

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 27



Hōun 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 *bō*, phoenix, amid *un*, clouds, and is the graphic representation of his Buddhist name, Hōunsai.

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CHANOYUQuarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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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.

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TRANSLATIONS Edna Crawford

A Wider Realm

Sen Soshitsu

Many people still tend to view tea as something apart from the mainstream of life; something self-centered and limited only to Japan and its connection to Zen. The ritualized forms seem lifeless and meaningless. For those who are only observing tea from the outside, this is true. When you become a part of tea, or rather when it becomes a part of you, you will find it to be more than what you had assumed. I am sure that even the casual participant in a tea ceremony is left with a feeling of mysterious beauty, a sensation that seems beyond our everyday experience—a lingering glimpse into a realm we seldom see.

These ritualized forms are merely a way—a way leading beyond our everyday experiences to a realm at once wider and more real than our ordinary limited consciousness. Without the ritual, without the form, it would be difficult to pass into this wider realm.

But one must be careful to think of the ritual as an end in itself. We are striving for much more than perfect form. We are striving for a perfection of the spirit. This would truly seem to be central to man's further development. It is surely not something apart from the mainstream of life. Those who have studied tea can attest to its real position; a position central to life and growth. Tea is not something floating on the surface of life, but rather an underlying current that moves and directs.

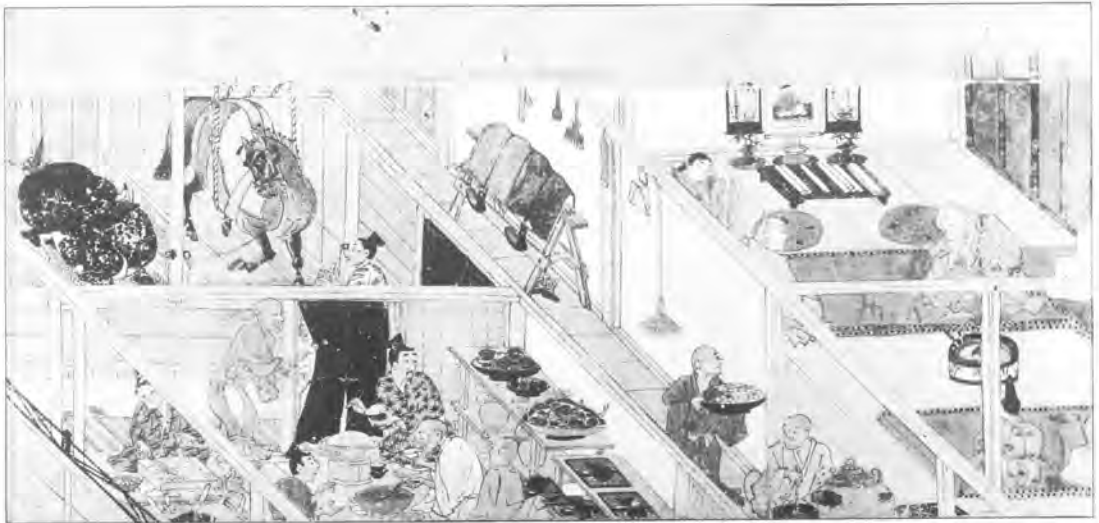
What direction does this current take? In most areas of modern education emphasis is placed on the accumulation of knowledge that can latter be used for future endeavors. In tea there is also an accumulation of knowledge, but an even greater emphasis is placed on the emotional and spiritual aspects, what I like to think of as the humanizing qualities of tea, the transmission of a wisdom that lingers rather than a passive knowledge. It is here that tea has a unique role to play in the field of education.

Man does not live by intellect alone. He is an emotional being capable of transcending the world around him yet remaining an active part of it. We in tea are striving to humanize rather than intellectualize. In fact, if we study the whole man we shall surely see that this is the only way to educate; to open our eyes to the world around us and relationships as yet unrealized. We cannot live in the intellectual realm alone.

Politics, economics and science are all human creations of an intellectual nature. There should be some field of study that satisfies not only the intellectual but also the humanistic requirements of man.

Three years ago Chado was established as a credit course at the University of Hawaii. This March it became a credit course at both UCLA and the University of Washington, where I was invited to give a special lecture to commemorate the opening of this course. People all over the world, in the Americas as well as in Europe and Asia, are becoming aware of the value of tea. In the past people have tended to view Chado as a Japanese curiosity, but gradually they are discovering a need for the humanizing qualities of tea. Tea is influenced by life but even more it influences life, and in return improves it in subtle but lasting ways.

In the future tea will have a great influence on the world and the world will influence tea. Both will be altered by this interaction. Both will grow and develop to fit ever-changing situations. Chado can unite the intellectual and the emotional worlds, creating a humanizing quality we are increasingly in need of. I am looking forward to the day, not so far away, when professors of tea from all over the world will visit Japan to lecture on Chado. This will mark the arrival of the day when tea has become the basis of a meaningful exchange among the peoples of the world.



A detail of the *Boki e-kotoba*, painted in 1351. A kettle placed over a portable brazier can be seen at the bottom, right of center. Photo courtesy of Nishi-Honganji temple.

Chanoyu-gama: Iron Kettles for Chanoyu

Suzuki Tomoya

Iron kettles that are placed over a charcoal fire to boil water for tea in the practice of chanoyu are called *cha-gama* or *chanoyu-gama*. They come in many shapes and feature any number of distinctive embellishments. While in great part inspired by Chinese prototypes, they reflect a distinct Japanese sensibility. Today, tea devotees treasure them as fine art objects. But, as with many of the utensils for tea, kettles were not always so esteemed.

The custom of drinking powdered green tea (*matcha*) was introduced to Japan by monks returning from study in China during the Kamakura period (1185-1392). Necessary utensils for the preparation of tea were presumably introduced at the same time. However, it is not known whether kettles used specifically for boiling water for tea existed at that time.

Origins of the Chanoyu-gama

Kettles for chanoyu, as we know them today, emerged with the formulation of *wabi* tea in the sixteenth century. But what were kettles like before then?

Originally kettles were found in the kitchen as necessary utensils for daily life. The oldest documentation of such a kettle is found in the *Daianji shizaichō* (dated

"*Chanoyu-gama: Iron Kettles for Chanoyu*" is an abridgement, translation, and adaptation of the author's *Chanoyu-gama*, volume 89 in the series *Nihon no bijutsu* published in 1973 by Shibundo publishing company, Tokyo. *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 27, 1981©by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.



Green-glazed ceramic kettle unearthed in the ruins of Ichijoin temple in Nara. Height 16.0 cm., diameter of mouth 16.0 cm., diameter of body 24.0 cm. Photo courtesy of Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūsho.

747) inventory of the property of the Daianji temple in Nara. Another mention of a kettle of the Nara period is found in the *Hōryūji shizaichō* inventory of the property of Hōryūji temple. The *Kanshinji shizaichō* (dated 833) and the *Kōryūji shizaichō* document the kettles of the early Heian period (794-1185). Those recorded were of three types: standard kettles, large-handled kettles suspended from the ceiling, and horizontal-flanged kettles that were placed on an earthen hearth (*kamado*). These kettles were made of iron or copper; it is unclear, however, whether earthenware kettles existed then. Many of these kettles were quite sizable, because they were used in large temples to accommodate great numbers of people. However, it is noteworthy that mention is made of one small, shallow kettle nine *sun* (approximately 27.3 cm.) in diameter and three *sun* (approximately 9.1 cm.) deep. From its dimensions it may be presumed that this is a type of *hiragama* (literally, flat kettle), and a forerunner of the kettles made for wabi tea. This flat, small kettle was probably used to boil quickly a small amount of water. It can be surmised that this type of shallow kettle was similar to the small kettles called *fuku*, which brings to mind the ceramic kettle unearthed in recent years from the ruins of the Ichijōin temple in Nara (see illustration above). While iron tubs and kettles are mentioned in the records of ancient times, scarcely any kettles of the period are extant.

Although few in number, some kettles and pots used to boil water in the Middle Ages do exist. Among those with inscriptions, the large cast-iron tub in a bath-



Large cast-iron tub for boiling water in the possession of Kumano Hongū Grand Shrine.
Photo courtesy of Suzuki Tomoya.

house of Tōdaiji temple in Nara deserves mention. The diameter of the rim is 2.05 m., the diameter of the body is 2.3 m., and the height is 76.5 cm. The bottom is shaped like a round, shallow sack. The inscription indicates that the tub was made by the priest Shunjō-bō Chōgen, the superintendent of Tōdaiji, in Kenkyū 8 (1197). There are old kettles at the Hayatama Grand Shrine, at the Nachijinja shrine in Kumano in Wakayama prefecture. Two kettles made in 1268 and 1284 remain at the Hakone shrine in Kanagawa prefecture; they have wide mouths and horizontal flanges that encircle their bodies.

The iron kettle belonging to the Temmoku Hachiman shrine in Osaka prefecture is inscribed “Engen 5 (1340)” and has three legs attached to the body below a horizontal flange. A design of a lion or dragon which is cast on the legs resembles the demon-mask (*kimen*) design of the lugs of a kettle for chanoyu. This three-legged style became common later in the Muromachi period (1392-1568). Other examples in this style are found in the Nara, Osaka, and Wakayama regions. One of the few kettles surviving intact is the three-legged kettle of Niu Kanshofu shrine in Wakayama prefecture that is inscribed with the date Eishō 14 (1517).

These early kettles exhibit the shapes and embellishments that were later to appear in the design of kettles especially for chanoyu. The lion design used to embellish kettle legs was adopted as a decoration for kettle lugs. The strung-bead pattern, another design element of early kettles, is frequently seen near the mouth of a tea



An iron kettle, inscribed with the date Eishō 14 (1517), with three legs attached to the body below the horizontal flange in the possession of Niu Kanshōfu shrine in Wakayama prefecture. Height 61.0 cm., diameter of mouth 41.5 cm., weight 40.0 kg. Photo courtesy of Niu Kanshōfu shrine.

kettle. Many examples of kettles with these features survive from the Muromachi period. The origin of the demon-mask design of lug often seen on kettles today can be traced to Chinese metalwork; ears and metal rings of this design appear on Chinese utensils and flower containers that were highly prized during the time when the practice of tea flourished in the Middle Ages. Ears on flower containers in the shapes of dragons, demons, monkeys, elephants, or phoenixes seem to have inspired tea kettle craftsmen who began to produce kettles to order when they started to play an important role in the practice of tea. Nevertheless, the more traditional demon-mask and mountain (*tōyama*) styles of lugs are preferred by those who love old tea kettles and seek the touch of wabi reflected on the kettle's surface.

During the period in which the drinking of powdered green tea first spread, water for tea was boiled in the large traditional household kettles that were set over an earthen hearth, and tea was prepared quite spontaneously. When codes of etiquette for drinking tea were established, the household kettle was placed over a portable brazier (*furo*). These portable braziers were larger than those used today; and the kettle, instead of being supported by a three-pronged trivet set in a bed of ash, as is usually the case today, was simply set on the brazier, its encircling flange fitting over the brazier mouth. In some cases hot water was transferred from a large kettle to a covered ewer-type server (*tōbyō*) and then poured into an individual's teabowl containing



Hiragama (literally, flat kettle), the body of which features potter's wheel marks and the inscribed date Tensho 16 (1588), seventh month, fifteenth day. Photo courtesy of Byōdōin Jōdoin temple.

powdered tea. This was the method used in the *tōcha* tea identification competitions of the fourteenth century.

The *Butsunichian komotsu mokuroku*, the 1363 inventory of Butsunichian temple, a subtemple within the compound of Kamakura's Enkakuji temple, lists tea utensils but kettles are not mentioned, though four ewer-type pots are listed. One of them is a porcelain piece from China and the others are copper pieces of various sizes. The *Kundaikan sōchōki*, a compendium on the connoisseurship of Chinese paintings and utensils written by Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa's artistic advisor, Nōami, features an illustration of a kettle placed on a portable brazier displayed on a decorative shelf, but there is no written information. Names and varieties of kettles finally appear in the *Chagubitōshū*, edited in 1554, which gives a classification and brief commentary concerning tea utensils. Ewer-type pots are no longer included in this listing. At that time wabi tea was being formulated, and the role of the kettle in the practice of tea became more prominent. The classification indicates that various types of kettles were used for the serving of tea. *Imai Sōkyū chanoyu nikki nukigaki*, an excerpt from tea master Imai Sōkyū's tea records, mentions that Sen Rikyū used a tall, cylindrical iron kettle called an *unryugama* in 1555, the year following the compilation of the *Chagubitōshū*. It can be inferred that at long last tea masters were directing metal casters and having kettles made to suit their tastes.

The fact that kettles are mentioned in various accounts of tea gatherings is an indication that their position, in relation to the other utensils and chanoyu in general, was becoming stabilized. According to the *Nobunaga chakaiki*, the chronicle of Oda Nobunaga's tea gatherings, a shallow hiragama kettle was used at a tea gathering held in Myōkakuji temple in 1573, and an octagonal *bakkakugama* kettle was used at a tea gathering held in 1574 at Shōkokuji temple. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, the tea records of Yamanoue Sōji (1544-1590), lists the following kettles as famous:

Hirakumo, Sōtatsu biragama, Fujinami biragama, Jōō ko-araregama, Otagoze no kama, Semehimo no kama, Hōraku-gama, Insetsu ubaguchi no hiragama, Shukō nabegama, Jōō no shōhō no kama, Insetsu ō-arare no sarugama.

By then these kettles were already referred to as "famed utensils of all times," *kokon no meibutsu*, and more than half of them were in the hands of the ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598). Some of these famous kettles were large, with a capacity of nearly two and a half gallons. Most likely their shapes were of the old style, like the ones used over a domestic earthen hearth. Meanwhile, a passage in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* indicates that there were also smaller kettles, to be used with smaller portable braziers:

A tall kettle with a small mouth is very popular today. Its surface is smooth. It is good to use a small kettle for tea if its shape, surface, and size are pleasing.

In all probability, a kettle with a small mouth would be one in the orthodox *shinnari* shape that was small below the encircling horizontal flange. The basic form of tea kettles seen today was completely developed by the time of Yamanoue Sōji, but the variety of kettles gradually increased thereafter, according to the tastes and specifications of many tea masters. During the transition period between the time when large kettles were used and when small ones began to appear, the prominence of the flat hiragama type of kettle was probably owing to this shallow shape being particularly well suited to boiling water quickly.

Apart from their use for cooking and tea, kettles have also been used for medical purposes since older times. Kettles used as medical equipment are often depicted in sickroom scenes in fourteenth-century picture scrolls. Those pictured are either earthen teapots or pots shaped like an ewer with a handle.

Production of Kama

Kettles were called *kama*, *fuku*, or *kansu* depending on their use or the local dialect; sometimes they were clearly distinguished and sometimes not. What were the kettles that are now called *kama*? According to an explanation given in the *Wakan sansai-zue*, an illustrated encyclopedia written around 1712, *kama* were used in everyday life to cook rice and boil water for tea. They came in different sizes and some had a horizontal flange around the lower middle section that resembled a sword guard



Cast bronze hot water ewer. Important Cultural Property. Photo courtesy of Ōtsuka Kōgeisha.

(*tsuba*) or looked like the wings of a bird. The portion of a kettle above this flange was called the *koshiki*. The small convex area on the outer surface of the bottom of the kettle was called the *beso* or navel. Made of iron, those cast during hot weather were unsatisfactory but those cast during the spring and fall retarded rust and were considered to be the best.* Iron kettles such as these did not exist before the Nara period. Large-scale production of iron kettles was begun by a caster in Tanji-gun in Kawachi, present-day Osaka prefecture, during the Heian period. This was followed by production in Tsujimura in Ōmi, present-day Shiga prefecture, and in Osaka.

A kettle for chanoyu was also referred to as a *kansu*. According to the definition given in the *Iroha jiruishō*, a ten-volume dictionary written in the early Kamakura period, *kansu* meant a tea kettle with a bail. When a kettle with a bail is hung on an adjustable pole (*jizai*) over a fire pit instead of set on a trivet or a portable brazier, it is more a *kansu* than a kettle.

The illustration of the *kansu* in the *Wakan sansai-zue* shows no flange. The caption states that a utensil used to cook rice or other grains is a *kama*, and the kettle used for chanoyu is a *kansu*, but nowadays we commonly call the latter a *kama*. The *Ashiya* and *Temmyō* kettles were called *kansu* or *kama*. The *Sekiso ōrai*, a textbook

* For a more detailed discussion of the entire process of kettle casting see the appendix on page 30.

for temple schools written by Ichijō Kanenaga (1402-1481) during the Muromachi period, mentions that *kama-koshiki* were made to order by a caster in Sakai, the kansu was from Ashiya, and the portable brazier was from Nara.

Use of kettles in the kitchen became wide-spread after the first were made in the Nara period. They were mainly of the kansu type made in Ashiya. They had been used commonly in everyday life and, along with Temmyō kettles, were adopted spontaneously by tea masters for tea. Out of these came today's tea kettles used specially for chanoyu.

