THE POETRY OF THE KYŌUNSHŪ "CRAZY CLOUD ANTHOLOGY" OF IKKYŪ SŌJUN

by

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Abstract

The subject of this thesis is the poetry of the Kyōunshū, "Crazy Cloud Anthology", an anthology of Chinese poetry written by the Muromachi Zen monk Ikkyū Sōjun (1394-1481). Ikkyū is one of the most fascinating and enigmatic figures in Japanese literature. He was both renegade monk and venerated prelate, illuminated sage and self-proclaimed profligate. Moreover, perhaps because of these conflicting qualities, he is also one of the most human and accessible of the great Zen masters of Japan.

His poems are the medium for the expression of his dynamic personality and the vivid impression his personality makes testifies to his skill as a poet. This thesis focuses on Ikkyū's poetry itself, examining how the poetry works, how it creates a powerful reading experience.

The Introduction describes a circling dialectic that plays a crucial role in Zen philosophy and also in Ikkyū's poetry. The Introduction also provides background information about the poet, his milieu and his audience.

Chapter one examines some of the peculiarities of the way Ikkyū handles the elements of Chinese prosody. It will be demonstrated how Ikkyū at times broke the rules of Chinese prosody and at other times observed them in ways a native Chinese poet would not approve of. Despite his bending and breaking of the rules and,
more surprisingly, because of it, his style has a fresh vigour and bold originality. Taking into consideration that he was writing for a Japanese audience, one can say he turned linguistic disadvantage to advantage, ending with a style of poetry that bewilders the critic who would try to make a dualistic judgement of "good" or "bad".

The core of Chapter two is a collection of analyses that concentrate on the functioning of the technique of allusion that pervades Ikkyū's poetry. The analyses attempt to re-create the reading experience of an intended reader to clarify the specific roles allusion plays in particular poems. The more general topic of the chapter is how Ikkyū's poetry creates a dialectical reading experience, one that disturbs, unsettles and pivots the mind of the reader round to face a problem that cannot be solved by words. It is suggested that often allusion is the vehicle for bringing the opposite term of the problematic equation of non-duality into the poem, thereby turning it into a conundrum.

Chapter three will pursue the dialectical theme further. It will be argued that often the juxtaposition of opposites, usually through connotation rather than by overt statement, is the dynamic technique by which Ikkyū's poems are transformed into powerful experiences. An extended analysis follows this technique in operation through a particularly strong set of poems under the joint title, "The Scriptures are Bum-wipe".
The introductory section of the thesis concludes by inviting the reader to investigate Ikkyū's poems for himself. Indeed, to enable the reader to do just that, the bulk of the thesis is given over to the translations with commentaries of one hundred poems from the Crazy Cloud Anthology.
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Preface

The subject of this study is the *Kyōunshū* "Crazy Cloud Anthology", a collection of the Chinese poetry by the Japanese Zen monk, Ikkyū Sōjun — 休宗純 (1394-1481). A substantial part of the work is given over to the translations of one hundred poems from the *Kyōunshū*. The translations are an important part of the work because aside from a handful of poems translated in Donald Keene's article, "The Portrait of Ikkyū",¹ some sixty poems in the present author's former publication,² and another seventy or so in an as yet unpublished thesis on Ikkyū by Jim Sanford,³ there are no other translations.

The introductory essay of this study is directed by an approach that is at once philosophical and literary. It attempts to analyse how this poetry transforms philosophical ideas into religious experience. More specifically it examines how the poet bends prosody and allusive language to serve that soteriological purpose.

A period of concentrated research on Ikkyū's poetry was made possible thanks to the support of a Japan Foundation grant for which I would like to express my deep thanks. I owe a much deeper debt of gratitude to Professor Yanagida Seizan and Professor Hirano Sōjō who were my mentors during the period of research in Kyoto. Both were overwhelmingly generous with their time, research materials and the invaluable knowledge at their disposal. I extend my warmest personal thanks to them both. The acknowledgment would not be complete without mentioning Katō Shūichi who initially
inspired me to study Ikkyū's poetry and who through the years has taken a constant and encouraging interest in the work as it progressed. The literary approach of the introductory essay owes a great deal to a stimulating comparative literature seminar the Profs. Ken Bryant and Jan Walls conducted some three years ago at U.B.C. Moreover, Ken Bryant was kind enough to give the rough draft of this thesis a good critical reading and suggest ways of improving the style and organization of the work. Thanks are also due Prof. Shotaro Iida and Kathy Hansen who took the time to read the work through and make helpful comments. Last but far from least, I wish to express the profoundest gratitude to my advisor Prof. Leon Hurvitz. So far as this slow and inept student is concerned he has been the embodiment of the pāramitā of patience. His energy and the joy he takes in learning have been a constant source of inspiration and an example to aspire to. All of the above should take credit if there is anything of merit in the following pages; the errors and shortcomings are my own.

The following guidelines have been followed with regard to names of Chinese and Japanese people and texts. Chinese and Japanese names will be given in East Asian order, that is, surname first. Characters will be provided for people's names the first time they appear except those that appear in the bibliography or in the body of translated material for which the original text has been supplied. Chinese figures will be referred to only by the Chinese Romanization of their names with the one notable exception.
of Lin-chi whose name will periodically be followed by
the Japanese pronunciation of his name as well to clarify his con-
nection with the Rinzai school of Zen in Japan.

Works from the Chinese Buddhist Canon will be cited by the
Chinese Romanization of their titles except for the four well-
known sutras, the Vimalakīrti Sūtra, the Heart Sūtra, the Diamond
Sūtra and the Lotus Sūtra for which, in the interest of easy
identification, the popular names just cited above will be used.
Another exception will be the Pi-yen Lu from the Zen canon which
will often be referred to by the English translation of its title,
the "Blue Cliff Record." The only other matter of technical con-
cern to be mentioned is that the unsimplified forms of the Chinese
characters have been used throughout.
To speak of Ikkyū is really to speak of oneself...

This man will now continue for a while to summon up a new concern among various people. People forget he was a Zen monk. It is a strange and marvelous thing that everyone has the sense of secretly having met him somewhere before. Is he not perhaps the only one of a kind in the history of Buddhism throughout India, China and Japan?

Yanagida Seizan*
Po Chü-i asked Master Bird Nest, "What is the broad meaning of Buddhism?" Bird Nest said, "Do no evil, do much good." Po Chü-i said, "But a three-year-old child could understand a teaching like that." Bird Nest replied, "A three-year-old child may be able to say it but there are eighty-year-old men who cannot practice it."

Old Master Ryōzen used to say: "If it were not for this one phrase of Bird Nest, our followers would all get bogged down in

'From the beginning, not one thing'
'Not thinking of good, not thinking of evil'
'Good and evil are not two'
'False and true, one reality'

and all the rest, so that in the end they would ignore karma and the world would just be full of false teachers, impure in their daily lives."

So now on this topic, I, Ikkyū, have composed a poem and instructed a congregation with it.

Students who ignore karma are sunk.
That old Zen master's words are worth a thousand pieces of gold,
Do no evil, do much good.
It must have been something the Elder sang while drunk.

In this prose introduction and poem by the poet Ikkyū Sōjun (1394-1481), a Japanese Zen monk of the Muromachi period, a dialectic unfolds that sets the duality of good and evil against a transcendental view that sees the two as one. Following the composition
through as it unfolds will reveal the alternation from one position to the other.

The prose introduction rests upon two quotations. The first is from a Chinese Zen text, the Ch'uan Teng Lu. The passage describes an encounter between the famous T'ang poet, Po Chü-i, and the Zen master, Miao K'e "Bird Nest", so named because he was found of sleeping in a large pine tree. The name conjures up a humorous picture of an old Zen master up in a tree; Ikkyü jokes in another poem about Bird Nest, "His nest must have been cold, that old Zen codger up in the tree." It sets a light mood for the encounter that follows.

Po Chü-i's question, "What is the broad meaning of Buddhism?" is one of the conventional questions that a seeker addresses to a Zen master. In such confrontations, the master's answer is never predictable, and is usually characterised by a purposeful obliqueness. Thus Po Chü-i is taken aback by Bird Nest's apparently straightforward reply. "Do no evil, do much good", coming from a Zen master, is too simple to satisfy a questioner like Po Chü-i, and so he counters by saying in effect, "Do you take me for a child?" Bird Nest neatly replies to Po Chü-i's objection, asserting that, although such a teaching may be easy to pronounce, it is difficult to practice, thereby reasserting that "Do no evil, do much good" is the beginning and the end of the meaning of Buddhism.

But it is not only the simplicity of that reply that jars Po Chü-i and for that matter any hearer grounded in Zen Buddhism.
What also shocks is that it is a reply in terms of duality, because the pivotal idea of non-duality is fundamental to Zen. Consider this passage from the Vimalakīrti Sūtra:

"Good" and "evil" make two. To seek to do neither good nor evil...is to penetrate into non-duality.

Bird Nest's pronouncement flies in the face of that orthodox position. Looked at in this way, the exchange stands as a kōan, a case that presents a problem to the rational, distinguishing mind. It is much in the same vein as Chao Chou's answer "No" to the question, "Does the dog have a Buddha nature?", when the innate Buddha nature of all living creatures is orthodox doctrine.

Ikkyū quotes the Japanese Zen master Ryōzen to clarify, and the light mood of the initial encounter changes to one of serious consideration. Ryōzen preceded Ikkyū by only four generations in their spiritual lineage. He had a reputation for uncompromising moral rectitude. It is thus fitting that he should be glad of Bird Nest's pronouncement. Here he explains why the instruction in terms of duality is not out of place. The concept of non-duality itself can become a trap, something one clings to and is caught in, rather than a key to liberation. Much worse, it can become an excuse for those false in heart to indulge themselves in evil behavior. Even though the ultimate truth is beyond the distinction of good and evil, it is far better to encourage the earnest to do good rather than to allow the misguided to practice evil under the guise of non-duality.
The exchange between Bird Nest and Po Chü-i and Ryōzen's interpretation of it having been presented, Ikkyū now gives us his comment on the case in the form of a poem. He begins by paraphrasing Ryōzen's words. In the second line, he accords them great praise. We might assume that praise and celebration will be the order of the poem from here on. Next comes a quotation of Bird Nest's words. At this point, we will likely reinterpret the second line as referring to Bird Nest, seeing him as the "old Zen master whose words are worth a thousand pieces of gold." We are thus caught thinking retrospectively as we read, "It must have been something the Elder sang while drunk." "Elder" 先生 is a term of address applied only to a layman, therefore neither of the old Zen masters is meant here. "Drunkenly singing" is a sobriquet of the poet Po Chü-i, whose question opened the dialogue, so it is he who is introduced into the poem, and he who must have sung, "Do no evil, do much good," while he was in his cups. When we read the third line, we heard these words of wisdom as issuing from the lips of Bird Nest and being echoed by Ryōzen. Now they issue from a tipsy Po Chü-i. From the solemn moral pronouncements of Ryōzen we have come to drunken song. Where the ground was solid now all is slippery and shaky again.

What is Ikkyū saying? Was it that, after talking to Bird Nest, Po Chü-i went home, got drunk and then truly awakened to the words of Bird Nest? Is the drunken Po Chü-i "impure in his daily life"? Or is it Ryōzen who has gone too far in establishing dualistic
points of reference? Is "do no evil, do much good" simply the spirit of Po Chü-i's poetry? Is it a party of four at the end: do we see Bird Nest, Ryōzen and Ikkyū enjoying Po Chü-i's song? Do we hear the transcendental mirth of this company who have all gone far beyond the distinctions of evil and good, all knowing there is nothing to be understood? We find ourselves perplexed at the end of this poem, unable to pin down exactly what it means. To read the poem is to confront a question.

But that is how it should be. The goal of Zen is not to answer questions but to dissolve questioning. One of the ways in which this is accomplished is to bewilder the student with questions, or with statements that amount to questions, until he finds his own way out of his reasoning mind. That is the art of the kōan, the Zen problem. It is also the art of Ikkyū's poetry. The prose introduction to the poem just presented opens with a kōan, and Ryōzen's words add a commentary to it; Ikkyū closes the whole with a poem that is a kōan. The majority of Ikkyū's poems are not simply about Zen, they are the realization of Zen principles in the form of poetic experience. The basic nature of that experience may be called dialectical, in the sense in which that term has been used by Stanley Fish in his book, Self-consuming Artifacts:

A dialectical presentation...is disturbing, for it requires of its readers a searching and rigorous scrutiny of everything they believe in and live by. It is didactic in a special sense; it does not preach the truth but asks that the readers discover the truth for themselves....

Within the context of Zen, what is the truth that one must
discover for oneself? To begin with, it cannot be said what that truth is. Zen considers truth to be beyond the reach of words. Words are only provisional designations that may help the seeker find the Path of truth, but they must not be confused with that Path. The famous expression, "a finger pointing at the moon", sums up the role words perform in Zen. They can direct our gaze toward the moon, the symbol for truth, but they cannot be the moon.

The limited role ascribed to words in Zen is related to the central importance that non-duality has in Zen philosophy. Words are the primary instruments of making distinctions, of opposing "this" to "that". It is difficult to make any statement that is not dualistic. But the nature of truth is equated with non-duality, a consciousness beyond the distinctions of subject and object, good and evil. Hinged to the idea of non-duality is the notion of the ultimate identity of opposites. In the words of the Heart Sūtra, this is expressed as,

That which is emptiness is form,
That which is form is emptiness.

That same formulation holds true for all opposites, enlightenment and ignorance, good and evil, purity and defilement, sacredness and profanity. The truth is beyond all distinctions and the unity of all distinctions. But note how, by virtue of the way the preceding sentence is phrased, the word "truth" begins to take on an illusory reality, as though it referred to some "thing" simply because we can say it is "beyond all distinctions" and "the unity of all
The rhetoric of the sūtras that inspired Zen is contrived to discourage that trick-laying quality of the mind with regard to confusing words with reality. Consider one of Vimalakīrti’s tirades when he challenges Subhūti, one of the Buddha’s disciples, to confront the awesome paradox of the teaching before he accepts his dutifully begged food.

Reverend Subhūti, take this food if, without destroying love, hate or error, you do not remain in their company; if, without destroying the false view of the self, you penetrate the one Path; if, without destroying ignorance or the thirst for existence, you give rise to knowledge and deliverance. The pitch of his challenge gradually heightens until he concludes with a remark that would be blasphemous if we were thinking on the plane of duality.

Reverend Subhūti, take this food...if you speak ill of all Buddhas, if you criticize the Law, if you do not participate in the community and if, finally, you will never enter into Nirvāṇa.

Subhūti is properly confused and turns to leave, abandoning his bowl, but Vimalakīrti entreats him not to be afraid and to take up his bowl, instructing him thus:

The sages did not become attached to words and were not afraid of them.... How is that? Because, words being without own nature or true character, all that is not words is deliverance....

This is the kind of rhetoric that served as a model for Zen, but in much Zen writing the attack on the process of conceptualization is taken much further. The above passage ends with a statement that has an air of resolution. "All that is not words is
deliverance" is a statement that appears to give us a definite idea to grasp hold of even though the argument that leads up to it implies we must not hold on to anything. Let us consider a passage from a Zen text that effectively leaves the reader without anything to grasp.

The passage is from the Pi-yen Lu "Blue Cliff Record", an anthology of koans compiled by the Sung monk Hsüeh-tou 雪堂 edited and provided with commentary by a later Sung monk Yuan-wu 圓悟. The anthology was the foundation for koan practice in the Zen monasteries of Muromachi Japan. Its name will appear frequently in the commentaries to the translations in this paper because Ikkyū alludes to it often. In the section I will cite, Hsüeh-tou borrows a passage from the Vimalakirti Sūtra to stand as a koan. The passage may be considered the climax of the sūtra. After a long section where the many Bodhisattvas offer their instruction on the entry to the gate of non-duality, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī expresses his wisdom on the matter, and then, Vimalakirti is called upon to deliver his pronouncement. Dramatically, Vimalakirti responds with silence. 12 Here is how this passage is presented in the Blue Cliff Record.

Vimalakirti asked Mañjuśrī, "What is a Bodhisattva's entry into the Dharma gate of non-duality?"
Mañjuśrī said, "According to what I think, in all things, no words, no speech, no demonstration and no recognition, to leave behind all questions and answers; this is entering the Dharma gate of non-duality."
Then Mañjuśrī asked Vimalakirti, "We have each already spoken. Now you should tell us, good man, what is a Bodhisattva's entry into the Dharma gate of non-
Everyone, knowing the passage well, expects to hear, "Vimalakīrti kept silent," for that would provide a sense of resolution by completing the quotation. But instead, the compiler, Hsiieh-tou, cuts off the citation and interjects a question, "What did Vimalakīrti say?" We all know he said nothing but Hsiieh-tou's question implies his silence was a statement too. We are challenged to answer what that was in terms of non-duality. We are all put in Vimalakīrti's place; answer who dare. The mimicry of Vimalakīrti, simply keeping silence, will not do. Hsiieh-tou himself answers with "completely exposed", a phrase with the compacted meaning of "It's right here for anyone to see." That answer too challenges the reader to discover its meaning. If we look for help from the commentator to this text, Yuan-wu, we find a verbose footnote:

Not only at that time, but now too it is so. Hsiieh-tou is drawing his bow after the thief has gone. Although he uses all his strength to help the congregation, what can he do?—Calamity comes forth from his own door. But tell me, can Hsiieh-tou see where this comes down? Since he hasn't seen it even in a dream, how can he say, "completely exposed"? Danger! Even the golden-haired lion is unable to search it out.

Yuan-wu does not explain "completely exposed". He appears to castigate Hsiieh-tou, but, in a school of thought that takes the ultimate identity of opposites seriously and therefore ultimately considers praise and blame to be equal, he may be praising with great blame. The reader is thrown back on his own perplexity. He is not allowed to rest with some easy notion of non-duality. The authors of the
Blue Cliff Record will resort to nonsense before they will allow the reader anything to hold onto.

What we see functioning in this kind of Zen rhetoric is an endlessly circling dialectic. When something is asserted, one must tear it down, cancel it out. The cancelling out will represent another assertion, so it too must, in turn be torn down and cancelled out. A perpetual iconoclasm is the order of the school. Yuan-wu constantly provides that service to the kōans of Hsiieh-tou. One never allows the debate to come to an end. When someone asks a question expecting an answer in terms of non-duality (as Po Chü-i does when he addresses Bird Nest) one answers in terms of duality. When the person adjusts himself to feel comfortable with duality (as the reader does at the end of Ryōzen's explanation of Bird Nest's answer) then one surprises him with non-duality (as Ikkyū does with his poem).

Such a dialectic mirrors the world around us, which constantly changes and allows nothing to remain still. It also challenges us, as does the experience of life, to find eternal quiescence within perpetual movement. The goal of this dialectic is not just to play with the art of twisting thought but to prod the reader to get beyond words, beyond the distinction between subject and object, and to leave him, as it is said in the Blue Cliff Record, "clean and naked, free and at ease." The most challenging of Ikkyū's poetry addresses itself to this task.
The preceding section outlined the philosophical and soteriological problem of non-duality that is the center of so much of Ikkyū's poetry. As the discussion implied by reference to the Vimalakīrti Sūtra and the Blue Cliff Record, the problem is not original to Ikkyū but the continuing concern of a long religious tradition. What is unique about Ikkyū is that he gave this religious conundrum such an intensely personal expression. If the themes of non-duality and the mutual identification of opposites come up so often in his poetry, it is not only because these ideas are central to Zen philosophy but because the understanding and practical realization of them were of vital concern to his personal life. To understand how they were of concern to him, we must speak a little of the man as he appears in his poetry.

Self-Praise
Crazy madman stirring up a crazy style,
Coming and going amid brothels and wineshops.
Which of you patch-cloth monks can trip me up?
I mark out the South, I mark out the North, the East and West. 16

In the poem above, two characteristics of Ikkyū stand out; one is his great self-confidence and the other is his penchant for unorthodox behavior, summed up in "coming and going amid brothels and wineshops." Both because he was so sure of himself that he did not fear ridicule and because he knew that by conventional standards
his own conduct as a monk was peculiar, he embraced the label "crazy" by giving himself the sobriquet "Crazy Cloud".

Ikkyū's self-confidence is the expression of the boundless self-possession that is the stamp of the enlightened man. Here is another poem in the same mode.

Kasō's descendants do not know Zen.
In front of Crazy-Cloud, who would explain Zen?
For thirty years, heavy on my shoulders
I have carried the burden of Sung-yuan's Zen. 17

The vehement tone that marks his claim to enlightenment and his conviction that he alone bore the burden of transmitting Zen must be understood in a historical context. During the Muromachi period, Zen was at the zenith of wealth and influence as a religious institution. Closely allied with the ruling warrior clans, enriched by the lucrative activities of sake-brewing, pawn-broking and foreign trade, the large Zen monasteries commanded a position of great power in Mumomachi society and were correspondingly beset by the ills of corruption and spiritual vacuity. Monks shamelessly sought honour and wealth, while such debased practices as the selling of seals of enlightenment 18 and "secret answers to the koans" flourished. 19 Against such a background, it does not seem strange that a high proportion of poems in Ikkyū's anthology should be expressions of protest and indignation. Ikkyū, incensed by the decadence of the religious structure that surrounded him, became a monk given
to writing anti-clerical poetry.

As in the next poem, Ikkyū often holds up the enlightenment of common labourers as a reproach to the pretentious claims of the clergy who had forgotten the meaning of simple and frugal living. Ikkyū's own stance is that of a wandering beggar.

Straw Raincoat and Hat

Woodcutters and fishermen, their understanding and application is perfect;

What need have they of the Zen of carved chairs and meditation floors?

Straw sandals and bamboo stick, roaming the Triple Sphere, Water-dwelling, wind-eating, twenty years.

His criticism extends to the forms of religious ritual.

I Hate Incense

Who can measure a master's means?

Explaining the Way, discussing Zen, their tongues just grow longer.

I have always disliked piety.

In the darkness, my nose wrinkles, incense before the Buddha.

His most acrimonious complaints, however, are reserved for Daiyū Yōsō 大用養叟 his elder brother in the Daitokuji lineage, which is to say that both Ikkyū and Yōsō studied with the same master Kasō but Yōsō was Ikkyū's senior. For Ikkyū, Yōsō was the
symbol of spiritual superficiality, all the more infuriating because he was one of the family, so to speak. In the following poem, one of two written to "congratulate" Yōsō upon his success at obtaining an honorary title for their deceased master, Ikkyū compares the virtue of a former master, Lan-ṭsan who shunned all contact with political power and preferred to remain in his hermitage, steaming sweet potatoes, to Yōsō's scrambling after titles and worldly fame. Daiyu means literally "Great Activity" and Ikkyū in no uncertain terms tells us what Yōsō's great activity amounts to:

How about Lan-ṭsan turning down the imperial order?
Sweet potatoes locked in smoke in the bamboo fired stove.
His "Great Activity" manifesting itself, the true monk,
On the master's face, throws slop water.²²

Standing opposed to this inspired self-confidence and uncompromising indictment of the spiritual ills of the monastic community is Ikkyū's own unorthodox conduct. If we are to take him at his word, he ignored two of the fundamental injunctions of his monastic order, temperance and celibacy. Paradoxically, he brandishes his infractions of the code as a challenge to the hypocrisy of other monks he saw entangled in greed and the desire for power. This is particularly true of poems which mention drunkeness.

Addressed to a monk at the Daitokuji

Many are the men who enter Daitō's gate.
Therein, who rejects the veneration of the master role?

Thin rice gruel, coarse tea, I have few guests;
All alone I sing drunkenly and fall over kegs of muddy sake.23

In the poem above, his final description of himself as a lonely man sipping gruel and twig tea, drunkenly signing, creates an amusing picture, and on the surface makes the statement of the poem a humble one, "others in this monastery pride themselves on their position and crave veneration, I alone am unpopular, poor and an unabashed drunkard," but underneath the cloak of self-effacement, the defiance and protest against the prevailing order is clear.

It is characteristic of Ikkyū that, when he speaks of sake, he nearly always qualifies it as "muddy sake", that is unclarified sake which, by virtue of having omitted the final stage in the brewing process, was the cheapest grade of sake available and therefore the drink of the poor. In a prose introduction piece that might be subtitled "a sermon on muddy sake", he states plainly to his pupils, "if you are going to drink sake, then you must always drink muddy sake." Another aspect then of the subject of drinking in Ikkyū's poetry is that it was a symbol of his sense of identification with the "people", the "wood cutters and fishermen", who in turn represented a wisdom unsullied by monkish pretensions.

The tone of protest and challenge is also evidence in Ikkyū's poems about brothels.
Putting to Shame the Knowledge of the Dharma
With a Poem about a Brothel

With kōans and old examples, deception grows;
Everyday breaking one's back meeting the officials,
Idly boasting of the virtuous knowledge that transcends the world.
The young girl in the brothel wears a golden surplice.\(^24\)

Picture of an Arhat Reveling in a Brothel
Emerging from the dust, the arhat is still far from Buddha.
Enter a brothel once and great wisdom happens.
I laugh deeply at Mañjuśrī reciting the Śūraṅgama Sūtra,
Lost and gone are the pleasures of his youth.\(^25\)

The historical perspective should not be ignored when considering Ikkyū's poems about brothels. This was a period of great moral laxity within the Zen monasteries. It appears the secret keeping of concubines was rife, not to mention the universal practice of pederasty.\(^26\) If a monk was not officially allowed to pursue the religious path and also to indulge sexual desire, that seems in fact to have been the experience of many monks. During this same period, the popularity of the Pure Land school of Buddhism, which under the impetus of a spirit akin to Protestant reformation, took the step of allowing monks to marry and raise families, had grown enormously. By taking the contemporary context into consideration, Ikkyū's preoccupation with the theme of sex can be seen less as an eccentric aberration than as an honest confrontation of an everyday
reality and an attempt to reconcile that reality with his own religious views.

In other poems about brothels, the tone of protest completely disappears.

Inscription for a Brothel

A Beautiful woman's cloud-rain, love's deep river.
Up in the pavilion, the pavilion girl and the old monk sing.
I find inspiration in embraces and kisses
And think not at all of abandoning my body as though it were a mass of fire.27

In poems like this one, Ikkyū's admission of disregarding the injunction of celibacy is startling because of the dramatically positive perception of physical desire. This is all the more striking in the series of love poems about or to the paramour of his later years, the blind singer Mori.

Calling my Hand Mori's Hand

My hand, how it resembles Mori's hand.
I believe the lady is the master of loveplay;
If I take ill, she can cure the jeweled stem.
And then they rejoice, the monks at my meeting.28

Wishing to Thank Mori for My Deep Debt to Her

Ten years ago, under the flowers, I made a fragrant alliance;
One step more delight, affection without end.

I regret to leave pillowing my head on a girl's lap.

Deep in the night, cloud-rain, making the promise of past, present and future.29

Although Ikkyū often used the theme of sex for its shock value, he obviously had a deeper concern with the subject. For Ikkyū, sex as the principle "desire" was a kind of touchstone for his realization of the dynamic concept of non-duality that pivots upon the essential unity of the realm of desire and the realm of enlightenment. It is as though he tested his own sense of enlightenment against this primary experience.

Nevertheless, by traditional standards, Ikkyū's attitude toward spiritual discipline was highly irregular for a Zen monk. Ikkyū was well aware of that himself. The breaking of the monastic code was conventionally thought to bring karmic retribution in its wake, and Ikkyū, while for the most part displaying an unshakable confidence, occasionally had doubts about his own conduct, notably when he was ill. Consider the following poem, one of the two entitled, "Composed when I was ill."

A monk who has broken the precepts for eighty years,
Repenting a Zen that has ignored cause and effect.
When ill, one suffers the effects of past deeds;
Now how to act in order to atone for kalpas of bad karma.30

Thus one more convolution is added to the question of Ikkyū's
morality, because fear of karmic retribution is as hard to reconcile with the standard conception of an enlightened man as attachment to physical pleasure.

