

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 28



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

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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.

CREDITS Jukōin temple, Kyoto; Rokuoin temple, Kyoto; Shibata Akisuke, Kyoto; Shinjuan temple, Kyoto; Tōfukuji temple, Kyoto; Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo; and Umezawa Kinenkan, Tokyo.

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The Attainment of Inner Tranquility and Strength

Sen Sōshitsu XV

Problems. No country, no person is immune to their disturbing effects—they cross boundaries, they know no discrimination. From international finance and the government of nations to our most private relationships, it is not too much to say that problems shape the very contours of our lives. Add to this the problems that we carry around within our hearts and it is no wonder that we all ask ourselves, “Is there no peace anywhere in this life?”

At the opening of our new Chanoyu Center in New York, which took place this last spring, one of the many guests to the celebration broached an important question. He asked, “How is it that chanoyu is able to contribute so much to life?” To the newcomer, like the man who then stood before me, the preparation of tea can appear to be nothing but a series of very formalized movements and postures or merely another curiously evolved manifestation of Japanese etiquette.

Chanoyu is, of course, much more than the preparation of tea—it is a way of life, applicable anywhere by anyone. To understand this centuries-old discipline we must first look deeply into the outward forms of chanoyu and then look beyond them. Only then can one see that the foundation of chanoyu is mind—our own mind—and spirit—our own spirit. It is this realization that suggests to us that the life of tea is, in fact, the very same as the life we lead every day. The realization that a life predicated on the four principles of the way of tea—harmony, respect, purity, tranquility—is a rich and rewarding life grows out of the practice of chanoyu. This is how chanoyu can contribute so much to life.

The feeling that we are safe and secure is difficult to attain. Whether we are nestled in our own cocoon or basking in the light of selfknowledge, it still seems that problems face us every day. To arrive at real assurance we must forge an inner strength. For this assurance to grow and endure within our hearts it must be founded in the spirit. It is the discovery of self that gives us that inner strength. In the practice of chanoyu we come face to face with our own self. During the process of making a way of life of the four principles of tea, we find our selves and are set on the way of life. It is this that reveals the wonder and meaning of chanoyu.

The identification of the way of tea with the practice of the four principles of harmony, respect, purity, and tranquility grew out of the tea practice of Sen Rikyū. It is the practice of these four principles which has enabled chanoyu to survive into the present. If tea were simply ritual or etiquette it would have disappeared many years ago, and be forgotten today. That it survives attests to the vitality of the four principles. They have guided practitioners of tea since the sixteenth century and we can be secure in the knowledge that they will continue to do so in the future.

In order for the preparation of tea to be an effective tool for self-discovery, harmony must exist not only among the utensils but more important, among all of the

people who sit together in the stillness of the tearoom. Harmony is built in great part upon respect. Whenever we touch something—animate or inanimate—it must be with respect. Respect is part of all our relations with others. Respect reveals to us how to live in harmony. During the preparation of tea we, as hosts, clean all the utensils. Of course, they have already been cleaned before we have even entered the tearoom. When we make tea we also strive to clean our heart and spirit. Without this purity, everything we do, everything we touch, is tainted. Therefore we endeavor to be clean of worldly attachments and worldly concerns.

The attainment of the first three principles is a necessary step for the realization of the last, tranquility. The attainment of inner tranquility and inner strength will enable us to cope with any problems that we meet and thereby we grow in spirit.



Zen Monks and the Formation of the Way of Tea

Nishibe Bunjō

Zen, from the time that it took root in Japan during the Kamakura period, has exerted great influence, entering deeply into every level of Japanese society and into every field of cultural life. In the formation and consummation of the way of tea, the role that Zen has played is particularly large; Zen and tea are inseparably linked. This linkage refers not only to the widely held belief that the method of preparing powdered green tea (*matcha*) was introduced into Japan by the Zen priest Eisai (or Yōsai, 1141-1215) but also to Zen's cultivation of the spirit and ideals of tea, expressed by the words, "Tea and Zen are one flavor" (*chazen-ichimi*). It is no exaggeration to say that the very marrow of *chadō*, the way of tea, is Zen itself. Thus, it is essential for those who aspire to the way of tea to gain at least some awareness of Zen.

In section I of this article I will outline the main features of Zen. Then, after touching upon the thought underlying the tradition of hanging scrolls of calligraphy in a tearoom, my discussion will turn to the tea services and tea ceremonies held in special Zen training halls. In section II I will focus on the development of the practice of tea, showing how in its earliest stage certain features of Zen practice were imitated and adopted into secular tea service. Following this, I will briefly discuss how the early masters of tea, in conjunction with prominent Zen priests, were able to imbue the forms of tea service with the spirit of Zen and thereby pioneer the development of the discipline that we know today as *chadō*.

I. Zen: The Ultimate Realm of Religious Experience

First, Zen should not be understood as a single "Zen sect." The great Yuan-dynasty Chinese master Chung-feng Ming-pen (Chūhō Myōhon, 1263-1323) defined Zen: "What is Zen? It is a name for my mind. What is mind? It is the essence of Zen." Further, the founder of Sōtō Zen in Japan, Dōgen (1200-1253), wrote:

Who has ever used the term "Zen sect?" No Buddha or patriarch up to now has ever done so. Know that the term Zen sect was used by the Demon Papiya (Hajun). One who uses this term belongs to the party of demons and is not a descendent of the buddhas and patriarchs.

Shōbōgenzō, "Buddha Way"

Thus Dōgen emphatically attacks the error of speaking of a Zen sect; not only did he himself not use the term "Zen sect," but he also strongly opposed its use by others. Moreover, he rejected not only the label "Zen sect," but all particular sect names,

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such as “Bodhidharma school” and “Buddha-mind sect,” and insisted instead on “the great way of the buddhas and patriarchs” and “the treasury of the true Dharma eye.”

Thus, we see that Zen is the term applied to the Buddha-mind, the great Dharma, the treasury of the true Dharma eye, and the wondrous mind of nirvana, and is not the name of a sect. Therefore, it is possible to say that Zen refers to the realm of religious experience that all schools of Buddhism consider to be ultimate.

Next, Zen is a religion of experience. There are many schools of Buddhism. In general, they each select from among Sakyamuni’s teachings a certain sutra and treatise, such as the threefold Pure Land Sutra, the Lotus Sutra, the Garland Sutra, the Abhidharma-kosa, or the Treatise on Consciousness-only, and taking it as the foundation, seek to discover within it the heart of Sakyamuni’s great enlightenment. Zen, however, advocates, “No dependence on words and letters; a special transmission outside of scripture; pointing directly to the mind of man; seeing into self-nature and becoming Buddha.” Zen neither stands upon sutras nor depends on rituals or worship. Rather, it points directly to our true mind and true nature and makes us realize that they are none other than Buddha-mind and Buddha-nature. It seeks to bring us to the clear realization in our own selves of the same religious experience (enlightenment) as Sakyamuni. That is to say, it takes living day-by-day with the same mind as Sakyamuni as its ultimate aim. Thus Zen master Yung-chia Hsuan-chiao (Yōka Genkaku, 665-713) states:

Walking is Zen, sitting is Zen,
Whether talking or remaining silent, whether moving
or standing quiet, the Essence itself is ever at ease.

(Trans. Suzuki, Daisetz T., “Song of Enlightenment,” *Manual of Zen Buddhism* [New York: Grove Press, 1960], p. 94)

All daily activities are Zen practice, the practice of the Buddha-way. Therefore, the practice of Zen monks is not only to study scriptures and to recite sutras and worship, or to sit in meditation (*zazen*), as in other schools. Zen master Hakuin (1689-1768) admonished, “It is said, ‘Endeavoring in reflection while in movement surpasses that in quiet—by a hundred-, thousand-, million-fold.’ It is a blessing that we have these words. Endeavor in them.” Rather than doing *zazen* and concentrating the mind—endeavoring in meditation in quiet—it is more important to take the entire body of daily life activities as the site of practice—endeavoring in meditation in motion.

