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Fucha Ryōri : The Monastic Cuisine of the Ōbaku-Zen School

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Abstract

Monastic communities lives are based on strict rules, which intend to stabilize and harmonize their existence. The precepts have the function to reduce complexity, so the involved individual may focus on his spiritual pursuits, but they also reflect some core values and dogmas.

This article tries to unveil the symbolism of Ōbaku Zen's festive cuisine, Fucha ryōri and its strong connection to Chinese roots. Fucha ryōri not only helped to strengthen the bond between laity and temples, it is also a symbolic expression of some aspects of the dogma. For the monks concerned with its preparation, this food gave the opportunity to meditate about important teachings, while preparing the meals. For the guests and monks the food not only served as a polite reverence to the school's Chinese heritage, but also helped to strengthen the bond between laity and the cloister-community. The exotism of the meal confused some Japanese, but it also attracted others, who appreciated its very foreignness and who were thus invited to learn more about Ōbaku's style of Zen Buddhism.

僧院生の生活は厳しい規則に従っている。この規則は共同体の存在に調和と安定感を与えている。規則は生活の複雑性を減らし、個人の精神的な追求への機会を用意している。僧院の規則は宗教の教義と倫理学を反映している。規則は料理の作り方まで拡大した。

この論文は黄檗宗の祝祭料理、普茶料理に於けるシンボリズムとその中国の遺産について述べている。長崎では普茶料理のお陰で黄檗寺と一般の中国人のつながりが良くなった。料理を食べながら一般人は教えの象徴を感じた。料理を作る僧は他の修行ができなくても材料を見ながら黄檗の教えについて考えさせられるようになった。料理を食する人に普茶料理は中国への尊敬の気持ちを伝え、長崎のお寺を支援した人に対し感謝の気持ちを伝えた。

普茶料理に於ける異国の雰囲気は日本の国内では反対の声も集まったが、その料理のエキゾチシズムは逆に多くの人々の注目を集め、黄檗宗にとって良い事であった。

普茶料理 Fucha ryōri¹

Fucha ryōri (普茶料理) is a variation of the vegetarian Buddhist temple cuisine Shōjin rōryū (精進料理). Fucha originally means “drink tea together” and has its roots in the old habit of drinking tea after work or meditation.

The name Fucha rōyri, however, is exclusively used to describe the monastic festive cuisine of the Ōbaku school of Zen-Buddhism. In this article I will give a very brief summary of the historic background and the dogmatic developments that led to the foundation of the Ōbaku school and the main features of its special cuisine.

The Ōbaku-shū (黄檗宗) was founded in 1661², when Chinese masters from Fujian province received permission from the Tokugawa shōgunate to build Mampuku-ji on Mt. Ōbaku (黄檗山萬福寺) in Uji (Kyoto).

Master Ingen Ryūki (Yin-Yüan Lung Ch'i, 隱元 隆琦, *1592 in Fuzhou, 福清; China, †1673 in Japan) named the temple and land after Wanfu temple in China, thus giving the new school its name. Establishing a new school of Zen Buddhism had not been Ingen's intention, though: Invited not only by the prospering Chinese trading community in Nagasaki, but also by high ranking Rinzai-masters, who hoped for his reform efforts to revitalize Japanese Zen Buddhism, Ingen had arrived in Nagasaki in 1654.

1. Historical background

By the end of the 16th century Nagasaki had become one of the most successful ports for foreign trade. Belonging to the domain of Christian lord Ōmura Sumitada (大村 純忠, 1533–1587) the city had been given to the Jesuits in 1580 in exchange for economical and military backing³. However, Ōmura's forcing Christianity on his retainers and subjects, combined with the interference of the Jesuits in Japan's domestic politics had caused the ire of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣 秀吉, *1537 – †1598), and following one of his campaigns, once predominantly Christian Nagasaki was taken from the Jesuits and made into a direct landholding of the central administration. When later, after a long period of civil wars, Japan had been unified under the leadership of the Tokugawa, the third shōgun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (徳川 家光 *1604 - †1651), who ruled the country from 1623 until his death, initiated the formation of a strong centralized government, decreed a policy of national seclusion (sakoku 鎖国) and forced the former enemies of the Tokugawa to periodically take residence in the new capital Edo (sankin kōtai 参勤交代), which put some strain on the finances of remote fiefdoms. The central government was also wary of the remote fiefdoms uncontrollable income through foreign trade and consequently they tried to regulate the foreign trade still permitted under the seclusion politics and to funnel its profits into their own coffers. The shōgunate also supported the repression and persecution of Christianity, that already had been more or less strictly in place since 1587. Tokugawa Iemitsu's politics met with some resistance which culminated in 1637 in an armed revolt of mostly Catholic peasants and samurai, the Shimabara rebellion (島原の乱). The uprising was swiftly put to a bloody end, and in its wake the persecution of Christianity became strictly enforced.

At that time, Nagasaki⁴ was one of the few open ports for foreign trade, and the town had become home to a sizable⁵ Chinese settlement⁶. Only a few kilometres away from Shimabara, Nagasaki had already experienced a first wave of violent persecution in 1597, when 26 Christians⁷ had been crucified. Although the Chinese were mostly not Christian, the Japanese had heard some rumours about the Chinese emperor giving the Jesuits permission to “convert his subjects from their heathen beliefs”⁸, they also suspected the smuggling of Roman Catholic works printed in China. As a result, the Japanese government curbed some of the Chinese privileges

and tried to regulate trade volumes and prices and to limit the range of acceptable goods.⁹

As a tool to monitor and control the religious matters of the whole population, the shōgunate also decreed the mandatory registration of all households at Buddhist temples (檀家制度 *danka seido*), which was supervised by the magistrate of religion (宗門奉行 *shūmon bugyō*).

The Chinese settlement in Nagasaki, trying to minimize the damage to their lucrative business, reacted to these regulations by erecting temples – thus showing their affiliation to Buddhism and at the same time catering to the new administrative measure and the spiritual needs of their countrymen. Traders from Nanking had provided the means to establish Kōfuku-ji (興福寺) in 1623/4; Fukusaiji (福濟寺) was constructed in 1628 supported by people from Chang-chow in Fujian province. From the same province, but from Fuzhou came the patrons of Sōfuku-ji (崇福寺), built in 1635. The fourth Chinese temple, Shōfuku-ji (聖福寺 or Manjusan (万寿山)), founded by Tetsushin Dōhan (鉄心道畔, *1641- †1710), the grandson of Ingen, was completed in 1677 with support from Chinese merchants from Canton.