1. Kettle Casting Centers

Kettles made in Noto, present-day Ishikawa prefecture, and cooking pans made in Kawasaki are mentioned in the *Tsutsumi Chūnagon monogatari*, the Tale of Tsutsumi Chūnagon, and *Shin sarugaku-ki*, essays believed to have been written by Fujiwara Akihira and completed around 1058-1065. *Teikin ōraishō*, an elementary education textbook based on a collection of letters, states, "Both Noto kettles and Kawachi pans are famous. It is said that these kettles do not impart a metallic taste." Noto was famous for the production of kettles in the Middle Ages, most probably because Noto produced iron sand. Prior to the Edo period, casters were active in Nakai in Noto, present-day Anamizu-chō, Fugeshi-gun, Ishikawa prefecture. Place names like Kanaya (metal shop) and Imonashi (casters) are still in existence there. It is said that the forebears of the Nakai casters came from Sayama in Kawachi. Known to be the work of the Nakai casters is the temple bell of Honnenji temple in Hagui city, Ishikawa prefecture, with an inscription of the year 1566.

Next to Noto kettles and Kawachi pans, pans from Haya in Yamato, present-day Nara prefecture, and Nozato in Harima, present-day Hyōgo prefecture, are well known. The *Bampō zensho*, a thirteen-volume encyclopedia of fine arts compiled in 1694, states, "Harima kettles have been made since the time of Ashiya [kettles]. They look very much like Ashiya [kettles], but are inferior." The Harima production center was Nozato, the site of today's Nozato district in Himeji city, where casters had lived since the Heian period. Harima pans and Nozato kettles became famous because Harima, including Nozato, was situated at an important location along the Seto inland sea.

In addition to Ashiya and Temmyō, tea kettles were produced in Harima and Echizen, the eastern part of present-day Fukui prefecture, from early times. Kettles were also made in Hizen, part of today's Saga and Nagasaki prefectures, Isetsu, Iwami, today's Shimane prefecture, and Sakai. They were known as *Hizengama*, *Isetsugama*, *Iwamigama*, and *Sakaigama*. Kettles made in Kyoto were called *Kyōgama*. In the Kantō region there were casters of Odawara Temmyō kettles who had branched off from the Temmyō kettle production centers. In Edo, the Nozaki family, who had moved from Kyoto to serve the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu as kettle craftsmen, were central figures among the casters there. Each of the casters in Edo associated with tea masters and continued their work as casters specializing in tea kettles.



Old Ashiya kettle and bronze portable brazier made as a set. Photo courtesy of Miyahara Shōeidō.

II. Ashiyagama

Traditionally Ashiyagama are among the most celebrated tea kettles, ranking with Temmyō kettles. Ashiya was located near the Onga River in Chikuzen, present-day Fukuoka prefecture. (Originally, the Onga River was called the Ashiya River.) It is believed that the casting was done at the mouth of the Ashiya River, utilizing its soil and iron sand. The *Wakan sansai-zue* notes kettles as one of the native products of Chikuzen. The following quotation from the *Bampō zensho*, is from the beginning of the section on kettles used over a hearth or pit. The excerpt indicates that Ashiya kettles were already famous by the Genroku era (1688-1704).

Ashiyagama were made in Chikuzen. They were made around the time of Emperor Fushimi (1265-1317) in the Kōan era (1278-1288). In addition to the pine, bamboo, and plum design there are many other patterns on the surface of the kettles.

However, both of these writings are from the Edo period, and there is little reliable literature about kettles from earlier periods. We must depend on surviving works to know what was made when and where. This lack of documentation on tea kettles made before the Edo period points to the probability that tea kettles were not con-

sidered to be very important. The *Kamashi no yuisho*, a history of kettle craftsmen, written in 1700 by the kettle craftsman Nishimura Dōya, lists three places where kettles were made in the old days—Ashiya, Temmyō, and Echizen. He wrote:

ITEM: Ashiya in the country of Chikuzen

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. The early period | Superb works | About 500 years |
| 2. The middle period | Superb works | About 400 years |
| 3. The same | Called Harunobu | About 300 years |
| The later [years] | | About 150 years |

The pioneer kettle caster [appeared] during the Ken'nin era (1201-1204) in the reign of the Emperor Tsuchimikado. Priest Togano-o Myōe [Shōnin] was the first to have a tea kettle cast in Ashiya in Chikuzen.

It is not clear what is meant by “the early period,” “middle period,” and “later,” but the fact that Ashiya was named first indicates that kettles were made in Ashiya in the olden days and used as tea kettles.

Many of the inscribed cast metal works that have survived until today are temple bells. Some that were made during the Nambokuchō era (1336-1392) bear the name of the Ashiya caster, Ō-oe. For example, a temple bell made in a Korean style by Ashiya casters and inscribed with the date 1469, is located in Tsushima in Nagasaki prefecture. The inscription reads: “The head metal craftsmen Ō-oe Sadaie and fifteen others of Ashiya, in the country of Chikuzen.”

It is not surprising that the decorative surface designs that characterize Ashiya kettles originated in Chinese dragon designs and arabesque patterns on the bell just mentioned. The bell was made seven years before the shōgun Yoshimasa gave a copy of the *Kundaikan sōchōki* to Ouchi Masahiro (1446-1495), the daimyo of Suo, Nagato, Buzen, and Chikuzen. It is the best proof that Ashiya casters made tea kettles of the sort demanded by those who practiced the elegant Higashiyama style of tea which favored utensils from China. The design of clouds and dragons, called *unryū* in Japanese, was adopted as a surface pattern for the *unryugama* that were made in Ashiya. It is easy to understand why casters in Ashiya, located close to China, were likely to be influenced by the continent, and were able to handle Chinese designs with finesse. The continental influence is still reflected in the late Muromachi period works of Ō-oe Nobuhide, who made the large Korean-style bell of Kōryūji temple in Yamaguchi prefecture. This bell (189 cm. in height) has a design of the Four Devas cast on the upper half of the body, a design of clouds and dragons made with a pallet on the lower part, and the shoulder of the bell is decorated with a relief of clouds—designs that are also seen on Korean bells. This design later had a great influence on the *unryugama* that were made by the famed Kyoto caster, Tsuji Yojirō.

Ō-oe Nobuhide lived during the acme of metal casting in Ashiya. One work of his, a *shinnari* kettle with the inscription “Eishō 14 (1517)” is a noteworthy piece in the collection of the Nezu Art Museum. This is his only authentic extant work with an

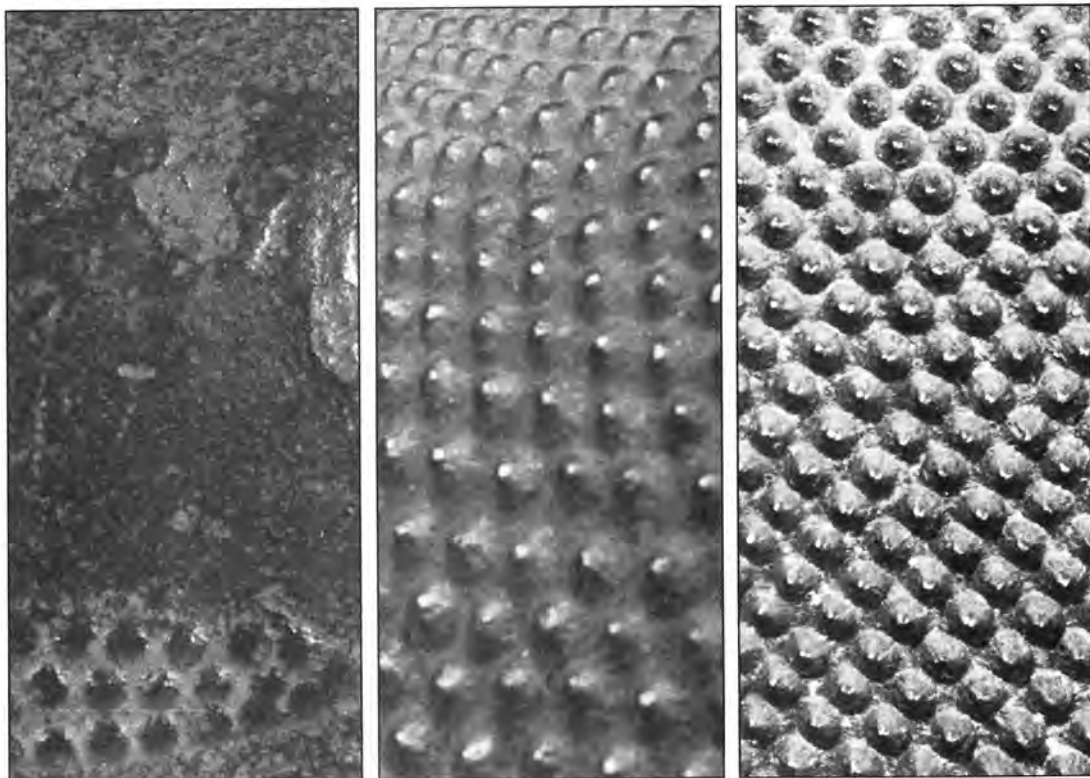


The large bell at Kōryūji temple in Yamaguchi prefecture made by O-oe Nobuhide. Height 189 cm. Photo courtesy of Kōryūji temple.

inscription of the year in which it was made. The narrow lip is curved outward and the shoulder is high. The body is rather tall and a narrow flange encircles the lower part of the body. Lugs in the shape of a demon mask are attached to the sides. Its surface is textured with a hailstone pattern from the edge of the mouth to the shoulder. There are two smooth square areas with inscriptions on the surface below the shoulder. The design of pine and plum branches was made with a pallet. The shape of the kettle is typical of Ashiya kettles, as is the hailstone pattern and the demon-mask design of the lugs. Nobuhide's kettle has a fine shape, reflecting the sure perfection of casting technique.

It is said that iron casting in Ashiya began to flourish late in the Kamakura period and ended in the Kan'ei era (1624-1644). The orthodox or *shinnari* shape is the most representative shape of Ashiya kettles, but octagonal, Mount Fuji, gourd-shaped, and futon-shaped (relatively flat with a bulging body) kettles were made starting in the late Muromachi period. However, when wabi tea was established, Ashiya kettles gave way to kettles made in Kyoto. The casters in Ashiya had moved to Hakata, present-day Fukuoka city, or other areas and by the early Edo period kettle casting in Ashiya had declined.

Among the notable characteristics of Ashiya kettles are the designs in relief; very few were cast without them. Most often the kettles have a smooth surface called *kinubada* (silk surface) or *namazubada* (catfish skin surface), or are decorated with a



Left, Ashiya *namazubada* (catfish skin) surface; center, *arare bada* (hailstone surface) with rounded points; and right, *arare bada* with very sharp points. Photos courtesy of Yūzankaku Shuppan.

hailstone pattern or a pictorial design. The design, created by the skillful use of the pallet, is similar to the decorative designs on the backs of old Japanese metal mirrors. It seems that the same techniques were adapted.

The *Kan'ian Sōshin nikki*, the diary of tea master Sakamoto Sōshin (1666-1749), tells how to recognize an Ashiya kettle. He wrote:

[The kettles decorated with] hailstones that have round or flat tips are superb works. The mouth is low, almost as if it has been pushed down, and the inside of the mouth looks like it has been peeled. The very best pieces have lines made by a potter's wheel. However, [kettles made in] Ashiya in Echizen or early Ashiya kettles from Chikuzen do not have these lines. The surface of a kettle is either *iwabada* (rock surface), *chirimenhada* (crepe surface), *hikihada* (lined surface), or *kinuhada* (silk surface). The variations in the surfaces are due to differences in the molds, which were made with a mixture of earth and sand. However, none of these kettles were fired. Fired ones came later. This is true for Temmyō [kettles] also. . . . It has been said that [Tsuji] Yojirō was the first [craftsman] to make [kettles] using the

sintering [technique], . . . Copies of Ashiya and Temmyō kettles are fired because the surface was deliberately made [to look like the genuine Ashiya or Temmyō kettles. This effect] cannot be achieved without firing the kettles. Peelings remain inside the mouth and also on the lugs. Because the copies have been fired, the mouth is round and the surface is slick.

Another characteristic of an Ashiya kettle is the lines on the inside surface made by the turning marks on the inner mold that was used to make the kettle. The inner mold of an ordinary kettle is shaved to achieve the proper shape, but the inner mold of an Ashiya kettle was made by turning. Therefore, the horizontal turning lines on the clay mold appear on the inside of the kettle. Ashiya kettles reflect this highly skilled technique, but Temmyō and other kettles do not.

III. Temmyō Kettles

Temmyō kettles and Ashiya kettles have long been considered an unrivaled pair of stars among the kettles used for tea. Nishimura Dōya in his *Kamashi no yuisho* comments:

ITEM Temmyō

1. The early period	Superb works	400 years
2. The middle period		300 years
3. The same		200 years
4. The later period		150 years

Temmyō kettles were made by metal craftsmen of the Bandō region (Tokaido provinces). The Bandō craftsmen were the fathers [of the Temmyō kettles]. Sano Temmyō and Odawara Temmyō derived from the original Temmyō kettles. . . .

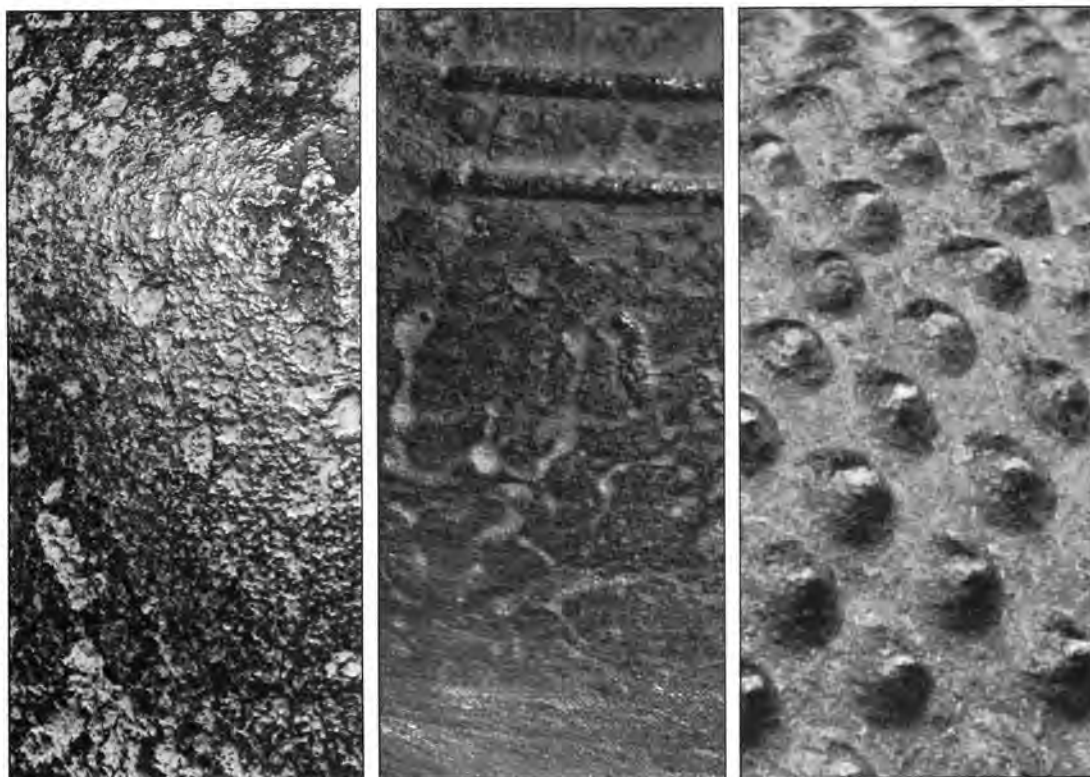
ITEM *Kantōmono* (kettles made in the Kantō region)

All the works created by the craftsmen in the thirty-three countries in the east [part of Japan] are offspring of Temmyō. Because all the works except Old Temmyō, Sano Temmyō, and Odawara Temmyō are poor. Those poor pieces made in Bandō are called *Kantōmono*.

The section that follows the one on Ashiya in the *Bampō zensho* (1694) reads:

ITEM Temmyō Good works were made in Shimotsuke [Tochigi prefecture].

These are Kantō kettles first made during the era of Emperor Fushimi (1265-1317, r. 1287-1297). A detailed discussion of the kettles is contained in volume 30 of the *Taiheiki*. Some have cast patterns and others have none.



Left, Temmyō *hajikibada* (thrown-clay-bits surface) and, center, *chirimenbada* (crepe surface). Photos courtesy of Naniwasha. Right, Temmyō *bikibada* (surface with turning marks visible). Photo courtesy of Yūzankaku Shuppan.

Temmyō kettles were made around the time of Emperor Fushimi in the Kamakura period. Temmyō production was begun at the location that today is called Sano city in Tochigi prefecture. Casters are still active there. In the Meiji era (1868-1912) there were about thirty shops engaged in the casting of pans and kettles.

According to the history of kettles for boiling water that has been handed down to Shōda Jirōzaemon, who succeeded in the tradition of the Temmyō casters, the casters of Temmyō came from Hiokisho, Sayamagonai, Tanan-gun, Kawachi, in 1683. It has been said that the origin of Temmyō casting was in the production of arms in Kanaoka, Kanaya in Ashikaga country for the expeditionary force headed by Fujiwara Hidesato, who was sent to suppress the rebellion led by Taira Masakado in 939. Around that time the casting of tea kettles shaped like earthen teapots began in Kanaoka. Later, a craftsman named Zekan cast a kettle for boiling water modeled after a Temmyō kettle that was made in Kawachi. This kettle made by Zekan was called *shō Temmyō yugama* (small Temmyō kettle for boiling water) or *Anzangama* because it was made in Jian 3 (1023).*

* Jian 3 in Japanese is read Jian sannen. The last syllable of the era name, *an* is combined with the first syllable of the year number, in this case the number three or *san* in Japanese, to make the name Ansan or Anzan.



