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ABSTRACT

Connections between Zen and writers associated with the Beat movement have been evident to critics and public alike ever since Jack Kerouac's publication of *The Dharma Bums* in 1958. This synergy between the two would be continuous over the remainder of the 1950's, one almost seeming to imply or be synonymous with the other. This dissertation looks at how these writers use aspects of Zen philosophy and aesthetics as avant-garde discourse to position themselves as radical other in relation to the literary establishment and the conformity of the 1950's. Through a close reading of the work of Jack Kerouac, Joanne Kyger, Gary Snyder, and Philip Whalen, I demonstrate how an understanding of Zen contributes to writing practice, subject matter, and literary innovations during the 1950's and early 1960's. The increasing popularity of Zen at this time, disseminated primarily through magazine culture's sensationalization of the Beat avant-garde, affects American culture as a whole. Characterizations of Zen for the West enable it to act as cultural force even for those not directly involved in it as religious practice. My project is thus a model for understanding how a traditional religion intersects with popular culture in the United States through the vehicle of an avant-garde literary movement. In addition, the fascination with Zen, as part of an interest in bridging the gap between East and West, has much to do with
American attitudes toward Japan, thus providing another angle through which to view American culture in the aftermath of World War II.

A critical reading of discourse of and about Zen and its Americanization going back to the aesthetically and spiritually oriented Japan Craze of the 1890's provides a context for my discussion of Zen influences in the 1950's. In both time periods, Zen was understood more as an aesthetic and cultural phenomenon than a religious one, its practice considered to be as much artistic and psychological as monastic and meditative, what I have called the dual discourse of Zen. Interestingly, the writers associated with the Beat avant-garde have much to do with moving the discourse of Zen in a more spiritual direction.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I. Thesis

Connections between poets associated with the Beat movement and Zen have been evident to critics and public alike ever since Jack Kerouac's publication of The Dharma Bums in 1958.¹ This synergy between the two would be continuous over the remainder of the 1950's, the Beat Generation almost seeming to imply or be synonymous with a familiarity with Zen. The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate that the Beat Generation's interest in Zen is greater and more consequential than previously thought. I look at how these poets use aspects of Zen philosophy and aesthetics as avant-garde discourse to position themselves as radical other in relation to the literary establishment and the conformity of the 1950's personified by the man in the gray flannel suit. Through a close reading of the work of Jack Kerouac, Joanne Kyger, Gary Snyder, and Philip Whalen, I demonstrate how an understanding of Zen as dual discourse with both spiritual and aesthetic aspects (primarily transmitted in terms of noted Japanese Zen spokesperson, D.T. Suzuki) contributes to their writing practice, subject matter, and literary innovations in four very different ways. Although aesthetic aspects are privileged, Zen affects both literary and spiritual practice, thus
demonstrating the fluidity of its signification. Thus, Zen can be appropriated in various ways for various purposes, one of these being the use of Zen to further these writers avant-garde projects, a version of Zen characterized by Alan Watts as Beat. In fact, the discourse surrounding Zen can be understood primarily as a literary one in the 1950's. Interestingly, the writers associated with the Beat movement have much to do with moving the discourse of Zen in a more spiritual direction. The increasing popularity of Zen in the 1950's is effected to a great degree by its dissemination through magazine culture's sensationalization of the Beats, especially Jack Kerouac, acting as backdrop against which their literary practices can be read. Such sensationalization also affects American culture as a whole, and characterizations of Zen for the West enable it to act as cultural force even for those not directly involved in it as religious practice. My project is thus a model for understanding how a traditional religion intersects with popular culture in the United States through the vehicle of an avant-garde literary movement.

In order to provide a context for my discussion of Zen influences on the work of Kerouac, Kyger, Snyder, and Whalen, and as part of a critical reading of discourse of and about Zen and its Americanization I go back to the aesthetically and spiritually oriented Japan craze of the 1890's. In both time periods, the conversation about Zen was presented mainly through a variety of magazines and journals, both popular and specialized. Zen was understood more as an aesthetic and cultural phenomenon than a religious one, its practice considered to be as much artistic and psychological as monastic and meditative, what I have called the dual discourse of Zen. The consequences of my research demonstrate ways that Zen became Americanized as it was naturalized. In addition, my research also highlights the fact that the
fascination with Zen in the 1950's, in attempting to bridge the gap between East and West, has much to do with American attitudes toward Japan, thus providing another angle through which to view American culture in the aftermath of World War II.\(^3\)

Some questions which this dissertation answers or raises are: What are the parallels between the Zen craze of the 1950's and that of the Japan craze of the 1890's, and how might both periods demonstrate aspects of American orientalism? What was the role of Suzuki in the transmission of Zen in the 1950's, and how does his interpretation of Zen inform the language of the Beat movement writers and in turn American perceptions of Zen? What other sources of information about Zen were available, and why did the mainstream press privilege Suzuki? Why this synchronicity between literature and Zen Buddhism? How is Zen used in relation to the Beat avant-garde project? How does Zen influence manifest differently in each writer and his or her poetics, and what are the different practices, paradigms, and personae which they adopt? How does the Beat avant-garde use of Zen affect Zen's Americanization? How can the affinity for Zen in the 1950's demonstrate a mediation of the modern and the postmodern?

II. History of the Question

Part of the purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate that the reception and assimilation of Zen influences in the 1950's is greater than previously supposed. Although other critics have made connections between Zen and avant-garde poets of the 1950's such as Beat writer, Jack Kerouac, and Gary Snyder, West Coast poet associated with the Beats, there has been no major study of the subject. Neither has there been enough
made of the avant-garde uses to which Zen philosophy and aesthetics were put by writers associated with the Beat Generation, what I have termed the Beat avant-garde project. My dissertation seeks to fill this gap. A review of relevant literature on the subject reveals that several works treat the Beats and Buddhism in general. For example, Big Sky Mind: Buddhism and the Beat Generation, 1995, is primarily a poetry anthology edited by Carole Tonkinson, and How the Swans Came to the Lake, by Rick Fields, first published in 1981, devotes several chapters to the reception of Zen and the Beat Generation writers, as well as to Suzuki. Collections of essays on the Beat Generation which mention Zen are A Casebook on the Beat, 1961, edited by Thomas Parkinson, and The Beats: Essays in Criticism, 1981, edited by Lee Bartlett. Another more recent work which makes some perceptive comments on the Beat movement's interest in Zen is the Whitney Museum of American Art's exhibition catalogue, Beat Culture and the New America, 1950-1965, 1995, edited by Lisa Phillips. The amount of material on Zen and the individual writers discussed in the case studies for this dissertation varies depending in part on the perceived importance of that writer in the field of Beat criticism. Regarding Kerouac, the most publicized of the Beats, there is no work devoted entirely to Kerouac and Zen. Works discussing Kerouac's relation to Buddhism, for example, The Portable Jack Kerouac, 1995, edited by Ann Charters, James Jones's A Map of Mexico City Blues, 1992, and The Bop Apocalypse, 2001, by John Lardas, all touch on Kerouac's interest in Zen. Regarding West Coast poets, Snyder, Whalen, and Kyger, Snyder's connections with Zen have been well documented. In this regard see such book length studies as that by Patrick Murphy. However, there is no study which addresses connections he makes between Zen and
anarchism. The chapter on Snyder and Whalen in Davidson's 1989 work, *The San Francisco Renaissance*, makes important points about the relation of Zen to the work of both these writers. There have been no book length critical studies of the work of either Whalen or Kyger, although their work is discussed in various collected essays on Beat Generation writers, Whalen usually being treated as a poet with strong connections to Zen. Critical work to date on Kyger concentrates on her work as exemplary of feminist rather than spiritual aspects of the Beat movement.

Regarding the reception of Zen in America, especially in the 1950's, there have been a number of studies of the reception of Buddhism in America both in the 19th and 20th century; most of these treatments have been historical rather than cultural in focus. In addition, most devote one or several chapters to Zen as part of the Mahayana Buddhist tradition. Only one of them, Helen Tworkov's *Zen in America*, 1989, truly focuses on Zen in a discussion of teachers not practitioners. A few more recent studies examine Suzuki critically (*Rude Awakenings, The Faces of Buddhism in America*, or *Asian Religions in America*, for example), but do not do so primarily from the vantage of discourse analysis and the reception of Zen by popular and literary culture. A useful work regarding American interest in Japanese culture in general in the 19th century is *No Place of Grace* by T. J. Jackson Lears which discusses New England Japanophiles specifically. An examination of the 1950's, especially in relation to the Beats and Zen, has also not been written, although there has been one study of Zen and the visual arts, *Zen in the fifties*, by Helen Westgeest, 1996. In her first chapter, "Zen and the Zen Arts," Westgeest presents five Zen characteristics as a basis of comparison: emptiness and nothingness;
dynamism; indefinite and surrounding space; direct experience of here and now; and non-dualism and the universal. There have been several recent relevant studies on the Beats and the 1950's which briefly allude to an interest in Zen, for example, *The End of the American Avant-Garde*, 1997, by Stuart Hobbs, which looks at the Beat interest in Eastern spiritual practice, including Zen, as a way to provide "an answer to the alienation they felt from modern American culture" (90) and as a means to "integrate art and life" (91). Hobbs does use Zen as a way to differentiate the Beats from other avant-garde groups which he otherwise seems to lump together in his study. David Belgrad's study of the 1950's, *The Culture of Spontaneity: Improvisation and the Arts in Postwar America*, 1998, refers to Zen in relation to the aesthetics of spontaneity, primarily in his discussion of the art of clay pottery. In the context of the Beats and the 1950's, Barbara Ehrenreich's study, *The Hearts of Men*, discusses the "collapse" of the ideology of the breadwinner in America after World War II. Her chapter on the Beats emphasizes their nonconformity especially in relation to work and family, referring to Zen only in a stereotypical way in her description of a California Beat as a "North Beach Zen Buddhist" (57). None of these studies look closely at the works of individual writers to any great extent and thus do not indicate the variety of ways Zen influence is manifested in the literature of the period, nor do they emphasize the Beat use of Zen as radical discourse, what I have characterized as an avant-garde use of Zen.

III. Rationale for Terminology
Some justification needs to be made regarding my characterization of the writers under discussion as members of a Beat avant-garde, an invented category for this study that demonstrates one way in which the writers I discuss use Zen. I have used this label to describe what might be considered by these writers, themselves, to be a somewhat inaccurate, though convenient designation for four individuals who began their public careers in the 1950’s. Of the four, Kerouac seems most closely tied to the East Coast Beat movement, having coined the term and been central to its activities along with Allen Ginsberg (a peripheral figure in this dissertation), W.S. Burroughs, and Gregory Corso. Snyder, Kyger, and Whalen can more accurately be thought of as West Coast poets, more or less closely associated with the San Francisco Renaissance and the Beat Generation. In fact, Snyder and Whalen can be considered, along with Lew Welch (also a peripheral figure in this dissertation), as part of a Reed College circle of poets also interested in Zen. Joanne Kyger was affiliated with the San Francisco Renaissance and associated with the Beat movement through her marriage to Snyder, friendship with Whalen, and acquaintance with Kerouac and Ginsberg. Albert Sajo, another West Coast poet associated with Beat and Renaissance poets, also contributes to the conversation about Zen in the 1950’s and is mentioned in this dissertation. I have used the label advisedly then, and with the knowledge that it is a convenient one to perhaps mask individuality within a complex group dynamics.¹ I have used this label not only as a matter of convenience, but also to demonstrate the way these writers saw themselves as a group separate from the mainstream American literary and critical community with their own publishing venues, their interest in a non-Western
spiritual practice in Zen, or their anarchist attitude toward authority. I see these features as part of a common Beat agenda discussed by these writers in their correspondence with each other, their journal entries, their publication outlets, and their work. Such an agenda may be considered avant-garde in its interest in opposing the status quo and changing American culture. Interestingly, Allen Ginsberg in a 1981 essay, "A Definition of the Beat Generation," regarding the meaning of the term, presents as one way of understanding the phrase, "the beat generation literary movement," which is synonymous with the way I use the term, *Beat Generation*. Ginsberg describes the Beat Generation's effects partly in terms of liberation and "opposition to the military-industrial machine civilization" (239).5

I take my cue for using the term, avant-garde, to describe the writers associated with the Beat generation from Donald Allen's preface to his seminal anthology of 1960, *The New American Poetry*, which introduces the work of new poets including Beat writers. Allen states that one characteristic of all the "new younger poets" is their "total rejection of all those qualities typical of academic verse." Building on practices of Pound and Williams, they have created "their own tradition, their own press, and their public. They are our avant-garde, the true continuers of the modern movement in American poetry" (xi). I use this term in pointing to these writers' interest not only in poetic and stylistic innovation in relation to literature, but also in an interest in changing consciousness and society. The usefulness of Zen in this regard is the fact that Zen is a spiritual practice which emphasizes enlightenment as radical change. Although these writers may not have labeled themselves as
avant-garde per se, they were interested in providing American literature with a new language grounded in the ordinary language of American speech (including slang, the colloquial, and obscenity) and in promoting their non-conformist, sometimes anarchist, views using Zen philosophy, terminology, and practice (shock tactics) as one of the ways to distinguish themselves from mainstream American culture, increasingly materialistic, after World War II.

In this regard, I read the writers associated with the Beat movement as making political, avant-garde, non-conformist stances, rather than being self-centered, apolitical writers out to have a good time through drinking, drugs, and outrageous behavior, one common characterization of the Beats.6 My reading is thus similar to that of Hobbs and Belgrad who also see them as avant-gardistes, considering the Beats along with other 1950's oppositional cultural groups as involved in a project to integrate art and life, traditionally part of the avant-garde agenda. Although Belgrad presents this integration in terms of spontaneity, neither emphasizes their use of Zen as radical discourse in connection with avant-garde practices.

I thus understand the Beats to exhibit avant-gardiste aspects in general, defined by some theorists, such as Raymond Williams and Peter Burgher, as restricted to the historical or modernist avant-garde, but by others, such as Andreas Huyssen or Matei Calinescu, as practices of a post-World War II or postmodern avant-garde. A brief review of the ways these theorists characterize the avant-garde may be useful in thinking about the Beat Generation writers as avant-gardistes. Raymond Williams in The Politics of Modernism in the chapter, "The Politics of the Avant-Garde," presents three general aspects of the avant-garde: creativity, rejection of
tradition, and claims to be anti-bourgeois. For Williams, creativity (making it new) necessitates rejection of traditional and academic models (52) while gaining inspiration from art forms seen as primitive, exotic, or irrational (53). The Beats certainly rejected the academic and traditional, while moving toward the primitive, exotic, and irrational, for example their interest in Zen Buddhism and in popular culture and American slang. For Williams, it was the bourgeois that the avant-garde strove to "shock, deride, and attack" (53), also the target group of the Beats. In addition, the majority of writers associated with the Beat movement were from working class backgrounds, Kerouac being the prime example. Those who were not working class rejected their backgrounds for a movement that permitted an alternative non-bourgeois lifestyle including drugs and sexuality (Burroughs for example), or were outside the mainstream in other ways (Ginsberg's Jewish background, for example). Williams also notes a link between the "violent assault on existing conventions and the programmes of anarchists, nihilists, and revolutionary socialists" and the affinity between "the deep emphasis on the liberation of the creative individual" and anarchism (57). Anarchism was also important to writers associated with the Beat movement who linked it with Zen practices, evidenced by Snyder's interest in "Buddhist Anarchism." Although Williams states that there could be pockets of avant-garde activity after World War II, he also hints that the avant-garde could be co-opted by the bourgeois (62), which perhaps for Williams would make the labeling of the Beats as avant-gardistes problematic. Kerouac's conservative politics and his interest in maintaining security and a constant cash flow after he became famous would be proof of Williams's claim of co-optation, for example. Whalen, on
the other hand, never became rich and famous, instead becoming a Zen Buddhist priest.

Peter Burgher's conception of the avant-garde, as expressed in his *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, is useful in his presentation of the artist as a force for social change in the integration of art and life. This is despite the fact that he sees the avant-garde solely in historical terms as part of modernism, noting that art "has long since entered a post avant-gardiste phase" in its "antiartistic" procedures not used for artistic ends (57). In this regard, the Beats did want to create change, primarily in consciousness. Burger's emphasis on the avant-garde artist's refusal both to create autonomous works to provide easy meaning for bourgeois culture and through the use of shock tactics to create non-organic art (including collage and montage) is relevant. The Beats use the shock tactics of Zen Buddhist philosophy and practice (including the irrationality of koan practice and the persona of Zen Lunatic) to differentiate themselves from the mainstream and create a change of consciousness in their readers. A key aspect of avant-garde practice for Burgher is the destruction of the institution of art itself or the "sublation of art as a social institution, uniting life and art" (57) which can be seen in Dada's tactics. In her *Mademoiselle* article on Zen, Nancy Wilson Ross notes the similarity between Dada and Zen. She goes on to contrast the beat attitudes of the post-World War II generation with the interest in surrealism after World War I. In this regard, it is not clear that the Beats wanted to destroy the institution of art altogether (perhaps this is especially true of Kerouac in the 1960's who seemed to both want to consolidate and build on his popularity while continuing to disdain conformist American society),
although they functioned somewhat outside the mainstream institution of art in the 1950's. It could be said that they wanted to dismantle traditional academic and critical aspects of the establishment, however. Beat writers formed a separate group, with their own small press magazines, such as Yugen (note the Japanese/Zen overtones of this publication's title), and publishing house, City Lights.

In linking the Beats more directly to a postmodern avant-garde, I turn to Calinescu and Huyssen, both of whom specifically refer to the Beat movement in relation to the possibilities for an extension of the avant-garde into post World War II culture. Calinescu defines the avant-garde etymologically, commenting that Americans tend to understand it generally to mean members of a vanguard against stagnating forces in his essay, "'Avant-Garde': Some Terminological Considerations." He concludes with comments on an American interest in seeing the "elitist character of the old avant-garde (identified with modernism) and the profound anti-elitism of postmodernism," noting that Americans misread the old avant-garde in neglecting to understand its interest in "various kinds of artistically marginal phenomena" (76). In his study, Five Faces of Modernity, his goal seems to be not only to describe, but to differentiate the avant-garde from modernism and demonstrate its relation to the postmodern. He distinguishes an intellectualist European strain and in England and America a more "spontaneous and as it were, anarchist trend" asserting itself with the Beat movement, Liverpool group of Pop poetry, and the Living Theatre; he also characterizes this branch as "aesthetic anarchism" including the aleatory among their disruptive techniques (145). Snyder's interest in the anarchic has been noted. Spontaneous
gesture and response relates to an integral aspect of Zen koan practice, for example, as well as an accepted part of Zen aesthetics. Calinescu concludes that both branches of the neo-avant-garde are similarly antiteleological (146). In this regard, Zen Buddhism as a spiritual practice lacking a God or creative demiurge, would be considered antiteleological and in keeping with this characterization of the avant-garde.

Huyssen is similarly interested in separating the avant-garde from modernism so as to enable it to be understood as postmodernist. He presents the avant-garde's interest in narrowing the gap between art and life in terms of its affinity for mass culture (evident in modernist expressionism and Dada). Postmodernism, similarly to the avant-garde, rejects the divide between high art and mass culture (hence the title of his study, *After the Great Divide*). Huyssen presents his ideas about the postmodern in the 1960's as the "rebellion of a new generation of artists" and includes the Beats as acting against "the dominance of abstract expressionism, serial music, and classical literary modernism" in a section titled, "Postmodernism in the 1960s: An American Avantgarde?" (188). Although he seemingly qualifies his labeling of this group as avant-garde, by stating in a footnote that he is not concerned with whether their position is "politically 'progressive,'" his point is well taken that the Beats were reacting against traditionally elitist and conservative aspects of American culture. In this regard, I discuss the range of vituperative comments against the Beats, especially Kerouac, in the contextual chapter on the 1950's as indicative of their interest and ultimate success in antagonizing mainstream and bourgeois society. In addition, I point out the Beats own interest in taking inspiration from outsiders from mainstream society.
This includes minorities, such as Japanese-Americans in connection with their interest in Zen Buddhism and Japanese culture; homosexuals; the insane; and deviants, such as drug addicts, criminals, bums, and homeless of the 1950's. Their interest in incorporating ordinary American speech and slang into their poetry, or as Ginsberg put it in the 1981 article on the Beat Generation, "Liberation of the Word from censorship" in using subcultural and popular cultural language ("A Definition of the Beat Generation" 238), also relates to connections Huyssen makes between mass culture and the avant-garde. In addition, his comment that these writers and artists were not protesting against modernism as much as against "a certain austere image of 'high modernism'" (189) needs qualifying considering that the poetic forefathers of Kerouac, Kyger, Snyder, and Whalen were Pound and Williams. The Beat movement, itself, can be considered as a mediating or turning point between modernism and postmodernism.

The writers I discuss see the materialist culture of the 1950's after World War II critically. Allen Ginsberg's poem, "Howl," is exemplary of this criticism in its rejection of bourgeois materialism, stale academicism, and warmongering in the context of a culture which has recently developed and used nuclear weapons of mass destruction. The fact that the bomb had been recently dropped on Japan, and it was from Japan that Zen originated, marks the compensatory aspect of Zen's attraction as well as indicating its radical potential as implicit protest of Western atrocity. In this regard, Nancy Wilson Ross's 1958 Mademoiselle magazine article, "What is Zen," almost unwittingly comments on the reactions of American occupation troops to Japanese cultural artifacts which "owe their special
quality to a philosophy called Zen." Although this fact was only known to a few, "nonetheless there must have been many young Americans who sensed in the country of the defeated enemy emanations that were different and distinctive - sometimes disturbing, sometimes appealing" (116). For writers associated with the Beat movement, Zen tenets and practice demonstrate the usefulness of non-Western philosophy and spirituality as new models to inspire creativity and offer pacific alternatives to American culture after World War II. Zen discourse thus demonstrates its relevance to the avant-garde in its ability to integrate life and art with its emphasis on ordinary activity and the realization of one's own nature (things as they are) as an aspect of enlightenment. The fact that in Zen practice, the enlightened state is reached through sudden, irrational, paradoxical, and shocking activities not through rational or text-based argument (such as koan practice which is a problem given by a master to a student whose solution does not depend on logic or reason and leads to a moment of realization) echoes avant-garde shock tactics, similar to those of Dada. Thus Zen's emphasis on the non-conceptual, the irrational, and the non-conformist in its attempts to change the consciousness of its practitioners elides with the anarchic and goes against bourgeois understanding of traditional religious practices. It is for these reasons that Snyder or Whalen combined aesthetic and spiritual aspects of Zen in their work.

Gary Snyder makes a direct connection between Beat lifestyle and Zen Buddhism in a letter to Ginsberg in 1956 soon after his arrival in Japan. He sees "new angles" to "this rough Zen-discipline shot; perhaps by reducing one's life to essentials of eating [. . .] sleeping [. . .] working [. . .]
subjecting you to constant psychological pressure of meditation and
interviews they are, within a controled situation, making you throughly
beat [...]. For Snyder, what Zen and beatness have in common is that "you
have nothing & become nothing & you create!" Although Snyder's
statement may be taken as youthful enthusiasm and was not written for
quotation or publication, the way he connects a Buddhist spiritual
philosophy and practice with "Beatness" directly relates to the
conversation surrounding the term, beat, in magazines at about this time.
John Clellon Holmes, an early commentator on the Beat Generation,
describes Beat philosophy in his 1958 article for Esquire, "The Philosophy
of the Beat Generation," quoting Kerouac on the Beats as "basically a
religious generation," defining beat as "beatitude, not beat up," and
alluding to the way you feel the beat in jazz (35). He is one of the first to
note the relation between Zen and the West Coast poets: "In San Francisco
[...] a whole school of young poets has made a complete break with their
elegant, University-imprisoned forbears. Some of them subscribe to Zen
Buddhism, which is a highly sophisticated nonrational psychology of
revelation, and wait for satori (wisdom, understanding, reconciliation)"
(38).

As a response, Kerouac published several articles, himself,
including "Lamb, No Lion," in Pageant magazine, February 1958, reprinted
in The Portable Jack Kerouac, edited by Charters. Here he defines "beat,"
the term he originated, giving it spiritual overtones: "Beat doesn't mean
tired or bushed, so much as it means beato, the Italian for beatific: to be in
a state of beatitude [...] trying to love all life, trying to be utterly sincere
with everyone, practicing endurance, kindness, cultivating joy of heart."
It also means "practicing a little solitude" (562-63). In the course of the article Kerouac refers to the first of Buddhism's Four Noble Truths, that "All Life Is Suffering," in relation to the Beat Generation, as well as using entertainer Pinky Lee's slang term, "sweetie," in describing the Beats (thus integrating art and life and demonstrating Buddhist and avant-garde aspects of the beat project). In a reply to Holmes of March 1958 in Esquire, "Aftermath: The Philosophy of the Beat Generation," Kerouac defines the Beat Generation as visionaries roaming America who were "ragged, beatific, beautiful in an ugly graceful new way;" he defines the term as "meaning down and out but full of intense conviction" (24). Both the spiritual and revolutionary aspects of the Beat Generation writers will be evident in the discussion of their work that follows in the second part of the dissertation.

IV. Theoretical Underpinnings of the Project

In order to present the literary and cultural history of writers associated with the Beat movement in the 1950's and their Zen influences in historical context, in relation to high and low cultural media, and in literary practice and production, I use a combination of discourse analysis and close reading. I understand the translation of Zen from Japan to the United States, its reception and assimilation (in other words, who gets to speak and write about Zen and how) as demonstrating Foucault's genealogical approach to systems of knowledge (as Racevskis explains Foucault's use of this term, it refers to the "method of tracing a lineage, of locating antecedents and explaining the emergence of cognitive entities" ("Genealogical Critique" 233). The conversation about Zen may be
understood in Foucault's terms as a discourse (verbal and textual expression) made up of practices where knowledge and power meet. Foucault considers traditional systems of thought and language (of which Zen is one) as discursive formations and practices in The Archaeology of Power, where he claims that "discourse and system produce each other" in multiple relations (76). In his essay, "History of Systems of Thought," he describes discursive practices as "not purely and simply ways of producing discourse. They are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns for general behavior, in forms for transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms which, at once, impose and maintain them" (200).

For example, knowledge about Zen (what we might consider the discourse surrounding Zen's transmission to the United States) involves the kind of statements that can be made about Zen, who can authoritatively speak for and about Zen, and how Zen discourse is reproduced with concomitant power adhering to all involved. The result of such transmission is that a particular version of Zen is produced, not only in the United States in the 1950's, but specifically by writers such as Kerouac or Snyder in dialogue with critics and supporters. The version of Zen presented by the Beat movement writers is similar to that of one of their primary sources of information, D.T. Suzuki. It is important to understand, however, that they were familiar with other writers on Zen, such as R.H. Blyth or Nyogen Senzaki. Suzuki, Zen's chief exponent in the United States from the 1890's to the 1950's and most often associated with Zen by the American media, links Zen with Japanese culture and aesthetics, language use, and states of consciousness. His characterization has much to do with
the reception of Zen as cultural phenomenon rather than religious practice, demonstrating both the duality of the discourse about Zen and the fluidity of its signification. As an example of such fluidity, D.T. Suzuki presents Zen to the West as both an inexplicable spiritual practice and a more accessible aesthetic one. Zen is thus understood as inhabiting both cultural spheres or as exhibiting aspects of one or the other at various times.

In the conversation about Zen in the 1950's, presented primarily in popular and academic magazines, journals, and newspapers, the focus is on Suzuki as legitimate spokesperson and foremost authority. In contrast, the Beat's Zen discourse is seen as radical, somewhat unorthodox, and shocking, in this regard see the critical reception of Kerouac's "Zen" novel, The Dharma Bums in the third chapter of this dissertation. In the 1950's, then, the dual discourse of Zen as understood from the originary moment of Zen transmission to the United States in the 19th century, further splits into what Alan Watts called Beat and square Zen, in his essay, "Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen." A useful way to look at this conversation between the Beat writers and the magazine critics of the 1950's is that the ensuing characterization of Zen is formed through opposition or dialogue, an idea developed by Michel Pêcheux in his work, Language, Semantics and Ideology. The different versions of Zen presented to the American reading public by Suzuki and Kerouac or Snyder, as well as the critique by mainstream academics and critics are evidence of this dialogic aspect of Zen discourse production. The conversation about Zen in the 1950's often occurs between the Japanese voice (most often Suzuki's) and the Beat voice (most often Kerouac's) mediated through magazine publicity. In the
process, the complexities of Zen philosophy and practice were often simplified and modulated for an American audience. The media handling of publicity over Kerouac's presentation of Zen in *The Dharma Bums* may also be an aspect of such struggle and one in which the objectives of Kerouac are evident in the use of Zen as abetting his stance as cultural rebel. The kind of Americanized Zen writer/practitioner created through such discourse is one of the issues addressed in the case studies as well as the kind of power (including fame and notoriety) the use of Zen as radical discourse generates.

Each of the writers I discuss emphasizes different aspects of Zen in their work and as part of their contribution to the overall avant-garde project, again pointing to the fluidity of Zen as signifier. To use Bourdieu's terminology in his sociological analysis of art, what kind of cultural capital are the Beat writers negotiating with their interest in and use of Zen in their personal and avant-garde poetics? Bourdieu's ideas about the power of language presented in *Language and Symbolic Power* are even more important theoretically for the discourse analysis of this dissertation. The Beats combine Zen language and its somewhat inexplicable practice with a use of slang, ordinary language, and even obscenity to form their own alternative, native American language as the medium for their work. In relation to what English departments and mainstream critics might consider the official language of literature, Beat language is radically other, echoing the radical otherness of Zen. Interestingly enough, Herbert Marcuse in his critical writing of the 1960's, especially *One-Dimensional Man*, presents similar ideas about the power of "slang and colloquial speech," to express non-conformity to the "language of total
administration" (85). Although in this work he is pessimistic about the ability of both the avant-garde and the beatniks to avoid being co-opted by the one-dimensional society, he does seem to feel that Beat language has some radical or transformative effect.

Zen has its own theories and teachings about language. For example, words are not synonymous with truth or reality. In koan practice, a problem given by a master to a student, the answer to which (often of an irrational or non-verbal nature) demonstrates the student's enlightened state, the Zen master also seeks to deconstruct the student's ego, a process which culminates in the enlightenment experience. Such practices (often without the use of rational language) provide an alternative to Western constructions of the subject and his or her use of language.8

Zen's attitude toward words and language may also complicate a Western understanding of Zen discourse, contributing to the orientalization of Zen in its transmission to the West. Traditionally the transmission of Zen is orally from master to pupil, and Zen is a practice-based religion rather than a text-based one. The fact that the translation of traditional Zen (a religion of the "other") in its transmission to the United States from the 19th century to the 1950's was primarily done through literary texts rather than directly and orally from master to student provides a link to Said's theories of orientalism (despite the fact that Said defines orientalism primarily in terms of practices toward the Middle rather than the Far East). He points out Orientalism's text-based nature in his seminal study of that name and the fact that texts, rather than direct experience of the other, were used to produce and reproduce
information about the Orient. The fact that the writers associated with the
Beat avant-garde project presented their understanding of Zen spirituality
through a literary medium also relates to Said's theories. Said's emphasis
on texts (especially literary ones) and his interest in seeing the subject (or
individual writer) as having some active role in discourse formation
(Foucault, in contrast, seeing the subject as completely formed by
discourse), makes his theories especially useful for this project. As Said
states in *Orientalism*: "I do believe in the determining imprint of
individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts
constituting a discursive formation like Orientalism" (23). The close
reading of four authors as case studies similarly demonstrates the
individual impact of each writer's use of Zen in their writing while
contributing more or less to the larger Beat avant-garde project and to the
formation of Zen discourse in the United States in the fifties.

In addition, Said's idea that "society and literary culture can only be
understood and studied together" is behind much of what this dissertation
attempts to do in its contextualizing of Zen transmission in the chapter on
the 1890's and the 1950's (*Orientalism* 27). Such contextualization
demonstrates that parallels exist between American responses to Japanese
culture and connections Said makes between exoticism, imperialism, and
orientalism. In both of the historical context periods, there is
simultaneously intense interest in Japanese culture (aesthetic and
spiritual) and American (and Japanese) imperializing activity. The fact
that the Zen "boom" happened immediately following the defeat of Japan
in World War II may lead to considerations of the kind of political work
that Zen accomplished in the way it helped construct a different view of
defeated Japan. The writers associated with the Beat movement, via Suzuki and others, present a particular version of Zen to the West in the 1950's, the roots of which go back to the 19th century Japan craze. In both periods, Zen, and Japanese culture in general, is aestheticized (as well as exoticized and sometimes eroticized), not only to provide a compensatory other to American technologized and mechanized life, but to understand Japan as an aesthetic rather than modern and equally imperialistic power. In a sense both Japanese and Americans are using Zen to gain some kind of cultural capital and power. If, according to Said, Orientalism is a discourse about the East constructed by the West to enable the West to gain power over the East, partly by stereotyping, the Beat appropriation of Zen in the 1950's may be considered Orientalist, although Suzuki's use of Western orientalist stereotypes to purvey and popularize Zen in the 1950's may be considered a kind of reverse Orientalism. For example, Suzuki links Zen to Japanese aesthetic practice, which had already been shown to be of interest to the West, instead of presenting it as difficult spiritual practice.

V. Rationale for Organization

The organization of the dissertation's argument in two parts or sections is designed to combine literary history, discourse analysis, and literary criticism. The first section is comprised of two chapters on the reception of Zen in the 19th century and the 1950's as cultural and historical context for the second section's four chapters as case studies of the work of individual writers. Cultural context is important not only to provide historical background and demonstrate the orientalist aspects of Zen discourse, a religion which acts as cultural and literary catalyst, but
also to demonstrate parallels between two significant time periods for American importation of Japanese culture and spirituality (for example, the continuing presence of D.T. Suzuki and his version of Zen). In both contextual chapters, the emphasis is on the discourse of Zen as presented by popular magazines and journals.

The second part presents the literary analysis and close reading of the four writers as case studies for the literary influence of Zen in the 1950's. The case study is a useful way to think of these chapters because of the representative nature of their project (these four are not the only writers associated with the Beat movement who were familiar with Zen, for example) and the fact that each writer so differently used Zen to further individual as well as group goals. Reading literary analysis as case study also emphasizes the sociological and cultural direction of the dissertation. These case studies also demonstrate that the transmission of Zen to America in the 1950's occurs to a great degree as a literary phenomenon. Each of the chapters demonstrates the fluid signification of Zen in the various ways that its philosophy and aesthetics influences each writer, highlighting distinctions between their styles and subject matter as well as their understanding of Zen, what might be considered the degree to which they assimilated or orientalized Zen Buddhism. To put this more simply, each of the case studies demonstrates the use of Zen to further both individual and group goals and to both innovate personal writing practice and change society.

These four writers were chosen as case studies partly because of their close friendships and ideological and literary ties, a significant part of the group dynamics of these case studies. In addition, they were chosen
because they demonstrate the variety of Zen's influence in the 1950's as well as variations in how Zen was received in orientalist terms, that is to demonstrate Western stereotypes toward the East (including associations of exoticism and sexuality) in appropriation of a spiritual tradition via texts rather than practice. On this continuum, one can differentiate degrees by which orientalizing occurred from those who had primarily textual familiarity with Zen (Kerouac, for example), to those who had more practical understanding of Zen provided by first-hand experience of traditional practice through pilgrimage to Japan (for example, Gary Snyder in the 1950's; Gary Snyder and Joanne Kyger in the early 1960's; and Philip Whalen in the late 1960's). Not surprisingly, Kerouac was primarily responsible for its sensationalization in the 1950's, partly through a non-traditional linking of Zen with sexuality, in keeping with the exoticizing and eroticizing tendencies of orientalism. Each case study, then, is primarily devoted to an analysis of how each writer assimilates Zen to individual poetics and projects, as well as demonstrating the extent to which each presents orientalist aspects or furthers a loosely conceived Beat avant-garde project, that of changing literary culture and American culture in general. These case studies reveal, in Said's words, "the dialectic between individual text or writer and the complex collective formation to which his work is a contribution" (Orientalism 24). Kerouac, for example, considered as chief spokesperson for the Beats had more of an interest in using Zen to bolster an avant-garde aspect of the movement than did Kyger, associated more with the San Francisco Renaissance movement, and as a woman, more peripheral to the male-dominated Beat inner circle. The introductory and concluding sections of each case study will make
connections and transitions between the four writers clear. Although the order of the case studies could vary, it makes the most sense to place Kerouac first, as the writer most involved with the Beat popularization of Zen, but least involved in its practice and Kyger last, least associated with the Beat Generation's avant-garde project and most involved with Zen in relation to personal writing practice.

VI. Chapter Overview

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter presents the dissertation's thesis, a history of the question, rationale for the dissertation's terminology, for example, the characterization of the Beat use of Zen as an avant-garde practice, the methodology used, such as discourse analysis, rationale for the dissertation's organization, and a chapter overview.

Part One. Context

Chapter Two: The "Japan Craze" and The Reception of Zen in 19th Century America

I begin with an historical overview of the Japan craze of the 1890's as an originary moment for the introduction of Zen Buddhism as dual discourse of both spiritual and aesthetic practice into the United States, both through popular magazines of the time period such as Atlantic Monthly and through the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893. The first Zen missionary to the United States, Soen Shaku, made his appearance at the Exposition, bringing with him as secretary and interpreter, D.T. Suzuki who would be the driving force behind the reception of Zen in the 1950's. This 19th century context also presents parallels to the reception of Zen in
the 1950's in its characterization by Suzuki, Kakuzo Okakura, and Ernest Fenollosa, among others as privileging its aesthetic aspects over its somewhat curious spiritual practice. The discourse about Japanese aesthetics and Zen is also part of the greater conversation about the possibility of mutual understanding between East and West, begun in the 19th century and continued in the 1950's indicating that in both time periods similar imperialistic and orientalizing forces are involved.

Chapter Three: Making Zen a Household Word: The Beat Avant-Garde and the Popularization of Zen in the Fifties

This chapter demonstrates how interest in and popularization of Zen as dual discourse in the 1950's occurs similarly to the 19th century in the shadow of imperialism in the aftermath of World War II. It is also synchronous with the sensationalizing of the Beat movement writers who used Zen language, philosophy, and practice as part of their literary innovations and avant-garde project. Their use of Zen occurs in dialogue with academic, critical, and bourgeois reactions primarily in magazines and journals. The discourse of Zen is differentiated even further into Beat Zen and square Zen, a distinction first made by Alan Watts in a 1957 article for Chicago Review. In a sense, the Beat writers, though continuing to emphasize Zen's aesthetic aspect, moved Zen's dual discourse in a more spiritual (though radical) direction. The coalescing of Zen discourse around the Beat project also indicates attitudes toward Japanese culture after World War II especially in relation to the possibility for communication between East and West still unresolved from the previous century.

Part Two. Case Studies
Chapter Four: Jack Kerouac's Zen Period: Writing Buddha, Zen Lunacy

Jack Kerouac is the only one of the four case studies who never formally studied Zen or traveled to Japan, in spite of being its primary popularizer through his novel, *The Dharma Bums*. He thus demonstrates orientalist aspects in his presentation of Zen, especially as he exoticizes and sensationalizes it. Although he was seemingly less interested in Zen than in other forms of Buddhism (his self-avowed interest in Zen being in its relation to haiku poetry), as spokesman for and one of the primary theorists of the Beat Generation, he uses radical aspects of Zen, such as its association with spontaneity, irrationality, and lunacy, to bolster the avant-garde nature of his work. Consequently, this chapter presents Kerouac's complex attitude toward Zen demonstrated not only in his haiku practice as Beat hallmark, but also in his use of Zen personae such as Writing Buddha, Zen Lunatic, and dharma bum as a way to inspire his own writing (and further his Beat avant-garde project), in the process distancing himself from his academic and bourgeois critics in 1950's America.

Chapter Five: Philip Whalen: "Slices of the Paideuma for All Sentient Beings"

Philip Whalen was early associated with Zen Buddhism by fellow poets and critics. This chapter explores the basis for this association in an examination of Whalen's poetry and prose of the 1950's and early 1960's. Whalen is perhaps the most formally experimental of writers associated with the Beat movement in modernist terms and within the Anglo-American literary tradition. He uses Zen philosophy and practice as a framework by which to view reality and as the basis for innovations of
form and content that aim to shock readers into change (part of the avant-garde aspect of his work) on a variety of levels: literary, personal, and social. He also uses Zen epistemology as an alternative to Western ways of understanding how knowledge is acquired and language used. Also interested in the Chinese model of poet-scholar and the Ch'an/Zen model of poet-priest, he is the only writer of these four to become a Zen priest, thus enacting this role in his own life.

Chapter Six: Gary Snyder: Dharma Bum, Buddhist Anarchist

Gary Snyder has been most often associated with Zen by literary critics because of his involvement with traditional Zen practice beginning with his nearly ten-year study in Japanese Zen monasteries from the mid-1950's. This chapter demonstrates Snyder's politicization of Zen, a stance which diverges from the more apolitical one of traditional Japanese practice, and epitomized by the essay, "Buddhist Anarchism," his seminal statement on a socially conscious Zen Buddhism. Here and in his early poetry, including Myths and Texts and his translation of Han-shan’s "Cold Mountain Poems," Snyder demonstrates connections between the interdependence of all things, a doctrine of Zen via the Mahayana Buddhist Avatamsaka Sutra, Buddhist compassion, and anarchist independence, mainly using the persona of the dharma bum along with its variations of Coyote, Trickster, and shaman, to reconcile the sociopolitical and spiritual. In the end, his demonstration of Zen's potential as avant-garde discourse has as much to do with his Northwest Coast origins and connections to the I.W.W. and anarchism, as it does with traditional Zen practice.

Chapter Seven: Daily Practice, Writing Practice: Zen Traces in Joanne Kyger's Poetry
Joanne Kyger was an early practitioner of Zen, especially after her marriage to Gary Snyder and her move to Japan in 1960 where she and Snyder were a part of the First Zen Institute of America in Japan. As the only female treated in this dissertation, Kyger is least associated with the Beat avant-garde project, partly due to her alliance with the San Francisco Renaissance movement and partly due to her late arrival on the Beat scene. Hence for Kyger, Zen influences are primarily directed toward personal stylistic innovations and writing practice. Her emphasis is on incorporating into her work the expanded consciousness which she gained through Zen practice in conjunction with her interest in psychotherapy, thus including a psychological aspect to Zen discourse. This chapter also focuses on Kyger's growing realization of the importance of recording the ordinariness of daily life (an aspect of Zen practice) in poetry and journals. Along with other writers associated with the Beat movement, she shares an interest in the use of the journal as genre and publication venue. Kyger's poetry thus demonstrates the avant-garde intent to integrate art and life, though not necessarily in association with Beat Zen.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

In the conclusion I seek to sum up the similarities and differences of the approaches of these four writers and the characterization of Zen as avant-garde discourse they presented to American readers in the 1950's and early 1960's. I look briefly at how Zen philosophy and practice continue to inform their work and also play a significant part in American literary culture, for example, in the development of ecocriticism. In addition, the philosophy of Zen as it decenters Western ideas of the subject and his or her use of language (there being no subject or individual mind
in Zen practice), connects Zen with postmodernism. I also discuss the Americanization of Zen in the later 1960's and 1970's in America in which the 1950's text-based understanding of Zen leads to a more practice-based one. This is despite the fact that the Beat's version of Zen as radical and anarchic practice also negatively affects the naturalization of Zen as evidenced in the scandals which hit the San Francisco Zen Center. Ultimately, Zen's ability to act as a fluid signifier, especially in its dual aspect, leads to its continued ability to contribute to popular culture, evidenced by Zen's association with various self-help projects, for example creative or innovative approaches to writing, or by its appropriation by the design and fashion industry.

As is evident from this outline, I have attempted to move in a number of directions in this dissertation in my examination of the reception and assimilation of Zen by the writers associated with the Beat Generation in the 1950's. In doing so I trust I have demonstrated the significance of Zen's influence on American culture from its first introduction in the late 19th century up to today.
ENDNOTES

1. According to the Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen, Ch'an or Zen is a school of Mahayana Buddhism which developed in China in the 6th and 7th centuries. The traditional account is that it was brought to China from India by Bodhidharma. Zen stresses the practice of zazen or sitting meditation. Its tenets (attributed to Bodhidharma) can be summarized in four statements: special transmission outside the teaching; nondependence on writings; direct pointing to the human heart; and realization of one's nature and becoming a buddha.

2. A discussion of the popular and literary reception of Zen in early to mid 20th century America as a carrying on of the Zen transmission by Japanese and Americans begun in the 19th century might be considered a missing chapter of this dissertation. This would include Japanese Zen missionaries such as Sokei-an and Senzaki who were disciples of Soen Shaku, along with the continued presence of D.T. Suzuki primarily through his magazine, the Eastern Buddhist, whose articles grew into his series of essays on Zen. Of the three, Nyogen Senzaki, who would be included in the Chicago Review Zen issue along with Suzuki, was less prominent in the United States. The "Note on Contributors" for this Zen issue gives his biography as "student of Soen Shaku, the first Zen master to visit America. Senzaki-san left Soen's monastery to become a wandering Zen monk. He wandered to California in 1905 and still conducts classes in Los Angeles" (109). Note the omission of more political information about Senzaki here, such as his internment. American literary movements such as imagism and objectivism (especially as theorized by Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams) borrowed from Japanese haiku practice. Both of these writers were important influences for the writers associated with the Beat Generation. In addition, this chapter would include the growing amount of literature translated from the Japanese and Chinese, most notably by Ezra Pound in continued the work of Fenollosa, and by the British writer, Arthur Waley, whose translations had a major impact on American writers.

3. Earl Miner also makes the point about Japan as a meeting ground for East and West as an idea of interest to Americans in the conclusion of his work, The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature, 1958, which he sees as "the single persistent idea which Japan has contributed to our writers, although it has been so fertile in provision of literary forms" (271). In the 1966 preface to his second edition, he adds some comments about the popularity of Zen in the 1950's and makes some interesting connections between Zen and haiku. However, this is not a major part of his original work, which ends pretty much with Pound and Yeats.

4. In this regard, a number of works treat these writers as members of the Beat Generation. Kyger is included in the anthology, Women of the Beat Generation, 1996, edited by Brenda Knight. All of the writers I discuss are included in the 1996 anthology, The Beat Book, edited by Anne Waldman. Also see the Ann Charters' Introduction to her anthology, Beat Down to
Your Soul. A contemporary categorization of the poets treated in this
dissertation occurs in Donald Allen's 1960 anthology, *The New American
Poetry: 1945-1960*, which lists Kerouac as a member of the Beat Generation,
and Snyder and Whalen as "younger poets who have been associated with
and in some cases influenced by the leading writers of the preceding
groups" with "no geographical definition." (Though contradictorily they
are described as growing up in the Northwest.) Note that Kyger is not
included in the American edition of this work. Albert Saljo and Lew Welch,
part of the group surrounding Kerouac and the Beat avant-garde and part
of the Zen scene, lived in Hyphen-House, nearby East-West House where
Zenists such as Whalen lived. Note that Donald Allen includes Lew Welch
with the group of San Francisco Renaissance poets.

5. As Ginsberg puts it in his foreword to *The Beat Book*, the "Beat
Generation literary movement" of Kerouac and East Coast friends was
"augmented" in the mid-1950's by San Francisco writers among others who
all "accepted the term 'beat' at one time or another" and were included in
various magazine and newspaper articles on the Beat Generation.
Ginsberg also includes Kerouac, Kyger, Snyder, and Whalen, among others,
as writers interested in meditation and Buddhism (xiv-xv).

6. For the Beats as apolitical and self-centered see the second chapter on
the 1950's. The Beats are often still viewed in this way. For such recent
views of the Beat Generation as apolitical (the opposite view of this
dissertation) see the entry on the Beats in the *Princeton Encyclopedia of
Poetry and Poetics*, for example in which Beat poets is a "term applied to a
loosely knit group of Amer. lyric poets identified more by period of
productivity (1955-60), by common outlets [...] and by a sharing of social
attitudes (apolitical, anti-intellectual, romantic nihilism - 'beat' meaning
variously 'beaten down,' 'beaten up,' and beatific') than by stylistic,
themetic, or formal unity of expression" (73). For a more recent view of
writers in the 1950's including Beat writer Allen Ginsberg, as not part of
an avant-garde tradition, see Marjorie Perloff's chapter, "A Step Away
concludes this chapter by stating that "'Counterculture' poetics of the 1950s
is thus a far cry from the avant-garde of the early century." In
comparison to the Russian avant-garde of the 1910s and 1920s who were
"committed to the overthrow of the old order [...] the oppositional' poetry
of the fifties was cool (the temperature of the Cold War) rather than hot,
mordant and witty performance rather than its more contemplative,
engaged, and analytical European postwar counterpart [...] ." Even the
"overtly political Ginsberg" made no comment on upheavals of Suez or
Hungary in 1956, "preoccupied [...] by personal questions" (114).

It is interesting to note that Marcuse, in several statements made by
him in the 1960's and reprinted in the second volume of his collected
papers, *Towards a Critical Theory of Society*, specifically alludes to
"beatniks," in one essay they are "decadents" or "poor refuge of defamed
humanity" ("Political Preface to *Fros and Civilization*" 103). In another
they are one way that the "individual appears in bourgeois society," which
is "on the margin and against his society. The individual becomes
authentic as outcast, drug addict, sick or genius. Some of this authenticity
is still preserved in the 'bohemian,' even in the beatnik; both groups represent vaguely protected and permitted manifestations of individual freedom and happiness not enjoyed by the citizen who defines freedom and happiness in terms of his government and society rather than on his own terms" ("The Individual in the Great Society" 71-2). Individuality will also be an important association that the 19th century commentators will make with Zen Buddhism.

7. Ross also comments on specific devices of the dadaists which seem to recall Zen practice in her article for Mademoiselle. Several critics in addition to Nancy Wilson Ross have made connections between Zen and Dada. Note Thomas Hoover's Zen Culture comparison of Zen gardeners use of found objects similarly to the practice of Dadaists and Surrealists (111). A more extensive study of Zen/Dada affinities is Won Ko's work, Buddhist Elements in Dada. He records the impact of Dada on Japanese literature of the 1920's and names Takahashi Shinkichi as the major poet of the Japanese Dada movement. His work reveals "a fascinating blend of Dada and Buddhism, especially Zen" (11). Won names two primary issues his book explores in this regard: the interest in the "notion of nothingness, the discredit of words and logic, and lack of conventionality found in Buddhist ideas and the affinity between Dada and Zen in terms of "a paradoxical, often totally illogical and sometimes non-verbal presentation of essence" (11-12). He will also include such ideas of "nothingness, illogicality, spontaneous simplicity, and simultaneity" (103).

8. In regard to avant-garde practices and the use of language, see Raymond Williams's essay, "Language and the Avant-Garde" in The Politics of Modernism. He writes of "the important inclusion [...] of the everyday vernacular has to be distinguished not only formally but formationally from that rehearsal and miming of what is known [...] as Vox Pop: that linguistic contrivance for political and commercial reach and control" (79-80).

CHAPTER 2

THE "JAPAN CRAZE" AND THE RECEPTION OF ZEN IN 19TH CENTURY AMERICA

I. Introduction

The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions provides a definition of Zen, a Japanese sect of Mahayana Buddhism, deriving the term from Sanskrit dhyana (meditation) through Chinese Ch’an to Japanese Zen, and summarizing Zen tenets in the four lines attributed to Bodhidharma who brought Ch’an/Zen to China from India: "A special transmission outside the scriptures/Not founded on words and letters/By pointing directly to mind/It allows one to penetrate the nature of things to attain the buddha nature." The entry concludes by emphasizing Zen's practical nature in relation to its understanding of truth: "To know this [truth] intellectually is very different from realizing it as experienced truth; and Zen developed many ways of seeking and seeing that unity - hence the immense cultural consequences of Zen" (1066). Although one might find variations on this definition of Zen in other religious encyclopedias and dictionaries, the basic idea would remain that a major component of Zen is meditation and that Zen is transmitted from master to pupil without scriptures. More importantly, it is seen as having both spiritual and aesthetic aspects and has influenced both spiritual and artistic traditions of Japan.
As context for the reception of Zen in the 1950's (the primary focus of this dissertation), this chapter presents an argument for the naturalization of Zen in America in the 19th century as dual discourse (Zen as aesthetic and religious phenomenon) with the eventual privileging of the aesthetic, an understanding continued into the 1950's.\(^1\) The chapter begins with an originary moment: the Columbian Exposition of 1893 where for the first time both aspects of Zen were physically present in America. The religious aspect was personified by Soen Shaku, a Zen priest of the Rinzai sect who came as part of the Japanese Buddhist delegation to the Parliament, and the aesthetic aspect was represented by Japan's exhibition at the Exposition, the Ho-oden, a replica of a Buddhist temple whose catalogue written by Kakuzo Okakura presents Zen's influence on Japanese culture to American audiences. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to an historical overview of the formation of Zen as dual discourse by Americans and Japanese beginning with religious and moving to aesthetic commentators, in the process demonstrating the complexity of Zen's transmission and the fluidity of Zen's signification. In addition, this chapter demonstrates parallels to the later period in Zen's naturalization such as the use of popular magazines as a medium for Zen discourse as well as rhetorical tactics and orientalist aspects of that discourse, especially as part of the conversation about the possibilities for mutual understanding between East (Japan) and West (United States).

Although a number of authors on Zen Buddhist influences on American culture point to the appearance of Soen Shaku at the World's Parliament of Religious as the first significant event for the transmission of Zen to the West, my discussion of Zen in late 19th century America is
significant in demonstrating that the World's Parliament and Columbian Exposition is more like an exclamation point to a conversation that had already begun in the decade before the fair.\textsuperscript{2} The amount of material available to the American public, primarily through the print media of magazines and previously undiscussed in prior studies of the period, indicates that Zen is treated as dual discourse from a variety of points of view. American religious figures, literary enthusiasts, artists, and art historians, as well as by the Japanese themselves. Each of these groups uses the somewhat esoteric Zen Buddhism as a way to prove their authenticity and ability to speak about and for Japanese culture, using it as a form of cultural capital. This chapter will detail patterns and strategies in these characterizations of Zen, proceeding in a chronological order, so as to note changes in the conversation about Zen over time.

The earliest characterizations of Zen in the 1880's come primarily from the clergy and are fairly uniform in agreement that Zen is a spiritual and religious practice with an emphasis on contemplation, transmitted without words or the aid of scriptures. This spiritual understanding of Zen is often disparaged and seen as curious, contradictory, and flawed in comparison to Christianity. More positive attitudes are demonstrated toward Zen's influence on Japanese aesthetics and material culture, permitting appropriation without conversion and appreciation instead of practice. The association of Zen with aesthetics in the 1890's also shows the influence of the Japan Craze, a term for the American enthusiasm and collecting mania for Japanese material culture in the late 19th century.\textsuperscript{3} That American appreciation for Japanese aesthetics included an interest in Japanese spirituality is evidenced by Zen's translation into terms.
Americans could readily assimilate. The Japan Craze, in providing an idealistic and aesthetic alternative to Americans, points to underlying compensatory and appropriative needs in late 19th century American materialistic and imperialistic society.⁴

This chapter also reads Zen discourse as orientalist against a backdrop of American and Japanese imperialism of the late 19th century. The translation of Zen to an American context is a way to see American intervention in Japan as benevolent as well as a way to see Japanese imperialism's military triumphs over China in 1895 and Russia in 1905 as less threatening. Japan continues to be seen as a producer of art rather than artillery. The discourse about Zen at this time is part of the greater conversation about the relations between West (United States) and East (Japan) and the possibility for mutual understanding and communication between the two. A complementary presentation of Zen to the West by Soen Shaku and Kakuzo Okakura, on the spiritual and aesthetic realms respectively, demonstrates the similar use of Zen by the Japanese in a polemical fashion, what I call a reverse Orientalism and what James Ketelaar calls occidentalism in his study of Buddhism in Meiji Japan, Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan. In presenting Zen to Americans, these Japanese commentators use Western stereotypes of Japan to their advantage. They define Zen in ways that emphasize its ability to show Japanese culture as modern in Western terms both on scientific and personal levels, while continuing to link Zen to aesthetic practices. However, even the Japanese downplay the contemplative aspects of Zen to make it more appealing to the West, knowing that the more negative responses to Zen come from its seemingly contradictory spirituality rather
than its aesthetics. Turning to the fall of 1893 will begin to make these claims more clear.

II. American Zen's Orignary Moment

Zen's originary moment as dual discourse comes at the Columbian Exposition held in 1893 to mark the quadricentennial of Columbus's discovery of America. World's fairs were important venues for the presentation of Japanese culture to the United States in the 19th century, and the Columbian Exposition was no exception. The Exposition presented Zen through aesthetic culture, while the World's Parliament of Religions, one of the congresses held in conjunction with the fair, presented Zen as religious phenomenon. Instigated by Protestant minister, John Barrows, the Parliament was envisioned as a major religious and ecumenical phenomenon, although some felt its purpose was to show Christianity's superiority over other world religions, according to Fields in his study of the Americanization of Buddhism (How the Swans Came to the Lake 121). Seager in his book length study of the Parliament characterizes it as ideological landscape against which the East/West debate can be read (46). A number of Asian Buddhists and Hindus were represented and made a strong showing, among them Zen Buddhist priest, Soen Shaku. Soen Shaku's appearance at the Parliament, accompanied by D.T. Suzuki as translator, and their subsequent meeting and association with Paul Carus, was a seminal event in Zen's transmission to the United States and would prove even more significant to American understanding of Zen in the 1950's through the continuing proselytizing efforts of Suzuki. However, although Soen personified Zen Buddhism, his message was not
about Zen tenets, a pattern which continued in Soen's published writings in American turn-of-the-century periodicals. He speaks and writes about a generalized Mahayana Buddhism, emphasizing the idea that Buddhism is more in tune with Western scientific ideas and culture than is Christianity. He represents the Zen priest as poet, scholar, and calligrapher, thus expressing the dual discourse of Zen in his person.

Aptly, Soen's first speech at the Parliament (in the record of the Parliament as being read by Barrows), entitled, "The Law of Cause and Effect as Taught by Buddha," presents Buddhism not in terms of its essential nature or its differences from Christianity, but in a way that shows it to be both in keeping with Western morality and able to encompass new developments in Western science such as Darwin's theory of evolution. His rhetorical strategy is a reverse orientalism in which he uses the stereotypes of the West toward Buddhism to his advantage. His strategy also uses the pragmatic Buddhist concept of upaya or skillful means, which, according to the Shambhala dictionary of Buddhist terms, means that bodhisattvas use "all possible methods and ruses from straightforward talk to the most conspicuous miracles" to "guide beings to liberation." He turns Western negative attitudes toward Buddhism, lack of a personal God for example, into positive aspects in response to the pressures of Western modern life. This pattern will be evident not only in Soen's presentation of Zen, but also later in Kakuzo Okakura's published writings on Zen.

The aesthetic aspect of Zen was represented through Japan's major exhibition at the Exposition, the Ho-oden or Phoenix Palace, a replica of a Buddhist temple which workers sent from Japan constructed on site and whose interior contained displays of Japanese material culture.
was given almost favored status with a choice location of the fairgrounds, the Wooded Isle, for this building. Its interior was decorated by members of the Tokyo Art Academy whose director as of 1890 was Kakuzo Okakura. The catalogue written by Kakuzo Okakura, *Illustrated Description of the Ho-o-den (Phoenix Hall) at the World's Columbian Exhibition*, presents Zen's associations with the artistic culture of Japan to the American fairgoers.

Okakura describes the Ho-o-den as a replica of the Phoenix Hall adapted for "secular use" (13). In discussing the three periods of art represented, he mentions Buddhism as influential in bringing Chinese art to Japan in the earliest as well as the later period. He characterizes this third period as a new art-life begun under the influence of Zen Buddhism ("orthodox sect of the Northern, Mahayana, School of Buddhists") (20) and the teachings of Chinese philosophers of the Sung dynasty. The Ho-o-den also features a tea room, described by Okakura as an aspect of Ashikaga culture influenced by Zen Buddhism in which all "appliances" are "noted for simplicity of taste" (23). The wing's library with poetry books and special paper for writing poems is significant for the American understanding of Zen as literary phenomenon and points ahead to associations between Zen and haiku poetry that Basil Hall Chamberlain will make in the publications of the Asiatic Society of Japan. This connection will also become significant in Zen's appropriation by writers associated with the Beat movement.

Okakura's catalogue was not the only publication where average fair-goers could read about Zen influences on the arts of Japan. *History of the World Fair*, by Major Ben C. Truman and others, 1893, devotes a chapter to the Wooded Isle, in which the Hoodo or Japanese building is named as one
of the "gems" of the fair with its three pavilions each representing three epochs in the history of Japanese art. The author describes the Ashikaga period as one when Japan, "emerging from the war of the two dynasties, started into a new art-life under the influence of Zen-Buddhism and Lung [Sung] philosophy" with "purity and simplicity" as the motto (431), apparently an unacknowledged paraphrase of Okakura's catalogue. Although not the only exhibition of Japanese art and material cultural at the fair, Okakura's presentation of Zen and Truman's paraphrase are significant in demonstrating that Zen associations with the artistic culture of Japan were presented to the American public at the fair in a popular context, complementing the spiritual presentation of Zen by the appearance of Soen Shaku at the Parliament.

The remainder of this chapter will present further characterizations of Zen (primarily through the medium of magazines and journals) in the development of its dual aspect, as well as rhetorical tactics used in the discourse about Zen at the turn-of-the-century, culminating in the privileging of Zen as aesthetic discourse. The conversation about Zen at this time also broaches the question of possible communication between West and East. Although some of the publications in which this conversation takes place are fairly specialized or esoteric and are those presenting Zen as religious discourse, for example, the Andover Review or the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, other more widely read and popular print venues such as Harper's, Scribner's, Century Magazine, or Atlantic Monthly, demonstrate Zen's affinity for the arts. The survey of Zen discourse will begin with the earlier spiritual characterizations and end with the aesthetic.
III. Zen Discourse Produced as Religious Commentary

Common sense might predict that the earliest notice of Zen Buddhism in America would come from the American religious community who were trying to find out about Japanese religions in order to proselytize for Christianity abroad. The missionary effort came with the importation of Western educators (many of whom were ministers due to the synergy between understanding and reading English both to modernize and to proselytize with the Bible as text) as part of a general Japanese move toward modernization by the Meiji government which came to power in 1868. Modernization might be said to have begun with Commodore Perry's opening of Japan to the West in 1853, his peaceful "invasion" marking the beginning of close ties between the two countries and an added reason for the use of American expertise. The discourse about Zen produced by these American ministers and educators (often without acknowledging their Japanese informants by name) presents Zen as a curious spiritual practice, especially in regard to its contemplative practice, which is both contradictory and problematic. Thus the way commentators characterize Buddhist meditation practice (either with negative spiritualist connotations or with more positive philosophic ones), is a key to their attitude toward Zen. Such commentary ranges from the objective, interested, and informational, James of 1881 and Lloyd or 1894, for example, to the subjective and judgemental, such as Gordon and Lowell in 1886, the latter predominating.

The OED gives the earliest citation for Zen in English as an 1881 article by J.M. James, entitled, "Descriptive Notes on the Rosaries as Used by
the Different Sects of Buddhists in Japan" and published in the
Transactions of the Asiatic Society, an important venue for the discourse
about Zen founded in 1872.14 The article by James, who identifies himself
as a "student of Buddhism" (173), is significant not so much for detailed
information (Zen is mentioned only briefly), but to show a major venue for
Zen discourse, the Asiatic Society, and the practice of comparing Zen to
Western religions. James considers Zen fairly neutrally as one of several
sects of Japanese Buddhism. In relation to Christianity, he notes its
similarities to Catholicism. Subsequent articles about Zen provide similar
information on Zen as a contemplative sect of Japanese Buddhism, in a
comparative context to Christianity, although usually in more negative
terms than those of James.15

An example of an article which highlights Zen's inconsistencies and
puzzling aspects, though with fairly accurate information about its
connection with samurai and "literati," is one published in 1886 by M.L.
Gordon in the Andover Review.16 Gordon's article seems objectively
informational with a hidden agenda directed toward missionary types who
might want information about Buddhism in order to gain an advantage in
proselytizing. As he puts it, better understanding of Japanese Buddhism
will give us less of a "disadvantage" (310). Gordon emphasizes the
authenticity of his information at the same time emphasizing his own
disinterestedness in Buddhism, mentioning the use of an informant,
nameless and referred to as a "disciple of the sect employed recently to
teach the essentials of their belief" to "an unpromising pupil" (305).17
Specifically, he describes Zen as the "Dhyana" or contemplative school
introduced into China from India by Bodhidharma, whose characteristic is
that it claims to be "sutra-less." "Language is an imperfect vehicle for thought [. . .] 'Heart speaks to heart,' is its favorite formula" (305). Gordon here demonstrates his own attitude toward Zen, noting inconsistencies in its use of certain sutras as aids to "contemplation" and incongruities in Zen's use of images in its temples for which his informant has only "a shrug of the shoulders in reply" (305), thus indicating Gordon's skepticism. However, he is not much more understanding toward other sects he describes, his point being to demonstrate the varieties of Japanese Buddhism and its contradictions with implicit comparison to an uncontradictory Christianity.

Around the time of the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions, the number of articles on Japanese Buddhism, including those on Zen, increased. One of these which adds to negative characterizations of Zen's contemplative practice, "Developments of Japanese Buddhism," is by Rev. A Lloyd in the 1894 Transactions of the Asiatic Society. Lloyd discusses Zen in great detail, but again with negative conclusions about its spiritual practice. Similarly to previous commentators, he states that Zen's method to "Truth" is "abstract contemplation" (374), and it is transmitted heart to heart without words. He includes the story of wall-gazing Bodhidharma as bringing this "silent understanding" to China. However, he qualifies his seemingly objective presentation by commenting that Zen's method is an "utterly impractical method of arriving at Truth" (430). Though Lloyd's treatment of Zen sometimes seems appreciative, he concludes by describing the physical practice of meditation negatively, with its incongruous and paradoxical nature combined with an extreme passivity: "to think
unthinking, i.e., he is to sit in a kind of mesmeric condition, with an entire absence of all formulated thought" (437).21

Perhaps the most negative allusion to Zen's passivity, a quality Buddhism in general evinced for Western commentators, appears in Percival Lowell's book on Shinto, Occult Japan: Shinto, Shamanism, and the Way of the Gods. Here Lowell mentions Zen in contrasting Buddhist trance practices to Shinto possession trances, distinguishing between Buddhist possession and meditation (which also lapses into trance). For Lowell, the two, though dammingly similar, might be distinguished in that meditation is the "etherialization of one's personality rather than change into another's (possession). Note that Lowell's use of the more negative term, trance, or possession, and associations with the occult in his book's title, contrast with more neutral, even positive and philosophic terms for dhyana used by most Western scholars at this time such as contemplation, or less commonly, abstraction. For Lowell, "Zen sects are greatest adepts in thus losing themselves," implying loss of personality or individuality in this process (165).22

An exhaustive treatment of Japanese Buddhism including a section on Zen with information similar to Lloyd and other American ministers and educators appeared in 1895: The Religions of Japan by W.E. Griffis, whose purpose is to "paint a picture of the past" indicating the project's anti-modern aspect (vii).23 First presented as a series of Morse lectures and subsequently published in book form, The Religions of Japan was also widely accessible which enhances its ability to demonstrate American popular attitudes toward Zen. He also provides much general information about Japanese Buddhism in a positive manner, especially in regard to
Buddhist influences on Japanese art. Griffis emphasizes the fact that his information was gained in Japan and provides specific Japanese sources in the many footnotes to the volume, among which are Bunyiu Nanjio and Soen Shaku, thus increasing his authenticity factor.24

Griffis demonstrates a critical and skeptical attitude toward Zen's contemplative practice: "too often this idea of Buddhahood, consisting of absolute freedom from matter and thought, means practically mind-murder, and the emptiness of idle reverie" (255). His use of the word, emptiness, here calls up Zen's interest in emptying the mind in meditation while punning with the idea that Zen may also be considered to be empty of value, its meditation practice understood as reverie or daydreaming. Zen, the contemplative sect, teaches that "the truth is not in tradition or in books, but in one's self," with emphasis on "introspection rather than on language." Zen is a "movement in the direction of simplicity" and a secret doctrine (252-3).25 He also provides the story of Bodhidharma or Daruma, the Wall-Gazing Buddha who sat in meditation for nine years facing a wall during which time his legs atrophied and fell off.26 Similarly to Gordon, he mentions a disparity between Zen's claims and practitioners' actions implying hypocrisy.27 In the end, his presentation of Zen is more negative than positive.

In contrast to Western commentators on Zen, it may be useful to examine their sources of information: Bunjio Nanjio and Soen Shaku. These sources often give a more positive spin to Zen practices, attempt to use Zen tenets to demonstrate the modernity of Japanese culture, or present only the aesthetic aspect of Zen.28 Bunjio Nanjio, a student of Sanskrit under the direction of Max Muller, in his work, A Short History of the
Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, 1886, presents not so much his own thoughts on Zen, but translated commentaries by the Zen priest, Ken-ko Tsuji.\textsuperscript{29} Tsuji claims that Zen needs to be studied under a teacher and characterizes it as "special transmission independent of a common teaching and not established on any letter or word" (114). His account differs from those of Western commentators in its more historical orientation, providing much specific information about Zen patriarchs for example.\textsuperscript{30} However, Zen history is apparently irrelevant to the West at this time because most of it is not carried over to the Western discourse about Zen. On the other hand, the more sensational anecdotes Tsuji provides about Bodhidharma are, indicating the orientalist nature of Zen discourse in American interest in appropriating the exotic and curious.

A more dynamic figure for the West was Soen Shaku, probably the most prominent representative of Zen in the United States at the end of the 19th century. Unlike Nanjio or Tsuji, Soen Shaku is not interested in describing the characteristics of Zen, only to possibly meet with skepticism or amusement. Instead, he seeks to use the Mahayana doctrine of upaya or skillful means to present a generalized form of Mahayana Buddhism in a way the West can understand.\textsuperscript{31} His primary contribution to Zen transmission is to embody Zen as aesthetic discourse in his role of poet-priest and scholar-priest, particularly in his articles for The Monist and The Open Court, journals which presented articles on alternative spiritualities and philosophies with an underlying scientific and empirical bent.\textsuperscript{32} It is ultimately the fact of his appearance (the aura of authenticity) along with the context in which he appears and the artistic, scholarly, and elitist associations of his appearances that will be most
significant for 19th and 20th century reception of Zen. In this regard, Soen is always identified as a Zen priest usually with the title, Rt. Rev. or Rev. or the infrequent appellation, "Abbot of temples of the Zen sect." The publication of his poetry in articles from 1894 to 1904 provides an aesthetic overlay to the understanding of what a Zen priest was like for the West and helps reinforce perceptions of Zen as aesthetic discourse especially in connection with Japanese literature, echoed by Chamberlain and Hearn in their articles on Japanese culture. Perhaps the 19th century aversion to Zen’s contemplative aspect was reinforced by the way Soen presented Zen to the American public in his emphasis on Zen’s aesthetic qualities.

Soen’s articles for The Monist and The Open Court, move back and forth between Soen as poet and as polemicist for Buddhism’s modernity, the aesthetic discourse with elitist overtones predominating. Soen as poet-priest is presented as an erudite scholar as evident in January 1894, when The Monist presents a poem by him written in Chinese characters with literal translation as well as extensive footnotes. Soen is one who "holds the highest ecclesiastical position of the Zen sect, one of the most prominent Buddhist churches of Japan" (161). The editor adds the comment that "it takes a scholar to write such poetry," (162) implying either that Soen is foremost a poet and scholar or that Zen priests write poetry. The poem of four lines with four dedicatory lines is about the unity of all men and reads as follows:

Men are red yellow also black (and) white.
But the path (of righteousness) has not south north west (or) east
If any one) does not believe (this) (let him) look (in the) heavens
above (at the)moon
clear light fills entirely (and) penetrates (the) grand vault (of the) firmament (1-4).

Soen presents a color-line-less society and the unity of all humans under the aegis of (Zen)Buddhism in contrast to the actual discrimination and racism of American society and society in general. He does this not through sermonizing, but more effectively through poetic imagery.

In contrast, typical of the kinds of appeals Soen makes in his polemical articles are those in "The Doctrine of Nirvana," 1896 for The Open Court. Here Soen writes generally about Mahayana Buddhism taking up topics of interest to an American audience and demonstrating Buddhism's ability to deal with American modernity. In this article, Soen emphasizes that Buddhism does not "demand blind faith" (5167) and that it is "not at variance with those scientific truths which have been discovered by [. . .] modern thinkers of the West" (5168). Here he compliments the West by demonstrating its advances while putting in a word for Buddhism. He does differentiate between Buddhism's more intellectual versus its more sentimental doctrines, but does not indicate his own position or that of Zen in this differentiation. He concludes by defining the highest form of Nirvana as positive and optimistic, at variance with conventional American associations of Nirvana with nihilism.

Soen returns to the more low key and less polemical in February 1899, presenting himself to the American audience as poet and practitioner of calligraphy, considered as an art in Japan. The article entitled, "Japanese Calligraphy," acknowledges Buddhist similarities to Christianity and uses these affinities positively. The article focuses on an image of Jizo (a Bodhisattva) as "omnipresent, fatherly love" (120) with
Soen's poem about Jizo and translation into English: "Throughout the three worlds I am everywhere/All creatures as my loved children I cherish./And though e'en time and space may perish./I shall ne'er cease to embrace them in prayer" (121). This more emotional presentation of Buddhism stands in comparison to the more logical, philosophical aspect presented in the previous two articles, while reinforcing the aesthetic aspect of Soen's discourse.

Soen comes to prominence again during the time of the Russo-Japanese war when Japan is again in the news, indicating his position as one of the primary Japanese commentators. In 1904, two articles on the Russo-Japanese war, "Buddhist View of War," and "At the Battle of Nan-Shan Hill," appear in The Open Court, demonstrating the interest the United States took in Japan's conflict with Russia and American sympathy with the Japanese who were seen as more Western and civilized than the Russians. Although it seems contradictory for a Zen priest to condone war, that is what Soen does in these articles, his point being the triumph over evil along with the rationalization of Japanese imperialism for an American audience. In "At the Battle of Nan-Shan Hill," he states that war is an evil, "but war against evils must be unflinchingly prosecuted till we attain the final aim." According to Soen, Japan has sought to subjugate evils "hostile to civilisation, peace, and enlightenment." Is Soen making a play on words with enlightenment here with its connotations with Buddhist awakening? War is a "price we must pay for our ideals [...]" (708); this is another rationalization of imperialism. The article ends with a poem that Soen composed on the field of battle, thus concluding with a suggestion that Soen is civilized indeed if he can compose verse on the tragedy of war. He
combines art and religion here to glorify and justify war as well as to reassure American readers that Japan’s aggression is justified. In contrast to Japanese militarism, poetry and Zen form an enlightened front with poetry and the aesthetic used as skilful means in Soen’s Zen discourse.

IV. Zen Discourse Produced as Literary Commentary

Although religious commentators vary between those presenting negative and positive characterizations of Zen as spiritual discourse as well as those re-presenting Zen spirituality in aesthetic terms for the late 19th century American audience, aesthetic commentators are more united in presenting a positive attitude toward Zen as aesthetic discourse. This consensus reinforces the dual aspect of Zen originally presented at the Columbian Exposition and embodied in Soen Shaku as a Zen priest and poet. The final sections of this chapter will present the aesthetic discourse of Zen in its variety, indicating a continued prejudice against Zen’s spirituality by writers, artists, and art historians and the use of Zen to reinforce orientalist and modernist positions.

Zen’s aesthetic aspects are privileged in the work of literary commentators Basil Hall Chamberlain and Lafcadio Hearn at the expense of the spiritual, for example. Both also orientalize Zen, despite the fact that they are two of the most authoritative commentators on Japan of the 19th century. Chamberlain, an Englishman who taught English and Japanese in Japan, became a major contributor to the Asiatic Society of Japan with scholarly articles on Japanese language and literature and literary translations widely circulated on the American scene.39 It is in Chamberlain’s translations and articles on Japanese literature that he
contributes most to the association of Zen with Japanese aesthetic culture, especially haiku poetry, while negatively characterizing Zen's spiritual aspects.

His lengthy paper for the Asiatic Society in 1902 on the haiku master, Basho, "Basho and the Japanese Poetical Epigram," demonstrates a favorable attitude toward Zen as influencing the production of haiku poetry. For Chamberlain, Basho is the chief exponent of the haiku, a truly Japanese verse form. Chamberlain describes Basho as "a mystic of the Zen sect to the tip of his fingers, his aim was yet strictly practical; he wished to turn men's lives and thoughts in a better and higher direction," using poetry as his vehicle (275). Chamberlain associates poetry or haikai with the "code of poverty, simplicity, humility, long suffering" (276) and considers Basho a "pilgrim" (281) aware of the "transitoriness of all beings earthly" (280). Perhaps the most significant aspect of Chamberlain's article on Basho in the context of Zen's American reception is his extended comment on Zen's significance for this literary form. He claims that the Zen doctrine and its influence in China and Japan "is one that has never yet been treated as it deserves [. . .]." Although Chamberlain is unsure whether Zen is a philosophy or a religion or even "whatever it may best be termed," it is an improvement on Buddhism as understood by the West because it is a more positive form of Buddhism, not removed from ordinary life. Zen "is a system in which the pessimism of the original Buddhism is softened by wise concessions to common sense and the needs [. . .] of common life, in which asceticism of the body is exchanged for a sort of mental detachment not inconsistent with [. . .] social intercourse [. . .]." Zen recognizes "the variety of earthly pursuits" in honoring the various
branches of art because they may be a "means for passing to yet higher spheres of thought and conduct" (291-92). This spiritualizing of the aesthetic is what the Japan Craze was all about and consistent with Chamberlain's presentation of Basho.

He also provides the translation of many of Basho's haiku and those of his school at the end of the article, using the English term, epigram, as "denoting any little piece of verse that expresses a delicate or ingenious thought" to rename the Japanese form. He differentiates haiku from Western notions of poetry as he subtly denigrates it in typical orientalist fashion: haiku has no "assertion for the logical intellect" (244). The idea of the diminutive in relation to haiku is not a mistake because Chamberlain returns to this way of demoting the haiku that he is simultaneously appreciating in his conclusion, stating that all haiku "well exhibit the endless dexterity with which the Japanese epigrammatist can modulate the trilling of his tiny pipe" (362). Chamberlain does provide the Romanized Japanese alongside his English translation, allowing for those who understand Japanese to do their own translating. However, the overall impression of the article is one of appreciating the haiku while translating it into Western terms and presenting it as a lesser form in comparison with Western poetry, what might be considered an act of cultural imperialism or orientalism.41

In addition, Chamberlain comments on Zen as meditative spiritual practice in this article. Despite his feelings for Basho as true and ethical poet and Zen practitioner, Chamberlain cannot be said to appreciate Zen's contemplative aspect. Instead he emphasizes its influence on artistic practice as a better way to the same end, thereby demonstrating Zen's
effect on Japanese literary culture, especially the haiku and Basho. Although he defines Zen as Sanskrit for dhyana or contemplation of which some "sat for years gazing at a wall" (indirectly alluding to Bodhidharma, here), he also dismisses such practices, stating that the practitioners found that "mankind was not served by such unnatural excesses," and "the cultivation of harmless pursuits" became a better means of "pointing the way to truth" (292). Chamberlain even qualifies his positive evaluation of aesthetic Zen in the context of Zen spirituality, stating that in its modern form it produced "exquisite art," although its danger was to "degenerate into hedonism," a means to "pleasure" and "individual freedom" (292).

In comparison to Chamberlain's more limited Asiatic Society audience, Lafcadio Hearn was a more widely read source of information on Japanese literary culture for the American magazine audience being published in both Harper's and Atlantic. Originally of English descent, he arrived in Japan in the early 1890's after spending about twenty years in the United States as a writer, journalist, and folklorist. Famous for his essays and books about Japan, he became one of the most authoritative and widely read commentators on Japanese culture in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th century. Hearn's discussion of Zen, though minimal in relation to his total output, does present the curious and cryptic aspects of its literary texts in "A Question in the Zen Texts," from his 1898 collection of essays, Exotics and Retrospectives. Here Hearn treats the Zen spiritual text more like a curious, eerie, or amusing story in the process sensationalizing it. In this essay, Hearn recounts a conversation with an unnamed Japanese friend who tells him a "queer" story from a Chinese book, the "Mu-Mon-Kwan" or "Gateless Barrier," studied by the Zen or
Dhyana sect. Its peculiarity and that of other texts of this sect is that "they are not explanatory. They only suggest" (64). Questions are put to which students think, not write, an answer because "Dhyana represents human effort to reach, through meditation, zones of thought beyond the range of verbal expression; and any thought once narrowed into utterance loses all Dhyana quality [. . .]."