The Spirit of Tea Ceremonies in Zen Monasteries

Tea ceremonies in Zen monasteries stimulate a sense of oneness and strengthen the feeling of harmony. In Shinto’s *naorai* ceremony, believers partake of food and drink that has been offered before the deity. This ceremony arises from the ancient belief that to eat what the deity eats is to become one with the deity. The drinking of tea in Zen monasteries can be said to be fundamentally the same in principle. Therefore, in

the earliest style of tea ceremony, an offering of tea and food was probably placed before an image of the Buddha hung in the front of the room and later passed from person to person, each partaking of a little of it. In this way the realization of oneness with the buddhas and patriarchs was strengthened, and further the sense of unity and harmony among the participants was reinforced. Even today a bowl of tea prepared at a tea gathering is passed from person to person, a custom perhaps originating from this type of ceremony. But the Zen monastic ceremony is not simply to create a vague mood of oneness and harmony by partaking of the same food and drink. It contains elements of greater self-awareness and wisdom. The images of buddhas and patriarchs hung in the place of the zen ceremonies are neither objects of worship nor mere decorations. The images are nothing less than concrete representations of the "place" in which the participants become one as a group. Of course, these participants express a sense of gratitude toward the buddhas and patriarchs, but this is secondary; their primary significance is the unity of themselves and their central harmony. This means studying the actions of the buddhas and patriarchs, severing all one's illusion and attachment, and all together attaining the realm of *satori* (enlightenment), the same realm as that of the buddhas. If each participant realizes the mind that is a bright mirror, then just as there is no reflection in the mutually reflecting mirrors, of itself a harmony in which two are one and one is two emerges.

The way of tea as it is practiced today developed from the ceremonies of the Zen monasteries, and it is here that the significance and purpose of the hanging scroll in the tearoom has its origin. If one possesses a clear grasp of the true spirit of tea in Zen monasteries, one will naturally understand the thought behind the use of the scroll.

Scrolls in tearooms, through their words and pictures, normally give expression to the meaning of the tea gathering; thus, from the point of view of the unity and harmony of the participants, there is nothing comparable to a calligraphy of a Zen master. A calligraphy, like a painting, is not something to be merely gazed at. The calligrapher, the arrangement of the characters, the color of the paper, the mounting, and so on are not focal points of appreciation. Nevertheless, the original purpose in hanging a calligraphy is often forgotten. This is apparently not a recent problem. The *Bunrui sōjimboku*, believed to have been written during the Eiroku era (1558-1570), criticizes the injudicious use of scrolls as fashionable utensils:

Calligraphies by Zen monks are in general use these days. Men of ancient times intended that these be used by men of Zen. The hanging of calligraphies as tea utensils by those who have no Zen understanding is absurd. It is only when one has realized the Zen Dharma, and abandoned all affairs, and seeks to make one's heart calm by experiencing the words that sever all attachment, that the hanging of a calligraphy by a Zen monk is precisely appropriate. To see a scroll hung solely out of the thought that it is an object of fame,

and to hear it praised as splendid by a person who knows nothing of its truth, is painful to one who is aware.

Of course, a calligraphy by a Zen monk reflects the writer's personality; therefore, when we see one, the writer's character emerges, and we are somehow drawn to it. Thus it is possible to say that even if we do not understand what is written, displaying the scroll in the alcove partially fulfills its purpose as a tea hanging. This is to consider the calligraphy in its narrowest sense. The displaying of a calligraphy by a Zen master is worthwhile "only when one has realized the Zen Dharma and abandoned all affairs, and seeks to make one's heart calm by experiencing the words that sever all attachment." Rikyū said:

No utensil ranks with the scroll in significance. Contemplating it, both guest and host attain wholeness of mind and realization of the way in chanoyu-samadhi. The calligraphies of Zen monks are foremost among scrolls. With veneration for what is written, one savors the virtue of the calligrapher, of practitioners of the way, of the patriarchs. Writings executed by men in secular life should not be displayed. . . . A calligraphy in which the words of the Buddha or patriarchs and the virtue of the calligrapher function together makes for the finest of scrolls and a notable treasure. Scrolls in which, though the calligrapher cannot be said to be a man of great virtue, the words of the Buddha or patriarchs are employed, belong to the second rank.

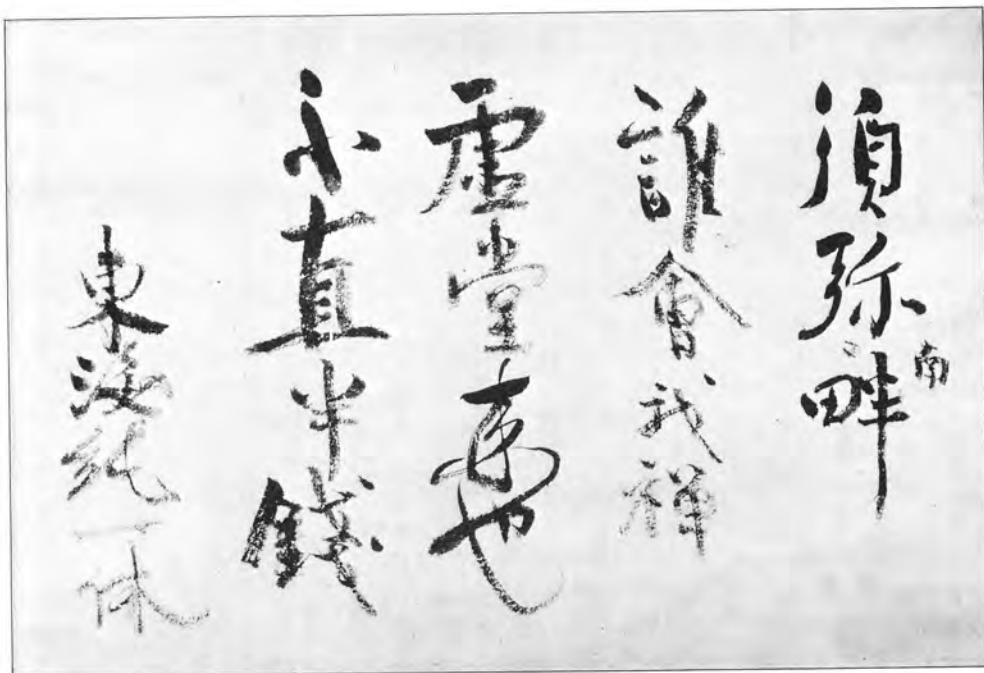
Nampōroku, "Oboegaki," 19 (see *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 25)

Tea Ceremonies as Performed Today in Zen Monasteries

The great Chinese Confucian scholar Ch'eng Ming-tao (Tei Meidō) of the Sung dynasty observed the attitude of Zen monks in carrying out their daily lives and stated in admiration, "The rites and music of the three ancient ages all still survive here." The life of Zen monks was, in every motion of hand and foot, carried out based on strict rules. Thus, rules were written on various occasions as individual necessities arose, and where there was a Zen temple there was invariably a set of regulations called *shingi*. The daily life of Zen monks is to be carried out on the basis of these strict regulations. In present-day reality, however, in ordinary temples, observance of these rules and those governing tea can scarcely be found. These rules can be seen only in the routine of practicing monks in special training halls or in special ceremonies.

In special training halls, tea services are held at various times each day. Before dawn the floors are cleaned, and after the morning worship all monks return to the meditation hall. There the serving of an infusion of hot water and the liquid obtained from the pickling of plums is performed.

Next there is *shukuza* (morning meal of rice gruel) and after that there is tea. Again, about 1:00 p.m., before the afternoon activities, there is a *yatsu* tea service.



Above: "Death Poem" by Ikkyū Sōjun, written in 1481. Central area: height 25.2 cm., width 37.8cm. Photo courtesy of Shinjuan, Daitokuji, Kyoto. Below: Serving a meal of rice gruel at Kōshoji temple.



Further, after the night meditation practice and before retiring, there is the *kaichin* tea service. These are the tea services held during the day at practice halls at regular times. At these tea services *bancha* (coarse tea) is normally used, and no sweets are served. Of course, these services are performed according to rules as follows.

