

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 25



Houn Kinran

The embossing on the cover is adapted from a gold embroidered fabric favored by Sen Sōshitsu XV, fifteenth-generation grand master of the Urasenke school of tea. The motif is composed of a *hō*, phoenix, amid *un*, clouds and is the graphic representation of his Buddhist name, Hōunsai.

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TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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CHANOYU Quarterly is published quarterly by the Urasenke Foundation, Ogawa Teranouchi agaru, Kamikyō-ku, Kyoto, Japan 602 and the Urasenke Foundation of Hawaii, 245 Saratoga Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96815 U.S.A. Subscriptions: Japan, four issues ¥4,400; elsewhere, U.S.\$14.00 (includes surface postage, air postage U.S.\$9.00 extra). Single copies: Japan, ¥1,100; elsewhere, U.S.\$4.00 (includes surface postage, air postage U.S.\$3.00 extra). Most back issues are available. Prices subject to change. Please allow 6 to 8 weeks for delivery on all orders. Address all subscriptions, back issue orders, and other correspondence to *CHANOYU Quarterly*, Urasenke Foundation, Ogawa Teranouchi agaru, Kamikyō-ku, Kyoto, Japan 602.

Original manuscripts or translations may be submitted for publication review.

<i>Sen Sōshitsu</i>	The Taste of Tea	5
<i>Tanikawa Tetsuzo</i>	The Esthetics of Chanoyu, Part 2	7
<i>Kumakura Isao</i>	Matsudaira Fumai: The Creation of a New World of Chanoyu	22
<i>Dennis Hirota</i>	The Practice of Tea 3 Memoranda of the Words of Rikyū <i>Nanpōroku</i> Book 1	31
	<i>Chadōgu</i> —Tea Utensils: <i>Kōgō</i>	49
	<i>Temae</i> —Tea Procedure: <i>Tsutsumi-bukusa</i>	62
	Book Reviews	77

The names of Japanese persons throughout the text of this magazine are written in accordance with the Japanese practice, with surname first.

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Chanoyu, the tea ceremony, is a synthesis of arts and expresses in principle the many aspects of Japanese culture. From its beginnings in Japan during the fifteenth century until the present, it has been both catalyst and medium in the development of distinctive art forms. Under the guidance of Sen Sōshitsu XV, the Urasenke Foundation and the Urasenke Foundation of Hawaii hope to encourage the development of these arts and promote a worldwide understanding of the culture of chanoyu.

CREDITS Chuokoron-sha, Inc., Tokyo; Fujita Bijutsukan, Osaka; Hatakeyama Kinenkan, Tokyo; Tankosha Publishing Co., Kyoto and Tokyo; Tokugawa Reimeikai, Tokyo, and Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.

All photographs unless otherwise stated are courtesy of the Tankosha Publishing Co., Kyoto.

TRANSLATIONS Edna Crawford and Sonja Arntzen.

The Taste of Tea

Sen Sōshitsu

When tea was prepared before images of Buddha in the Ch'an temples of Sung dynasty China, what taste did it have? As Minamoto Sanetomo drank the bowl of tea that had been offered to him by Eisai, what came to his mind? Hideyoshi savored bowl after bowl of tea prepared by Rikyu—was the taste different from the many bowls of tea that I drink every day? Of course it was. Times change, tea processing methods change, and so do people. This is natural. Should not taste as well change? If I were to accept the definition of taste as mere physical sensation my talk would end here. But for me taste is more than sensation; I would venture to say that through the avenue of the sense of taste one might even come to an understanding of the whole of the discipline of chanoyu. Furthermore, whether tea is served according to grand temple ritual or enjoyed in the company of a small group of friends, it is taste that binds the many forms of preparing and drinking powdered green tea.

In the microcosm of the tearoom the senses function according to rules different from those to which we are accustomed. In the tearoom sensations are slight and fragile and few in number; each sensation assumes a stature and character altogether different from those of the everyday world. What is more, the boundaries of the senses blur and sensations tend to run, like liquids, into each other; vision assumes a tactile character, touch and sound suggest visual images. To understand how the sense of taste expands and functions in chanoyu it might be helpful briefly to suggest, conjure if you will, the mood of a tea gathering climaxed by the drinking of tea.

After finishing a light meal you leave the small, dimly-lit tearoom. At a sheltered waiting arbor you sit for a moment and enjoy the garden before you. The play of light and shadow and the rustle of leaves act as a foil to the quietude and somberness that reigns in the tearoom. Beckoned by your host, you return to the hut and enter through a small, low doorway. Where earlier a hanging scroll had been displayed a few flowers have been arranged in a vase. The brazier and kettle have been joined by a ceramic water jar and a silk bag encasing a small ceramic tea container. All had been light and convivial but now the room is silent save for the water in the kettle that is just rising to a boil. Your host joins you in this world apart and prepares tea. Movement anticipates movement, single gestures recede into a continuum; the fragrance of tea fills the room. As if by natural law a bowl of tea is placed out for you. Bringing it to your place you set it before you and bow in thanks to your host. Picking the tea-bowl up and placing it on your left palm, you raise it in thanks and, after turning it, bring it to your lips.

The first taste of tea is for the eyes. Where the rough glaze of the teabowl meets the shiny and thick liquid you can see the teachings of nature; water-eroded rock, the moon reflected in a shallow pool, the grass that grows in the rock crevice. This first taste of tea suggests visual images of nature and nature's ever-renewing energy and vitality.

To savor the second taste to the fullest, close your eyes. Sharp, bitter, full-bodied—as if you could taste the fragrance of newly-mown grass—this is the second taste of tea.

Yet for all its significance this tasting with the eye and tongue, in fact all that has gone before, is but prologue and preparation for the third taste of tea. For the third taste is the climax of the meeting of host and guest, who taste with the spirit and heart. In chanoyu, the guest at a tea gathering drinks in fully his host's soul; along with the green powdered tea and hot water the host has added nothing less than his own spirit, his own heart. The gratitude that springs of itself from the heart of the guest is what the guest then shares with the host in return.

Tea is tasted in three ways—with the eyes, with the tongue, and with the spirit. The whole of this experience is greater than the sum of the individual tastes. Drinking a bowl of tea brings you to the threshold of the understanding that you are not alone in the world, but instead are part of a larger matrix. Drinking tea you are wed to the others in the tearoom, to nature, to your ancestors and descendents. As you proceed in the pursuit of the discipline the taste of tea will change, and when you taste with the spirit, the taste you experience will be the essence of chanoyu.



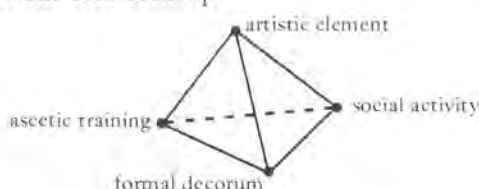
Iga garanseki kōgō

The Esthetics of Chanoyu, Part 2

Tanikawa Tetsuzo

I would like to consider, in depth, the relationship among the four factors of chanoyu—the artistic element, and the elements of social activity, formal decorum, and ascetic training—that I discussed in Part 1. By so doing, perhaps I can show the structure of chanoyu as an art. In Part 1, I suggested that certain aspects of these four factors conflict and repel each other; yet, at the same time, they attract each other.

Each of the elements cannot be independent without having qualities that repel the other elements. However, they cannot make up the unified form of chanoyu without having a certain quality that draws them together. The following drawing of a tetrahedron illustrates this relationship.



The shapes of the triangles that form the tetrahedron are determined by the forces pulling at each of the four vertices. If the forces are equal, the tetrahedron will be a regular tetrahedron. If one force is greater than the others, then the tetrahedron would be skewed toward the direction of that force. Depending on the force at each vertex, chanoyu as formal decorum, as social activity or as ascetic training is realized. However, because of the uniqueness of the artistic element, chanoyu as art cannot materialize independently of the other three factors. But it is possible to push forward chanoyu as an art or pull it back from the plane created by the other three vertices. With reference to the diagram, this can be demonstrated by moving a vertex, (thereby making an irregular tetrahedron) in a direction either equidistant from the other vertices or closer to one of them depending on the strength of the forces pulling away at each of the other three vertices—formal decorum, social activity, or discipline. I shall leave this attempt at visual definition of the relationship of the four elements in chanoyu, and move on to a discussion of certain details of the relationship.

The Relationship of the Elements of Social Activity and Ascetic Training

I. Incompatible Aspects

Chanoyu often becomes an extravagant eating and drinking affair when its main purpose is social. Entertainment such as this is inseparable from social activities,

"The Esthetics of Chanoyu, Part 2" is the second of four installments of a translation and adaptation of the author's *Cha no bigaku* [The Esthetics of tea] published in 1977 by the Tankosha Publishing Company. The first installment appears in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 23 published in 1980. *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 25, 1980 © by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.

amusements, and polite accomplishments like music, singing, and dancing, which take place in a social atmosphere. Rikyū, in the *Nambōroku*, deplores such a form. He states, "It is shameful that chanoyu has become entirely an entertainment as it is now." Chanoyu may have tended to become an entertainment because it originated in part from *cha awase* tournaments.¹ The passage in *Muebū mondō*², that was quoted in Part 1 states, "The priest of Togano-o [Myoe Shonin] and the founder [Yosai] of Kennin-ji temple loved tea because it first disperses dimness of the mind and arouses one, so it is helpful in ascetic practice." It continues, "The outrageous way tea is served today will not be beneficial. No one would think it is for studying or for ascetic practice," and concludes that, in the end, this trend is "a waste for society and causes the way of Buddha to decline." These statements were made in light of the *cha awase* tournaments popular at that time.

The world of social exchange often lacks sincerity. At social occasions, whether one respects others or not one must pretend. Conversations are usually something to suit the occasion with little significance or content, and the best social conversations change subject often; in sum, people treat each other superficially. This aspect of social activity is incompatible with the mental attitude of ascetic training.

II. Compatible Aspects

The best, honest social exchanges require sincere thoughtfulness toward the other party. In the end, it is essential to entertain the guest with sincerity even at a tea gathering held for social reasons. This requirement also applies to the guests, for whom the first rule is to accept the host's hospitality with sincerity. In his book *Chaso*, the daimyo tea master Matsudaira Fumai wrote, "When one is acting as host, one should put oneself in the guest's position, and when one is a guest, one should imagine oneself as host." Fumai went a step further stating, "One should consider that a mistake made by a guest during a tea gathering is a mistake of the host and a mistake made by the host is a mistake of the guest." If we consider this kind of attitude to be the essence of chanoyu, then the social element is compatible with the element of ascetic training.

This attitude does not rely on a smooth tongue or flattery. In the *Nambōroku* appears the statement, "It is good when the host and guests find themselves compatible, but it is not good to strive to be compatible." Further, Rikyū's rules for the guests that appear in *Rikyū kyaku no shidai* warn that the guest should not become insincere or use flattery.

One manifestation of sincerity is artlessness, which often can be confused with poor manners. While poor manners are incompatible with thoughtfulness, artlessness is compatible with sincere thoughtfulness. Poor manners are always due to a lack of consideration for others and at times they reflect conscious disregard for others. Occasionally they reflect malicious intent that finds enjoyment in inflicting emotional pain. Of course these attitudes are rejected in the setting of a tea gathering. But artlessness, natural and pure, is a manifestation of sincerity. Thus, in chanoyu, it is considered almost a virtue.

In the *Kemmon dansō* by Itō Baiu appears a story concerned with Rikyū's response to one man's sincerity. Once Rikyū stopped at Kambayashi Chikuan's residence in Uji. Chikuan received him by serving tea but was so overjoyed that his hands trembled. He was in a wretched plight, for he knocked down the tea whisk and the tea scoop fell off the lacquer thin tea container. The disciples who had accompanied Rikyū laughed at Chikuan's awkward manner. After the gathering, Rikyū scolded his disciples who had laughed at Chikuan saying that Chikuan's performance during the gathering had been the best in Japan. He admonished his pupils that they really did not understand the way of tea and that they had laughed at Chikuan because they had only seen the surface. Instead of being bothered by his technique they should have been grateful for Chikuan's sincere thoughtfulness and his eagerness to prepare tea before the water cooled, not bothered by his mistakes. Chikuan's manners had been an expression of his sincerity and Rikyū had judged Chikuan's service to be in accordance with the spirit of chanoyu although it appeared to be marred by poor manners.

On the other hand, one who serves tea thoughtlessly has not mastered the way of tea, no matter how elegant the execution of the procedures. A story that illustrates this appears in the *Nambōroku*, "Naya Sōkyū [Imai Sōkyū] performs the procedures of tea splendidly. His performance pleased [Toyotomi Hideyoshi who] admired him as much as he did Sōeki [Sen Rikyū]. But tea master Sōkyū lacked thoughtfulness and gradually he lost [Hideyoshi's] trust."

In Part 1, I mentioned a criticism of Tsuji Gensai from the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*:

Tsuji Gensai is Jōō's number one pupil. He is the one who was even taught the secret of preparing tea using a small tea container. He is not sharp-eyed and is very poor at chanoyu. Even if he becomes the pupil of a skillful master, a man without creativity remains inept.

It is difficult to understand from this description why Tsuji Gensai was Jōō's number one pupil and why he alone was taught Jōō's treasured secret. The same section in a different and shorter version of *Yamanoue Sōji ki* called *Chaki meibutsu shū*, puts it a little differently:

Tsuji Gensai is Jōō's number one pupil. He is the one who was even taught the secret of preparing tea using a small tea container. He is very thoughtful. However, he is like a blind man when it comes to being a connoisseur. He is also poor at chanoyu.

Both versions carry the same theme, but the second one adds "He is very thoughtful" and makes it clear that a very thoughtful person could become an important pupil of Jōō even if he was neither a connoisseur nor creative and very poor at chanoyu.

It is difficult to be thoughtful at all times. To become naturally thoughtful, the mind must be kept clean and cultivated. One needs to discipline oneself. In this sense, then, the social element does not conflict with the ascetic element. It might even be said that the essence of the social element is discipline.

III. The Element of Ascetic Training Opposes but does not Conflict with the Element of Social Activity

The dual relationship between the elements of social activity and ascetic training can also be observed from the point of view of mental discipline.

One of the many driving forces that shaped Japan from the late Kamakura period into the Edo period was the lifestyle of low-ranking courtiers and commoners who took the tonsure and, severing their connections with everyday life, created a culture of seclusion. Chanoyu retains something of the spirit of this culture of seclusion and is, in many ways, an expression of it. If one regards chanoyu as a form of this culture, then the world of chanoyu is a world of solitude, away from social interaction. As one example of this attitude, Sugiki Fusai (1628-1706), a tea master and disciple of Sen Sōtan (1578-1658), once wrote to a friend, "There is no guest at a tea gathering. An ancient said that guests become annoyances at a tea gathering."

However, a life of discipline is not necessarily at odds with social interaction. Recluses, unlike hermits or ascetics, enjoy associating with a few close friends. The culture of seclusion was supported by people like Saigyō, Kenkō, Sōgi, and Bashō, who, while living on the fringe of society, were nevertheless very much a part of it. Art and culture advisors (*dōbōshū*) and professional jesters, who were attendants to the shogun, also belonged to this culture of seclusion and show that it contains more of the social element than the ascetic.

Even if we consider the element that links chanoyu to Zen discipline, disregarding those people who use chanoyu as a means of livelihood, the social element is compatible with the element of discipline. Zen discipline could not have wholly rejected the social aspect of chanoyu during the time when Zen priests were statesmen and diplomats as well as philosophers and poets.

IV. Sitting in Solitude

A statement like "... Chanoyu in a small room should be understood through Buddhist training" sounds like an invitation to reject ordinary worldly associations and keep to oneself. The introspective state of enjoying tea alone is similar to the state of sitting in solitude. The daimyo tea master Ii Naosuke (1815-1860)³, in his book on chanoyu called *Chanoyu ichie shū*, well describes this state:

"[When the tea gathering is over] both the host and the guests find it difficult to part but know that the time to do so has come. The guests leave through the garden path after the exchange of farewells at the end of the gathering. The guests should not talk loudly until they are outside the garden. The guests quietly look back as they walk away and the host should watch the departing guests even until they are out of sight. It is unpleasant [to see the host] promptly start to close the *nakakuguri* (middle gate), *sarado* (small door), and *shōji*. That would ruin the day's entertainment. Even if

the departing guests are out of sight, the host should not hurry to clean up; rather the host should return to the tearoom with a quiet heart through the *nijiriguchi* (crawling-in entrance). Sitting alone in front of the sunken hearth, the host wishes that the guests could have stayed a little longer and talked more, and wonders how far they have gone. He realizes that the gathering of that day is over and it is impossible to have the same gathering again; that that particular tea gathering will take place only once in a lifetime. Or the host might enjoy a bowl of tea alone. Realization that one should participate in a tea gathering with an attitude that this gathering is only once in one's lifetime is the essence of mastery of *ichigo ichie* (one lifetime, one meeting). It is quiet after the guests have left and there is no one to talk to but the kettle. This is a mental state difficult to arrive at without self possession.

Clearly, this is the spirit with which to enjoy solitude, but it also embraces thoughtfulness for the guests and others, for the idea of sitting and enjoying tea alone takes socializing into consideration and anticipates it. That is why the words of Sugiki Fusai quoted earlier, "There is no guest at a tea gathering. An ancient said that guests become annoyances at a tea gathering" are followed by "but this does not mean that one should enjoy tea alone." An attitude more advanced than this is expressed in the *Chōandō ki*⁴: "One who relishes chanoyu should not make a practice of preparing tea for oneself. If one does, careless habits developed while making tea alone come out unintentionally when guests are present, and this is unsightly."

Chōandō went on to state:

Generally, there is no reason to envy people who skillfully perform the procedures of chanoyu. An exhibition of dexterity is like a clever conjuring trick by a magician. One who is accustomed to the technique of the procedures of chanoyu is offensive. It seems facile and unpleasant. What is truly enviable is a man gifted with connoisseurship and creativity. Those two qualities are the foundations of chanoyu.

This statement reflects his belief that dexterity or inability in the procedures is not of great importance in chanoyu but that the best tea is served with sincerity.

The Relationship of the Elements of Ascetic Training and Formal Decorum

I. Aspects in Conflict

A section in the *Nambōroku* explains worldly rules (*sekenbō*) in the state removed from worldly existence (*shussekenbō*):

The essence of chanoyu is found in the tea gathering held in a hut. A formal tea gathering held in a *shoin*-style reception room with a *daisu* stand adheres strictly to formality, rules, and manners. It is a world of rules and conventions and is an ordinary secular world (*sekenbō*). The appearance of a small room and the path leading to the tearoom must be in accordance with set rules. But when the ultimate state [of chanoyu in a small room] is reached, one enters the world of freedom where rules and propriety can be ignored. This is the world of nothingness (*mu*) with nothing to occupy one's mind. It is a world above the secular world (*shusse-kenbō*).

What is meant here by worldly rules (*sekenbō*) is strict adherence to "formality, rules, and manners," or formal decorum. On the other hand, the state beyond worldly rules refers to the ultimate state of nothingness in which rules and propriety can be ignored. This is "the world of nothingness with nothing to occupy one's mind." The rules of the world removed from worldly existence are related to ascetic training. When viewed in this light, the element of discipline or ascetic training conflicts with formal decorum. The process of the transition from the chanoyu of the *shoin*-style reception room with a *daisu* stand to the small room of a rustic hut was a shift away from primarily social activities and formal decorum toward the direction of ascetic discipline.

To quote the *Nambōroku*:

Many of the writings of our predecessors on the secrets of chanoyu are devoted to numerous rules and specifications, starting with those of the *daisu* stand, in the belief that formal decorum is the essential part of chanoyu. I [Rikyū] wanted to acquire something more than formal decorum; I wanted to climb to a higher plain using those rules as steps. So I listened to the teaching of priests at Daitokuji temple and Nanshūji temple and followed the examples set at these Zen temples. Based on the elegant tea gathering in a *shoin*-style reception room, I formulated detailed rules and specifications on the structure of tearooms and the arrangements of utensils. I opened up the state of *roji* and the world of Buddha. I disciplined myself to master the way of tea in a modest and quiet two-tatami-mat room in a hut. As a result, I finally began to understand the meaning of the true chanoyu. Still, there remains much to be learned and I need to continue with my training because the water I had mistaken for clear became muddied at times.

This last sentence expresses the spirit of discipline. After quoting these words of Rikyū, Nambō Sōkei followed with his own:

Rikyū is a reasonable, technically very skillful, and spiritually awakened tea master. Therefore, he is completely free at all times. He defined the essence of chanoyu. Because he sincerely wished to spread the true chanoyu, he did not hide his own failures; and he admired anyone who could do things better than he could, even if a beginner. And because he was fair and kind, those who associated with him were fond of him.

If the element of formal decorum becomes superficial, it repels the spirit of ascetic training. The poem quoted at the end of Rikyū's *Rikyū kyaku no shidai* deals with this problem:

There are many tea drinkers in the world. But those who
do not know the way [of tea] are overcome by chanoyu.

The Way is a concept that is opposed to mere social entertainment as well as to superficial formal decorum. Therefore "overcome by tea" probably refers to those who are satisfied with chanoyu's aspects of social entertainment and formal decorum.