Hearn's friend begins his story by saying it is "supposed to be true; but it is used only for a Dhyana question" (64-65). The friend then tells the story about a pair of separated lovers one of whom has become disembodied by the separation. At the conclusion of the story, when the friend produces the question of which was the true girl, Hearn, contrarily, states that he is not interested in answering that question, but in determining what clothes the two aspects of the girl were wearing when they were brought together. The friend replies that this is an irrelevant question from Zen's point of view because "there is no such thing as personality" (69). Here Hearn's account abruptly ends. Although he has not made directly negative comments about Zen practice, he implies that the more rational and skeptical questions he might ask about the story are not the kinds of questions that Zen Buddhists want asked. He leaves the reader with the idea that there is something about Zen that is inexplicable and perhaps not to be understood in terms of Western common sense. However, he has presented specifics about Zen texts which were only hinted at in Nanjio's history of Japanese Buddhist sects and not addressed at all by other Western commentators. However, his interest in publishing this tale also indicates an appreciation for Zen as curiosity as well as the orientalist urge to present the exotic.
V. The Rhetorical Use of Daruma, Zen's First Patriarch

Perhaps the most curious aspect of Hearn's translation of Zen into American culture is his fascination with Daruma, a fascination common to Chamberlain and other writers and artists at this time. The shortened form of Bodhidharma, Daruma was the first patriarch of Zen, known as the Wall-Gazing Buddha. A familiar figure due to the frequency with which he is mentioned in the factual presentations of Zen by spiritual commentators, Daruma is the most well-known image and icon associated with Zen at this time. Alluding to Daruma is ultimately a way to appropriate and trivialize Zen (and Japanese spirituality) through a non-threatening figure whose comical and exotic aspects also demonstrate the orientalist nature of Zen discourse. Mentioning Daruma becomes an easy way to name-drop hints of the exotic and spiritual into an article about Japan which may in reality not be about Japanese religion at all (in other words an appropriation of Buddhist terminology for purposes of orientalizing and indirectly commenting on Zen, Buddhism, or Japanese culture in general). In addition, a writer or artist's use of Daruma indicates not only familiarity with all aspects of Japanese culture, especially the spiritual, but the possibility for the writer to poke fun at things Japanese, especially Zen practices associated with Daruma, such as meditation or abstraction. This name-dropping tactic also adds to the cachet of authenticity cultivated by both American and Japanese commentators on Japan. The question of who has authority to speak for and define Japanese culture and the use of such expertise as cultural capital is another aspect of the reception of Zen at this time.
In this respect, Lafcadio Hearn name-drops Daruma into his articles about Japanese folklore and folk customs to provide them with additional spiritual, esoteric, and comic clout. In 1897, Hearn publishes an article in the *Atlantic*, "Buddhist Allusions in Japanese Folksong," subsequently reprinted in *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields*, 1897. Although he does not discuss Zen specifically here, he uses the name of Daruma in a comparison, perhaps for comic effect or to demonstrate his familiarity with one of the more well-known personalities of Japanese Buddhism for his American audience. He begins this article by commenting on the degree to which "the mental soil" of the Japanese has been "saturated and fertilized by Buddhist idealism" and all the "arts and most of the industries repeat Buddhist legends to the eye trained in symbolism" (143). Even the songs of children playing evidence Buddhist influences, which gives him the idea for an essay about *dodoitsu* or short songs, many of which have to do with love and fate and the "the wheel of Karma" (150). In describing the idea of life's transience and change he drops the name of Daruma into the essay, using it not to discuss Zen's history, but to show his cleverness: "Shadow and shape alike melt and flow back to nothing. He who knows this truth is the Daruma of Snow." He glosses Daruma (Dharma) as a patriarch of the Zen sect, "said to have lost his legs through remaining long in the posture of meditation; and many legless toy-figures, which are so balanced that they will always assume an upright position however often placed upside-down, are called by his name. Snow-men also have this form" (153). With this gloss, he also reinforces the epithet previously given to Daruma by spiritual commentators such as Gordon or Griffis.
Hearn's fascination with Daruma continues in the essay, "Otokichi's Daruma," published in 1900 in his collection, Shadowings. Hearn mentions Daruma in the context of Japanese folk culture, thereby demonstrating his fascination with Daruma's humorous and curious aspects. He does not seem to treat Zen's first patriarch with the dignity owed to such a religious figure. Hearn begins the essay with a picture of children making a Yuki-Daruma or snow man on a winter day. From here, he moves to a discussion of Daruma, quoting from Nanjio's History in the process, reiterating the derivation of Daruma's name and his importance as founder of the Zen sect, whose doctrine Hearn considers "curious." According to Hearn, although Daruma is accorded much respect in Japan, his mishap has been the subject of "comical drawings and carvings;" his image has become a toy for children; and has been adopted as a sign for tobacconist's shops (229). Daruma as household divinity is the actual subject of this essay in which Hearn goes on to describe his stay in a small fishing village at the home of Otokichi, a fish-seller whose shop displayed one of the Daruma household gods. When the householder is successful materially, the statue is rewarded. Hearn concludes his anecdote with the statement that faith in very small or toy-like gods belongs to a "simplicity of heart" (234) evident in the Japanese people, thereby implicitly belittling both god and people while demonstrating an appreciation for such sincere spirituality. Despite this appreciation, Hearn's presentation of Daruma as an aspect of Japanese folklore reinforces associations between the meditative aspect of Zen and the curious, folkloric, and superstitious.

An earlier caricature of Daruma comes in Basil Hall Chamberlain's translations of Japanese poetry and drama, The Classical Poetry of the
Japanese, 1880. Chamberlain translates a kyogen, Za-Zen or Abstraction. A kyogen is a comic farce presented as interlude between presentations of the more serious Noh drama. This kyogen is directly connected to Zen Buddhism, for "abstraction" is Chamberlain's term for Zen meditation, translated previously as Sanskrit, dhyana, or Japanese, zazen. The play is about a man who tries to cheat on his wife by pretending an involvement in meditation or "abstraction" under a blanket. His servant impersonates him in meditation, while he goes off with another woman. The play not only links meditation with sexuality and with Daruma who Chamberlain glosses in a footnote for his readers as the first Buddhist Patriarch of China who is "said to have remained seated in abstraction gazing at a wall for nine years, till his legs rotted off." He concludes his footnote by stating that Daruma's name is "associated with the ludicrous" and "legless and shapeless dolls are called after him [...]" (286). Chamberlain, perhaps intentionally in choosing this farce to translate with its title directly alluding to Zen contemplation, presents Zen and its patriarch in a less than serious, indeed comical manner. As the first such characterization of Daruma presented to the West, Chamberlain's treatment of Zen spirituality stands in contrast to his more favorable presentation of Zen as aesthetic influence on Basho. Perhaps the intervening explosion of interest in Japanese culture encouraged him to put Zen in a more positive light.

Since a major aspect of the Japan Craze was for Japanese material culture, especially art objects and craft goods, it is not surprising that artists such as Alexander Wores, John La Farge, Robert Blum, and Alfred Parsons, were also producers of the discourse about Daruma for Americans at the turn-of-the-century. Art and art historical commentaries are
perhaps the ones most available to the American public in the late 19th and early 20th centuries because of the number of articles published (many of which were later reprinted in book form) in popular magazines such as *Harper's, Century, and Scribner's*. Although all of these artists discussed spiritual aspects of Japanese culture and provided illustrations of temples, pagodas, and statues of gods such as Jizo or Kwannon, the only specific allusions to Zen Buddhism were made to Daruma, emphasizing the possibilities for caricature in this most accessible and comical figure of Zen Buddhism, while enabling the artist to demonstrate critical and orientalizing attitudes to Japanese culture.

For example, Blum, in his *Scribner's* installment for May 1893, makes a comparison between a traditionally dressed fellow passenger on a carriage ride and Daruma: "He of the hakama has tied a towel about his head to save his freshly made queue from floating dust, and slipping his toes from his clogs, sits like a mollified Daruma." Blum footnotes this perhaps unfamiliar name for his readers, demonstrating not only his ability to drop such Japanese words into his travel description, but also his knowledge of that culture's somewhat curious religion: Daruma is "a familiar figure in Japanese Art, leg- and arm-less, is always represented in a sack-like garment which leaves exposed only his face, fierce and terrifying in expression. Daruma was a follower of Shaka, and teacher of Buddhism, who came from China and founded the Zen sect" (635-36). In making this comparison between peasant and patriarch, Blum demonstrates his cleverness, while simultaneously transforming the fierce and terrifying founder of Zen to a lower-class sweating Japanese man on a hot day. He also indicates his own lack of reverence for Daruma, and his
use of the word, *mollified*, may also demonstrate Blum's critical attitude toward the possible worship of such figures as an aspect of Buddhism. Blum practices a similar tactic in his June article when he describes his attempts at communicating with his landlord: "The landlord squats with all the immovability of an image. Buddha could not have been more impassive" (739). In addition to dropping the name of Buddha into his travelogue and eliding him with the landlord, Blum also demonstrates a critical attitude toward the Buddha in general in describing him as impassive. Indirectly, Blum reminds readers of Christian denunciations of Buddhism's passivity.

Parsons also trivializes Daruma in discussing the Japanese love of tea drinking with which he begins his September 1894 installment, "Early Summer in Japan." He ascribes the origin of tea to Daruma, who he describes as an Indian saint of the 6th century, represented in Japanese art as "sitting a monument of patience with his hands in his sleeves." He once fell asleep after years of sleepless prayer, and on awaking, was so ashamed that he "cut off his eyelids," threw them on the ground, and they became teaplants (522). Parsons does not need to specifically refer to Zen Buddhism here in connection with Daruma because Daruma has been previously associated with Zen, as was tea drinking, itself, by among others, Chamberlain in *Things Japanese*. More importantly for the reception of Zen, the fantastic and mythic dimensions of this story (more like a folk tale) again call into question the seriousness by which Americans should take Zen's founder and Zen as a religion, despite Daruma's very entertaining nature. The ultimate effect of this somewhat folkloric anecdote is that Daruma is not presented with the same level of seriousness as one might expect of patriarchs of the Old Testament, for example. All of
these examples of the discourse surrounding Daruma demonstrate that he symbolizes all that is incomprehensible about Zen (and Buddhist) spiritual practice, while enabling the caricaturing of East by West.

VI. Fenollosa, Okakura and the Meeting of East and West

Moving away from these somewhat sensationalized presentations of Daruma by writers and artists, two figures considered to be authorities on Japanese art, Ernest Fenollosa and Kakuzo Okakura, provide more scholarly information about Japanese material culture and Zen. The imperialism of both Japan and the United States at the end of the 19th century points to a consideration of the orientalizing aspect of their characterizations. In addition, they appropriate the discourse of Zen to further their respective arguments on modernity and individuality to opposite purposes, demonstrating the fluidity of Zen as signifier. These two authorities on Japanese art met in Japan in the 1870's, but were both physically present in the United States off and on from the 1890's through the 1910's. They were thus able to have a visible presence and influence on American perceptions of Zen. Ultimately, their presentation of Zen became another way to discuss the possibility of relationships between East and West at the turn-of-the-century. As her military power increased, the question of relations between East, epitomized by Japan, and the West, became a topic of greater urgency for both Japan and the United States.

Fenollosa arrived in Japan in 1878, recommended by Edward Morse to fill the first chair in philosophy at Tokyo University. He had graduated with honors in philosophy from Harvard in the early 1870's, did graduate work in philosophy, studied at the Unitarian Divinity School, and in 1877
began to study art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. While in Japan, his interests in fine art overcame his interests in philosophy, and he began to actively study Japanese culture, becoming an advocate of traditional Japanese art with the Westernizing Meiji administration. In the case of the collecting of Japanese objects in the 1880's, authenticity and value were determined by the Americans who elevated the religious to artistic status, in contrast to Meiji society which had devalued traditional Japanese art, primarily Buddhist in nature.\textsuperscript{53} Thus Fenollosa arrived in Japan at an opportune time to investigate and collect Japanese traditional art in the process of being discarded by the modernizing Meiji. This situation also allowed the Japanophiles to cheaply buy these newly available objects.\textsuperscript{54} Fenollosa had completed his collection of Japanese art and was cataloguing Japanese treasures for the Japanese government with Okakura as his assistant by the 1880's. In 1890, Fenollosa left Japan, no longer useful.\textsuperscript{55} His more notable impact on American perceptions of Zen, however, would come after this date. The publication of his major work, which presented a Zen-inflected Japanese art history, \textit{Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art}, was written by him in the early 1900's (but probably in draft earlier) and published posthumously in 1912 by his second wife.\textsuperscript{56} Fenollosa published several precursory articles on Chinese and Japanese art in American periodicals, \textit{Atlantic} and \textit{Century}, the great amount of material provided in these two 1898 articles suggesting that Fenollosa was already working toward his history at this early date. The most significant of these relevant to Zen aesthetic discourse is his two-part "Outline of Japanese Art" in \textit{Century} magazine of 1898, where he specifically discusses the importance of Zen influences on Chinese and Japanese art in Western
terms. For Fenollosa, the Chinese Sung period and Zen stood for
individuality (an underlying thread in both his and Okakura's Zen
discourse), as well as idealism. Fenollosa notes that Sung and Zen
philosophy combines Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist thought in a
"unification of three systems in absolute idealism." Sung's interest in Zen
or contemplation conceived of "spirit as a creator" acting in a "world of
soul and nature," which led to the "deliberate making of art to be the most
typical and inclusive manifestation of the spiritual life" (277). Here
Fenollosa elides East and West by calling these artists "Zen Thoreaus,
thereby dropping a familiar and positive American name into an Eastern
context while indirectly associating Zen with nature as well as philosophy.
Fenollosa now takes these Sung influences to Japan where art became the
"supreme expression of the reawakened Spirit" (278), an indirect allusion
to Hegelian idealism, a philosophy which greatly influenced him. He
describes the Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshimitsu, as leading a renaissance of
Japanese art that would be a "new culture of idealism and art" where
"individuality of thought, even oddity of expression [...] were encouraged,"
pointing to the Japanese painter monk Sesshu as an example (280-1).

Fenollosa only mentions Zen twice more in his history, both times
indirectly referring to its spiritual practices, and in both instances
subordinating the more spiritual aspects of Zen to the more dynamic
artistic influences that he has talked about in greater depth, thus
privileging the aesthetic. In the Tokugawa period, he points out that
mural decoration returned to monochromatic landscape, but "this did not
mean a surrender to Zen contemplation" (283). This is actually the first
time Fenollosa mentions Zen meditation in the article, and he does so with
passive connotations for Zen contemplation. His attitude toward Zen seems more positive as he describes popular culture at this time with its "wide diffusion of printed matter," contrasting this interest in print with Zen's "motto" which had been rather to "build afresh from thought than to acquire fragmentary knowledge from external reading" (284). Here he refers to Zen's interest in transmission without scriptures, which Fenollosa seems to see as an aspect of Zen individuality.

For Fenollosa, explaining Zen and Japanese art in this way was also ammunition in his crusade for idealistic rather than materialistic and realistic tendencies in late 19th Century American society and art practice. This point of view can also be seen in Fenollosa's 1892 article, "The Significance of Oriental Art," for Knight Errant. Though Fenollosa does not mention Zen in this article, he does mention beautiful and spiritual aspects of Japanese art. He castigates those who consider Japanese art as only decorative, a term which is "only a despairing device of the realists to cover their retreat by raising a false issue" (69).59 T. J. Jackson Lears tracks the interest in authentic experience as part of anti-modern impulses in his work on the 19th century, No Place of Grace. He describes Fenollosa's position as anti-modernist, considering it one of the common features involved in Japanese Buddhism's fascination for the coterie of New Englanders and members of the upper class. Since Lears also sees this anti-modernism, invested as it is in authentic experience, as a way for dominant social groups to maintain power through cultural hegemony (303), one might see Fenollosa's stance to be one of authority through authenticity.66

Fenollosa's pupil and associate, Kakuzo Okakura, was the Japanophile's link to the authentic as well as contributing a uniquely
Japanese voice to the discourse about Zen and Japanese art. Okakura uses his characterization of Zen (its emphasis on individuality, for example) in a similarly polemical fashion, although his comments argue an opposing position to indicate the modernity of Japanese culture rather than its traditionality. His two chief works, The Ideals of the East, 1903, and The Book of Tea, 1906, warrant examination not only because of the opportunity they afford to understand a native Japanese discourse on Zen, but because of the way Okakura uses Zen in his argument against Western stereotyping of Japan as another example of Japanese reverse orientalism.

As one of Fenollosa’s philosophy pupils, Okakura’s facility with English led Fenollosa to use him as a translator, and Okakura accompanied him on excursions to seek out traditional Japanese art. As of 1884, Okakura became an authority in his own right. As previously noted in connection with the Columbian Exposition, he became President of the Tokyo Art School and curator of the Imperial Museum in 1893. However, Okakura’s importance for American Japanophiles is evident in La Farge’s 1897 dedication of An Artist’s Letters From Japan to him: "I wish to put your name before these notes, written at the time when I first met you, because the memories of your talks are connected with my liking of your country and of its story, and because for a time you were Japan to me” (ix). Thus, he was not only part of the group of Japanophiles and their ultimate authority, but more importantly, personified Japanese culture for them.

Okakura wrote his first book, The Ideals of the East, 1903, in English, hence for an English-speaking audience. In this book, he begins with the statement, "Asia is One" (1) and presents the history of Japanese art polemically in the context of Asian art in general, implying its Pan-Asian
orientation. Not only does he positively describe Zen's contribution to Japanese aesthetics, but his primary emphasis is on Zen as an example of Japanese individuality and power, contradicting Westerners who would see Japan as passive, the most common Western stereotype of Buddhism. Like Fenollosa, he associates Zen with the Ashikaga Shogunate and the samurai tradition which adopted the teaching of the Zen sect along with the idea that "salvation was to be looked for in self-control and strength of will" (159). He provides similar information about Zen as had previous commentators, its introduction to China via Bodhidharma, for example, while emphasizing its active and individualistic character (171-72). He also emphasizes Zen's transmission without words and its dynamic iconoclasm, wherein thought was to be freed from "trammels of mistaken categories" through methods of self-control, "the essence of true freedom " (173). Okakura also defines the idea of individuality in a way that turns Western orientalist notions of Japanese inability to act in the world back on itself. Zen became a means of "freeing thought from the fetters in which all forms of knowledge tend to enchain it" (172). Although he presents this Zen information in the context of Japanese aesthetics rather than spirituality, he uses the information about Zen not to talk about art, but to support his position in regard to differentiating between East and West. His point is to demonstrate not only how the East and West differ, but more significantly how the East can be considered superior to the West. Thus, in translating Zen spirituality for the West, he transforms Western notions of the acceptable through contradiction and paradox. For example, the East's way of conquest is not outwardly (as England conquered India), but
inwardly through self-control which leaves humans ultimately at one with nature.

His next book, *The Book of Tea*, similarly teams Japanese art and Zen Buddhism in polemical fashion to counter Western stereotypes of Japan. This is Okakura's most well-known work, in which he again uses Zen and its influence on Japanese culture to indirectly discuss the relations between East and West, privileging the East: "You have gained expansion at the cost of restlessness; we have created a harmony which is weak against aggression. Will you believe it? - the East is better off in some respects than the West!" (5). Although Okakura presents much of the same information as in his previous volume about Zen's history, practice, and associations with individuality, he adds new observations about Zen's special contributions to Eastern thought in the context of his discussion of the impact of the tea ceremony on Japanese art. He discusses the "simplicity and purism of the tea-room which resulted from the emulation of the Zen monastery" (33); the Zen ideals of vacancy ("the tea-room is absolutely empty, except for what may be placed here temporarily"); and lack of symmetry (which he attributes to Zen's "dynamic nature") (39-40). He then contrasts Western interests in symmetry and "useless reiteration" with the "simplicity of the tea-room and its freedom from vulgarity" which makes it a "sanctuary from the vexation of the outer world" (44). Okakura even brings Western industrialization into his argument: pervasive industrialism makes "true refinement difficult" and the tea-room "more of a necessity" (41). The remaining chapters discuss art appreciation and flower arranging, reiterating this basic message, that the values of the tea ceremony prove superior to contemporary modern values,
synonymous with those of the West. This discussion of Okakura's *Book of Tea* demonstrates his privileging of the East over the West, especially in the aesthetic and spiritual realms, similarly to the way Soen Shaku presents Buddhism as a religion more suited to modernity than Christianity.\(^{64}\)

These two Japanese commentators attest to the significance of the discussion of the relative merits of East and West among the Japanese. Japanophiles were also concerned with this issue, and the discourse on the relative merits of East and West centering on Japan is extensive.\(^{65}\) Fenollosa is probably the Japanophile most concerned with such questions and acts as an effective Western counterpart to Okakura. Fenollosa discusses the relationship between East and West in positive terms in his 1898 *Harper's* article, "The Coming Fusion of East and West." He is more optimistic about possibilities for mutual understanding and appreciation in this article than Okakura or Lowell, for example. For Fenollosa, the profitable meeting of East and West would happen through Japan, which acted as a hinge with its affinity for the United States, its industrialization and economic achievements in Western terms, combined with its superiority in artistic terms and the keeping of its traditional art forms.

His long poem, "East and West," delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard in 1892, is perhaps the most definitive statement of his attitude in this regard and presents the coming together in sexualized terms, a thorough orientalization with Japan as feminine other.\(^{66}\) In the Preface to his poem, Fenollosa sees the relation between the two seeming opposites as a "synthesis of two continental civilizations" or "the two halves of the world [. . .] coming together for the final creation of man" (v). He presents this relation in typically Orientalist fashion, contrasting the
feminine East ("markedly feminine") and the "markedly masculine" West, each containing the other's opposite in an elaborate double antithesis (demonstrating Hegelian influences on his argument). Fenollosa even seems to allude indirectly to Zen here in describing "the intense individuality of her own esoteric discipline" which "upholds the fertile tranquillity of her surface" (vi). If Fenollosa is alluding to Zen here, it is not the contemplative Zen, but the dynamic self-control and will of Zen which acts on the aesthetic sphere.

In the context of a discussion of the East-West trope, it is useful to end with an allusion to Kipling's poem, "The Ballad of East and West," of 1889, beginning with the memorable line, "Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" (1), one of the most well-known statements of relations between East and West in the late 19th century. Although the ending of the first stanza and the substance of the poem belie the impossibility of communication because in the poem two strong men dissolve the borders between East and West, the first line's seeming negativity reverberates strongly in this poem. Bigelow and Lodge associate Okakura with this poem and its idea of the exceptional man who can join East and West in their obituary for Okakura of 1913 published in the Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin. They end by noting Okakura's "grasp of the best intellectual products of the highest civilizations on both sides of the world, which completely invalidated Kipling's famous line: 'Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet.' They met in Okakura Kakuzo" (Okakura Tenshin and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 14). This is generally apt, although somewhat ironic in light of Okakura's privileging of East over West and his use of a Zen-inspired aesthetics to do so. It is also
indicative of the pervasiveness of the East/West trope in late 19th century America.

VII. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the dual discourse about Zen by Americans and Japanese in the late 19th century in characterizations, attitudes, and rhetorical strategies as part of the translation of Zen Buddhism to the United States, not only in print culture, but also in the moment in the 1890's when the physical presence of the other (Soen Shaku, D.T. Suzuki, and Kakuzo Okakura) appears on American soil for the first time. The purpose of the chapter has been to locate the dual nature of the discourse about Zen (an aspect of the 20th century reception of Zen also), as early as the 19th century, as well as to demonstrate changing American attitudes toward Zen during the period of its first transmission to the West. The spiritual nature of Zen was often disparaged, particularly its puzzling meditation practice, characterized by Rev. Lloyd as "to think unthinking." Zen was also considered contradictory and inferior to Christianity partly because of its inconsistent attitude toward religious images or sacred texts. In contrast, Zen's aesthetic aspect was more easily appreciated. Since most of the early transmitters of Zen were Christian clergy and educators, it makes sense that they would be less appreciative of a religion from which they were trying to gain converts to Christianity.

Writers and artists less invested in Christianity were perhaps able to see Zen and its influences on Japanese aesthetics in a more positive light. However, they too, often poked fun at Zen's meditation practice, especially through their representations of Daruma and in the words they chose to
describe the meditation process, itself. The terms used to translate zazen (the Japanese term for the Zen practice of meditation) to the West in the 19th century varied from those with positive intellectual and philosophic associations, such as meditation, contemplation, and abstraction, to terms with negative connotations, such as, trance and mesmerism with their popular and spiritualistic overtones. The difficulty of translating a somewhat curious spiritual practice, even for a Zen priest, was evident in Soen Shaku's representation of himself as Zen poet-priest, foregoing an explanation of Zen as meditative practice. It would not be until D.T. Suzuki became the widely acknowledged spokesperson for and popularizer of Zen in the 1950's that Soen's skillful means would come to fruition. Ultimately, the aesthetic aspects of Zen are privileged in the 19th century, a practice which continues into the 20th.

The greater significance of this contextual chapter for my dissertation as a whole, the reception of Zen in the 1950's by the Beat avant-garde, is that the late 19th century understanding of Zen, fueled by the Japan Craze and the rise of Japan as a world power provides an originary moment and a pattern for American fascination with not only things Japanese, but Zen Buddhist. Specific aspects of discourse and rhetorical strategies of the 1890's are common to the later period of the 1950's, and some of the same types of venues for this discourse, such as popular magazines, are involved. Writers of the 1890's as in the 1950's, drop Zen jargon or the names of Zen figures such as Daruma into their articles, to demonstrate to their audience their familiarity with Zen, an elite and esoteric form of Japanese spirituality with aesthetic associations and an article of cultural capital in both time periods.
Zen's fascination for the West is also demonstrated in its ability to be a fluid signifier. Zen's identification with idealism and individuality was part of the polemical and anti-modern use made of Zen by a commentator such as Fenollosa, while Okakura used these same qualities to present Zen in an opposite light as indicative of Japanese modernity. Interest in linking Zen and the aesthetic became yet another aspect of the anti-modern and compensatory search of the American cultural elite and in turn the lower classes (through the consumerism of the Japan Craze) for the authentic in more traditional cultures. This same need for an alternative to Western culture is evident in the turn to the East of writers associated with the Beat movement, such as Kerouac and Snyder, and discussed subsequently in this dissertation. The spiritual vacuum of Western religion could be filled with an Eastern spirituality which seemed untouched by Western materialism and bourgeois culture. Whereas the upper class Japanophiles use Zen to differentiate themselves from realist and materialist tendencies in late 19th century American society, writers associated with the Beat movement (many of whom have a lower or lower-middle class background) use Zen to create a Beat avant-garde, distinguishing their project from academic and bourgeois aspects of American culture in the 1950s.

The orientalizing aspect of the Zen discourse about East and West is also part of both periods, within the political context of imperialism: in the 1890's both America and Japan are making world conquests, while in the 1950's, the United States has defeated Japan in World War II. In both eras, the privileging of the aesthetic aspects of Zen was a way to see Japanese culture as more aesthetic and passive and lessen the threat of growing Japanese militarism (1890's) or renew relations with a conquered Japan,
attempting to obliterate the memory of U.S. bombing of Hiroshima. The following chapter, which characterizes American attitudes toward Zen in the 1950's, demonstrates a similar enthusiasm for Japan, seeing her artistic and spiritual culture in a context of political tensions. The question of what East and West have in common or can offer is important for both periods. For the Japanophiles and Japan-crazed aesthetes of the late 19th century, as well as for the Beat writers, Zen Buddhism would be a spiritual panacea and a new way to combine the spiritual and the cultural, as well as a way to set themselves off from other cultural groups and provide them with the authority of speaking for the exotic other.
ENdNOTES

1. As for other discussions of this chapter’s subject matter, a number of books have discussed the Japan craze of the 19th century, most notably William Hosley, The Japan Idea and T. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace. Others have discussed the American interest in Buddhism in the 19th century, most notably Thomas Tweed’s The American Encounter with Buddhism, 1844-1912 and Rick Fields, How the Swans Came to the Lake. For more on the Columbian Exposition see Robert W. Rydell, All the World’s a Fair. However, no one has looked primarily at the relation of the Japan craze and the fine arts to the reception of Zen, especially in the popular magazine culture of the time, where a great deal of the discourse about Buddhism appears, including a discussion of Zen and 19th century attitudes toward it.

2. Note other authors who also make this claim such as Fader 144 and McRae 24-26. For example, Soen is the first Zen Buddhist priest to set foot on American soil or the "first Zen master in America," as Rick Fields puts it in his description of the Japanese Buddhist delegation to the Parliament in How the Swans Came to the Lake (126).

3. The OED defines craze for this time period as an "insane or irrational fancy, a mania, a capricious and usually temporary enthusiasm." It was also used in the 1880's to describe a fad for Napoleon, for example. However, the OED also lists 14 words to connote things Japanese, almost all of them dating from the 1880's and 1890's. One of these terms, Japanism, for example, was described by Harper's Magazine, in 1888, as a "new word coined to designate a new field of study," that of things Japanese.

   The characterization of American interests in Japan as a craze was first made by Edward S. Morse in his 1886 work on the Japanese home, Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings. In the Introduction to this work he describes the beginnings of American fascination with Japanese material culture at the Centennial in Philadelphia as "a new revelation; and the charming onslaught of that unrivaled display completed the victory. It was then that the Japanese craze took firm hold of us" (xxvii). It might be considered ironic that Morse, a Japanophile who lived and worked in Japan and who would form a major collection of Japanese ceramics might consider fascination with this material culture a craze. According to Hosley, Japanophiles such as Morse, were romantics, who had an aversion to modern life. Also see Lears, No Place of Grace for a description of these Japanophiles as anti-modern. He considers the elite Americans' disdain of the modern as part of their interest in Japan and particularly Japanese Buddhist spirituality. See his chapter 6, "From Patriarchy to Nirvana: Patterns of Ambivalence" in which he concentrates on Bigelow, Lowell, and Lodge.

   A major discussion of the Japan Craze (whose "epicenter" was the 1880's) occurs in William Hosley's catalogue, for an exhibition of the same name, The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America, 1990, what might be considered an American aspect of the japanisme movement, which later became art nouveau. As Hosley puts it, the Craze "shaped popular culture
for more than a decade, affecting every thing from music and theater to advertising and home furnishing" (15). An aspect of the Craze for Hosley was that Japan equaled art for Americans (47). He describes American interests in Japanese culture as both a "diagnosis and a cure for the Victorian's growing cultural malaise" in which "the throbbing pulse of industrialization had taken its toll" (29). As Victorians felt that their quality of life had declined in their search for progress in technology with the move away from the hand-made, they saw in Japanese culture an antidote and a nostalgic home for the artisanal and authentic (29).

4. Hosley points out the irony that "Japan emerged as a symbol of Western anti-modernism at the same time that she was exchanging her traditions for modernization" (28). In fact, Japan's modernization was built with income from these supposedly hand-made exports of pre-modern, non-machine made art objects, the production of which under increasing demand from the West, due to Japan's participation in fairs such as the Columbian Exposition, became increasingly mechanized (41). Such modernization led to Japan's own imperializing as it defeated both China and Russia at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

5. World's fairs, according to Rydell in All the World's a Fair, were hegemonic spaces in which the ruling elite of "corporate, political, and scientific leadership" were able to demonstrate proper attitudes toward "race, nationality, and progress" as well as to emphasize American racial superiority to the non-European cultures on display (2). They were also important venues for the introduction of Japanese culture to the United States in the 19th century. He also points out that Japan with its successful modernization in the Meiji Era, was expected to "have an uplifting - that is, Americanizing - influence on an otherwise backward Asian continent," while at the same time American attitudes toward the Japanese were often "patronizing and demeaning" (50-51). In this sense, World's fairs, beginning with the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876, had been a major venue in presenting Japanese culture as collectible to the American public, while at the same time American racial prejudices toward Japanese immigrants in American society went unacknowledged.

Japanese immigrant status plays some part in positive and elitist reception of Zen and Japanese culture in general. According to Ronald Takaki in his history of Asian-Americans, Strangers From a Different Shore, Japanese were on one hand considered in a more positive light than the Chinese (discrimination against Chinese was expressed by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882), and on the other hand similarly discriminated against. Part of the reason for more positive attitudes toward Japan in the 1880's and 1890's was that the Japanese as cheap labor came later to the United States than the Chinese due to policies of the Japanese government. In contrast to 105,468 Chinese in the United States in early 1880's, the Japanese population was 2,039. According to Takaki the Japanese eventually inherited the same prejudice that had been directed at the Chinese and were used in similarly subordinate economic roles in agriculture and railroading (181). Another factor in better treatment of the Japanese was the greater military might of Japan, especially in the 1900's when protests against equal treatment for the Japanese in San
Francisco collided with Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. President Teddy Roosevelt, not wanting to alienate Japan, urged acceptance of Japanese immigrants (202). However, he later made the 1908 Gentleman's Agreement with Japan, by which Japan voluntarily agreed to stop migration of Japanese laborers to the United States. According to Takaki, the problem with the Japanese was that they were not assimilating into American culture, whereas in reality they were assimilating and succeeding on a material level only too well (Takaki 209). Hence they were seen as more of a threat than the Chinese whose population actually declined over this period. Seeing the aestheticism of Japanese culture in isolation from the Japanese themselves contributed to the fascination for their cultural products which culminated in the Japan Craze.

6. See Seager for a book length discussion of the Parliament, especially in relation to the Christian flavor of the World's Fair in general and the Parliament specifically (12). He notes that the majority of the delegates were Christian (62). McRae notes that the Parliament was the largest of the congresses held in conjunction with the Exposition. See McRae's essay entitled, "Oriental Verities on the American Frontier," for a discussion of the fair as "modern missionary movement." Even Puck magazine, a popular humorous periodical of late 19th century America, pokes fun at the Parliament in relation to American missionary efforts, stating that the "Parliament of Religions will have a salutary effect upon such of our own churches as are active in meddling with the religions of peoples they are pleased to style 'heathen.'" This is because the presence of such "heathen" religions at the Parliament will lead to conversion of Americans to them, thus necessitating Christian missionaries to concentrate their efforts at home rather than toward those who already have a religion, albeit not a Christian one (50). For the Parliament's president, Charles C. Bonney, however, the Parliament embodied the spirit of progressivism (13).

7. The interest of American news media and public in the exotic appearance of the Asian delegates, including the Japanese delegation, was part of the orientalizing aspect of the Parliament. Ketelaar notes in "Strategic Occidentalism," that one Japanese priest, Yatsubashi's statement that the West's interest in and obsession with the ways Japanese Buddhists were dressed in brightly colored silks and velvets at the Parliament, (51-52) implied the West's materialistic attitude and its dwelling on surface values.

8. Soen spoke through interpreters, hence the need for his English-speaking secretary, D.T. Suzuki. Soen's use of Western perspective relative to scientific advances and his broadmindedness would only become more pronounced in his later writing for The Open Court and The Monist. He also presents Buddhist ideas of morality, and in his emphasis on personal morality, Soen seems to even privilege a Hinayana approach to Buddhism, with emphasis on right conduct and one's own enlightenment, rather than a Mahayana one with emphasis on compassion and the bodhisattva ideal, one who holds off enlightenment until all others are saved. Soen's time spent in Ceylon as a young priest may have had something to do with the Hinayana aspect of his presentation of Zen to the West.
9. He actually spoke twice, once on the 8th day and once on the 16th day; the latter speech was about war. See footnote 38 for more on this speech. Thomas Wentworth Higginson presented the theme of the 8th day to the convention in his opening address for this session (1st volume 780). Soen's speech on cause and effect occurred on this day whose theme was one of ecumenism, the need for religious sympathy and the coming together of all religions in face of the rise of science and skepticism. Soen begins his talk on cause and effect by describing the natural world and asks why the universe is "in a constant flux." He responds with Buddhism's "one explanation, namely, the law of cause and effect," a natural law whose general idea is that our deeds of the past create our present existence today, his only use of Buddhist terminology. His speech develops the idea of cause and effect while simultaneously inserting anti-Christian comments such as that "God did not provide you with a hell, but you yourself" within the almost seamless web of his argument (2nd volume 829-31).

10. Thanks to Prof. Thomas Kasulis for pointing out that this Zen strategy was significant in popularizing it and one reason Pure Land Buddhism was not sold to the West despite the large numbers of Japanese immigrant followers on the West Coast. This is what James Ketelaar in his Introduction to the essay, "Strategic Occidentalism," will consider aspects of Eastern Buddhism's strategic Occidentalism: "we can identify numerous specific attempts to defeat the Occident at its own game in its own terms" (38). Ketelaar, in his discussion of the Parliament, does not specifically discuss Soen's speech or presence except in the context of other Japanese Buddhists. However, he does comment on Soen's return home as producing an Occidentalist discourse in Japan in regard to the Parliament. Soen's descriptions of the victorious return of the Buddhists demonstrates their "portrayal of the Parliament, and the occident in general . . . as conducive to their own goals for the reforming of domestic institutional Buddhism" and productive of an Occidentalist discourse or "strategic Occidentalism" (56).

11. Gozo Tateno, Japanese Minister to Washington, D.C., in an 1893 statement for the North American Review on Japanese participation in the Exposition, describes the building on the Wooded Isle as an exhibition of historical Japanese architecture, "unique in design and construction" illustrating three different epochs with the left wing in the style of Ashikaga Period, the right wing in the style of Fujiwara, and the main hall in the style of Tokugawa with the general ground plan that of a famous Japanese Buddhist temple, the Ho-odo or Phoenix Temple of Uji, ca. 1100 (39-40). In addition, for the first time at a world's fair, Japan was given the privilege of displaying its art in the Palace of Fine Arts along with European nations, the only non-European nation to do so. According to Earle, the majority of the objects in Japan's fine arts display were decorative arts in contrast to the display of other European countries and that Japan was not bound to the same standards or rigid classifications established for other nations in this respect (215). Earle also notes that Japan's monetary contribution for the centennial or the amount that its government committed to spend, was the largest of any other participant (32) with a consequent positive impression made on Americans (35).
Rydell places the sum at $630,000 (48). Thus this favored nation status may have had something to do with the fact that Japan spent one of the largest sums of any nation on its exhibition, with its interest in "furthering commercial ties with America" and proving its worth to be included with other nations (implied European), according to Rydell in All the World's a Fair (48). According to Rydell, Japan with its successful modernization in the Meiji Era, was expected to "have an uplifting - that is, Americanizing - influence on an otherwise backward Asian continent," while at the same time American attitudes toward the Japanese were also "patronizing and demeaning" (50-51).

12. According to Joe Earle in his book on Meiji Era art, Okakura guided the officials who were in charge of the selection of exhibits for the 1893 Columbian Exposition (212).

13. Thanks to Prof. Thomas Kasulis for pointing out that this presentation of Zen as "orthodox" is not at all a non-Zen characterization of Zen. Okakura presents Zen as equal in stature to "orthodox" Southern Buddhism, namely Theravada, the focus of British scholarship on Buddhism in the mid-19th century.

14. For an early history of the society see Transactions of the Asiatic Society, 3rd Series, Vol. 14, 1978. The society's transactions were known to Americans and the American reading public. See Aston's bibliographic notes for his History of Japanese Literature, 1899, for example for a referral to them. Founders included British embassy types, American professors and ministers, or those like Rev. Edward Sife who was born in Britain, emigrated to America, married an American, was sent to China as chaplain, and then to Japan to teach English. Although the Asiatic Society had many British members, the Americans were a strong presence and the Society published many significant articles over the years by Americans such as Percival Lowell and Edward Morse.

15. Another similar example from 1886 is an article by James Troup, "On the Tenets of the Shinrin or 'True Sect' of Buddhists," which also alludes briefly to Zen in comparing the Shin to other Japanese Buddhists sects. The article is a translation of a pamphlet on this sect, and Troup is careful to give his source as a high Japanese authority on the subject (4). Troup describes Zen as one of the "true" sects with its doctrine coming between the "apparent" and "hidden" (4) as well as positing the attainment of Enlightenment in this life (5).

16. According to Tweed, the Andover Review had a strong theological purpose (The American Encounter with Buddhism 33).

17. Gordon cites Satow's Hand-Book for Japan and Dr. Edkins's descriptions as additional sources. Satow describes Edkins as a minister from Shanghai, "a studious propagandist of the London Missionary Society then stationed at Peking" who contributed to the Transactions. He is a noted missionary and student of oriental languages. Gordon also presents a history of Buddhism's arrival in Japan, the sects of Japanese Buddhism and names Rinzai, Soto,
and Obaku as subdivisions of Zen. He quotes from an unnamed sutra (actually the Heart Sutra) that his informant used in trying to explain the doctrine to him. He also cites Dr. Edkins' opinion that the goal of Zen is to keep the mind free from action or movement, which for Gordon implies no room for worship or prayer.

18. In the Open Court, discussions at this time present similar information about Zen as do those articles by more orthodox Christians. See for example C. Pfundes's article on "Religion in Japan," in January 1895 in which Zen is positively characterized as "abstract and profound meditation" or "thinking out the problem for one's self" (4373). His comments indicate the positive attitude toward Zen and a linking of it with individuality and personal effort.

19. According to the 1978 article on the history of the Transactions, Lloyd, president of the Society in 1904-05, came from England to Japan in 1884 as a missionary. He was also a lecturer in various Japanese universities and schools of higher learning and "preferred writing and teaching to missionary activities" (161). He believed in the "unity of all religions" and felt the work of the society to be "interpreting between East and West" (162).

20. He echoes Gordon's statement that Zen is transmitted heart to heart without words and provides the precedent for this in the story of Shakyamuni's wordless presentation of a flower to Kasyapa who smiled for answer. This is the "hidden teaching conveyed in the lotus held aloft by the silent teacher" (431). He also provides the Heart Sutra as the first sutra studied by them. Interestingly he summarizes similar information that Gordon quoted in his article on the emptiness of all phenomena.

21. He differentiates the Soto from the Rinzai in that Rinzai is earlier and pure contemplation without need of "religious books or manuals of doctrines," whereas Soto is later and has more Japanese modifications and joins scholarship and research to contemplation: "The priests have always been honorably distinguished both for their learning and for their poverty" (432-33). An interesting aspect of Lloyd's article in light of his seeming critique of meditation is his summary of the Soto system of contemplation in the Fukwan Zazin Yi including instructions on physically how to meditate (436-37).

22. Percival Lowell was another American Japanophile and part of the New England group associated with Bigelow, Morse, and Fenollosa. He was particularly critical of Japanese culture in its passivity and lack of individuality in his earlier work, The Soul of the Far East, 1888. See Percival Lowell by David Strauss for more information on this figure.

23. For Griffis, Buddhism was the "fertile mother" (299). He states that in the case of Japan, the East's "passion for decoration" versus "Greek simplicity," was "in the main a regulated mass of splendor in which harmony ruled" (300). He ends this discussion with a comparison between superficial resemblances he noted in his Mikado's Empire between
Buddhism and Roman Catholicism such as incense and vestments, and the real differences between Buddhism and Christianity he sees today: "the Christian says God is all; but the Buddhist says All is god" (303).

Professor, the Rev. W.E. Griffis taught English in 1870 in Japan, leaving there in 1874 to study to become a minister in the United States at the Union Theological Seminary. Subsequently, he wrote a number of books on Japan as well as articles on Japanese culture for a wide variety of American periodicals. See his 1888 article for Scribner's, "Japanese Art, Artists, and Artisans," and 1905, "The Craftsman's Life and Lot in Japan," for The Craftsman, for example. He also published books on Japan including a popular book on Japanese life in general in 1874, The Mikado's Empire. His discussion of Japanese culture is often inflected by his religious calling. Regarding his participation in the Society, per the 1978 History, though he makes no claim to be an originator of the Society, his early participation "justifies his inclusion among the founders" (47).

24. In regard to sources, Nanjio's history proves to be the source for many of Griffis's ideas such as direct transmission of secret doctrine, as well as providing the basis for the stories about Buddha and Bodhidharma. In emphasizing the authenticity of his experience and his right to speak and write about Japan, in his introduction to The Religions of Japan he credits English scholars and American missionaries for providing him with useful knowledge during his stay in Japan, while chiding other scholars who make claims about Japanese religion, but have never been there (x).

25. Regarding Zen, he posits that it arose out of a need to simplify the complex system of northern Buddhism. He calls Zen Buddhists the "Quakers" of Japanese Buddhism. He, too, mentions the three sub-sects of Zen and distinguishes between the Northern and Southern schools of Chinese Buddhism. He also mentions that there are "endless puns or plays upon words in the renderings of Chinese characters" which he attributes to "antithesis of extreme poverty in sounds with amazing luxuriance of written expression" of Chinese and Japanese languages (255). This interest in puns and word play would be seen as intentional by later commentators such as Suzuki.

26. Griffis points out that Bodhidharma, also known as Daruma in Japan, is the "historic original of the tobaccoist's shop sign" (254). The interest evinced in Daruma by spiritual commentators will increase in the rhetorical uses of this figure by commentators on Zen aesthetics.

27. In regard to hypocrisy, similarly to Gordon, he mentions a disparity between Zen's claims and practitioners' actions in that they have "letter worship and pedantry," as well as deities in their temples. He also mentions that the priests should be "indifferent to worldly honors," but are not, particularly in the Soto sub-sect, "notorious for quarreling" (256). An important Western source for Griffis was A Handbook for Travelers in Central and Northern Japan, first edition by Satow, a member of the Asiatic Society and the British Consular Service, and Hawes. This work presents a rationale for Zen's contradictory attitude toward the use of scriptures, apparently unacknowledged by most American commentators on Zen.
Americans, such as Henry Adams, were familiar with this handbook (see Samuels page 294). A major portion of the handbook's introductory section on Japanese Culture was devoted to a discussion of Japanese religion, including Buddhism; this section was written by Satow. Regarding Buddhism, Satow provides a life of Sakyamuni, Buddhism's introduction into Japan, and the tenets of the different sects. Satow also includes the story of Buddha holding up the flower (83). He lists Zen's founders and founding dates of its three sub-sects and calls it the contemplative school, founded in China by Dharma whose idea was that truth could not be imparted through words, but "heart speaks to heart" (86). Satow provides a rationale for Zen's use of scriptures (found to be contradictory by other commentators); he names the Mahaparagna-paramita-sutra in particular "not as containing the Truth in itself, but simply as a means of educating the intelligence to such a point that it becomes capable of discovering the truth itself" (89). Interestingly, Satow provides an analogy that will become more famous in the 1950's: "Language says one author, is like the finger that points at the moon [. . .]. We must not fix our attention too closely on the finger [. . .] lest we fail to perceive the moon [. . .]" (89). Although he does not cite a source for this quote, it is from the Lankavatara Sutra. Satow's footnotes indicate that he, too, used Bunjio Nanjio as a source.

28. In this regard, see Japanese commentator on Zen Nobuta Kishimoto writing in *Open Court* of 1894. Kishimoto's article describes Zen as a sect of Japanese Buddhism which employs self-power, using one's own effort to seek righteousness and enlightenment as a means to attaining Salvation. Not only does Kishimoto stress Zen's individuality here, but also defines it in terms that would appeal to Christians.

29. See Ketelaar for background information on Nanjio and the irony of his tutelage under Muller. In the history's Preface, Nanjio explains that it was written "separately by nine living Japanese priests," citing Ken-ko Tsuji as having written the chapter on Zen.

30. He tells the story of Buddha holding up the flower to Kasyapa in wordless transmission and Bodhidharma as Wall-Gazing Buddha. He also gives a listing of Zen patriarchs and a historical presentation of conflicts between Northern and Southern schools of Chinese Buddhism. Here he includes the story of the transmission of Zen from the 5th patriarch to the 6th, known more familiarly as Hui-neng, and includes the poems written by E-no (Hui-neng) and Jin-sha as part of their competition to be named sixth patriarch. Note that this story will become a well-known part of D.T. Suzuki's *Zen History*. In relation to teachers, he lists works containing the words of teachers of various schools known as the Go-roku or "Records of Sayings" which might be helpful to students (121).

31. Similarly, his secretary and translator for the Parliament, D.T. Suzuki, does not refer to Zen Buddhism specifically in articles and pronouncements. After Soen returned to Japan, D.T. Suzuki spent several years in the United States after the Parliament working with Paul Carus and publishing several articles in *The Open Court*. In these articles, Suzuki writes from the position of a general practitioner of Mahayana Buddhism.
32. Aside from his inclusion in the proceedings of the Parliament published shortly after it was held, his writings appear in The Monist, from 1894-95, and The Open Court, 1895-1904, both edited by Paul Carus. The Monist was a philosophically oriented American journal, monism defined by Tweed in The American Encounter with Buddhism as the idea that the whole universe, matter and spirit, is "unified" because regulated by the same natural laws (66).

Verhoeven in an article on "Carus and the Transformation of Asian Thought," notes the importance for Carus of meeting Soen, "a genuine Buddhist," as well as Soen's interest in Carus as "a beachhead here for us" (quote from Soen). Also important for the transmission of Zen to America would be Carus's meeting of Suzuki and subsequent association with him through Soen (216). The Open Court, according to Tweed, was a successor to The Index, an organ of the "Free Religious Association, a group formed by New England religious liberals and radicals" (32). Its banner at about this time reads: "Devoted to the Work of Conciliating Religion with Science."

33. It is interesting to note that the religious needs of Japanese immigrants to the United States were served either by evangelistic Christians or by the Jodo-shin-shu or Pure Land Buddhist sect of Japanese Buddhism whose priests arrived in San Francisco in 1898. This sect is characterized by the repetition of the name of Buddha in order to go to the Pure Land Heaven after death and might be considered more emotional than Zen's emphasis on contemplation. According to Kitagawa in his book on Japanese religion, a group of Caucasian Buddhists (not the Japanese Buddhists) were responsible for inviting Soen Shaku to San Francisco in 1905 (325). This Caucasian interest in Zen may also demonstrate its elitist aspect.

34. This may also be behind the success of Suzuki's presentation of Zen throughout the 20th century culminating in the enthusiasm for Zen during the 1950's.

35. After an 1895 article on the continuation of the mission of the World's Parliament, Soen's articles and notice of his activities appear only in The Open Court: 1896, "The Doctrine of Nirvana;" 1897, he contributes to "A Controversy on Buddhism;" and 1899, "Japanese Calligraphy."

36. Soen takes a similar stance in "A Controversy on Buddhism," that of reinforcing Buddhism's science-friendly aspect, in a reply to Barrows, disagreeing with Barrows's understanding of Nirvana. According to Tweed, Soen wrote this at Carus's behest because Carus felt that the response to Barrows needed to come from an Asian Buddhist. Soen's reply follows a similar pattern as his other polemical articles, focusing on the interpretation of Nirvana, while reinforcing Buddhism's science-friendly aspect. For example, Soen mentions that "Buddha's teachings are in exact agreement with the doctrines of modern science" (43-44). He concludes by pointing out Buddhism's lack of skepticism in that humans can attain enlightenment as well as chiding Christ for performing miracles. (43).
37. The editor describes the image as "The omnipresent law of love and righteousness, as a father cherishing the animate creation like a child, in paternal affection, and bears a certain resemblance to the Roman Catholic representation of St. Joseph with the Christ child" (120).

38. It is interesting to compare his more patriotic attitude toward war in these articles with his statement on war at the Parliament of Religions which dealt with the importance of arbitration to prevent war. Another article in which he uses bellicose figurative language in connection with religion is his 1895 article, "The World's Parliament Extension," which appears in the April 1895 issue of The Monist. Here he is introduced, along with others who attended the Parliament, as a "Buddhist High Priest of the Zen Sect" who mentions ideas of fighting superstition by taking the "spirit of science and philosophy as shield" and the "principle of universal brotherhood as sword," adding the somewhat ironic admonition to be "open-minded" toward all religions (347), despite the trope's martial overtones.

39. He also took over the revision of Satow's Handbook, as well as writing a well-known book about Japan entitled, Things Japanese, first published in 1890. For more on Chamberlain and his American audience see La Farge's "Postscript" to his Artist's letters where he notes the many, including Hearn, Lowell, and Parsons in addition to Chamberlain, who have written about Japan since the composition of his letters (actually written in the 1880's); he notes of Chamberlain whose "authority has been given to popular information" (280).

Things Japanese was perhaps Chamberlain's most popular work and was an encyclopedic compendium of information about Japan, arranged alphabetically from "abacus" to "zoology." Zen is mentioned under the heading of Buddhism as being among the most powerful sects now in Japan and as "the most interesting of all to the student of Japanese sociology, on account of its close connection with the cultivation of poetry and the arts" (78-79). However, the only kind of culture that Chamberlain specifies in connection with Zen in this volume is the tea ceremony, which originated from tea-drinking on the part of Zen Buddhist priests to keep themselves "awake during the performance of their midnight devotions." Chamberlain notes that it is usual for tea enthusiasts to join the Zen sect of Buddhism (456-57).

40. It is interesting to note that Aston, another Anglo and Japanophile important in the annals of the Asiatic Society, is author of the first major text on Japanese literature in English, first published in New York in 1899, A History of Japanese Literature. He, too, briefly alludes to Zen in connection with Basho, writing that Basho was a "diligent student of the Zen Buddhist doctrines and of Taoism and was also an artist" (291). In the Bibliographic section of this history, Aston mentions Chamberlain's Classical Poetry of the Japanese, 1880, and the fact that the Transactions have much useful information on Japanese literature, proof that these works were part of the fund of information Americans had access to regarding Japanese literary culture (400).
41. I am indebted to comments made at the Dartmouth Seminar in American Studies, summer 2001, for ideas regarding cultural imperialism here.

42. In the 1940's and 1950's, R.H. Blyth will take up where Chamberlain leaves off in his interest in connecting Zen and Japanese haiku poetry.

43. His essays about Japan, many of which appeared in the Atlantic, only to be reprinted in book form, comprise about ten of the total 16 volumes of The Writings of Lafcadio Hearn published by Houghton Mifflin Company in 1922. Hearn married a Japanese woman, took a Japanese name, became a follower of Buddhism, and was buried in Japan; all of these aspects of his personal life add to his claims for authenticity. Critics have, however, questioned his translation practices and his use of unacknowledged translators to add to his mystique.

44. According to Sekida's translation of the Mumonkan, this is Case 35, "Seijo's Soul Separated," told by Gosho. Sekida retells the story in his Notes to the Case mentioning that it comes from a Chinese book of ghost stories (107). The Case's ghostly origins would have appealed to Hearn who was famous for his retelling of Japanese ghost tales.

45. The Zen story is followed by a more philosophically oriented essay, "The Literature of the Dead," on Buddhist, including Zen, funerary inscriptions, probably a far more satisfying presentation to his American audience. Hearn alludes to inscriptions in Zen cemeteries a number of times. Some of the inscriptions state that Birth, Death, and Nirvana are all a dream (88); that all things of the earth have Buddha nature (88); or that the I and the not-I are not different (89). Inscriptions on Dhyana state that the mind can hold communication with the absolute and that the mind that detaches itself from all things becomes the mind of Buddha (94). Hearn crediting Japanese scholars for the translations, states that they "indicate the quality of its (Buddhism's) philosophical interest" (97). It is interesting to note that the essay on funerary inscriptions ends with a Buddhist poem: "From the foot of the mountain, many are the paths ascending in shadow; but from the cloudless summit all who climb behold the self-same Moon." Without interpreting the poem, he adds that those who know the poem's "truth" will not have regretted the time spent with him "among the tombs of Kobudera" (114).

46. Thanks to Prof. Thomas Kasulis who makes the comment that the interest in Daruma may also stem from the "founder-fetish" current among religious scholars of the time who seek a founder, a text, and a creed for all religions. For Zen, only the founder is readily produced.

47. This name-dropping technique will also be used by the Beats in the 1950's to demonstrate their familiarity with Zen. Interestingly enough Percival Lowell also practices a similar kind of name-dropping in his travel article on his trip to the Japanese province of Noto, published in 1891 in the Atlantic. Describing Noto's distance from Tokyo he writes in his first January installment that it is "so far west that the setting sun no longer seems to lose itself among the mountains, but plunges for good and
all straight into the shining nirvana of the sea" (1). Lowell drops nirvana, a key term in the American discussion of Buddhism, into a description of Japanese seascape, thereby demonstrating both his cleverness and his knowledge of Japanese Buddhism, as well as de-sanctifying the concept in the process.

48. He does not discuss Zen in the Preface or Introduction to this volume, simply stating that lyric drama is "deeply tinged" with Buddhist ideas (8), and that only the later dramas have "ethical tendency" due to Confucian and Buddhist influence (19). Re Abstraction, also note other titles by which this play was translated and original Japanese title for this play which was Hanako, referring to the female protagonist's name.

49. His wife eventually discovers his duplicity. When she asks about the "devotion of abstraction" that her husband will perform, he answers that "it is a devotion that was practiced in days of old by Saint Daruma - (blessings on him!). You put your head under the abstraction blanket, and obtain salvation by forgetting all things past and to come - a most difficult form of devotion" (286).

50. For example, in September 1889, Alexander Wores, published an article in Century Magazine, entitled, "An American Artist in Japan." Beginning in February 1890 and running through October 1893, the Century Magazine ran ten articles with illustrations by the prominent American artist, John La Farge, recounting his trip to Japan accompanied by the historian, Henry Adams, in 1886. Ostensibly La Farge went to Japan to get inspiration for a commission he had been awarded for a mural for the Church of the Ascension in New York, while Adams went as a diversion from the memory of his wife's recent death/suicide. Note that Linnea Wren in her catalogue essay, "John La Farge: Aesthetician and Critic," points out that their trip was the culmination of years of interest in Japan by both men (227). Wren also points out that a possible reason for La Farge's supplying American publishing firms "with a steady stream of manuscripts" in the 1890's was a need to augment his income at that time (227). La Farge and Adams were also friends with Bigelow, Morse, and Fenollosa who had arrived in Japan the decade before and knew of the treasures to be seen and found there. La Farge's letters subsequently appeared in book form in 1897 under the same title, An Artist's Letters From Japan, published by Century. See these letters for the collecting habits of this group.

Another American artist, Robert Blum, contributed three articles and illustrations in 1893 to Scribner's, similarly titled, "An Artist in Japan," as well as illustrating Sir Edwin Arnold's serialized version of Japanica for Scribner's which appeared in 1890-1891 (published in book form in 1892). Lastly, Harper's ran a series of six articles with illustrations by Alfred Parsons in 1894-1895 about his trip to Japan, variously titled with allusions to seasonal aspects of his trip and natural wonders of Japan, the first being called, "Japanese Spring."

51. The craze for collecting Japanese objects is centered in the 1880's, as Hosley suggests, perhaps the greater interest in Japan by art historians such as Fenollosa in books and magazines in the following decades presents
the opportunity for more in-depth discussion of this phenomenon in printed media which necessarily takes place over a longer period of time than the immediate enthusiasm for things Japanese and the collection and appreciation of its material objects. I am indebted to discussions with Prof. Barbara Groseclose for this suggestion.

52. Henry Gribble's article for the Transactions of the Asiatic Society, 1885, "The Preparation of Japan Tea," discusses Zen specifically in describing the introduction of tea into Japan by the Buddhist Zen sect and tells a similar story to Parsons regarding Daruma and the origin of the tea plant. His story is as follows: "it is to the founder of that sect, Daruma, that tradition credits the miraculous growth of the shrub in this country" (3). Gribble then tells the story of how Daruma, passing days and nights in uninterrupted Satori, finally fell asleep. Upon awaking, he was so upset with himself for falling asleep that he "cut off both his eyebrows [...] and threw them upon the ground." He later discovers that his eyebrows have sprouted into shrubs, now called Tea (4).

53. Rosenfield in his article, "Japanese Buddhist Art: Alive in the Modern Age," makes the point that the modernizing Meiji era at first persecuted Buddhism and indirectly its art in favor of the more indigenous and nationalistic Shintoism. Ten years after Meiji took power in 1868, Buddhist sanctuaries were closed, clergy reduced, statues and paintings were "destroyed, sold, or treated as rubbish" (234-35). In Rosenfield's terms, Fenollosa "rehabilitated" Japanese traditional art (much of it having Buddhist associations) with the Meiji government.

54. Most well-off Americans who went to Japan as tourists in the late 19th century got caught up in this collecting frenzy. For example, see La Farge's letters for an example of the collecting that Bigelow and Morse helped organize for Adams and La Farge during their trip to Japan in the late 1880's. However, neither their materialistic, collecting mania, nor its compensatory aspect, was different from that of more common folk, if one sees the Japan Craze as a way for Americans to get the traditional and handmade object back into modern lives which were fast becoming mechanized. Perhaps the key to true appreciation lies in the question of who has authority to speak about Japanese culture or Zen. The answer may be those who make the pilgrimage to Japan. Morse, along with Fenollosa, Bigelow and other New Englanders, made this pilgrimage, had authentic first-hand experience, and became connoisseurs, whereas those left behind could only acquire cheap imports and could not partake of authenticity. James Clifford in The Predicament of Culture describes collecting as involving "taste and pedagogy" (219), as well as being a way to appropriate the exotic (221), an aspect of both Orientalism and imperialism. He claims that in the West, "collecting has long been a strategy for the deployment of a possessive self, culture, and authenticity" (218). The collections of Morse, Fenollosa, and Bigelow eventually found their way to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts which became the preeminent collection of Japanese and Chinese art in the United States at the turn of the century.
55. It is interesting to note that after leaving Japan in 1890, Fenollosa returned to Boston and became curator at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. His collection, sold in 1886 to Dr. Weld of Boston and known thereafter as the Weld-Fenollosa Collection, had been given to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts prior to Fenollosa's arrival (check this). In 1894, Fenollosa organized several art exhibitions, one of which consisted of 100 paintings of Chinese 11th and 12th century art from the Zen temple Daitokuji. Many of these works had Zen associations.

56. Rosenfield makes the point about Fenollosa's *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, that it is "the first authoritative English-language survey of Chinese and Japanese art" (239), in which Fenollosa calls Zen "the most aesthetic of all Buddhists' creeds" (II 4) and discusses Zen's influence on the idealistic art of China of the Sung period and its subsequent influence on Japanese art of the Ashikaga School, a parallel period of idealistic art.

57. In his posthumous two-volume work, he would again emphasize the idealistic aspects of Zen's influence in the chapters in the second volume dealing with idealistic art of China and Japan. Here he presents Zen as the sect of nature contemplation (33) and as the most aesthetic of all Buddhist creeds. He again presents Zen's idea that books are "injurious;" Zen teachers turned to the "value of a more vital writing, namely, the Book of Nature." In the process the student "should have no guidance but his own unaided intelligence" and "education must develop individuality!" (5). Later in this chapter he associates Zen with spontaneity, and Zen's tendency toward harmony goes "far to solve the eternal antinomy between the individual and society" (35).

58. At this point, Fenollosa relates individuality and Zen's method as a "sort of independent discovery of Hegelian categories that lie behind the two worlds of object and subject." Hence Zen's influence on poetry and art (5-6).

59. In the same issue, Arthur Wesley Dow, an artist and an associate of Fenollosa at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, sums up the use of Japanese art in the battle of idealists versus the realists: "Japanese art is the expression of a people's devotion to the beautiful. It is the art which exists for beauty only, in lofty isolation from science and mechanics, from realism and commercialism, from all that has befogged and debased other art" (114). According to T. Jackson Lears in *No Place of Grace*, Knight Errant was a short-lived journal of the early 1890's, which "briefly united a number of Boston medievalists" (204) and espoused the idealistic point of view and the importance of art and beauty as supporting it. Ralph Adams Cram, a Boston architect, was a force behind this magazine and also a Japanophile. He published a work on Japanese architecture, *Impressions of Japanese Architecture*, 1905, with an interesting chapter on Japanese temple gardens which again presents Japanese spirituality as exotic and aesthetic. See Lears for more on Cram.

60. In the preface to this study, Lears describes anti-modern sentiments in those who sought more intense and authentic forms of life in medieval or
Oriental cultures (xv). Dean MacCannell in his study of tourism, claims that tourism, itself, is an aspect of modernity (182) and points out the contradiction in anti-modernist impulses of tourists who search for authenticity in more traditional cultures.

61. Parsons, too, mentions meeting with Okakura as President of the Art School in his Harper's series of 1894-95. Later, Bigelow was instrumental in getting Okakura to come to Boston as curator for the Museum of Fine Arts in the early 1900's. After Fenollosa was fired for a liaison with his assistant, (what Chisholm refers to as a scandal of 1895, p. 118-19) Okakura was the most knowledgeable for the job. In addition, Bigelow had just given the museum over 15,000 objects and must have had a major say in who to hire to care for the collection.

62. For example, he considers transmission of Zen to Japan through the Southern School as an aspect of individualism (171-72).

63. One of his Japanese-Western comparisons demonstrates his criticism: "To a Japanese, accustomed to simplicity of ornamentation and frequent change of decorative method, a Western interior permanently filled with a vast array of pictures, statuary, and bric-a-brac gives the impression of mere vulgar display of riches" (39). Also note the movement toward simplification evident in articles in The Craftsman in the early 1900's as an influence of Japanese culture on the West and the implied criticism of Western materialism of many of these articles, as well as Morse's early statement of similar ideas in his work on Japanese architecture.

64. A further example of Soen's presentation of Buddhism as an antidote to Western industrial life albeit in a spiritual rather than aesthetic context, hence suited to modernity, is his comparison of East and West in the essay, "The Practice of Dhyana," in his collected writings, The Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot, 1906. These sermons were given by Soen during his tour of the United States in 1905-1906. As is his practice, he focuses on the relation between Buddhism and Christianity without discussing Zen specifically. However, the subject of this essay, Dhyana or contemplation, has been linked directly to Zen in the past and is presented as necessary for the Buddhist life along with moral precepts and wisdom. Soen explains dhyana first in Eastern terms as bringing practitioners to a state of perfect absorption or samadhi (an infrequent use of Buddhist terminology on his part), but then turns to Western scientific terminology describing dhyana as a "sort of spiritual storage battery" (152). He concludes by emphasizing the practical, presenting meditation as panacea for the West: "besides its being an indispensable religious discipline for attaining enlightenment [. . .] it is one of the most efficient means of training oneself morally and physically" (158). He also counters meditation's impracticality by producing the Western spectre of technology, stating that in these days of "industrial and commercial civilization," people have little time for "spiritual culture." They are busy by day and cannot relax at night which taxes "their already over-stretched nervous system to the utmost." Dhyana proves to them a "heaven-sent boon" (151-2). By not discussing his doctrine too specifically and presenting his spiritual practice as an
antidote to Western industrialization, Soen presents Buddhism on the West’s terms, indirectly alluding to Zen through its association with meditation.

65. One of the key discussants would be Percival Lowell in *The Soul of the East*, 1888. For Lowell, the East is doomed to disappear before the encroaching West if it does not drop its emphasis on impersonality and absence of Self as taught by Buddhism. He closes this book with the image of the East wrapped in the winding sheet of Nirvana (225-226). Henry Adams and St. Gaudens’ creation of the untitled memorial for Adams’s wife may also be considered a part of this East-West conversation. According to Ernest Samuels in *The Middle Years*, the second volume of his biography of Adams, ideas for the statue "took shape" on Adams’s trip to Japan where he was influenced by La Farge and the figure of Kwannon. For Adams, the memorial to his wife would be a way to show the coming together of East and West. According to an interview with John La Farge in the *New York Herald* of 1910, Adams wanted the memorial statue to embody a Western conception of the Japanese Kwannon, Bodhisattva of Compassion; for him the statue is a "Kwannon of the Western world" (24).

66. This poem elaborates on his article for the *Atlantic* of that year, "Chinese and Japanese Traits," which describes Japan’s ability to Westernize as an aspect of its "individuality" not the "morbid self-consciousness" of Western personality, but the "self by which we do" and the "power to produce freshly from within" (770). He concludes by claiming that Japan has the "privilege" of being "our most alert pioneer" in the fusion of Eastern and Western types now possible (774).
CHAPTER 3

MAKING ZEN A HOUSEHOLD WORD: THE BEAT AVANT-GARDE AND THE POPULARIZATION OF ZEN IN THE FIFTIES

I. Introduction

Popular and literary critics of the 1950's have long made connections between the Beat Generation and Zen. Both the synergistic relation created between Zen discourse and writers associated with the Beat movement, as well as the divergence in attitudes toward these two further differentiations of Zen discourse are important aspects of such publicity, mainstream media generally accepting D.T. Suzuki as an authority and receiving his presentation of Zen more favorably than Kerouac's. Kerouac and other writers of the Beat movement used the dual discourse surrounding Zen (Zen as both an aesthetic and spiritual phenomenon) to assert and help define their avant-garde position contributing to stylistic innovation, in the process differentiating themselves from other literary movements of the 1950's and commenting on bourgeois American culture.

This chapter also demonstrates that, similarly to the 19th century, the transmission of Zen as dual discourse was carried on primarily through popular magazine culture. However, neither the extent of such magazine publicity in popular, intellectual, and avant-garde press, nor the nuanced
characterizations of Zen (Suzuki's traditional or "square" Zen and Kerouac's hip or "Beat" Zen, for example), have been closely examined. In addition, there is a similar pragmatic use of reverse orientalism by Zen's Japanese transmitters. D.T. Suzuki, for example, continues to use the Buddhist tenet of skillful means in presenting Zen to a Western audience in ways that would both be comprehensible and appealing (the privileging of the aesthetic and cultural over the religious practice). In the 1950's, Suzuki moves from his supporting role of the 19th century (secretary to Soen Shaku), to the starring role, becoming the primary authority and spokesperson for Zen to an American audience, both Beat and mainstream.\(^1\) In addition, Zen discourse continues to be used as cultural capital, this time by both Suzuki and by Beat movement writers, as participation in the discourse about Zen in the 1950's becomes a way to popularize and sensationalize their work and in the process to demonstrate an alternative to Western culture.

Ironically, instead of simply privileging aesthetic aspects, writers such as Kerouac and Snyder, more so than figures directly associated with Zen as religion, move Zen discourse in a more spiritual direction. Such publicizing and sensationalizing of Zen may also have had long-term consequences for the subsequent reception and understanding of Zen in America as trendy, cultural phenomenon rather than as serious religious practice. More broadly still, this conversation about Zen was an indication of the extent and limits of cultural understanding between the United States and Japan at this time: the Beat avant-garde and Zen Buddhist proselytizers were active participants in furthering cross-cultural communication in a movement away from Western values and indicative of
changing attitudes toward Japan after World War II. The conversation about Zen encouraged dialogue between East (Japan) and West (the United States).

Cultural factors providing context for what Alan Watts called an American Zen "boom" in the 1950's include: 1) American interests in linking Japanese aesthetic and spiritual culture stemming from the late 19th century as personified by Kakuzo Okakura or Ernest Fenollosa; 2) American and Japanese postwar interests in better understanding each other's cultures as expressed by GI interests in Japanese culture and the founding of the Japan Quarterly; 3) the rebound of Japan's GNP and national income in 1956 which began to surpass prewar levels creating additional interest in Japan as trading partner and world force; 4) the left intellectual climate in crisis before and after World War II, in which left intellectuals, disillusioned by Stalin's communism and the failure of socialism, moved toward the center and the right attempting to consolidate their position as commentators on literature and culture; 5) a conservative religious atmosphere in the United States led by Billy Graham, Norman Vincent Peale, and Bishop Fulton J. Sheen with which certain segments of youth were beginning to feel disaffiliated of which the Beats may be seen as exemplary as early as the 1940's.

A survey of magazine articles from this period that present Zen to the American public, including its sensationalization in conjunction with the Beats after Kerouac's publication of The Dharma Bums in 1958, demonstrates that the Zen "boom" occurs in several phases. Chronologically, Suzuki's presentation of Zen marks the first phase of its popularization in the 1950's; Zen is presented as a philosophy and as a
contributing factor in Japanese aesthetic practice with positive associations accorded it. After Kerouac's novel, The Dharma Bums is published in 1958, the discourse surrounding Zen in America focuses on the more controversial presentation of Zen characterized as Beat by Alan Watts, which includes drinking, sexuality, mountain climbing, and writing poetry. Zen, or at least Kerouac's version, becomes suspect. Thus the discourse about Zen in the 1950's occurs in dialogue and conflict between the mainstream press and critics, Suzuki as their authority, and the Beats (for even Suzuki comments on Beat Zen). This chapter will proceed by first looking at the discourse produced by Suzuki's presentation of Zen, then move to Kerouac's, including a demonstration of how Zen generally contributes to the Beat avant-garde project, and finally to the Zen discourse produced by Suzuki, Kerouac, and Snyder in dialogue. The chapter ends with a discussion of how the contribution of Zen discourse furthers understanding between East (Japan) and West (the United States) after World War II.

II. Zen Discourse and D.T. Suzuki

Earliest references to Zen in American magazines of the fifties by Suzuki appear in such specialized academic publications as Philosophy East and West, a scholarly journal of philosophy published by the University of Hawaii, and Japan Quarterly, a scholarly public relations magazine about Japanese society published in Japan. As early as 1951, in Philosophy East and West, in his essay, "The Philosophy of Zen," he addresses the ideas of two Western commentators, Van Meter Ames and Harold McCarthy, whose articles on Zen had appeared in the previous, and inaugural, issue of the
magazine. His primary task is to correct and redefine Ames's "comparison of Zen with pragmatism or existentialism," because Zen is "infinitely more" than a "system of philosophy" (3-4). The editors of *Philosophy East and West* had introduced Suzuki as "eminent Zen scholar," a characterization which would be repeated with slight variation in numerous other articles on Suzuki in more mainstream fifties magazines, such as *Vogue*, the first to present him to a general readership.7

Later in 1957 a number of articles in mainstream magazines appear by or about Suzuki which characteristically present him as an authority on Zen, while evincing negative attitudes toward Zen as spiritual practice and positive attitudes toward its aesthetic aspects (similarly to the 19th century's schizophrenic attitude toward Zen). *Time* ran an article on Zen Buddhism in early February in its "Religion" section, featuring Suzuki, and discussing the fact that "increasing numbers of intellectuals - both faddists and serious students - are becoming interested in a form of Japanese Buddhism called Zen" (65). *Time* also notes Zen's effect on the arts such as poetry and the tea ceremony, as well as characterizing Suzuki as "one of the most respected religious leaders in America" (66).8 Though *Time* presents both aspects of Zen here, its labeling of Zen followers as "faddists" harks back to the mesmeric associations of 19th century Zen. In November of this year, *Saturday Review* perpetuates the impression of Zen as incomprehensible spiritual practice to the American public. Although Daniel Bronstein calls Suzuki, the "best-known interpreter of Zen writing in English" and characterizes his books as "sprightly" (22), he also uses a tone of sarcasm and skepticism. He considers Suzuki's description of Zen "difficult to understand" and Zen itself as paradoxical and contradictory.
Bronstein ends by comparing Suzuki to an "ad man doing a blurb for the latest best seller" (23). This range of attitudes indicates a pattern to be repeated in the coming years across types of magazines. Fashion and culture magazines would continue to be appreciative of Zen, whereas more intellectual and mainstream news magazines would become increasingly skeptical indicating the continuing appeal of Zen as aesthetic and cultural phenomenon rather than religious practice.

In keeping with this pattern, art and fashion magazines present the aesthetic aspect of Zen as an important part of Japanese culture in general, especially in connection with tea ceremony and Japanese art. Such articles also treat Japan and its culture in a positive light and thus may demonstrate either the generosity of the conqueror or the appropriation of the conquered culture after the American victory of World War II. In addition, these articles also reinforce associations Suzuki makes between Zen and creativity (thus combining traditional aesthetic associations with Zen as well as recalling Zen's associations with individuality).9

For example, Harper's Bazaar of July 1957 contains a photo spread shot by Cecil Beaton entitled, "Japan: Places and Faces." In the accompanying article, "A Japanese Grammar," Beaton discusses such terms as geisha, bunraku, and o-cha-no-yu, this last term referring to the tea ceremony which "we are told, evolved out of certain Zen Buddhist rites" and is a "religious-aesthetic-meditative exercise" (106).10 Similar associations of Zen and Japanese aesthetic culture would be reinforced by Suzuki's article, "Sengai: Zen and Art," for November, 1957, Art News, and in Nancy Wilson Ross's article for Mademoiselle, January, 1958, entitled, "What is Zen?" In both of these articles Zen is linked with creativity.
Art News introduces Suzuki as Zen's leading spokesman and "venerable exponent of Zen philosophy to the West." Noting its popularity, the editors link Zen to contemporary painters and psychologists (114). Suzuki, discussing Sengai, Japanese sumi painter, connects his art with Zen and the Zen-man, demonstrating a masculine bias to Suzuki's Zen as well as being a way for him to counter Western perceptions of Zen and Buddhism as passive and feminine (characterizations harking back to the 19th century reception of Zen). For Suzuki, Zen's primary mission is to transmit the gospel of infinity and creativity. However, somewhat contradictorily, Suzuki's "Zen-man" has no need to create art, apparently because his life as he lives it is an original work of creation. He claims that the Zen-man has a "naked naturalness" through which "shines forth something transcendental" (193). Suzuki closes by stating that Sengai's pictures "demonstrate the Zen characteristics of freedom, spontaneity, creativity, humor, playfulness, and detachment" (196). Although his discussion of the Zen-man, poet, and artist seems rather complicated, the gist of his argument is that Zen equals creativity.

Nancy Wilson Ross's article on Zen refers to the "learned Dr. Suzuki" and his Columbia seminars as her authority, though not referencing any particular published work by Suzuki. She alludes to Zen as both philosophy and "cult" (thus continuing to privilege cultural over spiritual aspects of Zen). Rather than legitimate spiritual practice, then, she links Zen with creativity: Japan's "old and unique culture" owes its "special quality to a philosophy called Zen" with Eastern art's spontaneity, simplicity, and nonagression. She illustrates her article profusely with images of both Western and Eastern art images, including an image of the
Buddha of the Future. Her article also makes connections between contemporary artists like Morris Graves and Mark Tobey (the latter identified as a student of Zen), New York cocktail parties (intimating Zen's fashionableness) and the Beat writers, who she alludes to in her comments on the trendy name-dropping of Zen.

Ross points out that the Beats use Zen expressions for their own ends, seeming to drop Zen terms into their writing for the sheer esoteric effect or to shock or puzzle their readers: "Tag words from the special zen vocabulary—words like koan, mondo, satori—spring up in very odd places these days." She quotes Ginsberg's use of the term, satori, as in satori in Harlem; a line from "Howl," containing the phrase, "nowhere Zen New Jersey," and his description of Kerouac as a "new Buddha of American prose." She goes on to state that "calm-browed men in the monasteries of Japan" (in itself, a stereotypical characterization) would better appreciate more serious American artists, such as Mark Tobey (64-65). The name-dropping of Zen terms by the Beats, as pointed out by Ross here, is thus reminiscent of the rhetorical tactics of 19th century writers and artists in relation to the dropping of Zen or Buddhist terms such as Daruma or nirvana into their articles with perhaps similar cultural capital gains of authority and difference.

Part of the significance of Ross's article in relation to the Beat use of Zen, is that she not only criticizes the Beats for their shallow understanding of Zen (similarly to other commentators of the 1950's), but also links Zen, itself, with art movements considered as avant-garde, such as Dada and surrealism. Her association of Zen with the avant-garde serves to provide connotations for Zen at this time which are similar to those of
the Beat avant-garde and their use of Zen. She compares the situation after World War I and the rise of surrealism with that of the aftermath of World War II and the rise of the Beats, "turning many young Westerners of the self-styled 'Beat' generation toward the unknown East." She notes the similarity between Dada and Japanese mondo or dialogues between masters and pupils in which Zen masters often add a whack to an irrational reply to a student's question: "A passage of this nature inevitable sends one's mind back to the Dadaists and surrealists who after World War I set out [. . .] to bring about a 'general and emphatic crisis in Western consciousness.'" She also comments on specific devices of the dadaists which seem to recall Zen practice: at gatherings they sat in silence or rang bells (recalling Zen meditation). Their illogical poetry has a "Zen ring," and they were interested in "unlikely juxtapositions of images and ideas." Her metaphors to describe Zen koan, link Zen both with Dada and with nature (although not with the Beats), as she defines the koan as a riddle which contains "seeds" of shock and claims that Zen returns the adult to the primal naturalness of a child. Seeking an answer for Zen's popularity, she finds it in a search for another range of experience than the "appetite for things," which as an alternative to 1950's materialism and conformity, will also be part of Zen's appeal for the Beat Generation writers (116). Like Suzuki, she seems to make many of the same connections between Zen, nature, and culture, especially Japanese, in this article, although as her discussion of Zen's irrationality and its similarity with Dada and Surrealism demonstrates, she does this in Western terms.

III. Zen Discourse and Kerouac

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Ross's article foreshadows the more sharply polarized magazine coverage of Zen Buddhism in relation to the Beat Generation writers which would occur in 1958 due generally to the greater association of Zen Buddhism with the Beat "rebellion" against mainstream fifties culture and more specifically to the publication of Kerouac's novel, The Dharma Bums in fall of this year. Perhaps as Zen became a force molding behavior in ways not part of mainstream American culture, it became more of a threat to that culture. This is especially true of the left intellectuals for whom the Beat movement had already posed a threat as is evident from Norman Podhoretz's article, "The Know-Nothing Bohemians," which came out before the publication of The Dharma Bums. Podhoretz, comparing the Bohemianism of the 1920's with that of the 1950's finds the latter is "hostile to civilization; it worships primitivism, instinct, energy, 'blood'[...]. At the one end of the spectrum, this ethos shades off into violence and criminality, main-line drug addiction and madness." It is also interested in "mystical doctrines" and "irrationalist philosophies." He is particularly upset by "bop language" which expresses "contempt for coherent, rational discourse [...]." (484). Kerouac, largely responsible for this interest and attack (Podhoretz's article, for example, is primarily about Kerouac), prophesied in a letter to Philip Whalen early in that year, that 1958 would be a "year of Buddhism" and a "dharma year." Kerouac notes a "big stir in N.Y. about zen, Alan Watts big hero of Madison Avenue now, and Nancy Wilson Ross big article about zen in Mademoiselle mentions me and Allen and knows her Buddhism good [...]." Kerouac doesn't seem to mind here that the tenor of Ross's comments on the Beats implied that they were "enthusiasts" who didn't really understand Zen ("What is Zen?" 64).
Kerouac continues by stating that "[...] with Dharma Bums I will crash open whole scene to sudden Buddhism boom and look what'll happen closely soon [...] everybody going the way of the dharma, this no shit [...]"


Kerouac's novel, The Dharma Bums, hereafter referred to as DB, responsible for much of the sensationalization of Zen in the late 1950's, is his strongest and longest statement about Zen, featuring Kerouac's Zen personae of dharma bum and Zen lunatic. It is primarily a portrait of Gary Snyder and his Zen practice, rather than a description of Kerouac's personal beliefs about Zen. The book is primarily about the meeting of Ray Smith (patterned after Kerouac) and Japhy Ryder (patterned after Snyder) and Japhy's teaching Ray about Zen Buddhism during the course of a variety of experiences from partying to mountain climbing. Kerouac dedicates the novel to Han-shan, a Zen Lunatic or Dharma Bum, while within the novel, Ray explains that Japhy was the "number one Dharma Bum;" had "coined the phrase;" "and discovered the greatest Dharma Bums of them all, the Zen Lunatics of China and Japan" (DB 8). Japhy is also translating the poetry of Han-shan, and his translations are included in the novel. The actual source of much of the information Kerouac includes about Zen in the novel is that of D.T. Suzuki and R.H. Blyth through Snyder. For example, Ray notes that Japhy's book collection is the complete works of D.T. Suzuki and a "quadruple volume of Japanese haikus," probably volumes by R.H. Blyth (DB 18). Kerouac's conception of Han-shan as madman, reinforced by his use of the term, "lunatic," also owes much to Suzuki's description of Han-shan and his companion, Shih-te. For Suzuki, the Zen lunatic has "absolute disregard of decency and
conventionalism" (Essays in Zen Buddhism, 2nd Series: 220). However, unlike Kerouac, Suzuki is not condemned by the media for his presentation of Zen lunacy, although many commentators in mainstream publications probably had not read Suzuki's statements on the subject in his essays, whereas Snyder and Kerouac, for example, had.

A survey of selected reviews of The Dharma Bums in 1958 will indicate the pattern of critics who dismiss Zen along with the Beats and their rebellion and the extent of the condemnation of Kerouac's Zen discourse in both mainstream magazines and men's magazines such as Esquire and Playboy, one of Kerouac's major publication venues. Their primary criticism seems to be directed either at Kerouac's sexualizing and trivializing Zen Buddhism (mainstream magazines) or at Kerouac's turn to spirituality through Zen while appreciating its supposed sexual freedom (men's magazines). Zen signifies an alien other for both venues and because of its fluidity can be read as either spiritual or secular discourse.