The *shōji*, a monk who serves the altar image and maintains the meditation hall, brings the tea into the meditation hall from the rear and closes the front doors. He then returns to the rear door and, standing at a designated spot, claps with sticks twice and shouts “*Sarei!*” (tea ceremony). The monks place cups in front of their knees. The *shōji* advances to the altar and pours tea as an offering before the altar image. Next he pours tea for the monks, beginning with the *jikijitsu*, an experienced priest who guides other monks in the meditation hall. After he finishes pouring, he returns to his position at the rear of the hall. Then holding palms together (*gasshō*), all bow, and drink. After drinking, the *shōji* brings the tea and the waste-water vessel and empties the tea that was offered up to the image. Next he proceeds from the *jikijitsu* to the rest of the monks. At this time, those who wish another bowl of tea and those who have not drunk all their tea hold their palms together. Then the *shōji* stops before them and pours more tea or takes the leftover. All others express thanks by bowing. After making the round, the *shōji* returns to his position at the rear, and claps once with a pair of wooden clappers. Next he brings incense to the *jikijitsu* who takes it, and offers it before the image, and bows three times; then he opens the front door. The service is over.

Additionally, there is the general tea service (*sōsarei*), which is more ritualized than the daily tea. In the evening of the day before or several days before a special ceremony or general service, the chief *rōshi* or temple manager summons the monks to assembly in the guest hall or the main hall, by rapping a pair of wooden clappers. He then assigns roles and gives instruction concerning the main points of the coming event and the proper attitude that should be maintained. After the instruction is finished, all participants drink tea to help form a sense of unity and cooperation in order that the event will be smoothly executed. Again, after the special event has been completed, in the same way the monks drink tea in gratitude and joy over its successful completion. In these *sōsarei*, usually one or two pieces of *sembei* (rice crackers) are served with *bancha* in the practice hall, but on such special occasions as the memorial day of the founder or the installation of a new temple abbot, it is usual to serve sweets along with *matcha*, powdered green tea. In either case, after all are served tea, all bow and drink together.

Ritual Tea Ceremonies

When considering the modern ritual tea ceremonies in Zen monasteries, first we must take up the *tencha* and *tentō* rituals in which tea and hot water are offered in front of the Buddha image during such major services as the memorial service for the founder.

During these important services at Zen monasteries, such rituals as *shukuki*, *kenshuku*, and *hansai* are held. In *shukuki* and *hansai*, before the reading of the sutras, tea and hot water are solemnly offered along with incense by the *dōshi*.

During funeral services, tea and hot water are offered before the deceased. This is called *tencha tentō* or *tenchatō*. At this time, there are three roles—the *tenchashi*, *tentoshi*, and leader of the service. The *tenchashi* offers tea and the *tentoshi*, hot water before the deceased. If the funeral service is conducted in the morning, the offering of hot water comes before that of tea, and, if in the afternoon, tea is served first.

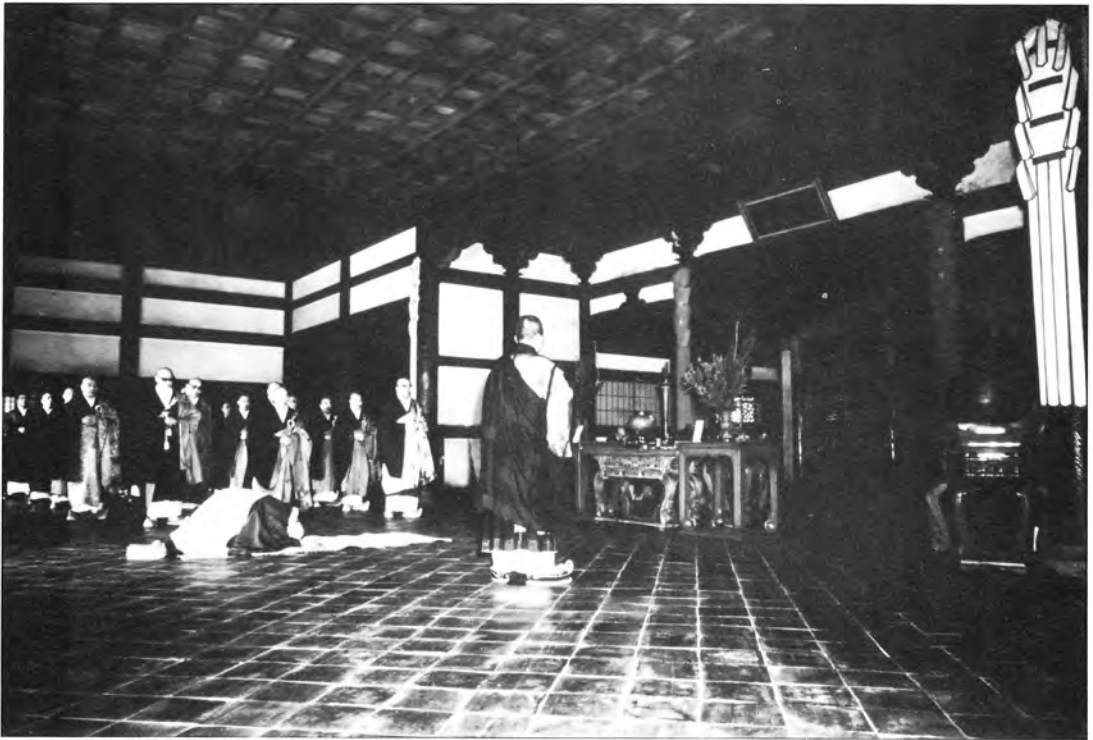
The *yatsugashira* tea ceremony in Tōkai-an of Myōshinji temple and the *yotsugashira* tea for the memorial of the founder at Kenninji temple have been described often and are well known; therefore here I will describe the Hōjōsai-en (*yotsugashira chakai*) held every year on November 17, in memory of the founder of Tōfukuji temple. At Tōfukuji, the public is not allowed to participate; the service is carried out only by guest priests and monks involved in the memorial. Here we can see the ancient forms of Zen tea ceremony.

At the entrance to the abbot's quarters, a sign reading "Senten" is hung, and in the center of the front of the room is placed the portrait of the founder, Shōichi Kokushi, flanked with portraits of Han-Shan and Shih-te (Kanzan and Jittoku) by the Zen monk Kichizan Minchō (Chō Densu, 1352-1431). Before them, on a table, are offered incense, flowers, candles, tea, hot water, sweets, and rice. In ordinary ceremonies only the first three are placed on the table, with a branch of pine as the flower. In the center of the room there is an incense stand; on the top is placed an incense burner, and on a lower shelf of the stand is placed an incense container.

At a fixed time the *jie*, a monk who takes care of the other monks' belongings, stands on the veranda and, from a list, calls out the order of the names of the people who will enter. The persons called first, with palms together, bow low to the *jiyaku*, the monk responsible for medicines, and then enter the room and stand at their designated places. At this time, they check the seating chart placed on the veranda to ascertain their seat.

The last person to enter is the one of highest rank—the abbot—and facing the person who sits opposite his place (*shutai-i*), he bows. Next he faces the person who sits opposite the main guest (*bintai-i*) and bows, and then proceeds to his place, with his arms folded at his chest, his right fist cupped in his left hand. He moves the small cushion and places it to his side, and the other guests do the same.

After all have entered, the *jie* takes three steps into the room and kneels on one knee. He then waves a fan once. With this sign, all the participants bow with their hands folded and sit and put their namecards to the side of the right knee. The *jie* re-enters the room and proceeds to the table, lights the candles, and exits. (He enters and exits from the east central side.) Next, the *jikō*, the monk responsible for the incense, enters on his left foot, takes three steps, and bows with his hands in *gasshō*. (All the participants also bow together.) Then he proceeds with arms folded at his chest, his right hand with palm facing his body, while held in his left hand (*shashu*), to the front of the central incense stand; he kneels on one knee and, taking the large incense container with both hands, he holds it at his side with his right arm. With three fingers of the left hand he takes off the lid and places it under the container body. He puts three fingers of his left hand to the side of the holder and stands facing slightly at an angle. He proceeds on the left foot, passes on the west side of the stand and advances toward



Kaizangakki (Founder's memorial service) at Tōfukuji. Photo courtesy of Shibata Akisuke, Kyoto.

the table. With three fingers of the left hand he puts incense into the large incense burner and then withdraws, right foot first, and places his feet together. Turning to the left, he passes the east central side and goes toward the central incense stand. There he burns incense in the same manner. He immediately kneels down on one knee, and, taking the holder with three fingers of the left hand, he replaces it under the incense stand. He covers it with both hands. With arms folded at his chest, *shashu*, he stands and withdraws right foot first, for three steps, and bows slightly with his palms pressed together. All the participants bow together in the same manner. The *jie* exits.

