools of China, the concentrated recitation of the Buddha's name, with the wish to be reborn in the Pure Land, did not exist at all at a time when the Zen monasteries had yet to wither, and the true teachings had yet to fall to the ground. The Twenty-eight Indian Patriarchs, the Six Chinese Patriarchs, their descendants in the transmission of Zen, Nan-yüeh, Ch'ing-yüan, Ma-tsu, Shih-t'ou, Po-chang, Huang-po, Nan-ch'üan, Ch'ang-sha, Lin-chi, Hsing-hua, Nan-yüan, Feng-hsüeh, Shou-shan, Fen-yang, Tz'u-ming, Huang-lung, Chen-

[66] Of the famous Zen Masters mentioned here, all except Yang-chi Fang-hui (Yōgi Hōe, 992–1049) and Fo-chien Hui-ch'in (Bukkan Egon, 1059–1113) have appeared before.

ching, Hui-t'ang, Hsi-keng, and Miao-hsi,[67] all the masters of the Five Houses and Seven Schools, all the monks of the Liang, Ch'en, Sui, T'ang, Sung, and Yüan dynasties,[68] they all raised up the teaching style of "steepness," attached to their arms the supernatural talisman that wrests life from death, chewed and made reverberate in their own mouths the talons and teeth of the Cave of the Dharma. All they were concerned about was to prevent the style of the teaching from falling in the dirt. Day and night they kept in motion relentlessly the wheel of the vow, without slackening for a moment. They never once, even inadvertently, spoke of rebirth in the Pure Land.

But sad, sad! Times passed; lives were lived out. The great teachings withered and vulgar concepts arose; the old songs died out and banalities flourished.[69] Then toward the end of the Ming dynasty there appeared a man known as Chu-hung from Yün-ch'i.[70] His talents were not sufficient to tackle the mysteries of Zen, nor had he the eye to see into the Way. As he studied onward he could not gain the delights of Nirvana; as he retrogressed, he suffered from the terrors of the cycle of birth and death. Finally, unable to stand his distress, he was attracted to the memory of Hui-yüan's[71] Lotus Society. He abandoned the "steepness" technique of the founders of Zen, and calling himself "the Great Master of the Lotus Pond," he wrote a commentary on the *Amitayus Sūtra*,[72] advocated strongly the teachings relating to the

[67] Of the famous Zen Masters listed here, the following appear for the first time in "Orategama": Ch'ing-yüan Hui-ssu (Seigen Gyōshi, d. 740), Nan-ch'üan P'u-yüan (Nansen Fugan, 748–835. He has appeared previously as a figure in a koan story), Nan-yüan Hui-yung (Nan'in Egyō, d. 930), Feng-hsüeh Yen-chao (Fūketsu Enshō, 896–973), Shou-shan Sheng-nien (Shuzan Shōnen, 926–993), and Fen-yang Shan-chao (Fun'yō Zenshō, 947–1024).

[68] The period from 502 to 1341.

[69] A paraphrase. Hakuin here compares the Zen of the old masters to the old poems of the *Book of Songs*. As these later were replaced by licentious and vulgar verses, so the teachings of Zen have declined.

[70] Yün-ch'i Chu-hung (Unsei Shukō, 1535–1615) has been mentioned before. He is attacked by Hakuin throughout his works as a debaser of Zen, because of his introduction of Pure Land teachings into Zen. See Introduction, pp. 25–26.

[71] Hui-yüan (334–417) was a renowned monk who in 402 set up a statue of Amida and together with 123 other monks prayed for rebirth in the Pure Land.

[72] *A-mi-t'o ching shu-ch'ao* (ZZ1, 33, 2–3).

calling of the Buddha's name, and displayed an incredibly shallow understanding of Zen. Yüan-hsien Yung-chiao[73] of Ku-shan wrote a work known as *Ching-tz'u yao-yü*,[74] in which he concurred with Chu-hung's views and rendered him great assistance. With this these teachings spread throughout China, overflowing even to Japan, and ultimately reached a state where nothing could be done about them. Even if Lin-chi, Te-shan, Fen-yang, Tz'u-ming, Huang-lung, Chien-ching, Hsi-keng, and Miao-hsi were to appear in the world of today, were to raise their arms, gnash their teeth, spit on their hands, and proceed to drive these teachings out, they would not be able to undo this madness.

This is not meant to belittle the basic teachings of the Pure Land nor to make light of the practice of the calling of the Buddha's name. But not to practice Zen meditation while within the Zen Sect, to becloud the eye to see into one's own nature because of laziness in the study of Zen under a teacher and idleness in one's aspirations, only weakens the power to study Zen. People such as these end up by spending their whole lives in vain. Then when the day of their death is close at hand, they begin to fear the endless painful cycle of their births to come, and suddenly decide that they will work to seek rebirth in the Pure Land. Solemnly fingering their rosary beads and reciting the Buddha's name aloud, they tell the ignorant men and women among the laity that this is what is appropriate for untalented people in this degenerate age, and that in this miserable and evil world no superior practice exists. With fallen hair and gap-toothed mouths, they are apt to cry with sincerity, to blink their eyes, and entice men with words that seem to ring with truth. Yet what possible miracle can those expect, who up to now have failed to practice Zen?

People of this sort, while within Zen, slander the Zen teachings. They are like those wood-eating maggots that are produced in beams and pillars and then in turn destroy these very beams and pillars. They must be investigated at once. Indolence when in the prime of life leads to regret and misery in old age. The regret and misery of old age is not worthy of censure. The past need not be blamed, but the idleness and sloth of a young man, this each person must really fear.

[73] Yüan-hsien Yung-chiao (Genken Yōkaku, 1578–1657). [74] ZZ2, 13, 5.

Since the Ming dynasty gangs of this type have become very large. All of them are mediocre and ineffectual Zen followers. Thirty years ago an old monk expressed his dismay, the tears falling from his eyes: "Ah, how Zen is declining! Three hundred years from now all Zen temples will startle the neighborhood by setting up the metal plate, installing the wooden gong, and holding worship six times a day."[75] A fearful prospect indeed! In closing, I have one last word to say. Do not regret losing your eyebrows, but for the sake of your lord raise up the teaching. Do not come to an understanding of the Patriarchs as a *katsu*; do not come to an understanding of the koans as the *dhāraṇī*.[76] You're not trying to devour the jujube in one gulp! Why is this a kind phrase? A monk asked Chao-chou: "Does a dog have Buddha-nature?" Chao-chou answered: "*Mu!*"

With respect.

APPENDED: *In answer to a visitor's criticism*[1]

During the Yüan and Ming periods the Zen schools tended to give emphasis to the calling of the Buddha's name. This was like stirring pearls in with rocks that looked like gems, like mixing worthless stones with the jewel of the Duke of Sui.[2] From that time on the monasteries all fell into line and marched along behind this teaching; herein lies the basis for the deterioration of the style of Zen. Unless at this time one fearless voice is raised, a large number of ignorant fools will end up by not having their brains split.

I made the above statement in a letter in reply to questions from Lord Nabeshima, and [he replied] that I had "set forth [the principle] from one end to the other and exhausted it,"[3] and that

[75] The practice of the Pure Land schools.

[76] The translation is tentative here. See "Orategama III," Supplement, fn. 41.

[1] This section, in *kambun*, is appended to *Orategama zokushū*. The text is very obscure; the translation must therefore be considered highly tentative. It is based on the text as found in HOZ5, 238–44.

[2] Legendary gem of enormous value. [3] *Analects*, 9, 7.

Dumoulin, Zen Buddhism
A History, Vol. II
(NY: Macmillan, 1990)

6

Zen in Art and Culture

Zen occupies a central place in the cultural history of Japan. The period of greatest Zen influence begins with the transplantation of Zen from China at the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and extends well into the Tokugawa period (1600–1868). This time-span was preceded by a longer but less clear prehistory, comprising the Nara (710–784) and Heian periods (794–1185), during which Buddhist influences enabled Japan to attain a high level of cultural development. Throughout the Tokugawa period, Buddhist influence was no longer dominant. The modern period dawned as Japan opened its doors to foreign influence and trade at the beginning of the Meiji era. Within the span of Japanese history, the almost half a millennium in which Zen influence was dominant was a time of extraordinary cultural growth. Though it would certainly be an exaggeration to attribute every cultural value in Japan to Zen, it remains true that Zen is the nation's most distinctive cultural achievement. One cannot but agree with the assessment of the historian J. W. Hall that "the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries . . . produced the art forms and clarified the aesthetic values which to this day are most admired by the Japanese."[1]

This brings up the differing influences that Zen culture has had on East Asia's two giants, China and Japan. In China, Zen art and its unique aesthetics represent an important cultural contribution; in Japan, the entire culture is permeated by Zen. The difference between the two is not merely one of quality but of total context. In treating this question in volume 1 of this work, I indicated some of the foremost artistic accomplishments of China, achievements that, despite great efforts, were never equalled in Japan. Nevertheless, for nearly half a millenium, the intellectual and spiritual climate of Japan bore the distinctive mark of Zen. For a long period the Japanese lived in an atmosphere saturated with Zen. This is the topic of the present chapter. Without an overall perspective on Zen culture, it is impossible to fully understand Zen as a religious school. Throughout the entire religious history of humankind, we find few examples of such close bonds between religion and culture.

ARCHITECTURE

The imposing force of Zen culture is seen most clearly in the layout and architecture of its temples. Entering the Zen centers of Kyoto and Kamakura, the visitor today can hardly avoid being impressed by the richness of Zen culture. To list only the most important centers, let alone to attempt to analyze how they reflect the spirituality of Zen, is an impossible task.

THE MONASTERY OF NANZEN-JI

The early Zen temples owe their construction mainly to the generosity of the imperial house and the nobility. A strong cultural and artistic influence emanated from the splendid temple of Nanzen-ji, which had been transformed from an imperial palace on the East Mountain outside of Kyoto at the command of Emperor Kameyama (ruled 1260–1274). Setting aside his imperial responsibilities, the emperor took up residence in some of the palace rooms, but was soon frightened away by what he thought were nocturnal ghosts. He immediately called a famous priest from Tōdai-ji in Nara, who after a ninety-day exorcism was unable to restore tranquility to the palace. Frustrated at the futility of all these imprecations and incantations, the emperor turned to Mukan Fumon (1212–1291), a highly regarded Zen monk from the school of Enni Ben'en who lived at Tōfuku-ji. Mukan arrived with a group of fellow-monks; as all of them sat in silent meditation, not a sound from the spirits could be heard. From that moment on, the palace served as a Zen temple.

Mukan Fumon (who received the title Daimin Kokushi), was first abbot of the newly founded monastery. He had practiced for twelve years in China under a highly qualified master and had received the seal of the Dharma mind. A disciple of National Master Shōichi, he was the master's third-generation successor as abbot of Tōfuku-ji. He died during his first year in office, having been appointed the founding abbot of Nanzen-ji by Emperor Kameyama.

In recognition of the merits of the former emperor Kameyama and perhaps in view of the legends about the monastery's origins, Nanzen-ji was granted the title of "first rank in the realm" *(tenka daiichi)* in 1334. The monastery's buildings and the art reflected the natural beauty of its surroundings. The temple complex, one of the most grandiose in the capital, contained all the required buildings—a Buddha hall, a Dharma hall, a monk's hall, a temple tower—and many others besides. The buildings, as was so often the case with Zen temples, were damaged by recurring fires. The list of temple fires in Kyoto is almost endless, but the Japanese rarely gave a second thought to reconstructing them, usually according to their original design. The main buildings of Nanzen-ji, as they stand in Kyoto today, date from the beginning of this century. The precious Nikkamon ("Sunflower Gate"), which had been a gift from the imperial house to the first Zen temple in Kyoto, today serves as the Chokushimon ("Gate of the Imperial Messengers").[2]

Two more elements can be added to this brief description of Nanzen-ji, both of them are typical of Japanese Zen temples and indicative of how these temples contributed to Zen culture. Because not a few of the great Zen temples were originally imperial palaces and castles, from the very beginning they were considered among the finest examples of Japanese architecture. With such clear links with the imperial court, their architectural quality was assured. Imperial protection also played a particularly important role in the establishment of Daitoku-ji and Tenryū-ji.

Nanzen-ji is also an example of the sumptuous buildings frequently found in Zen temples. A Zen temple or monastery in Kyoto almost always included a spacious area filled with buildings and gardens. Examples of such temple designs date back to the early period of Japanese Buddhism, indicating that Chinese influence existed from the earliest times. Japanese Zen architecture is clearly dependent on the designs of Chinese Zen monasteries during the Sung period.[3]

TEMPLES FOLLOWING THE CHINESE DESIGN

During their long stays in China during the thirteenth century, leading Zen masters like Eisai, Dōgen, and Enni Ben'en carefully studied the architectural design of the monasteries in which the rigorous life of the Zen monk was carried out. During the T'ang period in China (618–907), a Buddhist temple architecture had developed that served as the basic design for Zen temples and their grounds during the Sung period, especially for the monasteries of the Five Mountains. The first of these mountains, Ching-shan (Jpn., Kinzan), with the monastery of Hsing-sheng-wan-shou-ssu (Jpn., Kōshōmanju-ji), became the normative model for many other temples. Making up the other mountains were Pei-shan (Jpn., Hokuzan), with the temple of Ching-te-ling-yin-ssu (Jpn., Keitoku-reiin-ji); T'ai-po-shan (Jpn., Taihakuzan), with the temple of T'ien-t'ung-ching-te ch'an-ssu (Jpn., Tendō-keitoku-zenji); Nan-shan (Jpn., Nanzan), with the temple of Ching-tz'u-pao-en-kuang-hsiao-ssu (Jpn., Jōjihōonkōkō-ji); and A-yü-wang-shan (Jpn., Aikuōzan), with the temple of Kuan-li-ssu (Jpn., Kōri-ji).[4] The layout of the temple of Mount Ching has never been discovered.[5] The layout of T'ien-t'ung and Pei are of special significance in that traces of their influence can be found in numerous Zen temples of Japan.