However, both sides use similar rhetorical tactics of word play and punning to trivialize Zen and Kerouac's use of it. For example, Playboy in its October 1958 "Playboy After Hours" column, compares Kerouac's On the Road to The Dharma Bums stating that "Mr. K has discovered Zen Buddhism, and his book [Dharma Bums] is a kind of hipster hosanna to the quest for nirvana" (9). Here the pattern of rhyme and alliteration trivializes and pokes fun at Kerouac's Buddhist aspirations even as it echoes Kerouac's own Zen word play and spontaneous writing method. The reviewer states that the "Dharma Bums" and "Zen Lunatics" Path to Enlightenment is "strewn with wild parties and a nude ritual dubbed 'yab yum' which would have made Buddha glad he had all those arms" (9-10), here incorrectly
ascribing numerous arms to the Buddha, Shakyamuni. In alluding to "yabyum," the reviewer is referring to a scene from *The Dharma Bums* in which Japhy, Ray, and friends practice yab yum sexuality (a Tibetan tantric practice which actually has nothing to do with Zen) with Japhy's friend Princess. The reviewer ends by stating that Kerouac's new spiritual position seems incongruous.

Kerouac's inclusion of yab yum sexuality as an activity of dharma bums would prove to be one of the most controversial aspects of his presentation of Zen for American commentators as well as demonstrating Kerouac's orientalizing approach to Zen. In this allusion, Kerouac understands Zen as a religion which allows for sexual activities unacceptable to the Catholic religion of his youth. As Said points out, "the Orient was a place where one could look for sexual experience unobtainable in Europe" (*Orientalism* 190). *Time's* review of Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums*, of October 1958, "The Yab yum Kid," is typical of such responses. The review describes the central character, Japhy Ryder, as a "twinkly-eyed Zen Buddhist hoboheomin," certainly a diminution of the Zen Buddhist wandering monk or bhikku that the term "dharma bum" refers to. The review's critique includes Kerouac's presentation of sexuality; it also makes explicit for a mainstream audience Kerouac's protest against middle-class American conformity. Kerouac is chided for "confusing freedom with irresponsibility, for abusing the Zen Buddhist idea of the inseparability of good and evil by using it as an excuse for self indulgence" and for his protest against the "urban work life and the suburban home life of the U.S. middle class," here indirectly linking Zen with rebellion against mainstream American values. The reviewer
considers the most fictional aspect of *The Dharma Bums* to be the "brand of Buddhism (ostensibly Zen) that the beat hero and his pals preach and practice." Kerouac is called a "religious nut," his own terminology from *The Dharma Bums* used to describe an orgy as "Zen Free love Lunacy" (95-6). Following closely in tone is William Bittner's review, "The Yabyum Set," for *Saturday Review*. Bittner states that Kerouac's novel relates the "adventures of a peripatetic 'Beatnik' whose interests include the practice of Zen Buddhism." Bittner equates Kerouac's use of Buddhism with "some absurd jargon" (which relates to the Beat avant-garde use of language in their work) and sexual activity (yabyum) and ends the review by lumping Kerouac with West Coast writers who are a "flash in the pan" (36).20

Irving Feldman's *Commentary* review of December 1958, titled "Stuffed Dharma," is equally cutting, emphasizing the Beat revolt against society. Feldman, as representative left intellectual, is particularly sensitive to what he considers the Beats' apolitical position. For Feldman the Beats haven't gone far enough. He links Kerouac's Buddhism with sentimentality and notes their "Buddhist apathy" and "lesser nihilism" as well as their "shuttle between non-conformity's empty rejections and conformity's empty affirmations" (544). Such critiques of Buddhism again recall its 19th century characterizations.21 In the novel, according to Feldman, Japhy's version of Buddhism is linked to a "more general artsy-craftsy Orientalism, and he pursues final wisdom with all the self-righteous, nut-bellied ambition of the old-fashioned Calvinist businessman" (543).

Associations between Kerouac and Zen are in fact so strong that Zen may be disparagingly linked with reviews of Kerouac's work, both before
and after *The Dharma Bums*, without there being any direct reference to 
Zen in the work under discussion. Such a tactic further sensationalizes 
and polarizes attitudes of readers toward Zen. This practice is first found in 
Millstein's fairly positive review of *On the Road* in 1957 which begins with 
a discussion of Beat lifestyle. Of that lifestyle or "stigmata," he writes: 
"Outwardly, these may be summed up as the frenzied pursuit of every 
possible sensory impression [. . .] (One gets 'kicks'; one 'digs' everything, 
whether it be drink, drugs, sexual promiscuity, driving at high speeds or 
absorbing Zen Buddhism.)" (27). Zen is simply one of a range of deviant 
behaviors. This practice continues in more negative reviews of Kerouac's 
work published after *The Dharma Bums* appears such as reviews of 
Kerouac's novel, *Dr. Sax*, published in 1959.\(^{22}\)

This rhetorical tactic also occurs in regard to one of the most 
provocative works with which Kerouac is associated, the experimental 
movie, *Pull My Daisy*, written and narrated by Kerouac about an ordinary 
day in the life of Kerouac and his friends. *Time*'s December, 1959, review 
of this independent film, written and narrated by Kerouac, is titled, 
"Endsville" and subtitled, "Zen-Hur" (a takeoff on the title of the popular 
movie released at about the same time, *Ben-Hur*). Thus without mentioning 
Zen in the review directly, the reviewer provides associations between Zen 
and the first "pure-Beat movie" with its "authentic impression of beatnik 
habits and tastes," as well as a sarcastic comparison of the Beat "epic," *Pull 
My Daisy*, and the historical epic, *Ben-Hur*, one of the most popular movies 
of the year.\(^{23}\) Readers who have not seen the movie might understand *Pull 
My Daisy* to be either Zen-like because of its nonsense or irrational style or
because beatniks like or practice Zen or both. In any case, Zen, here, as in many other articles is associated with the Beats.

In a positive review of this same movie, the film critic, Jonas Mekas, in "New York Letter: Towards a spontaneous cinema," 1959, for Sight and Sound magazine, puts an avant-garde spin on this film. Similarly to Time, he associates the film with Zen, thus confirming the relationship between Zen, the Beats, and the avant-garde. Mekas considers the Zen aspect of Pull My Daisy (as well as that of a number of other works of independent cinema) to lie in their spontaneity. He quotes Suzuki ("to grasp life from within and not from without") and considers that this spontaneity is linked with the "general feeling in other areas of life and art; with the ardour for rock and roll; the interest in Zen Buddhism; the development of abstract expressionism (action painting); the emergence of spontaneous prose and New Poetry - all a long-delayed reaction against puritanism and the mechanization of life" (119). The film in its intimate picture of a day in the life of a group of bohemians (patterned after Kerouac and his friends) in which nothing in particular happens combined with non-conformist behavior and lifestyle (zany fun of drinking wine and reciting poetry, as one of the bohemian group interrogates a minister who has come to visit the railroad conductor's wife before the conductor and pals go off to listen to jazz) can be seen as a reaction against puritanical American culture. The casual nature of the group's activities with no daily routine or family life, except for that of the railroad conductor who seeks escape from his wife and domesticity, makes a statement against the conformist life of the 1950's American family, especially that of the lower middle class. The film thus depicts an anti-bourgeois lifestyle as well as emphasizing the
irrational, both aspects of the Beat avant-garde project. The action is minimal and the movie could as well be a modernist dada film whose purpose is to shock the audience and destroy the idea of the crafted work of art, filmed as it is so simply with hand-held camera in a real-life setting with no elaborate props or stage set and only one professional actor. In this sense the film also represents the merger of life and art which is also an aspect of avant-garde practice associated with the Beat avant-garde whose lifestyle is a part of their art, especially in its semi-autobiographical aspects.

IV. Zen Discourse and the Beat Avant-Garde

Analysis of several aspects of Zen discourse in the previous section has created an idea of how rhetorical tactics and strategies in these magazine articles present characterizations of Zen, often in connection with Kerouac, implicitly judgemental and stereotypical extending beyond the meanings of the words used in seemingly factual statements. Some discourse strategies and techniques, for example, the use of rhyme and alliteration to trivialize Zen, the association of Zen and certain words such as 

*fad, cult, or boom*, have already been touched upon.24 Another important aspect of this discourse about Zen in the 1950's is the use of Zen expressions with an edge, usually in italics, to demonstrate the commentator's understanding of Zen and indicate his or her expert status (Zen as cultural capital). This use of Zen expressions, what Nancy Wilson Ross in her essay on Zen Buddhism calls the Beats' use of "tag words," may also convey the writer's attitudes toward Zen Buddhism (both Beat and square). For example, the caption under the photograph of Suzuki in
Time's 1957 article on him reads, "Satori? Pang-ho!" The juxtaposition of the Sanskrit word and Zen exclamation creates an incomprehensible or humorous effect, especially if the reader may not have read the article which glosses satori as enlightenment and pang-ho as the master's roaring at the student to help him achieve this enlightened state. Suzuki's somewhat zany grin in the photo presents neither a necessarily enlightened, angry, or roaring aspect of a Zen master, giving the words an absurd, neo-dada ring, which subtly undermines the seriousness of the subject.  

Interestingly enough, this kind of rhetorical use of Zen terminology, especially when used by the Beats is considered shocking by the media and may be considered as part of their use of Zen to further their avant-garde project of changing American society, beginning with literature. In this regard, Nancy Wilson Ross's linking of Zen "tag words" with Beat superficiality recognizes this practice. The use of slang by writers associated with the Beat movement (an ever-present point of contention with the left intellectual commentators and a point of fascination with even those critics favorably disposed toward the Beats) along with Zen and its terminology is part of their project to create and use a spontaneous American language in their writing reflecting the way people actually speak. Although the linking of Beat slang or jargon with Zen Buddhism serves to demote Zen by association, a frequent rhetorical practice of Herbert Gold for example, it also reinforces connections between Beat avant-garde anti-conformist tactics disruptive of American middle-class values, Zen Buddhist tenets, and other avant-garde movements such as Dada. The Beats ultimately used their combination of what
Ginsberg refers to as subcultural and popular cultural slang in his 1981
definition of the Beat Generation to demonstrate their position as literary
outsiders and to make their avant-garde statements. In addition, their
adherence to Zen Buddhism also sets them apart. Appropriately (and
derogatorily) the Beats are often labeled "Zen hipsters." For example, Herb
Gold's article on the Beat Mystique in the February, 1958, issue of Playboy,
titled, "What It is—Whence It Came," presents a characterization of the
language of hipsterism as a "means toward non-communication, a signal
for silence," as well as directly linking the hipster with a "far-out
religious camp" (84).27 He goes on to state: "In recent years some have
taken to calling themselves Zen Hipsters, and Zen Buddhism has spread like
the Asian flu [. . .] " Despite the fact that he counters this slam on Zen by
implying that the Beats have a superficial understanding of the religion
and that it has its "beauties," (86) the point has been made and the
metaphor has been created of Zen as a foreign disease spread by the Beat
Generation writers. Perhaps the Beat hipster is acceptable for Playboy
editors and readers when he is expounding doctrines of drinking,
partying, jazz appreciation, free love, and sex, but less acceptable when he
is seriously expounding spiritual doctrines such as that of Zen Buddhism.

Zen hipster slang, ubiquitous with and characteristic of the Beats,
seems to have little redeeming qualities according to most critics, although
it helps the users define themselves as an in-group and shocks and sets
them apart from mainstream society. Pierre Bourdieu makes some
perceptive comments on such a use of slang in his essay, "Did you say
'Popular'?'" He claims that the notion of "popular speech" is a way of
structuring the social world according to the "categories of high and low,"
"refined and coarse or rude," "distinguished and vulgar," "rare and common," "well mannered and sloppy" in short "categories of culture and nature" (93). Bourdieu determines the population most apt to use such slang as men. It is in the "youngest and those [...] currently and [...] potentially the least integrated in the economic and social order, such as adolescents from immigrant families, that one finds the most marked rejection of the submissiveness and docility implied by the adoption of legitimate ways of speaking" (95). Bourdieu's linking of slang and outsider social groups may aptly apply to the Beats, many of whom were young, from lower class backgrounds, and formed a group of outsiders who empathized with other outsiders in society such as hoboes, criminals, and drug addicts.

However, the Beats may also have pursued their use of slang for more complex purposes than Bourdieu's group of lower class youths in the local cafe. Beat use of slang, and in a similar way, Zen terminology serve as passwords to a select group and further set Beats and Zen followers apart from mainstream society and users of standard English. This use of a special and esoteric language may be considered part of their avant-garde project. The choice of language and religion implicitly label them as outsiders, while the artistic and experimental nature of their activities associates them with the avant-garde. Although their avant-garde sensibility differs from the European version which was more highly intellectualized, less spiritual, and more politically aware (Snyder and Ginsberg being more actively political than Kerouac or Burroughs, for example), ultimately they pursue similarly disruptive ends.
By their use of language, writers associated with the Beat movement also differentiate themselves from other literary groups in the United States, especially those of mainstream modernism. For example, the Beat avant-garde project as expressed in the literary magazine, *Yugen*, published by LeRoi and Hettie Jones from 1958-1962, makes clear the desire of Jones and other writers to dissociate themselves from more mainstream modernist poets partly by associating their poetry with Japanese/Buddhist aesthetics, the word "yugen" itself being a Japanese aesthetic term. They thus used Zen theory to identify themselves with an Asian other against the mainstream literary establishment. Jones writes of the magazine's founding in his autobiography, substituting zazen for yugen: "The name of the magazine would be Zazen. It was a Zen word, a special quality of being, a texture of perception reflected by the term 'mystery.' It had to do with attaining a high state of grace and relationship to divinity in whatever you did, especially in the arts" (151). On the title page of the first issue of *Yugen* in 1958, containing work by Whalen, Jones, di Prima, and Ginsberg among others, Jones defines the term in a paradoxically Zen fashion as "elegance, beauty, grace, transcendence of these things, and also nothing at all." In this definition the editors imply Zen's rhetorical tactic of paradox and contradiction in the way they define *yugen* contradictorily as both something that can be defined and "also nothing at all." The definition of this term is paradoxically koan-like and readers are left to determine its meaning for themselves through the experience of reading the magazine. In subsequent issues (there were eight in all), the title pages contained either statements defining *yugen* (for example in the second issue as "the flower of the miraculous") or haiku or mondo (Zen
anecdotes to demonstrate a student's enlightenment) to express the Zen sensibility, while featuring among others, writers associated with the Beat avant-garde from both East and West coast, such as Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, Philip Whalen, and Jack Micheline. The journal was primarily devoted to poetry, but some criticism (much of it directed toward mainstream modernism, but some directed against an older generation of more avant-garde poets) in the form of book reviews and letters to the editor made its way into Yugen's pages. Thus Yugen served as a forum to question the values of the poetry establishment, even as hip an establishment as the Black Mountain School. For example, in Yugen #4 of 1959, Gregory Corso writes a poem, "For Black Mountain," against the preciosity of the line of the Black Mountain school of poetry, stating that "The idea/not the line/must be measured" (28). His point is supported by Gilbert Sorrentino in a letter to the editor in the subsequent issue, which begins: "The artist must clear a working space for himself, a place in which it is possible to function, where his productions can 'get made'" (38).

A more vituperative attack, however, comes from Jones in Yugen's seventh number in 1961. He comments on the National Book Award to Robert Lowell and the Pulitzer Prize for poetry to W.D. Snodgrass in an article entitled, "'Putdown of the Whore of Babylon.' Jones asserts: "But in giving The Pulitzer Prize for poetry to W.D. Snodgrass, it becomes viciously apparent that the methodology, the fixture, the cookie tournament, is one (if we squint in hopeless paranoia at all the phenomena of our lives) of actual filth" (4). This statement is followed by Sorrentino's review of both Lowell's Life Studies and Snodgrass's Heart's Needle, in which Sorrentino considers Heart's Needle as "lazy and banal. The whole book, technically
perfect in that classroom sense [... and none of it mattering in the least."
Both poets "stand in the middle class, they are concerned with the car in
the driveway, they are wild over the fact that their parents were not
'accepted,' or slightly futile" (6-7). Thus, a poetry magazine associated with
both the Beat avant-garde and with Japanese and Zen aesthetics serves as a
venue for writers of the Beat movement and their associates to criticize
mainstream modernism. In the case of these critiques in Yugen, both
mainstream modernist style and subject matter is called into question. The
Zen aesthetic flavor of Yugen was an essential part of its avant-garde
appeal and its manifesto-like purpose. It was published by and directed to
what might be considered the Beat avant-garde who had to create their
own journals and publishing houses to provide the positive coverage and
recognition they needed as artists, recognition denied to them by the
mainstream who chose primarily to sensationalize them and their interest
in Zen.

V. Suzuki and the Beats: Dialogue and Disagreement

While Beat movement writers create their own publication venues
and the presentation of Zen in the mainstream press continues to be
polarized between Kerouac's presentation of Zen and that produced by
Suzuki and other more traditional Zen spokespeople (with respectively
negative and positive characterizations), other magazines associated with
the publication of avant-garde and experimental material (similarly to
Yugen) are able to present the two (and Beat and square Zen) in dialogue.
In contrast to Yugen's aesthetic orientation, more positive and enthusiastic
characterizations of Zen, especially in a spiritual context, appear in
periodicals such as *Evergreen* and *Chicago Review*. The interest in Zen as spiritual practice as well as cultural phenomenon here is part of the interest in Buddhism by the Beats found primarily in avant-garde or Beat-friendly periodicals, rather than those of the mainstream despite the positive reception such periodicals continue to give Zen in connection with aesthetic practice.29

Both *Evergreen* and *Chicago Review* feature articles by Suzuki, other Zen scholars and authorities, and Beat writers and poets.30 In these magazines though the aesthetic discourse of Zen seems dominant, its spiritual aspect is also represented in a positive fashion, unlike in mainstream media. This is especially true of the *Chicago Review* Zen issue of 1958 in which an excerpt from Kerouac's *Dharma Bums* appears alongside a translation by Suzuki (described as the "most famous exponent of Zen Buddhism in America") of a sermon by Chinese Ch'an/Zen master, Rinzai, of the 9th century.31 Such a dialogic publishing situation also happens in the fall 1958 issue of *Evergreen*, which publishes Suzuki's article on Zen and Japanese culture along with Snyder's translations of Han-shan. The publication of these articles demonstrates the way Zen discourse is formed in dialogue and exemplifies the ideas of French theoretician, Michel Pêcheux who claims that the meaning of words do not exist in themselves, but are "determined" by the "ideological process in which words, expressions and propositions are produced (i.e. reproduced)" (*Language, Semantics and Ideology* 111).

The complex and contested nature of Zen discourse presented in dialogue by these magazines may best be shown by the article, "Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen," by Alan Watts included in the Zen issue of *Chicago*
Review. Ostensibly a proponent of Zen, Watts had his own agenda which was to put forth his version of authentic Zen, that of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism. Watts puts down both the Beats' "Beat Zen" as "too self-conscious, too subjective, and too strident" (8) and "Square Zen" as the "Zen of established tradition in Japan," implying Suzuki's squareness (9). Despite such criticism, Suzuki does stand for an authentic Japanese voice of Zen, for his avant-garde audience as well as for his mainstream American audience. For the avant-garde, Suzuki is not only one of their primary sources of information on Zen through his books and translations, but also an authority who links Japanese culture, Zen, and poetry (unlike the West in which poetry writing is not usually linked with conventional religious practice). Suzuki's privileging of poetry and religion (and R.H. Blyth's) is important for Beat writers trying to carve a niche for themselves in literary circles.

However, Suzuki will comment more critically on the Beats' appropriation of Zen in a 1958 article for Japan Quarterly entitled, "Zen in the Modern World." It is instructive to examine Suzuki's ideas in this essay as they relate directly to the sensationalization of Zen in Kerouac's The Dharma Bums. Suzuki indicates that the purpose of his essay will be to explain "what Zen aims at and what significance it has in the modern world," in light of the recent misrepresentation and misinterpretation of Zen in the West. Here he probably is implying the Beat interpretation of Zen because he refers in the beginning of the essay to "a certain literary movement started on the western coast of America" and quotes from a London Times article on the 'Beat Generation' and 'San Francisco Renaissance' (452). Suzuki's main criticism, however, is that the Beats
haven't gone far enough and have not yet "developed what lies quiescent
in their unconscious" or the "primary feeling for the Self" (454). He later
defines Self as an "absolute Self," the "spirit of creativity," the "rockbed,"
(455) or a "storehouse of creative possibilities where we find all stored"
(456). In this phrasing, Suzuki seems to be referring to the Alaya-vijnana
or storehouse consciousness, a tenet of the Yogachara school of Mahayana
Buddhism, but as is the case with many of Suzuki's magazine articles, he
does not usually go into such scholarly detail with his American
audience. He then moves from Buddhist philosophy to a more popularly
accessible topic, the plight of modern man, implying modern Western man,
and suggests that to reach this world of infinity or Self or God, Zen insists
we abandon our restless pursuit after logic, intellection, or ratiocination of
any form—even if temporarily—and plunge ourselves deep into the
bottomless abyss of primary 'feeling' [ . . . ] (459). Here his intellectualized
discussion of the need for irrationality comes across quite differently from
Kerouac's Zen lunacy presented through casual and colloquial language.
Kerouac's coupling of Zen with the irrational or the illogical and
nonsensical is received negatively by conservative commentators with
concomitant negative attitudes toward Kerouac's understanding of Zen, but
is perceived more positively when Suzuki describes this aspect of Zen as
one to be cultivated in response to modernity's overemphasis on
rationality. This may be because Suzuki speaks from the position of
scholar, while Kerouac speaks from the position of Beat avant-garde
writer. This divided reception is thus part of the polarized aspect of the
American understanding of Zen at this time. Suzuki does not give exact
directions for how such a difficult feat can be performed, but ends with a
quotation from Rinzai who exhorts his students to combat the "disease" of having no faith in the Self (461). However, even in this article in which Suzuki re-presents his version of Zen as the most authentic, he does not discuss it in terms of Zen traditional spirituality, but places emphasis instead on developing the Self in creative ways, a more appealing characterization to his Western audience. Suzuki effectively responds to and criticizes the Beat interpretation of Zen by putting forth his own version in its stead.

Ironically it is Gary Snyder, West Coast poet and model for Kerouac's dharma bum, who presents a picture of traditional Zen spiritual practice to an American audience, specifically in regard to life in a Zen monastery. It may be in such a figure as Snyder that Suzuki's ideas about Zen will be realized because Snyder is the first of the writers associated with the Beat Generation to actually move to Japan and practice Zen firsthand. Snyder is thus able to present a version of Zen that is less text-based, more practice-based, and which differs from most other accounts of Zen available at this time. He also gives equal consideration to the spiritual and aesthetic aspects of Zen in his poetry and prose.

Snyder wrote two articles on his stay at a Zen monastery in Kyoto: the first for a 1957 issue of Evergreen and the second, more substantive one, for the Summer 1958 Zen issue of Chicago Review. In the Evergreen article, "Letter from Kyoto," Snyder begins with a slangy description of the town emphasizing the past war: "about the size of Portland Oregon, never been bombed" and the white men, "all hooked on the place & all for different reason" (144-45). Snyder's tone is hip and casual; his sentences rhythmical fragments and phrases strung together in conversational
Although Snyder's picture of Kyoto is a vivid social one, the Evergreen reader gets little sense of the experience of Zen Buddhist monastic practice. In contrast, the Chicago Review article entitled, "Spring Sesshin at Shokoku-ji," provides a detailed description of life in a Zen monastery of the Rinzai Sect. Snyder defines Zen terms such as unsui or monk and roshi or Zen Master in footnotes (contributing to the scholarly tone of his article) and tells of the daily experience of a sesshin, the period of week-long concentrated meditation or zazen. He characterizes zazen as "a very tight thing" (47), one of his few lapses into slang in an article written in a factual and scholarly tone in comparison to his earlier, more hip article on life in Kyoto. In these articles on Zen, Snyder's attitude seems to change depending on the kind of audience he writes for and his purpose and seems rhetorically determined though privileging Zen as spiritual practice.

This presentation of Zen discourse in dialogue between Beat and square Zen commentators, contrasts the traditional authority of Suzuki with the Beat lunacy of Kerouac, and Snyder's traditional and "hip" Zen spirituality, demonstrating the variety of ways Zen is described and defined for Americans in the 1950's as a cultural force, a philosophy, and a religion. Suzuki continues to associate Zen primarily with cultural activities of nature appreciation, the arts, and philosophy and psychology (defining Zen in terms of a search for the "Self." Associations of Japanese religion with nature and culture were familiar to Americans from the previous century's Japan craze and a formula that worked with the American intelligentsia, a major target for Zen proselytization. Not only did Suzuki write about the associations between Zen and Japanese
culture, making them almost synonymous, a view that would be challenged by later art commentators, but he illustrated his series of essays on Zen Buddhism with many beautiful reproductions of Japanese and Chinese art works in connection with Zen patriarchs and tenets.37 Suzuki also used examples from Christianity, Western philosophy, literature, and psychology to make his points about Zen comparatively, presenting himself as a scholar knowledgeable about both Eastern and Western culture. Although he played down connotations of Zen as nihilistic and passive and played up Zen as masculine and active (similarly to Okakura's 19th century presentation of Zen), he also maintained its irrationality in the face of Western logic and reason.

In contrast, although Kerouac also emphasized the irrational or lunatic aspect of Zen, especially in The Dharma Bums, Kerouac's Zen was more sensational, partly because of its associations with eroticism, sexuality, and drinking (hence more orientalized). For example, in addition to linking Zen to meditation, the practice of tea-drinking, the use of mondos or koans, and nature, Kerouac (as has been pointed out) also has Japhy discuss how to handle girls the Zen Lunatic way, which turns out to be the Tibetan practice known as "yabyum." He states that "I distrust any kind of Buddhism or any kinda philosophy or social system that puts down sex [. . .]" (DB 30). Japhy and Ray also associate Zen with drinking and partying, although Japhy comes down hard on Ray for drinking too much. He asks Ray how he expects to "become a good bhikkhu or even a Bodhisattva Mahasattva always getting drunk" (DB 190).38 Considering that Snyder (the model for Japhy) was at this time the writer associated with the Beat avant-garde who was most serious about his practice of and commitment to
Zen, his novelistic counterpart's comments are not out of place. In the novel (and probably in reality) Japhy is Ray's most significant spiritual guide and guide for other writers associated with the Beat Generation.39

In addition, the context for a number of Kerouac's articles on the philosophy of the Beat Generation, Buddhism, and Zen are men's magazines such as Playboy or Escapade, venues which might have seemed suspect to the American public if Kerouac's intent were to truly represent or explicate religion.40 In this regard, see Herbert Gold's article, "Beat Mystique," which characterizes the Beats in general as Zen Hipsters who have a "camp" attitude toward religion (161). Publication in such venues also reinforces associations with sex and Zen demonstrating an orientalist aspect of Kerouac's Zen discourse. In the issue of Playboy in which his article on the origins of the Beat Generation appeared, there was also a photo spread entitled, "Oriental Sex," for example. This juxtaposition of sexuality and spirituality is also another reason for his critics to call him a hypocrite, as well as demonstrating an orientalizing aspect of Kerouac's Zen lunacy. For example, an Escapade column of November 1959 describes the history of his interest in Buddhism, begun in his despair over the end of a love affair, while his only article dealing directly with Zen appears in Escapade of 1960. Rather than being an explanation of Zen in a rational manner or through exposition, this article reads like a poetic litany of Zen definitions or a series of irrational statements. At times Kerouac seems to try too hard not to explain Zen.41 Such context and content for Zen implies a shallowness to Kerouac's spirituality from a conventional point of view.

Ultimately, Kerouac's interest in Zen and Buddhism relates to his writing practice and his interest in spontaneity, lunacy, and freedom. For
example in a 1956 letter to Philip Whalen, Kerouac describes his version of Buddhism as "pure essence Buddhism" which is Buddhism with "NO RULES. Pure Essence Buddhism is what I think I want, and lay aside all the arbitrary rest of it, Hinayana, Shuinayana, etc. Mahayana, Zen, Shmen" (Selected Letters: 1940-1956 547). In this letter, Kerouac demonstrates that his interest in Zen is in its anarchic aspect, its contribution to freedom and non-conformity; again demonstrating that his interest in Zen has avant-garde overtones. Here Kerouac uses word play to express his ideas about Zen in a way reminiscent of the play with words employed by critics to trivialize Zen. It would appear that the three-letter word, Zen, and its spirit, is intrinsically playful.

In comparing Suzuki's and Kerouac's Zen discourse and their respective reception in the 1950's, in regard to lunacy and the irrational, the American public received Beat literary products in this vein differently than they did Suzuki's writing on Zen. Hence the distinction Watts makes between Beat Zen and square Zen in his article for the Chicago Review Zen issue. Suzuki is considered an eminent Zen scholar who can write with impunity about Zen lunacy, whereas when the Beats do the same they are soundly criticized for it, especially in Kerouac's coupling of the concept of Zen lunacy with Beat partying and sexuality.

VI. Zen Discourse and the East/West Theme

Perhaps as significant for the American public as Zen's connection with Beat avant-garde practices was the way Zen discourse at this time made possible a conversation between East and West with the hopes for a mutual understanding. Not surprisingly, Suzuki and writers associated with
the Beat movement, along with the art world, were in the forefront in this regard. For example, *Time*'s article on Japanese-American sculptor, Horiuchi, titled, "East-West Equipoise," implies a mutuality between the two, characterizing American artists who both appreciate Horiuchi and have studied in Asia as mixing "Zen with zest to give an Oriental slant to their Western vision." The article also implies a balance between east and west with its content, title, and word play: "Among East-West Painter Horiuchi's most enthusiastic fans are West-East Painters Tobey and Callahan" (62).

Painter, Mark Tobey, acts more directly as spokesman for Japanese art in *College Art Journal*’s Fall 1958 issue which features articles on Japanese and American art. In the essay, "Japanese Traditions and American Art," Tobey states that in America European influence is waning, and we are developing "an indigenous style. However we are growing more and more conscious of what I would term the Japanese aesthetic" (21). Using the authority of Japanese painters, he links Zen with the idea of the "abstract." Though Tobey is unsure how much hold Zen philosophy will have on American culture (22), he concludes that East and West are drawing closer together (24).43

According to Kerouac, speaking through Japhy in *The Dharma Bums*, the meeting between East and West is a hopeful possibility, although Ray quotes Alvah, another Dharma bum, as stating that while "guys like us are all excited about being real Orientals [. . .] actual Orientals over there are reading surrealism and Charles Darwin and mad about Western business suits." Japhy responds that "East'll meet West anyway. Think what a great world revolution will take place when East meets West finally, and it'll be guys like us that can start the thing" (203).
The East could be said to have met the West in the figure of D.T. Suzuki. According to a The New Yorker profile, his intimate knowledge of the English language and Western habits of thought had enabled him to bridge the chasm between the Orient and Occident (52). This bridging the gap was also a motive behind Suzuki's proselytizing of Zen to the United States.44 In a short article for Philosophy East and West, entitled, "On Philosophical Synthesis," Suzuki states that the purpose of meeting between East and West is not merely to create a new synthesis of oriental and Western thought whereby both cease to be themselves, but that they further better understanding of each other (6).

Despite Suzuki's avowed interest in the meeting of East and West and the possibility of shared values, his main goal seems to have been to replace worn-out Western values and habits of rational, scientific thought with those of the East. In both of his Japan Quarterly articles he discusses the need to "turn away" from Western sciences and "turn to Oriental ways of thinking" ("Oriental Way" 58).45 Suzuki's rhetorical strategy here is similar to Soen's at the Parliament of Religions in 1893. In his 1958 essay, he further polarizes West and East by comparing Judeo-Christian and Oriental conceptions of God, as well as considering that modern man (by implication Western man) is revolting against "liberalism and philistinism, communism and despotism, industrialism and automation, science and technology" (456). In a sense Suzuki may be convinced of a conscious need for the West to understand the East and vice versa, but also possessed of an unconscious or unarticulated wish for the West to discontinue a mode of relating to the world via the rational and
intellectual, that had gotten them to their position of world domination, enabling the bombing of Japan by the United States in World War II.

In contrast, some Western critics are more skeptical, not surprisingly in response to Kerouac's Zen novel. J. Donald Adams, in a review of Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums* for the "Speaking of Books" column for the *New York Times Book Review*, considers such a meeting unlikely and ill advised: "I suspect that Kerouac will get farther as a writer when he sweeps the Asiatic cobwebs out of his cosmos and realizes that, Kipling or no Kipling, there is something sound in the idea of the irreconcilability of East and West." He goes on to state that he is "skeptical as to what can be salvaged from the mystics of the Far East that can be adapted to the emotional and rational needs of a people as different as ourselves" (2), an argument reminiscent of Percival Lowell's in the 19th century.

Perhaps some of the vehement reaction to the Beat avant-garde version of Zen is not just because of the trivializing of Zen and the use of Zen terms coupled with slang, but because these writers take up the cause of Zen so vehemently, threatening those who would welcome Japanese culture if it helps make a house more livable, but who might be more wary of a philosophy or way of thinking that would supplant traditional Western patterns or substitute Eastern domination of Western spirituality, truly a crazy idea for some Americans. This is, perhaps, a most significant underlying aspect of Zen discourse in the 1950's. If so, it has less to do with the form of Zen presented to the American public at this time, than it does with the essence of Zen itself, as representing Japanese culture and the West's need for change. I give Kerouac the last word in quoting from the
"21st Chorus" of his San Francisco Blues, written at about the time that he was first digging Zen:

Little anger Japan
Strides holding bombs
To blow the West
To Fuyukama's
Shrouded Mountain Top
So the Lotus Bubble
Blossoms in Buddha's
Temple Dharma Eye
May unfold from
Pacific Center
Inward Out & Over

The Essence Center World (7-18).

Kerouac thus turns the tables on World War II and the atomic bombing of the Japanese; the Japanese respond with the bomb of Buddhism, which will truly blow the West away.

VII. Conclusion

In this chapter parallels have been drawn between the 19th century transmission and reception of Zen and that of the 1950's, both occurring in the context of American and Japanese imperialism and modernization. In the 1950's, Suzuki becomes an even more central figure, especially to the mainstream and academic reading public, and in a complex dialogue with members of the Beat generation, especially Jack Kerouac, the other great popularizer of Zen at this time, re-creates the dual discourse of Zen for the
20th century with a movement toward Zen as both cultural (including aesthetic, philosophical, and psychological aspects), and spiritual practice. Ultimately, the Beat avant-garde and Suzuki would come together in various Beat-oriented publications to present a more balanced Zen discourse, as well as a unified front in the belief in possibilities for communication between East (Japan) and West (the United States).

In addition, the complexity of the conversation about Zen is evident in the differentiation between Kerouac's and Suzuki's presentation of Zen (Beat Zen vs. square Zen in the words of Alan Watts). The sensationalization of this polarization by the media, especially academic and left intellectual commentators, ends in the privileging of square over Beat in mainstream magazines while contributing to the stigmatization of the Beat writers, especially Kerouac. The Beat use of Zen terminology along with American slang contributes to the idea of "Zen hipsters" who use such language to shock the middle class while defining themselves as an avant-garde against the mainstream in such small press magazines as Yugen. The idea behind this practice is that if changes are made to the language in which literature and culture is written, that literature's society will also change. The radicality and power of this language change is evident in the amount of negative press generated by Kerouac's novel, The Dharma Bums, which seems to prove the tactic's effectiveness in a work which delights in using slang and esoteric Zen jargon. Reactions may also be generated by the personae created by the Beat writers, such as the dharma bum or Zen lunatic, which combine Zen spirituality with outsider types congenial to the Beat avant-garde ethos such as bums and lunatics. In these ways, the 1950's both continues the transmission of Zen
begun in the 19th century and begins to move the American discourse of Zen in a more spiritual direction with more interest in Zen spiritual practice as well as aesthetics. Ideally, Zen's aesthetic and spiritual aspects are better seen as two sides of the same coin rather than as a dual discourse. More specific aspects of the Beat avant-garde characterization of Zen (including a discussion of Zen-inspired personae) will be demonstrated in the four chapters which follow dedicated to a close reading of the work of Kerouac, Whalen, Snyder, and Kyger.
ENDNOTES

1. Although other Zen masters and teachers came to America (sent by Soen Shaku), such as, Nyogen Senzaki, located on the West Coast, and Shigetsu Sasaki known as Sokel-an, located on the East Coast and founder of the Buddhist Society of America in 1931 in New York which would become the First Zen Institute of America, neither became as prominent spokesmen or the authoritative voice of Zen for Americans as did Susuki. See Fields for more on these figures. As noted in the Introduction, however, writers such as Snyder or Kerouac were aware of a range of commentators on Zen.

2. See T.J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace.

3. The inaugural issue of Japan Quarterly contains this statement on the rationale behind the publication: "If [...] we wish our friends overseas to understand how far Japan has traveled since the 1931-45 period, it is not enough that they merely look at Japan's current, official words and deeds--we must find the best means of communicating to them an understanding of the true nature of our life and our sentiments, both of which, incidentally, have their roots in the distant past" (unpaginated back cover).

4. See Koschmann in Postwar Japan as History, edited by Andrew Gordon.

5. See Craven or Wald. Ann Charters, in her Introduction to The Portable Beat Reader, describes the shared experience of the Beat writers as "the historic events that began with America's dropping the atomic bomb on Japan to bring World War II to an end, and the political ramifications of the ensuing Cold War and wave of anti-Communist hysteria that followed in the United States in the late 1940s and the 1950s" (xvii).


7. Although Suzuki had been lecturing at Columbia as visiting professor with some regularity since 1951, it wasn't until January of 1957, the year that he would retire from his visiting professorship at Columbia, that Vogue's "People are Talking About" feature noted the presence at Columbia of Suzuki, "the great Zen Buddhist teacher" (98).

8. A similarly positive article at this time comes from The New Yorker magazine. In August 1957, it ran a profile on Suzuki by Winthrop Sargeant entitled, "Great Simplicity," characterizing him as the "world's leading authority on Zen Buddhism." Zen is called a "subject of considerable mystery," a kind of "anti-philosophical philosophy" enjoying the status of "intellectual fad" or "religious or cultural movement" (34).

9. A typical such article is from June 1957 House and Garden, the entire number featuring the "Japanese Look" for house and garden design with accompanying articles on the appeal of Japanese art for Americans. Although the issue does not mention Zen, one article does describe the
experiences of a GI who studied tea ceremony in Japan after the war, an aspect of Japanese culture long associated with Zen Buddhism.

10. The photo of Suzuki which appeared in Saturday Review for this article was taken by Beaton. Did Beaton get any of his information on Japanese culture from Suzuki?

11. In the following year, in an article on Zen and Japanese culture for Evergreen, Suzuki will make a more direct connection between Zen and masculinity, calling Zen "virile and unbending" (48). Suzuki's metaphors and comparisons in both articles associate Zen with nature and wellness or health, as well as using natural objects to explain the meaning of Zen.

12. Some of the works illustrated are a 16th Century Japanese panel, Chinese Ming figure of a priest, Mark Tobey painting, Richard Lippold sculpture, and an image of the Buddha of the Future, of which Ross notes that such a reproduction hangs on the "wall of Dr. D.T. Suzuki's New York sanctum." Ross hereby lets readers know that she is familiar with that "sanctum," thus giving proof of her intimate knowledge of Suzuki so that she may be deemed expert to write on Zen.

13. She compares Eliard's nonsensical proverb, "Make two o'clock with one o'clock" to a Zen saying, "Who is the teacher of all the Buddhas, past, present and future? John the cook" in the Introduction to her 1960 anthology, The World of Zen (13).

14. Ironically, December, 1958, Mademoiselle magazine, full of "things" for young women, will devote their entire issue to Japan, describing their editor's tour there. Leo Ierman's feature for this issue, "Something to talk about," discusses books on Japanese culture highlighting ones on Zen, primarily in relation to Japanese culture. It is also interesting to note the relevance of Japan's newly booming economy to the inception of this issue. According to the Memo from the editor, the idea for the issue was born at the Japanese Export Trade Promotion Agency party for the U.S. World Trade Fair.

15. Note that hereafter Selected Letters: 1957-1969 will be referred to as SL: 57-69. Philip Whalen, San Francisco poet and fellow reader at the famous Gallery Six Beat poetry reading and also interested in Buddhism, is probably one of the two poets characterized as "Zen poet" by Ginsberg in a letter from Ginsberg to Lionel Trilling May 1956. The other is probably Snyder.

16. These two personalities represent the East and West Coast writers associated with the Beat Generation. For more on both Kerouac and Snyder in regard to Zen see the third and fourth chapters of this dissertation. Other activities described in the novel are the famed Gallery Six poetry reading in San Francisco, when Beats from the East Coast joined the West Coast San Francisco Renaissance poets; Smith and Ryder's camping trip in the mountains; and Smith's stay with Ryder in his Mill Valley hermit's
cottage (patterned after Snyder's Marin-an hermitage); the novel ends with Smith as a mountain lookout.

17. Snyder's translation would be published in *Evergreen* as "Cold Mountain Poems." In his introduction to the poems Snyder describes Han-shan as a "mountain madman in an old Chinese line of ragged hermits" (69) and refers to a sumi painting in a Japanese art exhibition as inspiration for his translation.

18. Note that hereafter The Dharma Bums will be cited in the text as DB. In Ginsberg's journals from the 50's and 60's, he notes: "Haiku composed in the backyard cottage at 1624 Milvia Street, Berkeley 1955, while reading R.H. Blyth's 4 volumes *Haiku*" (92). According to Michael Schumacher, Ginsberg's biographer, Ginsberg had read Suzuki's *Introduction to Zen Buddhism* in 1953. In a tribute to D.T. Suzuki published in *A Zen Life*, Snyder recalls the first time he read a book by Suzuki; it was 1951 and the book was *Essays in Zen, First Series* (Abe 207-08).

19. Suzuki characterizes Han-shan and Shih-te as lunatics in the third volume of his *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (346). His source for information about Han-shan is the Chuan-ten Lu or the Transmission of the Lamp. This work, according to Ruth Fuller Sasaki in *Zen Dust*, is a collection of biographies of Zen patriarchs and monks (350). Suzuki elaborates on the idea of "lunatic" in connection with Zen in his discussion of an image of the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng tearing a scroll, in his *Essays*, 2nd series, stating that the picture suggests a "lunatic [...] whose absolute disregard of decency and conventionalism in whatever sense, is here strongly depicted. He seems to deny the whole world of appearances, which, to the Zen master, is one abstractly constructed. To come in touch, therefore, with the living facts of experience, the student of Zen must once become a lunatic. By this I mean that he has to abandon everything he has 'gained' in the way of learning and reasoning" (after 218). He also discusses irrationality in relation to satori, citing it as the first of satori's chief characteristics. He glosses it thus: "By this I mean that satori is not a conclusion to be reached by reasoning and defies all intellectual determination. Those who have experienced it are always at a loss to explain it coherently or logically" (*Essays* 2nd series: 16).

20. Another of *Saturday Review*’s scathing articles on the Beats would be Ciardi's "Epitaph for the Dead Beats," 1960, which included plenty of skeptical comments on the Beat practice of Zen, linking it with wine, jazz, and sex (11).

21. Feldman's criticism of Buddhist "apathy" echoes a *Look* photo spread of August, 1958, on West Coast Beats. The article describes Bohemians in general as "passive," "doing absolutely nothing" and gives the example of Beat female, Linda Lovely, who "studies painting, writes poetry and dances to bongo drums. Like many on 'the scene,' she is attracted to Zen Buddhism, which holds that there is no way to truth except through passive contemplation" (67-8). Note that Suzuki had gone to great pains to deny
Zen's passive character, devoting an entire chapter of his second series of essays to the subject, "Passivity in the Buddhist Life," where he distinguishes between Buddhism and Christianity and states that "in Zen there is apparently no passivity traceable" (282). Later in the chapter, he ameliorates this somewhat by stating that "the kōan students of Zen are almost violently aggressive in their attitude towards the realization of the passivity phase of the religious experience" (287).

22. Barnaby Conrad's Saturday Review title, "Barefoot Boy with Dreams of Zen," for the review of Kerouac's Dr. Sax, May 1959, has no relevance to the book under discussion nor is Zen mentioned in the body of Conrad's review. Similarly, Time's reviewer of Dr. Sax likes the novel because it contains no "adult concerns such as marijuana, Zen Buddhism, or women" (106).

23. For more on this film see the chapter on Kerouac's work.

24. A number of commentators describe Zen as a cult, a word which according to the OED was being used in the 1950's in the context of cultic ritual and archaeology, a way of emphasising consciously or unconsciously the foreignness of Zen. The use of boom coupled with Zen, most famously by Alan Watts, and by Kerouac, is a use of slang coupled with Zen also evident in Kerouac's The Dharma Bums. The idea of a boom seemed to be a popular one in the 1950's, perhaps indicating American obsession with the atomic bombing in World War II, for example, the "fragile boom" of the Japanese economy in the article of that title in Business Week.

25. This use of Zen tag words complements Time's practice of using rhyme, assonance, consonance, and word play to make light of Zen, a technique evident in the heading, "Yen for Zen," where the rhyme is memorably simple, and Zen is simple-minded by association. The expression also links Zen with a word that refers either to Japanese currency or is a slang term for opium use.

26. The evidence for fascination with Beat slang comes from a variety of magazine articles, perhaps the most vituperative being "The Know-Nothing Bohemians" by Norman Podhoretz from Partisan Review, Spring 1958. Ostensibly a review of Kerouac's On the Road, in actuality an excuse to bash the Beats, Podhoretz discusses Beat anti-intellectualism, as well as "spontaneous bop prosody," and the "limited vocabulary" of bop language. Of Kerouac, Podhoretz states: "Kerouac, however, manages to remain true to the spirit of hipster slang [. . .] by his simple inability to express anything in words" (313). Note also the use of slang in the New York Times Book Review title, "In Pursuit of 'Kicks,"" for the review of Kerouac's On the Road, September, 1957.

27. Also see Gold's article for The Nation, November, 1957, titled, "Hip, Cool, Beat—and Frantic," where he designates Zen Hipsters as "poets, pushers and panhandlers, musicians, male hustlers and a few marginal esthetes seeking new marginal distinctions" (349).
28. Suzuki defines *yugen* in *Zen and Japanese Culture* (a later variation on his *Evergreen* article) in the chapter on "Zen and Haiku" as relating to the mystery and spiritual rhythm of every art: "The true artist is one who knows how to appreciate the myo or yugen or all things." He goes on to state that "all great works of art embody in them yugen whereby we attain a glimpse of things eternal in the world of changes: that is we look into the secrets of reality." In a lengthy footnote he defines yugen literally as "cloudy impenetrability" or "beyond intellectual calculability but not utter darkness" (220). It is elitist in a sense with that quality of the ingroup because for Suzuki, "it is an object of mutual communication only among those who have the feeling of it" (221).

29. For example, *Time's* June 1958 article on Japanese-American sculptor, Paul Horiiuchi, describes the artist's study under a Zen master. The caption under Horiiuchi's photo reads, "a blend of Zen and Zest," which, despite the somewhat trivializing and cute word play involved in the alliteration, is basically appreciative of the sculptor and his Zen influence.

30. *Evergreen* would become a major literary outlet for the Beats from its first issue in 1957, as well as featuring articles about Zen and running numerous advertisements for books on Zen and Japanese culture. *Chicago Review* featured San Francisco poetry in an issue at this time which included some writers considered as Beats, like Kerouac.


32. Kerouac in a letter to Philip Whalen of November, 1958, and editor's note to letter, indicates that Suzuki wanted to meet Kerouac after the publication of *The Dharma Bums*. The meeting seemed important to Kerouac because he wrote to several friends about it, as well as discussing it with Al Aronowitz, *New York Post* writer who would later write about the meeting in an article entitled, "The Yen for Zen."

33. This term may be translated as the "storehouse consciousness," which is the "basic consciousness of everything existing[. . . ] . It contains the experiences of individual lives and the seeds of every psychological phenomenon" (*Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen* 4). An exception to this practice of Suzuki's would be his Rinzai translation for *Chicago Review*, for which he provides detailed notes.

34. Snyder's style in this piece may owe something to his interest in Han-shan's poetry which he had been translating at the time. In the Introduction to "Cold Mountain Poems," published in *Evergreen*, the poems are described as "written in T'ang colloquial: rough and fresh" (69).
35. See Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis for Suzuki's participation in a Western psychology conference.

36. See Lears, No Place of Grace for upper class Japanophiles of the 19th century. Other class aspects of Zen transmission involve the priests and laymen sent to the United States. Both Suzuki and Sokei-An, a Zen priest responsible for the foundation of the 1st Zen Institute of America in New York City, married upper-class American women, and Sokei-An seemed to direct his presentation of Zen to the upper class. On the other hand Zen priest, Nyogen Senzaki, relatively less well-known, remained poor and celibate and was sent to an internment camp for Japanese-Americans during World War II. In contrast, Sokei-An's marriage to the wealthy Ruth Fuller enabled his release from internment and his special treatment. Also note that the author of Playboy's article about Zen and the West Coast of February 1958, "A Frigid Frolic in Frisco," makes a connection between Zen and the Ivy League (74).

37. See Richard Anderson's Calliope's Sisters or T.P. Kasulis on "Zen and Artistry."

38. Associations between Zen, sex, and free love may be reinforced by Kerouac in a letter to Snyder of February 1959 in which Kerouac talks about what he wants to do in Japan if he travels there: "I don't want ANYTHING to do with Official Zen and their monasteries. There are no Hui Nengs around there, left, I'll bet. But I do want to meet the old hillmen thinkers and haiku writers and also lay some pretty girls and drink saki" (SL 57-69 186).

39. See the case study chapters for Snyder's impact on the understanding of Zen of Kerouac, Kyger, and Whalen.

40. Kerouac also writes about Buddhism in an article he wrote for Holiday in March of 1960, titled "The Vanishing Hobo." This is a more acceptable venue than men's magazines for Zen discourse. Kerouac claims that both Jesus and Buddha were hobos and quotes from Goddard's Buddhist Bible, but does not mention Zen Buddhism (61). Kerouac's other major works on Buddhism were his voluminous notebooks on Buddhism, the information from which he shared with his friends, which was published in 1997 as Some of the Dharma. His life of the Buddha, Wake Up, has also been recently serialized in Tricycle magazine.

41. His statements about Zen differ sharply from Aronowitz's article on the Beats and Zen in the same issue, "A Yen for Zen," which is a fairly straightforward piece of journalism basically sympathetic to Zen. Aronowitz concludes with Kerouac's claim that he has given up on Buddhism: "I quit Buddhism because Buddhism—or Mahayana Buddhism—preaches against entanglement with women" (70). Note that Time's caption for letters to the editor, February 25, 1957, in response to their article on Zen and Suzuki of February 4th was "The Yen for Zen."
42. The theme of a possible meeting of East and West is also part of general 1950's discourse as evident in an advertisement for a *Saturday Review* photography contest of September 1957 whose headline reads: "East is East and West is West and the Twain Meet in a Camera," referring to a World Photographic Travel contest with awards for both color and black-and-white photographs. Here photographic opposites are signified by the directionals.

43. Note that Mark Tobey read this first as a paper on Japanese traditions and American art at the Sixth National Conference of the US National Commission for Unesco held at San Francisco in November 1957 on the theme, "What Americans can do to promote mutual understanding of cooperation with Asia." The same issue of *College Art Journal* also contains a lengthy article on the bird paintings of Morris Graves with a discussion of the influences of Zen Buddhism on his work. Interestingly enough, only a few years earlier, a *Life* magazine spread on Northwest coast artists alluded to the artistic philosophy of Tobey and Graves as "mystical" not Buddhist.

44. A more pressing reason for bringing Zen to the West might have been that it was dying out in Japan at the end of the 19th century. This was part of the impetus for Soen Shaku, first Zen missionary to the United States, to attend the 1893 World Parliament of Religion at the Chicago Columbian Exposition, bringing Suzuki along as his secretary and translator.

45. *Japan Quarterly*, of which Suzuki was an editor, was created in the 1950's for the express purpose of bridging the gap between East and West, or at least of making Japanese culture more comprehensible to the West.
CHAPTER 4

JACK KEROUAC'S ZEN PERIOD: WRITING BUDDHA, ZEN LUNACY

I. Introduction

Jack Kerouac, often regarded as the moving force behind the formation of the Beat Generation, was also a central figure in the popularization and sensationalization of Zen in the 1950's (characterized by Alan Watts as Beat Zen), as demonstrated in the previous chapter. This is despite the fact that Kerouac never formally practiced Zen or traveled to Japan. Appropriately, the first case study for the Americanization of Zen in the 1950's through the literary production of writers associated with the Beat Generation focuses on his work. Of French-Canadian and workingclass background from Lowell, Massachusetts, Kerouac received a football scholarship to Columbia University. With William S. Burroughs, fellow Columbia drop-out, Allen Ginsberg, and other writers in New York in the late 1940's, he would form the core group of Beat writers. Inspired by meeting Neal Cassady, itinerant, petty criminal, and storyteller, he began his travels across the United States which would result in his groundbreaking novel, *On The Road*, begun in the late 1940's and published in 1957. Despite his conservative and staunch Catholic background, Kerouac became interested in Buddhism in the early 1950's (primarily
through reading Buddhist texts) and in Zen after meeting Gary Snyder in San Francisco in 1955. Kerouac understands Zen as dual discourse, presenting both its aesthetic and spiritual aspects, but subordinates the spiritual to aesthetic purposes. Kerouac used Zen both to innovate his personal style and to further the Beat avant-garde project. Zen reinforces his spontaneous tendencies and provides a new dimension to the itinerant character featured in On the Road with his turn to Zen-inspired personae such as the dharma bum and Zen lunatic in his writing of the late 1950's.

The recent publication of Some of the Dharma in 1997, Kerouac's most monumental work on Buddhism, and the reprinting of Scripture of the Golden Eternity, 1994, his Buddhist sutra, give additional impetus for an appreciation of Kerouac's interest in Zen, within the context of his understanding of Buddhism in general. This is despite the fact that Kerouac's statement about Zen's influence in his Paris Review interview of 1968 seems to downplay its importance for him. For example, when asked how Zen had influenced his work, Kerouac responded that the Mahayana Buddhism, the "original Buddhism of Gautama Shakyamuni" had been his primary influence in the "religious," "fervent," or "pious" part of his writing, claiming that "the part of Zen that's influenced my writing is the Zen contained in the haiku [. . .]. A sentence that's short and sweet with a sudden jump of thought in it is a kind of haiku, and there's a lot of freedom and fun in surprising yourself with that [. . .]." (Beat Writers at Work 117). His sensationalization of Zen coupled with his seeming ambivalence toward it, suggests a contradiction worth closer investigation.

An examination of Kerouac's work from the period of his greatest interest in Zen, the mid-to-late 1950's (what might be considered his Zen
Period), coinciding with his meeting Gary Snyder, inspiration for The Dharma Bums, demonstrates a greater understanding and a more extensive use of Zen philosophy and aesthetics on Kerouac's part than his response to his Paris Review interviewer might lead readers to believe or that the critics who vilified him for his shallow understanding of Zen might have realized. Even more than an interest in the practice of haiku, Kerouac is especially fascinated by the conception of himself as Writing Buddha as he researches Buddhist texts both for himself and to share with friends. Kerouac's spiritual writings, especially in Some of the Dharma, demonstrate the proper literary activity of a Writing Buddha while his especial fondness for Zen lunatic types, such as Han-shan, inspires both his spontaneous prose style and his interest in an intuitive, unconventional, and anti-bourgeois lifestyle. Kerouac's interest in spontaneity demonstrates his understanding of Sudden Enlightenment, a state sought by Zen lunatics, while as disciplined Writing Buddha, his practice of Zen forms such as the koan enable a convergence of spirit and lunacy. Haiku practice also provides a disciplined aspect of Zen and its aesthetics, so in a sense, Kerouac's use of this form is in contrast to lunacy. The dynamic of the influence of Zen for Kerouac is the movement between these two, seemingly opposed, positions, that of Zen lunacy and that of the discipline of the Writing Buddha, producing a complex Zen discourse, while contributing to Kerouac's Beat avant-garde agenda. An examination of this dynamic and its consequences for Kerouac's writing is the subject of this chapter.

One of Kerouac's statements on writing from this period, "The Origins of Joy in Poetry," for the Spring 1958, "From San Francisco," issue
of the Chicago Review, presents both of these aspects of Zen. In this single paragraph, Kerouac characterizes the "new American poetry as typified by the SF Renaissance" as "a kind of new-old Zen Lunacy poetry [...]". In this first sentence he not only affiliates himself with the San Francisco Renaissance poets, San Francisco being the heart of the new poetry as expressed in the Gallery Six poetry reading, but equates this new poetry with Zen. This "Zen Lunacy poetry" is "writing whatever comes into your head as it comes," "ORAL," confessed "for the sheer joy of confession," and opposed to rules like that of T.S. Eliot's objective correlative. It also includes the "mental discipline" of the haiku, that is, "pointing out things directly, purely, concretely, no abstractions or explanations" (3). Thus in this statement Kerouacforegrounds Zen lunacy, spontaneous and oral, while retaining the discipline and purity of the haiku. This dynamic is representative of that followed by Kerouac in much of the writing he did at this time.3

This chapter will concentrate on Kerouac's Zen Period poetry and magazine writing as well as major works such as Some of the Dharma, Scripture of the Golden Eternity, Old Angel Midnight, The Dharma Bums, Desolation Angels, and his filmscript and participation in Pull My Daisy. These works fall into three broad categories: spiritual writing, novels or semi-autobiographical writing, and polemical writing. Within each category, the dynamic between the disciplined practice of Writing Buddha and Kerouac's performance and presentation of the Zen lunatic persona will be examined, in the process pointing to Kerouac's use of Zen as shock tactic to create literary and societal change in the process distancing himself from his academic and bourgeois critics. First, however, it is
necessary to understand how, within the context of his interest in Buddhism in general, Kerouac came to an understanding of Zen.

II. Kerouac's Introduction to Buddhism

In a 1960 Escapade interview, Kerouac cites a dead love affair as the cause of his turn to Buddhism, answering the question of how he became a Buddhist thus: Well, after that love affair I describe in The Subterraneans [...] I was suffering [...] from the grief of losing a love [...] Well, I went to the library to read Thoreau [...] and he talked about Hindu philosophy. So I put Thoreau down and I took out, accidentally, The Life of Buddha by Asvaghosa" ("The Yen For Zen" 52). Kerouac goes on to describe how Prince Siddhartha (the future Gautama Buddha) turned away from his wife, son, and harem to seek release from life's suffering, making an implicit comparison between his situation at the time and that of Siddhartha. He concludes this section of the interview with the statement that he has "some eighteen-year-old writings which are pure Buddhism" (95). Here, Kerouac makes an allusion to 1953, the date that he began his Buddhist notebooks which developed into Some of the Dharma (hereafter referred to as SOD) in which can be found many of Kerouac's ideas about Buddhism in general and Zen in particular.5

In her 1973 biography of Kerouac, Ann Charters suggests additional reasons for his turn to Buddhism, claiming that Buddhism was "direct philosophical consolation," for disappointment, especially that of waiting for On the Road to be published. Its appeal was to the first of Buddhism's Four Noble Truths as noted by Goddard: "The universality of suffering" (Buddhist Bible 646).6 Charters also cites his loneliness at this time. Allen
Ginsberg and William S. Burroughs, his Beat companions in life and writing, were no longer on the scene with him, Ginsberg having gone to Mexico and Burroughs to Tangier. Kerouac's turn inward and his "melancholy" period were accompanied by his "discovery of Buddhism" (190). Charters also notes Kerouac's desire to refute Neal Cassady's interest in Southern psychic and faith healer, Edgar Cayce, during his stay with Cassady in 1954, as yet another spur to his Buddhist researches. Kerouac's interest in presenting Buddhism as a superior form of spirituality in debates with Cassady was influential in his more "serious reading of Buddhist texts" (191).⁷

According to Charters, the crisis of his paternity suit brought by Joan Haverty in January 1955, was yet another factor in his increasing dependence on Buddhism. Kerouac's letter to Ginsberg of January 18, 1955, corroborates this, indicating that Kerouac had come to court with "big manila envelope ready for Tombs incarceration, including Buddhist Bible of Goddard, my own typed up PRAJNA selections from Pub. Lib. sources" (Selected Letters 1: 458).⁸ In the same letter he writes that he reads the Diamond Sutra on the subway and then describes how to do dhyana (or sitting meditation) to Ginsberg, as well as highly recommending Ginsberg read this sutra, which is "Highest Perfect Wisdom." He then reflects that it may be better to teach Ginsberg about Buddhism in person, using the notes he had begun to amass in pocket notebooks that would later form the basis for Some of the Dharma (SL 1: 463-64). As of July 1955, Kerouac is still preaching Buddhism to Ginsberg, providing him with a schedule of practice for reading the Diamond Sutra daily.
Kerouac continues to work on these notebooks for *Some of the Dharma*, but his efforts to get his writings on Buddhism published went first and most energetically into a life of the Buddha; Kerouac refers to this project variously in spring of 1955 as *Your Essential Mind: The Story of Buddha*, or *Wake Up*. In a May 1955 letter to Allen Ginsberg, Kerouac mentions his Buddhist writing project somewhat differently, as "Buddha Tells Us," a handbook on Buddhism and an "embellished precis of the Surangama Sutra" (*SL* 1: 485). In July 1955, Kerouc complains that this work has been received coldly by Cowley, Giroux, Sterling and has been subsequently offered to the Philosophical Library, publishers of Suzuki’s work. He then describes its importance and the fact that it will "convert many when it is published and read. If I can get it thru the Money changers, the people who sincerely read it will dig. I mean, I've read it over three times and it definitely has magic powers of enlightenment, it is truly a Lake of Light" (*SL* 1: 498). This statement indicates Kerouac's interest in creating changes in the hearts and minds of his readers through these spiritual texts, for him the pursuit of a Writing Buddha.

III. Kerouac as Writing Buddha

Kerouac's writings about Buddhism in the early 1950's allow him to express himself as Writing Buddha, a persona which he develops in *Some of the Dharma*, his record of Buddhist research to share with his friends. With this persona, Kerouac describes and expresses his own Buddhist spiritual practice while indirectly commenting on American spirituality. He defines what it means to be a Writing Buddha in Book Seven of *SOD*:

> Attain to the above satoris of 'Do what you want' — after that
you'd have to revise all notions of 'writer' 'publisher' etc. - and write in trance - for 'yourself' - reports on ecstasies of samadhi - raving wild spontaneous reports from the shimmery news [. . .] and finally - of course, I know what to write, yes, the Samapattis [. . .] visions of pity [. . .].

The royalties from such writing ventures were to be donated to Buddhist Monasteries of the New World, beginning with Dwight Goddard's "odd vihara" at Santa Barbara (311).11

SOD is Kerouac's major spiritual work, best described as a voluminous commonplace book about Buddhism, combining Kerouac's reading notes on Buddhism, definitions of Buddhist terms, quotations from Buddhist scriptures as well as other commentaries, daily journal entries to record his Buddhist meditation experiences (including dhyana or meditation and samadhi or moments of ecstasy and one-pointed thought achieved through meditation), notes for other writing projects related to Buddhism (his life of the Buddha, for example), spiritual poems, and dreams.12 A great deal of what Kerouac writes in this work is self-reflective, as he contemplates his own life in relation to Buddhist tenets.13 He uses the situations of everyday life, such as his drinking, his attitude toward sex, a rain storm, or his problems getting On The Road published, as focus for his meditations or dhyanas and to express the Dharma or teachings of the Buddha.14

Dwight Goddard's Buddhist Bible serves as Kerouac's primary guide to Buddhist scriptures and philosophy and source for many of the Buddhist quotations in SOD. It is significant in light of what might be considered Kerouac's ambivalent attitude toward Zen, to note Goddard's own Zen connections.15 Goddard states in the preface to the Bible's second edition,
that "the present editor has been guided in his selection of scriptures [...] by a sincere purpose to make the selection as comprehensive as possible within its limits and to represent as truly as possible the original teachings of the Blessed One [Buddha Shakyamuni] [...]". He also states that his choices relate to his own "spiritual experience" and practice of the Noble Path, especially the dhyana stage and, his selections are "the generally accepted scriptures of the Dhyana Sects — Ch'an in China, Zen in Japan and Kargyupta in Tibet" (vii). Hence his inclusion of the Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng (a major figure for Ch'an/Zen in his espousal of Sudden Enlightenment), alongside the life of Buddha, for example,¹⁶ or the Diamond Sutra (the reading of which was said to have enlightened Hui-neng) and the Lankavatara Sutra (important in regard to Zen's attitude toward language according to D.T. Suzuki who originally translated it into English).¹⁷

Goddard's understanding of Zen's relation to Buddhist practice shown by his emphasis on Sudden Enlightenment is similar to Kerouac's own interest in this concept in relationship to his presentation of spontaneity and his privileging of the intuitive over the subconscious in SOD.¹⁸ In fact, Kerouac often couches his own comments on Buddhism in Goddard's terms. Of Sudden Enlightenment of Hui-neng's school, for example, Goddard adds in a footnote to his translation of the Sutra of Hui-neng that "it is a sudden 'turning' at the seat of consciousness from an habitual reliance on the thinking faculty (a looking outward), to a new use of a higher intuitive faculty (a looking inward)" (BR 547). Similarly, Kerouac first notes connections between spontaneity and turning-about in Book One of SOD with the heading, "A LIFE OF SPONTANEOUS AND RADIANT
EFFORTLESSNESS," using the term "turning about" that Goddard has used in describing sudden enlightenment. For Kerouac Goddard's turning-about is a spontaneous experience which begins with emotions and moves to intuitive realization, including the states of emptiness and non-duality. Kerouac mentions having such an experience, brought about by seeing a little lost and wailing pup on a sharecropper's porch, in an entry in Book Six of February 1955 which states: "TODAY. SATURDAY FEB. 25, without it looking like much, I think I experienced the deep turning-about mentioned in Lankavatara and Zen." He concludes, however, in relation to his distress at seeing the pup's suffering, that suffering isn't any realer than the end of suffering (268).

These more general ideas and attitudes about Buddhism and Zen, partially derived from Goddard and expressed as part of the underlying spiritual orientation of SDD by Kerouac as Writing Buddha, demonstrate that Kerouac often expresses his spiritual concerns in terms of what might be considered Goddard's Zen-inflected version of Buddhism. This is despite the fact that before meeting Gary Snyder in 1955, Kerouac mentions Zen specifically only a few times in SDD. An example is his short Zen prayer of January 30, 1955: "EMPTINESS THAT IS FORM,/FORM THAT IS EMPTINESS" (241). A publisher's advance for the publication of On The Road later in 1955 led to Kerouac's trip to Mexico and a temporary halt to his didactic writing on Buddhism. He returned to writing literature, albeit with a Buddhist tinge: the emphasis on all life as suffering in Tristessa and Buddhist allusions to emptiness and the void in Mexico City Blues.22

However, his trip north to Berkeley in September of 1955 and his first meeting with Gary Snyder marked the beginning of Kerouac's intense
interest in Zen. According to Charters, "Snyder had affirmed Kerouac's dream of living a religious life," because Snyder lived as a dharma bum with few possessions and was planning to go to Japan to study at a Zen monastery. He was also a serious scholar of Buddhism and Chinese literature, in the process of translating the poems of Han-shan when Kerouac met him. The Gallery Six poetry reading of October 1955 in San Francisco, which brought together ostensibly Beat writers such as Ginsberg and Kerouac (who did not read) and West Coast writers such as Snyder, Whalen, and McClure, might symbolically mark the beginning of this friendship. The event was moderated by the unofficial leader of San Francisco poetry, Kenneth Rexroth, at one of whose Friday evening gatherings, Kerouac and Snyder first met. At this time, they also lived in close proximity in Berkeley where Kerouac was staying at Ginsberg's cottage on Milvia Street, and Snyder, a UC Berkeley student, lived nearby.

Kerouac's allusions to Zen and Zen forms and figures in the last three books of *On the Road* increase dramatically after his meeting with Snyder, the haiku form and Kerouac's own Americanized version, the pop, predominating, especially as of Book Eight. His first haiku about visiting an art studio appears a few entries after Kerouac records a dream of September 21st shortly after arriving in Berkeley (341). This haiku is followed by an entry sometime after November 17th (not all entries are dated) in which Kerouac provides "Editorial Explanation of Various Techniques of the Duluzoz Legend" including such terms as tic, sketch, dream, blues, and pop which he defines as "American (non-Japanese) Haikus, short 3-line poems or 'pomes' rhyming or non-rhyming
delineating 'little Samadhis' if possible, usually of a Buddhist connotation, aimed towards enlightenment" (342).²⁵

Kerouac's definition of pop also harks back to his conception of himself as Writing Buddha and reflects another aspect of that persona for him: reporting on samadhi. In one pop, Kerouac refers directly to this Buddhist state: "Tathagata neither loathes/nor loves/His body's milk or shit," which expresses the non-duality of the enlightened state (SOD 343). Traditionally, the Zen tenet of Sudden Enlightenment is often exemplified in haiku and koan forms, and Kerouac extends this to the pop. Although the pops Kerouac records in SOD may not be significant poetic achievements, they do express Kerouac's understanding of Zen spirituality. In this regard, the use of the term pop, itself, to describe the American haiku may call up Buddhist associations for Kerouac through connections between the word, pop, and the imagery of balloons. The popping sound a balloon makes when it breaks, suddenly startling those nearby, in the Buddhist context, describes the instantaneous and surprising moment of awakening or Sudden Enlightenment. A balloon's floating quality may allude to the wandering bhikku, and the paradoxical aspect of emptiness expressed by a filled balloon may also refer to Zen Buddhist philosophy.²⁶ The balloon thus represents the floating and empty but full quality of Buddhism's concept of Emptiness or its idea of the Void, both of which Kerouac writes about in SOD.²⁷ Gerald Nicosia's discussion of Mexico City Blues in his Kerouac biography, Memory Babe, provides additional comment on Kerouac's use of balloon imagery in regard to the concept of emptiness. The use of balloons to convey "emptiness" is shown by each thought form as a "balloon" lost in space, an idea Kerouac and Ginsberg
got from the balloon-enclosed dialogue in comic strips. In this way, according to Nicosia, Kerouac tries to "render the gap in consciousness between thought-forms with as much fidelity as he notes the thoughts themselves" (483). A comparable use of the balloon image occurs in Book Nine of *On the Road* when Kerouac reflects on the plans he had when he was 17: "not only forgotten completely but they didn't take place - yr. balloons - " (392). In this case, the balloon allusion serves to emphasize the emptiness of thoughts and plans of the past, never acted out in reality.

Similarly to balloons, pops are also associated with children for Kerouac. The word, *pop*, has associations with lollipops, too, as well as being the slang term for father, and there is a variation on the pop called a Kiddy Pop. The Kiddy Pop is Kerouac's direct transcription of the sayings of children, put into the traditional three-line form of the haiku/pop by Kerouac. Hence these poems are often less original than the traditional haiku, yet another way to differentiate the two forms. Children had a special significance for Kerouac, perhaps because of the way he idolized his older brother, Gerard, who had died as a child of a heart condition and on whose life of holy spirituality and purity of heart Kerouac's book, *Visions of Gerard* was based. In an earlier entry in *On the Road*, Kerouac notes that "I am restored to the simplicity of the child [...] what do I care about early or late?" (114). Here the simplicity Kerouac associates with children may also relate to Zen's emphasis on the simplicity and daily ordinariness of life as experienced by the enlightened mind. These kiddy pops also have a more naïve quality than other pops, as they render the reality of the world directly and simply, for example: "The houses are brown/because/of the
Jack also records his own kiddy pop in the concluding pop of this series of 27: "I'm tired - I wanta/eat/watermelons" (348).

Another important aspect of the pop is as a poetic form which Kerouac uses as Writing Buddha to promote change in American life. In some pops Kerouac includes objects from daily life as subject matter: "Looking up to see/the airplane/I only saw the TV aerial." Here Kerouac records a moment of reflection in the context of daily life with a seemingly objective presentation of American modernity. By singling out products of technological know-how, especially television, however, Kerouac also makes an implied critique of American materialism. He has done this previously in SOD, for example in Book One in which he condemns American know-how as not the "savior of the world but its curse in the struggle to understand emancipation from suffering" (54) or contrasts "ordinary simple life" of eating and sleeping with "Modern" needs of automobiles and washing machines and "cultural excitements" like "TV and movies and every kind of unreal hassle to kill time" (35). TV seems to be especially problematic for Kerouac as it isolates humans forcing them to sit silently in rooms instead of relating to each other.

Although Kerouac did not stop writing haiku once he came up with the idea of the pop, he did record fewer haiku than pop in SOD, the difference between the two being that Kerouac's haiku often have a basis in the natural, rather than the human or man-made, world: "WARM WIND/makes the pines/Talk Deep (haiku)" (417). However, one distinguishing feature of haiku relative to pop may be the situation under which a haiku is composed. In Book Nine, Kerouac writes little poems about camping and wandering, one of which goes: "For Mountaintop
Job/Haikus/Sutras so dear/ o o o o o o," (385) indicating that a mountaintop may be a suitable place for a Zen hermit or lunatic to compose a haiku rather than a pop. In Book Eight, he writes a little poem about writing haikus: "Wild, to sit on a /haypile,/Writing Haikus,/Drinkin wine" (358). In this case Kerouac equates the occupations of drinking wine and composing poems with that of the Chinese Immortal, hermit, or Zen lunatic, all somewhat related figures.

Of Kerouac’s haiku practice in Spring of 1956, Snyder notes in Jack’s Book that he read some of Kerouac’s Buddhist poems and excerpts from Mexico City Blues to the Berkeley Buddhist Church study group telling the group that they were "interesting contemporary Buddhist poems" (211). Thus Snyder considers the practice of haiku rather than pop as part of Buddhist practice or what might be considered the activities of a Writing Buddha. The annual magazine of Buddhist Church group, Berkeley Bussei, published three of Kerouac’s haiku in its 1956 number. Kerouac makes specific allusion to Zen practice in one of these haiku which presents a picture of a Buddhist rosary on Suzuki’s Manual of Zen Buddhism and the cold knees of the Zen practitioner seated in meditation or zazen: "Juju beads on the/Zen Manual:/My knees are cold." The other two haiku refer less directly to Zen. The haiku, "Those birds sitting/out there on the fence -/They're all going to die," expresses the essence of Buddhism in that life is suffering and ends in death; the realization of this truth and the following of Buddhism's eightfold path begins enlightenment. Kerouac's matter-of-fact presentation of the birds without pity or comment, exemplifies the haiku practice of seeing and presenting things as they are and the Zen emphasis on the ordinariness of life. The third haiku,
"Useless, useless/the heavy rain/Driving into the sea," presents this same ordinariness of a natural event along with its quality of strangeness; water falls on water that is both the same and different, these qualities merging seamlessly. This is the most successful haiku of the three: objective and matter-of-fact, yet exemplary of Zen's emphasis on things as they are as both ordinary and extraordinary.

It may be useful to examine the interest in haiku and its relation to Zen held by Kerouac and his friends, especially in their use of haiku practice to define their avant-garde poetics. They shared a knowledge of the four-volume collection of haiku translations by R.H. Blyth, a British expatriate in Japan before World War II, a student of Zen, and an admirer of D.T. Suzuki.\(^{35}\) As in much else of Zen and Japanese lore, they encountered this writer first through Snyder.\(^{36}\) Blyth's haiku translations are significant for Kerouac's Zen period in Blyth's emphasis on the spiritual aspect of the haiku and its relation to Zen Buddhist philosophy and aesthetics. The first of the four volumes consists of an introduction to the subject of haiku in general consisting of five sections: "The Spiritual Origins of Haiku," "Zen, The State of Mind for Haiku," "Haiku and Poetry," "The Four Great Haiku Poets," and "The Technique of Haiku." Blyth conceives of this spirituality as eclectic with Buddhist, Zen, Taoist, Confucian, and Shinto influences, as well as containing aspects of Chinese and Japanese aesthetics. His emphasis is on Zen, however, not only because the most important practitioner of haiku, Basho, was a lay disciple of Zen, but also because for him the essence of haiku is related to Zen philosophy. In the preface to his first volume on haiku, Blyth explains his idea that "haiku are to be understood from the Zen point of view," by first
explaining Zen as both the "state of mind in which we are not separated from other things [. . .] and yet retain our own individuality and personal peculiarities" and the "body of experience and practice begun by Daruma [. . .] as the practical application to living of Mahayana doctrines [. . .]." He also explains that haiku represents not only a poetic form, but also a "poetical attitude of mind of the haiku poets, their way of life, their 'religion'" (5-6). Zen and poetry are "practically synonyms," with poetry as the "ultimate standard." (7) He emphasizes the "essential simplicity of haiku and Zen," quoting from the Zen saying, "Your ordinary mind, – that is the Way!" (11), and proclaims Zen as the state of mind for haiku (154).37 He also provides much information about Zen and Zen personalities in these four volumes. For example, he likens haiku to some of the short passages in the Zenrin kushu, an anthology used by Zen monks who select passages from the anthology which seem "to them to solve the problem given them by the master" (24). This problem is another way to refer to the Zen koan or somewhat paradoxical or irrational statement posed by Zen masters to their disciples to test their spiritual enlightenment. Thus Blyth also links Zen forms of haiku and koan with the Zen goal of Sudden Enlightenment.

Blyth's implied link between haiku and koan is echoed by Kerouac.38 In Book Ten of SDD Kerouac records a "Full Moon Dhyana" in which he considers "three ways in which things are empty," one of which is in time, which he explains as "since it's all to be gone in time we might as well say it's already gone [. . .]." He then gives as an example of this aspect of time Gary Snyder's Magic Dharani Yell on top of Matterhorn Peak, followed by his own Koan: "When you climb to the top of a mountain,
keep climbing' - for time is a joke [. . .]." (407-08). Kerouac connects the koan to lunacy directly via the joke here. This real life experience recalls Kerouac's fictionalized description of a climb in The Dharma Bums in which Kerouac has Zen lunatics Ray and Japhy discuss haiku and koans. Kerouac gives his koan about mountain climbing from SOD in the novel at the point where Ray Smith is too tired and terrified to follow Japhy Ryder to the top of Matterhorn and remembers a koan or "Zen saying" (83-4). Earlier in the climb, they make up haikus (59), during which Japhy criticizes one of Ray's stating that it might be too complicated for a haiku and describes a "real haiku" as needing to be as "simple as porridge and yet make you see the real thing," quoting a Japanese haiku by Shiki as an example.39 Japhy also explains mountain climbing in a similar way to solving koan or Zen problems: "The secret of this kind of climbing [. . .] is like Zen. Don't think[. . .]. The cute little problems present themselves at each step and [. . .] you find yourself on some other boulder you picked out for no special reason at all, just like Zen" (64-5).

Kerouac's inclusion of such verbal and epistolary exchanges in his semi-autobiographical novel, suggest that the posing of koans with responses expected, as well as the composing and exchange of haikus were part of the group activities of New World Zen lunatics, the circle of Beat and West Coast writers interested in Zen which included Kerouac, Ginsberg, Snyder, and Whalen.40 In addition, they were a way for Kerouac to express his experience of samadhi or Sudden Enlightenment to himself and others as part of his spiritual practice of Writing Buddha.

From an interest in haiku, pops, and koan in Some of the Dharma, which ends in March of 1956 with an entry written at Kerouac's sister's
house in North Carolina preceding a trip to California to stay with Snyder in his cabin, Marin-an, Kerouac moves to another kind of spiritual writing. Kerouac's major Buddhist text published during his lifetime, The Scripture of the Golden Eternity, hereafter referred to as SGE, can be considered its continuation especially in relation to Kerouac's interest in the koan. Written in spring of 1956, SGE was inspired by Snyder, according to Kerouac quoted in Charters's bibliography of his work: "Gary Snyder said 'All right Kerouac, it's about time for you to write a sutra.' That's a thread of discourse, a scripture. [. . .] I wrote it in Locke McCorkle's shack in Mill Valley. [. . .] In pencil, carefully revised and everything, because it was a scripture. I had no right to be spontaneous" (34).41

Ann Charters considers this scripture to be a hymn of praise, "but [. . .] linked to traditional, ecstatic revelation. [. . .] Jack's description of a rapturous vision [. . .]" (Kerouac 262). The scripture, consisting of 66 numbered sections, is not only generally Buddhist, but is also eclectically spiritual. In section 14, the golden eternity is known by such other names as God, Buddha, Allah, Sri Krishna, Coyote, Messiah, Amida, and Maitreya (SGE 28). The speaker quotes Saint Theresa in section 34 (SGE 38) and Coyote in section 63 (SGE 58). The one who experiences the golden eternity is also empty as section 6 indicates: "Strictly speaking, there is no me, because all is emptiness. I am empty, I am non-existent. All is bliss" (SGE 25). Thus the theme is at once the emptiness and the ecstasy of the golden eternity and the oneness of the speaker of the poem with both this void and this fullness. The scripture expresses gratitude with the ending of section 64: "everything is alright/forever and forever and forever, O thank you/thank you thank you" (SGE 60) and paradox in the 66th section:
"there never was a first teaching/from the golden eternity. So be sure" (SGE 61).

Despite the seeming absence of direct Zen allusion in this work, an examination of primary sources indicates a suppressed Zen text. Kerouac has in fact a line in the pocket notebook in which he first recorded this work that directly alludes to the Zen koan form. He notes at the beginning of the 24th section that "the Koan problem of t.g.e. is as follows" and follows with the two lines which also appear in the final version: "The cause of the world's woe is birth,/the cure of the world's woe is a bent stick" (SGE 33). In the context of Kerouac's suppressed explication of these two lines as koans or Zen problems, the somewhat cryptic or puzzling aspect of this couplet becomes more understandable.

Significantly, Kerouac presents these same two lines in another context, in which he also identifies them as a koan. In a letter from Kerouac to Snyder in Japan of May 1956 (about the time he was writing the scripture), Kerouac describes a vision:

The other night I tried a samapatti self-hypnotist trance and determined to find out the cause and the cure of the world's woe. It came out in the form of visions, one of a seed becoming a baby [. . .], the other was a bent stick. The thing therefore goes like this: THE CAUSE OF THE WORLD'S WOE IS BIRTH/THE CURE OF THE WORLD'S WOE IS A BENT STICK/This will be my Koan. (Did anybody ever invent his own koan?) It's a pip, aint it?" (SL 1: 583).42

Kerouac concludes this letter by describing a vision he had of Han-shan (the dharma bum/Zen lunatic poet that Snyder was translating) and then a
trip to a Chinatown restaurant in which he asks a Chinese kitchen helper the famous koan, "Why did Buddha come from the West?" to which the helper replied, "I'm not interested." This letter indicates not only Kerouac's familiarity with the form in general, but is further proof that these friends shared koans with each other. More importantly, however, koans and koan responses were to be shared with fellow Zen lunatics, not necessarily with others, as Kerouac states in this same letter: "The less said the better about Zen. About Suddenness" (SL 1: 584). This may be the main reason why Kerouac suppressed a direct allusion to the Zen koan in SGE and also indicates that Kerouac understands Zen as synonymous with Sudden Enlightenment. In addition, not identifying the koan as such puts more emphasis on the problematic nature of its experience for the reader, as he or she puzzles over what Kerouac means.