The element of ascetic training is emphasized even more in the *Zencharoku*⁵ than it is in the *Nambōroku*. There, it states that according to the *Nambōroku*, one is free to vary the forms when one has mastered "the way to arrange the utensils [and] the procedures of chanoyu" in accordance with the basic rules and specifications of chanoyu and the secrets of the *yin-yang* of tea whisks and tea bowls. "It is stated in the *Nambōroku* . . . going beyond the bounds of rules, but the changes are based on the rules. This looks like *sakui* (creativity) and relates to the rule, but they are not natural changes. The way I follow is different. I follow the natural opportunity without regard for the rules and do not take note of the changes in the rules. I consider this to be the wonder of the working of changes." This view of the *Zencharoku* totally rejects the idea of following the rules and specifications. Rikyū taught that one should master the rules and then go beyond the rules, but the *Zencharoku* rejects mastery of the rules as a means of reaching the free state beyond the rules. From the standpoint of chanoyu as an earnest discipline, the element of formal decorum is utterly rejected.

The contradictory relationship of the two elements of formal decorum and discipline also can be viewed from the perspective of the element of formal decorum.

According to the *Furuta kefū*⁶:

After Rikyū's death [Furuta Oribe] gave lessons on chanoyu to Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi said to Oribe that the way of tea transmitted from Rikyū lacked the formal decorum that is important for the samurai class and ordered Oribe to revise the rules of chanoyu. Therefore, Oribe developed a chanoyu having a new emphasis suitable for the samurai class.

The quotation explains the nature of the chanoyu of the upper samurai class as developed by the tea masters Furuta Oribe (1544-1615) and Kobori Enshū (1579-1647). *Kochurodan*, written by the samurai tea practitioner of Hakata, Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655-1708), relates that once Tachibanaya Sōgen, a Kyoto merchant and pupil of Kobori Enshū, asked Enshū what the difference was between Rikyū's style of chanoyu and Enshū's. He answered, "Oribe and I come from the samurai class. When samurai of varying ranks gather we use tea gardens and tearooms as places for socializing." Enshū made this remark after saying, "Rikyū is the founder of chanoyu in Japan. Rikyū's style should be the only style of chanoyu." Enshū did not negate Rikyū's authority. *Somei kochurodan*, a different version of *Kochurodan* says "Oribe and I come from the samurai class. We samurai from different classes often gather in a small tearoom when we are ordered by our lord to assemble." This may be interpreted to mean that the spirit of the new style of chanoyu established by Oribe and Enshū is close to the chanoyu of the shoin-style reception room with a *daisu* utensil stand, even though gatherings were held in a Rikyū-style tearoom in a small hut. Enshū played an important role as tea instructor to the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu. Tearooms built under Enshū's direction exhibit more of the splendor that characterized the Momoyama period and the elegant taste of the imperial court and less of the simple and quiet taste of Rikyū. Of course this comparison applies only to the closed world of chanoyu, but the transformation could be viewed as a transfer of emphasis from the element of discipline to that of formal decorum.

Thoughtfulness and consideration for others are important in social exchanges, but they also infuse the spirit behind ascetic training. Formality alone tends to be superficial and does not constitute formal decorum. The procedures of chanoyu have the same tendency. Splendid performance of the tea procedures without thoughtfulness also tends toward this superficiality. To illustrate this point let us recall Rikyū's tale about Imai Sōkyū that appears in *Nambōroku*. Rikyū said "Naya Sōkyū [Imai Sōkyū] performs the procedures of tea splendidly. His performance pleased [Toyotomi Hideyoshi] who admired him as much as he admired Sōeki [Shen Rikyū]. But tea master Sōkyū lacked thoughtfulness, and he gradually lost Hideyoshi's trust."

II. Aspects That Attract Each Other

Rikyū's words quoted earlier, "... I wanted to acquire something more than formal decorum, I wanted to climb to a higher plane using those rules as steps. . . . I opened up the state of *roji* and the world of Buddha. I disciplined myself to master the way of tea in a modest and quiet two-tatami-mat room in a hut" touch on his formulation of detailed rules and specifications, from the structure of tearooms to the manner in which utensils are arranged. Accounts of how Rikyū established these rules are given in the *Nambōroku*. To formulate rules and specifications like these is to lay the foundation for formal decorum. Without a basic order, chanoyu as a discipline cannot exist.

Even the author of the *Zencharoku*, rejecting the element of formal decorum to the extent of giving the appearance of rejecting chanoyu itself, said "If one is

handling the *chashaku* (tea scoop), put it down with the mind entirely concentrating on it as before [when it was picked up]" and "the original meaning of chanoyu . . . is simply to concentrate on the handling of the utensils to discipline oneself in order to contemplate the true nature of self." It is "mental training to realize the nature of self," but this understanding is attained through chanoyu. Then the element of formal decorum is important for ascetic training. The writer of the *Zencharoku* totally rejects formal decorum because of his dislike of the tendency toward superficiality of formal manners, but there could be no chanoyu if the element of formal decorum were eliminated.

A discipline deals with the self. If we consider discipline mainly in personal terms, the words of Sugiki Fusai, "There is no guest at a tea gathering," are true. However, as I have already mentioned in a previous section, these words are followed by "but this does not mean that one should enjoy tea alone," and the quotation does not necessarily mean that the social element of chanoyu is rejected. In this sense, the social element and the element of formal decorum are linked. Regardless of the great importance one assigns to discipline in chanoyu, the role of discipline is limited without the element of formal decorum. Discipline or ascetic training enables one to see the true nature of self; in chanoyu the practice of concentrating on the handling of the tea utensils is the training which takes place within the framework of formal decorum. Chanoyu cannot exist without this framework.

To illustrate this point, *Hon'ami gyōjō ki*, a biography of Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558-1637) and his family, contains Sen Sōtan's (1578-1658) opinion of four tea masters who lived in seclusion:

Those four—Awata Zempō, priest Zenkai, Yogorō, and Dōroku—are hermits and recluses and live in seclusion. They use a wooden ladle to scoop up powdered charcoal. They hang a kettle [for household use] over a pit and spread round straw mats on a bank and just enjoy drinking tea. There is no greeting between the host and the guests. This kind of affair has no manners or grace. They are eccentrics and no one should follow their way.

The Relationship of the Elements of Formal Decorum and Social Activity

I. Aspects in Conflict

Formal decorum tends to stiffen into cold forms while social exchanges are easily associated with games and amusements. Often stiff and cold formalities stand in opposition to light games and amusements. But there is another dimension to this conflict. Rikyū said:

As chanoyu becomes popular the number of teachers of tea will increase, and each will give lessons. I fear that some of them will treat the hut as a shoin reception room when a tea

gathering is held for a group of lords or nobles, and they will forget to think about the true meaning of the chanoyu in a small hut. I fear those who like to eat and drink will hold drinking parties in the hut. If they were reminded that drinking parties are not compatible with the chanoyu of modest and quiet taste, they would not want chanoyu. Those who make a living by giving lessons on chanoyu consider it desirable to gain favors of lords and to expand their tea gatherings. They behave disappointingly, even now, because they choose to become teachers of tea to satisfy their greed, taking advantage of the fact that men of high social standing favor chanoyu. I cannot help being concerned about the future of chanoyu.

These words are then followed by:

In less than ten years [after my death] the principle of the way of tea will decline. But when the true meaning of tea is forgotten, chanoyu will become very popular. It will become a social entertainment of worldly life. I can see its shameful end.
(“Metsugo,” *Nambōroku*)

This is not only a criticism of chanoyu as a social entertainment from the one who considered discipline as chanoyu's essence. It is also a criticism—by the man who was proud to have formulated the rules and created the true tradition of the formal tea—of tea as social entertainment that disregarded the rules. Rikyū had seen the conflict of the elements of formal decorum and social activity from a higher plane.

I have already discussed Rikyū's admonition against becoming “insincere” or praising “flatteringly” (*Rikyū kyaku no shidai*). Rikyū warned against these because of the generally held misconception that proper manners call for insincere remarks or flattery. While formal decorum has a tendency to fall into stiff and cold formality, it also tends to become smooth-tongued flattery. These tendencies are similar in that neither of them have substance. Moreover, flattery not only opposes the spirit of truth in social interaction, but it also oversteps the bounds of proper formal decorum.

In the *Nambōroku* Rikyū's answer to the question “What should be the attitude of the host and guests?” has a bearing on this problem. His answer was to the effect that it is good if the host and guests feel mutual closeness, but there are times when mutual closeness is not felt. The person who has mastered the way will have the proper attitude and will naturally create an atmosphere filled with harmony and mutual respect, whether he is host or guest. On the other hand, the person who does not have sufficient discipline tries to please the others regardless of whether he is host or guest. Such a person becomes entangled in the others' mistakes, because he is trying too hard to please. This ends up in superficial exchanges. An intention to please the other person can end up in an uncomfortable situation or in conflict in an entangled situation. In this way the elements of formal decorum and social activity

do not conflict when one has mastered the way, but the two can conflict if one is insufficiently trained.

II. The Elements of Formal Decorum and Social Activity Attract Each Other

A tea gathering as a social pastime is not a tea gathering unless it is sustained by the host's orderly procedure for preparing tea and by the manners of the guests. All these procedures are in accordance with the original purpose of pleasing the guests. From the *Nambōroku* comes the following:

Someone asked Rikyū what were the secrets one must know about the sunken hearth, the portable brazier, serving tea in the summer and winter, and the proper attitude for chanoyu. Rikyū answered: In summer suggest coolness, in winter warmth. Lay the charcoal [in the sunken hearth or the portable brazier] so that it heats the water. The tea should be served in such a way that it is easy for the guests to drink and tastes good. These are the only secrets. The questioner looked dissatisfied and said that everyone knew that. Rikyū responded, if that is so, prepare the tea in accordance with the spirit of what I have just said. I, Rikyū, will come to you as your guest and become your disciple.

This exchange can be considered as an expression of Rikyū's resistance to the then prevalent attitude that secret transmissions were to be treated with reverence, or it can be interpreted as an expression of the state of Zen. In fact, according to the *Nambōroku*, the priest Shōrei, who was present when the exchange took place, was impressed by Rikyū's answer and remarked that Rikyū's comment was the same as the answer given by the Chinese priest Choka, "[One] must not commit any evil acts but do good."⁷ I believe that Rikyū's answer elucidates the essence of the true spirit of socializing, manifested through thoughtfulness on the part of the host. But why is something taken for granted so difficult to deliver? It is because not only is one expected to act with thoughtfulness at all times but also to master the formal manners of chanoyu in order to proceed with natural, uncontrived thoughtfulness. Furthermore, when the two elements of formal decorum and social exchange are joined in this way by the element of discipline, the three mutually attract each other.

The Relationship of the Artistic Element and the Elements of Social Activity, Ascetic Training, and Formal Decorum

I. Sakui: The Core of the Artistic Element

Because chanoyu is a performing art expressed through body movements, its artistic element concerns the creativity displayed in the presentation. Creative functions of the mind cannot be separated from connoisseurship or one's ability to appreciate beauty. From beginning to end, creativity makes chanoyu an art. As

mentioned previously, this creativity is called *sakui* in old writings on chanoyu. Phrases that concern *sakui* are found in many chanoyu works:

What is truly enviable is a man gifted with connoisseurship and *sakui*. Those two qualities are the foundations of chanoyu. (Chōandō ki)

There is much to be learned to master chanoyu but *sakui* is the most important. No matter how knowledgeable [the participants might be], a tea without *sakui* is stiff, lacks variation, and is dull. (Sōsbun'ō chadō kikigaki)

One should learn the techniques of the procedures of tea from tradition, but *sakui* should be something wholly new. (Yamanoue Sōji ki)

The book on Rikyū in *Chadō shiso densho* states⁸, “Rikyū adds variations to his chanoyu and it changes each time. Shōan follows the example of Rikyū. He adds no variations.” Another part of the same book states, “Rikyū’s way is to vary chanoyu. Based on this, Oribe is able. Hosokawa Sansai’s chanoyu is always the same as Rikyū’s but he has not gained much fame because of this.”

The artistic element and the three other elements of chanoyu both attract and repel each other. But this dual relationship is somewhat different from those that exist among the other elements. *Sakui* requires that there be a place to exhibit it; and the place encompasses everything from the designs of garden paths and tearooms, to the selection and arrangement of utensils and the reception of the guests; it concerns all elements of chanoyu—the social element, the ascetic element, and that of formal decorum. There is no opportunity for *sakui* without these elements. But, conversely, opportunity for *sakui* is everywhere.

There is a modern-day tale concerning Matsunaga Jian.⁹ Once while making tea for some guests he spilled a scoop of tea onto his lap by mistake. Without being disturbed he silently rubbed the tea into the fabric of his kimono. I think this kind of reaction is the working of *sakui*.

I have mentioned that, in the mutual relationships among the elements of social activity, discipline, and formal decorum, the forces that seek each other and compensate for each other are greater than the forces that repel each other. And that the artistic element finds the most suitable place to exhibit itself in the harmonious relationships of the other factors.

II. The Artistic Element Cannot Repel the Other Three Elements

Sakui is frequently ignored when chanoyu is considered a social pastime, or in formal, ceremonious gatherings, or when chanoyu is wholly devoted to ascetic training. It is certainly possible to have a tea gathering ignoring creativity and most do. To put it differently, the other three elements of chanoyu can repel the artistic element just as they can repel each other. But the artistic element cannot repel the other

three. What seems disregard for formal decorum can be taken as an expression of *sakui* in a new arrangement of the utensils, or changes made in the procedures, or the manner in which the guests are received. It is this kind of artistry that inspired Yamanoé Sōji to say in his records, "It is delightful to see Rikyū acting freely. Because he is a great tea master, he can break the rules of chanoyu, turning a mountain into a valley and the west into the east." This does not mean that the element of formal decorum was ignored, but rather new life was injected into it.

III. Composition and Performance

In the composition and performance of the procedures of chanoyu, destructive acts can become new creations. Chanoyu became an art for the first time with this kind of creation of the moment. There is no art of chanoyu without it. For example, Rikyū was acting as a composer when he established new rules for chanoyu by turning "a mountain into a valley" and "the west into the east." In music a composer is often a performer as well; Rikyū, too, introduced his compositions through his own performances. Furthermore, the essence of *sakui* is displayed in actual performances. Since ancient times famous tea men have been composers, to a greater or lesser degree. Prior to Rikyū, such men as Nōami, Murata Shukō, and Takeno Jōō, formed new rules for tea based on their own *sakui* and the demands of the times. Following Rikyū, such tea masters as Furuta Oribe, Kobori Enshū, Sen Sōtan, and Katagiri Sekishū, who were influenced by Rikyū, elaborated new rules based on their *sakui* and the demands of their times. I believe all of them were original artists in the unique world of the art of chanoyu.

On the other hand, I do not consider common tea parties or tea gatherings an art, nor do I recognize as artists those who participate in them. The main components of a tea gathering as a social activity, discipline, or formal decorum, are the participants who engage in social exchanges, ascetic practices, or skilled performance. They are not artists. To become an artist in the world of chanoyu, a person must first master the elements of social activity, discipline, and formal decorum, and then put *sakui* to work on the harmonious linking of these three. In concrete terms, *sakui* is expressed through a performance at a true tea gathering and these are the ones people remember. The particulars of these gatherings are recorded and later performed by different people. A new type of chanoyu or a new school of tea often starts in this fashion.

An "artistic" tea gathering is not automatically a good one. It is apt to become artificial; while appearing to be a creative work, it is not. The world of chanoyu is no different from the rest of the art world, where creativity has a tendency to descend to the level of mere production or reworking which often is mistaken for creative work. A good example of this confusion is the irregular-shaped teabowls that are widely used at tea gatherings. Such bowls are produced by copying bowls that accidentally became irregular, like some of the Raku, Shino, or Oribe wares. These eccentric teabowls expanded the esthetic boundaries of the world of ceramics. They are beautiful, unparalleled in the world. But their copies are the ugliest. *The example of these bowls*

applies to the world of chanoyu as a whole. This is why an artistic tea gathering is not always a good tea gathering.

Even if an artistic tea gathering is “good,” it may not even then display the true “flavor” of tea. Terms such as “lukewarm tea” (*nurui cha*) or “boiling-hot tea” (*tagiritaru cha*) have been used with symbolic meaning since the old days. Nurui is used in the *Chado shiso densho*: “A letter from Kusabeya Dōsetsu of Sakai states that Rikyū is sixty-six years old but he serves everything by himself. His service is not at all *nurui*.” Nurui must mean lacking in ability and dull. A letter written by Hideyoshi addressed to his nephew Hashiba Hideyasu states, “Because your tea is *nurui*, you cannot create a modest, quiet mood. But if you can attain a state of *tagiritaru cha* you will grow into a man of tea.” *Tagiritaru cha* or “boiling-hot tea” means participation in chanoyu as earnest training. There is no explicit awareness of art in this kind of chanoyu. When one is consciously attempting to be artistic, the tea will be *nurui*. When one is participating in chanoyu as a means of delivering oneself from the present to reach the state of nothingness (*mu*) beyond this world, one does not think about *sakui*. A state not so highly spiritual as the one Rikyū sought is also unrelated to *sakui*. Matsudaira Fumai writes in *Chaso*, “It is desirable to have a tea gathering that gives a feeling of morning dew on the blades of rice plants or wild pinks in a desolate field.” If this kind of tea gathering is considered good, then preoccupation with *sakui* serves to shrink the world of tea. However, a “boiling-hot tea” becomes an artistic tea gathering in the end; the outcome of a “lukewarm tea” is not artistic.

To examine chanoyu as an art is like directing a bright light on a very broad subject. It is difficult to grasp it in its entirety. The light can expose only certain aspects of chanoyu from the highest to the lowest. It is hoped that, with this study, the significance of each aspect and the role of each in relation to the whole might be understood.

(to be continued)

1. *Cha awase* is a tea comparing competition involving astounding stakes, that was played in an atmosphere of ostentatious display during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. An account of one such competition is given in volume 33 of the *Taibeiki* [Chronicle of great peace]. The practice was also known by its Chinese name, *tōcha*.
2. A Zen text written by the priest Musō Sōseki (also known as Musō Kokushi, 1276-1351).
3. Ii Naosuke was a well known statesman and a leading proponent of the “Open Door Policy” in the last days of the Tokugawa era. In 1860 he was assassinated for his views at Sakurada-mon in Edo.
4. Anecdotes on chanoyu and tea masters, described by Kubo Gondayū (Chōandō, 1571-1640).
5. A work discussing various aspects of Zen and chanoyu edited by Jakuan Sotaku sometime during the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.
6. Genealogy of the Furuta family. Quoted in *Nippon chadōshi josetsu* [Introduction to the history of chanoyu in Japan] by Nishibori Ichizō.
7. The question to which this reply was given was one of several posed by the T'ang dynasty Chinese poet Po Ch'u-i (Hakurakuten) when he asked Choka (Dorin) what were the secrets of Buddhism. Upon hearing the reply Po Ch'u-i harbored a doubt and said that anyone, even a three-year-old child, knew such things. Choka's reply to this was that while a child of three may be able to say what he said, an experienced man of eighty years would find it difficult to actually accomplish.

8. Matsuyama Ginshōan's revision of Matsuya Hisashige's records of the tea practices and achievements of Sen Rikyū, Furuta Oribe, Hosokawa Sansai, and Kobori Enshū. Hisashige, the fifth generation of a prosperous merchant family in Nara, compiled the records of three generations of heads of the Matsuya family into a book that consists of writings about the four famous tea masters based on tea gathering records of his family and his own records and memory, with special emphasis on the philosophy of chanoyu.
9. (1875-1971). Business magnate who at the age of sixty took up the practice of tea. He collected many famous utensils and founded the Matsunaga Memorial Museum, now located in Sakai in Hyogo prefecture.



Shino Rikyu-bai kōgō



Portrait of Matsudaira Fumai owned by Gesshoji temple in Matsue, Shimane prefecture.

Matsudaira Fumai

The Creation of a New World of Chanoyu

Kumakura Isao

There is no doubt that the popularity of *chanoyu* in the warrior society of the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568-1615) was rather unusual. It is almost impossible to explain this phenomenon without reference to the personalities of the generals Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598). But when the political mandate changed hands from Hideyoshi to Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), the deeper development of tea also took a turn, for it seems that Ieyasu was not very fond of *chanoyu*.

Ieyasu organized his government according to the "village-headman" style, with the plain and austere tastes of the countryside and villages. Accordingly, elegance and beauty typical of an urban sensibility were despised by the old-guard samurai of Mikawa, present-day eastern Aichi prefecture, the birthplace of Ieyasu. They particularly disdained the practice of tea and frowned upon those daimyo who seemed infatuated with it. As *chanoyu*, no matter what or whose style, was considered essentially a

"Matsudaira Fumai: The Creation of a New World of Chanoyu" is an abridgement, translation, and adaptation of the author's "Chanoyu budō-ki 5: Daimyo no shitei" appearing in the August 1976 (No. 117) issue of *Budō* published by Nihon Budōkan, Tokyo and "Unshū iji" appearing in the December, 1975 issue of *Nihon Bijutsu Kōgei* published by Nihon Bijutsu Kōgei, Osaka.

Chanoyu Quarterly, no. 25, 1980 by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.

luxurious pastime, one can imagine that when the subject of tea ceremony arose a Mikawa samurai would grimace and declare it the idle game of indolent men of leisure. The principles of government that appear in the *Honsaroku*, attributed to the samurai Honda Masanobu, well illustrate the mood of the shogunate. One short passage states:

Those who think chanoyu is superior and think poetry (*waka*) and linked verse (*renga*) are old fashioned, will not understand the complaints of their retainers, and even if ten thousand people die of hunger, they will not listen. . . . If there is any justice in heaven, those who become masters of chanoyu will have no heirs.

