

glossary of terms, both technical and cultural, appropriate for novice readers, and a short bibliography of English and Japanese language sources

Obviously this is a book aimed at general readers interested in traditional Japanese crafts, and at those who seek technical information on the production processes of these crafts, rather than at specialists of Japanese history and culture who would expect a more critical and well-researched text. Still, the perceptive (albeit nostalgic) tone of the commentary makes this much more than merely an annotated picture book or how-to craft manual. Thus, I think the book would be suitable as supplementary reading material in an introductory course on Japan

Shisendo: Hall of the Poetry Immortals, by J. Thomas Rimer, Jonathan Chaves, Stephen Addiss, Hiroyuki Suzuki, [Shūichi Katō]. New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1991. viii, 134 pp., 56 pp. black and white plates, 16 pp. color plates, no index. \$29.95.

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The Shisendō, or Hall of the Poetry Immortals, built by Ishikawa Jōzan in 1636, is one of the standard stops on the itinerary of every tourist to Kyōto, its unique charms acclaimed in every guidebook to the city. But it remains a perplexing place for foreign visitors, who can have little idea what to make of the rather cramped rustic structure with its exquisite small garden, both adorned with calligraphic plaques they can scarcely be expected to read or, when translated, to understand. Much like the literati life it represents, the Shisendō is over-inscribed, almost to the point of seeming to disappear entirely into text. One enters under a sign that announces the "Grotto of Small Possessions," advances down a path to the gate overwritten with the words "Ancient Plum Barrier" and on to the "Wasp's Waist," steps up into the "Hall of the Poetry Immortals" itself with its small room dubbed "Pursuit-of-Art Nest," which affords a view out over the garden with its "Ups-and-Downs Nest Gate." One might ascend the steps to the "Tower of Intoning Poetry at the Moon" to gaze out at the "Pavilion of the Lingering Moon." Even the famed deer-chaser (*shikaoi*), a small and humble bamboo water device in the depths of the garden, bears the elegant name of "archbishop" (*sōzu*). Where did these terms come from, one wonders, and what can they mean today?

Any lingering excuse for ignorance is now dispelled by this wonderful new book. It has been designed, in the spirit of the *bunjin* emphasis on the unity of the scholarly arts, with the intention of portraying Ishikawa Jōzan and his artistic creation in the round, examining in turn the life, the poet, the calligrapher, the designer and the landscape gardener. This approach was earlier used to

excellent effect by Stephen Addiss in his book on Uragami Gyokudō not only as the artist he is acclaimed today, but as musician, poet, and calligrapher as well

The book begins with Thomas Rimer's concise and evocative introduction to the life of Jōzan, illustrated with appropriate evidence drawn from his poetry. The central interest of Jōzan's life, poetry in Chinese (*kanshi*), is the subject of Jonathan Chaves's essay on "Jōzan and Poetry." Chaves translates sixty-three of Jōzan's own Chinese poems, as well as one each by the thirty-six Chinese "Immortals" which he inscribed on the imaginary portraits by Kanō Tan'yū that grace the walls of the Shisendō (what we see today are copies, the originals deemed too faded to exhibit). The Chinese themselves would never have thought to create such a list, but Japan long had a native tradition of "thirty-six poetic immortals" (*kasen*), a classification scheme that became the expected way of listing famous poets (one even imagines that the Meiji writer Natsume Sōseki had his own list of thirty-six immortal British poets tucked away somewhere). The subject of Jōzan as calligrapher is ably covered in a short essay by Stephen Addiss, and as landscape gardener at greater length by Suzuki Hiroyuki, the text section concluding with an interpretive essay by Katō Shūichi (whose name for some reason appears neither on the book's title plate nor in the brief sketch of contributors at the end). Excellent photographic plates in both color and black-and-white, most of considerable artistic merit, depict the important locations, views and objects, and inscriptions, and there are extensive notes on the significance of each, as well as translations into English of many of the inscriptions.