The fact that Kerouac chose to suppress the only Zen allusion in his scripture's final version may also indicate that he wanted SGE to be read as more generally Mahayana Buddhist in nature without Zen associations, perhaps demonstrating his ambivalence to Zen. However, there are no specifically Zen scriptures or sutras, although there are Buddhist texts, such as the Diamond Sutra, associated with Zen. More significantly, one of Zen's maxims is transmission outside scriptures, and Zen's literary forms are usually teachings of specific monks, for example, Zen koans or anecdotes told by monks known as mondo. Zen is transmitted not through written words, but silently communicated from mind to mind. As the Buddha gave a flower to Kasyapa, Zen understanding is often demonstrated through actions not speech. Hence the inherent contradiction of writing a Zen sutra for Kerouac, or ultimately, "the less said the better about Zen."
Ultimately, Kerouac's suppression of specific Zen koan allusions in the sutra indicates a sophisticated understanding of Zen on his part.

IV. Kerouac and Zen Lunacy

Just as meeting Gary Snyder was a major impetus for Kerouac's Zen Period, including his turn to Zen, sutra-writing, and interest in haiku, Snyder was also inspiration for the character, Japhy Ryder, hero of The Dharma Bums, first of his Zen Period novels. In fact, Snyder originated the term as noted in the previous chapter. In the novel Ryder provides much information about this persona to Ray Smith (Kerouac's counterpart), telling of famous dharma bums and Zen lunatics.45 In his Zen Period novels, The Dharma Bums and Desolation Angels, Kerouac explores aspects of Zen Buddhist practice in detail; his emphasis moves away from seeing himself as Writing Buddha to take on other personae, the dharma bum and especially that of Zen lunatic.46 The Dharma Bums, hereafter referred to as DR, records the fictionalized adventures of Snyder, Kerouac, and others acting out these Zen personae. The notion of the wandering mendicant or dharma bum (implicit in Kerouac's title for this novel), always on the move with no attachments, is evident in Kerouac's own life in the 1950's in which he was continually crossing the United States by car and train, often as a hitchhiker. Readers first encounter Ray Smith (the Kerouac character) hitching a ride on a rail car as the novel begins, where he first defines the term, dharma bum, as "religious wanderer" (DR 5).47 In the following chapter he describes meeting Japhy Ryder (the Snyder character), "the number one Dharma Bum [...] who coined the phrase." Japhy is translating the poetry of Han-shan, one of those he considers the
"greatest Dharma Bums of them all, the Zen Lunatics of China and Japan" (DB 9) and shares his information about this poet and his translations with Ray. Japhy describes Han-shan as the Chinese scholar who went to live in the mountains and his "only human friend [...] the funny Zen Lunatic Shih-te who had a job sweeping out the monastery with a straw broom. Shih-te was a poet too but he never wrote much down" (DB 20). It is the discussion of Han-shan that leads to Ray's interest in Zen lunacy and in hiking and camping in the mountains with Japhy. Despite the emphasis on dharma bums in the novel's title and first chapter, Ray becomes more enthralled by Zen lunacy as the novel progresses. Perhaps one reason for this novel's harsh treatment by critics on its publication is that it was considered too much a presentation of Zen lunacy and too little a presentation of fully developed characters (although as the previous chapter points out, criticism of Kerouac was often done not on the basis of literary merit, but because of his outrageous subject matter). The Zen lunatic is also a persona that easily lends itself to unconventional activity and is thus useful as a persona to shock readers thus part of Kerouac's avant-garde project.

Japhy Ryder describes Zen lunatics as those who "go about writing poems that happen to appear in their heads for no reason and also by being kind and also by strange unexpected acts keep giving visions of eternal freedom to everybody and to all living creatures [...]" (DB 96). Thus they are spontaneous, compassionate, and intuitive. The conversation between Japhy Ryder and Ray Smith one morning as they split logs at Japhy's Marin cabin (patterned after Snyder's Marin-an Zendo) perfectly illustrates Smith's interest in Zen lunacy, as Japhy asks Ray questions
similar to those Zen masters pose to their disciples on the nature of the Buddha. When Ray is unable to give an answer, Japhy states that the answer in one case was "The Buddha is a dried piece of turd" and the "disciple experienced sudden enlightenment." Japhy also tells Ray the story of the flower sermon, how instead of discoursing to a gathering of monks, the Buddha simply held up a flower and only his disciple, Kasyapa, smiled, demonstrating his understanding of the Buddha's gesture. In response, Ray goes into the kitchen, gets a banana, eats it in front of Japhy, throws the peel away, saying nothing, then states, "That's the banana sermon" (DB 173-74). This comic exchange is just one example of Kerouac's presentation of Zen lunacy in the novel, where Zen lunatics also get drunk (DB 17) as well as participate in the less traditional Japanese Zen Buddhist activity of sex. For example, Ray characterizes the sex orgy of Alvah, Japhy, Ray, and Princess as "Zen Free Love Lunacy" (DB 30). Thus one reason Kerouac may privilege the Zen lunatic persona is that the lunatic has an approach to life which includes the freedom to drink, have sex freely, and act spontaneously, in addition possessing an irreverent attitude toward logical and intellectual thought. Kerouac has an affinity for a similar kind of Zen lunacy in his own lifestyle, that of little reverence for the basic conventions of the middle class. Zen, itself, is not immune from Kerouac's irreverent attitude which comes out in his wordplay as has been pointed out in the previous chapter. In DB, Kerouac uses lunacy not only to describe Beat behavior and values in his novels, but also to justify his own personal behavior and to act in a provocative way toward the values of middle class society with implicit critique. This Zen persona is part of his shock tactics toward the
establishment and his avant-garde attitude. Eventually the idea of Zen lunacy would carry over into society's characterization of the Beat Generation in general.

A related persona or model to the Zen lunatic, that of the hermit poet or Chinese Immortal who writes poetry, is one Kerouac assumes in Desolation Angels (hereafter referred to as DA), the novel which continues Kerouac's experiences as fictionalized in DB.52 The appearance of this persona, part of the disciplined act of writing haiku for Kerouac and an aspect of Writing Buddha, indicates that the haiku-writing, sober hermit has taken over the Zen lunatic persona.53 Of such poets, Kerouac writes in a letter of May 1956 to Snyder, that he's been reading haiku poets and spring haiku, stating that "I'm really humbled now before the spectacle of these magnificent men forsaking alcohol and tobacco to just watch cows in the hazy moon and make it off what there is there, the objective beautiful sad ungraspable world as it is." He continues, "This I will do on Desolation Peak, wont bring pipes or benny or any thing" (SL 1: 582); shortly after this letter, Kerouac heads north to Desolation Peak to be a fire lookout. Kerouac would include a number of haiku in this novel, most effectively in Book One, "Desolation in Solitude," demonstrating how fully his enthusiasm for haiku would be realized in the first part of Desolation Angels.54

The novel begins with the narrator's solitary experience as a fire lookout for two months on top of Desolation Peak and is written from the perspective of a mountain hermit observing and describing the natural world interspersed with his memories, dreams, and daydreams. The lookout, Jack Duluoz, bounces his self-reflections off the mountains which ring the horizon he sees from his cabin, while realizing that these
surroundings are the ever-changing void. He describes the natural world in stream-of-consciousness fashion with phrases and sentences separated by dashes rather than periods to indicate the flow of mind. This stylistic device is perfectly suited to the character's lonely situation and adds greatly to the effectiveness of the opening of Desolation Angels with haiku often separating or punctuating these mind flows. Instead of explanation or analysis, a haiku of few words is a more effective way to express the narrator's attitude. In the second chapter of Part One, he states that he is sick of words and explanations and wonders if Hozomeen the mountain is similarly tired of words, responding to his own question with a haiku:

"Aurora Borealis/over Hozomeen -/The void is stiller" (DA 5).

The connection between haiku and a critique of words had been made clear to Kerouac by Blyth as well as Goddard in their references to the Lankavatara Sutra. According to Blyth, one of the Zen characteristics of haiku is wordlessness, which relates to the ideas expressed in the Lankavatara Sutra, an important text for Zen Buddhists and familiar to Kerouac from its inclusion in the Buddhist Bible. This sutra as translated by Goddard emphasizes the limitations of language and words, themselves, in that they are not the thing, itself, but only pointers to that thing:

"words are not imperfect conformity with meaning, because Truth is not in the letters." The ignorant cannot abandon the idea that in the fingertip of words there is the meaning itself: "words and their discrimination bind one to the dreary round of rebirths" (BB 311-12). In the 15th chapter of DA Dulouoz meditates specifically on words beginning with the words of the Buddha, then free-association-wise contemplates the meaning of words in general. As he meditates he hears in his mind not only these thoughts as

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words, but "many other words, varieties and threads of discourse;" he then ends the section with a haiku that demonstrates the inability of words to express the phenomenal world: "Words . . ./The stars are words . . ./Who succeeded? Who failed?" (22-3).

To add to his effective use of the haiku form and its ability to question and stop the kind of word flow often associated with his own writing style, Kerouac varies the placement of haiku within the text, reinforcing the kind of point that he seeks to make with their use. Most often, the haiku that intersperse with text end the numbered chapters, acting as exclamations or moments of realization (satori) which in a sense temporarily stop the muttering mind of Duluoz. For example, in the fourth chapter, which begins with one long continuous description of the sunset and the mountain peaks surrounding the cabin, the narrator's point of view moves to the wind and then to his desk and its objects. All of this description is separated only by dashes. This word flow culminates in the short and simple sentence: "The waiting is long," followed by a haiku: "On Starvation Ridge/little sticks/are trying to grow" (DA 8-9). The subjectivity and figurative language of the narrator's description of sunsets like "mad orange fools," and his "poor endeavoring desk," suddenly comes to a stop abruptly with the four word sentence, followed by the haiku with its objective and childlike picture of the ridge. Haiku seems to act for the narrator here as a way to move beyond the limitations of subjective description to another kind of word realm expressive of haiku's and Zen's possibilities: "the objective beautiful ungraspable world," as Kerouac had previously stated in his letter to Snyder.
Less often the haiku comes in the middle of the chapter, where it not only enacts an epiphanic moment, but also signals a change in the movement of the narrator's mind or a turning about in Zen terms. For example, the 28th chapter begins with a description of the wind bringing "dust and lightning nearer." The haiku that ends this paragraph, "Thunder in the mountains—/the iron/Of my mother's love," associates mountain thunder with a stern mother-love as well as moving the narrator's thoughts from the present scene to "the remembrance of Lakeview Avenue near Lupine Road where I was born, some thunderstorm night in the summer of 1922 [. . .] " (DA 43). A second haiku in the body of this chapter also enables a shift in the narrator's attention from his breakfast to days passing: "The days go—/they cant stay—/I dont realize;" then he circles a date on the calendar, August 15th, noting that it is almost time to come down from the mountain (DA 44).

Although Kerouac continues to include haiku in the second part of Book One of Desolation Angels, they grow farther apart as the narrator comes down from Desolation Peak and moves into a more human realm. By Book Two they are pretty much phased out, and the haiku that are included are more human in subject matter and orientation and less typical of classical Japanese haiku. They are also a little less powerful because the greater contrast between the subject's perception of the world and its objective presentation is diminished. In fact, they fit the description of the Japanese senryu form, which according to Blyth is the haiku form whose subject is human nature; they are more like the novel, while haiku has the "purity of nature" (Senryu 3). Kerouac's haiku in the first part of this novel, however, demonstrate his effective use of this verse form.
(and his use of the aesthetic discourse of Zen) and the influence of Zen philosophy and aesthetics on his work as a way to question the ability of words to convey reality (his use of the spiritual discourse of Zen).57

A work which takes haiku practice more in the direction of Zen lunacy, thus demonstrating the dynamic between discipline and lunacy at work in Kerouac's use of Zen is Trip Trap: Haiku along the Road from San Francisco to New York. This collaborative work combines the experience of a journey with the practice of haiku similar in spirit to Basho's travel diaries in a record in haikus and short poems of a cross-country trip of 1959 by Kerouac, Albert Saijo, and Lew Welch.58 It is a way to see Kerouac's travel compulsion as an expression of Buddhist rootlessness (Kerouac as wandering bhikku and Saijo as cross-country meditator). Kerouac also demonstrates the proper mental attitude of such travel as expressed by the use of haiku to record the journey, even though these haiku are more oriented to secular subjects and observations of the passing American scene, such as this one about grain elevators: "Grain elevators on/Saturday waiting for/The farmers to come home" (Trip Trap 32). In addition, specific allusions to Buddhist themes, philosophy, or persona found in earlier haiku and pops are not included in Trip Trap, which becomes a more casual expression of Beat Zen Buddhist aesthetic sensibility. However, the somewhat flippant attitude toward haiku practice of the trio along with Saijo's practice of sitting meditation in the back of the Jeep all the way across country demonstrate the kind of approach toward Zen one might expect of Zen lunatics or (in Alan Watts's terms) practitioners of Beat Zen.
These works are good examples of the way Kerouac pragmatically uses Zen and Zen lunacy in the late 1950's to express an anti-intellectual, anti-academic, and anti-middle class stance to his reading public. The outrageous persona of Zen lunatic more than the actual practice of Zen or its tenets seems to appeal to Kerouac as a way to counteract the conventionality of middle-class life and shock bourgeois society or as a convenient way for Kerouac to condone his own irrational behavior, as much as being a way of reaffirming his actual practice of and belief in Zen Buddhism. The reception of D\text{R} as exemplary of the Zen lunatic lifestyle and the sensational and somewhat negative reaction it caused in press and magazines of the 1950's (demonstrated in the previous chapter) indicates that Kerouac's choice of persona was effective in this regard.

V. Acts of Lunacy: Zen and Kerouac's Avant-Garde Stance

Kerouac's irreverent attitude toward Zen and haiku practice expressed in Trip Trap and his espousal of Zen lunacy in The Dharma Bums is echoed in his inclusion of Zen lunacy as part of his polemical statements about the Beat Generation made during this same period. He uses Zen forms or philosophy as a way to distinguish Beat writers from their more mainstream contemporaries. In such articles, Kerouac speaks more from a stance of Zen lunacy than about Zen itself: for example, his earliest published statement on the Beat Generation in Esquire of March 1958, entitled, "Aftermath: The Philosophy of the Beat Generation," in response to John Clellon Holmes's article in February 1958 Esquire, "The Philosophy of the Beat Generation." In this dialogue, it is Holmes who speaks directly of Zen, claiming that it is in poetry that the attitude of the Beat Generation
is "most clearly articulated" and that some of these poets espouse Zen Buddhism (38). Although Kerouac's response emphasizes not Zen, but the general spirituality of the Beat Generation, expressing this in Spenglerian terms as the "Second Religiousness that Oswald Spengler prophesied for the West," (26) it is rather in the way Kerouac concludes his argument that the influence of Zen lunacy is evident. He states first that the Beat Generation's effect "has taken root in American culture;" then counters with "Maybe;" and concludes: "Or, what difference does it make?" (26). This paradoxically open ending might make little sense to the logical academic or critic who wants yes or no for an answer, but fits in with Zen's style of rhetoric, which D.T. Suzuki discusses in the chapter, "Illogical Zen," in An Introduction to Zen Buddhism:

> We generally think that 'A is A' is absolute, and that the proposition 'A is no-A' or 'A is B' is unthinkable." However in Zen, "The meaning of the proposition 'A is A' is realized only when 'A is no-A.' To be itself is not to be itself - this is the logic of Zen, and satisfies all our aspirations. (60)\(^5\)

With its paradox and seeming contradiction, Kerouac's conclusion aspires to Zen's form of logic, seen as lunacy by some.

Another article on the Beats which alludes to Zen (and Buddhism in general) in similar fashion is "The Origin of the Beat Generation." The occasion for this article grew out of Kerouac's participation in a symposium entitled, "Is There a Beat Generation?," held at Hunter College in November 1958 for Brandeis University.\(^6\) In both the spoken and written versions of his conference statement, Kerouac takes Beat origins back first to his ancestors and then to Zen lunatics of his own past such as
the "senseless babble of the Three Stooges, the ravings of the Marx Brothers," "Krazy Kat with the irrational brick," and "the giggling old Tao Chinaman trotting down the sidewalk of old Clark Gable Shanghai."
Interestingly enough, Kerouac espouses haiku as an aspect of Beat Generation poetics in an undated draft (probably for this forum) titled "The Beat Generation."\(^61\) Here Kerouac uses haiku as an example of the kind of poetics practiced by the Beat Generation which differentiates them from other writers of the time, especially academics and mainstream poets in the draft’s statement that "The Beat Generation knows all about haikus and were now going to present you with a few sample haikus" \((4).^62\) The draft continues with samples of twenty-some haikus by Kerouac indicating Kerouac’s interest in coupling Beat writing practice with a non-Western form which could enliven American poetry. The mention of haiku in the draft and the inclusion of numerous examples, though dropped from both his speech and the published version of his statement, demonstrates that haiku writing, as an aspect of Zen aesthetics and "discipline," is of interest to Kerouac as part of his identity as originator of the Beat Generation. Haiku, similarly to other aspects of Zen practice, is a way for the Beat writers to differentiate themselves from the mainstream poets of the 1950’s.

In spite of his emphasis on lunacy, Kerouac makes no specific allusions to Zen Buddhism in his speech and few in the published version, which puts more emphasis on lunacy because of the inclusion of additional examples from popular and cartoon culture. This use of popular culture is also an aspect of avant-garde practice in the intention to narrow the gap between art and life. For example, in the third paragraph he speaks out
for Buddha and D.T. Suzuki, along with Lao-tse, Chuang-tse, Bach, Mohammed, the crucifix, Star of Israel, and Bach (32). In the 8th paragraph he states that "it was a hot hipster like myself who finally cooled it in Buddhist meditation [...]" (42), thus linking slang and Buddhism. The printed article ends on a more somber and political note as Kerouac notes his "horror" at seeing the Beat ethos taken up by TV and the Beat Generation being held responsible for murder in North Beach. He complains about the co-opting of the values of the Beat Generation by American society for which being hip is "a simple change in fashion and manners, just a history crust" and ends with what might be considered an old-fashioned American jeremiad written in Biblical language:

But yet, but yet, woe, woe unto those who think that the Beat Generation means crime, delinquency, immortality, amorality [...] woe unto those who don't realize that America must, will, is, changing now, for the better I say, Woe unto those who believe in the atom bomb. [...] woe unto those who spit on the Beat Generation, the wind'll blow it back." (79)

The question of how much Kerouac, himself, has been co-opted by writing such articles for Playboy or Esquire is not one he chooses to address.

However, even more than his article, Kerouac's appearance at the Brandeis symposium is more clearly an act of Zen lunacy. Nicosia notes that surrounding Kerouac at the time was an atmosphere of fame and notoriety from the publication of The Dharma Bums in October 1958, claiming that Kerouac was having a "nervous breakdown" at this time (Memory Babe 577). Kerouac had at first turned down the offer to appear at the forum organized by Brandeis University and then reversed his

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decision because, as he writes in a letter to John Montgomery after the event, "they cried and sent telegrams and said I was letting the university down, so I had to go, but I was angry because it was a mess of communists and after reading my prepared article about Beat which was very good and funny [. . .] I started to call them a bunch of communist shits over the microphone [. . .]" (SL 2: 162). According to Ginsberg, quoted in Charters's biography of Kerouac, part of Kerouac's chagrin came from the fact that at the last minute he discovered he was participating in a debate with three others (Ashley Montagu, James Wechsler, and Kingsley Amis) ostensibly pitted against him. When Kerouac wasn't allowed to read his prepared speech in its entirety due to time constraints, he blew up and began to act as a Zen lunatic, which in the letter to Montgomery, Kerouac describes as tangling with Wechsler, going off stage, playing the piano, insulting photographers, and generally acting "like a mad drunken fool just off a freight train which is precisely the way I am and precisely what I think of universities" (SL 2: 162-63). Ginsberg explains that Kerouac in relying on "the conditions he was promised at the symposium" was seen as in the wrong by the moderator and audience. According to Ginsberg the climax came when Wechsler, the left wing journalist, shouted that 'We have to fight for peace' (eternal quote) and Jack looked at him in exasperation, said 'What!? Don't you realize that doesn't make sense?' [. . .] then sat down silent but with Wechsler's hat on his head." At this Wechsler got mad and demanded his hat back. Ginsberg describes the event as "An old Zen koan, that lovely gesture was accounted in Voice or otherwhere as a sign that Jack was 'inarticulate,' an uncouth drunk!" (Kerouac 300).
The truth must lie somewhere in between. In fact, Kerouac stresses his Zen lunacy about this appearance in a letter to Philip Whalen of January 10, 1959, stating: "I pulled a big Zen Lunatic shot at Brandeis University that got everybody gabbing and scared, only Allen thought it was great [...] ." He prefaces this statement by saying that he's "fuddled" about prajna, no longer interested, and "ashamed to confront you and Gary now I've become so decadent and drunk and don't give a shit" (SL 2: 177). In the letter to Whalen, the label, "Zen Lunatic," becomes a way for Kerouac to explain and justify his behavior at the forum (which may have been drunken but was definitely unconventional), as well as implying a connection with his present "decadent and drunk" attitude. However, for Ginsberg, Kerouac's Zen lunatic act of taking the hat demonstrates not only an unconventional and impolite act, but an anti-intellectual, anti-academic, and anti-bourgeois one also, hence an act of avant-garde protest.65

An even more publicized act of Zen lunacy is the adaptation by action painter, Alfred Leslie, and photographer, Robert Frank, of one act of Kerouac's play, Beat Generation, as the independent film, Pull My Daisy.66 Although there is no specific mention of Zen in the narrative voice-over written and performed by Kerouac for the film, which may even present Buddhism negatively in the somewhat ambivalent comment of one character that Buddhism is involved with the fact "that you don't have to get one way or the other about any thing and you can do any thing you want really?" (28), the film demonstrates Zen's affinity with freedom and anarchy. Either way, the play was read by both sympathetic and hostile reviewers as exemplary of Zen. Jonas Mekas's article for Sight and Sound,
"Towards a Spontaneous Cinema" describes Leslie and Frank as "true independents" and "conscious rebels," who are interested in spontaneity, connecting this quality and the spirit of independence to Zen as has been noted in the previous chapter. For Mekas, the film is beat in its "rejection of the middle class way" and resembles a koan because "approached logically, it is meaningless and absurd" (120), while for mainstream magazines like Time, the play is an act of Zen lunacy in the negative sense of the word. The emphasis of Time's review is sociological or anthropological, portraying the Beats as 1950's curiosities or neo-primitives. Perhaps the most telling example of Zen lunacy's nonsensical incomprehensibility for mainstream America is Time's use of the caption, "Jamambi, jamambi, jamambi jamac" under the photo and film still of Orlovsky, Corso, and Ginsberg, shown seated together on a sofa like "three naughty schoolboys" (17). Time displays the caption as if it were the speech of these three, whereas in the film Kerouac uses these nonsensical words to describe the jazz musician, McGillicuddy's "mysterious music" (35). Time's decontextualization heightens the lunacy of the line as well as that of the Beats; as with the photo, a more sympathetic view sees this phrase as indicative of Kerouac's creative penchant for making up nonsense words that express sounds and feelings. Kerouac makes an implied association of other nonsensical phrases which recall dada as well as Zen lunacy when at the film's conclusion as the men leave the apartment, the narrator says: "Da da da da da/ And they're going dada da da dada da da da. [...] Let's go.'sgo, sgo. [...] Off they go" (38). By bringing the word, dada, into his voice-over for this film, Kerouac hints at an association of dada absurdity with Zen lunacy. Kerouac, however, has consciously chosen the Zen
lunatic way, a turn toward the East, away from European avant-garde aesthetic as represented by dada.67

Kerouac's statement on Zen, itself, part of his "The Last Word" column for Escapade magazine of October 1960, also combines a good dose of Zen lunacy written in Kerouac's spontaneous prose style in the form of a litany of Kerouac's at times cryptic definitions, most of which begin with the phrase, "Zen is."68 Kerouac begins the article with the traditional Zen critique of words: "Zen is not letting yourself be horsewhipped into words about it so as you read these words just unfocus your eyes and stare at the blurry pages." In accordance with Zen tenets, some of his "definitions" of Zen seem more like koans or puzzles for readers to figure out: "Zen is the madman yelling: 'If you wanta tell me that the stars are not words, then stop calling them stars!" Not all of these are as fresh and exciting as one might wish. In fact, this line is derivative recalling the haiku on words from Part One of Desolation Angels; in addition, using a madman is a fairly obvious example of Zen lunacy. Another line, "Zen is like having all your mail forwarded to the Dead Letter Office," is equally trite. Kerouac also tells mondo, or stories about Zen masters and their disciples, including the famous one about Bodhidharma, first to bring Buddhism to China from India. His disciple wanted enlightenment so badly that he cut his arm off and brought it to Bodhidharma who responded with the question, "Why didn't you bring me your mind?" Kerouac's paradoxical and puzzling statements here, perhaps his version of koan, are paradoxical statements to be fathomed without rational thought. Although some of Kerouac's definitions seem quite ordinary, for example, "Zen is a man sweeping his walk and raking his leaves," they are in keeping with what D.T. Suzuki
considers Zen's practicality in *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism*. Emphasizing the ordinariness of Zen, Kerouac brings his column to conclusion with a haiku by Joso, followed by the statement that Zen is "also the promise of mercy as exemplified by the Buddha's left hand being open to Father Sky and the right hand point to Mother Earth" (72). In this article Kerouac speaks mainly from the Zen lunatic persona, although he concludes with Mahayana Buddhist compassion, perhaps a turn to the persona of Writing Buddha. The overall impression of this short article, however, is one in which lunacy or even incomprehensibility prevails.

VI. Kerouac's Beat Zen Makes a Difference

Whether Kerouac's use of Zen lunacy contributes to an avant-garde project to create change in American literature and society in general or whether it is simply, in Alan Watts's characterization, "Beat Zen," without political or social impact, is a crucial determination to make in evaluating Kerouac's use of Zen. Reflecting on the writing of Kerouac's Zen period, not only his specifically spiritual works, but his novels, poetry, and essays, in light of Alan Watts's 1958 essay, "Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen," in the *Chicago Review* may enable a consideration of the degree to which Kerouac's Zen is "Beat" as argued by Watts and what the impact of Kerouac's Beat Zen writings on 1950's America might be. Watts claims in his essay that the Beat practice of Zen was just another way for a writer like Kerouac to express nonconformity, a "philosophy to justify him in doing what he pleases" (10). He sees the "beat" mentality as "a younger generation's nonparticipation in 'the American Way of Life,' a revolt which does not seek to change the existing order but simply turns away from it [. . .] ." and
finds the Beats "too self-conscious, too subjective, and too strident to have the flavor of Zen" with an "underlying protestant lawlessness " (7-8). Of course Watts in this essay is arguing against both Beat Zen and square Zen, the traditional Zen of Japan with its rigid routine, in favor of what he considers the original Zen or Ch'an of China, steeped in Taoism. Thus his essay is not entirely objective or purely informational, although in concluding his essay, Watts gives some credence to Beat sincerity and understanding of Zen. He revises his opinion of Beat and square Zen, claiming that he would like to say something "for all Zen fussers, beat or square. Fuss is all right, too." He concludes that spending time in a Zen monastery is as valid as "hopping freight cars and digging Charlie Parker" (11). Both of the latter activities indirectly refer to Kerouac, while the former may refer to Snyder.

Contrary to Watts's claim that "self-conscious" Beat Zenists were out to rebel against society not to change it, Kerouac's comments in SOD indicate that as Writing Buddha he was both critical of American materialism and sought its change. In Book One of SOD, he criticizes American know-how as "not savior of world but its curse in the struggle to understand emancipation from suffering" (54). He also criticizes Catholic Dualism in Book Two as "behind the error of Western Civilization with its war of machines, each machine claiming the 'Good'" (66). His solution is first of all personal, to forsake "fame and fortune," instead putting his energy into becoming a Writing Buddha. As has been pointed out, Kerouac understood this to mean acting in a disciplined way as a Buddhist teacher and enlightened one, a bhikku, hermit, and future founder of a monastery with compassion toward all. A statement from Book Four of SOD sums up
this aspect of Kerouac's Buddhist ambition: "My duty to become a Bodhisattva Teacher & teach the Path from my desert hut – no other duty" (160). This position also involves working to change the attitudes of others. An aside to Philip Whalen recorded in Book Nine of SOD, written after a Dhyana of January 10, 1956 sums up Kerouac's position: "Yes Whalen, it's/a Shining Now-Ness/& we've done it, carried/America like a shining blanket/into that brighter nowhere ALREADY [. . . ] " (377). This unsent message to Whalen indicates his interest in using his position as Writing Buddha and spokesman for the Beat Generation to create change in America. In fact, in this statement he believes that change has begun to happen as part of the public response to the Beat Generation and their writing.

Another aspect of being a Writing Buddha also relates to the idea of change, not through social or political forces, but literally. Commenting on this kind of change in Book Five of SOD, Kerouac sees his true writing project as one dedicated to the creation of an "American Dharma," which is "a fitting new kind of written form that will not kowtow to established cupidities nor at the same time be a piddling Notebook [. . . ] A large loose book, built as solidly as a Bronze Statue of the Seated Champion of Samadhi," here implying that SOD will contain that American Dharma. He determines to remove "literature" from his present activities to be replaced by "American Sutras and Shastras, American Birth-tales and Gradual Sayings and Aphorisms" (255), thus implying that the American Dharma will also be contained in other works, such as Scripture of the Golden Eternity.

Thus, Kerouac's ambition to be a Writing Buddha can be said to have been partly accomplished through his experimental methods of
composition. According to Ginsberg, in his 1992 essay on Kerouac's negative capability, it is especially in his method of spontaneous composition that Kerouac demonstrates an understanding of Buddhism and concomitantly works toward change. In proof of Kerouac's grasp of Buddhist teachings, Ginsberg quotes from his Escapade essay on the Surangama Sutra, in which Kerouac makes connections between this sutra and his writing method of spontaneous prose.73 Old Angel Midnight, an experimental piece begun in spring of 1956, at Marin-an is an example of such writing practice.74 This work consists primarily of paragraphs of dense prose with sentence and phrase separations by dashes rather than periods. He records the sounds he hears outside his shack on a Friday night, questioning the nature of reality through meditation and memory. Kerouac occasionally breaks the flow with haiku and short poems, similarly to his practice in DA. Haiku halt the continuous mind play and sometimes nonsensical word play while including objects of the natural world outside the speaker's window, presenting a simple and objective foil to the subjective spontaneity of Kerouac's stream-of-consciousness prose. These two seemingly opposed ways to present the world and the speaker's experience as transcriber of its sounds and sights act to negate the difference between the subjective and the objective, thereby dissolving duality. Kerouac's surprising and paradoxical way of presenting his ideas in this work is also in keeping with the Zen lunatic persona again demonstrating the dynamic between these two personae for Kerouac. In fact, entry 41 identifies the writer's words specifically with Zen Lunacy:

the who dont care
I dont care

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fuck you all
word free
Zen Lunacy
Old Angel Midnight
kiss my ass word (1-7)

In this highly experimental work, his activities as Writing Buddha geared primarily toward literary expression, create literary change as well as change in each reader's consciousness, which is ultimately part of the way Kerouac's Zen lunacy will act as avant-garde practice to change society.\textsuperscript{75}

Combined with the conscious will for change expressed in \textit{SOD}, the movement toward literary change in \textit{Old Angel Midnight}, and evidenced by positive, but primarily negative responses to Kerouac's novels in the 1950's, one can conclude that Kerouac did accomplish a change in American attitudes, not only in regard to literature but also in attitudes of a younger generation which would come to fruition in the youth revolution of the 1960's. More accurately, he may be said to have given voice to an identity crisis among the young after World War II which had not been taken seriously by an American society steeped in 1950's conformity.\textsuperscript{76}

Proof that the Beat avant-garde had an effect on the younger generation by expressing 1950's anxieties and aspirations, is the introduction given to Kerouac at the Brandeis symposium on the Beat Generation in 1958. The moderator begins by stating that the question for the night's discussion, the existence of a Beat Generation, is a subject of interest on college campuses: "It is of literary interest, of interest as a social phenomenon, and some would consider as a symptom of the alienation which many young people experience in trying to adapt to the standards or the
problems of our society in this anxious age." He then introduces Kerouac as "a man who has been called the spokesman of the Beat Generation;" this is followed by Kerouac's presentation. The moderator here alludes specifically in his introduction to the way that the Beat Generation has expressed the alienation many young people were feeling.

However, although Kerouac was also sincere in using his practice of Writing Buddha to teach others about Buddhism, another way to create change, some aspects of his Zen lunatic persona do seem self-centered and self-indulgent in the way suggested by Watts's critique. This is particularly true of his struggle with alcohol. Overindulgence in drinking was not an accepted Zen practice according to Japhy Ryder, who voiced concern over Ray's drinking in The Dharma Bums, or part of the more square and traditional kind of Buddhism espoused by Snyder in real life. However, drinking might be considered an aspect of Beat Zen by Watts or an aspect of Zen lunacy by Kerouac. The unconventionality permitted by Zen lunacy seemed to allow him to over-indulge in alcohol, for example, which may have partly been the reason he found Zen lunacy attractive. In a sense he wanted to practice his own version of Buddhism, retaining his individuality and freedom from all rules. For Kerouac, the model of Chinese Immortal or poet who was known to drink wine while composing poetry in a mountain hermitage, was one he imagined for himself. In a letter of May 24, 1957 to Gary Snyder, he notes: "Just finish reading Chinese Immortals and am amazed what drug addicts and winos they were, just like me, pity I dont drink any more [. . .] I cant anymore. [. . .] wrote a lot of haikus this week. [. . .]" He follows with 12 haikus, ending the letter with "I think that you and Ginsberg and Whalen are Immortals and will
reappear after your deaths and laugh in the shades of night trees. [. . .] why have you been laffing behind my back, Immortals? Teach me too!" (SL 2: 38).78

In the context of his problem drinking, Kerouac writes in a letter to Whalen of March 15, 1959, against Square Zen in favor of his own form of Zen:

So nodding my head decisively over D[iamond] Sutra again and fuck Suzuki, fuck Sasaki, fuck em all. They think Buddhism is something apart from Transcendentalism, well they're not Buddhists, they're Alan Watts social philosophers and glad-to-meet-yas. They want 'group meetings' to 'discuss' 'Zen' that's what they want, not the sign. [. . .] Whalen know why you're a bodhisattva really? you're the only one who never yelled at me 'for drinking too much.'" (SL 2: 190)79

From the point of view of Watts or even Snyder, this might be considered an aspect of Beat Zen and reason to see Kerouac's Buddhist activities more in terms of a self-centered practice (a Hinayana position and one of Beat Zen) than in terms of the Bodhisattva compassionate ideal of putting the enlightenment of others first (a Mahayana position). However, Zen lunacy may also have been useful in helping him deal with fame in the aftermath of the publication of On The Road, as well as furthering his interest in going against mainstream academia, middle class conventionality, and the conformity of Cold War America in the 1950's. In a sense, the issue of drinking again demonstrates the dynamic between Kerouac's two Zen personae: the freedom to drink equates with the Zen lunatic persona, while
the discipline to control his drinking, perhaps through meditation, relates to the more disciplined Writing Buddha persona.

Another way to see Kerouac's position as self-indulgent rather than avant-garde is his eagerness to write about Buddhism for commercial purposes, which is evident in a letter to Gary Snyder of June 19, 1958: "O yes, how about you and me and Phil Whalen getting together [...] to do a piece for HOLIDAY magazine about 'California Buddhism,' [...] and we'll investigate further scenes after Berkeley Bussei scene etc." (SL 2: 134). They would be paid $1500 for the article. This concern with money, especially in capitalizing on Buddhism, indicates that Kerouac is moving away from both square and Beat Zen and toward the kind of middle class lifestyle he has previously written against in The Dharma Bums. This position re-confirms him as the kind of liberal bourgeois which Williams points to in The Politics of Modernity. As Kerouac's books sold increasingly well, and he became more famous and financially secure, his dreams of the rucksack revolution became further from his thoughts and goals. In a letter of January 1958 to Snyder, he writes that he fears for Frisco and "a coming silly stupid revolution with blood in the streets" (SL 2: 97). In an undated letter to Whalen later in 1958 he is concerned more with the money he owes on his house and seems to be coming to an end of his Buddhist phase," stating that he "will write big final Sutra, 'Supreme Reality,' and get that phase over with" (SL 2: 124). In fact, in his 1960 interview with Aronowitz for Escapade, he mentions that he is through with Buddhism altogether. This is a far cry from his earlier statements in COD in which he is critical of the American middle-class way of life and seeks to change it through his practice as Writing Buddha.
However, even in the late 1950's Kerouac's Zen lunatic stance continues to be directed, if not toward change, at least toward disrupting the status quo, an impetus not totally lost at the time of his greatest worldly success. This is evident in Pull My Daisy as well as in a short writing project of the late 1950's to define the Beat Generation. In a letter to Ginsberg, Corso, and Orlovsky of March 1959, Kerouac notes that the American College Dictionary "sent me their big square definition of 'beat generation' and wanted to know if I would revise, emend or make a new one." The original defines the Beats as: "certain members of the generation that came of age after World War II who affect detachment from moral and social forms and responsibilities, supposedly due to disillusionment." His emendation indicates that Kerouac did believe that the Beat Generation was directed toward change: "members of the generation that came of age after World War II-Korean war who join in a relaxation of social and sexual tensions and espouse anti-regimentation, mystic-disaffiliation and material-simplicity values, supposedly as a result of Cold War disillusionment" (SL 2: 191-92). Rather than "affect detachment," as in the original definition, Kerouac's Beats "espouse anti-regimentation," which relates more to Snyder's interest in anarchism than it does to Watts's label of the Beats as "self-conscious" or self-centered rebels.

Additional proof that Kerouac and the Beats did do something to change America is the fact that J. Edgar Hoover considered beatniks threatening according to Nicosia who noted that "in 1961 J. Edgar Hoover stated publicly that beatniks were one of the three greatest threats to America" (Memory Babe 602). The extreme criticism Kerouac, himself,
took after the publication of DB from academics such as Trilling and Brustein, new left critics, Podhoretz in Partisan Review, for example, and mainstream America through Time, might indicate that his stance of Zen lunacy, even more than his practice of Writing Buddha, was effective in shocking and antagonizing the mainstream. Indications of his ability to create change include the fact that his books sold well, he was widely covered by the media, including magazines, newspapers, television, and records, and his popularity with youth disaffiliating from the mainstream increased from the late 1950's into the 1960's. Ironically, as the rucksack revolution increased in intensity, Kerouac, himself, took an even more conservative political position, especially before his death as his dependence on alcohol increased. However, the ambivalence he felt toward Buddhism and Zen coupled with his turn to Christianity in the 1960's could also be a contributing factor to his seemingly more conservative position. If we consider that Kerouac might have always been the most politically conservative of the Beat Generation, it would seem that his extreme nonconformity in the 1950's alone was enough of an outrage against bourgeois society to be taken as a political and avant-garde stance whereas in the 1960's a truly political stance was also needed to demonstrate rebellion against the norm. That Kerouac's Zen lunacy retained a personal dimension (its ability to help him rationalize his alcoholism, for example) can be seen as the mind acting out illogically in regard to logical choices in attempting to freely deal with a field of increasingly limited possibilities.

VII. Conclusion
Moving from the context of Kerouac's discovery of Zen Buddhism to the actual content of his Zen period writing, demonstrates the dynamic between the personae of disciplined Writing Buddha and free-spirited Zen lunatic in the three main kinds of writing he produced in the late 1950's. This chapter has also sought to determine the relationship between his spiritual writings, novels, and articles and essays about the Beat Generation and his agenda of promoting change in American culture, what I have described as an avant-garde project. This agenda is especially apparent in his use of Zen lunacy as irrational expression to shock his bourgeois audience, evident in the sensationalization surrounding the publication of The Dharma Bums.

The greater significance for Kerouac of Zen philosophy and aesthetics, especially the use of forms, such as the koan, associated with this persona, as opposed to the disciplined instruction of the Writing Buddha persona evident in Some of the Dharma, is to further distinguish himself and the Beat project from bourgeois and mainstream society, an ingredient in Kerouac's Beat avant-garde strategy and an aspect of Beat Zen. Kerouac privileges Zen lunacy because it best enables him to upset the conventions of the middle class and the conformity mentality of 1950's America, while allowing him greater freedom to practice his own version of Buddhism. The use of Zen forms and subject matter are also ways to bring new life into American culture from the East (Japan) not the West (the United States and Europe), reinforcing his appreciation of Oswald Spengler's philosophy as expressed in Decline of the West with its argument about the supercession of Western cultural values. Thus his
compensatory appropriation of Zen is similar to the American
appropriation of Japanese culture during the Japan Craze.

Kerouac's ambitions in regard to Zen seem to have been partly to
emulate Snyder in his enactment of the free-spirited persona of Zen
lunatic/dharma bum, without Snyder's interest in traditional Zen practice.
In fact he claimed not to be a practitioner of Zen, interested primarily in
Zen's aesthetic form, the haiku, as evidenced by his Paris Review
interview. His statements from 500 may also indicate similar feelings of
ambivalence toward traditional Zen with a preference for Mahayana
Buddhism's compassion and Hinayana Buddhism's emphasis on suffering.
On one hand he notes in Book Seven, around April 1955, that "Zen Masters
slugged each other so they could see stars & intuit emptiness" (306). On
the other hand, he cannot accept the idea that Zen Masters are sometimes
cruel to animals as a way to bring a disciple to enlightenment.82 Although
he did not appreciate the methods of such Zen masters, he did find Zen's
emphasis on extreme non-conformity congenial. Unfortunately, the more
self-centered and anarchic aspect of Zen lunacy further justified him in
his failure to quit drinking leading to his early death.

Kerouac's understanding of Zen as dual discourse is evident in the
way he uses his knowledge of Zen spirituality and philosophy in an
aesthetic context, as part of his spontaneous writing method. In addition,
his interest in haiku practice as a way to further distinguish the Beat
movement from more academic and mainstream poetry of the 1950's, also
indicates Kerouac's privileging of Zen as aesthetic discourse. Although his
teaching and writing about Buddhism as Writing Buddha may be
considered an expression of Zen as spiritual discourse, his presentation of
Zen and Buddhist philosophy and tenets was idiosyncratic moving him further from traditional Zen. His presentation of Zen as spiritual practice in *The Dharma Bums* with his inclusion of yabyum sexuality also demonstrates his idiosyncratic reading of Zen as well as his sensationalizing and orientalizing of it. His intent here and in the Brandeis symposium is to appropriate traditional Zen for his own avant-garde ends to express an anti-intellectual and anti-bourgeois stance (aspects of the Beat movement of which he saw himself as spokesman), justifying Watts's characterization of Kerouac's loony and spontaneous Zen as Beat.

Ultimately, both the personae of Zen lunatic and Writing Buddha with Kerouac's interest in associated Zen forms such as koan and haiku (Zen as aesthetic discourse) were ways for him to promote and empower the projects of the Beat avant-garde which he envisioned as having the ability to change both American literature and society. They were also ways to add new excitement to his own writing and to justify and demonstrate the spiritual affinities of his methods of spontaneous and unconventional prose. More than the discipline of the Writing Buddha, the sanity of Zen lunacy could demonstrate that materialistic and conventional American middle-class values were in a sense truly insane, a similar project to that pursued by Ginsberg in "Howl." Kerouac's privileging of the persona of the Zen lunatic and his frequent reference to Zen personalities often associated with Zen lunacy, best helped him express this sensibility.
ENDNOTES

1. According to the *Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen*, Buddhism may be said to be divided into two schools: the Hinayana (or lesser vehicle) and the Mahayana (or greater vehicle) which developed after the Hinayana. Hinayana developed between the death of Buddha and the 1st century B.C.E. and according to its followers represents the original, pure teachings of the Buddha. The essence of the teaching is expressed by the Four Noble Truths. According to Mahayanists, Hinayana is the lesser vehicle because it concentrates on personal enlightenment, while Mahayana espouses the bodhisattva ideal in which one's own personal enlightenment is put off so that one can help all other beings attain this state. Chinese Ch'an became Japanese Zen; both are schools of Mahayana Buddhism.

2. D.T. Suzuki is an important source of information about the Zen lunatic persona for the West in the 1940's and 1950's as has been demonstrated in the previous chapter. Suzuki also describes the spirit of Zen as claiming "to transmit the inner secrets of the Buddhist life. To live the spirit and not to be bound by the letter is the message of Zen. The traditional attitude of the Zen master has thus been to take the sutras and sastras for no more than a bundle of waste paper, and their literary teaching for mere conceptualism which has no vital bearing on life itself" (after 218). Here Suzuki relates Zen lunacy to the Zen tennet of transmission without scriptures. In addition to Hui-neng, Han-shan and Shih-te, D.T. Suzuki presents an image of Zen lunatic, Tan-Hsia, burning the wooden Buddha in the second series of essays.

3. Kerouac's two other statements on his writing method, "Belief and Technique For Modern Prose," probably written in May 1955, and "Essentials of Spontaneous Prose," written at the end of 1953, were both created before Kerouac's Zen phase and show more of an influence of jazz music than Buddhist or Zen aesthetics.

4. Ann Charters in her biography of Kerouac also expands this tale of Buddhist discovery, noting that Ginsberg had taken an interest in Chinese painting and discovered D.T. Suzuki's essays on Buddhism, recommending them to Kerouac in spring of 1953 (191). For more on Ginsberg see *Dharma Lion* 152-53). Allen Ginsberg's statement for *Jack's Book*, an oral narrative of Kerouac's life, gives Raymond Weaver's class at Columbia, Communications 13, as perhaps Kerouac's first introduction to Chinese and Japanese Zen. According to Ginsberg, Weaver would "present haikus or... koans, what's the sound of one hand clapping? as part of the class" (42).

5. In *Some of the Dharma*, Book Three, Kerouac writes: "I was wiser in December 1953 when I began my faith and said: 'That whole dream of life, stop it [. . . ] I want no more of it'" (103). The work's last entry of March 15, 1956, Book Ten, posits a starting date of December 1953: "All this BOOK OF
Dharma since December 1953, hasn't it been mighty preparations for the Epic Novel THE TATHAGATA?" (SOD 420).

6. Hereafter, Goddard's Buddhist Bible will be designated as BB. In SOD Kerouac comments on his failure to get published, seen by him as an ignoring of his genius, but an experience which makes him spiritually stronger.

7. This serious reading led Kerouac to begin the major writing project on Buddhism which would become Some of the Dharma.

8. Hereafter, Kerouac's Selected Letters will be designated as SL with appropriate volume noted. In a statement about Kerouac in Jack's Book, Philip Whalen (who met Kerouac in 1955) also notes that "Jack carried a copy of Dwight Goddard's book called A Buddhist Bible around with him." Whalen goes on to state that it was the "wonderful ideas about Buddhism" and the "extravagant language of the translations" that appealed to Kerouac who remained a Catholic at heart (216).

9. In a letter to his agent, Sterling Lord, in March of 1955, Kerouac notes that he has been "writing a Buddhist book of 70,000 words, which I'm just finishing now (YOUR ESSENTIAL MIND, The Story of Buddha)" (SL 1: 469). A manuscript in pencil for his project of the life of Buddha can be found in NYPL Berg Collection. It is titled "Buddha Tells Us/Stop and Wake Up - The Story of Buddha" and consists of seven chapters, only the first of which he seems to have completed (and which was subsequently published as Wake Up in Tricycle magazine). The proposed chapters are as follows: I Gotama: Founder of Buddhism; II History of Buddhism; III Outline of Buddhist Philosophy; IV How to Practice Meditation; V A Synopsis of the Greater Buddhist Scriptures; VI The Self-Realization of Noble Wisdom; VII Buddhism: Oneness of East and West. In an entry in Some of the Dharma for February 25, 1955, Kerouac notes that he had recently begun a book on Buddhism, Buddha Tells Us (SOD 268). Also note that throughout the pages of SOD, Kerouac mentions the titles of various writing projects related to Buddhism in which he seems to be involved. For example in Book Seven he notes that his agenda for June is to finish typing up BOOK OF DHARMAS (329). He also had a plan for a book of translations on Buddhism from the French.

10. Shortly thereafter, Kerouac suggests to Lord a change in the title of the book to Buddhism: The Essence of Reality perhaps in an attempt to present it to the Philosophical Library with a more scholarly sounding title.

11. Kerouac also envisioned his own Buddhist monastery in a letter to Whalen of February 1956: "I'd like to found a kind of monastery in the plateau country outside Mexico City, if I had the money - but I'll start this next fall with the first of the buildings, my own dobe hut, windowless, with open outdoor fireplace, a rain shelter and nothing much else [. . .]." (SL 1: 547).
12. Some of the Dharma as published by Viking Press in 1997 is an oversized volume running to 415 pages. It is the transcription of the contents of ten of Kerouac's pocket notebooks, which along with the original typed manuscript volume (basis for the published version) are now housed in the Berg Collection of the NYPL. The published version is very similar to the pocket notebook drafts and the same as the typed version.

In a letter of May 1954, Kerouac first alludes to the project which would become Some of the Dharma, describing it to Ginsberg as "a 100-page account of Buddhism for you, gleaned from my notes...it's the only copy, we must take special care with it, right? 'Some of the Dharma'! called it, and it was intended for you to read in the selva (sic). Some of it is now, I see, useless, because mistaken, or written on tea, or other faults, but it may really give you a sendoff into the above tomes, which is my wish."

Paradoxically, Kerouac takes on the role of university professor here, admonishing Ginsberg to "listen to me carefully and implicitly as tho I was Einstein teaching you relativity or Eliot teaching the Formulas of Objective Correlation on a blackboard in Princeton." Kerouac provides Ginsberg with a "correct bibliography" of nine books for his "beginning studies of Buddhism." Specific books include Texts from the Buddhist Canon Known as Dhammapada by Samuel Beal, Life of Buddha or Buddha Charita by Asvaghosha, translated by Samuel Beal, The Gospel of Buddha by Paul Carus, Buddhism in Translations by Henry Clarke Warren, The Buddhist Bible by Dwight Goddard, Buddhist Legends, by E.W. Burlingame, The Dialogs of the Buddha, Digha-Nikaya, by Rhys Davids, Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi Magga, translated by P.M. Tin, and The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East, Vol. 18 (all spellings Kerouac's). Kerouac recommends Goddard's Buddhist Bible as the best book "because it contains the Surangama Sutra and the Lankavatara Scripture, not to mention the 11-page Diamond Sutra which is the last word, and Asvaghosa's Awakening of the Faith, and the Tao" (Si, I 415-16). According to Nicosia in his Kerouac biography, Memory Babe, Kerouac found Goddard's Buddhist Bible at the library in San Jose while staying with Cassady.

Another striking aspect of SDD is its visual quality upon the page with decoratively patterned asterisks surrounding bodies of type, shaped and slanted paragraphs, capital letters, boxes surrounding type and lines under type, as well as Kerouac's drawings. Aronowitz in "Yen for Zen" describes this work: "The sheets are covered with religious aphorisms, thoughts, poetry and haikus, which are small poems full of both the same irrationality, simplicity and pith as the koans. Each page in the loose-leaf folder has been arranged to present almost a Mondrian effect, with pencil lines drawn in rectangles about each body of type" (52).

13. In Dwight Goddard's "Summary of Buddha's Dharma" at the conclusion of EB, he discusses Right Mindfulness or "recollective mindfulness," which consists in recollecting and meditating upon the conclusions of the intellectual mind, seeking to understand their true meaning and significance" (651-52). Goddard includes this self-reflective type of activity as part of the 7th Stage of the Eightfold Noble Path. He considers
this to be a constructive use of the mind. It is the "culmination of the intellecutive process and the connecting link with the intuitive process" (or Dhyana) and means to "look at things truthfully" (seeing "meaning and significance" rather than "discriminated appearances and relations").

Gaining an awareness of "Truth" requires transcendence of the intellectual mind and the practice of "recollective mindfulness." Goddard also notes that according to the Buddha, the way to end suffering is to follow the Eightfold Noble Path; the path includes (for the 7th stage): right ideas, right resolution, right speech, right behavior, right vocation, right effort, right mindfulness, and right dhyana (BB 646-52).

14. According to The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen, dharma can mean either teachings of the Buddha; cosmic law of the universe or karmic rebirth; norms of behavior or ethical rules; or the manifestation of reality, thing, or phenomenon with emphasis on Buddhist teachings of emptiness and non-duality.

15. It is interesting to note that Goddard's relation to Zen, though stated in the preface, is less obvious in the 1938 edition (and the one known to Kerouac) than in the original 1932 edition. For example, the frontispiece of the 1932 edition reads: "A Buddhist Bible The favorite Scriptures of the Zen Sect." It contains six items: History of Early Ch'an Buddhism, Self-Realisation of Noble Wisdom (based on Prof. Suzuki's Translation of the Lankavatara); The Diamond Sutra; Sutra of Transcendental Wisdom (Mahaprajna-paramita-hridaya); and Sutra of the 6th Patriarch. The 1938 edition's frontispiece reads: "A Buddhist Bible, second edition, Revised and Enlarged." It contains Selections from Pali Sources (Hinayana Buddhism); Selections from Sanskrit Sources (adding the Surangama Sutra, for example); Selections from Chinese Sources (adding the Tao-teh-king, for example); Selections from Tibetan Sources; and Selections from Modern Sources (adding works by a Japanese contemporary as well as by Goddard, himself). An interesting question is why Goddard suppressed the Zen aspect of his Bible in his efforts to, as he states in the preface, "enlarge it so as to include other Scriptures of like importance so as to make it more comprehensive" (v). Note that Goddard also assisted Suzuki in typing and editing Suzuki's translation of the Lankavatara Sutra.

16. According to the Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen, Hui-neng was one of the most important Ch'an masters, giving the Buddhism brought from India by Bodhidharma, a Chinese orientation. Although poor and without formal education, he said to have attained enlightenment on hearing the Diamond Sutra recited. While working as a kitchen helper, the poem he composed in response to the poem written by the 5th patriarch, Hung-jen's favored pupil, convinced the patriarch to designate Hui-neng as his successor. Subsequently, Hui-neng had to leave the monastery; the ensuing split led to the division of Ch'an into Hui-neng's school, the Southern, and Shen-hsui's school, the Northern. The Southern school stressed a sudden, intuitive leap to enlightenment, while the Northern school stressed a gradual approach to enlightenment with the help of sutras. The Northern school eventually died out.
17. In the Appendix where the editor comments on each of the selections, Goddard again demonstrates his bias toward Ch'an/Zen in noting of Ch'an Buddhism that it "seems to have discerned the essentials of Shakyamuni's teachings and spirit better than any other sect and to have developed their deeper implications more faithfully. This development came through its contact with Chinese Taoism under the lead of Bodhidharma and Hui-neng, making it a virile and wholesome influence for all nations thereafter" (672-73). Goddard then lists the four outstanding features of Hui-neng's Ch'an which appear to be Goddard's version of the four Zen tenets: "1. Distrust of all Scriptures and dogmatic teachings. 2. An enquiring mind and earnest search into the depths of one's own nature. 3. Humble but positive faith in the possibilities of such an enquiring search, in a sudden self-realisation of enlightenment, Buddhahood and Nirvana. 4. Loyal and patient acceptance of such self-realisation in a following life of simplicity, self-restraint, industry, and sympathy with all animate life" (673). Note here that he instead of not relying on letters, he emphasizes a simple and sympathetic life after self-realization.

18. Throughout Kerouac privileges the intuitive, especially over the subconscious. For example in Book One he notes that "Conscious' and 'subconscious' Minds are irrelevant materialistic distinctions. Conscious mind is manovijnana in contact with Intuition and Essential Mind but lost in discrimination. Unconscious Mind is manovijnana asleep, uncensored, discriminating drunkenly" (53). Here he not only translates Western psychology into Buddhist terminology, but relates the subconscious to the state of being drunk, one of his addictions.

19. Note that Kerouac developed his ideas about Spontaneous Prose in the fall of 1953 (prior to this entry) after completing The Subterraneans in three nights. He wrote his ideas down for Ginsberg and Burroughs at their request, and they were not published until 1957 in Black Mountain Review. See SL 1: 445. Thus Goddard's ideas about Buddhism seem to reinforce Kerouac's previously held attitudes toward spontaneity.

The importance of spontaneity and its relation to intuition in the context of BB may also be seen in the fact that Goddard uses this term to present aspects of Buddhism in the Surangama Sutra, the sutra most often-quoted by Kerouac. In Goddard's comments on this sutra in the Appendix, he notes that it "shows the six realms of existence from the highest realm of spontaneity and freedom to the lowest of inconceivable bondage and sufferings" (666). At the beginning of the Sutra as included in the BB, Buddha has a conversation with Ananda, one of his disciples, about the nature of mind. Buddha begins by asking Ananda to answer his questions "spontaneously and freely" (112). This sutra also alludes to spontaneity in describing the spiritual experiences of various bodhisattvas. One, Avalokiteshvara, states that in attaining Supreme Enlightenment by the practice of Dhyana he has also acquired "another Four Kinds of Inconceivable, Wonderful Transcendencies of Spontaneity," which are then listed and described (BB 247). Note that John Lardas in the Conclusion of Bop Apocalypse also includes this quote in his discussion of Kerouac's sketching practice in the 1950's. Goddard's translation of the Diamond Sutra also uses the concept of spontaneity in the Buddha's
comment to Subhuti on a Bodhisattva's need for non-discrimination of sensory perception, to "use the mental faculties spontaneously and naturally, but unconstrained by any preconceptions arising from the senses" (BB 94).

In Goddard's general discussion of the practice of the Eightfold Path, he also relates intuition and spontaneity, especially in the practice of meditation. Of "Practising the Seventh Stage of Buddha's Noble Path," he notes regarding sitting meditation and the realization of Truth, that it requires "another process than intellection, namely, it requires intuition." This is "only a spontaneous activity that goes on best as we rest quietly, restraining all rising thought, ignoring all risen thoughts, keeping the mind fixed on its pure essence [... ]" (640). The 8th step on the path, Dhyana, is also important to Goddard as well as Kerouac who records many meditation experiences in SOD. Goddard states in his summary that it is by dhyana, "practised by free minds in undisturbed solitude that the deeper realizations of Truth issue forth spontaneously in unseen spiritual ways [... ]" (649).

20. According to John Blofeld in The Jewel in the Lotus, a major aspect of Buddhism is that "all phenomena are transient and lacking in objective reality" or in a sense empty of reality. Blofeld considers the Heart Sutra or in Goddard's BB, the Maha-Prajna-Paramita-Hridaya, the "essence of the teachings of the Meditation [Zen] Sect in very few words," which proclaims the emptiness and non-duality of all things (133). Quoting from Goddard's version of this sutra: "Personality is made up of the five grasping aggregates [... ] all of which are by nature empty of any self-substance. Form is emptiness, emptiness is not different from form, neither is form different from emptiness, indeed, emptiness is form" (BB 85). For example, Kerouac's suffering over his poverty or obscurity might be seen as actually empty or unreal.

21. In Book Three, for example, he indicates his preference for "either the raw Hinayana or the radiant Mahayana, both tragic, neither humorous, (neither can be Tao-ed, neither can be 'Zen-ed')" and quotes an unnamed source regarding Zen's "sinister disciplinary undertones" (114). Later in Book Seven in the spring before he meets Snyder, Kerouac notes some contradictions in the Zen concept of Sudden Attainment, that even the moment when this experience takes place is equally "unreal" (301), a comment which might either be considered part of his ambivalent attitude to Zen or demonstrate his lack of understanding. In Book Four in the context of a discussion of Goddard and the Homeless Brothers, he notes more positively that Zen and Ch'an are Meditation Buddhists who supply their own food and shelter, growing their food or begging if necessary, practicing meditation as much as possible (214).

22. For more on Buddhist allusions in Mexico City Blues see James T. Jones, A Map of Mexico City Blues, 1992.

23. For more on Han-shan and Snyder's translation of this poet see the chapter on Snyder in this dissertation.
24. This information is from an email correspondence from Gary Snyder of October 10, 2001.

25. This definition is followed by a number of pops; in one of which Kerouac records the moment of inception of this form: "In the chair/I decided to call Haiku/By the name of Pop" (343). Regarding the difference between haiku and pop, perhaps the best way to distinguish the two is the fact that Kerouac labels his three-line verses as one or the other. Kerouac alludes to American haiku in a letter to Whalen of June 12, 1958, in which he includes an example: "Trees cant reach/for a glass/Of water," followed by the statement that "I think American Haikus shd. never have more than 3 words a line - (128). Whether pops are wholly synonymous with American haiku is unclear here or in other statements Kerouac makes on the subject.

26. Kerouac uses a line of 000 in SOO as decorative imagery as part of the typography of his first entry for Kiddy Pops (347), which may also allude to balloon-emptiness.

27. In SOO, Book Seven, he writes: "'God is Alone.' 'Form is emptiness, emptiness is form.' In other words, there's no end to this Teaching, to the words I can use, because there's no end to EMPTINESS nor is there an end to FORM [. . .]" (324).

28. In a letter to Snyder of January 1956, Kerouac thanks him for the Han-shan translation, calling him "pops-O" (SL 1: 546).

29. On Kerouac's return to North Carolina for Christmas 1955, his nephew, Lil Paul, also contributes some pops recorded in Book Nine of SOO. A collection of Kiddy Pops appears in a November entry in SOO written by Kerouac and Neal Cassady's children. Both Kerouac and the children he knows also write pomes, the difference being that pomes are more descriptive or explanatory rather than presentational and do not have that moment of realization, the pause which comes between the second and third lines of the true haiku.

30. This series of Kiddy Pops in which the name of each pop composer is given recalls the renku or linked verse form of Japanese verse (the form from which haiku is descended) in which each member of a verse-making party contributed, building off the one before it.

31. This is not always the case because later in this book, Kerouac writes a haiku about a whore washing out the sperm.

32. Mountains are also appropriate settings in which to write or recite koans (SOO 408).

33. Blyth comments on the haiku's quality of simplicity in the first volume of his work on haiku (216-21). He also posits a direct connection between haiku and enlightenment. In the first volume of Haiku, he writes: "A
haiku is the expression of a temporary enlightenment, in which we see into the life of things" (241).

34. These three haiku are: "useless useless," "juju beads on the altar," and "Those birds sitting." Note that all three are reprinted in Scattered Poems by Kerouac. Charters in her Portable Kerouac alludes to Kerouac's Book of Haiku. Note that this work, unpublished up until this time, is being edited by Regina Weinreich and is scheduled for publication in the near future.

35. Ginsberg's notebooks, for example, for the fall of 1955 also attest to the importance for him of the haiku and its method of ellipsis as a major component of "Howl." These notes indicate his familiarity with Blyth, whose four-volume collection on haiku was the source of much of Kerouac's and Ginsberg's understanding of haiku and Zen. Note the importance of haiku and ellipsis for Ginsberg's writing of "Howl" explained in his letter to Eberhardt. He also discusses ellipsis in his journals as "setting up two (images) points (with a gap) separate in time and showing the distance between them" (Journals 138). He continues that "ellipsis in syntax - dropping of articles, connectives, sawdust of the reason - to join images as they are joined in the mind: only thus can two images connect like wires and spark. This the phrasing of the poem." To illustrate, he provides an example from the bombing of Hiroshima (and a reference to Japan), that sentimentality "will not make us weep at a poem on Hiroshima. Only presentation of the facts, facts juxtaposed, create the significance which is truth & tears" (142).

Blyth's four-volume Haiku was originally published in Japan by Hokuseido Press from 1949-1952. The first volume serves as an introduction to the subject. The second volume covers Spring, the third, Summer and Autumn, and the fourth, Autumn and Winter; within each seasonal volume, haiku are arranged according to subject matter, a traditional Japanese organizational structure for haiku according to Blyth. In the preface to his first work on Zen, Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics, he notes his indebtedness to Suzuki's books on Zen (xi).

Suzuki also wrote about haiku in connection with Zen. A chapter on haiku was included both in Suzuki's 1938 work, Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture, and in the revised version, 1959, Zen and Japanese Culture, and he includes a section on haiku in his Third Series of Essays (section 6 of chapter VII on "Buddhist, Especially Zen, Contributions to Japanese Culture" (355-359).

36. Per an email communication of October 10, 2001, Snyder confirms that he introduced Kerouac, Ginsberg, and Whalen to Blyth. In a letter to Snyder of May 1956 while staying at Marin-an after Snyder's departure for Japan, Kerouac mentions reading spring haiku seeming to imply Blyth's collection which is arranged seasonally. Kerouac also quotes several haiku from Blyth's collection without acknowledging his source in OAM.

37. See D.T. Suzuki for a similar quote in the chapter on the practicality of Zen in his Introduction to Zen Buddhism.
38. A posthumously published haiku included in a collection of Kerouac's verse, *Pomes All Sizes*, 1992, is labeled "Haiku-Koan" and in the form of a haiku, asks a question similar to one of the most famous koans, does the dog have Buddha nature: "Does a dog have/the Buddha-nature?/Water is water" (62). The answer is self-evident and matter-of-fact; just as water is water, so the dog has Buddha nature.

39. Not surprisingly, the haiku he quotes is one included in the second volume of R.H. Blyth's haiku anthology of Spring haiku.

40. One example of such group activity and another of Kerouac's real life experiences which link haiku and koans is that of his meeting D.T. Suzuki in 1958 accompanied by Ginsberg and Peter Orlovsky, recounted in a letter to Philip Whalen of November of that year. Apparently Kerouac heard that Suzuki wanted to meet him after *The Dharma Bums* had been published with its accompanying publicity about Zen. When they arrived, Suzuki seated them in a room, whereupon Kerouac wrote out his koan for Suzuki: "When the Buddha was about to speak a horse spoke instead." Suzuki's response was that "the Western mind is too complicated, after all the Buddha and the horse had some kind of understanding there." Then Suzuki told them to sit and write haikus, and he went to make tea. Kerouac also includes the two haiku he wrote in the letter to Whalen, one about three sparrows on the roof talking sadly (referring perhaps to Kerouac, Ginsberg, and Orlovsky) and the other describing a box of Ritz crackers and packages of books in Suzuki's room. Soon after, they left, having to be pushed out the door by Suzuki.

In the letter Kerouac also notes that he can't remember the response to a koan that Whalen had previously sent him; this letter and others like it indicate the interest of Kerouac and his friends in sharing haiku and koans. Yet another incident of koan/haiku synchronicity between Kerouac and Whalen occurs in Kerouac's letter of August 1958 where he notes his spontaneous response to a koan Whalen had previously sent him, without giving the koan, then follows with a haiku he had written. In fact, haiku had begun to insinuate themselves into his letters as of 1956. For example, in a letter of February 14, 1956 to Snyder, he includes two haiku from his pocket notebook written while waiting for a train.

41. This first draft quote appears in Kerouac's pocket notebook in the Berg Collection of Kerouac manuscripts at the New York Public Library, which demonstrates that Kerouac may have been contemplating writing a sutra even before Snyder's suggestion. In Book Eight of *Some of the Dharma*, Kerouac records a Sutra written on an envelope, entitled, "Envelope Sutra," dated August 30, 1955, before meeting Snyder. This sutra having to do with life and death is relatively short (eight stanzas) and ends with two teachings which will be repeated almost exactly as the last two sections (65 and 66) of *The Scripture of the Golden Eternity*: the first is that there is no self and the second teaching is that "there was no First Teaching from the everlasting eternity" (338). Even Kerouac's key experience of the scripture, that of fainting in his yard and seeing the golden eternity as presented in section 64, had already been documented in *SOD*. At the end of Book Two, dated July 1954, and in a heading titled, "First Chapter of *Book of
Samadhi' Appended to Some of the Dharma as a P.S.," Kerouac writes that "I remembered how I fainted in the yard one Sunday and how I lay unconscious in the sun 50 seconds or so, how my consciousness and therefore all following Nirdana Chainlinks [. . .] were vanished, how all that remained was my Karma-action of heartbeat and breathing and a vague sensation of goldenness (that came from the sun on my unconscious eyeballs). [. . .] As I lay unconscious it wasn't 'I am dead,' it was 'mind essence is mind essence'' (89-90). In the scriptural version, 'The 'golden' came from the sun in my eyelids,/and the 'eternity' from my sudden instant/realization as I woke up that I had just/been where it all came from and where it/was all returning [. . .]" (60). The similarities between the two indicate that the experience recorded in 1954 was the basic samadhi experience for the later scripture. Another section of the scripture, the 46th, also has an origin in SOD, Book Ten, "Prayer of the Three Emptinesses," which similarly provides a discussion of things of time, space, and mind and concludes with the same question, "What does it mean that I am in this endless universe" (409), and with the same response that "it means that I have attained to that which everything is" (46-47).

Kerouac adds to the SOD passage the final claim that "I have attained to Buddhahood" (409). Kerouac's practice of recycling material from one work to another (SOD to SGE, for example) can also be seen in the similar way he begins both OAM with "Friday afternoon in the universe" (1) and Pull My Daisy with "Early morning in the universe" (21).

42. This may be too much a cause and effect or logical kind of statement to be a true koan. See D.T. Suzuki on koans in his second series of essays on Zen for more on this form's illogicality.

43. This is one of the most famous of Zen koans. Suzuki in the Second Series of his Essays in Zen Buddhism devotes an entire chapter, "The Secret Message of Bodhidharma," to this koan stating that "this is one of the questions frequently asked by Zen masters, and forms one of the most important subjects in the study of Zen." He explains that the question has nothing to do with Bodhidharma's arrival in China; rather his followers are asked to "get into the inner meaning [. . .] of his special teaching, which is thought to be spiritually transmitted to his successors" (189).

44. The issue of not speaking about Zen may also relate to Goddard's BB and the Diamond Sutra section on the "Practice of Humility and Patience," which argues the impossibility of making arbitrary assertions, such as that one has attained enlightenment, for those that have attained various degrees of enlightenment (BB 92-93).

45. He also inspired Kerouac's mountaineering experiences. In a letter of November 10, 1955 to his agent, Sterling Lord, Kerouac writes that he "just bought rucksack and sleepbag and poncho and ready for the Apocalypse and goin to climb mountains and be a Zen lunatic up at 10,000 feet brewing tea and studying the scriptures and will soon (if I see ROAD is to be taken) start on its sequel, WHAT HAPPENED LATER (A great story that.)" (SL 1: 530). This climbing trip made with Snyder and John Montgomery that fall
would be the basis for the trip to the Matterhorn described in The Dharma Bums.

Snyder comments on similar real-life conversations with Kerouac in Jack's Book: "Our interchanges on Buddhism were on the playful and delightful level of exchanging the lore, exchanging what we knew about it, what he thought of Mahayana. He made up names [...] He was great at that [...] I didn't then, and I don't now, think in terms of whether or not people are genuinely committed Buddhists or not" (203). According to Ann Charters in her Kerouac biography, Kerouac and Snyder differed in their "brand of Buddhism," their politics, and their attitudes toward drinking, as has been noted. Charters quotes Kerouac as stating that "Zen Buddhism didn't concentrate on kindness so much as on confusing the intellect to make it perceive the illusion of all sources of things." According to Charters, Kerouac admired Snyder's "religious discipline and the intense dedication of his Buddhist activity [...]" (263-64). He also took in much about Zen that Snyder had to offer as is evident from Kerouac's actual writing practice and projects, including The Dharma Bums, itself.

46. As just one example of how Kerouac saw himself as a Zen lunatic, in a letter of March 19, 1957 to Don Allen about publishing The Subterraneans, he writes "dont be bugged, I know what I'm talking about tho I may get drunk and act childish socially and tho my Zen name is LAZY LUNATIC. [...] I'm an artist, oldfashioned, devoted" (SL 2: 17).

47. Kerouac saw himself as a kind of dharma bum even before he met Gary Snyder, expressing the persona in Taoist rather than Zen terms, which may have had its genesis in Goddard's Buddhist Bible with its sections on the Tao-teh-king and the Homeless Brothers, as well as resonating with Kerouac's own associations with hoboes and bums. An interesting connection between Tao bums and Zen lunatics also occurs before he meets Snyder, sometime after August 1954 in which he first records Ginsberg's description of Chinese sages as "The great belly rubbing or beat or horrible looking W.C. Fields arhats in rags with long ears or giggling together over manuscripts of poems about clouds." He then compares these characters with American, "real wandering Taoist bums going around the country watching unexpected events, eating beans out of cans, sleeping in railroad sidings, following the seasons, washing in creeks, spending occasional nights in jail for vagrancy [...]" (115). In Book Three of S.O.D., sometime around October 12, 1954, he considers his future plans in terms of Tao bumism: "No writing, no friends, solitude in Mexican desert hut outside San Luis, be Tao Hobo, practice do-nothing [...]" (139). Later in December of that year he asks to be a "good Tao Hobo and the world will eventually leave me alone to meditate" (189). Not until May of 1955 does he equate Buddhism and Taoism, stating that a "true Arhat (or wandering monk) is a Tao Hobo" (319).

48. Han-shan, an important figure for Kerouac who dedicates The Dharma Bums to him, is his favorite Dharma Bum/Zen Lunatic Ch'an/Zen figure, perhaps more because of his poetic ability than his Zen lunacy. In his letters to Snyder of early 1956, he comments several times on the beauty of Snyder's translations of the Chinese poet: "Beautiful, sad, and lonely, is
your Han Shan poem [...] clear as a bell and makes you shudder and feel
the coldness of the mountain [...] " (SL 1: 542). Commenting on his own
translation of Han-shan in a letter to Snyder of March 1956, he writes that
"The more I read Cold Mountain the more I realize it to be one of the great
poems of the world. In it (those few pitiful lines) are indeed packed 30
years of Prajna [wisdom]" (568). In SOO, Book Ten, he critiques
comparisons that an unidentified poet he knows makes between Western
Surrealists as Lunatics and Zen Lunatics, contrasting the poet's
"piddlingness of knowledge, compared to knowledge of a Bhikku Han Shan.
[...] " He concludes his tirade with a prayer of self-criticism for not seeing
it all as empty: "My love of Han Shan's knowledge is emptiness, my love of
Han Shan's knowledge is not different from emptiness, neither is
emptiness different from my love of Han Shan's knowledge, indeed,
emptiness is my love of Han Shan's knowledge" (405).

49. This Zen Buddhist story would be of especial interest to Kerouac who
had included the scatological in the 5th category of his "Essentials of
Spontaneous Prose." The fifth essential, "Lag in Procedure," reads: "No
pause to think of proper word but the infantile pileup of scatological
buildup words till satisfaction is gained, which will turn out to be a great
appending rhythm to a thought and be in accordance with Great Law of
timing" (The Portable Jack Kerouac 485). The scatological story Japhy tells
about Ummon's definition of the Buddha also recalls R.H. Blyth's comments
on the haiku and its affinity with Zen who details nine aspects of Zen
humour with examples in his introductory volume on the haiku. Along
with the "laughter of disillusionment," hyperbole, dilemma, and dry
humour, there is "the laughter of studied idiocy," "spontaneous idiocy,"
"breaking with conventionality," "dropping from the sublime to the
ridiculous," and scatological humour, of which Rinzai's comparison of the
Buddha to a "dry shit-stick" is the example in Mumonkan, Koan 21.

50. However, note in this passage in DB that Ray Smith takes part in the
orgy fully clothed, kissing the hand, wrist, and body of Princess; he later
takes a bath with her (30). Relating sex and Zen was one reason that DB
was so sensationalized; Kerouac was seen as perverting Zen. It is also part
of Kerouac's orientalization of Zen. See the chapter in this dissertation on
the 1950's for more on mainstream America's response to Kerouac's
presentation of Zen at this time.

51. This also occurs in his more spiritually oriented writing. For example
in Book Nine of SOO, he writes a haiku which expresses Zen lunacy:
"Haiku, Shinaiku, I cant/understand the intention/Of Reality" (393).
Whether one considers this way of referring to Zen as "cavalier,"
"essentialist," simply sensationalist, or comic, trying to get a rise out of
friends who may take Zen seriously even though they claim to be dharma
bums and Zen lunatics, Kerouac can also be seen here as acting out the Zen
lunatic persona in his wordplay. I am indebted to Prof. Amy Shuman for
her suggestion regarding Kerouac's cavalier or essentializing attitude.

52. Book One, Part One, of Desolation Angels expands the last three
chapters of The Dharma Bums, with the story of Kerouac's experience as
lookout on Desolation Peak. Since this is another novel in Kerouac's semi-autobiographical Duluoz legend, the narrator is understood to be Kerouac but is identified in the first part as "I" and in subsequent parts as Jack Duluoz. Book one, Part Two continues the hero's experiences from Desolation Peak to Seattle and California; Book Two, "Passing Through," continues his adventures in Mexico, New York, Tangiers, France, and London. The novel was written during 1956 and 1961, covers Kerouac's experiences in 1956-7, and was published in 1965.

53. Chapter 13 provides an example of Kerouac's enactment of the mountain hermit persona, where the narrator writes a haiku that he imagines saying to his friends on his return from the mountain: "Hitch hiked a thousand/miles and brought/You wine" (DA 20). This haiku says much more than good to see you again. It re-enacts the camaraderie of the Chinese mountain poets, Immortals, and Japanese Zen poets that Kerouac and his friends were emulating at this time, making a reality of the image of "magnificent men" he writes of to Snyder.

54. Interestingly, Allen Ginsberg considers Kerouac's prose style in DB to have an affinity with haiku. In his review of DB for Village Voice he notes: "The sentences are shorter [...] almost as if he were writing a book of a thousand haikus - Buddhist visionary at times" (347). Ginsberg's comment also recalls Kerouac's own comments about haiku in a letter to Whalen of 1956: "Haiku is nice but it's small I mean, there are a million haikus in one good prose work [...]" (SL 542). Ginsberg does not give an example of Kerouac's haiku style in DB; however, a descriptive passage about fog might be an example: "The fog began to blow in from the Pacific, the trees bowed deeply and roared" (166) or a description of Kerouac feeding his cat on his return from California: "My cat meowed at the icebox, anxious to see what all the good dear delight was. I fed him" (137).

55. Regina Weinreich in her book on Kerouac's prose, The Spontaneous Poetics of Jack Kerouac, also cites this haiku in commenting on Kerouac's use of this form in Desolation Angels: "his prose paragraphs often culminate in haiku lines that form a 'bridge' to the next section" (165). She also considers that his use of haiku demonstrates his interest in a "poetic form that accompanies his interest in Zen philosophy" (164), adding that haiku act as a "compressed form of his philosophizing in general" (99-100). Note that the haiku she is commenting on ("Aurora Borealis/over Hozomeen - /The void is stiller") would not qualify as an exceptional haiku for R.H. Blyth, who considers that philosophizing or making comparisons is not the best way to practice haiku and in fact that non-intellectuality is typical of the Japanese haiku whose goal is to present the thing itself. Weinreich also seeks to establish the effect of Kerouac's interest in Buddhism on his writing style, indicating that he uses Buddhist terminology such as the Void as symbolic language, as well as countering opposites to create a literal mean (99). She probably is referring here to the idea that Buddhism is the way of the mean, hence her claim of Kerouac's use of Buddhist methodology.

Benedict Giamo, in Kerouac, the word and the way, makes a more critical evaluation of Kerouac's Buddhist understanding in DA. Instead of
expressing emptiness of mind, his stream of consciousness memories (confession) and descriptive passages, express for Giamo quite the opposite, an interest in the phenomenal. See his chapter 9 on DA.

56. See Blyth's volume of sennyu for more on this form. Note that Ginsberg in an article entitled, "Collage of Haiku," considers the haiku in Book One, Part Two as "more abstracted. Although they're just thoughts that come naturally" (156).

57. Another way to think of Kerouac's effective use of haiku in the first book of Desolation Angels is to see this novel as a kind of thoughtful travel journal similar to the Japanese literary form in which description and anecdotes of the journey intersperse with haiku (an aspect of the niki bungaku). See Earl Miner's Japanese Poetic Diaries for a discussion of this form. An example of this genre is Basho's Oku No Hosomichi, one of his most famous works, from which Blyth quotes extensively in his four volumes on the haiku. The genre would thus have been familiar to Kerouac.

Ginsberg's "A Collage of Haiku," makes a similar comparison, stating that Kerouac's series of haiku in Desolation Angels are "done in the classic style, yet it was self-invented. He knew the tradition but he adapted it to the novel; the tradition being a travel journal, prose, economical paragraphs, giving a setting and suddenly the flash thought" (154).

58. Trip Trap was written in 1959 and published in 1973. According to Saijo's statement, "A Recollection," which prefaces the work, "the text is mostly Lew, mostly his voice. Both Lew and Jack carried pocket notebooks, the kind spiral bound across the top, into which they jotted thoughts along the way. [...] Trip Trap must be out of the same notebooks [...] " (13). Saijo was of great interest to Kerouac who looked on him as a knowledgeable practitioner of Zen Buddhism; he would be included as a character in Big Sur. Saijo, a Japanese-American had actually practiced Zen with Master Nyogen Senzaki, in Los Angeles, attending his classes in Los Angeles. In a December 6, 1959 letter to Snyder describing the trip, Kerouac notes that Albert was "fresh from yr zendo [Marin-an] wanted to see if it was possible to meditate away from the tranquility of a zendo, see, thats why he took the trip. He sat there silently for hundreds of miles, under blanketed cross legs [...] " (226). In another letter to Snyder of that same month, Kerouac mentions that Saijo's "version of Buddha's Life is best I ever heard [...] " (234).

59. Kerouac expresses his ideas in a similar way to Suzuki's in a letter to Snyder of December 1959 in which he presents him with a "bit of Zen thought: when the cat got in wet from the rain he dried himself on one pillow and then went to sleep on another pillow and nobody can say ultimately, philosophically and prajna-wise that it is the same pillow. NOT-TWO equals NON-NOT-TWO" (235).

60. An introductory statement to this article, "The Origins of the Beat Generation," from Playboy's editor indicates that Kerouac wrote this article for Playboy based on the Hunter speech. Both Nicosia and Charters
describe the evening. The notes for the Kerouac Collection on Rhino Records quote from Nicosia's version, while the record set includes Kerouac's presentation.