These temples were led by Chinese clergy, who had come to perform funeral rites, mark important holidays and to lead the festivities around Buddha's birthday or the Ghost Festival P'u-tu¹⁰ (in Japan Obon, お盆). Their main purpose was to take care of the needs of the expatriate community in Nagasaki, and so the activities of these early arrivals had hardly any impact on the Japanese Buddhist community.¹¹

Due to the eclectic nature of Chinese Buddhism¹², the Nagasaki temples gave room to several deities from the Chinese folk religion. Prominently among these are:

Mazu (also Ma-tsu or Maso 媽祖, 天后聖母, 天妃娘娘, 海神娘娘), the goddess of the sea and patron to sailors and fishermen, who in Buddhism is worshipped as an incarnation of the Mercy Goddess Kannon (觀音菩薩), and Guan Yu (also Kuan-ti, 關羽), originally a historical general of the 2nd/3rd century, who was canonified as a warrior deity, but later came to be the patron of financial success and trade. In Chinese Buddhism, Guan Yu is revered as Sangharama Bodhisattva (伽藍菩薩) a protector of the Buddhist temples and the dharma.

The presence of these gods unknown to Japanese authorities caused some problems in these times of suspicion, and so the Chinese community decided to invite Chinese monks of established reputation from their home regions to the new temples.

The first Chinese master to spread the Zen style of the Huang-po Wanfu-ssu monastery and to have some impact on Japanese Zen was Dōsha Chōgen (chin. Daozhe Chaoyuan 道者超元 † 1660). By his return to China in 1658, he had helped to prepare Ingen's move to Nagasaki by teaching many Japanese monks, including Bankei Yōtaku (盤珪永琢, *1622- †1693) a well-known Rinzai master and the later abbot of the Ryōmon-ji and Nyōhō-ji.

Ingen, already in his 60s, arrived 1654 in Japan after some delays. He came with several disciples¹³ and artisans and started organizing and teaching at Nagasaki's Kōfuku-ji. His reputation was impressive and his arrival had been eagerly awaited, thus his activities attracted much attention within the Rinzai elite. One faction around Ryōkei Shōsen (龍溪性潛, *1602 - †1670) even tried to have him installed as abbot at one of Rinzai's leading temples Myōshin-ji (妙心寺). However, political circumstances, struggles within the Rinzai organization and a growing rift in the interpretation of the dharma prevented this. Ingen was already planning to leave Japan, but his visit to Edo had impressed important people in the government. So, instead in 1661 Ingen received some land

and the official permission from the Edo bakufu to found a new main temple, Mampuku-ji. Under the leadership of Mampuku-ji and the temples in Nagasaki, Ōbaku eventually developed into its present form.

2. Buddhism in Japan

Via China and Korea Buddhism had arrived in polytheistic Japan in the middle of the 6th century¹⁴. In order to prove its superiority over Shamanism and Shintō, the performance of magic, the acquisition of indestructible paraphernalia as a means of protection and the power of healing played important roles.

Central deities were

1. the historical Buddha Shaka (釋迦, Shakamuni), he was called upon to secure a place for the soul in paradise
2. the healing Buddha Yakushi (藥師, Bhaisajyaguru), he was asked for assistance in curing ailments and
3. the Buddha of the Future, Miroku Bosatsu (弥勒菩薩, Maitreya) was solicited to encourage one's quest for Buddhahood and
4. the 4 Heavenly Kings¹⁵, were requested to protect the ruling clan and the country.

Buddhism with its close relationship to Chinese culture attracted the country's elite, but in the lives of the general population Buddhist practice hardly mattered. The first established schools, financially and politically supported by the imperial family, the Six Nara Sects¹⁶, were more or less textual oriented philosophical groups, which were neither mutually exclusive nor did they at first insist on a sharp distinction between the old school Hinayana Buddhism and the more recent Mahayana¹⁷ interpretations.

During the Heian Period (794-1185) new esoteric Buddhist schools together with a pantheon of deities were brought over by official missions from China.

Kūkai (空海, *774 - †835) established the Shingon school (真言宗 Shingon shū) with the temple complex on Mount Koya as its centre in Japan. Countless miracles are attributed to him, many cultural achievements are supposedly his work, among them the invention of the Kana syllabary. His interpretation of Buddhist dogma¹⁸ resulted in a very complicated, hierarchic structure, which grants true enlightenment only to the adepts who follow the "Three Mystic Treasures" (三密). Kūkai's charisma and his ability to compromise assured, that Shingon, despite its complexity and mysteriousness gained some popularity. Also, his interpretation of the sun goddess Amaterasu (天照), a principal deity of Shintōism, as an incarnation of Dainichi Nyōrai (大日如来, Vairocana), paved the way for syncretism and helped making Buddhism more accessible to a wider audience.

The second esoteric sect, Tendai (天台宗 Tendai-shū), was transmitted by Saichō (最澄, *767 – †822), he had been studying in China at the same time as Kūkai, who later became his archrival.

Tendai's teachings¹⁹ are centred around the "Lotus Sutra" (妙法蓮華經 myōhō renga kyō, or shortly 法華經 hōkke kyō). Although, in principle, the ordinary man is believed to already possess Buddha nature, here too, enlightenment and initiation to the deepest secrets was reserved for a chosen group of men, who successfully underwent an at least 12-year cenobitic training in the schools temple complex at Enryakuji (延暦寺) on Mount Hiei (比叡山).

Ji-riki (自力), the believer's own power is needed for success in meditation, esoteric practices, text-studies and concentration on Buddha's name and all other elements of Tendai's and the other established school's training up

to here. However, not all monks were happy with the exclusive nature of their religious life. They interpreted the Lotus Sutra differently and so started the beginning of a lay movements propagating “ta-riki” (他力), the power of Amitābha Buddha. In the 10th century former Tendai monk Kūya (空也, *903 - †972), an early advocate of Pure Land Faith travelled the country to teach commoners about the spiritual power of the nembutsu-prayer (念仏)²⁰.

The upcoming Kamakura period (鎌倉時代, 1185–1333) was a period of political and economical unrest, marked by civil wars and natural disasters. Many Buddhists interpreted these calamities as signs of the Age of Dharma Decline (末法, mappō) and as a result, increased their efforts to spread their faith. Formerly ignored clientele, outlaws, beggars, and women were included into their parishes. Some leaders of this new faith based religious movement were specially successful, they were:

Hōnen (法然, *1133 - †1212), the founder of the Jōdo sect (浄土宗, "The Pure Land School"),

Shinran (親鸞, *1173 - †1262), the founder of the Jōdō-Shin sect (浄土真宗 "True Pure Land School"), who, like Kūya before him, had stated:

“the way of Salvation by one’s own efforts is like a toilsome journey by land, (···) the Way of Faith in the Merits of Another is an easy voyage in a fair ship over smooth waters, (···) if a man put his trust in the fundamental vow of Amida, he will enter at once, by Buddha’s power, into the class of those destined to be born in the Pure Land. Only let him ever call upon the name of the Tathagata, and gratefully commemorate the great all-embracing Vow.”²¹ and

Nichiren (日蓮, *1222 - †1282) who established the Hokke or Nichiren sect (法華宗 or 日蓮宗), adding a distinctly nationalistic touch to his popular branch of Amidism.

The evolution of the Pure Land movement ran parallel to the (re-) transmission of two Zen schools from China²². Zen, generally, is suspicious of a textual and rational approach²³ and emphasizes spiritual discipline in order to overcome the duality of thinking, that hinders one’s awakening to the Buddha nature.