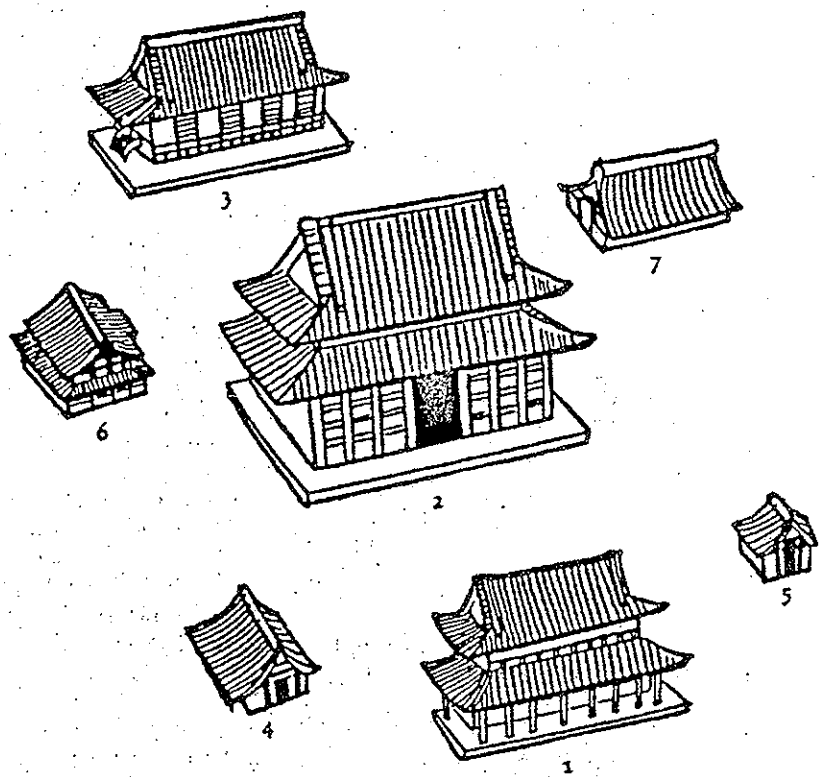
Not only did the Japanese Zen monks bring back architectural plans from China, they also succeeded in making friends with Chinese artisans and convincing them to make the trip to Japan.[6] In this way, the Zen temples that were constructed during the thirteenth century in Japan were under both the theoretical and practical influence of China.

Among the medieval Zen temples of Japan, Kenchō-ji (Kamakura) and Tōfuku-ji (Kyoto) are perhaps the most significant from an architectural point of view. One of the oldest architectural plans discovered in a Japanese Zen monastery supplies us today with valuable information on the similar layout used for both temples.[7] Friendly relations existed between the temples, so that when fire devastated many of the buildings at Tōfuku-ji in 1319, Kenchō-ji responded by supplying a copy of the general design that had been used for its own construction. With the help of this design, Tōfuku-ji was carefully restored to its former glory. Again, around the beginning of the fifteenth century, a fire razed Kenchō-ji to the ground, destroying in the process the documents containing the temple's original design. With the help of earlier copies, the monks of Kenchō-ji immediately set about reconstruction, though only partially reproducing the original design. The overall style used at Kenchō-ji in Kamakura can be considered the original model for all medieval Japanese Zen temples. It is in the actual layout of the Tōfuku-ji complex, however, that we find an incomparable expression of the charm of a medieval Zen temple. An enchanting clarity hovers over the entire complex, which still contains some of the original buildings

from the Kamakura period. It represents the classical style of a "seven-hall monastery" (*shichidō-garan*).[8]

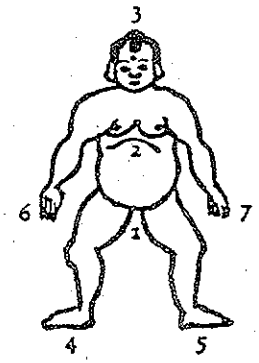
The ground plan of Kenchō-ji and Tōfuku-ji was modeled after the imposing Chinese temple structures of T'ien-t'ung-shan.[9] Although the layout of Japanese temples corresponds basically to that of their Chinese prototypes, there are some small differences. The size of the buildings varies from temple to temple. In the Buddha halls of Zen temples the primary cultic object is an image of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, at the moment of his enlightenment; other figures, also objects of devotion, usually accompany the image of Buddha. One enters the temple area through the "Mountain Gate,"[10] symbolizing the purging of desires and conceptual thinking as one enters the realm of empiness, and then mounts directly toward the Buddha hall. Reverencing of the Buddha image must be

Figure 1: *Typical "Seven-hall Monastery" Layout*



Key: 1. Mountain Gate (*sammon*); 2. Buddha Hall (*butsuden*); 3. Dharma Hall (*hattō*); 4. Latrine (*tōsu*); 5. Bath (*yokushitsu*); 6. Monks' Hall (*sōdō*); 7. Kitchen (*kuri*).

Figure 2: *The "seven halls" in analogy to the human body*



preceded by cleansing and purgative exercises. In these rituals washing and the purging of bodily impurities are necessary, for which purpose two wooden buildings, on the right and left, are located between the gate and the Buddha hall. Two other buildings, the monks' hall of meditation (*sōdō*) and the kitchen and storehouse (*kuri*), are located a little behind the Buddha hall. The seventh building is the Dharma hall (*hattō*), in which an enlightened monk lectures on the holy scriptures. This hall is situated on the central ascending axis, and constitutes the focal point of the entire complex. Given differences in size and adornment, the arrangement of the buildings can also differ. In earlier temples, for instance, the monks' hall, the Dharma hall, and the Mountain Gate occupied places of greater importance. In Tōfuku-ji, the layout of the buildings takes on a clear analogy to the human body. A few of the buildings of this monastery have somehow escaped the ravages of frequent fires and today are designated as national "cultural treasures," giving us a rare insight into ancient architectural skills.[11]

The classical layout of the seven halls is often somewhat difficult to detect because of the many secondary buildings scattered around the temple area. One of the most prominent of such additions is the abbot's residence (Chin., *fang-chang*; Jpn., *hōjō*); often consisting of three buildings, with garden and pond, it is a noteworthy addition to the overall beauty of the temple complex.

KINKAKU-JI AND GINKAKU-JI

The grandoise buildings of the Golden Pavilion (Kinkaku-ji) and the Silver Pavilion (Ginkaku-ji), which the Ashikaga shōguns built in the metropolitan center during the Muromachi period, mark a high point in the development of Zen architecture. Both works of art were inspired by the spirit of National Teacher Musō and were closely associated with his name, though at the time of their construction he had long since departed this life. Built by Yoshimitsu (ruled 1367–1395) as a retirement residence in 1397, the Golden Pavilion occupied a large expanse of land owned by the emperor on North Mountain (Kitayama);

on the outskirts of Kyoto. With its three-storied, tapered structure, the building resembles a pagoda. Its name comes from the gold-covered roof of the third floor, which served as a shrine for relics.[12] After Musō Kokushi's death, the Golden Pavilion became the Zen monastery of Rokuon-ji, dedicated to the memory of its founder. The buildings were constructed in the Japanese style *(wayō)*, which was a blending of the Chinese style of the Sung period *(karayō)* with older elements of Chinese architecture.[13] The Japanese once again proved their masterful skills of restoration in 1950 when, with their usual care and precision, they entirely rebuilt this "landmark of Zen taste"[14] after it had burned down. Yoshimitsu's long rule embodied the summit of Zen culture during the Muromachi period; given the geographical location of his residence, history has designated this era as that of the "culture of the Northern Mountain" *(Kitayama-bunka)*.

Following the example of his great ancestor, Ashikaga Yoshimasa (ruled 1443–1473) built an extravagant palace on East Mountain (Higashiyama) during a time of excruciating need, as thousands of his subjects were perishing from famine, fire, and sword. After his death in 1490, the palace was transformed into the Zen temple of Jishō-ji, also dedicated to Musō Kokushi as its founder, even though the master had not been its first abbot. The residence there known as Tōgudō,[15] to which the shōgun retired in seclusion to pursue his aesthetic interests, houses the oldest existing tea room, whose measurements of four-and-a-half mats *(koma)* became the standard for all tea rooms. Only a few steps from this house Yoshimasa built the two-story Silver Pavilion. Its construction was to take longer than expected. Begun in 1473, the structure was fully finished three years after Yoshimasa's death. Although the shōgun's own artistic tastes bordered on the extravagant, during the time of the "East Mountain culture" (*Higashiyama-bunka*, named after his residence) Zen aesthetics reached its climax. Still, experts in the history of art and culture offer differing evaluations of the significance of *Higashiyama-bunka*.

EIHEI-JI

Given the conditions of the times, the Rinzai school could boast of a far greater number of impressive temple buildings during the Muromachi period. A description of the temple complexes already referred to would take us far beyond the scope of this book, but one of the most imposing of Zen temples during the medieval period of Japan was the monastery of Eihei-ji, founded by Dōgen and today the headquarters of the Sōtō school. The entrance gate is preceded by a gate for the imperial messenger *(chokushimon)*. The path to the three main buildings ascends along a stone path among towering cedars and then up rock stairs. The multi-storied Buddha hall overlooks the entire complex, but the focal point is the Dharma hall. On completion of the monks' hall, the source of the monastery's spiritual energy, Dōgen is said to have exclaimed in joy: "Now this mountain has a monks' hall—the first we have heard of [in Japan], the first we have seen, and the first in which we have sat."[16]

Japanese architecture—and this is particularly so in the case of Zen temples—builds into nature and forms an incomparably beautiful whole with mountains and valleys, hills, lakes, and streams.[17] Gardens have been a part of Japanese art since its beginning. This, too, was inspired by China, a nation whose beautifully landscaped gardens have merited it the epithet "mother of gardens." Japan eagerly followed China's example. Even prior to the Nara period, as the chronicles report, there were well-tended, enchanting gardens. The Heian period boasts broad, lavish gardens, with smiling people happily exploring the small pathways and well-dressed, festive parties in small boats moving across ponds and under arched bridges; an elegant nobility populated these gardens. Under the influence of Zen, garden art took on a new development toward a more spiritualized love of nature; for Zen, the garden became a symbol of the cosmos.

LANDSCAPE GARDENS

The gardens of National Teacher Musō, among the oldest still in existence, belong to the most beautiful achievements of Japan's art of gardening. Their style represents the transition from the landscape gardens of the Heian period to the stone gardens of the later Muromachi period. Rather than simply to imitate nature, Musō sought to imbue nature with new meaning and spirit and to present it as part of the overall beauty of the world. He designed or remodeled the gardens of Saihō-ji (c. 1339) and of Tenryū-ji (c. 1343), drawing on examples from the Heian period to create the new and impressive style of Zen gardening.

The garden of Saihō-ji, an old temple dedicated to Amida Buddha and situated on the western end of Kyoto, was rebuilt by Master Musō and transformed into a Zen temple. Today it is one of the best known and most beautiful gardens in the capital. There were formerly two paradise-gardens, which Musō changed into what is today a symbolic representation of Zen's ideal land as described in the *Hekiganroku*. Because of the more than twenty varieties of moss found within the garden precincts, this temple came to be know popularly as the "Moss Temple" (Koke-dera).

The garden is divided into two parts separated from each other by a gate. Steps carved out of the natural rock ascend to the higher part of the grounds. In the lower section, a landscaped garden extends around a "Golden Pond," which is laid out in the shape of the Sino-Japanese glyph for heart. Such heart-shaped ponds *(shinji-ike)* are found throughout the country, and although there are no historical grounds for doing so, are often attributed to Musō Kokushi. The paths stretching around the pond beckon the visitor to follow and enjoy the enchanting views that the garden offers everywhere. The Moss Garden of Saihō-ji is a "garden for walking" *(kaiyūshiki teien)*, in contrast to many Zen gardens that are intended to be viewed from without, as for example, from the veranda of the abbot's residence. The pond is marked by larger island-like rocks that provide a dynamic quality even in this quiet part of the garden.

The higher level of the garden is very different, containing a stone garden

in the *kare-sansui* style. *Sansui* (literally, "mountain and water") usually has the simple meaning of "landscape," while *kare* signifies "dry." The combination of mountain (implying "rock" or "stone") and water points to the foundational polarity of hard and soft, man and woman, and in general *yin* and *yang* within the ancient Chinese worldview. The quality of hardness introduces a paradox that can be traced back to Taoism; after it was taken up and perfected by Zen this paradox came to express its very essence. Already in the *Sakuteiki*,[18] an esoteric book on garden art from the Heian period, the *kare-sansui* style is mentioned. We can assume that its roots lie in Taoist symbolism. An amazing aspect of these dry gardens is the way they can create an enchanting impression of watercourses or waterfalls without using a drop of water, as seen in the upper level of the Saihō-ji garden. In the center of this level, large boulders grow amid artfully arranged stone-constellations. Constituting the northern part of the garden, the upper level, with its hard, angular stones stands in sharp contrast to the blooming trees and soft moss paths that surround the Golden Pond on the lower level. For the Zen monk, this garden illustrates the two opposing aspects of reality, which can be experienced in the amenities of a harmonious life or in the raw, ascetical climate of Zen practice. In the silence of these stone gardens one senses the lasting power of committed practice. A well-rounded stone *(zazen-seki)* invites one to seated meditation. Here, within nature, the monk finds a spiritual home.

