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# Aesthetic of Unconventionality: *Fūryū* in Ikkyū's Poetry

Peipei Qiu

## Introduction

Scholars consider *fūryū* 風流 an important aesthetic concept in traditional Japanese culture, but the precise meaning of the term has been a perplexing issue. *Fūryū* is derived from the Chinese word *fengliu* 風流. Along with the introduction of different Chinese texts into Japan over the centuries, the multiple meanings of *fengliu* that had evolved in China came to be used in Japanese in both elite and popular cultural contexts and blended with native thought. As a result, *fūryū* became a very difficult term to define. Within the field of literature, for example, some scholars describe *fūryū* as the equivalent of *miyabi* 雅, or the courtly penchant for refinement and romance, while others see it as symbolizing the taste of the recluse-literatus in the poetry of *haikai* 俳諧 master Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–94). In Edo-period popular fiction, on the other hand, *fūryū* typically implies an amorous or erotic quality.

Among the many advocates of the *fūryū* aesthetic, the fifteenth-century Zen poet Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394–1481) was a unique proponent. His *Kyōunshū* 狂雲集 (*Crazy Cloud Anthology*) used the term frequently and in different ways, providing an excellent source to observe how the seemingly opposite implications came under the same rubric of *fūryū* and what essence lies behind the polysemy of the term. Focusing on an analysis of Ikkyū's poems and their intertextual relations with Chinese literature, this paper argues that Ikkyū's *fūryū* places fundamental emphasis on unconventionality, or transcending the worldly by being unconventional, whether it is manifested as the eremitic love of nature, the eccentric self-portrait, or the bold expression of sexual desires. It suggests that Ikkyū, and the Five Mountains Zen poets in medieval Japan as well, played an important role in transforming *fūryū* from representing courtly elegance to serving an aesthete-recluse stance, a tradition originating in the practice of the Wei-Jin 魏晉 (220–420) literati in China and continued cross-culturally to the times of Bashō.

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## The Eccentric Monk Ikkyū

Ikkyū is an unusual individual in Japanese history. Although there are no indisputable sources of information about Ikkyū's life, the influence of Ikkyū's personality is demonstrated by the lasting popularity of the Ikkyū stories among Japanese people today. According to *Ikkyū oshō nenpu* 一休和尚年譜 (*Chronicle of the Reverend Ikkyū*), attributed to his disciple Bokusai, Ikkyū was born in Kyoto on the first day of 1394 and was the unrecognized child of the Emperor Gokomatsu. His mother was of the famous Fujiwara clan, a daughter of a good family associated with the Southern court. She came to serve Emperor Gokomatsu and won his favor, but the jealous women in the palace slandered her, accusing her of sympathizing with the Southern cause. They even said that she had a knife hidden in her sleeve to murder the emperor. As a result, she was ousted from the palace and bore Ikkyū in a commoner's house. The hagiographical nature of the chronicle made its authenticity questionable. However, Ikkyū's poems and his close relationship with the imperial house seemed to support this account on his parentage.<sup>1</sup> At the age of five Ikkyū was sent to Ankoku-ji, a Rinzai Zen temple in Kyoto, as an acolyte. Ikkyū was said to have been a precocious child, and his placement into one of the secondary *Jissatsu* 十刹 of the *Gozan* 五山 system<sup>2</sup> provided him a thorough education in Buddhist scriptures, the Chinese classics, and Chinese poetry and literature. As a teenager he had already attained renown for both his talent in composing *kanshi* 漢詩 (Chinese poetry) and his serious pursuit of the truth of Zen. Increasingly dissatisfied with the corruption of *Gozan* monasteries, Ikkyū fled Ankoku-ji to study under Ken'ō, an eccentric Zen priest who had refused his own seal of transmission, the document certifying a Zen monk's enlightenment, and lived in a rude hermitage. It is said that the specific incident that led Ikkyū to leave the temple was when he overheard the deputy abbot boasting about his family background and important connections.

Ikkyū's choice of Ken'ō as his master demonstrates his seriousness about Zen and the unconventional and uncompromising personality that characterized his entire life. From the time when he was a young disciple of Ken'ō until he died as the abbot of Daitoku-ji temple in 1481, Ikkyū was a deadly serious Zen priest who stayed away from the great Buddhist monasteries and fiercely attacked anyone, a *Gozan* prelate or a monk of his mother-temple, who was lacking in sincere Zen spirit. On the other hand, Ikkyū was also an eccentric who frequented brothels and bars, a powerful *kanshi* poet whose verses juxtaposed transcendental Zen

experience with explicit descriptions of sexual love. Eccentric as he was, Ikkyū attracted the leading artists of all the major art forms of his time. The Nō dramatist Konparu Zenchiku 金春禪竹 (1405–?), whose importance in the development of the Nō drama was next only to that of Zeami, received instruction from Ikkyū. The *renga* 連歌 master Sōchō 宗長 (1448–1532) was a regular visitor at Ikkyū’s retreat Shūon’an 酬恩庵.<sup>3</sup> In the case of the tea ceremony, Murata Shukō 村田珠光 (1422–1502), the founder of the “grass hut” style of tea ceremony, was associated with Ikkyū’s Shūon’an from the beginning. Even during the turbulent years of the Ōnin War, Ikkyū’s retreat was a salon for a wide range of cultural leaders; beside those mentioned above, there were also famous painters of the Soga school. To study Zen was no doubt one of the reasons for those visits to Ikkyū by the cultural elite. But, the fact that from among many Zen masters they chose Ikkyū, an eccentric priest who burned his official seal of enlightenment—the certificate to serve as a Zen master—indicates that something besides the learning of Zen interested them. In fact, Ikkyū’s magnetism had much to do with his eccentricity, and, as demonstrated by his *Crazy Cloud Anthology*, Ikkyū was clearly aware of this and proudly proclaimed his eccentric ways as *fūryū*.