Now, meditative practice was already part of other Japanese sects training, but it hadn’t been considered as the key element of monastic efforts yet. This changed after a Tendai monk, Myōan Eisai (明菴栄西, *1141 – †1215) went to southern China to study Linzhi-Zen (臨濟宗 ; Japanese: Rinzai-shū). Rinzai requires seated meditation, working on kōan (公案) and rigorous monastic discipline including manual labour toward the goal of sudden enlightenment.

Upon Eisai’s return from China, he built a temple and published his ideas about meditation, meeting with strong opposition from the established schools, namely Tendai. But since he found powerful supporters in the newly ascendant warrior class, the shōgunate in Kamakura and aristocratic circles around the emperor in Kyoto, Rinzai succeeded.

An important factor in its appeal to the samurai and to the aristocracy was not only its stress on discipline, but also its intellectual appeal²⁴, which materialized in Rinzai’s influence on calligraphy, painting, literature, gardening and so on. It also helped, that Eisai had brought tea-plants over, which not only let tired monks and samurai stay awake, but also set off the development of an elaborate tea ceremony using powdered green tea.

The second Zen school, Sōtō (曹洞宗, Sōtōshū), was introduced by Dōgen Zenji (道元禪師 ; also Dōgen Kigen

道元希玄, *1200 - †1253). He was instructed in the Northern school tradition at Caodong and hence interpreted enlightenment as a process rather than a state of sudden awakening. Strict rules for daily life play an important role in his precepts, but the primary method of practice is seated meditation:

“You should pay attention to the fact that even the Buddha Shakyamuni had to practice zazen for six years. It is also said that the Bodhidharma had to do zazen at a Shao-lin temple for nine years in order to transmit the Buddha mind. Since these ancient sages were so diligent, how can present-day trainees do without the practice of zazen? You should stop pursuing words and letters and learn to withdraw and reflect on yourself. When you do so, your body and mind will naturally fall away, and your original Buddha nature will appear.”²⁵

Dōgen’s ascetic approach and uncompromising nature didn’t meet with too much enthusiasm within Japan’s elite, but his disciples managed to attract many followers among farmers and villagers. Soto-Zen, like Rinzai, insists on strict observance of rules and awareness of one’s actions and connects the observance of daily-life-governing rules directly with the requirements of the dharma-teachings (igi-soku-buppo 威儀即仏法)²⁶. In his extensive scriptures Dōgen gave detailed outlines of monastic practice, philosophy, language, being, time, space, labour and also cooking. In 1237, the “Instructions for the Cook” (Tenzo Kyōkun, 典座教訓²⁷) were written down as the first chapter of the cloister-rules for Eihei-ji temple (Eiheishingi 永平清規).

His musings led to the understanding, that since it is humanly impossible to sit in meditation only, one’s mere existence, eating, sleeping, drinking, and naturally also cooking should be approached with the same attitude like zazen. Also gratitude and appreciation of food, its production, preparation and consumption was acknowledged and affected the way food was treated in the Zen community.

Eisai and Dōgen should be the last Japanese monks to directly transmit Buddhist teachings from China. By the end of the Kamakura-period the threat of a Mongol invasion had been successfully prevented, but the once active exchange between Japan and China was reduced to a minimum. During the years between Dōgen’s return from China in 1227 and the arrival of the Chinese monks in Nagasaki lay more than 350 years.

Because of that long hiatus and the different political and economical circumstances²⁸ the Japanese Buddhist sects developed independently and gradually started to differ from their Chinese counterparts. Also, the brief flourishing of Christianity between 1549 and beginning of the 17th century and the growing lay Buddhist schools had been a fierce rival to the established Japanese religions.

Generally, monastic discipline in Buddhist temples had declined in all schools: the patronage of rich and influential members of aristocracy and high ranked warriors had led to luxurious lifestyles in the temples. The amount of land owned by some of the schools aroused envy and hostility, and conflicts between Buddhist groups sometimes even led to armed conflicts between monks. After the civil wars much time and energy also had to be spent on reconstruction, thus dogmatic development and monastic discipline was stagnant.

When reform-oriented masters from the Rinzai school heard about the activities of master Dōsha Chōgen and the imminent arrival of Ingen, expectations were high. Respected Ingen, who had acquired some experience in the restoration of the Wanfu-temple in China, aimed at revitalizing Japanese Zen, based on his experience in Ming-period Chinese conceptions. But he underestimated the reluctance and conservatism of the Japanese

masters, who's thinking rooted in the transmissions of the Sung-period²⁹.

Due to Rinzai's internal struggles, political fears about Ingen being a Chinese spy, reluctance to accept his Chinese peculiarities and delays in his journey to Kyoto, Ingen did not move on to lead one of the famous Rinzai temples, but rather became the head of newly founded Mampuku-ji and thus started the third and last Zen school in Japan, Ōbaku³⁰.

3. The Ōbaku-school

Ōbaku maintains, in line with the Rinzai-Zen tradition, the concepts of awakening to one's intrinsic Buddha-nature (kenshō jōbutsu 見性成佛) and the idea of non-verbal transmission (ishin-denshin 以心伝心). It stresses the necessity of seated meditation, ritual observance, chanting of sutras, the use of kōan (公案), the interaction between master and disciples in teaching discourses (問答, mondō), but also scholarly pursuits in the study of the scriptures³¹ and the old masters discourses and dharma talks³². What sets the schools apart are:

- different interpretations of the monastic precepts³³,
- the rules concerning ordination,
- and most openly criticised, Ōbaku's tolerant attitude towards the popular practice of the nembutsu-prayer and lay practice distinguish it from mainstream Rinzai.

The question of how to interpret Amidism and the nembutsu-prayer was heatedly debated. To include elements of Pure-Land Buddhism turned out to be unacceptable for the Japanese monastic establishment, while in China it was not separated from Rinzai practice and its cenobitic communities. In Japan, the motto was, Zen is for those of higher attainments, while nembutsu-practice is for those of lesser capacity³⁴.

Other differences are Ōbaku's different religious calendar, the school's insistence on all monks' presence at regularly scheduled retreats and its encouragement of work among laity.

In contrast to the Japanese Rinzai tradition it also shows a rather positive attitude towards sutras³⁵ and other textual studies even outside the Buddhist literature.³⁶

Seeing these differences, the Japanese Rinzai-masters felt, that they had done a better job at preserving the heritage of the ancient masters and

“found the Chinese practices and styles abhorrent, apparently for their very foreignness (…), the Chinese masters maintained aspects of life known to them in China that an outside observer might tend to classify as culturally rather than religiously significant, including the language used in ritual, the design of monastic robes and shoes, clerical hairstyles, and the like. Ōbaku monks seemed committed to preserving their cultural identity as Chinese in the face of the dominant Japanese culture surrounding them. As native speakers of Chinese, they also expressed some scepticism about the ability of the Japanese to fully understand and utilize the large corpus of Zen literature written in Chinese.”³⁷

Nevertheless Ōbaku enjoyed the patronage and strong backing from the central government in Edo and local domains, partly because of its charismatic leaders, foreign appeal and cultural alterity, partly because they saw a valuable opportunity to improve relations and trade with China in the future, and partly because the shōgunate reckoned, that a new sect would weaken the political influence of the established one's.