Temmyō kettle with lined body. A second lid made of iron (not shown) accompanies this kettle. Diameter of mouth 13.6 cm., diameter of body 26.4 cm., height 13.9 cm. Photo courtesy of Tokyo National Museum.

An old Temmyō kettle is characterized by the projecting style of its mouth, called a *koshikiguchi*, and the upright lugs called *jōbari* or lugs shaped like the silhouette of a mountain. However, these characteristics are not necessarily unique to Temmyō kettles; similar forms exist among the kettles generally used for boiling water that were made by casters in the Yamato and Chūgoku regions. Temmyō kettles have a hard finish that gives them an austere look. It is very rare to find one featuring designs in relief. Instead, the craftsman of a Temmyō kettle focused his attention on the overall texture of the kettle surface. For example, thin lines that were made by the turning marks on the outer mold used to make the kettle create a surface called *biki-bada*. This kind of surface, as well as the crepelike surface texture called *chirimenhada* and a fine, smooth surface like the skin of catfish called *namazuhada*, is seen on very old kettles. Temmyō kettles made in later years have a rough, rocklike texture called *iwahada*, or a texture called *hajikibada* that was achieved by throwing clay bits onto the surface of the kettle mold. The effect of the carefully textured surface of Temmyō kettles or iron kettles made in the Kanto region, agreed with the masters of wabi tea. These kettles came to be sought after and Temmyō craftsmen were encouraged to refine their techniques and expand production.

The *Kanjan Sōshin nikki* describes the characteristics of Temmyō kettles as follows:



Ashiya kettle cast by O-oe Nobuhide with the inscribed date Eishō 14 (1517). This orthodox shape (*shinnari*) kettle features smooth areas with designs of pines and flowering plum and an *arare* (hailstone) surface. Important Cultural Property. Diameter of mouth 14.3 cm. Photo courtesy of the Nezu Art Museum.



Temmyō kettle with projecting neck and gently sloping shoulders. Diameter of mouth 15.8 cm. Photo courtesy of Miyahara Shōeidō.

The tips of the hailstone [patterns] are pointed and the inside of the mouth is rough. At times, these hailstones were made through the *yuguchi*, the hole at the bottom of the kettle through which the metal was first poured into the mold. There are varied surface textures, such as *bikibada*, *iwabada*, and *kinubada*. Iwabada is seen on the *semehimo* style of kettle [that is characterized by a small mouth and the location of the lugs near the mouth]. All the kettles made in the thirty-three countries in the east are derived from Temmyō. However, casting molds were made with earth from each of thirty-three localities. Patterns are hard. Because some earth [used for molds] is hard and others soft, the surfaces of [the kettles] vary.

The *Kamashi no yuisho* affirms the early Ashiya kettles to be five hundred years old and those of Temmyō to be four hundred years old. As the practice of tea developed and spread during the late Muromachi period, however, Temmyō kettles were as much in demand as the older Ashiya kettles. The skill of Temmyō casters was recognized, and their products came to be used often. As was true in Ashiya in the west, many skilled craftsmen emerged in the east; casting techniques improved and many famous kettles linked with the esthetic taste of the tea masters came to be made at this time.

Odawara Temmyō

The third type of kettle listed by the *Kamashi no yuisho* as being the best of those made in the Kantō region is Odawara Temmyō. All others were simply classified as *Kantō zukuri*, meaning made in the Kantō region, and were considered of poorer quality. This document locates the production site of Odawara Temmyō kettles at Odawara in Kanagawa prefecture. However, there is another opinion expressed in the *Chukakei* genealogy of casters, which holds Odawara to be Ō-otawara in Tochigi prefecture.

According to the *Kanjan Sōshin nikki*, the casting of Odawara Temmyō began around the time of the second generation of Temmyō casters in Sano. Important casters of the Mononobe clan and the Kiyohara clan lived in Soshū, present-day Kanagawa prefecture, during the Kamakura period. In the sixteenth century, the Yamada clan of casting craftsmen resided in Odawara. One opinion is that they had moved from Tannamigo in Kawachi in the late Tenbun era (1532-1555). Another opinion is that the casters of Odawara had come there from Iiyama because the Hōjō clan who ruled the region wished to have the casters located near the site of their castle in Odawara. In anticipation of Hideyoshi's attack on Odawara in 1589, the Hōjō assembled all the casters in their territory to make guns, and the chief of these casters was from the Yamada clan. There were also many casters gathered in what is now called Atsumi city near Odawara.

IV. Kyōgama

The tea of the Higashiyama era that originally had focused on utensils imported from China shifted its direction, to include the adoption of Japanese objects and the ideals of wabi tea, with the appearance of Murata Shukō (1421?-1502), the father of chanoyu as we know it today. Takeno Jōō (1502-1555) and Sen Rikyū (1522-1591) who followed Shukō, firmly established wabi tea. These three tea masters transformed the formal *shin* style of chanoyu into the informal *so* style. Rich merchant tea men who had connections with powerful samurai supported wabi tea, and it became a popular movement centered in Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara. This change had a significant effect on the production and design of tea kettles. Because there were not enough old Ashiya and Temmyō kettles to accommodate the increased demand for tea kettles, and because Ashiya and Temmyō were geographically far from Kyoto, the local production of tea kettles began in Kyoto, under the watchful supervision of tea masters. Such master craftsmen as Nishimura Dōnin, Nagoshi Zensei, and Tsuji Yojirō appeared and created kettles which were different from Ashiya and Temmyō kettles, and which reflected the refined elegance of Kyoto. Since that time Kyoto has been the center of tea kettle production.

The earliest casting known to have been done in Kyoto was of temple bells. While no longer extant, the bell of Seshidō in Chionin temple which was said to have been made in 1517 bore the inscription, "Craftsman Gorōzaemonnojō Kunitsugu of Sanjō." Another early work of a Kyoto caster is the bell at Keirinji temple in Kyoto. This bell, which is extant, was made in 1542 and has the inscription, "Craftsmen from Sanjō; Fujiwara Kuniyasa, Nanemon, and Ietsugu." Inscriptions also indicating the activities of a guildlike organization called a *za* began to appear in Kyoto during the 1570s. The inscription dated 1573 on the bell of Genkaiji in Fukui prefecture reads, "Craftsman Kondō Tanbanojō of the Sanjō *kamaza* (kettle guild) in Kyoto." The inscription dated 1575 on Rendaiji's temple bell in Shiga prefecture reads, "Craftsman Kuniyasa of the *kamaza*." The number of castings done after the 1570s increased, indicating that the kettle guild in Kyoto was established by then and that craftsmen were increasingly active. According to the *Kamashi no yuisho*, the early works made in Kyoto included:

ITEM Kyoto kettles made by [Oda] Nobunaga's kettle craftsman Nishimura Dōnin, who was designated [by Nobunaga] *tenka ichi* ("best under heaven"). [Dōnin was] a contemporary of Jōō.

ITEM Kyoto kettles made by Nagoshi Zensei, who was [Tokugawa] Ieyasu's kettle craftsman. The same period. His ancestor was Jōmi Yaemon. [Zensei's] kettles were not Ashiya or Temmyō kettles, yet he took the good points of both [these types of] kettles and his works are good. They were produced during the Tembun (1532-1555), Kōji (1555-1558), and Eiroku (1558-1570) eras.



Kyōgama kettle called *Tōyōbō* made by Tsuji Yojirō that was once part of the collection of the tea master Kobori Enshū (1579-1647). Height 17.9 cm., diameter of mouth 10.8 cm., diameter of body 15.6 cm.



Above: Kyōgama kettle called *Sakuragawa* made by Nishimura Dōnin that was once in the possession of the Sen family. Height 20.0 cm., diameter of mouth 10.6 cm., diameter of body 26.8 cm. *Below:* Kyōgama kettle called *Amidadogama* made by Tsuji Yojirō. Height 21.9 cm., diameter of mouth 14.2 cm., diameter of body 27.2 cm.



ITEM Kyoto kettles made by Tsuji Yojiro. He was designated *tenka ichi*. He was [Toyotomi] Hideyoshi's kettle craftsman and a contemporary of Sen Rikyū. His first kettles were made [in cooperation] with Tozaemon and Yashiro.

Nishimura Dōnin, a master craftsman who ranks with Yojirō, was Nobunaga's kettle craftsman as well as Takeno Jōō's. According to the *Kamashi keifu*, Dōnin was also called Kunitsugu and died in 1555 at age 51. Although it has also been said that Dōnin was Yojirō's teacher, there is no conclusive evidence to support this. Only a few kettles are definitely known to have been made by Dōnin. The *Meibutsugama-shoji nayose*, a list of the names of people who own famous kettles, written in the Genroku era (1688-1704) by the kettle craftsman Nishimura Dōya, lists only two pieces made by Dōnin. They are:

1. Ariakegama. The shoulder and body of the kettle is shaped to look like a folded *chōchin* (paper lantern). The lugs have the design of a monkey. It belongs to Yurinken [Takatsukasa Sukenobu].
2. Ekubogama. It has an *ubaguchi* (hag's mouth) type of mouth that is curved slightly inward and has demon-mask lugs. It belongs to Nakamura Shichirobe.

Other kettles that today are attributed to Dōnin include the *Sakuragawagama*, *Kurinalgama*, and *Katatsukigama*. His kettles have rough forceful surfaces that are nevertheless elegant; on the whole they have a majestic appearance. Clearly, he was a master craftsman who was dissatisfied with traditional Ashiya and Temmyō kettles, and under Jōō's influence created kettles that couple the subdued taste of wabi tea with boldness.

According to the *Kamashi no yuisho*, Dōnin was a contemporary of Jōō and Nobunaga. However, kettles made by Dōnin are not mentioned in the chronicles of tea gatherings of the period. Therefore, it seems more reasonable to suppose that he was active during the Bunroku (1592-1596) and Keichō (1596-1615) eras, because these dates appear on other works by Dōnin, such as inscribed temple bells. It is also believed that Dōnin was not originally a caster specializing in kettles but, instead, was a caster of temple bells and garden lanterns, who began to make kettles in response to the demands of the day and under the direction of tea masters.

According to the *Kamashi no yuisho* and *Chūkakei*, Yojiro was born in Tsujimura, Awata-gun, Ōmi (present-day Shiga prefecture). It is said that Yojirō was a disciple of Nishimura Dōnin and had two disciples, Yashirō and Tōzaemon. Yojirō also made garden lanterns at first, but later, when he made kettles, he was designated "best under heaven," (*tenka ichi*) and called himself "the best kettle craftsman under heaven, Yojirō," (*Tenka ichi kamadaiku Yojirō*). Many kettles are attributed to him.

Yojiro was a master craftsman whose wares best exhibit the characteristics of Kyoto kettles. He is famous as the originator of the technique called *yakinuki*, a technique of firing a cast kettle. Kettles so fired have a gentle texture and an elegant finish. To prevent collapse and melting, the kettle walls must be uniformly thick,

requiring great skill, which is another reason why the technique Yojirō developed made him famous.

In addition to the surface of the kettle, another feature that became popular through the influence of tea masters is *baochi*. Old Ashiya and Temmyō kettles have an encircling flange between the upper and lower portions of the kettle body. A kettle flange crumbling off is referred to as *baochi*. It has been said that Rikyu liked the effect and he instructed Yojirō to start making kettles that simulated it. This characteristic detail became a standard feature during the development of Kyoto kettles.

Tea masters saw gracefulness in an old Ashiya or Temmyō kettle whose flange had naturally disintegrated due to years of use. They sought the same look in new kettles. To create *baochi*, the flange was broken off with a hammer. This led the craftsmen to devise a way to make thicker-walled kettles, for there was some likelihood of breaking the kettle itself when hammering the flange.

Yojirō's works are well suited for the tea hut, and represent a peak in the history of kettles made for chanoyu. Old Ashiya and Temmyō kettles had originally been used for boiling water or for medical purposes, and tea masters, seeing a simple beauty in the aged surface of these old kettles, adopted them for the tea service. Naturally, these old Ashiya or Temmyō kettles differ from kettles that were especially made for tea such as those made by Yojirō which were intended from the beginning to have an effect that harmonized with the wabi esthetic.

Yojirō created the *Amidadōgama*, the *shiribarigama* type that has a broad hip, the cylindrical *unryūgama*, and the *yohōgama* that has a square body. These kettles featured an elegant gentleness unique to the culture of Kyoto which contrasts with the cool, more calculated feeling of Ashiya and Temmyō kettles. This gentleness is characteristic of kettles made by Yojirō and Tōzaemon. What is more, numerous kettles in the "Yojirō shape" (*Yojirōgama*) were made in later generations.

With the arrival of the relatively peaceful Edo period, the way of tea spread widely and flourished. Classification of famous tea utensils began during this period and genealogies of kettle craftsmen were started. In 1700 Nishimura Dōya wrote *Kamashi no yuisho*, a history of kettle craftsmen, and provided guidelines for later years. In 1845 the *Chuji ryakkukei*, a genealogy of kettle casters, was inserted into the *Chake suikoshū*, five volumes of miscellaneous notes on tea masters and tea utensils published sometime during the period 1841-48. The names of casters were listed in the *Chadō sentai*, miscellaneous notes on the way of tea and tea utensils written in the mid-Edo period. Taken together, these writings cover all the important kettle craftsmen of the Edo period. Based on these genealogies, *Shinsen kamashi keifu*, a new genealogy of kettle craftsmen, was written in 1914 by Katori Hozuma.

Of all the art objects associated with chanoyu, the iron kettle makes the most of the special characteristics of iron, and in many ways exhibits that sense of beauty particular to the Japanese people. Arising from humble origins, the kettle, initially appreciated solely for its function, later received attention from the tea masters who shaped the esthetic of wabi tea. They gave expression in cast iron to their taste for noble simplicity and thereby transformed the kettle into a work of art.



1. A drawing of the profile of the proposed kettle is made. Photos courtesy of Negoro Moshō and Rikogakusya Publishing Co., Ltd.

Appendix: How Iron Kettles are Made

The first task is to make a rough drawing. An old kettle is frequently used as a model. From this drawing a paper model is cut and used as the template to transfer the shape to a board. The shape that is cut out of the board is half the kettle cut vertically straight down the center. An outer mold for the kettle is then formed by turning this half-shape, pivoting it on the axis of the kettle mold.

The outer kettle mold, constructed in two halves, top and bottom, is made from a mixture of clay dissolved in water and sand, that is called *mane*. From the earliest times iron sand has been used to make kettles because it produced a hard finish. The inside of the mold is filled with *mane* that has been mixed with chopped rice straw, thus giving the clay coarseness. This process of mixing straw with the clay helps to remove the gas that is created when molten iron is poured into the mold, and



2. The kettle template is turned inside the outer mold to give it the proper contours.



3. The completed outer mold before the final applications of fine, sieved *mane*.



4. A design for the body of the kettle is worked into the inside surface of the outer mold.



5. Lug dummies are buried in the wall of the outer mold.

to prevent the mold from collapsing. To finish the mold a finer mixture of mane is added, followed by a still finer mane that has been sieved.

The lugs are made before the surface preparation takes place. Lugs in the shape of a demon mask or a mountain are made with clay, and fired. The molds for lugs are made from these fired models and then buried in the wall of the kettle mold. At times when only one kettle is to be made from the mold, or when a kettle has a complicated shape, the lost wax technique is employed.

The surface, finished with a very fine mane, becomes the inside wall of the outer mold and will make direct contact with the molten iron that will become the outer surface of the kettle. A kettle craftsman painstakingly works the inside surface of the mold to produce the surface texture he desires. The overall effect of a kettle is determined by the way the surface is prepared and reveals the craftsman's skill.



6. The completed outer molds are fired together and then allowed to cool.



7. The inner mold is cast in the outer mold, fired, and then removed for shaving.



8. Using a length of bamboo, dust and any other debris is blown out of the mold to ready it for casting.

Designs on the surface of a kettle are called *jimon*, whether they are overall or concentrated in certain areas. Kettles to be used over a deep sunken hearth feature designs only on the upper part of the kettle, because the lower part will not be visible. The design from the rough drawing is transferred to the mold by pressing with a pallet. A long, narrow pallet, shaped like a bamboo leaf and made of iron, brass, or copper according to the needs of the craftsman, is used to incise the details of the design in the surface of the mold. When the surface is finished, the top and bottom halves of the mold are fired together.

The firing of the mold is a very important process, because a poor firing can result in mold breakage or an unsatisfactory flow when the molten iron is being poured into the mold. After the mold is fired, it is filled with clay to make the inner mold. Then this is fired. Its size is reduced by shaving or turning in order to attain the desired space to pour the molten metal between the outer



9. The inner mold is placed in the upper half of the outer mold.



10. Small pieces of iron are placed on the inner mold to keep it from rising during the casting process.



11. Molten iron is poured in through a hole in the center of the bottom half of the outer mold.

surface of the inner mold and the inner surface of the outer mold. The top and bottom halves of the outer mold are joined and tightly secured. This must be done with some care, otherwise they might separate or shift under the pressure of the molten iron. The surfaces of the inner and outer molds that will come into contact with the molten iron are coated with a mixture of fine charcoal powder and clay slip, or smoked with burning pine until they turn black. This makes for the easy removal of the molds after the casting is completed.