In another age, Jōzan might have expected to live and die as a samurai in the service of his feudal lord. And indeed, for the first thirty years of his long life, he admirably fulfilled the first part of that formula, even saving the life of one of Tokugawa Ieyasu's own sons in battle. But the profound social, political, and intellectual changes that took place after the start of the seventeenth century resulted in new sorts of lives, and Jōzan is admired for having managed to recreate himself, with no small difficulty and with singleminded determination, into the very model of the Japanese *bunjin* or man of letters. In some ways this lifestyle followed the familiar one of the medieval *suki* or connoisseur of such native arts as *waka* and *renga* poetry, *yamato-e* painting, and *chanoyu*. The Buddhist monks of the Gozan had helped disperse primarily their practice of the Chinese arts, but also of newly Japanized ones as well, into the larger world following the destruction of the Buddhist institution that accompanied the Onin Wars. Jōzan's version of the *suki* life, however, was based not on Buddhist but on neo-Confucian Chinese ideals, modelled closely on a new concern for the literary ideals of the *wen-jen* or Chinese man of letters.

As such, this way of life involved the working out of a new aesthetic basis in Japanese life. And indeed, as Rimer notes, much of Jōzan's fascination for today's Japanese lies in the fact that "he was one of the first figures in the Tokugawa period to exhibit in his work and life the contemporary aesthetic virtue that came to be known as *fūryū*" (p. 22), a term that "suggests withdrawal from the oversophisticated, ultimately shallow cares of urban life, a pause to search for a natural elegance found in closeness to things at hand and to a simpler, fresher environment" (p. 23). This is no naive posture, however, but rather, as Rimer notes, one deeply informed by a rich knowledge of and concern for Chinese and Japanese literature. While Jōzan's Chinese sources include the usual exemplars of eremitic retreat such as Chuang Chou, T'ao Ch'ien, and Han Shan, Rimer notes that Jōzan everywhere reveals a marked preference for Confucianism over Zen, and, furthermore, that "from the totality of the Confucian vision he selected an artistic posture rather than a moral stance" (p. 24). This is a choice which implied "the challenge of juxtaposing his vision of a Chinese gentleman with that of a Tokugawa samurai to invent a composite image which served as an objectification of the many facets of his personality"

(p. 25). This choice tells us how eclectic and individual, how uninvolved in the complex alliances and arguments of a later period, the early *bunjin* persona could be. One of Jōzan's best-known inscriptions, for example, the often-reproduced 1615 calligraphed plaque of "Six Be Nots" (*Rokubutsu*, reproduced on p. 206 but for some reason not translated), might provide a certain insight into this new sort of character. While it somewhat resembles the list of prohibitions posted outside the gates of Zen temples warning against such inimical items as alcohol, meat, garlic, weapons, and sex, Jōzan's list is more in keeping with the life of a sober-minded neo-Confucian urban hermit:

- Be not negligent of fire
- Be not forgetful of theft
- Be not averse to early rising
- Be not disdainful of simple food
- Be not diverted from frugality and industriousness
- Be not indolent in sweeping and cleaning

For all the years Jōzan spent in Zen temples, this could almost be the household credo of any good thrifty Kamigata merchant in a story by Saikaku.

Jonathan Chaves delves further into Jōzan's personal preferences with the observation that because "Jōzan admired Sung poetry but upheld the primacy of the T'ang," his list of thirty-six Chinese "immortals" might appear somewhat idiosyncratic today, eliminating as it does such renowned figures as Lu Yu and the entire Southern Sung school while including the relatively lesser-known T'ang poet Ch'u Kuang-hsi and the Sung philosopher Shao Yung. The rest of Jōzan's choices would probably appear on anyone's short list of great Chinese poets. His adamant refusal to include the famous Sung poet and statesman Wang An-shih, however—one of his friend Hayashi Razan's own candidates for the list—is a telling reflection of Jōzan's idiosyncratic ideological allegiances. This emphasis on T'ang over Sung was similarly a reflection of one neo-Confucian preference over another, inherited by Tokugawa intellectuals from the arcane quarrels of the Ming dynasty. Jōzan's own awareness of with these quarrels might be evidenced by his determination, finally unsuccessful, to banish from his pantheon Po Chü-i, that important Chinese paragon of classical Japanese poetic taste, as being too "vulgar." This opinion was, as Chaves notes, one that had become part of the common evaluation of Po's work in China (p. 28), but was certainly not in Japan, where even in his own lifetime Po's poetic oeuvre had been reduced to the early poems in the elegant Six Dynasties style alone, eliminating entirely the more famous bawdy songs and poems of social concern (the so-called *hsin yueh-fu*). This is not a Japanese judgment on Jōzan's part, therefore, but a Chinese one.