There is a koan that Ikkyū frequently alludes to known as "Po-chang's wild fox", which centers around this puzzling relationship of the enlightened man to karma. The koan relates the story of an encounter between the Zen master Po-chang and a man who had been coming to listen to Po-chang's sermons. The man said to Po-chang, "I am not a man. Once, years ago, I was a teacher on this mountain who, when asked, 'Does a man of great training (an enlightened man) fall into the chains of karma?' replied, 'No, he does not fall into the chains of karma'. Then, after that, I was reincarnated five hundred times as a wild fox. Now I ask you, for my sake, say a word of enlightenment that I may be released from my fox body." Po-chang said, "The man of great training does not ignore karma." These words enlightened the questioner, who was the spirit of the former teacher who had been reincarnated so many times as a fox.31

In the poem above Ikkyū speaks of his fear that his own Zen was one that ignored karma. The first line of the poem that opened this paper, "Students who ignore karma are sunk", echoes this same problem.

The formula of the Heart Sutra, "That which is form is emptiness; that which is emptiness is form," implies the same unity for all opposites, including desire and release, but this particular
interface in the realm of truth is a dangerous path to tread usually shunned in the name of caution by those following the religious path. It is to walk the wire between "impurity in one's daily life" and an enlightened compassionate perception that can gaze with equanimity upon one's own and all beings' weakness, seeing it as no different from strength. Knowing when one has fallen off this intangible wire is difficult indeed.

This is the crux of Ikkyū's moral dilemma. Even though the ultimate insight of Zen is beyond the distinction of moral and immoral, Ikkyū knew that following a course of breaking the precepts entailed the danger of sinking into the degeneracy of a Zen that ignored cause and effect. He lived at the edge of profligacy and enlightenment, and thus met the challenge to "give rise to knowledge and deliverance without destroying ignorance and the thirst for existence." So much of his poetry is directed toward recreating the experience of the ultimate insight of Zen because, having chosen such a difficult and dangerous path, he had a deep need constantly to renew his perception, to borrow Po Chü-i's phrase, of "the broad meaning of Buddhism." A dividing line cannot be drawn between Ikkyū's grappling with his own strong emotions and his concern with the philosophical problem of non-duality. From the mixture of the two, issues a poetry that is at once lyrical and metaphysical, sensual and abstract.

The Place of the Man: and his Work Within his Tradition and his Times
In most respects, Ikkyū with his fierce individuality, uncompromising attitude and unconventional behaviour cuts a figure very much in the style of the great T'ang masters. Zen is a school that has valued its eccentricities. One might point for examples to the recluse Han Shan 寒山, the vagabonds P'u Hua 普化 and Pu Tai 布袋 but nearly all the T'ang masters had a roguish and iconoclastic streak. The reader will have ample opportunity to savour the provocative words and antics of the former masters because, being the source of many allusions in Ikkyū's poetry, they will appear often in the commentaries to the poems.

In one respect, however, Ikkyū stands alone within his tradition. No other Zen master approached physical desire with such a positive and at the same time religious attitude. To my knowledge, no other Zen master has ever broached the subject in discourse, let alone dared to say, "Enter a brothel once and great wisdom happens." The former masters never went so far in their iconoclastic rhetoric as to affirm conduct that broke with the basic precepts of monasticism.

In the discussion that preceded above, it was suggested that this predilection of Ikkyū's, which is eccentric by traditional standards, can be understood in the context of the times in which he lived. Reference was made to the loose discipline within the Zen monasteries and to the reformation within the Pure Land school that sanctioned the marriage of monks. Thus we made use of the historical setting to render more familiar and understandable what
seemed an aberration from a traditional point of view. But ironi-
cally, while Ikkyū's positive attitude toward physical desire can
be understood in the light of his temporal context, the qualities
that made him seem a rightful member of his tradition made him an
anomaly in the time he lived.

In order to explain the above statement, we must go back to
discuss briefly how the Zen tradition had been transformed within
China by the Sung Dynasty, for it was at that stage of development
that the tradition was imported to Japan.

Zen (Ch. Ch'an) Buddhism of the Sung period had become a
highly intellectual and refined religious system, encumbered with
a large body of literature. The words of the former masters had
been overlaid with generations of later commentary, so that discus­
sion of the principles of the school had taken on the character of
communication in code. The practice of meditation upon kôans
had been regularized and institutionalized. In the writings of
the Sung masters, bold and original personalities like those of
the past are seldom seen. In the poetry and discourse of Hsü-i'ang,
for example, (the sixth master in Ikkyū's lineage, who marks the
point in the transmission of that lineage from China to Japan) it
is very difficult to get the sense of a flesh-and-blood human being.
The feeling is more one of a careful and distant intellectuality.

Moreover, Sung Zen was concretely realized in a formidable
religious institution. The many monasteries were organized in an
elaborate order of ranking. Likewise, a ranking system for monks
formalized relations within the monasteries.

It was this ordered and elaborate system that was gradually transplanted to Japan. By Muromachi times, the Rinzai school of Zen, in particular, was a full-blown and ponderously formal religious institution in its own right. By virtue of the great monasteries' close alliance with the seat of secular power, Zen prelates were in effect high officials of the state. Outwardly, they projected a decorum and dignity commensurate with the wealth and power of their office.

Within that social context, Ikkyū's stance as a wandering vagabond in straw raincoat and hat, however appropriate in terms of Zen tradition, was outrageous and challenging to his contemporaries. This was especially so because he was not a complete outsider to the circles of monastic power. Had he been only an eccentric "coming and going amid brothels and winshops", perhaps his verses would only have been heard by his drinking companions, and his fame would certainly not have been handed down to this age. But he was heir to the lineage of the Daitokuji, which although it was a monastery on the outer edge of the political arena because it drew most of its support from the Imperial Court rather than the great warrior clans, was still a large and powerful monastery. It should be remembered that Ikkyū was eventually appointed abbot of this monastery at the age of eighty-one. He was also instructor in matters of Zen to two Emperors. In short, Ikkyū was someone high monastic officials had to contend with from time to time, which makes
the crazy style he professed all the more remarkable.

In sum, Ikkyū, the man, was a fundamentalist, emulating and imitating the virtues of the great founding teachers of the school. At the same time, he was an iconoclast, breaking forms and rules even the former masters did not dare to transgress. Moreover, his fundamentalist penchant made him an iconoclast in the social reality of his own time.

Ikkyū's poetry presents somewhat the same situation. While the general tenor of his poetry and many elements in it have antecedents in the Zen poetry that intersperses the records of the former masters and the capping of verses in the kōan anthologies, it is very unusual when compared to the Chinese poetry being produced by his contemporaries.

The Muromachi period was a very active period for the composition of Chinese (kanbun 漢文) literature. This school of literature was known as Gozan Bungaku, 五山文学 "Literature of the Five Mountains". "Mountains" refers to monasteries, since it was customary in both China and Japan to build monasteries on hills. The "Five Mountains" refers to the top five ranks within the monastic structure. Gozan Bungaku is a vast and as yet relatively unexplored area in Japanese literature. Confining my remarks here to Gozan poetry and comparing it to Ikkyū's, the first striking difference is that, whereas most of Ikkyū's poetry is about Zen, the opposite is true of Gozan poetry: most of it is on secular themes. The Gozan poets were for the most part employing
Chinese poetry in the same way as the Chinese literati, as a tool of social intercourse. Thus poems written for certain occasions, commemorations, parting, travel and so on are in the majority. In general, the Gozan monks were writing within a clearly delineated set of conventions with regard to appropriate topics and emotional modes. For reasons of taste, they suppressed highly individualistic expression.

Most of all, they were writing with a professional attitude towards Chinese poetry. Their goal was to write Chinese verse as well as the Chinese. Many monks of the generations prior to Ikkyū had had the opportunity to study and live abroad for considerable lengths of time, so that their knowledge of Chinese as a living spoken language, as well as a literary language, was indeed profound, and their achievement of the goal of writing as well as the Chinese was correspondingly high.

In contrast, hardly any of the above may be said of Ikkyū. Only rarely do his poems seem to be written to oil the cogs of social intercourse. As mentioned in the last section, his poetry rather appears to issue as a response to a deeply felt spiritual need. The other main role his poetry served was to instruct his disciples, where again the uppermost aim was to evoke and to provoke the realization of the profound truths of the school.

Furthermore, Ikkyū seems to have been little concerned with writing Chinese verse by professional standards. He broke many of the prosodic conventions of Chinese verse, a subject we will return
to in the first chapter. There are precedents within the Zen school for this cavalier attitude to poetic composition. Han Shan, for example, scoffed at those who would criticize his verse for ignoring the niceties of prosody. But though Ikkyū is in the company of Han Shan, he is even more daring. He commands our awe in that he ventured to be innovative and wield in such a free and unconventional manner a language foreign to him.

The Audience

Since the critical analyses of all three chapters will, in one way or another, involve assumptions concerning the reading experience of these poems by Ikkyū's intended reader, it seems appropriate to preface the discussion with a description of who the members of Ikkyū's audience were and of what kind of knowledge they brought to their reading.

Ikkyū's audience was probably very small. Often one gets the impression that Ikkyū wrote primarily for himself. Some prefaces to poems state, "out of an excess of emotion, I wrote..."\(^35\) or "so, to console myself, I composed..."\(^36\) indicating, as has already been mentioned, that the poems were frequently responding to very personal needs. Nevertheless, there are even more poems introduced by phrases like "presented to a congregation"\(^37\) and "presented to members of my group",\(^38\) which suggests that Ikkyū's principal audience was his own circle of students in matters of Zen. That circle, however, includes people from a wide cross-section of
Muromachi Society. The emperors, Gokomatsu and Hanazono studied Zen with Ikkyū. Also included among his students are the Nō playwright, Komparu Zenchiku, the linked-verse master Sōchō, the tea master, Murata Shuko, and at least one merchant of the free port Sakai. As an aside, it should be pointed out that three of the above, Zenchiku, Sōchō and Shuko, were important contributors to the development of Muromachi culture. Thus, though Ikkyū's audience was small, the influence his poetry might potentially have had through these key members was very great.

These were the members of Ikkyū's audience, the readers properly informed to appreciate his poetry. The major prerequisite they would share was a reading knowledge of classical Chinese. I mention the obvious here to emphasize that it was a reading knowledge and not a spoken knowledge. Like the poet himself, none of the individuals mentioned above had the opportunity to live and study in China for an extended period of time, surely the only way, at that time, to gain a true proficiency in the spoken language. This point will be important to observations made at the end of Chapter one.

Since Ikkyū's poetry is highly allusive, as well as simply a reading knowledge of the language, his readers would have to have a firm grounding in the literature that is the source of Ikkyū's allusions. This would mean, first and foremost, an intimate familiarity with and almost rote knowledge of the major Zen texts, then
after that, in descending order of familiarity, Chinese poetry, Buddhist scriptures other than those of the Zen school, and the classic works of Chinese philosophy and history.

Some of this literary background would be absorbed naturally by the process of learning Chinese because the classics of Chinese literature were the texts of schooling from the elementary level on up. Therefore, for example, the metaphor taken from Chuang-tzu in poem No. 234, "On the horns of a snail" which has the proverbial meaning of "storm in a teapot" would be as familiar to one of Ikkyū's readers as any of the host of proverbial expressions from Shakespeare's plays is to an English speaker.

Likewise, by the Muromachi period, Japan was so much a Buddhist country that references to a Buddhist text like the Lotus Sūtra would no more need exegesis for Ikkyū's contemporaries than references to the Bible for this culture, at least until recently. The famous metaphor of the "burning house" from the Lotus Sūtra that appears in poem No. 46 is an appropriate example of that kind of reference.

For Chinese poetry we have to assume a very extensive but, in one respect, curiously limited knowledge. If we look at the sources of allusion in Ikkyū's poetry, we find they range over the whole of Chinese poetry up to the Sung period. References are made to the Book of Songs, Tao Yuan-ming the great T'ang poets, principally Tu Fu and Tu Mu, the Sung poets Su Tung-po and Huang Shan-ku. The interesting limitation is that, so far as T'ang poetry is con-
cerned, while allusions are often made to poems of some of the lesser luminaries among the T'ang poets, those poems nearly always are from a single anthology, the San T'i Shih, which enjoyed an enormous popularity during the Muromachi period among the students of Chinese poetry. In poem No. 203, for example, the last line of the poem is a quotation from a poem by Li I  李商隐 that appears in the San T'i Shih. Ikkyū's poem was occasioned by witnessing the devastation and suffering caused by typhoon and flood in the year 1460. Someone in the midst of the general woe has having a party. The callousness of such gaiety in the face of so many people's suffering saddened Ikkyū and gave rise to the poem. Li I's poem was written to express his grief over the death of a lover. I will cite Li I's poem, then Ikkyū's.

On this smooth bamboo mat, water-patterned, my thoughts drift far away.
A thousand miles to make the tryst now in one night, it is over.
From here on, I have no heart to enjoy the lovely night;
Let it be, let the bright moon sink behind the Western Pavilion.

Typhoon, flood, suffering for ten thousand people;
Song, dance, flutes and strings, who sports tonight?
In the Dharma, there is flourishing and decay; in the kalpas, there is increase and decline.
"Let it be, let the bright moon sink behind the Western Pavilion."

In Ikkyū's poem, the first two lines set the situation. On the one hand, many people are suffering, on the other, unfeeling people disport themselves. Then he turns to consider the perspective of eternity, the rise and fall of the aeons, which makes this time of suffering the chimera of a moment. After this, the statement, "Let it be, let the bright moon sink behind the Western Pavilion", conveys resignation and acceptance. But, in the context of the original poem, the same line conveys unconsolable grief. Thus, a reader aware of the allusion is struck simultaneously by both resignation and grief beyond solace, the two emotions pulling at the heart of the poet. Li I's poem, beautiful as it is, is not one of the T'ang dynasty's best known poems. In Ikkyū's poem, failure to recognize the allusion to Li I would seriously attenuate the poem's effect. If one had to expect Ikkyū's reader to be able to recognize allusions to any T'ang poem of the same currency as Li I's, we would be demanding prodigious feats of memory, but it is the case that nearly all those allusions to poems on the outskirts of famous T'ang poetry can be traced back to the San T'i Shih.

By far the most detailed knowledge demanded of a reader for Ikkyū's poems is that of Zen texts. A cursory glance through the commentaries to the translations presented herein will be sufficient to convince anyone of that. If we are to judge from the number and
recondite quality of the allusions to Zen texts that pervadeIkkyū's poetry, we must assume that Ikkyū's audience knew a great
deal of Zen literature by heart. Works alluded to most frequently
are the anthologies of anecdotes and pronouncements of the T'ang
masters, principally the Chuan Teng Lu and the Wu Teng Hui Yuan
that were the sources for most of the kōans. Next would come the
kōan anthologies, first and foremost, the Pi-yen Lu or "Blue Cliff
Record" which was the foundation for kōan practice in the Muromachi
period. The works associated with Ikkyū's particular lineage of
Zen also appear often, beginning with the Lin-chi lu, the record
of the founder of the Lin-chi (J. Rinzai) school, then the Hsü-t'ang
Lu the record of the Chinese patriarch who marks the point in the
transfer of the lineage to Japan and finally some of the works of
the Japanese patriarchs in the lineage, such as the Daito roku,
the record of Daitō 大燈 founder of the Daitokuji. The above
is not an exhaustive list, but it includes the main works represen-
tative of the kind of material Ikkyū's reader would have in his
mental library.

At first glance, this seems like a great deal to expect of a
reader, but it must be remembered that Ikkyū's readers were active
students of Zen. The degree of familiarity they had with these
texts cannot be understood without referring to the practice of
meditation on kōans. In brief, the practice involved the following
procedure: A student was given a certain kōan to meditate upon.
Once he had come to a thorough understanding of it and was able
spontaneously to deliver his own words of enlightenment on the kōan in front of his master, he was considered to have passed the kōan. A student might sit on many hundreds of these kōans during his period of training. Often his own capping words to a kōan would be drawn from other Zen writings. In fact, later Japanese anthologies of Zen aphorisms like the Zenrin Kushū were written in response to the need for convenient source books of material suitable for capping kōans. I believe it is easy to imagine how a practice like this would encourage in a student the development of a very specific and deeply ingrained memory for the words of Zen scriptures.

The poem among the translations herein that is the most impressive for the demands it makes on a reader is No. 44. This poem cannot be presented without its two pages of commentary, so for reasons of space I will refrain from quoting it here. The point I would like to make about it is that the allusions in this poem are not only to Zen scriptures but also to the oral tradition of kōan interpretation within the Daitokuji lineage. The fact that the allusions are to an oral tradition of interpretation within a single lineage indicates how particular the knowledge of the audience had in some instances to be and how small an audience Ikkyū was writing for.

It is hoped that this description of Ikkyū's audience has provided a context in which to understand remarks made in succeeding chapters about the reading experience of his informed readers.
The fact that Ikkyū was writing for such a small audience with a specialized knowledge is undoubtedly one of the major contributing factors to the difficulty his poetry presents to a modern audience. The amazing thing is that even though he wrote for such a particular audience, he was also able to compose some poems of immediate comprehensibility and wide appeal for any audience. "I hate incense" and the "Crazy madman" poems, quoted in the section about the poet, are examples. Furthermore, I believe the reader will find even his most difficult poetry well worth the effort of decipherment.

Summary of the Three Chapters

The three chapters that follow hereupon will take a close look at the poetry contained in the Kyounshu "Crazy Cloud Anthology", Ikkyū's major anthology of Chinese poems.

Chapter one will examine some of the peculiarities of the way Ikkyū handles the elements of Chinese prosody. It will be demonstrated how Ikkyū at times broke the rules of Chinese prosody and at other times observed them in ways a native Chinese poet would not approve of. Despite his bending and breaking of the rules and, more surprisingly, because of it, his style has a fresh vigour and bold originality. Taking into consideration that he was writing for a Japanese audience, one may say he turned linguistic disadvantage to advantage, ending with a style of poetry that bewilders the critic who would try to make the dualistic judgment of "good" or
"bad".

The core of chapter two is a collection of analyses that grew out of a fascination with the functioning of the technique of allusion that pervades Ikkyū's poetry. The analyses attempt to re-create the reading experience of an intended reader to clarify the specific roles allusion plays in particular poems.

The more general topic of the chapter is the continuing theme of how Ikkyū's poetry creates that experience designated as dialectical in the beginning of this paper, the experience that disturbs, unsettles and pivots the mind round to face a problem that cannot be solved by words. It is suggested that often allusion is the vehicle for bringing the opposite term of the problematic equation of non-duality into the poem, thereby turning it into a conundrum.

However, the poems where allusion works very effectively are not always those of a dialectical character. It is acknowledged in this chapter that Ikkyū did not only write dialectical poetry and that in some poems allusion function in a rhetorical way, that is, that the allusion complements the reader's expectations and sense of given truth. For the sake of contrast, examples of this kind of poem are also analysed.

Chapter three will pursue the dialectical theme further. It will be argued that often the juxtaposition of opposites, usually through connotation rather than by overt statement, is the dynamic technique by which Ikkyū's poems are transformed into powerful experiences. An extended analysis follows this technique in operation
through a particularly strong set of three poems under the joint title, "The scriptures are bum-wipe."
Chapter One

"Those who follow rules are asses, those who break the rules are men"

from No. 128

Classical Chinese was the language of almost all of Ikkyū's formal education and his principle language of expression, but it is unlikely that he knew a single Chinese sound. This situation is possible because classical Chinese is essentially a written rather than a spoken language, and more importantly, because it is one of the few languages in the world that is not written with a phonetic script. Therefore, it can be mastered to an acceptable degree without a knowledge of any spoken Chinese dialect. Furthermore, from very early times, the Japanese developed a system of reading Chinese by simultaneously translating it into Japanese. This is what is known as the kundoku reading system, and mastery of this skill makes the knowledge of spoken Chinese superfluous in the practical sense.

However, Ikkyū was writing Chinese poetry, and the formal requirements of that poetry were developed to suit Chinese sound. One can assume that Ikkyū, being ignorant of Chinese sound, would handle the formal elements of that poetry differently from a native Chinese poet. "Different" is perhaps a kind word for what might, from a Chinese point of view, be plainly maladroit.

Let us consider first the matter of rhyme. Rhyme has a central place in all Chinese poetry, whereas it has never played a role in
Japanese poetry. Rhyme, then, is a very foreign device from a Japanese point of view. The principle form of verse in the Kyōunshū is the chi yen chüeh chü (七言绝句 J. shichigon zekku) a verse form consisting of four lines, each line seven characters long. The chi yen chüeh chü was especially popular among Zen monks, both in China and in Japan. The Chiang-hu Feng-yueh Chi, an anthology of verse by Sung and Yuan monks, for example, contains only verses of this form. Perhaps the brevity of the form appealed to Zen monks; one interpretation of the meaning of chüeh chü (literally "cut-off verse") is "unexcelled verse", the verse that "cuts off" all competition, quintessential in its compactness. Except for a handful of poems, it is the only form Ikkyū wrote. While he was following tradition in choosing the chüeh chü, the fact that he wrote only in that short form suggests that his writing scope in Chinese was limited. The chüeh chü rhyme scheme is A A B A, the classic model of pattern established, broken then returned to for closure. In general, the rhymes of the Kyōunshū are correct. But, although Ikkyū may have rhymed by and large correctly, his handling of rhyme reveals some individual peculiarities.

To begin with, on several occasions, he does something that perhaps no Chinese poet would ever do; he uses the same rhyme word throughout the whole poem. In other words, the three lines that rhyme all end with the same word. Repeating any item of vocabulary in a poem as short as the chüeh chü was usually considered bad form, but to repeat the same word for something as important
as rhyme verges on the unthinkable. However, Ikkyū does that very thing to quite strong effect. Here is an example of that, poem No. 254 "An Arhat Sporting in a Brothel".

rakan shutsujin mushiki jō

inbō yuga ya ta jō

nahen hi i na hen ze

nossu kufū mabutsu jō

The arhat has left the dust, no more desire.
Playful games at the brothel, so much desire.
This one is bad, this one is good.
The monk's skill, Devil Buddha desire.

In this translation, the word "desire" translates 一 jō, the repeated rhyme word. As pointed out in the commentary to this poem, the meaning of jō in the last line is far from clear. Because of the preceding lines where it was clearly "desire", that meaning is quite present to the mind when the word appears for the third time. However, jō can also mean "condition", or the "facts of the matter". Hence a possible paraphrase would be "the monk's skill is knowing the condition of the essential unity of the Buddha and the Devil", that is, that distinctions between good and evil are not real. But one must caution that this is an interpretation,
that what he actually means by the phrase, "Devil Buddha desire", is hard to pin down. The title of this poem is, after all, "An Arhat Sporting in a Brothel", hence another possible interpretation of the last two lines is, "This girl's no good, that one is fine; the monk's skill is having the appetite of a Devilish Buddha."
The poet may be using lofty philosophical language to be lewd, yet the diction strikes one as nonetheless lofty and philosophical.

For the sake of this discussion, the interest in the repetition of the same word at the end of the line in the rhyming position is that the meaning of the word changes or, at least, becomes ambiguous at the third repetition. As the context changes, the meaning of the word changes, creating a curious tension in our understanding of it. Because of that, the repetition is by no means monotonous, but rather works as a way of creating emphasis and leaving the reader in a state of perplexity with opposites juxtaposed in his head, a favorite closural strategy of Ikkyū's.

"Deluded Enlightenment", No. 385, is another poem presented in this selection that uses only one rhyme word throughout. Indeed, in that particular poem not only the rhyme word, but several items of vocabulary, are repeated up to three times.

mushi mushū ga isshin

fu jōbutsu shō honrai shin

honrai jōbutsu butsu mōgo
shūjō honrai meidō shin

No beginning, no end, this mind of ours;
It doesn't achieve Buddhahood, the innate mind.
"Innate Buddhahood" was the Buddha's wild talk.
The beings' innate mind is the path to delusion.

As mentioned in the commentary, the repetition here makes for almost a staccato effect that drives the message home. If it is read in bōyomi, it sounds like a parody of the sūtras, hammering out a message in direct opposition to the sūtras—there is no enlightenment, the Buddha was mouthing nonsense. To take the poet to task here for repetition seems beside the point because the poem succeeds as a mind-twister by poetic means.

Another less obvious eccentricity in Ikkyū's use of rhyme is a predilection for certain rhyme categories and combinations of words within those categories. For example, over fifty poems out of a total of eight hundred and eighty poems are composed with rhymes from the shin category. While that is not so remarkable on its own, within that number of poems, twenty-five have gin "sing," and shin "heart" as two of their rhyme words. That means that twenty-five have a similar feeling tone to the rhyme set. Indeed, nine poems of the twenty-five use exactly the same set of rhyme words, gin "sing," shin "deep," and shin "heart". Another category that is represented with a large number
of poems is the 流 ryū category. There are seventy-two poems using rhymes from this category and only twenty different rhyming characters are used to make the rhyming combinations, that is, only twenty characters are combined to fill two hundred and sixteen slots (seventy-two sets of three, in other words). "Egad!", one can hear the Chinese poet say, "What paucity of vocabulary! The monotony of his verse must be terrible!"

I suggest that in actual experience, Ikkyū's poetry is not monotonous at all. Rather, these recurring patterns of rhyme combinations set up a feeling of familiarity that gives the Kyōunshū a flavor that one can ascribe only to Ikkyū. When one encounters a poem where the rhyming words are 歌 "sing", 深 "deep", 心 "heart", one gets the feeling of reprise, as though it were an irregularly appearing chorus underlying the anthology. It elicits something like a sigh, "Ah, Ikkyū", because in a sense, the three words encapsulate something about the poet; his heart was deep and he sang it out.

Herein lies another key to what gives Ikkyū's use of rhyme a distinctive character. It often appears that Ikkyū chose his rhyme words for the meaning they formed together, almost as if they formed a miniature poem-within-a-poem that sums up the overall mood or feeling. In poem 68, for example, the rhyme words are 深 "deep", 心 "heart", and 歌 "songs". They can stand as a description of the Fish-basket Kannon; "Her deep heart sings."

In No. 77, the same combination, in the same order, describes T'ao
Yüan-ming equally well. (What is translated as "verse" here is the same word gin.) Sometimes the rhyme words taken separately make an ironic comment on the poem. In two poems, Ikkyū does this with very similar rhyme-word combinations. One is son "descendants", son "venerate", son "sake keg", in the poem entitled "Living in the mountains", and the other is mon "the school", son "venerate", son "sake keg", in poem No. 176, "Addressed to a monk at the Daitokuji". This matching of rhyme words in combination with the sense of the whole poem does not happen in every poem, but it happens often enough to say it is characteristic of Ikkyū's style. The clearest (and crudest) example of the practice actually is in the other of Ikkyū's poetry anthologies, the Jikaishū "Self-Admonitions", a title of obvious ironic intent because the work is, end to end, a scathing condemnation of the Zen institution both in general and in the person of Daiyü Yōsō, Ikkyū's immediate predecessor in the Daitokuji line. In the Jikaishū, some fifty poems (fifty out of a total of one hundred and twenty-two) are written with exactly the same rhyme-word ensemble, consisting of sen "boats", sen "money", and zen "Zen". The poems very clearly criticize the trade the Zen monasteries carried on with Ming China, and the rhyme words again sum up the concern.

The Jikaishū as a whole has an impromptu character to it. It is almost as if Ikkyū had collected the three appropriate rhyming words in his mind and then just freely extemporized, pouring forth
all the dammed-up indignation, without having to worry about thinking up new rhyming combinations. I suggest that one of the reasons Ikkyū had such a penchant for rhyming combinations that made some sense as a unit in themselves is that they were easier to remember that way. Of course, this implies that Ikkyū's knowledge of Chinese was inferior to a Chinese poet's. Indeed, from a Chinese point of view, Ikkyū's use of rhyme may be repetitious in the extreme.