Finally, the mold is placed upside down and iron is poured in from the *yuguchi*, a hole at the center of the bottom of the kettle mold. When old cast iron is reused, the molten iron pours well and casts easily. For this reason it seems that casters frequently use old iron kettles, pots, and pans for their material. This applies to all casting work, not only to kettle making.

The outer molds are removed and the inner mold broken and removed. The newly cast kettle is



12. The kettle is removed from the outer mold. The inner mold still remains to be broken off the kettle body.



13. The kettle is left outdoors to rust naturally.



14. Small surface flaws that remain from the casting process are hammered off.

fired until red hot, and finished by peeling off the burnt surface. Finally, coloring is applied to the kettle, another area where the characteristics of individual craftsmanship are revealed. Japanese lacquer (*urushi*) is most commonly used today. A finish with a reddish cast is attained by the addition of iron oxide to the lacquer. It seems each craftsman in the past had his own secret of coloring. Some of the secret methods included coloring with the tooth-blackening paste called *baguro*, painting with blue copper vitriol or sulphur, or smoking with pine needles. 



15. The kettle is heated and a lacquer glaze is applied.



16. The lacquer finish is brushed with a wet brush to complete the body of the kettle.

The Esthetics of Chanoyu, Part 4

Tanikawa Tetsuzo

The artistic element in chanoyu is a function of *sakui*, or creativity. The following quotation, an evaluation of the tea master and linked-verse poet Tsuji Gensai found in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*¹, demonstrates the importance of creativity.

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

As this quotation indicates, connoisseurship or an eye for beauty is inseparable from the creative workings of the mind. This has been discussed in Part 2 (see "Sakui: The Core of the Artistic Element," "The Esthetics of Chanoyu, Part 2," *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 25, 1980, pp. 17-18). It is fundamental in the world of the arts, but it needs special emphasis in chanoyu, which is mistakenly believed to be an art of appreciation involving little creative activity.

As implied in the quotation from the *Sōjimboku*², "This room is Rikyū's creation," creativity can be expressed anywhere—the building of the tearoom or tea hut, the arrangement of the garden path that leads to a tearoom, the placing of stepping-stones in the garden, the display of utensils, the manner of preparing tea, the choice of teabowls, and the way the tea scoop is carved. However, it is not necessarily concerned solely with the total production of setting the stage for chanoyu.

There are numerous items that have been selected and incorporated for use as utensils for chanoyu. Take for example Korean Ido bowls. Those that are highly valued as teabowls by the masters had originally been used simply as rice or soup bowls in Korea. A small basket of the type worn by a woodcutter around his waist to carry a hatchet was selected and adopted for use as a flower container. Once an item has been adopted, it evolves from an object for informal use into an object for formal use isolated from the world of everyday life. Terms like "find" or "discover" (*miidasu*), "select" (*mitateru*), "adopt" (*toriageru*), or "preference" or "taste" (*konomu*) are frequently used in the world of chanoyu. Examples of usage of these terms are found at several points in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*: "Ido bowls are the world's best Koryo [Korean] teabowls. They were discovered (*miidasu*) by Yamanoue Sōji and became famous;" "*Tsukumo nasu* . . . this eggplant-shaped thick tea container (*chaire*) was discovered (*miidasu*) by Murata Shukō and became Higashiyama *gomotsu*;" or "kettle hangers (*jizai*) had been in use since early days but they became the favorites (*konomi idasu*) of Jōō and Sōeki [Sen Rikyū]." The section that lists famous thick tea con-

¹"The Esthetics of Chanoyu, Part 4" is the last of four installments of a translation and adaptation of the author's *Cha no bigaku* [The Esthetics of tea] published in 1977 by Tankosha Publishing Company. The first installment appears in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 23 (1980), the second in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 25 (1980), and the third in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 26 (1981).

²*Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 27, 1981©by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.

ainers in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* includes terms like “find” (*boridasu*) or “buy” (*kau*). For example, “originally, the thick tea container was Akaki Settsu-no-kami’s find (*boridasu*)” or “originally it was bought (*kau*) at a fair in Tennōji.” The term “find” used here has the same meaning as in today’s usage, meaning he made a lucky find at Tennōji. Concerning flower containers, it is written that “Sōeki made the find of a Bizen *take no ko* [flower container].” “To discover” or “to make a find” and adopt something as a utensil for chanoyu requires connoisseurship. In this way an object is sanctioned for use as a utensil for this formal occasion. Creativity is at work here. Unless one has hosted many tea gatherings or has had much experience selecting utensils and combining utensils in various ways, one is not capable of making such a discovery or find. Nor is one capable of handling such utensils well. Matters of taste cannot be separated from discovering utensils suitable for chanoyu. The preferences or tastes (*konomi*) that have been handed down to this day as “Sen Rikyū’s taste” or “Kobori Enshū’s taste” were based on the nature and temperament of these men, but this kind of sensitivity could not be attained without their creativity. “[Takeno] Jōō liked and used a *tsurube* (well bucket) as a water jar, a wooden vessel used to cook and serve rice called a *mentsū* [as a waste water receptacle], and a bamboo lid rest” (*Yamanoue Soji ki*); “He [Furuta Oribe] preferred (*konomu*) a large teabowl,” “As for a Korean teabowl, a lightweight one was preferred (*konomu*) by Kobori Enshū,” and “[Enshū] preferred (*konomu*) to use white charcoal . . .” (*Chadō shiso denshō*³). These items do not have much importance individually but in combination with others they contributed to the formation of the chanoyu tradition of the tea masters Jōō, Oribe, and Enshū.

Preference involves not only making discoveries and selections but also includes having utensils and tearooms made to one’s own design. In other words, one’s taste leads one to create things. Originally, Korean bowls that had been brought to Japan were “selected” for use in tea, but in later years orders and specifications for utensils were sent to Korea. After guest houses for the reception and residence of Japanese visitors were established by the Yi dynasty government in Pusan and Seoul in the early Muromachi period, Japanese in these places made their own teabowls using their preferred glazes and shapes or had them made to suit their taste. Raku teabowls came into being because of Rikyū and were made in accordance with his taste. Shino and Oribe teabowls were made in the taste of Furuta Oribe.

Taste

From the examples given it can be seen that taste, or preference, is not simply a matter of appreciation but can itself become a creative act. As a result, a tea master can become a potter, a landscape architect, and a designer of tearooms. This kind of activity is representative of the special creativity encountered in the world of chanoyu. To put it differently, this kind of creative activity is executed from the standpoint of an artist who has the leading role, that of host, in producing a tea gathering. When this activity becomes involved with the world outside of chanoyu, it loses its vitality. For example, a Raku teabowl or an Oribe teabowl is alive when placed in the setting of a tearoom, but loses its life when it becomes an object purely for the sake of artistic appreciation.

Certainly chanoyu has greatly influenced various fields of Japanese art, expanding the range and depth of its beauty. But, at the same time it has twisted the expression of beauty in unexpected directions.

The individual expressions of beauty in chanoyu, from the level of appreciation or connoisseurship—selecting and incorporating—to the level of creative work—making objects or having objects made to suit one's taste—as well as direct examination of the utensils and places used, will reveal the artistic style of a tea master. At the same time these will open the way to an understanding of the essence of chanoyu as art.

The Question of Preference in the Taste of Sen Rikyū

Rikyū is quoted in the *Chadō shiso densho* in the entry for the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of Tensho 7 (1579): "When I saw the shape of the incense container, I wanted a *natsume* (tea container) with the same shape." He was talking about a Koryu Suisen incense container that had belonged to the Matsuya family. Rikyū thought the shape of the lid was beautiful and he adopted this same shape for the lid of his *natsume* tea container. The same story appears in the same book in the chapter "Shōan kuju" on the oral instructions given by Shōan; "[Shōan said] the round modeling of the Suisen incense container is impossible to describe in words. Rikyū liked to see this shape in everything, particularly in a *natsume*."

Rikyū expressed his taste in all the utensils he used for chanoyu—teabowls, flower containers, kettles, water jars, waste water receptacles, tea scoops, and so on. Some of them were discovered and selected from among what had been unnoticed in everyday use or found collecting dust in a shop. Some of the creations were his own works and others were works executed under his direction. But the most important aspect of his activity was that *connoisseurship itself was a distinct part of creativity*.

In the world of crafts, much depends on the skill of specialists. Even today, mass production has brought into the world a new type of artist called an industrial designer. Of course in Rikyū's day, artists' ideas and designs were not processed through machines or factories, but rather entrusted to the hands of a few favored craftsmen. The best known craftsmen who worked under Rikyū's direction were Chōjirō, who made teabowls, Yojirō, who made kettles, and Seiami, who made lacquer tea containers. There are common, characteristic shapes among the works of these three men which clearly reflect Rikyū's taste.

Bamboo and Basket Flower Containers

It appears that flower containers made of a length of bamboo were used prior to Rikyū's time. These early examples were originally used to carry flowers that were intended as gifts.

It was Rikyū who created bamboo flower containers expressly for use in the tearoom. His containers were made in shapes never seen before. It has even been said that the very first bamboo flower containers were the three that Rikyū made with bamboo from Mount Nira during Hideyoshi's siege of Odawara castle in 1590. Each was individually named; the first, "Shakuhachi," was presented to Toyotomi Hideyoshi who led the siege; the second, "Onjōji," Rikyū gave to his son-in-law Shōan

upon Shōan's return from the battle field. Rikyū kept the third, "Yonaga," for himself. The length of "Shakuhachi" is the same as the length of a shakuhachi flute (approximately 55.5 cm). It is simply a bamboo tube with a small hole for hanging cut in the top part of the tube. "Onjōji" is made from three segments of bamboo with one wide opening cut in the upper part in which the flowers are placed; and "Yonaga," made from two segments of bamboo with one wide opening cut into each of the segments. These three containers have since become the prototypes for most containers fabricated of bamboo. The distance between the nodes and the size and location of the cut openings seen in these three examples, as well as their appearance as a whole, exhibit balance and harmony.

While there is some reason to question the veracity of the stories surrounding the actual manner in which these bamboo containers came into being, there is absolutely no doubt that creative activity took place. There is one story that Rikyū made thirty-six bamboo flower containers. One of these containers is named "Ongyoku." The authenticity of this container is most reliable because of its transmission (*denrai*) and the name written in ink that appears to be in Rikyū's hand. It is a container styled like "Onjōji." After Rikyū's day, containers made of three segments of bamboo, and variations like Enshū's "Sairai" that has no top joint, were designed. In addition, numerous shapes of bamboo flower containers have been made to suit the tastes of the masters of the three branches of the Sen family and the masters of other schools of tea. Some of these containers are not at all beautiful, reflecting the corruption of chanoyu that took place with time. However, there is no question that Rikyū's creative works supplied the initial force for the creative activities that followed in his wake.

Flower containers of basketry are similar to containers made of bamboo. However, they do not reflect the notable creativity seen in bamboo flower containers. There are two basket flower containers associated with Rikyū, the *nata kago* and the *Katsura kago*. The former was used by woodcutters to carry a hatchet (*nata*) and the latter was used as a creel by fishermen on the Katsura River. It is not clear whether it was Rikyū who first discovered them and adopted them as flower containers, but there are sufficient reasons to consider them to be in "Rikyū's taste," or "style" (*Rikyū konomi*). As time passed legends concerning Rikyū's personality grew in number, labels like "Rikyū's taste" or "Rikyū's style" came into use to add authority to certain tea utensils, even if in fact the utensils themselves were made before or after Rikyū's time. This came about because Rikyū was respected as a unique and unparalleled artist who expressed himself at every level of chanoyu, through appreciation and discovery, selection and adoption, and creation.

The names of basket flower containers are not always derived from the original purpose for which the vessels were used. Some were named for the area in which they were made, such as the *Ōhara kago*, *Arima kago*, or *Miyajima kago*, and some were named for the tea master who treasured or made them, such as the *Sōzen kago*, named after the Hisada Sōzen who made it. Some of them were discovered or selected and incorporated into chanoyu and some were made to be used especially as flower containers. Chinese baskets were most highly prized when baskets began to be used as flower containers. A famous one is the Chinese basket with two handles that has a

note of authentication written on the storage box, saying that it was transmitted from Rikyū. Some of the Sung and Yuan dynasty paintings that were exported to Japan during the Muromachi period show flowers in baskets. The idea to use a basket as a flower container in a tearoom might have come from these paintings. However, the shape, the quality of bamboo, and the weave of baskets of Chinese origin are completely different from those in Rikyū's taste. The basket flower containers of later years were influenced by Rikyū's taste. Again, while not as much creativity is exhibited in basket flower containers as in those made of tubes of bamboo, baskets are still a part of the esthetic unity of the art of chanoyu, attained through the process of discovering, selecting, incorporating, and creating new shapes.

Comments on Ceramics

Ceramic objects that are treasured in the world of chanoyu have special qualities. There is no other country, East or West, where these kinds of ceramics are as loved and prized as they are in Japan where their appreciation is wholly tied to the development of chanoyu. Today some people refer to these objects with a newly invented term, *chatō*, which literally means "tea ceramics." The simplest way to acquire an understanding of the ideal beauty in the world of chanoyu is to clarify in one's mind the nature of ceramics used at tea gatherings.

Primitive ceramics wherever they are created share certain common qualities. This is most probably because they are all made in response to the immediate needs that are part of primitive life the world over. Where small differences do exist such as in the makeup of the clay, kiln structure, or firing methods, these are overshadowed by the striking similarities of the overall production methods. The same is true with ceramics that are separated from everyday use, such as those that are used for ceremonial occasions. The similarities in the forms of primitive beliefs account for the similarity of the vessels used for rites and magic. The "purely ceramic element" is found in wares used every day as well as those used for ceremonial purposes. The term "purely ceramic element" (*junsui tōjitokina mono*) came into use in Japan in response to the finding that as civilizations advance, their ceramics become more intertwined with pictorial and sculptural interests. There are two types of ceramics that are particularly expressive of the "purely ceramic element": Sung dynasty white and celadon porcelain and Momoyama period ceramics made for chanoyu.

The most striking feature of Sung dynasty white and celadon porcelain is the orderly, pure, and noble beauty of their shapes and glazes. Clearly, this beauty was intentionally created, the kind of beauty that is farthest from that seen in primitive ceramics. On the other hand, tea ceramics of the Momoyama period reflect a nostalgia for the primitive. This becomes evident at a glance in the case of flower containers, water jars, and teabowls of Iga, Shigaraki, Bizen, Karatsu, and Shino and Raku wares. This is because prototypes of these wares with a primitive quality were originally discovered and selected from among the miscellaneous vessels used in everyday life. Following this, the criteria for the beauty seen in primitive wares were applied to Iga, Shigaraki, and other ceramics, during the Momoyama period.

Some tea ceramics made during the Momoyama period have an artificial look. In contrast to the technically refined and finished beauty of Sung dynasty white and

celadon porcelains, many tea ceramics of the Momoyama period exhibit a warmth and gentleness that is a product of the potters' efforts to give them a natural appearance devoid of any semblance of artificiality. However, at times the intent to avoid artificiality resulted in an affected look. Ceramics with irregular shapes created by accident in the kiln do not look in any way artificial, but ceramics intentionally created with irregular shapes often do. However, some irregular shapes that were created intentionally do not look affected at all, like the Shino teabowl "Unohanagaki" mentioned in Part 3 (see "The Significance of Irregular Shapes," "The Esthetics of Chanoyu, Part 3, *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 26, 1981, pp. 36-38). These can be found in all kinds of tea ceramics—teabowls, water jars, and flower containers. In the shapes, textures, and glazes of these ceramics one can sense a moss-covered rock, water falling down a cliff, or an open field with lingering snow. The proximity to nature seen in these wares is not the same as that of primitive ceramics. It is an approach to nature that surpasses affectation and is reached after exhausting all artificiality. An extremely advanced expression of artistic awareness, it has been naturally drawn out of the spirit of chanoyu and nurtured by tea practitioners throughout its development.

Ideals of Beauty in Chanoyu

The kind of beauty we have been discussing is found in tearooms, gardens, and utensils used at tea gatherings, and it is through these that we can explore the fundamentals of the esthetic unity of the art of chanoyu. Of course they should not be examined indiscriminately, because the old tradition of serving tea in a formal shoin reception room using a *daisu* stand survives to this day, and the styles of individual tea masters and the many schools of tea are varied. Even tea ceramics present varied styles; many works of Nonomura Ninsei (mid-seventeenth century) and Ogata Kenzan (1663-1743) have gorgeous colored designs and are vastly different from the more subdued ceramics typical of Iga and Shigaraki. But these are special cases. Although viewing it from the tea adept's perspective reveals many facets, the beauty expressed exhibits unmistakably universal aspects when viewed by someone outside of the discipline. The esthetic of *wabi* and *sabi* is the source of the universality of chanoyu. It is through this esthetic that the originality of the discipline is best expressed.