61. This typescript is part of the Ginsberg archive at Columbia University Special Collections.

62. He did not read any of these haiku at the symposium, instead reading several poems which might be considered both absurd and spiritual, one about Harpo Marx, for example. In making this pronouncement, Kerouac suggests that he speaks for the Beat Generation: "Maybe since I'm supposed to be the spokesman of the Beat Generation (I am the originator of the term [...]" (32).

In regard to differentiating the Beat project from that of more mainstream writing, see the discussion of the poetry magazine, Yugen, in the previous chapter, which makes a definite statement against mainstream academic poetry in favor of the poetry of the Beat avant-garde.

63. Raymond Williams might have had Kerouac's right-wing politics and his avant-garde stance in mind in his comparison of the pre- and post-World War II cultures in relation to the avant-garde in The Politics of Modernism. For Williams, though the period after the war shows many of the same situations and responses, it can "too easily be isolated in a separated aesthetic history" with "avant-garde political positions . . . seen as a genuine vanguard of a truly modern international bourgeoisie which has emerged since 1945." This "New Right," as he terms it, "with its version of libertarianism in a dissolution or deregulation of all bonds and all national and cultural formations [...] in the interest of [...] an open society, look very familiar in retrospect" (61-2).

64. The Rhino Records recording of the speech is about twelve-and-a-half minutes in length. Kerouac starts off the program with his prepared speech which begins similarly to the published version with remarks about his photo for the cover of On The Road. He also tells the story of how the term, beat, originated in conversation with John Clellon Holmes. Kerouac is highly entertaining to the audience (they clap and laugh throughout), yet at times his presentation is disjointed and incomprehensible, especially at the end when he begins to extemporize. He is asked to get off the stage and responds belligerently ("I'll beat your head in") and then recites a poem, "Love's Multitudinous Boneyard of Decay." It is during the remarks of the other participants that follow Kerouac that his Zen antics begin in earnest (they are not included in the recording). Note that the printed version also includes a more polemical and outspoken Kerouac in the first paragraph where he blesses the New York Times and speaks out for D.T. Suzuki and Chuang-tse among others.

65. See Time's coverage of Kerouac and fellow Beats, Ginsberg and Corso, in the previous chapter on the 1950's for articles which express the media's and public's chagrin and bewilderment in relation to the provocations of Zen lunacy.
66. According to Sargeant in *Naked Lens: Beat Cinema*, the film was shot in January 1959 and premiered in November 1959 in New York, after which Jonas Mekas became a "proselytizer" for the film. In April 1960, the film won the Second Film Culture Independent Film Award (18).

67. See Won Ko's *Buddhist Elements in Dada*, for a work that posits similarities between dada and Zen in a discussion of Japanese 20th century poet, Takahashi Shinkichi.

68. This article is in fact his only specific statement on Zen to be published as has been noted previously. The article on Zen appears partly because Alfred Aronowitz's article, "The Yen for Zen," a much more reportorial article about Zen featuring interviews with Le Roi Jones, Alan Watts, and Kerouac is in this same issue. The banner of Kerouac's column reads: "With an article about Zen elsewhere in this issue, Kerouac adds his comments here."

69. Watts singles out both Ginsberg and Kerouac for criticism, commenting on the "hostility" and "self-defense" of Kerouac's philosophical statement, characteristic of Kerouac's *Zen logic*: "I don't know. I don't care. And it doesn't make any difference" (8).

70. Note Watts's similarity here with Dwight Goddard who also mentions the importance of Taoism as the basis of Ch'an in *BB*.

71. Note Kerouac's attitude toward Watts, which he describes in a letter to Ginsberg of August 28, 1958: "as for Alan Watts, I call him Arthur Whane in Dharma Bums, which is Old English for horsefly, but the way he bit us in Chicago Review. Ah, Heaven will respect us" (149). Snyder writes in a letter to Kerouac of 12.X.58, "Alan Watts is knocked out by the book (DB) & said so on the radio & is rewriting his "Beat Zen, Square Zen" article as a pamphlet for Ferlinghetti & entirely changing his opinions of you & Gins [ . . . ]" (SL II 154).

However, the essays, "Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen" and "Aftermath: The Philosophy of the Beat Generation" both end in similar ways. Watts and Kerouac argue for a not either/or, but both/and, position, in the way they conclude their arguments, implying that they have a greater affinity than readers of Watts' essay might be led to believe.

72. Kerouac uses similar language in the 13th chapter of *DB* when he describes the nightly antics of his Zen Lunatic companions, comparing their seeming insanity to actual "wisdom," in comparison to a walk down a suburban street with "house after house [ . . . ] each with the lamplight of the living room, shining golden, and inside the little blue square of the television, each living family riveting its attention on probably one show; nobody talking [ . . . ]. You'll see what I mean, when it begins to appear like everybody in the world is soon going to be thinking the same way and the Zen Lunatics have long joined dust, laughter on their dust lips" (104).
73. In the essay, "Negative Capability," Ginsberg states that despite the fact that Kerouac had no Buddhist teacher and hence no real practice, he did have an intuitive grasp of Buddhist tenets and understood the Buddhist concept of emptiness: "You can tell that from his writing, from his poetry with its metaphors of emptiness and the description of vast spaciousness, which is the same thing as emptiness." Ginsberg goes on to state that Kerouac's work is accepted in the Buddhist community as "a great manifestation of poetic mind; true to the nature of mind as understood traditionally by Buddhist theories of spontaneous mind, how to achieve and how to use it" (13). Regarding Kerouac's essay on the Surangama Sutra, Ginsberg is probably referring to the October 1959 *Escapade* issue which recounts Kerouac's first interest in Buddhism.

74. According to Charters' introductory remarks, "'Letting Go' in Writing," Kerouac was working on this project, "doodling with an endless automatic writing piece," noted in a May 27, 1956 letter to Holmes, which Charters describes as "an exercise in [...] spontaneous composition," between 1956 and 1959, according to the dates in the five notebooks in the Berg Collection (ix-x). The Grey Fox edition's "Editor's Note," indicates that the first 49 of the 67 section work were first published in the Spring 1959 issue of *Big Table*. Sections 50-67 were published in the August/September 1964 issue of *Evergreen*, sections 50 and 51 first appearing in #17 of *New Directions in Prose & Poetry* of 1961. These dates indicate that most of the work was written in Snyder's shack in Mill Valley in 1956 (65).

75. In a letter to Ferlinghetti of January 1958, Kerouac notes of *OAM* that it is "not prose, it's really a long one-line poem, like" (*SL* II 98). In a more definitive statement to Ferlinghetti of April, 5, 1959, for the jacket blurb for the published work, Kerouac describes it as "only the beginning of a lifelong work in multilingual sound representing the haddal-da-babra of babbling world tongues coming in thru my window at midnight no matter where I live or what I'm doing [...] the sounds of people yakking and of myself yakking among, ending finally in great intuitions of the sounds of tongues throughout the entire universe in all direction in and out forever. And it is the only book I've ever written in which I allow myself the right to say anything I want [...] since that's what you hear coming in that window [...]" (*SL* II 193). Charters describes this work as one in which Kerouac admitted being a "slave to sounds" in its spontaneity, "where he'd tipped the delicate balance between bombast and babble" (*Kerouac* 358-59).

76. Social critic, David Riesman, in *The Lonely Crowd*, written in the late 1940's and published in the early 1950's, had recognized this crisis.

77. This introduction does not appear in print, but is available on Rhino Records, *The Jack Kerouac Collection*, from which I have transcribed it. Kerouac refers to the moderator as Dean, and Nicosia in *Memory Babe* refers to him as Dean Kauffman.
78. According to Werner's *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, the Hsien, or immortal Taoists live on mountains; hsien jen are the third class of deified mortals among which are philosophers, alchemists, mystics, old recluses, and countless magicians" (167-68). The Immortals are often in search of immortality and long life, using special herbs and potions to achieve their end. They often freely indulge in wine and unconventional behavior. Here, Snyder and Ginsberg as the Immortals are likened to Zen lunatics, laughing and inscrutable to Kerouac. Unfortunately, Kerouac kept drinking. He finally died of alcoholism at the age of 48.

79. This statement combines Kerouac's anguish over traditional (Square) Zen, as well as wanting to have (Beat) Zen his way: transcendental and alcoholic. In equating Zen Buddhists with transcendentalists, Kerouac is simply echoing what Suzuki writes in his essay on "The Secret Message of Bodhidharma," from the second series of his essays on Zen: "Zen is above space-time relations, and naturally even above historical facts. Its followers are a singular set of transcendentalists" (189).

80. Ginsberg, for example, was being investigated by the FBI for possible communist involvement (Dharma Lion 321). Snyder had also come under government scrutiny and subsequently been turned down for his summer mountain lookout job.

81. Kerouac's interest in Spengler's *Decline of the West* provides additional context for his interest in rejuvenating American society by looking to the East. (Note his title, "Buddhism: Oneness of East and West," for the last section of the proposed Wake Up for another aspect of this interest in East-West, as well as the 1950's chapter of this dissertation). Supposedly, Burroughs introduced Kerouac and Ginsberg to Spengler earlier in the 1940's, although Kerouac may have read Spengler previously. Lardas in *Bop Apocalypse* provides a discussion of Kerouac's interest in Spengler's ideas, claiming that during his Buddhist period, Buddhism somewhat replaced his interest in Spengler (247). Lardas also claims that after the publication of *On the Road* and Kerouac's subsequent fame, "his Buddhism became written over by Spengler," and quotes a 1958 interview with Mike Wallace in which Kerouac states that what Wallace calls Beat mysticism is "a revival prophesied by Spengler" (248). This is also what Kerouac calls the "Second Religiousness" in his response to Holmes for *Esquire*.

In *The Decline of the West*, Spengler describes the Second Religiousness that issues in the "fellah-religions," which is "primitive through and through - the animal-cults of the Egyptian XXVIth dynasty; the composite of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism that constitutes the state religion of China; the Islam of the present-day East" (315). (Interestingly, it is this same Chinese composite that Goddard and Blyth associate with Ch'an.) Spengler's term, *Fellaheen*, is important for Kerouac, and the similarity between the Fellaheen and Chinese Buddhism (Ch'an) evident in Spengler's quote may even have carried over into Kerouac's fascination with Zen. For Spengler "that which follows a Culture we may call [...] fellah-peoples" (169), primitives who precede what Spengler calls the "historical peoples." Both primitives and fellah-people
are "devoid of significance" for Spengler (171). Note in this context Lardas's comment that "Kerouac continued to align himself with the margins of society in order to carry out a religiously based cultural program" (248). One could say that Kerouac associated himself with the fellaheen.

82. In Book Ten, Kerouac comments on his brother-in-law's cruelty to the family dog by chaining it: "a Zen master would probably now go kick the dog on his chain, to give everybody Satori - but and maybe he would be a wise master, but [. . .] REST AND BE KIND I always did say" (407). In this context see the 14th case or koan of the Mumonkan where Nansen cuts the cat in two. The other Ch' an/Zen figure that Kerouac comments on and quotes from in SOD is Hui-neng, not in terms of Zen lunacy (despite Suzuki's recounting of the 6th patriarch's apocryphal tearing of a scroll), but in general Mahayana terms in relation to his ideas about emptiness as understood as Mind Essence. See especially quotes on pages 412-13 of Book Ten of SOD.
CHAPTER 5

PHILIP WHALEN: "SLICES OF THE PAIDEUMA FOR ALL SENTIENT BEINGS"

I. Introduction

Similarly to Gary Snyder, Philip Whalen has long been associated with Zen Buddhism by fellow poets and critics since his appearance at the Gallery Six poetry reading in San Francisco in 1955 where West and East Coast poets joined to create an originary moment for the what became known as the Beat Generation.\(^1\) The purpose of this chapter is to better understand how, even before Whalen's formal association with Zen Buddhism in the 1970's, he could be characterized as a Zen poet and how he used Zen philosophy in his poetry to "make it new" in the words of Ezra Pound. He also used Zen as avant-garde tactic (what Alan Watts characterized as Beat Zen) to change American literature and society as a whole, a project he had in common with other writers associated with the Beat avant-garde such as Kerouac and Snyder. Similarly to Kerouac, however, he expresses Zen spirituality primarily through literary production (Zen as aesthetic discourse), rather than as spiritual teaching. Nor does he participate in traditional practice under the tutelage of a Zen Master. To demonstrate the spiritual underpinnings of his work of the 1950's and its avant-garde potential, it is necessary to look at his early

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poetry and prose (Like I Say, Memoirs of an Interglacial Age, and Diamond Noodle), as well as his correspondence with fellow Beat Generation writers, a pertinent example of such being Whalen's letter to Allen Ginsberg of July 26, 1960. Here he describes to Ginsberg what the examples of Buddha, bodhisattvas, and Zen practitioners mean to him and that the "real question" for a Buddhist is "'Wahm am I doing?" The answer is to "eat that old, imaginary self each one of us imagines we 'have,'" in order to make way for the "Real Self" which is "our true identity" and which will act as an alternative to the self-identity available to Americans in the 1950's. He hypothesizes that Ginsberg doesn't like the terms he is using, noting that "I want to find new ones, make new stories, poems, metaphors of all this which you & anybody else WILL dig, so's you can get started on the way to figuring out for yourself what you are, what is Heaven (or Enlightenment, or Real, or whatever)." In this last statement Whalen provides a rationale for the spiritual dimension of his writing, which he will express primarily in Zen Buddhist terms. Such a statement might also be said to express the Buddhist aspect of upaya or skillful means of his poetry, a term that refers to the practice of the historical Buddha who was said to have used upaya to mean "teaching in accordance with the capabilities of his students" whereby "all possible methods and ruses from straightforward talk to the most conspicuous miracles could be applicable" (The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen, 239).

This chapter's argument demonstrates Whalen's interest in using Zen philosophy and practice to enable him to experience the "Real," express it in his work, and in the process, enable readers to share his experience and understanding. His poetry thus has an individual and
social dimension as well as a literary and spiritual aspect. Zen philosophy, along with his interest in the role models of Ch' an/Zen poet-priests (Ch'an being the originary term for Japanese Zen) and Chinese poet-scholars provide Whalen with new paradigms and sources for his work or as the subtitle of one of his early poems, "The Slop Barrel," expresses it, "slices of the paideuma for all sentient beings."

Whalen's method in writing poetry that expresses the "Real" also puts Western philosophical issues of perception, identity, consciousness, and language (what might be considered questions of epistemology) into a Zen context using Zen tenets, practice, and literature to explicate them in his poems. He often organizes his poems around such questions which he treats as his own personal koan problems. Zen koan practice usually involves a teacher giving a koan or problem to a student to solve. The student must provide an individual response found while meditating; the answer to such questions or problems brings a moment of realization or enlightenment. Through the process of writing the poem, Whalen works out an answer or response to his koan-like questions. Partly through his poetry's conversational tone and experimental nature, he involves his readers in this process, his intent being to change their minds about not only the nature of reality but about American poetry in the 1950's. Such Zen influences contribute to the avant-garde nature of his poetics.

The content and free-form structure of his poetry in Like I Say and Memoirs of an Interglacial Age also owe much to his understanding of Zen practice as is evident from his statement of poetics in Donald Allen's New American Poetry Anthology, in which he describes his poetry as a "picture or a graph of a mind moving" (420), similarly to the process of Buddhist
meditation whereby the practitioner sits quietly, following or watching the mind's movements.\textsuperscript{5} The content of the poem is thus the content of Whalen's mind, recorded as he observes it, juxtaposed with the sounds and activities of the world around him as he writes, what I have called the found text and found sound of his poems. By including a wide variety of language and varied levels of discourse in his poetry he demonstrates a Buddhist attention to the particulars of his world, as well as expressing the avant-garde project to narrow the gap between art and life.

Whalen's understanding of Zen philosophy and practice thus enables him to make the kind of observations and presentation of consciousness (the "real") that form the substance and structure of his work, in the process resolving the tensions he feels between the inner mind and outer world and furthering the formally experimental aspect of his writing. Perhaps the best example of this resolution is his semi-autobiographical novel, Diamond Noodle, discussed in the last section of this chapter. His concern to explicate Zen Buddhist philosophy in his early work seems to me its central concern and a useful perspective by which to better understand its spiritual and avant-garde nature. Burton Watson, a scholar of Chinese and Japanese poetry, characterizes Zen poetry in a way which expresses the essence of Whalen's poetry project: "Zen poetry usually eschews specifically religious or philosophical terminology in favor of everyday language, seeking to express insight in terms of the imagery and verse forms current in the secular culture of the period" ("Zen Poetry" 106). It will be useful to begin a discussion of Whalen's early work and its relation to Zen poetry by looking at his background and first
encounters with Zen Buddhism and the Ch'an/Zen models he used as inspiration before moving to a discussion of the work, itself.

II. Zen Background and Role Models

Although Philip Whalen's formal Zen training began in 1972 with his move into the San Francisco Zen Center, subsequent ordination as a monk and eventual investiture as an Abbot in 1991, his informal association with Zen began in the 1940's and 1950's. Raised in a small town on the Columbia River, The Dalles, Whalen went into the Army from 1943-1946, afterward attending Reed College on the GI Bill. There he met Gary Snyder who shared his discovery of the Zen Buddhist writings of D.T. Suzuki with Whalen and fellow Reed student and poet, Lew Welch. In the summer of 1955, Snyder wrote Whalen, who was working as a forest lookout in Washington, inviting him to take part in the Gallery Six poetry reading that Allen Ginsberg was organizing in San Francisco, thereby setting in motion Whalen's association with both the San Francisco poetry scene and the East Coast Beat movement. Once in the Bay Area, Whalen followed up his earlier interest in Zen by meeting Alan Watts and Albert Saijo. Whalen thus forms part of several overlapping groups of poets interested in Zen in the 1950's: with Gary Snyder and Lew Welch he forms a trio of Reed poets; with Gary Snyder, Lew Welch, and Joanne Kyger he is part of a circle of poets associated with East-West House, a kind of halfway house for those interested in travel to Japan; and with Gary Snyder, Allen Ginsberg, and Jack Kerouac he forms part of a circle of poets associated with the Beat Generation who also shared an interest in Zen Buddhism.
What Whalen leaves out of the telling of this history is the information about Zen meditation and koan practice, pertinent Zen literature, and the use of Zen accouterments (some of which Snyder sent him) he gained from correspondence with Snyder, during the time Snyder spent in Japan from 1956-58 and again from 1959-64. In his letters to Snyder of this period, Whalen describes his own more personal meditation practices. For Whalen, part of the attraction of Zen, as he relates in his 1991 interview with Andrew Schelling and Anne Waldman, was the excitement he felt in reading about the Zen tradition, "because it seemed so much less complicated than the earlier material I had read about Buddhism." In addition, Zen "allowed people to be poets and painters - or at least I thought it did - these were acceptable creatures to be Buddhist practitioners, and that caught my interest. You could be crazy and still be a Buddhist of some stripe or other" ("Philip Whalen: Zen Interview" 225). In addition, the ideas about Zen "began to find their way into the poetry" (Off the Wall 71).

During the late 1940's and early 1950's, in addition to learning about Zen Buddhist religion, philosophy and aesthetics, Whalen also modeled himself after the related paradigms of Chinese poet-scholar and Ch'an/Zen poet-priest. The T'ang and Sung poets he chose to emulate, such as Li Po, Po Chu-i, or Su Tung-po, were not only renowned poet-scholars, but were also interested in Taoism (the former) and Buddhism (the two latter), especially practice associated with Ch'an. Gary Snyder's poem for Whalen, "A Sinecure for P. Whalen," probably written in the early 1950's, presents this aspect of Whalen who, Snyder writes, "Picked the Western mind," (2) then, "Still unfilled," began feeding on bamboo," and wrote a poem to Li Po,
"The Drunkard," who taught him to dance and "Sleep out nights in rain" (10-12). Although this is poetry, not biography, it does demonstrate that Whalen's interest in Chinese poets did not go unnoticed by others.

In order to better understand the relevance of Whalen's interest in Chinese poets and their importance as models for his incorporation of Ch'an/Zen Buddhist philosophy and aesthetics in his own poetry, it is necessary to better understand the connections between poetry and Ch'an. In his article entitled, "Zen Poetry," Burton Watson begins with the story of the Fifth Patriarch's testing of his disciples by having them write a verse to "judge" their understanding (105). In this way, the future Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng, though a menial worker at the monastery, was able to demonstrate his understanding of Ch'an Buddhism by composing a verse in response to that of the favored head-monk, Shen-hsiu; on the merits of his poem, he became the chosen successor to the Fifth Patriarch. Watson notes that "at least by the time the text was composed in the eighth or early ninth century, it was the practice in the Zen school to use verses in Chinese to express doctrinal ideas and levels of enlightenment." The verse form used was a chi, an adaptation of the Sanskrit gatha, or "verse written to praise the Buddha or to summarize the gist of a prose passage in the sutras" (106). Watson provides a number of circumstances under which Chinese masters and their followers (both institutional and lay as well as later Japanese counterparts) composed poetry: by students to express their level of understanding; by masters to certify a student's level of enlightenment or to commemorate the moment of their own death; to comment on koan or on Buddhist ceremonies; or to inscribe ink drawings or paintings. Ch'an practitioners might also compose poetry on similar
occasions as would Chinese poet-scholars (to exchange poems of parting, for example) (107-112).

Watson also notes an inherent contradiction in the practice of poetry by Ch'an practitioners in the somewhat negative attitude of Ch'an/Zen toward words and written documents in general, Zen being a practice not dependent on words or letters and transmitted outside the scriptures.\textsuperscript{14} Jin'ichi Konishi in the third volume of his \textit{History of Japanese Literature} partly explains this seeming contradiction between Zen practice and poetics as "the great fondness and respect for secular poetic writings among [...] Zen monks." He notes that these monks often came from the upper classes, were respected by high officials who would have been of the class of scholars, also, and were "intimate with members of the highest levels of society. [...] These former members of the upper classes had mastered the art of exchanging poems as an essential medium of social intercourse, and they brought this secular poetry with them into the monasteries" (364-65). In turn, Japanese monks studying in China brought these practices back to Japan.

Although this technical exposition of the relation of poetry and Ch'an/Zen practice was not available to Whalen in the 1950's, Whalen was familiar with Chinese poet-scholars and Ch'an masters who might be considered to combine poetry and practice.\textsuperscript{15} He was also familiar with the essays of D.T. Suzuki who frequently quoted the verses of such poets and practitioners as well as commenting on Zen's understanding of the limitations of language.\textsuperscript{16} A clear example of Whalen's feeling of kinship with such Chinese poets occurs in a letter from Whalen to Snyder of July, 8 1954, in which he describes his stay in Newport as a guest of his friend,
Richard Anderson, comparing himself to Mr. Po (probably Po Chu-i): "I shall be marshall of Sui or whatever Mr. Po did in the provinces." The usual fate of T'ang and Sung Chinese poets like Po Chu-i was that they were exiled because of poems they had written criticizing the emperor's regime, an aspect of Chinese poetry of which Whalen was probably aware. Whalen's comparison of himself with such a poet might have demonstrated his feeling of exile either from his friends by moving to this small seacoast town or from mainstream American society by his own poetry's explicit and implicit critiques of middle class American attitudes toward work and money in the 1950's. Conversely, the lifestyle of Chinese poet-scholars would have appealed to Whalen with their dedication to poetry and spirituality, their fondness for drinking wine and reciting poetry with fellow poets, and their appreciation of nature.

Whalen's poem from Memoirs of an Interglacial Age, "Hymnus Ad Patrem Sinensis," which can be translated as "Hymn to the Chinese Forefather," expresses Whalen's feelings of kinship with such Chinese poets along with the idea that such poetry has salvific powers which he hopes to emulate in his own poetry. In this poem, dated from 1958, Whalen praises "ancient Chinamen"

Who left me a few words,

Usually a pointless joke or a silly question

A line of poetry drunkenly scrawled on the margin of a quick splashed picture - bug, leaf, (2-5).

These lines present the characteristic Chinese poet as one who fulfills several of the functions presented by Watson: to express a Buddhist level of understanding through commentary on a koan or Zen problem which
often required what might be considered from the Western point of view an irrational response (hence Whalen's description of a "pointless joke" or "silly question"), and to inscribe or comment on a drawing with a verse. The poet's "drunkenly scrawled" commentary relates to the characteristic enjoyment of wine of T'ang and Sung poets, many of whose poems allude to drinking wine and reciting poetry, as well as to Buddhist themes.  

Whalen suggests the irrepressible nature of such poets with the idea that they "cheered" as the world "whizzed by," going to "hell in a handbasket," eventually "conked out" among cherryblossoms and winejars. With the poem's last line, "Happy to have saved us all," (13) Whalen suggests a double meaning for the idea of salvation: either poet-scholars as lay Buddhists wrote poetry which could be considered life saving or enhancing for readers, or Whalen might be portraying Ch'an poet-priests as bodhisattvas who have returned to work for the salvation of others, their poetry another way by which to express and transmit their understanding of Buddhism.

The carefree attitude of these Chinese poets is echoed in the free verse form of the poem, the casualness of its off rhyme ("ink" in line 7 rhyming with "it" in the 8th line or "picture" in line 5 and "teacher" in line 6), and the colloquial tone and simplicity of its language.  

Whalen uses a good deal of slang in this poem concentrating it in the concluding four lines with a vivid use of verbs and adverbs: "whizzed," "conked out," and "busted," as well as the proverbial saying, "Gone to hell in a handbasket," used to describe the state of the poet's world. This vivid and folksy expression brings the Chinese forefathers into the speaker's present, connecting an ancient with a contemporary world and its
problems, the speaker's humor somewhat dispelling the pathos of the situation. Thus Whalen not only pays homage to the Chinese poets he seeks to emulate, demonstrating his relationship to them by naming them as his poetic forebears, but also creates a poem somewhat in keeping with their style. He also refers, in the poem's conclusion, to the idea that poetry, itself, can bring a kind of salvation or enlightenment to its readers, part of his own poetry project. Thus this poem presents several aspects of Whalen's relation to Ch'an/Zen poetry, in his speaker's identification with Chinese poets whose lifestyle was conducive to poetic and spiritual practice and whose comments on society often led them into exile, allowing them the leisure time to pursue such practice. It also demonstrates Whalen's interest in providing Chinese and Ch'an/Zen sources as inspiration for his poetry, his personae, and the speakers of his poems who are often writers.

The fact that the title of the poem is in Latin may seem out of place in this homespun American context, however. Michael Davidson's chapter on Whalen in his study, The San Francisco Renaissance, suggests that Whalen's point in this poem may be to "debunk" the ponderous Latin title by contrasting it with the contingent ("as his hymn of praise illustrates the endurance of the absolutely temporal") (118). Just as likely, Whalen relishes the contrasting levels of language and the playing together of ancient Latin with both contemporary slang and allusions to Chinese and Ch'an poetry, an amalgam that is part of Whalen's avant-garde poetics or as he characterizes it, "slices of the paideuma for all sentient beings," the subtitle of Whalen's poem, "The Stop Barrel."20

III. "Slices of the Paideuma for All Sentient Beings"
"The Slop Barrel," from his collection, *Like I Say*, is an example of how Whalen's use of Zen philosophy, literature, and aesthetics in his early poetry forwards his project to present new models and sources for poetry to American readers, an aspect of the avant-garde agenda Whalen shares with other writers associated with the Beat avant-garde. Whalen expresses his views in this regard to Ginsberg in a letter of November 15, 1956, in which he notes that he lives in "quite a different space-time continuum" than the middle class and wants to figure out a way to explain this in his writing. Whalen's implication here is that there are other worlds than middle class bourgeois culture to be inhabited in the United States of the 1950's, and it is important for him to demonstrate through his writing the validity of his nonconformist way of life to his readers. "The Slop Barrel: Slices of the Paideuma for All Sentient Beings," is a poem not only about growing up and gaining knowledge, but about new ways to write poetry using a new vocabulary, specifically one which includes Zen terminology and allusions to Zen practice. Its title combines three levels or kinds of language: the colloquial term, *slop barrel*, the classical Greek, *paideuma*, a term that recalls high modernist poet, Ezra Pound's phrase, "New Paideuma," and a Buddhist phrase, *sentient beings*. Such a juxtaposition of language is typical of Whalen's method in this poem and is useful in the way that it wakes readers up to new possibilities for poetry, part of the enlightening aspect of Whalen's work. Whalen's "paideuma" includes Buddhist philosophy and practice as well as a use of new kinds of language, recalling the way Ezra Pound's *Cantos* combine allusions to both Eastern and Western culture and mix languages and levels of discourse. Both
Whalen and Pound seek the new for themselves and their readers in their poetry.

In terms of modernist, avant-garde poetry, the meaning and significance of Whalen's "paideuma" can be found in an examination of Pound's commentary on his "New Paideuma" in *Culture* of 1938. Pound's overall project in this work is to educate those who want to understand the state of the world, not from universities or newspapers, but from Pound's own iconoclastic point of view. Such an education should prepare the pupil for the future not the past. Pound goes to Frobenius for the term, *paideuma*, used for this new knowledge, by which is meant "the tangle or complex of the inrooted ideas of any period" (57). Pound redefines this term to mean "the gristy roots of ideas that are in action" and states that the Paideuma is not the Zeitgeist," though he believes many will try to equate the two. Pound's "'New Learning' [...] can imply whatever men of my generation can offer our successors as means to the new comprehension" (58). Pound's "New Paideuma," thus expresses his conception of culture, inclusive of all traditions as well as presenting a renewed respect for poetry, according to Kathryne Lindberg in her study, *Reading Pound Reading*.21

Taken in this context, Whalen's title suggests that his poem will contain what he and his fellow Beat avant-garde poets and their poetry can offer readers as means to the "new comprehension" of the changed world after World War II when Eastern cultural values rather than Western are gaining in interest, especially among poets of the East and West coasts associated with the Beat avant-garde. By incorporating Pound's expression into the title of "The Slop Barrel," Whalen exemplifies this connection
along with the possibility that his poem could be considered a similar kind of manifesto for himself and writers with whom he associated. A letter from Whalen to Snyder of June 10, 1957 reinforces such a way of looking at this poem, in which Whalen complains of the misrepresentation of the Beat Generation by "kritics," even Kenneth Rexroth. He goes on to explain that "the trouble is none of us has published anything like a manifesto" and concludes that whatever any of them may write within the year "could present Slices of the New Paideuma. (I don't say they have to, or that they must be written a certain way or understood in a certain way, but that they probably will be such slices anyhow.)" Here Whalen indirectly alludes to "The Slop Barrel" and its "slices of the paideuma," implying that this poem could be taken as such a manifesto.

In an earlier letter to Whalen of September 30, 1956, Snyder reacts favorably to this poem, considering it as "elegant, disciplined, spontaneous, balanced," the epitome of what critics might consider as "classical." As opposed to poetry which depends on the "mood & sympathy" of the reader for its effect, Snyder considers "The Slop Barrel" to work like pivotal poetry, which "brings a fresh mind to the reader & he is neither partisanly delighted or offended & annoyed, but minorly awakened" (in Buddhist terms, an aspect of the poem's skillful means or upaya). Although Snyder does not explain what he means by the term, "pivotal poetry," it refers both to an aspect of Japanese poetics and to Zen Buddhist practice. Poetically speaking, it is a term "employed in two senses, or very rarely, in three, one reacting to what precedes, the other to what follows," possessing double meaning which "shades into the pun" according to Kenneth Rexroth in his collection of Japanese translations **One Hundred Poems from the Japanese**.
R.D.M. Shaw provides a Buddhist connotation for pivot words in his translation of *The Blue Cliff Records* or *Hekigan Roku*, the oldest koan collection of Ch'an/Zen literature, which may be closer to the way in which Snyder meant his characterization to be taken. Citing the 96th case, "Jo-shu's Three Turning-Point Words," Shaw explains the title as referring to words which "have been turning-points in the speaker's own mind, and have also been turning-points in the lives of others to whom he has told them" (279). Thus Snyder's word choice implies that Whalen's poem can act similarly to the way koans do, creating a turn or change in the mind of its readers.

The poem of four parts begins with the speaker, involved in a romantic search for knowledge phrased in somewhat conventional poetic diction and imagery: "We must see, we must know/What's the name of that star?" (1-2) with a search for love expressed more frankly: "What do you look like without any clothes?" (5), contributing to the speaker's ironic tone in the opening lines and creating turning points for the reader. The speaker moves in the second part to a concentration on a search for immortality and drugs, as well as love: "Suppose we were the first to begin/Living forever. Let's start/Right now" (38-40). The speaker's tone becomes more casual and surreal as he asks: "Do you want this peach?/It's immortal./Both my watches are busted" (41-3) with the off rhyme of "peach" and "watches" drawing attention to what might seem a silly retort but one which contrasts immortality and time passing. Similarly casual in tone, a Chinese Immortal, Pao Pu-tzu offers some pills in hip slang: "'Come on, man, have a jellybean!'" (57). This phrase is suggestive of drug use, for according to the Random House *Dictionary of American Slang*, *jelly bean* is
a junkie term for barbiturates; it also demonstrates the unconventional and varied levels of diction Whalen uses in the poem, first hinted at by its title.

In the third part, the speaker presents a memory from his childhood, the slop barrel anecdote, which as the poem's title, carries the implication that it should be considered its central image. A group of children, including the speaker and the little girl, Thelma, are standing on a slop barrel. Thelma insists on seeing: "We boosted her up and over the edge/Head first among the slops in her best Sunday dress" (87-9). This rather unpoetic incident is written in blank verse and demonstrates Whalen's counterpoint technique as he contrasts opposites of unconventional content and language with conventional form. The use of the colloquialism, slops, in a poem that begins, albeit ironically, in a fairly classical poetic and philosophic tone not only emphasizes the various levels of discourse and language Whalen uses, but also conveys the multi-valent nature of the poem's speaker who contrasts the high tone of traditional English literature with plainspoken crudity. Whether this practical, inelegant, downright sloppy, but first-hand method of learning is effective or realistic is left up to the reader to decide. Three stanzas later, the speaker hints at the way he feels about this experience, stating that "Greasy wisdom is better than clothes" (112).

After remembering Thelma's accident, the speaker expresses regret for his and the addressee of the poem's situation, for example, their rural rather than cosmopolitan roots: "That you can't read music/That I never learned Classical languages" (91-2) and their problem in the eyes of society: "That we never grew up, never learned to behave/But devoted ourselves to magic" (93-4). Magic might refer here to the life-enhancing
practices of Chinese immortals such as Pao Pu-tzu or to poetry, itself, which was characterized this way by San Francisco Renaissance poets, Jack Spicer and Robert Duncan, with whose work Whalen was familiar.22 The speaker concludes, however, that looking and loving are the most important attributes, especially for the poet, even though his relations with the lover (referred to variously as Helen, Blodeuwedd, and a Japanese courtesan in the fourth and concluding part) are unsuccessful. In this last part, the speaker moves furthest from conventional poetry in tone and form as he directly addresses both the rejecting lover and readers of the poem in a new poetic language of simple conversational discourse (presented in capital letters for added emphasis and histrionic value): "PAY NO ATTENTION TO ME" (138) and "YOU DON'T LOVE ME LIKE YOU USED TO/YOU DON'T LOVE ME ANY MORE" (149). His own response to this identity crisis uses Zen language in a single italicized and capitalized syllable, followed by phrases with additional spacing for emphasis:

\[\text{WU!}\]
(An ingrown toenail?)

\[\text{WU!}\]
(A harvest of bats??)

\[\text{WU!}\]
A row of pink potted geraniums///??/) (158-63)

The significance of this nonsense syllable, WU, lies in koan practice (although in also recalling the colloquial exclamation, "Wow" it could be considered a pivot word). Koan practice has been described as a teacher
giving a koan or problem to a student to solve whereby the student gains realization. Wu is Ch'an Buddhist Chao-Chou's answer to the question put to him by a Ch'an master as to whether the dog has Buddha nature. Chao-Chou responded with Wu (No), somewhat in contradiction to Buddhist theories that all creatures have Buddha nature, even dogs.\textsuperscript{23} This syllable thus represents a spontaneous answer to the koan in the process breaking through conceptual thought patterns to demonstrate Chao-Chou's enlightenment, as well as being an aspect of Whalen's Zen Buddhist inflected poetry, the "paideuma for all sentient beings" of the poem's title. In the poem's context, the speaker's somewhat inexplicable response to a personal rejection, in turn causes him to free associate and to recall an anecdote about an accident (attributed to a friend, Mr. Grover Sales, Jr., in Whalen's introductory note to the poem). The anecdote contains a repeated expletive, each time to be read with different emphasis as indicated by Whalen's italics: "You knows you got to pay for the motherfucker/You knows you got to pay for the motherfucker" (169-70). The use of such an expletive, though probably true to Whalen's retelling of the story and exemplary of the intent to include all levels of language in the poem, is unacceptable poetic language to the 1950's literary world (as is, perhaps, the syllable, Wu), and one reason why Whalen's poetry was censored in the early 1960's.\textsuperscript{24} It also indicates an aspect of Whalen's avant-garde poetics which is to include all the words of the English language in poetry, not just those authorized by English Departments.\textsuperscript{25} True to its title, the poem is a slop barrel of words with the poet throwing together ideas, stories, phrases he has heard or read, forbidden language, and Zen terminology and practice, along with conventional poetic imagery, diction, and stanzaic
form often of regular meter and uniform line lengths to make a poem. Unconventionality increases in the poem's conclusion, where these mixed levels of content and language, along with allusions to koan practice, come together dramatically convincing the reader that he or she has participated in a new poetic experience or new paideuma.

The poem returns to three not unusual poetic images in its short concluding stanza of three lines of four syllables each: "The bells have stopped/Flash in the wind/Dog in the pond" (171-73). These bells recall the sound heard by the poem's speaker earlier in the fourth section, while the flash in the wind may refer to the suddenness of the enlightenment experience as expressed by Chao-Chou which readers of the poem may share in their effort to understand the meaning of "WU." In addition, it could refer to a famous Zen saying, "lightning flash and flint-spark" to describe such an experience or could recall the saying that something or someone (the notoriety of the Beat movement or Whalen's recognition as a poet, for example) is a flash in the pan, hence of short duration. This double meaning acts as a kind of pivot phrase or turning point to conclude the poem whose last line with the image of the dog in the pond also recalls Chao-Chou's koan, although this dog could be one actually encountered by the poet as he makes the poem out of the world around him, similarly to his inclusion of memories of his past and an anecdote he has heard from a friend as part of the poem.

An earlier poem, "Sourdough Mountain Lookout," and one more directly associated with Zen through its publication in the Chicago Review Zen Issue of summer 1958, also presents allusions to Zen philosophy (specifically to the Prajnaparamita Sutra) and practice as a valid way by
which to perceive the world, and as in "The Slop Barrel," a way to resolve
the situation presented in the poem.26 "Sourdough Mountain Lookout" has
a similarly conventional style and structure as that of "The Slop Barrel" and
other early poems in Like I Say, often approaching a rough blank verse in
rhythm and a rough stanzaic form in appearance with occasional instances
of rhyming couplet, off-rhyme, and even a nursery-rhyme-like ditty.
These stanzas could also be considered excerpts from a journal Whalen
might have kept during his lookout experience during the summers of
or blank verse form. However, Whalen also introduces new kinds of
language and levels of discourse into this poem, similarly to his practice in
"The Slop Barrel."27 The varied tone is not only unconventional, but in its
shifts from casual conversational colloquialisms to homespun sayings,
philosophic musings, and ironic self-conscious comments, demonstrates to
a much greater degree than "The Slop Barrel," his interest in presenting
the movement of the mind in his poetry, while the speaker, or "I" of the
fire lookout, remains constant.

Presenting the lookout's experiences on Sourdough Mountain, this
poem's meditative movement of mind is neither inactive or solitary from
the Buddhist point of view.28 Though ostensibly a fire lookout, the speaker
could also be considered a 20th century Han-shan or exiled Chinese poet.
The poem presents the lookout's solitary life on the mountain from arrival
to departure, beginning with the speaker's climb up the mountain and his
conversation with Mr. Edward Wyman who complains about his feet, his
back, and his prick (an example of Whalen's use of slang). The speaker
presents the activities of the mountaintop world in the poem: ptarmigan,
bear, deer, mouse, flies, mountains, and stars. What might be considered the speaker's more passive acts include the varied activities of mind: observation of his thoughts and surroundings, consciousness of the passage of time as observed in the geologic record of the mountains, memories, including voices from his past which appear as quotes from relatives or remembered words from the sign on a butcher shop in San Francisco (an early example of Whalen's inclusion of texts or sounds from the outside world in his poems), and quotes from books he is reading. What is significant about these activities is that Whalen presents the speaker's understanding of his world from a Buddhist perspective.

Especially toward the end of the poem, the speaker's reflections become more focused on Buddhist tenets, as he compares the surrounding mountains to the circle of beads of a Buddhist rosary, with one bead representing the Buddha meditating or "(the man who sat/under the tree)" (131-2). This is also pictured as being "In the center of the circle,/A void, an empty figure containing/All that's multiplied" (133-35). The speaker's attention then moves to the next morning, when he describes a piece of rock from the mountain brought back from his walk:

Heavy dark-honey color
With a seam of crystal, some of the quartz
Stained by its matrix
Practically indestructible
A shift from opacity to brilliance
(The Zenbos say, 'Lightning-flash & flint-spark')
Like the mountains where it was made (154-60).
This phrase to describe the visual effects of the rock is, as has been stated in the discussion of "The Slop Barrel," familiar to Zen practitioners and suggests the experience of enlightenment. It is glossed by Suzuki in his third series of essays, where he claims that it should not be understood "in the sense of quickness," but "the idea is to show immediateness of action, an uninterrupted movement of life-energy" (363). The effect of the phrase coupled with the image of the rock's seam of crystal enacting the shift from "opacity to brilliance," exemplifies the sudden change in quality of life from unenlightened to enlightened, although physically the practitioner (like the rock) is the same. The speaker presents another example of a shift or turning point in the next stanza's statement of what could be considered Buddhist perception of the essential emptiness of the world:

What we see of the world is the mind's
Invention and the mind
Though stained by it, becoming
Rivers, sun, mule-dung, flies -
Can shift instantly (161-65).

These shifts are followed by a five-line refrain which expresses the speaker's situation in American slang:

Gone
Gone
REALLY gone
Into the cool
O MAMA! (167-71)
which is also Whalen's translation of the concluding mantram of the
Prajnaparamita Sutra. This sutra, one of the most important of Mahayana
Buddhism, especially in the Ch'an/Zen tradition, providing in concise form
the teaching of emptiness, closes with a Sanskrit mantram similarly to the
way Whalen's slang refrain closes his poem. Metaphorically and
traditionally, the mantram refers to the absence of ego and the
transportation of the practitioner to the other shore after
enlightenment. Although Whalen has not included the Sanskrit, "Gate,
Gate, Paragate, Parasamgate, Svaha!," which he used as the basis for his
own "mantram" in the version of this poem included in Like I Say, its
essence is evident in the double meaning of Whalen's slang phrasing.
Without the Sanskrit association, these five lines could literally refer to the
fact that the speaker will be gone from the lookout soon, the ice found on
the shutters of the preceding stanzas indicative of the coming winter. In
addition, the term, gone, according to Lawrence Lipton's glossary of slang
for his study of the Beat Generation, is defined as "the most, the farthest
out. If you go far out enough you're gone – 'out of this world'" (The Holy
Barbarians 316). For Whalen, American slang is adequate or better to
express this Buddhist experience of becoming enlightened. The
experience of going "far out" or going out of one's mind and losing one's
normal consciousness is equivalent to the Sanskrit meaning of
metaphorically going to the other shore, a place equally "out of this world."
Here again, Whalen doubles meaning to create a turning point or shift in
awareness for the reader. He also includes a variety of levels and kinds of
language in his poem as well as references to Zen philosophy and practice,
not usually found in traditional Anglo-American verse. The use of such
language both as shock tactic and as a way to narrow the gap between literature and ordinary life furthers his avant-garde purpose while creating turning points for his readers.

The question of why Whalen left out the Sanskrit mantram in most versions of the poem needs to be addressed. Perhaps he wanted to appear less scholarly by using colloquial English to express the essence of the mantram, itself; the use of slang in a spiritual context presents such concepts in a straightforward and tradition-breaking manner (thus more "slices of the paideuma for all sentient beings"). Whalen's unorthodox translation of this mantram would have been sure to outrage Sanskritists (if they had even been aware of its existence). In addition, he may have wanted the end of the poem to be open to more than one interpretation, further drawing readers into working out the poem-as-koan's meaning, which is facilitated by his use of slang suggestive of the Prajnaparamita Sutra's ending as well as its essence.

Whatever his reasons, the slang version expresses the sense of the mantram regarding loss of ego or in Zen terms, emptiness, and reinforces the Buddhist connotations of Whalen's poem. The view from the lookout as described by the speaker is full of rocks, sky, and creatures, as well as thoughts and memories (the movement of the speaker's mind), but as understood from the point of view of Zen as expressed by the Prajnaparamita Sutra, all are equally empty of reality or "gone."

According to the Mahayana concept of the bodhisattva who foregoes his own enlightenment to work for the salvation of all other beings, enlightenment, too, is empty. *Prajna*, consciousness or wisdom, according to Suzuki's commentary on this sutra in his third series of essays is "the eye
that surveys with perfect clearness the entire field of the Buddhist life and determines where and how the Bodhisattva's steps are to be guided" (244). In the poem, the lookout's eye literally surveys his surroundings as well as provides insight into the emptiness of space. However, a more evolved understanding of emptiness or Sunyata for Suzuki includes seeing things as they are (238). An instance of this is Whalen's description of the mountains while closing the lookout in the morning toward the poem's end: "Thick ice on the shutters/Coyote almost whistling on a nearby ridge/The mountain is THERE (between two lakes) [. . . ] " (150-52), the capitalization placing emphasis on the geography of the mountain's existence.32 Whalen also attempts to demonstrate this with his two rather matter-of-fact closing lines for this poem, which from another perspective could be criticized as anti-climactic and enigmatic: "Like they say, 'Four times up,/Three times down.' I'm still on the mountain" (172-73). This couplet could literally mean that it is not time for the speaker to leave the lookout although winter is approaching as demonstrated by ice on the shutters or figuratively that he's still in this world of form and emptiness, although he has had some insights up on the mountain.33

If this poem is Whalen's rendering of the Mahayana Buddhist Prajnaparamita Sutra, readers might question the relevance of quotations from Greek Pre-Socratic philosophers, other than as proof of the eclectic nature of Whalen's mind.34 The confluence of Greek and Buddhist philosophy in this poem can be taken as another example of Whalen's "slices of the paideuma for all sentient beings," acting as relevant Western commentary for his readers on the Buddhist tenet of nonduality expressed by the term, tathata or suchness, which understood as enlightenment
transcends subject and object and "all appearances and specific characteristics" (Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen 67). This is exemplified by the found rock which is both opaque and brilliant as well as Whalen's presentation of the union of opposites in the description of the speaker's state of consciousness in the third stanza where he's alone in his "glass house" lookout by day and night, "Conscious even while sleeping" (13). It is as commentary on this nonduality that Whalen includes the Heraclitus, for example. Whalen's use of quotations from Greek philosophy demonstrates one difficulty with reading his poetry. Not only does he mix levels of tone, language, and observation, but he does not always provide sources or identities for his quotes and allusions. Some readers will feel that they should or must understand the significance of all of this found text, while others may go with the flow of the poem and read the words at their face value.\(^3\) Like Pound's Cantos or Williams' Paterson, Whalen's "Sourdough Mountain Lookout" may be read and appreciated without knowledge of Greek or Buddhist philosophy. However, puzzling over and trying to understand the meaning of quotations or slang phrasing may also give readers the kind of turning point experience that Whalen hopes to provide in his poetry and would be the more significant reader response.

IV. Koan Practice

Along with Whalen's investigation of how one learns about the world as "Real," expressed in his early poetry through various kinds of diction, language, and mental process, his allusion to and use of the Zen koan forms a recurring thread. Rather than alluding to koan practice to conclude poems such as in "The Slop Barrel" or "Sourdough Mountain
Lookout," he will increasingly organize the poems of the late 1950's around koan-like questions, the poem, itself, becoming a way Whalen, and by extension his readers, works out the koan problems of his poems. According to Alan Watts's study, *The Way of Zen*, the usual first koans given to students are Hui-neng's "Original Face," Chao-chou's "Wu," or Hakuin's "One Hand" (161), and Whalen plays with several of these as has been demonstrated.  

"Metaphysical Insomnia Jazz," a poem from *Memoirs of an Interglacial Age*, demonstrates how Whalen organizes his poems around a koan question, which in turn becomes koan practice for speaker and reader. The poem, dealing with perception and consciousness, combines the speaker's insomniac thoughts with musings about the 29th koan from the *Mumonkan* or *Gateless Gate*, one of the two most important koan collections in Ch'an/Zen literature. In this koan, two monks are arguing about a flag moving in the wind, one claiming that it is the flag moving, the other that it is the wind. The Sixth patriarch, Hui-neng, passing by, overhears the argument and comments, "not the wind, not the flag; mind is moving." Mumon, the compiler of the collection, criticizes Hui-neng's statement, which he considers to be as faulty as that of the monks and made simply to stop their argument. His capping verse is "wind, flag, mind moves, /The same understanding, /When the mouth opens /All are wrong" (*Zen Flesh, Zen Bones* 144). From the nondualistic Zen perspective, it is true that there is no separate subject and object (neither flag nor wind). However, the Sixth Patriarch missed out on a Zen moment (transmission of the dharma without words) when he explained to the monks the solution to their argument.
Whalen begins his poem with the insomniac speaker reflecting that "Of/courset I could go to sleep right here/With all the lights on & the radio going" (1-3) while the cat, April, plays behind the refrigerator. The poem then moves through the speaker's various mental states in a free-associative manner, represented by different kinds of poetic discourse: a nursery rhyme-like ditty follows, about a love named Kitty, presumably inspired by April, followed by two descriptive lines about prayer-flags flying near the summit of Nanga Parbat, a mountain in the Himalayas. Readers may presume that this detail is something the speaker read or heard on the news intruding itself into his insomnia, while the prayer flags by association bring to mind the 29th koan (which the speaker may have been contemplating), in which wind also moves flags. Whalen intersperses the three points of view of the monks and master from the koan throughout his poem with quotation marks and capital letters to indicate emphasis: "IT IS THE WIND MOVING" (11), "IT IS THE FLAG MOVING" (12), IT IS THE MIND MOVING" (19).

These quotes also divide the poem into sections, indicated by centered black lines, which underscore the capitalized assertions of the koan. As is usual in a poem by Whalen, one thought leads to another, with relevant accompanying anecdotes; in this case the idea of the flag moving is illustrated by an anecdote about Mr. Harold Wood hypnotized by his windshield wipers. The speaker's free association in the poem also demonstrates and enacts mind's movement similar to that of wind, as he includes a memory of eating apricots beside a lake in the form of another four-line ditty (which in parallel to the first quatrain has a rhyme scheme of abab). Its indentation from the left margin of the poem creates linear
movement to illustrate the poem's claims about the movement of mind and wind. Hui-neng's pronouncement that the mind is moving is followed by the speaker's capping verse (similar to Mumon's comments on Hui-neng): "& now I'm in my bed alone/Wide awake as any stone" (20-1).

Although this couplet has the singsong rhythm of a nursery rhyme and does not seem like a serious thought, it does convey the mind's movement as well as a sense of paradox characteristic of koan responses. The fact that the speaker is as wide awake as a stone, is from the point of view of Western reason irrational because stones are not animate. However, from the Zen point of view, stones are part of the Buddha world, too. Considered as a capping phrase, this couplet is also spontaneous and individual enough to qualify as the speaker's response to the 29th koan.

Here, Whalen's ability to juxtapose contents of the speaker's mind in a stream-of-consciousness and conversational manner with references to a particular Zen koan demonstrates how Whalen uses Zen practice to propel the reader out of his or her conventional poetic sensibilities and sense of reality; he implies that not only writing the poem, but reading and taking part in it can be a similar experience to solving the 29th koan.

This poem more succinctly demonstrates the movement of the poet's mind than does "Sourdough Mountain Lookout," perhaps because of the fairly free form of its structure, although with repetition of quatrain and discursive statements contained by black dividing lines, it presents an ordered variation in discourse levels. The poem has enough difference in structure, type face, rhythm, and tone to be considered as a jazzy type of poem in keeping with its title.
V. Original Face: Self-Portrait

Original face is perhaps the most important koan for Whalen in regard to the questions of perception and consciousness he posits in his poetry, necessitating a search for the real as opposed to the illusory in regard to the self or "I." The question, "What was your original face, before you were conceived?" (86) is asked directly in "I Return to San Francisco," a poem in which the speaker returns to the big city and his friends after his isolation up north (corresponding to Whalen's own return to San Francisco in 1959 from Newport, Oregon). Other questions this poem asks are: "And JW, What are we going to do?" (7) and "WHAT IS (properly) THE QUESTION?" (106). The most structurally exciting of these identity poems, however, is "Self-Portrait, from Another Direction." 40

To create a self-portrait may be a contradiction in terms for a poem which has Buddhist associations because for Buddhists the necessary individual self or "I" is illusory. Despite this fact, the poet will take his chance because the search for an original face artistically leads to self-portraiture. The other aspect of the poem's title ("from another direction") may better relate to Buddhist psychology with its suggestion of the many places the mind travels with and without the body and the existence of multiple points of view, demonstrated in this poem by the mind's recording of how mind and body move through space and time. More so than in "Sourdough Mountain Lookout" where the speaker's musings are more directed to the outer world, Whalen (using Buddhist philosophy as a guide) here focuses his observations on the inner world of perception and how that inner world interacts with and perceives the world outside itself.
Snyder commends Whalen on the handsomeness of this poem as
broadside in a letter of January 13, 1960, stating that he received it, found it
to be an "excellent rephrasing of the Lankavatara (with Kegon undertones,
especially the end)," and notes the "enormously subtle epistemological
speculation" of Whalen's poetry. Snyder's comment on the poem's Kegon
"undertones," may relate to this Mahayana Buddhist school's interest in the
constitution and perception of reality, demonstrated by its privileging of
the Avatamsaka Sutra which teaches the "mutually unobstructed
interpenetration" of all things and "that buddha, mind, and all sentient
beings and things are one and the same," according to the Shambhala
Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen (31-2). Both this and the Lankavatara
Sutra are important texts for Zen Buddhists, the latter said to have been
given by Zen's first patriarch, Bodhidharma, to his disciples. Whalen
expresses his own understanding of the Lankavatara Sutra to Ginsberg,
directing him to Suzuki's translation, in a letter of September 11, 1958, in
which he states that this sutra "explains how the mind is constituted & how
it manufactures illusion," demonstrating the sutra's relevance to his own
epistemological concerns as well as those of Zen Buddhism.

An examination of Suzuki's comments will also enable a better
understanding of the sutra's relevance to this poem. In the first of his
series of essays on Zen, Suzuki explains its main thesis as "the content of
Enlightenment; that is, the Buddha's own inner experience concerning the
great religious truth of Mahayana Buddhism," while others read it more
simply as a presentation of Buddhist psychology, which could be
understood as the psychology of the enlightenment experience.41 For
Suzuki, the Lankavatara teaches that "no conceptual interpretation is
possible of Enlightenment or self-realization and that the realization must issue from one's own inner consciousness, independent of scriptural teaching or of another's help" (93). The sutra also specifically addresses the problems with language familiar to practitioners of Zen, that words are not the truth but only able to point to it (as the finger points to the moon)."42

This poem thus demonstrates Whalen's working through the question of consciousness within a Buddhist context, and its expression in the language of the poem, which begins with the speaker watching himself: "Tuned in on my own frequency/I watch myself looking," (1-2). Here mind and body form both a duality and a unity. The speaker then ponders the thinking process in which he as a human being is somewhat automatically involved: "I think what is thinking/What is that use or motion of the mind that compares with/A wink, the motion of the belly" (7-9). The speaker then moves from a static position, "lying abed late in the morning," (3) to the actualization of mind's motion with body's in the first of two journeys described in the poem, in which travel produces memories of the speaker's past as well as observations of his present. On returning home, the speaker compares the real time activity of thinking to the rate of erosion of a nearby sandstone cliff (demonstrating intersections between the human and natural world). The speaker moves quickly from this reflection to another memory and an observation that the mind moves like "A momentary flash, a brainstorm, an internal shifting" (45), after which he is flung out of his mind and back into the world experienced as intruding forces of nature such as rain and "wind bulging the window/An Absolute, i.e. what we think of as/'an Absolute', 'Force', 'NATURE'" (52-4).

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The speaker does not feel part of these forces which "know nothing of my love, my mind/Looking into a mirror, shaving, is I?" (53-6), implying that he is unsure about his own identity and feels alienated from such a natural world (perhaps the jitters of a Western mind). From here the poem's juxtapositions become even more dynamic with another bus ride to the city. Similarly to the first journey, the lines which follow to describe the bus trip are indented and labeled as such, forming two parallel columns, visually demonstrating the simultaneous yet separate quality of the speaker's experience and its subsequent recounting in the poem. The way the journey sections are set apart from the more self-reflective text of the poem also visually presents the difference between mental and physical travel and underscores the linearly experimental nature of Whalen's poetry.

After observing students from the vantage point of the bus who do not appear to be "going to hell" as common parlance would have it, an allusion to social issues, the speaker is suddenly back in memory, reiterating how he got to where he is ("All my nerves/woke up to sing & dance I got up & dressed made a pot of tea" (68-9). These memories are interrupted by the real time process of the composition of the poem with "(2 lines canceled)" (73) implying that he is writing as he's riding and his attention is caught by the bus slogan. This change in mind and discourse level by the intrusion of found sound is a poetic technique Whalen uses to include the outside world in his poems, literally merging the outer and the inner, though here the inclusion of the bus slogan creates a break in train of thought (the "progress by explosion" of its combustion engine ironically alluding to the atom bomb):43.
Climb on & ride-

progress by explosion

All the elements analyzed out & recombined

/with your finger on the throttle

& your foot upon the treadle of the clutch (74-8).

A few lines later he cancels two more lines, changing the poem's pace and focus again.

The poem's concluding section returns to the reflections of the speaker simultaneously writing the poem put down at great expense, a spiritual act in its overcoming of ignorance and hate: "Any word you see here defies all fear doubt destruction ignorance & hatefulness/All the impossibilities unfavorable chance or luck/It will have overcome all my strength" (82-5). The almost existential futility of trying to present reality without illusion for himself and ultimately for readers of the poem is likened to a "slingstone hurled at a tangent to the circle/in which it lately whirled/zipping off in high-speed parabola" (89-91). However, the selves of the speaker and the poem do come together in the last and following line: "Into the mirror (NOW showing many men) all of them 'I'" (92). The issue for Whalen, is that the "I" is always a past construct, only to be known retrospectively (in the wink of an eye/I that is the time taken to record a line of poetry or an observation). Whalen makes a comment relevant to this idea in a letter of August 27, 1957 to Snyder, noting that the immediate problem of a poem he is writing is to be aware. He questions whether "recollections of the past 'I'" are not always "something that was, never is," comparing that moment of turning to see the past ("who's looking?) to "a
photo reflected in a mirror." The conclusion of "Self-Portrait From Another Direction" effectively expresses this image of the "I" looking at the past.

The way the many minds of the speaker (moving between inner and outer worlds) merge into the final reflection (play on words intended) of the poem's last image is like the interpenetrating planes of a cubist self-portrait which eventually present a comprehensible image to the viewer. This "I" also expresses the ultimate overcoming of duality in the present moment, in which the speaker's realization can be likened to the "momentary flash" or "brainstorm" mentioned earlier in the poem to describe the speed with which the mind works. The poem in following the speaker's thought process is similar to the way the Buddhist practitioner watches his or her thoughts go by without attachment in meditation. Such an experience also recalls that of the zenbos in "Sourdough Mountain Lookout," suggesting that the poem may be read as a kind of Buddhist meditation in the way it makes thought conscious first in the mind of the poet, second on the page in the speaker's mind, and third in the mind of the reader, in the process demonstrating the interactive quality of Whalen's poetry.

The effectiveness of this poem hinges on the amount of movement that the poem generates as it progresses from the more static and orderly opening scene to the interpenetrating movement in the middle sections in which the poem literally enacts the Avatamsaka Sutra's teaching of "mutually unobstructed penetration." The dramatic ending of the poem with emphasis on the word "I" provides closure as well as returns the reader to the poem's beginning with the observing speaker, thus
illustrating another Buddhist doctrine, that of *pratitya-samutpada* or "conditioned arising." This teaching shows how individual beings are caught in cycles of existence. It is visualized as a chain of twelve links, which in circular fashion demonstrates how life begins with individual ignorance or lack of recognition of Buddha's four noble truths, leading through desire as cause and effect to death with subsequent rebirth to a new round unless enlightenment takes place and the chain is broken. This means that "all psychological and physical phenomena constituting individual existence are interdependent and mutually condition each other," according to the *Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen* (172).

The "exorbitance" of the speaker's effort to truly record the minute particulars of his days, "NOW," as he phrases it (similarly to the poet's own difficulty in writing such a realistic poem), demonstrates the difficult necessity of presenting in words the interpenetration and connection of all aspects of the speaker's reality as mind which constructs his world and is separate from, yet simultaneous with it. This difficulty with writing and the physical toll it takes may relate not only to writer's block or issues of originality but to the ideas of the Lankavatara Sutra that words can never be the truth, but can only act like a finger pointing toward truth or reality, a direction in which Whalen's question for original face continues to move in his later poems of the 1950's. The problem with language for Zen Buddhism and for the poet, is that the translation of experience into words removes the poet/Zen practitioner from the present moment in which he or she (as "Real Self") is ideally to live if truly enlightened. Whalen will continue to ask questions about identity, especially in regard to that of the poet's original face, in *Memoirs of an Interglacial Age*. Before examining
these later poems, it may be useful to turn to a poem from *Like I Say* which first presents this variation on the koan of original face as it relates to the identity of the poet.

VI. Original Face: The Poet

"The Same Old Jazz," is a poem organized around the question, what's wrong with two, presenting Whalen's ruminations about duality (reality and illusion) ostensibly within the context of relations between men and women, while simultaneously questioning the poet's ability to express reality (understood from the Buddhist point of view) through poetry.46 "The Same Old Jazz" begins with the koan question casually and conversationally presented, the line breaks echoing the sense:

OK, it's imperishable or a world as Will
& Idea, a Hindu illusion that our habits continuously
Create. Whatever I think, it
Keeps changing from bright to dark, from clear
To colored: "Thus before I began to think and
So after I've stopped, as if it were real & I
Were its illusion

But as Jaime de Angulo said, "What's wrong with two?" (1-8).

The poet juxtaposes Western and Eastern philosophy here in parallel with the duality of "it" and "I" as real and illusory then moves into a seeming unity of the two lovers: "Sunday morning I'm in bed with Cleo" (9). The speaker, seated naked at the table writing, has what one might call a moment of satori through which he expresses the feeling that duality has
been eliminated: "And it all snaps into focus/The world inside my head &
the cat outside the window/A one-to-one relationship" (12-14). However,
the speaker is still unsure of himself and the purpose of his writing and
after recording his surroundings of plants, trees, and neighbors, asks,
"What if I never told any of this?" (33). Even though it seems to be the
writing that unites the "it" and the "I," it may also have been the
experience with Cleo. He now moves out of himself and into the lives of the
cats (White Queen and Sweet Papa), and Cleo now in the bathtub, the beauty
of whose body has rubbed off on him: "Now some of my ugliness, some of
my age/Whirls down the bathroom drain" (61-2). Immediately after this,
the speaker turns to feelings of loss: "She'll go away. I'll go away. The
world will go away" (63). According to Buddhism's Four Noble Truths, life
is suffering and feelings of loss are engendered by desire, which create
movement upon the treadmill-like twelve-fold chain of causation (pratitya-
samutpada), leading to death and rebirth. The speaker's realization is
immediately followed by a quotation of two lines from an unidentified
source, which address this feeling in Buddhist terms: "The idea of
emptiness engenders compassion/Compassion does away with the
distinction/between Self & Other . . . ." (64-6). This unidentified quote,
acting as a commentary on the speaker's feelings of love and loss, is from
the songs of the Tibetan Buddhist saint and poet, Milarepa, adding even
more to the poem's Buddhist overtones for those aware of the source.47

In the Buddhist context, compassionate love (that of a bodhisattva,
for example) is engendered by emptiness and non-attachment, the Buddhist
antidote to desire and loss. Thus, "the same old jazz" of the title could allude
to the poet's obsession with epistemological questions as well as to

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relationships between the sexes (expressed in Buddhist terms as the never-ending round of life, death, and rebirth). Since the phrase is repeated in the body of the poem as the inner thoughts of the female cat sniffing the scent left by the male, the sexual connotation may seem most obvious. Whalen's use of such double meaning enables his poem to address both of these issues as inevitably the "same old jazz." To reinforce this doubling, the speaker then provides an affirmation of love's power: "But through her everything else is real to me & I have/No other self" (67-8). Although the speaker has presented several ways to work through duality (by writing, sexual love, and Buddhist compassion), readers may come away from the poem believing that love is the way. However, even this assertion is uncertain because of the ironic overtones of the final question and last line: "'What's wrong with two?'" (69) asked for the second time in this poem and in both cases calling for an equally open-ended response. The reader is uncertain of the exact emphasis and intonation which the poet meant for this question, since there are no italics as in "The Slop Barrel" to provide intonation. It will be left up to the reader as to how to ask and answer it. If Whalen has been ineffective in stimulating the reader's interaction, the poem's speaker may be seen as indecisive, but if effective, the reader will have become involved enough to understand the difficulty inherent in making distinctions and the complexities involved in working out a response. The point of this poem, as of much of Whalen's poetry, is for the poem's speaker to work through his mental responses to a particular koan-like question, inviting the reader to follow his thought process through his conversational tone. The final question of this poem
also serves as a kind of koan on the nature of language, itself, and the inherently polyvalent meanings of even the simplest of phrases.

"All About Art & Life" is a poem from Memoirs of an Interglacial Age which asks similar epistemological questions about the nature of perception and consciousness ("what is it I'm seeing?" and "who's looking?") as those of "Self-Portrait from Another Direction," while continuing Whalen's meditation begun in "The Same Old Jazz" on the poet's original face and his or her ability to express reality through poetry. Thus the poem is literally "all about art and life" as its title claims. Written after Whalen's return to the Bay Area from Oregon, "All About Art and Life" posits that works of art can present the reality of the poet's world, in addition to answering the question of who is the "I" that is writing by presenting the "I" writing, and thus, the poet's mind in the process of writing is the subject matter of this poem. The poem begins by looking at various ways to characterize art or poetry, beginning with the speaker's ambivalent presentation of writing as, "a compulsion to make/ marks on paper" (1-2) whose value, "whatever good or bad," (3) and meaning is not of consequence to him as writer. He wonders whether he makes art because he doesn't want to relate to the real situation in the living room he "just left below." Similarly the reality of "blue sky & fog streaks" (15) outside the window reminds him not of the natural world, but of the paintings of Corot and Piranesi. At this point, art as illusion and escape from reality, not reality, itself, is most apparent to the speaker. He immediately counters this with the idea that art is also perception: "many colors dangling & sparkling/(TINKLE?)" (20-1) and "we kill ourselves making it" (23). Art thus becomes more than a means of escape from
reality if we can literally die for the sake of making it. The speaker also suggests that we may figuratively kill ourselves, or lose our egos and sense of self, in its making, suggesting art’s salvific power (as presented by Whalen in "Hymnus Ad Patrem Sinensis"). This line is thus a pivotal or turning point in the poem.

The speaker then begins to list the pictures in his surroundings (64 in all): engravings on the wall, family photographs, and Mexican playing cards (with their pornographic connotation). The list format for the presentation of these details with the label "PICTURE" is followed by a brief description of each image, thereby juxtaposing the generic labels which humans use to simplify their world of visual delight against the myriad visual details of the speaker's surroundings. This sequence is followed by fragments of discourse separated by dotted lines, which describe various kinds of arts or practices: meditation, architecture, literature, and cinema. The issue with all of these activities for the poem's speaker, is the fact that "we call it good, bad, indifferent as/we feel ourselves elated or brought down" (61-3). Thus the mind produces aversion (of liver) and desire (of magnolia flowers); notices a "kitten rolling the glass;" and has opinions (all the random thoughts in the speaker's head that are tangential to these questions of art appreciation). He finally realizes the important question is not one of illusion, reality, or evaluation, but one of perception: "Not I love or hate:/WHAT IS IT I'M SEEING?&/WHO'S LOOKING?" (87-90). The stuff of the world comes to each of us, and we make our own shapes of it (none better than others, only with different contexts) for which the poet as speaker of the poem provides the cartoon-like sound effects of his "cookie-cutter head" cutting out different kinds of shapes: "CHONK: 'scary!"/
CHONK: 'lovely!'//CHONK: 'ouch!'" (93-5). The speaker describes art's ultimate power and the way it relates to Buddhist meditation as its ability to do away with ego and desire: "it walks out of me, through me/& you ask, Where does it come from/Where did I go" (99-101). For Whalen, this is part of art's ability to change human perceptions, a change which has its avant-garde implications, for to change the inner world is to eventually change the outer. Thus art practice may be a way for the artist and the viewer both to lose themselves/their various selves, and an answer to the koan about art and life which this poem presents. The speaker's dilemma is that he is the type of person who obsesses about these questions while others matter-of-factly go on "planting potatoes, writing poems, whatever they do/Without hangups" (109-10). He concludes "And anyone observing them a little may/turn all the way/ON" (112-14). The obverse of the speaker's powerful claim for art or poetry, however, is that "all this is merely/GRAMMAR" (118-19). Suddenly he is aware only that "water drops from tap to sink/naturally the tap's defective or not completely 'OFF'" (123-24) unless he falls asleep, ",&/OUT" (129-30). The importance of this somewhat abrupt ending is that the speaker has faithfully recorded his perceptions in real time in the poem.

Formal aspects of the poem, Whalen's syncopation and juxtaposition of spacings, capitalized words, italics, lineation, quotation marks, exclamation points, and parentheses, provide a multi-media visual and oral appeal and demonstrate on the page the changes in direction and mood in real time of the speaker's mind. Most effective in this regard are the lines across the page which separate sections of thought from each other, suggesting the visual way one separates ideas in a notebook. Whalen thus
scores the tonal variations and sound effects of his poetry. For example, Whalen's use of the onomatopoeic "TINKLE" as a found sound from the poem's world, foregrounds the oral quality of poetry for Whalen, a quality which cannot be conveyed totally by the printed poem. For Whalen, poetry is effective to the degree that the speaker's nuanced and conversational tone and its sound effects are heard by the reader, enabling it to become a conversation between the two. This oral quality is important not only for Whalen, but for other writers associated with the Beat avant-garde and a way to distinguish themselves from more academic poets. In addition, in bringing the poet out of the book of poetry as object of academic study, Whalen brings his poetry more into contact with life, another avant-garde aspect of his work.\(^49\) To some readers this poem may seem too reflective, more additive than dynamic, especially in the repetitive quality of the list of individual pictures, although this repetition reinforces the speaker's criticism of language in foregrounding the fact that the poem is made of words or "GRAMMAR."\(^50\) In the context of the Lankavatara Sutra, words only point to experience, no matter how exactly the poet uses them to try to reproduce reality. Whalen counters this limitation with his poetry's formal innovations to express the movement of the speaker's mind aurally and visually beyond literal meaning of the words used.

Another poem from *Memoirs of an Interglacial Age*, "With Complements to E.H.," similarly brings Zen Buddhist philosophy to bear on issues of perception, language, and the practice of poetry, using Zen Buddhist subject matter (the contents of the mind through found text and found sound) and koan practice. This poem's koan question ostensibly involves the practice of Zen archery and the ability to hit a target, while
addressing the poet's ability to make verbal distinctions to represent and record reality. The E.H. of the poem's title is a student of archery (the initials stand for the German author, Eugen Herrigel, whose book, *Zen and the Art of Archery*, was a popular work in the 1950's). The significance of Herrigel's archery experience for Whalen is that it represents a Zen Buddhist approach to hitting the target, the equivalent of making verbal distinctions in poetry.

From the Western point of view, learning how to shoot an arrow can be seen as learning the proper technique and attitude to accomplish the primary goal of hitting the target's center. Paradoxically, in Zen archery, the aim is not so much to hit the target but to gain the correct attitude toward the process which includes becoming one with the bow, arrow, and target, expressed as aimless aim. Suzuki in his introduction to Herrigel's book, expresses this as the "effortlessness of no-mind," in which subject and object are eliminated and shooter and target are not "two opposing objects, but are one reality" (12-3). Herrigel describes his frustrations as a Westerner coming into contact with eastern modes of instruction, who spends years practicing breathing and holding the drawn bow, seemingly getting no closer to being able to hit the target than when he began. Eventually he finds that his attitude has changed to one of "purposeless detachment" (103) which from his teacher's point of view is all that matters. He realizes in conclusion that the idea was not to hit the mark, but to be part of the process: no separation between bow, arrow, goal, and archer (88). It is the discovery of this process that Whalen complements Herrigel on in his poem's title and one which he seeks to emulate in its writing.
Although filled with allusions both to this 1953 work and to scientific terminology such as diffraction-grating and beat frequencies, the poem has a dynamic structure and quality of immediacy similar to that of "Self-Portrait, from Another Direction." Whalen also uses similar imagery in both poems literally creating the beat frequency described in the later poem as one poem recalls the other in the reader's mind. In "Self-Portrait," Whalen expresses the poet's dilemma (in Buddhist terms, the problem with words as only approximate truth) in terms of hitting a target, a "slingstone hurled at a tangent to the circle [. . .] zipping off in high-speed parabola" (91). "With Complements to E.H." uses similar imagery in its first few lines to describe the archer's experience:

a target

a crooked arrow

an asymptote

a balance, an

anomaly

a dissonance, an intentional

asymmetry (1-7).

Here the lines, often of two or three words only, almost centered on the page, move word-by-word back and forth in a subtle asymmetry, mirroring the attempts of the archer to hit the target or colloquially, the nail on the head, phrased later in the poem, jokingly as, "'You hit the nail right on the thumb!'' (37). The speaker thus explores Herrigel's experiences with Zen and archery, simultaneously recalling the previous poem while alluding to the question of whether the poet can hit the word on the head or express reality without illusion. The perceptual difficulty of experiencing and
expressing subtle differences is presented in more scientific terms in the five lines that follow, the parallel experiences reflected in the parallel structure of the couplets, with each being about equal in pacing and rhythm with the break in the first coming after "bass," in the second after "rings:"

Sound B & B-flat together (in the bass) & hear
yet another: 'beat frequency'

Light through a diffraction-grating projects rings
of darkness (a silence)
'cancellation' (8-12).

In the first example, the frequencies merge to create a subtle dissonance, with a pun on "beat frequency," suggesting that Beat Generation writers are out of sync with the rest of society; in the second couplet, though the correspondence is almost perfect, the diffracted light rings cancel each other out, paradoxically creating darkness. These two examples demonstrate how Western science understands subtle distinctions, which are followed by a series of black lines of varying lengths in the next five lines interspersed with the question: "A mutual confusion/or mine alone?" (16-17). The question refers either to the facts of Western science or to the problems with words, themselves, while the lines suggest a silence without distinction, where Zen's distrust of words eventually leads.

In this poem, archery is practiced with a crooked arrow which asymptotically will never hit the target, just as the wordsmith's project might be to create "A false note between 'The Real' &/'The Illusory" (38-9).
However, the speaker's aim at the in-between, the "beat frequency," is also similar to the real way that thinking and memory work:

I think mostly I remember, am remembered
By my own brains muscle skin
which never sleep
An imaginary difference of frequency between them
speaks here?" (21-5).

The speaker perceives these subtle differences in frequency between thinking, remembering, and recording those memories, as different ways of experiencing and conveying the reality of past and present which Whalen explores here and in other poems dealing with the koan of original face. At the same time, the poem is also the residue of a physical moment of hand coming together with pen and paper, a way of making distinctions between being and remembering, that both separates the poet from the flux of the present moment and creates another present, that of writing the poem, which in turn will be read in yet another present time. Hence the difficulty the writer faces who wants to experience and present life as interpenetration without distinctions in keeping with the teachings of the Avatamsaka Sutra.53

This poem, as is typical of Whalen's poetry as a whole, attempts to express the reality of the present moment as its subject matter (in one-to-one correlation). The particulars of the speaker's world (who is also a writer) at the time of its writing, reflected through the speaker's mind, form the content of the lines that follow: two interruptions from two different poets, their comments quoted as dialogue, and the sound effect, "HONK," of a car horn. It is at this point that found text and sound give way
to a second reflection on the relation of brains and body in the poem, explaining the brain's inattentive moments in terms of its working toward enlightenment:

The brain

actually THERE 1 minute

out of any waking hour

busy between whiles talking & listening

in cahoots with skin & bones to make a raft

sentient beings without number (44-9).

The phrase in capital letters which follows, not only capitalized, but set off in its own space by thick, black lines, "NOT A DECISION OR A CHOICE:/ DISCOVERY," (50-1) indicates that for the speaker, the poem is not preconceived, but is evolving out of his thoughts and surroundings and is thus more truly discovered than chosen. This realization also seems to allow him to further free associate, which is the direction in which the poem now moves. More black lines appear to separate other kinds of text and levels of discourse including family memories and references to Chao-Chou's koan, the history of Ch'an Buddhism, the terminology used by Japanese Buddhist sects, and businessman, A.C. Pillsbury, all in newspaper headline style and tone. These seemingly disparate particulars are followed by a long anecdote about a quarrel over a coat, presented in gangster slang and block text format (a memory transformed by the speaker into imaginary experience and yet another type of word game or poetic discourse to include in the poem).

These contrasting modes of discourse have filled the mid-section of the poem, whereas its ending returns to the tone and imagery of its
beginning. The speaker imagines bending back the bow described as a powerful act seemingly at odds with reality, then releases it:

Intentionally out of whack

The bow-string, the bent bow

DISTORTION

Power, to kink space (distance)

the target impaled on the arrow!

The bow-string hauling the target
to where I stand

Snaps back

THWUNK! (78-86)

The lineation moves with the action of the poem, with its last word as powerful sound effect indicating that the arrow has met a target of some sort. The poem's conclusion with such a realistic, though unusually comical and cartoon-like sound, is also an appropriate response to the koan problem about words which the poem presents.

This effective and dramatic sound effect is not the true ending of the poem, however. Whalen has included an Addenda with two quotes from Herakleitos: one on the paradoxical nature of the bow, "an attunement of opposite tensions," and its relation to human nature where paradoxically "what is at variance agrees with itself," and a second which presents the paradox that the Greek word for bow is synonymous with the word for life, yet the work of the bow is death (19). By including these quotes, the poem's existence is complete with all details of its inception and growth present to the reader, except for the moments that it lives again in the reading. The poem, itself, may be considered an "attunement of opposite
tensions," with its movement between reflection and experience and with
the chance admission of found text and sound from the poet's world
indicating its original moment included as part of its text.

This poem is also a good example of Whalen's statement about his
poetry in "Since You Ask Me," the concluding poem of Memoirs of an
Interglacial Age (which also serves as his statement of poetics), in which
he notes that his poetry is "a picture or graph of a mind moving [...] not
ideoogram, not poetic beauty: bald-faced didacticism moving as Dr. Johnson
commands all poetry should, from the particular to the general" (49). In
"With Complements to E.H.," Whalen has gathered and juxtaposed a number
of particulars with the didactic purpose of demonstrating how mind works,
successfully involving readers with his attempts to hit the target so to
speak. Readers will see and hear their environment with new eyes and
ears inspired by the level of awareness demonstrated by Whalen in this
poem: noting the simultaneity of reading its words while hearing a car on
the road outside, the call of a bird, or the hum of a refrigerator. Ultimately
for Whalen, the poem's ability to create change in the reader's perception
of reality (to make way for the "Real Self" of Zen Buddhism) is part of his
poetry's purpose, reflecting its avant-garde nature.

VII. Whalen's Experimental Prose as Buddhist Teaching

Whalen's major prose work of this period is Diamond Noodle, which
addresses some of the same issues of perception and consciousness within a
Buddhist framework as does his poetry. Conceived and begun during the
1950's, though not edited until 1965 or published until 1980, this semi-
autobiographical novel might be considered an experimental prose work,
in Whalen's parlance, a "book of prose-texts" or prose takes. In a letter
to Ginsberg of April 12, 1958, Whalen defines the take as a kind of all
inclusive free form flow writing in poetry or prose; more succinctly, takes
are "pages of unedited copy straight from the pen." Diamond Noodle,
hereafter referred to as DN, is made up of such takes which mix notebook
excerpts, dreams, impressions, memories of the past and imagination in a
free flow process of transformation and metamorphosis which can also be
understood as Whalen's conception of the writing process (and of the way
the mind works in general), created out of what he designates in DN as the
"stream of imagination" (89). The method of the prose take also expresses
how Whalen understands writing to demonstrate the truth of reality: as a
one-to-one correspondence with the reality of the moment of writing,
including what is passing through the writer's mind as well as what is
happening in the writer's world.

Whalen's inclusion of a quote from Su-Tung-po as the novel's
epigraph, expresses the difficulties inherent in such a theme because of
the impossibility of distinguishing between pleasurable and unpleasurable
moments after they are past: "They seem to be like a sound, a shadow, a
breeze, or a dream. Even these four things are somehow more tangible.
Besides how is one ever going to find happiness by countering one illusion
with another illusion?" In this quote, Su Tung-po combines the relation of
past to present (temporality) and the idea of illusion and reality with
ephemerality of such memories which seem real and vivid as we live them,
but whose emotional content or aspect of desire is soon forgotten and
cannot be easily re-felt though remembered. Whalen suggests here that
his novel's task is one of meditating on not only time, but desire, known
through memory, both important aspects of Buddhist philosophy and central to Buddhist teachings about the nature of the mind and reality.

In this novel, Whalen presents such memories and transformations as cycles of time in the life of the protagonist, understood in Buddhist terms of *pratītya-samutpāda*, previously defined as "conditioned arising" or the mutual conditioning of all things, seen through the perspective of the diamond noodle. This concept also relates to the Avatamsaka Sutra's teaching on interdependence, exemplified by the image of the Net of Indra which shows how each object in the universe is able to reflect and connect with all others. Heinrich Dumoulin explains the Net of Indra as a net of pearls hanging over Indra's palace which all hang together, whereby "each reflects the others. [. . .] In looking at one pearl one sees them all" (History of Zen 47).58 The title, *Diamond Noodle*, thus refers to the interpenetrating perspective expressed by the Avatamsaka Sutra, which Whalen applies to the past, present, and future of the protagonist's life understood in terms of *pratītya-samutpāda*. In a way, he superimposes these two Buddhist ways of understanding the world to form this novel.