Still, his poetry was not meant for a Chinese audience, it was meant for a Japanese audience, for most of whom appreciation of rhyme was an intellectual exercise; they could not hear it. In kundoku reading, the rhyme inherent in the written text disappears. Yet, one still perceives the text as Chinese on the page, and the position of the rhyme words at the ends of three lines gives them emphasis. The matching of the sense the rhyme words make together with the overall sense of the poem takes advantage of that position of emphasis and whether good or bad in terms of conventional Chinese prosody, undeniably gives Ikkyū's stamp to the anthology.

It is not only in the area of rhyme that we find Ikkyū "dancing to his own tune". Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 a specialist in Chinese literature, is perhaps alone among his countrymen in the field for his ability to appreciate Chinese poetry through Chinese eyes and, more importantly, Chinese ears. When I asked him about his opinion of Ikkyū's poetry, he said, "Frankly, it embarrasses me." We discussed Ikkyū's eccentric use of rhyme and repetitious use of vocabulary, but then he said, "Do you know what is the very
worst of all? It is that he constantly violates the four-three rhythm of the seven character line." In the chüeh chü, the seven characters of a line are conventionally broken up into a group of four succeeded by a group of three. The sense of the line is constructed so that it is natural to pause after the fourth character. Since Chinese is a contextual language with few grammatical aids, the rhythm of a line is often the clue to sense. The poet manipulates his sense to fit the four-three rhythm; the reader familiar with that rhythm reads a poem that way and finds it easier to discover the sense. For the poet to break that rhythm is to make it much more difficult for the reader to understand. That is why someone attuned to pure Chinese finds Ikkyū's poetry constantly frustrating in that way.

Here again, it is not the case that every poem exhibits this broken rhythm, but it happens often enough that one associates it with Ikkyū's style. Here is an example of one poem in which the first, second and fourth lines observe the four-three rhythm, but the third line breaks that rhythm in a very unorthodox way. The poem is presented in the original Chinese with a literal English version underneath. For a more literary version see No. 46.

酒歏三盃
(of) wine, sipped three cups.

Ts'ao-shan old fellow.
直接身
straightway lay body,

一剎那間
(in) one second's space.

未濕唇
still unmoistened lips

慰孤貧
comforted poor orphan

火宅中 看
burning house within, see

萬劫幸
10,000 kalpa's pain
The third line here is an audacious experiment in breaking up a Chinese line. It divides into three units, three, three and one. Furthermore, the unit of one, the verb "see", is a case of enjambment, a verb whose object comes in the next line. Enjambment is simply not part of the Chinese poetic repertoire. The rhythm is broken, there is a renegade enjambment, all in all the line is quite outrageous. I still remember the pained expression of Professor Iriya's face when I produced this example for his perusal. Still, to a Japanese reader unfamiliar with Chinese sound, someone in the same position as the poet himself, in other words, it would not seem so terribly strange. He would notice that the four-three division had been violated, but that rhythm would not be such a part of his auditory instincts that the violation would rankle. Presuming that the reader was reading the line in some kind of kundoku fashion, one concludes he would not feel the abruptness of that enjambment. For example, the modern reading for that line is:

jiki ni mi o kataku no uchi ni yokotaete mireba

It is as natural in Japanese as it is strained in Chinese. In reading it aloud, one naturally pauses after mireba so that the force of the enjambment is very slight. A reader of Ikkyū's time would probably know Chinese well enough to appreciate intellectually the fact that the line plays havoc with Chinese poetic conventions, yet in kundoku reading it would not offend his own ears. I suggest that in the curious tension between these two perceptions might lie
the effectiveness of this line. This is an unusual situation in world literature. We are dealing with a poetry that was written in one language and given sound in another. For the poet who was a perfectionist, one assumes his concern would have been to conform as closely as possible to the Chinese conventions, to write poetry as flawlessly as a Chinese poet. But Ikkyū was not that kind of poet; rather than write for the sake of craftsmanship, he seems to have written solely from a deep personal need to express himself in whatever way he could. With Chinese poetry, Ikkyū kept the rules only enough to make his breaking of the rules effective, disregarding the rules when they became fetters. He was at a disadvantage linguistically in that language, but wielded freely the knowledge he had to hand, even if it meant breaking and bending rules, breaking and bending the language itself.

From the standpoint of classical Chinese prosody, one might therefore call his poetry "bad" for this, but there is more to it than that. In some ways, the power of this poetry emanates from the bold and even crude way in which his Chinese is used. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that his intended audience was not Chinese. They were people who could read Chinese well, but who did not have its rhythms in their bones. What would make a Chinese auditor shudder would not have the same effect on a Japanese reader, but rather a novel and original effect. At the end, of course, this leaves us quite at a loss whether to condemn or to praise the poet; Ikkyū remains as much as enigma on the poetic plane as he is on the moral plane, and that is perhaps as it should be.
Chapter Two

Allusion in Ikkyū's poetry challenges a translator because there is so much of it and it plays such a crucial and varied role. If one misses an allusion in a poem, one often cannot make any sense of the poem at all. An example of that is poem No. 223.

Addressed to a monk who killed a cat

In my group, there is a little Nan-ch'üan;
With a flick of the wrist he killed the cat, the koan is complete.
Mistaken, he regretted that in practising this teaching;
He disturbed its nap under the peony blossoms.

The last line alludes to a remark in the Wu Teng Hui Yuan, "Under the peony tree, sleeps a cat." If one did not know that allusion, one would have no idea that a cat is being referred to in the last line, and the line therefore would seem senselessly oblique rather than what it is, delicately oblique.

Allusion performs many different roles in Ikkyū's poetry besides that of indirect or oblique statement. One of the aims of this chapter is to trace by a series of analyses the warp of allusion through a number of poems to communicate the variety and complexity of the ways in which the technique is employed. The mode of analysis seeks to recreate the reading experience of an
informed reader for this poetry, which is assumed to be quite a different experience from that of a reader of this paper.

A reader of this paper will probably read a poem and end up with a large number of questions in his mind. The proper names, the connections between lines in most poems, will be puzzling until one reads the commentary. If, after reading the commentary, one reads the poem again, one will begin to approach the reading experience of the informed reader, except that now, in many cases, one will know too much as one begins to reread. For example, in some poems there is a surprise allusion in the last line, something that throws the poem in an entirely unexpected direction. That happens to some degree in the example that began this paper, the poem about "Do no evil, do much good." The allusion at the end of that poem to the poet Po Chü-i by means of the term of address "Elder" and "drunkenly singing" is meant to catch the reader off-guard and give the direction of the poem a dialectical twist. Most readers of this paper will not recognize that allusion immediately. Once one has been informed of the allusion and returns to reread the entire piece, prose and poem, the force of the unexpected allusion is attenuated because one already knows it is coming. One can no longer be surprised unless one makes the effort of imagining what it would be like to read the poem with the necessary knowledge already in one's mind to appreciate the allusion as it happens. That is precisely what the method of analysis used in this chapter involves, an effort of the imagination to reconstruct
the reading of these poems by an informed reader of the time.

In the process of applying this method to the poems it has become evident that Ikkyū uses allusion in two basically different ways. On the one hand, he uses allusion in a way that accords with convention. He makes allusions that he knows the reader will not only recognize but also understand in a familiar and thus ultimately satisfying way. This may be called a rhetorical use of allusion.

On the other hand, Ikkyū often uses allusion in a way that breaks the contract of conventional understanding between poet and reader. He makes allusions that are based on his own personal and eccentric interpretations of the scriptures and sense of the world. The effect of these allusions is to disturb and shock the reader. This may be called a dialectical use of allusion.

Rhetorical allusion generally serves two purposes, which are interrelated. One is to make the poetry more beautiful, to use allusive language for ornament. The other is to make indirect statements, to say much with little which can also have an aesthetic effect.

The purpose dialectical allusion serves is more complicated but in general one might say it is to throw the reader off-guard and force him to re-evaluate his sense of what the poem is about. Allusion coming in the last line often brings a contradictory element into the poem that collapses the frame of reference the poem has set up. At other times, opposites are brought together in
such a way that the distinction between them is obliterated or at least left problematical and unclear. In the confusion, one glimpses a knowing beyond the distinction of duality.

The analyses that follow are arranged in an ascending order of complexity with regard to allusion. In the interest of saving space, only the background information pertinent to the discussion at hand is provided. For detailed background material such as full citations of passages alluded to, the reader may turn to the commentaries. We will begin with two poems in a rhetorical vein.

No. 107

These days accomplished monks of long training
Are mesmerized by their own words and call it ability.
At Crazy Cloud's hut, there is no ability but a flavor;
He boils a cup of rice in a broken-footed cauldron.

This poem has great simplicity of expression, and is comprehensible without understanding the allusion embedded in the last line. Lines one and two establish and develop the theme, the monks of today and their superficial enlightenment. In line three, the subject becomes the poet himself, "Crazy Cloud", in opposition to the monastic rabble. Line four describes the poet's actual state, poor and cooking with a broken pot, but the implication is that this is truly virtuous. If one takes the poem without the allusion, the poem seems to be a rather modest expression of the poet's
self-confidence. It says, in effect, "I may be one of no ability but I have a style of my own, and practice frugal living." However, the "broken-footed cauldron" in the last line alludes to the "Last Admonition of Master Daitō" (the second master in Ikkyū's lineage in Japan and founder of the Daitokuji), where Daitō says, "If there is one who practices righteousness in the wilds, who in a little hut passes his day eating vegetables boiled in a broken-footed cauldron...such a one, day by day, looks this old monk in the eye and returns the favor of my teaching." Recognition of that allusion subtly changes the effect of the poem. Ikkyū is no longer simply describing his poverty, and his statement of self-confidence is no longer so modest; through the allusion he is saying, "I am the one who looks our Master in the eye, the one who is worthy to receive his teaching, while the rest of you at Daitokuji are charlatans." The statement is all the more powerful for being made indirectly through allusion.

No. 57

The Plum Ripened

Its ripening, over the years, is still not forgotten.
In words, there is a flavor but who is able to taste it?
When his spots were first visible, Big Plum was already old.
Sprinkle of rain, fine mist, that which was green had already turned yellow.

This is a poem in praise of a former master, Ta-mei, whose
name literally means "Big Plum". Ta-mei's master Ma-tsu was the first to play with the literal meaning of the name. The Ch'uan Teng Lu records how Ma-tsu acknowledged his students' attainment with the phrase, "Ah, the plum has ripened." This is alluded to in the poem beginning with the title. Note the degrees by which the allusion becomes obvious. The title cues the allusion, but, as far as the middle of line three, the content of the poem remains general enough to allow different interpretations. The question in line two gives a twist to the movement of the poem, and begins to suggest because of the reference to "words" that the poem is not about an actual plum tree. The appearance of Ta-mei's name in the third line assures our recognition of the allusion. Line four rounds out the poem by coloring, albeit with the monochromes of rain and mist, the vaguely suggested image of a plum tree, and by elegantly embroidering in one more allusion to the original passage in the Ch'uan Teng Lu. Ta-mei answered the question, "How long have you been here?" with "Four times only have I seen the mountains turn green and then yellow." Now the expression is turned to describe a plum, not mountain foliage, no other plum than the old master himself. Knowledge of the original enables one to appreciate how the poet has transformed the allusion in the poem. First he puns on Ta-mei's name much as Ma-tsu did, then he turns Ta-mei's own words around to describe himself.

The allusions complement the subject matter of the poem. The
poem rewords familiar material within a predictable framework and, because of this, the strategy of cuing the allusion early in the poem and then making a more direct reference at the end is particularly effective. It is very pleasurable for the reader to pick up the hint of an allusion and then have the supposition of where the poem will go verified by the arrival of a more explicit reference. It is like the fulfillment of a promise, and one's joy at the fulfillment of the promise lies in the recognition that earlier a promise was made.

This is a convenient place to introduce poems where the allusion produces a dialectical effect, because the following poem is otherwise very similar in strategy to the preceding poem.

No. 206

I admonished my followers saying, "If you are going to drink sake, then you must always drink muddy sake, and for tidbits just have the dregs. This is why the latter are sometimes called 'dry sake'." Thereupon I made a poem, laughing at myself:

Men in the midst of their drunkenness, what can they do about their wine-soaked guts?
Sober, at the limit of their resources, they suck the dregs.
The lament of him who "embraced the sands" and cast himself into the river by Hsiang-nan
Draws out of this Crazy Cloud, a laugh.
In "The Plum Ripened", allusions to a single source, in that case the account of Ta-mei in the Ch'uan Teng Lu are sprinkled throughout the poem. In No. 206, one source is alluded to several times. The source here is the passage from the Book of History about the suicide of Chü Yuan. Here follows a paraphrase of that passage.

Disappointed and sorely grieved, Chü Yuan, the slandered but virtuous official, resolves to throw himself into the river. As he stands on the bank of the river preparing to carry out his resolve, a fisherman draws him into conversation. Chü Yuan declares, "All the world is muddied in confusion, only I am pure! All men are drunk and I alone am sober." The fisherman counters Chü 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?! Chü Yuan rejects the advice and, composing the rhyme prose poem "Embracing the Sands", casts himself into the river. Knowing this core of the account is necessary to appreciate the allusion.

However, there is little in the prose introduction to the poem that suggests Chü Yuan, particularly because the tone is so jocular. The reader would probably begin to think of Chü Yuan when he perceived the opposition of "drunkenness" and "sober" at the beginning of lines one and two of the poem. That would call up Chü Yuan's
remark, "all men are drunk, I alone am sober." The word "men", which relates to Chü Yüan's "all the world" and "all men", and the words "dregs" which relates to "why do you not drain their dregs" also play a role in cuing the allusion. But it is probably only at the perception of "Embracing the Sands" that the reader would be quite sure Chü Yüan was being alluded to. Then the allusions in line one and two would be affirmed, and in retrospect the introduction as a whole would appear to have led up to the Chü Yüan reference. For example, the words "dregs" and "muddy" in the introduction then would appear somewhat loaded.

As in the preceding poem, "The Plum Ripened", once again the allusion is made explicit in the third line by a proper noun, in this case, the title of Chü Yüan's rhymed prose composition. Though the strategy of these two poems, which is to gradually broaden the hints of allusion and then assure the recognition of the allusion with a proper noun, is thus common to both poems; on the level of content, the effect yielded by that strategy is very different. In the poem about Ta-mei, there is a harmony between the intent of the poem, celebration of a former master, and the material alluded to, his biography. In the "muddy sake" poem, for a monk, the theme of praise for sake, is unexpected. Added to that is the incongruity of the allusion to Chü Yüan that gradually becomes apparent in the poem. In conventional Chinese literary rhetoric, mention of Chü Yüan always provides sighs of
sympathy; it verges on the sacrilegious to find it thus in a poem of comic intent. This is not to say that it is out of place or fails to work in this particular instance. The jarring quality of the allusion fits the poet's goal in this poem, which is to shock and unsettle the reader, thereby producing laughter. This is the first of many instances where we see Ikkyū using allusion as a vehicle for bringing into the poem something quite opposite or contradictory to the theme apparent on the surface.

No. 77

Arhat Chrysanthemums

Tea-brown golden flowers, deep with Autumn's color.
Breeze and dew on the East hedge, a heart that has left the dust behind.
The miraculous powers of the Five Hundred Arhats of Mr. T'ien T'ai.

Cannot touch one fragment of verse from T'ao Yuan-ming.

We are still dealing with a poem in which only one allusion figures. The title (titles can never be ignored in the Kyōunshū) announces a Buddhist subject, Chrysanthemums seen as Arhats. That raised a question in at least one commentator's mind as to whether there might have actually been a variety of chrysanthemums with that name in the Muromachi period, but the first line provides the
answer to that question. It is their color that makes them Arhats; their golden brown color is the same as that of a Hinayana monk's robes. "Breeze and dew on the East Hedge" is the key to the allusion. Since T'ao Yüan-ming and chrysanthemums are virtually inseparable in the iconography of Chinese poetry, the expression "East Hedge" in a poem on chrysanthemums would immediately call to the reader's mind T'ao Yüan-ming's famous line, "Picking chrysanthemums by the East hedge." But why, apart from the chrysanthemum connection, the reference should be made is not yet clear. The next phrase, "a heart that has left the dust behind", is a conventional epithet for the Arhat; he who starts on the Path must first leave the dust of the world behind. This phrase is particularly Buddhist in flavor and, therefore, is not an epithet one would normally think of applying to T'ao Yüan-ming, who was many things, but not a Buddhist. For this reason, the allusion to T'ao Yüan-ming remains a small question mark as one proceeds. The next line begins with a grand-sounding Buddhist subject, "the miraculous powers of the Five Hundred Arhats". We wait the split second in suspense because it is the end of the line, "cannot touch...T'ao Yüan-ming". The poem ends with unreserved praise for T'ao Yüan-ming and onions for the Arhats, but the reader is not surprised; he has been cued to anticipate something like this outcome by the allusion in the second line. Or, to put it in a different way, perhaps the allusion was not enough to provide him with expectations for
the outcome, but when he reads the last line, he has more of a feeling of "So that's it," rather than "What's going on?" Here again, we have the bringing together of opposites, in this case Buddhist and non-Buddhist. The poem overtly proclaims a Buddhist theme, but the allusion covertly suggests the counter-theme that is finally unveiled in the last line. The following poem reworks this theme in a more forceful manner.

No. 49

To Hear a Sound and Awaken to the Way

Striking bamboo one morning he forgot all he knew.
Hearing the bell at fifth watch, his many doubts vanished.
The ancients all became Buddhas right where they stood.
T'ao Yüan-ming alone just knit his brows.

We have moved up a step in the number of allusions in the poem. Here there are three. "To hear a sound and awaken to the Way" is a standard phrase in Zen that expresses one of the paradoxes beloved by the school. In orthodox Buddhism, the senses are considered mere obstacles to awakening, yet one can be awakened to the Way by a sound. This reference encourages the anticipation of a laudatory verse in the same style as the poem about "Big Plum". For the first three lines, one's expectations are satisfied. First comes Hsiang Yen the most familiar of the masters
enlightened by a sound. One morning as he was sweeping the garden, the sound of a pebble striking bamboo awakened him. In the words of the Ch'uan Teng Lu, "He forgot all he knew." Then, we are reminded of Master Fu whose enlightenment by the sound of a bell tolling the fifth watch is recounted in the Pi-yan Lu. "The ancients all became Buddhas..." comes as a kind of summation; if one wonders anything, it is where the poem can go from here. At this point, the name of T'ao Yüan-ming comes as a great surprise. Even when the allusion is recognized, "Ah yes, T'ao Yüan-ming also realized something when he heard a sound--hearing the temple bell, he realized he did not want to become a Buddhist," a perplexity remains. Is Ikkyü praising or damning? Is he saying T'ao Yüan-ming was the odd man out because he never awakened to the Way? Or is he saying, T'ao Yüan-ming, right where he stood, became a Buddha for not becoming a Buddhist? If he is praising T'ao Yüan-ming, then what of Hsiang-yen and Master Fu? Were their realizations false? This ambiguity is encouraged by the word rendered "just" in the translation. It can also mean "justly", "correctly", or "rightly so". This second reading would encourage the interpretation that T'ao was the only enlightened Buddha of the three, but it is the confusion over which reading to take that is the point. Ikkyü has used the final allusion to unsettle the reader by bringing in something opposite to his expectations.

The poem above has three allusions packed into four lines of
verse. The following poem also has three allusions, but two of them occur simultaneously in the same line and phrase.

No. 493

Spreading Horse Dung to Cultivate the Mottled Bamboo

Baked potatoes is Lan Ts'an's old story.

He did not seek fame and fortune, that too was furyū.

Mutual longing without pause. This Lord's rain;

Wiping away the tears, singing alone, autumn by the Hsiang river.

The title of this poem brings together the gross and the sublime. Bamboo always intimates the sublime in a Sino-Japanese cultural set; of dung, no more need be said. Yet in practical horticulture (as in Zen) it is salutary that the two be brought together. The first line takes up the theme of dung by alluding to Lan Ts'an, who baked his potatoes with dung for fuel. Let the reader refer to the commentary to poem 121 to get a sense of that story. In the original story, it is a minor detail that he uses dung for fuel, but nonetheless adds to the overall earthiness of the account. Here, mention of dung is the link between the title of this poem and the introduction of Lan Ts'an. The second line develops the material introduced in the first line by making it clear that Lan Ts'an stands for uncompromising spiritual integrity.
"Mutual longing" starts the allusion to the legend of the origin of the mottled bamboo. The legend is that the splotches on the bamboo stalk were the marks of the tears shed by Lord Shun's wives as they waited in vain on the banks of the Hsiang river for their lord to return. The Palace of Mutual Longing is one of the place names on the Hsiang river that is associated with Lord Shun's wives. As a reader of the time read the title, that legend would probably be one of the first things that came to mind. That is why the reference can be as oblique as it is; it merely suggests the story of Lord Shun's wives and then follows it with another allusion that serves a double purpose. In the context of the mottled bamboo legend, "This Lord" implies Lord Shun for whom the tears that mottled the bamboo were shed. The reader would also recognize it as a name for bamboo, originating in a separate literary source. The source is the Chin Shu, history of the Chin dynasty. Therein, Wang Hui 王徽 replied, when queried why he was planting bamboo even before furnishing his house, said, "How can I live a day without This Lord?" The statement was such an eloquent expression of the universal sentiment Chinese gentlemen felt toward bamboo that it became an epithet for bamboo. "Rain", so often a cliche for tears, binds the two allusions together. "This lord's rain", an image of rain falling on the bamboo, overlays the sense, "the tears shed on this lord" or "the tears shed for their lord." I suggest that an intended reading
of that line registers the two senses and allusions simultaneously. Sensual image and literary reference commingle. The last line continues the allusion to Lord Shun's wives, "tears" and "Hsiang river" making the reference explicit. Here, then, is another example of a strategy noted before of saving the most explicit reference for the last.

What the allusions "do" here is indirectly tell us a great deal about the poet himself. They allow him to be intimately personal without intruding himself into the poem, beyond the title that tells us what activity occasioned the poem. The reference to Lan Ts'an tells us, "When I handle dung, I feel at one with the spirit of Lan Ts'an, who turned his back on the world."

Line three tells us, "I love bamboo as much as Wang Hui, who could not bear to live a day without it, as much as the two wives love Lord Shun"; line four, "In the autumn of my life, I am as lonely as Shun's wives." This, then, is a more complex example of what was found in the first poem of this series, No. 107, namely, use of allusion for indirect expression. The elegant way image and literary reference are woven together in line three of this poem recalls line four of the "The Plum Ripened". The various allusions in the "mottled bamboo" are in harmony with the theme of the poem. One might say line three is ambiguous because of the doubling of the sense of "This lord", referring both to Wan Hui's bamboo and to Lord Shun, and because of the layering of the image "rain on the bamboo" over
the allusion "tears on the bamboo", but it is ambiguous for aesthetic effect, an elegant confusion, if you will, rather than for the sake of disturbing the reader's sense of meaning.

Now let us look at a poem which stands at the apex of both a hierarchy based on complexity of allusion and a hierarchy based on intensity of dialectical experience.

No. 45

Yün-men addressed a gathering saying: "The old Buddha and the bare post commune with one another. This is opportunity number what? Then, answering for himself he said; "On the south mountain clouds arise; on the north mountain, it rains."

In the morning at T'ien T'ai, in the evening at Nan-yüeh No one knows where to see Shao-yang.

The introduction to this poem is not the poet's own composition, but rather consists of the quotation of a kōan by the T'ang monk Yün-men. The question posed in this kōan is, two phenomena which are quite unrelated interact; what sort of category can you put that into? The question is not so interesting when put that
way. The picture of an old Buddha statue having a conversation with a bare post is much more stimulating to the imagination and, as such, very important to the poem.

Yün-men deigns to answer his own question. He does so by ignoring the demand to categorize, and merely presents another case where two seemingly unrelated phenomena interact. How can clouds on the south side of the mountain make it rain on the north side? It is a restatement of the original question posing as an answer in the form of a declarative sentence.

Another question, "How did the Little Bride marry Master P'eng?", opens the poem. "The Little Bride" is a small island in the Yangtze; "Master P'eng" is a large boulder on the south bank of the Yangtze. How did these two features of the Chinese landscape, unrelated but for a spatial proximity, come to be married? Thus we have another restatement of the philosophical question broached in the kōan. The mention of marriage cues a suggestion that something else might have gone on between the old Buddha and the bare post besides simple conversation. The word 相交 here translated as "communes with" can also mean to "have relations with" in the sexual sense. If the mention of marriage only barely suggests that, then the next line in which "cloud rain" and "dream" figure, renders it obvious.

"Cloud rain" is a euphemism for physical love that originates in a passage from the "Kao T'ang Fu". by Sung-yü 宋之.
I will quote the passage in its entirety because the wording of it becomes important to the interpretation of the third line.

Long ago, a former king was amusing himself at Kao T'ang. Feeling weary, he slept and in a dream he saw a woman. She said, "I am the woman of Wushan "Sorceress Mountain" and a guest at Kao T'ang. I heard you were visiting Kao T'ang, and wish to serve at your pillow. The King thereupon favored her. When she rose to leave, she said, "I dwell on the south slope of Wushan and the steeps of Kao-ch'iu. In the morning, I make the cloud, in the evening, I make the rain; morning upon morning, evening upon evening beneath Yang-t'ai." In the morning, the King saw it was a she said and so he constructed a temple and called it "Morning Cloud".

"Cloud-rain" furthermore signals that the poet takes the cloud and rain in the original kōan in an erotic sense. The kōan as a whole takes on a ribald cast and one is left to imagine what the old Buddha was doing to the bare post or vice versa that could produce cloud and rain.

Line three runs all the elements of the poem together through a maze of allusion. "In the morning..." because of the preparation of line two, now immediately brings to mind the Kao T'ang passage, "In the morning, I make the cloud, in the evening, I make the rain."
The poet's erotic interpretation of the koan becomes clear beyond doubt. But then one's sense of where the poem is going is jolted by the appearance of T'ien T'ai. T'ien T'ai is the name of a mountain sacred to Buddhism as the seat of the T'ien T'ai school. The erotic turn the poem had been taking is halted momentarily. "In the evening" reestablishes it because it reminds us of "In the evening, I make the rain", but then the mention of Nan-yüeh takes us back to a more religious atmosphere. It is the name of another mountain sacred to Buddhism, the home of the monk Hui-ssu, the teacher of Chih-ye, founder of the T'ien T'ai school. T'ien T'ai and Nan-yüeh are thus related; they represent two mountains and two people, one the master, the other the disciple. But what do they mean here? Professor Hirano sees this line as related to a remark that appears in the Hsü-T'ang lu. There a monk, in reply to the question, "What do you do when you cannot say anything?" says,"If I am not at T'ien T'ai, I shall be at Nan-yüeh." Professor Yanagida on the other hand sees it as an allusion to two other sayings of Yün-men's:

In the morning, I arrive at the Western Heaven (India),
In the evening, I return to the Land in the East (China).

In the morning, I sport at Dandaka (a mountain in India),
In the evening, I arrive at Lo-fu (a mountain in China).
These both refer to the self-sufficiency and supernatural powers of an enlightened sage. Then Yanagida, in his interpretative commentary to this poem, suggests that Ikkyū may have been making a connection between Yün-men's koan and a koan of Master Daitō.

It will be remembered that Master Daitō was the second patriarch in Ikkyū's lineage in Japan. Daitō was enlightened by the act of understanding a koan of Yün-men's and was credited by his teacher with being a reincarnation of Yün-men. The koan of Daitō's that Ikkyū may have in mind here is what became known as the "Three-Pivot Phrases of Daitō":

In the morning, entwining eyebrows, in the evening, mixing shoulders, how about me? The bare post exhausts the day coming and going. Why is it I do not move?