Next, the *jie* proceeds to the table in the same manner as before, puts out the candle, and exits. Next, the *jiko*, on the left, and the *jiyaku*, on the right, enter together, left foot first, and take three steps. Facing slightly to the right and palms together in *gasshō*, they proceed to the front of the main position (*shui*), bow deeply, advance to their own places, and sit. They immediately place their name plates to the right of their knees.

The *jie* reenters the room, collects the nameplates of absent guests (first he passes from the northeast corner, south, then west, and finally the northwest corner), and exits. The *bugyō* (name of a role) removes the screens placed beside the main and guest positions. All the participants fold their spread-cloths and place them to the right, along with their rosaries.

Next, trays of food are distributed by four serving monks and four assistants. The serving monks receive trays from the assistants and enter two-by-two. After the first step into the room they place their feet together and then proceed to the four main positions (*yotsugashira*). Kneeling on one knee, they present the trays. Then putting both hands, one on top the other, upon the left knee, they turn and face the center of the room; in pairs they rise and leave the room. In this way, all the participants are served in order.

After all the trays have been distributed, the *bugyō*, carrying a large fan, enters and bows. At this sign, all begin eating. While the eating is in progress, soup and hot water are served twice at appropriate times. After eating, the person at the main position puts his chopsticks down and all the participants follow. The trays are withdrawn immediately using the same procedure as when serving.

Next, tea is served. First, the serving monks enter the room; their right hand holds sweets in lacquer containers (*fuchidaka*) and their left hand, Temmoku teabowls on stands. (Appropriate amounts of powdered green tea have already been placed in the teabowls.) They kneel before each of the four main positions, place the container of sweets directly in front of the guest, and push the container slightly to the guest's right. Then holding the Temmoku teabowl stands with both hands, they place them to the guest's left. This is the procedure for the four main guests. Then the other guests are served tea and sweets; sweets for five or six persons are placed on trays; teabowls on stands for the corresponding number of guests are set on round trays. While the monks hold the trays low, each guest takes from them. After receiving the sweets and the teabowls, the guests place these in front of them and await the whisking of the tea.

The serving monks enter holding hot-water ewers with the left hand and tea whisks with the right. (The tea whisks are placed on the spouts of the ewers.) First they kneel before the four main guests, bow, pour water into their bowls, and whisk the tea. Next they stand in front of each of the other guests, bend at the waist, pour water, and whisk the tea. When the serving monk approaches, each guest takes the teabowl with both hands and holds it out toward the monk. The serving monk takes the whisk from the spout of the ewer with his right hand, holds it sideways at the spout, and pours water into the bowl with the left hand. He then holds the ewer at his right side (to keep his vestment sleeve back) and whisks the tea with his right hand. After everyone's tea has been whisked in this manner, all the guests drink simultaneously.

After all the participants have finished their tea, the serving monks enter and withdraw the trays of sweets and the Temmoku bowls and stands. In front of the four main guests they kneel on one knee and bow. Then they receive the teabowls with both hands and transfer them to the left hand. They withdraw the sweet containers with the right hand. The rest of the sweet containers and bowls are withdrawn from a standing position, and trays are used.

All the participants stand with their palms pressed together in *gasshō* fashion; their hands are held at their chests as they leave the room, in order, following after the four main guests. With this the ceremony has ended.

II. The Formation of the Way of Tea

Buddhism, from the time of its first transmission to Japan, was not limited simply to religion but brought with it the general culture of the continent—architecture, sculpture, painting, and more. This was also the case with the transmission of Zen. A large number of Chinese articles were brought to Japan by Japanese and Chinese Zen monks, and many of them are still preserved in Zen monasteries. For examples of this, it is possible to cite the *Butsunichian kōmotsu mokuroku*, a catalog of fixtures of the Butsunichian subtemple of Engakuji temple in Kamakura. Compiled in Gen'ō 2 (1320) and revised in Teiji 2 (1363), it lists the great variety of Chinese items brought by Japanese and Chinese monks connected with the subtemple, including paintings, calligraphic works, tea utensils, and other items.

These imported Chinese items were naturally used as decoration for the tea rituals at Zen monasteries. The taste for things Chinese apparent in Zen tea rituals attracted the aristocratic and military classes and gradually Zen tea rituals came to be imitated by the nobility, and in particular by the military class. Thus were born the lavish tea gatherings which centered on tea competitions (*tōcha*) such as those depicted in the *Kissa ōrai* and *Taiheiki*. The *Taiheiki* records these competitions as part of the lifestyle of the military class of the fourteenth century. The *Kissa ōrai*, attributed to the priest Gen'e (d. 1350) is a letter-writing guide that, while vivid with detail, is not completely accurate in its account of these gatherings. However, even with its inaccuracies it still sheds light on the practice. In the *Kissa ōrai* appears the following:



Above: Yotsugashira tea service at Enkakuji temple in Kamakura. *Below:* Tray with Temmoku teabowls and a hot-water ewer with a *chasen*, bamboo tea whisk, over its spout.





Tokonoma decoration used during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, taken from a fifteenth century treatise on flower arrangement.

The tea session was held in a two-story building, with the guest hall downstairs and the tearoom upstairs. When the guests had assembled in the hall, they were served three cups of *suisenshu* (*sake* in which is placed a daffodil-shaped sweet) and one serving of *sakumencha* (thin noodles put in tea). Then, there was a meal with delicacies from the mountains and the sea, and after the meal, fruit was served. Then, while the guests walked in the garden, the host prepared the tearoom.

The tearoom had windows which opened to the four directions and had been designed to provide an excellent view of the scenery. In the room there was no tokonoma, but at the head of the room there was placed a large screen. On the left of the screen was hung a colored painting by Cho Chang Ssu-kung (Shikyō) of Sakyamuni preaching the Dharma. On the right was an ink painting by Mu-ch'i (Mokkei) of *Kannon* manifesting herself on Mount Potalaka. In addition, there were side paintings of Samantabhadra bodhisattva (Fugen) and Manjusri bodhisattva (Monju), and serving as front decorations were pictures of Han-Shan and Shih-te (Kanzan and Jittoku). On a stand in front of the screen a cloth of gold brocade was spread, upon which were placed three essential articles—a metal incense burner, vase, and candle stand. Fine incense was burned, and flowers were placed in the vase. The benches for guests were covered with leopard skins, and for the host there was a bamboo chair. In addition, on the incense stand were placed carved lacquer incense boxes of vermilion and red. In tea storage jars there was tea from Togano-o and Takao. Beneath the western eaves there was a pair of shelves for decorations on which a variety of rare sweets were piled, and at the base of the north wall stood a screen where various prizes were arranged. Between was a kettle with boiling water around which were drinks covered with cloths.

When the guests entered the room prepared in this manner and sat down, the host's son served tea and sweets, and a beautiful boy distributed Temmoku teabowls containing powdered tea. Then he poured hot water with his left hand and, holding a tea whisk in the right, whisked tea for the guests, in order. Then there were also tea matches of teabowls of four kinds of tea or matches of the judgment of the relative merits of tea from Kyoto and from the countryside.

While this was going on, the sun gradually sank, drawing the tea session to a close. The tea utensils were put away and a banquet of fine fish and rare quality *sake* took place. The participants enjoyed themselves with singing, dancing, and the playing of musical instruments, and as the night grew late, they departed.

Thus is described a tea gathering of those days. The close similarities with the Tōfukuji tea ceremony described earlier—both in the solemnity of the room and in the manner of making tea—are apparent. Further, in chapter 33 of the *Taiheiki* is the passage:

In the capital, the resident daimyo, with the lay-priest Hangan of Sado, Sasaki Dōyo foremost, have formed a group and started a tea gathering spending day after day in luxury. For this purpose they collected imported and native treasures, decorating a hundred places, spreading skins of leopards and tigers upon chairs. Since they wear pieces of damask and gold brocade as they please, when they sit in their places in rows with four main positions, it is no different from the lights of a thousand buddhas sitting in a line upon a platform adorned with a hundred riches.