The esthetic of *wabi* and *sabi* seeks out beauty in plainness and opposes gorgeousness. It does not, however, sink into mere simplicity. It values naturalness more than ingenuity, but does not end at the simplicity of nature. While it embodies a peaceful state of balance between the sensuous and spiritual element, it also contains great energy. With a complex and deep esthetic awareness, it holds an endless inner abundance and generosity while exhibiting the outward appearance of scarcity and smallness. Murata Shukō touched on this aspect of the esthetic when he defined the quality of Bizen and Shigaraki ceramics as "chill and withered" (*hieyakakeru*) in a note addressed to Furuichi Harima (*Furuichi Harima Hōshi atte issbi*). In a note to Nomura Sōkaku, Rikyū explained its desirability in the procedures of tea:

One's manner for preparing tea (*temae*) should show a firm character, but it should also have an air of gentleness and

modesty, like the dead branch of a tree broken by the weight
of fallen snow.

Wabi

The term wabi, meaning lonesome quietness mixed with depression, was often used
in Japanese literature.

I think tenderly of my beloved,
She must be feeling dispirited (*waburamu*).
For I have no influence,
Just like rubbish or dirt.

Manyōshū

A plover calling for a friend,
In the middle of the night,
He seems to call,
When in reverie and feeling lonesome (*wabīoru*)

Manyōshū

If by chance anyone asks of me,
Tell them I am living alone in sorrow (*wabu*).
On the seashore at Suma,
Wet with sea water and tears.

Kokinshū

A cold wind is blowing over the mountain at Osaka.
It is hard (*wabitsutsu*) to pass the nights on the
mountain,
But I do.
For I have no place to go.

Kokinshū

Once there was a man who went to the eastern
provinces because his fortune sank (*wabite*) in
the capital.

Ise monogatari

He felt melancholy (*wabiaeru ni*) realizing that
he had come a long way.

Ise monogatari

I used to live well,
But now I am a ruined (*wabinureba*) man
Wrapped in clothes
Like those worn by a valet.

Shūishū

Even the plants in the garden will not grow the way I wish.
They are ugly. It is very depressing (*wabishi*).

Tsurezuregusa

These illustrations of the use of the term indicate that wabi could mean feeling miserable and helpless, living a ruined, lonesome, and sad life, or enduring loneliness and hardship, all of which are undesirable feelings and circumstances to avoid in life. However, the usage of the term in the noh song *Matsukaze* indicates a change in meaning.

Since I can't stay in one place forever,
for I am a traveling monk,
Where should I look for the night's lodging?
Here at Suma, by the sea in particular,
A man of refined taste would want to live
A lonesome life of poverty.

In this song the primarily negative connotation of wabi has taken on a positive tone. While a situation tinged with wabi may be sad, lonesome, and helpless, it is not incompatible with a calm and tranquil life. Such a meaning is implied in *Matsukaze*, that straitened circumstances may hold promise. This change in the meaning of wabi probably occurred naturally as the culture of seclusion⁴ developed in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

According to the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, the ultimate state of chanoyu was explained as follows: "The priest Shinkei⁵ states of *renga* (linked verse) that it should be withered and reduced by cold. Chanoyu should ultimately become like this." This association of chanoyu and linked verse can be understood more easily when one remembers that in his youth Jōō was a linked-verse poet who studied under the poet Sanjonishi Sanetaka (1455-1537), and at that time tea was served at linked-verse composition gatherings. It should also be mentioned that Jōō is considered to be the founder of what is called *wabi* tea, or the tea of quiet taste, and as the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* states, "all of today's countless utensils were called to service based on Jōō's judgement."

The concept of wabi in the world of chanoyu originated in the transformation of its meaning. Wabi is used to describe one's lot or frame of mind, such as "a man leading a lonely life (*wabibito*)" (*Chadō shiso densho*), "a poor-looking man (*wabitaru bito*)" (*Bunrui sōjimboku* and *Yamanoue Sōji ki*) or "quiet taste (*wabi suki*)" (*Yamanoue Sōji ki*). Sometimes, wabi is used in connection with the quality and nature of an object or a place, such as "a lonely tower (*wabishiki to*)" in a letter from Toyotomi Hideyoshi to Hashiba Hideyasu, "a plain jar (*wabitaru tsubo*)" (*Tennōjiya kaiki*), "a plain flower container (*wabi hanaire*)" (*Yamanoue Sōji ki*), and "a quiet, small room (*wabi kozashiki*)" (*Nampōroku*). In addition, there are instances when the term refers to the quality associated solely with chanoyu, with no reference at all to man. These are some of the older examples of the use of the term "wabi." But the phrase "a poor-looking man" which appears in the *Bunrui sōjimboku* has a different connotation than "a poor-looking man" in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*. The former book's usage is

closer to the old, original meaning. Based on this usage the *Bunrui sōjimboku* has the following comment:

There are some daimyo and wealthy men who say chanoyu with an emphasis on poverty (*wabi taru*) is interesting. They copy everything from the poor, including their housing and food. But this is in bad taste. A daimyo should act like a daimyo, and a poor man should act like a poor man; to behave in one's own way or to act naturally is essential.

In this instance poverty is simply considered the foundation of wabi; the state of poverty is neither frowned upon nor regarded as something undesirable. The *Bunrui sōjimboku* was written in the middle of the sixteenth century when the service of tea using a daisu in a shoin reception room was considered to be the mainstream of chanoyu, and the trend toward wabi taste was only gradually gaining favor. It should be understood that wabi embraces this historical background of a change in emphasis. Later, it began to be associated with tea masters in general, not only those who espoused and practised wabi tea. This is apparent through its frequent use in the *Chōandōki*⁷ for example. In due time the concept of wabi came to dominate the world of chanoyu.

The transformation of the meaning of wabi became complete as changing values followed closer ties between chanoyu and Zen. There have been ties between the two since the time of Murata Shukō (1421?-1502) who was the first of many famous tea men to associate with Zen priests, particularly at Daitokuji temple in Kyoto. Zen played a decisive role in chanoyu as more and more practitioners of chanoyu began to emphasize wabi. This transition is explained in the *Nampōroku*⁸. A later noteworthy work on chanoyu, the *Zencharoku*⁹ states:

Tea is the same as the way of Zen. It is a training of the mind to realize the nature of self.

Wabi is to lack material good, not to be able to satisfy one's desires, and to live in obscurity. Wabi is not to feel any need even if one is impoverished, not to feel want while lacking, and not to feel depression in manifold hardship. If a man suffers from poverty, grieves over scarcity, and complains of failure, he is truly poor and this is not wabi.

[A man] appears to show wabi taste on the surface but [he] really does not have the spirit of wabi. This is why he spends a fortune on one tearoom, sells arable land to buy rare ceramic vessels and shows them off to distinguished guests. Then he claims that this is wabi taste. What is it that makes him think this is wabi?

These quotations from the *Zencharoku* do not match the following quotation from the *Nampōroku* that plainly describes the world of wabi:

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 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.

The same theme is clearly expressed as the basic principle of wabi in the "Metsugo" book of the *Nanpōroku*:

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.

Therefore, "the strict observance of the meaning of wabi" is "to practice the Buddhist precepts." It may be argued that once one finds wabi one does not feel greed, impiety, wrath, laziness, agitation, and ignorance; a greedy person becomes charitable, observes the precepts instead of violating them, feels tolerant rather than wrathful, concentrates on Zen rather than feeling agitated, and changes ignorance to wisdom. This may all be rhetoric, but, just as the real substance of chanoyu can be revealed in its corrupted aspect, something of wabi's real substance can be expressed through the rhetoric of Zen philosophy. In other words, wabi is not simply an esthetic, but an attitude toward life that has ethical and religious meaning.

This is an inevitable consequence of the fabric of the art of chanoyu. The four elements which constitute chanoyu—formal decorum, the social element, ascetic training, and the artistic element—both attract and repel each other. But the artistic element, while it lacks independence when compared with the other three elements proves to be the catalyst that synthesizes them. Naturally, wabi bears a relation to the four elements in either a positive or a negative way; wabi has ethical and spiritual meaning. However, when chanoyu is viewed as an art, the esthetic of wabi, just like the artistic element, plays a synthesizing role with the other three elements. "The true meaning of wabi" and "wabi's truth" (*Kokon chadō ronben*) are found in this special role.

Sabi

The term *sabi* is not used by tea practitioners as frequently as the term *wabi*. A few examples of its usage follow:

The utensils that have the character of *sabi* (*sabimono*) are made with gourds.

Sansaikō densho, Chadō shiso densho

Calligraphy of an emotional poem or a poem with a lonely (*sabitaru*) air written by a famous poet are used in the tea-room. They do not suit the *chanoyu* held in a four-and-one-half-mat tearoom. It is not *wabi* taste.

Nampōroku (Hosokawa Kaiekidō version)

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*:

Gazing long to the shore—
Never
Was there blossom or crimson leaf:
Out at sea's edge,
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"—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:

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 Rikyu discovered in Ietaka's poem.

Nampōroku

Sabi as used in these quotations expresses quietness, and does not differ from the general usage of the terms in phrases such as "because it is a quiet (*sabitaru*) place surrounded by moss-covered rocks, he wished to live there" (*Heike monogatari*). However, the state of *sabi* referred to here started from nothingness (*muichibutsu*) and was reached after experiencing the austere circumstances of living in solitude. *Sabi* as used in "the old utensils that have simple shapes (*sabimono*) are made with gourds" has a meaning similar to the terms connoted by "the sweetfish swimming upstream [to spawn] (*sabi ayu*)," "a pale, worn kimono (*sabi-goromo*)," or "a poor-looking, masterless samurai (*sabi rōnin*)." It also has a meaning that is somewhat similar to another word, written with a different character but with the same sound, that denotes rust. Some of these and still other meanings of the term are unpleasant. After encompassing all these meanings, the term *sabi* gradually came to mean the simplicity of something quaint, antique, or seasoned—expressive of calm and profundity—as against something with a glittering, immature, and superficial appearance. The following examples of the usage of the word suggest this new meaning:

Once there was a master of wabi tea. All kinds of people, from noblemen to commoners, visited him. It was not that they all went to see his skilled preparation of tea, nor was it

because they wanted to hear him speak, for he was well informed of matters concerning chanoyu. People visited him not because he possessed famous calligraphy and tea containers that they wanted to see. Nor was it for an outing in a scenic place or because he served particularly high quality tea. People went because they were impressed by the fact that his heart was honorable and wholly committed to the modesty and quietness of wabi. His dwelling was seasoned, and his aim was quiet simplicity (*sabiwabitaru*).

*Seigan Zenji chaji jurokkujo,
Chaji shuran*

The chanoyu of seasoned elegance (*sabitaru*) is good, but a superficial air of seasoned elegance (*sabishitaru*) is bad. It is not becoming for a daimyo to have the air of someone who is truly plain and lonesome and appear a man of seasoned simplicity.

Sōkankō jibitsu ansbi

Being graceful and resigned and to have a point worthy of note while subdued (*sabiteiru*) are essentials of chanoyu.

Fumaikō chanoyu kokoroe

The term *sabi* as it is used in these illustrations describes various objects, but not once does it describe a man's circumstances or mental attitude as the term *wabi* is used in such examples as "a man of *wabi*" or "*wabi* taste." "The chanoyu of seasoned elegance" presupposes a tea man with such a state of mind. But still *sabi* refers directly to the nature of chanoyu, and subjective sentiment is merely alluded to indirectly. Compared to "the chanoyu of seasoned elegance," the phrase "his aim was quiet simplicity" appears to be expressing a mental attitude. But this is so because *sabi* is used in combination with *wabi*, immediately following after another "*wabi*" used in the preceding phrase. If the phrase read "his aim was simplicity (*sabitaru*)," it would not be an expression of a mental attitude but a definition of the object aimed at.

There are times when *sabi* is used to describe man, like *sabi rōnin* or *okina sabi*. But *sabi* in *sabi rōnin* suggests a ruined, masterless samurai from his appearance, and *okina sabi* refers to the seasoned elegance of an aged man. It is thought that *sabi* in these illustrations is an abbreviated form of the character for the older term *saobi* and not the same *sabi* we are discussing here. But, in either case, the word still does not describe circumstances or mental attitude. This can be understood more clearly if we substitute the term *sabi* for *wabi* in the illustrations given earlier. When *wabi* describes the nature of an object or a place there is no problem in substituting *sabi* for *wabi*. But there is no expression like "a man of *wabi*," or "*sabi* taste" corresponding to "*wabi* taste." It is correct to say "*sabi* taste" only if the taste refers to the nature of a

formal tea gathering. And even in this instance the word follows customary usage, that is, of describing the quality of a thing or a place, but not that of a person.

Wabi and Sabi Compared

Wabi and sabi, generally thought to be closely related, are often linked together and used in combination. For example, "his aim was quiet simplicity (*sabiwabitaru*)" in the *Seigan Zenji chaji jurokkujo*. In the world of chanoyu, sabi is grasped wholly from the standpoint of contemplation of the nature of a thing or place. Wabi implies a circumstance or a mental attitude, including a man who is in such a circumstance or who has such a mental attitude, as well as describing the nature of a thing or place. There are times when the definition of the nature of a formal tea gathering expresses subjective feelings indirectly, as in the case "seasoned elegance (*sabitaru*) of chanoyu." But the word does not have the direct meaning of a mental attitude or circumstance. The phrase "a sabi dwelling (*sabi jūkyo*)" in the *Nampōroku* directly expresses in all respects the quality of a dwelling and indirectly expresses the austere circumstances of a person's life. *Sabi is purer than wabi as an esthetic because it involves the contemplation of an object for its own sake.* The world of sabi is strengthened by this fact, and has produced such highly advanced art as the haiku of Bashō.

But has the world of wabi tea produced art of such a highly advanced nature as that of Bashō's? I have no choice but to answer in the affirmative when I see the immense variety and high quality of the utensils used to prepare tea. The anonymous works of the craftsmen of Iga, Shigaraki, and Mino, not to mention the utensils crafted by Chōjirō and Hon'ami Kōetsu, are without parallel. They indisputably display the originality of the Japanese, demonstrating it for the first time in chanoyu. But when chanoyu is viewed from the standpoint of a dramatic production based on the interaction of host and guest, I cannot say whether the world of wabi tea has produced as highly an advanced form of art. This is partly because there are differences between the literary art of haiku and the art of dramatic production expressed through the medium of bodily movements.

Conclusion

Rikyū himself said, "I have experienced chanoyu true to my ideal only two or three times in my lifetime" (*Chadō shiso densho*). We have no way of knowing when or where these two or three gatherings were held. Was one of them the legendary tea gathering with a simple morning glory? Or was it the one host-one guest chanoyu, to which Rikyū invited Tsuda Sōkyū, that is recorded in the *Nampōroku*? (See "The Tea Gathering as Impromptu Drama," "The Esthetics of Chanoyu, Part 3," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 26, 1981, pp. 43-48) Or was it the famous farewell gathering Rikyū held in honor of Kokei Sōchin of Daitokuji? Priest Kokei was to be exiled to Tsukushi in Kyushu because he had angered Hideyoshi. For this gathering Rikyū hung a calligraphy by Hsü-t'ang Chih-Yü that belonged to Hideyoshi and was in Rikyū's hands for remounting¹⁰. Or maybe these gatherings were forgotten, never to become legend or

be told as anecdote. But one thing is certain; none could be called "lukewarm tea," meaning resourceless and dull. Each was a "boiling hot tea" performed with earnest concentration. The gathering where Rikyū displayed a single morning glory, the one host to one guest gathering with Tsuda Sōkyū, and the farewell gathering for Priest Kokei were undoubtedly "boiling hot teas."

Although appearing to proceed casually, a bold concentration and condensation of beauty, a quiet but intense exchange between minds, and a deep dedication for which one is willing to risk one's own life take place during a tea gathering of earnest concentration. This kind of gathering is what is called "a tea gathering of *ichigo-ichie* (once in a lifetime)." The spirit behind it is the same as that felt in Bashō's words:

There isn't one haiku I have written in my lifetime that was
not meant to be a death poem.

Hanaya nikki

Actually, even Rikyū must only rarely have hosted such a tea gathering. That is why he said he had experienced chanoyu true to its ideal only two or three times in his lifetime. This indicates the depth of the world of chanoyu, and its endlessness when considered as spiritual training.

[The way of] tea is not simply making tea.
But it is not that [the way of] tea is not tea.
Simply drink tea.
This, this is called tea.

These words, written by the statesman and tea master Ii Naosuke (1815-1860), concisely express the dialectic of chanoyu as ascetic practice that has innumerable moments of negation. The ultimate state one hopes to attain through chanoyu is the state of Zen, described as, "an artless natural way of life is the sole way (*Byōjōshin kore do*)" or "the state in which one sees the world as it is, but one's mind does not become attached to anything and functions smoothly but animatedly (*Ōmushōjūjishō go shin*)".

"You should develop a mind which alights upon nothing whatsoever; and so you should establish it." These are words from a modified passage of a Chinese translation of *The Diamond Sutra*. Zen priest Takuan (1573-1645) took this passage, changed its subject "a bodhisattva" to "you," and incorporated it in the *Fudōchi-shinmyōroku* which he presented to the great swordsman Yagyū Munenori (1571-1646). To explain this passage he wrote:

If this were to be applied to the martial arts, pay no attention to the hands holding the sword. Forget those hands completely and attack. Don't think about the man [you are about to attack]. Consider that you, he, the attacking hands, and the sword are empty, but do not be distracted by the emptiness.