### ***Fūryū* in Japanese Texts Before Ikkyū**

In his study of *fūryū* in Japanese literature and arts, Okazaki Yoshie 岡崎義恵 named Ikkyū the most representative writer in the use of the term.<sup>4</sup> Before Ikkyū, the term had developed a variety of usages in Japan. According to Okazaki’s survey, the earliest Japanese text that contains the Chinese word is the *Man’yōshū*, where the term is given phonetic transcriptions in a native Japanese reading as *miyabi* みやび, meaning “elegance,” “refined taste,” or “unworldly refinement.” However, some other early Japanese texts, particularly the Buddhist didactic literature such as *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記 (*Record of Miracles in Japan*, ca. 823), give *fūryū* a different reading, *misao* みさを, which means “virtuous” or “spiritual integrity.” Okazaki observes that both *misao* and *miyabi* lack emotive quality; while semantically *misao* leans toward a moral, masculine, and volitional direction, *miyabi* tends to be aesthetic, feminine, and sensuous.<sup>5</sup> The later Heian texts in which *fūryū* is used, such as *Bunkyō hifuron* 文鏡秘府論 (*Mirror of Literature: Treasured Treatises*, 819–20), *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 (*The Best Writings of Japan*, ca. 1058–64), and the prefaces of the imperial poetic anthologies, are mostly written in Chinese; hence it is hard to tell how the term is read in Japanese

pronunciation. Nonetheless, the contexts in which *fūryū* appears suggest that *fūryū* in these works often refers to *bunga* 文雅 (the elegance of letters) and sometimes also to the wonder of scenic beauty.<sup>6</sup> From the late Heian period to the early Kamakura period, *fūryū* is increasingly used to describe the sensuous, showy beauty of artificial objects and folk arts, as evidenced by the accounts of festivals (*matsuri* 祭り) and contests of objects (*monoawase* 物合) popular at the time. The latter meaning was widely used in medieval Japan, and *fūryū* in that vein became the synonym of *basara* ばさら and *kasa* 過差, both suggesting flamboyant, somewhat flashy, beauty,<sup>7</sup> although another usage of *fūryū* advocated by Chinese poetry—*fūryū* as the love of nature—also found its way into Japan during this period. Additionally, *fūryū* was used to describe musical performances in medieval Japan, referring to the florid costume and decoration at first, and then also to the florid style of the music and performance.

In *Kyōunshū*, Ikkyū's major poetry collection compiled when he was still alive, *fūryū* is used fifty-three times. While presenting almost all the different implications mentioned above, *fūryū* in Ikkyū's poetry stresses a nonconformist spirit, a significance that has not been given much emphasis in the *fūryū* aesthetic before.

### ***Fūryū* in Ikkyū's Poetry**

*Fūryū* in Ikkyū's poetry in general bears the deep influence of Chinese literature. The poet often uses the term to designate *bunga* (Chinese *wenya*, the elegance of letters), a tradition that celebrates refined tastes in literature, arts, and the landscape. Ikkyū's admiration for this tradition and his pride in being part of it are the topics of many of his poems, particularly his *shi* 詩 type poems.<sup>8</sup> In the following poem, Ikkyū identifies his *fūryū* with poor Chinese literati (*kanju* 寒儒, Chinese *hanru*), such as the great Tang poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712–70):

雪

梅萼無香竹有音  
 天花盈尺夜沈々  
 風流自愛寒儒意  
 杜甫窓前西嶺吟<sup>9</sup>  
 (*Kyōunshū*, 789)

**Snow**

Plum calyxes without scent, bamboo leaves rustling;  
 The heavenly flakes over a foot high, night deepens in stillness.  
 Being *fūryū*, I naturally love the mind of poor scholars  
 As Du Fu, by the window, composing a poem on the west mountain.

Like the majority of the 880 poems in *Kyōunshū*, this is a *shichigon zekku* 七言絶句, a poem of four lines with seven Chinese characters in each line. Love for pine trees, plum blossoms, and bamboo (*song zhu mei* 松竹梅, Japanese *shō chiku bai*) is a well-known tradition among the *fūryū* literati, and composing about snow and hills is also one of their typical gestures of elegance. In the poem, Ikkyū proudly celebrates the *fūryū* of his own personality and identifies himself with Du Fu, one of the greatest Chinese poets of the Tang Dynasty. Needless to say, the celebration of the elegance of letters is a conventional practice in both Japanese and Chinese literature and Ikkyū's theme above does not seem to be particularly new. But, more often than not, Ikkyū places this topic in the context of a dark world and sighs over the loss of the elegance of letters in the degenerate times:

暗世今無翰墨風  
 風流情思又何空  
 三生此地吟魂苦  
 万杵霜華夕頂東<sup>10</sup>  
 (*Kyōunshū*, 840)

In a dark world, today there is no mood for the ink and brush;  
 Nor the mind of *fūryū*, how futile!  
 Three lives reborn on this land, the poetry spirit suffers,  
 As the "frost flowers," pounded ten thousand times, on the east slope of Hua Ding.<sup>11</sup>

According to the preface to the poem, Ikkyū composed the lines when he lost an ink stick that he had treasured. Ikkyū was so upset about the loss that he became increasingly ill. The preface describes the event:

Aah, in today's world, people are all crazy about treasures and wealth; to them an ink stick would be no more than a broken straw sandal. But I almost lost my life over a missing ink stick. I wonder if those who have many desires would feel a little shame when they heard this poem.<sup>12</sup>

Ikkyū lived during a time of frequent wars among different samurai clans and peasant rebellions. The ancient capital, Kyoto, was burned and much of its cultural heritage and traditional values were lost with it. It is

not surprising that disgust towards the degeneration of the times is a prominent topic of Ikkyū's poetry. It is noteworthy, however, that Ikkyū, a priest who was supposed to have detached himself from all the material things, loved "the ink and brush"—the symbols of *fūryū*—so dearly, and he stressed it as a remedy for the "dark world." It is true that *bunga/wenya* was received as an important part of Chinese literary tradition by the *Gozan Zen* writers and many of them presented it in their writings as a refined taste, but no one had used this concept for fierce social criticism as Ikkyū did in his poetry. In celebrating *fūryū* as the elegance of letters, Ikkyū apparently intended to go against the tide of the time.