Sitting in lines from the four main positions is a direct derivation from the Zen monastic tea services. It is clear that the early tea gatherings based on tea matches, such as those described in the *Kissa ōrai* and *Taiheiki*, descend from the Zen monastic tea services.

Tea matches beginning in the Nambokuchō era (1336-1392), while exhibiting a taste for the rare and exotic, were influenced by native climate and customs, and by such traditional entertainments as poetry contests and *renga* (linked-verse) sessions. By the beginning of the Muromachi period (1392-1573), they had become naturalized and the elements of elegance came to the fore. During this period of transition the term applied to rooms in which tea was served was changed from *kissatei* (tea-drinking arbor) to *kaisho* (gathering hall).

In the mid-Muromachi period, *shoin*-style architecture became popular among the nobility and the upper ranks of the warrior class. Up to this time tea gatherings, which were held in *kaisho*, came to be conducted in *shoin*-style rooms. As a natural result, the decoration shifted from that of the gathering hall to that of the *shoin*. It is said the first person to employ *shoin*-style decoration was Sasaki Dōyo. It is described in the *Taiheiki*:

Dōyo was attacked by Hosokawa Kiyouji and Kusunoki Masanori of the Southern Court side and forced to leave the capital. At that time he prepared a six *ken* (bay) tea gathering room, spreading twelve tatami mats with a large crest pattern (it was still rare to have a room with tatami matting). There he hung scrolls—a central image and two side scrolls—

and exhibited a complete set of tea utensils, down to the flower vase, incense burner, kettle, and tray. Further, in the two-mat alcove of a shoin study were hung a pair of calligraphic works by Wang Hsi-chih and Han Yu. *Sake* and fish were prepared, and even servants were left behind with the instructions, "If enemy samurai come, serve them tea and *sake*."

Nōami (1397-1471), a *dōbō* (artistic advisor) to the sixth and eighth Ashikaga shoguns, devised a style of shoin decoration suited to chanoyu based on the decorative methods of tea competitions and banquet rooms and Sasaki Dōyō's shoin decoration style, adding his own preferences. The details of this style are described in the *Kundaikan sōchōki*. It was far more solemn and simple than the banquet-room-style decoration and aimed at creating a Zen-like atmosphere in the tearoom.

Further, he devised a way of using the *daisu* stand, a tea utensil of Zen monasteries brought from China by the Zen master Nampo Jōmyō (1235-1309), in shoin-style tea.

In this way, along with establishing shoin style and *daisu* usage, he considered the handling of tea utensils, their placement, and rules for making tea. Especially for rules of making tea, he borrowed from the Ogasawara school of etiquette.

Thus, the tea manner was established by Nōami. As the more solemn style of the gatherings began to appear among the upper class warrior society, tea competitions declined and all such coarse amusements as drinking parties and gambling were swept from it. It was Nōami's establishment of tea manner—known as the Higashiyama school—that was truly a pioneering step toward the practice of tea as a disciplined way.

Zen tea service, on the one hand, has been preserved in Zen temples and, on the other, has been imitated and adopted into secular society where, passing through stages of popular tea competition, it developed into Nōami's Higashiyama school of tea service.

However, in Nōami's tea, even though a surface beauty and formality were perfected, the interior spiritual side was still quite impoverished. The confrontation of the problem of the heart and spirit, rather than the forms, of tea with the advocacy and perfecting of the true way of tea was left to the "three traditions in chanoyu"—Murata Shukō, Takeno Jōō, and Sen Rikyū. However, we must not overlook the great role played by their associations with Zen monks.

Murata Shukō and Ikkyū

Zen master Ikkyū Sōjun was born in 1394 the unacknowledged son of Emperor Go-Komatsu (1377-1433) in Kyoto. His childhood name was Sengikumarū. At the age of six he entered temple life, and from about the age of twelve he studied Buddhism under Zen Master Seisōnin and Chinese poetry under Zen Master Botetsu Ryōhan of Kenninji temple. From about the age of seventeen he began Zen practice under Zen Master Ken'ō Sōi. However, Ken'ō soon died, and Ikkyū, at the age of twenty-two, went to see Kasō Sōdon (1352-1428, the twenty-second chief priest of

Daitokuji) at Zenkōan in Omi-Katada. Kasō's Zen style was extremely aloof and strict, and he did not easily admit disciples. For ten days Ikkyū requested entrance by bowing to the ground and spent his nights in fishing boats. Finally he was admitted and from that time endeavored in Zen practice. One day, on hearing a crow call, he attained *satori* and succeeded to Kasō's *dharmā*.

Throughout his life Ikkyū spent very little time in settled temple life, living literally a life of "passing clouds and flowing water," with short periods in small hermitages and in city households. At the age of eighty-one, he was appointed by the emperor to be the forty-seventh chief priest of Daitokuji; however, he merely acknowledged the letter and purple robes with two poems of thanks and, with self-admonishments, in the end did not serve. He did not, of course, desert Daitokuji and worked to rebuild it after it had been burned in the Ōnin war. He died in 1481 at Shūon-an in Takigi-mura, at the age of eighty-eight. Among his disciples were, besides Murata Shukō, the poet-monks Sōchō and Sōin, the noh actor and dramatist Komparu Zenchiku, the painter Soga Dasoku, and the haikai-renga poet Yamazaki Sōkan.

Murata Shukō took up the practice of Zen, but while reading scriptures and doing *zazen* he easily became drowsy. He finally asked a famous doctor what he could do about it. The doctor answered, "If you are determined, you should nurture yourself and protect your life. If you drink tea for nurturing your heart, then your life will be protected, and your sleepiness will go away by itself." Shukō was delighted to hear this and thereafter sought tea from Togano-o, drinking it always without any cause to doubt the doctor's instructions.

Zen monastic tea service of the Ching-shan (Kinzan) line had been brought from China by the Zen Master Nampo Jōmyō and transmitted to Daitokuji and thus to Ikkyū. Shukō must have learned of this tea while practicing under Ikkyū. When the Ōnin war broke out in 1467, to avoid the fighting Shukō went to Nara, where the practice of tea was widespread. At Saidaiji the tea ceremony using outsized utensils (*ōchamori*) begun by Eison Risshi (Kōshō Bosatsu, 1201-1290) had been handed down since the Kamakura period, and the Furuichi clan often held such tea gatherings.

One of the main tea gatherings was the rinkan chanoyu held in 1469 by Furuichi Chōei (d. 1507) at the Daijōin of Kōfukuji, in which the high abbot Kyōkaku was the main guest. This tea was unusual in that guests were first invited to take a bath, and, in pleasant and relaxed spirits upon emerging, they enjoyed tea competitions and a banquet with *sake*. The bath was arranged like a tearoom, and screens were placed on a small boat, with painted scrolls, an incense burner, and a flower vase. Flowers decorated the ceiling of the bath. At the head position were the high abbot Kyōkaku and the Furuichi family, and at the foot the men and women of the village, and even resident Europeans took part. It was a great tea gathering in which hundreds of people—monks and ordinary people, men and women—bathed and drank together. Because the scene was open to sightseers for a fee, from the four directions and from the neighboring villages came great numbers of people who gathered together with their picnic lunches in hand. And when the tea had ended, the sightseers enjoyed themselves in a mass variety show. We can easily imagine how brutally frank and novel the entire event was, how open and popular. In Kyōkaku's private notes, "Kyōkaku

shiyōshō," there frequently appear the words "village bath" and "virtue bath," and these are thought to have been events similar to the rinkān chanoyū.

Chōei's younger brother, Chōin (1459-1508) later became a disciple of Shukō and received secret instruction in tea practices. He was called the highest disciple and a *meijin*, or expert. From this relationship of Chōin and Shukō, and in the light of Shukō's frequent trips back and forth between Kyoto and Nara, we can infer that Shukō was probably involved in popular tea events, such as the rinkān chanoyū.

Further, Shukō became acquainted with Noami, from whom he received guidance in the methods of judging Chinese objects and the tea manner for a shoin-style room. He seems to have become a disciple of Nōami from about the time that he was evicted from Hōrin-an and, after coming to Kyoto, began Zen practice with Ikkyū. Later, reversing roles, Nōami is said to have learned the procedures of tea from Shukō, receiving "secret oral transmissions and the details of the twenty-one articles" (*Yamanoue Sōji ki*). However, this is probably a fabrication of later times intended to give Shukō greater authority as the founder of chanoyū.