The garden in the middle of Tenryū-ji, like the Moss Garden of Saihō-ji, was not the original creation of Musō, though the important changes that he brought to its original layout have given it its present-day form. This landscape garden, offering no possibilities for strolling around, is meant to be viewed from the temple veranda. Set within a glorious landscape of wooded hills and near and distant hills, the garden is dominated in the background by the mighty Arashiyama ("Storm Mountain"). The spontaneity of nature joins with symbolism. At the outer reaches there is the suggestion of a waterfall, though there is no real water. At the center is a lake, fed by natural springs and shaped like the glyph for "heart." The pure, transparent water in the lake signifies the mind of the person as it ought to be and, in enlightenment, indeed is. In the middle of the lake, there is an "isle of paradise." Groups of stones depict turtles and storks, animals that are believed to be omens of good fortune. A bridge rests on stones rising above the water; they are spaced at intervals corresponding to the numbers 3, 5, and 7, which according to Chinese belief signifies the perfect form of human life. An indescribable stillness reigns over the garden. The many insoluble difficulties that beset human life are here symbolized by the spring (a figure taken from the Chinese artistic tradition); as the water wells up from the ground to rise in the lake, so the human spirit draws strength from the tranquility of nature. The white sand at the border of the pond has the same cleansing power for the mind as the pure water. From this purity springs the triumphant courage displayed by the young carp when in the spring it leaps upward against the waterfall, a figure familiar to the Japanese from the popular festival of the carp streamers *(koi-nobori)*.

The gardens that form part of the two pavilions of Kinkaku-ji and Ginkaku-ji also contributed greatly to the beauty of the capital. The garden of the Golden Pavilion, completed in 1397, proved that Yoshimitsu, a great lover and expert in the arts, was also a garden architect in his own right. Although inspired by the Saihō-ji garden, which he greatly esteemed and loved, his own garden was a spiritually independent creation. Moreover, in his case he had an original garden with pond that could be reworked. He transformed the pond by adding a number of enchanting little islands and planting carefully selected trees all around. Blending in with the overpowering beauty of the surrounding landscape, the garden offers, from within the pavilion, a view that reaches out and loses itself in the panoramic distance. It has been called one of the finest Zen landscape gardens ever created.[19]

Ashikaga Yoshimasa shared his predecessor Yoshimitsu's admiration for the garden of Saihō-ji. In fashioning a garden for his Silver Pavilion, he too was strongly influenced by Musō's work. Under the shōgun's direction, a garden with both higher and lower levels took shape, with a rather large pond enhanced by schools of lotus flowers and small bridges connecting scattered islands. Massive, angular borders constitute an exact imitation of the famous Saihō-ji garden.[20] Frequently damaged throughout the centuries, the garden of the Silver Pavilion has often had to be repaired and expanded. Two later additions are especially striking. The "sea of silver sand" *(ginshadan)*, a flat expanse of white sand, represents a Chinese lake. The raked white sand symbolizes waves that during the night reflect the silver moon. Also noteworthy is the flattened mound of sand *(kōgetsudai)* that leads one to meditate on the moon or on the nocturnal play of the moonlight.

The numerous landscape gardens in Zen style that sprang up throughout the country from the Muromachi period on give witness to the Zen monks' love of nature and their ability to see the whole of the cosmos in a single piece of nature and all of reality in each natural symbol. "The fundamental thing about Japanese gardens. . . . is the fact that the art was definitely used in China and Japan to express the highest truths of religion and philosophy."[21] Like the meditation hall and the Buddha shrine, the garden formed part of the essence of a Zen temple and enabled it to carry out its religious purpose.

STONE GARDENS

Symbols play an important role in Japanese Zen gardens. The symbol-laden stone or dry gardens in the *kare-sansui* style flourished around the end of the Muromachi period. Without use of color or decoration and with few symbols, these gardens capture the entire cosmos on a little piece of earth. Stones and boulders represent mountains or islands, and instead of water, plains of moss or sand symbolize the endless sea. This kind of a garden is like a kōan, providing the viewer with both a question and a task: What does it mean? In the final analysis, it means of course the Buddha, whose body makes up the whole of nature.

In the garden of Shinju-an, which was a branch temple built in honor of

the Zen master Ikkyū in the area around Daitoku-ji and that tradition says was designed by the tea master Murata Jukō (1423–1502),[22] the ground surface is made up of a single expanse of moss, incredibly soft, quiet, and shimmering. Unusually shaped natural rocks, arranged in the 7-5-3 series, give the impression of power and security. To view this garden purifies the heart, pacifies the mind, and directs the eye inward.

This style of garden, distinguished by its angular, sharply rising, and unusually shaped rocks, is found in many temples—as for instance, the branch temples of Taizō-in and Reiun-in in Myōshin-ji and the abbot's residence of Konchi-in in Nanzen-ji, as well as in many rural temples. The harsh discipline of these gardens is meant to promote the concentration of mind necessary for meditation.

The stone gardens of Ryōan-ji and Daisen-in, a branch temple of Daitoku-ji, are recognized as outstanding works of art. The temple of Daisen-in was built by the Zen monk Kogaku and is supposed to have been completed in 1513. The garden probably was finished around the same time. Nature in all its grandeur and multiplicity of forms is here compressed into a tiny space. Two upright rocks at one end of the expanse attract the visitor's gaze like two towering mountain peaks. Around the rocks are scattered stones of different sizes, washed by the furrowed white sand. A boulder in the form of a boat adds to the impression of water all around. Strewn over the sand surface, broad flat stones represent bridges and riverbanks. A trace of sand suggests a river. In this simple way, the manifoldness of the world with its ten thousand things is set forth symbolically. Perspective is achieved through variation in size. The garden is like an ink painting, which with a few strokes of the brush can present the viewer with a beautifully rich scene.

The most famous of all Zen gardens is the level stone garden adjoining the Ryōan-ji temple in Kyoto. The garden is rectangular in form, measuring about 31 by 14 meters, and is enclosed by a low earthen wall. One's gaze naturally rises beyond the wall, where an adjoining pine forest and distant hills and mountains provide a harmonious view. The garden consists of nothing but sand and fifteen natural stones arranged in five groups surrounded by a meager growth of moss. The sand symbolizes water, the stones signify mountains or islands, while the moss suggests a forest. The surface consists of coarse snow-white sand. There is neither path nor stepping-stone, since no foot falls upon it. Void of all animal life and nearly all vegetation, this stone garden is a symbol of the pure mind purged of all forms—of nothingness or of what Meister Eckhart calls the "desert of the godhead." At the same time, this strikingly barren desert garden is mysteriously animated from within. The stones are alive. With their curious forms, they bring an uncanny movement into the sand waste that, to anyone quietly and perseveringly taking in its lengthwise view from the temple veranda, seems to reach out into infinity. In full sunlight the rising flood of light blinds the eye, but when the silver moon glides over the white sand, the mind of the contemplative pilgrim is carried to the world beyond, where there are no opposites and the nothingness of pure divinity dwells in impenetrable light. In popular usage the garden at Ryōan-ji is called the "Garden of the Wading Tiger," because these living stones resemble the heads and backs of tiger cubs whom the mother tiger is leading through the ford of a stream. This interpretation, of course, does not correspond to the intent of the artist, who in his work visualized above all the effect of the flat surface, succeeding thereby in combining the greatest abstraction with concrete reality. With the simplest of means he evoked an inexhaustible depth of spiritual meaning. The overall impression of this "Garden of Emptiness" is more powerful and deep than the lavish paintings of the Daisen-in garden.

The gardens of Daisen-in and Ryōan-ji, the two towering peaks in the history of Zen garden art, have often been attributed, with greater or lesser probability, to the famous painter Sōami (1472–1525); in both cases, however, the historical data are uncertain. The great Sesshū is also said to have designed gardens, among them the garden of Jōei-ji in Yamaguchi.[23] This linking of gardens with famous painters is significant in that it points up the relationship between garden architecture and ink painting. Like the powerfully drawn lines and points of an ink painting, the plain, harsh, monochromatic stone gardens are expressions of the enlightened mind.

THE TEA GARDEN

The tea garden is another form of Zen art which we shall only touch on fleetingly here,[24] though in what follows we will have more to say about the tea ceremony *(chanoyu)*. Part of Japan's tea culture, the tea garden was the bridge on which Japan's garden art moved from the religiously inspired Zen garden to the secularization that was evident during the Edo period in the summer villas of Katsura Rikyū and Shūgaku-in.

Consisting mainly of a path surrounded by trees and thick shrubbery leading to the tea room, the tea garden *(roji)* is a modest facet of the tea ceremony. According to the principle of asymmetry, the stepping stones *(tobi-ishi)* are irregularly arranged to form a path by which the guest strolls past a stone lantern *(ishi-dōrō)* and a jet of water from a bamboo pipe on the way to the tea room. In front of the entrance there is a stone water basin *(tsukubai)* and ladle for guests to rinse their mouths with. The walk through a tea garden is intended to foster recollection and inner peace.

A predecessor of the tea room—or perhaps the very first one—is found in Tōgudō at the Silver Pavilion. It seems most likely that the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa and his friends, under the direction of the tea master Murata Shukō, performed the tea ritual here. During the sixteenth century, when the tea ceremony reached the height of its popularity, tea rooms and gardens sprang up throughout the land. Sen no Rikyū, a counselor to the two rulers Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), perfected the art of the tea ceremony and fostered the development of tea gardens.

The tea garden was loved and appreciated everywhere. Rikyū's tea garden in the *sukiya* style reflected the artistic tastes of the times and influenced the expansive design of many other gardens, such as the gardens of the grandiose

villas of Katsura Rikyū[25] and Shūgaku-in, attributed to the artistic talents of Kobori Enshū (1579–1647) and his school, which had close ties with Zen. Both gardens are graced with tea houses and tea gardens. At the beginning of the modern period, Zen culture had found an entry into the world of secular art.

CALLIGRAPHY

Calligraphy is considerably older than the Zen movement itself. During the Eastern Chin dynasty in China (317–420), it reached a height of achievement that was to become normative for all subsequent development. The two prominent figures of this time are Wang Hsi-chih (Jpn., Ō Gishi, 307–365) and his son Wang Hsien-chih (Jpn., Ō Kenshi, 344–388).[26] During the Sung period both these masters were studied intensively and their works were analyzed in both original (whenever possible) and copied versions. Among the calligraphers of the Sung period who both studied the past and created their own works, was a Zen poet named Huang T'ing-chien (Jpn., Kō Teiken, 1045–1105), who had practiced Zen meditation under the master Hui-t'ang Tsu-hsin (Jpn., Maidō Soshin, 1025–1100) and attained enlightenment. Huang T'ing-chien seems to have been one of the first persons consciously to realize the relation between the art of writing and Zen. The connection dawned on him when he noticed the difference enlightenment had made for the way he used his brush. After enlightenment, his writing took on an inner vitality.

Huang T'ing-chien had a deep influence on the calligraphy of those dedicated Japanese Zen monks whose esteem for China was focused especially on Chinese calligraphic achievements.[27] One of the Japanese most indebted to Huang T'ing-chien and to the influence he exercised was Shūhō Myōchō (Daitō Kokushi). Even before him, Eisai, who was the first to bring Rinzai Zen from the continent, had introduced Chinese works of calligraphy to Japan. It can be shown that the Japanese calligrapher Shunjō (1166–1227) was influenced by Huang T'ing-chien. Enni Ben'en also brought Chinese works of calligraphy to Japan. With calligraphy flourishing in China during the Sung period,[28] the Chinese masters who came to Japan proved themselves to be capable teachers of this art form—among them Lan-hsi Tao-lung and especially the eminent artist I-shan I-ning. Musō Soseki, an accomplished and well rounded artist, was also an excellent calligrapher. The most significant calligrapher during the late Muromachi period was Ikkyū Sōjun, an artist of eccentric originality who considered himself the artistic progeny of the Chinese Zen master Hsü-t'ang Chih-yü (Jpn., Kidō Chigu, 1185–1269). Among the Japanese *gozan* scholars who counted the famous writing-artist Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao (1262–1329) in their genealogy, the conservative Zekkai Chūshin (1336–1405) is the most prominent calligrapher. Perhaps because his penetrating metaphysical insights were so imposing, it is often forgotten that Dōgen was a calligrapher whose brush produced some impressive works of art. His school promoted the art of calligraphy and bore considerable artistic fruit. It is clear, then, that in medieval Japanese Zen, the art of calligraphy attained a high degree of perfection. During the modern period, the founders of the Ōbaku school (see below) brought the contemporary Chinese style of calligraphy to Japan. The Japanese monks Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768), Sengai Gibon (1751–1837), and Ryōkan (1758–1831)—about whom we will have more to say below—left posterity impressive works of calligraphy.

The uniqueness of Chinese logographs has given calligraphy a significant place within East Asian art: One can find in China and Japan highly-prized works of calligraphic art that are not at all related to Zen Buddhism.[29] Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the bonds between Zen and the art of calligraphy are rooted in a deep, natural relationship. With their ink brushes, Zen practitioners are able to give unique expression to their inner experience. Enlightenment and the creative power that it taps find spontaneous expression in Zen calligraphy, which first and foremost is an expressive art form. The preferred name for this art form during Japan's medieval period was *shojutsu*, the "art of writing."[30] Only later, probably during the second half of the Edo period (1603–1867) and under some Confucian influence, did the term "way of writing" *(shodō)* come into vogue, as it became clear that writing can be a form of meditation practice. Since the Meiji period (1868–1912), the "way of writing" has also become more and more popular as a pedagogical tool, widely used today in Japan's educational system. Although the term *shodō* ("way of writing"), together with the more common *shohō* ("method of writing") is found earlier in China, we should look upon *shodō* as a new development; today it is popularly considered to be a way of expressing one's total humanity. As we shall see, the same would apply to other "ways" *(dō)* that are related to Zen.