Ikkyū not only explicitly expresses his attachment to the *fūryū* of ink and brush, but also openly expresses his love of women, wine, and even pederasty. Interestingly, Ikkyū describes these attachments also as *fūryū*. The following is one of Ikkyū's many love poems:

看森美人午睡  
 一代風流之美人  
 艷歌清宴曲尤新  
 新吟斷腸花顏靨  
 天寶海棠森樹春<sup>13</sup>  
 (*Kyōunshū*, 540)

### Seeing My Beautiful Mori Taking a Nap

*Fūryū* of the age, a fair lady;  
 Love songs, delicate feast, melodies exceptionally novel.  
 Singing a new song, I lost my heart to her lovely face and dimples,  
 As the flowering *haitang* of the Tianbao time, Mori, you are a sapling in  
 spring.

Mori, a blind singer and attendant, was Ikkyū's love of his later years. Ikkyū's deep feeling for her can be seen in many poems in *Kyōunshū*, one of which says, "Mori, if I ever forget how much I owe you, I will be reborn a beast for aeons without measure" (*Kyōunshū*, 543). In the poem above, Mori is compared to *haitang*, the Chinese crabapple tree, a conventional emblem for beautiful women in Chinese poetry. Ikkyū mentions "the *haitang* of Tianbao" because it is well known that Emperor Xuanzong of the Tianbao era (742–56) compared Yang Guifei, his imperial concubine, with *haitang*. *Fūryū* in this context apparently indicates delicate feminine beauty and erotic sensibility, qualities much valued by the *miyabi* aesthetic of the Heian period. Yet, when using *fūryū* to convey amorous qualities, Ikkyū seems to have focused on the erotic aspect rather than the refined

love taste in Heian literature. This tendency, as Okazaki pointed out, shows a departure from the Heian *fūryū* but an affinity to the type of *fūryū* in erotic fiction (*Kōshokubon* 好色本) of early modern Japan.<sup>14</sup> However, even when suggesting amorous affairs, Ikkyū's *fūryū* is not simply the equivalent of the erotic *fūryū* prized in Edo fiction. In the following poem, for example, *fūryū* seems to mean nothing but sex. But does it?

对臨濟画像  
 臨濟宗門誰正伝  
 三玄三要瞎驢辺  
 夢闍老納闍中月  
 夜々風流爛醉前<sup>15</sup>  
 (Kyōunshū, 495)

### Facing the Picture of Linji

In the Linji school who carries the Authentic Transmission?  
 The “Three Mysteries” and “Three Essentials” fell to the blind donkeys.  
 Mukei, the old monk, gazes at the moon from a girl's chamber,  
 Night after night indulging in *fūryū*, dead drunk.

Alluding to the words of Linji (Japanese *Rinzai*), “blind donkeys” in the poem refers to those who are ignorant of Buddhist truth,<sup>16</sup> and the “Three Mysteries” and “Three Essentials” are fundamentals of Linji's teachings.<sup>17</sup> Mukei, a nickname Ikkyū gave to himself, literally means “Dream Chamber.” Ikkyū once wrote about this name:

If one is thirsty, one will dream of water. If one is cold, one will dream of a fur robe; to dream of the bed chamber, that is my nature. In old times and recently, there have been three named “Dream”; that is, the reverends Musō “Dream Window,” Musū “Dream High,” and Mumu “No Dream.” I recently took the name “Dream Chamber” and set it on a plaque over my study. Although that name treads in the footsteps of the other three “Dreams,” it really does not match their affairs at all. While those three masters were men of a vigorous virtue and flourishing aspiration singled out by people, I am just an old madman down on my luck advertising what I like.<sup>18</sup>

Ikkyū's iconoclastic stance is clear in both this account and his poem above. By naming himself “Dream Chamber” he deliberately made a vulgar twist on the names of the three famous “Dreams”: the influential Zen prelates Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351), the founder of Tenryū-ji temple and a politically involved figure; Musū Ryōshin 夢嵩良真 (d. 1281), the founder of the Reishū-ji; and Mumu Issei 無夢一清 (d. 1368),

a renowned Zen master of the Tōfuku-ji line. Throughout his career as a priest, Ikkyū was a nonconforming presence among the contemporary Zen communities that were highly secularized and, in many cases, politically involved and corrupted. Patronized by the Ashikaga shogunate, the Five Mountains system in the Muromachi period (1392–1573) branched into two sets—one in Kamakura and a new, more important group in Kyoto. Over the years, the great Zen monasteries became centers of wealth and political influence, and the prelates competed to gain fame and power by forming relations with privileged social groups. Going against this trend, Ikkyū’s poetry casts merciless criticism on the contemporary mores in the great Zen temples. In this light, while Ikkyū seems to have brought the elegant Heian *fūryū* down to earth when he uses the term to imply stark sexual desire, he is in fact imparting a philosophical dimension to the amorous type of the *fūryū* aesthetic. His message here is simple and profound: sexual desire is not turpitude; like the need for water and clothes, it is part of the original nature of human beings and hence purer than hypocritical institutions and worldly pursuits. Ikkyū left the following words to his disciples not long before his death:

After I’m gone, some of you will seclude yourselves in the forests and mountains to meditate, while others may drink rice wine and enjoy the company of women. Both kinds of Zen are fine, but if some become professional clerics, babbling about “Zen as the Way,” they are my enemies.<sup>19</sup>

Having denounced the contemporary values of the Zen communities, Ikkyū turned to poetry for spiritual sustenance. He declares in a poem titled “Fisherman”:

漁父

学道参禅失本心  
 漁歌一曲值千金  
 湘江暮雨楚雲月  
 無限風流夜々吟<sup>20</sup>  
 (Kyōunshū, 216)

### Fisherman

Learning the Way and studying Zen, one loses the Original Mind.  
 A fisherman’s song is worth a thousand pieces of gold.  
 Evening rain on the Xiang River, the moon amid the clouds of Chu—  
 It’s boundless *fūryū* to chant poems night after night.<sup>21</sup>

In Chinese poetry, “fisherman” has been a classical signifier for a lofty recluse at least since the *Chu ci* 楚詞 of the third century B.C., which is

also the source of the poet's imagined landscape, "Xiang river" and "Chu" in the third line.<sup>22</sup> Another important source that has helped to canonize this signifier is the Taoist classic *Zhuangzi*. The work depicts an old fisherman teaching the Taoist truth to "Confucius," saying:

By "the Truth" I mean purity and sincerity in their highest degree. . . . Rites are something created by the vulgar men of the world; the Truth is that which is received from Heaven. By nature it is the way it is and cannot be changed. Therefore the sage patterns himself on Heaven, prizes the Truth, and does not allow himself to be cramped by the vulgar.<sup>23</sup>

"Fisherman" in this context becomes a classic allusion with multiple implications. First, it calls up the Chu poet Qu Yuan's encounter with the fisherman on the banks of the Xiang; Qu represents the uncompromising virtuous man who is misunderstood and mistreated in his time. Second, the image asserts a stance or point of view based on Taoist truths, which, in opposition to worldly values, regards rites and orthodox conventions as vulgar and insists on the original nature of all beings. Ikkyū was obviously aware of these sources and "fisherman" became one of his favored themes. Another poem with the same title goes:

漁父

江頭日暮水悠悠  
 糸線斜垂江漢秋  
 江海風流誰共說  
 乾坤一漁舟<sup>24</sup>  
 (Kyōunshū, 555)

**Fisherman**

The sun sets by the river, the water flows serenely.  
 A line hangs diagonally, autumn across the Yangzi and the Han.  
*Fūryū* of the river and the sea, with whom can he speak?  
 Between heaven and earth, rocking and loafing, a fishing boat.<sup>25</sup>

In both poems, the fisherman's way of life is described as *fūryū*. Evidently, *fūryū* here means neither *miyabi*, the courtly penchant for refinement and romance, nor *basara*, the flashy fashion of medieval times. Its emphasis on spiritual integrity seems to be closer to that of *misao*, one of the early readings of *fūryū* in the *Man'yōshū*. However, as the poet clearly states in the first fisherman poem, with the fisherman's *fūryū*, Ikkyū is not suggesting any ethical or religious virtue. With "Learning the Way and studying Zen, one loses the Original Mind./A fisherman's song is worth a thousand pieces of gold," Ikkyū has in fact placed the

fisherman's *fūryū* above religious and moral pursuits. This stance can be seen more clearly in the following poem:

南園殘菊  
 晚菊東籬衰色秋  
 南山且對意悠悠  
 三要三玄都不識  
 淵明吟興我風流<sup>26</sup>  
 (Kyōunshū, 332)

### The Last Chrysanthemum in the South Garden

Late chrysanthemums beneath the east fence—aging color of autumn;  
 Leisurely facing the south mountain, my mind wanders into the distance.  
 The “Three Essentials” and the “Three Mysteries,” I do not know at all;  
 The spirit of Yuanming’s song is my type of *fūryū*.<sup>27</sup>

The chrysanthemum by the east fence at the retreat of the fourth-century Chinese poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427) is a singularly famous image in Chinese recluse literature. By drawing a line directly connecting his *fūryū* and Tao’s, Ikkyū introduces an eminently important aspect of *fūryū* that had been virtually absent in the Japanese *fūryū* aesthetic before.<sup>28</sup>

In his *History of Japanese Literature*, Konishi Jin’ichi 小西甚一 observes that “the leading principles of the Early Middle Ages, ‘*miyabi*’ and amorousness, are both equivalent to the Chinese principle of *fengliu*.”<sup>29</sup> About *fengliu* he says, “Chinese *fengliu* signified an idealized sphere of worldly pleasures and was symbolized by four components: zither, poetry, wine and singing-girls. These may be rephrased as music, literature, merry-making and the company of women.”<sup>30</sup> The Chinese *fengliu* and its Japanese counterpart described by Konishi represent the major trend of the *fūryū* aesthetic in Japan in the Early Middle Ages, but they apparently were different from what Ikkyū called “my type of *fūryū*.” Whereas both Ikkyū’s *fūryū* and the *miyabi* type of *fūryū* have deep roots in Chinese literary history, the tradition Ikkyū saw in the spirit of the fisherman and Tao Yuanming was the most fruitful and influential in Chinese poetry. This tradition fully developed during the Wei-Jin 魏晉 period (220–420) and through the modern day has been favorably referred to as the *Wei-Jin fengliu* 魏晉風流 in Chinese literary studies.

### The Wei-Jin Fengliu Tradition

Social conditions during the two hundred years of the Wei-Jin period in China shared some characteristics with Muromachi Japan. Political unity

collapsed amid continuous war. Social turmoil and natural disaster caused an enormous loss of life, and a strong sense of uncertainty and impermanence shook the literati's belief in orthodox values. The weakening of political structures and orthodox value systems, however, also to a certain extent opened new possibilities and freed intellectuals from rigid rites, and the Wei-Jin period witnessed the emergence of new ideas and new personalities. Educated people sought the meaning of life in Taoist teachings and reinterpreted Confucianism in light of Taoist thinking. "Transcending the orthodox ethical codes and following naturalness"<sup>31</sup> became the vogue. Many literati stayed away from corrupt and dangerous politics by retreating to the mountains and fields. It was in this climate that the polysemous term *fengliu* began to be used to depict a kind of person who, while being extremely refined and talented in letters, shows an unconventional, even eccentric, attitude towards life. By extension, *fengliu* also referred to the works and types of artistic expression of such characters. This unique combination of the lofty and the unconventional, refined manners and eccentricity, in *fengliu* was typically represented by the life and works of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove 竹林七賢,<sup>32</sup> who, according to literary convention, engaged in drinking and metaphysical discussions every day in a bamboo grove outside the capital Luoyang during the political chaos of the Wei period (220–65). It is said that Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–63), the leading figure of the Seven Worthies, once stayed drunk for two months to avoid a royal marriage proposal. The following verse by Ji Kang 嵇康 (224–63), another one of the seven, portrays him- self as a fisherman committed to carefree wandering:

Quietly, the water flows in its vastness.  
 Drifting, my cypress boat now floats, now loafs.  
 The faint sound of my whistling<sup>33</sup> is carried away by the clean breeze;  
 I bend to the oars, and the boat rocks.  
 Putting down the oars and picking up the fishing rod—  
 I'd end my year in carefree wandering.<sup>34</sup>

The similarity between this poem and Ikkyū's fisherman poems cited above is striking. The poem presents a series of themes on the Taoist values that is revealed by the fisherman's conversation with "Confucius": tranquility, idleness, solitude, and eccentricity. These themes, however, remain implicit in the picture until the keynote is touched by the last line. With the mention of "carefree wandering"—an allusion to the "free and easy wandering" (Chinese *xiaoyaoyou* 逍遙遊, Japanese *shōyōyū*), the state of ultimate freedom stressed by the *Zhuangzi*—all these elements

are transfigured and the idle fishing scene is sublimated into a spiritual realm, which the *Zhuangzi* defines as “perfect beauty” and “perfect happiness.”