The "bare post" surfaces again, and there appears another variation of "In the morning...in the evening" that can also be interpreted in an erotic way. Are we looking at another possible source of allusion? Is Ikkyū alluding to Daitō who is alluding to Yün-men? The last line closes down this poem with "No one knows where to see Shao-yang (Shao-yang is another name for Yün-men) and, at this point, the reader may be wondering where to find himself.

In this sequence of koan and poem, questions have been answered
with questions, distinctions between sacred and profane have been blurred, allusions have been cross-referenced to the point of confusion. It is this kind of poem that has earned Ikkyū's poetry a reputation for difficulty. While teasing with the logic of question and answer, it frustrates comprehension in a logical manner. But, as one reads it, one experiences a marvelous melting together of separate categories of thought. The focal point for that fusion is the enigmatic third line. It is almost impossible to distill a "meaning" out of that line. Through a welter of allusions, it brings together the sacred and profane, the King and the sorceress, masters and disciples, T'ien T'ai and Nan-yüeh, Yün-men and Daitō; if you follow the trail of allusion as far as Daitō's kōan even the old Buddha and the bare post are there. There is some familiar ground here. Once again, it is the allusion that brings the unconventional, the opposite of what one expects, into the poem. Also the way in which "In the morning...In the evening..." has two or possibly three referends reminds one of how in No. 493 "this lord" refers to Lord Shun and to Wang Hui's bamboo. It is just that here the density of possible allusions has been magnified until one loses track of where they end. Ikkyū wants his reader to lose track of where he is, to end up suspended between knowing "this" and "that". Here the allusions are his vehicles for running the poem off the dualistic rails of rational consciousness.
Chapter Three

"A night of falling flowers and flowing water is fragrant"

from No. 71

This chapter picks up where the last chapter left off. It pursues the theme of the dialectical experience a little farther. As noted in the last chapter, often the technique by which the rug is pulled out from under the reader's feet is the juxtaposition of opposites in such a way that the distinction between them melts away. This technique is dynamic in the sense of being forceful in operation. Ikkyū's poems do not present opposites frozen in juxtaposition; rather, as the reader's mind flows through the poem, contradictory elements manifest themselves and in turn dissolve into one another. On the surface the poet says one thing but a suggested undercurrent, often brought into being by allusion, says the opposite and cancels the surface theme out. It is in this way that the poems offer experiences rather than pronouncements.

In the end, Ikkyū's poems of this kind deliver nothing that can be grasped; they obstruct any deductive analysis seeking to extract meaning from them as gold is extracted from ore. There is nothing solid in these poems to be extracted. In fact, they succeed in the measure that they leave the reader suspended with "not a tile overhead nor an inch of ground below."

The remainder of this chapter will analyse a series of three
poems under the joint title of "The Scriptures are Bum-wipe". It was noted in Chapter one that Ikkyū wrote only the short four-line form of Chinese verse known as the chūeh chū. This suggests that Ikkyū was either unable or unwilling to work with a more extended form. However, occasionally, as in the following three poems, he wrote a series of poems that form a single progression together.

The title of the series of poems, "The Scriptures are Bum-wipe" while shocking at first glance, is an allusion to a pronouncement by Lin-chi (J. Rinzai), the founder of the school of Zen to which Ikkyū belonged. Lin-chi's statement is, "The Twelve-Fold Teachings of the Three Vehicles are all old paper for wiping bums." The allusion summons up in the reader an anticipation of a display of iconoclasm in Lin-chi's scatological style.

No. 69

The scriptures from the beginning have been paper for wiping bums.

The Dragon Palace Sea Treasury toys with words and phrases.

Have a look at the Blue Cliff Record with its hundred cases Scattered wildly over Breast Peak before the wind and moon.

The first line rephrases the title as though to say--"I said it once and I'll say it again." The addition of the word "paper" makes it a little more explicit that we are rubbing shoulders with
Rinzai. The second line in a chüeh chü is normally expected to develop the material introduced in the first line. This line, while shifting the tone of the diction, fulfills that expectation. "The Dragon Palace Sea Treasury" is a conventional metaphor for the Buddhist scriptures. The source of the metaphor is the Sea Dragon King Sūtra, which describes the Dragon King's efforts to obtain a copy of the Buddhist canon to store in his palace for the edification of the creatures in the sea. His efforts are rewarded when the Buddha not only bestows a holy library upon him but also consents to attend the commemoration of its installation. Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Dragon King and water sprites gather together to eulogize the scriptures. Hence the "Sea Treasury of the Dragon Palace" is a metaphor that has colorful associations and implies great respect. Thus, the poem's second line addresses the topic of the scriptures in a tone of reverence. When we go on to read "toys with words and phrases", we see that reverence vanish. The honorific metaphor with its pictorial connotations takes on an ironic note; all the noble efforts of the Dragon King, all the eulogies of the assembled host, were for pieces of paper that merely play with words.

The third line in a chüeh chü is conventionally the "turning" line. This third line turns by shifting to direct address with the phrase "have a look". The subject matter also appears to shift. We are told to look at the "one hundred cases of the Blue Cliff"
This work is part of the Zen canon as opposed to the Buddhist canon proper. Certainly the phrase kyōkān, here translated as "scriptures", would bring the orthodox scriptures to mind first, so the instruction to look at the Blue Cliff Record raises a question in the reader's mind; did the Blue Cliff Record have a precious piece of wisdom to contribute to this topic, or is it too a trap for the unwary? The fourth line answers the implied question with a picture: on Breast Peak (the place where Hsüeh-tou compiled the Blue Cliff Record), leaf over leaf, the pages flutter in the wind under the moon. The picture is lovely in itself. One can see the sheets of paper, radiant white with reflected moon light, lifted into arabesques by the wind. The place name "Breast Peak" plays a role too, conjuring up a shape suggesting whiteness. The picture also suggests that this is what must be done with the Blue Cliff Record; it cannot be spared inclusion in the category of the "Scriptures"; it must be cast away too. Seduced by the beauty of the picture, who, at this point, would not assume the appropriate state of mind and be ready to fling the scriptures to the wind?

But there is an allusion in the last line which gives its sense one more twist. "Scattered wildly over Breast Peak" comes from a poem in the Chiang-hu feng-yuehchi that laments the neglect of the Blue Cliff Record. At the time of the composition of that poem the Blue Cliff Record had not yet been granted inclusion in the Tripitaka, the official Buddhist canon. The last two lines of the
poem state:

It was not collected in the great storehouse of sutras,
Up till now, it has been scattered wildly over Breast Peak.

A couple of centuries later in Muromachi Japan, the Blue Cliff Record had become a firmly entrenched part of the Zen canon, abetting the gradual ossification of kōan Zen. Just as the context of the Blue Cliff Record had changed in real time and space, so in this poem, Ikkyū has changed the context of "scattered wildly over Breast Peak", so that rather than elicit the reaction of "What a pity", as it does in the original poem, it encourages the response of "and so it should be."

No. 70

The bow in the guest's cup, much rending of the guts.
Night comes and a new sickness enters the vital region.
Ashamed am I not to equal a beast;
The dog pisses on the sandalwood old Buddha Hall.

One is brought down from the ending of the previous poem to contemplate sickness. The "bow in the guest's cup" is a proverbial metaphor for illness caused by the mind. In the story that is the source of this expression, a guest becomes physically ill because he sees the reflection of a snake-ornamented bow in his wine and
believes after draining his cup that he has swallowed a snake. The second line develops the theme of illness. It is a new illness, but we are not told what kind. The personal voice of the poet begins to make itself felt. The first line announces the subject objectively, but the second line with its specific references to a time, "night", and the "newness" of the illness, intimate that the poet is speaking in a personal way, which is confirmed in the third line with the entrance of "I". The personal pronoun can easily be avoided in classical Chinese, so its presence has a special force. Line two left us wondering what the poet is suffering from; line three increased the sense of puzzlement. He is ashamed not to equal a beast. Why? What can a beast do that the poet cannot? The answer comes with maximum iconoclastic effect in the fourth line. The poet cannot piss on the Buddha Hall without being mindful that it is a Buddha Hall. He is caught in the delusion of distinguishing between the sacred and the profane, an illness with psychologically fatal consequences.

But what has this poem to do with the statement "the scriptures are for wiping bums"? In general terms, the title of the set made a contract to attack conventional notions of the sacred and profane by resorting to scatological reference. The last line fulfills that contract with the image of a dog pissing on an altar, thereby bringing the poem as a whole under the umbrella of the title; but one would still expect a more specific connection with the "scriptures".
That connection is made by way of an allusion carefully camouflaged by the word order of the line so that we recognize it only at the last minute. The allusion is to the same Blue Cliff Record whose pages we saw scattered before the moon at the end of the preceding poem. In an appreciatory verse to the ninety-sixth case, there is the line,

Before the old Buddha Hall, a dog pisses at the sky.

Ikkyū borrows this image and transforms it. The dog pisses on the Buddha Hall rather than at the sky. Thus transformed, it shocks even the reader anticipating an iconoclastic closure, and does not immediately call up the line in the Blue Cliff Record. The phrase, "old Buddha Hall" gives away the allusion. In the line from the Blue Cliff Record, the "old Buddha Hall" comes at the beginning, whereas in Ikkyū's poem it comes at the end of the line. When I was first translating this poem, my instinct was to switch the order of the line to read, "On the old Buddha Hall made of sandalwood, the dog pisses," to save the heaviest thrust until the end for maximum shock effect. I wondered why, aside from the consideration of matching the rhyme, Ikkyū had not wanted to do the same. Upon perceiving the significance of the allusion, it became clear that Ikkyū had a double iconoclastic purpose in mind. It is the "old Buddha Hall" which will cue the reader to remember the line of the Blue Cliff Record and to realize that the "pissing dog" is in fact borrowed from the very scriptures we were told to use for
for bum-wipe and to scatter to the wind. In the act of reading the line, one moves from the edge of scatological license back to the authority of the scriptures. This allusion and its delayed recognition, rather than state that the reader and the poet are trapped in the words that tell them to get free, lead the reader to experience that entrapment in the very act of reading the line.

No. 71.

Without ado, he flicks his hand round and wipes his bum.
The master's countenance is exposed and clear.
On the south side of the mountain, clouds arise, on the north side, it rains.
A whole night of falling flowers and flowing water is fragrant.

In the first line, it is no longer necessary to say with what the master is wiping his bum nor why it is significant that it be done "without ado". The reader has been cued by all that precedes to understand that it is "the scriptures". It is as if the pages of the Blue Cliff Record that materialized at the end of the last line in the preceding poem have finally been subdued and put in their proper place. The second line teases with an ambiguity that is unfortunately difficult to reproduce in English. A "countenance exposed and clear" can refer either to intellectual clarity (the
doors of perception cleansed, everything is obvious) or to the
exposure of the master's anatomy. There is a tone of resolution
and certainty to the opening lines of this poem. One wonders how
the poet will be able to close the poem and the whole series when
he has already run through so much of his iconoclastic ammunition.
One anticipates perhaps a triumphant finale, one last thrust.
Instead, we meet two lines dazzlingly multifaceted with associations
and meaning.

Line three is a quotation from the Blue Cliff Record. It
appears it was not to be cast away so easily. It is a line from
the kōan already familiar to us from poem No. 45, Yün-men's kōan
that begins, "The old Buddha and the bare post commune with one
another, this is occasion number what?" As mentioned before, that
kōan may be taken as an expression of the philosophical principle
that all phenomena, even those seemingly unrelated, mutually affect
one another. The line calls up that kōan in the reader's mind,
but not only that. The contract made by the title, and indeed
all that precedes to juxtapose the sacred with the scatological,
still compels the reader to make that connection again. If one
may assume rote knowledge of the Blue Cliff Record on the part of
Ikkyū's informed reader, one would remember the appreciatory verse
to this kōan.

On the South side, cloud; on the north side, rain,
The forty-seven Saints and six Patriarchs look one another in the eye.

In the land of the Barbarians, a monk mounts the lectern.

In the land of great T'ang, they have not yet struck the drum.

In pain, pleasure, in pleasure, pain.

Who says gold is like shit?

The scatological connection has been made again, and in the appreciative verse the leap has been made from the topic of the interrelation of all phenomena to the topic of the identity of opposites. "On the south mountain, clouds arise, on the North mountain it rains", calls up another case of the union of opposites, because particularly in Ikkyū's poetry, rain following close upon cloud always suggests the classical euphemism for physical love, "cloud-rain". We have already analysed poem No. 45 where Ikkyū elaborates his own erotic interpretation of Yun-men's kōan. Any reader of Ikkyū would immediately sense the hint of erotic allusion here.

To summarize, let us list the associations this line has evoked. It is a full-fledged quotation from the Blue Cliff Record, and as such commands the reader to face it as a kōan, a philosophical and spiritual problem. The whole kōan as it appears in the Blue Cliff Record flashes through the mind, leaving the parting shot of the appreciative verse, "Who says gold is like shit?",
reverberating in the mind. Being familiar with Ikkyū's predilections leads one to sense an erotic overtone in the "cloud" and "rain" of Yūn-men's kōan. With such a jumble of impressions in the mind, the reader confronts the final line.

"A night of falling flowers and flowing water is fragrant" is also a quotation. It is a poetic tag adapted from a statement of Hsüeh-tou, "One night of falling flower's rain fills the city with fragrant flowing water." The phrase may be looked upon as a poetic touchstone for the philosophical view that all phenomena are interrelated. One might even think of it as a possible answer to Yūn-men's kōan. In response to a situation where the connection between phenomena is obscure ("cloud on the south side causing rain on the north side"), the poet presents a situation where the connection is obvious and natural, the falling petals giving their fragrance to the water. If these two lines were being looked at in isolation, the discussion might end here; but their context charges the last line with as many meanings as the penultimate line. Picking up the scatological thread again, "A whole night of falling flowers" in Chinese poetic diction conjures up a scene of drinking and feasting beneath the blossoms. Then the fragrant flowing water could be taken as a euphemism for the sorry intestinal consequences after an evening of intemperance. But the same scene conjures up another picture as well. "Fallen flower" is often a metaphor in Chinese poetry for a courtesan. Thinking of fallen flowers in that
sense would suggest another interpretation for the "flowing fragrant water"; it becomes the "lascivious fluids" that are the subject of others of Ikkyū's poems.

The poet does all this so quietly. On the surface, the diction is so subdued and decorous; clouds and rain, blossoms fluttering onto rushing streams. Both lines are quotations from the scriptures, as though the poet has finally given up the struggle to break free from enshrined words. But he has not surrendered; instead, through the force of context, he has bent the words of the scriptures to suggest profane things. These two lines leave the reader with the philosophical, the scatological, and the erotic, the most contradictory of images and ideas juxtaposed, laid over one another in the mind, impossible to separate. That, I believe, is the intended reading of those two lines. The reader is not meant to deduce a philosophical truth from them, but to experience the dissolution of the boundaries between sacred and profane in the act of reading the lines and perceiving simultaneously all their possible connotations. That is why they make such an effective closure for the set of three poems. Ikkyū has succeeded in saying neither "is" or "is not", but in conveying an experience beyond that distinction.

Conclusion

Ikkyū did not write only dialectical poetry. Some of the poems
in a rhetorical mode were examined in Chapter two. But this thesis has centered around poetry of a dialectical nature.

How does one conclude something like this, since any conclusion deciding "this" or "that" renders the poetry less lively than it is? Like a kōan, Ikkyū's poetry poses an impossible dilemma: the harder you try to figure it out and to put it in neat categories of thought, the more unmanageable it becomes. As this thesis has progressed, I have found myself becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the label "dialectical". As a "finger pointing at the moon", it gives only the broadest indication of direction and leaves much of the reality of this poetry untouched. The time has come to let go of the struggle and invite the reader to discover Ikkyū's poetry for himself.
TRANSLATIONS FROM THE
CRAZY CLOUD ANTHOLOGY
Preface to the Translations

All of the translations in this paper are from the Kyōunshū "Crazy Cloud Anthology", Ikkyū's major anthology of Chinese poetry. There are several extant manuscripts for the Kyōunshū, but one, the Okumura manuscript, is so superior to the rest that it has become the basic text for recent scholarship on the work. The Okumura text bears a holograph that indicates that it was produced while Ikkyū was still living, and that he oversaw its transcription. Indeed, Ikkyū's own handwriting appears in two separate places in the manuscript. With this indisputable evidence for its authenticity, it is the earliest of any of the surviving manuscripts. Moreover, it contains the largest number of poems, eight hundred and eighty, and has the fewest copyist's errors. The Iwanami edition of the Kyōunshū contained in Chūsei Zenke no Shisō 中世禅家の思想 (abbreviated in this study to CZS) is based on the Okumura text and most modern scholars have followed suit in basing their research on it. The present work is no exception. In this paper, the numbers assigned to the translations are the numbers of the poems as they appear in the Iwanami edition and therefore represent the order of the poems in the Okumura manuscript. Thus, the remarks that follow about the organization of the Kyōunshū apply to the Kyōunshū of the Okumura manuscript.

The Kyōunshū is broken up into three parts, a first part comprising 677 poems which are for the most part on religious themes,
84.

A second part of 49 go poems which commemorate religious names Ikkyū bestowed on his pupils, and a third part of 154 poems bearing the sub-title, the Kyōunshū shi shū "Crazy Cloud Poem Anthology". This last part of the Kyōunshū is designated as a shi "poem" anthology to distinguish it from the first part which contains what are usually called ge "religious odes". This division is based on a difference in content; in general the ge treat religious subjects, whereas the shi treat secular subjects. In all formal respects, the shi and ge of the Kyōunshū are identical. As one can easily see, the poems on religious subjects far outnumber the poems on secular topics. Aside from this division into three parts on the basis of content, the organization of the Kyōunshū strikes one as for the most part random. Occasionally there are sequences of poems under the same title, which naturally form a unit together and often reveal an internal order of progression. One such series of three has been analysed in Chapter three of this paper. From time to time, there are also series of poems which do not share the same title but appear to have been written around the same time and form an autobiographical narrative.

This sporadic occurrence of sequences of poems related to the poet's biography is due to the fact that a loose chronological order may be observed in the Kyōunshū. While the majority of the poems cannot be dated or pinned down to any single event in the poet's life, those that can be dated fit a chronological order. However,
since the presence of a chronological order can be appreciated only from the view point of the whole, the actual reading experience is serendipitous in character. As one moves from poem to poem, the sequence constantly provides surprises, leading to an overall feeling of randomness broken only here or there by a biographical vignette that strikes a chronological chord.

In selecting the translations for this effort, I have been guided primarily by personal predilection. When deciding upon an order for these poems, I chose to reproduce the order of the Kyōunshū itself, although because this is a selection of one hundred translations from a total of eight hundred and eighty, there are many gaps. Nevertheless, what results in the selection is a randomness punctuated by occasional sequences of related poems quite akin, I believe, to the Kyōunshū itself.

In preparing the translations themselves, I was reluctant to weigh them down with explanatory interpretation in addition to the commentary they cannot do without. Furthermore, as it is hoped the critical introduction conveyed, although it is possible to describe what the poetry does, one risks doing this poetry a grave injustice by trying to explain what it "means".

It is hoped that the reader will be able to discover his own reading experiences in these poems. I would suggest one might read the poems in imitation of the critical analysis, which would be to read the poem and the commentary through once and then reread
the poem, making the effort of imagination to perceive it as if one were reading it for the first time with all the necessary background material already in mind.
No. 17

Staw Sandal Ch'en

Putting on a sales pitch to the people, out dealing them right and left
Te-shan and Lin-chi would have no way to haggle.
Wielding the stick and raising the fly whisk are not my affair,
My fame need only belong to the North Hall.
Notes:

Straw Sandal Ch'en: Ch'en (780-877) was a disciple of Huang-Po who after achieving enlightenment returned to lay life, taking up the occupation of plaiting straw sandals in order to make a living for himself and his aged mother.¹

Te-shan: (780-865) was a contemporary of Lin-chi. He was noted for his use of the stick in Zen training. "Thirty blows if you can answer, thirty blows if you can't answer"² sums up his style of teaching.

Lin-chi: (d. 866) (J. Rinzai), the founder of the school of Zen to which Ikkyü belonged.

Wielding the stick and raising the fly whisk: the motions of formalized Zen.

The North Hall: traditionally the part of the house where the women resided, hence a reference to Ch'en's mother.
"All those who would study Zen and learn the Way must be pure in their daily lives. Impurity in one's daily life is not allowed. The person who can be called pure in his daily life will be one who by clarifying even one situation will arrive at the realm of understanding beyond reason. When day and night, he practices his skill without tiring, when, as the occasion arises, he cuts off the sources of delusion and decides with clarity and finality matters which even the Buddhas and the Devils have difficulty even in glimpsing, when he repeatedly buries his name and conceals his traces, when finally, under a tree in a mountain forest, he raises up a case for study, then he is unadulterated and pure and one calls him pure in his daily life. However, take the example of one who says of himself, I am a Good Friend, who raises up the staff and fly whisk, gathers a congregation, preaches the Dharma and thus bewitches the sons and daughters of others; who, in his heart, coveting fame and profit, invites students to his cell and says he will enlighten the profound mystery for them thus causing the students to be guilty of specious and idle chatter and the master in turn is trapped in biased feelings. This lot is not even human. These are truly ones impure in their daily lives. One who takes the Buddha's teaching and makes of it a scheme for getting on in the world is a fellow given to worldly self-glorification. Everyone who has a body has to wear clothes;
everyone who has a mouth has to eat; if you understand this truth, how can you boast of yourself in the world; how can you adulate high office? This sort, for three lives to sixty kalpas will be a hungry ghost or a beast; there will likely be no fixed term for release. And if by chance he is born as a human being he will suffer from leprosy and never hear even the name of the Buddha's teaching. Oh, terrible, terrible!"

What precedes is Master Ryōzen Tetsō's sermon delivered to those given to self-glorification. Taking it for a subject, as an epilogue, I say:

If your skill cannot work in the Nirvana Hall,
Confronted with the glitter of fame and profit, your mind will be busy.
I believe men's bill of fare is fixed,
One bowl of mutton gruel and a cup of citrus rind tea.
No. 33

notes:

situation: literally one case of cause and conditioning, here equivalent to the term kōan.³

Good Friend: good friend in the religious sense, a term applied to virtuous monks, meaning one who is fit to preach the dharma and who can stimulate enlightenment in others.

causes the students...biased feelings: This passage is very difficult to construe. Ichikawa quotes Professor Iriya Yoshitaka's opinion that it does not make sense as Chinese.⁴ The present translation is a guess at best and involves the emendation of the second causitive は in turn.

three lives or sixty kalpas: Three lives is the shortest period to become a Buddha; sixty kalpas is the longest. A kalpa itself is an unimaginably long period of time. "This compound three lives or sixty kalpas" appears often in the Kyōunshū with the meaning of simply a very long time.

Master Ryōzen Tettō's sermon: Master Ryōzen Tettō 霊山御翁 (1295-1369) was the first abbot of Daitokuji after the founder Daitō. In addition to the fact that Tettō was a direct forebear in the Daitokuji line of transmission and due veneration
as such, Ikkyū was particularly drawn to Tettō's stern style of Zen. It is noteworthy that this sermon does not appear in the Tettō roku, the official record of his pronouncements. The only extant text for it other than the several manuscripts of the Kyōunshū, is a scroll in Ikkyū's hand kept in the Shinjuan repository. Mention of the sermon also turns up in the Ikkyū Oshō Nempu, the chronicle of Ikkyū's life. There Yōso, the senior disciple of the same master as Ikkyū and often the subject of complaint in the Kyōunshū, accuses Ikkyū of throwing shit-water in their master's face because he instructed his students with Tettō's sermon and the story about Po-chang 白鯉 dying of starvation. Ikkyū seems to think Yōso is implying that Ikkyū made them up, for he retorts, "I did not make up the story about Po-chang dying of starvation. You can clearly see reference to his "a day of no work is a day of no eating" in the record of Patriarch Hsü-t'ang. And as for Tettō's sermon, it was something our former master used to speak of every day." This leaves room for speculation that this sermon, if not Ikkyū's invention, may be the setting down in his own words of this sermon as he remembered it from oral presentation.

Nirvāṇa Hall: The monastery infirmary, where, willing or not, one may have to experience Nirvāṇa, which is, it will be remembered, extinction as well as enlightenment. Metaphorically, it means a life or death situation.
No. 35

Peach Blossom Waves

"Following waves, chasing waves, how much red dust?

Once again meeting the peach blossoms, spring in the third month.

Futile regrets flowing down stream, three lives to sixty kalpas;

At the Dragon Gate, year after year, gills and scales parching in the sun.
peach blossom waves: a stock expression of great antiquity for the early part of the third month in the lunar calendar when the peach blossoms scatter over the waves of the flooding rivers. Legend also designates this as the time when carp gather at a river called the Dragon Gate 龍門 to attempt to climb the falls. Those who succeed turn into dragons.

Following waves, chasing waves, how much red dust?: The phrase "following waves, chasing waves", came to be known as one of the "Three Pivot Phrases" of Yün-men 雲門 (d. 949). This line is a synopsis of the last two lines in a poem of Ikkyū's entitled, "What is it like, the Yün-men school?" "The One Word Barrier and the Three Phrases, How many people have red dust in their eyes?" Hirano offers an explanation of the sense there as, "The three phrases are difficult koans, how many people have been led astray?" Aside from the water imagery inherent in this oblique phrase of Yün-men's, why he should be alluded to becomes clear in the last line.

At the Dragon gate, year after year, gills and scales bleaching in the sun: As well as calling up the legend about the carp turning to dragons, this line alludes to Kōan No. 60 in the Blue Cliff Record:
Yün-men raised his staff and said: "This staff turns into a dragon that swallows up heaven and earth. Then where will you find the mountains, rivers and great earth?"

Superimposed over the legend of carp turning into dragons, then, we have Yün-men turning a staff into a dragon. The specific allusion, however, is to the first four lines of the appreciatory verse that caps the kōan:

The staff swallows up heaven and earth,
In vain do you speak of running the peach blossom rapids.
Those with sun-burned tails are not catching the clouds and seizing mist,
Those with bleached gills, why must they lose their livers and their souls?
Addressed to an Assembly on the Winter Solstice

Alone, closing the gates and passes, not going on tours of inspection.

In this, who is King of Dharma?

If people ask for a phrase about winter's coming,

I say, that from this morning, the days are one thread longer.
Addressed to an Assembly on the Winter Solstice: Of the importance of the Winter Solstice celebration in Zen temples, Hirano says, "Zen schools, from golden times, have made the yearly festivals occasions for a master to mount the lectern and hold dialogues with his students. Because the Winter Solstice is the shortest day of the whole year and from the next day the days lengthen, it is called the return of the yang. That, when yin reaches extremity, it turns into yang is compared to the fact that at the bottom of the greatest doubt there is great satori. Therefore this day is celebrated as the most auspicious of the whole year. It is a day of deep meaning." 10

Alone, closing the gates, not going on tours of inspection: an allusion to the Winter Solstice hexagram of the I Ching, No. 24, "Return". The judgement of that hexagram is:

Thus the former kings on the day of the Solstice, closed the gates, merchants and travellers did not go about, and the ruler did not make tours of inspection. 11

King of the Dharma: means a person of ultimate self-possession. The expression can be traced back to the Lotus Sūtra where it is the words of the Buddha:

I am the Dharma King

With respect to the Dharma acting completely at will. 12
The Buddha's Nirvāṇa

He crossed over to extinction in India, old Shākyamuni.

In another birth, he emerged into the world, to whose house did he go?

The tears of two thousand three hundred years ago
Still sprinkle in Japan, the blossoms of the second month.
notes:

The Buddha’s Nirvāṇa: the death of Śākyamuni, the Buddha’s incarnation as a man.