If, as Dietrich Seckel observes, calligraphy is the most highly regarded art-form in East Asia,[31] this is due in no small part to the power of its symbolism. In his studies of the suggestive impact of ink drawing, Seckel has discovered that "the clear, sharp, lines moving back and forth from outside to inside allow for a very precise form of drawing."[32] The art-loving amateur, who finds himself unable to explain the mystery of the ink line, senses the incredible power of this art form, which is an "altogether direct, 'graphological' expression of the creative personality."[33] Enlightened Zen masters grasp spontaneously that "the ink line serves as a decisively important medium for overcoming opposing distinctions. It would have been difficult for Zen to find another artistic medium by which to express itself so directly and perfectly."[34] One can grasp this best by absorbing some of the extremely simple, meaningful characters that have been so masterfully painted—for instance, the character for "heart" or "nothingness" or an ink-drawn circle. Such graphs and circles can serve as "utterly valid and direct artistic expressions of religious insights."[35] The relation between ink drawings and creative personalities[36] constitutes the incomparable value of ink drawing, which is closely linked with calligraphy. A much loved piece of decorative art *tokonoma)* in tea rooms is a "roll with poem and picture" *(shigajiku)*,[37] on which characters are usually written vertically. Such a piece is often called an "ink trace" *(bokuseki)* and is understood as a trace of the enlightened mind.

published *Chadō—Der Teeweg: Eine Einführung in den Geist der japanischen Lehre vom Tee.* D. T. Suzuki devoted two chapters of his book *Zen and Japanese Culture* to the tea ceremony. See also Rand Castile, *The Way of Tea;* Tatsusaburo Hayashiya, Masao Nakamura, and Seizo Hayashiya, *Japanese Arts and the Tea Ceremony,* as well as the article on the tea ceremony in JH and KWJ. See vol. 8 of the collected works of Furuta Shōkin, *Zencha no sekai.* On Sen no Rikyū see the comprehensive work by Origuchi Sutemi, *Rikyū no cha,* vol. 7 of his collected works.

61. Okakura, *The Book of Tea,* p. 3.

62. *Zen and the Fine Arts,* p. 25.

63. One of the seven tea rules of Rikyū, cited in Hammitzsch, *Chadō—Der Teeweg,* p. 100.

64. The presentation follows the work referred to earlier, *Japanese Arts and the Tea Ceremony,* p. 30. Bersihand describes the event completely differently in his *Geschichte Japans,* p. 220; similarly, G. B. Sansom offers another account in *Japan: A Short Cultural History,* p. 438. Japanese authors are to be preferred here. The number of visitors is placed at around eight hundred.

65. On the architectural accomplishments of Hideyoshi, see Bersihand, *Geschichte Japans,* pp. 218–19; Sansom, pp. 436–37.

66. On the involvements of Sen no Rikyū in the political arena, see Beatrice M. Bodart, "Tea and Counsel: The Political Role of Sen Rikyū," MN 32.1 (1977): 49–74.

67. Kataoka Yakichi refers to the *chajin daikeifu* and gives the following seven names: Oda Yūraku (or Urakusai), Hosokawa Sansai, Gamō Hida, Araki Settsu, Seta Kamon, Shibayama Kenmotsu, Takayama Ukon. See Johannes Laures, *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan,* p. 48.

68. The period of time stretches from about the Ōnin War (1467–1477) until the middle of the sixteenth century.

69. The Portugese manuscript of his work on Japanese culture in two books has been translated and edited by Michael Cooper as *This Island of Japan.* The four chapters on the *chanoyu* were translated into Spanish by J. L. Alvarez-Taladriz as *Arte del cha.* See the comprehensive work by Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China.*

70. Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter,* p. 309.

71. Cooper, *This Island of Japan,* pp. 272–73.

72. Cooper, *This Island of Japan,* p. 285.

73. On Takayama Ukon, see Laures, *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan;* Diego Pacheco, "Fate of a Christian Daimyō," *Great Historical Figures of Japan,* pp. 174–83.

74. Cited in Laures, *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan,* pp. 177–78. The words with which the great Japanese Buddhist scholar Masaharu Anesaki praises Takayama Ukon show the high esteem in which he holds him. Anesaki writes: "The stories of Justo Takayama Ukon's life illustrate a happy union of the valor of a Japanese warrior and the fidelity of an ardent Catholic. His brilliant military achievements, his moral integrity and deliberateness in critical moments, his dauntless spirit combined with meek soul, his earnest zeal in piety expressed in his generosity and charity, all this should be noted as a fruit of Kirishitan missions." *History of Japanese Religions,* p. 243, note.

75. See Laures, *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan,* p. 310; cf. Kataoka Yakichi, "Takayama Ukon, MN 1 (1938): 451–64.

76. Nishimura Tei has written extensively on Christians belonging to the tea circle in his *Kirishitan to chadō.* On Gamō Ujisato, see p. 159; on Seta Kamon, pp. 136–37; on Shibayama Kenmotsu, p. 95.

77. "Soziale und religiöse Aspekte der japanischen Teekeramik," NOAG 126 (1979): 24. Seckel returns to touch on this theme frequently in his comments; see especially pp. 26, 31. He speaks of the history of tea utensils on pp. 27–28. On Japanese ceramics see especially *Japanese Arts and the Tea Ceremony;* JH, pp. 798–99; and KWJ, pp. 200–203.

78. *Japanese Arts and the Tea Ceremony,* p. 54.

79. Hoover, *Zen Culture,* p. 190.

80. Seto has the first of the "six old ovens" (*rikkoyō*); the five others are in Tokoname, Echizen, Shigaraki, Takikui, and Imbe; see JH, p. 798.

81. *Japan, Tempel, Gärten, und Paläste,* p. 78; on Noh drama, see Thomas Immoos and Fred Mayer, *Japanisches Theater,* and the relevant entries in JH and KWJ.

82. *Japan, Tempel, Gärten, und Paläste,* p. 78.

83. See Hisamatsu, *Zen and the Fine Arts,* pp. 100, 101. Donald Keene comments in his essay on Zeami: "I doubt that Japanese poetry can be more powerful. Zeami ranks as one of the greatest Japanese poets as well as the greatest dramatist and the greatest critic of the theatre." *Some Japanese Portraits,* p. 42.

84. In addition to the entries in JH and KWJ, see Hoover, *Zen Culture,* pp. 213–18. The Zen-related art of the *haiku* will be treated later in connection with the great Japanese poet of the Edo period Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694).

85. See Horst Hammitzsch, "Zum Begriff 'Weg' im Rahmen der japanischen Künste," NOAG 82 (1957).

PAINTING

Painting represents the highest form of Zen art. Landscape paintings, inspired by the religious world view of Zen, are the most abiding contribution of Zen to the fine arts. In Japan, ink drawing *(suibokuga)* found its true home in the Zen temples, where painter-monks *(gasō)* expressed their enlightenment in their brushwork.

During the Muromachi period, Japanese ink-painting carried on the Chinese Zen art of the Sung period.[38] Japanese Zen painters took up themes that had been well developed in China: Zen stories and parables or paradoxical sayings *(zenkizu* or *zenkiga)*, portraits of arhats, patriarchs, masters (all called *chinsō*), and the theme in which Japanese artists excelled—landscapes. Purely religious themes of Buddhism, as well, appear in all phases of Japanese Zen painting: the founder Śākyamuni, bodhisattvas (especially Avalokiteśvara [Kannon] and Mañjuśri [Monju]), and most frequently, the Chinese Zen patriarch Bodhidharma.

Darkness clouds the beginnings of Zen ink-painting in Japan. Only a few of the many painters and paintings of this early period can be determined with certainty. The real pioneers of this new art form were the two Zen monks Mokuan (d. ca. 1345) and Kaō (d. 1345), about whose lives we know relatively little. A dedicated monk and gifted artist, Mokuan traveled to China in his old age, where he remained until his death, having found both a new home and widespread esteem. One of his best known works is the painting of "The Four Sleepers" picturing the two vagabonds Han-shan (Jpn., Kanzan) and Shih-te (Jpn., Jittoku) together with master Feng-kan (Jpn., Bukan) and a tiger he had tamed.[39]

Having entered monastic life at a young age, Kaō travelled to China toward the end of the Kamakura period; there he made impressive progress in the art of ink painting. Some time after he had returned to Japan, he was appointed abbot of Nanzen-ji. His favorite theme was the pair of vagabonds Han-shan and Shih-te. Among the few paintings of his that are preserved, there is his humorous presentation of Han-shan, hands swimming in enormous sleeves and scrubby head held high, looking out on the world with a friendly grin, well aware of the impermanence of it all.[40]

Zen portraiture is inspired both by the school's strong sense of tradition and by the devotion that Zen disciples felt toward their masters. The large number of portraits makes clear the close bonds between Zen monks and their teachers as well as the importance that Zen has always attributed to personalities of great experience.[41]

From the extensive collection of portraits, whose authors often remain anonymous, three paintings illustrating the three phases of medieval Japanese Zen history may be singled out for mention. After his death, Enni Ben'en, the founding abbot of Tōfuku-ji, was honored by numerous portraits, most of them by unknown disciples. A later painting of him by the prominent Japanese Zen artist Kichizan Minchō (also called Chō Densu, 1350–1431) is counted among the most beautiful classical Zen portraits.[42] There is something touching about the figure of the white-haired master—a spirit-filled, almost unassuming ascetic—sitting majestically on his abbot's chair; it is a painting done with warm, reverential feeling. Minchō, a painter-monk of Tōfuku-ji, is one of the earlier artistic personalities of the Muromachi period.

Musō Soseki, one of the foremost Zen masters at the beginning of the Muromachi period, was also a frequent subject of paintings by his disciples, among which one of the best known was done by Mutō Shūi in the middle of the fourteenth century.[43] The fine, aristocratic qualities of this venerable monk give expression to the depths of his enlightened mind. To this day, he is broadly remembered and revered in Japan.

For different reasons, the same can be said of the more earthy Ikkyū. Portraits of him outnumber those of all other masters; almost all of these paintings present him as a relatively young rustic in his fifties, poised in some kind of unconventional, sluggish bearing. Two of the paintings were by his disciple Bokkei (1394–1473), both done around the same time (1452 and 1453), but each from a different perspective.[44] The bald-headed, beardless monk of the first painting was transformed within the space of a year into the scrubby haired, unkempt old eccentric Ikkyū. While many portraits show Ikkyū on the abbot's seat *(isuzō)*, in only one is he wearing ritual robes. The best known painting of Ikkyū in advanced years is the work of his disciple Bokusai (1412?–1492), an excellent painter who has also given us a sketched portrait that most likely preceded the final work.[45] The sketch is the most impressive picture of the master that we have. Brinker appropriately describes it thus: "From the corner of his eyes, with a penetrating, critically searching, indeed challenging look, the subject stares back at the viewer; this highly unusual form for a Zen portrait creates a lively, intense, and direct communication between the subject of the painting and the viewer."[46]

With its beginnings in the Kamakura period, Japanese Zen painting freely developed in the Zen temples of Kyoto during the Muromachi period, inspired and influenced by Chinese ink-drawing of the Sung period. Tōfuku-ji and Daitoku-ji were important centers of this development, as can be seen in the work of the previously mentioned masters, Minchō[47] and Bokusai. Three generations of Ami were active in the service of the Ashikaga shogunate: Nōami (also called Shinnō, 1397–1471), Geiami (also called Shingei, 1431–1485), and Sōami (d. 1525). Geiami's student Shōkei, who was also called Kei Shoki because of his office as secretary *(shoki)* at Kenchō-ji in Kamakura, was one of the leading Zen painters in Japan's eastern, or Kantō, region. Sōami, the most important of the Ami, whom we already met in our section on garden art, numbers among the best ink painters of his time. His favorite theme was the rainy, overcast landscapes of Kyoto.

Around the middle of the Muromachi period the shōgun Yoshimitsu founded an artist's studio on the Chinese model and placed it under the direction of the painter-monk Josetsu (fl. c. 1400–1413). Little is known concerning the person and work of Josetsu. His masterful artistry is evident in his painting "Catching a Catfish with a Gourd," which joins the two themes of Zen parables and land-

scapes.[48] The meaning of the parable is that it is just as difficult to attain enlightenment as it is to catch a smooth, slippery catfish with a gourd bottle. Josetsu's student Shūbun (d. between 1444 and 1448) carried on and made ink painting more widely known and regarded. After studying in Korea he worked in Japan mainly in the Southern Sung style of the masters Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei (both from the beginning of the thirteenth century). Ma Yüan is known for his so-called "one-corner" style, which left the entire page empty except for one corner. An example of this style is "A Fisherman," one of the greatest artistic symbols of all time of the grandeur and loneliness of human existence.[49] Shūbun produced a large number of excellent landscape paintings, which were highly acclaimed for so well expressing Japanese feelings for nature. He was an artist of extraordinary originality. With his successor, Sōtan (1413–1481), however, the Ma-Hsia style (so-called after its Chinese originators) fell victim to the lethargy of routine.