Whalen inserts his title as a phrase, "The Diamond Noodle," in large type into the middle of a take between the poet's stream-of-conscious meditation about a chance sighting of an old friend while riding a streetcar (suggesting that the diamond noodle perspective can free associate, make connections, and interrupt routines) and the description of a tree made of metal and semi-precious stones, which similarly to the diamond noodle, symbolizes "something precious and irreplaceable" (57). Whalen presents several more examples of the diamond noodle perspective in association with the Net of Indra, providing a key to the meaning of what seems at first
to be a somewhat puzzling phrase, while making its Buddhist connection clearer.\textsuperscript{59} The first of these occurs in a take for June 4th: "Peanut bar to remove cigaret taste, put on pot for more coffee, the Net of Indra one jewel fires up all the rest: looking backwards and split your head 1000 ways, I try very hard to make this day BE Thursday 4 June 1959, and fail" (41). Not only does Whalen here allude specifically to the Net of Indra, but indicates that his understanding of its diamond noodle perspective, "looking backwards and split your head 1000 ways," will be that of the novel's protagonist. In looking at the present, which includes the past, his mind or noodle (slang for head or brain as in use your noodle) will be split in innumerable directions, picking up on the interpenetration of time periods and memories which form a palimpsest of his (or anyone's) life at any one moment of time. As the book's protagonist who is also a writer, he is the center through which all beings and situations that touch his life are mirrored and displayed through his writing.

The second time Whalen presents this central image in the novel, he uses it similarly as a way to describe perspective and memory: "Brain doors open as rays from crystal prism flash across them - people and their entire histories, or emptiness with silent sunshine coming in the window [...]" (95). Its third use helps him demonstrate not only the way the protagonist perceived the world as a child, but how the diamond noodle perspective shapes the novel he is writing. In a take which begins by moving from the present (gazing through a cut-glass "jewel" which a friend, LaVigne, gave him), to the past, the narrator is reminded of a similar "long amber-colored glass jewel which hung by a silken cord from the switch on one of the bridge lamps at home," in a section entitled, "Cast of Characters in a Drama
of My Childhood." This jewel, itself, is similar to the diamond noodle prism, shown by the realization that he "used to look through it (the lamp jewel) in order to see that the world isn't really solid but a net, a mosaic, a congeries of many sensations, times, places," indirectly alluding to the Net of Indra. In this passage, the protagonist attempts to exactly record the complexity of his recollections from present to past to the moment of its written recording, demonstrating the interpenetration of both time and space. This leads him to clarify the role of both memory and art for himself as writer expressed as: "Memory, tutored by the Arts, attempts to order it all into a pleasing or instructive shape" (103). This ordering expresses the idea of the Net of Indra and the diamond noodle perspective of his novel.

Although Diamond Noodle focuses primarily on the memories of an important year for the novel's protagonist, it is not only about the life of a poet in the late 1950's and early 1960's, including publication of his poetry and a love affair which seems to have been intense but has ended. This might be the central event of a more conventional novel, but such journalistic and somewhat sentimental experiences only serve to illustrate what readers have come to know as Whalen's primary concerns presented from the Buddhist perspective: the difference between illusion and reality which includes the nature of consciousness and perception (how we see, not only physically, but mentally) and the truth of words which includes the ability of writing to exemplify all of these concerns, presented via memories of the past, records of the present, and dreams of the future.

The present of 1959 includes all time as far as the novel and Buddhism are concerned. In one of the takes already discussed which is written in the novel's "present," this specific date is given: "I try very
hard to make this day be Thursday 4 June 1959, and fail." Failure occurs here because, although the narrator begins with the present (the arrangement of objects in his room and the view of a clothesline from his window), he immediately free associates to the past: the rooftops of his flat ten years ago in Portland; the view five years ago from Sourdough Lookout; last year's sea level view; before returning to the flowers in his room which remind him of his love, Baby. Although he remains in the present for much of this take, indicating his efforts to stay put, he soon moves into desire for the future and "a look ahead," involving a trip to the astrologer, the departure of friends, a trip to the mountains, and inevitably, "growing older and falling apart" (41). This passage demonstrates that though the unnamed protagonist seems to focus on 1959 here, the past, especially memories of his childhood, and the future are included. He is aware that his past, though elusive and non-existent in a sense (as in the attitude expressed by Su Tung-po in the book's epigraph), is actually very much present. In a prose take which is a recorded dream of memories from his childhood, he realizes:

    So much of my memory and attention and affection" (is/was) bound up with my family, and I have gone so far - traveled so fast in so many directions since my childhood: in dreams I return only to see that instead of traveling fast and far I have moved only the fraction of an inch or so, perhaps not at all: i.e., my brain, my memory, 'my soul' - is still right here in this 'moment' of consciousness? (52)

Whalen emphasizes the importance of consciousness in this novel, as the protagonist creates "A List," describing 23 of its worlds beginning
with "the world of common experience" and including many of the levels of consciousness presented in DN, such as dreams, the "world of conscious composition," the "world of other persons," and the "world of conscious silent contemplation of objects" (62-3). Immediately after recording this list, he directs himself to "distinguish at last between illusion and reality," concluding that the most important world to inhabit is that of other people, the reality of whose suffering is very real to him. He needs to see others "with a combination of love, understanding & detachment - in a word, with compassion" (64), what might be considered the bodhisattvic purpose of his writing. The importance of writing, as an aspect of consciousness, is exemplified in a take which presents it as synonymous with the diamond noodle perspective. The narrator's room has become a place that "sparkles and moves itself. It is the excitement of my own thought, creation taking place, real life: not the fake excitement of 'experience' or the motion of public events" (95. Thus, consciousness and the ability of words to express mental process understood in Buddhist terms are the true subjects of both the protagonist of this novel and of Diamond Noodle.

The book's structure also presents Whalen's understanding of how time and consciousness can be understood in terms of pratitya-samutpada and perceived by the diamond noodle perspective, which breaks up the orderly time frame of the wheel of causation by its ability to transform by association. The novel begins in the narrator's not-so-distant past with his memory of a sunrise on a fire lookout station: "The sun itself hadn't come up yet, but its light boiled up above the mountains." The narrator moves to a critique of the expression of this memory. Not deleting his first try, he adds a second, more vivid image of the rising sun as "great silent orange

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yellow blasts of morning light flared up into the sky [...]"
Six sentences later, readers get another (more accurate?) version of remembered reality: "Certainly cold and flat. All right" (1). This layering of description via memory and imagination expresses the way the diamond noodle perceives and remembers. It also demonstrates that the past and present are part of the multi-time dimension in which the narrator lives, an understanding of reality which Whalen strives to represent through his narrator's additive description. After random thoughts on the writing project, the narrator continues his story following the lookout's actions, shifting from observations on how one might die on a mountain to the presentation of a geographic marker: "Introducing Wallace Bridge," a "covered wooden bridge" in Oregon (2). From this uncontextualized landmark, he proceeds to operate the time machine, a figure alluded to by the narrator at various times throughout the novel to indicate a change of scene.

The complex nature of time the novel expresses is also evident in the way in which the protagonist moves through a series of transformations and metamorphoses (an aspect of the diamond noodle perspective), along the chain of causation that has been his own life from inception, childhood, college, work as lookout and bailiff, and writer, just as the narrator's description of the sunrise at the novel's opening went through a series of transformations. The protagonist alludes specifically to the idea of metamorphosis shortly after the first operation of the time machine, when he goes out for a movie and then comes home to read a "new translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses" (5) which he hopes will substitute for the love of a good woman. Although the allusion to Ovid suggests Western culture and
the novel as love story, it also brings to mind the metamorphic quality of *pratitya-samutpada*.

The concluding take of the book as it provides the details of the book's inception, also demonstrates the chain of causation seen through the diamond noodle perspective. The narrator begins by noting events outside the world of self-reflection: the big event of the narrator's day being that "Kennedy was shot this morning" (129). After a dream and some reflections in which time passes (albeit only a few paragraphs in the novel), the protagonist notes that he wants "his unwritten book," (presumably this book, as yet unwritten) and writes that "I must get the first sentence - the first word - the first letter today. Wallace Bridge: I remembered again, covered bridge across Yamhill River a few miles southwest of Willamina." The significance of the bridge, near Rickreall where his father went to school and met his mother (hence a bridge to his own beginnings), is finally revealed to the reader, although the narrator immediately qualifies this bit of family history by remembering his parents' comment, "maybe," and his aunt's "certainly not" (131). Wallace Bridge thus appears at the book's end as the geographic marker which inspires its "first sentence - the first word - the first letter," following the opening description of the lookout's observations of sunrise and death. The bridge is also a pun in that its purpose is to unite two banks (here two time periods and two parts of the novel) thus exemplifying the circularity of the chain of causation which leads from death to rebirth unless enlightenment intervenes. The clever circularity of the structure of this work and Whalen's ability to layer meanings in a complex fashion so that form and
content are superimposed on one another adds much to the novel's power to express memory and reality through a Buddhist framework.

Whalen adds two more paragraphs so this clever twist is not left to conclude DN, similarly to the anti-climactic ending of many of his poems, for example "With Compliments to E.H." The final paragraph details memories of his father's funeral and the narrator's meeting with his aunt (a memory perhaps prompted by the bridge and her "certainly not"). Somewhat as an afterthought, he lists several objects which should have been included in the list of objects from his childhood home, "Cast of Characters in a Drama of my Childhood" (100), demonstrating the layering quality of memory and the novel as palimpsest. He also mentions an object which does not need to be listed because it was previously included, the brass lizard which his aunt gave him after his father's funeral and which he now looks at in the final paragraph's present moment, again combining past and present in the novel's conclusion. In this final paragraph, Whalen again returns to his own beginnings by alluding to his father (his father's death another end antithetically included in a beginning similarly to the way sunrise and death paradoxically combine in the novel's opening). The intricacies of Whalen's repetitions with variation are indeed mind boggling and demonstrate the counterpoint kind of circularity best understood as interpenetration, which is also a repetition and a continuum of time and life as process, presented by the teachings of the Avatamsaka Sutra.

Whalen's manipulation of the novel's time machine (and his manipulation by it) is perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this novel. The ponderings of the protagonist on the relation of memory to present
consciousness have more substance than those same ponderings done within the shorter and more limited confines of his poems. This may be because Whalen is able to greatly extend the mirrored possibilities of his perceptions and memories in the novel form, or perhaps because the greater number of particulars in *Diamond Noodle* generate a greater emotional response in readers who grow to know and care more about the novel's main character and his world. Here society, including friends, war, and presidential assassinations, enters the text, along with the narrator, his asides and self-reflections (dispelling what seems to be one critique of Whalen's early work, that the speaker of his poems is passive and continually involved in the solipsistic wanderings of his own mind). *Diamond Noodle* is a uniquely structured novel, a tour-de-force which should be more widely read as complement to Whalen's poetry of the 1950's.

VIII. Conclusion

This examination of Whalen's poetry and prose of the 1950's and early 1960's demonstrates not only the experimental nature of his writing, but its avant-garde character. Similarly to other writers associated with the Beat avant-garde, Whalen is interested in changing society through literature. For Whalen, this change is perceptual and meant to affect the consciousness of his readers as they become involved with the way his poetry replicates mental processes. Whalen's goal is for readers to come in contact with what he calls the "Real Self." His interest in using poetry to produce change (its ability to shock readers) and the way the inclusion of found text and sound in his poems closes the gap between art and life, both demonstrate the avant-garde aspect of his writing.
The production of such effects are in Whalen's case often accomplished by references to Buddhist philosophy and practice, especially that of Zen. Such allusions help him frame the epistemological questions that his poetry and prose often ask within a Zen context and guide his response to the constant flux and paradoxically full emptiness of the world of particulars he includes in his writing. Sutras associated with Zen Buddhism, such as the Lankavatara and the Avatamsaka, are of especial importance to him in the works this chapter has examined. Many of his poems are organized around koan-like questions, using the poem to work through a response, while involving readers in the process. However, Whalen's most effective use of Zen philosophy and aesthetics comes not only by presenting its ideas, quoting from its literature, and alluding to its practices, but by embodying its tenets structurally in his work, for example in Diamond Noodle. Likewise, the free-associative structure of his poems as they reproduce the moment of their own writing as content, permits an attention to mental process similar to that of Buddhist meditation.

In regard to Whalen's understanding of Zen as dual discourse, similarly to Kerouac, his emphasis is on the spiritual discourse of Zen to further his aesthetic purpose. Despite his privileging of Zen's aesthetic aspect, Whalen also brings the dual discourses of Zen together in his choice of role model of Chinese poet-scholar/Ch'an lay practitioner or Ch'an/Zen poet-priest, as evidenced by his poem, "Hymnus ad Patrem Sinensis." These role models not only embody Zen as dual discourse, themselves, but also demonstrate that such an understanding of Zen existed as early as T'ang and Sung China, continuing into the 19th and 20th century as evidenced by Soen Shaku and his poetry. Whalen also brings the two discourses of Zen
together in incorporating Zen koan or meditation practice into his poetry and stream-of-consciousness method. In regard to Beat Zen and square or traditional Zen, Whalen practices Zen independently, similarly to Kerouac, not as part of a traditional Zen monastic community as does Snyder. Whalen uses Zen more as a means to create change in society albeit through his poetry, an aspect of Beat Zen, than for personal change, an aspect of traditional Zen whose purpose is to bring the practitioner to enlightenment through koan practice or meditation, for example. Interestingly enough, however, Whalen's incorporation of the koan into his poetry and his use of the Zen expression, Wu, as a kind of avant-garde shock tactic, is in a sense a traditional kind of Zen practice, though the context remains the poem not the monastery.

The final impression gained from reading Whalen's early work seems to be that it is literature, not necessarily Buddhist philosophy or practice, that can change him and others. It is the act of writing itself and its diamond noodle perspective that can cause all to interpenetrate. This may be due to his lack of formal Zen training in the 1950's and 1960's and the fact that such training did not become part of his life until the 1970's. In addition, his commitment to the Beat avant-garde project to change literary culture and from there, culture as a whole, is strong as evidenced by his intent to use a more American and colloquial language with which to write poetry. However, during the twenty years between 1960 (the date of publication of Like I Say and Memoirs of an Interglacial Age) and 1980 (the date of publication of Diamond Noodle), Whalen would become much more strongly associated with Zen Buddhism, not only practicing with Richard Baker Roshi, but becoming a monk. This process would culminate
in Whalen's investiture as Abbot of Hartford Street Zen Center in 1991, as he becomes the Zen poet-priest that he had perhaps modeled himself after from the 1950's and "Hymnus Ad Patrem Sinensis." It does seem that the length and number of poems Whalen has written have decreased as his Zen practice has increased, due partly to a shift in concerns and obligations and partly due to changes in his own health, demonstrating that as his own practice of Zen and privileging of Zen as spiritual discourse becomes stronger, the aesthetic discourse becomes less important.\textsuperscript{61}

This chapter in its focus on the 1950's has presented a partial view of Whalen's poetry and prose, concentrating more on some aspects than on others; for example, his use of humor and his interest in the theories of Stein or Cage have not been addressed.\textsuperscript{62} However, Whalen's concern to explicate Zen Buddhist philosophy and aesthetics in his work at the beginning of his public career as a writer seems to me his central concern, then and throughout his writing career, and one when used as a lens to look at the body of his work during the 1950's and 1960's brings it all, momentarily, into focus.
1. Ginsberg had early associated Whalen with Buddhism in a statement he and Corso made for a Dutch publication in 1957 reprinted in Deliberate Prose. They describe Whalen as a "strange fat young man from Oregon - in appearance a Zen Buddhist Bodhisattva - [he] read a series of very personal relaxed, learned mystical-anarchic poems . . . written in rare post-Poundian assemblages of blocks of hard images set in juxtapositions, like haikus" (240). His inclusion in the Zen issue of the Chicago Review of Summer 1958 also associates him with Zen. The theme of Whalen as happy Buddha is one mentioned by Paul Christensen in his Gale Research Series biography of Whalen for The Beats: Literary Bohemians in Postwar America, as well as by David Kherdian in Six Poets of the San Francisco Renaissance. Whalen's panel interview with Welch and Snyder, On Bread and Poetry, presents a different, more political aspect of Whalen's conception of the poet in American society.

In relation to Whalen and Buddhism, note Geoffrey Thurley's negative attitude toward Buddhist influences on Whalen's poetry in his essay, "The Development of the New Language." He links Buddhism with Whalen's "failure" to produce a "magnum opus" with the "influence of the feminization of the mind encouraged by Buddhism" (173). More recently, Michael Davidson in The San Francisco Renaissance devotes a chapter to the work of Snyder and Whalen noting their "shared commitment to the 'wisdom-oriented line' of Zen (99) while differentiating between them. Ellingham and Killian also allude to Whalen's interest in Zen in their Spicer biography, Poet Be Like God.

2. Note the time frame of these two books of poetry: his first collection, Like I Say, 1960, contains poems from 1950-1958 and was in the planning stages with LeRoi Jones of Totem Press in 1959, prior to Memoirs of an Interglacial Age, published in 1960 by David Haselwood of Auerhahn Press, which contains poetry from 1958 and 1959. According to correspondence of February 26, 2002 from David Haselwood to the author, Haselwood was introduced to Whalen's poetry by Michael McClure; he notes that "we printed the broadside edition of 'Self-Portrait from Another Direction,' both to get practice at setting his poems and to circulate it as a preview of the coming book."

3. In a 1991 interview, Anne Waldman specifically asked Whalen whether he considered his poems as "Dharma teachings," and his response was "in a way" ("Philip Whalen: Zen Interview" 231). In a statement about Zen and poetry entitled, "About Writing and Meditation," from about the same time, Whalen hints at the connection of his poetry with the Buddhist concept of upaya, or skillful means, hypothesizing about his poetry as a form of upaya: "Maybe that's where the poetry comes into all this, that it has to be an articulation of my practice and an encouragement to you to enter into Buddhist practice" (329). However, these are Whalen's statements after he had formally become a member of the Zen Buddhist community.
4. I am indebted to Snyder for this characterization, who noted the epistemological concerns of Whalen's "Self-Portrait from Another Direction" in his letter to Whalen of January 13, 1960.

5. This statement appears as the last poem, "Since You Ask Me," of Memoirs of an Interglacial Age. It was first written as a press release for Whalen's and McClure's poetry tour of 1959, then included by Whalen in this volume. For more on this see Whalen's interview with David Meltzer (344-45).

6. This chapter concentrates on Whalen's Zen influences in the 1950's and early 1960's; it was not until 1966 that he gained firsthand experience of traditional Zen practice on his first trip to Japan to teach English. He returned to the United States in 1967, making a second trip to Japan in 1969, at which time he started sitting consistently. He returned to the United States in 1971. His felt need for a teacher and his acquaintance with Richard Baker Roshi led to an invitation from Baker for Whalen to live in the Zen Center in 1972 and from that time Whalen began training with Baker. He was ordained as a monk in 1973; became acting head monk at Tassajara Monastery in 1975; went with Baker Roshi to Santa Fe in 1984; returned to San Francisco in 1987; and began to live at Hartford Street Zen Center in 1989, becoming its Abbot in 1991. He is presently retired from this position.

7. In a 1972 interview with Yves Le Pellec, Whalen describes his introduction to Zen via Snyder's discovery of Suzuki (Off the Wall 58). In a 1991 interview with Schelling and Waldman held after Whalen's investiture as Abbot of Hartford Street Zen Center, Whalen added more details: Snyder's discovery of R.H. Blyth's haiku translations, meeting Alan Watts, and gaining practical knowledge from West Coast Japanese-American poet, Albert Saijo, of whom he states: "Anyway, Albert showed us how to prop ourselves up with cushions to sit, how to chant The Heart Sutra in Sino-Japanese, how to drink tea in the zendo and how to do fast kinhin (walking meditation) outdoors and through the woods" (Disembodied Poetics 224-25).

8. Ellingham and Killian in their study of Jack Spicer, Poet Be Like God, note the inner circle of Buddhist poets, Kyger, Snyder, Welch, and Whalen, associated with the "Zen commune" East-West House (168). Of these, only Welch did not travel to Japan.

9. Most of Snyder's letters are in the Whalen archive at Reed College, while Whalen's responses are in Snyder's archive at University of California, Davis.

10. Note the Orientalist overtones of this statement. In the Le Pellec interview in Off the Wall, Whalen explains that this early material on Buddhism entailed "classical Pali Buddhism, the Buddhism of the Theravada," information gleaned from Lin Yutang's Wisdom of China and India, as well as the more esoteric Buddhism presented by Madame Blavatsky and A.P. Sinnett (58-9).
11. Whalen makes this statement in an interview with Lee Bartlett in the 1970's, printed in Off the Wall.

12. This poem was first published in Snyder's collection, Left Out In The Rain, 1986, in the section dated 1949-1952.

13. Whalen would have been familiar with the story of Hui-neng as documented in the Platform Sutra, a text included in Goddard's Buddhist Bible as well as discussed in the first of Suzuki's series of essays on Zen.

14. This inherent contradiction in the practice of poetry by followers of Ch' an is acknowledged by Po Chu-i who was both poet and practitioner. Waley describes Po Chu-i's desire for his poems to be "'reborn' as hymns of praise," in his biography of the poet, The Life and Times of Po Chu-i (200). Volume Three of Jin'ichi Konishi's A History of Japanese Literature, also alludes to this passage, translating Po Chu-i's statement as a hope for his language to be transformed "into a factor extolling the Dharma and a link to the preaching of the Buddha's Word" (154).

15. Su Tung-po, along with Li Po and Po Chu-i, were poets alluded to by Whalen in correspondence and in various published works. For example, he uses a quote from Su Tung-po as epigraph for Diamond Noodle. Konishi characterizes Su Tung-po as the "leading literary figure of the Sung," with "a profound understanding of Zen" (368). He would also have been familiar with Snyder's translation of Han-shan.

16. For example in the first series of Suzuki's essays on Zen, he gives numerous examples of the poetry of Ch' an/Zen masters that comment on their enlightenment experiences, as well as quoting from the poetry of Su Tung-po expressive of Buddhist awareness (24).

17. Note that the Sui dynasty was prior to the time of Po Chu-i, although Po Chu-i was a marshal according to Waley's biography. Whalen had gone to the small coastal town of Newport to avail himself of the hospitality of his friend and fellow Oregonian, Richard Anderson, a friend from the Army and from Whalen's stay in Los Angeles. Later he would make the decision to return to Newport to work as Circuit Court Bailiff for Anderson who had been appointed Circuit Court Judge there in 1957. According to Whalen, Anderson's idea was that "you'll have a small salary and you'll have a lot of time off to read and write, and I said O.K." (Off the Wall 19). He stayed there until 1959 when Ginsberg wrote that he would be in San Francisco, and Whalen returned to the Bay Area, too.

18. Herbert Giles notes of Po Chu-i that on being banished from the capital, he "gave himself up to poetry and wine" (Gems of Chinese Literature 149). Of Li Po, Giles notes that he was founder of the drunken club called the Six Idlers of the Bamboo Brook as well as belonging to the Eight Immortals of the Wine-cup (Gems of Chinese Literature 328).
19. In the "Introduction" to his translation of Po Chu-i's poetry, Waley notes that his poetry's "most striking characteristic" is "its verbal simplicity" (110).

20. It may also be an allusion to the Chinese translations of Herbert Giles, specifically, Gems of Chinese Literature, first published in 1923, which contains several poems and prose selections with Latin titles; thus the title may be intended not only as a debunking but as a humorous homage to one of the early translators of Chinese poetry into English. According to an email communication of January 15, 2002, from Gary Snyder, Snyder and Whalen's sources for Chinese poetry included translations of Herbert Giles as well as Arthur Waley, Witter Bynner, Ezra Pound, William Acker, Kenneth Rexroth, Cranmer-Byng, Obata Shigeyoshi, Florence Ayscough, Robert Payne, and Lin Yutang among others.

21. Lindberg states in the chapter on this work in her study, Reading Pound Reading, that Pound "selects . . . from sources as ancient as Confucian wisdom or as radically avant-garde as Dadaist art, and the latest anthropological methods for uncovering the new in the antiquarian . . . (168) and "unsettles the fixed idea of Western classical culture" with his approach in Culture (170). According to Lindberg, what Pound calls "active ideas" are aspects of art, poetry and sculpture, for example; his aim is to "revise the philosophical tradition," by demonstrating that "philosophy had weakened itself by abandoning or repressing the vitality of tropic thought for the rigor (and rigor mortis) of abstraction" (172-3).

22. Note that Whalen wrote a poem, "Against the Magic War: An Open Letter to Robert Duncan," dated 23:viii:57, and that magic and poetry were associated with Duncan/Spicer's theories and practice of poetry. See Poet Be Like God for more details on Spicer's Magic Workshop held in Spring of 1957. Although Whalen and McClure were not officially part of the Spicer/Duncan group of San Francisco Renaissance poets, they met them in bars like The Place and at poetry readings.

23. Note that Snyder also refers to this koan in Myths & Texts. According to the Historical Dictionary of Buddhism by Charles Prebish, wu or Mu, the Japanese equivalent, is a "negative syllable whose actual meaning is 'no' or 'nothing,' but which is used in a positive sense as a Zen koan. Its use apparently derives from an episode in Chinese Buddhism in which a Ch'an master asks Ma-tsu's disciple Chao-chou whether a dog has Buddha nature. Chao-chou's answer is 'Wu!'" This response "represents a spontaneous answer demonstrating Chao-chou's enlightenment. In Zen, the disciple who is charged with solving the Mu koan must utilize his zazen practice to break conceptual thought patterns, transcend intellectual reasoning, and experience reality directly" (192-93).

24. Whalen's poetry was censored for obscenity by the U.S. Post Office in 1964 when it was published in the Northwest Review. Edward van Aelstyn, its editor, was subsequently removed by the university's academic advisors for publishing Whalen's poems, all of which were from a later period and have been subsequently published as part of Braincandy.
included in On Bear's Head. In an earlier and more well-known case of Beat censorship, Irving Rosenthal, the editor of the Chicago Review, was also removed for publishing excerpts from Naked Lunch by Beat writer, W.S. Burroughs.

25. In the 1972 Le Pellec interview in Off the Wall, Whalen states of this period: "So the idea of not being able to use about two thirds of the language was one of the things that we wanted to break out of and we used all possible words which had never been printed before" (61). Later he adds to this statement regarding some "common points" that Le Pellec has made about Whalen's work and that of the Beat poets: "Yes, especially we're trying to use as much colloquial language as possible or to make new grammatical constructions different from those we learned in high school as being correct" (63). That such a use of language has Zen associations is clear from Lew Welch's review of On Bear's Head, where he states that "the Zen Mind Whalen respects and uses is given back to us in American speech and imagery" ("Philip Whalen as Yellowstone National Park" 26).

26. "Sourdough Mountain Lookout" is one of the earlier appearances of Whalen's poetry in a mainstream national publication. His poetry also appeared in the spring 1958 San Francisco Poetry issue of Chicago Review and Evergreen's 1957 issue on the San Francisco poetry scene. According to Whalen's correspondence with both Snyder and Ginsberg, he was asked to contribute a "poem about Zen" and "Sourdough Mountain Lookout" is the poem he chose (described in a letter to Snyder of April 29, 1958). Perhaps the poem didn't meet Rosenthal's expectations because it was later excerpted for the issue with only the last 60 lines of the poem published and the final mantra in Sanskrit as well as Whalen's translated version also omitted. Whalen notes to Snyder that he had written to Rosenthal trying "to tell him Zenbos don't sit about composing poems about Zen." Whalen also complained to Ginsberg in a letter of March 19, 1958, that Rosenthal wanted a Zen poem but then criticized it because of a lack of intensity, which may explain why parts of it are cut.

27. Of such a method, Ginsberg, another haiku enthusiast, notes in his Indian journals of July 1962: "To the reader who wants to know the what-how of his fellow-man Poet's mind, the content is laid out in its naked practical pattern & is easy to follow. [ . . . ] We don't think in the dialectical rigid pattern of quatrains or synthetic pattern of sonnet: We think in blocks of sensation & images" (41). Whalen discusses his methods of composition in a 1971 interview with Anne Waldman, included in Off The Wall, in which he describes to her how he puts together some of his poems: "Yeah, I look through the notebooks I've been doing and sometimes . . . it seems like it's all completed but then other times there are just stray lines and I look through it and see that some stray line connects it reminds me of some lines that are in another notebook and I look at that and it may all go together or it may not [ . . . ] " (14).

Readers might consider Whalen's technique similar to collage, although in Leslie Scalapino's "Introduction" to Overtime, Whalen's collected poems, he states that his technique does not involve collage (xvii). These particulars of Whalen's world are to be included in the poem in all
their "suchness." In an article on "Collage and Poetry," in the Encyclopedia of Aesthetics, Marjorie Perloff describes the use of the collage principle by 20th century poets: "Coordination rather than subordination, likeness and difference rather than logic or sequence or even qualification - here are the elements of verbal collage. The things described exist: the poet puts them before us without explicit comment or explanation" (386).

28. For critic, Geoffrey Thurlby, in the 1978 essay, "The Development of the New Language," this is the most successful of Whalen's meditative poems because he is able to relate a "higher order of intelligence to the random events of a life," by which Thurlby means "meditations, reading, and staring out of the window," and in skillfully "holding it all in one perspective" (175). Thurlby's critique, however, is that the speaker's actions are passive, an outcome of Buddhism's feminine qualities.

29. Suzuki's translation of this mantra ("Gate, gate, paragate, parasamgate, bodhi, svaha" in his third series of essays is a bit different: "O Bodhi, gone, gone, gone, to the other shore, landed at the other shore, Svaha (an exclamation)" (224). This mantra describes the moment of enlightenment metaphorically as a passing to the other shore (an image commonly used in Buddhism). For Suzuki, the mantra, a rote formula not in keeping with the essence of Zen, also acts as a kind of spontaneous response to the sutra which Suzuki understands to be a koan, its seemingly contradictory gist being that form and emptiness are the same.

30. Interestingly enough, in his critical work, One-Dimensional Man, 1964, Herbert Marcuse uses the slang expression, "gone, man, gone," as an example of "creative" slang and colloquial speech of the common man who would in "his speech assert his humanity against the powers that be, as if the rejection and revolt, subdued in the political sphere, would burst out in the vocabulary that calls things by their names." This colloquial language is in opposition to "official and semi-official discourse" by which "society expresses its requirements." For mainstream society it is the word that "orders and organizes, that induces people to do, to buy, and to accept" (86). Whalen's use of slang here echoes Marcuse's comment as he seeks to free language from conventionality.

31. The Sanskrit mantra along with Whalen's translation, is included in the version of this poem found in Allen's anthology, The New American Poetry: in all other appearances of this poem, Sanskrit has been omitted. Whalen alludes to the fact that he purposefully left out the word, "bodhi," in a letter to Snyder of October 29, 1956, (it does not appear in Allen's anthology) which may have been due to discussion among Buddhist scholars as to various ways to translate it. In a conversation with Whalen of summer 2000, he reiterated that the omission was of his choosing.

32. Whalen's poem, "Newport North-Window View," also from Like I Say, combines a similar interest in seeing the particulars of a scene as simply being "THERE" in a poem that describes the speaker's view from a window. He first sees his surroundings (vacant gravel lot, spruce and jackpine grove) in terms of art, "a set-up for Sesshu," the Japanese painter,
implying his desire for the scene to have aesthetic qualities. By the end of the poem he simply accepts whatever is in his viewpoint as tathata or the particulars of the world, the speaker's change in attitude echoed by the changes in the speaker's description of his view. From aestheticizing, he moves to judgement in a parenthetical expression which criticizes the pristine view as: "(Marred, I thought at first, by these trashy little shacks:) (6). Somewhat paradoxically, the next eleven lines carefully and lovingly describe the "marred" view. As the poem ends, the speaker takes a new, third, look at the scene that began the poem, this time in bright sunlight, transformed as much by his own reflections, as his memory of yesterday's view was by the weather. The transformation in attitude experienced by the speaker and recorded in the process of the poem is similar to the mental transformation of enlightenment as understood by Zen Buddhists. The poem ends with a word string which is similar to a one-line haiku whereby the speaker expresses his realization: "jumbled apricot pyramid woodpile blazes on the tawny ground" (28). This last line demonstrates Whalen's ability to produce rhythmic counterpoint between Eastern and Western modes; the line, considered as a haiku with line breaks after pyramid, blazes, and ground, can also be scanned in Western fashion as a combination of spondee and anapest ending with an iamb.

33. Konishi explains such "bizarre modes of expression" as the "ultimate truth of Zen, Emptiness. The concept entails that all existence is without substantiability; but when this concept is expressed in that way, the expression itself has a substantiability. Thus, in order not to allow expressed content to have substantiability, a mode of expression was devised that deliberately had no meaning, that should convey no meaning" (A History of Japanese Literature 372).

34. In his article about Whalen for the Bancroft Library Newsletter, Bancroftiana, on the occasion of its acquisition of the poet's notebooks, Ron Loewinsohn notes the wide range of knowledge in Whalen's poems which "range more widely in their reference than most Beat poetry" (8). Note however, that allusions are also a major aspect of Chinese poetry, according to James Liu and not necessarily considered pedantic, although they may be a way to demonstrate erudition.

35. Whalen does address this difficulty in reading his poetry in the 1991 interview with Schellling and Waldman in which he admits its didactic nature and that he was "trying to poke people into learning, into checking things out. If nowhere else then just in what I'd written, to see what I was talking about" (Disembodied Poetics 230).

36. Allusions to Wu also occur in the poem, "With Complements to E.H." In the short poem, "A Reflection on My Own Times," the speaker likens his mouth to a dog's yap, which, punningly, recalls the koan question of the dog's Buddha nature in a poem which asks what's on the speaker's mind. The question of original face is addressed in "I Return to San Francisco," "Self-Portrait from Another Direction," and "All About Art and Life." Interestingly, an unpublished poem by Whalen from about this time, found in the Whalen archive of the Columbia University Special
Collections, is Whalen's commentary on the Zen Master, Chao-Chou, similar to Mumon's commentaries on koan in the Mumonkan. The poem entitled, "Senseless Commentaries on Chao-Chou," dated Newport/23:III:58, begins with the idea of possession and ego, as well as the words the speaker is writing which support the ideas of "I" and "Mine." The poem then moves into short two line somewhat nonsensical questions (similar to koan questions) asked by the speaker: "Plum tree moonlight crocodile soap: Which one is my name?" (16-7) which recalls the koan about original face and Whalen's epistemological questions in "All About Art and Life." Kangaroo, and Fern-Women also ask questions; then the poem returns to the first-person speaker who asks repeatedly that someone or something "LET UP!" followed by the complaint: "How come I always have to lose?" (27-8). Though a question any human being faced with a crisis might ask, it can also be considered a type of koan. Indeed according to some commentaries on koan practice, such personal questions are legitimate ones on which to meditate.

37. According to a conversation with Whalen in Summer of 2000, he was familiar with the collection of koan compiled by Paul Reps and Nyogen Senzaki of 1957, Zen Flesh, Zen Bones. The title of this poem as originally printed in Whalen's 1960 poetry collection does not contain a specific allusion to this koan, whereas the poem's title thereafter includes the phrase, "Mumonkan XXIX." Leaving off the specific allusion to the Mumonkan actually makes the experience of reading this poem more like a koan problem by leaving it up to the reader to make the connection between Whalen's imagery and the nature of mind this poem exhibits.

38. Ruth Fuller Sasaki writes of capping phrases from the Zenrinkingushu, published in 1688, that the 'Japanese student of sanzen [...] must find the particular traditional jakugo or 'capping phrase' for the koan he is studying, and present it to his teacher as the final step in his study of the koan' (Zen Dust 80).

39. A linked haiku, "Haiku String, 8:V:59," which Whalen wrote in 1959 also deals with the connection between the wind and the mind. The title of the series of nine haiku, located in the Auerhahn Press archive at Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, is Whalen's homespun term for Blyth's renku of haiku. Most of which are indeed linked, by image, sound, and meaning and move from images of wind to those of mind. The string begins: "Now fresh & bright after the fog/Chill sea wind not really cold" (1-2) and ends: "Waiting, mind wandering--/Neighbor's children crash home from school!" (19-20). Wind and mind dominate: wind is mentioned in the first, second, third (as breeze), and sixth haiku, while mind appears in the eighth and ninth. The fourth and fifth haiku present tea-drinking, along with mental attitudes of loneliness: "White ravel-edge cloth over backporch board/Lone tea-drinking" (8-9) and impatience: "Impatient for more hot water/Breaking tradition" (10-11). The seventh presents speculation about life and death: "Window ledge/Small fern from the hills/Living or dying?" (13-15). The poet's mind has also been actively free associating throughout the haiku string, as well as providing links from "wind" to "mind" through alliteration and assonance: "wind" in the
first two; "friends" in the third; "white" in the fourth; "water" in the fifth; "wind" in the sixth; "window" in the seventh; "mind" in the eighth and "waiting" and "mind" in the ninth. Whalen also links these two forces through rhyme and antithesis. In this regard, note the interest of Chinese poetry in antithetical, parallel, and inverted constructions. James Liu in The Art of Chinese Poetry concludes that antithesis reveals "a perception of the underlying contrasting aspects of Nature," presenting a contrast which demonstrates affinity (150). Thus wind metamorphoses into mind in the poem, and the mind and wind could be considered in the relationship of metaphor and simile: wind literally becomes mind and mind is compared to wind in its quickness, invisibility, changeability and all-pervading presence for the poet. This haiku string quite simply and effectively makes this point as well as recalls "Metaphysical Insomnia Jazz," and the argument about whether mind or wind is moving. Whalen's koan response here is that wind and mind are the same.

Whalen chose only one, the eighth, of the string of nine for publication; it closes Memoirs of an Interglacial Age: "Awake a moment/Mind dreams again/Red roses black-edged petals." This is one of the more imagistic poems in the collection with the familiar Buddhist theme of evanescence and transience of life shown by the red roses beginning to decay with their black-edged petals. This haiku refers more to the theme of the mind and how it works, rather than wind, and may recall the famous anecdote of Chuang Tzu, provided by Blyth in his first volume on haiku, in which the philosopher dreams he is a butterfly, while on awaking is unsure whether he is still a butterfly dreaming he is a man awakening or whether he is a man awakening. Its inclusion is perhaps in homage to William Carlos Williams, who met with Whalen, Snyder, and Welch, on a visit to Reed College in 1950, reminiscent as it is of his imagistic and objective poetry.

It is unclear why Whalen chose to publish only one of the string. He may have wished to downplay the importance of haiku or felt the string did not fit formally with the rest of the poems in the volume and that the eighth would most effectively act as coda. According to a conversation in summer of 2000 with David Haselwood, editor of Auerhahn Press and publisher of Memoirs of an Interglacial Age, he did not remember why only one of these haiku were included, but concluded that it was probably Whalen's decision. According to a conversation with Whalen of summer of 2000 regarding haiku in general, he noted the difficulty of writing haiku in English and that the Japanese language was needed for true haiku; thus his attitude toward haiku differs from Kerouac's or Ginsberg's.

40. "Self-Portrait Sad 22:IX:58" is another poem which relates to the issue of identity. Questioning the notion of the self, the speaker notes that the "I" is a "matter of habit." "Self-Portrait, from Another Direction" was first published as a broadside by David Haselwood's Auerhahn Press in 1959 and reprinted in Memoirs of an Interglacial Age. It is thus Whalen's first poem published by a small press, as opposed to earlier magazine appearances of his work.
41. Heinrich Dumoulin explains its significance in his history of Zen as demonstrating "the psychological aspects of the process of enlightenment" (Zen Buddhism: A History 52).

42. The idea that words are nothing but finger-tips pointing "at something to somebody" is taken from the Lankavatara Sutra (169), emphasizing that words are not the same as their meanings, hence Zen's lack of interest in intellectuality and verbose teachings. The Lankavatara Sutra's attitude toward words and language lead to connections between Zen and Wittgenstein made by poets Kyger and Whalen.

Chinese philosophy and poetics makes a similar point with Chuang Tzu's idea that "one who knows does not speak, and one who speaks does not know," quoted by James Liu in his essay, "The Paradox of Poetics and the Poetics of Paradox" (53).

43. By characterizing Whalen's technique of including texts and sounds from the outside world in his poetry as found text and found sound, I have likened them to found objects, which according to the Oxford Dictionary of 20th-Century Art, are found and displayed by artists with "no or minimal, alteration as (or as an element in ) a work of art. [...] The essence of the matter is that the finder-artist recognizes such a chance find as an 'aesthetic object' and displays it for appreciation by others as he would a work of art" (451). An early example of such use of sounds appears in a letter from Whalen to Snyder of June 24, 1956, describing an idea for an experimental play in which sounds enter the main action from off-stage. The play "will actually be a composition of sounds, like music, only parts of it will be words - the rest, noises, music, & fragments of another play going on off-stage" (what he calls "off-stage racket"). This off-stage sound would include a couple fighting, the sound of trains, boats, machinery, guns, musical instruments, glass breaking, and animal & bird cries. This idea may also owe its inspiration to the work of John Cage with which Whalen was familiar. For Whalen, the doubleness of the found text or sound and its ability to join inner and outer worlds, is simply another kind of doubleness, like the pun, for him to employ out of which, paradoxically, he makes a unified experience for the reader.

44. According to the Oxford Dictionary of 20th-Century Art, "cubist pictures used a multiplicity of viewpoints, so that many different aspects of an object could be simultaneously depicted in the same image, presenting the artist's accumulated idea of a subject rather than an imitation of its appearance at any one moment." (148). Favorited subjects for cubists were still-lifes and portraits. Gertrude Stein, a writer familiar to Whalen, used cubist principles in her writing in creating verbal portraits of her friends.

45. Whalen here may owe something to Gary Snyder's poem on the act of meditating, "What I Think When I Meditate," which appeared in Ark III, Winter 1957. Whalen also had a poem published in this magazine, "A Dim View of Berkeley in the Spring," and would have been aware of Snyder's poem, which also relates to a Zen tradition of writing about the meditation process. A famous example is Zen master Hakuin's "Song of Meditation," included in Suzuki's Manual of Zen Buddhism as well as in the guide to
practice for foreign students of the First Zen Institute of America in Japan co-written by Snyder.

Snyder's poem is humorous, ironic, and slangy. At one point the poem's speaker even admits to what his readers probably subconsciously believe that what "I really think about is sex" (12), then contradicts himself with the perhaps feigned comment: "No, honestly/what I think about is what am I thinking about? and/who am I and 'MU'" (15-18), referring to Chao-Chou's koan about the dog's Buddha nature. The poem ends in mid-thought with a comma: "What I think about is/one, another." (32-3). The meditator moves from recording associations to recording the passage of thought or breath, implying an infinite progression, empty of content.

46. Whalen first presents the issue of writing in "Sourdough Mountain Lookout" (similarly to the description in Diamond Noodle) as the lookout records and comments on his own writing: "'raging. Viking sunrise/The gorgeous death of summer in the east'/ (Influence of a Byronic landscape - Bent pages exhibiting depravity of style.)" (25-8). His parenthetical aside suggests the speaker's self-irony and search for a new style.

47. Whalen has identified the lines as belonging to Milarepa in a letter of September 11, 1958, to Ginsberg, introducing them in the context of a discussion of how one lives in the world: "Idea of a VOID is also an illusion. Point of meditation is this: how you behave towards the world, other people, & yourself afterwards; hence the importance of Mila Repa's poem." The letter contains an additional line: "The indistinction of Self and Other renders the service of others effective," which he glosses as alluding to the "job of a bodhisattva, to enlighten all sentient beings." Leaving out these lines in "The Same Old Jazz," also leaves out the bodhisattva, but not the idea of compassion.

48. A pertinent exchange can be found in Whalen's interview with Waldman and Schelling in "Philip Whalen: Zen Interview," in Disembodied Poetics in which Schelling asks Whalen if any of his poems come from a contemplative state. He responds in the negative stating that he writes his poems because "I saw things or heard things immediately, not because I was thinking about it, not because I had a plan to write a poem, it was just that something caught my attention." Waldman interjects that "that in itself is a contemplative state: attention" (232-33).

49. Lawrence Lipton in his 1959 study of the Beat Generation, The Holy Barbarians, comments on the oral quality of Beat writing, as the "spoken word committed to writing, which is oral in structure" (227). Of the poetry of these "holy barbarians," Lipton writes that "the printed poem is not the poem. It is only the 'score' of the poem, just as in music the score is not the music. It has to be played back" (228), meaning for him spoken aloud. Lipton is also a great promoter of poetry accompanied by jazz.

50. Paul Christensen's reading of this poem in his biographical entry, "Philip Whalen," for the Gale Research Series on the Beat Generation, is enthusiastic, claiming it exemplifies Whalen's ability to articulate "rather difficult abstractions in a casual, concrete language, an ability that often

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conceals the mastery he has made of the theological arcana in his poems" (564). However, Christensen's use of the term, arcana, with its connotation of an enjoyment of the obscure for its own sake, seems misplaced and might lead readers to believe that Whalen's theological position is one he has taken on for a show of esoteric knowledge, rather than one he believes in.

51. As Dumoulin puts it in his discussion of the Lankavatara Sutra, "language is fundamentally confined to the realm of distinction and therefore bound to fall into error" (History of Zen 54-55).

52. A conversation with Whalen in the summer of 2000, confirms that he had Herrigel and his book in mind when he wrote this poem.

53. Whalen's involvement with the process of writing may be compared to that of the Abstract Expressionist painters of the 1950's, whose subject matter was painting as process. Note that although Whalen does not mention abstract expressionism, he was probably familiar with the movement. Franz Kline's calligraphic abstractions were featured in Evergreen Review in the same issue as Snyder's translation of Han-shan.

54. The interest Whalen takes in making the lineation of his poems dynamic also relates to connections and distinctions he wants to make between such juxtaposed thoughts. In an essay entitled, "After Free Verse," Marjorie Perloff comments on the way free verse is "effective insofar as it tracks the actual movement of thought and feeling, refusing to interfere with its free flow, to inhibit its natural motion. Or so, at least, the poem must appear to be doing, no matter how much 'craft' has gone into it" (91). In this essay, Perloff distinguishes between modernist poets of free verse linearity and postmodern ones of nonlinearity, whose interest is visual as well as verbal. Whalen somehow fits into both categories, as his use of the space of the page creates visual and linear interest.

55. Whalen may have included these quotes because they inspired the poem, itself. In the version of the poem collected in On Bear's Head, the dates of 6:V-8:V:59 are given for the Addenda, while the poem's dates are given as 7/8:V:59.

56. Diamond Noodle, hereafter referred to as DN, differs from Whalen's other experimental prose work of this time, Goofbook, written in late 1960 for Jack Kerouac. Goofbook, is not only shorter, taking place over a relatively brief period of time, but more linear in nature than DN's structure and time frame. Whalen also wrote two novels which are more conventional in form: You Didn't Even Try, 1967, and Imaginary Speeches For A Brazen Head, 1972.

57. A prose take was included in Memoirs of an Interglacial Age, "Prose Take-Out, Portland 13:ix:58;" one was also published separately in the Autumn 1958, Chicago Review as, "Prose Take 1:V:57." Note that various prose takes from the late 1950's and 1960's found in Whalen archives are integrated into DN's published text. Many of these memories and dreams
have specific dates included as the time frame of their composition, but were inserted undated and without a necessarily chronological order into the manuscript. Separate takes in the novel are designated by spacing between paragraphs.

As is often the case with his poetry, he notes both the date of inception and completion on the last page of this work, indicating the all-inclusive nature of the book's time period and the real time in which the book was written: its first and revised typescripts in 1965 and its inception, Berkeley 27:1:56. Research into Whalen's Columbia archives also provides a date of completion of blocking selection as 8:XII:64 for the work dated 1956-64. A letter from David Haselwood to the author provides a publication history for this work. Haselwood had asked Whalen for a group of prose takes for publication, and Whalen gave him the DN manuscript. After Haselwood asked Whalen to further structure the work, the manuscript remained in the Auerhahn Press offices for some time. When Haselwood dissolved the press, Whalen asked for it back. It may have been Donald Allen who actually retrieved the manuscript because the history of Poltroon Press indicates that its publishers obtained the Diamond Noodle manuscript from Allen.

58. Dumoulin also includes in the Avatamsaka Sutra's expression of the "interpenetration of all things in space," the "interrelatedness of all moments of time" (History of Zen 47) which further relates these two Buddhist teachings. Suzuki alludes to this image in his presentation of the teachings of Fa-tsang on the Avatamsaka Sutra in his third series of essays on Zen in which Fa-tsang requires the practitioner to look into Mind "to which all things return," seeing the "world of particulars," observing the "perfect mysterious interpenetration of all things," which is "nothing but Suchness," "to observe that the mirror of identity holds in it images of all things each without obstructing others [...]" (73).

Another relevant Buddhist text which also uses the image of a diamond and provides a clue to Whalen's choice of title for Diamond Noodle, is the Diamond Sutra, which teaches that all phenomena are empty and projections of mind, just as DN is essentially the projection of the mind of Philip Whalen. According to the Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen, the Diamond Sutra is "sharp like a diamond that cuts away all unnecessary conceptualization" (57).

59. It is also interesting to note that several early poems of Whalen's, may be a precursor for the title, specifically a poem about noodles, "Ode to Chow Mein," 1941. Another early poem more relevant to the Buddhist philosophy expressed in Diamond Noodle is one of a series of poems about Portland, entitled, "Portland Revisited," whose section, "China Town: Hoy Sun Low's," contains the line, "While Mr. Hoy considers the profit and the loss/And the wheel of the law." Whalen conflates Chinese cuisine, the idea of change (profit and loss), and the wheel of the law, which expresses pratitya-samutpada.

60. In draft notes also found in the Whalen archive at Columbia University, he includes a paragraph that indicates the importance of 1959: "If I wanted to write a novel, I could write about everything interesting
that happened to me in 1959 [. . .] " He then provides specifics from his life in that year as examples.

61. See the 1999 Whalen interview by David Meltzer in San Francisco Beat for a discussion of Whalen's health problems and their effect on his writing. Regarding the effect of increasing immersion in Zen practice on Whalen as poet, also note the title of one of Whalen's last collections of original work, Enough Said, included in the collection, Heavy Breathing, which punningly underscores the idea that Whalen has said enough and has thus brought his publication of original work to a close. Instead action in the form of Zen meditation practice or "heavy breathing" is needed. I am indebted to Michael Rothenberg, Whalen's editor, for pointing out this pun to me.

62. The focus of this chapter has not permitted a discussion of other aspects of Whalen's work such as his use of musical structures, although I have presented some notion of his use of counterpoint which relates to the musical form, the fugue (note that Leslie Scalapino notes the fugal quality of his poetry in her introduction to Overtime). I have also not discussed other important literary sources for him in the work of Kenneth Patchen or E.E. Cummings. Neither have I made enough of the way Whalen threads ideas through his poems, with images and concepts reappearing from poem to poem similarly to the way that wind and mind make their way from "Metaphysical Insomnia Jazz" to "Haiku String," exemplifying literally the movement of the mind. In a sense Whalen addresses the same issues, but from slightly different perspectives, in each poem he writes and in Diamond Noodle.
CHAPTER 6

GARY SNYDER: DHARMA BUM, BUDDHIST ANARCHIST

I. Introduction

West Coast poet, Gary Snyder, associated with both the San Francisco Renaissance and the Beat avant-garde, did not popularize Zen in the 1950's as did Kerouac. However, since the 1960's, he has been the writer of this group most often linked with Zen by literary critics. Examples of such characterizations include Thomas Parkinson's 1968 essay, "The Poetry of Gary Snyder," with a comparison of the "roguishness" of Snyder's verse to the "roguish wit of Zen masters" (24); Bob Steuding's 1976 study of Snyder which associates his spontaneity and haiku practice with Zen; Katsunori Yamazato's essay, included in Critical Essays on Gary Snyder, which considers Zen as "fundamental for the poet—a way of seeing and working through life" (231); and Helen Vendler's 1995 book review, "American Zen: Gary Snyder's No Nature," with her emphasis on Snyder's objectivity and his interest in the Buddhist tenet of reverence for all life. Snyder's primary subject matter, the natural world and the interrelationship of all beings, the latter a tenet of the Mahayana Buddhist Avatamsaka Sutra, bears out these associations, while the impersonality of his poetry can be said to relate to the Buddhist emphasis on the need for loss of ego. This is in
addition to his involvement with traditional Zen in Japan for a nearly ten year period beginning in the mid-1950's.

There is a more political or activist aspect to Snyder's interest in Zen Buddhism in this early period, which has not been sufficiently recognized, however. This may be because his combination of Buddhism with anarchism seems incongruous to some, or that Buddhism connotes a distancing from the problems of the world in its emphasis on meditation.¹ His political position is derived from his background in West Coast anarchism and his interest in the politics of the Industrial Workers of the World labor movement, abbreviated, I.W.W., and commonly known as the Wobblies. Interestingly, some critics consider Snyder's interest in Zen to be in tension with his social consciousness. For example in Vendler's review of No Nature, she states that Snyder's Buddhism "has always existed in sharp and productive tension with his inherited socialist utopianism and its negative consequence, bitter political protest" (124). The focus of this chapter will be an examination of the confluence of the spiritual and the sociopolitical in Snyder's work of the 1950's and early 1960's as exhibited by his creation and use of the dharma bum persona as early as his long poem, Myths & Texts, and most explicitly expressed in his essay, "Buddhist Anarchism," published by City Lights in its Journal for the Protection of All Beings in 1961. I will examine these texts as well as Snyder's journal entries and correspondence, translations of Han-shan's "Cold Mountain Poems," his Zen Buddhist writing for the First Zen Institute of America in Japan, and essays about Zen already briefly alluded to in a previous chapter such as "Spring Sesshin at Shotokuji." These works demonstrate Snyder's use of Zen as contributing to poetic innovation and as part of what I have
characterized as the Beat avant-garde project to change American society, whereby Snyder uses Zen Buddhism along with anarchist politics, to challenge Western spiritual and social practices. In this way, Snyder demonstrates his understanding of Zen as dual discourse, one that can be expressed both aesthetically and spiritually. He privileges and politicizes its spiritual aspect and includes aspects of Zen spirituality in aesthetic practice. This is despite the fact that in the 1950's, the Beats, of which Snyder was considered a part, were often criticized for their apolitical and anti-intellectual stance as has been noted in the previous chapter.2

In many of these works, Snyder offers guidelines for the way that his interpretation of Zen Buddhist practice along with his emphasis on the Right Action of individual responsibility can lead to a revolution in thinking, which may be considered synonymous with enlightenment, and to change on the material plane. In his journal of March of 1959 he notes of Zen: "Zen aims, simply, to open the individual to his widest potential of awareness, love, and understanding in this life, and in such a manner that a personal fear of the infinite or desire for eternity - or concern with any world at all but those multitudes that actually exist on this planet, and in the human mind - is meaningless."

Snyder's own vision of Zen gained both from reading books by D.T. Suzuki, R.H. Blyth, among others, and practicing Zen both in the United States and in Japan, reflects the emphasis that Mahayana Buddhism (of which Zen is a sect) places on compassion and the necessity for a new sense of community both among humans and between humans and their environment, understood as the interconnectedness of all beings.3 One of the Buddhist tenets that broadly underlies the connections Snyder makes
between the spiritual and the political is that of the compassionate Bodhisattva of Mahayana Buddhism. The Bodhisattva is one who postpones his or her own enlightenment until all beings have become enlightened, often returning to earth to help others. As D.T. Suzuki puts it in his essay on the Bodhisattva-ideal, the vow of the Bodhisattva is concerned with "enlightening [...] or saving all his fellow-beings which include not only sentient beings but the non-sentient" (Essays, 3rd series: 64). Compassion toward all necessitates and finds expression in the interconnectedness of all beings, a teaching of the Avatamsaka Sutra, influential in East Asia Buddhist philosophy and an important sutra for Zen Buddhism's Rinzai tradition with which Snyder was affiliated during his first trips to Japan in the 1950's. Suzuki states of this sutra in the essay, "From Zen to the Gandavyuha," that Zen masters were drawn towards the philosophy of Identity and Interpenetration advocated by the Avatamsaka, and attempted to incorporate it into their own discourses" (Essays, 3rd series: 4).4

In the essay, "Spring Sesshin at Shokoku-ji," published in Chicago Review, 1958, Snyder cites the mastering of the Avatamsaka (Kegon) philosophy along with years of meditation and koan study as prerequisites for becoming a Roshi or Zen Master (42).5 The significance of this sutra for Snyder's political and spiritual values lies in its emphasis on the interdependence of all beings, animate and inanimate, as well as its ability to act as an alternative to bankrupt Western spiritual beliefs and values which had seemingly condoned the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan in World War II. In "Buddhist Anarchism," Snyder writes: "Avatamsaka (Kegon) Buddhist philosophy - which some believe to be the intellectual statement of Zen - sees the universe as a vast, inter-related network in

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which all objects and creatures are necessary and holy" (Journal for the Protection of All Beings 11). Buddhism does not privilege humans over other forms of life in this concept of interconnectivity and would seem to provide an alternative to the West's more humanly dominated orientation toward the natural world.

One of the main ways that Snyder reconciles what might be considered opposite poles of the sociopolitical and the spiritual is through the creation of the persona of the dharma bum, a figure embodying the connection between the spirituality of the Zen poet-recluse, and the political Wobbly itinerant. These two halves will join to make a dynamic whole. In fact, their somewhat contradictory coupling can be said to embody the contradiction and paradox that are part of the way of Zen, as well as their geographic aspects (West and East). Snyder's June 11, 1957, journal entry demonstrates his interest in recognizing and mediating the differences between the Western and the Eastern. In the West, meditation is not an integral part of its culture, and action is its meditation: "Action as meditation in the occident. Like the way I dig work and jobs, the psychological contrast it has always made to study." Snyder also incorporates his own personal life experiences into the dharma bum persona: as a physical laborer, scholar, poet, and Zen practitioner who both critiques and supports traditional Japanese Zen Buddhism. These more personal roles become another way of synthesizing seemingly contradictory aspects of life into poetry for Snyder. In addition, as evidenced by Myths & Texts, Snyder plays with variations on this persona, using the Native American Coyote Trickster figure, and shaman. Tracing the connections between his understanding of Zen Buddhism, his attitude
toward work, and his background in the Pacific Northwest, a stronghold of I.W.W. activity and organization, leads to a better understanding of the persona of the dharma bum and the position of mediation that this persona embodies in Snyder's early work. This discussion will be followed by the more polemical expression of this confluence in Snyder's essay, "Buddhist Anarchism."

II. Right Action: Work, Politics, Poetry, and Zen

A major aspect of Snyder's interest in connecting the spiritual and the political in his poetry is his attitude toward work. Snyder values work, both the work of ordinary people who use their hands in labor and the work of the poem as part of the work of the poet's daily life. These two kinds of work come together in Snyder's dedication of his first published book of poems, Riprap, to twelve men, "In the woods and at sea," indicating that these are men Snyder worked with on logging and trail crews and tanker during the writing of the poems included in this volume. In the afterword to the new edition, he explains that the title, Riprap "celebrates the work of the hands, the placing of rock, and my first glimpse of the image of the whole universe as interconnected, interpenetrating, mutually reflecting, and mutually embracing" (66). Here he expresses these aspects of work in terms of the Avatamasaka Sutra's teachings.

In addition, Snyder's conception of work also covers the act of writing poetry. In a statement he made for Donald Allen's "Statements on Poetics" in The New American Poetry Anthology, 1960, Snyder comments on the writing of the poem, "Riprap," (included in the anthology), that "I've just recently come to realize that the rhythms of my poems follow the
rhythm of the physical work I'm doing and life I'm leading at any given time—which makes the music in my head which creates the line" and "the daily trail-crew work of picking up and placing granite stones in tight cobble patterns on hard slab" (420-21). The title poem of the collection, "Riprap," describes his poetic method in terms of physical labor, whereby words are rocks that need to be placed solidly and with care.9

Work will also be an important component of Snyder's life as a Zen monk and layman living at the monastery, a role which he will fulfill off and on during the 1950's and 1960's in Japan. In The East West Journal interview of 1977, reprinted in The Real Work, hereafter cited as RW, Snyder explains that he spent his first year in Japan living in Shokoku-ji, serving as personal attendant to Miura Isshu Roshi, his first teacher, who instructed Snyder to continue his studies with Oda Sesso Roshi, the head abbot of Daitoku-ji (RW 97). Snyder sums up his own attitude toward work by alluding in this interview to his teacher's definition of Right Action, one of the tenets of Buddhism's Noble Eightfold Path, the path to the attainment of cessation of suffering: "Right action, then, means sweeping the garden. To quote my teacher, Oda Sesso: 'In Zen, there are only two things: you sit and you sweep the garden. It doesn't matter how big the garden is'" (RW 119). Note that by sitting, Oda Sesso means to sit in meditation, one of the primary activities of the Zen practitioner. D.T. Suzuki also discusses the importance of work and the "significance of manual labor" in conjunction with Zen and its manner of training students. Monks practice meditation or zazen and are "otherwise fully occupied with all kinds of work: cleaning, sweeping, washing, cooking, farming, etc." The master also shares in the work of the monastery. Suzuki
concludes: "In Zen there is no mind apart from the body and the body apart from the mind, they are one" (Zen and Japanese Buddhism 62-3).

As important as Snyder's understanding of Zen Buddhism and his attitude toward physical labor and Right Action is toward the creation of the dharma bum persona, his background in the Pacific Northwest is even more significant as it contributes to his familiarity with the I.W.W. (the Industrial Workers of the World) and anarcho-pacifist politics. In the East West interview in which Snyder is asked to discuss such political issues as "isolation, irrelevance, and cooptation" in his work, he states, "I grew up with a sense of identification with the working class" (The Real Work 111). Snyder was born during the Depression. He describes his background in his biographical statement for The New American Poetry thus: "I was born 1930 in San Francisco & raised up on a feeble sort of farm just north of Seattle. Reed College very kindly scholarshiped me & I graduated from there in 1951, majoring in mythology" (444). A Reed college friend of Snyder's, Carol Baker, remembers that "Social injustice was a big item on our agenda." She comments that under Gary's "aegis" she began to "pay attention to the underclasses [. . .]." She recounts Snyder's description of his background with emphasis on Wobbly connections:

He talked to me about growing up as a Depression boy, and he showed me his rickety ribs, caused by not enough good food - his family was poor. He told me the story of the Wobblies, [. . .] a radical union formed early in the century by loggers and others who worked in the forests. They'd formed their union to work for equitable rights in a time when exploitation of workers by the rich was the name of the game." (25)
In a 1987 interview, Snyder, himself, describes his Wobbly background:
"Both of my parents were grassroot radicals; they belonged to the native Northwest socialist tradition. My grandfather was an I.W.W." (At the Field's End 369).

Robert Tyler's history of the I.W.W. in the Northwest in the early 20th century, Rebels of the Woods, 1967, describes the I.W.W. as a political protest movement of the turn of the century whose members "preached the most advanced radicalism of the day, an Americanized anarcho-syndicalism" (2). According to the Encyclopedia of Political Anarchy, the Industrial Workers of the World are associated with anarcho-syndicalism (syndicalism being a term for "radical trade unionism) which sees capitalism and the state as oppressors of working-class people" (16). Tyler characterizes the I.W.W. members as "zealous, anarchical, and free from middle-class social restraints," acting with "humor or fanaticism," and advocating sabotage (9-10). Despite the fact that the I.W.W. was first organized in the East Coast and Midwest, according to Tyler, it found its "most hospitable reception in the economies of the post-frontier West." As a way of life the I.W.W. caught on only among migrating workers and was most active in the lumber industry in the logging camps and the lumber mills of the Northwest, perhaps because this industry was an unstable one whose ideal labor force, made up largely of bums and hoboes, consisted of just such itinerants and transients who could be easily laid off (7-9). Patrick Renshaw in his study, The Wobblies, makes the point that the slang terms used to describe this itinerant labor force, hobo, tramp, and bum were "all more or less terms of abuse denoting an idle, shiftless way of life" and "were bandied about freely in descriptions of the I.W.W." 10
Snyder, himself, more recently clarified his relation toward anarchism in a conversation of Summer 2000, in which he described his position in the 1950's as that of an anarcho-pacifist, citing Kenneth Rexroth and Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* as important early influences. The *Encyclopedia of Political Anarchy* conflates anarcho-pacifism with religious anarchism, defining the former as the creation of religious dissidents who see that "civil authority is evil, the only moral law being that of God." Their actions include the "nonviolent direct action or passive nonresistance as formulated by Gandhi" and antiwar activities such as conscientious objection, demonstrating that "government represents violence" (174). Anarcho-pacifism thus proves compatible with Snyder's Zen Buddhist persuasion, involved as it is in a nonviolent attitude toward all life. One of the steps of the Buddha's Eightfold Path is right action - to avoid killing as well as stealing and other misconduct, while another is right livelihood - shunning careers that are harmful to other living things.

Kenneth Rexroth, the more contemporary of Snyder's influences, was one of the main forces behind the San Francisco Renaissance of which Snyder was a part, and Rexroth describes himself as an anarchist and conscientious objector in his autobiography, *An Autobiographical Novel*. The anarchist group he helped organize in San Francisco after the war, the Libertarian Circle, discussed, among other topics, the I.W.W. and Kropotkin. By-products of the group's activities include the San Francisco Poetry Center, a significant incentive to the rise of the tradition of living poetry and poetry readings in San Francisco in the 1950's of which Snyder, other West Coast poets, and East Coast Beats were a part. Rexroth states of this movement that "by the end of the war the ideological foundations of the
San Francisco Renaissance had been laid — poetry of direct speech of I to
Thou, personalism, anarchism" (Autobiographical Novel 511).

Snyder's relation to Rexroth seems particularly close. In a talk
given in 1978 and reprinted in The Real Work as, "Poetry, Community &
Climax," Snyder remembers attending Kenneth Rexroth's open houses in
the early 1950's where "four or five or sometimes ten people might drop by;
some out of an old Italian anarchist group, some from the filmmakers' and
artists' circles of the Bay Area" (162). Linda Hamalian in her biography of
Rexroth describes the Rexroth/Snyder relationship as one which
demonstrates Rexroth's interest in establishing friendships with "talented
young writers," noting that Snyder was "among the closest" of these and
had become interested in initially meeting Rexroth after reading the elder
poet's The Signature of All Things. As a graduate student at Berkeley, in the
fall of 1953, Snyder had contacted Rexroth and asked to be invited to one of
his Friday night gatherings. Hamalian states that for the next three years,
the two saw each other regularly; their "friendship blossomed" (234).
Snyder would dedicate his 1968 volume of poetry, The Back Country, to
Rexroth.

Kropotkin, and his 1902 work, Mutual Aid, is the other avowed
influence on Snyder's anarcho-pacifism. Because of his conversion to
anarchism, Kropotkin, the son of a Russian prince, renounced his
aristocratic position and refused a career as secretary of the Russian
Geographical Society to found a revolutionary group.11 In the
introduction to Mutual Aid, Kropotkin doubts the "reality" of competition
and the "dominant part" which it was supposed to play "in the evolution of
new species," an article of faith with most Darwinists (2). Instead, he

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points to the importance of community between species, directing his attention to "establishing first of all, the importance of the Mutual Aid factor of evolution [. . .]" (4). He maintains that "sociability is the greatest advantage in the struggle for life" because it "leaves room for the development of better moral feelings, among which is compassion, the "first step towards the development of higher moral sentiments" (50-1). Thus, Kropotkin's position would prove compatible with Snyder's understanding of Buddhism and its emphasis on compassion. Kropotkin also valorizes the communal movement and the importance of unions and socialism as later aspects of the principle of mutual aid, an interest which also connects with Snyder's interest in the I.W.W. movement.12

These political and spiritual interests may be seen as creating a tension in Snyder's work, although the relation between Snyder's activist background and his interest in Buddhism can be seen as somewhat interdependent and reciprocal. This reciprocity is mirrored geographically in the way Snyder moves back and forth between the West Coast and Japan during the 1950's and 1960's. Snyder's poetry practice, itself, is another way he resolves these tensions. The subject matter of social consciousness and the sensitivity and spirituality of Zen Buddhism merge through his presentation of the natural world in his poetry, which embodies the principle of interconnectedness. An early statement about poetry and Zen that hints at this resolution of tension comes from David Kherdian's portrait of Snyder in Six Poets of the San Francisco Renaissance. Snyder comments on how the poet "faces two directions: one is to the world of people and language and society, and the other is the nonhuman, nonverbal world, which is nature as nature is itself; and the
world of human nature—the inner world—as it is itself, before language, before custom, before culture. There's no words in that realm" (51). This is the realm that Buddhism studies through the practice of zazen or sitting meditation, according to Snyder. The creation of the dharma bum persona (popularized by Kerouac as demonstrated in previous chapters) also provides a way to resolve such tensions. The persona acts as a kind of double-identity that can enable the Janus-faced poet to act in several worlds simultaneously. Snyder's long poem, Myths and Texts demonstrates early developments of the dharma bum persona which combines the Buddhist and the anarchist and expresses right action on the part of various culture groups significant to Snyder in this poem such as Wobbly logger, Native American Coyote trickster figure, and Zen Buddhist master or poet-recluse. Thus the dharma bum persona embodies and furthers the poetic resolution of the tension between the sociopolitical and the spiritual.

III. Myths and Texts: Variations on the Dharma Bum Persona

In the statement appended to the entry for Myths and Texts, hereafter referred to as M&T, in the bibliography of his works, Snyder notes its completion in the Fall of 1955 (8); "it was actually brought together as a complete book earlier than Riprap, which was published first" (9). This makes M&T the earliest statement of Snyder's poetic vision in which he brings together the sociopolitical and the spiritual and the personification of these positions through a poetry of myth. In his statement on poetics for Donald Allen's New American Poetry, 1960, in which "Burning," the third section of M&T appears, he states of this work: "I tried to make my life as a hobo and worker, the questions of history &
philosophy in my head, and the glimpses of the roots of religion I'd seen [. . .] into one whole thing" (421). Snyder adds that the work's title derives from "the happy collections Sapir, Boas, Swanton, and others made of American Indian folktales early in this century; it also means the two sources of human knowledge—symbols and sense-impressions" (421). In recalling the titles of late 19th century ethnographic works by Swanton, Boas, and Sapir in his own 20th century poem, Snyder also recalls the ethnographer's methodology where the distinction between myth and text is one of language. For example in Swanton's Haida Texts and Myths, 1905, and Tlingit Myths and Texts, 1909, texts refer to the actual recorded words of the informants reproduced in their native language with either free or interlinear translations, while myths refer to similar stories of the tribe told to and recorded by Swanton in English or rewritten by him in standard English. Snyder uses this ethnographic method with his own myths and texts in recording as direct quotes the texts or statements of his contemporaries, while the myths consist of the interpretations and stories the speaker of the poem (and indirectly Snyder as poet) makes from these texts. In addition, the ethnographic overtones of the work shows something about the poem as ethnographic record of Snyder's 20th century culture. These are the myths of the 20th century tribe of which Snyder is a part and a spokesman. Such myths may even be those of his own family: the sixth poem of the Logging section is his father's story of family blackberry picking in 1914, a "banner year for blackberries" (3) when "we were canning for three days" (30).

An important context for this long poem is Snyder's senior thesis for Reed College, subsequently published by Grey Fox Press in 1979 as He Who
Hunted Birds in His Father's Village, hereafter referred to as HWHBFV, in which he examines the dimensions of the swan maiden myth and its function in Haida culture. He sums up these levels of meaning, or in Snyder's terms, dimensions of myth, thus: "The myth has been seen as social document, as product of historical diffusion and compounded from motifs distributed all over the world, as metaphysical and psychological truth in symbolic form, as literature, and as a vital functioning aspect of a culture" (113).

More significant than the dimensions of the myth is how it functions in society. The swan maiden myth may reinforce the Haida culture's "conception of the universe, of the nature of supernatural beings and animals, and of the nature of human intercourse with the supernatural sphere" (113). These are also important cultural functions for Snyder living in the 20th century, which he in turn expresses in his long poem, M&T. In examining how myth functions in society, the theme of the myths presented, and the specific allusions in texts and mythic material, readers can better understand the point Snyder is trying to make in M&T, as well as the function Snyder implies for this long poem. Snyder demonstrates that myths are needed to guide human beings into right relations with the rest of the natural world and to integrate nature and culture.

Thus M&T expresses through texts and myth the right action and work (or correct relation between the social and spiritual) that inhabitants of the culture (in this case most specifically the Pacific Northwest) need to have in order to live in right relation with their environment as well as the spiritual values they should live by for the mutual benefit of the whole. Snyder speaks through the poem not only as ethnographic observer who
collects the texts of his tribe and translates them into myths in order to increase the understanding of all, but as poet and shaman. He addresses the importance of the poet in relation to myth in *HWHiBIFV*, directing readers to Robert Graves and *The White Goddess*, his study of mythic archetypes as the basis of poetry. The point of Graves's study is that the archetypal quest myth is the basis of all poetry in its presentation of the love triangle between the hero/god of waxing year, the muse/triple goddess, and the hero's rival/god of waning year. For Graves, it is the hero and the muse who are the main characters of all poetry in the Mediterranean and Northern Europe.\textsuperscript{16} The shaman's songs begin the Hunting and Burning sections of *M&T*. The shaman is one of the best narrators in oral cultures because he is open to the archetypal images and can voice the tribe's story and dreams. In *HWHiBIFV*, Snyder refers to anthropologist, Paul Radin, whose conception of 'thinker' for a tribal people includes the poet, the priest, and the shaman (93). The shaman for "primitive cultures" is one whose dreams bear traces of the quest, a similar kind of "intensity of inner life which even today is characteristic of the poet's experience" (94). The shaman can be the tribe's poet as well as one of the speakers Snyder chooses for *M&T*.

However, Snyder's collection of myths differs from traditional versions in its formal affinities with modernist poetry, the form being that of the modernistic long poem with its quoted text and accompanying myth juxtaposed via association, recalling William Carlos Williams's *Paterson* or Ezra Pound's *The Cantos*, rather than the orderly narrative presentation of text, interlinear translation, and standard English translation of Swanton or Boas. Similarly to Williams and Pound, Snyder juxtaposes texts from a
variety of cultures and allusions with contemporaries or cultural heroes, against a background of nature imagery and self-reflection. He often moves back and forth between past and present in M&T, similarly to the collage technique of Williams and Pound in their long poems. This collage-like effect creates a sense of discontinuity for the reader and the allusions are not always made clear. In addition, unlike ethnography, Snyder juxtaposes quotations and myths from different cultures which adds to a sense of discontinuity. For example, in the sixth poem of the Hunting section, ("this poem is for bear"), Snyder includes references and quotes from Halliwell on Bear Ceremonialism, Marius Barbeau on the Bella Coola, Gilyak and Ainu material, the Kalevala, a Finnish epic, scientific information on the number of bear species in North America, concluding with a colloquial dialogue between the logger-type speaker of the poem (here identified as "Snyder") and his friend. Just as Snyder juxtaposes texts from different cultures, he also juxtaposes different tones as evident in his transition from the didactic in the Burning section's ninth poem to the parodic in that section's tenth poem. M&T is also eclectic in its combination of verse forms from a more traditional blank verse of varying feet, a modernist free verse, to a Japanese haiku-like form.

An examination of the three sections of M&T will focus on the way Snyder brings together the sociopolitical and the spiritual with an emphasis on Buddhist spirituality through these aspects of the poet and the persona of the dharma bum, in its Wobbly, Native American, and Zen variations, in the process providing alternatives to Western capitalist culture. All of these variations contribute to Snyder's formation of the dharma bum persona, in the texts quoted and the myths told. Through this
uniting of the sociopolitical (signified by the Wobbly logger/bum and
emphasis on work and right action) and the spiritual (signified primarily
by the Buddha and by the irrational, paradoxical Zen master along with the
Native American shaman and trickster figure, Coyote), right relationships
can be formed in the world. This then is the overall theme of Snyder’s M&T
embodied in its three sections, Logging dominated by Wobbly texts,
Hunting, dominated by Native American and Buddhist texts, and Burning,
dominated by Buddhist texts.

Snyder’s revision of the titles of the three sections of the poem
further emphasizes the value he places on the Buddhist tenet of right
action. In the manuscript pages for M&T and in a 1957 journal entry, he
changes Groves to Logging, Beasts to Hunting, and Changes to Burning. In
moving from a noun to a gerund or verb form, Snyder emphasizes the
action rather than the object, the process over the product, and the
dynamic over the static.20 For example, Snyder is able to fit Logging, the
title of the first section of M&T literally into this context of right action. In
a journal entry of March 1957 he writes that there are a "lot a good sprouts
here but they’re being choked out by the brush - Now you’re logging." He
continues with the Buddhist vow: "creatures are numberless, I'll wake
them/compassion/desires are endless I'll cut them down," again using an
image associated with logging, thereby providing the work of the logger
with Buddhist overtones.21

The first section, Logging, represents one of the primary activities
associated with the Northwest Coast Wobbly itinerant. Here, Wobbly texts
and heroes predominate, sometimes associated with wandering Buddhist
monks. In the fifth poem of the section, Snyder privileges the Wobbly,
contrasting the "meaningless/Abstractions of the educated mind" (2-3) with the Wobbly "summer professors," those "hitching & hiking/looking for work" (15-16). In this same poem, the Wobbly workers honor the ethos of hard work, whereas the capitalist is too lazy to work for him/herself. Snyder's text in this poem is the I.W.W. slogan, "We rule you," "We fool you," "We eat for you," and "We work for you," in which the first three phrases are spoken by capitalists and the last phrase is spoken by the Wobbly worker (17-20). The story of the Everett Massacre of November 5, 1916, told in the seventh poem, presents five Wobbly martyrs: "Shot down on the steamer Verona/For the shingle-weavers of Everett" (6-7). This poem closes with the words of Charles Ashleigh, a journalist sympathetic to the Wobbly cause: "Thousands of boys shot and beat up/For wanting a good bed, good pay,/decent food, in the woods —" (20-22). Other Wobbly types appear in this section, like the ghost logger of the tenth poem, who is portrayed as a "Bindlestiff with a wooden bowl" (9) hunting for his old logging camp, "Fifty years too late, and all his/money spent?" (12-13). *Bindlestiff* is one of the slang terms for wobbly and refers to the hobo who carries his belongings in a bundle on a stick over his shoulder; the wooden bowl is an allusion to the wandering monk of the Buddhist tradition who goes from house to house begging for food. Hence this poem presents an early image of the dharma bum as Wobbly hero. The twelfth poem of this section introduces the Chinese poet-recluse, Han-shan, who "could have lived here" (29) in the "land of/Sea and fir tree with the pine-dry/Sage-flat country to the east" (27-28), the Pacific Northwest. He, too, is associated with the bindlestiff as he is portrayed as a homeless wanderer and a common laborer at a monastery.
Another and less heroic Wobbly logger of this section, the speaker of the poem designated as "I," provides readers with some idea of the consequences of daily life in a logging camp in the 1950's. In the second poem he wakes "from bitter dreams," grabs his "tin pisspot hat" and rides off in a "crummy-truck" to cut down "250,000 board-feet a day/If both Cats keep working/ & nobody gets hurt" (26-28). In the eighth poem he describes the logged landscape in somewhat naturalistic language: "Pitch oozes from barked/trees still standing./Mashed bushes make strange smells" (21-23). In these lines the words do not flow together; hard sounds clash against each other in the disharmony of the acts that they record of a nature disturbed. The poem ends with more sense of resolution and in a more imagistic and flowing fashion:

A few stumps, drying piles of brush;
Under the thin duff, a toe-scrape down
Black lava of a late flow.
Leaves stripped from thornapple
Taurus by nightfall. (26-30)

In this passage the speaker tries to find some kind of historical process in the act of logging which uncovers an old lava flow, mark of a previous act of more natural destruction in the spot just logged, while Taurus seen at nightfall almost seems to bless the scene. Even this logger has a heroic aspect when presented as lover in the ninth poem, in which he hitch-hikes home for the weekend to see his girl. They make love "night-long./she was unhappy alone./all Sunday softly talked" (11-13). The poem's language has a Romantic tone, and Snyder uses rhyme and a somewhat regular rhythm to provide a lyric touch.
However, the section's tone becomes more elegiac when the speaker contemplates the cutting of more trees to satisfy the needs of a Western society specified as materialist, consumer, and suburban: the "cedar of Haida" of the fourteenth poem

Cut down by the prophets of Israel
the fairies of Athens
the thugs of Rome
both ancient and modern;
Cut down to make room for the suburbs (8-12).

In the fifteenth and last poem of this section, the themes and imagery of the previous poems come together: the lodgepole "seed waits for fire" (2), just as the young logger and his girl reappear to wait "until the next blaze/Of the world" (13-14) to fecundate their own seed, part of this natural process. Of especial interest is the lodgepole pine symbolic of the idea of creation and destruction, the natural flow of events in the poem and the work as a whole. It is described in the third poem's scientific text as having a "'wonderful reproductive power'" by which its cones "endure a fire which kills the tree without injuring its seed" (4-5). Cones open and seeds sprout after the fire. Thus the emphasis in this section and the work as a whole is on the natural flow of creation and destruction in the world, personified by Shiva, the Hindu god who destroys the world at the end of each kalpa or world age by dancing and who enters the poem at this point in contrast to those who disrupt the natural flow for their own profit and are without spirit:

Men who hire men to cut groves
Kill snakes, build cities, pave fields

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Believe in god, but can't
Believe their own senses
Let alone Gautama. Let them lie. (19-24)
The poem ends with a text from the Chinese artist Pa-ta Shan-jen, whose
"brush/May paint the mountains and streams/Though the territory is lost"
(29-31). By closing this section with an allusion to a Chinese painter,
Snyder provides a non-Western artistic model, ultimately privileging the
artist who can preserve the past through memory, by embodying the
destroyed landscape of the past in the art objects of the present.

The second section of M&T, entitled Hunting, has for theme food and
sustenance for humans; poems are the songs of birds, animals, or hunters.
This activity implies the need for humans to cultivate the right kind of
relationship with their food supply, which is exemplified by Native
American culture: the shaman who sings to the surrounding world to
express the tribe's relationship with the visible and invisible aspects of
that world; the hunters who pray for the regeneration of the species about
to be killed, singing to these animals to ask them to willingly sacrifice their
lives; and Coyote, the Trickster/Transformer figure, who is like man both
creator and destroyer and through which Snyder presents aspects of the
dharma bum and Zen master.24 Buddhist compassion toward all living
creatures is also an important attitude expressed in this section, as is the
specifically Zen quality of irrationality and paradox. Hence Native
American and Buddhist texts predominate, both alternatives to Western
culture.