In short, Shukō formulated a new tea style, the Nara school of tea, by criticizing the formalistic and aristocratic one practiced by the nobility and upper class warriors and combining the essential elements of three types of tea: the Zen monastic tea learned from Ikkyū, the popular tea represented by the rinkān chanoyū of the Furuichi clan, and the shoin-daisu tea which Nōami practiced. However, Shukō's revolution in tea was by no means accidental. Rather, it came about through his Zen practice and the influence of Ikkyū's personality.

The following story is told of Shukō's Zen study. One day, when Shukō was about to drink from his favorite teabowl, Ikkyū shouted a great "Katsu!" and smashed the bowl with an iron rod. Then, Shukō, without the slightest start replied, "Willows are green, blossoms are crimson." It is said that Ikkyū praised his unblinking tea concentration.

As a sign of certification of enlightenment, Ikkyū gave Shukō a treasured calligraphy of Zen master Yüan-wu (Engo). Shukō had it mounted as a scroll and hung it in the alcove of his hermitage, where he enjoyed tea. He realized that "the Buddha Dharma also is in the way of tea" (*Yamanoue Sōji ki*). This is to say, there is nothing special in the Buddha Dharma; it lies within daily life itself. Up to that time only Chinese paintings had been used for tea meetings; Shukō was the first to hang a calligraphy by a Zen master. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* states: "Chanoyū developed from Zen; hence all is a monk's practice. Shukō and [Takeno] Jōō both belonged to the Zen school." As one of the practices of a monk he revered calligraphy. As stated in the *Nampōroku*, "one appreciates the virtues of the writer, the practitioners of the way, and the masters."

Ikkyū's personality can be seen in his portraits in which he is totally without concern for external appearances. He did not seek fame or wealth or curry favor with men in positions of authority, but spoke his own mind boldly and satirically criticized the Zen world of that day. For example, Ikkyū lived in Sakai from the age of thirty-nine to forty-two. He walked about the city carrying a wooden sword and a shakuhachi. When someone suspiciously asked the reason, he answered, "False knowledge

that is everywhere today is like this wooden sword. When it is put in the scabbard, it looks like a real sword, but once it is drawn, it is only a scrap of wood. It cannot even cut a dead man, let alone a living one." (One of Ikkyū's disciples, Zuishī, made a portrait of his master based on this story, in which a long wooden sword is stood up beside the chair in which the master sits.) Ikkyū left a final poem:

In the area south of Mount Sumeru, is there anyone
Who can plumb my Zen satori?
Were Kidō (Hsu-t'ang) himself to come,
He would not be worth a half-cent.

It is certainly difficult to understand Ikkyū's Zen; and his actions, unless his Zen is comprehended, are hard to fathom.

Shukō was influenced by Ikkyū's critical spirit and his richly human character, and out of his Zen practice, he criticized the aristocratic and formalized tea. He simplified tea and made it a possession of the ordinary people. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* states: "At this time, the person not interested in tea is a nobody. Not only daimyo, but even merchants of Nara, Kyoto, and Sakai devote themselves to tea." From this, we see how rapidly Shukō's tea was taken up into the lives of common people.

Shukō, in his "letter to priest Furuichi Harima," (*Kokoro no fumi*), touched on a fundamental problem of the aspirant in the way of tea:

In this Way, chief among evils is the heart's overbearance,
attachment to self. Begrudging the masterly and scorning
beginners are thoroughly wrongheaded. You must approach
the masterful, beseech their least word, and never fail to
guide beginners.

(a complete translation can be found in Dennis Hirota's
"Heart's Mastery: *Kokoro no fumi*," *Chanoyu Quarterly*,
no. 22, 1979, p. 10)

Further, the third of the "Ten Points of Attention of the Man of Tea" (*Chanoyusha kakugo jittei*) (see "The Wabi Tea of Takeno Jōō," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, No. 23, 1980, pp 7-24) states, "Love of neatness and purity from the heart's core." All the various styles of tea gatherings must be the natural expression of the purity of the heart of the host.

Shukō's emphasis on matters of the heart can be said to reflect the guidance of Ikkyū. Through Zen practice he grasped the spirit of Zen monastic tea and brought it into the way of tea.

It was Nōami who brought about the opportunity for Shukō to emerge in public as the tea teacher of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436-1490). Nōami advised Yoshimasa that a man named Shukō was currently practicing a completely new style of tea in which Zen was adopted. Yoshimasa, who had known only the extremely lavish tea gatherings which centered upon treasured art objects imported from China and who was becoming tired of them, undoubtedly felt deep interest in this new style of



Portrait of Ikkyū Sōjun by one of Ikkyū's disciples.
Photo courtesy of Umezawa Kinenkan.

tea. In "Questions and Answers of Shukō," Yoshimasa is recorded as asking, "I would like to know about tea." Shukō answered: "One flavor of purity, joy in the Dharma and gladness in meditation. Chao-cho (Jōshū) for a friend. Can Lu Yu attain the realm of wondrousness? The person who enters this room outwardly frees himself from expressions of self-centeredness and inwardly stores up the virtue of gentleness and harmony. In reaching the moment of meeting and mutually seeing, there is reverence, respect, purity, and tranquility, and immediately peace reigns through heaven and earth." Yoshimasa said of this meeting, "I regret to have the pleasure of this meeting so late." "Questions and Answers of Shukō" is thought to be a forgery of later times, so it is questionable whether this exchange actually took place. However, we can assume that Shukō's tea was generally like this.

In any case, Shukō expelled gambling and drinking from tea and gave importance to the spirit. Incorporating Zen into tea, he made tea a way of cultivation. Further, casting off the mania for things Chinese, he opened the way toward *wabi* tea and spread tea even among the ordinary people. This was a magnificent accomplishment. He is considered one of the great masters in the history of tea and is revered as the founder of chanoyu. He died in 1502.

Takeo Jōō and Zen Master Dairin Sōtō

Takeo Jōō (1502-1555) was a descendent of Takeda, the lord of Wakasa (present-day Fukui prefecture). His grandfather Nakakiyo was killed during the Ōnin war (1467-1477) and his father Nobuhisa, after wandering through many provinces, settled in Sakai, a city near present-day Osaka, changed his name to Takeo, and with the assistance of the Miyoshi clan became a dealer in leather products that were used with weapons, and amassed a fortune within one generation. Jōō's name as a youth was Matsukikumarū, and later he was called Nakamura and Shingorō; he lived in Henomatsu-chō in Sakai.

In 1525, at the age of twenty-four, he went to Kyoto with the intention of pursuing literary studies and learned the way of poetry under Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, the greatest classics scholar of the day. He studied Shukō-style tea under Fujita Sōri, Jūshiya Sōgo, and Jūshiya Sōchin. He also studied *renga* (linked-verse). In 1531, he heard a lecture by Sanetaka on the preface of the famed Kamakura-period poet Fujiwara Teika's *Eika taigai* which states that one should keep old poems in mind and at the same time compose poems which possess originality. He realized that the importance of combining both training in the tradition and originality applied to chanoyu as well as poetry. After that he gave up his way of life as a *renga* master and turned completely to tea. In 1532, he entered the priesthood and took the name Jōō. The following year he visited the rich merchant Matsuya in Nara to see Matsuya's three famed utensils, and seeing among them the famous picture scroll of a white heron by Hsü Hsi (Jōki) said to have a mounting done to Shukō's liking, he grasped the vision behind Shukō's way of tea. Thus awakened to the way of tea, Jōō returned to Sakai in 1537.

Afterward, Jōō mastered the procedures of Shukō's school of tea and at the same time he devised a new ideal and became the founder of the Sakai school. One of the foundations of this chanoyu was the way of Zen. Jōō had been a follower of Pure

Land Buddhism, but his close friend Kitamuki Dōchin advised him that, for tea, Zen was not to be ignored, and both men began to practice Zen under Dairin.