Still sprinkle, in Japan, the blossoms of the second month: The Buddha’s Nirvāṇa is celebrated on the 15th day of the second month. In the old lunar calendar, the second month was usually closer to March of the solar calendar, so that by that time the peach blossoms were already in bloom and falling. The ambiguity of the last two lines makes the poetry here. Do the tears sprinkle on the blossoms, perhaps a figurative way of saying it rained this year on the celebrations for the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa; that it was as if the tears of two thousand years ago were sprinkling on Japan? Or are the blossoms of the second month, that sprinkle and fall every year in the second month, Japan’s tears for the death of the Buddha?
A monk asked Yen-t'ou, "What is it like when the old sail has not been hoisted?" Yen-t'ou said, "The small fish swallows the big fish." The monk asked, "And after it is hoisted, what is it like?" Yen-t'ou said, "In the back garden the donkey eats grass."

Cold, hot, pain, pleasure, time to be ashamed.
Ears from the beginning are two pieces of skin.
One, two, three; ah! three, two, one.
Nan-ch'uan with a flick of the wrist killed the cat.
No. 44

notes:

A monk asked...the donkey eats grass: The introduction to this poem is a *kōan*. The lead personage is Yen-t'ou (827-887). Different versions of this koan appear in several places in the Zen canon. That which appears in the *Ch' an-lin Lei-chu* is the closest to the version here. Hsü-t'ang (1184-1269), a major patriarch in the Daitokuji line, was enlightened by this particular *kōan*. He assigned it to Daiō 大應 (1235-1308) and so on down the line; thus it has always been an important *kōan* for the Daitokuji lineage.

cold, hot, pain, pleasure, time to be ashamed: an allusion to the third of the *"Three reflections of Fo-yen" 傌眼* (1067-1120).

See No. 209:

Pain and pleasure, adversity and prosperity, the way lies in the middle. Movement and quiessence, cold and heat, ashamed of myself, remorseful.

Hirano notes that the two questions forming the introductory *kōan* above can be understood as situations of prosperity literally, "going with" and adversity, literally, "going against". "When the old sail has not been hoisted" is a situation of "going against", the wind blows in a contrary direction. "After it is hoisted" is a situation of "going
with", the wind blows fair from behind. That interpretation, part of an oral tradition about the kōan, is the key to the reference to Fo-yen's three reflections.

Ears from the beginning are two pieces of skin: "Ears are two pieces of skin" in company with the phrase "tusks and teeth, one set of bone", occurs sporadically in Zen literature as a response to conundrums. More importantly, however, within the tradition of the Daitokuji lineage, "Ears are two pieces of skin" has been handed down as a capping phrase to the first answer in this kōan, "small fish swallows the big fish". "Tusks and teeth, one set of bones" caps "In the back garden, the donkey eats grass". According to Hirano, Ikkyū is alluding to this oral tradition of kōan response. 17

"Five, four, three, two, one" is another appropriate capping to "small fish swallows the big fish" and "one, two, three, four, five" then caps "In the back garden the donkey eats grass". 18 This may be another allusion then, although the figures work well enough as a mirror image representation of duality.

Nan-chüan, with perfect confidence, killed the cut: an allusion to the Blue Cliff Record, kōan No. 63:

At Nan-chüan's one day, the monks of the East and West
were fighting over a cat. When Nan-chüan saw them, he raised up the cat and said, "If someone can speak, I will not kill it." No one in the assembly answered. Nan-chüan cut the cat in two. 19

The taking of life is, of course, one of the cardinal prohibitions of Buddhism. The resolution to this koan may be found in the notes to poem No. 52.
Yün-men addressed a gathering saying, "The old Buddha and the bare post commune with one another; this is opportunity number what?" Then answering for himself, he said, "On the South mountain, clouds arise; on the North mountain, it rains."

How did the Little Bride marry Master P'eng?

Cloud-rain, tonight, a single dream.

In the morning at T'ien T'ai, in the evening at Nan-yüeh;

No one knows where to see Shao-yang.
No. 45

notes:

Yün-men addressed a gathering...: Yün-men (d. 949). The introduction as a whole is a quotation of koan No. 83 from the Blue Cliff Record.

How did the Little Bride marry Master P'eng?: "Little Bride" is a small mountain that stands in the middle of the Yang-tze's current. "Master P'eng" is the name of a boulder that stands nearby on the shore. Popular legend linked these two features of the landscape together as man and wife.

cloud-rain: a euphemism for sexual love that originates in the Kaot'ang Fu by Sung-"yu. Long ago, a former King was amusing himself at Kao T'ang 高唐. Feeling weary, he slept and in a dream he saw a woman. She said, "I am the woman of Wu-shan 巫山 "Sorceress Mountain" and a guest at Kao T'ang. I heard you were visiting Kao T'ang and wish to serve at your pillow. The King thereupon favored her. When she rose to leave, she said, "I dwell on the South slope of Wu-shan and the steeps of Kao-ch'iu 高丘. In the morning, I make the cloud; in the evening, I make the rain; morning upon morning, evening upon evening beneath Yang-t'ai 阳台." In the morning, the King saw it was as she said and so he constructed a temple
and called it "Morning Clouds."\textsuperscript{22}

In the morning at T'ien T'ai, in the evening, at Nan-yüeh: This line is a complex web of allusions. See the introduction, chapter two for a detailed analysis. The syntax of this line echoes that of the "punch line" to Yün-men's kōan. "In the morning...in the evening" parallels "On the south mountain...on the north mountain..." One layer of allusion, then is back to the Yün-men kōan which heads the poem. At the same time, "In the morning...in the evening..." recalls the Kao T'ang Fu passage. T'ien T'ai and Nan-yüeh are two mountains in China sacred to Buddhism. T'ien t'ai is the seat of T'ien T'ai Buddhism because it was the dwelling place of its founder Chih-i. Nan-yüeh was the dwelling place of Chih-i's teacher Hui-ssu. Hirano implies the possibility of a connection between this poem and a kōan quoted in the Hsi-t'ang Lu:

...This is a phrase for when one cannot say anything:

"If I am not at T'ien T'ai then surely I'll be at Nan-yüeh."\textsuperscript{23}

Professor Yanagida on the other hand prefers to see the line as an allusion to two phrases of Yün-men's:

In the morning, I arrive at the Western Heaven (India),
In the evening, I return to the Land in the East (China).

In the morning, I sport at Dandaka (a mountain in India),
In the evening, I arrive at Lo-fu (a mountain in China).²⁴

In another place in his commentary to this poem, Professor Yanagida further suggests that there may be a connection here to the "Three Pivot Phrases of Daitō".²⁵ Daitō was a patriarch in Ikkyū's lineage who was credited by his master with being the reincarnation of Yün-men. Daitō's "Three Pivot Phrases" begin:

In the morning, entwining eyebrows, in the evening, mixing shoulders, how about me? The bare post exhausts the day coming and going. Why is it I do not move?

Shao-yang: Yün-men's dwelling place and by extension another name for him.
Pleasure in Pain

"You drank three cups of wine and still your lips are unmoistened."

Thus, that old fellow Ts'ao-shan comforted the poor orphan.

Just lay your body down in a burning house and see

In the space of a moment, ten thousand kalpas of pain.
No. 46

notes:

Pleasure in pain: The title for this poem and the succeeding one are taken from the appreciatory verse to the Blue Cliff Record. koan No. 83. See the notes to No. 45. The verse says:

On the South mountain, cloud,
On the North mountain, rain,
The forty seven and six patriarchs look one another in the face.
In Silla, someone has already risen to lecture.
In Great T'ang, they have not yet struck the drum.
Pleasure in pain, pain in pleasure;
Who says gold is like shit. 27

You drank three cups...poor orphan: an allusion to a koan from the Wu-men-Kuan. Ts'ao Shan (840-901) was one of the founders of the Sōtō school.

A monk, ..., said to Ts'ao-shan, "I am a poor desitute monk. I beg you to bestow upon me the alms of salvation." 28 Ts'ao-shan said, "Ācārya (teacher:).

"Yes, Sir?", replied the monk. Ts'ao-shan said, "Someone has drunk three bowls of good wine but asserts that he had not yet moistened his lips."

...a burning house: a metaphor for this world of passion which
originates with the parable of the burning house in the Lotus Sūtra. ¹²⁹

This same theme is taken up by Ikkyū in a sermon included in the Kyōunshū, No. 654.

When your whole body falls into a fiery pit, you see minutely, the pleasure in pain. If you are able to see it, you will not be blind and ignore the realm of Karma. If you cannot see it, it will take a long time to become a Buddha.
No. 47

Pain in Pleasure

This is what Gautama experienced,
Hemp garments, sitting on the grass, his condition for
six years.
One morning, observing minutely, he came to see
The desolate loneliness of his name after the passing of
his body at Vulture Peak.
Gautama: another name for Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, derived from his clan name Gotama.

Hemp garments, sitting on the ground, his condition for six years: When he could no longer take pleasure in his life of ease as the prince of a wealthy kingdom, Śākyamuni left his home and went into the forest to practice rigorous ascetic disciplines for six years. He abandoned those practices shortly before experiencing enlightenment.

One morning, observing carefully, he came to see: an oblique reference perhaps to his enlightenment upon seeing the morning star as he meditated under the Bodhi tree. The enjambement here, however, presses us forward to take "the immense stillness and solitude of his fame" as the object of the verb "to see".

Vulture Peak: is a mountain in India where the Buddha is reputed to have preached several important sutras. In the Zen school it is renowned as the site of the "Flower Sermon" which is when the Buddha simply raised a flower and Kāsyapa, the only one who understood, smiled back. This wordless sermon and
its silent understanding traditionally mark the beginning of the Zen school.
No. 49

To Hear a Sound and Awaken to the Way

Striking bamboo one morning, he forgot all he knew.
Hearing the bell at the fifth watch, his many doubts vanished.
The ancients all became Buddhas right where they stood.
Tāo Yüan-ming alone just knit his brows.
notes:

To hear a sound and awaken to the way: a stock phrase in Zen vocabulary, often paired with "To see a form and illuminate the mind". It expresses one of the paradoxes the school abounds in, that is, that in orthodox Buddhist thought, the senses are to be discounted as purveyors of illusion, yet sometimes awakening can be occasioned by a sight or sound.

Striking bamboo one morning, he forgot all he knew: an allusion to the story of Hsiang-Yen (c. 820), who one morning while weeding the garden accidently threw a pebble against bamboo. He was instantly enlightened by the sound.  

Hearing the bell at the fifth watch: an allusion to Master Fu (822-890), who was enlightened to the nature of the Dharmakaya when he heard the bell at the fifth watch.

T'ao Yuan-ming just knit his brows: T'ao Yuan-ming (365?-427) was a poet renowned as a free spirit, a lover of wine, poetry and good fellowship. He lived close to the famous Buddhist center of Lu Shan. Many of China's intellectuals were turning to Buddhism at the time, for the age was exceedingly dis-orderly and Buddhism offered at least peace for the mind if not for the world. There have always been rumours that
T'ao Yuan-ming associated with Buddhists and may have been influenced by them although the internal evidence of his work points to Taoist influence alone. Yet, rumours persist. In the legend alluded to here, T'ao Yüan-ming finally visits Lu Shan, yet as he reaches the gate, he suddenly "knits his brows and departs". The source for this legend is *The Biography of Lofty Worthies of the White Lotus Society.* However, the bell striking does not appear in that account. The bell gets added to the story by the Zen master Fa-yen who blends the two stories of Master Fu and T'ao Yüan-ming together. The literary source directly alluded to in this case is most likely a line from a poem of Hsiu-t'ang: "Yüan-ming heard the bell and knit his brows."
No. 52

There was a tortoise around Ta-sui's hermitage. A monk asked, "All beings have skin around their bones; why does this creature have bone around his skin?" Ta-sui took his sandals and put them on the tortoise's back.

Human confusion, when will it end?
Strike before and again behind.
Without ado he saved the cat, old Chao Chou,
Leaving with his sandals on his head was also furyū.

大隨庵邊有一龜僧問一

草鞋載去也風流

打著前頭又後頭

信手敧描趙州老

蓋於背上

為甚骨裏皮

大隨以草鞋

切眾生皮裏骨

這箇眾生

蓋於背上

為甚骨裏皮

大隨以草鞋

切眾生皮裏骨

這箇眾生

蓋於背上

為甚骨裏皮

大隨以草鞋

切眾生皮裏骨

這箇眾生

盖於背上

为甚骨裏皮
No. 52
notes:

There was a tortoise...: This kōan appears in the Ch'uan Teng Lu

Without ado, he saved the cat, old Chao-Chou,...: Here is the
cresolution (if the term applies) to the kōan about Nan-chūan
killing the cat already quoted in the commentary to poem 44.
It is presented as a separate kōan, No. 64, in the Blue Cliff
Record.

Nan-ch'üan brought up the preceding story and asked Chao-
Chou what he would have done. Chao-chou took off his
straw sandals, put them on his head and walked away.
Nan-ch'üan said, 'If you had been there, the cat would
have been saved.'

fūryū: This, a very difficult term to translate, is one of the
most frequently occurring expressions in the Kyōunshū. It has
several different meanings within the Kyōunshū, not to mention
the many meanings it has had in the hands of other poets in
other times. Its component characters are 風 fū "wind" and
流 ryū "stream" or "to flow". If we concentrate on the
different meanings of fūryū that appear in these selected
translations, three major meanings can be singled out. The
first is the beauty of a simple rustic life. Fishermen,
woodcutters, anyone living far away from the artificiality
and compromise of the vulgar busy world epitomizes this kind of beauty. The second meaning of furyu found often in the Kyounshu is still a variation on the idea of beautiful and good but with erotic or, at least, romantic connotations. The poem entitled "Night conversation in the dreamchamber", No. 545, presents a good example of that usage. The line, "Passionate furyu, in poems and passion too" makes the erotic overtones of furyu quite explicit. Perhaps the difficulty of translating furyu stems from the fact that it really has very little "meaning" but a wealth of connotation depending on the context in which it appears. This brings me to the third way in which the term is used, that is, as a slang word with virtually no meaning at all but powerful connotations that escape neat definition. The closest equivalent in English is "far out", itself contemporary slang. It is a characteristic of slang that one needs to acquire a feeling for what it means in order to understand it. It is true of slang what Louis Armstrong said in response to the question, "What is jazz?" "If you have to ask, you'll never know." Furyu obviously expresses approval, but when you try to specify the grounds for that approval, you are in the mental quicksand of the koans. In the poem at hand, for example, an adept having passed the koan would know why Chao-Chou's leaving with his sandals on his head was both so appropriate and
amazing—in other words, "far out". Poem No. 140 is a similar case. Sometimes, usages overlap, as in poem No. 493, where Ikkyū applies it to Lan-tsan. Lan-tsan's not seeking fame and profit as the act of a "free spirit" was "far out", yet the picture of him roasting his potatoes in the open air is also furū in the aesthetic sense. At any rate, begging the question, I have left furū without translation, hoping that the reader will be able to acquire a feeling for the word as it turns up in different contexts.
No. 54

Lin-chi Burned the Meditation Plank and Desk

This fellow is the number one master of Zen in the school.
"Take away subject, take away object", "The mystery within form."
A safe firmly established life, where is it?
A catayclismic fire will lay waste to, and burn, the Great Thousand-fold World Sphere.

劫 火 洞 然 燃 火 乍
安 身 立 命 在 那 处
奪 人 奪 境 体 中 去
此 漢 宗 門 第 一 禪

臨 濟 燃 机 寒 禪 板
No. 54

notes:

Lin-chi burned the armrest and desk: Lin-chi (J. Rinzai) is the founder of the school of Zen to which Ikkyū belonged. Lin-chi's master, Huang-po 黄檗 had received as a symbol of the transmission, from his teacher Po-chang, a small desk and meditation plank. ("Meditation plank" is a literal translation of the object in question, exactly what it was is unclear.) Huang-po in turn wished to pass these objects on to Lin-chi. Lin-chi, however, apparently burned them to show his disdain for any worldly accreditation of his spiritual attainment. This event is related in the Lin-chi Lu as follows:

One day, Lin-chi was taking leave of Huang-po.

Huang-po asked him, "Where are you going?" Lin-chi said, "If I'm not going south of the river, then I'll be returning North of the river." Huang-po, thereupon, tried to strike him. Lin-chi firmly restrained him and gave him a slap instead. Huang-po gave a great laugh and called to his servant, "Bring me my former master's armrest and desk." Lin-chi said, "Servant bring fire." "Say what you will, only take them with you. Later, they may stay the tongues of the world."^{37}

As can be seen above, this account leaves one in doubt as to whether Lin-chi actually burned these heirlooms or merely
threatened to. In the tradition of the Rinzai school, at least so far as Ikkyū may be considered a spokesman for it, it is assumed he went ahead and burned them. Ikkyū followed in the footsteps of Lin-chi when he burned his own certificate of enlightenment. 38

Take away subject, take away object: The third proposition of Lin-chi's "Four Propositions", permutations of the three terms, "man", "object", and "to take away". 39

The mystery in form: one of Lin-chi's "Three Mysteries". Lin-chi himself did not specify what the "Three Mysteries" were; later commentators interpreted them as the "mystery within form", "the mystery within words", and "the mystery within mystery". They appear that way for example in the appreciatory words to Pi-yen lu, kōan No. 15. 40 Hirano suggests Ikkyū understands "mystery within form" as a restatement of "take away man, take away object". 41 The two phrases at any rate, stand pars pro toto for the teachings of Lin-chi. They may also prepare us for the end of the poem, where the whole universe is taken away in flame. Certainly, that is the mystery in physical form, that it seems so palpable and "real" but can be absolutely "taken away".

Great Thousandfold World Sphere: an abbreviation for the Great Three-thousand-millionfold Word Sphere 三千大千世界, the term in Buddhist cosmology for the universe in the
A cataclysmic fire will lay waste to, and burn,...: an allusion to the Blue Cliff Record, koan No. 29.

A monk asked Ta-sui, "In the cataclysmic fire at the end of a kalpa, when the Great Chiliocosm is altogether destroyed, will "this one" be destroyed or not?

Ta-sui said, "It will be destroyed." What "this one" represents is unclear. The commentator to the Iwanami edition of the Blue Cliff Record suggests "Innate Buddha-nature." Yuan-wu, the original commentator, teases his audience with this remark, "What sort of thing is "this one"? The monks of the world will grope for this phrase and never get it. Scratch away and expect to itch."
The Plum Ripened

Its ripening, over the years, is still not forgotten.
In words, there is a flavor but who is able to taste it?
When his spots were first visible, Big Plum was already old.
Sprinkle of rain, fine mist, that which was green had already turned yellow.
notes:

The plum ripened...: Ta-mei "Big Plum" (752-839) was a student of Ma-tsu 馬祖. His "ripening" is related in the Ch'uan Teng Lu:

Ma-tsu sent a monk to inquire of Ta-mei, "When you saw Ma-tsu what is it you understood that then you should come to dwell on this mountain?" Ta-mei said, "Ma-tsu told me, the mind is the Buddha and herein I abide." The monk said, "These days Ma-tsu has a different dharma to teach." Ta-mei said, "How is it different?" The monk said, "These days he also says, 'Not the mind, not the Buddha.'" Ta-mei said, "That old rascal, the day will never come when he ceases to bewilder people." You can have your 'not the mind, not the Buddha', I'll just keep to 'whatever is the mind is the Buddha.'" The monk went back to Ma-tsu and told him what had happened. Ma-tsu said, "Ah, the plum has ripened."

...that which was green had already turned yellow: allusion again to the Ch'uan Teng Lu:

A monk mistook a road and arrived at Ta-mei's hermitage. He asked him, "How long have you been living on this mountain?" Ta-mei replied, "Four times only have I seen the mountains turn green and then yellow."
No. 66

The Great Master Yuan-wu Strikes a Harmony with the Cosmic Organ

Quietly humming a line from a love song,
Launching heaven and earth into motion, he harmonizes with the magnum organum.

If we compare him with him who heard bamboo struck or him who saw a peach blossom,
He is the stone tortoise at the foot of Mt. Sumeru.
The great master Yuan-wu: Yuan-wu (1063-1135) who was a student of Wu-tsu Fa-yen 五祖法眼 (?-1104) is most famous for editing and appending the introductions, comments and criticisms to the Blue Cliff Record.

Humming a line from a love song: allusion to Yuan-wu's enlightenment, Wu teng hui yuan roll.19:

A prefect visited Wu-tsu and asked about the Path. Wu-tsu said, "When you were young, was there not a little love poem you used to recite? There are two lines in it that are very close to Zen:

'She often called her maid for no reason at all,
Just so that her lover would recognize her voice.'

The Prefect responded, "Yes, yes." Wu-tsu said, "Let us work on that a little more." Yuan-wu happened to return to the monastery and asked the Master about his presentation of the little love poem. "Did the Prefect understand or not?" Wu-tsu said, "He only recognized my voice." Yuan-wu said, "But she just wanted her lover to recognize her voice. He recognized your voice, why was that incorrect?" Wu-tsu said, "What was the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the West? The oak tree in the garden."" Yuan-wu was suddenly enlightened.
he who heard bamboo struck: Hsiang-Yen, see the notes to No. 49.

he who saw a peach blossom: Ling-Yün 玲雲 (c. 820), a student of Wei-shan 滇山 (771-853), was enlightened by seeing a peach blossom. 48

He is the stone tortoise at the foot of Mt. Sumeru: obviously of laudatory intent and looking very much like an allusion but as yet no source has been pinpointed.
No. 68

Praising the Fish Basket Kannon

Red cheeks, blue-black hair, compassion and love deep;
His heart suspects he is in the midst of a dream of cloud-rain.
One thousand eyes of Great Compassion, though she is looked at,
she is not seen.
A fisherman's wife by the river and sea, one whole life of song.

漁妻江海一生吟
千眼大悲看不見
自疑雲雨夢中心
十眼青鬢慈愛深

麶 魚 篮 観 音

131.
No. 68

notes:

Fish Basket Kannon: one of the thirty-three transformation bodies of Kannon (Avalokiteśvara), coming under the general category of "wife of a layman". The name Fish Basket Kannon has no source in the sutra, but appears to be of Chinese folklore origin. She is often depicted as a beautiful woman holding a fish basket or riding on a fish. In the Shih-shi Chi-ku Lueh version of the legend about her, Kannon is transformed into a beautiful woman and many suitors vie for her hand. She puts them in competition reciting the sutras until only one man with the surname Ma is left. She marries him but dies the night of the wedding. Whether this is the version of the legend that Ikkyū knew is difficult to say. The poem seems to imply that she ended living a happily married life.

His heart suspects...cloud-rain. For cloud-rain, see the notes to No. 45. This line suggests the husband's feelings of disbelief at having won such a wife.

One thousand eyes of Great Sympathy: Kannon is often described as having a thousand eyes and a thousand hands to indicate the bodhisattva's great capacity for compassion and active help.

One whole life of song: Her "songs" are the sūtras.
經 巻 狀 不 淨
三 首

經 巻 元 除 不 淨 賁

龍 宮 海 藏 弄 訴

看看 百 則 碧 窮 集

抄 箱 乳 峰 風 月 前

夜 來 新 病 人 靈 香
愧 慚 我 不 及 禽 獸

彌 影 客 盃 多 割 腸

夜 落 花 流 水 香

南 山 雲 起 北 山 雨
作家 面 目 霜 堂 堂

信 手 抽 來 除 不 淨
Nos. 69, 70, 71.

The Scriptures are Bum-wipe

Three poems

The scriptures from the beginning have been paper for wiping bums.
The Dragon Palace Sea Treasury toys with words and phrases.
Have a look at the Blue Cliff Record with its hundred cases
Scattered wildly over Breast Peak before the wind and moon.

The bow in the guest's cup, much rending of the guts.
Night comes and a new sickness enters the vital region.
Ashamed am I not to equal a beast;
The dog pisses on the sandalwood old Buddha Hall.

Without ado, he flicks his hand round and wipes his bum,
The master's countenance is exposed and clear.
On the south side of the mountain, clouds arise, on the north side it rains.
A whole night of falling flowers and flowing water is fragrant.
Nos. 69, 70, 71.

Notes:

The Scriptures are for wiping bums: allusion to Lin-chi's statement, "The Twelve Fold Teachings of the Three Vehicles are all old paper for wiping bums."^{51}

No. 69

The Dragon Palace Sea Treasury: a conventional appellation for the Tripitaka, the great treasury of sūtras. The Hai lung wang ching "Sea Dragon King Sūtra" records the legendary visit of the Buddha to the Dragon King's palace below the sea in order to expound Buddhist Law and scriptures. The Sūtra became well known very early in China and Japan because the chanting of it was thought efficacious for encouraging rainfall. The "Dragon Palace Sea Treasury" became a conventional appellation for the Tripitaka.

The Blue Cliff Record with its hundred cases: The Blue Cliff Record has already been mentioned several times as a source of allusion. This collection of kōans was a central work for the kōan Zen of the Rinzai school in Japan. It was compiled during the Sung period by Hsüeh-tou (980-1052) and later added to by Yüan-wu. (See notes to No. 66.)

Scattered wildly over Breast Peak: Breast Peak is where Hsüeh-tou
compiled the Blue Cliff Record. This phrase alludes to a poem from the Chiang-hu feng-yueh chi on the subject of Hsiieh-tou's tomb:

The Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors, what about them?
His suffering lasted twenty years.
It did not get collected in the Great Storehouse of Sutras,
Up to now, it is scattered wildly over Breast Peak.\(^53\)

This is a lament over the neglect of the Blue Cliff Record. Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors never saw its worth, so it had not been included in the Canon, at least at that poet's time.

No. 70

The bow's reflection in the guest's cup: a proverbial expression for seeing things amiss. The source is in the Chin shu, roll 7, the biography of Yüeh Kuang 楊廣:

Yüeh Kuang had a friend who for a long time had not come to visit. Yüeh Kuang asked why. He said, "The last time I sat here you gave me a cup of wine, and as I was about to drink, I saw a snake in the cup. Thinking it bad to mention it, I drank it and got sick. At that time, Yüeh Kuang had a famous Hunan bow on the wall, painted like a snake. Yüeh Kuang thought the snake in the cup was the reflection of that bow. He put the wine cup in the same place as before and asked the guest if what he saw before
was in the wine again or not. The guest said, "Yes, it is just as before." Yüeh Kuang then explained what it was, and the guest was much relieved.  

The dog pisses...in the old Buddha Hall: an allusion to the Blue Cliff Record, kōan No. 96

On Wu-t'ai mountain, clouds steam rice.

Before the old Buddha Hall, the dog pisses at the sky.  

No. 71

On the South mountain, clouds arise...: allusion to the Blue Cliff Record, kōan No. 83.  

See also Kyōunshū, No. 45

A night of falling flowers and the flowing water is fragrant: This phrase originated from a statement of Master Hsiieh-tou:

The Buddha had some secret words that Kāsyapa did not hide, 'One night of falling flowers rain fills the city with fragrant flowing water.'
No. 77

Arhat Chrysanthemums

Tea-brown golden flowers, deep with Autumn's color;
Breeze and dew on the East hedge, the heart of one who left the dust behind.
The miraculous powers of the 500 arhats of Mt. T'ien-t'ai.
Cannot touch one fragment of verse from T'ao Yüan-ming.
notes:

Arhat Chrysanthemums: The color of the chrysanthemums, "tea-brown golden" is the same color as the robes of arhats, Hinayana monks. Perhaps, Ikkyu looking at the Chrysanthemums saw them as so many arhats sitting by the hedge.