The world of emptiness Takuan referred to shares a common spirit with the state of spiritual freedom described in the *Nampōroku*:

The essence of chanoyu is found in the tea gathering held in a hut. A formal tea gathering held in a formal shoin reception room with a daisu utensil stand adheres strictly to formality, rules, and manners. It is a world of rules and conventions and is an ordinary secular world. 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 with nothing to occupy one's mind. It is a world above the secular world.

When this state is reached, wabi acquires the capacity to symbolize nothingness, just as sabi does. The act of "simply boiling water, making tea, and drinking it" is the foundation of this state. Repeated over and over, this act is the beginning and end of a dialectic that is a continuous, circular movement. The art of chanoyu is found in the inner fulfillment that comes and goes and comes and goes in this never ending circle.

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1. Tea records of the tea master Yamanoue Sōji (1544-1590).
 2. Three-volume work of unknown authorship on the procedures and etiquette of chanoyu. This was the first work on tea to be published in Japan.
 3. 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 master 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.
 4. This was the esthetic and literary culture created by low-ranking courtiers and commoners who took the tonsure and severed their connections with everyday life. However, unlike hermits and ascetics, these recluses enjoyed associating with a small circle of friends. The poet Saigyō (1118-1190); the author of the *Tsurezuregusa*, Yoshida Kenko (1238-1350); the linked-verse poet Sōgi (1421-1502); and Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694) were important contributors to the formulation of the culture of seclusion.
 5. (d. 1544), brilliant poet of both linked verse and the more traditional *waka* forms.
 6. A manuscript of three volumes, divided into ten categories such as manners for the guest, hanging scrolls, flower containers, tea containers, and so on. It is presumed to have been written in 1564. The *Bunrui sōjimboku* is included in the *Chadō zenshu*, 1936.
 7. Anecdotes on chanoyu and tea masters, related by Kubo Gondayū (Chōando, 1571-1640).
 8. A seven-volume work reputed to be the teachings of Sen Rikyū as they were transmitted to his disciple Nambō Sōkei. The oldest version is a 1690 copy made by Tachibana Jitsuzan.
 9. A work discussing various aspects of Zen and chanoyu edited by Jakuan Sōtaku in the late seventeenth century or early eighteenth century.
 10. A detailed description and discussion concerning this particular gathering can be found in *Rikyū no cha* by Horiguchi Sutemi.

Men of Tea: An Evaluation by Yamanoue Sōji, Part 2

Tanihata Akio

In the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, Yamanoue Sōji (1544-1590) designated certain individuals as *suki-sha*. According to Sōji, "one who does not have a single *meibutsu* (famed utensil), but possesses three qualities—inner awareness, creativity, and distinguished achievements—is a *wabi suki-sha*." In other words, Sōji gave the designation of *wabi suki-sha* to a man who persevered in chanoyu under all circumstances, exerting his creative ingenuity even though he lacked famed utensils. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* contains references to both *suki-sha* and *wabi suki-sha*. It seems the difference between the two was whether the person owned one or two famed utensils or none. Those who possessed famed utensils in addition to the qualities of inner awareness, creativity, and distinguished achievements were designated *suki-sha* and those who did not own famed utensils were *wabi suki-sha*.

One person to whom Yamanoue Sōji applied the designation *wabi suki-sha* was a man named Zempō. According to the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, Zempō lived in the neighborhood of Awataguchi in Kyoto. He managed to practice tea with one kettle; besides preparing tea he also used it to cook his meals. His mentor in the practice of tea, Murata Shukō, thought highly of Zempō as a man with a "pure mind."

There is another anecdote about Zempō in a book titled *Henteikan ki*, written by Zuihō Menzan of Ryō'onji temple at Awataguchi. He wrote:

According to an old source, there was a man named Zempō living at Awataguchi in the eastern part of Kyoto. He relished tea, but the only thing [in his possession] that could be called a tea utensil was an eggplant-shaped *tedorigama* (a kettle with a semicircular handle). He invited people at his pleasure and prepared a meal for them using the kettle. Following the meal, he boiled water in the kettle and prepared tea. After seeing Zempō's way of chanoyu, Hideyoshi yearned for Zempō's kettle. He sent Rikyū to Zempō's house with an order to get the kettle, but Zempō dashed it against a rock in the garden, saying that he would rather cease practicing chanoyu altogether than have the kettle taken away.

Rikyū reported this to Hideyoshi. Instead of showing anger, Hideyoshi was impressed by Zempō's integrity. He had two kettles like the one Zempō had destroyed made by a kettle craftsman, gave one to Zempō, and kept the other for himself and cherished it.

"Men of Tea: An Evaluation by Yamanoue Sōji, Part 2" is the second of a series of three articles. "Men of Tea: An Evaluation by Yamanoue Sōji, Part 1" appears in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 26 (1981). *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 27, 1981©by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.

It is said that the *tedorigama* type of kettle Hideyoshi had made for himself still exists at Ryō'onji and with it is a letter with a vermilion seal attributed to Hideyoshi that presents the kettle to the temple.

These two stories are the only anecdotes concerning Zempō. They are not necessarily accurate accounts, for one says that Zempō was Shukō's (1421?-1502) pupil and the other makes him out to be Hideyoshi's (1536-1598) contemporary. But the main points of the two differ only slightly. Aside from the question of dates, it is noteworthy that anecdotes concerning Zempō have been told to this day without much change in content. These tales illustrate Zempō's conception of the way of tea. He submitted to no one, not even to the most powerful man in the secular world, or the highest authority in the world of chanoyu; nor would he even cling to his own treasured utensil which had been a support to him. This must have been the very reason Rikyū, who acted as the intermediary, did not insist on taking the kettle away from him, and Hideyoshi had two kettles made just like the one that Zempō had destroyed. Furthermore, one could infer from the ending that there might have been deep understanding among these three men who each loved tea.

Could it not be that Hideyoshi tolerated Zempō, Rikyū did not insist on taking the kettle, and Zempō persistently refused to hand over the kettle because all three of them were very much aware that chanoyu is a realm where secular power holds no sway and cannot exist unless its independence is respected? That is why Rikyū and Hideyoshi, who were naturally expected to exert their authority in such affairs, yielded in the end to Zempō. Was not Zempō's attitude the one closest to the ideals of the way of tea?

Though their numbers are few, men of Zempō's ilk have appeared repeatedly in the history of chanoyu. Intertwined with stories about the more illustrious tea masters are anecdotes that introduce these colorful personalities. Contemporaries of Shukō, Jōō, Rikyū, or Enshū, these men were renowned solely for their tea practice, and records concerning their lives outside of tea activities are scant. In the centuries-long history of chanoyu that is replete with men and women famous in both the world of chanoyu and the worlds of politics or the arts, the lack of information about these men who distinguished themselves *solely* in chanoyu is not surprising. More often than not the names of these men would probably have been forgotten had they not distinguished themselves in some way that attracted the interest of either the more famous tea masters or the early chroniclers of tea history. Ishiguro Dōtei is an example of such a man.

Dōtei, also known as Ishiguro Saburōzaemon, was a samurai. He was also known as Sembon Dōtei, because he lived near Sembon street in Kyoto when he retired. He served one of the three highest officials of the Muromachi shogunate, Hatakeyama Masanaga (1442?-1493). After retirement he lived on the income from fields that produced 40 *koku* of rice per year, but he did not own a *bachatsubo* (leaf tea storage jar), a tea utensil every tea man of the period was expected to own. Finally, he chanced to hear that a hachatsubo he had coveted was for sale, but he did not have the means to pay for it. After considering his dilemma, he exchanged his means of support, the rice fields that produced 40 *koku* of rice, for the hachatsubo. Later

this storage jar was one of the masterpieces of tea utensils brought together at the behest of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, and was named *Yonjukkoku* ("Forty Koku") in honor of Dōtei.

This anecdote is always told to explain the origin of the name of this storage jar. It exhibits in concrete terms the degree of Dōtei's devotion to chanoyu; Dōtei, unconcerned with his livelihood after he sold his fields, chose the path of true poverty and chanoyu rather than a secure life.

Yet another man of this type was the character Hechikan, who was said to have been a good friend of Rikyū. Some accounts say that Hechikan came from the merchant family that ran the Sakamotoya firm in the Kamikyō district of Kyoto. Others say he was the husband of a niece of Manase Dōzan, a prominent physician in Rikyū's day. However, Hechikan's actual background is unclear. It seems that his residence was in Yamashina, near the boundary between Kyoto and Ōmi (present-day Shiga prefecture), where he lived the simple, quiet life of *wabi*. Like Zempō, he prepared all his meals with one kettle, cleaning it afterward in the clear water of a nearby mountain stream. Boiling water in the same kettle over a hearth, he would then enjoy a bowl of tea.

On one memorable occasion, the Kitano Grand Tea Gathering in 1587, Hechikan exhibited the virtue of his style of tea. For this event he planted a huge red lacquered umbrella in a pine grove near the sutra storage building and served tea in the umbrella's shade. The umbrella gleamed in the bright sunshine, attracting all who attended the gathering.

The following tale about Hechikan is familiar to most tea practitioners. Once Hechikan invited Rikyū for tea. Rikyū arrived at Hechikan's house at the appointed hour but, upon entering the garden, Rikyū fell into a skillfully camouflaged pit that Hechikan had dug. The host, pretending surprise, helped Rikyū out of the pit and offered him a bath that had, fortunately, just been prepared. When Rikyū had finished his bath and was feeling refreshed Hechikan invited him into the tearoom and there they enjoyed tea together.

Though these anecdotes deal with several different individuals, each one vividly depicts their subject's aloofness from riches or fame. Without concern for their daily lives, each of these men lived for chanoyu. While devout practitioners of *wabi* tea, these men as a group differed substantially in character and style from masters like Jōō or Rikyū.

When in the history of chanoyu did this type of man begin to appear? Of course there were recluses in Japan before chanoyu flourished. The author of the *Hōjōki* (1212), Kamo no Chōmei, was one such man. The annals of recluses deserve further attention for there is no question that *suki-sha* who appear in the history of tea descend directly from men like Chōmei. For the present, however, a deeper examination of this type of man is beyond the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that the earliest recluses in Japan were strongly influenced by Buddhism. As the practice of tea thrived among the samurai and merchant classes from the late Muromachi to the early Tokugawa period, many recluses came to include it in their life of seclusion, and their names began to appear in tea chronicles.

Komori Dōroku was a practitioner of wabi tea, and had friendly relations with Rikyū. He was called Komori Dōroku because he lived near Nara's Isahaya shrine, also known as Komori shrine. An extant letter Dōroku sent to Rikyū states that he plans to visit Matsuya in the afternoon and thanks Rikyū for coming often. From this letter we can infer that Dōroku often joined Rikyū for tea gatherings with Matsuya Hisamasa who was a famous tea man in Nara. Another of his letters to Rikyū states that he is busy working on his farm, but he hopes to join Rikyū for a tea gathering that is going to be held in Sakai. He closes saying that he takes this opportunity to send along some potatoes. This suggests that Dōroku was a farmer who enjoyed wabi tea in his spare moments. Furthermore, because it is known that Dōroku, along with other people from Nara, attended the Kitano Grand Tea Gathering in 1587, it is certain that he had a serious interest in chanoyu. On one occasion Rikyū called on Dōroku unannounced. Dōroku was just then working in a field, but he dropped his chores and returned to his house with Rikyū. Dōroku then cleaned the hoe he had been using, placed it in the tokonoma and arranged flowers in its crook to welcome his guest; he then prepared tea. Rikyū enjoyed Dōroku's spontaneous creativity and visited him frequently from then on.

Did Rikyū visit Dōroku that often? It is not too surprising that Rikyū often travelled to Nara because the tradition of tea practiced since the days of Shukō continued in Nara, and there were many outstanding tea men, like those of the Matsuya clan, who carried on this tradition. Furthermore, for a period of time Toyotomi Hideyoshi's younger brother Hidenaga had a castle at Kōriyama in Yamato (present-day Nara prefecture). Thus it is conceivable that Rikyū might make time to see Dōroku when he had occasion to visit Nara. Had Dōroku been an ordinary tea man, Rikyū would probably not have gone to visit him very often. The style of tea Dōroku practiced must have impressed Rikyū favorably, for it is known that on one occasion Rikyū visited unannounced a man of Moriguchi, a town near Osaka, who called himself a wabi tea man, but Rikyū left in the middle of the gathering because this man's style of tea did not suit his own taste.

The last anecdote concerning Dōroku and Rikyū could also be interpreted as an indication Rikyū was attracted by Dōroku's tea and the life he led. Rikyū did not keep to himself the chanoyu he had established, but rather poured his efforts into introducing it to many people. The most effective way to spread his thoughts about chanoyu was to make use of his accomplishments in tea and serve the man who ruled the country, Toyotomi Hideyoshi. But serving Hideyoshi cost Rikyū dearly. First of all, he lost much time in which he himself could have enjoyed chanoyu to the fullest. Hideyoshi could summon Rikyū at any time of the day or night, and the loss of free time and various restrictions placed on Rikyū due to his service could not have been pleasant. It is said that Rikyū expressed displeasure with his circumstances by citing the following poem:

It is very sad.
That the way I try not to dishonor
Is used as a means of livelihood.

This poem, originally written by the priest Ji Chin (1155-1225), is found toward the end of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*. Following the poem, Sōji wrote, "Starting with Sōeki [Rikyū], we use chanoyu as a means of livelihood. It is very regrettable." Sōji, too, grieved over the unworthy use of chanoyu as a means to making a living.

A letter from Rikyū to Yabunouchi Kenchū Jōchi with the same tone survives:

I received your letter. I have been too busy to offer [you] any tea. Today, Furuta Oribe is coming in the afternoon. Will you come at dusk? I am just too busy. Is this what is called the worldly life? I envy the way you live.

Teihon Sen no Rikyū no shokan

Yabunouchi Kenchū Jōchi (1536-1627) was a tea man who, like Rikyū, was once a pupil of Jōō. However, his way of life was different from Rikyū's. To the end, he avoided a position based solely on his accomplishments in chanoyu. He was a wabi tea man, held in high esteem by Rikyū. Although his views were in many ways different from Rikyū's, Rikyū admired him expressly because Jōchi held firm to his decision to follow the way of tea.

Coupled with the takeover of political power by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1603, the world of chanoyu changed significantly following the death of Rikyū in 1591.

In some ways, Rikyū's tea as it had been originally established had already seen some modification at the hands of his grandsons and disciples. This was necessary to meet the changing needs of the times. In the late seventeenth-century work, *Hosokawa Sansai chanoyu kugī*, appears an example of an anecdote that concerns two of Rikyū's own disciples, tea men famous in their own right. Its portrayal of the divergence in their understanding of Rikyū's teachings is of interest to us now. For in the age after Rikyū this divergence in the conception of chanoyu was a characteristic of the world of chanoyu in general.

Once Hosokawa Sansai (1563-1645) was asked why he did not try to spread the tea teachings that he had received directly from Rikyū, seeing that Furuta Oribe (1544-1615), who in the *Kōshin natsugaki* (1662-3) was said to be the most inept at the procedures of tea among the seven disciples of Rikyū, had taken the world by storm (*Tamon'in nikki*, 1539-1599, entry of Kenchō 4, 1599, third month, twenty-second day). Sansai answered, "A person who was inept [in the practice of tea] in the old days is better than a man who is skillful today. That is why Oribe attained fame for a creativity that is different from Rikyū's. But I do not need a thing like creativity. Rather, I endeavor to transmit Rikyū's teachings just as I received them."

Sansai's family background came to bear on his comments about Oribe. The Hosokawa family closely associated with the Ashikaga family who had ruled Japan during the Muromachi period (1392-1573). Sansai's father, Yūsai, was gifted in the art of *tanka* poetry. He received the secret teachings of the *Kokinshū* poetry collection and ranked highest among his peers in the field of *tanka*. Comparing himself with the other lords who had only just risen to power and influence during the Sengoku era (1467-1568), Sansai was proud of his outstanding line of descent and the cultural

achievements of his family. Of course he himself was highly accomplished in chanoyu, being numbered among the seven disciples of Rikyū. It was because he was this kind of man that Sansai accepted and followed Rikyū's tea practice as the new standard and felt it was his mission to transmit it accurately to future generations.

This anecdote indicates that after the death of Rikyū in 1591 there were two standpoints from which one could view chanoyu. In the fashion of Oribe one could place emphasis on creativity, or, emulating Sansai, adhere strictly to Rikyū's teachings. Aside from why these two disciples of Rikyū differed, it is easy to see that divergence in their views of chanoyu arose from their individual characters and their own understanding of the teachings of Rikyū. Following these two men a new generation of tea practitioners who did not learn chanoyu directly from Rikyū emerged. Kobori Enshū was one such tea man.

Kobori Enshū's talents in chanoyu were recognized while he was serving in various capacities as a construction magistrate of the Tokugawa shogunate. On one occasion he served tea to the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu (1623-1651), after which Enshū assumed the position of tea instructor to the shogun's household. Following this turn of events daimyo families vied with one another in adopting Enshū's style of chanoyu.