Daimyo who wanted to avoid censure had to have a suitable excuse for practicing chanoyu. Some said they were making a show of living in luxury to fool the ever-watchful eye of the *bakufu*, while others said their indulgence in chanoyu was in defiance of the directives of the *bakufu*. In any case, the practice of chanoyu by daimyo was certainly hampered and the numbers of adherents among the military decreased.

With the advent of the Tokugawa period in 1615 the fashion of samurai personally practicing tea lost its attraction, and the preparation and serving of tea became a matter for men called *sadō* (literally, tea head). These men, also called *cha bōzu* (literally, tea monk), were of low status, somewhere between that of a samurai and a servant. Describing this transition in a different way, we could say that tea seemed to have lost its function as a focal point for political ties among the samurai, and for the next hundred years became simply a beverage, a medium of social intercourse.

From about the middle of the eighteenth century, however, conditions changed again. The old-guard samurai who had scorned chanoyu and espoused the stern martial spirit of the *bakufu* had died. Even the foremost Mikawa samurai were now deeply involved with city life, and many actually led in the development of urban culture, introducing educational reforms, and improving production and management of their fiefs. Many were connoisseurs and collectors of tea utensils, as well as being superior men of tea. Of those who were deeply involved, the name of Matsudaira Fumai must be mentioned.

I am tempted to describe Matsudaira Fumai as *chanoyu sanmai no daimyo*, "the lord for whom the practice of tea is *samadhi*." This, however, might imply that he was a foolish lord who wasted his wealth on intemperate amusements. On the contrary, Fumai was well respected and renowned for his success in the rehabilitation of the finances of the Matsue fief, the eastern half of today's Shimane prefecture.

Fumai was born in the Matsudaira residence in Edo in 1751. Though known by several names during his lifetime—Sōnō, Ichichisai, Ikkanshi, Tomon, Daienan, and Ransitsu among others—I will refer to him as Fumai, the name most frequently heard today.

During Fumai's childhood, contributions ordered by the *bakufu* for the repair of the Enryakuji temple complex on Mount Hiei in 1760 reduced the Matsue fief to a state of poverty. When Fumai became lord of the fief at the age of seventeen, finances

were in a precarious situation. Rumors of bankruptcy made merchants reluctant to lend him even one *ryō*¹. To reverse the situation quickly, Fumai set his principal retainer, Asahi Tamba, to increasing production of the fief's major products: ginseng, paper, fruits, and crafts, and making the rice paddy area of the fief more secure by the promotion of flood control. Fumai and Asahi met with great success; the fief income increased, and the fief was among the fastest of all to accomplish reform. It can be considered a model of the kind of change that was possible through the combined efforts of a great lord and an able retainer.

We do not know clearly when Fumai began to study chanoyu, but one account says he began at the age of eighteen. Because the opinion that chanoyu was a wasteful and decadent pastime was still prevalent, Fumai, at age nineteen, moved to counter it with his own opinion expressed in a treatise titled *Mudagoto* [Useless words], written in 1770. In it he states:

Making chanoyu a luxury, exhausting beauty to make it splendid is a distressful thing. . . rather it can be made an adjutant to governing the country well.

There is a popular story that one day after the fief had regained solvency, Fumai ordered Asahi Tamba to show him the treasury. Seeing all the gold and silver piled up in the storehouse, he is supposed to have then begun collecting famous tea utensils. It is also said that Tamba lamented ever showing him the treasury, claiming it was the greatest mistake of his lifetime. Once Fumai saw the mountain of gold and silver in his storehouse, he indulged his suppressed desire for tea utensils. "Let me collect all the famous utensils under heaven, and with these famous articles create a new world of tea."

Fumai's success in collecting famous utensils was astounding for two reasons. First, during the period that he amassed his collection, information about tea utensils and their whereabouts was scarce. And, second, it was a time when social mobility was difficult; utensils, often regarded as family treasures, rarely made their way into the hands of merchants or the marketplace. He may also have been able to take advantage of the unstable political conditions of the times. Nevertheless, Fumai was able to amass a vast collection by making full use of the services of some ten antique dealers. Such was the size and quality of his collection that he was able to compile the *Kokon meibutsu ruijū* [Classified collection of famous utensils, ancient and modern], an extensive eighteen-volume work bringing together old and new utensils of renown, based on his private collection.

Among the articles bequeathed by succeeding generations of Matsue fief lords to Gesshōji temple at Matsue, the most treasured is a set of about fifty volumes, in scroll form, of the writings of the fief lords. Fumai's writings comprise five scrolls within the set. One of them, his last testament written in his own hand, deals with the disposition of his colossal *Unshū meibutsu*, (literally, famed utensils of the country of the clouds) the name given to Fumai's collection.² In part it reads:



Aburaya katatsuki chaire, ceramic tea container with ivory lid. Height 8.4 cm., diameter of body 8.0 cm., diameter of foot 4.4 cm., weight 117g.

Yüan-wu (Enko Kokugon, 1063-1135) calligraphy

Aburaya katatsuki [*chaire*, ceramic tea container]

These are particularly famous utensils (*meibutsu*). Even after I die they should be carefully looked after and treated just as they were when I was alive. Indeed, this concern should be transmitted from generation to generation... These things are world famous articles and treasures of Japan. They should be regarded with the kind of feeling implied by the above.

The Yuan-wu calligraphy is the so-called *Nagare Engo*, "Flowing Engo." It was carefully handed down through three generations of Zen monks and afterward, on a yearly basis, it was alternately taken care of by Nanshuji temple and Shounji temple. Fumai obtained this temple treasure in 1804 for the price of one thousand ryo and a promise to provide Shounji with thirty *koku* (one *koku*=4.96 bushels) of rice in perpetuity. The *Aburaya katatsuki chaire* along with the Yuan-wu calligraphy were utensils so treasured by Fumai that when he traveled to Edo for compulsory residence-duty he had a retainer carry them and walk beside his palanquin. The *Aburaya katatsuki chaire* was said to be worth ten thousand ryo, but at the time of the great famine of Temmei that started in 1783 and lasted about five years, Fumai was able to obtain



Calligraphy by Yüan-wu (Enko Kokugon, 1063-1135) called the *Nagare Enko*. Central area: height 43.9 cm., width 52.1 cm, Photo Courtesy of Tokyo National Museum,



Yari no saya chaire, ceramic tea container with ivory lid. Height 8.4 cm., diameter of body 5.9 cm., diameter of foot 3.35 cm., weight 103g.

it for one thousand five hundred ryo. In the *Unshū dōgu chō* [Notebook of the Unshu utensils] written by Fumai, it states, "Although there are many famous utensils under heaven, there is none to equal these two. Therefore, they are important treasures that should not be used at a tea gathering."

The treasures that followed these were:

Torn Hsü-t'ang Chih-Yü (Kido Chigu, 1185-1269) calligraphy

Yari no saya [chaire]

These are somewhat inferior to the preceding articles but nonetheless are treasures of world fame. They should be treated the same as the preceding articles just as they were in my time.

The "Torn Hsü-t'ang calligraphy" or *Yare Kido*, was a possession of the wealthy Kyoto merchant house Daimonjiya. In the *Kakumeiki*, diary of Hōrin Shōshō (1592-1668), there is a passage that describes how a steward of the house, in a disturbed state of mind, shut himself up in the storehouse and eventually committed suicide. At that time the steward tore the Hsü-t'ang calligraphy. This piece was added to Fumai's collection for the price of one thousand five hundred ryō.

Yari no saya is the name of a chaire made by the founder of the old Seto kilns, Kato Shirozaemon Kagemasa, better known as Toshirō I. It was bought for Fumai's



Calligraphy by Hsu-t'ang Chih-Yu (Kido Chigu, 1185-1269) called the *Yare Kido*. Central area: height 28.5 cm., width 71.5cm. Photo Courtesy of Tokyo National Museum.

collection for one thousand six hundred and fifty-six ryō. This, too, was an object of renown among tea practitioners.

Next, I will speak of the treasures in the third chest. Indeed, they are world renowned articles and should be treated with great care. At each change in the leadership of the fief strict instructions should be given that it is my will that these objects are to be carefully treasured.

Judging from his words, the objects in the third chest were in no way inferior to the previously mentioned treasures, famous in their own right. Most likely these items were nine in number, with the *Zangetsu chaire* at the top of the list followed by the *Tanemura katatsuki chaire*, the *Hino katatsuki chaire*, the *Ogura shikishi* calligraphy of Fujiwara Teika, the calligraphy of the priest Da-hui (Daie), the painting *Clear Morning in a Mountain Village* by Yü Chien (Gyokukan), the painting *Returning Sails in a Distant Bay* by Mu-ch'i (Mokkei), the calligraphy by Wu-chun Shih-fan (Bushun Shibān), and a calligraphy by Hsü-t'ang Chih-Yü (Kido Chigu). These nine items along with the previous four were not supposed to be used at ordinary tea gatherings; however, an appended note tells us "they may be used if it is a very special tea gathering."

Fumai's severe attitude toward his own collection can be seen in his fixing a rank and also a treatment for each rank in his collection. Of course, the ranking of many items accords with the canons of taste for tea utensils that had been established at the time of Rikyū. Fumai ordered that a total of 179 articles—the 4 treasures and the articles in the third chest, plus the *ō-meibutsu* utensils famous before Rikyū's time, and the *meibutsu* utensils that were famous in Rikyū's day—be given the same treatment after his death that they had received while he was alive. Altogether the implements in the earlier sections comprised some 339 items. Fumai firmly ordered that these as well must not be allowed to fall into other hands. This means that his will requests the maintenance of a total collection of 518 items!

Fumai instructs his heir, Gettan, carefully:

All the implements mentioned in my testament should be treated as they were in my time. This request should be transmitted from generation to generation. Since they are things that I have collected, they must not be given away. When it comes to implements that you, in your time, may collect, those may be disposed of in any way you see fit.

One can see here the working of the very individual taste of Fumai, whose *Unshū meibutsu* is unified by his strong personality. He was a new kind of collector who wanted to impose his personality on his collection and wanted to create an individual, as distinct from a family, collection. In his own words, "I will let my personality lead where it will." This can also be seen in his obstinate demands for the protection of his own collection, in contrast to his nonchalant attitude toward the collection of his son Gettan. Fumai says, in effect, "It is up to you what you do with the things you collect yourself."

All the articles above should be strictly observed. Even if my successors dislike chanoyu, they should still take scrupulous care of these implements. In one generation I collected these things according to my own taste and made them the treasures of the family. Therefore, taking good care of them after I die will be the performance of filial piety.

Fumai was being clear and deliberate; he made a sharp distinction between his own private collection, the *Unshū meibutsu*, and the collection of the Matsudaira family.

Until the end of his active life, Fumai was busy with tea gatherings. Notable among these was a tea held to view cherry blossoms in the famous garden of his Osaki Villa in Shinagawa in Bunka 13 (1816), about two years before his death. Extant records show the following utensils were used in his shrine that was dedicated to Sen Rikyū:

Kama (kettle)—the one ordinarily used in the Rikyū-do
Sumitori (charcoal container)—a basket of bamboo
Horaku (ash container)—Raku ware

Kōgō (incense container)—copy of Ōhi ware, whirlpool design
Mizusashi (water container)—black lacquer *teoke* (handled bucket)
Chaire (ceramic thick tea container)—Ninsei *banto* (shape reminiscent of a Zen temple rice container)
Chawan (teabowl)—hansu Karatsu
Koboshi (waste water receptacle)—Imbe ceramic ware

In the Shokado hall the Mu-ch'i painting was hung, and a *chashaku* (tea scoop) made by the Momoyama-period Zen monk Kei Shuso was placed on display. In the Shomei-an tearoom, the Su T'ung P'o was hung and in the Irakuan tearoom, a pair of scrolls by Liang-k'ai were on view. The teabowl used was one of blue Korean *aoïdo* ware with the name *Oimatsu* or "Old Pine." At Kōhōtei pavilion, the Teika *shikishi* was hung and at the Shimizudani tea house, a red Raku teabowl was used. Furthermore at the Kōyōdai pavilion, a kettle that once belonged to Sen Shōan (1546-1614) was used, as was a *chashaku* made by the tea master Kobori Enshū.

According to an anecdote, there were apparently so many people who wanted to see Fumai's famous garden that at the height of the festivities they overflowed from the main house into Fumai's shrine to Sen Rikyū, where they ate their lunch and drank *sake* that they heated in the kettle. Fumai was outraged.

The large number of tearooms and tea utensils that were put into service for this occasion give one the impression of a farewell banquet, much like the cherry-blossom viewing pageant that Hideyoshi hosted more than two hundred years earlier at Daigo, near Kyoto, just before his death.

Fumai, like Hideyoshi, was by instinct a man of tea. During his lifetime Fumai assembled the most treasured of tea utensils and created a collection the likes of which had never been seen and which would certainly be difficult to duplicate in the present day. For the determined Fumai, his collection was indeed a small universe created out of his own personality.

1. The *ryō* was the unit of gold currency. Its gold content and purchasing power fluctuated widely.

2. The name is derived from Izumo 出雲 the ancient name for Matsue. The second character 雲 means cloud and can be alternately read "un."

Memoranda of the Words of Rikyū

Nampōroku Book I

Dennis Hirota

Nampōroku, or *Nambōroku* as it is more commonly known,* is in form a compendium of Rikyū's way of tea recorded by a close disciple and Zen monk, Nambō Sōkei. It comprises seven sections, the first six of which are shown in copy to have borne Rikyū's seal, certifying that he reviewed the contents.† The last section was written after a memorial service for Rikyū on the twenty-eighth of the second month, 1593, two years after his death.

The oldest manuscript copy is that of Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655-1708), retainer of the Kuroda *ban* in northern Kyushu and an accomplished poet, painter, and calligrapher as well as tea man. According to the account related at the end of the *Nampōroku* manuscript and in *Kirobengi*, one of his own works on tea, Jitsuzan first learned of the existence of a secret record of Rikyū's teaching in five sections while on the way to Edo in the fall of 1686, and received a manuscript copy later that year. Realizing the significance of the material, he sought out a descendent of Nambō Sōkei who possessed some of the monk's belongings and copied the final two parts early in 1690, shortly before the centennial memorial of Rikyū's death.

It was during this period that Bashō, looking back in history to masters who exemplified the highest attainments of their disciplines, named Rikyū together with Saigyō, Sōgi, and Sesshū, men with "a mind obeying and at one with nature through the four seasons" (*Oi no kobumi*, 1688). A century after his death, Rikyū had become established as the man who brought tea in the spirit of wabi to its culmination, and

*The full title is *Kissa nampōroku* (Record on the drinking of tea, which comes from the south), alluding to a statement from the *Ch'a Ching* of Lu Yü that tea is a plant native to the southern quarter. According to an account included in the Tachibana-ke manuscript of *Nampōroku*, the text as it was discovered by Tachibana Jitsuzan had section titles but no general title, and the present one was provided by Jitsuzan's Zen master Kogai, of Sūfukuji in Hakata. Some later texts substitute the character *bō* (monk's quarters) for *bō* (*pō*, direction), changing the meaning to "The Record of Nambō (Sōkei)."

†The seven sections are: *Obōegaki* (record of statements by Rikyū on various aspects of tea), *Kai* (record of tea gatherings hosted by Rikyū), *Tana* (proper methods of using various utensil stands), *Shoin* (methods of displaying utensils in the shoin room), *Daisu* (methods of using the daisu stand), *Sumibiki* (literally, "to be brushed over with ink," i.e., rendered illegible, because matters best transmitted orally are revealed; treats in particular the measurements governing utensils and tea procedure), and *Metsugo* (words and deeds of Rikyū recalled after his death).

This is the third in a series of translations from classic writings of tea dealing with the fundamental spirit of tea practice. Murata Shukō's "Letter on Heart's Mastery" appeared in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, No. 22 (1979) and Takeno Jōō's "Letter on Wabi" in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, No. 23 (1980).

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with popular culture entering the exuberant flowering of the Genroku era, a strong "back to Rikyū" current flowed. As an historical document, *Nampōroku* is on firmest footing when seen in this context. The middle chapters on the use of utensil stands and the *shoin* room may represent a core of older material transmitted among Sakai tea men, but scholars believe that Jitsuzan had a large part in shaping the remaining chapters, including the opening one, "Memoranda," translated here in full.

It would be wrong, however, to regard *Nampōroku* as mere calculated forgery; it was not published, but handed down to only four men, a secret transmission of guarded teachings. Moreover, though the form of the whole may be discredited, the traditions it records concerning Rikyū and his tea must be evaluated individually. If the testimony of tea men is admitted, there is much that carries a note of authenticity.

The words of "Memoranda" manifest the thinking that tea men do in and through their discipline, with "a mind obeying nature" in all its manifold particularity. Nature here is not an abstraction standing apart from human life, but human life in essence and immediacy, freed of worldly concerns. Thus, "chanoyu is just a matter of building a fire, boiling water, and drinking tea [together]. There should be nothing else." To one eager to speak of the chill and withered or of *wabi*, a tea master might respond with William Carlos Williams' admonition, "No ideas but in things." *Wabi* inhabits the matter at hand. What the tea man knows is the sound of wood or water on stone, how lamplight illumines a flower or is lost in snow, and the exact placement of a bamboo lid rest. Only through ingrained, bodily knowledge of many things does he come to know the one great thing, the "rule where no rules apply," with his mind at one with nature.

I have also included as an appendix a section from the final book of *Nampōroku*. It is one of the best known passages of the work, and though its reference to the state of chanoyu "a hundred years" after Rikyū's death—precisely the time of Jitsuzan's manuscript—has made it suspect, it illuminates many of the themes set forth in "Memoranda."

Bibliographical Note

Annotated texts of *Nampōroku* can be found in volume 4 of *Chadō koten zenshū*, Sen Sōshitsu et al., ed., Tankōsha, 1956, and in *Kinsei geidōron*, Nishiyama Matsunosuke et al., ed., *Nihon shisō taikēi*, volume 61, Iwanami, 1972. Nishiyama's edition includes a convenient summary of *Nampōroku* scholarship and the question of authenticity. The best commentaries from the viewpoint of tea practice are *Kissa nambōroku kōgi* by Tanaka Senshō, in *Tanaka Senshō zenshū*, volumes 4 and 5, Chadō no Kenkyūsha, 1977, and *Kissa nambōroku chūkai* by Shibayama Fugen, Cha no Bisha, 1974. For an analytical study of the text and its background, the historian Kumakura Isao considers the composition of the "Kai" chapter, with its free use of earlier materials, in "Nampōroku seiritsu to sono haikēi," *Chanoyu* 11 (1976), pages 19-32.

Memoranda of the Words of Rikyū (*Oboegaki*)

1. Once, when Rikyū¹ had been speaking of chanoyu at Shūun-an,² I asked: "You often remark that, although all of chanoyu is founded on [the formal tea of] the *daisu*, when considering wherein the spirit's [deepest] attainment lies, nothing matches the small room for informal tea.³ Why should this be so?" Rikyū answered: "Chanoyu of the small room is above all a matter of practicing and realizing the way in accord with the Buddha's teaching. To delight in the splendor of a dwelling or the taste of a sumptuous meal belongs to worldly life. There is shelter enough when the roof does not leak, and food, when it keeps one from starving. This is the Buddha's teaching and the fundamental intent of chanoyu. The practitioner brings water, gathers firewood, and boils the water. Making tea, he offers it to the Buddha, serves it to others, and drinks himself. He arranges flowers and burns incense. In all of this, he takes for model the acts of the Buddhas and patriarchs. Beyond this, you must come to your own understanding."

2. Whenever I go to have tea with Rikyū, he unfailingly brings water to fill the stone basin (*chōzubachi*) in a bucket and pours it in himself. I asked him once about the meaning behind this. He answered: "In the *roji*,⁴ the host's first act is to bring water; the guest's first act is to use this water to rinse his hands. Herein lies the great foundation of the *roji* and thatched hut. The stone basin is provided so that in the *roji*, the person who calls and the person called on can together wash off the stains of worldly dust. In the depths of the cold season, one draws and carries the water without aversion to the chill; in summer heat, one calls forth a fresh sensation of coolness. In either case, providing this water is an act of attentiveness to the guest. It is unpleasant when one has no idea when the water was put in. You should pour it in before the eyes of the guest so that it has a truly refreshing air. If, however, the stone basin is next to the waiting bench, like Sōkyū's,⁵ determine an appropriate time before the guests arrive to pour in the water. When it is within the *roji* or at the eaves of the entrance [to the tearoom], as is most common, the host should bring and pour in the water after the guests have positioned themselves at the waiting bench. This is why, since the time of Jōō, it has been considered best to have the basin cut just so large that it overflows freely with the water of one small handbucket."

3. Rikyū related the following account: "Among Shukō's disciples were two named Sōchin and Sōgo;⁶ it was under them that Jōō studied and practiced tea. As for my own teachers, Jōō was not the only one. Nōami had a page called Ukyō who, in the prime of life, received instruction in tea from Nōami.⁷ Later he renounced worldly life and resided in Sakai, taking the name Kūkai. In the same area there was a recluse named Dōchin.⁸ The two of them were ever talking familiarly together, and it is said that Kūkai transmitted the way of tea in detail to Dōchin. Further, since Dōchin and Jōō were particularly close friends, they occasionally discussed tea together. From age seventeen, when I was still called Yoshirō, I devoted myself solely to tea,

training under Dōchin.⁹ Through Dōchin's introduction I became a student of Jōō. The tea of the daisu and shoin room I learned for the most part from Dōchin. Matters of the small room were wholly my own invention, with details settled in consultation with Jōō."