"Fast hedge": allusion to a poem of T'ao Yuan-ming's:

I built my hut beside a traveled road
Yet hear no noise of passing carts and horses.
You would like to know how it is done?
With the mind detached, one's place becomes remote.
Picking Chrysanthemums by the Eastern hedge,
I catch sight of the distant Southern hills:
The mountain air is lovely as the sun sets
And flocks of flying birds return together.
In these things is a fundamental truth
I would like to tell but lack the words. 58

Five hundred arhats of Mt. T'ien-T'ai: References to 500 arhats appear sporadically in the sutras. If there is a direct source for their mention here, it may be the Lotus Sutra. There in roll eight, five hundred arhats receive the prophesy of their future enlightenment. 59 The mention of Mt. T'ien-T'ai remains a problem.
T'ao Yuan ming: See the notes to poem No. 49.
Chrysanthemums: An Arhat and Yang Kuei-fei in the Same Vase

Yang Kuei-fei flushed in drunkenness, a hedgeful of autumn.
The tea-colored arhat, mingled with her, makes a good companion.
He has lost his magic power, come down to live on earth,
For a Transformation Body, Marquis Pi Yang of the T'ien-pao era.
an Arhat: Within the Mahayana School of Buddhism, the term denotes an adept of the Hinayana "lesser vehicle" path. The arhat is one who seeks enlightenment for himself alone, not aspiring to the Bodhisattva path of awakening all the beings. For Ikkyū, the term arhat represented the self-righteous monk who religiously avoids contact with the world and jealously keeps his virtue to himself.

Yang Kuei-fei: a famous "femme fatale", the favorite of the T'ang emperor Hsüan-tsung.

Marquis Pi-Yang: The Marquis is recorded in the Shih Chi as a man wielding great influence because of a special relationship with the Empress. He is, then, the classic sycophant.

T'ien-pao era: The era during the T'ang dynasty when Yang Kuei-fei flourished.
Snowball

Heaven and earth buried, the gates and barriers gone.

Roll it up and now it is the Himalayas.

At that time, the crazy vagabond comes; it turns to powder.

The Great Chiliocosm arises and disappears in the space of a moment.
Lay brother P'ang was taking his leave of Yao-shan. Yao-shan ordered ten disciples to accompany P'ang as far as the gate. P'ang pointed to the snow falling in the sky and said, "Lovely snow, flake by flake, it falls yet does not land in separate places."
A disciple names Ch'uan asked, "Where does it fall?"
P'ang slapped him once. Ch'uan said, "Lay brother, don't be so rough." P'ang said, "How do you call yourself a disciple of Zen, the old King of Hell hasn't let you go yet." Ch'uan said, "And what about yourself, lay brother?" P'ang slapped him again and said, "You see as if blind, talk as if dumb." At this point, Hsueh-tou interjects, "At the first question, he should just have rolled up a snowball and hit him with it."
Instructing the Cook in the Mountains

Kuei-tsung's one flavor could be enjoyed day after day and still have more to give.

Cook, here in the mountains, your skill is not in vain.

Stop seeking for Vimalakirti's Feast of Massed Fragrances.

When shall we have just two tasty fish on the table.
Instructing the Cook in the Mountains: This poem occurs within a group of poems about life in the mountains: No. 88, Mountain Road (not translated here), Nos. 89, 90, "In the Mountains" (see Arntzen, p. 117, 118), and No. 92, "In the Mountains Getting a Letter from Nanko") (not translated). The poem, "Mountain Road" has as a sub-title, the place name Yuzuriha ．It is likely that all the poems of this group date from Ikkyū's period of retreat at Yuzuriha (located between present-day Takatsuki and Kameoka ) and that is recorded in the Nempu as follows:

The master's forty-ninth year (1442). Ikkyū came for the first time to Yuzuriha mountain and rented a farm house there. There are poems about this living in the mountains. Later he established the Shida-dera  and moved into it. Those disciples who missed him and came to him there were all the sort who could forget their own comfort for the sake of the Dharma. Therefore, they gathered firewood and dipped water from the torrents. The mountain road was twisted and full of pitfalls. They worked diligently never tiring.

One of their hardships must certainly have been rough, plain fare, hence this poem.
Kuei-tsung's one flavor: allusion to the Wu T'eng Hui Yüan:

A monk was taking his leave. Kuei-tsung asked, "Where are you going?" The monk said, "I'm going here and there to study the Zen of Five flavors." Kuei-tsung said, "Other places may teach the Zen of Five flavors; here I have only the Zen of one flavor." "And what is the Zen of one flavor?" said the monk. Kuei-tsung hit him. "I understand, I understand." "Then tell me, tell me." Just as the monk opened his mouth, Kuei-tsung hit him again.

Vimalakirti's Feast of Massed Fragrances: In the Chapter entitled "The Buddha of Massed Fragrances" of the Vimalakirti sūtra, roll 10, Śāriputra is worried about what to feed the assembled Budhisattvas. Vimalakīrti tells him the Buddha taught release from all material things. How can one desire both to eat and to hear the Dharma? However, if there are those who want to eat, just wait a moment. Vimalakīrti conjures up an illusory Bodhisattva and sends him to the land of the Buddha of Massed Fragrance. He returns with a vase of the ambrosia of that land, the fragrance of which astonishes them all. As they are about to eat, Vimalakīrti invites them, saying, "Come and partake of the Tathāgata's sweet nectar and ambrosia that is perfumed with great compassion."

two tasty fish: an allusion to two lines in a poem of Tu Fu's
called "Li-kan's house"

About to eat the two tasty fish,

Who would look for the heaviness of other flavors?  

66
No. 107

One of Nine Poems Composed on the Day of the "Double Yang" Festival

These days accomplished monks of long training
Are mesmerized by their own words and call it ability.
At Crazy Cloud's hut, there is no ability but a flavor;
He boils a cup of rice in a broken-footed cauldron.

折脚铛中饭一升
近代久参学得僧
语言三昧唤为能
无能有味拄云屋
重阳九篇其第七
No. 107

notes:

the "Double Yang" festival: the ninth day of the ninth month. In the cosmology of the I Ch'ing, nine is the most yang of numbers, therefore this day was celebrated as a time of double yang influence. There is a prose introduction to the set of poems of which this poem is the eighth. It explains the none-too-joyful circumstances surrounding the composition of the poems. (Arntzen, p. 92) Because of political trouble at the Daitokuji, Ikkyū had retreated to the mountains, apparently resolved to starve himself to death in protest.

a broken-footed cauldron: an allusion to the "last admonition" of Daitō:

Now, if there is one who practices righteousness in the wilds, who in a little hut passes his day eating vegetables boiled in a broken-footed cauldron, who has completely penetrated and clarified his own nature, such a one day by day looks this old monk in the eye and returns the favor of my teaching.
Wind Bell

two poems

No. 110

In the stillness it echoes not, in movement it rings;
Is it the wind or the bell that has a voice?
Waking up this old monk from his day-time nap,
What need is there to sound the midnight watch at noon?

No. 111

The realm of the senses is outrageous.
Beautiful this clear sound, faintly in the cold.
Old Rascal P'u-hua had lively tricks;
Harmonizing with the wind, it hangs above the polished balustrade.
Is it the wind or the bell that has a voice?: allusion to the Ch'uan Teng Lu chapter on the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng (638-713):

Two monks were arguing over a banner fluttering in the evening wind. One said, "The banner moves." The other said, "The wind moves." Hui-neng said, "Truly neither the wind nor the banner moves; the movement is in the mind."69

What need is there to sound the midnight watch at noon: allusion to the words of Te-shao (891-972) about the teachings of Lin-chi, "If you want to understand the meaning therein, strike the midnight watch at noon."70
Old rascal P'u-hua: Most of the T'ang masters were quite eccentric in their conduct, but the most extravagantly unconventional of them all was P'u-hua. His antics are recorded in the Lin-chi lu. "in the cold" alludes to the miraculous circumstances surrounding his death:

One day P'u-hua went about the streets asking people he met for a one-piece gown. They all offered him one, but P'u-hua declined them all.

Lin-chi had the steward of the temple buy a coffin, and when P'u-hua came back the Master said: "I've fixed up a one-piece gown for you."

P'u-hua put the coffin on his shoulders and went around the streets calling out: "Lin-chi fixed me up a one-piece gown. I'm going to the East Gate to depart this life." All the townspeople scrambled after him to watch.

"No, not today," said P'u-hua, "but tomorrow I'll go to the South Gate to depart this life."

After he had done the same thing for three days, no one believed him any more.

On the fourth day not a single person followed him to watch. He went outside the town walls all by himself, got into the coffin, and asked a passer-by to nail it up.
The news immediately got about. The townspeople all came scrambling; on opening the coffin, they saw he had vanished, body and all. Only the sound of his bell could be heard in the sky, faintly receding into the distance...  

Harmonizing with the wind, it hangs above the polished balustrade:
This line as a whole is taken from a sermon by Hsü-t'ang, who in turn had borrowed the line from a poem by the Five Dynasties poet Hsu Chung-ya  徐仲雅. Hsü-t'ang's sermon:

Rising in the hall to lecture, he said, "In the valley forest leaves fall, the voices of the frontier geese are cold. Seeing through the koan is very difficult, very difficult. A hundred iron balls scatter. Harmonizing with the wind, it hangs above the polished balustrade."

Hsü Chung-ya's poem:

She rises at dawn, fearful of the spring cold,  
Lightly raising the vermilion blinds, gazes at the camellia.  
Not a handful of willow fluff to gather.  
Harmonizing with the wind, it hangs above the polished balustrade."
No. 113

Half a Cloud
(name for a study)

One wisp, rootless, shifting, a spot in the blue sky—
Any safe firmly established life is just therein.
Dream spirit last night in the rain at Wushan;
The singing stops, morning comes, one fragment remains.
No. 113

notes:

Any safe, firmly established life: See No. 54 for the same expression.

Dream spirit, last night in the rain at Wushan: See the notes to No. 45.
Monastic librarian Shōen is measuring up the ground and siting his house, "just a little house, four plain walls". The plaque on the front will say "Earth House", I have composed a poem to commemorate it.

As cool as a tree nest in summer, as warm as a cave in winter, comfortable for a body.

Up to one's waist in water, thrashing through the mud, a mind busy with ten thousand thoughts.

If you understand the toil of farming,
Then you know that all these monasteries of sandalwood are scenes of greed and the quest for notoriety.
notes:

Monastic Librarian Shōen: an unidentifiable person.

"Just a little house, four plain walls": the description of the hovel Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 可馬相如 and Wen-chun 文君 lived in after eloping.  

As cool as a tree nest in summer...: a description of a comfortable house.
No. 117

Straw Raincoat and Hat
(name for a hermitage)

Woodcutters and fishermen, their understanding and application is perfect;
What need have they of the Zen of carved chairs and meditation floors?
Straw sandals and bamboo stick, roaming the Three-thousandfold World Sphere,
Water-dwelling, wind-eating, twenty years.
notes:

Straw raincoat and hat: the raingear of peasants and pilgrims

Three-thousandfold World Sphere: another abbreviation for the Great Three-thousand-millionfold World Sphere. See the notes to No. 54.

Water-dwelling, wind-eating for twenty years: Ikkyū uses this same phrase to describe Daitō Kokushi during his twenty years spent as a beggar around Gojō 五條 bridge.
It is already more than twenty years since Master Kasō veiled his light. Now autumn in 1452, the honorific title Daiki Köjū Zenji (Zen Master of Great Opportunity, the Propagator of the Essential Message) has been conferred on him by imperial decree. So I have made Zen poems to offer to the monk Daiyū Yōsō describing my feelings of congratulation.

No. 120

For fifty years he shunned the dusty world,
Fragrant sounding names, splendid fame, is what kind of Zen?
Tsu-hsü in the evening of his life, resorted to revolting behavior,
Right before his eyes, he had the corpse lashed three hundred times.

No. 121

How about Lan-ts'an turning down the imperial order?
Sweet potatoes locked in smoke in the bamboo fired stove.
His "Great Activity" manifesting itself, the true monk,
On the master's face, throws slop water.
Master Kasō: Kaso Sōdon (d. 1428) Ikkyū's master, a stern man of rigorous virtue who preferred to keep to a small monastery in Katada, then a rough port town on the shores of Lake Biwa, rather than have to observe the political intrigues that embroiled the large monasteries in the capitol.

Daiyū Yōsō: As senior disciple of the same master Kasō, Yōsō (1376–1459) was Ikkyū's elder brother in a religious sense. Relations between the two "brothers" were never very good, however. One of their quarrels is mentioned in the notes to No. 33.

Tsu-hsü, in the evening...: an allusion to the Shih Chi, roll 66. Tzu-hsü's father and elder brother had been killed by the King of Ch'u. Tzu-hsü therefore went over to the enemy state of Wu to help bring about Ch'u's defeat. When the armies of Wu conquered Ch'u, Tzu-hsü was disappointed to find that the King was already dead. In order to satisfy his desire for revenge, he had the corpse exhumed and lashed three hundred times. Tzu-hsü's reply to critics of his behavior was, "I am in the evening of my life and still have far to go, therefore I have overturned proper conduct and carried out my intention in a revolting way."
How about Lan-tsan...: Lan-tsan is not a well-documented T'ang monk. He is represented in the Ch'uan Teng Lu only by one song of his own composition. A colorful legend, however, grew up around him:

When Lan-tsan was living as a hermit, the T'ang emperor Te-tsung heard of him and invited him to court. Lan-tsan was roasting sweet potatoes over a fire of cow-dung and would not even turn around to look at the imperial messenger. His nose running from the cold, he took a potato from the fire and began to eat. The messenger said, "Can't you even wipe your nose for His Majesty's messenger?" Lan-tsan replied, "I have no time to wipe my nose for the common likes of you." 

In his own poem, he alludes to this event in two terse lines,

I did not pay court to the Emperor.

What is there to envy in Kings and Dukes?

"Great Activity": the literal meaning of the Daityū component of Yōsō's name.
Praising P'u-hua

How could T'ew-shan and Lin-chi match his conduct?
At his mad antics on the street and in the market place, the masses were alarmed.
Of all the Zen monks who died either sitting or standing, few could equal him.
Harmonious sound, faintly, a jeweled bell.
No. 126

notes:

P'u-hua: See the notes to No. 111.

Te-shan and Lin-chi: See the notes to No. 17.

Of all the Zen monks who died either...: The manner in which a Zen master died is an important part of his biography. To die in the full lotus position after making one's last pronouncements in verse was an ideal. P'u-hua's death, on the other hand, was certainly one of the most imaginative on record.
Under One's Feet, the Red Thread

Those who keep the rules are asses, those who break the rules are men.

With as many different names as the sands of the Ganges are the ways of teasing the spirit.

The newborn infant is bound with the threads of marital alliance. How many springs have the scarlet blossoms opened and fallen.
Under one's feet, the red thread: is a partial quotation of the third of what is commonly known as the "Three Pivotal Phrases" of Sung-yüan (d. 1209) who was a patriarch in Ikkyū's lineage. The full question is, "Why is it that under the feet of the bright-eyed monk the red thread is not yet severed?" This phrase appears independently in the Sung-yüan yu lu; only later did it come to be considered one of the "Three Pivotal Phrases". Ikkyū took the "red thread" as a metaphor for passion.
虎丘雪下三等僧
二首
少林積雲置心頭
公案圓成上等仇
僧社吟詩剝頭俗
妙喜若是大慈心
說食僧與香積飯
飢腸說食也風流
禪者詩人皆癡黠
雪下三等多議論
 Nos. 140, 141.
On Tiger Mount, the Snow Falls on Three Grades of Monks

two poems

No. 140

The piled snow at Shao-lin placed in the mind,
The kōan completes itself for the upper rank fellow.
The one in the monk's quarters composing poems is a layman with
a shaved head;
The one who is hungry and talks of food is also furyū.

No. 141

The meditator and the poet are both stupid.
The three grades of monks on a snowy day, so much controversy.
If Miao-hsi had a heart of great compassion,
The monk who spoke of food would have got a Feast of Massed
Fragrances.
notes:

On Tiger mount the snow falls...: These two poems are based on an episode in the Ta'hui Wu-k'u where Master Ta'hui 大慧 (1089-1163) reflects on the apt remarks of a former master: Master Yuan-t'ung Hsiu 圆通秀 on a snowy day, once wrote: "In snowy weather there are three types of monks. The highest-grade monk is in the meditation hall doing zazen. The middle-grade monk is making his ink, taking up his brush and composing poems about snow. The lowest grade monk is huddled round the fire pit talking about food."

Now it is winter in the year 1127 on Tiger Mount, the snow is falling and the monks can all be divided into those three types. I laughed out loud and thought "So the words of a former comrade were not mere fabrications!" [82]

The piled snow at Shao-lin...: allusion to the koan about the Second Patriarch's interview with Bodhidharma.

Bodhidharma was facing the wall. The Second Patriarch was standing in the snow and cut off his own arm. "Master he said, "I have no peace of mind, I beg you to pacify my mind." Bodhidharma said, "Well show me your mind and I'll pacify it for you." The Second Patriarch said, "But when I look for my mind, I can't find it." "There," said Bodhidharma, "I have pacified your mind." [83]
Miao-hsi: which may be translated as "Wondrous Joy" is a sobriquet of Ta-hui.

great compassion...Feast of Massed Fragrances: allusion to the "Feast of Massed Fragrances" of the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*. Vimalakirti describes the feast as "the Tatāgatha's nectar and ambrosia perfumed with great compassion." See the notes to No. 91.
No. 145

Addressed to a Monk in the Hall of Long Life

When the killing demons of impermanence are before you,
To whom can you speak about the final prison?
A hundred affairs are impossible to still, the five desires are noisy,
You want to bar the six windows of the senses, but the eight winds blow them open.
No. 145

notes:

The Hall of Extending Longevity: like Nirvāṇa Hall, a name for the Monastic infirmary.

The five desires: the desires that arise from the five realms of perception, form, sound, fragrance, taste and texture.

The six windows of the senses: the five senses plus thought.

The eight winds: either things that agitate and delude the mind, gain and loss, disparagement and flattery, praise and slander, pain and pleasure. 84
Sākyamuni Practicing Ascetic Discipline

For six years hunger and cold pierced his bones to the marrow. Ascetic discipline is the mysterious teaching of the Buddhist patriarchs. I am convinced there is no natural Sākyamuni! Now in the world patch-clad monks are just rice bags.
notes:

Śākyamuni practicing ascetic discipline: Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, devoted himself to ascetic practices for six years. This poem was composed as an appreciatory verse for a scroll by the painter Dasoku depicting Śākyamuni as an ascetic.
No. 161

Composing a Poem on the Dragon-Gate Pavilion to Congratulate the Reconstruction of the Tenryū-ji.

The exhaustion of the potentialities of heaven and earth was the style of the founder.

Ten thousand peaks, rugged Saga in the misty rain.

Three stages of high rough water, black cloud chains;

The lurking carp, right there, achieve transfiguration into Divine Dragons.
The Dragon Gate Pavilion...: Tenryūji (literally the Divine Dragon Monastery) was one of the largest and most important of the Muromachi Zen monasteries located, then as now, in the Arashiyama district of Kyoto beside the Hozu river. There were ten famous landscapes within the Tenryūji precinct, of which the Dragon-Gate Pavilion was one. Its namesake, the original Dragon Gate, was the place on the upper reaches of the Yellow River where the carp were supposed to gather to attempt the falls and become dragons. See the notes to No. 35.

this school's founder: the illustrious Musō Soseki (1275-1351)

rugged Saga: another name for the Arashiyama district. Saga means "rugged".

Three stages of high rough water: a description of the Dragon Gate in the Blue Cliff Record, the appreciative verse to kōan No. 7. "At the three stages of high rough water, fish turn into dragons." 86

black cloud chains: an allusion to a poem in the Chiang-hu Feng-yueh Chi wherein comes the line, "The ten thousand foot Dragon Gate, chained in black cloud." 87
K'uei-chi's samādhi alone, was by its very nature real.
Wine, meat, the scriptures and beauties,
The eye of the abbot was just like this.
In our school, there is only this So'jun.
Dharma Master Tz'u-en K'uei-chi: K'uei-chi (632-81) is the official first Patriarch of the Fa-hsiang, Yogācāra, school of Buddhism in China. He was the disciple of Hsüan-tsang, the illustrious and intrepid pilgrim, who brought an enormous collection of sūtras from India and with them the transmission of the Yogācāra teaching. It was for K'uei-chi to write the commentaries to these sūtras and to formulate the theoretical writings of the school. A legend persists about his unconventional behavior, that, for example, he loved the sūtras but could not give up wine and women. The legend probably reached Ikkyū through the Ts'ung-lin Sheng-shih, a Sung Zen text which has a biographical entry for K'uei-chi. The pertinent section thereof follows:

Furthermore, when he saw the Emperor, he would not make obeisance. He just went to and fro, followed by three carts filled with the sūtras, wine, food and women."88 Hence, he became known as the "Three-Cart Monk". Stanley Weinstein, in a biographical study of K'uei-chi,99 virtually proves, by reference to the oldest, and often ignored, sources for K'uei-chi's biography, that the legend dates from the Sung period, that it has no basis in fact whatsoever. He suggests that K'uei-chi may well have been called disparagingly
the "Three-Cart Monk" in Sung times, not for incontinent behavior but for his unique interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra*. He asserted that "the doctrine of the Three Vehicles represents the ultimate truth of Buddhism, whereas the doctrine of the all-embracing One Vehicle which transcends the separateness of the Three Vehicles is only a provisional teaching, designed to lead the unenlightened to the truth of the Three Vehicles." Such an interpretation invited fierce criticism from members of other schools, for whom the One-Vehicle teaching of the Lotus was a cherished doctrine. Weinstein remarks that the failure of the official Sung biographer to indicate this and "even worse, his inclusion of patently slanderous material...has resulted in a manifestly unsympathetic attitude toward Tz'u-en on the part of many Buddhist historians, which has persisted in one form or another to the present day." Ironcally, the apocryphal legend that slurred K'uei-chi's character, so far as most schools of Buddhism were concerned, made him a kind of hero for the Zen school, which has always valued unconventionality and spirituality untainted by over-serious religiosity.
Addressed to a Monk at the Daitokuji

Many are the men who enter Daitō's gate.
Therein who rejects the veneration of the master role?
Thin rice gruel, coarse tea, I have few guests;
All alone I sing drunkenly and fall over kegs of muddy sake.
No. 180

Po-chang Fasting

The Zen master Ta-chih trod a path difficult to follow,
For the sake of people of the final Dharma, truly dropping
to the ground.
Those who have glutted and soured shall get molten metal
balls.
Then they will first learn to fear Yamarāja at the Yellow
Springs.

百丈絕食

初懼泉下問羅老

飽食痛飲熱鍊丸

末法為人真落草

大智禪師難行道
No. 180

notes:

Po-chang fasting: Po-chang (749-814) was the first monk to draw up a code of discipline particularly suited for Zen temples. His first and most celebrated rule was "a day of no work is a day of no eating". When Po-chang was very old, he still would not put his gardening tools aside. His disciples could not bear to see him toiling in the fields, and so one day hid his tools. Po-chang said, "I may be useless, but I will not beg for alms." Thereupon he stopped eating.²¹

Ta-chi: an honorific name for Po-chang

The people of the final Dharma: As the time between the life of the Buddha and the present lengthens, so it becomes more difficult to get enlightenment.

Yamarāja: originally the King of Twilight but then by extension the King of Hell.
Presented to a Congregation

As for the Immortal of Forbearance and the Bodhisattva Never-Disparaging,

The fruit of their enlightenment was full and already complete.

If one ignores karma, one gives oneself to selfish baseness
And becomes a blind man leading the blind.
notes:

The Immortal of Forbearance: This Immortal, who with no sense of self or other, practiced forbearance, appears in the Diamond Sūtra.92

The Bodhisattva Never-Disparaging: a figure from the Lotus Sūtra, whose attribute was a profound respect for all in the universe,

...when he saw the fourfold multitude from afar, he would make a special point of going to them, doing obeisance, and uttering praise, saying, "I dare not hold you all in contempt, since you are all to become Buddhas!" Within the fourfold multitude were some who gave way to anger, whose thoughts were impure, who reviled him with a foul mouth... yet he did not give way to anger but constantly said, "You shall all become Buddhas!"93
Master Sung-yüan rose to lecture and presented this case. A monk once asked Pa-ling: "Are the meaning of the Zen Patriarchs and the Teaching of the Buddha the same or different?" Pa-ling said, "Chickens, when they are cold, roost in trees; geese, when they are cold, settle in the water." Our ancestor Po-yün said: "Pa-ling said only half of it. I would say it differently: Scoop up water and the moon is in your hands, play with flowers and their fragrance fills your clothes." Our Master Sung-yüan in final retort said: Po-yün, even though he put all he had into what he said, gets only eight points. If someone were to ask me, I would just say: the ignorance of selfhood is stuck on one stick. Are the meaning of the Patriarchs and the Teaching different or the same? The measuring up, now and then, never ends. Old Sung-yüan, kind as a grandmother, tells us That the ignorance of distinguishing selfhood beings with ourselves.
Master Sung-yüan rose to lecture: Master Sung-yüan was one of the patriarchs of Ikkyü's spiritual lineage. (See the notes to No. 128.) This discourse from the Sung-yüan yü lu presents in chronological order some of the definitive views on the question of whether the meaning of Zen and Buddhism proper is different or the same, a question almost as old as the school of Zen itself. Sung-yüan first presents the opinion of T'ang Dynasty monk, Pa-ling, one of the numerous first-generation progeny of Yün-men, then the view of Po-yün (1025-1072), an early Sung monk some six generations before Sung-yüan himself in the same line. Altogether, then, counting Ikkyü's poem, we have four different generations of comment on this question. As this example demonstrates, by the Sung Dynasty it was virtually impossible to speak of any of the basic questions of the school without referring to some of the more famous pronouncements that had already been delivered on the subject. This is the tradition that informs Ikkyü's style of philosophical comment and one of the reasons why his poetry is so studded with allusions.
The eyes' light fallen to the earth, Nirvāṇa Hall
Remorse and shame, a soup with a crab in it;
Seven arms, eight legs suffer ten thousand kalpas of pain.
The killer demons of impermanence are busy with their burning chariots.
No. 188

notes:

Nirvāna Hall: See the notes to No. 33.

The eyes' light fallen to the ground...a soup with a crab in it;
This metaphor for illness originated with Yūn-men,
One day when the eyes' light falls to the ground, what
would you compare it to? There is nothing that resembles
it so much as a crab thrown into the soup pot with its
legs and arms flailing around.95
In Chôraku in the 17th year of the sexagenery cycle (1460) the 29th of the 8th month, there was a great typhoon and flood; the people are all suffering. Yet tonight someone is having a festivity with feasting and music. Unable to listen to it, I made a poem to console myself.

Typhoon, flood, suffering for ten thousand people;
Song, dance, flutes and strings, who sports tonight?
In the Dharma, there is flourishing and decay, in the kalpas there is increase and decline.
"Let it be, let the bright moon sink behind the Western pavilion."

任他明月下西楼
法有興衰去增減
歌舞管絃誰夜遊
大風洪永萬民憂
風洪永眾人皆憂
夜有歌吹之客不忍聞
之作倡以自慰雲。
Let it be, let the bright moon...: a line taken from a poem by the T'ang poet Li I (李白), entitled, "Pouring forth my feelings", where he laments the death of his lover.

On this smooth bamboo mat, water-patterned, my thoughts drift far away;
A thousand miles to make the tryst, now in one night, it is over.
From here on, I have no heart to enjoy lovely nights.
Let it be, let the bright moon sink behind the Western Pavilion.
學者發無因更沈
須在先生醉裏吟
老臣一時價千金
諸惡莫作善奉行
白日三歲孩
作衆善奉行。白日三歲孩
鬼也解說是何道。窠曰三歲
不得。靈山和尚每日若無
鳥窠一語我徒盡泥本
來無一物及不思善不思
惡善惡不二邪正一如等
語以揀無因果而世多日
用不浹之邪師也。故余作
此偈以示眾
白居易問鳥窠和尚如
是佛法大意窠日諸惡惡
是?
Po Chü-i asked Master Bird Nest, "What is the broad meaning of Buddhism?" Bird Nest said, "Do no evil, do much good." Po Chü-i said, "But a three-year-old child could understand a teaching like that." Bird Nest replied, "A three-year-old child may be able to say it but there are eighty-year-old men who cannot practice it."