Enshū is well known for having established the ideology of *kirei sabi*. In contrast to wabi tea that had up to that time dominated the world of tea, *kirei sabi* harmonized the reticent, graceful beauty of the Heian period with the plain, almost austere simplicity of the Middle Ages. If one were to examine the utensils Enshū incorporated into his collection, one would see concrete manifestations of this esthetic. In their shapes, embellishments, and overall character they are a far cry from the utensils associated with Sen Rikyū and the more astringent wabi esthetic.

While Enshū's position under Iemitsu was not nearly as influential as Rikyū's under Hideyoshi, there were aspects of their relationship that were similar. Likewise there was also a man whose relationship with Enshū was comparable to that of Dōroku or Jōchi with Rikyū. This man's name was Kubo Gondayū (1571-1640), also known as Chōandō.

Gondayū was a Shinto ritualist of the Kasuga Shrine in Nara and a devout tea practitioner. As his position at the shrine was without remuneration, he apparently chose to enter the business of sewing small bags for tea containers. In this way he hoped to become acquainted with famed tea men. It is said that through his business he became friendly with Kobori Enshū.

In his later years, Gondayū secluded himself in a tiny hut made from the lumber that remained from the demolition of a small building at Tōdaiji temple in Nara. The hut was only seven *shaku* (approximately 2 m.) on a side but was equipped with all the necessities for daily life, including chanoyu. To Gondayū this hut seemed the optimum quarters for a life of seclusion. Soon after moving into the hut, he asked his friend Kobori Enshū to write something on a plaque for his hut. Enshū took the ideogram for the syllable "chō" (長) from the name of the famous recluse of the Middle Ages, Kamo no Chōmei (鴨長明) and suffixed the ideogram 闇, pronounced "an" which means darkness. The new name that was formed, Chōan, he then gave to

Gondayū explaining to him that although he may be a recluse in the tradition of Kamo no Chōmei, it would be improper for him to take Chōmei's name in its entirety. Therefore for the ideogram "mei", meaning light, he substituted the ideogram "an" with the opposite meaning. Since that time Gondayū went by the name of Chōandō, meaning the small hut of Chōan.

The achievements of Murata Shukō, Takeno Jōō, and Sen Rikyū have been transmitted from generation to generation. Books on chanoyu containing collections of anecdotes concerning these men's words or actions began to make their appearance during the Edo period. This was to be expected, because these were the men who had brought glory to the history of the way of tea. Later the relationships these same men had with the figures who controlled the country during their individual lifetimes were evaluated. On the other hand, from time to time certain tea men emerged who were different. Zempō, Dōtei, Hechikan, and Chōandō are but four who have received attention in this article. Tentatively I will consider them as belonging to the lineage of wabi tea men. Their origins can be traced back to the recluses of the Middle Ages who lived prior to the establishment of chanoyu as a distinct practice. We see from the conversation between Chōandō and Kobori Enshū that even in the Edo period, people were very much aware of the lives of recluses like Kamo no Chōmei. However, while these recluses were inspired by the Buddhist view that worldly life is transitory, wabi tea men were guided solely by the principles of the way of tea. Their tea practice was somewhat different from that of the masters, and it never won universal praise or acceptance.

As Yamanoue Sōji wrote, the qualifications for a wabi suki-sha are: "One who does not have a single *meibutsu* (famed utensil), but possesses three qualities—inner awareness, creativity, and distinguished achievements." The style of tea practiced by such a man was not like the style favored at that time. Wabi tea men did not entertain their guests by serving tea with famed utensils. But with superb skill, they exhibited their own creativity acquired through a deep understanding of chanoyu—they had complete mastery of the way.

However, the qualifications listed by Sōji are not necessarily all-encompassing. Important conditions for a candidate to this group was that he should lead a life that emphasizes ascetic elements and that he should not follow the trends of the day. The difference between the recognized masters of tea and wabi tea men lies in this difference in life styles. It could be that Rikyū recited the poem:

It is very sad
That the way I try not to dishonor
Is used as a means of livelihood.

to admonish himself, for he feared that the basic intent of chanoyu might change with the currents of the time and because of its links with the political power structure of the day. In Rikyū's view, the chanoyu he conducted under Hideyoshi's patronage was not the ideal; it was the wabi tea men who practiced the ideal form. Thus he and other masters of tea regarded recluse-like wabi tea men with reverence.

Wabi tea men did not care to make their mark on history; instead they tried to be faithful to what they believed fundamental in the practice of tea. In their single-minded devotion to chanoyu, the unsung wabi tea men were model tea men and their tea practices gave inspiration to the great tea masters. ☂



Temae— Tea Procedure : *Irekodate*

When preparing thin tea according to the basic presentation procedure (see *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 15, 1976, pp.65-78) it is necessary that the host enter and exit the tearoom five times to bring in utensils, and when the presentation is completed, make seven trips back and forth to the preparation area to remove them, each time rising from and sitting on the tatami. An infirm or older person may find these movements difficult, perhaps impossible. A person incapable of maintaining a grasp on the utensils would be daunted by these tasks for fear of dropping utensils when carrying them in and out of the tearoom. Should a child try to make thin tea according to the basic presentation he or she would be unable to lift some of the utensils, much less carry them any distance. For these and other people of similar limitations who still wish to serve tea there is the thin tea presentation called *irekodate*.

For this presentation a *tana* is utilized. When a *tana* is used for a formal tea gathering, the *usuchaki*, *mizusashi*, *bishaku*, and *futaoki* are placed on its shelves after the presentation of thick tea. When thin tea is prepared the only utensils that are brought into the room are the *chawan*, *chakin*, *chasen*, *chashaku*, and *kensui*. So that the host need make only one entrance, in the *irekodate* procedure the utensils for thin tea are brought in together; the *chawan*, containing the other utensils, is placed inside a *mage no kensui*. A *mage no kensui* is made of bent, unfinished cedar wood and is ample enough to contain a *chawan*. As the *mage no kensui* contains the *chawan* from which the guests will drink, it should be new. And like all unfinished wood that is brought into the tearoom, it should be dampened. Since it will be necessary to pick up the *chawan* from inside the *mage no kensui*, the host should choose a *chawan* that can be easily removed from it.

As a courtesy to the host, the main guest does not ask to view the *usuchaki* and *chashaku* or any other utensil. Instead he or she asks about these utensils at appropriate times during the closing portion of the procedure.

Any number of *tana* can be used for this presentation. The *tana* that appears in the following sequence is called the *Kōkōdana* and was designed by Gengensai (1810-1877), the eleventh-generation master of the Urasenke school of tea. The student of tea should be aware that the arrangement of utensils varies according to the type of *tana* used and that the arrangement presented here applies solely to the *Kōkōdana*.

(1)

The host places the *mage no kensui*, its seam on the side opposite the entrance, to his side. The *mage no kensui* contains the *chawan*, which holds the *chakin*, *chasen*, and *chasbaku*. The host opens the host's entrance. The host and guests bow in unison to signal the beginning of the presentation. The right hand (R) and left hand (L) pick up the *mage no kensui*. R adjusts its grip so that the thumb is on the lip of the *mage no kensui* and the fingers support the bottom. R lifts the *mage no kensui* and rests it on the palm of L. The thumb of L steadies the *mage no kensui*, at its left side. The host stands (1) and enters the room.



The host proceeds to the host's mat and, as he sits facing the *tana* and *furo*, R and L place the *mage no kensui* to his left so that it sits directly on the line made by the end of the *furosaki byōbu* (2).



(3)

R picks up the *natsume* and places it on the tatami to the right in front of the *tana* (3). When using this particular *tana* it is placed on the top shelf.



(4)

R and L lift the *chawan* from inside the *mage no kensui* (4).





(5)

L grasps the left side of the chawan and places it on the tatami in front of the tana to the left of the natsume (5).



(6)

R picks up the futaoki (6). When using this particular tana it is placed on the middle shelf.



(7)

R places the futaoki on the palm of L, adjusts its grip, and positions the futaoki to the left of the furo baseboard (7).



(8)

R takes the hishaku off the tana and transfers it to L. When using this particular tana the hishaku is located on the middle shelf. R steadies the hishaku, R grasps the handle, rests the hishaku on the futaoki, and lowers the handle to the floor (8).

(9)

L moves the mage no kensui behind the line made by the knees, turning it so its seam is on the far left (9).



(10)



The host pauses briefly to gather concentration and energy (10).

(11)



R picks up the chawan, transfers it to L, regrasps the center of the right side of the chawan, and places it in front of the host's knees (11).

(12)



R picks up the natsume and places it in the space between the chawan and the host's knees (12).



(13)

L takes the fukusa from the host's sash and together with R, folds the fukusa into a small pad. As R grasps the pad L folds it in half in R. L picks up the natsume. R wipes the far side (13) 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 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. As R draws the fukusa off the top of the natsume to the right, and brings it down to a position just above the host's right thigh, L places the natsume on the tatami to the left in front of the tana.



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 wipes the chashaku (14). R places the chashaku on the center of the natsume lid as L lowers the unfolded fukusa to a position just above the host's left thigh.



(15)

R picks up the chasen and places it on the tatami to the right in front of the tana (15).



(16)

R picks up the chawan and moves it closer to the host's knees (16).



(17)

R picks up the hishaku, transfers it to L, and steadies it (17). R removes the lid of the *kama* and places it on the *futaoki*. R picks up the *chakin* and rests it on the *kama* lid.



(18)

L transfers the hishaku to R. R ladles hot water from the *kama* into the *chawan* (18).



(19)

R rests the hishaku on the mouth of the *kama* (19).



(20)

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* (20). After rinsing the *chasen*, R places it on the *tatami* to the right of the *natsume*.



(21)

R picks up the chawan and transfers it to L to discard the water into the *mage no kensui* (21).



(22)

R picks up the *chakin* from the *kama* lid, wipes the chawan (22), and places the *chakin* in the chawan. L transfers the chawan to R to place it in front of the host's knees. R removes the *chakin* from within the chawan and places it on the *kama* lid.



(23)

R picks up the *chashaku*. The host, fingertips of L touching the *tatami*, invites the guest to partake of the sweets. 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 chawan, R removes the lid and places it in front of the host's right knee. R measures tea into the chawan (23), then gently taps the *chashaku* on the mouth of the chawan to remove the tea clinging to the *chashaku*. R replaces the lid on the *natsume*. L places the *natsume* on the *tatami* to the left in front of the *tana*. R rests the *chashaku* on the center of the *natsume* lid.



R picks up the *mizusashi* lid, L holds the left front side, R regrips it just above L and leans the lid against the left side of the *mizusashi* (24).



(25)

R picks up the hishaku and ladles hot water from the kama into the chawan. R pours the water remaining in the hishaku back into the kama and replaces the hishaku on the mouth of the kama. R picks up the chasen and, as L steadies the chawan, whips the tea to a froth. R raises the chasen from the chawan and places it on the tatami to the right of the natsume (25).



(26)

R picks up the chawan, places it on the palm of L, turns the chawan 90° clockwise twice, and then places it on the adjacent tatami, front facing the guests (26).



(27)

The host bows in acknowledgement of the guest's expression of appreciation for the tea (27).



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. 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 mage no kensui. If another bowl of tea is to be prepared, the host returns to step 22 and proceeds, omitting step 24. The main guest asks the host to finish the presentation. The host, L holding the chawan over the mage no kensui and the fingertips of R touching the tatami, bows to acknowledge the request. L transfers the chawan to R and R places it in front of the host's knees. The host bows saying he will finish the presentation (28).



(29)

R picks up the hishaku, ladles cold water into the chawan, and replaces the hishaku on the kama. R picks up the chasen and rinses it in the chawan steadied by L. R raises the chasen once for inspection (29), draws it from the chawan and replaces it to the right of the natsume.



(30)

R picks up the chawan and, after raising it in front of the host, transfers it to L to discard the water into the mage no kensui. R picks up the chakin, wipes the chawan (30), and places the chakin in the chawan. R grasps the chawan and places it in front of the host's knees.

(31)

R picks up the chakin and rests it on the palm of L. R partially unfolds the chakin. R and L grasp two diagonal corners of the chakin and stretch it out (31).



(32)

R and L gather the chakin up and wring it out over the mage no kensui (32).



(33)

R and L grasp the two diagonal corners of the chakin and stretch the chakin out to its full length. R and L unfold the chakin so that it is flat. R and L fold the chakin according to the regular procedure (33).



(34)



R places the folded chakin into the chawan (34).

(35)



R picks up the chasen and rests it on the chakin in the chawan (35).

(36)



R picks up the chashaku and L draws back the mage no kensui, turning it so that the seam is at the back (36).



(37)

L takes the fukusa from the host's sash. R and L fold the fukusa (37) and clean the chashaku.



(38)

R places the chashaku on the chawan (38) as L, grasping the fukusa, lowers the fukusa to a position just above the host's left thigh. As L holds the fukusa, R brushes into the mage no kensui any tea that clings to the fukusa. L and R unfold the fukusa and return it to the host's sash.



(39)

R picks up the natsume and places it on the tatami to the right in front of the tana (39).



(40)

R grasps the right side of the chawan, raises it in front of the host, and transfers it to L, which grasps the left side. R grasps the right front side of the chawan and places the chawan on the tatami to the left of the natsume (40).



(41)

R ladles cold water from the mizusashi and pours it into the kama. R ladles hot water from the kama and pours it back into the kama (41).



(42)

R transfers the ladle to L and places the lid on the kama (42).



(43)

R rests the hishaku on the futaoki (43). R picks up the mizusashi lid, L grasps its left edge below R, and R grasps the lid handle to replace it on the mizusashi.



(44)

R picks up the hishaku, transfers it to L, and grasps it again to place it on the tana (44). When using this particular tana the hishaku is placed on the middle shelf.



(45)

R picks up the futaoiki, places it on the palm of L, and then grasps it again to place it on the tana (45). When using this particular tana the futaoiki is placed on the middle shelf.

(46)

With R and L held at his knees the host, moving his right leg first, shifts his position so that he sits directly in front of the chawan and natsume (46).



(47)

L grasps the center of the left side of the chawan as R, at the same time, grasps the natsume from above (47). When using this particular tana these utensils are picked up simultaneously.



(48)

R and L place the chawan and natsume on the tana (48). When using this particular tana the two are placed together on the top shelf.



(49)

L removes the fukusa from the host's sash. R and L fold the fukusa as if to clean the chashaku. R places the folded fukusa on the lid of the mizusashi in front of the handle (49). If the lid is ceramic the fukusa is placed on the bottom shelf of the tana in front of the mizusashi.



(50)

With R and L held at his knees the host, moving his left leg first, shifts his position so that he sits in his original position in the middle of the tatami (50).



(51)



After the host turns slightly to the left, L grasps the mage no kensui (51).

(52)



Holding the mage no kensui in L, the host stands (52), turns, leaves the room, and at the host's entrance, sits and places the mage no kensui to his side out of the guests' view. The host bows to signal the end of the presentation. 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 irekodate with the *ro*. Note that the end of the *hishaku* handle is aligned with the lower right outside corner of the hearth frame.

Variations of Irekodate When Presented with the *Ro*

Other than the basic differences of the *furo* and *ro* presentations, irekodate when presented with the *ro* differs in one way. The host, when carrying the *mage no kensui* that contains the *chawan*, *chakin*, *chashaku*, and *chasen*, into the room and during the entire procedure, sits aligning his body with the lower left outside corner of the hearth frame. 

Book Reviews

Zen's Core: Ikkyū's Freedom. *Jon Carter Covell, in collaboration with Sobin Yamada.* Elizabeth, New Jersey and Seoul: Hollym International Corp., 1980. 341 pp., excluding plates. ¥4,500.

(to order, write: R. K. Steiner, 6, Tadekura-chō, Shimogamo, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto, Japan 606)

Ikkyū Sōjun (1394-1481) was a key figure in Muromachi period culture. An original poet in Chinese and generally acknowledged as the finest calligrapher of the age, he also exerted a significant influence on the other major art forms of the period through his various pupils, the noh playwright Komparu Zenchiku, the linked-verse poet Sōchō, the painters Bokusai and Soga Jasoku, and the founder of chanoyu, Murata Shukō. Moreover, Ikkyū's hagiography, the *Ikkyū Oshō nempu*, and to an even greater extent his own poems collected in the *Kyonsbū* "Crazy Cloud Anthology" reveal a man of bold and unconventional yet touchingly warm and humorous personality who led a colorful, turbulent life. It is no wonder the man has spawned legends.

Zen's Core: Ikkyū's Freedom purports to be a scholarly biography of Ikkyū. In the appendix on research methods, Covell declares that,

In order not to be ensnared with the folk hero Ikkyū whose feats are legendary, the materials for this biography were drawn from five primary sources of indisputable accuracy. (p. 263)

In the introduction, she indicates that the desire behind the book was to "reveal Ikkyū's living Zen" (p. 11). Whatever this rather vague phrase means, it seems to entail an approach at odds with the aforementioned intention to write as close to the primary sources as possible. There is a large element of fictionalization in this work that will make it very misleading for anyone not in a position to distinguish what is a product of the author's fancy and what has a basis in fact or at least reasonable conjecture. One does not have to read far to discover that Covell can stray from her sources.