This section begins with a shaman's song, which also acts as
transition because it is sung by the logger from the previous section, now
out of work, sitting by the logging road: "Hatching a new myth/watching
the waterdogs/the last truck gone" (16-18). A change in the speaker
begins to occur to put him in a better relation to his environment. The
same logger appears in the eighth poem for deer which begins with a
Native American deer song and the logger's missed shot at a buck at
twilight and the kill of a cottontail instead. In the second part of the poem,
the speaker shoots a deer blinded by his headlights; in the third part he
states that "Deer don't want to die for me" (45). Here he implies that he is
out of touch with the spirit of the deer, shown by the fact that he can trap a
deer only by blinding it with the headlights of his truck. He is not in right
relation with the natural world as are the Native Americans whose hunting
songs are reproduced at the poem's beginning. In the twelfth poem,
however, he does achieve right relationship with food in the wild by
becoming more wild himself. After "eight days in the high
meadows/hungry, and out of food" (3-4) he comes upon wild apple trees
with "hard green" apples hanging near a hornet's nest. The poem ends as
he picks an apple: "watched them swarm/smell of the mountains still on
me./none stung" (11-13). Here Snyder rewrites the Christian story of the
picking and eating of the apple in the Garden of Eden, similarly to his
poem, "Milton by Firelight." However, the authoritarian God of the Old
Testament is not included in Snyder's 20th century mythology, and his
world of nature, the Garden of Eden gone wild. Because the hiker's act is a
natural one arising out of true human hunger in relation to a world he has
become part of (he smells like the mountains) there are no negative
consequences as in the Old Testament.
As the logger moves into a more interconnected relationship with the world around him, Buddhist texts and the Buddhist idea of compassion enter this section's last three poems. The fourteenth poem compares the attitude of this first person speaker with the Buddha:

Buddha fed himself to tigers
& donated mountains of eyes
(through the years)
To the blind (1-4).

The Buddha's compassion is not matched by the logger who, trailed by a mountain-lion at night, "didn't want to be ate/maybe we'll change" (8-9). In the fifteenth poem, the speaker awakes to what feels like the "first day of the world" (1). Even though he feels "new born," (an allusion to the Buddhist idea that we continue to be reborn to a world of suffering until we achieve enlightenment) he still considers Gautama (the Buddha) to be a "silly ascetic" (11). However, the sixteenth and last poem of the section, begins: "How rare to be born a human being!" (1), alluding to the fact that only in a human rebirth can enlightenment be sought, thus commenting on the true significance of the feeling of being "new born." This poem combines a text from a Haida cradle song with an allusion to the Buddha's birth: "'I alone am the honored one'/Birth of the Buddha./And the whole world-system trembled" (7-9), then moves stream-of-consciousness fashion to a seemingly irrational statement by Zen master Chao-chou: "'If that baby really said that,/I'd cut him up and throw him to the dogs!'" (10-11). The poem concludes with reference to The Bacchae and the compassion of girls breastfeeding wild gazelle and wolf-cubs juxtaposed with another
irrational koan statement from Chao-chou, seeming to negate the Buddhist idea of compassion for all creatures:

Agents: man and beast, beasts
Got the buddha-nature
All but
Coyote. (27-30)

This statement regarding Buddha nature is a variation on one of the most famous Zen koans of which D.T. Suzuki writes: "This is one of the most noted koans and generally given to the uninitiated as an eye-opener. When Joshu was asked by a monk whether there was Buddha-Nature in the dog, the master answered 'Mul!' [...] which literally means 'no.'"26 Suzuki concludes that "it does not mean anything negative as the term may suggest to us ordinarily, it refers to something most assuredly positive, and the novice is told to find it out by himself, not depending upon others, as no explanation will be given nor is any possible" (252).

Why would Snyder substitute coyote for dog here? Not only is the coyote a type of dog, thus an appropriate animal to be included in the retelling of this koan, but the tricksterish nature of Coyote seems to be associated with the tricksterish nature of the Zen master in this poem and the paradoxical mental attitude of Zen which understands "no" as "yes" or both "yes and no."27 Perhaps it is only through such an approach that true interconnecting can happen because in a sense men, animals, and trees are different yet the same. In the last lines of this poem, the speaker's sense of humor appears to be similar to that of the Zen master, pointing out that paradoxically, of all creatures, only the Trickster, Coyote, does not have the Buddha nature. According to Radin, in the prefatory notes to The
**Trickster**, his study of this figure: "Laughter, humour, and irony permeate everything Trickster does" (x). This would additionally make Coyote similar to the Zen master who also employs humor and irony, as well as paradox, and irrationality to get his point across and in the process turns the tables on Coyote, playing a trick on him. In Snyder's essay on Coyote in *The Old Ways*, 1977, he directly comments on this line. Coyote as "the always-traveling, always lustful, breaker-of-limits side of the Trickster" could be for the poet, an "Ally-dangerous and very potent. [...] Which is why, in one of my own poems, I say 'Beasts have the Buddha-nature/All but/Coyote.' The *Mu*/'No' of the shapeshifter sets us free" (88-89). In this context Coyote has something to do with the powers of the poet to transform reality through metaphor which shapeshifts one object into another, as well as being similar to the dharma bum, an outsider always on the move.

In *Burning*, the third and last section of *M&T*, Buddhist texts and allusions predominate, with the theme of the inevitability of change and transformation, expressed by the continual destruction and creation of life forms expressing the interconnectedness of all life. This is the essence of earthly existence expressed by the Buddhist image of the wheel of life shown by the twelve links of dependent origination leading from birth to death and rebirth again and representing the cycles of existence in which karma determines one's position on the wheel. Buddhist (and underlying Hindu) teachings stress the continual reincarnation and transformation of life forms until enlightenment or a state of nirvana is reached, a process alluded to in the fourth poem of this section which recounts the compassionate incarnations of Maitreya, the coming Buddha, whose bodhisattva lives are spent as food for bird and beast: "He's out stuck in a
bird's craw/last night/Wildcat vomited his pattern on the snow" (1-3). This poem ends with a positive vision of sacrifice: "Your empty happy body/Swarming in the light" (17-18).28

In Burning, images and figures from the previous two sections reappear: for example, the lodgepole pine, symbolic of the transformative power of the natural world, Coyote, and the Wobbly itinerant wanderer, as well as the shaman whose dance begins this section. His dance also recalls the tandava or dance of the Hindu god, Shiva, (who previously appeared in the Logging section). Burning continues with a reciprocal movement between creation and destruction, culminating in the destructive power of a forest fire in the last poem, and the regeneration which destruction permits, as previously suggested by the reproductive adaptation of the lodgepole pine. The transformative aspect of Wobbly politics is also emphasized in this section with the Wobbly motto as text in the ninth poem:

'Forming the New Society
   Within the shell of the Old'

The motto in the Wobbly Hall
Some old Finns and Swedes playing cards
Fourth and Yesler in Seattle. (6-10)

This poem ends with a list of cultural figures, both spiritual and political, who, all itinerant types, transformed their worlds: Bodhidharma who brought Buddhism from India to China "sailing the Yangtze on a reed/Lenin in a sealed train through Germany," (17-18) Hsuan Tsang, and Chief Joseph. These are juxtaposed with an allusion to a dharma bum who combines the wandering Wobbly and the Zen practitioner in Zen master Ummon's text: "Walking about the countryside/all one fall/To a heart's
content beating on stumps” (25-27). According to Suzuki's gloss, Ummon's words here refer to Zen's absolute freedom which he expounds to a student, as well as recalling the freedom of the Wobbly bum.29

The next poem continues to emphasize Buddhism through the allusion to Amitabha, another Bodhisattva, and his vow to put off his own enlightenment until all others are saved.30 However, Snyder rewrites this traditional text in specific terms of the Wobbly persona: "If, after obtaining Buddhahood, anyone in my land/gets tossed in jail on a vagrancy rap, may I/not attain highest perfect enlightenment (1-3). The poem continues by interspersing Amitabha's vows to save those losing a "finger coupling boxcars" (7) or "can't get a ride hitch-hiking all directions" (14) with images of nature: "wild geese in the orchard/frost on the new grass" (4-5). The simplicity and ordinariness of these observations demonstrate the attitude toward the world of the wandering bum as well as the Zen master whose awareness permits an acceptance and appreciation of things as they are, as well as that of the haiku poet who, according to R.H. Blyth combines simplicity with "an extraordinary acuteness" (Haiku, 1: 216).31

The wobbly also appears in the fifteenth poem:

From Siwash strawberry-pickers in the Skagit
Down to the boys at Sac,
Living by the river
riding flatcars to Fresno,
Across the whole country (12-16).

The notion of itinerancy seen in relation to Zen Buddhism gives some rationale for Snyder's valorization of the Wobbly who accepts a life of
change and wandering. In reality, we are all itinerants in a world "falling or burning" (28).

Many of the poems of this last section allude to the Zen Buddhist act of meditation or zazen combined with koan-like statements and responses in which the voice of the Zen master is heard, thus presenting aspects of Zen practice which lead to enlightenment or self-transformation and an aspect of the creation/destruction process.\textsuperscript{32} Two experiences of sudden realization are alluded to in the sixth poem, the first of which happens to a Trickster figure, Red Hand, another variation on the dharma bum. He comes to a river, sees a man sitting across the river, pointing with his arm, whereupon he, too, sits and points with his arm until night "when he suddenly realized that it was/only a dead tree with a stretched out limb/and he got up and crossed the river" (10-12). Red Hand's moment of realization, like that of the koan, involves rather ordinary activities and is followed by ordinary action of getting up and crossing the river.\textsuperscript{33} Here Trickster is similar to the Zen lunatics, like Han-shan, who are also considered crazy. The poem continues by juxtaposing an image of the Zen practitioner trying to meditate: "salty bacon smoking on the stove/(sitting on Chao-chou's wu/my feet sleep)" (15-17), recalling the question of Coyote's buddha-nature of the Hunting section and bringing readers back to the present with the logger speaker from previous sections as meditator. This poem ends with Snyder's paraphrase of Rinzai Zen master, Daito Kokushi's last poem: "where the sword is kept sharp/the VOID/gnashes its teeth" (27-29).\textsuperscript{34} The sentiment expressed by this poem in the context of Daito Kokushi's Admonition, a Master's last words to his disciples, privileges the single-minded and sincere Zen hermit/dharma bum over those who preside
over temples and are scholars of Zen. Kokushi's message is that discriminating mind must be kept sharp to cut through the world's illusions, including the lure of materialism for spiritual practitioners.

In the eleventh poem, the speaker continues with Buddhist allusions, this time to meditation, presenting its physical aspects: "Ingather limbs, tighten the fingers/Press tongue to the roof/Roll the eyes" (8-10). The kind of transformation implied by the meditation process are hinted at in the following lines: "dried & salted in the sun/In the dry, hard chrysalis, a pure bug waits hatching" (11-12). The poem ends with an allusion to Coyote and Earthmaker and the process of creating a new world:

- Coyote: 'I guess there never was a world anywhere'
- Earthmaker: 'I think if we find a little world,
  'I can fix it up.' (20-22)

In this conversation it is as if Coyote as Trickster, talks to his double, Coyote as Transformer. In his *Primal Man as Philosopher*, Radin explains that Trickster has a Transformer aspect: "his role to transform the world into its present shape and to bestow upon mankind all the various elements of culture" (347). Coyote as Transformer reappears in the sixteenth poem ending with a letter from Coyote to Earth: "Earth! those beings living on your surface/none of them disappearing, will all be transformed" (12-13).

In the twelfth poem the speaker contemplates "terrible meditations" and the mixture of reality and memory in which we all live, while in the thirteenth poem more physical aspects of meditation are presented along with the responses of a Zen master, provided parenthetically, to the life experiences of the Zen meditator in the interview between master and
student known as sanzen. The poem begins with the description of meditation in physical terms:

- Spikes of new smell driven up nostrils
- Expanding & Deepening, ear-muscies
- Straining and grasping the sounds
- Mouth filled with bright fluid coldness

Tongue crushed by the weight of its flavors (1-5).

This is followed by mind-wanderings as the meditator associates the Nootka who "sold out for lemon drops" (6) with the tongue's flavors. At this point the Zen master or speaker's own inner critic intrudes harshly and parenthetically with "(What's this talk about not understanding!/you're just a person who refuses to see.)" (7-8). The speaker's mind then wanders to a definition of poetry and the memory of a cruel comment from a trail crewman about putting a Spanish halter on a mare to which the Zen master's voice sarcastically comments: "(how gentle! He should have whipped her first)" (12). Is the implication here that sitting meditation similarly bridles the mind? The speaker moves by association to a memory of a cold rainy day on the trail. Again the Zen master's voice intrudes:

"(you think sex art and travel are enough?/you're a skinful of cowdung)"

(16-17), an epithet typical of the way Zen masters such as Rinzai berated their students. A few lines later the master contemplates the Zen student, and all human beings who take part in acts of cruelty such as war, stating, "(blind, deaf, and dumb!/shall we give him another chance?)" (28-29).

Despite the fact that all life is one crashing and squashing, the poem ends with the realization that acceptance is part of realization and enlightenment embodied in a simple haiku: "it was nothing special,/misty
rain on Mt. Baker,/Neah Bay at low tide" (45-47). These lines embody haiku's Zen simplicity in the presentation of rain and mountains as "nothing special." Thus the speaker's haiku poem simply presents a natural scene and in the process a passage which can be used to solve the problems spoken by the Zen master. However, such problems don't need to be formally given by a master, but may exist as part of the speaker's need to explain his existence. As Blyth states: "Everything that confronts us is a koan, an examination which we duly fail in or pass, things of the past, present, and future, things near and things far away, real and unreal, abstract and concrete" (Haiku, 1: 250).

The last poem of this section is about a forest fire, nature's act of destruction and ensuing creation or transformation. Instead of a verbal text, Snyder uses an event, a forest fire and its aftermath in which the firefighters wake to see a clear sky and "The last glimmer of the morning star" (16). The myth which follows is the poet's interpretation of this event, seen as either an originary story of the European tribe, "troy's burning" (18); the Buddhist spirituality of the Asian tribe with the last wisps of smoke seen as "Buddha incense in an empty world" (32); or as the poet's attempt to explain the transformative power of the world through metaphor, a figure of speech which is transformative in that it presents one thing in terms of another. Thus the end of the world as forest fire is presented as "Flame tongue of the dragon/Licks the sun" (34-35). The poem's last line, "The sun is but a morning star" (37), implies that our world is simply one world within other greater worlds and that destruction and creation can go on indefinitely, an infinite series of Chinese boxes. Here the speaker reinforces the theme of M&T, while simultaneously
indicating the power of the poet, shaman, Zen practitioner, or dharma bum to interpret the texts of the world, whether verbal or physical, and to create the myths by which the tribe may rightly live in that world.

IV. Han-shan: Dharma Bum Persona and Beat Avant-Garde Tactics

A work even more important for the creation of the dharma bum persona and one which presents the poetry of Han-shan, a figure who has already surfaced in M&T as a dharma bum and hermit poet, is Snyder's translation of this Chinese poet, published as "Cold Mountain Poems" in Evergreen Magazine of 1958. In a 1977 seminar on "Chinese Poetry and the American Imagination," Gary Snyder describes how he came to translate Han-shan, a "Tang hermit poet whose retreat high in the mountains was called Cold Mountain," indicating that it was after working in the Sierra on a trail crew in the summer that he went back to Berkeley to a graduate seminar with Ch'en Shih-hsiang.37 Responding to the question of what to translate Snyder stated that he would like to work on "'some Buddhist poems that possibly were in a vernacular," and Shih-hsiang directed him to Han-shan (41).

In Snyder's Introduction to the Evergreen Review translation, he describes Han-shan as "a mountain madman in an old Chinese line of ragged hermits" who lived in the T'ang dynasty, a contemporary of Tu Fu, Li Po, Wang Wei, and Po Chu-i, whose poems are written in T'ang colloquial and which include Taoist, Buddhist, and Zen ideas. He ends this introduction by transforming these Chinese Immortals into Wobbly-type contemporaries: you "sometimes run onto them today in the skidrows, orchards, hobo jungles, and logging camps of America" (69). In other
words, for Snyder, Han-shan and Shih-te are Ch’an/Zen prototypes of the dharma bum, expressed as composites of Buddhist hermits, wandering poets, and Wobbly itinerants, hoboes, and bums.

Snyder would have been familiar with Han-shan from D.T. Suzuki’s Essays in Zen Buddhism and from Arthur Waley’s translation of 27 of the 300 poems attributed to Han-shan, published in the September, 1954, issue of Encounter, a typed copy of which is included in Snyder’s manuscript material for his translation of "Cold Mountain Poems." His presentation of Han-shan differs from theirs, however. Suzuki presents Han-shan in sumi reproductions in connection with his essay, "The Zen Life in Pictures" of the 3rd series of essays. Suzuki emphasizes his irrational aspect, describing Han-shan and Shih-te as "two Zen lunatics." In the poem of Han-shan’s that Suzuki translates the people living in the monastery call him "an idiot" (346). In describing another image of the two in more detail, Suzuki describes them as favorite subjects for sumi paintings by Zen artists and "inseparable characters." Han-shan is a "poet-recluse" who wears "tattered cloths" and eats "remnants" from the monks' tables. He acts unconventionally, talking to himself, and when driven out, he "would clap his hands and laughing loudly leave the monastery." Han-shan and Shih-te call themselves "crazy beggars."39

The introductory material appended to the beginning of Waley’s translations, presents Han-shan as a farmer who fell out with his brothers, "parted from his wife and family, wandered from place to place "looking for a patron," and settled as a "recluse" on Cold Mountain. Waley further notes that Cold Mountain was near many monasteries which Han-shan visited and that his poems contained "mystic" elements (3). Waley’s first
poem describes Han-shan's home life, the land he inherited, his wife at the loom, while following poems describe how Han-shan left home. In the fourth poem, he calls himself "a scholar without money" (1) and in the fifth poem he describes himself as "Being not foolish and also not wise" (3) alone in his retreat singing and dancing. Most of the remaining poems of Waley's translation present Han-shan as a poet-recluse with only mountains and streams for his company. However in the twenty-third and twenty-fifth poems, Han-shan shares dreams of his old home and his wife at the loom, as well as memories of a house surrounded by peach and plum where he and his wife met. In only one of Waley's poems (the sixteenth) is the lunacy of Han-shan emphasized and even then, the tone of Waley's choice of words is not extreme: "The people of the world when they see Han-shan/All regard him as not in his right mind" (1-2). Interestingly, this is one of the six poems that Snyder and Waley both translated. Thus Waley's presentation is skewed toward representing Han-shan as a typical Chinese poet-recluse with roots in the tradition of farmer and family man who remembers his past life nostalgically.

In comparison to the way Suzuki and Waley present and translate Han-shan, Snyder's version exemplifies a version of the Ch'an/Zen poet-recluse heavily inflected with Wobbly and Beat associations, thus identifying Han-shan as a major contributor to and vehicle for Snyder's creation of the dharma bum persona. Snyder translates the poems with language similar to that of Han-shan, himself, whose poems, according to Snyder in the Evergreen introduction, are "written in T'ang colloquial: rough and fresh" (69). Thus the speaker of the poems often expresses himself in Beat slang, demonstrating Snyder's use of a rhetorical tactic
similar to that of other writers associated with the Beat Generation and which can also be considered part of an avant-garde practice to disturb middle-class and academic sensibilities and distinguish themselves as a group apart. In addition to the 24 poems Snyder has translated, he also provides a translation of the preface to the poems by Lu Ch'iu-Yin, the Chinese bureaucrat who tried to meet the elusive poet. After Han-shan's disappearance, he collected the poems Han-shan had written on bamboo, wood, rocks, cliffs, and people's houses. In keeping with the use of colloquial language, or Beat slang, Snyder translates Lu Ch'iu-Yin's description of Han-shan as a "poor man" and a "crazy character," (69) a fairly standard description of the poet-recluse, moving to a more Beat description as looking like a "tramp" with a body and face "old and beat" (70). He also describes the other monks as wondering why the official has bowed to "a pair of clowns," implying Han-shan and Shib-te (71), another instance of 1950's Beat slang.

Snyder also presents Han-shan's comments on economics both in Wobbly terms that any critique of capitalism could be related to and in Beat avant-garde terms of the critique of middle-class values. In the second poem, he states, "Go tell families with silverware and cars/What's the use of all that noise and money?" (7-8). Snyder's preliminary translation of these lines was, "families with bells and bowls," but "silverware and cars," though less relevant to T'ang China, presents more vividly the kind of middle-class suburban life Snyder and writers associated with the Beat movement were in rebellion against. In the twentieth poem, Han-shan compares the "old-timers/Who were poor and didn't care" (3-4) to a critic who "tried to put me down—/Your poems lack the Basic Truth of Tao' (1-2)
and who according to Han-shan "Ought to stick to making money" (8). This critic is reminiscent of the 1950's critics of the Beat Generation poets (Norman Podhoretz perhaps). In the thirteenth poem, Han-shan lives in a Wobbly-type dwelling, a "straw shack" (2) which in Snyder's preliminary translation notes reads "grass hut;" the shack is without "pots or oven" in the fifteenth poem (5), another 1950's intrusion.

Snyder's use of Beat slang adds to the impression of Han-shan as a Wobbly type, thereby exemplifying the dharma bum persona. Han-shan's own wanderlust is presented in the seventh poem as "freely drifting" (3), and in the twelfth poem, Snyder presents Han-shan as the typical Beat character or wanderer on the road who "roamed hundreds and thousands of miles," "walked by rivers," entered cities," "tried drugs," "read books and wrote poems" (2-6). A preliminary translation of the sixth line reads: "Read books and chanted out the Histories," while his translation notes also indicate that he could have translated "drugs" as "herbs," but the word, drugs, better connotes Beat experience.41 In the 19th poem, Han-shan describes his life at Cold Mountain where "troubles cease —/No more tangled, hung-up mind" (1-2) and which Snyder initially translates as "confused thinking" and "perplexed mind." All of these changes create a Han-shan more like a Beat dharma bum.

Unlike Suzuki, but similarly to Waley, Snyder seems to downplay Han-shan's lunacy. In the eighteenth poem, men call his talk "silly" (4), while in the twenty-fourth poem "when men see Han-shan/They all say he's crazy/And not much to look at —" (1-3). Snyder even seems to downplay Buddhist terminology to make Han-shan more vividly present as dharma bum who expresses himself in contemporary, more politically
charged language. In the 17th poem, Han-shan states that he has no use for the "kulak/With his big barn and pasture —/He just sets up a prison for himself" (4-6). However, in his draft translation the idea of imprisonment has Buddhist overtones: the prosperous farmer "makes himself a karma for hell." Note that kulak, according to Webster's dictionary, implies a Russian peasant who is comparatively wealthy and employs hired labor, thus reinforcing negative views of those who can't work for themselves from the Logging section of M&I as well as recalling Wobbly politics.42

At about this same time, other allusions to a dharma bum persona appear in Snyder's journals from the 1950's, growing out of his interest in writing what he calls proletarian poetry. After he has signed on the Sappa Creek tanker and leaves Japan, he writes of aesthetics and mechanics and his dirty little tanker poems in a notebook entry of August 31, 1957. On November 13th of that year he records the title/name Hobodhisattva in his journal, another word which combines the Wobbly type hobo (itinerant seaman in this case) and Bodhisattva (compassionate Buddha) noting, "Bosatsu (bodhisattva in Japanese) of machinery devoted to saving valves and pumps and bearings from misry." Here he indicates a more playful as well as Buddhist aspect of this proletarian poetry. From an earlier entry in this same journal of February 1957 comes a little poem which echoes these ideas: "Gautama's the boy/who rassled a bear/under the Hobo tree" where Gautama is part of the title of Shakyamuni Buddha and Hobo is a play on words that joins the Wobbly wandering itinerant or hobo with the name of the tree under which Buddha found enlightenment, the Bo or Bodhi tree (ficus religiosus). Snyder also refers to similar types in two poems written at about this time, but published years later: "On Vulture Peak" and "The
Bodhisattvas." The Bodhisattvas of the latter poem "Plant wild Thyme in engine-blocks./Make dark grimace stroking mules" (4-5) "And pass out lunch on Vulture Peak/Enlightening gardens, parks, & pools" (8-9). Snyder, by joining the seeming opposites of Wobbly and Buddhist recluse, Buddhism and anarchism, incorporates aspects of Zen Buddhism into the dharma bum persona, with its emphasis on the crazy wisdom and mad spontaneity associated with Zen hermits and teachers by D.T. Suzuki, thereby leading the way for Kerouac's sensational use of this persona, attributed to and patterned after Snyder in his novel, The Dharma Bums.

In this novel, Japhy Ryder (Snyder's character) talks to Ray Smith (Kerouac's character) about his translations of Han-shan's "Cold Mountain" poems, "written a thousand years ago some of it scribbled on the sides of cliffs hundreds of miles away from any other living beings" (19). Japhy describes this poet to Ray as a Chinese scholar who sick of the "big city and the world [. . .] took off to hide in the mountains." He is presented as an unconventional hermit poet who doesn't want to fit into the routine (20) and prefers his mountain solitude. Then Smith quotes the poem Ryder is translating in almost the same terms as the eighth poem in the Evergreen Review version of Snyder's translation of Han-shan.43 These extensive quotes indicate the importance of Han-shan and how seriously Kerouac meant to have Snyder's translations be the basis for those included in the novel.

Although The Dharma Bums is a fictionalized version of Snyder's relationship with Kerouac, there is a basis for making a connection between Snyder and his character, Japhy Ryder, as indicated in Kerouac's correspondence with Snyder. On July 14, 1958, Kerouac sends Snyder the
dust jacket copy of the novel to give him a general idea of what it will be like, writing:

As you see, I've got you down pretty accurate but I made some changes in your personal life, girlfriends, etc. mother-in-law etc. to throw off the scent. [...] you'll find that there's no danger in signing the release Viking Press will soon send you, [...] a 'libel' release meaning you would never sue me or the company for 'libel' because your counterpart is too close to home" (Selected Letters 2: 138).44

In February 1959, a less confident Kerouac writes to Snyder again, fearful of Snyder's displeasure toward him for the thinly veiled portrayal of him in the novel which had sensationalized the cause of Zen Buddhism in the United States: "Meanwhile, since Dharma Bums came out I feel that you've been silent and disappointed about me." He continues with a critique about Mrs. Sasaki's negative attitude toward the novel, stating that that is what is wrong with official Buddhism (Selected Letters 2: 186).45 The significance of Kerouac's comment on Mrs. Sasaki's criticism of The Dharma Bums with its implication that Snyder was responsible for the creation of the dharma bum persona, is that Ruth Fuller Sasaki as head of the First Zen Institute of America in Japan and Snyder's sponsor there as of May 1956, made his initial and continuing stay in Japan possible.46 Thus, Mrs. Sasaki's negative critique of Kerouac and Snyder indicates that traditional Zen is at odds with Beat Zen. After Kerouac's sensationalizing of the dharma bum persona in 1958, Snyder, himself, seems to have transferred his attention to the more theoretical and overtly political concept of Buddhist anarchism.
V. Snyder as Zen Layman and a Critique of Traditional Zen

Despite Snyder's association with Kerouac's popularizing of Zen Buddhism through the dharma bum persona, he had originally been introduced to a Zen characterized as existential and aesthetic, the vision of Zen presented by Suzuki and Blyth to Americans, which contained neither sexuality nor social consciousness. Snyder's participation in the First Zen Institute's program for Westerners in Japan was also traditional in nature and was possible partly because of Snyder's command of Japanese and Chinese gained originally in an academic setting at the University of California, Berkeley. Thus his initial interest in Zen expresses academic aspects of his personality, such as scholar and translator.

First sponsored by Ruth Fuller Sasaki's First Zen Institute of America in Japan, a Rinzai Zen association, Snyder had made prolonged visits to Japan to study Zen and Japanese and Chinese beginning in 1956.47 The more traditional and scholarly aspect of Snyder's relation to Zen is evident in texts he wrote and collaborated on for Western students of the Institute: Ryosen-an Zendo Practices and The Wooden Fish. These deal directly with Zen lay practice in the Ryosen-an temple, presided over by Mrs. Sasaki. Though they are not directly related to Snyder's interest in coupling the sociopolitical and the spiritual, they do indicate his knowledge both of Zen and Mahayana Buddhist scriptures and practices and of Japanese and Chinese languages.48

More discursive and personal descriptions of Snyder's lay practice and experience in Japan appear in articles for Western journals, for example, "Letter from Kyoto," in Evergreen Review of 1957, Snyder's
presentation of Kyoto and the Japanese people after World War II. The
Japanese are not particularly interested in Zen Buddhism in contrast to
Snyder and other foreigners who have come there to study Zen. The
attitude of the townspeople toward Zen that Snyder presents in this essay is
similar to the critique of Buddhism he will present in "Buddhist
Anarchism." Of Zen's lack of appeal for a younger generation of Japanese,
he states: "It tricked too long for the Government & got too rich and mean.
The founder of Daitoku temple, Daito, lived under a Kyoto bridge for thirty
years, five centuries back. Nowadays they all have nice temples of their
own." However, Snyder concludes this critique in positive terms: "Still,
inside & beyond all that, to sit in a meditation-hall is to make all possible
scenes in this saha-world at once" (146). In these various works on Zen,
Snyder's attitude seems to change depending on the kind of audience he
writes for and the purpose of his writing.

This critique of traditional Zen was at first presented privately in his
journals, however. For example, Snyder notes some misgivings about
traditional Zen in April 1957, during his first trip to Japan, commenting on
traditional Japanese Zen Buddhism in the context of his criticism of
contemporary Western society. In an entry for 2nd April, he notes that
a"Power-&-Greed Economy can't be changed by more power—rather by
creative renunciation— (the new morality) [. . .]." This is a "private
revolution: working on simplest levels [. . .] resisting encroachment." In
the arts it means "TELLING THE TRUTH," an idea emphasized by
capitalization. Snyder's sources for this new life style are Thoreau, Gandhi,
Kropotkin, Confucius, Buddhism, and The Commune (note the linking of
anarchism and Asian philosophy, here). On the 5th of April, he moves to a
critique of traditional Zen, commenting that it only has contact with the community in its handling of the souls of the dead, a situation made more ridiculous by Zen's denial of a self and soul. He expresses the situation in Wobbly terms, stating that the people insist on "pie elsewhere," seeking for rewards in heaven, rather than on earth and allowing the situation to perpetuate. At a Founder's Day Ceremony later that week, Snyder helps out at the temple along with the serving people preparing food for the priests. He criticizes the priest's costly and special ceremonies, epitomized for him by their use of red lacquer trays. A few years later during his second trip to Japan in July, 1960, Snyder returns to a critique of traditional Zen in his journal. He describes his visit with a thoughtful and more open-minded priest, Morimoto Roshi, who is also aware of disparities between Buddhist ideals and the relations between traditional Zen priests and common people and the fact that traditional Zen has no social consciousness. Snyder considers him to have a "hipness about what's gone sour" with "Koan Study;" Morimoto Roshi also believes in the importance of new values for Zen, a new "spirit of ethics." However, for Snyder, this Roshi is an exception in traditional Japanese Zen and not the rule.

VI. Snyder's Buddhist Anarchism and the Politics of the Beat Avant-Garde

Snyder's thoughtful evaluation of Japanese Zen Buddhism's lack of social consciousness, contrasted to the kind of socially relevant Buddhism he values contributes to the development of the concept of Buddhist anarchism, expressed by the essay of that name as its most polemical and concise embodiment. The statement Snyder makes in "Buddhist Anarchism" is central to his ideas about Buddhism's relation to political change in
society. A manuscript page included in 1959 correspondence with Joanne Kyger provides an early definition of the concept of Buddhist anarchism: "Morality is acting out in the world: for me this means non-violent resistance, pacifism, poetry, poverty, and all the love I am capable of. Hence Buddhist Anarchism." Originally published in 1961 in Journal for the Protection of All Beings as, "Buddhist Anarchism," the essay has been revised and reprinted several times, most recently as "Buddhism and the Possibilities of a Planetary Culture," in The Gary Snyder Reader, 1999. Its best known version is the one which follows "Buddhist Anarchism" (hereafter referred to as "BA"), "Buddhism and the Coming Revolution" (hereafter referred to as "BCR"), which first appeared in 1967 in International Times and was included in Snyder's Earth House Hold, 1969.52 This essay, especially in its original form, also owes something to Snyder's own radically liberal political orientation as expressed by the dharma bum persona, as well as to his interest in the Avatamsaka Sutra as representing the true Bodhisattva ideal of compassion and can be considered an example of what I have characterized as the Beat avant-garde project.

The two earliest versions of the essay share many of the same ideas, however. Snyder opposes a more conservative, historical and institutional Zen Buddhism with Buddhist ideals of voluntary poverty and "mutual interdependence." Snyder's emphasis here is on wisdom, meditation and morality which means "responsible action" entailing "working on one's own responsibility, but willing to work with a group, "forming the new society within the shell of the old—the I.W.W. slogan of fifty years ago" (92). Not only does Snyder recognize the problems of a Buddhism oriented to epistemology and psychology, he advises awareness of governments who
maintain their existence by fostering craving and fear. In contrast, Buddhism's "joyous and voluntary poverty" (also a value of the dharma bum) is a positive force as well as its "traditional harmlessness and refusal to take life in any form." Snyder also emphasizes the interrelatedness of all things and the Bodhisattva ideal in the essay:

Avatamsaka (Kegon) Buddhist philosophy sees the world as a vast interrelated network in which all objects and creatures are necessary and illuminated. [...] The hawk, the swoop and the hare are one. From the 'human' standpoint we cannot live in those terms unless all beings see with the same enlightened eye. ("BCR" 92-3)

Snyder links the compassionate Bodhisattva ideal with a socially conscious Buddhism in this version: "The Bodhisattva lives by the sufferer's standard, and he must be effective in aiding those who suffer" ("BCR" 93).

Although the two versions of the essay are similar, and what I have quoted from the version in Earth House Hold is common to both, their differences point to changes in Snyder's political position and his expression of it through the years. The earliest version is most radically political, with an emphasis on Buddhism and anarchism and includes the use of the term, disaffiliation, which implies a political stance: "The disaffiliation and acceptance of poverty by practicing Buddhists becomes a positive force" ("BA" 11). In contrast, in the 1969 version Snyder substitutes "joyous and voluntary poverty," presenting a more positive, less angry feeling: "The joyous and voluntary poverty of Buddhism becomes a positive force" ("BCR" 91). Snyder ends the early version by linking Buddhist anarchism with the I.W.W. slogan, "Forming the new society
within the shell of the old," and equating Buddhism with the political "kind of committed disaffiliation: 'Buddhist Anarchism'" ("BA" 12). Snyder ends the later version with a more optimistic picture of a lucky society which "may eventually arrive at a totally integrated world culture with matrilineal descent, free-form marriage, natural-credit communist economy, less industry, far less population and lots more national parks" ("BCR" 93). The I.W.W. slogan gets embedded in the penultimate paragraph of this version, preceded by a sentence that reads, "Working on one's own responsibility, but willing to work with a group" ("BCR" 92); this is in contrast to the earlier version's combination of the Buddhist and the aggressively political: "Working on one's own responsibility, no dualism of ends or means - never the agent of an ideology - but willing to join in group action" ("BA" 12). Similarly aggressive is the sentence of "Buddhist Anarchism" which begins, "Fighting back with civil disobedience, pacifism, poetry, poverty - and violence, if it comes to a matter of clobbering some rampaging redneck or shoving a scab off the pier" (12). Snyder's aggression in this version may even be at odds with a position of anarcho-pacifism or Buddhist non-violence. In contrast the position in "Buddhism and the Coming Revolution" seems milder and more formal: "using such means as civil disobedience, outspoken criticism, protest, pacifism, voluntary poverty and even gentle violence if it comes to a matter of restraining some impetuous redneck" ("BCR" 92). In the earliest version he advocates a more anarchist position, "resisting the lies and violence of the governments and their irresponsible employees" ("BA" 11), presenting the anarchist distrust of government in general. Snyder also adds an indirect allusion to the I.W.W. type using the loaded and colloquial
term, *scab*, to describe those opposing union laborers. This more activist and anarchist posture of Snyder fits the Wobbly type of agitator who was considered a passive resistor in demanding free speech, but who seemed aggressive to authorities in continuing those demands in situations that led to violence, for example, the Everett Massacre. In "Buddhist Anarchism," Snyder is also more critical of "institutional Buddhism" which "has been conspicuously ready to accept or support inequalities and tyrannies of whatever political system it found itself under" (10). In contrast the 1969 version substitutes the word "ignore" for "support" in the above sentence, toning down institutional Buddhism's complicity ("BCR" 90).

In contrasting the 1969 version with the latest version of the essay from 1985, "Buddhism and the Possibilities of a Planetary Culture," Snyder seems more political in 1969 (compare the titles of the essays), as well as more pessimistic, stating that the "traditional cultures are in any case doomed, and rather than cling to their good aspects hopelessly it should be remembered that whatever is or ever was in any other culture can be reconstructed from the unconscious, through meditation" ("BCR" 93). In the 1985 version, Snyder seems more optimistic, active, and even aggressive: "The traditional, vernacular, primitive and village cultures may appear to be doomed. We must defend and support them as we would the diversity of ecosystems [. . .]." Snyder stresses the planetary culture and the possibilities of leaving behind the national state, characterized as "greed made legal with a monopoly on violence" (154).

Does this mean that anarchism was a passing phase for Snyder or an interest of the 1950's? These revisions, away from anarchism and nationalism rather than globalism, support a statement made by Snyder in
a 1992 Paris Review interview in which he responds to past statements he had made about his position as anarchist. He responds that he regretted making such a statement and continues:

In fact, I try not to even use the word anarchist because it immediately raises the question that you just raised, which is, 'Can you explain that?' The term shouldn't be used, it has too many confusing associations. [...] Not to be taken totally literally, but to be taken poetically as a direction toward the formation of better and more viable communities. Anarchism, in political history, does not mean chaos, it means self-government." (Beat Writers at Work 297)53

Despite what appears to be his later rejection of anarchism, "Buddhist Anarchism" and its incarnations do make a significant statement by Snyder, not only because he has retained the basic ideas over a 20 year period, but because he continues to revise and adjust these ideas to reflect contemporary circumstances and his changing attitude toward them. In continuing to change, he ensures that his sociopolitical and spiritual Zen Buddhist positions continue to be relevant to current circumstances. For example, his interests move from a focus on work, labor unions, and anarchism at mid-century to more environmental and ecological concerns toward the end of the 20th century.54 The essay's content, especially the earliest version, demonstrates Snyder's attempt to politicize Zen and in the process, criticize capitalist, bourgeois society of America in the 1950's, his contribution to what I have characterized as the Beat avant-garde project. Snyder has made a critique of Buddhism, at the same time seeing
Buddhism's relationship to and possibilities for radical and compassionate social action through its teaching of the interdependence of all beings.

VII. Conclusion

In this chapter, it has only been possible to look at Snyder's early work as basis for connections between Snyder's poetic project and his lifelong interest in spiritual and social issues: during the 1950's and 1960's, his linking of anarchism and Buddhism, thereby politicizing Buddhism.55 I have demonstrated how he combines his interest in Zen philosophy, expressed through the tenets of the Avatamsaka Sutra with its teaching of the interdependence of all things and in the compassion toward all which comes with Buddhist awareness, with the ideas of anarchism derived from his interest in sociopolitical activism and Wobbly politics and values of independence and honorable labor. These positions are reconciled in the persona of the dharma bum and in the concept of Buddhist anarchism, most explicitly expressed in the essay of that name and is first expressed in two works of the 1950's (written at about the same time), Myths & Texts and his translation of Han-shan's "Cold Mountain Poems." The composite persona of Wobbly itinerant and Zen Buddhist poet-hermit is common to both works. In addition, in Myths & Texts, Snyder provides variations on this persona, adding Native American figures of the Coyote Trickster and shaman. The dharma bum persona not only enables Snyder to combine the sociopolitical and the spiritual, but also to present a non-Western alternative to both Western values (shown by World War II to be worn out) and 1950's materialism, what might be considered an avant-garde aspect of writers associated with the Beat Generation. Snyder also adds another dimension to
the Beat Generation's practice of using language's shock value, using slang effectively in his translation of Han-shan's poems.

In regard to the understanding of Zen as dual discourse in America in the 1950's, Snyder expresses both aspects, the aesthetic and spiritual. Zen as aesthetic discourse is expressed in his translation of the poetry of Han-shan, a Ch'an/Zen hermit poet and in formal aspects of his poetry that express Chinese and Japanese aesthetic practices. He expresses the spiritual aspect of Zen in an aesthetic context as he incorporates Zen spiritual philosophy, personae, and role modes into his poetry. His mode of expressing Zen as spiritual discourse, however, is not limited to literature. He also takes part in traditional Zen practice as layman with the First Zen Institute of America in Japan, in the process sharing his knowledge of Zen with friends, Kerouac, Whalen, and Kyger, among others. He thus moves the discourse of Zen in America in a spiritual direction while simultaneously politicizing it as he combines Buddhism and anarchism. By doing so, he demonstrates how Zen spirituality can be made part of ordinary life and work. In his own Zen practice, then, Snyder combines what Watts characterizes as "Beat Zen" and "square Zen" in his ability to be a dharma bum as well as to take part in traditional Japanese Zen, another way of joining West and East. In embodying the meeting between West and East he is similar to 19th century figures, the Japanophiles, Fenollosa and Hearn. In contrast to them, however, Snyder understands the language and is willing to critique traditional Zen and Japanese culture, in the process becoming less of a romanticizer of the East or orientalist.

In all these respects, then, as a case study for the Americanization of Zen in the 1950's, Snyder is a break-through figure. He was the first of his
group to travel to Japan to study traditional Zen and was among the first, if not the first, American Buddhist to propose a socially conscious Buddhism; hence, Snyder's influence on the ethical turn of Buddhism in America has been significant for what I might term the "Americanization" of Zen. Such considerations lead to a conception of Snyder as a type of Buddhist mediation figure inhabiting the American public sphere, while at the same time politicizing Zen. Snyder's position is, in the end, as political as it is poetical, as engaged as it is enlightened.
ENDNOTES

1. These ideas would later form the basis of Snyder's participation in the ecological movement, especially that of deep ecology with subsequent impact of this stance on the American reception of Zen. Snyder was among the first American Buddhist practitioners to emphasize a Buddhism of social relevance rather than one geared to individual enlightenment.

2. Similar attitudes toward the Beats are evident today as was pointed out in the introductory chapter. Note Snyder’s countering of such attitudes in his Paris Review interview with Eliot Weinberger in 1996 in which he comments on the political stance of the West Coast Beats, stating: "They were openly political and, in terms of the cold war, it was a kind of a pox-on-both-your-houses position. Clearly our politics were set against the totalitarianism of the Soviet Union and China, and at the same time would have no truck with corporate capitalism" (282).

3. Ethics is of major concern to Snyder in early journals of this time, in which he considers the major issue of human suffering, and how best to change society. Many of these entries were written during his trips to and from and his stay in Japan in the 1950's.


5. This essay's first publication was in the Chicago Review Zen issue, Summer 1958 as discussed in a previous chapter; it was subsequently included in Earth House Hold.


7. In Buddhist practice, humans are special in the sense that only in human incarnation can the path to enlightenment via meditation begin.

8. Snyder wrote much of Riprap while a member of the Yosemite trail crew in the summer of 1955.

9. He was more explicit about the connection between work and "Riprap's" explication of his poetic technique, when, on the first Origin Press edition's title page, published in 1959, he defines riprap as "a cobble of stone laid on steep slick rock to make a trail for horses in the mountains." Two other glosses of this term by Snyder are in notes from the fourth meeting of his T'ang Poetry class at Berkeley in which he notes of riprap
style, "lay a cobble of hard words on steep/places. on which to walk." and in *M&T*, Burning, poem 13: "Poetry a riprap on the slick rock of metaphysics" (9). These quotes indicate riprap's association not only with the work of a trail crewman, but also with Han-shan and Buddhist meditation.

10. One of the union's songs, according to Renshaw "almost its signature tune," "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" lauds this Wobbly type. Renshaw quotes Ben Reitman, an anarchist intellectual, who distinguishes between the three: "The hobo works and wanders, the tramp dreams and wanders, the bum drinks and wanders" (128).

11. David Weir in his study of anarchy as an aspect of the aesthetic politics of modernism, *Anarchy and Culture*, presents Kropotkin as one of the principal theoreticians of anarchism (6). Weir, too, cites *Mutual Aid* as one of Kropotkin's significant works. Weir does not mention Snyder or Beat poets and ends his discussion with the High Modernist period, however.

12. Kropotkin actually mentions Buddhism in the Conclusion to *Mutual Aid*, where he claims that new religions, "born from time to time," "only reaffirmed that same principle" [of mutual aid], and "primitive Buddhism" is one such "new religion" (222). Interestingly enough, the 19th century American anarchist, Dyer Lum, was also interested in Buddhism, alluding to it in his essay, "The Basis of Morals," *The Monist*, July 1897.

13. In a statement Snyder made for the 1983 bibliography entry for *M&T*, he glosses the title further: "[The title comes from] the reports and papers, such as Haida Myths & Texts, Chinook Myths & Texts, Quileute Myths & Texts that were being collected in the early years of the century. *M&T* [is] also parallel to calculative mind and meditative mind, myths coming to us as symbolic and meditative modes of seeing the world, texts coming to us as the discursive transmissions of pragmatic direct experience. We need both" (Gary Snyder: A Bibliography 8).

14. I am indebted to Peter Hull in his 1983 dissertation, *Tradition and Innovation in the Poetry of Gary Snyder* for suggesting the importance of this work for a reading of *M&T*. Dan McLeod also notes the significance of this work in his essay, "Gary Snyder," included in *The Beats: Literary Bohemians in Postwar America*, edited by Ann Charters, 1983. According to Snyder's conclusion in this thesis, "I set myself the task of laying out the many levels of meaning a single myth could hold according to contemporary modes of studying folklore" (113).

15. Snyder connects myth directly with Zen in the Grey Fox edition's 1979 foreword. For Snyder looking back on his thesis from a later vantage point, the importance of myths lie partly in their being part of the oral tradition; he indirectly connects them with the Zen Buddhist spiritual tradition. Snyder states that the Original Mind (a Buddhist term) speaks through myths and tales and that old tales and myths are the koans of the human race (another use of Zen Buddhist terminology (HWHB1FV ix-x)).
However, in the 1950's when Snyder wrote his thesis, he was less concerned with the specifics of Zen and more concerned with myth as a way to connect spiritual and social realms. For Snyder, myth's function can be understood as providing "a symbolic representation of projected values and empirical knowledge within a framework of belief which relates individual, group, and physical environment, to the end of integration and survival" (HWHHBFV 111).

16. Snyder further discusses the roles of lover and poet in relation to M&T in a letter to Joanne Kyger of September 14, 1959, commenting on The Jewel in the Lotus, and in the process discussing Tantra. Tantra sees the world as the relationship between the male, wisdom aspect and the female, compassion aspect, wherein the male energy enters the female womb of illusion (the world of Maya). This action is seen as a completed whole, personified in the sexual embrace and the marriage of the two opposites. Snyder states that he [Snyder] "threads those myths in many forms - that world-view - all through Myths & Texts." The relation of male and female principles here also relates back to HWHHBFV and Snyder's discussion of Robert Graves and his book about the origin of poetry, The White Goddess.

17. See Howard McCord's 1971 work, Some Notes to Gary Snyder's Myths & Texts for references to many allusions in the poem; according to McCord, Snyder supplied many of these explanations. The manuscript of M&T held by the Kent State University Special Collections contains additional references that Snyder made as notes to this long poem.

18. For these references see McCord as well as Snyder's manuscript notes for M&T at Kent State University Special Collections.

19. See Sanehide Kodama's chapter on Snyder in his study, American Poetry and Japanese Culture for more comments on Snyder's haiku practice.

20. Ling Chung's comments on Snyder's interest in Chinese poetic practice in her essay on Snyder's translation of Han-shan may also be relevant here. She states that Snyder imitates Chinese grammatical patterns in his translation, leaving out pronouns, emphasizing the verb in the present participle form ("Whose Mountain is This?" 96). Hence, an emphasis on verbal action.

21. D.T. Suzuki translates "The Four Great Vows" in his Manual of Zen Buddhism thus: "However innumerable beings are, I vow to save them; However inexhaustible the passions are, I vow to extinguish them; However immeasurable the Dharma are, I vow to master them; However incomparable the Buddha-truth is, I vow to attain it" (14).

22. Renshaw, Tyler, Bird, Georgakas, and Shaffer all provide the history of this important event of the Wobbly Free Speech Movement in the Northwest during the early part of the 20th century. The Wobbly Free Speech Movement in the Northwest during the early part of the 20th century. The Wobbly
organization, among which was this Washington town where the shingle workers were on strike. According to Renshaw, a party of 300 Wobblies sailed from Seattle in two steamboats, one of which was the "Verona." As the steamer tried to land it was met with a gunfire from armed vigilantes and policemen and in the fire, five workers and two vigilantes were killed - hence the Everett Massacre (127).

23. Note that Han-shan will reappear as Snyder's quintessential dharma bum in the translations Snyder makes of his "Cold Mountain" poems, published in Evergreen in 1958 and discussed later in this chapter.

24. See "Poetry and the Primitive" in EHH page 120 for another statement by Snyder about hunting.

25. Snyder's poem, "Milton by Firelight," written at about this time and subsequently published in Riprap presents his critique of the Western, Judeo-Christian attitude toward nature. In this poem, Snyder dispenses with the story of the Garden of Eden told by Milton: "a silly story/Of our lost general parents/eaters of fruit?" (10-12). Snyder contemplates the changes of the universe. In "ten thousand years" the Sierras will be "dry and dead," their destruction from "no paradise, no fall," but "only the weathering land/the wheeling sky," and "man, with his Satan/Scouring the chaos of the mind" (22-29). For Snyder, Satan is an invention of man to explain a natural process of creation and destruction.

26. According to D.T. Suzuki, "A koan is a theme or statement or question given to the Zen student for solution, which will lead him to a spiritual insight" (Essays, 1st series 252). Chao-chou was one of the most famous Zen masters of China and was noted for the sayings, anecdotes or mondo, and koans or problems he presented to his students to expound the essence of Zen. Christmas Humphreys discusses the Zen master in general in his foreword to R.D.M. Shaw's translation of The Hekigan Roku, a collection of Zen stories: "The purpose of every Zen Master, in ancient China or in modern Japan, is the same, to assist the pupil to break through the limitations of his own thought-process and to Know, as thought can never know, Reality." In the process of aiding the pupil to escape from the "cage of his own thinking," "logic" must fail. "Only a Koan, the Mondo with equally 'useless' comment as in these collected stories, or a blow, or a gesture will suffice" (7-8).

27. Thanks to Prof. Amy Shuman for suggesting the importance of Coyote, the Trickster, in M&T and seeing him as an aspect of the dharma bum persona, in the process referring me to Radin's work on Coyote. Radin presents Coyote as "creator and destroyer, giver and negator, who he dupes others and who is always duped himself . . . He knows neither good nor evil yet he is responsible for both" (The Trickster ix). Coyote appears in M&T once previous to this poem in the Hunting section in the seventh poem where his sexual nature is emphasized: "Our girls get layed by Coyote/We get along/just fine./The Shuswap tribe" (24-27). Coyote, along with the young logger, are the only dharma bum types in M&T who have sexual natures. The sexual nature of the dharma bum persona will reappear in
Kerouac's novel, The Dharma Bums, in which he presents Japhy Ryder (the Snyder prototype and inventor of the dharma bum persona, according to Kerouac) as practitioner of "yab yum sexuality" (28) and "Zen Free Love Lunacy orgies" (30). However, this is Kerouac's interpretation of Snyder's dharma bum persona.

28. Sir Charles Eliot in his book, Japanese Buddhism, notes that although there is little in the Sanskrit sutras about the previous lives of Bodhisattvas, stories did arise about these figures in China and Japan. They are a class of literature which was very popular in India and Ceylon, the Jataka stories which tells of the Buddha's previous births as an animal" (129). This 4th poem about Maitreya alludes to the animal incarnations of this Buddha and the Jataka tale type.

29. The complete quotation about Ummon and freedom from Suzuki's Essays, 1st Series, is as follows: "According to Ummon, 'In Zen there is absolute freedom; sometimes it negates and at other times it affirms; it does either way at pleasure.' A monk asked, 'How does it negate?' 'With the passing of winter there cometh in spring.' 'What happens when spring cometh?' 'Carrying a staff across the shoulders, let one ramble about in the fields, East or West, North or South, and beat the old stumps to one's heart's content.' This was one way to be free as shown by one of the greatest masters in China" (275).

30. August Karl Reischauer translates Amitabha's vow in his Studies in Japanese Buddhism: Amitabha has made the great vow to help all who desire help. 'In obtaining Buddhahood I shall not enter into perfect enlightenment until all creatures of the Ten Regions (Universe) who wish sincerely to be born into my country or who practice tenfold meditations, shall have been born there.' 'My mercy towards all ye heaven-and earth-born creatures is deeper than the love of parents towards their children'' (60). Note that Amitabha is associated with the Shin or Pure Land sect of Japanese Buddhism, not the Zen sect, however.

31. R.H. Blyth was the great Western commentator and translator of the haiku in the period after World War II, previously alluded to. He made many connections between haiku poetry and Zen. In the first volume of his study of haiku, he writes: "For the reader, every haiku is a koan, a question in Zen, an open door that looks shut, leading into... Into nothing and nowhere, for the door is what it leads into and what it leads out of" (250).

We may look to Zen Master Rinzai's teachings for comments on the importance of the ordinary who instructed his pupils: "Just act ordinary, without trying to do anything particular. Move your bowels, piss, get dressed, eat your rice, and if you get tired, then lie down. Fools may laugh at me, but wise men will know what I mean" (31).

32. Zen practice differs slightly from school to school. Rinzai and Soto are two major schools of Zen Buddhism in Japan; Rinzai was brought from China by Eisai in the 12th century and Soto was brought from China by Dogen in the 13th century. The main difference between the two schools is
that Soto Zen places much weight on sitting meditation (Dogen's term for this is *shikantaza* or just sitting with the idea that sitting is enlightenment); Rinzai Zen combines sitting meditation with koan practice. Suzuki in *Zen and Japanese Buddhism* also makes a distinction between their differing relationships with political power in Japan of the 12th and 13th centuries. Rinzai Zen came into close relationship with the reigning families, whereas Dogen tended to remove himself and Soto Zen from such political power (42-44).

33. An investigation of Paul Radin's Winnebago Texts, referenced by Snyder in his manuscript notes for this chapter identifies Red Hand with the Winnebago Trickster figure. Note that Radin concludes this anecdote by having the Trickster agree with the people in calling him "the Foolish One" (*The Trickster* 13-14).

34. Suzuki describes Kokushi as an outstanding Rinzai Zen Master who also became a beggar at one time in his life, thus fitting the profile of dharma bum (*Essays*, 3rd series 304). Suzuki's *Manual of Zen Buddhism* provides the text of Daito Kokushi's Admonition and his last poem which reads as follows: "Buddhas and Father cut to pieces--/The sword is ever kept sharpened!/Where the wheel turns,/'The void gnashes its teeth" (148).

35. Snyder's manuscript pages for this poem reinforce the importance of Zen for its interpretation; the poem ends with the annotation "Zen."

36. Snyder's manuscript notes indicate his debt to Chinese poet Su Tung p'o here, but a translation of a similar poem by Blyth from the *Zenrinkushu* brings readers back to koan practice: "I went there and came back; it was nothing special:/Mount Ro wreathed in mist; Sekko at high tide" (*Haiku* 1: 33). The *Zenrinkushu* is a collection of passages from Zen writings, Buddhist sutras, Chinese philosophy and poetry "used by monks studying Zen in the monasteries, who select the passage which seems to them to solve the problem they are given by the master." Blyth notes their relation to haiku (*Haiku* 1: 24). Ruth Fuller Sasaki writes of capping phrases from the *Zenrinkushu*, published in 1688, that the Japanese *sanzen* student "must find the particular traditional *jakugo* or 'capping phrase' for the koan he is studying, and present it to his teacher as the final step in his study of the koan" (*Zen Dust* 80).

37. Snyder describes the importance of his discovery of Suzuki on his change of career in "On the Road with D.T. Suzuki," published in a tribute volume on Suzuki published after his death. Snyder recalls the first book he read by Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, 1st Series, the date, 1951, and the impact Suzuki had on him: "[...] though I didn't know it at the moment, that was the end of my career as an anthropologist. [...] [F]urther reading in D.T. Suzuki led me to re-enter graduate school in Far Eastern languages and take courses in Chinese and Japanese so that I could travel to Japan and try traditional *zazen* practice" (*A Zen Life* 207-8). See also his interview with Dom Aelred Graham for more on this phase of his life.

In Snyder's bibliographic statement for this work, he pinpoints the date of the course as 1955 (54). Snyder would complete a translation of 24 of
the roughly 300 poems by Han-shan (known in Japanese Zen Buddhism as Kanzan); they would be published in the autumn 1958 issue of _Evergreen Review_ and republished in book form combined with _Riprap_ as _Riprap and Cold Mountain Poems_ in 1965.

38. Snyder also notes that he first saw an image of Han-shan in a Japanese art exhibit in 1953, a "small sumi sketch of a robe-tattered wind-swept long-haired laughing man holding a scroll, standing on a cliff in the mountains" (69). Snyder has noted which poems he and Waley both translated in the manuscript material for his Han-shan translations, Special Collections, Kent State University.

39. In another incident Suzuki describes Han-shan as making irrational comments; then both dance and go off crying and laughing (344). The emphasis for Suzuki is on the irrational and lunatic aspects of the two and their unconventionality and spontaneity.

40. In the original manuscript, housed at Kent State University, Snyder substitutes _bum_ for _tramp_. It is interesting to note in the context of seeing Han-shan and other similar Zen figures as tramps, bums, or vagabonds, that James Jackson Jarves in his 1875 work on the art of Japan described Hotei or Pu-tai (Chinese monk said to be an incarnation of the coming Buddha, Maitreya) as an "obese vagabond," "just the tramp to invite the attention of a village constable in New England as having no ostensible means of livelihood" (A Glimpse at the Art of Japan 72). Suzuki also characterizes Pu-tai as a vagabond (Essays, 2nd series after 298).

41. It is interesting to note that an interview of Allen Ginsberg by Gregory Corso follows the Snyder piece in the _Journal for the Protection of All Beings_. Both the essay and interview relate to the use of Buddhism to reinforce the Beat avant-garde position in American culture.

42. Chung's criticism of Snyder's rough translation style in the essay, "Whose Mountain is This?--Gary Snyder's Translation of Han Shan," is interesting, but misses the point in relation to Snyder's interest in using Beat slang and the Wobbly persona to make a political statement.

43. The following is Kerouac's version of the 8th poem of Snyder's Han-shan translations: "Climbing up Cold Mountain path, Cold Mountain path goes on and on, long gorge choked with scree and boulders, wide creek and mist-blurred grass, moss is slippery though there's been no rain, pine sings but there's no wind, who can leap the world's ties and sit with me among white clouds?" (The Dharma Bums 20). Kerouac's version is even more simple and pared-down than Snyder's.

44. The dust jack copy model (written by Kerouac, himself) describes Japhy Ryder, the Gary Snyder character, as the novel's hero: "poet, mountaineer, logger, Oriental scholar and dedicated Zen Buddhist, who teaches his freight-hopping friend Ray Smith the Way of the dharma Bums and leads him up the mountain where the common errors of this world are left far below and a new sense of pure material kinship is established with earth
and sky" (137). This "ancient Way" is that of either the West's John the Baptist or "the holy old Zen Lunatic Han Shan in the East" (138).

45. Mrs. Sasaki's negative attitude toward Kerouac's presentation of Zen Buddhism is evident in her correspondence with Snyder. She writes on November 13, 1958: "Naturally there has been some little discussion of you and your way of life as a result of Dharma Bums. Everyone seems to have seen through Kerouac's thin disguising of you." Kerouac's Buddhism she describes as "the most garbled and mistaken I have read in many a day." Several months later, February 18, 1959, she writes that The Dharma Bums "has wrought a great deal of harm to Zen in general . . . and it has also boomeranged on Kerouac and the rest of the 'Bums' in an unpleasant manner." Here she may be referring to the somewhat adverse publicity Kerouac got after the novel's publication. See the chapter on Zen and magazine culture of the 1950's for more on this publicity.

46. Some background for his connection with Ruth Fuller Sasaki and the First Zen Institute of America in Japan is presented in a letter Snyder wrote the Ministry of Justice on behalf of a visa for Joanne Kyger in September 1959. He states that he first came to Japan in May 1956 "on a scholarship from the First Zen Institute of America [. . .] for the purpose of studying Zen Buddhism." He returned to the United States in August 1957 and again returned to Japan in March 1959 where at present he is living in Kyoto still on scholarship from the Institute which extends to December 31, 1961. He studies Zen at Daitoku-ji and does research in Chinese Zen texts at the Research Center of the Zen Institute.

47. He first described these experiences in the essay, "Spring Sesshin at Shokoku-ji." In the East West interview of 1977, he states that choosing Rinzai Zen (that sect of Zen which privileges the koan and with which he was affiliated) over Soto Zen (that which concentrates on sitting meditation) was a function of contacts, but he would have chosen Rinzai anyway, he states, because of "the challenge of koan study" and the fact that the "koans are a mine of Chinese cultural information" (Real Work 98). In addition, the koan tradition makes use of the Chinese literary tradition in the Zen student's use of capping phrases to demonstrate koan mastery.

48. The first of these describes the usual practices of the zendo or Zen meditation hall, modified for lay groups, such as rules and conventions for leaving and entering the zendo, rules about conversation, sitting periods for meditation, and definition of Zen Buddhist terminology. The second of these, written in collaboration with Kanetsuki Gutetsu, is a translation of basic Sutras (scriptures) and Gathas (songs/hymns) of Rinzai Zen into English. According to a statement in his bibliography, Snyder does not consider these two works part of his bibliography (Gary Snyder: A Bibliography 10). Snyder also provided definitions of Zen Buddhism for 1959 and 1960 version of The New Funk and Wagnalls Encyclopedia Yearbook, at the request of Paul Blackburn, one of the encyclopedia's assistant editors. The entries differ markedly. The earlier version is longer and gives a traditional characterization of Zen as part of Mahayana Buddhism: transmission without reliance on words or scriptures; the use of
meditation and koans; the main schools as Soto and Rinzai; and the importance of D.T. Suzuki's publications for the Occidental interest in Zen. The later entry is much shorter noting the First Zen Institute of America's presence in New York and Soto Zen meditation weeks in San Francisco and providing a notice of books on Zen published in 1960 which present the Chinese point of view, rather than Suzuki's. However, the entries again demonstrate Snyder's knowledge of Zen.

49. The poem, "Dullness in February: Japan," published in Left Out in the Rain, 1986, also contains a critique of traditional Zen: "Brutal sergeants, vicious aesthetes, the meeting / Of the worst of East and West. / Silly priests in temples / Far too fine for now. / Discipline for what end? / We gave up wisdom long ago, / Enlightenment is kicks / - but there is better" (6-14).

50. The Wobbly idea of pie in the sky, was made famous in the Wobbly song, "The Preacher and the Slave" provided by Renshaw as follows: "Long-haired preachers come out every night / Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right; / But when asked how 'bout something to eat / They will answer with voices so sweet: / You will eat, bye and bye, / In that glorious land above the sky; / Work and pray, live on hay, / You'll get pie in the sky when you die" (106). The line, "You'll get pie in the sky when you die," implies that the capitalist and Christian system, instead of dealing with problems on earth, looks for salvation in heaven.

51. An article critical of Zen and relevant to Snyder's critique in "Buddhist Anarchism" is Arthur Koestler's essay, "The Stink of Zen," published in 1960 in Encounter, which Snyder makes note of in his journal from this time period. In this essay, Koestler describes the inability of Zen and other forms of Buddhism to provide values for Japan after its collapse in World War II, stating that "They were unable, and even unwilling to do so, because of the ethical relativism of their tradition, their denial of a universal moral law, and a misguided tolerance, which had become indistinguishable from passive complicity" (31). Snyder's awareness of such considerations leads to his own critique of certain attitudes of traditional Japanese Zen Buddhism. Note Zen's historical connections with the Samurai warrior and Zen's position during World War II as discussed in Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism, edited by Heisig and Maraldo.

In regard to Snyder's outspokenness about Japanese Zen Buddhism, Hisao Kanaseki, a Japanese university professor of American literature, finds it "very significant that Gary Snyder was the first to try to experience Zen by actually becoming a monk" (Gary Snyder: Dimensions of a Life 71). Contrasting Snyder's Buddhist experience with that of other American writers whose interests "have rarely cut deeper than the intellectual level," he goes on to claim that "one of the things that makes Gary Snyder trustworthy as an Orientalist is that he never romanticizes the Orient and Japan." He adds that Snyder "knew all about the human frailties and corruptions of institutionalized Buddhism, and on that basis he tried to see and assess our culture" (74).
52. It was further revised and retitled, "Buddhism and the Possibilities of a Planetary Culture," for inclusion in a 1985 collection of essays by various authors, *Path of Compassion*. This is the title by which it is reprinted in Snyder's recent collected works, *The Gary Snyder Reader* of 1999. In these later revisions, Snyder seems to move toward both a less radical position and one centered more in issues of ecology than issues of social equality, anarchism, or work, his more primary concerns in the 1950's.

53. Per an email correspondence from Gary Snyder of June 28, 2001, he did not "reject non-violent Kropotkin anarchist thinking. I rejected the use of the term, 'anarchism,' as it is now generally used, a word too loaded with contradictory meanings."

54. Two other essays in *Earth House Hold*, "Why Tribe," and "Passage to More than India," present ideas similar to "Buddhist Anarchism." These later essays also demonstrate Snyder's ability to adapt this concept to the hippie movement of the later 1960's, demonstrating that he was already changing and adapting his ideas from the 1950's to the 1960's.

In regard to Snyder's own later comments on "Buddhist Anarchism," see Chowka's *East West* Interview of 1977 with Snyder in *The Real Work*. Snyder addresses problems regarding his use of the idea of violence in the early essay, concluding: "I was trying to say that, to be true to Mahayana, you have to act in the world. To act responsibly [. . .] doesn't mean that you always stand back and let things happen: you play an active part, which means making choices, running risks, and karmically dirtying your hands to some extent. That's what the Bodhisattva ideal is all about" (106-7).

55. Baker discusses Snyder's harassment by the FBI for his radical political ideas while at Reed in her contribution to *Gary Snyder: Dimensions of a Life* (27). In a statement to the Secretary of State after the denial of his passport request to go to Japan in the 1950's Snyder states that he was never a member of the Communist Party. He did say that he got a letter in 1948 from the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union to help him get into the Coast Guard and the MCSU was assumed to be communist-dominated. He also stated that he would "rather go to a concentration camp than be drafted;" and that he considered himself "an intellectual Marxist" in the early 1950's, but that he "became increasingly critical of the Soviet Union and the methods of the Communist Party."
CHAPTER 7

DAILY PRACTICE, WRITING PRACTICE: ZEN TRACES IN JOANNE KYGER’S POETRY

I. Introduction

Similarly to Gary Snyder, Joanne Kyger actualizes the dual discourse of Zen. She practices traditional Zen first in the United States with Soto Zen Master Suzuki Roshi in San Francisco and later with the First Zen Institute of America in Japan. In common with Snyder, Whalen, and Kerouac, she also expresses Zen spirituality as aesthetic discourse in her poetry and shares their interest in the use of literary forms influenced by Zen such as haiku or travel journal. The purpose of this chapter is to see how Kyger as practitioner demonstrates an understanding of Zen’s dual discourse and how that practice manifests itself in her poetry. Change in Kyger’s work in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s comes about through the expansion of her consciousness, gained through Zen practice in conjunction with her interest in psychotherapy and philosophy. One of the preoccupations of Joanne Kyger’s poetry at this time (and one shared by Philip Whalen) is to use the poem to reflect mental process as well as to demonstrate the relation between inside and outside worlds. In poems collected in The Tapestry and the Web, 1965, Places To Go, 1970, and Joanne, 1970, the speaker’s point of view may shift from the description of a garden to a home’s interior, then
further inward to self-reflections and dreams; conversely, the shift may be from inside to outside. The speaker of the poem is the pivot point between two seemingly distinguishable spaces, which, from the perspective of Zen Buddhism, are understood to be without distinction.\(^2\) Kyger’s interest in uniting this duality in her poetry seems to date from 1959 and her practice of zazen, Zen sitting meditation in which the practitioner concentrates on following the breath. In a letter to Gary Snyder of June 30th of that year, she describes a zazen experience, commenting that it is strange to her to think "instead of getting from the outside you get from the inside."

Not only Kyger’s concern with mental process, but other aspects of her poetic practice less easily labeled as direct influences, nonetheless bear Zen’s traces: a turn in her poetry’s form, from a lesser to a greater linear complexity with concomitant interest in the connection of the poetic line with the breath (perhaps inspired by Zen meditation); a movement in subject matter away from the Greek myths to a persona more grounded in personal, contemporary life (reflective of zazen’s grounding in the present moment); and an interest in stylistic experimentation, from a lyrical and traditional free verse to one based more on journal practice and an interest in the journal as genre (reflective of Zen’s emphasis on daily life and ordinary experience).

Although somewhat outside the orbit of the Beat avant-garde project discussed in the dissertation thus far, Kyger was associated with the San Francisco Renaissance under the tutelage of Robert Duncan and Jack Spicer. From the late 1950’s and into the 1960’s she was also associated with the Beat movement, especially after her 1960 marriage to Gary Snyder.\(^3\) She first met Snyder at a North Beach bar, The Place, and through him met
Whalen and Welch, then later Kerouac and Ginsberg among others. In addition, Kyger's interest in and practice of Zen Buddhism also put her into a circle of poets along with Snyder, Whalen, and Welch, as previously noted in the discussion of Whalen's poetry. After Snyder's departure for Japan in 1959, Kyger moved to East-West House, a place to live for those preparing to make the pilgrimage to Japan, and began to practice Zen Buddhism with Shunryu Suzuki who had just come to San Francisco himself. She also began a correspondence with Snyder which lasted until she left to join him in Japan at the beginning of 1960, much of which devoted to discussions about Zen practice and philosophy. Her preliminary critique and subsequent association with Beat movement writers and their Zen-inflected avant-garde poetics may be said to be an important impetus for the Zen "boom's" reverberation in Kyger's own writing practice, although her interest in traditional Zen practice and her distance from the group's male chauvinist orientation made her less a part of their Beat Zen as avant-garde practice for societal change.

II. Kyger's Initial Involvement with Beat and Square Zen

Kyger's involvement with the Beat scene comes, however, despite her early critique of Jack Kerouac and the dharma bums. In 1957, Kyger had moved to North Beach, after attending the University of California at Santa Barbara, where she had studied philosophy through a Tutorial Major. She met Spicer through fellow poets Joe Dunn and John Wieners who brought her to the Sunday poetry meetings held by Spicer and Duncan. Duncan recognized her poem, "The Maze," finished in February 1958, as an important early work. Kyger's alliance with Spicer led to her
critique of Beat Zen Buddhism, exemplified by her short work, The Dharma Committee, a collection of journal entries about a group which formed from within the poets around Spicer in 1958. Of her activities at this time, Kyger writes retrospectively in an introductory paragraph:

The Hilarity of the Desperation of Being on the Edge—this is how the Fall of 1958 recollects itself to me. The invention of the Dharma Committee was in response to a need in my self to bridge the gap between our Spicer group and the world of the Beat writer, with all its attendant publicity. The Dharma Bums had just been published. And although the Dharma Committee was a parody of the Boy Scout Zen guys, it was a flag waving attempt at attention." (1)

The Dharma Committee, though containing little of Kyger's poetry, does give an idea of the activities of San Francisco Renaissance poets in the late 1950's. According to Kyger, the first rule of the Dharma Committee is that all members are cool, while the last is that all members are depraved. Members include both men and women and come primarily from the young poets gathered around Duncan and Spicer. Activities include practicing Zen lotus positions, taking Dada photographs, looking at stars, taking drugs such as Dexedrine and valo, and drinking in bars and cafes. Two rules reflect the Committee's attitude toward the Beats, and especially Jack Kerouac: an admonition against reading past the twentieth page of his sensational novel, The Dharma Bums, and the punishment of sitting in lotus position and thinking about Kerouac as penalty for revealing the committee's handshake and sign (4). In contrast to Kerouac's dharma bums, women are part of the Dharma Committee.8
Interestingly, Kyger's more serious involvement with Zen Buddhism at this time was initially stimulated as much by her interest in philosophy, as by her reactions to Kerouac and friendship with Snyder. Bill Berkson's biographical study of Kyger points to her knowledge of Wittgenstein as leading to an interest in Zen Buddhism ("Joanne Kyger" 325). In fact, Paul Wienpahl, her college philosophy professor, may have been the original link between Kyger's associations with Western and Eastern philosophy. Wienpahl was one of the academics involved in the conversation about Zen in the 1950's. His article in the 1958 Zen issue of the Chicago Review, entitled, "Zen and the Work of Wittgenstein," demonstrates similarities between the two, noting that Wittgenstein's later work consisted in the development of a method for bringing about the insight that differences between things are realized as conceptual, not real (68). Wienpahl goes on to state that "Wittgenstein had attained a state of mind resembling that which the Zen master calls satori and he had worked out a method of inducing it in others which resembles the methods of the mondos and koans" (69). 9

Kyger made specific connections between Wittgenstein and Zen Buddhism in a letter of February 27, 1959, to the recently departed Gary Snyder enroute to Japan and his work at the First Zen Institute of America in Japan under the direction of Ruth Fuller Sasaki. In the letter, Kyger imagines her first meeting with the formidable Sasaki, stating that "I come in with my stern, strong poised aristocratic superior look [...] and we start a serious intense brilliant conversation abt. Zen which I have prepared myself for thoroughly, quickly drawing in elements of Wittgenstein's insights [...]" By dropping Wittgenstein into the conversation, Kyger
indicates that his philosophy was part of the East-West dialogue about Zen that Kyger and others were involved in at this time.\textsuperscript{10}

In a recent interview, Kyger also noted strong Zen influences on her in the 1950's in areas of personal growth and expansion of consciousness, leading her to make connections between her Zen practice and her involvement with psychotherapy.\textsuperscript{11} She describes her psychoanalytic work in Group Therapy, making connections between Zen and psychoanalysis in several of her letters to Snyder.\textsuperscript{12} In one of April 8, 1959, she describes the benefits of Group Therapy as helping her find out why she indulges in uncontrollable behavior and to "more gracefully manage my criticisms." What she expects to achieve in "awakening insight" in herself is "to be able to see the world and others with clearer eyes." She goes on to point out this statement's double meaning: "I see the insight in working thru the tangle and puzzle of a neurotic pattern similar to insight achieved in working through the koan." In an earlier letter to Snyder of April 3rd, she also links Zen and psychotherapy directly: "I sit pretty regularly now. Started after re-reading the article in Chicago Review on [. . .] the Value of Sitting in Psychotherapy—at any rate impressed by what this Japanese psychiatrist had to say I began, and O strange the dignity."\textsuperscript{13}

Kyger is referring to an essay by Akihsa Kondo in the Zen issue of Chicago Review entitled, "Zen In Psychotherapy: The Virtue of Sitting." Kondo makes the point in this essay that Zen sitting meditation is another way to concentrate and realize the real self which he equates with the Buddha Nature, fundamental resourcefulness, inborn freedom and security, and uniqueness and universality (63). Kondo's use of the term, \textit{real self},
recalls Whalen's letter to Ginsberg; this concept will also become a concern of Kyger. Sitting meditation also brings practitioners to single-mindedness, making psychic energy available for constructive work. On September 9th, Kyger emphasizes the idea of practice when she writes to Snyder that Zen is "practice of it, or Doing it. I don't want to just Read about it." This statement is important in distinguishing Kyger's understanding of Zen as practice from the kind of Zen discourse in both 1950's magazine culture and the work of Kerouac, who despite his interest in Zen texts and Dharma bums, did not practice zazen, a traditional aspect of Zen and thereby helping to produce his own orientalized version of Zen demonstrated mainly through literary rather than spiritual practice. 

More importantly, Kondo's "real self" strikes a chord with Kyger's ideas about what she wants to accomplish through her poetry, as she notes poetry's ability to reflect the kind of real self that she is trying to reach through her work in expanding consciousness. Kyger here makes connections between the expanded consciousness of Zen, psychotherapy, and the poem, which will be manifested in her evolving poetics. In a letter to Snyder of April 15, 1959, she comments on how poetry can reflect the truth of the poet, noting the benefits of exchanging poems as "a good way to let each other know what's happening. That language is so much clearer and honest sometimes, tells us what we don't even know yet." Kyger also conflates the real self of poetry with Kondo's real self discovered through Zen practice.

III. Zen Traces and Change in Kyger's Early Poetry
Thus, Zen affected Kyger's poetry in more ways than through changes in her lifestyle, demonstrated in her interest in using Zen and psychoanalysis to gain further access to the real self she hoped to express in her poetry. Zen influences in Kyger's early work are best evidenced by changes in poetic practice in her first book, *The Tapestry and the Web*, hereafter referred to as *T&W*. Although published in 1965, the poems in this volume date from 1958 to 1964 and reflect such Zen traces in Kyger's poetry. Of the 27 poems (not all dated but ordered chronologically) five date from 1958 and 1959, while most of the rest date from 1960 to 1963, the years she spent in Kyoto, Japan, as Gary Snyder's wife and Zen practitioner at the First Zen Institute of America in Japan. The last poem in seven parts, "The Odyssey Poems," dates from 1964, the year of her return to the United States. A comparison of an early poem in *T&W*, "The Maze," written in San Francisco, with a later poem, "The persimmons are falling," written in Kyoto, demonstrates how Zen as spiritual discourse affects her poetry. Her poems move from more mythic to more contemporary speakers in more ordinary settings of daily life; more importantly, changes in her poetry's linear structure demonstrate her interest in relating the poetic line and the breath, newly empowered by her meditation practice.

Written before her move to Japan, "The Maze" seems typical of Kyger's earliest poetry in its controlled linearity and allusions to Greek mythology.15 The poem's three sections are distinguished by both form and content, as Kyger reinforces the poem's narrative movement by variations in stanzaic form, enforced by lineation, spacing, capitalization, and punctuation. The poem's title and imagery suggest that the speaker of the poem moves back and forth between the impossibility and possibility of
maneuvering the maze of everyday life. The question appears to be whether memories of past success will save the speaker from being trapped and transformed by her present confusion into an insane, anthropomorphic, creature. The first section of four short stanzas begins in the present with the speaker finding a dead bird at seven in the morning. This section consists of similar lineation: each stanza's initial line is left justified with initial word capitalized, followed by centered lines, except for the poem's first line which is both capitalized and centered. Each of these four stanzas could be a sentence but is not punctuated as such. The poem begins:

I saw the
dead bird on the sidewalk
his neck uncovered
and prehistoric

At seven in the morning
my hair was bound
against the fish in the air
who begged for the ocean

I longed for their place (1-9)

and continues for two more loose stanzas. In the third stanza she seems to be inside a house, waiting with someone else as a man knocks at the door. In the last stanza of this section, she walks in "treacherous places/wanting to fall" (29-30), a circumstance which leads to her childhood memories of Williamsburg and its maze in the poem's second section, the first line of which is centered and capitalized. Here the poem moves consistently by short, centered lines without any left-justification for the next 47 lines
(setting the section off visually), and ends with the poem's first period to mark the speaker's exit from the maze, as she avoids some unspecified danger. However, in the last and shortest section, the speaker seems to be dragged back into the dangerous situation of the poem's beginning, inside the house. This section consists of one long stream-of-consciousness sentence, beginning with one centered, capitalized pronoun and ending in a period to mark the end of the poem. These lines, stanzaically irregular and not left justified, add to the anxiety produced in this section:

She
tortures
the curtains of the window
shreds them
like some
insane insect
creates a
demented web [...]. (80-87)

Here the female persona "tortures" and "shreds" the window curtains and is compared to an "insane insect" (86). Figurative language and diction are strongest in this section, and the comparison of the woman to a powerful spider whose "possessed fingers" can "claw," "thrust," and "jab" adds to the feeling of foreboding present since the poem's beginning (13).

Readers of the poem may first understand the maze of the title to stand for the state of confusion experienced by the poem's speaker in the first section, whereas the speaker's associations in the second section lead back to specific memories of a childhood experience in the maze at Williamsburg. Allusions to the labyrinth of classical mythology also
appear in this section, which introduces Penelope, Ulysses's wife, an important mythic character for Kyger throughout this volume. The speaker of the poem's third section, a mysterious, demented, and trapped character, presents the dangers of getting lost in a maze. This female, referred to in the third person, calls to mind not only the female of the first section, but mythic characters such as Arachne, or even Ariadne who helped Theseus through the maze only to be abandoned by him. Kyger's allusions to different myths here with Penelope associated with other females, allow for a reading which includes all these mythic personae. Such layering enriches Kyger's poem, perhaps at the risk of causing some ambiguity for readers. The last section's more dynamic lineation, in addition to reinforcing the spider imagery and the Greek figure of Ariadne, differs from that of the other two sections and points ahead to the kind of tension in linear structure produced by renewed interest in both the breath and mental process which dominates the poems in *T&W* written in Japan.

One such poem is "The persimmons are falling," of December 1963, written before Kyger left Japan in January 1964. Kyger moves in this poem away from mythic allusions of "The Maze" toward a greater emphasis on daily life, presented in a less ambiguous situation, partly because it is more grounded in the speaker's present life and partly because of a greater specificity regarding activities which are also more mundane and less threatening than being trapped in a maze, such as attending to the garden or worrying about getting wrinkles. This poem in presenting the speaker's mental process demonstrates a more complex lineation, in contrast to "The Maze," most of whose lines are short and centered down the middle of the
The lines in "The persimmons are falling" are longer and move dynamically back and forth on the page, literally demonstrating the movement of the speaker's thoughts with a greater sense of interaction between narrative situation and state of mind, one line acting as a mental aside or comment on the previous one in the process demonstrating a more complex process of self-reflection. For example, the first stanza reads as follows:

The persimmons are falling
early and rotten from the tree.
no time to attend the garden.
where I go like a dandy
is to the living room
and right to the heart of the matter. (1-6)

The later poem is also more ordered in its movement from outside to inside. Kyger develops the poem in more parallel stanzaic pattern with five variable, free verse stanzas concluding with a final couplet; all sections end with a period. Each of the first three stanzas presents a different realm or state of mind inhabited by the speaker, whereas in the last two stanzas all of these states come together. The movement is unambiguous from outside world to more interior ones: from garden to living room to speaker's physical body and its reflections and dreams. In the first stanza, the speaker of the poem observes the persimmons falling "early and rotten from the tree" (2) and retreats from the time-consuming task of picking up the rotten fruit, moving into the living room and "the heart of the matter" (6). In the second stanza, the speaker reflects on life, or rather death, and the fact that at the age of 30, "the bloom is gone;"

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(11) from this reflection, she moves in the third and fourth stanzas to a recurring dream of a "large mysterious house" which is in disarray and which the speaker "can't take over" (22) as she wanders its rooms. In the fifth and sixth stanzas, the speaker moves by association from these rooms to her "preoccupations" (26) on the passing of time, the persimmons, good one year, bad the next, and her own aging with the allusion to "wrinkles" (28). The poem ends with a final admonition to explore her own self, symbolized by the rooms of the house, as she quotes someone, perhaps herself from the dream: "You've built this vast house, now explore it."