While the Seven Worthies of the Wei period highlighted the aesthetic qualities of free and easy wandering with their eccentric character types, the poetic personality of Tao Qian in the Eastern Jin (317–419) manifests these qualities in a plain and natural style. The fifth of Tao’s twenty poems on drinking wine exemplifies this style:

My cottage is built in the world of men,  
 Yet there is no noise of carriage and horse.  
 You ask how it could be so?  
 When one’s mind is distant, his place remote.  
 Plucking chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence,  
 Leisurely I glimpse Southern Mountain.  
 The mountain atmosphere at sunset is fine,  
 And flying birds return with each other.  
 In this there is true meaning;  
 As discerning it, I’ve forgotten words.<sup>35</sup>

This is the verse to which Ikkyū alluded in his poem discussed above. Including that poem, seven poems in his *Kyōunshū* make reference to Tao Yuanming and even more use the images of chrysanthemums. By so doing, Ikkyū followed a long poetic tradition that had honored Tao’s love of a simple life in the mountains and fields. In Chinese poetry, the images of Tao’s classic lines were enthusiastically cited from the Tang (618–907) onward and supplied several poetic conventions: the hut evoking a solitary situation, the carriage and horse symbolizing the life of officials, chrysanthemums signifying a lofty recluse, and the flying bird returning to its nest representing one’s longing for his true home. In Tao’s poem, *xinyuan* 心遠 (one’s mind is distant) is the key word. It answers the question raised by the opening couplet: the persona is able to live at once amid and beyond the “noise of carriage and horse” because his mind wanders in a space far from the common world. In this mental state, his sense of reality is transformed, and the mundane world in which he lives is turned into a domain of pure beauty and tranquility. In the third and fourth couplets, a transformed reality is vividly visualized. The concluding couplet draws the reader’s attention to the “true meaning” embodied in the tableau, but avoids spelling it out directly. “I have already forgotten the words” is an explicit allusion to a statement in the *Zhuangzi*: “Words exist because of meaning; once you’ve gotten the meaning, you can forget the words. Where can I find a man who has forgotten the words so

I can have a word with him?” The conclusion implies that Tao considers himself the kind of man, like Zhuangzi, who understands the truth but does not trust words. Here again, we see the affinity among Tao’s, the Taoist thinker’s, and Ikkyū’s lines. When writing “*Fūryū* of the river and the sea, with whom can he speak?” Ikkyū must have had these Chinese forerunners in mind.

The poetry and poetic personalities of Tao Yuanming and the Seven Worthies contributed crucially to the association of the *fengliu* aesthetic with the eremitic poetic tradition. It needs to be noted, however, that the aesthete-recluse practice of the Wei-Jin *fengliu* was not “hermitism” in the Western sense. As indicated by Tao Yuanming’s lines, “My cottage is built in the world of men,/Yet there is no noise of carriage and horse,” these *fengliu* figures stayed within the world of men and enjoyed wine, nature, poetry, and other forms of art. They were considered men outside of the ordinary world, or, to be more precise, men going beyond the world, only in the sense that they consciously attempted to keep their minds free of worldly concerns and their lives free from the fetters of social conventions. As a result, eccentricity and unconventionality became ever-present features of both the lives and work of these aesthete-recluses; such lives and works, in turn, were considered *fengliu* and took on aesthetic values. It is in this sense that I call the Wei-Jin *fengliu*, and Ikkyū’s presentation of it as well, an aesthetic of unconventionality. It is an aesthetic that values individual freedom over existing institutions, a movement that attempts to transform man’s existence in vulgar society into aesthetic experience.

From this context we can see that while Wei-Jin literature openly celebrates the pleasures of life, such celebration reflects mainly an impulse for individual freedom, as seen in the poems of Ji Kang and Tao Yuanming. “Amorousness” and worldly pleasures became basic components of *fengliu* in China later in the Southern Dynasties (420–589), when northern invaders occupied the Chinese capital, Luoyang, and forced the royal family and aristocracy to flee to the south. The fugitive southern courts patronized literary salons, where Palace Style Poetry (*Gong ti shi* 宮體詩) prevailed. The characteristics of Palace Style Poetry can be seen in its representative collection, *Yu tai xin yong* 玉臺新詠 (*New Poems from a Jade Terrace*). As Helen McCullough has commented, the principal concerns of the work “are women—wives, concubines and entertainers—and their surroundings: boudoirs, gardens and such specific *yongwu* 詠物<sup>36</sup> topics as fans, incense burners, mirrors, lamps, and musical instruments.”<sup>37</sup> In the *Yu tai xin yong*, *fengliu* is used to imply an amorous sensuality or atmos-

phere. “Yong hong jian” 咏紅箋 (Singing of Red Notepaper) is one of the examples:

Variegated colors are not rare,  
 But this piece of red is remarkable.  
 Flaming and afire, like lotus in bloom,  
 Light and transparent, as filmy mist.  
 Its embossed fiber rolled with perfumed oil,  
 Carrying the fragrance of cut flowers.  
 Let it convey my heart in separation,  
 Enveloping with it my yearning of love.  
 Had I not encountered my beloved,  
 How could I ever know of the *fengliu* bed?<sup>38</sup>

It was through the works of these court poets that *fengliu* began to take on specific implications of material pleasure and amorousness. These later implications of *fengliu*, however, did not replace the earlier ones; under the same rubric of *fengliu*, both sets of aesthetic values are rendered in the poetry of later generations, and both found their way to Japan.