4. Shōjin ryōri

In the 8 Buddhist precepts (八戒), binding for all Buddhists regardless of their school, “causing harm and taking life” and “eating at the wrong time” (after noon) are not permitted. In the stricter rule-set for clergy, it says that food should be silently consumed in one place, and only one container, usually the begging bowl, should be used. Alms were not to be refused, which meant meat-consumption was permitted if the animal was not specially killed to feed the begging monk³⁸.

Begging for food was not only a method to interact with the laity and to give the food-donor a chance to improve his karma, but also helped to teach the monks humility and detachment. Fasting was seen as an important ritual and special fasting days were observed, based on the lunar calendar and in accordance with certain ceremonies. The “middle path” of holding the middle between extreme asceticism and indulgence applied also to food regulations and led to the belief, that food-preparation should avoid extreme tastes and smells³⁹.

Food occupies an important place in Buddhist thinking, and carefully written rules about eating are essential for the mental discipline of monastic life. Naturally, with the spread of Buddhism through Asia, local food production and different dietary customs affected the eating habits of the monks and nuns, who no longer led peripatetic lives.

The Japanese traditional diet before the arrival of Buddhism consisted mostly of millet and unpolished rice, fruit, vegetables and fish, occasionally fowl, venison or game. But meat was rarely consumed, not only because of its scarcity but also because Shintōism attaches many taboos to blood, killing and other defilement. After Buddhism’s introduction at monasteries a predominantly vegetarian fare was served, called Shōjin ryōri.

At the same time Chinese eating habits influenced the court-cuisine and lavish feasts were not uncommon in aristocratic circles, although oil and fat were mostly avoided.⁴⁰

With the rise of the warriors and their favourable opinion of Zen Buddhism’s frugality, luxury was avoided and in place of extravagant banquets, demonstrative restraint was shown.

In order to maintain a healthy nutritional balance, the temple cooks had to come up with new techniques of cooking, processing and preserving vegetarian ingredients. Their expertise in Shōjin ryōri reached the laity and thus also enriched secular food culture.

In the Zen monasteries eating Shōjin ryōri had developed into an elaborate form of meditation: the ingredients, the cooking process, distribution and reception of the food, the utensils, the movements, sitting order and the sutras and blessings (ōryōki 応量器)⁴¹ before and after the meals, all followed strict rules.

The Ōbaku school had regulated life at their temples according to the Ōbaku shingi.⁴² Monks had to rise early, perform morning service before dawn and meditate. Breakfast was served at sunrise (“when the cook can see his hand”), then meditation until noon, followed by lunch. After that, labour until late afternoon, and assembly for evening service. If there were leftovers from breakfast and lunch, a light meal called yakuseki (薬石)⁴³ could be served without much decorum, this was followed by meditation and teaching-discourses until bedtime at 9.00 pm. The silent meals in the Shōjin ryōri tradition consisted of rice-gruel and vegetables and were taken communally, but as it was customary in Ming China, a small group of usually 4 monks shared one table and one

serving pot. Since Ingen wanted to strengthen the ties of the monastic community, monks living in sub temples were often called to gather for meals with the whole assembly⁴⁴. This austere routine was somewhat relaxed for monastic celebrations, for high holidays and for visitors. Since temples relied on the support of the surrounding communities, it was specially important to treat visitors with respect and consideration, even for unheralded arrivals, at least tea and sweets had to be offered. For invitations a different style of food was prepared, Fucha ryōri.⁴⁵ Ignoring its exceptional character, it was this cuisine, which attracted the attention of Japanese monks and was harshly criticised as an obvious sign for the schools breach of monastic precepts. Rinzai monk Kyōrei complained in a letter from 1654/55:

“Meals are three times a day. Early in the morning and at noon time there is rice gruel as usual. Again in the late afternoon there is rice gruel, and then in the evening there are tea and cakes. This is the daily routine. Between times, there are tea and cakes at odd hours. Some days they may even eat six times! The monks have fat bellies. This is very different from Japan.”⁴⁶

If Fucha cuisine aroused such strong criticism, why did the Chinese masters insist on it? Why was it served at special occasions and often to outsider-guests, who immediately were confronted with its foreignness? To answer this, let's have a look at the distinctive features of Fucha ryōri.

5. Fucha ryōri

Fucha ryōri is sometimes defined as “Shippoku ryōri without the use of animal products.”⁴⁷ Shippoku is a gourmet tradition from Nagasaki, mixing Chinese, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish and Japanese elements. Due to the unique position of the open harbour city Nagasaki, interest in foreign foods and availability of exotic ingredients had left its mark on the eclectic local cuisine.

After the expulsion of the Spanish and Portuguese, specially the influence of Chinese cooking increased. The city's prosperity, brought about not only by the annual Dutch ship and about 10 yearly Red Seal Ships, but also by an even greater number of private Chinese traders⁴⁸, had led to a growing Chinese settlement. Naturally, business partners from both sides liked to treat their guests to “international” Shippoku-food in order to show respect to the other's culture and to create an amiable atmosphere.

Eating together using tables and big dishes for everyone to share, is common for Shippoku ryōri⁴⁹. The purpose of this dining-style, is it to create a relaxed atmosphere of omoyai (由起会 sharing your food in good company). But for people elsewhere in Japan, the concept seemed rather exotic and often clashed with their sense of etiquette.

The Japanese kept serving food in individually arranged portions on single tablets until the late Edo period⁵⁰. Also round tables did not go well with the hierarchic kamiza-shimoza (上座 / 下座)⁵¹ seating order, which matched the strict class differences of Edo-period's feudal society and allowed to distinguish social ranks even during meals.

Since the prescription of Christianity Buddhism played an important role in the religious life of Nagasaki's citizens, the secular Shippoku ryōri and the religious Fucha ryōri were closely related. By simply changing the ingredients of some dishes, Shippoku ryōri could be turned into “a vegetarian Buddhist repast” fit for funerals,

death-anniversaries and other home-held religious occasions.⁵²

During religious temple festivals, like Chinese New Year, Buddha's birthday or Obon, usually food offerings were made and later distributed among parishioners. Since Nagasaki's Ōbaku temples on occasion had quite an impressive number of visitors⁵³, it is easy to understand, how Nagasaki's citizens were exposed to and eventually won over to this new culinary experience, foreign to other parts of Japan. In 1772 the “普茶料理抄 Fucha ryōrishi”⁵⁴, the first book exclusively on Fucha cooking, was published in Japan by food critic Ichiroemon Nishimura. It contains detailed descriptions of table arrangements and dishes, which indicate, how unfamiliar the cuisine's peculiarities looked to the rest of Japan.