The founder of Shūun-an, Giō, first practiced Zen under Master Ikkyū.¹⁰ In his middle years their relationship grew troubled, but through the mediation of others he returned to Ikkyū's following.¹¹ Though he had been known as Shūun-an until middle age, Ikkyū ordered him to change his name, so he called himself Nambō. Later, he built this hermitage and was called Shūun-an, Nambō, and Giō as well. Since he was on familiar terms with Jōō, they frequently enjoyed talking of tea together. I am the second generation resident monk. Taking the name Nambō, I am a recluse who practices only tea. Ha ha!

4. I asked how guest and host ought to gain an understanding of each other's thoughts and feelings. Rikyū said, "To be sure, it is good for the spirits of guest and host to be in mutual accord. But to want to be in accord is harmful. If both guest and host have attained a grasp of the way, a sense of harmony will arise spontaneously. When immature practitioners seek only to have their minds in agreement, then when one side falters along the path, both fall into error. Therefore, it is good to be in accord; it is wrong to desire to be so."

5. You must have more than a merely indifferent grasp of watering the roji. The key to hosting a gathering lies simply in the three layings of charcoal¹² and the three waterings of the roji. Unless you are thoroughly accomplished, in not a single gathering will you be able to perform them as you wish. As a rule, the roji is watered before the guests enter, before the mid-gathering respite (*nakadachi*),¹³ and at the conclusion of the gathering when the guests are about to depart: a total of three times. Know that—variously for the morning, noon, and evening gathering—each of these three waterings is deep in significance. The final watering is called the *tachimizu* (watering before departure). It is said that Sōkyū had trouble understanding the *tachimizu*, commenting, "Why does one treat the guests as though one were telling them to leave? I doubt the appropriateness of this practice." When I asked about this, Rikyū said, "Sōkyū's statement is greatly at variance with the fundamental intent of tea. A gathering in the spirit of wabi should normally not exceed four hours from start to finish. When it exceeds four hours, the morning gathering interferes with the noon hour, and the noon gathering impedes the evening gathering. Moreover, the rule of decorum in the small room of wabi tea is not one in which time is leisurely idled away, as with ordinary hospitality or the entertainment of guests for amusement. When thin tea, which comes last, is finished, one should water the roji. The host of the wabi tea serves not only thick tea but thin tea also; what more is to be done? It is natural for the guests to cease any long conversation and take leave. Since it is time for parting, the host should attend to the roji; without any negligence, he should also newly fill the stone basin, and sprinkle the plants and trees as well. The guests, judging the proper time, depart. The host sees them off as far as the entrance of the roji, and there they take their leave."

6. It was Jōō who determined that both guest and host wear *geta* (wood-base sandals) when entering and leaving through the *roji*—because of the heavy dew on the plants and trees where they pass. It is said the participants can know by the sound of the footwear [on the stepping stones] whether the others are accomplished practitioners or not. The person who walks with equanimity and no-mindedness, neither bustling in step nor as though stealing in, you should know to be a master. One lacking a true grasp of chanoyu, however, will be incapable of judging. Recently, straw sandals with leather soles called *sekida* (footwear for snow)—favored by Rikyū and made on order in the Imaichi section of Sakai—have come into use in the *roji*.¹⁴ When I inquired about this of Rikyū, he replied, “I am not insisting, after *geta* have been so long employed, that it is wrong to use them. But even Jōō, at one of his tea gatherings, said there were no more than three people, including myself, who had mastery of walking in *geta*. At present there are tens of practitioners devoted to tea in Kyoto, Sakai, and Nara, but not five, including yourself, are skilled in wearing *geta*. These I am always counting on the fingers of my hand. To those accomplished in the way of tea, then, nothing need be said, but I would be pleased if those without a thorough grasp would first of all use *sekida*. You, my good monk, have an eccentric fondness for clatter.” Thus he spoke, laughing.

7. Concerning the flowers for a small room, it is always best to arrange one or two stems of a single variety, with lightness of touch. Of course, it is also permissible to arrange them so that they have a soft fullness, depending on the flower, but in its fundamental intent, chanoyu rejects favoring solely the spectacle of flowers. When the room size increases to four and a half mats, two varieties may be used, depending on what they are.

8. Concerning flowers that should not be used in arrangements for chanoyu, there are the doggerel verses:

<i>hanaire ni</i>	Among flowers banned
<i>irezaru bana wa</i>	From the flower vase
<i>jinchōge</i>	Are sweet daphne,
<i>miyama shikimi ni</i>	Mountain anise,
<i>keitō no bana.</i>	And the cockscomb.
<i>ominaesbi</i>	Patrina,
<i>zakuro kōbone</i>	Pomegranate, waterlily,
<i>kinsenka</i>	Marigold,
<i>senreika o mo</i>	And balsam—
<i>kirau narikeri</i>	Likewise rejected. ¹⁵

9. It had been a long maintained custom to shun the display of flowers in night gatherings, but Jōō and Rikyū, upon close consideration, decided that it was possible, depending on the flower. Colored flowers are on the whole unusable, but white flowers are not unpleasant. A wide variety of flowers are used. In addition, concerning the “flower of the lamp,” there are oral teachings and particularly commendable traditional practices.¹⁶ In using flowers for celebrative gatherings, one must give this matter special attention.

10. Someone once asked Rikyū to explain the hearth and the brazier, revealing the proper bearing of the spirit and the crucial points in performing tea in summer and winter.¹⁷ Rikyū replied, "In summer, impart a sense of deep coolness, in winter, a feeling of warmth; lay the charcoal so that it heats the water, prepare the tea so that it is pleasing: these are all the secrets." Dissatisfied with this answer, the man responded, "That is something everyone knows." Then Rikyū said, "If so, try performing in accord with what I have stated. I will be your guest, and perhaps become your student." Zen master Shōrei,¹⁸ who was present at the gathering, commented, "Rikyū's words are wholly apt. They have the same significance as Master Chōka's reply, 'Commit no evil, but all good acts do.'"¹⁹

11. The condition of the fire [as it starts] at dawn is crucial. It is the great key to the three layings of charcoal. Rikyū said, "There are people who, concerned only that the water be suitably hot at dawn, heat it from the night before; to do so is completely wrong. You should rise when the birds have started chirping and inspect the hearth, put in the embers, and arrange one laying of charcoal. Then going down to the well, draw fresh water and carry it back to the *mizuya*. Wash the kettle, fill it with water, and set it in place in the hearth. This is the rule of the tearoom to be carried out each dawn. The guests too, when they enter the *roji*, have their minds on the condition of the fire and the heated water. There are cases, depending on the guests, when they arrive unexpectedly early to witness the work of the host from the first laying of charcoal with embers and the setting in place of the freshly rinsed kettle. It is impossible for the procedures of the dawn gathering to go well if there is any negligence on the part of either host or guest."

12. Always use water drawn at dawn for tea, whether the gathering be in the morning, at noon, or at night. This is a matter of the alertness of the man of tea—of making ready sufficient water for the whole day's tea from dawn into night. Just because it is a night gathering does not mean one uses water drawn after noon. During the period from dusk to midnight *yin* prevails; the water's spirit subsides, and poisons are present. Dawn water belongs to the beginning of the *yang*, when its pristine spirit surfaces. It is "the flower of the well."²⁰ This water is vital for tea and demands careful attention on the part of the practitioner.

13. Rikyū said, "You should place a lantern (*andon*)²¹ at the waiting bench for dawn and night gatherings. It is also good for the host to go out as far as the gate [of the *roji*] with a hand lantern (*tetōro*), make his greeting there, and return. There are some who go out carrying a candleholder (*tesboku*), but on windy nights such lanterns are extremely difficult to manage. Neither are they especially handsome, and the brightness of their light makes them unfit."

14. Rikyū said, "For gatherings on snowy days, one must be vigilant somehow to keep footprints to a minimum. Using water, gently melt the snow from the tops of the stepping stones only. Neglecting to fill the stone basin is unacceptable, so to make it easily visible, lay it bare by applying water. But when snowfall on the basin stone or trees about has accumulated to form an engaging scene, one may leave it as is and take a pitcher (*kataguchi*) out to the waiting bench for wash water."

15. For night gatherings when snow has fallen, you should generally not light the stone lanterns (*tōrō*) in the roji. Overwhelmed by the whiteness of the snow, they afford nothing worth notice, their light wan. There may be exceptions, however, depending on the conditions or the presence of trees; it is impossible to speak absolutely.

16. You must clearly distinguish the origins of the deep three-mat (*fukasanjo*) and long four-mat (*nagayōjo*) rooms.²² A sketch will make the matter clear. The old practice that was the beginning of the deep three-mat room consisted of cutting one *shaku* five *sun*²³ from the end of the utensil mat, replacing it with a board, and placing the brazier, water jar, ladle stand, and waste water receptacle on it. The host carried in the *chaire* (tea container) and teabowl and made tea. Later, when cutting a sunken hearth in the right side of the utensil mat²⁴ developed, a hearth of one *shaku* four *sun* was placed directly in front of this board. Later still, a [more informal] ceramic brazier also came to be placed on the board in summer.

With the long four-mat room, a board five *sun* wide is placed at the head of the utensil mat. When using an ordinary right-side hearth in the utensil mat, place a board two *sun* five *bu* in width at the head of the mat. Up to three *sun* is acceptable. In this, you must have a firm grasp of computing measurements from the daisu.

17. In the small room, it is good for every utensil to be less than adequate. There are those who dislike a piece when it is even slightly damaged; such an attitude is altogether impossible to accept. Broken or cracked pieces of contemporary ware are hard to use, but utensils as respectable as Chinese *chaire* have come down markedly well-used even though mended with lacquer.

Further, in selecting utensils to be used together, you must have a grasp of such combinations as a contemporary teabowl with a Chinese *chaire*. It is said that, even though in Shukō's day the various utensils were all still refined and elegant, Shukō himself put a treasured Ido teabowl in its cloth cover when using it for tea, handling it in the same manner as a Temmoku bowl, and at the same time invariably used a *natsume* tea container or contemporary *chaire* with it.

18. For the owner of a meibutsu scroll, a matter concerning the tokonoma demands attention. If it is a horizontal scroll that appears contracted from top to bottom when hung, lower the ceiling of the tokonoma; if it is a vertical scroll so long that it drags, raise the ceiling. There need be no misgivings whatever about any awkwardness of fit when using other scrolls; it is enough if the hanging of the treasured meibutsu is agreeable. With paintings, there are right-facing and left-facing works.²⁵ Carefully consider the placement of the tokonoma when constructing your tearoom, taking the exposure of the room into account.

19. No utensil ranks with the scroll in significance. Contemplating it, both guest and host attain wholeness of mind and realization of the way in chanoyu-samādhi. Calligraphies of Zen monks are foremost among scrolls. With veneration for what is written, one savors the virtue of the calligrapher, of practicers of the way, of the patriarchs. Writings done by men in secular life should not be displayed, though scrolls inscribed by poets with verses expressing the way may sometimes be used. With the four-and-a-

half-mat room, the spirit differs from that of the thoroughgoing grass-hut style; you must fully perceive this distinction in relation to the above. A calligraphy in which the words of the Buddha or patriarchs and the virtue of the calligrapher function together makes for the finest of scrolls and a notable treasure. Scrolls in which, though the calligrapher cannot be said to be a man of great virtue, the words of the Buddha or patriarchs are employed, belong to the second rank. Paintings may also be hung, depending on the painter. The works of Chinese monks include numerous images of Buddhas and patriarchs and various portraits. There are people who do not hang such paintings, saying that to do so gives some the impression of a personal altar; but this is altogether unwarranted. You should display such scrolls appreciating them all the more. Rikyū said, "That one take refuge in the Buddha's teaching is of particular importance."

20. The meal for a gathering in a small room should be but a single soup and two or three dishes of vegetables; *sake* should also be served lightly. Elaborate preparation of food for the *wabi* gathering is inappropriate. Needless to say, the harmonization of strongly and lightly flavored dishes should be understood in the same way as that of the thick and thin services of tea.

21. The *bandai* (dining stand) is like a writing table, and can accomodate two, three, or even four at a meal. This is the daily practice in Zen temples. Thus, when Jōō and Rikyū invited monks from Daitokuji or Nanshūji to tea gatherings, they occasionally brought out a handai. The closeness of a one-mat-daime room makes carrying it in difficult to manage, but it is fine for the two-mat, three-mat, four-mat, and particularly the four-and-a-half-mat room. Taking the handai through the entrance used when making tea (*chabateguchi*) is undesirable, unless the room lacks any other for the host. First the host carries the handai in and wipes it clean with a cloth. He then puts the shaped rice²⁶ in rice bowls, covers them, and places them on top of soup bowls. In this manner he lines up on a tray as many services as there are guests, carries them in, and raises them to the handai. The soup he serves from a soup pitcher. Vegetables are served from either a pot or a bowl, whichever suits the appearance of the particular dish. *Sake* should be finished with one or two rounds, drunk from the lid of the rice bowl. The guest's manner of eating should be particularly neat. Overall, the food preparation for service on the handai should be especially light—one soup, a single vegetable or at most two; it is unnecessary to serve any confection to be had together with tea.

Further, there is a common practice whereby each guest brings out a rice bowl, soup bowl, and lid—these three—wrapped in a cloth of blue dyed cotton.²⁷ The host places the rice server in a bowl, in temple manner, and carrying it in, serves each guest. The procedure here is for the guest to put forth his bowl to receive. Needless to say, the handai is never used for fish or meat cooking. *Marginal note:* one or two bowl lids should be set out in accord with the nature of the vegetable dishes.

22. The storage jar for leaf tea is sometimes displayed in the small room as well [as larger, more formal ones].²⁸ In general, this is done on the occasion of the cutting of the jar's seal (*kuchikiri*).²⁹ For the first entry of the guests into the tearoom, hang a

scroll and place the jar in front. For display in the small room, it is enough to have the cloth cover over the lid and the cover cord. And even though, when circumstances demand, one ties the long cords as well, it should appear quite simple and inconspicuous. It is undesirable to use a variety of formidable knots, betraying an air of self-satisfaction. Although a covering net is generally not used in the small room, it may be applied without unpleasantness on occasions other than the cutting of the jar seal, depending on the particular jar.

23. There is the matter known as "the cast-off jar" (*sutetsubo*). A Iuzon jar³⁰ for leaf tea was procured by Kojimaya Dōsatsu³¹—a piece so splendid it gained a wide reputation at the time, and people were eager to have a look at it. But in self-deprecation Dōsatsu refused to bring it out, questioning the propriety of displaying a jar that lacked even a name. One day guests appeared for what had been arranged as an ordinary gathering, and from the waiting bench relayed a message that they had come on that occasion above all out of their great desire to see the jar. If it were not displayed, they would refuse to enter. Dōsatsu, helpless in the situation, laid the jar down beside the *nijiriguchi* with just the lid cover on and went out to greet the guests. When they slid open the tearoom door and looked in, they saw the jar laid on its side near the entrance. They then asked that it be raised to the tokonoma, so Dōsatsu went out and replied, "Because you have expressed your wish to see the jar again and again, I have put it out, but it is not a piece that deserves to be displayed in the tokonoma. Hoping that you might at least glance at it as you passed, I have cast it down there. Please look at it where it is." The guests, however, repeatedly declined to accept this answer, and finally, after an inspection of it as he had placed it, Dōsatsu displayed it in the tokonoma. This jar is the *Kojimaya Shigure*, as it later came to be called. People were impressed by Dōsatsu's manner, labeling it "the cast-off jar," and imitation of it became quite fashionable. Rikyū said, "Indeed, depending on the occasion, one may well engage in such innovative effort, but with a small matter like bringing out a jar on request, simply displaying it in the tokonoma would have been the more reticent act. The 'cast-off jar' is a difficult case. Obviously it is not to be imitated."

24. With the brazier, the guest does not ask to inspect the newly laid charcoal. When the procedures of the gathering have reached conclusion, however, it is permissible to inspect the handling of the ash and the way the charcoal has taken light and burned.

25. The wellbucket (*tsurube*) water container should be put down from a crouching position and not shifted from the spot.³² Further, it is best to leave it in place until the end of the gathering. Remove it after the guests have departed. Concerning the well bucket, there are many oral traditions and prescriptions for handling.

26. Some people say that the *shin* handbucket (*teoke*) water container should be placed with the crosspiece of the handle facing front, the wellbucket container with handle endwise, perpendicular to oneself.³³ Others say that with the handbucket the handle should be perpendicular and with the wellbucket crosswise. Rikyū declared that with either container it is best to place the handle crosswise, facing front. If it is placed perpendicular to oneself, to begin with, it hinders free movement of the ladle.

In any case, although there is nothing to be done about utensils for which the rule of perpendicular placement has been determined, with those lacking any prescribed method, it is best if one's actions are easy to perform.

The handbucket is used only with the hearth; under no circumstances should it be used with the brazier. The wellbucket may be used throughout the four seasons; it is particularly suitable for the opening of the leaf tea jar and for morning gatherings.³⁴

27. For special gatherings apart from the determined hours, make every effort to use one or two treasured utensils, and perform the actions in formal (*shin*) manner. The spirit, however, should be informal (*sō*). Concerning this there are oral traditions.

28. For the flower container in a small room, a length of bamboo, basket, or gourd is best. A metal vase is generally most appropriate for the four-and-a-half-mat room, but depending on the circumstances, one may also be used in a small room.

29. Rikyū said, "When using the *mentsu* waste water receptacle,³⁵ place the seam in front; when using a [knotted] bamboo lid rest, place the knot in front." But Dōan³⁶ said to turn the seam and the lid rest knot toward the guest. When I asked how one should decide about this, Rikyū said, "Utensils should be placed facing oneself at all times—whether they are on the utensil mat or a stand, whether one is placing the utensils for display, or laying the charcoal and making tea. The utensils, even when arranged together, are not so placed for the sake of the guests' inspection. Much less should there ever be in one's actions any handling of utensils so as to show them to the guests. If this were proper, then would one not also place the chaire facing sideways in order to display it? Of course, the utensils should face the guests when, at their request, one puts them forth for inspection.

"This is primary among matters requiring firm understanding. Concerning the lid rest in particular, I have been told that Nōami, even when he put his Rinzaï seal lid rest³⁷ in position while making tea, placed it so that he could read the characters of the seal himself, and instructed that they should face the handle of the ladle. Lid rests in the shapes of animals should be treated in the same way. If one is to turn the knot of a bamboo lid rest in the direction of the guests, then should not one face the seal lid rest toward them also? Either case would be in error. Having the seam of the *mentsu* face oneself also accords with the original usage in such matters."

30. When removing a tall chaire from its cloth cover, draw the cover downward; when removing a short chaire, lift the chaire upward.

31. Tea gatherings are sometimes held during outdoor excursions or at hunting spots. When Rikyū hosted a gathering at Daizenji Mountain,³⁸ I accompanied him and helped with the hosting, so I was able to observe the performance fully. Rikyū said, "Although there is no determined method for outdoor gatherings, they are difficult to host successfully if one has not mastered the fundamental formalities of tea one by one. To begin with, the surroundings are apt to be overwhelming, making attention to the gathering lax. Seeking especially to hold the attention of the guests must be fore-

most in your mind. Hence, you should use particularly fine utensils, such as a treasured chaire." At Daizenji Mountain, Rikyū performed the tea using a *shiribukura* (broad-bottomed) chaire in a tea utensil box.³⁹ Consider this fully and bear it in mind.

Rinsing vessels and containers to make them fresh is the first rule. If one goes too far in seeking to arouse interest, the gathering will become party-like; if one performs heedlessly, it will be overwhelmed by the scenery. Unless the performance is that of a thoroughly accomplished practitioner, the gathering can hardly succeed.

32. When hosting an outdoor tea, above all select a clean, refreshing site. In general, a grove of pine trees, a riverside bank, a grassy meadow are appropriate. And it is of first importance that the hearts of host and guest also be unsullied and ingenuous. Or rather, it is not at such times alone that they should be pure; since from the outset this discipline of tea is meant to afford a locus for attainment of the way, if the participants have not freed themselves of defilement and cast off worldly concerns, a gathering is impossible. Outdoor gatherings hosted by immature practitioners are no more than imitations of the forms. There are no settled rules governing either the motions of the hands or the utensils. But precisely because of this, one firm rule—a great law—prevails. Specifically, this means that chanoyu is nothing but performing with wholeness of heart in realization of the way—a matter of acts of the spirit beyond physical forms. Hence the negligent practitioner should never under any circumstances host an outdoor tea. When holding such a gathering you must know what is suitable for setting and time.

33. To convey the essence of wabi tea, Jōō used to say that it was precisely the spirit embodied in this poem by Lord Teika from the *Shinkokinshū*:⁴⁰

<i>miwataseba</i>	Gazing long to the shore—
<i>hana mo momiji mo</i>	Never
<i>nakarikeri</i>	Was there blossom or crimson leaf:
<i>ura no tomaya no</i>	Out at sea's edge,
<i>aki no yūgure</i>	A rush hut
	in autumn dusk.

The cherry blossoms and autumn leaves here are comparable to the embellished splendor of tea in the shoin room, using the daisu. When we look deeply and intently on those blossoms and leaves, we find them none other than the realm in which "not a single thing is"⁴¹—the rush hut on the shore. One ignorant of these blossoms and crimson leaves will find it impossible to dwell from the very first in the rush hut. Only through looking on them again and again will one come to recognize that the rush hut is where solitariness (*sabi*) has reached its consummation. It is this that lies at the heart of tea. Thus was Jōō's interpretation.