Old Master Ryözen used to say: If it were not for this one phrase of Bird Nest, our followers would all get bogged down in

'From the beginning, not one thing'
'Not thinking of good, not thinking of evil'
'Good and evil are not two'
'False and true, one reality'

and all the rest, so that in the end they would ignore karma and the world would just be full of false teachers, impure in their daily lives."

So now on this topic, I, Ikkyü, have composed a poem and instructed a congregation with it.

Students who ignore karma are sunk.
That old Zen master's words are worth a thousand pieces of gold,
Do no evil, do much good.
It must have been something the Elder sang while drunk.
Po Chü-i (772-84): the famous T'ang poet.

Master Bird Nest: Miao-k'e (741-824). Miao-k'e means literally "Bird Nest", a nickname he apparently received because he slept in a tree. While all monk's names have meaning, I chose to translate this one because it adds to the humour of the story, and the drollery of the name is something Ikkyū himself played with in another poem about Bird Nest, No. 177 (not translated here), which begins, "His nest must have been cold, that old Zen codger up in the tree." The record of this encounter between Bird Nest and Po Chü-i appears in the Ch'uan Teng Lu. Ikkyū's foundness for this story and its "moral" is attested to by two large scrolls in his own powerful hand that say, "Do no evil." "Do much good."

Master Ryōzen See the notes to No. 33.

It must have been something the Elder sang while drunk: "Drunkenly Singing" was a sobriquet of Po Chü-i's; therefore this last line calls him back into the picture. The term here translated "Elder" is not normally applied to Zen monks.
No. 206

I admonished my followers saying, "If you are going to drink sake, then you must always drink muddy sake, and for tidbits just have the dregs. This is why the latter are sometimes called 'dry sake'." Thereupon I made a poem, laughing at myself:

Men in the midst of their drunkennes, what can they do about their wine-soaked guts?  
Sober, at the limit of their resources, they suck the dregs.  
The lament of him who "embraced the sands" and cast himself into the river by Hsiang-nan  
Draws out of this Crazy Cloud, a laugh.

余誠會裹徒日呫酒必須
用濁醪者則其糟而已遂
名者乾一酒仍作倡以自
 Malay文

醉裏眾人盡酒腸
醒時仗盡啜糟糧
湘南流永懷沙怨
流得狂雲呫一場
呫云。
No. 206

notes:

muddy sake: unrefined sake, which by virtue of having skipped a phase in the brewing process costs much less.

tidbits: refers to the snacks it is still customary in Japan to eat with sake. A cheap variety of snack was dried sake lees, so that here Ikkyū is joking about the fact that the monks are not only drinking sake but eating it as well.

Drunk among the masses...: The first three lines of the poem allude to the Shih Chi account of the suicide of Ch'ü Yüan, the celebrated author of the Ch'ü Tz'u "Songs of Ch'ü" and archetype of the frustrated virtuous official:

When Chü-yüan reached the banks of the Yangtze..., a fisherman happened to see him and asked, "Are you not the high minister of the Royal family? What has brought you to this?" "All the world is muddied in confusion," replied Chü-yüan, "Only I am pure! All men are drunk, and I alone am sober! For this I have been banished!"

"A true sage does not stick at mere things, but changes with the times," said the fisherman, "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? Why
must you cling so tightly to this jewel of virtue and bring banishment upon yourself?"

Chü Yüan replied: "... What man can bear to soil the cleanness of his person with the filth you call 'mere things'? Better to plunge into this never ending current beside us and find an end in some river fish's belly! Why should radiant whiteness be clouded by the world's vile darkness?'

Then he composed a poem, in the rhyme prose style, entitled "Embracing the Sands." ....

With this he grasped a stone in his arms and, casting himself into the river, drowned.98

Ikkyū in other poems expresses great admiration for and empathy with Ch'iü-yüan. Ikkyū sometimes saw himself as a man of lonely virtue doggedly supporting a hopeless cause. Still, insofar as he expressed himself from a point of view free of self-pity and removed from dualistic morality, the Fisherman was talking like a Zen master.
In the Three Reflections of Master Fo-yen Ch'ing-yüan, it is said: "Reward and retribution, cause and effect are empty hallucinations, you cannot force anything. What does the floating world amount to; one is rich or poor depending on one's household. Pain and pleasure; adversity and prosperity; the Way lies in the middle. Agitated and calm; cold and hot, I am ashamed of myself, remorseful."

Just have a look, in the Triple Sphere, there is no stability. Ignorance is truly the pleasure of the masses; A taste of honey and we forget the disaster at the bottom of the well.
the Three Reflections of Master Fo-yen Ch'ing-yüan: The "Three Reflections" of Fo-yen (1067-1120) appear in the Ku-tsun-su Yü-lu. Ikkyū cites the third of the three.

I am ashamed of myself: Presumably he is ashamed of allowing himself to be caught up in the vicissitudes of life.

Triple Sphere: This term designates the realm in which the myriad beings are caught in the endless transmigration of birth and death.

A taste of honey and we forget...: reference to a parable that has its original source in the Pin-t'ou-lu Wei Wang Shuo Fa Ching but which also appears in the Zen work, Wei-shan Ching-ts'e. A paraphrase of the parable, as Hirano presents it, follows:

On a wide plain a man, encountering a great fire and chased by a mad elephant, took refuge in a dry well. Above the well, a vine was hanging on which he climbed into the well. However, at the bottom of the well were three poisonous dragons and four poisonous snakes. Moreover, two rats, one black and one white, were gnawing away at the vine. Just at that moment, a stinging bee let a little
honey drop into his mouth. Craving more honey, the man forgot all his troubles. The wide plain is the Triple Sphere; the elephant is the demon of impermanence; the vine is life; the rats are the sun and moon; the well is hell; the three dragons are the poisons of covetousness, anger and stupidity; the four snakes are the four great elements of earth, water, fire and wind; the bee is the five desires. When we begin to crave the objects of desire, we forget the woes of birth and death.
Composing a Poem and Trading it For Food

As one goes to and fro in the Higashiyama district, old times are as though now.

When you are starving, a bowl of rice is worth a thousand pieces of gold.

For the lichees, old Ch'ing-su returned the Buddha Devil kōan.

I am ashamed to sing of lyrical feeling, of wind and moon.
the Higashiyama district: here loosely refers to the Kenninji
where Ikkyu first studied Chinese poetry at the age of 13.  

For the lichees, old Ch'ing-su...: Ch'ing-su, a Sung dynasty
monk, disciple of Tz'u-ming 明 was a symbol of uncompromising virtue in Ikkyū's personal mythology. He missed
perfection by making the single mistake of instructing one
pupil and becoming embroiled in the question of the certifica-
tion of enlightenment. The kōan Ch'ing-su put to this one
student, however, is one greatly admired by Ikkyū. Here is
the account in the Ch'uan Teng Lu:

There was one Ch'ing-su who had studied a long time
with Tz'u-ming. He dwelt in retirement and would not have
anything to do with other people. One day Tou-shuai 率 was eating honey-preserved lichees. Ch'ing-su happened to
pass his door. Shuai called out, "These are fruit from
my old village, please share them with me." Ch'ing-su
said, "Since my former master died, a long time ago, I
have not had a chance to eat this fruit." Tou-shuai said,
"And who was your former Master?" Ch'ing-su said, "Tz'u-
ming. I had the honor of serving him for only thirteen
years." Tou-shuai was astonished. "If you were equal to
serving him thirteen years, how could you fail to understand his Path?" Then, he gave him the remaining lichees and came gradually to know him.

There follows an interlude where Ch'ing-su discusses the former masters in their line. Tou-shuai, more impressed than ever with Ch'ing-su's understanding, begs for further instruction. Ch'ing-su at first modestly declines but finally relents and says:

You have a go at telling me all that you have understood about life." Tou-shuai tells him everything he has experienced. Ch'ing-su says: "You may have entered the realm of the Buddha but you are not yet able to penetrate the realm of the Devil."
No. 216

Fisherman

Learning the Way, studying Zen, they run afoul of the Buddha's original mind.

One tune from the fisherman is worth a thousand pieces of gold.

Rain at dusk on the Hsiang river, the moon among the clouds of Ch'ü.

Füryü without end, night after night singing.
fisherman: Hirano remarks that poems romanticising the life of fishermen occur quite often in Zen literature of the Sung period. Ikkyū inherited this tradition.

Hsiang river...the clouds of Ch'ü: These place names call up Ch'ü-yuan's encounter with the fisherman on the banks of the Hsiang. See notes to No. 206.

füryū: See notes to No. 52.
No. 223

Addressed to a Monk Who Killed a Cat

In my group, there is a little Nan-ch'üan;
With a flick of the wrist he killed the cat, the koan is complete.
Mistaken, he regretted that, in practising this teaching;
He disturbed its nap under the peony blossoms.
No. 223

notes:

Addressed to a monk who killed a cat...Little Nan-ch'üan: See notes to No. 44 and No. 52 for the Nan-ch'üan kōan. One can only surmise the circumstances surrounding this poem. Perhaps, one monk striving to break through the Nan-ch'üan kōan actually killed a cat.

...its nap under the peony blossoms: an allusion to a dialogue between Ta-kuan and Ku-yin recorded in the Wu Teng Hui Yuan:

Ta-kuan said, "What is it like, when halfway through the night, the true brightness of Heaven dawns without dew?"

Ku-yin said, "Under the peony blossoms sleeps a cat."
No. 234

About Disturbances at the Daitokuji

The Zennists fight over Zen, the poets over poetry;
On the horns of a snail appear safety and danger.
The knife that kills, the sword that makes men live--
Only the lovely lady of Ch'ang-hsin knows.
No. 234

notes:

On the horns of a snail: a proverb equivalent to "a storm in a tea pot" drawn from the Chuang Tzu:

There is a creature called the snail.... On top of its left horn is a kingdom called Buffet, and on top of its right horn is a kingdom called Maul. At times they quarrel over territory and go to war, strewing the field with corpses by the ten thousands, the victor pursuing the vanquished for half a month before returning home."\textsuperscript{107}

the sword that kills, the sword that makes men live: This phrase appears in the capping poem to \textit{Wu-men kuan} case 11.\textsuperscript{108}

the lovely lady of Ch'ang-hsin: reference to Lady Pan of the Han Dynasty, the favorite concubine of the emperor until she was displaced by the infamous Chao Fei-yen. She wrote a poem expressing her sorrow over loss of favor. (See notes to No. 293) Afterwards, she requested to retire and serve the dowager Empress at Ch'ang-hsin palace. Hirano suggests she is a symbol here of someone removed from conflict who can view it with a cool objective eye.\textsuperscript{109}
No. 240

Congratulating Elder K1 on the New Construction of Eagle Tail Monastery and Inquiring after His Leprosy.

On Eagle Peak, he constructs a grand monastery.

By building, mountains are crumbled, cliffs are torn apart.

Your five organs rot, making pus and blood;

The yellow robe over your leprous flesh is a stinking sweat rag.
Elder Ki: 宗熙, a disciple of and spiritual heir to Yōsō. (See the notes to No. 120.) He was also heir to the vehement disparagement Ikkyū had formerly heaped on Yōsō.

Eagle Tail Monastery: Where exactly this may have been and the circumstances surrounding its construction are not known.

Leprosy: Those who falsify the Dharma were thought to contract leprosy. In the Jikaishū "Self admonitions", Ikkyū graphically describes Yōsō dying of leprosy. Here Sōki is accused of contracting the same disease. This poem is the third in a series of ten which revile him, principally for the building project but for other transgressions as well. I translated this one, it must be confessed, because it was the most outrageous of them all.
notes:

ふるゆ： see notes to No. 52.

Tz'u-ming's narrow path: Tz'u-ming (986-1040) was a Sung dynasty master. His student Yang-ch'i at the moment of enlightenment asked him, "If two people meet on a narrow path, what happens?" Tz'u-ming said, "You back up and I'll go over there." Hirano suggests "narrow path" can also mean a narrow alley in the brothel district; hence, perhaps its mention here in a poem criticising unseemly alliance.

Part of the personal mythology Ikkyū associated with Tz'u-ming concerned his cohabitation with an old woman. In poem No. 298 "Love Vows" (not translated here), he makes explicit his own idea about their relationship.

The little love song: See the notes to No. 66.

This poem is the seventh in the same series as No. 240. Here Elder Kī is attacked for lechery. It is interesting that two allusions having very positive connotations elsewhere, the "little love song" and the Tz'u-ming reference, because of the context become quite negative and sarcastic. The same can be said of the term "ふるゆ".
No. 244

So furyū, admitting nuns to his cell;
It makes one think of Tz'ü-ming's narrow path.
One is rent by the graceful hand put forth,
Secretly humming the "little love song".
Thanking a Man for the Gift of Salty Soya Sauce

Reckless, natural, for thirty years,
Crazy Cloud practices this kind of Zen.
A hundred flavors of meat and drink in one cup;
Thin gruel, twig tea belong to the True Transmission.
温度测量

...
Two Pieces Composed While Ill

No. 250

A monk who has broken the precepts for eighty years,
Repenting a Zen that has ignored cause and effect.
When ill, one suffers the effect of past deeds;
Now how to act in order to pay off kalpas of bad karma.

No. 251

Beautiful feast, who will prepare the pair of fishes?
The love song koan, useless in daily practice.
A body singing lustful tunes, white snow on my head,
Before my eyes, weeds not yet plowed.
No. 251

notes:

pair of fishes: See notes to No. 91.

the love song koan: See notes to No. 66.

weeds not yet plowed: allusion to the Lin-chi Lu,

A lecture master asked, "The Twelve-fold Teaching of the Three Vehicles reveal the Buddha nature, do they not?"

Lin-chi said, "Your weeds are not yet plowed."113
Picture of an Arhat Sporting at a Brothel

The Arhat has left the dust, no more desire.

Playful games at the brothel, so much desire.

This one is bad, this one is good.

The monk's skill, Devil-Buddha desire.
notes:

Arhat: See notes to No. 78.

Sporting at a brothel: This is one of two poems on the same subject. For the other see Arntzen, p. 127.

desire: As this translation tries to indicate, the rhyme word in all three lines is the same, that is, ch'ing/jō. This word has, however, a wide range of meanings from "heart", "feeling", hence "passion" to the less subjective "circumstances" or "conditions". The meaning of ch'ing/jō in the last line is ambiguous.
No. 280.

Remorse Over Sins for Which My Tongue Should Be Pulled Out

With Spears of words, how many men have I killed?

Composing religious odes, putting forth poems, my brush has reviled men.

Seven flowers torn eight ways, sin on the tip of my tongue;
At the Yellow Spring, it will be difficult to escape the men in the fiery carts.
No. 280
notes:

Seven flowers torn eight ways: things torn seven or eight ways, therefore a metaphor for confusion and destruction which appears sporadically in Zen texts. 114

The Yellow Spring: Hell
The Correct Skill for Great Peace

Natural, reckless, correct skill;
Yesterday's clarity is today's stupidity.
The universe has dark and light, entrust oneself to change.
One time, shade the eyes and gaze afar at the road of Heaven.
the road of Heaven: The expression, while unremarkable in English, is written with an unusual character for "road". Particularly in conjunction with the sense of the third line, it leads one to suspect an allusion to the I-ching, "Book of Changes", one of the earliest places where the expression occurs. In the Hexagram 26 "Taming Power of the Great", the final line, an auspicious prognostication, says, "What is it? The great good fortune of the road of heaven."
The Correct Skill for a Disorderly Age

The strong one must equip himself with the right view; Deluded notions in keeping with the object manifest themselves.
About a horse, one asks, "Do you have a good one or not?"
They reply, "This sword is sharp."
"A thousand mouths are none too many," so the rich family complains;
For the poor family in hardship, even one is too many.
The carp in the rivulet wished only for a ladleful of water.
Next morning, a winter fan floats on the wide river.
a thousand mouths are not enough...: This appears to be a proverb that was appropriated by the Zen school. Hirano points out a place in the Ch'uan T'eng Lu where it is used for capping a koan. It also appears in the Hsü-t'ang lu in this form, "The rich complain a thousand mouths are too few, the poor lament that one body is too many."

the carp in the rivulet: an allusion to the "External Things" chapter in the Chuang Tzu.

Chuang Chou's family was very poor and so he went to borrow some grain from the marquis of Chien-ho. The marquis said, "Why, of course! I'll soon be getting the tribute money from my fief; when I do, I'll be glad to lend you three hundred pieces of gold. Will that be all right?"

Chuang Chou flushed with anger and said, "As I was coming here yesterday, I heard someone calling me on the road. I turned around and saw that there was a perch in the carriage rut. I said to him, "Come, perch—what are you doing here?" He replied, "I am a Wave Official of the Eastern Sea. Couldn't you give me a dipperful of water so I can stay alive?" I said to him, "Why, of course! I'm just about to start South to visit the kings of Wu and..."
Yueh. I'll change the course of the West River and send it in your direction. Will that be all right?" The perch flushed with anger and said, I've lost my element! I have nowhere to go! If you can get me a dipperful of water, I'll be able to stay alive. But if you give me an answer like that, then you'd best look for me in a dried fish store."

a winter fan floats on the wide river: Hirano sees the possibility of an allusion to a poem expressing a mother's desire to visit her son in far off Sung, from the Shih ching.

Who says the river is wide?
There's not enough for a little boat.
Who says Sung is far?
It won't take a morning to reach it.

I am inclined rather to see an allusion to Lady Pan's poem, comparing a woman's loss of favor to a fan once autumn chills the air.

To begin I cut fine silk of ch'i,
White and pure as frost or snow,
Shape it to make a paired-joy fan,
round, round as the luminous moon,
to go in and out of my lord's breast,
when lifted to stir him a gentle breeze.
But always I dread the coming of autumn,
cold winds that scatter the burning heat,
when it will be laid away in a hamper.
love and favor cut off midway. 120

Suffice it to say the line has considerable evocative power.
Mutual Contradiction

The second month, when the Buddha entered the quiescence of Nirvāṇa,
A single sword stroke severed both mind and body.
Unborn, undying, the Buddha is impossible to find;
The flowers are bound to a spring where being and non-being contradict one another.
No. 306

notes:

the second month...quiescence of Nirvāṇa: See the notes to No. 40.
No One Sees It the Same

The mind flows like water through the four mindfulnesses never the same.

The Buddha realm, Mara's fortress bestrides the then and the now.

Cold window, wind-blown snow, moon among the plum blossoms;

The drinker toys with his cup, the poet hums a poem.
the four mindfullnesses: This is a discipline of meditating on the
"body" to realize its impurity, on "sensation" to realize
that the perception of things pleasant and unpleasant is the
root of pain, on "thought" to realize its impermanence and
on "objects" to realize their absence of self.
The poet's wealth is elegant phrases;  
In the world of scholarly elegance, days and months are long.  
Plum blossoms outside the window, the exaltation of poetic chant;  
The belly chills: snow, moon, dawn sky, frost.
The Last Chrysanthemum in the South Garden

Late chrysanthemums by the East hedge, fading color in autumn;
As I face the Southern hills for a while, my thoughts are far
far away.
The "Three Essentials", the "Three Mysteries", I do not understand
at all;
The joy in T'ao Yüan-ming's song is my kind of furyū.

南園 殘菊
南菊 東籬 電色 秋
三要 三玄 都不識
南山 且對意悠悠
晚菊 東籬 電色 秋
明吟 與我風流
No. 332

notes:

chrysanthemums by the East hedge...southern hills: See notes to No. 77.

The "Three Essentials", the "Three Mysteries": stand for Lin-chi's teachings.

The Master further said: "Each statement must comprise the Gates of the Three Mysteries, and the gate of each Mystery must comprise the Three essentials. There are temporary expedients and there is functioning. How do all of you understand this?"122

I do not understand at all: See notes to No. 77. The line in T'ao Yüan-ming's poem that Hightower translates, "I would like to tell but lack the words," can also be translated, "I would tell but have already forgotten the words." Albeit only a difference in nuance, the latter version is perhaps closer to the way Ikkyü understood it as he echoed it with his own "I do not understand at all."

ふるよ: see the notes to No. 52.
Subject and Object, Recollection of the Past

Object is mindless, the stone lantern and bare post;
Subject distinguishes pearls from clods of earth.
One night sing of fifty years ago,
The waning moon over green mound, the rain on Wu-shan.
subject and object: See the notes to No. 54. This is an allusion to Lin-chi's "Four Propositions" that play with the permutations of subject, object and the negations thereof.\textsuperscript{123}

The stone lantern and the bare post: We have already met the bare post once in Yün-men's kōan about the old Buddha and the bare post. (See No. 45.) The stone lantern and the bare post are paired in the Lin-chi Lu.

Then there are old shavepates who do not know bad from good. They point to the East and point to the West, "nice fine weather", "nice rain", "nice stone lantern", "nice bare post."\textsuperscript{124}

This in turn apparently refers to a remark of Yang-shan, a contemporary of Lin-chi's, who, when asked, "What is the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the West?", replied, "A nice stone lantern."\textsuperscript{125}

Green Mound: the tomb of Wang Chao-chun, the unfortunate lady who was married off to the tartars because her lord did not become aware of her beauty until too late.

the rain on Wu-shan: See the notes to No. 45.
No. 334

Two pieces of skin and one set of bones.

Birds, bugs, horses and cows, furthermore Mara and Buddha.

When the primordial chaos was not yet separated, the darkness was pitch black,

The clouds and moon knew for whom they were beautiful.
No. 344

notes:

two pieces of skin and one set of bones: See the notes to No. 44.
Taking a Metaphor for Reality

For this old coot, a daily practice since ages past, and now
The kōan "privately carriages pass" confuses clear and muddy.
Last night, to the falling leaves striking against the window,
Forlorn, I listened and composed a poem about the sound of rain.
daily practice: the use of metaphor for instruction.

The kōan "privately carriages pass": appears in the Lin-chi Lu.

Wei-shan 韋山 said: "No words have actual significance."

"Not so," disagreed Yang-shan.

"Then what do you think?" asked Wei-shan.

"Officially a needle is not permitted to enter; privately carriages can get through."

In principle, words as a vehicle for truth are denied by Zen, yet as expedient means they are resorted to constantly.
No. 376

Within a hut, quietly singing beside the lamp;  
Following his own bent, unbound by any teaching, this poet-monk;  
A sad man inspired with spring, yet the night is cold,  
On the figured slips of paper in my sleeve the plum blossoms have frozen.
Within a hut...beside the lamp: allusion to a kōan of Hsiang-lin

Someone asked, "What is it, a lamp in a hut?"
Hsiang-lin said, "If three men testify that it's a turtle then it's a turtle."

The commentator to the Iwanami edition of the Blue Cliff Record where this kōan appears says of the phrase "the lamp" that it represents "the great wisdom of seeing into the Buddha nature". For Ikkyū, it had an added meaning of referring to the founder of the Daitokuji, Daitō Kokushi, whose name means literally "the great light". "The lamp" then would refer to Ikkyū himself as the last beacon of the founder's virtue. However, both these layers of connotation are definitely subsidiary to the simple picture created by the line of a solitary figure humming to himself beside the lamp.

figured slips of paper: patterned paper to write poems on.
Recollecting the Past

Love recollection, love longing, pain the breast;
Poetry and literature all forgotten, not a single word remains.
There is only awakening to the path, not the mind to seek the path.
Yet today I sorrow over sinking into birth and death.
No. 383

The Stick

How painful, when physical attachment is very deep;
Suddenly everything is forgotten, prose and verse;
I never knew before this natural happiness;
Still delightful, the sound of the wind soothing my thoughts.
the stick: the Zen master's stick used to rap students into awakening.
Utterly absorbed in the dream of Wu-shan, night after night; 
Su, Huang, Li and Tu composed good poems. 
If you were to take lust and exchange it for elegance, 
It would be worth untold myriads of pieces of gold.

No. 384
No. 384

notes:

dream of Wu-shan: See the notes to No. 45.

Su, Huang, Li and Tu: Su Tung-po, 蘇東坡 (1037-1101), Huang Shan-ku, 黃山谷 (1045-1105), Li Po, 李白 (701-726), Tu Fu, 杜牧 (712-770) and or Tu Mu, 杜牧 (803-852), several of the great T'ang and Sung poets.
No. 385

Deluded Enlightenment

No beginning, no end, this mind of ours;
It does not achieve Buddhahood, the innate mind.
Innate Buddhahood was the Buddha's wild talk.
The beings' innate mind is the path to delusion.

無始無終我一心
本來成佛佛性
本來迷道心
衆生本來迷悟
Buddhahood: That all sentient creatures have the Buddha-nature and are capable of achieving Buddhahood is an article of faith in Mahayana Buddhism, hence the twisting of the mind in Chao-chou's koan. "Does the dog have the Buddha-nature?" "No!" This poem is both prosodically and philosophically like the Chao-chou koan in that it overturns accepted conventions. As in poem No. 254, the rhyme words are all one word, in this case, "mind". I neglected to point out in No. 254 that such a practice would look quite inept from a conventional aesthetic standpoint. Also, within this very short poem, Ikkyū has managed to repeat other vocabulary items not only twice but three times, again a highly unorthodox thing to do. It was usually thought to demonstrate paucity of imagination that, given the wealth of Chinese vocabulary, one should have to use the same word twice in a short poem. Yet, paradoxically, the poem's weakness is its strength. The repetition of the blocks of Buddhist terminology set up a staccato rhythm that pounds home the unorthodox and unsettling message.
Nos. 388, 389, 390

...
Addressed to a Monk Who Burned Books

three poems

No. 388

Shih-wang distinguished by nature the false from the true;
The demon's curse, as if seen in the palm of the hand
Have a look when the cataclysmic fire lays waste the universe,
Books have an indestructible diamond nature.

No. 389

Under a tree, on top of a boulder, in a little rush hut,
Poetry, prose, the commentaries and digests all dwell together.
If you want to burn the old manuscripts in your bag,
You must first forget the books in your belly.

No. 390

In the belly, hell takes shape;
Immeasurable kalpas of passion.
Wild fire burns but never destroys it;
The spring breeze blows and the grass grows again.
No. 388

notes:

Shih Wang: the Ch'in Emperor who was the first ruler to unite China. Because he wished to have history begin with his own reign, he attempted to burn all history and literature written previously. His reign was brief.

the demon's curse: presumably the Ch'in Emperor's fate to die without successors. The word translated as demon, Po-hsun, is a transcription of the Sanskrit pāpiyān, "the more evil one", an epithet for Māra.

the cataclysmic fire: See the notes to No. 54.

indestructible diamond nature: an allusion perhaps to the story of Te-shan burning his scriptural commentaries in the first flush of enlightenment.¹³⁰ Since the Diamond Sūtra was very important in Te-shan's early spiritual development, popular legend had Te-shan burn the Diamond Sūtra.
Wild fire burns...: The last two lines paraphrase three lines of a poem by Po Chü-i, "Taking as a subject, the ancient plains grass, I send someone off."

Luxuriant, the grass on the plain,
In one year, withers and flourishes.
The field fire burns but cannot destroy it.
When the spring wind blows,
The fragrant grass encroaches on the ancient path;
It meets the azure sky and rough wall.
As I send you off again, old friend,
My heart overflows with the feeling of parting. 131

Comment: These three poems get progressively shorter, first a seven-word line, then a six-word line and finally a five-word line. It is almost as though the flames were licking away at them.
Lamenting Soldiers Dead in the War

Red-faced asuras, rank with the spirit of blood,
Screaming insults, in wild movement, demolish heaven and earth.
When they lose a battle, their skulls are split.
Immeasurable millions of kalpas their ancient spirits shall roam.
No. 394

notes:

śuras: stands for warriors, since in the Indian tradition the śuras having been expelled from Heaven were constantly at war with the gods.
In the Triple Sphere, there is no stability.
It's just like a house on fire.
"Here, Master?"
Jui-yen answered, "Yes."
No. 441

notes:

Triple Sphere: See notes to No. 209.

like a burning house: See notes to No. 46.