Zen Master Dairin Sōtō (1480-1568) was a man of Kyoto; his secular name was Fujiwara. He succeeded Master Kogaku Sōkō (1465-1548, seventy-sixth chief priest of Daitokuji) in the Dharma and resided at Tokuzenji. In 1538, he became the ninety-sixth chief priest of Daitokuji. He was such a famous priest that he was invited to give sermons at the Imperial Palace, and during his lifetime he received the name Butchin Enshō Zenji from Emperor Gonara, and from Emperor Ōgimachi he received the title Shōgaku Futsū Kokushi. He was also revered by Miyoshi Chōkei and Mutsunaga Hisahide. Miyoshi Chōkei (1523-1564) was one of the most powerful and ruthless figures of his time but it is said that in front of Dairin Zenji he trembled nervously. With the assistance of Miyoshi Chōkei, Nanshūan, which had been built by Zen master Kogaku, was expanded and became a great Zen temple, Nanshūji, of which Dairin became the founder. He died at the age of eighty-eight.

The precise nature of Jōō's practice under Dairin is not known, but at the age of forty-eight he was given the name Ikkan Kōji by Dairin. He died suddenly at the age of fifty-four in 1555. His deathbed poem was: "This one puppet/ Of fifty-odd years./ Today it crumbles,/ The great way lies clear." This poem expresses a spiritual awareness beyond that of even many Zen monks. In the same year, Dairin wrote a poem on the image of Ikkan Jōō Kōji of Daikoku-an: "Formerly tied, the unhindered cause of Amida;/ Then changing ways, actively endeavoring./ Realizing that the taste of tea and the taste of Zen are one,/ He gathers the wind in the pines, with heart undefiled." This certified that Jōō reached the realm in which tea and Zen are one.

It is a matter of course that such a deep penetration into Zen should express itself in Jōō's tea. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* states, "Jōō is a master of the day, a leader, a revivalist." Further, it stresses the Zen character of Jōō's tea: "The style of chanoyu is entirely Zen."

Jōō revered Shukō and succeeded him in the beginnings of wabi tea. He endeavored to further deepen it, but to express his Zen attainment in tea he made improvements where improvements were needed, thus renewing Shukō's prestige. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* states: "Until the time of Insetsu, Shukō's style of tea prevailed. In Jōō's time, all was made over." Further, in the *Nampōroku*, it is stated concerning Shukō: "The four-and-a-half-mat room was Shukō's creation. As a *shin* (formal) room, the lower part of the wall was papered with torinoko paper; the ceiling was of unridged cedar, shingled; slanting roof from the four sides; tokonoma of one *ken* (bay). He hung the treasured calligraphy of Yüan-wu (Enko) and displayed the daisu." Concerning Jōō, it states: "Jōō made changes here and there. The papered wall he made clay; the wooden lattice he made bamboo; he did away with the lower panel of the sliding shōji. For the bottom sill of the tokonoma he thinned the lacquer or used plain wood; this was called a *sō*-style (informal) room. Jōō did not display a daisu in this room."

Jōō also made changes in tea utensils. The representative example is the Jōō-dana (stand) for utensils. In his late years he moved next door to Ebisudō at Shijō in Kyoto and named his residence Daikoku-an. Without any worries he enjoyed a chano-



The present day Jōō-dana is lacquered. This has been a source of confusion since the Edo period. The original might have been unlacquered or similar to the shino-dana, which is unlacquered. It has been argued that the secret of the Jōō-dana was that it could only be used with the *ro*, sunken hearth style of tea, thus reflecting Jōō's tendency toward wabi tea.

yu-samadhi and turned the daisu into the *fukuro-dana* (stand). He treated it with great importance, and composed the light poem: "My name is Daikokuan, and in this furuko-dana a secret is held." Concerning this, Rikyū stated:

When Jōō created the *fukuro-dana*, he said the famous words, "The *fukuro-dana* should not be decorated with lacquer or a pattern in gold or silver. There is taste in the plainness of the wood as it is." On the whole, those who have taste understand the appreciation for the plain and pure. Splendidly made articles are difficult to use in the way of tea.

Nomura Sōkaku ate densho

Thus the secret of Jōō's tea was in using the *fukuro-dana* as it was, with the grain exposed. This appreciation of the original beauty as it is, doing away with all decoration, corresponds with the Zen attitude stated as, "No dependence on words." Further, Jōō was a poet who held Teika in high regard. He quoted the following poem by Teika to clarify the essence of wabi: "The world is without deception/ This 'month of no gods' (tenth month). / From whose true feeling/ This first autumn rain." Also, he quotes the following poem by Teika as an explanation of wabi tea: "As I look about/ There are neither blossoms nor crimson leaves: / A thatched hut on the inlet/ This autumn evening." Further, he followed Shukō's use of the calligraphy by Yüan-wu using two scrolls by Zen Master Hsü-T'ang (Kidō). But he also hung a *shikishibi*, a delicately colored square of paper, with a poem by Teika. This was the first use of a *shikishibi* in the tearoom, and it was an epoch-making event in the history of tea.

The thought of *renga* (linked verse) also influenced Jōō:

"The priest Shinkei said of *renga* that it should have the spirit of the withered and reduced with cold. Chanoyu, too, should ultimately attain something like this." According to Tsuji Gensai, these were Jōō's constant words.

Yamanoue Sōji ki

Jōō falls between Shukō and Rikyū, but he was not merely a bridge. Into tea he introduced three elements—his education in classical literature based on a reverence for Teika, the esthetic of linked-verse stated as "the withered and chill," and the way of Zen. In this way he succeeded in Shukō's intention to convert tea into something native and laid the foundation for wabi tea. As the founder of the Sakai school of tea he transmitted this to Rikyū.

Sen Rikyū and Zen Master Kokei Shūchū

It is said that Rikyū's grandfather Tanaka Sen'ami served as an artistic advisor to Shōgun Yoshimasa, but during the Ōnin war to avoid the fighting he moved to Sakai. Rikyū's father, Tanaka Yohei, was a fish dealer in Imaichi-chō in Sakai and within a single generation established a prosperous business. He became one of the wealthy merchants who owned storehouses in Sakai, and took the character "Sen" of Sen'ami



Portrait of Rikyū.

as a family name. Rikyū was his eldest son, born in 1522 in Imaichi-chō and named Yoshirō. At seventeen he began to study shoin-daisu tea under Kitamuki Dōchin, and at nineteen, through Dōchin's introduction, he became a student of Jōō and learned the thatched-hut-style tea. His lineage in tea may be sketched as follows:



Thus, Rikyū combined Dōchin's Higashiyama style and Jōō's Sakai style, and added something of his own originality, thus bringing the way of tea to maturity.

At the age of forty-nine he became the tea advisor (*sadō*) to the general Oda Nobunaga, and when Nobunaga was killed at Honnōji temple in 1582, he willingly approached Nobunaga's successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi, with whom he previously had close contact. The fact that he became the tea advisor of these two powerful men afforded him tremendous influence in terms of spreading tea generally, beginning with the daimyo.

Rikyū's teachers Dōchin and Jōō both practiced Zen under Dairin Zenji, and through this connection Rikyū also began his Zen study under Dairin, but later also studied under Shōrei and Kokei.

Zen Master Shōrei Shūkin (1504-1583) was born in Iyo province (present-day Ehime prefecture) on Shikoku. His secular name was Kōno, and he was called Katsun; he was successor in the Dharma to Dairin. In 1558 he became the 107th chief priest of Daitokuji temple and the second head of Nanshūji temple in Sakai, and in 1566 he was asked to be the founder of Jūkōin. At Nobunaga's funeral ceremony that was held by Hideyoshi on the fifteenth day of the tenth month in 1582, he acted as *hinko*, a person who holds candles. The following year he died at the age of eighty. During his lifetime he received the name of Zen Master Sōshin Honkō from Emperor Ōgimachi.