Stephen Addiss similarly finds it necessary to account for Jōzan's idiosyncratic tastes in calligraphic styles. Even while automatically adhering to the long-accepted idea that handwriting revealed character no matter what attempt one might make to disguise it, as Addiss notes, Jōzan "did his best to create a persona in his calligraphy as he did in every other aspect of his life" (p. 85). It is not surprising, therefore, that this contradiction should show through Jōzan's calligraphy in a way that it does not seem to do in his poetry, say, and Addiss does a superb job of using this unique window onto personality to analyze the precise nature of the early model of a *bunjin* persona that Jōzan constructed for himself. Jōzan's chosen style of writing was the antique and even somewhat

Gothic “clerical” or *lishu* (J. *reisho*) script, the standard form of calligraphy in Han dynasty China, but eventually replaced by the now-standard *k'ai-shu* (J. *kaisho*) or formal, *hsing-shu* (J. *gyōsho*) or running, and *ts'ao-shu* (J. *sōsho*) or cursive styles. Of course Jōzan could and did write in these standard forms as well: the illustrations includes a four-character phrase written in a powerful cursive hand—really almost the “mad” handwriting (*k'uang-shu*, J. *kyōso*) sanctioned for expressing extraordinary states of mind such as joy, grief, or political outrage—that stands out like a screech against the staid and formal “clerical” hand that characterizes most of his extant work. Its content, too, reveals a state of mind not readily apparent in Jōzan’s typically calm and reflective Chinese poems of eremitic withdrawal and elevated and refined sensibility, for it proclaims a state of moral emergency, made all the more urgent by the exclamation implied by the handwriting itself: “Still Like a Burning House!” This is not the literal warning against fire of the sort that heads Jōzan’s “Six Be Nots,” but a reference to the “Parable of the Burning House” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, reminding us that much of Jōzan’s study of Confucianism and Taoism took place in the context of Buddhist temples.

Addiss notes that while he adopted the antiquarian “clerical” script to his own purposes, emphasizing the importance of Han dynasty models (especially that of Chu Ko-liang, a famous warrior-recluse to whom the Japanese warrior-recluse might well have turned as a model), Jōzan’s hand is clearly informed more by Ming dynasty models. This is because Han models were difficult to come by, while the Ming versions were quite close to hand—for example in such Chinese editions in Japan as the *Thousand-Character Classic in Four Scripts* of 1603, or the *Thousand-Character Classic in Ten Scripts* of 1643². Addiss’s analysis of Jōzan’s brush techniques shows how the quaint effect of squared-off horizontals and verticals is balanced, softened and made dynamic by elegant and bold diagonal (Ch. *na*) strokes. He also notes that Jōzan’s use of the “flying white” (i.e., streaked) brush technique, far from representing the controlled effect of spontaneity typical of Zen inscriptions (as in the “Burning House” example), appears to be the result of the deliberate use of a split brush to leave a fine line within each stroke (or perhaps even of brushing carefully around each white line to produce a streak), yielding the effect of a highlight. (Is it even possible that Jōzan may have achieved this very precise effect by using a sharply-pointed piece of bamboo to scrape away drying ink?) These highlights, taken together with his fat, rounded brushstrokes, impart to his characters the impressive raised effect of the *banzuke* style of writing used on *sumō* and *kabuki* billboards, and still a popular “antique” graphic style today.