Having its starting point in Nagasaki, Fucha ryōri was deeply influenced by the lifestyles and dietary customs of the Chinese traders, who liked sumptuous meals, with lots of pork, steamed dumplings and deep fried dishes. In China, oil for frying and flour for noodles and doughs was often produced in temples⁵⁵, since their income partly depended on the profits from mills and oil presses. Payment for pressing and milling services was often made in produce, so temples would use them in their kitchens. Due to this heritage Fucha ryōri is known for its rather generous use of oil, as well as its different wheat-based dumplings and cakes. As an important shipment-place for imported sugar⁵⁶, Nagasaki's local cooking also shows a strong preference for sweet dishes with European or Chinese roots.

Another important aspect of Fucha cooking is its proximity to tea culture. In Japan (powdered) green tea since its introduction in the 8th century had not been a daily commodity but rather a rare and expensive treat for the elite. Its consumption required a highly ceremonial form of preparation and presentation and had become a pastime for nobility and samurai.

The founder of the Ōbaku-school, Ingen introduced leaf tea (煎茶 sencha) and its preparation method⁵⁷ as it was customary in his native Fujian province.

The Chinese prepared tea by brewing the tea leaves in a small pot, and then refilling the cups with several infusions in order to enjoy the gradually different taste, colour and aroma. The tea was often accompanied by a light meal of yum cha (飲茶) or dim sum (點心), fried or steamed delicacies, casually shared among all diners at the same table, again, quite in line with the preparation methods used for Fucha cooking. For short informal gatherings, but also to commemorate certain holidays, sweet pastries, similar to moon cakes or manju were served with the tea.

Fucha, in line with the general rules for Shōjin ryōri and the rules laid down in the oldest transmitted Zen code in Japan, the Zen-en shingi⁵⁸, avoids the use of meat and fish, favours seasonal produce and uses gentle preparation methods in order to preserve the ingredients' specific taste and flavour. Fucha, also requires the food to include the 6 tastes, sweet, bitter, sour, salty, spicy and mild and the 3 qualities lights and flexible, clean and neat and conscientious and thorough.⁵⁹

Since the Chinese Zen tradition showed strong syncretistic tendencies, Taoism and Confucianism also strongly influenced its food philosophy.

Taoism recommends general restraint in the intake of grains and recommends the consumption of food, rich in

cosmic energy (氣), like stir fried or steamed vegetables or dried or baked fruits.⁶⁰

Confucian thinking brought about ideas concerning the principle of yin and yang (陰陽) and their expression in the five elements (五行: wood, fire, earth, metal and water). The elements are respectively connected to certain seasons, directions, colours and other important characteristics of the phenomenal world. Their corresponding five colours are:

- green, the symbol for wood;
- red, the symbol for fire;
- yellow or gold, the symbol for earth, also put in the centre,
- white or silver, the symbol for metal; and
- black, the symbol for water, sometimes also associated with blue.⁶¹

Accordingly, the 5 colours appear in the choice of fucha's basic ingredients: kelp (昆布) = black; Japanese Spikenard or Udo (ウド) = white; carrots (人参) = red; fried tofu (油揚げ) and bamboo shoots (竹の子) = yellow and Chinese leaf vegetables like chingensai (チンゲン菜) = green.

For special holidays, namely those in honour of Ōbaku's founder Ingen, a display of foods in the elementary colours, called shankon (上旬)⁶² is displayed at the altar before preparation. Four bites of each dish with these ingredients are then arranged on the plates and shared by the diners.⁶³ Shankon in honour of Ingen, usually expresses the colour yellow through a display of his favourite fried food (揚げ物) and of bamboo shoots, which he introduced to Japan among other foods.⁶⁴ The others, black, white, red and green are usually represented by seasonally changing vegetables, fruits or other foods.

Since the transmission of the esoteric schools in Japan, colours were also used to represent the emanations of the Buddha in different temporal realms, the 5 Great Buddha's of Wisdom⁶⁵ In Japanese Buddhism

- white came to be interpreted as the colour of Dainichi Nyōrai (大日如来),
- red is connected to Amida Nyōrai (阿弥陀如来),
- yellow corresponds to Hōshō Nyōrai (宝生如来),
- black/blue is associated with Ashuku Nyōrai (阿閼如来) and
- green is the colour of Fukūjōju Nyōrai (不空成就如来).

Combined, these are said to represent the colours of the historical Buddha's (釋迦) aura, when he attained enlightenment. Associations with important virtues like compassion, discipline, purity, wisdom or abandonment of attachments were also frequently made.

Because Buddha's teachings since the earliest times of its transmission have been regarded as cure to the woes of mankind, associations with healing and medicine became quite common. Fucha also takes up this tradition. One of Ingen's close acquaintances and sponsors of Mampukuji⁶⁶ was Ryōō Dōkaku (了翁道覚, *1630 - †1707)⁶⁷. He was the founder of a Chinese medical academy Kintai-en (錦袋円) and influential advocate of Chinese medicine and food therapy (Yakuzen, 薬膳) in Japan, these two men most likely influenced each other in their thinking about health and nutrition.

Another indicator for the relation between Yakuzen and Fucha cuisine are its roots in Canton, where traditionally the medicinal effects of food were specially taken into consideration. Many of Nagasaki's expatriates hailed from this area, consequently their ideas about healthy food, influenced Fucha ryōri and also

it's secular cousin Shippoku ryōri⁶⁸. The ingredients frequently listed in Fucha recipes are all considered to be beneficial for good health⁶⁹, the order of the meal, the preparation methods and serving temperatures also follow Yakuzen principles.

Therapeutic aspects⁷⁰ might also explain, how initial reservations against “smelly” foods like garlic and onions were (at least partly) overcome and how some Shippoku and Fucha recipes came to employ them in low quantities.

A typical Fucha menu comes with two types of soup and seasonally different small and main dishes, starting with tea. The food is served one after another, arranged on big plates or bowls for everyone on one table to share. Individual portions are eaten from small plates.

The basic courses are:

- 1. Shunkan (笋羹), a choice of seasonally flavoured fish paste (kamaboko 蒲鉾) and tofu-snacks
- 2. Yuji (油齏), deep fried vegetables
- 3. Mafu (麻腐), a sesame tofu dish
- 4. Unpen (雲片), boiled vegetables in lightly sweetened sauce
- 5. Ronpan (冷拌), sour marinated or pickled vegetables
- 6. Kenchan (卷糰), deep fried filled tofu-skin-rolls
- 7. Shintsai (浸菜), boiled vegetables with sesame-topping
- 8. Hantsu (飯子), rice with tea and pickles
- 9. Sume (寿免), a soup with vegetables and fried tofu. Fermented soybean-paste, miso, is uncommon in China, but since Ingen approved of it, miso-soup may be served.
- 10. Suigo (水果), a dessert of fruits and fruit jelly

Combinations may vary according to availability and occasion⁷¹.