It seems that the *fūryū* aesthetic adapted by the Heian aristocrats is derived from the latter set of values described above, while Ikkyū uses the term in the sense of the former Wei-Jin tradition. Why Heian readers ignored the Wei-Jin *fengliu* that formed a prominent part of the poetic language of High Tang poetry is puzzling. Konishi suggests that it was because the Japanese poetic world had not then become advanced enough to discriminate among Chinese poetic styles and appreciate them critically.<sup>39</sup> Kanda Hideo 神田秀夫 believes that it was simply because High Tang poetry did not reach Japan at the time.<sup>40</sup> To understand why Heian writers and Ikkyū assert different kinds of *fūryū*, many historical, intellectual, and personal factors have to be taken into consideration. One of the factors might be that the Chinese sources transmitted to Japan by the *Gozan* priests played an important part. According to Kanda's investigation, although the works of the Middle Tang poet Bo Juyi 白居易 had been widely read in Japan since the Heian period, for some peculiar reason, there is no evidence of the influence of the High Tang talents in Japanese literature before the end of the Kamakura period (1187–1328).<sup>41</sup> But this changed later. From the late Kamakura period, for over three hundred years, the study trips of Zen monks to monasteries in China formed virtually the only direct contact between Japan and China. A small number of influential Chinese monks also made their way to Japan during that time. The Chinese texts transmitted into Japan through the *Gozan* Zen temples include not only the anthologies of the High Tang poets and

famous Song poets, but also the critical works and poetic handbooks compiled in China during the Song, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties, such as *Gu wen zhen bao* 古文真宝 (*True Treasure of Ancient Literature*),<sup>42</sup> *Shi ren yu xie* 詩人玉屑 (*The Gemlike Words of Poets*),<sup>43</sup> and *Lianzhu shige* 聯珠詩格 (*Strings of Pearls: A Classified Selection from Tang Song Poets*).<sup>44</sup> These books documented the rediscovery of Tao Yuanming and the celebration of the aesthete-recluse tradition in the Tang and Song periods, and conceptualized the themes, diction, and aesthetic values stressed by the Wei-Jin *fengliu* tradition into practical poetics. These Chinese texts were widely read among the *Gozan* priests, and their annotation and re-printings of these texts no doubt helped shape a picture of the Chinese poetic legacy different from that of the Heian nobles. Yet, although the reference to “fisherman” and Tao Yuanming, as well as to the “*fūryū* of the Jin,” are not uncommon in the *kanshi* poems written by *Gozan* monks, very few used the term *fūryū* so extensively and in a way so close to the Wei-Jin *fengliu* as in Ikkyū’s poetry. As mentioned briefly earlier, Ikkyū’s advocacy of the Wei-Jin *fengliu* in his poetry no doubt also had to do with his uncompromising personality and the turbulent time in which he lived.

Like the Wei-Jin period in China, the Muromachi period (1338–1568) in which Ikkyū lived was marked by social disorder. The era began with political disunion. In 1336 Emperor Godaigo fled to Yoshino after his aborted plan of imperial restoration and set up the Southern Court, while the Ashikaga clan crowned a controllable emperor from a collateral line in Kyoto. Thus, for more than a half century, Japan had two emperors and two courts. Although the dispute between the Northern and the Southern courts was settled in 1392, only two years before Ikkyū’s birth, the political instability and brutal conflicts among different powers continued through his lifetime, particularly after the 1450s. After the assassination of Ashikaga Yoshinori in 1441, Japan was constantly beset with repeated battles between the provincial warlords. Popular riots broke out in 1447, 1451, 1457, and 1461. The latter instance caused widespread destruction in the capital. The famine of 1454 claimed several hundred lives in Kyoto alone. In 1461, combined plague and famine left tens of thousands dead. A few years later, the outbreak of the Ōnin War dragged the nation into continuous disasters. The Ōnin War lasted from 1467 to 1477, during which much of the capital was burned and the rest virtually abandoned. Miseries of the age must have aroused in Ikkyū a strong resonance of the Wei-Jin *fengliu* that sought spiritual salvation in an aesthetic world amid political turmoil.

### Ikkyū's *Fūryū* and the Wei-Jin *Fengliu*

Although Ikkyū's *Kyōunshū* primarily follows a chronological order, many of his poems are not dated; hence it is hard to discern accurately the thematic development of his poetry from the early period to his late age. However, as James. H. Sanford observes in his *Zen-Man Ikkyū*, Ikkyū's deep engagement with poetry and other arts developed to its fullest extent only after he settled in at the Katsuro-an 瞎驢庵 (Blind Donkey Hut) in the 1450s; many of his best poems were created during this period.<sup>45</sup> Ikkyū's knowledge of and fondness for Wei-Jin *fengliu* can be clearly seen in those poems.

愛紅菊淵明像  
赤心片々約秋風  
西晉風流議未空  
忝是淵明皮下血  
東籬衰色晚花紅<sup>46</sup>  
(*Kyōunshū*, 865)

#### On the Picture of Yuanming Who Loved Red Chrysanthemums

With a red heart, you invite the autumn winds—  
The Western-Jin *fūryū*, chrysanthemums never fail.  
Surely you are the blood beneath Yuanming's skin;  
By the east hedge, amid the fading colors, belated flowers crimsoned.

Although the poet made a mistake by implying that Tao lived in “Western-Jin” (256–316), his admiration for Tao and the *fengliu* of his time is vividly conveyed in the poem. Disillusioned by the decaying nature of his contemporary Zen institutions, Ikkyū, like Ji Kang and Tao Yuanming in their troubled times, seemed to be trying to find a piece of pure land in the aesthetic world of *fūryū*. His poem “West Pure Land Beneath the Plum Blossoms” (*Baika seichin* 梅下西淨) says:

暗香不汚我心頭  
清淺橫斜月影幽  
吟識冷腸和靖淨  
前村雪隱亦風流<sup>47</sup>  
(*Kyōunshū*, 838)

Your faint fragrance leaves no stain in my heart;  
Slantingly on the clear shallows, the reflection of the moon is dim.  
Reciting Hejing's poem, I came to know the purity of his distant mind.  
The remote village hidden in the snow is also *fūryū*.