Rikyū, having discovered another poem [expressing the spirit of wabi], often wrote it out with the one above, adopting them as articles of faith. The second poem is by Ietaka, from the same anthology:⁴²

*bana o nomi
matsuran bito ni
yamazato no
yukima no kusa no
baru o misebaya*

To one who awaits
Only the cherry's blossoming
I would show;
Spring in the mountain village,
Its young herbs amid snow.

You should take this poem together with the first and through them come to an understanding of the nature of tea. People in the world of society spend their time wondering when blossoms will open on this hillside or in that grove, day and night turning all their attention beyond themselves and never realizing that those blossoms and leaves lie within their own hearts and minds. They delight merely in colors and forms visible to the eye. The "mountain village" and "rush hut at sea's edge" point to the same solitary dwelling. All last year's flowers and leaves lie buried utterly under snow, and there is nothing in the mountain village; in its thoroughgoing solitariness it has the same significance as the rush hut.

From that place where "not a single thing is," acts spontaneously possessed of power to move arise here and there quite naturally. That is, without any exertion of effort, that which is true and genuine manifests itself, just as, when spring has come, the snow that has covered all greets an awakening vigor in things, and in scattered patches where it has melted, herbs utterly fresh in their greenness gradually put forth two or three leaves. This was the truth Rikyū discovered in Ietaka's poem. The way of poetry surely has its own understanding of these two poems; here I have simply written down what I heard [from Rikyū] concerning the deeply considered interpretations with which Jōō and he took up and used them in the way of tea.

As his words show, Rikyū's aspiration in the way is profound, and his realization encompasses a multiplicity of matters; hardly can his achievement lie within grasp of a foolish monk like myself. He is truly a rare and venerable practitioner of the way, and his teaching of the art of tea at the same time gives expression to the Buddhas' and patriarchs' realization of the way. Here is eminence.

Appendix: Passage 2 *from* Words of Rikyū Recalled After His Demise (*Metsugo*)

It is only after many years of practice that you will grasp in its details the fact that everything, from the hundred thousand ways of displaying utensils to the straw-thatched wabi tearoom, is governed by the measurements, based on *yin* and *yang*, applied in using the daisu. Moreover, since the fundamental intent of wabi lies in manifesting the pure, undefiled Buddha-world, once host and guest have entered the roji and thatched hut, they sweep away the dust and rubbish [of worldly concerns] and engage in an encounter with mind open and entire; hence, there is no need to speak insistently of measurements and *sun* and *shaku*, or of the formal rules of tea procedure. Chanoyu is just a matter of building a fire, boiling water, and drinking tea. There should be nothing else. Here the Buddha-mind emerges to reveal itself. Because people are overly particular about rules of conduct and formal greetings, it descends into a variety of social concerns, or the guest begins to watch for the host's mistakes, later to cast slurs on him, and the host ridicules the guest's errors. Wait though one may for a person who has thoroughly comprehended these matters, who knows when he will appear? With Jōshū⁴³ as host, Master Bodhidharma as guest, and Layman Rikyū and I to take up the dust in the roji, would it not be a perfectly arranged gathering! Ha Ha! Though I say this, it is hard to take

people nowadays as Bodhidharma or Jōshū; and to wish to make them so is but one final, obstinate attachment. In any case, it is said that those who have freed themselves of the three realms, rather than going beyond, sit in repose within them. Reaching this point, I find myself confused and muddled. When I asked Layman Rikyū to reveal the nature of his realization, he answered, "How should I, who am foolish and blind, be able to match you in grasp of the great enlightenment of patriarchs and Buddhas? But perhaps your very knowledge of the sutras and treatises that hold the Buddha's teaching has led you rather into perplexity. I shall speak of tea.

"There are a hundred thousand rules and regulations governing the daisu and the other aspects of tea. Men of the past left off with these and appear to have understood them to be the whole of chanoyu; they recorded and transmitted in secret writings only that we should regard each rule of form as important. But taking these prescribed forms as foothold, I was possessed of the aspiration to climb slightly higher and eagerly made inquiries of the masters of Daitokuji and Nanshūji. Day and night, with the monastic rules of the Zen temples as my basis, I simplified the measurements regulating the highly refined manner of the shoin room; I unfolded the world of the Pure Land in the locus of the roji, brought the spirit of wabi to its culmination in a thatched hut of two mats, endeavored in practice through gathering firewood and water, and at last realized, though faintly, that there is the taste of the true in a bowl of tea. But at times I still sully the water—this is my failing. And sometimes, because the guest lacks a grasp of the way, the host too is drawn into confusion. Is it not precisely because of this that when the Zen masters who often visit or you yourself come, I generally make no errors? My only fear is that, as practitioners of tea increase in society, teachers will also grow in number and will each give guidance in his own way, or in their associations with daimyos and the wealthy, treat the thatched hut as though it were the shoin room and feel no need to delve into its fundamental significance. Or those bent on feasts and much drinking will enjoy banquets even in the thatched hut, and because minds are not in accord, will find tea in the spirit of wabi disagreeable. Professional teachers take pleasing daimyos and making tea gatherings entertaining to be their whole concern, and believing it their fortune that the wealthy find interest in such activities, they encourage chanoyu out of their own greed; hence, even now practices formerly unheard of abound. But how much greater my anxiety when I think of tea in its latter age to come; even condemnation fails. Would that I might be reborn in a hundred years so that I could see what will have become of tea in the world."

I asked, "Then what guidance would you give so that the way might be set straight?"

He replied, "I have pondered this question in various ways, but a clear grasp is difficult. At the very least I would refuse to teach the person who asks to learn the rules for using the daisu in the shoin room, replying that I do not know them. Instead, I would pass on in plain, simple manner only the tea of the thatched hut, saying nothing about measurements [of tearoom furnishings and utensil placements] but having him learn them roughly by counting the plaits in the weave of the matting. From the procedures for laying charcoal to the preparations of thick and thin tea, I would teach but a single method, and direct him by all means to endeavor to attain the spirit of wabi, taking it deeply to heart. If I instructed but thus, out of ten or twenty students there would surely be one, perspicacious in tea, capable of entering the way. If the person were but thus able, at that time, in response to his desires, I would pass on to him a grasp of the daisu; if he went back and practiced the various basic rules, in a day or two the business would be completed.

"Certain conditions, however, make this plan difficult to carry out. There are accomplished practitioners among the descendants-in-tea who have received the transmission of the teaching of Nōami and Sōami, and among the disciples of Shukō and Jōō also, but in addition there are a number who lack maturity, and at present they rise up in swarms here and there, employing various methods of display and combinations of utensils altogether bereft of rhyme or reason, seeking to impress others with the novelty. They make this a badge of virtue; hence, one even hears talk that so-and-so

used such-and-such a display, and his guest, a student of X, was thrown into embarrassment because he was not familiar with it, while the student of Y knew it thoroughly and fared well. Moreover, those who even change teachers, no longer entering where they once frequented, have grown numerous. Because of this teachers wrack their brains in devising a plethora of new rules, so that the number of current practices at variance with transmitted traditions is past knowing. There is no question but that, within ten years, the fundamental way of tea will die out. When it dies out, people in society will believe, on the contrary, that it is flourishing. The miserable end—when it becomes completely a matter of worldly amusement—is visible now. How lamentable it is! I strove with all my powers to create tea in the spirit of the roji and thatched hut, which had never before existed in either China or Japan, and though I believe it might even accord with Jōshū's intent, it is out of step with this latter age; soon the true way will come to an end. How sorrowful this is to me! Before long the two-mat room will become a twenty-mat tea hall, though I regretted even that the three-mat room I created might be an impediment to the way.

"But be that as it may, to think thus merely expresses an attachment to the way of tea. Even the Great Way of the Buddhas and patriarchs, of the bodhisattva saints and sages, has its eras; it prospers and declines. One must not be saddened in the least about tea. Neither is it the case that no Buddha will appear in this latter age. In the way of tea also, people with a true realization will come forth in later ages, and they will surely sense and share the aspiration that you and I have kept. If such a person extends a bowl of tea toward me—even though a hundred years have passed—it will moisten my bones; will not my departed spirit rejoice in accepting it? Without fail I shall become a guardian spirit of the way of tea. Surely the Buddhas and patriarchs will lend their power." Thus he spoke with grave and earnest concern.

It was the twenty-eighth of the second month, 1589; a light drizzle was falling through the dark. We had passed into the still of night. Already in 1591, on the same day and month, Rikyū met with unforeseeable misfortune. There is no end to lament. Turning over whatever merit I may possess, I make an offering of tea for him each day; it is little, but surely there is none more caring. I record in writing that after I die, this expression of devotion should be continued without neglect.

Notes to the Translations

1. Sen Rikyū (1522-1591), referred to throughout most of the original as Sōeki, the name he used from maturity. Rikyū was his Zen layman's name, bestowed by Emperor Ōgimachi in 1585 when he assisted Toyotomi Hideyoshi in serving tea to the Emperor.
2. Hermitage of Gathering Clouds; Nambō Sōkei's residence in Nanshūji, a branch of Daitokuji that was established in Sakai in the sixteenth century, flourishing through the strong interest of Sakai's townspeople in Zen.
3. Contrasted here are the formal (*shin*) style of tea, performed in the tastefully appointed *shoin* room and employing treasured—often imported—utensils and works of art, and the informal (*sō*) tea, held in the small room (*kozashiki*) modeled on a hermit's thatched hut. The former, developed under the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, forms the basis of chanoyu in two senses: historically, the intricate tea service in the shoin room, using the Chinese *daisu* stand to hold tea utensils, represents the origin of the host's preparation of tea in the presence of guests; in actual practice, even the much simplified informal tea adapts its basic manner from the *daisu* tea service. Thus, although the elegant, black-lacquered *daisu* is not used in the small room, its measurements still govern the dimensions of fixtures such as utensil stands and hearths and the placement of utensils. In other words, small room tea in the spirit of poverty (*wabi cha*) is to be viewed not as a rejection of the shoin style, but rather its culmination, developing in particular the central shoin-tea esthetic of the austere and "colorless." The *Nampōroku* stresses the importance for wabi tea of mastering the use of the *daisu* and of referring back to it as the orthodoxy from which all aspects of informal tea were derived through simplification and abbreviation. This theme in *Nampōroku* may reflect attitudes among seventeenth century tea men. Jitsuzan himself criticized Sen Sōtan, who carried on Rikyū's wabi tea in a time when the leadership in chanoyu had passed into the hands of daimyos, accusing him of ignoring the traditions of the *daisu*.

The small room contrasts with larger rooms suitable for more lavish entertainments, but is also distinguished from the four-and-a-half-mat room—the smallest in which the daisu is used—which was the tearoom par excellence for owners of *meibutsu* utensils from the time of Yoshimasa's Higashiyama villa to Rikyū's day. Typical small rooms are the four-mat, three-mat, two-mat, and one-mat with *daine* (a mat with approximately one-fourth of its length—representing the space a daisu occupies—removed).

4. Small garden with a path of stepping stones leading to the entrance of the tearoom. It is divided into an inner and outer roji by a small gate; inside is the stone basin where the guests rinse their hands and mouths on the way to the tearoom, outside is the waiting bench (*koshibikake*) where they seat themselves on arrival and await the host's greeting. The host emerges through the inner roji, opens the gate, and invites the guests in. The word "greeting" is inadequate; the impact can be one of seeing a noh figure enter down the bridgeway to beckon one into the world beyond.

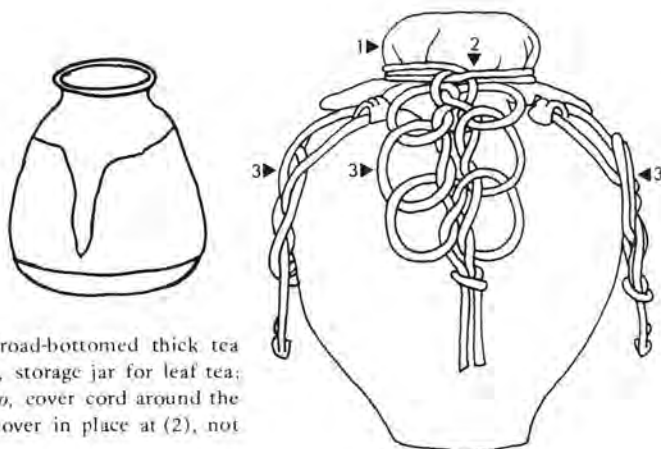
The *Nampōroku* stresses this "unworldly" quality by writing *roji* with characters drawn from the "Parable" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* that literally mean "open, exposed ground," signifying the place of emancipation and purity where children flee the "burning house" of this world of blind passion. Modern usage of these characters may in fact stem from the *Nampōroku*: in Rikyū's day, *roji* was usually written with characters meaning simply "path." The character for "open" in "open ground" also can signify "dew"; hence the often seen rendering of *roji* as "dewy path."

5. Tsuda Sōkyū (d. 1591). Influential Sakai merchant and tea man. Like Rikyū, served as tea advisor to Nobunaga and Hideyoshi.
6. Jūshiya Sōchin and Sōgo (dates unknown). Tea men of lower Kyoto (Shimogyō), the section of the capital south of Third Avenue (Sanjō), which housed merchants, artisans, and other commoners. The Shimogyō tea practiced by Shukō's students carried on his townsman style of chanoyu, formed of elements from popular tea gatherings and from the shoin-daisu tea of the warrior aristocracy.
7. Nōami (1397-1471). Artistic advisor to shoguns Yoshinori and Yoshimasa and instrumental in the development of daisu tea. Nothing more is known of Ukyō/Kūkai; he is mentioned in Jōō's "Letter on Wabi" (see *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no.23, p. 10).
8. Kitamuki Dōchin (1504-1562). Sakai tea man known as a connoisseur possessing meibutsu utensils.
9. The *Matsuya kaiki* records a gathering hosted by Rikyū (Yoshirō) in 1537, when he was fifteen or sixteen by western count, showing that he had considerable training and poise as a tea practitioner while still a youth.
10. According to the diary of one of his disciples, Giō Jōtei was Ikkyū's own son, and his dates 1428-1494.
11. According to *Sakai kan* [Mirror of Sakai] (1684), the mediators were Ichiro Anzenkai, a wabi-tea man, and the renga master Sōgi.
12. *Santan*: either (1) laying charcoal with embers to start the fire before the gathering, (2) arranging more charcoal immediately after the guests enter (*shozumi*), and (3) adding new charcoal to renew the fire between the thick tea and thin tea services (*gozumi*); or (1) *shozumi*, (2) *gozumi*, and (3) *tomezumi* (adding charcoal at the end of the gathering to express the wish to detain the guests a bit longer). In the context of the other sections dealing with the fire, the former list seems appropriate; Tanaka (see bibliography), however, indicates the latter.
13. During the *nakadachi*, the guests leave the tearoom after the *kaiseki* meal and repair to the roji and waiting bench, while the host readies the room for the service of tea to follow. The meal, a lavish banquet in earlier tea entertainments, was greatly abbreviated in wabi tea, and the *nakadachi* served to separate the meal from the tea, which became the heart of the gathering.
14. Imaichi, which housed Sakai's makers of footgear, was also the section where Rikyū lived, and the *Sakai kan* records that *sekida* were Rikyū's invention, originally created for use in the roji on snowy days.
15. Flowers with strong scent or intense coloration are avoided in chanoyu; a number of the flowers listed here, however, are and have been used by tea men. Other reasons for the disfavor expressed here include a long season in blossom (anise) and inauspicious names (e.g., *ominaeshi*, written "prostitute"; *kōbone* includes the word "bones"; *kinsenka*, "money flower"). Similar proscriptions exist in the traditions of flower arrangement.
16. The "flower of the lamp" (*tōka*) refers to the red glow with which carbon that has accumulated on the wick burns. This phenomenon occurs infrequently and in Chinese poetry is regarded as an auspicious sign. Flowers

were not displayed in night gatherings because it was felt they did not show well in the dim light of the oil lamp, but it is also possible to interpret this section as indicating that the “flower of the lamp” in some sense replaced the flower in the tokonoma. Moreover, this “flower of the lamp” as an auspicious sign was especially important for congratulatory or celebrative gatherings.

17. The sunken hearth (*ro*) is used from November through April, the brazier (*furo*) from May through October.
18. Shōrei Shūkin (1504-1583): 107th head of Daitokuji. Instrumental in the growth of Nanshūji and closely associated with Sakai tea men. One of Rikyū's Zen masters.
19. Well-known story in Zen and the arts. Renga master Shinkei tells it in his *Hitorigoto*: In China a monk named Zen master Dōrin, having lost the will to endure the vanity of this world, took to living in a tree. Po Chu-i, seeing him, nicknamed him “the Zen master of the bird nest” (*Chōka*) and said, “Master! Your dwelling seems quite precarious.” The monk answered, “It is your way of life—involving yourself in this world, forgetful of its true nature—that is precarious.” Po Chu-i asked, “What is the Buddha's teaching?” The monk answered, “Commit no evil and practice all good.” The poet replied, “Any child of three knows that principle.” The monk answered, “As for knowing, even a child of three may know; but even an old man of eighty will go astray in the practice.”
20. *Seikasu*: Buddhist term for water drawn between 2-4 a.m. The water, considered especially pure, was used for compounding medicines and for altar offerings.
21. For the *andon* and *teshoku* see the illustrations on page 48. The *tetōro* was like the *teshoku* but with a paper shade to screen the flame from the wind.
22. Both types of rooms were in wide usage in Rikyū's day. The deep three-mat room has its entrance on one of the narrower sides, so that on looking in, the room is seen to extend back. The long four-mat room is a simple rectangular-shaped room without a tokonoma. The important distinction is that while both rooms have boards replacing part of the utensil mat (the mat on which utensils are placed and the host sits to prepare tea), with the deep three-mat room the board is a substitute for the daisu, and so is governed by the daisu's measurements and methods of utensil placement, but in the long four-mat room, the board merely adds to the wabi atmosphere by giving a sense that the mats are of smaller “country” type rather than the conventional “capital” size. The deep three-mat room, then, though smaller, is the more formal of the two: the long four-mat room was especially favored by Sen Sōtan.
23. This measurement is derived directly from the use of the daisu; the stand itself is one *shaku* (four *sun* deep, and one *sun* is added for the screen that is placed behind. The dimensions of the hearth also come from the daisu. One *shaku* is approximately 30 centimeters, though slightly varying measures have been used simultaneously throughout Japanese history; there are ten *sun* to one *shaku*, ten *bu* to one *sun*.
24. *Mukō ro*, cut in the side of the utensil mat toward the guests, in contrast to the *sumi ro*, in the corner, away from the guests.
25. Paintings originally intended to be hung in diptych or triptych. When hanging such a painting singly, one must consider the direction from which light enters the tokonoma, and also the direction the painting faces in relation to the room.
26. Formed by a special serving implement (*mosso*) used in Zen monasteries.
27. This method of service is in direct imitation of the manner in Zen temples, where the monks each carry their own bowls in a cloth.
28. The question arises because the leaf tea jar is a highly prized and costly treasure, and its display would seem inappropriate for a small room in the spirit of wabi.
29. A special tea gathering held in early winter, when the new tea stored from late spring is used.
30. *Matsubo*, the most highly prized of tea jars, imported from the Philippines.
31. Sakai tea man, student of Jōō.
32. The wellbucket container is said to have first been used by Jōō to bring water to the *mizuya* from the well, and to have also been a favored utensil of Rikyū. It is quite heavy when full and therefore at present is commonly put in place before the guests enter the room rather than carried in during the *temae*. Its weight may partly account for the special usage prescribed here.

33. The *shin teoke* is a black lacquer container favored by Jōō and Rikyū, but modeled on a daily use object of the shogun adapted to tea by Shukō. At present, the handbucket is placed with the crosspiece of the handle facing front and the well-bucket with the handle endwise to the host.
34. The handbucket is considered appropriate to the seasons of the hearth, winter and spring. Tanaka also states that, though raised to *shin* level by its lacquer, the handbucket is basically a wabi utensil and therefore is suited to the hearth, which has a more informal air than the brazier, originally used in daisu tea.
The plain wood wellbucket—usually used only once, when brand new, in tea—has an air of purity and freshness appropriate to the opening of the jar of new tea and to the morning gathering, usually held in the cool of the summer daybreak.
35. A receptacle formed of a thin, unfinished wooden slat bent into a circle and fastened at the seam with cherry bark; modeled on a pilgrim's begging bowl. Jōō favored a Bizen ceramic rendering of the *mentsu*, while using a wooden one in the *mizuya*. Rikyū favored the wooden version for use in the tearoom.
36. Sen Dōan (1546-1607), Rikyū's son.
37. A bronze seal that was used by Zen master Rinzai; one of three outstanding treasures owned by Nōami, who received it from Yoshimasa.
38. The location is still under discussion; see Akiyoshi Mitsuru, "*Nampōroku* ni iu Daizenji-zan fusube chanoyu ni tsuite no shikō," *Chanoyu: Kenkyū to shiryō* 18 (1979), pp. 18-28. Akiyoshi argues that since information about the gathering, probably attended by Hideyoshi, would not have been widely known, this section may in fact represent Sōkei's record of Rikyū's account.
39. The *shiribukura* is one of the basic shapes of Chinese chaire. The box employed in the *temae* was probably a wooden one used to protect the utensil in transport.
40. Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241), seminal poet of the esthetic of *yūgen* in the early Kamakura period.
41. *Mu ichi butsu*: phrase from Enō's hymn expressing his Zen realization, from the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*. "From the very first not a single thing is" describes the realm of true knowing beyond the duality of knower and known. For a discussion of passage 33 from a Zen standpoint, see Toshihiko Izutsu, *Toward a Philosophy of Zen Buddhism* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977), pp 231-232.
42. Fujiwara Ietaka (1158-1237). Like Teika, a renowned poet of the *Shinkokinshū* era and one of its compilers. His poem is not found in that anthology, however, but in his personal collection, *Minishū*, and in the *Roppyakuban utaawase*.
43. 778-897. T'ang dynasty Zen master famous for responding to disciples with the words, "Have a cup of tea."