Sesshū Tōyō (1420–1506), who probably began his artistic career under the direction of Shūbun and belonged for a while to the studio in Shōkoku-ji, claims a unique place in the history of Japanese art. His fame exceeds that of all his contemporaries. Among both Japanese and Western art historians he is regarded as the greatest of all Japanese ink-painters, perhaps the greatest painter in the entire history of Japanese painting";[50] he has been called the most powerful of all Japan's artists.[51] Both his life and his art are informed by Zen. Born in Bitchū (Okayama prefecture), he was only twelve when he joined a small Buddhist monastery near his home. His Zen training took place at Shōkoku-ji in Kyoto, where he was held in high esteem as a monk and painter. Although his artistic development was greatly influenced by a stay in Ming-dynasty China (1467–1469), upon returning to Japan, he made no secret of his disappointment with the Chinese painters whom he had come to know. In his estimation, Josetsu and Shūbun were every bit as accomplished as the Chinese masters. Still, while in China he did learn a great deal about technique and style. He mastered the brush movement technique developed in Chinese ink drawing as well as the *shin* style of angular lines and sharp contures represented by the 'Northern' Sung school (with Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei and their successors), together with the *sō* style of soft tones through "broken ink" *(haboku)* or "sprayed ink" *(hatsuboku)*.

Upon returning from China, he first took to traveling, frequently changing his residence and regularly avoiding the capital city, which at that time lay in ruins. He left the artist's studio to others and is said to have recommended Kanō Masanobu (1434–1530) to be Sōtan's successor. He himself finally settled down in the quiet hermitage of Unkoku-an, near Yamaguchi, where his artistic gifts reached their highest development and maturity. In his old age he created the masterpieces that give enduring expression to his Zen spirit. Because it does not allow for any subsequent correction, the technique of ink painting demands the kind of mental control that a Zen disciple acquires through rigorous practice. Every brush stroke remains as it is: beginning delicately, it moves boldly across the white paper and then fades out or ends abruptly. The certainty and vigor of Sesshū's brush are unexcelled.

Among his many works are some that clearly show his ability to paint human beings. He was seventy-six years old when he painted "Hui-k'o Cuts off His Arm."[52] Despite the tension of the moment depicted, both patriarchs are made duly to maintain their venerable, collected bearing. In its *shin* style, the painting proves Sesshū's ability to capture individuals.[53] But his landscape paintings show his greatest talent. His exuberant, many-leveled ink-painting, "The Four Seasons,"[54] peers into the very mystery of nature. The sharply angular lines in *shin* style and the delicate, partially colored washes express the artist's conception of how nature changes through the seasons. This picture has been called the foremost expression of Japanese ink painting, though a later picture of the aged Sesshū in the *sō* style, "Landscape in the Broken Ink Style,"[55] is for many the crowning point of his work and the most perfect Japanese landscape painting.

The life and feeling that breathe within Sesshū's paintings of nature are evidence of his Zen spirituality. As the body of Buddha, nature is in a constant process of growth; therefore anyone who seeks to present nature from within has to enter into this process. This is precisely what Sesshū sought to do in his ink paintings; he excells all others in his ability to see into the changing seasons and into the exuberance of plant life.

Although Sesshū did not found a school, he did inspire the work of many young artists of his time. Shūgetsu, who studied under him around 1490 and then undertook a journey to China in 1496, came under the influence of the Chinese painters of the Ming period and made use of ink and colors.[56] The painter-monk Sesson Shūkei (1504–1589),[57] who lived in the province of northern Japan, bore a great devotion to Sesshū and sought to imitate the style of the great master. A highly talented painter himself, Sesson mastered both the *shin* and the *sō* styles. His work, "Boat on a Windy Sea," is among the masterpieces of Japanese ink painting.[58] He stands as the last of the great Zen ink painters of the Muromachi period.

Toward the end of the epoch, although genuine Zen painting still had its devotees, decorative painting came to attract more of the popular attention. In this regard, the Kanō family, famous for its many artists, excelled.[59] Kanō Masanobu (1434–1530), who was the first of the family to become director of the Academy of Art in Shōkoku-ji, bore some affinity to Zen. His paintings, however, show a clear preference for secular tastes. His son Motonobu (1476–1559) painted with both ink and light colors. In his paintings he came close to the *yamato-e* and ended up blending into the Tosa school. The further development of painting during the Muromachi period illustrates the growing secularization of Japanese culture. The temples, which as potent spiritual centers of inner renewal had a refined and religiously inspired culture radiated throughout the nation, degenerated and stagnated spiritually. Only during the Edo period, after a long period of dormancy, was Zen ink painting brought back to life. The outstanding figures at the time were Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768) and Sengai Gibon (1751–1837).

THE SPREAD OF TEA CULTURE

In this closing chapter on the influence of Zen on the culture of the Muromachi period, we have studied the arts up to the point where, as a new epoch dawned,

they adapted to new currents and underwent a profound transformation. During this transitional period, the second half of the sixteenth century, tea culture[60] reached its highpoint. After attaining the heights of its development under Sen no Rikyū, tea culture continued to flourish well into the Edo period.

Originally an integral part of monastic life in Zen temples, tea culture loosened its monastic bonds and began to bring a Zen influence to the bourgeois social classes that were forming as medieval feudalism dissolved. Besides giving birth to a new social structure, this period of transition also saw the first contacts between Japan and Europe and between Far Eastern spirituality and Christianity. Though fundamentally informed by the aesthetic of the transitional period, tea culture entered the modern period without any essential changes; this enabled it to spread broadly throughout the country and to occupy to this day a unique place in Japanese cultural history.

CHANOYU

Many a non-participating observer has marveled at the sense of close community that forms among practitioners of Zen meditation who have spent a week of silently sitting next to each other. At the end of a practice period *(sesshin)* everyone feels the bonds of friendship and continues long afterward to speak of their Zen friends, with whom, actually, they had very little direct exchange. No doubt, they mean and feel what they say. The tea ceremony, with its silent ritual, works in much the same way and creates deeps bonds of community. "Tea friends" (in Japanese, *chajin*, "tea people") who come together to perform this detailed and highly ritualized ceremony and who sip the green, aromatic drink from individually made tea bowls, find themselves linked by solemn yet happy bonds. Although the stillness of a Zen monastery dominates the simple, meticulously clean tea room, the solitude is mixed with the sense of being together with like-minded friends.

Okakura, in his classic *The Book of Tea*, which at the beginning of this century first made known this form of Asian spirituality to the West, states that the tea ceremony is "a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful among the sordid facts of everyday existence."[61] The Zen master and philosopher Hisamatsu Shin'ichi calls the "way of tea" a "unique, integrated, Zen cultural expression" and sees it as "the creation of Japanese layman's Zen."[62]

Descriptions of the tea ceremony explain all the necessary utensils: the portable table *(daisu)*, the water kettle *(kama)*, the water pot *(mizusashi)*, the tea can *(ha-ire)*, the tea spoon *(chashaku)*, the tea cloth *(chakin)*, the ladle *(hishaku)*, and the center of everything—the tea bowl *(chawan)*. We have already described the tea garden *(roji)*; the tea room can be a separate space in a house *(kakoi)* or a straw-covered hut *(sukiya)*. The ideal space is a room the size of four-and-a-half mats. Because of its ceremonial character, the entire ritual has been called in the West the *tea ceremony*—a word that, unlike the term *cult*, does not really express devotion. While Zen itself stresses the identity of the sacred and the profane, in the tea ceremony one encounters not the sacred but a spirituality in the midst of what is radically profane.

A number of internal characteristics of the *chanoyu* should be mentioned. The tea master is the host who greets his invited guests (always five) individually, shows them to their places, and then serves them. The master prepares the tea separately for each guest, pours it into a previously designated cup, and then slides the cup over the straw mat so that the guest, who has just tasted some sweet rice cake, can take it in both hands and, slurping lightly, drink the tea in three swallows. The host follows this same procedure for the next guest, and in this silent, extended, slow-moving ceremony, all the guests drink their tea. Breaking the atmosphere of silence, the host then begins a conversation that has for its object the teacup, the other utensils, and perhaps the paintings, the calligraphy, or the flower arrangement that decorate the tea room. Nothing from the outside is admitted into this select circle, for it is strictly forbidden "to discuss worldly matters either inside or in front of the tea room."[63] This Zen-like spiritual-aesthetic atmosphere, nourished by both silence and words, constitutes the essence of *chanoyu*.

THE JAPANESE TEA MASTER

Tea was known in Japan already during the Nara period, but it was during the Heian period that tea-drinking became widespread among the nobility and monks. After this rather fashionable flourishing, the custom fell out of use until Eisai brought Zen and tea seeds to Japan, encouraged the planting of tea, and explained all the health benefits that tea drinking could bring. During the fourteenth century, the enjoyment of tea once again flourished; tea societies were formed among the nobility and a competitive game *(mono-awase)* popular during the Heian period took on new life as a tea contest *(tōcha)*. These forerunners of the tea ceremony developed within a social context, and when combined with festive meals and baths, often sank to the level of debauchery. In contrast to such corruptions, *chanoyu* arose during the fifteenth century; its inspiration was the spirit of Zen.

The first two names associated with these beginnings were Nōami (1397–1471) and Murata Jukō (1423–1502). An artist in the service of the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshinori, Nōami made the first real contributions to the development of the tea ceremony. He moved the tea room from the elegant, usually two-storied tea pavilion *(chatei)* to a residence done in *shoin-zukuri* style and made use of the portable table *(daisu)* and simple tea utensils that were also used in the Zen temple. Because of him the tea ceremony came to occupy an important place in the shōgun's court; beginning with Ashikaga Yoshimasa the tea ceremony became the focus of social life. An expert in Chinese art, Nōami was the curator of the shōgun's art collection, which he catalogued and described in the *Kundaikan sōchōki*. Nōami's son, Geiami, was less gifted than his father and died at a relatively early age. It remained to Nōami's grandson Sōami to carry on the work; he published a second edition of the *Kundaikan souchōki* in 1511. It appears that the highly artistic Sōami was closely tied to his grandfather and made significant contributions to the development of tea culture. One of Nōami's disciples, Kitamuki Dōchin, maintained close relations to the famous tea masters Jōō and Sen no Rikyū.

Murata Shukō, the founder of Zen's art of tea, came from Nara. The son

of a Buddhist priest, he entered the local Shōmyō-ji monastery at an early age but returned to the world when he was twenty-four and lived for a long time with a merchant family who gave him the name Murata. In Nara he made the acquaintance of Nōami, who had fled to this rural provincial town to escape the bustle of the capital. His relationship with the famous master became the decisive factor in his decision to undertake a trip to Kyoto, where he became the disciple of the renowned Zen master Ikkyū Sōjun. Ikkyū taught him to appreciate both Zen meditation and the way of the arts and enabled him to understand the bonds between Zen and tea. Through Sōami, the master found access to the shōgun Yoshimasa, whose good graces he soon won through his services and even more so through his artistic talents.

Yoshimasa built a painter's hermitage called Shukō-an, where, in quiet solitude, the master devoted himself to the art of tea. Adorning the hermitage was the calligraphy of the famous Chinese Zen master Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in (1063–1135), which Ikkyū had given him instead of a seal of enlightenment. From that time, tea masters have taken delight in decorating their tea rooms with calligraphy hangings *(bokuseki)*. In his self-sought solitude, Shukō came to realize something that became an enduring dictum: "Zen and tea have the same taste" *(zen-cha ichi-mi)*. Carefully studying the Chinese literature on tea, he then sought to adapt it to Japanese ways. While Dōgen had incorporated Chinese directives for tea drinking among monks into his rule, *Eihei shingi*. Shukō was intent on working out a synthesis between Chinese tradition and Japanese lifestyle. He is said to be the first to have listed the four principles of the way of tea—harmony (Jpn., *wa*), reverence *(kei)*, purity *(sei)*, and tranquillity *(jaku)*—which became the pillars of the fully formed culture of tea. He inspired a large number of followers to take up the art of tea.

Takeno Jōō (1502–1558), the second great Japanese tea master, came from a merchant family of the port city of Sakai near Osaka. His father, a leather dealer, rejoiced in his son's poetic inclinations. First he studied poetry with Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), then *chanoyu* with two of Shukō's pupils, Jūshiya Sōgo and Sōchin. Jōō brought to fruition the more popular concerns that Shukō had initiated, and *chanoyu* soon became the favorite artistic pursuit of all ages and walks of life. The performances of the tea ceremony that Jōō conducted and in which he gave special attention to appropriate, artistic utensils, were highly regarded and attracted many. Sakai became a gathering place for devoted students of tea culture. Through his fine and clearly defined tastes, Jōō contributed greatly to the development of *chanoyu* and helped make it part of popular culture.

Sen no Rikyū (also called Sōeki Rikyū, 1521–1591), Japan's greatest tea master and one of its eminent artistic figures, also came from Sakai. His father, a fishmonger, introduced his son to the circle of the city's tea devotees. Rikyū first studied with Nōami's disciple Kitamuki Dōchin from the Higashiyama school, who eventually sent him to Jōō. Thanks to these early experiences Rikyū was able to join the elegant, noble style of the Higashiyama with the more common, bourgeois tastes of the tea circles of Sakai—a union that raised both styles to higher levels.

Rikyū's ideal was to be as simple and natural as possible. So he was not satisfied with moving the tea room from the pavilion to an ordinary residence (the *shoin-zukuri* style). For him, the ideal place for *chanoyu* was a peasant's straw hut *(sōan)* or a hermit's hut. Among those practicing the art of tea there should be no social classes. To make this clear he did away with the special entrance for dignitaries *(kinjin-guchi)* and required all guests to bend down and enter, almost on their knees, through the lower door *(nijiri-guchi)*. This is how he understood the spirit of *wabi*, that extreme form of need or poverty—a virtue that, as the poet Rilke notes, glows from within. In his simple setting in the provincial city of Sakai, Rikyū devoted himself wholeheartedly to *chanoyu* and brought it to the heights of its development.