"Here Master, Jui-yen: allusion to Wu-men kuan, case No. 12. Jui is supposed to have talked to himself as follows:

"Hellow Master."

"Yes."

"Better sober up."

"Yes."

"Don't be fooled by others."

"Yes, yes."132
拾馬糞修斑竹

不求名利也風流
相思無際此君雨
燕雀鳴鵲山野禽
臨濟栽松一休竹
三門境致後人吟

Nos. 493, 495
Spreading Horse Dung to Cultivate the Mottled Bamboo

No. 493

Baked potatoes and Lan-ts' an is an old story;
He did not seek fame and fortune, that too was furyū.
Mutual longing without pause. This Lord's rain.
Tears wiped away, singing alone, autumn by the Hsiang River.

No. 494

Have a look, I nourish the phoenix mind.
Swallows, sparrows, pigeons and crows are wild fowl.
Lin-chi planted pine, Ikkyū plants bamboo;
Of the monastery's pleasant ambience, later people will sing.
mottled bamboo: a variety of bamboo dappled with dark splotches.

Popular legend explains the origin of the mottling: it is said that when Lord Shun died on a tour of inspection to the South, his wives came as far as the Hsiang River and wept for him. Their tears fell on the bamboo, staining it for evermore. Thus another common name for mottled bamboo is Hsiang-Wife Bamboo.

Baked potatoes: See notes to No. 121. A detail of importance for this particular poem is that Lan-ts'an was firing his oven with dried cow dung. The connection is with Ikkyū spreading dung for fertilizer.

fūryū: See notes to No. 52.

mutual longing without pause: One of the place names on the Hsiang River associated with the legend about Shun's wives is the "Palace of Mutual Longing".

"This Lord": another name for bamboo. Its source is in the Chin shu.

He (Wang-huei 王徽) was dwelling in an empty house but ordered that bamboo be planted. Someone asked the reason; he only sighed and pointed to the bamboo, saying:
"How can I live a day without This Lord."

"This Lord's rain: metaphorically alludes to the tears Shun's wives shed on the bamboo; "rain" on the bamboo is tears for their "Lord".
notes:

Swallows, sparrows, pigeons and crows: an allusion to a statement of Ch'en-sheng 陳勝, the first man to lead a revolt against the Ch'in Empire in 209 B.C. When his fellow farm labourers mocked him for his ambition, he said, "Oh well, how could you little sparrows be expected to understand the ambitions of a swan?"\(^{135}\)

Lin-chi planted pine...: In the Lin-chi Lu, Huang-po comes across Lin-chi one day planting pines.  

When Lin-chi was planting pine trees, Huang-po asked:  
"What's the good of planting so many trees in the deep mountains?"  
"First, I want to make a natural setting for the main gate. Second, I want to make a landmark for later generations," said Lin-chi, and thumped the ground with his mattock three times.  
"Be that as it may, you've already tasted thirty blows of my stick," replied Huang-po.  
Again Lin-chi thumped the ground with his mattock three times and breathed out a great breath.  
"Under you my line will flourish throughout the world," said Huang-po.
Ikkyū plants bamboo: Ikkyū’s fondness for bamboo is recorded in the Nempu as well.

South of the vegetable bed, Ikkyū had planted bamboo which had grown into a grove that was good for keeping cool. He suffered from the heat every summer, so he had a small pavilion built among the bamboo. They cut rushes for a roof and wove bamboo for a floor mat. Ikkyū would go there in a sedan chair and spend half the day taking his ease.
No. 512

Praising Master Lin-chi

Katsu, katsu, katsu, katsu, katsu!
Meeting the occasion, he either kills or gives life.
Devil demon eyes,
Bright, bright as the sun and moon.
No. 512

notes:

katsu: the sound of Lin-chi's shout. Lin-chi was famed for his use of shouting to awaken his students to enlightenment. In the Lin-chi Lu, he talks about the functioning of the shout:

The Master asked a monk: "Sometimes a shout is like the jeweled sword of the Vajra King; sometimes a shout is like the golden-haired lion crouching on the ground; sometimes a shout is like a weed-tipped fishing pole; sometimes a shout doesn't function as a shout. How do you understand this?"

The monk hesitated. The Master gave a shout. 138

bright, bright as the sun and moon: There is a powerful visual simplicity to this last line, since the character for "bright" is made up of "sun" and "moon".
Lady Mori's Afternoon Nap

The guests have scattered, the piece is over, not a sound;
No one knows when she will awake from this deep sleep.
Face to face, now, a butterfly plays.
Who hears the striking of the midnight watch at noon?
Lady Mori: the paramour of Ikkyū's later years. 

A butterfly plays: Any mention of a butterfly in connection with sleeping immediately calls up the butterfly parable in the Chuang Tzu,

Once Chuang Chou dreamt he was a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He did not know he was Chuang Chou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Chuang Chou. But he did not know if he was Chuang Chou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Chuang Chou.

The striking of the midnight watch at noon: See the notes to No. 110.
Night Conversation in the Dream Chamber

Sometimes by river and sea, sometimes in the mountains;
The monk outside the world is apart from fame and profit.
Night upon night, mandarin ducks snuggling on the meditation platform.
Fūryū intimate chatter, the whole body at ease.
No. 545

notes:

"Dream Chamber" is another of Ikkyū's sobriquets. (See the introduction to No. 819 and following.)

mandarin ducks: a traditional symbol of conjugal fidelity because they take one mate for life.

fūryū: see notes to No. 52.
No. 555

The Fisherman

By the river, the sun sets; the water flows into the distance; 
The line hangs obliquely, autumn on the Han.

Fūryū by the river or the sea, with whom does he speak?

Between heaven and earth, rocking to and fro, a fishing boat.
No. 555

notes:

...on the Han: In the original, the Yangtze river is mentioned with the Han. I left out the name of the Yangtze for the sake of brevity, and I do not think the meaning is thereby affected.

...to and fro: graphically represented by the characters, \( \bigcirc \) \( \bigcirc \), which read vertically, visually giving a feeling of suspension.
No. 572

Po Lu-t'ien

Catching the elegance of words for a hundred million springs,
A thousand words, ten thousand phrases swelling in newness,
Throughout ancient and modern times he alone attests to never
growing old;
The world admits he is one who pushed his head beyond heaven.
No. 572

notes:

Po Luo-t'ien: a sobriquet of Po Chü'i. See the notes to No. 205.
Cause and Effect for a Lustful Monk

Cause to effect, effect to cause, on what day will it end
Among the inmates of the prison of transmigration in the Triple Sphere?

Night comes with eight million four thousand thoughts;
The cloud-rain of Wu-shan blows over the pillow.

No. 593

雲雨巫山枕上風

因果因果因果因果

邪淫僧因果

夜來八億四千思

輪迴三界獄囚中

何日窮
No. 593

notes:

Triple Sphere: See the notes to No. 209.

cloud-rain of Wu-shan: See notes to No. 45.
Retreating from Mikanohara and Going to Nara

The road I go is hard, hard. Can I know how long?
The mountains are those of Great Sung, the river is the Wei rapids.

Ten thousand miles of road, ten thousand scrolls of writing;
I begin to understand the feeling and flavor of Tu-ling's poetry.
Retreating from Mikanohara and Going to Nara: The Nempu records this event:

In the seventh month, the troops of the West army (the Yamana faction in the Ōnin War) entered Takigi. Ikkyū fled to the Jisaian in Mikanohara. On the second day of the eighth month he left Mikanohara and went to the Southern capitol (Nara), where he only stayed one night. On the third, he went to Izumi and stayed overnight. On the fifth, he left Izumi again and took up temporary residence in the Sōseian in Sumiyoshi. This place had been built by the monk Takunen, and was much loved by Ikkyū as a place rich in memories of that monk. Furthermore, both Settsu and Izumi were in a barbaric state and not livable.

Ikkyū's 76th year, 1469.  

Tu-ling: Tu-Fu. Even in this limited selection of poems, Tu Fu, either the man or a poem of his is alluded to five times, No. 91, No. 384, No. 604 (the present poem), No. 605 and No. 822. Among the poems of the Kyōunshū not translated here, there are several poems exclusively in praise of Tu Fu, Nos.
Ikkyū's admiration and love for the T'ang poet is manifestly clear.
No. 605

Would that it were the realm of Gods and Immortals or some Heavenly mansion.

On earth there are bands of evil-doers, the roads are not passable.

Thereupon I thought of Tu Ling's flowers sprinkling tears;

Autumn fragrant yellow chrysanthemums, earth's acrid smell in the wind.
Tu-ling's flowers sprinkling tears: alludes to Tu Fu's poem "Spring View" 春望, that was written while Chang-an 長安 was occupied by rebel troops:

The state crumbles, mountains and rivers remain.
The city in Spring, grass and shrubs grow rankly.
Feeling the times, flowers sprinkle tears.
Lamenting separation, birds startle the heart.
The signal fires have burned continuously for three months;
A letter from home would be worth a myriad pieces of gold.
I scratch my white head, thinning the hair even more;
Soon there will not be enough to stand up to a comb. 142
The Second Year of Kanshō (1461)—Starvation

3 poems

No. 639

In the years of Kanshō, countless people dead,
On the Wheel of Transmigration, ten thousand kalpas, ancient spirits.
In the Nirvāṇa Hall, there is no penance,
One still prays for long life and endless spring.

No. 640

The extreme pain of hunger and cold pressing one body,
Before the eyes—hungry ghosts, before the eyes—men.
Within the burning house of the Triple Sphere, a five foot frame.
This is a million Mount Sumerus of suffering.

No. 641

Exhausting the beings in the ten directions all over the world;
Arrogance and desire are the empty feelings of the kalpa.
Buddha and devil, man and beast, all mixed up;
For the first time, I have to take fright at the natural effects of karma.
No. 639
notes:

The second year of Kanshō: The years preceding the Ōnin War were blighted by poor harvests and natural calamities. While there is a rough chronological order to the Kyōunshū, it may be noticed that the order is not always adhered to, as here poems related to the period before the war follow poem 604, which was written during the war.

In the Nirvāṇa Hall: See the notes to No. 33. The Nempu entry for roughly the same period records that Ikkyū was suffering from an illness, so that he may be referring to himself in these last two lines.

No. 640
notes:

hungry ghosts: one of the lower destinies.

the burning house of the Triple Sphere: See the notes to No. 54.

Mount Sumerus: In Buddhist cosmology, Mount Sumeru is the huge mountain at the center of our world.
No. 647

The thirteenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Bunshō (1466), soldiers from the various provinces fill the capitol. The members of my school do not know if it is peace or war. They might be called "mindless" clerics. Therefore I composed a poem and instructed them with it, saying:

The world at war, all heaven all earth battle.
The time of Great Peace, all heaven all earth are calm.
Misfortune, misfortune, on the edge of a sword.
The "Path followers" of the monasteries find the Path difficult to attain.
first year of Bunshō, 1466: This is the year before the outbreak of the Ōnin war.

"mindless": literally "no mind". The term usually has a good meaning in Zen. Take for example the statement of Te-shan, "Only when you have no thing in your mind and no mind in things are you vacant and spiritual, empty and marvelous." But here Ikkyū is poking fun at his followers; they cannot make up their minds whether it is peace or war; they have "no mind" about it.

Misfortune...on the edge of a sword: calls up a dialogue in the Lin-chi Lu. A monk asked Lin-chi, "What is it like on the edge of a sword?" Lin-chi said, "Misfortune, misfortune."

"path followers": This term was translated as "clerics" in the prose introduction because it does simply mean men of the cloth. I translated it literally here to try and catch the pun on "path".

There is an entry in the Nempu which may refer to this poem:

Ikkyū's 74th year, first year of Ōnin, 1467--

In the sixth month there was an uprising. Both factions paraded to the Prime Minister's residence. No
one could tell whether "Liu" or "Hsiang" would win.

In the eighth month Ikkyū left the Katsurō-an and fled to Kukyū-an in the Eastern foothills. At that time there was a great deal of action in the capital and the Katsurō-an was destroyed by the flames of war.

In the ninth month Ikkyū left Kokyū and went to the Shūon-an at Takigi. All the village elders received him with happiness and joy.

Ten years before, he had warned his disciples, "There are omens of war. I see the streets of the capital flooded with soldiers. You should quickly take precautions and put your affairs in order before it is too late." He put his warning into a poem. Because he had predicted things accurately, everyone had great respect for his foresight.

If this entry does indeed refer to poem 647, it demonstrates that the chronology of the Nempu sometimes does not accord with the dates that occur in the prefaces to Ikkyū's own poems. The Nempu entry, for example, says that the warning poem was written ten years before the Ōnin War, but the preface to Ikkyū's poem states it was written only the previous year.
No. 690

Sea Cloud

Last night, there was no wind, the waves were huge;
Rolling in, rolling out, there is a road, for whom does it pass?
If the place to which a hundred streams return knows contentment,
A little piece of cloud athwart the sky would wipe out empty space.
Sea Cloud: This poem is from a section of the Kyōunshū headed go "titles" or "sobriquets". That is, they are names bestowed by Ikkyū upon his pupils. Most of the people who received these names are unidentifiable now. As might be expected, many of the poems that commemorate the names are obscure because the context must have been quite a personal one.
No. 715

Sonrin "Forest of Venerability"

I nurtured a little sparrow and loved it very much. One day it suddenly died. My grief being extraordinary, I buried it with a funeral ceremony just as if it had been a person. At first I had called it Jakujisha "Sparrow Attendant" and later changed the character Jaku "Sparrow" to Shaka "Sākyamuni". I also gave it the formal name, Sonrin "Forest of Venerability". Hence, I commemorated this with a poem.

Sixteen-foot burnished golden body,
When he entered Nirvāṇa in the grove of paired śāla trees.
He escaped the infidels' hands that kill or let live at will.
A thousand mountains, ten thousand trees, a hundred flowers in spring.
No. 715

notes:

Sonrin: This is another poem from the section of poems commemorating the giving of a name. It fortunately has a prose introduction to explain on whom the name was bestowed as well as the circumstances that occasioned the poem.

Sixteen-foot burnished golden body...: a description of the Buddha's body.¹⁴⁸

When he entered Nirvāṇa...: These two lines evoke the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha.¹⁴⁹ With gentle humour, Ikkyū compares the death of his pet sparrow with the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha.
On a Spring Outing to the Tomb of the Retired Emperor Gokomatsu at Unryōin in Sen'yūji

In elevated conversation with a monk you forget to enjoy the distinguished amusement.

The blossoms fall, the birds sing, the mountains deepen.
New grass, old moss, rain before the ancestral tomb,
How many times has spring come round, how many times autumn?
Emperor Gokomatsu: If the Nempu is correct, the Emperor Gokomatsu was Ikkyū's father.

Unryōin at Sen'yuji: Unryōin was a private retreat established within the Higashiyama Sen'yuji monastery by the Emperor Gokomatsu.
Prose introduction to Nos. 819, 820, 821, 822
If one is thirsty, one will dream of water. If one is cold, one will dream of a fur coat. "Dream Chamber", that is my clan name. 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. Whereas 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. So I composed four poems, entitling them "Chronicle of the Dream Chamber".
No. 819

Talk in the thatched hut reaches the Palace of Shou-yang;
The butterfly elegantly sports, excitement never exhausted.
On the pillow, a plum blossom; outside the window, the moon,
A singing soul, night after night, entwined with the spring breeze.

No. 820

Chilled singing, elegant phrases in the last month of winter;
Once one is drunk, the cup of wine is heavy before the cask.
On the pillow, for ten years, no night rain;
The moon sinks; Chang-lo at the fifth-watch bell.
洞房深處幾詩情
歌吹花前芳宴清
雲雨枕頭江海意
鸳鶴永宿送殘生

巫山雨滴入新吟
霧色風流詩亦嬌
江海乾坤杜陵淚
鄜州今夜月沈沈
No. 821

In the depths of the boudoir, how much poetic inspiration.
Sing before the wind-blown flowers of the purity of the fragrant feast.
Cloud-rain on the pillow, the feeling of river and sea.
Mandarin ducks spend their remaining life sleeping on the water.

No. 822

The rain drops of Wu-shan fall into a new song;
Passionate 忿懣, in poems and passion too.
The whole wide world and Tu Ling's tears;
At Fu-chou tonight, the moon sinks.
Prose introduction to Nos. 819, 820, 821, 822.

notes:

Musō "Dream Window": Musō Soseki (1275-1351), the founder of Tenryuji, an extremely influential and politically involved Zen prelate.

Musū "Dream High": Musū Ryōju 落雷鷦鵥 (d. 1281) of Tōfukuji 東福寺.

Mumu "No Dream": Mumu Isshō 無夢一清 (d. 1368), also of Tofukuji.
No. 819

notes:

The Palace of Shou Yang: refers to Lady Shou-yang, a concubine of the Southern Sung Emperor Wu, who dreamed that plum blossoms scattered over her face while she was sleeping, and could not be removed. This was said to be the origin of a kind of cosmetic known as "Plum Blossom Powder". The link here is with the topic dreams and the erotic connotation of cosmetics.  

The butterfly sports...: reference to Chuang-tzu's butterfly dream. See notes to No. 544.

No. 820

notes:

Ch'ang-lo: A palace in Ch'ang-an whose name has the translated meaning of "Extended Pleasure". The line calls up a couplet from the Wakan Rōei Shū:

The sound of the bell of Ch'ang-lo ends in the flowers,
The color of the willows by Dragon Pond deepen in the rain.
notes:

Wu-shan rain: See the notes to No. 45

fūryū: See the notes to No. 52.

...Tu Fu's tears / At Fu-chou tonight, the moon: an allusion to the touching poem Tu Fu wrote while a prisoner at Ch'ang-an after the An Lu-shan rebellion. He had sheltered his family at Fu-chou, a town removed from the path of the marching armies. On the way back from Fu-chou, he was captured and detained at Ch'ang-an. Gazing at the moon in Ch'ang-an he imagined his wife must be watching the same moon in Fu-chou.

Moonlit night

Tonight, at Fu-chou, the moon,
From the bedchamber, my wife gazes alone.
I long for my far-away little ones,
Who are too young to understand the worry of Ch'ang-an.
Scented mist moistens her cloud hair,
Clear light chills her jade white arms,
When will we two lean out the open casement again
And let the double glistening tracks of our tears dry in the moonlight?"
万杵霜华华顶束
暗世今无翰墨风
三生此地吟魂苦
风流情思又何空

吟君旧事惊心剑气之夏，夏雨而复者雨三次皆曰

一枕浓薰气alement之夏，夏雨而复者雨三次皆曰

危矣。盖扵性不削，性之池焉。昨偶缺所蓄之墨，计搜，索而不获矣。果气不快，意欲下。左右皆失其色。遂述史墨之诗一篇，以爲顧命之训。嘻，奇宝是嘻，一篇之墨不曾在言也。今举世致多欲之人，或或闻此诗，以少愧于其心乎哉。左右因命即作叙冠诗书，宣于座，右云诗曰：
No. 839

When Ikkyū was old, he contracted the illness of diarrhoea. He would recover and then contract it again, two or three times in succession. Everyone said, "It is dangerous." But when affairs went against his heart, his vital vapours would escape. Yesterday, as chance would have it, he lost about a hundred sticks of ink that he had been saving. He searched but could not find them. As a result, his spirit was not happy and the diarrhoea threatened to start again. All the attendants turned pale. Then he composed a poem about the lost ink, as a lesson about life. He was just copying the poem and had not yet finished filling the paper when the ink suddenly appeared. His joy couldn't be contained in words. Aah, choosing among the treasures and wealth of the world, his preference would be a stick of ink. Not only had he worn out his shoes looking for it but nearly lost his life over one loss. Of those with many desires, if someone were to hear this poem, perhaps he would feel a little shame. His attendants, in obedience to his order, composed a preface for the poem and put it to the right of his seat. The poem said:

A dark world now, there is no style with the ink and brush;
Thoughts of furyū too, how futile!
For three lives on this earth the singing spirit suffers,
The ten-thousand-time pounded frost flowers on the East slope of Hua Ting.
notes:

prose preface: While all other prose prefaces appear to be written by Ikkyū, this one is evidently written by his disciples.

fūryū: See the notes to No. 52.

The ten-thousand-times pounded frost flowers on the East slope of Hua Ting: The best ink is supposed to be made with the charcoal of the orchid tree that grows on Hua Ting, the highest of the five peaks that comprise T'ien T'ai mountain. Another ingredient is finely powdered cuttlefish shell, which, because it is white, is elegantly referred to as the "ten-thousand-times pounded frost flowers". Here for example, is a couplet from a poem in the Chiang-hu Feng-yüeh Chi, entitled, "Sending ink to a friend".

Moon bright Hua Ting, windy pure night,

The ten-thousand-times pounded frost flowers fall on a wool coat.

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. Ikkyū's loss of hoarded ink was just one more pounding of the mortar that purges desire.
Abbreviations

Note: Except for the first two items, these entries will not be duplicated in the Bibliography section.


SP Ssu Pu Pi Yao 四部備要 Shang hai: Chung hua shu chū, 中華書局, 1936.

ST Ssu Pu Ts'ung K'an 四部叢刊 Shang hai: Shang-hai Commercial Press 上海商務印書 1936, (reduced print edition)

T Taishō Shinshū Daizokyō 大正新脩大藏経, Tokyo: Taishō Issai Kyō Kankōkai, 大正一切経刊行会, 1922.


ZZ Zoku Zōkyō 続藏経, Hong Kong; Photo Reprint of the original Dainihon Zoku Zōkyō 大図総藏經 by the Hong Kong Buddhist Association, 1946.
Footnotes


Preface:

1. Donald Keene, Landscapes and Portraits, pp. 226-241. See Bibliography for a complete citation of this and all other works mentioned in the study.

2. Sonja Arntzen, Ikkyū Sōjun, a Zen monk and his poetry.


Introductory Essay:

1. Kyōunshū No. 205 in the original text contained in CZS and also in the translation section of this study. Likewise hereafter, the number assigned to a poem is the number it bears in CZS and also in the translations.

2. Ch'uan Teng Lu, T. 51, p. 230 b. For full citations including Chinese Characters for this and all other works mentioned in the study, see the Bibliography section. Note that works such as the above that are cited by title alone are in section I of the Bibliography, whereas works cited by author first appear in section II.

3. CZS, No.'177, not translated in this paper. In the original the line presented here is: 窯室樹上老禪翁


6. Ryōzen Tettō, the third Japanese master in Ikkyū's lineage.


11. Ibid.


17. CZS, No. 130. Arntzen, p. 97. Kasō was Ikkyū’s master. Sung-yüan was a Sung dynasty patriarch in Ikkyū’s lineage.


19. Ibid., p. 74.

20. CZS, No. 117.


22. Ibid., No. 121.

23. Ibid., No. 176.

24. Ibid., No. 284, Arntzen, p. 115.


26. Ichikawa, p. 77-78.

27. CZS, No. 144, Arntzen, p. 123.

28. Ibid., No. 536, Arntzen, p. 147.

29. Ibid., No. 543, Arntzen, p. 143.

30. Ibid., No. 250.

32. See note 8.

33. See the introduction to poem No. 187 in the translation section.

34. For more information about Gozan Bungaku see the recent publication Poems of the Five Mountains, by Marian Ury.

35. 寄怀之余作...偈記之...from the preface to CZS No. 1, not translated herein.

36. CZS No. 203.

37. 圖案 No. 170, not translated herein.

38. 元書所之徒 No. 134, not translated herein.

39. When a poem is referred to by number in the body of the introductory essay, it is the number the poem bears in CZS and also in the translation section of this paper.

Translations:


3. CZS, p. 283.

4. Ibid., p. 284.

5. Ikkyü Oshō Nempu (Hereafter referred to only as the Nempu). ZGR, No. 9 part 2, p. 760. See also, Hirano Sojö, Ikkyü Osho Nempu no Kenkyü, p. 111.


7. CZS, No. 10. Arntzen, p. 45.

8. KZ, p. 11.


10. KZ, p. 36.

11. Chou-i (I-ching) ST, roll 3, p. 16.

12. Lotus Sutra, T. 9, p. 15 b. See also Leon Hurvitz, Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma, p. 75.
14. KZ, p. 41.
16. KZ, p. 41-42.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 208-209 c.
23. KZ, p. 46.
33. KZ, p. 46.
37. Lin-chi Lu, T. 47, 505 c.
41. KZ p. 52.
42. Pi-yen Lu, T. 48, p. 169 a.
43. Hekiganroku, Iwanami Bunko, v. 2. 328.
44. Pi-yen Lu, T. 48, p. 169 a.
45. Ch'uan Teng Lu, p T. 51, p. 254 c.
46. Ibid.
47. Wu Teng Hui Yuan, roll 19, ZZ, v. 138, p. 739 a
54. Chin Shu, roll 43, SP. p. 22.
56. Ibid., p. 209 a.
59. Lotus Sūtra, T. 9, p. 29a.
60. Shih Chi, SP, roll 97, p. 8-9.
61. Pi-yen Lu, p. 179 b.
62. KZ p. 85.
66. Ch'ou ch'ao-ao, Tu Hsiao-ling Chi Hsiang-chu, p. 78.
67. The prose introduction to this set of poems is translated in Arntzen, p. 97.
68. Daitō Kokushi Nampu, p. 33-34.
69. Ch'uan T'ang Lu, T. 51, 235 c.
73. Ch'uan T'ang Shih, v. 2, p. 2164.
74. Shih Chi, SP, roll 117, p. 2.
75. The preface to the Wen-hsüan, roll 1, p. 1.
76. CZS No. 8, Arntzen, p. 55.
77. Shih-Chi, SP, roll 66, p. 5.
78. CZS, p. 429.
79. Ch'uan T'ang Lu, T. 51, p. 461 c.
82. Ta-hui Wu-k'ü, T. 47, p. 956 b.
84. KZ, p. 140.
85. Itō Toshiko, Ikkyū Tokushū, pl. 14 and description, p. 67.
86. Pi-yen Lu, kōan No. 7, T. 48, p. 147 c.
90. Ibid.
92. The Diamond Sūtra, T. 8, 750 b.
94. Sung-yüan Lu, ZZ, v. 121, p. 381 a and b.
95. Yün-men Kuang-lu, roll 1, T. 47, p. 547 b.
96. San T'ı Shih, Kokuyaku Kambun Taisei, v. 6, p. 177-178.
101. KZ p. 93. The Wei-shan Ching-ts'e 懲山警策 is not available in a modern printed edition.
102. KZ, p. 93.
104. Ch'uan Teng Lu, T. 51, 616 B.
105. KZ, p. 197.


110. Nakamoto Tamaki, *Kyōunshū*, p. 354. (Nakamoto has appended the text of the *Jikaishū* to his study of the *Kyōunshū*.)


112. KZ, p. 5.


116. KZ, p. 249.


121. Louis de La Vallee-Poussin (trans), *L'Abhidharmakosā de Vasubandhu*, v. 6, pp. 158-162.


124. Ibid., p. 500 b.


131. Po Hsiang-shan Shih Chi, SP roll 13, p. 12.
133. Po Wu Chih, roll 8, shih pu, in Pai Tzu Ch'uan Shu, v. 69, p. 1.
134. Chin Shu, SP, roll 80, p. 7.
139. For a discussion of their relationship and other poems that concern her, see Arntzen, p. 137-157.
140. Watson, p. 49. SP, Chuang Tzu, roll 1, p. 25-26.
142. Tu Kung-pu Shih Chi, SP, roll 9, p. 15.
149. Mieh-p' an Ching, T. 12, 365 c.
152. Kato and Yanagida, p. 254. Yanagida cites the Chin-ling Chih, a gazetter of Nan-King, as the source of this story, but I was unable to consult it.
154. Tu Kung-pu Shih Chi, SP, roll 9, p. 15.
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