In “The Garden of the Shisendō: Its *Genius Loci*,” Hiroyuki Suzuki explains the special architectural flavor of the villa as a combination of the earlier temple-based style of *shoin-zukuri* construction, characterized by the triad of built-in study desk (*tsukeshoin*), display alcove (*tokonoma*) and staggered display shelves (*chigaidana*), along with the use of uncolored surfaces and planed wood; and the more contemporary *sukiya-zukuri* style of teahouse architecture with its unfinished wood (often with the bark left on), interesting textural effects, and occasional touches of color. “The *sukiya* style shuns orthodoxy,” notes Suzuki; “it is purposely lighthearted and self-consciously quaint—perfectly suited, it turns out, to men who had rejected cultural orthodoxy and left behind the ways of the world” (p. 101). He draws our attention especially to the unusual second-story gable with its large round window aperture, perched out over the roof, here translated (from the words inscribed on its faded plaque) as the “Tower for Whistling at the Moon” (*shōgetsuro* 1987).

² Yoshiaki Shimizu and John Rosenfield, *Japanese Calligraphy, 8th through 19th Century* (NY: Japan House Gallery and Asia House Gallery, 1984), p. 277.

more accurately “Tower for Intoning Poetry at the Moon” since it is ludicrous to imagine poets actually “whistling”). One of the very few such structures still extant, and uncommon even in Shōzan’s own day, it qualifies as something as unusual as those quaint garden structures the English term “follies.” Suzuki likens it to the familiar structures of the Kinkakuji and Ginkakuji temples, which he calls “rare surviving examples of medieval two-story structures” (p. 100) (which seems a bit misleading since the Japanese word *nikaiya* applies to the three-story Kinkakuji in the extended sense of *nikai* as “upstairs,” rather than in its narrower sense of “second floor”). Similar structures for enjoying a distant view, Suzuki points out, existed earlier in the *azumaya* or gazebos (usually called *tei* or “pavilions”) attached to Zen temples, for example the “Pavilion of the Whole World at a Single Glance” (*Sekai ichiran tei*) attributed (along with almost every garden of a certain age in the Kyoto region) to the great medieval Zen monk and garden-designer Musō Sōseki. By Jōzan’s day there existed several examples of this sort of upstairs room; but in his case its real significance is the connection it suggests with Chinese practices as they were incorporated by Japanese literati: “The custom of climbing to the upper story to eat and drink, or to write Chinese or Japanese poems, was already becoming established, and with it the second story evolved from the decorative to the functional” (p. 101).

Suzuki rehearses at some length the likely Chinese precedents for Shisendō’s “Ten Locales and Twelve Scene,” for example in the long-established “Eight Scenes” of Chinese art, the Northern Sung “Ten Scenes of West Lake,” and Hsai Kuei’s “Twelve Scenes of Hills and Waters.” I suspect that Jōzan might have also have looked for his inspiration to even earlier Chinese estates, such as the famous villa the T’ang poet Wang Wei built at Meng-ch’uan, his paintings and poetic inscriptions of which have been famous for centuries (though the paintings are no longer extant). A note on p. 107 does mention the T’ang poet-painter Chang Seng-yu, whose paintings at the Temple of the Single Vehicle (C. *I-ch’eng-ssu*, J. *Ichijōji*) in Nanjing were painted in “a ‘concave-convex’ style ‘ [i.e., shaded relief] style (C. *yao-tieh* , J. *ōtotsu*) which appeared three-dimensional, i.e., trompe l’oeil.” It is thus no coincidence that Jōzan’s villa is located in the Eastern Hills section of Kyoto known today as Ichijōji. Suzuki then enumerates each of the “Ten Locales” and “Twelve Scenes.” These were not, as might appear to the untutored mind, merely pedantic antiquarian devices, but “were chosen to stimulate the imagination; they are an aesthetic method.” “With the twelve scenes, Jōzan introduced a vast expanse into this little country house” (p. 109), and “provided his villa with great expanse and resonance in both time and space” (p. 110). In other words, Jōzan’s use of this rather arcane mode of poetic reference actually served the quite concrete function of extending the spatial and temporal boundaries of his domain of the mind, and should thus be understood as an exact artistic counterpart to “borrowed landscape” (*shakkei*) garden design, in which the distant landscape is incorporated into an otherwise much smaller space to give greater compass.