Rikyū was well into middle-age when the military commander Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), a lover of the tea-ceremony, called him and other tea masters to Kyoto. After Nobunaga's death, his successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) appointed Rikyū to be both his tea master and eventually his counselor, and bestowed many other honors on the master. It was the zenith of Rikyū's life. That a tea master of such humble origins could, through his artistic achievements, ascend to a position of such national influence was not only an extraordinary event but a clear indication of the aesthetic sensitivities of the Japanese and of the great value that they attributed to art, especially to the art of tea. As Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241) once set the tone for poetry during the Heian period, so did Sen no Rikyū become the recognized arbiter for all questions of good taste in the tea ceremony. The general esteem that he enjoyed, however, also brought him political influence that eventually was to spell his undoing.

One of the most memorable events of Rikyū's time at the court was the invitation of the military dictator Hideyoshi, an event that brought together nearly eight hundred tea devotees from all social classes at Kitano near Kyoto in the autumn of 1587. Because of an insurrection in Higo (Kyūshū), the ceremonies had to be prematurely terminated. But the triumphal gathering was also darkened in another way. Hideyoshi, who considered himself somewhat of an expert in *chanoyu*, felt that Sen no Rikyū, his great tea master, had upstaged him. The dictator's displeasure hung over the gathering like an evil spirit. Would there be unhappy consequences?[64]

Sen no Rikyū's tragic end came in less than three years. Much has been written about the causes of his undoing. Japanese historians give different reasons for the growing rift between the two men, whose personalities were quite incompatible to begin with. Hideyoshi preferred splendor, as evidenced by his intense building projects, especially his Momoyama Palace.[65] Besides the clear differences in their tastes regarding the tea ceremony, there were also various expressions of rivalry, for example, when Sen no Rikyū had a wooden statue of himself set up on the upper level of the entrance gate of Daitoku-ji. Had the statue not been removed immediately, Hideyoshi would have been required to pass under the statue of his subject when visiting the temple. Such circumstances, however, do not explain Hideyoshi's command that Sen no Rikyū commit ritual suicide. The tea master was no doubt involved in many of the political intrigues of those days. The reason for his sudden demise is probably to be sought in

simply an unlucky constellation of political events.[66] To this day, no one has come up with a coherent explanation. On February 28, 1591, Sen no Rikyū called together his tea-friends to perform *chanoyu* for the last time. He left behind two farewell poems, in Chinese and in Japanese, both of which make use of Buddhism to express his readiness to depart.

His sudden death was a hard blow for tea devotees *(chajin)* in the capital, but his numerous students from all social classes committed themselves to carrying on Sen no Rikyū's style of tea culture. Among those followers there were a number of talented men from his native Sakai who are well known in the literature of tea. We may mention for example Nambō Sōkei, the author of the *Nambōroku,* and Yamanoue Sōji (1544–1590), whose pupils edited the work *Yamanoue Sōji-ki.* Tsuda Sōkyū (d. 1591), also from Sakai, had participated in the great tea assembly at Kitano. For a number of different reasons which we shall examine below, it is significant that among the so-called "seven wise men of Rikyū"—noblemen who formed the inner circle of Rikyū's friends[67]—five were Christians. To the present day, the Rikyū style of the tea ceremony is practiced in Kyoto (Omote-senke and Ura-senke).

THE CHRISTIAN DAIMYŌ AND THE WAY OF TEA

The flowering of the way of tea during the Eiroku (1558–1570), Genki (1570–1573), and Tenshō (1573–1592) periods coincided with the early stages of Christian missionary efforts in Japan. So far we have traced the development of the Zen arts from Japan's medieval period to this time of transition that prepared for the modern age. The encounter of Japan with the West and with Christianity, one of the significant elements in the beginnings of the modern age, will occupy us in the following chapter. But since the art of tea belongs to the medieval Zen arts, it seems fitting here to look into the attitudes of the early Japanese Christians toward Japan's tea culture. Here the historical interweaving of events assumes a particular importance.

In Japanese history books, the period we are here dealing with is the time of civil war known as the "period of the warring states" *(sengoku jidai).*[68] For the people, it was a time of widespread confusion and great need. The darkness began to recede somewhat with the appearance of the mighty military leaders Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, both of whom were declared devotees of the art of tea. Many of the early Japanese Christians also learned the way of tea. On the guest lists of many tea societies of the time we find not a few names of Christians, who were happy to carry out the wishes of their missionaries that they adapt to local customs.

Much more than a local custom, the way of tea touches the very soul of Japan. We can glean some idea of how these early Christians experienced and understood the way of tea from the detailed description of *chanoyu* in the writings of the Portugese priest João Rodrigues (1561–1633).[69] As one of the foremost scholars of his works states:

> For not only does he he reveal an unrivaled knowledge of the Japanese way of life, but he also shows himself at his most fascinating when, alone among the European observers of his time, he delves into Oriental aesthetic values and canons of taste, displaying a mastery that has astonished modern Japanese readers.[70]

Very much at home in the atmosphere of the tea centers of Kyoto and Sakai, Rodrigues grasped the religious background of the tea ceremony and found in its meaning and values an extension of the religious ideals of Zen into the secular, artistic world. The following lengthy passage from his book enables us to appreciate his deep understanding, the nuances of his evaluations, and some of the unavoidable difficulties of comprehension:

> This art of *suki,* then, is a kind of solitary religion instituted by those who were supreme therein to encourage good customs and moderation in everything concerning the devotees of this art. This is in imitation of the solitary philosophers of the *Zenshū* sect who swell in their retreats in the wilderness. Their vocation is not to philosophize with the help of books and treatises written by illustrious masters and philosophers as do the members of the other sects of the Indian gymnosophists. Instead, they give themselves up to contemplating the things of nature, despising and abandoning worldly things; they mortify their passions by certain enigmatic and figurative meditations and considerations which guide them on their way at the beginning. Thus, from what they see in things themselves they attain by their own efforts to a knowledge of the First Cause; their soul and intellect put aside everything evil and imperfect until they reach the natural perfection and being of the First Cause.
>
> So the vocation of these philosophers is not to content or dispute with another with arguments, but they leave everything to the contemplation of each one so that by himself he may attain the goal by using these principles, and thus they do not teach disciples. So those belonging to this sect are of a resolute and determined character, without any slackness, indolence, mediocrity, or effeminacy. As regards the care of their own persons, they do without a great number of things that they regard as superfluous and unnecessary. They believe that the chief thing in keeping with a hermitage is frugality and moderation, with much quietness, peace of mind, and exterior modesty, or, to describe it better, complete hypocrisy, after the fashion of the Stoics who maintained that perfect men neither felt nor had any passions.
>
> . . . Although they imitate the *Zenshū* sect in this art, they do not practice any superstition, cult, or special ceremony related to religion; for they have taken none of this from the sect, but imitate it merely as regards its eremitical seclusion and withdrawal from all dealings in social matters, its resolution and alertness of mind in everything, and its lack of tepidity, sluggishness, softness, and effeminacy . . .[71]

Rodrigues blends many particulars into this overall picture. He praises purity, simplicity, interpersonal harmony, naturalness—all of which are attitudes taken from the four basic principles of the way of tea and that together make up that

human quality that distinguishes the tea ceremony in its original rustic form. He writes: "Everything artificial, refined, and pretty must be avoided, for anything not made according to nature causes tedium and boredom in the long run."[72] From Rodrigues' exposition, which contains precise names of places and persons, it is clear that he was well acquainted with members of the tea circles of his day. He makes special mention of Takayama Ukon (d. 1615),[73] one of Rikyū's seven wise men and a Christian daimyō who, though not the most powerful of the princely friends of tea, exercised a strong influence within Rikyū's tea circle. Personally attractive and well educated, he numbers among the prominent personalities of his time. He enjoyed the favor of Hideyoshi and held the important fief of Takatsuki, in the heartland of Japan between Kyoto and Osaka. In their letters, the missionaries spoke of him with lavish praise. One letter ends with the following words:

> Justus Ukondono (the name they gave him) is a rare phenomenon. He increases daily in virtue and the perfection of life . . . His life makes such an impression on the unbelievers that they generally love and esteem him. Hideyoshi likewise speaks often of him and says that no one else can equal his attainments. He loves and esteems him greatly, and counts him among his closest confidants and protégés.[74]

By combining the military *(bu)* and the cultural *(bun)* Takayama Ukon embodied the Japanese ideal of knighthood. He was a multifaceted artist, mastering the various forms of Japanese poetry—the song *(waka)*, the linked verse *(renga)*, and the epigram *(haiku)*. Above all, he was distinguished in the art of tea. Rikyū valued him more than any of his pupils, especially for his strength of character. Sent by Hideyoshi, Rikyū sought to convince him to renounce his new religion, but Ukon placed his faith above tea and power. His friendship with Rikyū survived his fall from Hideyoshi's grace. Later, in times of difficulty, he sought out his beloved tea master in secrecy, and was kindly received by him.[75] Ukon reached the height of his artistry in the years of his exile. In Kanazawa he became the center of a circle of tea friends, to which belonged also the powerful prince Maeda Toshie and his son, Toshinaga. The spirit of the art of tea—characterized by the qualities of harmony, reverence, purity, and tranquillity—found in Ukon its Christian transfiguration.

Among the other Christian lords in Rikyū's tea circle, Gamō Ujisato (1557–1596), a famous commander and favorite of Hideyoshi from the old nobility, was the most prominent. In addition to the tea ceremony, he was well versed in the composition of poetry and in garden design. He had studied Buddhism and Confucianism at the Zuiryū-ji temple, a Zen center in Gifu, and was later won to the Christian faith by Ukon.

The three remaining Christians among the "seven wise men"—Oda Yūraku (or Urakusai), Seta Kamon, and Shibayama Kenmotsu—are not as well known as the others and enjoy a more limited fame in the history of tea. Oda Yūraku (1547–1621), a younger brother of Oda Nobunaga, was baptized during his tea studies with Sen no Rikyū. He wrote his Christian name, Juan, in Chinese characters, which were read *Jōan* in Japanese and which he used to name the tea room that he founded. Seta Kamon was rather unique in his practice of the way of tea and attracted much attention because of his out-of-the-ordinary tastes in the utensils used in the tea ceremony. About Shibayama Kenmotsu not much more is known than that he was of the court nobility.[76]

The most influential personality among the nobles who became pupils of Sen no Rikyū was Hosokawa Sansai, who is better known by his princely name, Hosokawa Tadaoki (1564–1645). His family has given a series of illustrious names to Japanese history. His father, Fujitaka, who was also known under the pen name of Yūsai, was renowned as both poet and warrior. His school of poetics, which was the transitional bridge to the modern age, had as its most illustrious pupil a Christian named Peter Kinoshita Katsutoshi (or Chōshōshi, 1570–1650). Tadaoki was deeply attached to Ukon and often engaged him in long conversations about the new religion. Through Ukon's influence, his high-minded wife, Gracia, became a Christian. A Zen Buddhist and highly gifted, she had many objections that first had to be answered before she was baptized in a secret rite. In loyalty to his house, Tadaoki cultivated the virtues of the knight and the artist. He himself never became a Christian. After the early and tragic death of his heroic wife, he bequeathed rich gifts to the church of Osaka and himself partook in the liturgy of Christian burial.

The name of Araki Murashige (d. 1585), the daimyō of Settsu, occupies an unclear place in the given list of the "seven wise men." Because of his traitorous conniving and the enmity he bore toward Takayama Ukon, he really did not fit into the circle, but his early death, before that of Sen no Rikyū, surrounded this figure with some uncertainty. After Sen no Rikyū's death, the leading position in the circle of his disciples went to his best pupil, Furuta Oribe (1544–1615), a knight who had a lower social ranking than the daimyō but a high reputation in tea circles. Oribe later founded his own school (Oribe-ryū), which departed from the school of Rikyū, and went on to play an important role in tea ceramics. Because of his connections with the Toyotomi clan, he was obliged to commit suicide in 1615 under the rule of the Tokugawa.

The presence of so many Christian tea masters and pupils among the followers of the classical way of tea presents us with a fascinating picture that should not be overlooked. In a unique way it brings together a number of different factors. Under the great tea masters Murata Shukō, Takeno Jōō, and Sen no Rikyū, *chanoyu* reached the epitome of its development. Inspired by the spirit of Zen, these three masters, together with the artists from the Ami family, were Zen Buddhist laymen who pursued their own inclinations without the restrictions of monastic rules and so enabled the way of tea to develop in full freedom. This period of grōwth lasted for some decades; during ensuing centuries, however, it lost its creative energy and, on the profane level, eventually sank to a form of cultural conversation. The Christians who took up the way of tea, however, were dealing with the classical core of the art of tea that had been developed by religiously minded lay persons. This explains both the Christians' spontaneous enthusiasm for this highly significant phenomenon—the spiritual value of which

took strong hold of them—as well as their unencumbered participation in the tea ceremony. The history of Japanese culture owes the most detailed and reliable description of classical *chanoyu* to the sympathetic pen of the Portuguese missionary and tea devotee, João Rodrigues.