Some people have well lived rooms" (31-32). Here she implies that the mind is able to contain all realities in the same way that the poet has been able to present and combine these states of mind in the poem.

What may seem arbitrary in the poem's last stanzas are the associations the speaker makes between her preoccupations with the passing of years to the bad crop of persimmons to wrinkles and back to the rotting persimmons: "melting into the nice earth/giving over life, giving it another child" (29-30). However, Kyger here demonstrates the way the mind works as discovered by the practitioner of zazen, who follows the breath as well as the transformation and passage of thoughts. Echoing this aspect of meditation, is the speaker's self-reflective tone, which borders on the casual and conversational with such phrases as: "It occurred to me yesterday" (9) or "I don't know a thing, about what's around the corner" (24). This latter phrase signals some apprehension and is reinforced by the idea of death that lurks in the tenth line in the observation that "people don't die at thirty." The poem's theme partly moves away from the paranoia and mythic tragedy of some of the early poems of T&W, maintaining that
life and aging are inevitable and the best strategy to deal with this fact is to better inhabit one's life. Kyger's emphasis here relates to the Buddhist idea that life is impermanent.

The use of rhyme and repetition in "The persimmons are falling" reinforces the idea of impermanence. The rhyme of "time" and "dream" suggests the idea of time passing and the need to better inhabit one's messy house, both literally and figuratively. The hidden alliteration of the sighing s sound in the last eight lines of the poem with "doors," "preoccupations," "years," "persimmons," "bugs," "wrinkles," "rooms," and "last," all emphasize the poignancy of the passing of time. The word, last, as well as the repetition of sound seem particularly significant in the context of thoughts of life and death. The alliteration seems to belie the speaker's sensible statement in the second stanza that "people don't die at thirty" (10). Another repetition which reinforces the poem's living-dying tension is the phrase, "living room," repeated from the first stanza. Here it refers to her literal living room and the "heart" of her relationship, while in the fourth stanza, it becomes the unfamiliar living room in her dream. A variation on the phrase in the last line's "some people have well lived rooms," reflects the speaker's double-edged comment on the mind and the home. How does one get a well-lived room? Kyger's Zen practice suggests that meditation is one way to become familiar with the inner self or the rooms of the mind.

At about the same time as writing "The persimmons are falling," her journal entries from Japan (reprinted as The Japan and India Journals and hereafter referred to as [I&I]) also allude to both her Zen practice and her dreams in ways similar to the poem. From December 1st to 7th, 1963, Kyger
took part in Rohatsu, a period of week-long and intensive zazen, of which she writes in her journal: "The bell rings different. Finally High." This entry is followed by a December 19th record of a dream which takes place in a "kitchen-house" in which "Death was a pied piper of multiple men going through a house which was a city. Everyone was waiting for him. I, going to find the best room or section to die" ([&I] 267). Thus, attention to zazen and to the dream are both ways for Kyger to become familiar with the inner self, reminiscent of the way Zen practice and aspects of psychotherapy worked together for her in 1959, Zen practice again reinforcing her interest in expansion of the mind, also suggested by the phrase, "Finally high."

Although the very last poems of T&W, written in 1964 and dealing with both Odysseus's return to Penelope and Kyger's return to the United States, seem to return to the mythic overtones of the book's beginnings, the Penelope character in these poems lives in a more contemporary world of mundane events. For example, Kyger includes more colloquial images and word choices to present Penelope, in the fourth Odyssey Poem, describing Penelope's rage at the suitors while she waits for Odysseus to return:

She comes and rages
quit eating the coffee cake and cottage cheese
put the lid on the peanut butter jar
sandwiches made of cucumber, stop eating the food! (12-17)

Neither coffee cake nor peanut butter are foods associated with the ancient Greeks, reinforcing Penelope's contemporaneity in this poem.
IV. Traditional Zen Practice and Kyger's Poetics of Expanded Consciousness

In conjunction with close readings of these and other poems from *T&W*, Kyger's journals written primarily in Japan, *The Japan and India Journals: 1960-1964*, are important sources for information about her practice of traditional Zen Buddhism in association with the First Zen Institute of America in Japan. These journals also indicate the direction in which Kyger's work moves in the late 1960's and early 1970's after her return from Japan. An examination of Kyger's Japanese experiences from the point of view of these journals demonstrates how her Zen Buddhist practice as well as her relationships with writers associated with the Beat movement (whose literary practice also included an interest in Zen), contribute to changes in her writing practice, moving her poetry toward that more contemporary persona, involved with mundane and domestic life, and described in a more colloquial and self-reflective tone through a form that reflects an expanded consciousness. As well as providing details of Kyger's life at this time, reading the journals demonstrates that her Zen practice and her writing practice often reinforce each other.21 Four specific areas stand out in which Kyger's journal entries on Zen practice refer to her writing concerns: theories on the breath in relation to the line; the need for presence in the moment (zazen's goal), along with interest in recording daily life with its sense of impermanence; the issue of duality, both that of waking and dream life and of the mind and language; and the use of the journal as a genre that can reflect these concerns.

For Kyger, the poetic line directly connects her writing to the daily practice of zazen. As her line follows her physical breath it also enables a following of the movement of the mind, reflecting what happens in
Buddhist meditation. Kyger's comments in her journals of the time indicate her search for a more natural breath line. In November of 1960, she describes the idea of composing with the tape recorder: "Idea of reading over tape recorder, composing, that is. Playing back and typing it then. The breath line would be natural at least" (J&I] 62). This theorizing occurs simultaneously with her struggle to practice zazen more consistently, and she includes her somewhat ambivalent attitudes toward zazen in the journal also. On October 29th, she worries that her zazen needs more practice (J&I] 60), and on November 4th she writes that she had "violent antipathy to sitting this week" (J&I] 62). A few years later she is still concerned about the breath and the line. In January 1963, she quotes a biographer's comments on Pound's poetic line in her journal: "The poet's line reveals not only his manner of expression, hence the way he thinks; it reveals his intensity—almost, it might be said, his way of breathing" (J&I] 226). In singling out this passage and making these observations about Pound's lineation, Kyger also expresses her own understanding of the way the line and the breath reinforce each other.

In her journals, Kyger also discusses the need to incorporate daily life into her poetry. In a journal entry of April 25, 1960 this concern comes up in response to Kyger's comments on Denise Levertov's concept of the imagination: "—That imagination Levertov talks of—can it be a measure of the trueness of a poem—the permeation of the self into it unaware. The unaware pun, the images that link together etc., evidences of the whole self in the poem" (J&I] 28). For Kyger, this whole self includes experiences of daily life noted both in journal and poem, particularly those of domestic daily life, her dreams, and her realizations derived from
meditation on the relation between the mind and reality and language's ability to reflect the mind.

A poem Kyger wrote at about this time, "It is lonely," incorporates her daily activities, drawing from experiences noted in her journal. More importantly, it exemplifies a movement toward the inclusion of Kyger's whole self in her poems (referred to in her journal comment on Levertov), connecting her conscious self with her unconscious in a more integrated way than in earlier poems such as "The Maze." The poem begins with the experience of drawing water for a bath:

It is lonely
I must draw water from the well 75 buckets for the bath
I mix a drink - gin, fizz water, lemon juice, spoonful
of strawberry jam
And place it in a champagne glass - it is hard work
to make the bath (1-6).

This short 12-line poem has the appearance of a paragraph block on the page with most lines about the same length, contributing to the poem's prosaic, journal-like quality. Her journal entry of April 26, 1960 alludes to a similar experience: "Heated bath last night, 75 buckets of water, & weeded strawberry patch [...] and now my memories of the strawberry patch are all mixed up with the Hatches & Ginsberg and it ends up by being a conglomerate thing, but one thing. Strawberry hatch?" (I&I 28). Kyger presents additional associations to the act of drawing water from a well in a journal entry several weeks later of May 17th, in which she describes her domestic act more symbolically: "Drawing water from the well for the bath Monday night I became aware of what I was doing in the sense of how it
effects me in poetry: water [. . .] . The well is essentially a woman's thing. And the well as KNOWLEDGE" ([&I] 34).

However, the speaker of the poem in her inclusion of feelings of loneliness differs from the writer of the journal from which the poem's content apparently comes. The speaker also associates the domestic with other concerns, moving by association from domestic duties of making the bath to those of putting away her winter clothes, and then to reflecting on her loss of values: "Have I lost all values I wonder/the world is slippery to hold on to/When you begin to deny it" (8-10). The speaker's tone here is casual and conversational, in contrast to the more serious reflection. Her question about loss of values metamorphoses into a statement about the slipperiness of the world and is thus somewhat lost in her wondering. The importance of this act of self-reflection is set off by the poem's punctuation. The only periods in the poem occur at the end, and after "storage" (8) and "it"(10), thus setting off the reflection about values. Kyger's realization here may have come from associations between the daily activities of putting away winter clothes and the Zen concept of attending to an ego-self which also needs to be put away. Glossing the poem from a Zen perspective adds an important dimension to its reading. The slippery world is an allusion to Zen Buddhist meditation, which encourages the mind to follow its own movement, demonstrating to the practitioner the self as an ego construct and the illusory or slippery nature of ego-driven reality (echoed in the idea that the world is "slippery" when you "begin to deny it" or investigate it through meditation). In presenting this whole self in the poem, Kyger also presents a tension between the mundane world of domestic tasks and the self who has time to drink gin.
fizz, lemon, and strawberry and reflect on both drudgery and the slipperiness of the world, as well as demonstrating a tension between inner and outer worlds.

The poem ends with the intrusion of images from outside the house: crickets, frogs, and black butterflies. These three objects of the natural world, heard and seen by the speaker, serve to counter the denial of the world in line ten with the world's presence, adding to the possibility of grasping the nature of reality for the Zen practitioner. Zen practice serves not so much to deny the reality of the world, with its concrete and natural objects, as to deny the supplanting of that reality by the ego's wishes and desires to see or experience the world in a certain way. The poem's ending resolves that duality by concentrating on images of the physical world: "Outside outside are the crickets and frogs in the rice fields/Large black butterflies like birds" (11-12). The three images in these three phrases with each phrase floating in its own space, the third separated linearly, suggests the three-line Japanese haiku, the poetic form most often associated with Zen as aesthetic discourse. If the haiku form traditionally contains a leap, pause, or movement of mind between the first two lines and the last, then the contrast between more common crickets and frogs and the striking image of large, black butterflies (insects which fly and inhabit the air rather than being grounded like the crickets and frogs) may signify the leap in mental attitude between unenlightened and enlightened mind, which is the end result of Zen practice.

Although the way Kyger ends this poem suggests a balance between inner and outer worlds (her subjective experience and the objective world, both domestic and natural), the reader may not be entirely sure that the
image of a black butterfly as large as a bird is real. Hence the slippery nature of reality. In the poem’s last line, the alliteration of the b sound separates and slows down the words in the line, miming the movement of floating butterflies and adding to the meditative and elusive quality of time as the poem ends. The image of butterflies also recalls the famous tale of Chuang-Tzu (or Japanese Soshi) and his dream of being a butterfly, told by Blyth in his study of the haiku. His version concludes: "Suddenly I awoke and was Soshi again. I did not know whether it was Soshi dreaming that he was a butterfly, or a butterfly now dreaming it was Soshi" (Haiku 1: 47).25 The dreamy quality of the poem’s ending recalls Kyger’s comments at the close of the April 27th journal entry: "Exactly how things are related will not yet become clear to me. It seems to me the dream holds a key to this, i.e. the logic. Or one of the keys" (J&I 28). The importance of her dreams and their inclusion in her poems will become part of her subsequent writing practice as well as her published œuvre, reinforcing her interest in the more personal self over the mythic one as a means to demonstrate introspective understanding in the poem.

Kyger’s interest in the dream and its "logic," the relation between dream life and waking life, and the incorporation of dreams in poems and journals are also directly related to Kyger’s understanding of Zen philosophy. In a journal entry of May 1960 which continues her meditation on dreams begun in April she considers the dream as a way to understand how things are related in the real world. She admires a poem of Stan Persky commenting: "Jumps in thought that Persky’s Sappho poem takes are beautiful. And make that sort of joining—implies a logic that moves beneath like the logic of dream—yet we know it is right" (J&I 30).26
A few months later, on November 14th, she notes in her journal: "Jung: dreams show the inner truth and reality as it is" ([&I] 67). This entry recalls a statement Kyger made to Snyder in a letter of September 9, 1959 in which she meditates on the logic connected with the poem and the poet's use of the dream image from a slightly different angle:

I feel the readers logic, his own view of the world has to be shook up before he can see my poem & then after a while perhaps he can see my world. It is not w/ the logic of the awake mind that we respond to the poem & exactly that word -- we respond to a poem not understand it.

This statement about the logic of dreams, although seemingly contradictory to the Western mind which associates dreams with the surreal and illogical, recalls Buddhist attitudes. D.T. Suzuki discusses the ultimate uselessness of the intellect and logic in his Introduction to Zen Buddhism, where he devotes a chapter to "Illogical Zen." In regard to logic, he writes: "For we now realize that 'A is not-A' after all, that logic is one-sided, that illogicality so-called is not in the last analysis necessarily illogical; what is superficially irrational has after all its own logic, which is in correspondence with the true state of things" (60). Dream logic for Kyger thus implies a transcending of duality or opposition; the dream is both logical and illogical or simply is, part of the paradoxical nature of Zen thought.

In addition, the dream (though fleeting and evanescent) is as real as waking daily life for Buddhism which considers life to be a dream as well (recall the story of Chuang-Tzu and the butterfly). People need to wake up to the dream that is life as well as the life that is dream. Of the dream as a
concern of Zen philosophy and practice, Muso Kokushi, 13th century Zen master, speaks of the popular practice in Buddhist scriptures and Zen writings "that consists in looking at all phenomena as if they were dreams or illusions [...] . Thus, contemplation of phenomena as dreamlike is an elementary expedient used to facilitate realization of the Middle Way transcending dualistic and extreme views" (Dream Conversations 75-6).27 These connections between the dream and the ephemeral and impermanent also recall the ending of "It is lonely," whose haiku-like form also expresses impermanence, connected as the two are by Japanese aesthetics. In the first of his multivolume work on haiku, for example, R.H. Blyth discusses the Buddhist origins of haiku with emphasis on the way this extremely short form can present the evanescence of life along with its sorrow and suffering: "The morning-dew nature of all things, even of the universe itself, may arouse grief; it may also be seen, or overlooked, as the inevitable element in all change and variety" (18-19).28

Kyger’s inclusion of her dreams in her published work first begins in T&W with "The persimmons are falling" and the two poems before and after it and continues through her later work.29 By including dreams in her poetry without making clear distinctions between her dream life and her waking life, thus interweaving the two, she transcends a dualism between the inner self and its outer reality. Kyger’s use of the dream as poem is also a way to present her self, but distance that self as ego, because the dream self is not exactly the same as the waking self. This may be due to the feeling of distance and disorientation that the dream brings with it, as well as the inclusion of unconscious or subconscious material in dreams. It is interesting to note that other poets associated with the Beat avant-
garde, Gary Snyder and Allen Ginsberg for example, include dreams in their work at this time and may have influenced Kyger in her use of the dream as poem.30

The leaps of the mind and the gap between waking experience and dream also relate to Kyger's concern with the relationship between the mind and language, seen as dualities or opposing states of being which must be overcome. This is an idea which D.T. Suzuki addresses in his early work, *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism*, where he states: "Zen thinks we are too much of slaves to words and logic. So long as we remain thus fettered we are miserable and go through untold suffering." He adds that this consideration "has compelled one to plunge oneself deep into the abyss of the 'Nameless' and take hold directly of the spirit as it is engaged in the business of creating the world" (61). As has been discussed in the study of Whalen's poetry, the Lankavatara Sutra is also concerned with the relation of words to reality.

In March 1960, Kyger comments on her compulsion to record perceptions in writing rather than simply entering into existence without feeling the necessity to write about it: "SNOW this morning. after a night of scary sleep. almost too picturesque to be real. and in the zanchiki I draw back the shoji and sit facing out watching wishing I did not have to think of telling of it but could let it be." Here, Kyger is inside observing and commenting on outside reality, aware of the inside/outside dichotomy in her life as a poet. In the same entry she writes of a process of overcoming this kind of duality in herself through a metaphor: "I am neither open nor closed a/leaky faucet" ([&I] 13). In this self-reflection, she negates duality, or opposition altogether, considering herself to be in a state that is
somewhere in between, albeit unsatisfactory from the point of view of either opposed qualities. This ambiguous situation may echo her anxiety about writing as well as her concern to overcome duality of mind and body or between experience and its record in the poem.31

Another of Kyger's journal entries, this time of August 1963, continues her reflections on language, suggesting its paradoxical nature and stating that "we are free beneath language." A month later, on September 4th, she records the following attitude toward words in the first five lines of an untitled poem:

Below us and above us lie the words
   take away the blanket
   and there is dust
   Words built the world
   and between us is the great icy silence of breath. (1-5)

This poem demonstrates the importance of breath in the varied line lengths. In the poem, words are separated and given definition by breath (shown by the poem's linear movement); breath is also vital to existence. The poem demonstrates the possibility of relating existence (breathing), mental process, and verbal expression. Though words construct our world, we are in a sense separate from them. The silent breath of life experienced consciously in meditation is the connector between people and that material world. Kyger's allusion to dust recalls its meaning for Zen practitioners, as explained by Ruth Fuller Sasaki in her foreword to Zen Dust, a history of the koan: "Zen Dust was chosen by Isshu Roshi as the title for the projected book, all words about Zen being but dust to be gotten rid of, or, from a deeper standpoint, having no real existence at all" (xiv).32

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Allusions to dust also call to mind a famous verse exchange between two historic figures of Zen Buddhism, Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu. It was Hui-neng's ability to express the true essence of Zen in a poem which capped that of Shen-hsiu (the fifth patriarch's legitimate heir and most learned of his disciples) that established him as the fifth patriarch's successor. This exchange demonstrates Zen Buddhism's use of quotes from poetry of the past as well as a practitioner's own poetic statement as ways to express an understanding of Zen Buddhism and to show enlightenment. Kyger seems to be using her poem in such a traditional way to demonstrate her understanding of Zen Buddhism, or at least her understanding of Zen's attitude toward language. Read against the verses of Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng this becomes even more evident.

The general issue of overcoming dualities and oppositions continues to be important to Kyger, demonstrated by her 1971 book of poetry, _Joanne_. Composed of short, pithy untitled poems, (24 of _Joanne's_ 37 poems are under six lines long), "JOANNE is a novel/ from the inside out," Kyger explains on the back cover. This poetic coda recalls Kyger's previous interest in moving between inner and outer worlds in _T&W_. Although at first glance these poems appear to be slight, their form and content demonstrate Kyger's interest in exposing and playing with the mind's obsession with duality and complementarity in general, as well as problematizing the human interest in categorizing in terms of oppositions. The shorter and more pithy, the more obvious this becomes. For example, in the seventeenth poem in _Joanne_, Kyger demonstrates the syntactic juxtaposition of opposites, thus playing down their oppositional nature. In
this two-line poem, the use of the indefinite pronoun, "thing," leaves the reader with an ambiguous feeling and without the closure of specificity:

   Some thing open  
   Some thing closed  (1-2).

A similar short poem of three lines also demonstrates the complementary aspect of seeming opposites, thus playing down that opposition:

   don't do this -- don't do that  
   don't ride a horse  
   too long  (1-3).

The juxtaposition of indefinite pronouns, "this," and "that," through the repetition of parallel phrases, puts the listener into a double bind situation with the impossibility of any action at all, if these conflicting commands are to be obeyed. The ambiguity of these pronouns adds to this double bind. One can also imagine the speaker's rebellion against anyone who tells her what to do. However, the commonsense admonition about a specific situation, horseback riding, breaks the double bind of empty signification. Another short poem plays with the oppositional and with ambiguity:

   a life time  

   what happened  
   it stopped  (1-3).

Kyger here juxtaposes "happened" and "stopped" abruptly in an end-stopped fashion through enjamed and parallel phrases. These act together in a seemingly logical fashion, while suggesting the idea of finality or death. However, the use of the pronoun, "it," leaves allusion to death questionable in its ambiguous signification. The tension between the
truisms of life happening or stopping and the surprise registered if "what happened" is asked as a question also occurs in the poem's word play.

The form of these last two poem's suggests the haiku with its short three lines and its pause (what Ginsberg considered the ellipsis). Atypically, the pause, given literal dimension by the poem's spacing, comes between the first and last two lines, which function as a couplet. The careful spacing of this poem and of most of the poems in Joanne recalls a statement Kyger made to Whalen in a letter of June 20, 1962, regarding poems she will write in the future. She notes the importance for her of the placement of the poem on the page as well as the aspect of breath: "I keep planning to do something fantastik & orig. but I haven't figured out what yet, except naturally it must be good w/ lots of white space in and around it; big pauses for breath & silence." In her poetry of the future, much like the poems in Joanne, Kyger will increasingly embody the act of meditation in the poem by the interplay of space on the page, including visually the breath and silence which is part of her poetic practice.

In the final poem of Joanne, Kyger again produces a feeling of ambiguity with a pronoun as well as demonstrating the complementary aspect of a phrase which recalls the earlier poem, "some thing open/some thing closed" in its parallel construction:

It's always free

It's always easy  (1-2).

The two almost identical lines have only one differing word each, "free" in one and "easy" in the other, but even these words have similar vowel sounds and thus echo each other without being opposite or identical states, a technique similar to "Some thing open/ Some thing closed." The echo of a
somewhat cliched phrase, "free and easy," may also make readers think about the practice of coupling seemingly unrelated words via and in such expressions, thereby questioning the kind of syntax that automatically makes the joined qualities equal or related. Does "It's" stand for life, breath, air, or meditation in this poem, or is Kyger being sarcastic and suggesting that life's opposite, death, may also be what's free and easy?

The similarities and oppositions implied in these paired and parallel phrases relate primarily to Zen Buddhism's concern with the negation of opposites. Kokushi's Dream Conversations alludes to the idea of "Zen Techniques;" he states that "there are many Zen expressions that stand for what may be called positive and negative teachings" (53). He goes on to compare pairs of terms such as holding still and letting go as "used to indicate alternation, combination, and balance of complementary modes of being such as stillness and activity, transcendence and involvement, weeding and seeding" (54). Suzuki discusses this issue in his Essays, first series, in the chapter entitled, "Practical Methods of Zen Instruction," under the category of the "denial of opposites," writing that "the logical dualism of 'to be' and 'not to be' is frequently expressed by Zen masters by such terms of contrast as are used in our daily parlance: 'taking life' and 'giving life,' 'capturing' and 'releasing,' 'giving' and 'taking away,' etc." (278).

Kyger's word play in Joanne also recalls a paradoxical and humorous aspect of Zen's use of language. Perhaps the most emphatic and definitive statement on Zen's connection with the paradoxical also comes from this same chapter on practical methods, in which Suzuki emphasizes the fact that "Zen mistrusts the intellect, does not rely upon traditional and dualistic
methods of reasoning, and handles problems after its own original manners" (Essays 1: 270-71). He makes the point that "Zen carries its paradoxical assertions into every detail of our daily life." He also comments on Zen's denial of opposites and its interest in contradiction by the master's negation of what he has stated or what has been stated by another (Essays 1: 279). Suzuki concludes that "this contradiction, negation, or paradoxical statement is the inevitable result of the Zen way of looking at life" which is the "intuitive grasping of the inner truth deeply hidden in our consciousness" (Essays 1: 281). Some of the best examples of Zen's playful use of language are the koan and mondo, well represented in Suzuki's essays on Zen and of interest to Kerouac, Snyder, and Whalen as demonstrated previously. The haiku also expresses such wordplay.\textsuperscript{35}

Kyger's concerns with overcoming the duality of language, her interest in including all aspects of life in her poems, from the domestic to the dream, as well as her interest in experimenting with liaeation seem to converge in her interest in the journal, itself, as an important aspect of her writing practice. Through her experiences as a Zen practitioner and as a poet in Japan struggling to make her poems more reflective of daily life, Kyger expresses her conviction that language needs to be used in a new way by the poet. As far back as March 1963 Kyger, registering her dissatisfaction with the constrictions of language, considers a new way of using it in poetry: "There should be no artificial abbreviations (of sentences etc.) in poetry. Closer to the mind it comes out how? Or the mind closer to the poem, comes out with its own good poetry" (J&I 242). In other words, the poem, if it exists at all, should be an attempt to directly transcribe the experiences of daily life and the mind's movements,
somewhat like a journal entry, but in more concentrated language.

Kyger's interest in a poetics which can permit the direct transcription of the poet's experience, suggests a Japanese poetics, somewhat like that of the poetic diary which combines haiku and journal entry, practiced by Basho among others or like the haiku, itself. Although she criticizes her journal practice in December of 1960, stating: "Fact I don't get down what I want in journal shows what is happening right now has no meaning for me, no distinction, only the memory of it later" (I&II 71), her comments to Whalen on reading Ginsberg's journals indicate some positive aspects of the journal as medium. In a letter of July 12, 1963, she writes: "And, from his journal readings, I'm not sure either whether what he's writing is poetry -- but interesting, and yours similar in this respect — what a wide area of mind he permits in the poem. And interesting too how the mind does easily handle all such side tracks, diversions, day dreams etc." Can Kyger's turn to the journal as serious and publishable genre simultaneously bridge the gap between writing and life and allow for the following of the mind in the moment in its spontaneity, as well as provide the substance for the process of writing? Kyger's increasing use of journals as part of her published oeuvre leads to the conclusion that for her journals can become this bridge. She will include the journal in the genre of her publications along with books of poetry, starting with her first published journal, Desecheo Notebook of 1971.

Desecheo Notebook is a journal that combines prose and poetry in documenting Kyger's trip to Desecheo Island off the coast of Puerto Rico in the spring of 1971. She speaks in the first person, names her companions, and records the activities of life on a deserted island, all
adding to a sense of the possibilities for immediacy of the journal as genre. The published version of the journal is also unpaginated which adds to its sense of authenticity. Kyger includes poems, dreams, conversations with herself, self-reflections, comments of others, and descriptions of the natural world. She continues to play with the relations between inner and outer worlds, especially the relation between writing and talking and between the imagination and writing. For example, on Tuesday, March 16th, she notes of the deceptive aspect of words and intellectualizing: "Concepts promise protection from experience." She also continues her play with lineation, particularly in the poems. Her dreams, on the other hand, are given in block paragraph format, a practice she will carry into future dream poems.

Kyger's use of the journal as publishable genre allows for a concentration on a more personal, rather than mythic persona (although the journal can contain myth as well as an interest in archetypes), presenting aspects of her daily life such as dreams and conversations. The more conversational tone of Kyger's journals also suggest an immediacy of recording events as they happen, and of being in the present without conceptualizing about these experiences; thus the journal provides a solution to her criticism of poetry's artificiality. This interest in daily life reflects the Buddhist idea of tathata or suchness as expressed by D.T. Suzuki as the "world of particulars" ("Aspects of Japanese Culture" 55). Suzuki's description of tathata in his Zen Essays, third series, demonstrates Zen aspects of Kyger's tone. Tathata as suchness or thusness is Mahayana Buddhism's positive term for expressing theemptiness of universal consciousness where "all things are conserved in their essence." Here he
explains that "it requires the highest degree of intellectual perspicuity to look into Reality in its suchness and not to weave around it subjectively-constructed meshes. This is then a realm of intuitions. When we enter into this realm, we realize what Sunyata or Tathata really means" (297).

Kyger's interest in recording daily life also reflects the avant-garde interests of the Beat Generation writers in spontaneity as evidenced by Kerouac's documentation of spontaneous mind in his notebooks and novels, as well as Ginsberg and Snyder's journal practice. Kyger's journals are also similar in their all-inclusive nature and in the variety of material included in them: thoughts and reflections, records of daily life, poems, haiku, and dreams. One could call her journals a continuous life poem. Although the individual entries in these journals may lack the intensity of her poems, the journal read as a whole provides a complete and nuanced record of poetic experience. This genre may be compared to haiku-poet Basho's journal, Narrow Road to the Interior, in the sense that they contain travel information specifics and poetic response to the journey as direct rather than comparative experience.

Kyger's interest in bringing her poetry from the mythic to the more personal can be seen as part of the Buddhist meditation practice of being in the world, following the breath, and being "attentive to consciousness" through attention to language that is close to the mind and the self, and hence close to the poem as part of the process. Snyder's poetry would also be a precedent for this practice. In July 1963 Kyger refers to Snyder's long poem cycle in her journal, again in terms of the inside/outside dichotomy: "Out There is your Mind/Gary's Mountains and Rivers" (I&II 257). Here Kyger implies that in the journal-like poem, the poet can move mind-
outward, directly juxtaposing the outside world with the inner one of perception. A poem in this cycle, "Night Highway 99," was first published in 1962 when Snyder and Kyger lived together in Japan and incorporates travel journal notes, quotes, haikus, and specifics of place and date, in a free verse format which attests to the immediacy of the perceptions and the notebook or travel-journal-in-hand technique of Snyder.41

V. Return

Ultimately, the effect of Japan for Kyger was one of change in her practice of poetry and meditation. Her journal entry of December 31, 1963, which describes her New Year's resolutions on the eve of her departure from Japan and from Snyder, indicates such changes in her work:

Resolutions: In order to rise as a poet, the craft of poetry must be studied and known. Painful as it may be, hours each day should be spent scanning poetry sheets and volumes of the past. New conscious ground expansion for poems and ordinary proficiency both executed daily. The craft should fit like a glove. Exactly: from my own life, not sources from myth. (269)

Here is conscious evidence of a turn in her poetry's subject matter away from the Greek myths and personae who dominate many of the poems in T&W, to a more contemporary and personal persona grounded in the experience of daily life, a turn informed in part by her practice of Zen.

Her understanding of Zen, too, would be different upon her return to the States, including an emphasis on recording the simplicity of everyday life in its mundane details, the basis for much of her subsequent writing
In an essay she wrote for *Tricycle* magazine in the 1990's, "Reading Back," she describes her return to the United States in 1964 as a move away from the "proscribed manners of living in Japanese culture." She rejects both traditional Japanese Zen or Watts's square Zen and Beat Zen and finds her practice where it began in 1959 although with new self-realization: "Sitting with the *sangha* at Suzuki's San Francisco Zen Center when I returned, I was struck with the simplicity of zazen, nothing to prove, nothing to gain" (65). This emphasis on simplicity and awareness of daily life as helping to clarify existence for Kyger is reflected in the last poems from *T&W* written in 1964, "The Odyssey Poems," the sixth of which includes a morning walk in July, a man named Jack who picked a nasturtium, and a quiet lake with water lilies. It ends simply: "this is a guest house where all are taken care of/the great and good sun comes out, the sun is a star" (11-12). In the seventh Odyssey poem and the last poem in *T&W*, she describes the end of the process of writing the poems, finishing up the "web" she has spun. Although Kyger alludes to classical figures in this poem, for example, the yearly death of Persephone, or the men calling for Odysseus in a battle which seems to also be in the present, there is a strong sense of the ordinary:

> It has been difficult to write this. One day
>
> I walked around the block, it was grey, and whatever was green on the lawns was clear
>
> the flower pots on the back porch, the neighbor's steps to the second floor
>
> I could have watched for a long time, (7-10).
Although it is difficult to reproduce the lineation of this poem because of the exceedingly long length of some lines, the quote does demonstrate Kyger's simultaneous involvement with ordinary aspects of daily life and writing practice. The poem's speaker comments on the writing of the poems and the peace that comes with an integration with the activities and objects encountered in going about one's daily life.

VI. Conclusion

This chapter's examination of Joanne Kyger's early poetry and journal work, with comparison of poems before and after her extended stay in Japan, demonstrates the effect of traditional Zen practice on her writing. Regarding Kyger's understanding of Zen as dual discourse, as Zen practitioner she embodies Zen's spiritual aspect, similarly to Snyder. During the time she spent in Japan as Snyder's wife from 1960-1964, she also became familiar with other practices traditionally associated with Zen as aesthetic discourse such as the tea ceremony and flower arranging. In addition, her interest in Japanese literary forms associated with Zen as aesthetic discourse such as the haiku or travel journal, leads to the writing of haiku-like poems in Joanne and to poems less overtly haiku-like, but which include the leaps of mind that haiku poetry demonstrates. She uses the journal or poetic diary both to provide material for her poems and as genre. Journal practice also demonstrates her interest in being present in the moment and in incorporating that present in her writing. Thus her journal writing, journal-like poems of everyday life, and her Zen practice are all ways to access and present the real self to others. Her poetry's movement from more Western archetypal personae such as Penelope to a
more contemporary speaker who presents the mundane details of ordinary life is also part of an interest in presenting the real self.

Similarly to Snyder, Whalen, and Kerouac, she expresses her understanding of Zen as dual discourse in incorporating Zen spirituality as aesthetic practice in her poetry. In common with Whalen is her interest in using poetry to work through issues of duality of inner and outer worlds, of waking and dream life or of the mind and language and another way that Zen philosophy impinges on her work. Her specific interest in expanding her consciousness, combining her experience in psychotherapy with zazen, demonstrates the distinctive way Kyger understands Zen's dual discourse and includes Zen as practice in her work. For example, meditation with concentration on following the breath, influences Kyger in making correlations between line length and position with duration of breath. Her poetry thus becomes a record of mental process, again similarly to Whalen's.

As a woman, she has a slightly different relation to the Beat avant-garde's appropriation of Zen and cannot be considered part of the core group associated with a radical use of Zen. Although Kyger was not an avowed feminist at this time, she did not express the orientalizing aspects of Beat Zen discourse in its connection of Zen with yabyum sexuality, for example. Another aspect of her exclusion from the Beat avant-garde project is that she is less involved with the appropriation of Zen for the purpose of changing American literary practice and society (Beat Zen) than she is in using Zen to create personal change (an aspect of traditional or Square Zen). She produces a body of poetry with its own avant-garde aspects, especially in her interest in breaking down barriers between art.
and life through her use of a breath-determined poetic line and the journal as a source for her poetry and a genre in its own right.
ENDNOTES

1. In an interview in August 2000, Kyger indicated that she came late to the Beat scene and did not consider herself a Beat writer during the 1950's. Her first book of poetry, for example, was published in 1965 a decade after the Beat and San Francisco Renaissance poets first made headlines with the Gallery Six reading. Thus the discussion of Kyger's poetry will include work from the 1960's and as late as the early 1970's in her publication of her journal, Deseccheo Notebook, 1971.

2. The Heart Sutra, one of the most well-known Buddhist scriptures, contrasts the opposites of form and emptiness, claiming that form is emptiness and emptiness, form. D.T. Suzuki, Zen's primary spokesman at this time, discusses the concept of emptiness, making the point that the "ultimate reality [...] hinted at [...] cannot be subsumed under the categories of logic" (Manual of Zen Buddhism 29). He presents Zen as not dependent upon Western notions of duality.

3. In a 1974 interview in Occident regarding influences on her poetry, Kyger agrees: "Well, early in poetry Robert Duncan and Jack Spicer were my teachers, and then Philip Whalen was a teacher, and Gary Snyder in some very strong respects, and then after that I got pretty much on my own [...]" (145). She was married to Snyder from 1960-64, traveling to India with him, Ginsberg, and Orlovsky in 1963. In an interview in August 2000, Kyger also discussed her interest in the work of William Carlos Williams, also an important influence on Whalen and Ginsberg.

    Regarding the connection between the movement known as the San Francisco Renaissance and that of the Beat Generation, Michael Davidson in The San Francisco Renaissance seems to be inclusive in considering the New York Beats (Kerouac, Ginsberg, Corso, and Burroughs) as part of the San Francisco Renaissance with the famous Gallery Six reading in October 1955 in San Francisco, bringing East Coast in contact with West Coast. Davidson does qualify this idea in stating that "the San Francisco Renaissance was by no means unified" (3). Duncan and Spicer, originators of the movement known as the San Francisco Renaissance which first started as a poetry workshop in Berkeley, considered the aspect of renaissance specific to their movement. According to Davidson in The San Francisco Renaissance, Spicer, Duncan, and Kenneth Rexroth "expressed animosity toward the more excessive gestures of Ginsberg and company" (60).

    Kyger has been more recently placed by critics in the category of female Beat writers. The Beat Generation Writers, 1996, edited by Lee, has several articles on Kyger which discuss her work along with that of other women poets associated with the Beat Generation in specifically feminist terms: "The Archaeology of Gender in the Beat Movement," by Helen McNeil and "I say my new name": Women Writers of the Beat Generation," by Amy Friedman. Similarly, Davidson includes Kyger in his chapter on female Beats in The San Francisco Renaissance, 1989, entitled, "Appropriations: Women and the San Francisco Renaissance." Kyger is

4. Ellingham and Killian make this point in their discussion of Jack Spicer and the poetry scene in San Francisco during the late 1950's, in *Poet Be Like God* (168). Their Spicer biography contains much information on Kyger's poetic activities before and after her involvement with Snyder and move to Japan. Note that Kyger continued to be published in small press magazines, such as *Foot* and *Open Space*, associated with Duncan and Spicer's circle even after her closer association with the Beats.

5. According to Kyger in a written communication of January 28, 2001, the Tutorial Major was open to a few students who would choose a professor and a subject; they would meet once a week for discussion and would write papers on their chosen subject. It was modeled on the English tradition.

6. According to Kyger in a written communication of January 28, 2001, she met Dunn and Wieners at the North Beach Bar, The Place, in fall of 1957.

7. *The Dharma Committee* was written in 1958-59, but was not published until 1986. According to Kyger members included: Joe Dunn, Carolyn Dunn, Lew Welch, Jerome Mallman, Joanne Kyger, Tom Field, Robert Anderson, Allen Minsk, Ahmed Youssef, Jimmy Broughton, George Harris. "Questionable members" included Robert Duncan and Ebbe Borregaard, while "even more questionable members" were Nemi Frost Hansen and Leo. Kyger includes the Dharma Committee manifesto, list of members, her journal entries, dreams, and poems of the time. According to Ellingham and Killian, in *Poet Be Like God*, Spicer was against the drug use of the Dharma Committee, stating that "as writers like Joanne, George, Joe Dunn, John Wieners, and Russell moved into deeper intimacy with drugs, Spicer felt them slipping away from poetry's truth and life and order" (155).

8. The activities of Kerouac's Dharma Bums in the novel of that name include hiking, philosophizing, translating Chinese poetry, drinking, and partying. Dharma Bums also practice Zen Free Love Lunacy sexuality, and there are no female members. The only way women can be part of the group is as girl friends or sexual partners. After Japhy and Princess have yabymum sex at the beginning of *The Dharma Bums*, for example, Ray has a conversation with her in which she says: "But I'm the old mother of earth. I'm a Bodhisattva." He continues: "She was just a little off her nut but when I heard her say 'Bodhisattva' I realized she wanted to be a big Buddhist like Japhy and being a girl the only way she could express it was this way, which had its traditional roots in the yabymum ceremony of Tibetan Buddhism, so everything was fine" (30-31). His sexist attitude toward Zen has something in common with D.T. Suzuki's characterization of Zen in his essay, "Aspects of Zen Culture," for the autumn 1958 issue of *Evergreen*, as previously noted, where Suzuki describes the spirit of Zen as "virile and unbending" with an "air of masculinity." He concludes that "Zen in this respect walks hand in hand with the spirit of Bushido ('Warrior's Way')" (49). However, note that Suzuki's interest in this essay

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and throughout his writings about Zen is to demonstrate the dynamic nature of Zen even more than its masculine qualities.

9. Wienpahl's use of Zen terminology may be glossed with the help of D.T. Suzuki as follows. In the first series of his essays, Suzuki defines satori as "the acquiring of a new point of view in our dealings with life and the world" and "is another name for Enlightenment" (229). Suzuki's definition of koan has been discussed. For him it is "a question or theme given to the student for solution. It literally means 'public document,' and [...] it is so called because it serves as such in testing the genuineness of enlightenment a student claims to have attained." Suzuki states that mondo are generally used as koans (333) and defines mondo as dialogue or question and answer between master and monk, demonstrating how Zen "transcends logic and overrides the tyranny and misrepresentation of ideas" (270). The mondo is thus an exchange which emphasizes direct understanding and response without discursive thought.

Wienpahl's continued correspondence with Kyger after her move to San Francisco, his trip to Japan in 1959 and his meeting with Snyder there, as well as his further interest in writing about Zen as evidenced by his 1964 book, The Matter of Zen, and his 1970 book, Zen Diary, indicates his deep interest in making connections between Zen Buddhism and Western philosophy. He also published later essays on Zen and the philosophy of Wittgenstein in the Eastern Buddhist.

10. Her attitude changes after her arrival in Japan. In a postcard to Philip Whalen, postmarked September 5, 1961, Kyger first describes Burroughs's letter to Ginsberg in which Burroughs feels that words are no longer necessary as well as discounting the "aesthetic thrill or awareness" of poetry. She then states that she has resorted to reading Wittgenstein for an answer, but concludes, however, that Whalen should "turn to reverse picture for help." The picture on this postcard is of the Zen Institute's meditation room indicating that meditation seems to have become more helpful than philosophy for Kyger at this time.

11. Zen's affinity with psychology had been recognized as early as 1931 in Jung's forward to Suzuki's Introduction to Zen Buddhism, a book which Kyger had read prior to coming to San Francisco. Such associations continued with Suzuki, Fromm, and De Martino's Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis, 1960, and with Alan Watts, Psychotherapy East and West, 1961.

12. In a letter of 1/28/01 to the author, Kyger notes that the group "must have been Freudian in outlook because one of the doctors thought sitting meditation was anal retentive."

13. In a letter to Snyder of June 16th, Kyger again links zazen with psychiatry. She relates her meditation experiences with Suzuki Roshi, then moves without transition (creating an implied association between the two) into a discussion of the benefits of psychiatry as "opening one up enough, and teaching one to recognize the tools they have or must use - so that the individual can go on from there."
14. Note that Kerouac did practice his own form of sitting meditation, which he mentions in Some of the Dharma. Physical problems with his legs prevented him from practicing the traditional form of sitting meditation in full lotus position.

15. "The Long Poem," dated summer and fall 1958, is similar in its interest in myths and its controlled linearity. Kyger's allusions to the Greek myths and also the unicorn tapestries in many poems in this collection may have something to do with the influence of Duncan and Williams on her work.

16. Through the allusion to "cobweb shawl," these lines also call to mind the Greek myth about Arachne, a weaver who challenged Minerva and was subsequently transformed into a spider by the goddess. However, Penelope, another weaver, is the primary Greek persona for Kyger throughout T&W, for example in the poem, "12.29 & 30 (Pan as the son of Penelope)." Penelope was the wife of Ulysses. When he did not return from the Trojan War she was courted by numerous suitors who made themselves at home in her palace. She told them she would make a decision as to which one of them she would marry when she had finished a tapestry she was weaving, but she tricked them by unraveling her day's work each night. Eventually Ulysses returned, and they were reunited. Her faithfulness, however, has been called into question in that the god Pan is said to be her son: either as the offspring of her numerous suitors or of the god, Mercury. The very title of this volume of poems refers to the act of weaving associated with these Greek figures.

17. Kyger later comments on the line's changing importance for her practice in an interview of 1974 in Credences. She comments that the line was of greatest importance to her in T&W: "You could move a line around very carefully and that really dictated the movement of how the poem was going to move, how the voice was going to move in a certain way, and how your physical speech moved thru the line" (63). The line, which she also equates with linear thinking, was like the "physical body," or a "landscape." Now she says that she is into less of a visual, spatial, linear line and more of a "voice line" where the poem gets to be like a "score." She continues: "So at this point the kind of space that interests me is the kind of space that vibrates its meaning. It's the one-liner or the sampler on the wall, or it's sugar is sweet and so are you. It just stays there for a long time" (65).

Kyger's interest in the line appears to link her with other women poets who are her contemporaries. Kathleen Fraser writes about the line in women's poetry in an essay, entitled, "Line. On the Line. Lining up. Lined with. Between the Lines. Bottom Line." Fraser's argument is that because the poetic line is a "primary defining place" for poets, the emphasis on the "frame of the page, the measure of the line, has provided for many contemporary women poets the difficult pleasure of reinventing the givens of poetry, imagining in visual, structural terms core states of female social and psychological experience not yet adequately traced: hesitancy, silencing or speechlessness, continuous disruption of time, 'illogical' resistance, simultaneous perception, social marginality" (152).
Could Kyger be considered playing with feminine as well as Beat sensibilities here? The issue of Kyger's relation to feminism merits further treatment.

18. This poem may also allude to personal relationships. Kyger was in the process of breaking with Snyder and would leave Japan in January 1964, to return to the United States. They would subsequently divorce.

19. Her interest in Penelope here is coupled with the fact that she will continue to use this persona in her 1970 book of poems, Places to Go.

20. Note that in his chapter on female beats in The San Francisco Renaissance, Davidson attributes Kyger's interest in the subject matter of daily life to contact with the New York school, rather than the influence of Zen Buddhism.

21. Her journals describe her daily life at this time, dominated by activities of sitting, zazen lecture, tea at the temple, flower arranging lessons, domestic chores typical of the Japanese housewife of weeding, cooking, or drawing water, socializing with other Westerners in Kyoto, and working at jobs such as movie extra or English teacher. Potential conflicts between Kyger's ideas about why she went to Japan and the reality of what was expected of her there as Snyder's wife, fitting her into a mold of both American and Japanese wife, may be gathered from her journals beginning with the "Author's Note" to their 1981 publication: "Ruth Fuller Sasaki, founder of the First Zen Institute and abbot of Ryosen-an Temple at Daitoku-ji, Gary's sponsor in Japan, and then mine, sent a letter to Gary saying, 'If you and Joanne want to marry at any time and then live in your little house in the mountains, fine. But living together in the little house before marriage won't do. There are certain fixed social customs that the institute expects its members to respect.' Thus I was married almost immediately after my arrival and entered into the domain of housewife in Japan" (vii).

In her journals, Kyger discusses her progress in meditation and also alludes to koan practice. For example, she records her progress in Zen meditation on April 13, 1960: "Last night after I thought I was going to explode in Zazen, I suddenly started to breathe properly. [...] Which gives me a feeling today of hope that I can conquer those moods of wild frustration" (23). In December of 1962 she writes: "Work on concentration to empty mind. Sitting goes better" (214). She also describes Snyder's even greater progress in meditation and solving koans. Toward the end of her stay she records her New Year's resolution of 1963 and adds a letter from Gary. Along with comments on domestic activities he writes: "Halfhearted scaredy-cat flower arrangement isn't ENOUGH. It would be nice if you could get up early and make breakfast while I did soji or worked in the garden" ([&I] 270). Here he moves from an implied criticism of her Zen practice (flower arrangement isn't enough) to an implied criticism of her laziness or lack of interest in getting up early and working.

22. Snyder was also concerned with breath as an aspect of poetry at this time. In a journal entry of July 16, 1960, he comments that breath "gives
life to the written page and is the 'spirit' of an utterance." Kyger comments on breathing and the line in letters to Philip Whalen in 1962 and 1963.

23. Levertov's "A Note on the Work of the Imagination," was published in New Directions in Prose and Poetry 17, 1961 and is reprinted in The Poet in the World, from which I quote. Although this essay appears to have been published after Kyger's journal comment, the similarities are striking. For example, Levertov includes a dream in which she enters a large house and looks in a mirror. The point of the essay is that despite the fact that "our age" is a "chaos," we have some consolation in that what "in the greatest poets is recognizable as Imagination, [. . .] is present in us all embryonically—manifests itself in the life of dream—and in that manifestation shows us the possibility: to permeate, to quicken, all of our life and the works we make" (205).

24. Note that a discussion of haiku based on the Zen point of view is found in the preface to Beneath a Single Moon. The editors comment on the space or jump of the haiku or T'ang dynasty verse as relating to Zen principles, which "are measured to unsettle the dependent and linear categories of normative thought" (xvii).

25. Note that Kyger refers directly to this Zen parable in the prose piece, "DESCARTES AND THE SPLENDOR OF," in Places To Go. In Part IV of this poem she asks: "AM I A BUTTERFLY DREAMING I AM ME or ME DREAMING I AM A BUTTERFLY [. . .]" (91).

26. The jumps in thought which Kyger connects with the dream also relate to Ginsberg's ideas in relation to his poetic theories about the haiku and ellipsis, which she quotes in her journal in September 1960: "-obsessed with a/ sudden flash of the alchemy of/ the use of the ellipse . . . " ([&]) 57. This quote has to do with Ginsberg's ideas about the importance of the ellipsis or space between seemingly unrelated words. He relates this elliptical space to the Japanese use of space in the haiku, usually considered the pause between the haiku's second and third lines. Ginsberg privileges this Eastern poetic device over the Western poetic device of metaphor.

Ginsberg explains his ideas about the connections between ellipsis and haiku more fully in his letter to Richard Eberhart responding to the latter's comments on the San Francisco poetry scene: "A haiku as the 1910-20's imagists did not know, consists of 2 visual (or otherwise) images stripped down and juxtaposed - the charge of electricity created by these 2 poles being greater when there is a greater distance between them - as in Yeats' phrase 'murderous innocence of the sea' - 2 opposite poles reconciled in a flash of recognition." Ginsberg continues to explain his poetic method by linking the "mind in its flow" with the creation of "such fantastic ellipses." It is this process whereby the "key phrase of method in Howl is 'Hydrogen Jukebox' which tho quite senseless makes in context clear sense" (To Eberhart From Ginsberg, 28).

27. The dream is also an important component of the Buddha's teaching of life as expressed in the Diamond Sutra. Goddard's Buddhist Bible provides a
translation of this sutra in which the Buddha considers how to explain his message to others: "It can only be done, Subhuti, by keeping the mind in perfect tranquillity and in self-less oneness with the 'suchness' that is Tathagatahood. And why? Because all the mind's arbitrary conceptions of matter, phenomena, and of all conditioning factors and all conceptions and ideas relating thereto are like a dream, a phantasm, a bubble, a shadow, the evanescent dew, the lightning's flash" (101-02). Remember Kerouac's own special interest in the Diamond Sutra, as well as Whalen's indirect allusion to it in Diamond Noodle. In a letter of 1955 to Allen Ginsberg, he admonishes that what Ginsberg needs "at once is the DIAMOND SUTRA. If you haven't got it in your Philo Collection (which I hanker to see) then tell me and swiftly I'll type it for you and mail it. It is the first and highest and final teaching [. . .]. Form is a dream, essence is reality" (SL 1940-56 463).

28. D.T. Suzuki also comments on the aspect of impermanence in Japanese aesthetics in his discussion of Basho and haiku in the third series of his essays on Zen: "The artist sitting here watches every mood of his mind as it comes in contact with a world of constant becoming, and the result is so many 17 syllables of his bequeathed to us" (314). Kyger was aware of the work of both Blyth and Suzuki; both are referred to by Kyger in her "Reading Back" essay, as part of the reading available at the time on Zen.

29. Kyger includes dreams in her published journals, such as Desecheo Notebook, 1971. Poems whose subject matter are solely dream and titled either with the date or untitled are included in her poetry collections beginning with All This Every Day, 1975. It is not until Just Space, 1991, that Kyger's dreams are titled as such.

30. For example, Snyder includes dreams in early poems he was working on at the time Kyger was married to him in Japan: "The Elwa River" and "Journeys," second and sixth sections in Six Sections from Mountains and Rivers without End, 1965. Ginsberg includes dreams in the journals he was keeping at the time of his travels with Snyder, Kyger, and Orlovsky in India, and his early collection of poetry, Empty Mirror, 1961, also contains dream poems. The block paragraph format of Snyder in "Journeys" mirrors Kyger's paragraph format for her dream poems (for example that of "October 29, Wednesday," in All This Every Day), much more than does Ginsberg's stanzaic format for the dream poems included in Empty Mirror. The interest of the Beat Generation in the dream is not simply as a poetic genre or a way of realizing Buddhist concepts, however. It becomes part of their avant-garde poetic practice to privilege Eastern, Zen concepts over Western ones. The way Zen accepts dreams as being as valid as waking life is also another way to join the ordinary and extraordinary.

31. Her use of an image of a leaking faucet and her concern about duality may owe something to Philip Whalen. Kyger's comments on Whalen in June 1961 in her journal indicate his importance for her as "truly great philosophic poet trying to resolve dualism in, I think what's thinking, (i.e. if he means, I Think and that is thinking; and not I think: what is thinking?)" (J&I 102). Whalen used the image of a leaking faucet in "All About Art and Life," a poem written in 1959. This poem was first published
in Memoirs of an Interglacial Age. The specific quote reads as follows: "Water drops from tap to sink/Naturally the tap's defective or not completely "OFF" (126-27). This again is an allusion to an in between state as opposed to a dualistic one.

32. Kyger would have been familiar with Zen Dust, published in 1966, and in process during the time that Kyger and Snyder were at the Institute.

33. In the first of his series of essays on Zen, Suzuki provides the verse exchange as follows with Shen-hsiu's stanza given first: "This body is the Bodhi-tree,/The soul is like a mirror bright;/Take heed to keep it always clean,/And let not dust collect on it." Hui-neng's verse appeared alongside it the following morning: "The Bodhi is not like the tree,/The mirror bright is nowhere shining;/As there is nothing from the first,/Where can the dust itself collect?" (206-07). In his study of haiku, Blyth comments on the use of poetry in Zen, especially in koan practice, as capping phrases to demonstrate one's enlightenment. He provides passages from the Zenrinkushu used "by monks studying Zen in the monasteries, who select the passage which seems to them to solve the problem they are given by the master." He then points out the "deep relation" of these kinds of passages to the haiku (Haiku 1: 24).

34. Kyger also presents the opposition of inside and outside in her 1970 volume of poems, Places To Go, where it appears as the difference between the perceptions of the eye and the heart in poems from "The Imaginary Apparitions" section.

35. In the first volume on haiku, Blyth also emphasizes the playful and humorous aspect of Zen as evidenced in haiku, stating that "all the varieties of humour may be paralleled by Zen experiences and by haiku," noting such humorous devices as spontaneous idiocy, hyperbole, dilemma, and breaking with conventionality (Haiku 1: 200-03).

36. This kind of journal practice has been previously described in relation to Kerouac's Trip Trap. Japanese haiku poetry is typically interested in overcoming duality by direct transcription of experience and is uninterested in metaphor, a device which uses comparison and in the process detracts from such immediacy. Kenneth Yasuda's comments in The Japanese Haiku bear this out: "Haiku eschews metaphor, simile, or personification. Nothing is like something else in most well-realized haiku [...]. This avoidance of metaphor or simile arises, I feel, from the poet's need to render directly and concretely the vision he has had, and only that vision" (50). For Yasuda, the haiku is the experience.

In Zen aesthetics, the artistic expression ideally demonstrates the Zen practitioner's experience of enlightenment, rather than merely describing the enlightened state or comparing it to some other experience. In a sense, then, Zen aesthetics is Zen practice and there is no duality of discourse from an enlightened Zen point of view (there being no duality for the enlightened practitioner of any sort). In his Introduction to Beneath a Single Moon, Snyder compares meditation and poetry, which are both ways of taking one out of and putting one into the world, as well as
ways to be deliberately "attentive to consciousness" (2). He comments more specifically on poetry in Zen practice as "used sparingly, in interview with the teacher, as a mode of reaching even deeper than a 'personal' answer to a problem, as a way of confirming that one has touched base with a larger Mind" (3).

37. In a recent interview, Kyger addressed the question of when she first began to consider publishing her journals. She mentioned the importance for her of having the hand-written journals she had kept in Japan beautifully and professionally bound there before her departure for the States in 1964. At this moment the hand-written journal took on the character of a published book for Kyger. Kyger's published journals or works heavily incorporating journal material are as follows: Desecheo Notebook, 1971, Trip Out and Fall Back, 1974, The Japan and India Journals: 1960-1964, 1981, Mexico Blonde, 1981, The Dharma Committee, 1986, and Phenomenological, 1989.

The creation of journal-like poems is a variation on the journal as genre and one which she moves to later. For example, many of the poems in Kyger's 1977 book entitled, The Wonderful Focus of You, are journal-like records with the date of the poem given as title further reinforcing the idea that the poem describes Kyger's life at that moment. Kyger's journal-like poems of Places to Go, 1970, more like prose poems than journal entries, put a surreal spin on daily life. Her later poems in The Wonderful Focus of You, are more truly journal-like, recording mundane daily activities at a specific place and time. She uses the date as the title for each poem.

38. Kyger notes in a letter of 1/28/2001 to the author that the trip was made with a friend, Peter Warshall, who was studying primate behavior at Harvard. The plan was to study a group of abandoned rhesus monkeys on Desecheo Island. She kept a daily hand written and painted notebook which was eventually "transferred into print" by Wesley Tanner.

39. In his introduction to Peter Matthiessen's collection of non-fiction writings, McKay Jenkins comments on the journal genre, stating that "even when polished, journal entries aspire to an immediacy of response not far different in spirit from the 'automatic writing' of the Beats; Gary Snyder, Jack Kerouac, and Allen Ginsberg were all devoted students of Zen" (xxviii).

Kyger records evidence of Snyder's journal practice in Japan at this time, writing in March 1960: "Note from Gary in his journal to me. 'And when you read this Joanne Kyger, as you certainly will [... ] probably when I'm not at home [... ]' (JI). Snyder would include his journal extracts as the primary material of Earth House Hold of 1969 with the subtitle, 'Technical Notes & Queries To Fellow Dharma Revolutionaries," dedicated to Oda Sesso Roshi, Snyder's teacher in Kyoto. The entries, spanning the years 1952 to 1967 and moving around the world from the West to the East and back again, are mixtures of dense descriptive paragraphs, free verse poems, quotations, and translations, evidence of the immediacy of mind transcribed by the hand.
40. Note that one of Basho's travel journals would have been familiar to Snyder and Kyger through its publication in the 1960's in Cid Corman's Kyoto-based journal, *Origin*. Corman was a friend of Snyder and Kyger and published Snyder's work as well as Whalen's in *Origin* during these years. The last issue of the second series, #14, July 1964, features a translation of Basho's most well-known journal, *Oku-No-Hosomichi* or *Back Roads to Far Towns*. Although Kyger left Kyoto in January of 1964, Corman dates his introduction of *Oku-No-Hosomichi* from January 1963 to April 1964, implying that he had been working on the translation since 1963, well before Kyger would have left Japan.

41. However, Kyger's interest in journals is also another way that her work intersects with Fraser's description of feminist poetic practice and postmodernism. Fraser discusses the interest of women writers in the mid-seventies in the "on-the-run notational form of the journal or daybook- a private receptacle for distilled observation - something not so finished and official as a poem, yet a site for close reading of the subject (the shifting self in relation to romance, politics, nature, culture, etc.)" ("Line. On the Line." 167). This discussion of the notebook or journal form demonstrates that Kyger, whose published journals date from the 1950's and 1960's, was in the forefront of this practice. However, if Fraser links the mistrust of language (169) and the journal form with feminist poetics, Kyger may instead see these aspects of poetry as issues of Beat poetics or Zen Buddhist practice, since fellow poets, Ginsberg and Snyder, were also keeping journals and Whalen was addressing the issue of language while all were interested in Zen. Kyger's use of the journal may have also been influenced by Japanese aesthetics and literary forms, the journal-like jotting being well-established in Japan. Basho's *Oku-No-Hosomichi* is an example of such a journal. In relation to Japanese feminist literary tradition, Kyger notes in a letter of 1/28/01 that though unfamiliar at the time with Sei Shonagon's *Pillow Book*, she was familiar with Lady Murasaki's epic novel, *The Tale of Genji*.

If we look at the feminist poetic projects pointed to by Fraser as both resistant to dominant male modernist practice and similar to Beat avant-garde poetics, with its attendant use of Zen Buddhist philosophy and aesthetics as a way to differentiate itself from academic modernist poetics and poetry during the 1950's and 1960's, perhaps the similarities between feminist and Beat practices will become more understandable as both stemming from the same urgency.

42. In this passage, *sangha* refers to the community of Buddhist practitioners at the San Francisco Zen Center, a Soto Zen institution. In a written communication of 28 January, 2001, Kyger notes that though she visited from time to time, she never became a member of the Zen Center and mostly practiced sitting on her own. Note that Kyger had been practicing Rinzai Zen in Kyoto which differs slightly in form from Soto. Ernest Wood in his *Zen Dictionary* of 1962 defines Soto Zen as the Sect which does not use koans, but "follows the gentle methods," including zazen (127). Rinzai Zen is less gentle, with a master who shouts at and beats his students to direct them back "from words to direct experience." The Rinzai school uses the koan in addition to zazen (110-11). In a letter of 1/28/01,
Kyger comments on this difference in meditation practice in that she found the Soto tradition "physically challenging," in that "they sit facing the wall and practice deep bows from standing position."

43. Is Kyger alluding to the coming war in Vietnam, or the Korean War of the last decade here? A poem from Places To Go of 1965, "I didn't want to think," confirms this supposition by alluding directly to the war in Vietnam thus bringing current history into the poem (14-15).

44. This is despite the fact that Kathleen Fraser's association of Kyger's linear experimentation and journal work with a feminist poetic project resistant to male modernist poetics were practices she shared with other male writers associated with the Beat avant-garde. This suggests an affinity between the feminist and Beat avant-gardes, in that both groups are outside the mainstream of American poetry.
CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

I. Zen and Literary Production in the 1950's

This dissertation has pointed to the popularity of Zen in the 1950's, characterized as a Zen boom, and its dissemination throughout mainstream American culture both via Beat avant-garde literary production and publicity in magazines synchronous with its sensationalization by this group. Kerouac, for example, appropriates Zen as a radical discourse to differentiate his Beat project from mainstream and academic culture and literature, bringing change to America (part of an avant-garde project) in the process. The Beat avant-garde understand and present Zen as a dual discourse, having both spiritual and aesthetic aspects, a characterization gained primarily from texts on Zen by D.T. Suzuki and R.H. Blyth, among others. Mainstream and more specialized media (especially magazines and newspapers) present Suzuki as the authority on traditional Zen to the American reading public. In the popular media, Suzuki and Kerouac represent square and Beat Zen respectively, despite the fact that other voices, especially Snyder's, and other sources, those found in the Zen issue of the Chicago Review for example, take part in the conversation about Zen
and its naturalization in the United States. Suzuki presents Zen as dual
discourse, privileging its aesthetic over its spiritual practice.

Zen as dual discourse finds its originary moment in the 19th century
Japan Craze and the transmission of Zen to the United States by such
figures as Zen priest Soen Shaku and his lay secretary, D.T. Suzuki,
Japanese aesthete, Kakuzo Okakura, or Japanophile, Ernest Fenollosa, all of
whom privileged the aesthetic aspect of Zen, downplaying its unusual and
unconventional spirituality. The Beat avant-garde continue to privilege
Zen's aesthetic aspect; they are generally more interested in using Zen
tenets and forms to influence their literary practice. In addition, they use
Zen as part of their avant-garde project to critique American bourgeois
culture in the way they combine Zen discourse with slang (the expression
"dharma bums," for example) or associate Zen tenets with outsider lifestyles
of bum or lunatic. Such interests lead to a characterization of their
understanding of Zen as shallow or "Beat," by Alan Watts, a term taken up
by popular media. Ironically, they actually take Zen's dual discourse in a
more spiritual direction. Gary Snyder, for example, is the first American
to study and write about traditional Japanese Zen for a popular and literary
audience, although this emphasis on the spiritual discourse of Zen
continues to be presented primarily through literary/aesthetic media. In a
sense, this dissertation could have focused on Snyder rather than Kerouac,
because Snyder's firsthand Zen experience was the inspiration for
Kerouac.¹

Zen's dual discourse is part of its ability to act as a fluid signifier,
expressed in the 19th century in the conversation between Fenollosa and
Okakura. Zen is seen as both modern (by the Japanese) and anti-modern
(by the Americans). This fluidity is also evident in the 19th and 20th centuries in the context of American and Japanese imperialism and modernization and the way the conversation about Zen is part of the question of whether East (Japan) and West (the United States) can come together. This conversation expresses orientalist and imperialist aspects of Zen's transmission in both time periods. Zen is an alternative to Western culture's rationality and materialized spirituality. This is especially true of the 1950's when both Beat and square Zenists emphasize Zen's creative, spontaneous, and irrational aspects as alternative to post-atomic bomb America.

The four case studies which make up the second part of the dissertation demonstrate these writers' common interests, yet distinctive and individual approaches to the appropriation of Zen as innovative literary practice with its special affinity for poetry. All of these writers include Zen philosophy, personae and role models, forms, and tenets in their work. To some extent, all of the writers practice haiku, either including haiku as part of longer poems or in more traditional form. All of the male poets employ Zen personae or role models in their poetry. Since these role models are male in nature, it makes sense that Kyger has eschewed this aspect of Zen appropriation (an absence which points to the male chauvinist aspect of Zen). All use Zen to instigate change, if only on a literary level. They do so in a shocking manner, countering the conventional and subverting conformity, which can be considered an aspect of Zen as avant-garde practice. Zen, itself, uses shock (what might be considered avant-garde tactics) in its koan practice, for example, in which the sometimes inexplicable actions of the master, kicking the
student or keeping silent when questioned for example, act as a rude and shocking way to wake up the student. Beat Zen thus uses aspects of the traditional practice of Zen as part of an experimental poetics, transforming spiritual aspects of Zen into aesthetic avant-garde practice.

All of these writers use Zen in Bourdieu's terms, as a form of cultural and symbolic capital providing success and prestige in their own cultural sphere and invoking scorn, notoriety and eventual fame in the wider society. However, during the 1950's and 1960's, only Jack Kerouac gains cultural, symbolic, and economic capital from his radical literary practice.2 Despite this commonality, individual appropriation of Zen vary. Jack Kerouac appropriates Zen spontaneity as part of his poetics, embodies the Zen lunatic persona, considers haiku as a Beat practice, and characterizes himself and his friends as dharma bums, writing about their lifestyles in his Zen period novels. Gary Snyder uses the dharma bum persona in his poetry, espouses the Zen Buddhist tenet of the interconnection of all beings, and politicizes Zen in combining Buddhism and anarchism. Philip Whalen takes the Ch'lan/Zen poet-priest as his role model, uses his poems as koans, and likens his stream-of-consciousness poetic technique to meditation practice. His poetry may be considered the most experimentally radical of the four writers in this study. Kyger, similarly to Whalen, is interested in presenting the expanded consciousness gained from Zen meditation practice in her poems, as well as demonstrating the importance of the present moment and ordinary life in her journal practice, which also recalls the Japanese travel journal or poetic diary.

These writers also tend to sensationalize and orientalize Zen to the degree that their exposure to traditional Zen practice comes at second
rather than first-hand. Kerouac, least involved with traditional Zen practice, is most involved in such sensationalizing and orientalizing, understanding Zen's individualistic aspect as permitting him the freedom to do what he pleases spontaneously. Whalen, too, practices on his own, with guidance from Snyder. Whalen's fascination with the koan and his interest in alluding to specific koans in his work, "Metaphysical Insomnia Jazz," for example, perhaps substitutes for the actual practice with a master and has a somewhat sensationalist and self-consciously modernist and literary aspect. In contrast, Snyder and Kyger are most involved in the actual practice of traditional Zen. Snyder's projects involve a more in-depth relation to Ch'an and Zen with his translation of Chinese poet, Han-shan, and in his critique of traditional Zen in his essay, "Buddhist Anarchism." He also writes from his own first-hand experience of traditional Zen intensive meditation practice in "Spring Sesshin at Shokokuji." Kyger's appropriation of Zen is less sensational, manifested both in the way her personae change in her poems from those of Greek mythology to a more contemporary woman involved in more mundane cares of daily life. Her experience of sitting meditation manifests in her poetry as an interest in showing the way the mind and breath works through the movement and linear variation of her poetry.

These writers are also more or less involved in using Zen to further an avant-garde project. Kerouac is the leader in this regard, perhaps because he considers himself the originator of the Beat movement. However, Whalen and Snyder are also interested in using Zen as radical practice to create change in American literature and society in general. These writers see themselves as outsiders, using Zen as part of their
alternative poetics against mainstream and bourgeois cultural practice and lifestyle. The interest in using ordinary and colloquial language in their writing, of which the coupling of slang and Zen terms is a part, has for consequence the censorship of the work of several Beat writers, thus demonstrating the effectiveness of their avant-garde project. Kyger, as the only woman in this study, is least involved with the male-dominated Beat avant-garde project, partly because she begins her poetic career as a member of the San Francisco Renaissance movement. This is despite the way her marriage to Snyder, friendship with Whalen, and acquaintance with Kerouac, enables her to share Beat avant-garde innovations. Thus she can be said to be more involved with traditional or square Zen which creates change in the individual through meditation. She uses her experience with traditional Zen to innovate her writing practice (an aspect of traditional Zen's use of the aesthetic as a way to express the change of enlightenment). Snyder, even more so than Kyger, is involved with the traditional practice of Zen. Kerouac may be most invested in Beat Zen to create change in society as well as in his own literary production, whereas Whalen falls somewhere in between Kerouac and Snyder.

These appropriations of Zen also point to some contradictions between Beat and traditional Zen. For example, Rinzai Zen, the sect popularized by Suzuki, is a disciplined spiritual practice in which sitting meditation alternates with the dynamics of koan practice. Kerouac tries to bring together disciplined aspects of Buddhism with unconventional Zen lunacy in his writing and personal life. Ultimately lunacy and license prevail in his life, and his interest in Zen and Buddhism in general peters out. Snyder tries to join the sociopolitical and the spiritual in his Zen
personae of the dharma bum and theoretically in his essay, "Buddhist Anarchism." However, traditional Zen is generally apolitical and uninvolved in such social change as Snyder is well aware. The contradictions in Kyger's practice of Zen are primarily gender-based. She is a practitioner in a religion which privilege males. While in Japan, she would not have been able to take part in traditional Zen monastic practice, even if she had wanted to. In regard to Whalen, the contradictions of Zen appear to be partly recognized in his own attempts to express Zen philosophy and the "Real Self" gained through Zen practice in his poetry. The fact that his poetry is made of words which, according to the Lankavatara Sutra, can never express the truth, makes his project inherently contradictory.

II. After Shocks of the Zen "Boom"

The contradictions inherent in the Beat appropriation of Zen (the fact that what they write is informed by Zen and that they in turn put their own stamp on Zen, characterized as Beat by Watts) leads to consequences for their own work as well as for the naturalization of Zen in the 1960's and beyond. These contradictions may thus be considered productive. Although Kerouac and Kyger are least involved in Zen after the 1950's and early 1960's, Kerouac's Beat Zen and Kyger's presence as a female practitioner have consequences in the decades beyond.

The greater consequences for the Beat appropriation of Zen as Beat lie in the way the spiritual discourse of Zen has been Americanized and radicalized. Helen Tworkov in Zen in America and Rick Fields in How the Swans Came to the Lake both point to the increase in spiritual
practitioners, American monasteries and Zen centers throughout the United States after the Zen boom of the 1950's. Although the spiritual practice of Zen began to dominate the scene, its practice in the 1960's was associated with drugs, among other aspects of the counterculture. Fields describes this situation in his study quoting from Snyder's "Passage to India" essay on the efficacy of LSD for a fix of Asian spirituality for those unable to make the pilgrimage East.6 One of the major Zen centers which exhibited aspects of traditional and Beat Zen was the San Francisco Zen Center, originally begun by Suzuki-Roshi (with whom Kyger sat in the late 1950's). Tworkov characterizes the founding of the Zen Center as "right in the crux of the transition from Beat Zen to Zen training." It was around this center, presided over by Richard Baker Roshi after Suzuki Roshi's death, in the late 1970's and early 1980's, that scandal erupted. According to Tworkov, Baker Roshi resigned as abbot in 1983, "denounced for misusing the abbot's authority to go beyond the appropriate duties of his office and faulted on issues of money, sex, and power" (Zen in America 202). Under Baker Roshi the Zen Center was monastic, although members "did not refrain from sex, alcohol, or family life, but commitment to practice was the unequivocal priority" (Zen in America 231). With Baker Roshi's "charismatic charms of a flamboyant and commanding intellect" he might be a latter day example of a Beat Zen practitioner with emphasis on the practice rather than the Beat. It would seem that the Beat's presentation of Zen, especially Kerouac's Zen lunacy of sex and drugs, had something to do with the Zen Center scandal under Baker Roshi.7 In addition, American Zen has become feminized. As Snyder states in a 1977 interview: "The
single most revolutionary aspect of Buddhist practice in the United States is the fact that women are participating in it" (The Real Work 106).

Snyder, himself, continues to both practice Zen and use it to inform his writing. Volumes of his essays such as, The Practice of the Wild and A Place in Space, and his poetry in general deal with the relation of Buddhist philosophy (especially the idea of the interconnection of all life as expressed in the Avatamsaka Sutra) to nature and culture, in the hopes of creating a more integrated ecologically oriented society. Because of these interests, he has become one of the proponents of and contributors to both the Deep Ecology movement and of ecocriticism. As Devall and Sessions write in their study, Deep Ecology: "Among contemporary writers, no one has done more than Gary Snyder to shape the sensibilities of the deep ecology movement" (83). Snyder's work in the 1950's and beyond provides a model of an American Zen with a social conscience.

Whalen also sustains an interest in Zen. He is the only writer in the study to actually become a Zen priest, thus embodying the role of poet-priest in real life that he first wrote about in "Hymnus ad Patrem Sinensis." As might be expected the spiritual discourse of Zen eventually displaces the aesthetic in Whalen's life and writing practice. His last book of poetry (not collected or reprinted poems) is called, Enough Said, a pun which demonstrates his attitude toward words as play and as poetry. For Whalen, words are no longer the main way to express an understanding of Zen and of the real self. His resolution is both private and public.

III. Zen as Dual Discourse in Postmodernity
Despite the increased emphasis on the spiritual aspect of Zen, it continues to function as dual discourse with a privileging of the aesthetic, especially in regard to literature. Zen continues to be a poetic presence in the United States, as evidenced for example by the many Zen practitioners included in *Beneath a Single Moon*, 1991, edited by Kent Johnson and Craig Paulenich and introduced by Gary Snyder. In the preface, Johnson and Paulenich demonstrate the centrality of Zen to their project, stating that the book grew out of their awareness that the influence of Buddhism on American poetry had little to do with "the fairly common notion of American 'Zen' poetry as a literary remnant of the sixties" (xv). They propose a variety of expressions of Buddhist poetry, provide Dogen and Nagarjuna as theorizers of the way Zen and Buddhism understand language and poetry, and consider some of the poets in their anthology to have "strong affinities with strategies that might be regarded as 'avant-garde' or 'postmodern' and the "deconstruction of referential thought" (xix).§

Such a claim invites a brief discussion of the Beat avant-garde appropriation of Zen as part of the postmodernism of their poetics. These writers, especially in their interest in Zen, may be characterized as being both modernist in their use of Zen to further formal experimentation with their avowed literary forbears as Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams. Indeed, some critics, such as Raymond Williams, consider the avant-garde to be an aspect of modernity. However, the Beat avant-garde interest in popular culture (seen by Andreas Huyssen as an aspect of the avant-garde in postmodernity) and their anti-elitist and political interests move them toward postmodernism. In this way, their interest in Zen can be seen as a mediation or turning point between the modernist and the postmodernist...
time period. The time frame of the 1950’s is also one in which modernism is giving way to postmodernism. In addition, Zen, itself, may be considered as presenting a postmodern view of subjectivity. For Zen, as for the postmodern, the subject is deconstructed, and Zen recognizes no ego and no unique subjectivity in the enlightened state.

The fluidity of Zen’s signification continues into postmodernity also, meaning that Zen’s spiritual aspects can be applied in a literary and aesthetic context, toward creativity on the material plane. This can be seen in the way Zen is used in conjunction with contemporary self-help books, especially in relation to writing and creativity. An example of this is Natalie Goldberg and her best known work, *Writing Down the Bones*, in which she applies process and being in the moment to a spontaneous writing practice. A similar practice is espoused by Gail Sher in *One Continuous Mistake: Four Noble Truths for Writers*. The jacket blurb claims that Sher provides a "unique" approach to the "creative process" whereby the "wisdom of great writers meets classic Zen teachings."⁹

In conclusion, this dissertation demonstrates a new way of looking at the synchronicity between writers associated with what I have called the Beat avant-garde and the transmission of Zen to the United States in post-World War II United States, as well as a way to renew contacts with Japanese culture. Zen’s significance for literary practice has been demonstrated in the case studies of Kerouac, Kyger, Snyder, and Whalen. For them, Zen was both literary influence and radical personal practice. The connections they made between their own literature and the dual discourse of Zen reverberated in the naturalization of Zen in the 1960’s, 1970’s and beyond in a non-traditional, Beat Zen way that included sex, drugs, and alcohol, for
example. Their literary and spiritual practice continues to reverberate today in American popular and literary culture, perhaps justifying Louise Bogan's comments in her 1957 *New Yorker* poetry column about the writers she characterizes as the San Francisco group of young men who are interested in Zen and the Sutras. She concludes that they "may, in the future, contribute both to poetry and to metaphysics" ("Verse" 162).
ENDNOTES

1. In that case the focus would more accurately have been on the West Coast avant-garde instead of the Beats.

2. In Distinction, Bourdieu writes that "the site par excellence of symbolic struggles is the dominant class itself. The conflicts between artists and intellectuals over the definition of culture are only one aspect of the interminable struggles among the different fractions of the dominant class to impose the definition of the legitimate stakes and weapons of social struggles; in other words, to define the legitimate principle of domination, between economic, educational or social capital, social powers whose specific efficacy may be compounded by specifically symbolic efficacy, that is, the authority conferred by being recognized, mandated by collective belief" (254). He continues by describing the speaker who stands "outside rules fit only for pedants or grammarians" as one who "puts himself forward as a maker of higher rules, i.e., a taste-maker [. . .]" (255). For a concise discussion of Bourdieu and cultural, social, and symbolic capital see Hipsky and "Romancing Bourdieu." He notes that cultural capital "refers to cultural knowledge as a resource of power;" social capital refers "to the power that comes of social associations, such as membership in various kinds of groups;" symbolic capital involves the "recognition of others." For Hipsky the literary field is "always contingent and evolving" (192).

3. As has been suggested in the Introduction, Herbert Marcuse in One-Dimensional Man feels that slang and beatnik language are responses to the language of total administration of post-World War II America and may still be co-opted. He describes the "language of total administration" as one in which "functionalization of language helps to repel non-conformist elements from the structure and movement of speech. [. . .] Society expresses its requirements directly in the linguistic material but not without opposition; the popular language strikes with spiteful and defiant humor at the official and semi-official discourse. Slang and colloquial speech have rarely been so creative" (86). He does posit solitude, though impossible, as one of the responses that has been or might be effective against what he calls the language of total administration: "The prescriptions for inhumanity and injustice are being administered by a rationally organized bureaucracy, which is, however, invisible at its vital center. The soul contains few secrets and longings which cannot be sensibly discussed, analyzed, and polled. Solitude, the very condition which sustained the individual against and beyond his society, has become technically impossible" (71).

4. Thanks to Professor Amy Shuman for suggesting the idea of productive contradiction.

5. Kerouac claims to have lost interest in Buddhism and Kyger returns from Japan to practice Zen privately and without institutional context.
However, a contemporary interest in Kerouac's spiritual writings as evidenced in the serialization of *Wake Up in Tricycle* in the early 1990's, the reprinting of *Scripture of the Golden Eternity* in 1994, and the publishing of *Some of the Dharma* in 1997, as well as a greater interest in Kyger's work in general with the reprinting of her Japan and India journals in 2000 and the publication of a Penguin edition of her selected poems in 2002 gives their Zen period writing greater reverberation in the present.

6. Note Ginsberg's similar comments in an interview with Corso (titled "Interview with Allen Ginsberg") appearing in the Lovershot issue of the *Journal for the Protection of All Beings*. In the context of a question as to how to end the Cold War and ways to change people's minds quickly, Ginsberg responds by comparing the efficacy of drugs to meditation: "The problem is to find an immediate catalyst to awareness, and it's hard to avoid talking drugs when you have a technological problem like this. If anybody has patience to sit around doing breathing exercises, that's fine — but I don't think the race has time, I don't guess enough people can make that scene to make any difference in political conduct, so we gotta devise rapid cultural moves" (26). This question had been preceded by a discussion of how to end the Cold War, with Ginsberg advocating the efficacy of a Zen technique: "Yes, if anybody gets up and tries to lead armies of other people in the direction of his 'Solution,' they ought to tell him publicly to go f... himself. If every person who reads these notes immediately starts applying this simple Zen technique energetically to his environment it would start a chain reaction in front and annihilate East and West" (24).

7. Baker Roshi transmitted the dharma to Philip Whalen in 1987, making Whalen Baker Roshi's dharma heir. Whalen was not involved with the scandal, however. According to Tworkov, "while Whalen has graciously played the role of loyal retainer, he makes no bones about preferring a more solitary life to the social whirlwind his Zen teacher likes to generate and is more inclined toward a conservative view of Zen than Baker." For Whalen, the tradition is zazen. (Zen in America 208).

8. Note that Snyder and Whalen are included in this anthology.

9. Zen is also alluded to and name-dropped into contemporary design, advertising, and fashion articles, advertising, and product imagery to suggest creativity, freshness, simplicity, naturalness, often in a seemingly vague reference to Japanese style. A mundane example of popular and commercial culture's appropriation of Zen is the labeling on the front of the lid of an eight ounce box of Harry London chocolates: "Zen and the Art of Chocolate" and "Zen/Essence of Milk Chocolate." A longer blurb on the back of the lid states: "Zen is how we can sit with stillness in the midst of our self, our breath, our world. Take time to be still, and truly know the essence of our finest chocolates." The lid also bears a calligraphic-like circle at top center with a tilde in its center. The box is small (4" x 3 1/2" x 3 3/4") yet elegant (tasteful might be a better descriptive term) with a beige and chocolate brown bottom; it is tied with a narrow cream ribbon bordered in gold and costs $8.99.
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