Before the meal, awareness about the food to be consumed and thanks are expressed in the “prayer of the five observations” (gokan no ge, 五観の偈)⁷², a short blessing, which reminds everyone of the preciousness of the food and an expression of gratitude to those, who were involved in its production.

Conclusion

In spite of the criticism, which Fucha rōyri⁷³ aroused, Ingen and his successors insisted on serving this cuisine to temple-visitors and at special occasions.

I believe, the reasons for this are:

- a. “The ability to make food signify something invisible was one of the primary goals of pre-modern cuisine”⁷⁴ If this is indeed the case, then for the trained monks the special dishes in their meaningful presentation and thoughtful colouring must have served as a symbolic reminder of the schools teachings. Awareness and a mind-set akin to meditation were prerequisites to understand the deeper meaning of the dogma, while at the same time a sense of reassurance through sharing with the community was created.

b. Monks, who had to prepare the food for the community, were often kept from meditation and other religious exercises. Having them think about and prepare symbolically enhanced meals gave them the opportunity to experience some aspects of their dogma during kitchen services.

c. “The preservation of cultural differences did take on a religious quality for the Chinese Ōbaku masters”⁷⁵, showing their Chinese heritage through Fucha-cuisine was not only a sign of courtesy to the Chinese community, that had supported and funded them from the beginning, it also reflected the master’s belief in its intrinsic value and its superior healing capacities.

d. Fucha-cooking is an indicator of Ōbaku’s openness to laity. Eating similar things as the initially Chinese community created a strong bond between the temples and their supporters. Unlike the aristocratic Rinzai, Ōbaku tries to create the impression of a gentler hierarchic structure, which is reflected in the food style, the seating order and the shared dishes. The close relationship between Fucha and Shippoku ryōri bear witness to the strong bond between temples and Nagasaki’s community.

e. The quasi-medicinal character of the meal and its appeal to maintain good health and longevity signalizes Fucha rōyri’s attempt to reconnect it with the old healing-tradition of Buddhism. Food is not only necessary to sustain life, if its connected with the deeper wisdom of Buddha’s teaching, it can serve quasi like a medicine.

In Japanese religious traditions, food has been an indispensable element since earliest times: Before the introduction of writing, Shintō shrines not only helped to preserve important technology⁷⁶, the herein stockpiled offerings to the deities in form of rice, salt and sake, also doubled as emergency rations in times of disaster. Expressing reverence and gratitude to the gods, considering nature and the seasons and treating food with respect were obvious results of frequent experience of food deficiency. Even before the arrival of Buddhism, the ritualistic partaking of “sacred” food or “dining with the deities” (神饌, shinsen) was seen as a healing process for body and mind⁷⁷. The Buddhist food theory introduced new levels of elaboration and refinement. Specially Zen Buddhism’s aspiration towards a spiritual overcoming of duality added a new religious component to the processes and actions around the appreciation of food and its consumption. Also, the eventually banned Christianity centres around the Communion as a ritual meal of devotees. Since some Christians had to disguise themselves as Buddhist in order to avoid persecution, they might have found some consolation in temple meals. In formal ritual meals like in Shōjin ryōri, “the rules are complex, demand great elaboration and high allocation of precious resources – time and materialle [sic!]– all of which are evident to those who know the rules and background.”⁷⁸ While Shōjin ryōri also shows a strong affinity to the aristocratic Kaiseki ryōri⁷⁹, Ōbaku’s Fucha ryōri and its secular cousin Shippoku ryōri incorporate not only elements of the connoisseurship found among the clergy and the educated elite, but also took into consideration the social relations with the laity: Daily temple and city-life in Nagasaki may have been characterized by frugality, but special occasions were celebrated with either Fucha ryōri or Shippoku ryōri. After all: “People are eating because they are hungry, but they are

dining because they are establishing or maintaining social relations”⁸⁰, - even if this means being criticized by outsiders.