In the title of the poem, the word *seichin* 西淨, whose two characters literally mean “west” and “pure,” refers to the temple lavatory located at the western corner of the Buddhist monastery. But the two characters used in the word can also imply “west pure land” (*seihōjōdo* 西方淨土), the ultimate paradise in Buddhist epistemology.<sup>48</sup> The image of the lavatory is hinted at again later by the word *setchin* 雪隱 (hidden in the snow), which has a reading similar to *seichin* in the title and covertly alludes to the story of the Chinese Zen master Xuedou Zhongxian 雪竇重顯 (980–1052), the compiler of *Bi yan lu* 碧巖錄 (*Blue Cliff Record*), who was said to have attained enlightenment when working as a lavatory cleaning man at the Lingyin-si 靈隱寺 (Japanese Reiin-ji) temple in Hangzhou.<sup>49</sup> The setting of the Zen monastery in the poem, however, is completely eclipsed by the poet’s imagined landscape, a sphere patterned upon the world of the Chinese poet, Lin Hejing 林和靖 (967–1028). Lin Hejing, a recluse of the Northern Song, lived alone in his retreat by the Western Lake and left famous verses about the plum blossoms and crane he loved. While recreating the transcendental beauty of Lin’s world in the surface landscape of the poem, Ikkyū skillfully uses the pun words *seichin* and *setchin* to project in the background two other contrasting dimensions—the vulgar existence symbolized by the toilet and the sublime realm of spiritual salvation, the West Pure Land. In the poet’s eyes these two dimensions became unitary, for he had come to know the purity of Lin Hejing’s distant mind, and that aesthetic mentality transformed the mundane reality into *fūryū*.

## Conclusion

As seen in the poems discussed above, Ikkyū’s *fūryū* covers a full spectrum of meaning accumulated in Chinese and Japanese literature, from spiritual integrity to erotic beauty, and from the elegance of letters to the love of nature and rustic lifestyle. Despite the diverse usages, transcending the worldly by being unconventional is the essence of Ikkyū’s *fūryū*. *Fūryū* as an aesthetic of unconventionality celebrates the freest mind, which, to the orthodox point of view, is crazy and eccentric. A piece of unrestrained “Crazy Cloud,” Ikkyū was a Zen monk who never observed the Buddhist regulations, an admirer of the aesthete-recluse tradition who never tried to maintain a lofty image of hermit. Ikkyū portrays himself as an “Eccentric madman stirring up a crazy storm/Coming and going amid brothels and taverns.”<sup>50</sup> Yet, by being so truthful to his original nature, Ikkyū not only reached a deeper understanding of the truth of Zen than most of his con-

temporary prelates, he also grasped the core of Wei-Jin *fengliu*. The *fūryū* aesthetic amplified by Ikkyū's poetry influenced not only his contemporary artists but also later generations, including the greatest talents of Edo period, the *haikai* master Bashō and the novelist Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴.

## NOTES

1. For more information about this issue and the political disunity of the Japanese court in the fourteenth century, see James. H. Sanford, *Zen-Man Ikkyū* (Chico, Calif.: Scholar's Press, 1981), 1–67, and Sonja Arntzen, *Ikkyū and the Crazy Cloud Anthology* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1986), 11–14.
2. *Gozan Jissatsu* 五山十刹 (Five Mountains, Ten Temples) formed the monastic institution of Rinzai Zen established in Japan since the Kamakura period (1185–1334). The system was an imitation of the Buddhist monastic institutions of Song China. “Five Mountains” referred to the top five monasteries and “Ten Temples” to the next ten. Most of the major temples had both local sub-temples and more distant daughter temples under them. Ankoku-ji was one of these secondary *Jissatsu* temples.
3. The name is transcribed with a different reading, Suon'an, in *Nihon bungaku shōjiten* 日本文学小辞典 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1968), 76.
4. Okazaki Yoshie 岡崎義恵, “Ikkyū Sōjun to gozan zenrin no fūryū” 一休宗純と五山禪林の風流, in *Nihon geijutsu shichō* 日本芸術思潮, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1948), 173.
5. Okazaki, “‘Misao’ to ‘miyabi’” 「みさを」と「みやび」, in *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, 62.
6. Okazaki, “Heian jidai no fūryū” 平安時代の風流, in *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, 66–71.
7. Okazaki, “Chūsei ni okeru kasa to basara no fūryū” 中世における過差とばさらの風流, in *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, 98.
8. The 880 poems in Ikkyū's anthology are divided into three categories: (1) religious poems, (2) poems on religious names, and (3) secular poems. In formal respects the three categories are all *kanshi* (poems in the Chinese style).
9. Kageki Hideo 蔭木英雄, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū* 一休和尚全集, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997), 278.
10. *Ibid.*, 320.
11. My translation of this poem and poems 216, 555, and 332 on the following pages owe much to Sonja Arntzen's translations in *Ikkyū and the Crazy Cloud Anthology* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1986). My choice to

use my own translations instead of Arntzen's and other scholars' is not because mine are better but because of copyright restrictions and the concern for stylistic consistency. The last line of the poem draws upon the belief that the best ink is made with charcoal of the orchid tree that grows on Hua Ding, the highest peak of Tiantai Mountain. The word "frost" in the line refers to another ingredient in the ink, the powdered cuttlebone, which looks frosty white. Arntzen suggests that "the sense in Ikkyū's poem seems to be that the spirit suffers ordeals on the Wheel of Transmigration just as the finest ink is made through many poundings."