Above: *Shiribukura chaire*, broad-bottomed thick tea container. Right: *Hachatsubo*, storage jar for leaf tea; *kuchiai*, cloth cover (1); *kuchio*, cover cord around the neck of the jar, holding the cover in place at (2), not visible; *nagao*, long cord (3).



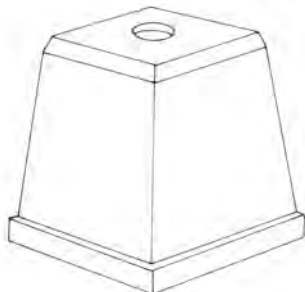
Tsurube
well-bucket water container



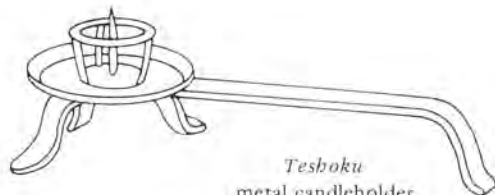
Mentsu
waste-water receptacle



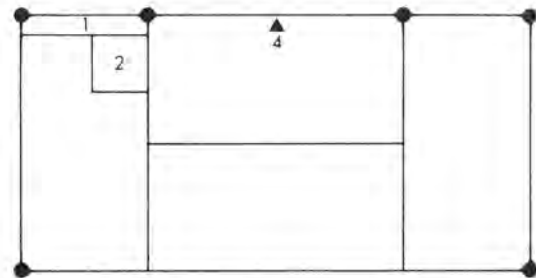
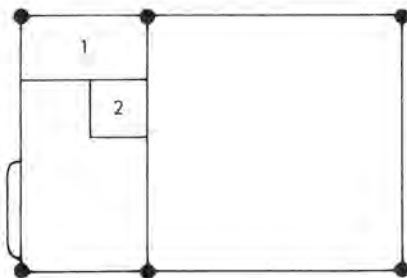
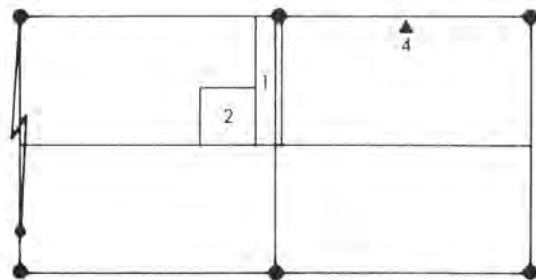
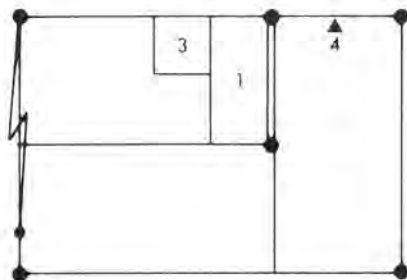
Shin teoke
lacquered water container



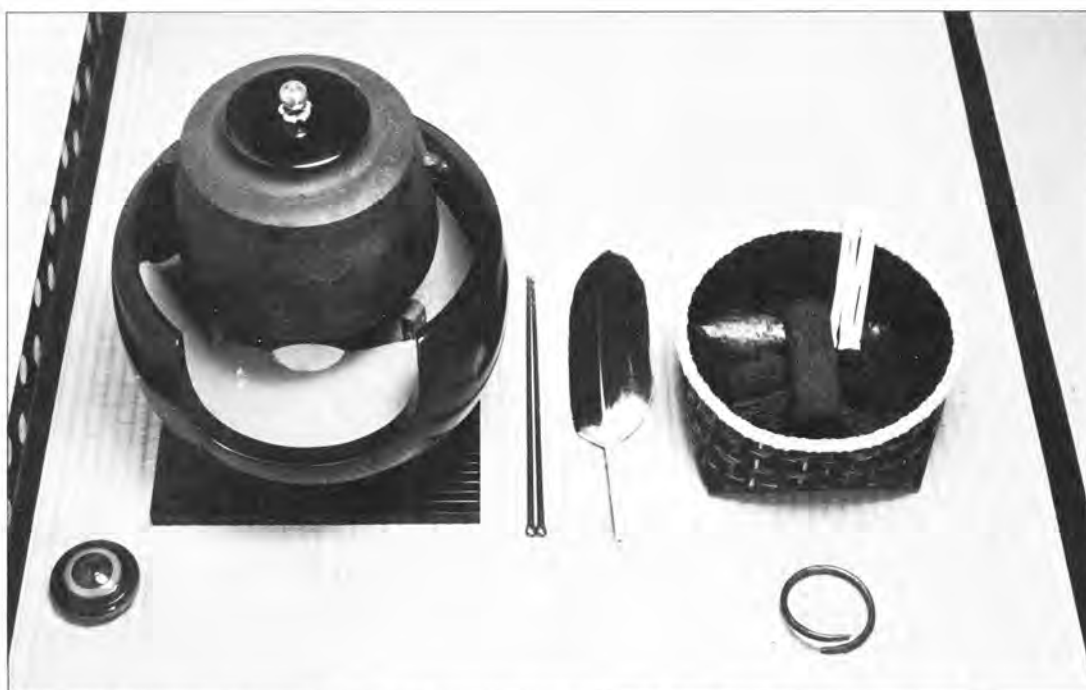
Andon
paper and wood lantern



Tesboku
metal candleholder



Illustrations adapted from *Namparoku*, "Metsugo," showing two arrangements each for the deep three-mat (*fukasanjo*) and the long four-mat (*nagayojo*) tearooms. Each illustration shows the board (1) that replaces part of the utensil mat where the host sits. The sunken hearth cut in the side of the utensil mat facing the guests (*mukô ro*) is shown in three of the illustrations (2); in the fourth, a corner hearth (*sumi ro*) is indicated (3). In their original forms both types of rooms lacked a tokonoma; scrolls were hung on the wall at positions indicated (4).



The initial placement of utensils used for the first laying of charcoal at the tea gathering. A kōgō can be seen in the lower left hand corner placed near the brazier baseboard.

Chadogu — Tea Utensils

Kōgō

During the course of a tea gathering all the five senses are stimulated; one of the first is the sense of smell. Only moments before guests enter a tearoom, the host places three pieces of lit charcoal in the brazier or sunken hearth, drops in some incense, and sets the dampened kettle over the charcoal fire. The fragrance that greets the guests is part of the host's welcome. Yabunouchi Chikushin (1678-1745), the fifth-generation master of the Yabunouchi school of tea, wrote:

Incense is used in the tearoom. . . to welcome the guest; to purify the spirit of the room; to show reverence when a scroll of painting or calligraphy is hung; when one guest has come early, to welcome the later guests; to cheer the dark of night; to warm an evening of snow or rain; to mark the events of the season.

Genryu chawa, volume 3¹

The containers for incense are called *kōgō*. *Kōgō* is written with two characters: the first, *kō*, means "incense"; the second, *gō*, means "to fit," as a lid fits a jar.

As with most tea utensils, *kōgō* can be a vehicle for communicating a particular theme or the host's personal expression. After its use in the laying of the charcoal, it is passed to the guests for them to appreciate and then it is returned to the host. It is a subject of conversation and guests often enquire about its provenance.

The *kōgō* has taken on additional meanings in modern days. Finding the necessary time for a complete formal tea gathering has become increasingly difficult; more prevalent is an abbreviated gathering, where only a few morsels of food are served, followed by tea. In such a case the charcoal fire is laid before the guests' arrival and the *kōgō* is placed in the *tokonoma* on a small sheaf of folded paper, another utensil used during the preparation of the fire. Thus the display of the *kōgō* has come to represent the entire process of the laying of the charcoal fire.

Most *kōgō* are small and expertly crafted. They may be of wood, lacquer, metal, bamboo, shell, or ceramic. Most *kōgō* used from November to April are ceramic. The moist, kneaded incense burnt during this time would stain *kōgō* of other materials. Wood and lacquer *kōgō* are used from May to October when a fragrant wood incense is burnt. *Kōgō* made of shell or metal may be used year round. If moist, kneaded incense is placed in a *kōgō* of shell, a specially cut camelia leaf supports the incense and prevents staining. Or, should an especially valuable ceramic *kōgō* be used the same procedure would be followed.

Incense was first introduced to Japan as an integral part of Buddhist ceremony. At that time, its form was a costly, rare, fragrant wood. But, like many elements of Buddhism, incense was isolated from the religion per se, and developed as a discipline, an art and a pleasurable pastime. Moreover, it was combined with other similarly isolated elements to create something totally outside Buddhist practices yet imbued with Buddhist philosophy. Even taken out of its original context, however, incense retained a sense of purity and otherworldliness that befitted this precious import from China. Much thought must have been given to the storage of incense, but little is written of the manner in which it was kept. The incense containers believed to be the oldest in Japan are preserved in the *Shōsōin* repository, the treasures of which date from the Nara period (646-794). They are imported metal objects and may well have been used as incense containers in China. Called *ashitsukigōsu*, these containers are covered bowls that stand on a pedestal. The lids are topped with a pagoda-shaped knob with three, five, or seven stories.

Since its introduction into Japan, Buddhism has been closely connected with the practice of medicine; incense was additionally valued as a curative, as was tea, another Chinese import with strong ties to Buddhism. In 754 the Chinese priest Ganjin (Chien-chén) came to Japan to bring orthodoxy to the Ritsu (Lü) sect. He brought with him costly medicines—musk, a variety of tumeric, cloves, a variety of fennel, ground shell, and sandalwood. Nothing, however, is written of the containers in which he brought them. Tea was brought to Japan and propagated in the early ninth century by the Japanese monk Saichō (Dengyō-Daishi, 767-822).

The peace and tranquility of court life in the Heian period (794-1185) allowed extensive development of the arts, including the art of appreciating incense. There are vague references to *kōgō* in records of the period. However, the form of incense which

was used differed from that of the preceding Nara period. Courtiers, unsatisfied with the simple burning of fragrant woods, created an incense blend that included exotic herbs and spices such as those Ganjin had brought to Japan, charcoal powder, honey, and other plant and animal products. Though the form had changed, the uses of incense—as luxury item, religious sacrament, and medicine—appear to have remained the same.

The eleventh-century novel *The Tale of Genji* in lively narrative illustrates the role of incense in Heian court life, from incense-guessing matches to the scenting of clothes and hair. It also contains a brief reference to a kōgōlike container. In the repository of the Inari Grand Shrine in Kyoto is what may be a kōgō from Heian times. It is round, and made of silver with an incised chrysanthemum design. Similar containers have been excavated from the sites of buried sutras. The word “kōgō” appears in *Masasuke shōzokushō*, a writing of Minamoto Masasuke (dates uncertain) who was an attendant of Fujiwara Yorinaga (1120-1156). In another work, *Ruijin zatsuyōshū*, written at the end of the Heian period, there is a description of two boxes, each containing four small silver jars. Attached to four of the eight jars are inscriptions with the name of an incense and its medicinal properties. The records call these jars kōgō, though the second character used to represent the word differs from the character used today. The character that appears can also be read *tsubo*, or jar.

The cultured leisure of Heian days gave way to the unrest of the Kamakura (1185-1392) and Muromachi (1392-1568) periods. Yet a desire remained for the qualities that had come to be associated with incense—purification, tranquility, and removal from the mundane world. Perhaps with the renewal of relations with China that occurred at that time and a concomitant interest in Chinese objects in general, a taste for the fragrant woods redolent of China reemerged. Tea and incense were associated to create a pastime apart from, but infused with, Buddhist ideas.

During the Muromachi period the gatherings of the wealthy centered on the sybaritic and the esthetic. Art was by definition Chinese. Appreciation of Chinese paintings and art objects took place at a gathering of ostentatious display and consumption. The drinking of tea was integral to art appreciation, while the burning of incense set the mood for both. By the time of the eighth Ashikaga shogun Yoshimasa (1435-1490), the display of kōgō had taken on the importance and value formerly reserved for incense alone. The selection and display of art objects was conducted by *dōbōshū*, Buddhist priest-attendants appointed as connoisseurs. Standards for assigning artistic value and for displaying and handling the objects evolved.

The *Kundaikan sōchōki*, a catalog containing information about the fine arts and the collection of the shogun, and the *Okazarisho*, a guide to the display of the formal *shoin* reception room, contain notes pertinent to the work of the *dōbōshū*. The settings in which tea was drunk and exotic food consumed were elaborate and the styles of display of Chinese objects many, but certain basic patterns emerge. From one to three scrolls were hung on a wall. In front of them, on either end of a brocade-covered table, were placed one or two flower vases and candlestands, and in the center a container holding firetongs, a censer, and a kōgō. The effect was much like a Buddhist altar. The value of the kōgō in this case lay in its decorative effect.

All the objects placed in front of the scrolls, except the *kōgō*, were made of bronze (*karakane*) or celadon (*seiji*). The *Kundaikan sōchōki* also gives explicit ranks for these objects. Those *kōgō* made by the Chinese craftsman called Chosei in Japanese ranked highest. The overwhelming majority of *kōgō* were lacquer. Though monks returning from China brought back *kōgō* made of porcelain, ivory, bronze, gold, or silver, the taste of the *dōbōshū* ran exclusively to those made of lacquer. It was thought that lacquer wares better suited the atmosphere of the *tōcha* tea gatherings which were held in a room filled with Chinese objects.

In the *Kundaikan sōchōki* many types of lacquer are noted: *tsuikō*, a yellowish red lacquer with a few black touches on a deeply carved design of birds and/or flowers, and *tsuishu*, red lacquer with shallow carvings of motifs, are but two that receive mention. Many Chinese pieces came with carved trays, most often of the *tsuishu* variety. The rank of a *kōgō* depended on its rarity—but the quality of its craftsmanship was also an important factor.² Two *tsuishu kōgō* were part of the *Higashiyama gomotsu* treasures of Ashikaga Yoshimasa. One of these is illustrated on page 53. The carving on the flat surface of the lid is a depiction of a reclining Hotei, a Chinese god of good fortune with a monstrous abdomen. He is shown sitting down holding his sack with his right hand and supporting his body with the left arm. The pattern encircling the side is a stylized representation of thunder. The exterior surface is lacquered a beautiful red, the interior black.

In the Muromachi period the early development of *chadō*, the way of tea, and *kōdō*, the way of incense, can be seen. Both were artistic secularizations of Chinese Buddhist practices and were originally governed by Chinese convention and form. Fragrant wood, the original Chinese form of incense, again came to be appreciated at this time. Tea practitioners today still associate fragrant woods with the Chinese-style portable brazier.

Around the end of the Muromachi period a new approach to the practice of tea developed. The taste for the studied and pristine qualities visible in works of Chinese origin gave way to a taste for a more diffused and subdued beauty. Tea gatherings became smaller, less ostentatious, and the selection and display of a limited number of objects emphasized personal expression. Small enough not to be overly showy and important enough to remain within the limited choice of utensils, the *kōgō* continued to be appreciated in this new type of gathering.

The Momoyama period (1568-1615) was a time of great changes in the world of tea. Merchants joined aristocrats in the practice of tea, adding a new perspective. Looking for their own esthetic, they placed less emphasis on the rarity or commercial value of an object and more on its intrinsic quality. Most notable is the relaxation of the stranglehold that Chinese taste had held on Japanese sensibilities. Utensils of Korean and domestic origin began to be appreciated. Hitherto few such utensils had been brought into the tearoom. Found objects, discovered among goods fashioned for everyday use, also came to play a role.

The Hōrai-san *kōgō* shown on page 54 is an example of a found object adapted for use in the tearoom. This piece, dating from the Kamakura period (1185-1392), is believed to have been part of a set of cosmetic boxes. The craftsmanship is excellent;



I-hotei kōgō, carved red lacquer incense container. Height 2.4 cm., diameter of body 6.4 cm. Photo courtesy of Tokugawa Reimeikai.

the tin-covered edges meet precisely. The design in gold lacquer and mother-of-pearl inlay depicts Mount Hōrai, the legendary mountainous island of eternal youth which is inhabited by supernatural beings. The interior of the rectangular box is decorated with a pattern of flying cranes, and one holds a pine bough in its beak.

More than anyone before him, Rikyū understood the unique qualities of Japanese arts and crafts and judged them to be as worthy of attention as Chinese objects. His manner of preparing a fire utilizing a kōgō became the standard for all subsequent developments in the procedure. The role and significance of the kōgō has not changed since Rikyū's time.

The Koboreume kōgō shown on page 54 is one example of Rikyū's taste in found objects. Like the Hōrai-san kōgō, it was one of a set of cosmetic containers. The shape is called *oshiroitokigata*, often shortened to *tokigata*, the name of a vessel for dissolving white make up. Large tokigata were adopted for use as tea containers, the smaller ones as kōgō. The design in colored lacquer represents falling plum blossoms. Six flowers are painted in gold lacquer on the black lacquer lid, seven on the body. It is unclear when it was made, though it is said to have been handed down since the early sixteenth century. Interestingly, although this kōgō is known to have been owned by Rikyū it was not until some time later that it was described as *Rikyū-gonomi*, an object preferred by Rikyū. There are variations of this shape. One is the tokigata kōgō owned by Rikyū's teacher Takeno Jōō (1502-1555), and another owned by the



Above: Horai-san kōgō, lacquer incense container with tin fittings. Height 3.5 cm., length 6.7 cm., width 5.0 cm.
Below: Koboreume kōgō, lacquer incense container. Height 3.4 cm., diameter of body 5.6 cm.





Sōshi kōgō, porcelain incense container. Height 3.3 cm., mouth 6.2-6.6 cm. square, bottom 4.9-5.1 cm. square.

cobalt blue was one type that found favor. The decoration on such wares is often a motif alluding to historical or legendary figures of high virtue. The *Sōshi kōgō* pictured above is representative of such wares. Its appearance gives the impression that it was once kept on the desk of a Chinese man of letters. The raised, painted butterfly on the lid of this kogo hints at the story of a Chinese philosopher named Chuang Tzu (*Sōshi*) who dreamed he was a butterfly. Upon awakening, Chuang Tzu was uncertain whether he was a butterfly dreaming he was a man, or a man who had dreamed he was a butterfly.

Products from kilns in Fukien and Kuangtung in southern China were brought to Japan during the Ming period. The pottery from these areas is called *Kōchi* ware. The characteristic colors of *Kōchi* glazes are green, yellow, and a muddy purple. Most *Kōchi kōgō* have carved motifs of auspicious animals or are molded in animal shapes. The best example of a *Kōchi kōgō* is the large container named *Ō-kame*, "Great Turtle," which is shown on page 57. Turtles were believed to live over a thousand years, an auspicious omen that happily fits the expressive nature of kogo. Three *kōgō* of this same shape exist, but *Ō-kame*, with three colors on its shell and a yellow glazed base, is judged superior. A group of tea utensil dealers in Edo, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, and Kanazawa made a list of particularly famous *kōgō* in 1855, ranking them in the manner of sumo wrestlers. *Ō-kame* was rated "*ōzeki* of the east," one of the highest ranks of wrestler.



Above: *Ō-kame kōgō*, ceramic incense container. Height 6.1 cm., diameter of mouth 5.8-8.1 cm., length of body 7.8-10.5 cm. Below: *Oribe hajiki kōgō*, ceramic incense container. Height 4.8 cm., diameter of mouth 3.9-4.6 cm., diameter of foot 3.5 cm. Photo courtesy of Chuokoron-sha, Inc.





Mikazuki kōgō, lacquer incense container. Height 2.0 cm., width at widest point 6.8 cm.

After the death of Sen Rikyū in 1591, Japanese potters received direction in the production of tea utensils from several of his disciples. Notable among them was Furuta Oribe, who designed utensils and then commissioned kilns in the Mino-Seto area to produce them. The *hajiki kōgō* shown on page 57 is an example of such a ware. The texture of both clay and glaze is soft. The distinctive shape of the handle on the lid resembles an archer's bow, which is called *hajiki*. The pattern of *tanzaku*, narrow strips of paper on which poems are written, was painted in iron on one side, and a green copper glaze was poured over the other. This contrast between stiff representational motifs and a fall of glaze is highly prized in wares produced in the Oribe style.

Naturally, developments in *kōgō* design were not confined to ceramics in the period after Rikyū's death. Rikyū's esthetic sense lived on in his grandson Sen Sōtan (1578-1658). The lacquer *mikazuki kōgō* featured above is an expression of Sōtan's *wabi* taste. The crescent-moon shape called *mikazuki* can represent either the three-day crescent moon, or the dark sickle which remains of the waning moon. The *mikazuki kōgō* is crafted of black lacquer over a paper base in the technique which has come to be known as *ikken-bari*. The exterior surface is black, the interior red. The lid has a slightly raised grainy texture. A second version of this *kōgō* was made by the lacquer craftsman Nakamura Sōtetsu (1617-1695), who used the standard technique of applying lacquer over a wood base.



Kai kōgō, painted seashell incense container. Diameter approximately 10.0 cm.

The seventeenth century witnessed a departure from the austere esthetic of Rikyū to a yearning for novelty in tea utensils. Newly prosperous merchant tea men ordered ceramic kōgō made to their specifications from China, Annam (Vietnam), Siam (Thailand), and even as far away as Europe. Simultaneous with this new development, kilns in Kyoto began producing wares of color and design never seen before. Kōgō also came to be made of lacquered papier-mache, worked wood, and painted seashells. The diversity of pieces available for tea was remarkable.