For example, at the beginning of Chapter 1 we are told Ikkyū's mother "would seem to have been a daughter of the South's best general, Kusunoki, exchanged as part of the peace treaty." (p. 17). This is news. The source Covell professes to be following, the *Ikkyū Oshō nempu*, says Ikkyū's mother was of the Fujiwara clan. Wondering if some new evidence has been discovered, one accordingly follows up the footnote expecting a citation of the source of the information. One finds instead the statement, "some books say it was a branch of the Fujiwara; others the Kusunoki." The identity of these "some" is never specified. But the footnote goes on to say,

One remote possibility was that Ikkyū's mother had been brought as a "present" by a Korean embassy to the Kyoto court. . . . Korea was accustomed to this system of international relations through court ladies. Japan was not; this would explain its being forgotten. (p. 300)

This "remote possibility" can only be a product of the author's unbridled imagination. This kind of imagination can serve the creation of a romantic novel but it has no place in historical biography. If this were an isolated case, it could be overlooked but unfortunately something of the same kind appears on virtually every page of the book. The author has concentrated on telling a good story and creating her own legendary hero, and rides rough-shod over the actual historical material at hand when it does not serve her purpose.

The desire to make a legend reveals itself in her tendency to dwell on what Ikkyū might have been or might have done, to stress for example that he just missed being emperor two or three times (which is highly debatable in terms of historical accuracy) or that he could have been "Japan's most famous artist in ink" (p. 159) if he had just applied himself to it. In her anxiousness to claim everything under the sun for her hero, she lapses into historical inaccuracy. Thus it is not enough that Ikkyū had some influence on linked verse (*renga*) poets, Sōchō for one. Since haiku did evolve out of the *renga* form some two hundred years later, Ikkyū is said to have influenced haiku (p. 272). This ignores the importance of *renga* as a verse form in its own right and furthermore does injustice to Ikkyū's very real claim to importance as a spiritual catalyst in the late Muromachi period. Covell does an injustice by overplaying to absurdity.

The translations are another distressing part of this book although it is to the author's credit that she has included a large number of translations in the biography. The problem is that her translations are highly interpretive, selecting only one of many possible meanings and thereby ignoring the fact that the ambiguity of Ikkyū's verse contributes much to its poetic richness. Covell herself reiterates many times how multileveled and difficult to interpret these poems are. Yet her translations deliver flat prosaic statements that suit the purposes of her narrative.

An annoying feature of her translation style is an excessive and misleading use of bracketing. Bracketing is conventionally the tool of the conscientious literal translator who wants to inform the reader of every phrase not in the original. However, as suggested above, these translations are in places very free indeed. They are certainly not literal. Moreover, the bracketing is erratic. For example, sometimes she brackets the addition of the first person subject when it is understood in the original, as in, "mornings (I am) in the mountains and by sunset (I'm) in the city" (p. 103). Then other times she does not (p. 74). In at least one instance she brackets a word that does appear in the original "Shamefully, (today) is a purple-robed monk" (p. 240). In other cases, there are major interpretive additions left unbracketed. If brackets are not going to be used in a consistent and meaningful way they are best abandoned. Surely the visual clutter they produce is one reason to avoid them in translations of poetry.

The English of the translations is often clumsy, as with "In reality, they really don't aspire to enlightenment" (p. 71) for what might be rendered more literally, "Of the true enlightened mind, they have not a speck." Covell remarks on the necessity of interpolations when "translating from a language as telegraphic in style as literary Chinese, into a language as verbose and specific as English" (p. 265). However, the interpolations need not be as numerous nor the English as verbose as Covell makes them. Take for example the following:

Verse on a Brothel To Shame Zen Masters

Koan, old or new, are but deceptions from long ago.
 These, together with bows, are a form of flattery to officials.
 (Such fake priests) boast to the world of their superior
 prowess.
 Yet the young brothel girls wearing garments of golden lace
 (are superior to these high priests in their own
 fancy vestments) (p. 73)

The last line of the original may be rendered simply, "The young girls in the brothel wear gold brocade." It conveys a picture that implies: priests, too, wear gold brocade for the same reason, to sell themselves. How much more powerful is the line when its meaning is left as implication even if a note may be needed for a Western audience to register it. Actually these weaknesses are all part of

the author's attitude of regarding the poems as ore from which to extract meanings to help along her narrative rather than seeing them as poems in their own right.

Some sections of the book do bring new information to light. For example, Ikkyū's paintings have generally been ignored in previous studies, but Covell has gathered plates of those most likely to be genuine, and her critical evaluations of them are of interest. Indeed, in general, the wealth of illustrations is one of the better features of the book.

Moreover, her informants at Daitokuji served her well in several areas, most notably in the chapter on Ikkyū's part in the restoration of Daitokuji where an intimate knowledge of the layout of the temple, the order of building, and so on help remove the obscurity from the verses Ikkyū composed for the inaugural ceremony that commenced the rebuilding of the temple. The same kind of inside information provides insight into matters of scriptural interpretation within the Daitokuji lineage such as with Daitō's *san ten go*, "Three Pivotal Points." In the sum total of the work, however, these are scant pearls.

You could not ask for better material to work with and the writer has an obvious enthusiasm for her subject. One wonders why in the end the work lacks the power to awe and inspire, the quality the author most earnestly desired to produce. I think the key to that problem lies with the fact that the author has failed to practice the "Zen" aesthetic she espouses. Time and time again, Covell waxes eloquent about the virtues of restraint and suggestion, ". . . strokes appear so vague they only whisper of form" (p. 165). But, she has done just the opposite in her presentation of the man. All the shadowy or uncertain aspects of the poet's life have been filled in or explained by the author's imagination. The resulting portrait is so fully exposed and lit with a barrage of detail that it appears flat without the depths that inspire reflection.

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Tales of Times Now Past: Sixty-Two Stories from a Medieval Japanese Collection. *Translated, and with an introduction, by Marian Ury.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. 199 pp. \$9.95.

The great Japanese novelist and short story writer, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, once said that whenever he opened up the *Konjaku monogatari shū* he "seemed to hear the people of those times sending up their cries of grief and merriment." The book he was referring to is a collection of tales put together in the early twelfth century, and "the people of those times" were not only the people of Japan but those of ancient China and India. Akutagawa was so struck by the vividness of the tales that he based many of his own stories on incidents recorded in them, and it was an essay of his which helped rescue this collection from eight centuries of neglect.

The *Konjaku monogatari shū* takes its name from the two Chinese characters with which every story in this collection begins. In Japanese they are read, "*Ima wa mukashi*," ("It is now long ago"), but in their Sino-Japanese pronunciation they are *konjaku*. *Monogatari shū* means a collection of tales. This collection was one of a number of anthologies put together during the Heian and Kamakura periods (794-1333) which modern Japanese critics group together as *setsuwa-bungaku*, or tale literature. Of all these collections the *Konjaku monogatari shū* is the largest (with over one thousand tales), the best organized, and the most important. Marian Ury's excellent translations of a represen-

tative selection of tales from this collection is, therefore, a valuable introduction to the literature of this period.

The *Konjaku monogatari shū* is divided into thirty-one scrolls, although three of them are missing and may never have been completed. The first five are tales from India as told and compiled in China. The majority are religious stories concerning Buddha, but in the fifth scroll there are a number of secular stories of great interest. Among these are animal stories which may have gone westward where they influenced *Aesop's Fables*. On the other hand Greek learning is also apparent in the method of weighing an elephant which shows a knowledge of Archimedes' principle.

Scrolls Six through Ten are tales from China, of which Scroll Eight is missing. Again the first scrolls are mainly Buddhist stories, but in the last two scrolls there are stories illustrating history, filial piety, and romance. Many of these stories are didactic and are clearly intended for illustrations to be used by Buddhist preachers, but they often display wit and humor. There is, for example, Tale 9:45, "How Hou Ku Tricked His Father and Prevented an Unfilial Act" (p.70). This tells of a man who became impatient for his father to die and compelled his son to help him carry the old man into the mountains on a litter and abandon him. When the father noticed his son carrying the litter back and asked the reason, the grandson replied, "I have just learned that a son is one who puts his aged father in a litter and abandons him in the mountains. . . . This will save me from having to make a new one." Needless to say the father got the point and hastened back to the mountains to welcome his father back home.

Scrolls Eleven to Twenty contain mainly Buddhist stories of Japan, many dealing with miracles accomplished through the Lotus Sutra, Amida, or Kannon, some illustrating the principles of karma and retribution for sins in a former life, and some having to do with goblins, *tengu*, and other creatures of Japanese popular belief. Scrolls Twenty-one to Thirty-one are secular tales of Japan and contain many entertaining anecdotes, short romances, and exciting adventure stories. Akutagawa's *Rashōmon* and *In a Grove* were based on stories in this section and later combined with elements from another story to make the screenplay for the film, "Rashōmon."

The complete *Konjaku monogatari shū* in Japanese fills five volumes totalling over 2000 pages in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikē* series. To translate all of this would obviously be a monumental task, and to read it would be beyond the patience of the ordinary reader. Marian Ury has wisely selected sixty-one of the stories of most interest to the Western reader, and has presented them in an easy, readable translation. Every one of the twenty-eight extant scrolls is represented by at least one tale.

Although the introduction to *Tales of Times Now Past* shows very competent knowledge of the subject, this is not a "scholarly work." Explanatory notes at the end of each tale are confined to such matters as may be of help to the general reader. These, together with the twenty-three page introduction, furnish all the background necessary for an appreciation of the tales themselves and their place in Japanese literature. For a more scholarly approach to *setsuwa-bungaku* D. E. Mills' *A Collection of Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of Uji Shūi Monogatari* may be consulted. The 130 page introduction in this book gives an excellent survey of the field and the relation of *Uji* to *Konjaku*, from which many of the *Uji* tales may have been derived. S. W. Jones, *Ages Ago* (Harvard University Press, 1959) has thirty-seven tales from *Konjaku*, all but four of them different from the ones Ms. Ury has translated.

The fact that Marian Ury's book is meant for the general reader is consistent with the purpose of the *Konjaku monogatari shū*, which was intended to be a book for popular consumption. For this reason it was not written in only Chinese characters, nor in the flowery literary Japanese style of the *Genji monogatari* and other aristocratic court romances. Instead it was written in a combination of characters and *katakana* syllabary close to the ordinary speech of Buddhist preachers and of folk

tales, and in this it had an important influence on later Japanese literature. Whoever the compiler or compilers of this collection were, one of their primary purposes was to give pleasure as well as instruction. In the same spirit Ms. Ury has given us a book which we can enjoy, and at the same time learn a great deal about Japan and of times now past.

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A History of Japanese Literature: The First Thousand Years. By *Shūichi Katō*, translated by David Chibbett. Tokyo/ New York/ San Francisco: Kōdansha International Ltd., 1979. 319 pp. US\$29.50, ¥6,500.

In dealing with the first thousand years of the written literature of the Japanese people, Professor Shūichi Katō took upon himself a tremendous responsibility. He assigned himself the task of dealing with what is probably an unmanageable amount and variety of materials. He chose to spread a very wide net, one that includes not only belles lettres per se but also works that are customarily classified as historical treatises or religious and philosophical writings. In addition, precisely because he is dealing with an epoch during which many Japanese competently wrote prose and poetry in Chinese, he chose not to limit his considerations to works written in Japanese alone. And, as if this were not enough, he also adopted a program of exploring the connections between literature and society; the dust jacket justly notes that this work seeks to move "beyond the discussion of literary forms and styles into the social background which has shaped the works."

To succeed at such an ambitious project within only 319 pages is a difficult and, I suspect, probably an impossible task. As a result in this book too many titles, texts, poems, essays, and treatises pass before the eyes of the reader at much too swift a pace. There is not an opportunity to savor any of them. The rich particularity of each work is sacrificed to the hungry gods of time and space. The result is a book that may help Western readers to a better grasp of the magnitude but not of the magnificence of Japanese literature. My disappointment and sadness in reading this book came from the fact that it presents the bulk but not the beauty of that with which it deals.

This is, of course, the principal danger faced by any work which strives to be a survey. This particular volume, however, is especially handicapped by its author's preoccupation with what he calls "the indigenous Japanese worldview" and how it is faring in each epoch of Japanese history and in almost every major piece of literature he considers. This archaic and indigenous worldview is, in Professor Katō's words, comprised of a "practical everyday realism," and it suffered most severely at the hands of Buddhist "transcendentalism" during the Kamakura period. He writes: "For the first and perhaps the last time in Japanese history in the thirteenth century values transcending everyday reality became the nucleus of Japanese thought" (p. 215). In Katō's account this situation was only temporary. Before very long the older worldview fought this intrusion into Japan and by the time of the Muromachi period was able to subdue even Zen. He writes: "Religious and philosophical Zen was secularized through political and aesthetic transformation and this process was accomplished through none other than the 'this-worldly', 'secular' indigenous Japanese thought which, despite Kamakura Buddhism, permeated to the deepest layers of Japanese consciousness" (p. 285). The hidden assumption behind this is that *real* Buddhism is or, at least, ought to be "other-worldly" and

is, as such, naturally foreign to what the Japanese mind once was and ever strives to be. This bristles with problems. It is far too simplistic in its understanding of Buddhism and far too rigid in its depiction of something it calls the "indigenously Japanese worldview." But perhaps the most unfortunate result of this approach is that it regiments the world of literature by providing stiff straitjackets for each and every work and by ordering them to sit motionless either in the camp of those that conform or in the camp of those that do not conform to the "indigenous world-view." Buddhists will wince and poets will cry.

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Einladung Zum Tee. By Hans G. Adrian. Bremen: Paul Shraeder and Company., 1980. 60 pp. Price unavailable at time of printing.

Hans G. Adrian's *Einladung Zum Tee* is not the first German publication on chanoyu. Following Anna Berliner's *Teekult in Japan* (Leipzig, 1930), a German translation of Okakura Kakuzō's *The Book of Tea* appeared in 1949. This was soon followed by Werner Blaser's *Tempel und Teehaus in Japan* (Olten und Lausanne, 1955) and *Chadō: Der Tee-Weg* (Otto Wilhelm Barth Verlag, 1958) by the well-known Japanologist Horst Hammitzsch. Among these works on chanoyu, Adrian's book distinguishes itself by the brevity and conciseness with which it treats the subject.

Einladung is divided into eleven chapters, each of which rarely exceeds two or three pages and each based on a specific aspect of chanoyu. The first chapter touches on the philosophy of chanoyu, the second describes a tea gathering from the point of view of the guest, the third explains the making of thick and thin tea, and the following chapter is on tea architecture. The history of tea is the subject of chapters five through eight. They recount the Chinese background of chanoyu, the development of the tea ceremony in Japan under Shukō, Jōō, and Rikyū, the introduction of wabi tea, and the first encounter of Westerners with chanoyu. In the last three chapters the author introduces tea hut gardens and tea utensils, and expresses his fear that the spirit of chanoyu faces the prospect of deterioration as a result of the commercialism, snobbism, and thirst for prestige that characterizes much of modern-day Japan.

Adrian presents not only an adequate introduction to the spirit, history, and culture of chanoyu, but also gives us an excellent guide to its philosophy. As such one can find important quotations from the writings of tea masters and Western devotees. In the first chapter, for example, Adrian refutes Kipling's famous statement, "East is East and West is West. . ." (page 7), by saying the West can learn much from the East through chanoyu. In the third chapter, in an attempt to explain the simplicity of tea, he quotes Sen Rikyū's statement, "one creates in summer a feeling of coolness, in winter a feeling of warmth. One burns charcoal and watches the water boil, one makes tea and sees to it that it tastes good. There is no other secret" (page 23). In the chapter about tea architecture, Adrian quotes Werner Blaser: "Nature penetrates the room. The tearoom is a part of nature itself. It is at the same time the stage where the play between man and nature begins in meditation" (page 25). Further on he quotes Takuan Shūhō (1573-1645): "One builds a small room in the shadow of a bamboo hedge, or under trees, lays out rivers and rocks, and plants shrubs and trees . . . and as we transplant all this—rivers, mountains, the nature of the streams and rocks—into the tearoom, we enjoy the landscape of the seasons, the snow, the moon, and the flowers, experience the

seasons of blooming and withering by seeing the bushes and perceive an atmosphere of respect when we greet our guests" (page 26).

In his chapter about the first Western encounters with chanoyu, Adrian recounts the story of Townsend Harris, the first American Consul in Japan, when he was presented a precious tea set by Governor Shinano-no-kami. Explaining tea hut gardens, Adrian points out that the Japanese gardener tries to make Nature visible by simple means, whereas the gardener in France desires to set it against the geometrical rigor of man-made "nature."

In closing Adrian quotes Rikyū who said, in the spirit of the Chinese Buddhist priest Ji Chin, "How Sad/ That a rule both pure and perfect/ Be used so often by men/ As a source of worldly gains" (page 57).

The reader of German who wants to acquire an understanding of the basics of chanoyu might consider adding this little book, written with great care and love, to his or her reading list. Its only shortcoming is that some of the illustrations Adrian has selected have little or no relationship to the text. That aside, I recommend this book warmly.

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ERRATA

Chanoyu Quarterly, Issue no.27

A Wider Realm

Page 5, line 13: *For* But must be careful to think *read* But must be careful not to think

Page 5, line 15: *For* This would truly seems to *read* This would truly seem to

Page 5, line 20: *For* Knowledge that can latter be used *read* can later be used

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