TEA CERAMICS

In order to bring the experience of Zen into everyday life, the art of tea draws one closer to the everyday things of life. This accounts for its affinities with pottery and explains why tea masters attribute great importance to ceramics. Among the objects of the ceremony, the tea bowl, which is a work of ceramic art par excellence, is the heart of the art of tea. This is not to deny the importance of the other objects used in the ceremony. The bearing of the tea masters as they prepare the tea illustrates clearly their inner rapport with the objects that are so readily and helpfully at hand. In the aesthetics of tea one can see a certain parallel to social relations among humans. Dietrich Seckel presents an engaging description of the relation between the tea utensils and the social phenomenon of *chanoyu*. Every object (tea canister, tea bowl, water pot, and so forth) is made individually, never mass-produced. As "individuals" or "personalities," therefore, the objects are often given names. With other utensils, which are also considered to be "personalities," they form a group (namely a whole assembly of functionally related utensils) and encounter each other harmoniously on the same level, as is the case with the *chajin*.[77]

Originally a form of popular handicraft, tea ceramics developed as tea drinking grew in popularity. Zen masters, among them Dōgen, showed an early and lively interest in the utensils of tea drinking. Dōgen's potter accompanied him to China, where he stayed for six years before he returned to Japan and set up a kiln in Seto. Though the art of tea ceramics went on to enjoy some limited success, it was not before the middle of the sixteenth century, in connection with the ritual of *chanoyu*, that it really began to flourish. Japanese tea masters placed great value on the development of the art of Japanese pottery, while they also had high regard for the earlier and abundant forms of Chinese ceramics.

Although Shukō, the first of the great Japanese tea masters, had in his possession a precious piece of Chinese ceramics in the Temmoku (Chin., T'ien-mu) style from the Sung period, he recommended that for the tea ceremony Japanese pottery from Bizen (in the prefecture of Okayama), Ise (Mie), and Shigaraki (Shiga) be used.[78] Jōō (d. 1558) made the same recommendations, reserving his preferences for the Temmoku cups of Seto that, under Chinese influence, were produced with great artistry in Mino (Gifu) and represent the first glazed ware of truly native origin.[79] The Japanese tea masters often went back to the older works from Seto and from earlier ovens,[80] finding in their utter simplicity a way of approaching the ideals of *wabi*.

Sen no Rikyū met an artist named Chōjirō (1512–1592), probably Korean, in Kyoto and with his help brought Japanese tea ceramics to the apex of its development. Chōjirō was able to meet the great tea master's wishes for simple, monochromatic bowls that would show both breadth and depth. The artist created the Raku-ware that represents the most illustrious achievements of Japanese ceramics during the Muromachi period.

During his campaign in Korea in 1592 and 1593, Hideyoshi observed the work of the famous Korean ceramists and later arranged for the settlement of Korean potters in Japan. The center of Korean ceramics in Japan was Karatsu, on the island of Kyūshū.

Many different styles of tea ceramics developed during the seventeenth century. The splendid green-glazed bowls of the Oribe style can be traced back to Furuta Oribe, the first disciple of Sen no Rikyū, who himself turned out to be a rather unconventional master. Owing much of his artistic accomplishments to his master, Oribe could not, however, maintain the high level of spiritual inspiration in the master's art of tea. The reason seems to be that he was not able to match his master's discipline and depth in Zen experience. Unfortunately, there is not space within the modest scope of this volume to pursue all the movements and accomplished artists in tea ceramics of this period. But we must at least mention the name of the leading tea master and universal artist, Kobori Enshū, whose greatest claim to fame was the masterful design of the Katsura villa. Although the arts, in their different forms, produced many other noteworthy creations, there was a drastic decline during the seventeenth century. Spreading secularization did not leave sufficient room for religiously rooted creative energies. In what follows we shall speak about individual representatives of other art forms.

RELATED ARTS

Certainly, Zen art is far from representative of the whole of Japan's great artistic achievements. At the same time, since the Muromachi period, Zen aesthetics have penetrated broad areas of Japanese culture. Noh, (Jpn. *nō*), which embraces all areas of Japanese art, was also influenced by Zen. Thomas Immoos offers an excellent description of Noh from its origins to its present-day enactment on the stage:

> Japan's classical drama was born from the cultic dance. In early times, the gods or ancestral spirits, in whose honor and before whose temple or grave the celebration took place, revealed themselves in the shaman who was marked out from the community by mask and costume. For this reason, the structure of most Noh dramas reaches its high point in the dance. The story preceding the drama serves mainly to set up the dramatic context in which the dance can be performed and the powerful manifestation of the gods can take place.
>
> In the interplay of word, music, and dance there takes shape a total work of art that enchants the senses and moves the soul with deep emotions such as marvel at the great deeds and virtues of the heroes, distress over the impermanence of all that is earthly, and reverence before the manifestation of divine powers. The events of the nation's myths and history

pass imposingly before one's eyes. The divine appears as something utterly near to the human, as the spirit of trees, rivers, mountains—as heavenly beings who nourish familiarity with the earth.[81]

This description does not contradict the conclusion that Immoos draws a few lines later: "The Noh drama originated in the fourteenth century through a constellation of foreign influences working in conjunction with primitive Japanese dramatic traditions."[82] The real originators of Noh were Kan'ami (1333–1384) and his son Zeami (1363–1443), who at the time of the Ashikaga shogunate took the *sangaku* ("music for distraction") and *sarugaku* ("monkey music")—popular peasant plays and mythical dances—and developed them into the highly refined dramatic art form of the Noh. Older elements, including Shinto dances, were preserved but were blended with the refined and sober *yūgen* style that derived from Zen. For this reason Hisamatsu Shin'ichi can speak of Noh as an "aspect of Zen Culture." He illustrates the "Zen roots" that he finds in Noh by a comparison between the slow, solemn entrance of the hero of the Noh play and the famous ink painting "Śākyamuni Returning from the Mountains."[83]

Zeami Motokiyo stands as the dominant figure in the art of Noh. As actor, director, and poet he was the delight of large audiences. Although the plays written by him are fewer than had been previously thought, his engaging compositions belong to the best of Noh poetry. Just as significant are his treatises on how to perform Noh drama and on its underlying aesthetic theory. All his writings reflect a Zen aesthetic sensitivity that he had acquired under the direction of the Ashikaga shōgun Yoshimitsu. Well versed in Zen, he loved austere gestures, innuendos, symbolism, as well as sudden surprises. Noh dramas contains little external action; rather, they look inward and bring passion and feeling to the surface only in subdued tones. From Zen, Zeami had learned that the deepest and most intimate movements of the human spirit are beyond words. Although Western audiences do not have easy access to such a different world of theater, they are fascinated by this manner of gently implying unspoken and unspeakable feelings.

An original, powerful creation of the Japanese spirit, Noh theater has enjoyed—although not always in a pure and elevated form—a steady popularity that has endured up to modern times.

Like Noh theater, the Japanese art of flower arrangement[84] cannot, strictly speaking, be called a Zen art. But just as the Noh dances were rooted in indigenous, archaic customs, so the art of flower arrangement reaches back to the flower offerings that the early Japanese (like most early cultures) customarily offered to their gods. During the seventh century, flower offering was a general practice in Japanese Buddhism, especially among the devotees of Amida, who loved to use flowers as a reminder of the Paradise in the West. During the Heian period, flower contests formed part of the widespread *awase*.

But flower-arrangement as an art first developed during the fourteenth century, promoted mainly by the nature and art lover, the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. Already in the early *rikka* (or *tatebana*, "standing flowers") style, a cosmic content is evident in the sense that in arranging flowers one feels oneself part of the cosmos. The artistic experts and counselors of the Ashikaga shōguns—especially Nōami, Geiami, and Sōami—were all well acquainted with the art of flower arrangement. For the most famous flower master of those days, Ikenobō Sen'ō (1483–1543), nothing was more important that to effect an arrangement that would best enable the beauty of the flowers to be felt.

Differing from such highly artistic endeavors, the tea master Sen no Rikyū created a form of flower arrangement that was closer to the naturalness and simplicity of the *wabi* style. A chosen branch of blossoms, placed in a simple ceramic or bamboo vase in a recess in the wall *(tokonoma)*, were sufficient as a floral decoration. Two branches could also be used, but without trying to achieve an artistic arrangement. This new approach was called the *nage-ire* ("thrown flowers") style or *cha-bana* ("tea flowers"). Flowers in a tea room were not supposed to look different from flowers outside in nature. Later, tastes returned to a single-colored *rikka* style *(isshiki rikka)*. This relation to the way of tea allowed for Zen aesthetics to influence the art of flower arrangement. The close bonds between tea and *ikebana* lasted up to the end of the seventeenth century. A real art of the people, *ikebana* continued to develop along a variety of paths and today is a common part of women's education.

As we have tried to show, during the second half of the middle ages in Japan a profound and wide-ranging Zen culture developed; in many instances, its artistic expressions were called "ways" (Jpn., *dō*).[85] In East Asia, the word *way* has a broad conotation that is correspondingly difficult to understand. Art and culture are, to some extent, "ways." The "ways" crisscross in political and social life. The metaphysical searchings of the mind, together with the religious-mystical experiences of the heart, lead to the original way, to the Tao, the basis and goal of all ways.

If the word *way* opens upon immeasurable horizons, we have to keep the rich variety of its meanings in mind when we apply it to the area of art, for there too we can find no definition that will cover the whole. Depending on the area that one is considering, the word *way* will take on different nuances. In many cases, the Zen arts can be called "ways" because they give convincing and moving expression to Zen itself. And they become more genuine ways as they creatively touch the core of Zen ever anew. So the areas that we have studied—architecture, garden design, calligraphy, painting—we can call "ways" mainly because of their power of artistic expression.

In the case of the way of tea, another factor comes into play. This art form, which touches the deepest part of the person, awakens in the "tea person" the form of the way of tea, which is neither a simple expression of the way of tea nor a searching for the way of tea; it is, rather, the ideal embodiment of the essence of the way of tea.

Certainly the element of seeking, of reaching for a higher level of perfection, has to be found in every human art. And yet the intention to strive for a goal, which is clearly felt in the word "way," is played down in the Zen forms of art that we have been looking at. To understand the Zen arts as ways to attain

enlightenment misses their essential point. The attempt to regard all the nuances contained or implied in the word "way," together with the word's unavoidable surplus of meaning, would more likely lead to a deeper understanding of the Zen realization contained in each art form.

This chapter requires some justification. Does not the whole realm of art go beyond the manageable scope of a study of religious history? Or does the history of Japanese Zen Buddhism present us with an exceptional situation? A comparison with Chinese Zen would provide a first clue to answering these questions and shed greater light on the love of beauty that is so evident in the tradition and history of the Japanese people. Soon after Zen was implanted in Japan, it was the element of beauty in Zen that became decisively important for the Japanese. This early development reached its epitome during the Muromachi period. But any study of Zen needs to bear in mind all the changes and readjustments that took place in this thoroughly Buddhist school. In addition, the special quality of aesthetic sensitivity that was nourished by Mahāyāna and especially by Zen must be considered.

The rich and broad variety of artistic achievements of the Zen movement required that our presentation in this chapter be limited. But a simple enumeration of Zen's different artistic expressions would not have sufficed. Given the impossibility of a complete treatment of this topic, I decided to focus on individual expressions of the originality and power of Zen art. The reader is left with the task of using the references to the rich, sometimes superb, literature on the subject in order to follows one's own interests and explore this area more amply. If these pages seemed to play down the religious element, it was only so that the chapter could better make its fitting and modest contribution to the overall development of this volume. Such a reduction of Zen to "profane" life is really part of the essence of Zen, in which saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are "not two."

In any case, the broad cultural influence of Zen on the different levels of Japan's population merits special attention. The Zen school in China, despite its syncretistic mixing with other forms of Buddhist religiosity, was not able to attain a similar level of popularity. That Japanese Zen Buddhism has continued to maintain such popular roots remains an important phenomenon for historians of religion.

NOTES

1. J. W. Hall, *Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times*, p. 113.
2. See R. A. B. Ponsonby-Fane, *Kyoto: The Old Capital of Japan*, p. 155.
3. See T. Hoover, *Zen Culture* (London, 1978), pp. 75ff, 131–45; cf. JH, 746–47.
4. Martin Collcutt treats the Five Mountains in China at several places in his book, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*. Collcutt is particularly concerned with the transmission of the ground plans of the temples, pp. 172–82. See the list of the five Chinese mountains in Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1182–83; *Zengaku daijiten* I, p. 340.
5. See Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, p. 175.
6. *Five Mountains*, pp. 173–74.
7. On the following, see *Five Mountains*, pp. 177–78.
8. The drawings the follow are, as in the earlier edition of my *The History of Zen*, based on those of H. Yokoyama, "Zenshū no schichidō garan," ZB 2.4 (1956): 40–45. The number seven, according to many explanations, represents the completeness of a temple complex.
9. See Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, pp. 177, 179; for the photographs of the ground plans of T'ien-t'ung-shan and Kenchō-ji, see pp. 176 and 179.
10. According to the presentation of Ponsonby-Fane (*Kyoto*, p. 153), the *sammon* of Tōfuku-ji stems apparently from the Muromachi period and tradition dates it in the Katei era (1235–1238). In 1585 it collapsed, but was immediately rebuilt by Hideyoshi. From the Katei era only the *yokushitsu* and *tōsu* are available. The Zen hall was erected during the Kenchō era (1249–1256), and the sūtra storehouse during the Tenju era (1375–1381). During the Tokugawa period the buildings were submitted to a basic restoration.
11. The *yokushitsu* and *tōsu* survive to this day. Some of the buildings of Tōfuku-ji burned down in a fire in 1907.
12. See JH, p. 747. Hoover refers to the room as a "meditation chapel," *Zen Culture*, p. 76.
13. On the Chinese *karayō* style, see JH, p. 745.
14. Hoover, *Die Kultur des Zen*, p. 86.
15. The work of construction shows the start of the *shoin* style, named after the study room, whose design can be found in JH, p. 751.
16. Cited in Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, p. 214.
17. Among the wealth of literature on Japanese Zen art, deserving of mention in the first place is Shin'ichi Hisamatsu's *Zen and the Fine Arts*. The book contains not only an excellent selection of illustrations from various cultural realms (painting, calligraphy, gardening, tea ceremony) and descriptive art tables, but also a metaphysically anchored introduction to Zen art and Zen aesthetics. In a general vein we may mention Hugo Munsterberg, *Zen-Kunst*, and also the English books of the same author, *Zen and Oriental Art*, *The Art of Japan: An Illustrated History* (Tokyo, 1957), and *Dictionary of Chinese and Japanese Art*; Dietrich Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism and Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*; Thomas Hoover, *Zen Culture*; Otto Kümmel, *Die Kunst Ostasiens*; Curt Glaser, *Die Kunst Ostasiens*. An overview can be found in a chapter entitled "Das Gesicht des Künstlers" in Hans Schwalbe, *Acht Gesichter Japans im Spiegel der Gegenwart*. Besides numerous Japanese publications, the theme of the Zen garden is treated especially in Masao Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan*; Samuel Newsom, *A Thousand Years of Japanese Gardens*; Irmtraud Schaarschmidt-Richter, *Der japanische Garten*; Tsuyoshi Tamura, *Art of the Landscape Garden in Japan*; Loraine E. Kuck, *One Hundred Years of Kyoto Gardens*; and David H. Engel, *Japanese Gardens for Today*. See also Thomas Immoos and Erwin Halpern, *Japan: Tempel, Gärten und Paläste*. See the entries in JH and KWJ. Much material on gardens, painting, and the tea ceremony is also offered in *Zen at Daitokuji*, ed. by Jon Covell and Yamada Sōbin. See also *Pageant of Japanese Art*, vol. 6, *Architecture and Gardens*.
18. On the text of the *Sakuteiki*, see JH, p. 775. *Sansui* (mountains and waters) are, as Seckel stresses, "not arbitrarily chosen to represent the whole of nature, but symbolize

the two basic powers of world and life according to the ancient Chinese Taoist notions of *yang* and *yin* . . ." (*Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*, p. 268, note 171).