The kōgō shown above was made from a seashell. The raised designs were executed in a crushed seashell medium, and the inside surface is painted. It is a piece preferred by Gengensai (1810-1877), eleventh-generation master of the Urasenke school of tea. The shell he chose came from an heirloom inherited from Sōtan. The empress Tōfukumonin, who studied tea with Sōtan, presented him with a set for playing a shell-matching game called *kai awase*. The kai awase set consisted of three hundred and sixty shells, one for each day of the lunar calendar year, each painted with a different design. Half the shells have been handed down in the Omotesenke branch and half in the Urasenke branch of the Sen family. The insides of the shells are covered with paper and feature richly colored paintings by Kanō Einō (1631-1697).

Although trade with foreign countries was restricted during the Tokugawa period, goods trickled in through the port of Nagasaki. Ceramics brought by Dutch trading ships were known as *kōmō-yaki*, “red hair” pottery (“red hair” refers to the



Oranda bakugan kōgō, Dutch ceramic incense container. Height 11.0 cm., length of body 5.1-9.4 cm.

color of the Dutch traders' hair). Traders brought Delft, Wedgwood, and Majorca wares. The *kōgō* shown above in the form of a white goose came to Japan around the seventeenth century from Delft. The white goose fashioned in detail is a work of high quality. The red overglaze enamel on the beak, eyes, and legs contrasts with the white body and gold collar. There is one other such *kōgō* which is very similar to this but on that one there is no collar painted in overglaze gold.

Perhaps the most impressive development of this period was the degree of skill and inventiveness shown by the Kyoto potters. Kyoto ceramics sprang directly from the Japanese sense of beauty. In contrast to earlier domestic wares in which only the kiln name was known, individual potters came to acquire renown for their individualistic techniques. Among the many makers of this ornamented pottery, the names of Nonomura Ninsei and Ogata Kenzan stand out. In addition to overglaze enameling techniques the master potters of Kyoto worked with the clay, glazes, and techniques brought from provincial kilns.

As difficult as it may be to cite one potter as the most accomplished or representative of Kyoto ceramics, Nonomura Ninsei may be considered such a candidate. His shaping and decorating were done with skillful meticulousness. His choice of motifs reflects sensitivity to every passing phase of the year. The incense container in the shape of a plum blossom shown on page 61 is one example of his work. It is suitable for use in the earliest days of spring. The lid and interior surface are covered



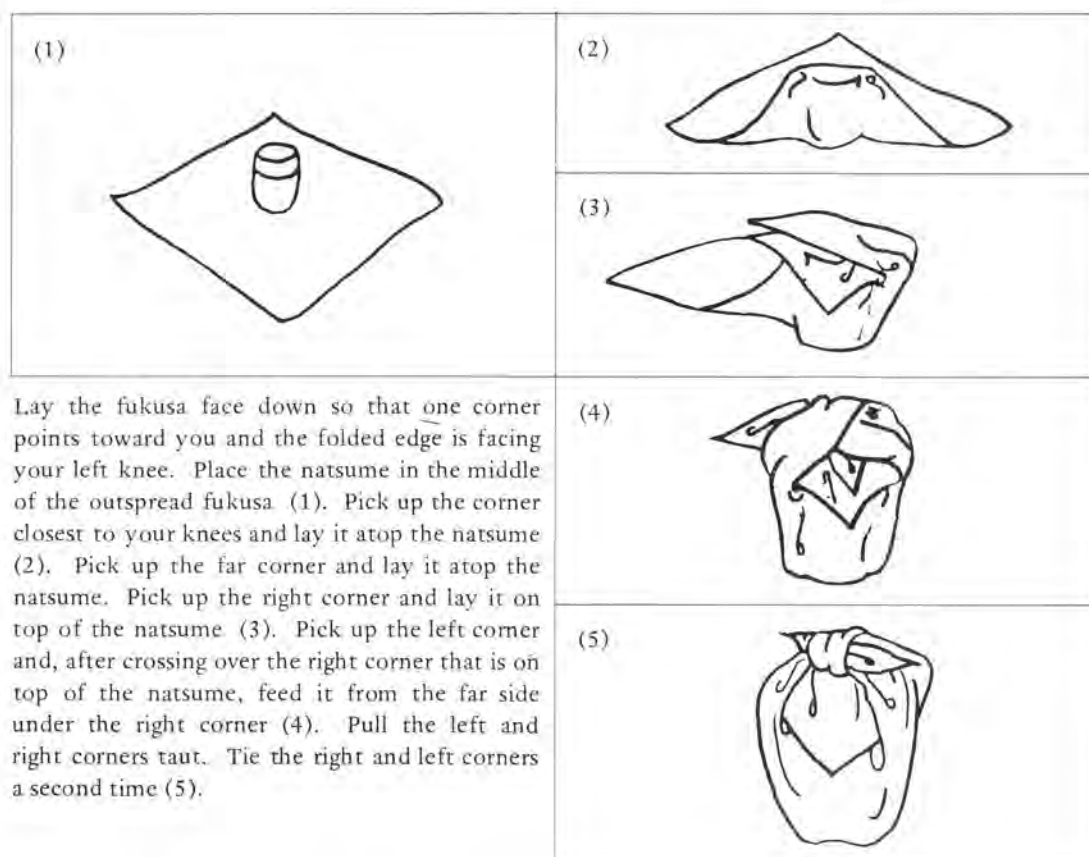
Iro-e baika kōgō, ceramic incense container. Height 1.6 cm., diameter of mouth 5.4-8.2 cm. Photo courtesy of Chuokoron-sha, Inc.

with an opaque white glaze and gold and silver arabesques are drawn on the green-enameled sides. The bottom is unglazed and features the impression of his stamp.

Since the time of Sen Rikyū, artisans have enriched their craft under the direct supervision of tea masters. The developments in the manufacture and usage of kōgō from the Momoyama period have not significantly changed in modern times. Though new mediums created through recent research have been incorporated into other artistic traditions, these have been eschewed by practitioners of Tea in favor of utensils made from a combination of the five natural elements—earth, fire, water, wood, metal. These materials do not surrender their own essence even when imprinted by the human hand. Contemporary and period kōgō are cherished as living treasures, for they reveal the heart of both tea master and craftsman and are an intimate medium for the host's personal expression.



1. Translation by Louise Allison Cort in Ryōichi Fujioka, *Tea Ceremony Utensils* (Tokyo: John Weatherhill Inc., 1973) p.102.
2. At that time the rarest kōgō, in perfect condition that met the standards of the *Kundaikan sōchōbōki*, was evaluated at 10,000 *biki* or enough silk to make 20,000 kimono.



Temae — Tea Procedure. *Tsutsumi-bukusa*

When a ceramic *chaire* is used during the presentation of thick tea it is stored in a *shifuku*, a small fabric bag which is tied at the top with a cord. A *chaire* of renown is often accompanied by numerous *shifuku*. On the occasions that the host of a tea gathering wishes to serve thick tea using a lacquer *natsume* there are two ways in which the container can be wrapped. It can be wrapped in an *Ôtsu-bukuro*, a silk crepe bag that is tied at the top, or in the host's fukusa. The procedure for making thick tea using a natsume wrapped in the second manner is called *tsutsumi-bukusa*.

Whenever a natsume is used to serve thick tea, a plain, undecorated natsume is preferred. While one with gold or inlay decoration may be suitable for the more informal service of thin tea, the reserved and dignified plain black natsume better suits the quiet and introspective mood of the thick tea service. Further, when using the *Ôtsu-bukuro* or fukusa to wrap the natsume, the natsume should be one that is middle sized and proportioned according to Sen Rikyu's preference. The color of the fukusa as well is guided by the mood of the thick tea service; the standard deep purple fukusa for men and the red for women is preferred. Of course, the fukusa should be clean and new.



(1)

Placing the *chawan* containing the *chakin*, *chasen*, and *chashaku* in front of his knees, the host opens the host's entrance. The right hand (R) picks up the *chawan* and places it on the palm of the left hand (L). As R steadies the *chawan* the host stands, enters the room, and, after proceeding to the host's mat, sits facing the utensils. R grasps the center of the right side of the *chawan*, L holds the left front and places it near the wall. R moves the *natsume* wrapped in the host's *fukusa* to the right in front of the *mizusashi* (1)



(2)

L picks up the *chawan* near the front left side. R holds the center of the right side as L regrasps the center of the left side (2). L places the *chawan* to the left of the *natsume*.



(3)

The host stands, turns, and leaves the room. The host re-enters the room carrying the *kensui*, containing the *futaoki* and *hishaku* in L, turns, sits, and after placing the *kensui* in front of him, closes the host's entrance. As L again grasps the *kensui*, the host stands, turns, pauses, and then proceeds to the host's mat. The host sits facing the utensils and L rests the *kensui* to the left. L picks up the *hishaku*, lifts it in front of the host whereupon the right hand steadies it (3).



(4)

R picks up the *futaoki* from within the *kensui* and places it to the left of the *furo* baseboard. R rests the *hishaku* on the *futaoki*. The host and guests bow in unison to signal the beginning of the presentation (4). L moves the *kensui* forward. The host pauses briefly to gather concentration and energy.



(5)

R picks up the chawan, transfers it to L, and then regrasps the center of the right side of the chawan placing it in front of the host's knees (5).



(6)

R picks up the natsume and places it in the space between the chawan and the host's knees (6).

(7)

R and L untie the first knot of the fukusa (7). R picks up the natsume and places it in L.



(8)

R unties the second knot of the fukusa (8). The right corner and then the left corner of the fukusa are unfolded to the right and left respectively.



(9)



R grasps the corner of the fukusa that lies on top of the natsume (9) and unfolds it away from the host's body.

(10)



R grasps the last corner of the fukusa that lies on top of the natsume and unfolds it toward the host's body (10).

(11)



As L holds the fukusa R draws the natsume from it (11).

(12)



While R is placing the natsume between the chawan and the host's knees, the thumb of L grasps the fukusa in the middle and the host turns L slightly to the right so that the corner of the fukusa closest to the host folds over the other three corners (12).

(13)

R picks up the uppermost fukusa corner and after L grasps the right uppermost edge draws the fukusa through L to fully open it (13). R and L turn the fukusa slowly to examine all four edges and fold it.



(14)

R holds the fukusa while L folds it in half. L picks up the natsume. R wipes the far side then the near side (14) of the natsume lid. R unfolds the last fold of the fukusa and lays the fukusa on the lid of the natsume. R places its palm on the top of the fukusa, its fingers pointing away from the host. R moves slightly forward. The host moves his right elbow away from his body and the thumb of R moves toward the host, thus straightening the wrist of R.



(15)

As R draws the fukusa off the top of the natsume to the right and, grasping it, brings it down to a position just above the host's right thigh, L places the natsume to the left in front of the mizusashi (15).



(16)

L and R refold the fukusa and R places it on the palm of L. R picks up the chashaku and places it on the folded fukusa. The host purifies the chashaku (16). R places the chashaku on the center of the natsume lid as L lowers the folded fukusa to a position just above the host's left thigh.





(17)

R picks up the chasen and places it to the right in front of the mizusashi (17).



(18)

L and R fold the already folded fukusa in half and R, in two strokes, wipes the area in front of the handle of the mizusashi lid (18). (Note: If the lid is other than lacquer this step is omitted.) R transfers the folded fukusa to L and picks up the chawan and moves it closer to the host's knees. R picks up the chakin and places it on the mizusashi lid just in front of the handle. R and L unfold the fukusa and together replace it in the host's sash.



(19)

R picks up the hishaku, transfers it to L, and removes the lid of the kama and places it on the futaoki. L transfers the hishaku to R. R ladles hot water from the kama into the chawan and rests the hishaku on the mouth of the kama. R picks up the chasen and places it in the chawan. The host inspects the chasen by twice raising it from the chawan with R while L steadies the chawan (19). After rinsing the chasen in the chawan, R places it to the right of the natsume.



(20)

R picks up the chawan and transfers it to L to discard the water into the kensui. As L holds the chawan, R picks up the chakin from the mizusashi lid, wipes the chawan, and places the chakin in the chawan. L transfers the chawan to R to place it on the tatami in front of the host's knees. R removes the chakin from within the chawan and places it on the kama lid which is resting on the futaoki. R picks up the chashaku (20).

(21)

L picks up the natsume. R holds the chashaku with the last two fingers. As L holds the natsume at a slight angle over the left edge of the chawan, R removes the lid and places it in front of the host's right knee (21).



(22)

R measures three scoops of tea into the chawan (22).



(23)

L tips the natsume toward the chawan and R, with the scoop of the chashaku, eases the tea remaining in the natsume into the chawan (23).



(24)

As L turns the natsume upright R rests the chashaku on the lip of the right side of the chawan (24).



(25)



The thumb and forefinger of R wipe the mouth of the natsume (25) and then wipe any tea clinging to the fingers on the kaishi kept inside the front of the host's kimono.

(26)



R replaces the lid on the natsume (26).

(27)



L places the natsume to the left in front of the mizusashi (27).

(28)



R grasps the chashaku and as L steadies the chawan, R levels the tea in it with the chashaku, gently taps the chashaku on the mouth of the chawan to remove any excess tea, and replaces it on the center of the lid of the natsume. R picks up the mizusashi lid, L holds the left front side, R regrasps it just above L and leans the lid against the left side of the mizusashi (28).



(29)

R picks up the hishaku, ladles cold water from the mizusashi into the kama and then ladles hot water into the chawan (29). R pours the water remaining in the hishaku into the kama and replaces the hishaku on the kama.



(30)

R picks up the chasen and, as L steadies the chawan, kneads the tea. Once the tea and water are blended, R leans the chasen against the left inside edge of the chawan. R ladles hot water from the kama. L picks up the chasen and R pours hot water, sufficient to achieve the proper consistency of tea, over the tines of the chasen (30). L leans the chasen against the left inside edge of the chawan. R pours the water remaining in the hishaku into the kama and replaces the hishaku on the kama.



(31)

As L steadies the chawan, R again picks up the chasen and blends the tea to the proper consistency. R slowly raises the chasen from the chawan, allowing the tea collected on the tines to fall, and replaces it to the right of the natsume. R picks up the chawan, places it on the palm of L, turns the chawan clockwise 90° twice, and then places it on the adjacent tatami, front facing towards the guests (31).



(32)

After the main guest tastes the tea, the host asks if the taste is suitable. The host moves a quarter turn towards the guests. As the second guest begins to drink the main guest asks questions concerning the tea and sweets. The host, with his fingertips on the tatami, answers these questions (32).



(33)

When the last guest has finished drinking the tea, the host turns back towards the utensils. R picks up the hishaku, ladles one cupful of cold water into the kama, and replaces the hishaku on the kama. The chawan is returned to the tatami adjacent to the host. R picks up the chawan, places it on the palm of L, grasps it again and places it in front of the host's knees. The host and guests bow in unison (33).



(34)

R ladles hot water into the chawan and replaces the hishaku on the kama. R picks up the chawan and after raising it in front of the host transfers it to L to discard the water into the kensui (34). L transfers the chawan to R and R places it in front of the host's knees.



(35)

The host bows saying he will finish the presentation. R picks up the hishaku, ladles cold water into the chawan (35), and replaces the hishaku on the kama.



(36)

R picks up the chasen and rinses it in the chawan steadied by L (36). R raises the chasen once for inspection, draws it from the chawan, and replaces it to the right of the natsume.



(37)

R picks up the chawan and after raising it in front of the host transfers it to L to discard the water into the kensui. R picks up the chakin and places it in the chawan. R grasps the chawan and places it in front of the host's knees. R picks up the chasen and rests it on the chakin in the chawan (37).



(38)

R picks up the chashaku and L draws back the kensui. L takes the fukusa from the host's sash. R and L fold the fukusa and clean the chashaku (38). R places the chashaku on the chawan as L, grasping the fukusa, lowers the fukusa to a position just above the host's left thigh.



(39)

R grasps the right side of the chawan and moves it to the left of the center of the tatami. R picks up the natsume and places it to the right of the chawan (39). As L holds the fukusa, R brushes any tea that clings to the fukusa into the kensui. L and R unfold the fukusa and return it to the host's sash.



(40)

R ladles one cupful of cold water from the mizusashi and pours it into the kettle. R transfers the ladle to L and places the lid on the kama. R rests the hishaku on the futaoki. R picks up the mizusashi lid, L grasps its left edge, and R grasps the lid handle to replace it on the mizusashi (40), whereupon the main guest asks to examine the natsume and chashaku. The host bows in acknowledgement of the request.



(41)

R picks up the hishaku and transfers it to L to place on the kensui. R picks up the futaoki and transfers it to L to place behind the kensui. R grasps the chawan to place it against the wall (41).

(42)



R picks up the natsume and places it on the palm of L. The host, R held at the host's right knee, makes a quarter turn toward the guests (42). R places the natsume on the tatami in front of the host's knees.

(43)



L takes the fukusa from the host's sash and together L and R fold the fukusa. L picks up the natsume. R wipes the far side then the near side of the natsume lid. R unfolds the last fold of the fukusa and lays the fukusa on the lid of the natsume. R places its palm, its fingers pointing away from the host, on top of the fukusa. R moves slightly forward. The host moves his right elbow away from his body and the thumb of R moves toward the host thus straightening the wrist of R (43).

(44)



R draws the fukusa to the right off the top of the natsume and places it on the tatami in front of the host's knees (44).

(45)

R removes the lid of the natsume and places it on the tatami on the far side of the folded fukusa (45). R picks up the fukusa and, after folding it against the side of the natsume, wipes the lip of the natsume.



(46)

R places the fukusa on the tatami between the host's knees and the natsume lid (46).



(47)

R picks up the natsume lid and replaces it on the body of the natsume (47).



(48)

R places the natsume on the palm of L, turns the natsume clockwise 90° twice and places it on the adjacent tatami facing towards the guests (48). R picks up the fukusa and with L replaces it in the host's sash.



(49)

The host turns to face the furo and R picks up the chashaku and transfers it to L. The host, R held at the host's right knee, again makes a quarter turn towards the guests and R puts the chashaku to the host's right of the natsume (49).



The host returns to his original position. L picks up the hishaku from the kensui, transfers it to R, which grasps it at the knot in the handle. L picks up the futaoki and transfers it also to R. The host moves his knees slightly towards the kensui. L grasps the kensui as the host stands, turns, and walks to the host's entrance, and sits. L places the kensui in front of the host's knees, takes the futaoki from R, and places it to the right of the kensui. L and R turn the hishaku so that the scoop end faces down and R rests it on top of the kensui. The host opens the door. R picks up the hishaku and with L turns it so the scoop end faces up. L picks up the futaoki and transfers it to R. L picks up the kensui. The host stands and leaves the room. The host returns and sits facing the utensils. R picks up the chawan and, after lifting it in front of the host, places it on the palm of L and steadies it as the host stands, turns, and leaves the room. The host returns and sits in front of the mizusashi. R and L hold the mizusashi as the host stands, turns, and leaves the room.



(50)

At the host's entrance, the host turns, sits, and places the mizusashi in front of his knees. R and L close the door (50).

(51)

after the guests examine and return the utensils to the mat adjacent to the host's mat, the host sits, opens the door, stands, enters the room, and sits so that the utensils are directly in front of him and he is facing the guests. He answers any questions the guests may have concerning the natsume and chashaku. R picks up the chashaku and transfers it to L. R picks up the natsume (51).



(52)

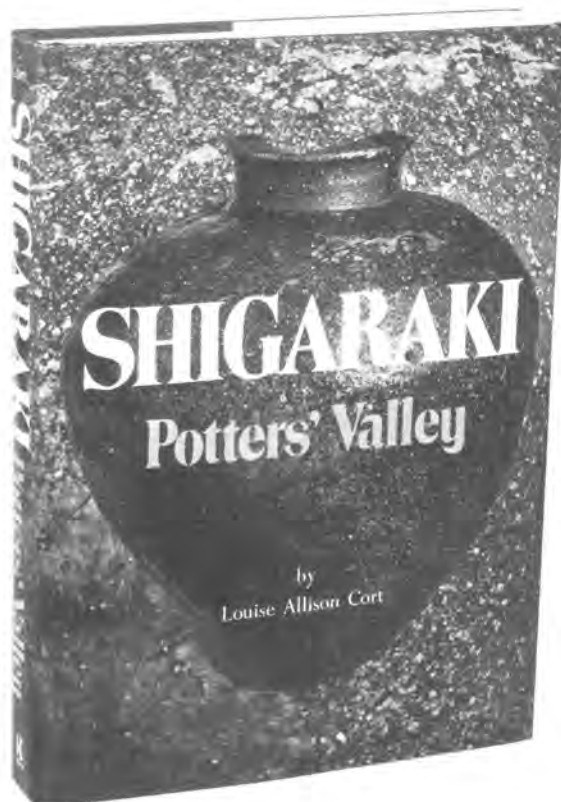
Holding the *natsume* and *chashaku*, the host stands, turns, leaves the room, and at the host's entrance, sits and places the utensils to his side in full view of the guests. The host bows to signal the end of the presentation (52). R and L close the door.



The host sits aligning his body with the lower left outside corner of the hearth frame during the presentation of *tsutsumi-bukusa* with the *ro*. Note the end of the *hishaku* handle is aligned with the lower right inside corner of the hearth frame.