12. Kageki, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū*, 319.
13. *Ibid.*, 49.
14. Okazaki, "Ikkyū Sōjun," 175.
15. Kageki, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū*, 1.
16. The phrase that alludes to Linji's words is recorded in Item 49 of *Bi yan lu* 碧巖錄 (*Blue Cliff Record*): "Who could know that my authentic teaching would fall in the hands of a blind donkey." See Kageki, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū*, 2.
17. "Three Mysteries" and "Three Essentials" come from an important statement in Linji's teaching: "Each utterance must comprise the Gates of the Three Mysteries and the Gate of each Mystery must comprise the Three Essentials." The "Three Mysteries" are the Mystery of Experience, the Mystery of Words, and the Mystery of Mystery. The "Three Essentials" are essence, phenomenon, and function. See Kageki, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū*, 2.
18. Arntzen, *Crazy Cloud Anthology*, 172–173.
19. John Stevens, trans., *Wild Ways: Zen Poems of Ikkyū* (Boston and London: Shambhala Publications, 1995), xiv.
20. Hirano Sōjō 平野宗淨, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū* 一休和尚全集, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997), 279.
21. Cf. Arntzen's translation, *Crazy Cloud Anthology*, 130.
22. These images remind us of the Chinese poet Qu Yuan's encounter with the fisherman on the banks of the Xiang. Arntzen (*Crazy Cloud Anthology*, 46–47) provides a vivid account of the source story: "Disappointed and sorely grieved, Qu Yuan, the slandered but virtuous official, resolved to throw himself into the river. As he stood on the bank of the river preparing to carry out his resolve, a fisherman drew him into conversation. Qu Yuan declared, 'All the world is muddied in confusion, only I am pure! All men are drunk, and I alone am sober.' The fisherman countered Qu Yuan's lament with some salty wisdom, 'A true sage does not stick at mere things. . . . If all the world is a muddy turbulence, why do you not follow its current and rise upon its waves? If all men are drunk, why do you not drain their dregs and swill their thin wine with them?!' Qu Yuan rejected the advice and, after composing the rhyme prose poem, 'Embracing the Sands,' cast himself into the river."

23. Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 349–350.
24. Kageki, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū*, 66–67.
25. Cf. Arntzen, *Crazy Cloud Anthology*, 163.
26. Hirano, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū*, 398–399.
27. Cf. Arntzen, *Crazy Cloud Anthology*, 143.
28. In his *Fūryū no shisō* 風流の思想, Fujiwara Shigekazu associates some earlier medieval Japanese writers, such as Saigyō 西行 (1118–90) and Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155–1216), with the Chinese tradition of “the fūryū play in the mountains and fields” (*fūryū asobi* 風流あそび or *yamazato asobi* 山里あそび (*Fūryū no shisō*, 126–146). However, while Saigyō and Chōmei were described as *fūryū* by Edo period Japanese writers, textual evidence of their awareness of *fengliu* as an aesthete-recluse tradition in Chinese literature in the early medieval period is hard to find.
29. Konishi Jin’ichi 小西甚一, *A History of Japanese Literature*, vol. 2, trans. Aileen Gatten (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 135.
30. *Ibid.*, 129.
31. Ji Kang 嵇康 (224–63), *Shi si lun* 釋私論, in *Quan shangku Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), 1334.
32. The “Seven Worthies” refer to Ruan Ji (210–63), Ji Kang, Shan Tao (205–83), Xiang Xiu (ca. 227–72), Liu Ling, Ruan Xian, and Wang Rong (234–305).
33. This refers to the Taoist practice of *xiao* 嘯.
34. Yin Xiang 殷翔 and Guo Quanzhi 郭全芝, annotators, “Siyanshi shiyi shou” 四言詩十一首 (Eleven quatrasyllabic poems), in *Ji Kang ji zhu* 嵇康集註 (Hefei: Huangshan Shushe, 1986), 79.
35. *Tao Jingjie ji* 陶靖節集. 1664 Tamura edition, reprinted in Nagasawa Kikuya, compiler, *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei* 和刻本漢詩集成 XVII. (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1977), 3/11b/34. Cf. translations by James Robert Hightower, *The Poetry of T’ao Ch’ien* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 124, and by Pauline Yu, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 146.
36. Poems on objects.
37. Helen McCullough, *Brocade by Night* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 61.
38. Obi Kōichi 小尾郊一 and Takashi Masao 高志真夫, *Gyokudai shin’ei sakuin* 玉臺新詠索引 (Tokyo: Yamamoto Shoten, 1976), 85. Cf. Anne Birrell, trans., *New Songs from a Jade Terrace: An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry* (London and Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1982), 148.
39. Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, 154.

40. Kanda Hideo 神田秀夫, *Kanda Hideo ronkōshū* 神田秀夫論稿集 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoten, 1983), 338–339.
41. Kanda, “Nihon bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku” 日本文学と中国文学, in *Kanda Hideo ronkōshū*, 365–368.
42. *Gu wen zhen bao* is work consisting of two parts in twenty chapters. The first part contains 208 poems from the Han to the Tang Dynasties; the second part includes prose and prose-style poetry of thirty-three writers from the age of the *Chu ci* to the Song. There are different opinions about the compiler of the work. Some suggest that it was compiled by Huang Jian and edited by Lin Yizheng at the end of Song or in early Yuan times.
43. *Shi ren yu xie* is a twenty-chapter work compiled by Wei Qingzhi (fl. 1240–44). According to *Siku zongmu tiyao* 四庫總目提要, the work was completed during the reign of Du Zong (1265–74). It collects excerpts from the poetic remarks of the Song Dynasty, especially that of the Southern Song. The first eleven chapters center on discussions of general poetics, and the remaining chapters focus on criticism of poets from ancient times until the Song.
44. This is a twenty-chapter work compiled by Yu Ji and Cai Zhengsun. The first two chapters are classified collections of couplets. Couplets are categorized according to their locations, antitheses, and themes; for example, there are categories such as “Full Matching of Four Lines” and “Matching of Natural Scenes in the Opening Couplet.” The remaining chapters are devoted to the use of words, grouping lines and couplets of different poets under specific words that are employed in them. The work has long been lost in China but has been reprinted many times in Japan since it was introduced to the country by the *Gozan* priests/scholars.
45. Sanford, *Zen-Man Ikkyū*, 56.
46. Kageki, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū*, 342.
47. *Ibid.*, 317.
48. *Ibid.*, 317.
49. According to Kageki’s annotation of the poem (*Ikkyū oshō zenshū*, 317), the association between *setchin* and Xuedou is also based on the characters used in the word *setchin*. The character *setsu* 雪 is the same as that in the name of Xuedou, and *yin* 隱 appears also in the name of Lingyin-si temple.
50. “Jisan” 自贊 (Self-appraisal), in Hirano, *Ikkyū oshō zenshū*, 207.

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