19. Hoover, *Zen Culture*, p. 99.

20. See Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan*, p. 69, and plate 59 on the same page.

21. Langdon Warner, *The Enduring Art of Japan*, p. 96. Warner shows in his profound and sensible details on the Japanese garden their "high philosophical truths."

22. The attribution of the work to Murata Shukō is, as Hayakawa sees it (*The Garden Art of Japan*, p. 92), uncertain. Hayakawa describes the garden that he found at the eastern side of the abbot's lodgings (pp. 92ff) and offers an impressive reproduction (plate 39). The dating of the gardens is in many cases not reliable. Only rarely can we rule out the existence of later modifications.

23. On the gardens in Jōei-ji, see *The Garden Art of Japan*, pp. 76, 85. Sesshū is said to have designed some ten gardens, but that they are his original work is in no case certain. The garden in Jōei-ji (a lawn around a pond beset with impressive stones) is well maintained; see the reproduction in plates 37 and 63.

24. Compare the relevant literature on the art of the Zen garden (note 17). Tamura offers the model of a tea garden (*Art of the Landscape Garden in Japan*, p. 58), which he then describes, and also the reproduction of the Myōki-an garden (plate 19), whose creation is attributed to Sen no Rikyū. Munsterberg presents four plates of famous tea gardens, two from Kohō-an in Daitoku-ji, the reproduction of a tea garden of the provincial city of Matsue, and a plate of the famous tea house of Shōkin-tei in the Katsura villa in Kyoto, with the garden path leading up to it (*Zen-Kunst*, pp. 44–47, 123–26).

25. See the impressive collection of photographs entitled *Katsura*, text by Akira Naitō, photography by Takechi Nishikawa (Tokyo, 1977); see also *Imperial Gardens of Japan*, text by Teiji Itoh and photography by Takeji Iwamiya.

26. On the following see also Lothar Ledderrose, *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy*.

27. See the articles on calligraphy by R. Goepper (JH, pp. 788–794) and the art of writing by Irmtraud Schaarschmidt-Richter (KWZ, pp. 395–400). See also Yujiro Nakata, *The Art of Japanese Calligraphy*; Ōmori Sōgen and Terayama Katsujō, *Tesshū to shodō*; and Terayama Tanchū (or Katsujō), *Hitsu zendō*.

28. Cf. Hisamatsu, *Zen and the Fine Arts*, p. 23.

29. Certain Japanese emperors were excellent calligraphers; see JH, p. 790.

30. On current linguistic usage in Japan, I have Prof. Terayama to thank for his valuable assistance.

31. *Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*, p. 158.

32. *Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*, p. 250.

33. *Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*, p. 251.

34. *Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*, p. 252.

35. *Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*, p. 242.

36. *Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*, p. 252.

37. Cf. JH, pp. 790, 839.

38. See the listing of literature in vol. 1 of the present work, chap. 13, note 66, and the above mentioned detailed works of Hisamatsu Shin'ichi and Hugo Munsterberg (note 17), as well as vol. 2 of *Pageant of Japanese Art* and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Japanese Ink Painting: Early Zen Masterpieces*.

39. For a reproduction, see plate 20 in Y. Awakawa, *Zen Painting*.

40. See the reproduction in Kanazawa, *Japanese Ink Painting*, table 30, p. 61; a somewhat different version of Han-shan is given in Awakawa, *Zen Painting*, table 19. There is some uncertainy concerning the identity of the painter Kaō, on which see Awakawa, p. 177, and Kanazawa, p. 148.

41. See the citations from H. Brinker, *Die zen-buddhistische Bildnismalerei in China und Japan von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in vol. 1 of the present work, chap. 13, note 84ff.

42. Reproduction in Brinker, *Die zen-buddhistische Bildnismalerei in China und Japan*, plate 55. Cf. the description and evaluation of the picture on p. 123.

43. *Die zen-buddhistische Bildnismalerei in China und Japan*, plate 111. On Mutō Shūi and his work, see pp. 34–35.

44. *Die zen-buddhistische Bildnismalerei in China und Japan*, plates 115 and 116. An anonymous picture (plate 113) represents the master five years earlier seated in the abbot's seat in a half-lotus position. On Bokkei, see pp. 37ff.

45. A portrait sketch is included in Brinker, *Die zen-buddhistische Bildnismalerei in China und Japan*, plate 7, the reproduction on plate 121, and commentary on pp. 39 and 174–75.

46. *Die zen-buddhistische Bildnismalerei in China und Japan*, p. 175.

47. In addition to the portrait of Shōichi Kokushi, "of particular importance are the pictures of the 500 Rakan by Minchō" (Seckel, *Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*, p. 237).

48. Plate 28 in Awakawa, *Zen Painting*. Cf. Munsterberg, *Zen and Oriental Art*, pp. 78–79; Hoover, *Zen Culture*, p. 124.

49. See the reproduction in D. T. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture* (New York, 1959), plate V after p. 168.

50. Munsterberg, *Dictionary of Chinese and Japanese Art*, p. 259.

51. Kümmel, *Die Kunst Ostasiens*, p. 43.

52. Plate 40 in Awakawa, *Zen Painting*; Munsterberg, *Zen and Oriental Art*, plate 19, p. 81; Seckel, *Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens*, plate 35 in the appendix.

53. Sesshū's self portraits are characteristic, even though they are available only in copies, two of which appear in Brinker, *Die zen-buddhistische Bildnismalerei in China und Japan*, plates 20 and 21; see the explanation on pp. 80–81.

54. A reproduction of the winter landscape is to be found in Hoover, *Zen Culture*, p. 127.

55. Awakawa, *Zen Painting*, plate 41; Munsterberg, *Zen and Oriental Art*, plate 20, p. 82; Hoover, *Zen Culture*, p. 129.

56. Munsterberg finds "little of the spiritual quality associated with the greatest masters of Japanese *suiboku*" in Shūgetsu. See *Dictionary of Chinese and Japanese Art*, p. 275. Cf. Brinker, *Die zen-buddhistische Bildnismalerei in China und Japan*, pp. 198–99.

57. See the brief biography in Awakawa, *Zen Painting*, p. 180; Munsterberg, *Dictionary of Chinese and Japanese Art*, p. 259.

58. In Awakawa, *Zen Painting*, plate 42.

59. The Kanō became the official painters of the shōgun; see Hoover, *Die Kultur des Zen*, p. 138; JH, p. 841; KWJ, p. 262.

60. The majority of the works so far on Japanese art contained also sections on the tea ceremony. Kakuzo Okakura's famous *The Book of Tea* appeared in 1906. Horst Hammitzsch

published *Chadō—Der Teeweg: Eine Einführung in den Geist der japanischen Lehre vom Tee.* D. T. Suzuki devoted two chapters of his book *Zen and Japanese Culture* to the tea ceremony. See also Rand Castile, *The Way of Tea;* Tatsusaburo Hayashiya, Masao Nakamura, and Seizo Hayashiya, *Japanese Arts and the Tea Ceremony,* as well as the article on the tea ceremony in JH and KWJ. See vol. 8 of the collected works of Furuta Shōkin, *Zencha no sekai.* On Sen no Rikyū see the comprehensive work by Origuchi Sutemi, *Rikyū no cha,* vol. 7 of his collected works.

61. Okakura, *The Book of Tea,* p. 3.

62. *Zen and the Fine Arts,* p. 25.

63. One of the seven tea rules of Rikyū, cited in Hammitzsch, *Chadō—Der Teeweg,* p. 100.

64. The presentation follows the work referred to earlier, *Japanese Arts and the Tea Ceremony,* p. 30. Bersihand describes the event completely differently in his *Geschichte Japans,* p. 220; similarly, G. B. Sansom offers another account in *Japan: A Short Cultural History,* p. 438. Japanese authors are to be preferred here. The number of visitors is placed at around eight hundred.

65. On the architectural accomplishments of Hideyoshi, see Bersihand, *Geschichte Japans,* pp. 218–19; Sansom, pp. 436–37.

66. On the involvements of Sen no Rikyū in the political arena, see Beatrice M. Bodart, "Tea and Counsel: The Political Role of Sen Rikyū," MN 32.1 (1977): 49–74.

67. Kataoka Yakichi refers to the *chajin daikeifu* and gives the following seven names: Oda Yūraku (or Urakusai), Hosokawa Sansai, Gamō Hida, Araki Settsu, Seta Kamon, Shibayama Kenmotsu, Takayama Ukon. See Johannes Laures, *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan,* p. 48.

68. The period of time stretches from about the Ōnin War (1467–1477) until the middle of the sixteenth century.

69. The Portugese manuscript of his work on Japanese culture in two books has been translated and edited by Michael Cooper as *This Island of Japan.* The four chapters on the *chanoyu* were translated into Spanish by J. L. Alvarez-Taladriz as *Arte del cha.* See the comprehensive work by Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China.*

70. Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter,* p. 309.

71. Cooper, *This Island of Japan,* pp. 272–73.

72. Cooper, *This Island of Japan,* p. 285.

73. On Takayama Ukon, see Laures, *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan;* Diego Pacheco, "Fate of a Christian Daimyō," *Great Historical Figures of Japan,* pp. 174–83.

74. Cited in Laures, *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan,* pp. 177–78. The words with which the great Japanese Buddhist scholar Masaharu Anesaki praises Takayama Ukon show the high esteem in which he holds him. Anesaki writes: "The stories of Justo Takayama Ukon's life illustrate a happy union of the valor of a Japanese warrior and the fidelity of an ardent Catholic. His brilliant military achievements, his moral integrity and deliberateness in critical moments, his dauntless spirit combined with meek soul, his earnest zeal in piety expressed in his generosity and charity, all this should be noted as a fruit of Kirishitan missions." *History of Japanese Religions,* p. 243, note.

75. See Laures, *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan,* p. 310; cf. Kataoka Yakichi, "Takayama Ukon, MN 1 (1938): 451–64.

76. Nishimura Tei has written extensively on Christians belonging to the tea circle in his *Kirishitan to chadō.* On Gamō Ujisato, see p. 159; on Seta Kamon, pp. 136–37; on Shibayama Kenmotsu, p. 95.

77. "Soziale und religiöse Aspekte der japanischen Teekeramik," NOAG 126 (1979): 24. Seckel returns to touch on this theme frequently in his comments; see especially pp. 26, 31. He speaks of the history of tea utensils on pp. 27–28. On Japanese ceramics see especially *Japanese Arts and the Tea Ceremony;* JH, pp. 798–99; and KWJ, pp. 200–203.

78. *Japanese Arts and the Tea Ceremony,* p. 54.

79. Hoover, *Zen Culture,* p. 190.

80. Seto has the first of the "six old ovens" (*rikkoyō*); the five others are in Tokoname, Echizen, Shigaraki, Takikui, and Imbe; see JH, p. 798.

81. *Japan, Tempel, Gärten, und Paläste,* p. 78; on Noh drama, see Thomas Immoos and Fred Mayer, *Japanisches Theater,* and the relevant entries in JH and KWJ.

82. *Japan, Tempel, Gärten, und Paläste,* p. 78.

83. See Hisamatsu, *Zen and the Fine Arts,* pp. 100, 101. Donald Keene comments in his essay on Zeami: "I doubt that Japanese poetry can be more powerful. Zeami ranks as one of the greatest Japanese poets as well as the greatest dramatist and the greatest critic of the theatre." *Some Japanese Portraits,* p. 42.

84. In addition to the entries in JH and KWJ, see Hoover, *Zen Culture,* pp. 213–18. The Zen-related art of the *haiku* will be treated later in connection with the great Japanese poet of the Edo period Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694).

85. See Horst Hammitzsch, "Zum Begriff 'Weg' im Rahmen der japanischen Künste," NOAG 82 (1957).