In this unique place in the time and space of Japan, as Katō Shūichi notes in his rather rambling and impressionistic closing essay, “all of the littlest and seemingly most insignificant objects. . . Were ruled by a complex hierarchy that was visible only to its creator” (p.113). Now, thanks to this book, much of it has been rendered visible to us as well. Katō’s retelling of Jōzan’s life, told in the form of an imaginary dialogue with a mysterious, tough, but sensitive old man the author discovers lingering in the garden after closing time, differs in significant details and interpretations from those found in the other essays, indeed from those found in the standard sources of Jōzan’s life. The essay, which is self-indulgent in that maddening way that only a Japanese essay by a very literate and scholarly senior essayist is permitted to be, makes sense only if the reader understands it as a kind of semi-historical fictional

romance about men and their ideas, one that attempts to get beneath the easy plausibility and dry factuality of our concept of "history" to something more substantially profound about the human condition that cannot be found in facts alone (for example, Katō's hypothesis that Jōzan never married because of a tragic love for another boy when he was still young). At the end of the essay, the mysterious old man has mysteriously vanished: he is of course, as we had suspected all along from his oddly personal insights into Jōzan's motivations, the spirit of Jōzan and his creation, its *genius loci*, hovering over his life's work, and provides an appropriate ending to the fascinating story of Shisendō and its creator.

Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era, edited by James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. \$42.50.

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The appearance of an anthology that draws Edo and Paris together within a single editorial scope is a major scholarly event. As McClain, Merriman, and Ugawa point out, these two metropolises of the early modern world have seldom been studied side by side, yet their commonalities are compelling. Both were administrative headquarters of unprecedented size within their respective countries, serving new dynastic regimes of unprecedented ambition and reach. Both the Bourbons and the Tokugawa peppered their capitals with monumental architecture, and both made other bold interventions in urban space as well. Yet neither king nor shogun was able to dictate single-handedly what went on in his capital. From the beginning, both sovereigns enlisted the burghers to administer many of their own affairs. Both likewise struck compromises in providing for urban needs: taking a direct hand in setting up waterworks and in policing the capital, for instance, while leaving food provisioning largely in the hands of merchants. Finally, both the French monarchy and the Japanese shogunate saw their capitals slip partially out of their control over time, as commoners assumed more responsibility for urban services, took over certain boulevards or blocks for their own purposes, created zones where persons of different statuses could mingle, and, with increasing frequency, rebelled in the streets.

The exploration of these parallels forms the heart of *Edo and Paris*. Intrigued by the "startling" similarity between these cities on opposite sides of the globe, the editors brought together a group of specialists to determine "what was common and what was culturally specific about the early-modern experience in two geographically separated societies" (xvi). They chose to focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a period described in terms of a synchronous trajectory of state development ("from the 1590s, when the Bourbons and Tokugawa rose to power, until the 1780s and 1790s, when the monarchy fell and the collapse of the Kansei reforms marked the beginning of several difficult decades that culminated in the Meiji Restoration") (xvii).¹ Structurally as well as

¹ The earlier date is more easily justified than the latter, and the editors heavily emphasize the parallels of the earlier part of the period. Not surprisingly, however, individual contributions tend to slip out of this time-frame, whose somewhat strained political symmetry does not accurately reflect the early modern experience of either city. The French contributions characteristically push backwards into the sixteenth century, while several essays on Edo trace trajectories that continue well into the nineteenth. An explicit discussion of this slippage would have enhanced the book.