Variations of Tsutsumi-Bukusa When Presented with the Ro

Other than the basic differences of the *furo* and *ro* presentations, *tsutsumi-bukusa* when presented with the *ro* differs in one way. The host, when carrying the *kensui*, *futaoki*, and *hishaku* into the room and during the entire procedure, sits aligning his body with the lower left outside corner of the hearth frame. ☞



Book Reviews

Shigaraki: Potters' Valley. By Louise Allison Cort. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1980. 428 pp. \$80.00, ¥10,800.

The number of monographs on specific areas of Japanese ceramic production written in English is severely limited. Louise Cort's *Shigaraki: Potters' Valley* differs even from those few others both in approach and in volume. While emphatically not a coffee table book full of pretty pictures (but little else) it still weighs over 2 kg. This is a serious and informative monograph—one is tempted to use the word definitive.

Miss Cort has been deeply interested in Shigaraki for some years (at least ten, to my knowledge), has lived there, worked there, made close friends there and, clearly, loved the place, its people, and its products. All this shines through the book. And this being so it is inevitably a somewhat old-fashioned book, and all the better for that. The subjective impressions and feelings of someone so totally at home in her subject cannot fail to be most interesting. It is often sad to see such useful atmosphere left out of serious works in the name of "scholarship"—if it is in any way subjective or lighthearted it cannot be "sound." Miss Cort is not swayed by such arguments and has given us her own feelings as well as a mass of good solid information.

The amount of information presented is positively daunting. At our present state of knowledge or rather lack of knowledge of Japanese ceramics (in many ways we are still at the "natural history" stage before we get to the "scientific" stage) this is a thoroughly good thing and this is a thoroughly good and useful book. Potential readers should be warned, however, that it is densely written and difficult to use: it is not a "how-to-date-Shigaraki" book.

It does seem, however, that there can be little else to add to the history of Shigaraki. Miss Cort is not only a ceramic historian; she has approached the whole thing from different angles, and to do so has covered an immense amount of ground. She has used everything, from the *Nihongi* to tea diaries to the latest archaeological reports. While she has laid all this out well, with excellent appendices to follow (of which, more later) it is still a book to read and re-read steadily. This does not make it the muddle of unresolved ideas and contradictory opinions that are sometimes found, but a logical sequence of ideas and history. It is much more than the history of a ceramic ware.

After discussion of the abortive attempt by the Emperor Shomu in the mid-eighth century to found a new capital in Shigaraki, Miss Cort sensibly refuses to admit the short-lived tile kilns as forerunners of the later ceramics. We now know that it was common practice for special kilns to be built to make tiles for buildings that were far from ceramic centers. These kilns would then be abandoned when they had outlived their direct purpose.

To discuss the origins of the mediaeval wares (in the late thirteenth century) we are led through a useful synopsis of recent evidence and thought on general problems of mediaeval ceramics in Japan. So much has been done in the last fifteen years or so that the western reader is often appallingly out of date: Narasaki Shōichi's work, for instance, is not easily available. Miss Cort's summary will be most useful.

Discussing the origins of the mediaeval kilns involves lengthy consideration of the changes in land ownership, of the development of new areas of settlement and so on. This is made clear to us: "[by the fourteenth century] a number of small village-scale potteries emerged independently of one another even within the same valley, whose land was divided among various landholders, and operated independently to serve the gain of those landholders." This, of course, is partly the result of archaeological work of recent years; we are beginning to see the patterns of emergence of kiln-areas. For a number of years, now, no one has used the classification of the Six Old Kilns seriously, but nowhere else is it made more clear to us (nowhere in English, at any rate) why this is so.

The chapter on these mediaeval wares is very lengthy: Miss Cort might have helped us by dividing it up into sections within the chapter. I suggest the following:

Mediaeval Japanese ceramics pp.19-22
Land ownership in the Shigaraki area pp.23-27
The Development of religious powers in the Shigaraki area: the "Kōga warriors" pp.27-53
[The page numbering here is confused by the placing of twenty-four pages of color plates.]
The Shigaraki-Iga border pp.53-58
Controversy in early kilns pp.58-60
The Use of Shigaraki wares pp.60-79
[This part includes a detailed discussion of grave-finds.]
Shapes and firing methods pp.79-103
[Page numbering again confused by inclusion of sixteen pages of black and white plates.]

This proposal is of course only partly serious. But undeniably it would be a help to the reader, particularly to the reader who wants to look up something that cannot be indexed, after reading the book.

Since the Muromachi period Shigaraki wares have been associated with tea. In the era of tea drinking before the development of *wabi* tea taste and before the admission of Japanese-made utensils into the ranks of the permissible (ie. from the early thirteenth century until the time of Murata Jūkō

[also Shukō, 1422-1502]), Shigaraki jars became the prime holders for leaf tea; as Miss Cort says "the all-purpose Shigaraki *tsubo* had become identified specifically as a container for tea." The chapter on tea storage jars is exemplary and covers not only the development of the use of Shigaraki (and other) rough wares as found objects by Jukō and others, but also the kilns at which these jars were made. Jukō's famous letter warning beginners that there are no short cuts to the appreciation of rough wares—you must appreciate fine wares first—is quoted.

Of course the next step comes with the development of the tea ceremony itself in that direction. As the drinking of tea ceased to be just one among several events in a gathering, and started to assume the practice of the withdrawal of the participants from the outside world for a more-or-less formal tea drinking, so entire customs of utilization of objects changes. No longer were displays of fine Chinese celadons *de rigueur*: simple temmoku and Korean tea bowls were followed by wares actually made in Japan. And of course these wares were made to order.

Who did the ordering? Whereas Jukō and his contemporaries "found" rough wares, the next generation of tea masters ordered their own wares, thus influencing the ceramic production of whole kiln areas. For with the growth of popularity of the tea ceremony, and the ability of persons with no inherited Chinese treasures to participate in the cult for the first time, the market widened greatly. Miss Cort fully acknowledges this "... the obvious truth: that those famous tea men [she has mentioned the names Jōō, Rikyū, Oribe, and Enshū] and hundreds of others less well known, were just one link in a complex network that included both the potter and the wholesaler or antique dealer who was the intermediary between designer and fabricator. We now know more about the full commercial (as contrasted to esthetic) significance of tea wares, about the role of major tea men as dealers and popularizers, and about the emergence of the middlemen who gradually took over the work of ordering and merchandising." This is no denigration of the important role of the tea master: it must be admitted that, as partly foretold by Jukō, things can go badly wrong at the hands of the inexperienced or inept. The role of the tea masters in the formation of "tea taste" is vital. So vital is it, that it has colored Japanese esthetics ever since.

For many readers the chapter on tea ceremony wares will be the most important. Miss Cort is at pains to describe the various types of tea ceremony, to relate them not only to their origins—Jukō's taste, Jōō's taste, or Rikyū's taste—but also to the type of wares used. The difficulties of sorting out the traditions are quite fascinating: tea diary descriptions are used to check kiln finds as well as *densei* pieces. This is a form of detective work that is not often possible in ceramic studies: it can rarely have been done more fully than here.

The culmination of the development of the tea ceremony was the division of Sōtan's style into the three formal schools of tea, Urasenke, Omotesenke, and Mushanokojisenke, as followers and extenders of Rikyū's style, while Kobori Enshū led the way to "daimyo tea."

An important factor in the development of Shigaraki was its closeness to Kyoto, and one of the most fascinating observations is the way in which the crude and simple, as exemplified by Shigaraki ware, and the sophisticated, elegant and gorgeous, as exemplified by the work of Ninsei, should not only co-exist but also overlap. Ninsei (and other Kyoto potters including, apparently, Kenzan) sometimes used Shigaraki clay. Ninsei even copied Shigaraki ware, though he fined it down to an unnatural elegance.

From the consideration of tea ceremony wares, we have five chapters to go, leading us to Shigaraki today. Most of us only know modern Shigaraki wares, from blue-glazed roof tiles to those horrible *tanuki* figures, so this will have much to tell us.

And appendices. These include a short report written in 1678 and a long one in 1872, the latter with charming and instructive illustrations. The story of a Shigaraki woman's life, told to a journalist in 1966, makes fascinating (and rather horrifying) reading. Of much more meat is the list of kiln sites. This gives brief information on the known sites, type of kiln, possible date, and so on.

A number of sherds are illustrated, but here the publisher has let us down and the pictures are of little help.

Of course no list of kilns nor listing of what is found at any one kiln site is ever complete. Only if a site and its waste heap is completely cleared (as in the case of Sarugawa in Arita) can one know the range of products of a kiln for sure. But information on as many sites as are known, and what type of kiln each was and, as far as possible, what each produced, is becoming necessary. With the publication of more books on single kiln areas we are beginning to be able to discuss the identity of the individual kilns. Perhaps one day we will be able to identify a pot not just as Shigaraki, Momoyama period, but as a product of Chokushi No. 7 kiln. Actually, I think this will, with of course some exceptions, be unlikely. In the somewhat similar case of Arita, so many shapes and decorations are common to so many kilns that I have coined Impey's first law of kiln sites which states that "Almost everything was made almost everywhere."

One thing Miss Cort has neglected is the provision of a good map of the kiln sites. Perhaps this is for the very good reason that sherds are now sold commercially, an abominable practice that hinders scholarship and destroys sites. But maps are necessary nevertheless. After all, who names kiln sites? When we talk of a site by name do we always mean the same site? Miss Cort gives an excellent example. When talking of Chokushi No. 7 (Okamadani) she mentions "some sherds collected here for the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, are identified as being from Ashidani." Yes, indeed, so they are, because when I collected them in 1971, I was told by my kind local guide that that was the name of the kiln. Now I shall amend the labelling on our boxes and refer to Cort, Louise 1979. But how would I have known to do this without that one hint?

Now this is a long review, and it is so for one good reason. At the beginning of the review I commented on the paucity of detailed works on Japanese ceramics written in English. So to which books can I compare Miss Cort's? The answer is, of course, none. Even in Japanese, the nearest is perhaps *Mino to Koto* by Narasaki Shoichi, which does not cover, for Mino, quite the same range as *Shigaraki*, for Narasaki is an archaeologist and is writing on archaeology. Nagatake Takeshi's *Hizen no tōji* is a pale shadow of this, though perhaps taken in conjunction with his *Hizen tōji no keifu* it approaches it.

In Western languages the serious works on kiln areas are almost negligible. Even general works are uncommon: Jenyns on Japanese pottery is useful but difficult to use; it is as if Jenyns never quite saw his way through. Morse's catalogue is, of course, wildly misleading (though the collection contains some excellent objects). Kidder on Jomon is indispensable, and is the closest comparison I can draw to this book. The closest in intent is Rhodes' *Tamba* but Rhodes writes as a potter and is not so concerned with the historical side. It is an avowedly lighter approach. All this is a problem of which I am only too well aware, as I am attempting a somewhat similar approach to another kiln area myself.

Miss Cort's *Shigaraki* has set a very high standard of monograph. This is a book which will be indispensable reading for anyone (Western or Japanese) with a serious interest in Japanese art. It ought also to be prescribed reading for all westerners interested in the history of the tea ceremony.

Oliver Impey
Oxford, England

Louise Cort's book presents a scholarly, comprehensive survey from the thirteenth century to the present, of the ceramics produced in Shigaraki about 30 kilometers southeast of Kyoto. This book is probably the first that refers to general historical information in a survey of the entire devel-

opment of Shigaraki pottery. This is also the first book in which Shigaraki ware has been studied with both love and passion.

In Japan, Shigaraki ware has been praised for its harmonization as a utensil for wabi tea, and it is this aspect of Shigaraki which is emphasized. Shigaraki ware and Iga ware have often been discussed together, especially in the context of medieval potteries, because Iga ware is produced nearby. Classifications of Shigaraki tea utensils have often been made according to styles loved or preferred by leading tea masters or which in some way displayed the special taste of the Momoyama and Edo periods. This approach clearly places the appreciation of Shigaraki ware specifically within the world of chanoyu.

It was not long ago that medieval Shigaraki ware came to the attention of scholars. Fujiō Koyama, an expert on medieval potteries, proposed a theory of Six Old Kilns, that is, six centers of pottery production in the medieval period. His investigations shed light on the artless, simple jar (*tsubo*), the jar with wide mouth (*kame*), and the mortar or grating dish (*suribachi*). As a result, his theory of the Six Old Kilns became widespread. Large jars from Setō, Tokoname, Echizen, and Shigaraki were especially popular owing to the simple, intense impact of their forms as well as the appealing texture of reddish rough clay. However, the initial theory began to give way to further archaeological advances. As of 1976, a total of twenty-six medieval kiln centers had been identified on Honshū, and later more were to be discovered. Such an active development in the archaeological study of medieval kilns attracted further public attention. Many exhibitions of medieval ceramics including Shigaraki ware were held in combination with *wabi* tea utensils to illustrate the development of medieval kilns.

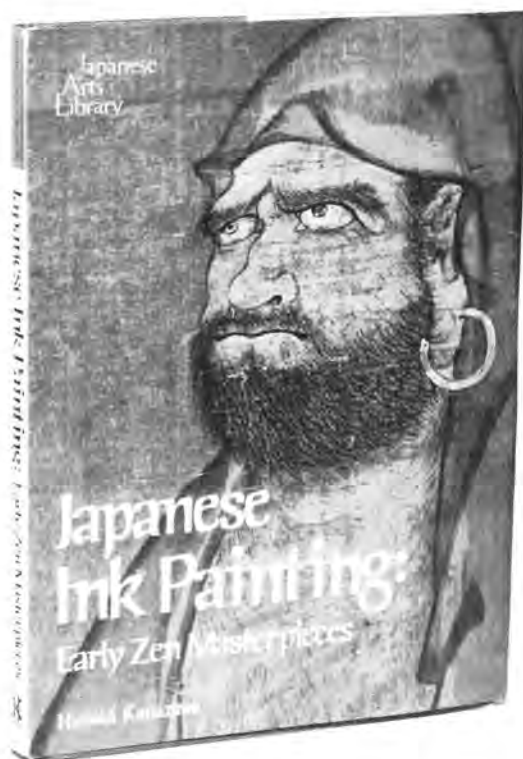
Studies of this sort, in Japanese, have been written with an intention of clarifying the respective position of tea ceremony wares and their development in the history of tea ceremony. While Cort loves everything in Shigaraki and most of the pieces produced in Shigaraki Valley, she observes them with the keen and perceptive eyes of an art historian. Her book, although written from a new and fresh angle, devotes full consideration to recent archaeological excavations, scholarly works in the field, and the old literature and records. She states in her Preface that "the form of the study has been suggested by the pattern of ceramics production within the Shigaraki valley." Chapters, therefore, have been allotted to each major group of products: the medieval utilitarian wares, tea storage jars, tea ceremony utensils, the official tea jars, and glazed domestic wares.

The modern and recent productions are presented as a "response to Westernization." This, together with the author's examination of "The Hibachi Era" (the period from 1918 through the late 1950s when hibachi production accounted for over 50 percent of the output), are unique parts of Cort's work. No other book has mentioned to such a full extent the "glazed domestic wares" nor studied so thoroughly the history of Shigaraki ware during the Meiji era. Glazed domestic wares, such as jars, wide-mouth jars, and hibachi or braziers, have until now been largely ignored and never seriously studied. Mention is even made of the *tanuki* production, those large sculptures of a Japanese raccoon-dog, which smile from every Shigaraki street.

Probably the most charming part of this book is the author's essay and diary entries which lend the reader a sense of familiarity with the Shigaraki valley and its pottery. At the beginning and in the last four chapters, Cort offers an absorbing account of her journey to, and stay in, Shigaraki; she guides the reader through a town that has become her second home.

Her translations from Japanese literature are extremely fine, and can be used by scholars in the West without any hesitation. This book is not only for the amateur absorbed in his love of these ceramics; it is also extremely useful to the student concerned with knowledge of Shigaraki's history.

Hiroko Nishida
Tokyo, Japan



Japanese Ink Paintings: Early Zen Masterpieces. By Hiroshi Kanazawa. Translated and adapted by Barbara Ford. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd. and Shibundō, 1979. 210 pp. \$16.95, ¥ 3480.

This volume, one of the English-language translations from Shibundō's *Nihon no bijutsu* series, is the first detailed and systematic presentation of the critical early phase in Japanese ink painting, from the mid-thirteenth to the late fourteenth century. While not superseding the superb 1970 *Zen Painting and Calligraphy* catalog by Jan Fontein and Money Hickman, this book, by virtue of the fact that it is not a catalog, does afford a methodical overview with a large number of illustrations, a number of which are in color. It is divided into two main sections: the first is organized by subject matter and the second by artist. That many of the extant paintings from this period are anonymous works necessitates this two-pronged approach, although it does lead to a certain amount of unavoidable redundancy. Kanazawa has rendered a useful service, in the latter section, in grouping together works inscribed by the great Yüan priest and calligrapher I-shan I-ning, who went to Japan in 1299 and died there in 1317 and whose calligraphy was emulated by his disciples and subsequently had a great impact on Japanese Zen calligraphy. Since virtually all of these works are undated and many are unsigned, I-shan I-ning's inscriptions provide a *terminus ad quem*, which is usually the only firm date we can attach to them.

It is ironic, considering the journal in which this review is being published, that the relative neglect suffered by early Japanese ink paintings was due to the narrow connoisseurship of centuries of tea masters, many of whom preferred works signed by known artists of the middle Muromachi

period over these earlier works which are paintings of important figures in Zen history and legend. While it is true that the ink landscapes from this time are still tentative attempts at an understanding of the Chinese prototypes, the paintings of Zen patriarchs (*sōshizō*) and figures from other Buddhist and Taoist sources used as Zen models (*dōshakuga*), and the portraits of contemporary Zen masters (*chinsō*), are not rivaled in any later period. The tea prejudice against this group of works is being broken at last, and in recent years they are being studied with the care they deserve. It is not difficult to make the case that they embody a truer understanding of Zen than the later works, since they are closer to the Chinese Ch'an sources and since they were painted by or for Zen priests for use in Zen temples.

Much credit is due Barbara Ford, the adapter and translator, and the editors who worked on this book. The Shibundo series in Japanese is an inexpensive but hurriedly produced magazine-format affair, with the color photographs lumped in the beginning and the text and black-and-white photographs crammed together in the remaining pages. The English version is a substantial improvement: the color photographs are distributed where they should be in the text, and the whole layout is opened up and made far easier to read. In addition, essential tools are added or amplified in the English version, including a table of contents (lacking in the original Japanese), a comprehensive and extremely useful introduction by Barbara Ford, an expanded glossary of terms, a bibliography of works in Japanese (supplemented with a helpful section on further readings in Western languages, compiled and annotated by Ford), and a much enlarged index. The result is a considerable improvement of the original Japanese work. Even corrections have been made, such as where Ford has changed Kanazawa's mistaken *furigana* reading *kinpin* to *kinbin*. The "one-stroke" *Daruma* by Shōkai Reiken, referred to in the Japanese text but not shown, is here illustrated. This volume is made even more useful by the inclusion of a "List of Illustrations in Japanese." This enables the reader to immediately ascertain the *kanji* for the artists' names, titles of paintings, inscribers' names, and collection locations. Besides some spelling errors and the curious omission in the caption for plate 141 that the painting referred to there, "Another painting by this artist . . .," is none other than plate 133, there appear to be few mistakes or omissions. The translation is accurate and reads well. Given the disorganized and underequipped Japanese original, one can only be grateful to Ford and her editors for the achievement of their difficult task.

There is an aspect of Kanazawa's book with which I am dissatisfied. It is his treatment of the Zen content of these paintings. If Kanazawa remained with a historical or art historical approach, this would not be a problem. I am sure that the Western reader would hope to find some information on, if not interpretation of, the meaning of these works; however, where Kanazawa does try to provide some motivation or meaning, beyond the oft-repeated statement to the effect that Zen painting strips away the extraneous to search for the core or essence or whatever, he misses the point. For example, in the caption for plate 23 he describes the red-robed *Daruma* by Ganseki Donsei as a caricature of Daruma; whereas it is a caricature, if it can be called a caricature at all, of Ganseki himself. Kanazawa goes on to say that "This self-identification with Daruma in painting and poetry epitomizes the literati character of fourteenth-century Zen monks." Anyone with the least knowledge of Zen texts, such as the *Mumonkan* and its commentaries, would realize that self-identification with Daruma is a sign of an advanced level of understanding, that one who has experienced *kensho* would see himself as one with Daruma or the historical Buddha in his experience of enlightenment or self-awakening. This has nothing to do with the literati character of fourteenth century Zen monks, but does have important doctrinal content. In most cases, such as that of *The Four Sleepers* by Mokuan, Kanazawa simply avoids any statement on the meaning of a painting, while Hickman, in *Zen Painting and Calligraphy*, at least tells us that in the case of *The Four Sleepers*, for example, there is no known Chinese textual source for this unusual subject matter but that, "In Japan, it is generally

interpreted as symbolizing the absolute tranquility of the universe for those who have attained Enlightenment."

Besides the question of meaning, there is the vital one of function. In his Conclusion, Kanazawa states, "It is also regrettable that the context in which the paintings developed could not be explored here. Early ink paintings, especially figure subjects, were used in regulated times and places, for specific functions." This is information that I would like to have, although it is unclear from either the English or the Japanese whether Kanazawa knows and isn't telling, or just doesn't know. There is no work in Japanese or English, to my knowledge, which gives us detailed information on *how* these paintings were used in the temples, whether as memorial works, aids to meditation, proof of a certain stage of understanding on the part of the painter, or none of these. Since Kanazawa raises this key issue only to immediately drop it, we are left in the same state. We still have, however, a valuable English-language introduction to this relatively unexplored period in the history of Japanese ink painting.

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