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注

- ¹ This article is not only based on the quoted literature and websites, but also on two lectures by Mr. Taya Masahiro, former tenzō of the Mampuku-ji, now head monk at Shōfuku-ji in Nagasaki. The first one was held during a commemorative exhibition in honour of Ōbaku's 350th anniversary, on April 10th 2011 in the Kyushu National Museum in Dazaifu, Fukuoka. The other lecture/seminar 「中国から本宗の開祖 隠元禪師が伝えた～精進料理に挑戦！～普茶料理の魅力」, was given on April 14th at 食文化スタジオ福岡. I'd like to thank Mr. Taya Masahiro and Mr. Matsuo Hōdō, head monk at Nagasaki's Kōfukuji, for their instructive lecture and patience in answering my questions.
- ² At that time the Ōbaku school was listed as a sub-sect of the Rinzai school. Official recognition as an independent religious body was not granted until 1876. For a detailed description of the sects development see: H. Baroni: *Obaku*. Honolulu 2000 and H. Baroni: *Iron Eyes. The Life and Teachings of Obaku Zen Master Tetsugen Doko*. New York 2006
- ³ See: http://www.pref.nagasaki.jp/s_isan/english/history.html, (22.9.2011)
- ⁴ A government edict from 1609 had also confined all Chinese landing in Kyushu to Nagasaki. See L.M.Cullen: *A History of Japan, 1582-1941*. Cambridge 2003, p.37 ff.
- ⁵ The number of Chinese reached its peak at the end of the 17th century. The German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) noted in his 1727 printed "History of Japan": "In the last years alone, the Chinese arrived in both 1683 and 1684 in about two hundred junks, each carrying no fewer than fifty men (now only thirty), which brings the number of people who visited this city in one year to ten thousand." See Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey (Ed./transl.), Engelbert Kaempfer: *Kaempfer's Japan*. Honolulu 199, p.224f.
- ⁶ For security and political reasons though, the Chinese were not allowed a fixed residence in Japan, which forced them to leave Japan before winter (the 20th day of the 9th month) and return in the following season (before the 5th day of the 7th month). For details see Michael S. Laver: *The Sakoku Edicts*. New York 2011. p.15 ff. and L.M.Cullen: *A History of Japan, 1582-1941*. Cambridge 2003, p.18 ff.
- ⁷ The 26 martyrs were a group of randomly chosen Christians, who had refused publicly to abdicate, they were 6 European Franciscan missionaries, 3 Japanese Jesuits and 17 Japanese commoners, for further reading see: <http://www.26martyrs.com> (22.9.2011)
- ⁸ See B. M. Bodart-Bailey (Ed./transl.), Engelbert Kaempfer: *Kaempfer's Japan*. Honolulu 1999, p.224f.
- ⁹ See B. M. Bodart-Bailey (Ed./transl.), Engelbert Kaempfer: *Kaempfer's Japan*. Honolulu 1999, p.224f.
- ¹⁰ For details see Stephen F. Teiser: *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China*. Princeton 1988, p.31ff
- ¹¹ See Helen. J. Baroni: *Obaku Zen*. Honolulu 2000, p. 32ff.
- ¹² The religious beliefs during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) were a mixture of folk religion, ancestor worship, Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, with Buddhism absorbing several elements from other religions.
- ¹³ The Chinese disciples, among them prominent members like Mu-an Hsing'tao (Mokuan 木庵性瑫, 1611–1684) and Chi-fei Ju-I (Sokuhi Nyoitsu 即非如一, 1616 - 1671), played an important role in keeping the Chinese character of the school alive. Most advanced to the position of abbots in Ōbaku temples. Their Japanese disciples only later moved up to more important positions within the sects hierarchy. See Helen. J. Baroni: *Obaku Zen*. Honolulu 2000, p. 73ff.
- ¹⁴ See J.E.Kidder: *Buddhist Schools/Tradition Japan*. In W.M. Johnston (Ed.): *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*. Chicago 2000, p.210ff.
- ¹⁵ (Shitenō 四天王 = Bishamonten of the North (毘沙門天, Vaishravana), Jikokuten of the East (持国天, Dhritarashtra), Zōjōten of the South (增長天, Virudhaka) and Kōmokuten of the West (広目天, Virupaksha), see <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lokapala#Vaishravana>
- ¹⁶ Hossō-shū 法相宗, Jōjitsu-shū 成実宗, Kegon-shū 華嚴宗 or 花嚴宗, Kushi-shū 俱舍宗, Ritsu-shū or Rissshū 律宗 and Sanron-shū 三論宗. For details about the 6 Nara sects see C. Marra: *Japan:History of monasticism*. In W.M. Johnston (Ed.): *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*. Chicago 2000, p.684ff.
- ¹⁷ "Hinayana" or "Theravada" means "small vehicle" and refers to the earlier Buddhist schools in which the ultimate goal of a follower is to become an "arhat", someone, who as an individual attained enlightenment, peace and freedom from rebirth etc. These schools prevailed in South-East-Asia. The later Buddhist schools, called "Mahayana", "greater vehicle", replaced the Hinayana-line mostly in China, Korea and Japan. They teach, that the ultimate goal of each follower is to become a "bodhisattva", someone who uses the power he gained through enlightenment to help others. The development of different schools is based on different interpretations of the Buddhist scriptures. For a detailed history see: H. Bechert, R. Gombrich: *Der Buddhismus: Geschichte und Gegenwart*. München 2002. or E. Conze: *Der Buddhismus*. Stuttgart 1995
- ¹⁸ See C. Marra: *Japan:History of monasticism*. In W.M. Johnston (Ed.): *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*. Chicago 2000, p.684ff. and more detailed Y.S.Hakeda: *Kukai*. New York 1972, p. 61ff.
- ¹⁹ See M. Takemura, Y. Tamura: *Die Tendai- und Shingon-Sekte*. In: H. Hammitzsch (Ed.): *Japanhandbuch*. Wiesbaden 1990, p. 1360ff.
- ²⁰ About the history of the nembutsu practice see Ryōji Ōka: *Kurze Geschichte des Nembutsu-Gedankens in China und Japan*. at: http://www.eko-haus.de/net_texte/aufsaetze/d_oka1.htm (21.9.2011)
- ²¹ See A. Lloyd: *Shinran and his work*. Tokyo 1910, p. digitalized version at <http://www.archive.org/stream/shinranandhiswor00lloyuoft#page/51/mode/1up>
- ²² Chinese Zen developed primarily during the Tang dynasty and in spite of clearly different dogma-interpretations is divided historically into Five schools (五家). They are the: Guiyang school (潯仰宗), the Linji school (臨濟宗), the Caodong school (曹洞宗), the Yunmen school (雲門宗) and the Fayan school (法眼宗). Between these schools a controversy about the nature of enlightenment arose in the early 8th century. The so called "Northern school" advocated the position of "gradual enlightenment", while the "Southern school" maintains "sudden enlightenment".

- See more at: D. Keown: Oxford Dictionary of Buddhism. Oxford 2003. p.200f., and P. Williams: Mahayana Buddhism, The Doctrinal Foundations. Routledge 1989, p.109ff. and H. Dumoulin: Zen Buddhism. A History. Vol.1, India and China. Bloomington 2005, p. 63ff
- 23 Zen traces its origins to the “Flower Sermon episode” (拈花微笑): Buddha one day silently held up a flower before his assembly, only one of his disciples, Mahākāśyapa smiled and Buddha declared him to be his worthy successor, since he had understood him. Thus Zen concentrates on direct experience rather than on rational creeds or revealed scriptures. For a detailed outline of Zen’s development see: P. Williams: Mahayana Buddhism, The Doctrinal Foundations. Routledge 1989, p.109ff. and H. Dumoulin: Zen Buddhism. A History. Vol.1, India and China. Bloomington 2005, p. 63ff
- 24 In spite of Zen’s general anti-academic outline, Rinzai’s main temples developed into centres of learning and attracted a great number of scholars.
- 25 Dōgen: Selected Writings, translated by Yuho Yokoi. In S. Addiss (Ed.): Zen Sourcebook. Cambridge 2008. p.142
- 26 See M. Takemura, Y. Tamura: Amida-, Zen- und Nichiren-Sekten. In: H. Hammitzsch (Ed.): Japanhandbuch. Wiesbaden 1990, p. 1367ff.
- 27 See: http://hcbss.stanford.edu/research/projects/sztp/translations/eiheishiingi/translations/tenzo_kyokun/translation.html (23.9.2011)
- 28 See M. Collcutt: Five Mountains, the Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan. Cambridge 1981, p.249ff.
- 29 Helen Baroni gives a detailed account about the reasons for Rinzai’s and Obaku’s eventual split. See: H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p. 5ff.
- 30 See: H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p. 35ff.
- 31 Based on the efforts of Tetsugen Dōkō (鉄眼道光 1630 – 1682), the first complete set of Buddhist sutras in Japan were printed between 1669 and 1681. See: 九州国立博物館: Obaku. Masterpieces from Mampuku-ji and the New Wave of Zen Buddhism. Catalogue to the Special Exhibition Fukuoka 2011, p.10ff.
- 32 For a detailed account of the differences between the schools see: H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.85ff.
- 33 The precepts were laid down in the Ōbaku shingi from 1672, usually attributed to Ingen, but revised by Mokuan and compiled by Kao-ch’uan Hsing-tun, see H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.88ff.
- 34 See H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p. 107ff.
- 35 善教一, zenkyō ichi, unity of sutras and meditation, see S. Heine, D.S.Wright: Zen Classics: Formative Texts in the History of Zen Buddhism. Oxford 2005, p.113ff.
- 36 Detailed description of the differences at: H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.93ff.
- 37 H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.10
- 38 For details see J.E. Kidder: Buddhist Fasting. In W.M. Johnston (Ed.): Encyclopedia of Monasticism. Chicago 2000, p.467ff.
- 39 Hence the avoidance of the five strong-smelling herbs of the lily family (garlic, scallions, onions, shallots and leeks) .
- 40 See: 鳥居本幸代: 精進料理と日本人. Tokyo 2006, p.11ff.
- 41 See: <http://www.zenriver.nl/Oryoki.htm> (24.9.2011)
- 42 See H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.88ff.
- 43 The practice of serving this third meal goes back to Chinese monastic codes from the 12th/13th century and was also practiced in some Japanese schools as a “medicinal” practice to ward off malnutrition. See H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.100
- 44 See H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.100ff.
- 45 “The Chinese style of food known in Japan as Fucha ryōri for which Ōbaku is famous, is not the norm for the monks themselves except on special occasions or when a benefactor sponsors a vegetarian feast.” See H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.89
- 46 See H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.125f.
- 47 “動物性食品を用いない卓袱料理”, see 鳥居本幸代: 精進料理と日本人. Tokyo 2006, p.190
- 48 Richard Cocks, head of the English factory in Hirado, reported that 60 to 70 Chinese junks visited Nagasaki in 1614, also Hayashi Razan reported a great number of Chinese private ships from Nan-chin and Fukien. See: Lin Renchuan: Fukien/s Private Sea Trade in the 16th and 17th centuries. http://www.leidenuniv.nl/~haarbjter/169_002.pdf (28.10.2011), p. 182ff.
- 49 For a detailed description of Shippoku ryōri see: 古場久代 and B. Burke-Gaffney: 卓袱料理のすすめ, An Invitation to Shippoku Cuisine. Nagasaki 2007
- 50 See E.C. Rath: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan. Berkeley 2010, p.3ff
- 51 <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E4%B8%8A%E5%BA%A7>
- 52 See 古場久代 and B. Burke-Gaffney: 卓袱料理のすすめ, An Invitation to Shippoku Cuisine. Nagasaki 2007, p. 67f.
- 53 When Ingen delivered a lecture on June 18th 1654, “it is recorded that over a thousand priests and lay people were in attendance, including the Nagasaki magistrate.” See: <http://www.angelfire.com/indie/cameroonjudialmac/ObakuZen.html> (28.10.2011)
- 54 http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/wo08/wo08_01820/index.html (22.9.2011)
- 55 About Zen monastic economy see M. Collcutt: Five Mountains. Cambridge 1981, p. 249ff.
- 56 Nagasaki as port town received shipment of sugar from Okinawa and other areas suitable to produce sugar cane. The sugar was transported inland via the sugar road (砂糖の道), connecting Nagasaki and Kokura.
- 57 This later evolved into another variety of the tea ceremony called senchadō (煎茶道)
- 58 Ch’an-yuan Ch’ing-kuei, written by Chinese monk Chang-lu Tsung-I in 1102/3 and brought to Japan in 1200. This monastic code became later the basis for Dōgen Eihei shingi. See: H. Baroni: The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Zen Buddhism. Honolulu 2006, p. 46
- 59 Sōtō-schools Dōgen in his recommendations to the temple cook had put it like this:

- "If the six flavours are not provided, then it cannot be said that the cook has served the assembly." See Kōshō Uchiyama Rōshi: How to cook your life. Boston 2005, p.4 or http://hcbss.stanford.edu/research/projects/sztp/translations/eiheishi_shingi/translations/tenzo_kyokun/translation.html (23.9.2011)
- ⁶⁰ See M. R. Saso: A Taoist Cookbook with Meditations Taken from the Laozi Daode Jing. Boston 1994
- ⁶¹ See <http://www.pureinsight.org/node/4096> (25.9.2011)
- ⁶² See <http://www.biwa.ne.jp/~m-sumita/jiten-sa.html#%E3%81%97> (25.9.2011)
- ⁶³ See: <http://washokufood.blogspot.com/2008/04/shojin-ryori.html>
- ⁶⁴ Next to bamboo shots, Ingen is credited with the introduction of watermelons (西瓜), haricots (隠元豆), lotus roots (蓮根), agar-agar (寒天), see 九州国立博物館: Obaku. Masterpieces from Mampuku-ji and the New Wave of Zen Buddhism. Catalogue to the Special Exhibition Fukuoka 2011, p.34-35
- ⁶⁵ See http://www.religionfacts.com/buddhism/deities/five_dhyani_buddhas.htm (25.9.2011), http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five_Dhyani_Buddhas (25.9.2011) or <http://www.exoticindiaart.com/article/colors/> (25.9.2011)
- ⁶⁶ Ryōō Dōkaku's contributions to the temple amounted to a staggering 7800 ryō in gold and 1500 ryō in silver (see Baroni, p. 190), this is about 300 kg gold and more than fifty kilogram silver. Given today's prices for precious metals, this would be a sum of about 12 million €!
- ⁶⁷ <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E4%BA%86%E7%BF%81%E9%81%93%E8%A6%9A> (23.9.2011)
- ⁶⁸ See 古場久代 and B. Burke-Gaffney: 卓袱料理のすすめ, An Invitation to Shippoku Cuisine. Nagasaki 2007, p. 77ff.
- ⁶⁹ For a list of healing food ingredients see H.C.Lu: Chinese Herbs with Common Foods. Tokyo 1997, p.59 ff., for fucha recipes see: 田谷良忠著, 菅井榮祐著: 普茶料理. Tokyo 1984 or 黄檗山万福寺/監修: 万福寺の普茶料理. Tokyo 2004
- ⁷⁰ According to the principles of yakuzen, garlic: promotes energy circulation, warms the stomach, counteracts toxic effects; scallions: regulated energy, expands the chest, connects or facilitates yang, disperses energy congestion; onions: heals inflammation; leeks: expels winds, induces perspiration, counteracts toxic effects, heals swellings. See H.C.Lu: Chinese Herbs with Common Foods. Tokyo 1997, p.68 ff.
- ⁷¹ About "timing" and "appropriety of the Season" see 陳東達, 陳榮千代: 成人病を防ぐ料理 - 中国の精進料理. Tokyo 1992, p. 23ff.
- ⁷² See <http://teishoin.net/gokan.html>
- ⁷³ and later also in extension shippoku rōryū, see 古場久代 and B. Burke-Gaffney: 卓袱料理のすすめ, An Invitation to Shippoku Cuisine. Nagasaki 2007, p.35ff.
- ⁷⁴ E.C. Rath: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan. Berkeley 2010, p.7
- ⁷⁵ H. Baroni: Obaku Zen. Honolulu 2000. p.98
- ⁷⁶ For example building techniques were memorized through periodical rebuilding and relocation
- ⁷⁷ Aspects of shinsen can also be found in shippoku ryōri, see 古場久代 and B. Burke-Gaffney: 卓袱料理のすすめ, An Invitation to Shippoku Cuisine. Nagasaki 2007, p.43ff.
- ⁷⁸ M. Ashkenazi, J. Jacob.: The Essence of Japanese Cuisine. Philadelphia 2000, p. 212
- ⁷⁹ M. Ashkenazi, J. Jacob.: The Essence of Japanese Cuisine. Philadelphia 2000, p. 158
- ⁸⁰ M. Ashkenazi, J. Jacob.: The Essence of Japanese Cuisine. Philadelphia 2000, p. 212