Kokei Shūchin (Sōchin, 1532-1597) was born in Echizen (present day Fukui prefecture). His secular name was Asakura, and his pen name was Hōan. He was a Dharma heir of Shōrei. He became the 117th chief priest of Daitokuji in 1573. In 1582, when Hideyoshi built Sōkenin at Daitokuji in memory of Nobunaga, Kokei was asked to be the founder. He played the role of *kigan*, a person who sees the coffin off from the hall, at Nobunaga's funeral ceremony. In 1588 he incurred Hideyoshi's anger when he collided with Ishida Mitsunari concerning the building of the Tenshōji temple and was



Wooden effigy of Zen priest Shōrei Shūkin. Photo courtesy of Jukōin.

exiled to Hakata in Chikuzen province (present-day Fukuoka prefecture). But two years later he was allowed to return to Daitokuji, and he built Jōrakuan at Ichihara in northern Kyoto. In 1590, Daitokuji itself became the object of Hideyoshi's wrath over the incident of the placement of a statue of Rikyū in the main gate. Though he had retired to Ichihara, Kokei took it upon himself to confront the problem and resolved it. He died in 1597 at the age of sixty-six. During his lifetime he received the name of Zen Master Daiji Kōshō from Emperor Goyōzei. There were many famous tea men who practiced Zen under him, including Sen Rikyū, Imai Sōkyū, Furuta Oribe and Sakuma Masakatsu (Fukansai).

Rikyū practiced Zen under Dairin, Shōrei, and Kokei; in this, he had one central purpose. In the "Metsugo" book of the *Nampōroku* it is written:

There are a hundred thousand rules and regulations governing the daisu and the other aspects of tea. Men of the past left off with these and appear to have understood them to be the whole of chanoyu; they recorded and transmitted in secret writings only that we should regard each rule of form as important. But taking these prescribed forms as a foothold, I was possessed of the aspiration to climb slightly higher and eagerly made inquiries of the masters of Daitokuji and Nanshūji.

It is quite certain that Rikyū deeply practiced Zen, but there remain no records concerning his practice, so there is no way of knowing its precise methods or nature. The only surviving document touching on the particulars of Rikyū's Zen practice is the poem Kokei wrote for him when Emperor Ōgimachi bestowed the title of Buddhist Layman (*koji*) on Rikyū.

When Hideyoshi became *Kampaku* (chief advisor to the emperor) in 1585, he received the name of Fujiwara from the emperor. As an expression of his gratitude he held a tea gathering at the smaller Imperial Palace, and he himself made and served tea to Emperor Ōgimachi and the heir apparent, Prince Sanehito. On this occasion it was decided that Rikyū would serve as assistant, but in those days custom did not permit a person without title or rank who came from a merchant family to enter the imperial precincts. For this reason, Hideyoshi asked that Rikyū be given the title "Rikyū Koji."

Thus titled, Rikyū attained the position of supreme tea master in the land. The person who rejoiced most over this was Kokei. The relation between Kokei and Rikyū was not merely one of teacher and disciple, but was an intimacy of friends in tea. In Zen, Kokei was the master, and in chanoyu, it was Rikyū; this had continued for more than thirty years. Kokei immediately presented Rikyū with the following poem:

Hōsensai Sōeki (Rikyū) of Southern Izumi province has been my student for thirty years. He has endeavored in Zen and tea. Recently he was honored by the emperor's order with the name and title of Rikyū Koji. Hearing of this auspicious

enterprise, my joyful applause is endless, and composing this verse, I add my congratulations.

Like Layman P'ang, old author of miraculous poems,
Eating rice when hungry, and drinking tea when it
comes his way.

Empty-minded, having passed the exam, he quietly
looks—

The flowers of seclusion, newly fragrant in the wind
and dew.

Thus Kokei expresses his joy over Rikyū's new title and his admiration of the depths of Rikyū's satori and tea. As his preface states, Rikyū had been practicing Zen for thirty years. Moreover, Kokei's allusion to Layman P'ang may have arisen from the title of Layman, but there is also a deeper connection with Rikyū, for it is said that Rikyū gained satori with the words which awakened Layman P'ang: "Drink down all the waters of the River Hsi in a single gulp." There are two theories concerning Rikyū's realization. One is that Kokei gave Rikyū the words "Drink down all the waters of the river Hsi in a single gulp" as a koan, and through it Rikyū attained satori and expressed it in the poem:

Even the ladle
That goes between
The hells of cold and hot:
If it has no mind
It has neither suffering.

The second explanation is that this poem itself was the koan which Kokei gave to Rikyū and through which Rikyū gained satori.

Of course, there is no written document concerning this, and both stories are no more than traditions. However, Kokei's verse in Chinese can be seen as certification of Rikyū's attainment; hence it is clear that Rikyū had attained a deep religious experience.

In this way, Rikyū gained a realization of Zen, and seeing the Zen monks' attitude toward daily life, that is, the rules of the Zen monasteries, he gradually tended toward wabi tea.

Once, when Rikyū had been speaking of chanoyu at Shūun-an, I [Nambō Sōkei] asked: "You often remark that, although all of chanoyu is founded on [the formal tea of] the daisu, when considering wherein the spirit's [deepest] attainment lies, nothing matches the small room for informal tea. Why should this be so?" Rikyū answered: "Chanoyu of the small room is above all a matter of practicing and realizing the way in accord with the Buddha's teaching. To delight in the splendor of a dwelling or the taste of a sump-

泉南之拙茶方字易知予三十年飽
 參之徒心禪餘以茶變為禪頃辱特
 降 綸命賜利休居士之號聞斯盛
 舉不堪歡於齋一偈以抒賀忱云
 願我神通老作家仙來喫飯遇茶心空及第
 等閑看風露新香隱遯光

Record of the bestowal of the name "Rikyū Koji" by Emperor Ogimachi.
 From *Hoankō* (Sayings of Kokei Shūchin) written by Kokei (1532-1597).

tuous meal belongs to worldly life. There is shelter enough when the roof does not leak, and food, when it keeps one from starving. This is the Buddha's teaching and the fundamental intent of chanoyu. The practitioner brings water, gathers firewood, and boils the water. Making tea, he offers it to the Buddha, serves it to others, and drinks himself. He arranges flowers and burns incense. In all of this, he takes for model the acts of the Buddhas and patriarchs. Beyond this, you must come to your own understanding."

Nampōroku, "Oboegaki," 1

Rikyū reduced the size of the four-and-a-half-mat room, the standard up until then, to two mats.

He changed the square pine pillars to pine logs, or he used cedar log pillars. He took off the wall panels and plastered even the inside of the alcove. He removed the lower paneling and plastered the walls of the room. For plaster he mixed clay with dried rice straw in four- or five-sun lengths and the plaster was made dark, lending an air of *sabi*. Windows were made by leaving openings in the plaster and exposing the woven reed lattice of the walls. He replaced the panels of the ceiling with woven bulrushes.

Concerning even the scrolls for the small room:

It is good to hang a scroll on the rough wall.

Matsuya nikki

Further:

No utensil ranks with the scroll in significance. Contemplating it, both guest and host attain wholeness of mind and realization of the way in chanoyu-samadhi. Calligraphies of Zen monks are foremost among scrolls. With veneration for what is written, one savors the virtue of the calligrapher, of practitioners of the way, of the patriarchs. Writings executed by men in secular life should not be displayed.

Nampōroku, "Oboegaki," 19

This was because:

Scrolls for the tearoom are not mere ornaments. Hang calligraphies of masters of great virtue and practice, appreciate what is written, and steep yourself in the tranquility of the tea setting.

Genryū chawa

It is said that Rikyū in his late years hung favorite calligraphies by the Yuan dynasty Zen Master Liao-an Ch'ing-yü (Ryōan Seiyoku, 1288-1363) and by Kōkei.

Rikyū's attainment of a profound understanding of tea and his creative developments in grass-hut tea were partly due to his natural genius, but also they were the result of his Zen practice. Further, he had a strong conviction and pride in his own tea:

As for the style of grass-hut tea, Jōō's attainment did not bring it to fulfillment. Follow the thoughts of Rikyū, who finally attained this realization in his heart. Though Jōō has passed away, those disciples whose bodies are one with him and who share the same mind should not doubt at all.

Nampōroku

This expresses his self-confidence in having realized at last the ideal of tea which even his teacher Jōō could not bring about. Further:

I strove with all my powers to create tea in the spirit of the roji and thatched hut, which had never before existed in either China or Japan, and though I believe it might even accord with Joshū's intent, it is out of step with this latter age; soon the true way will come to an end. How sorrowful this is to me!

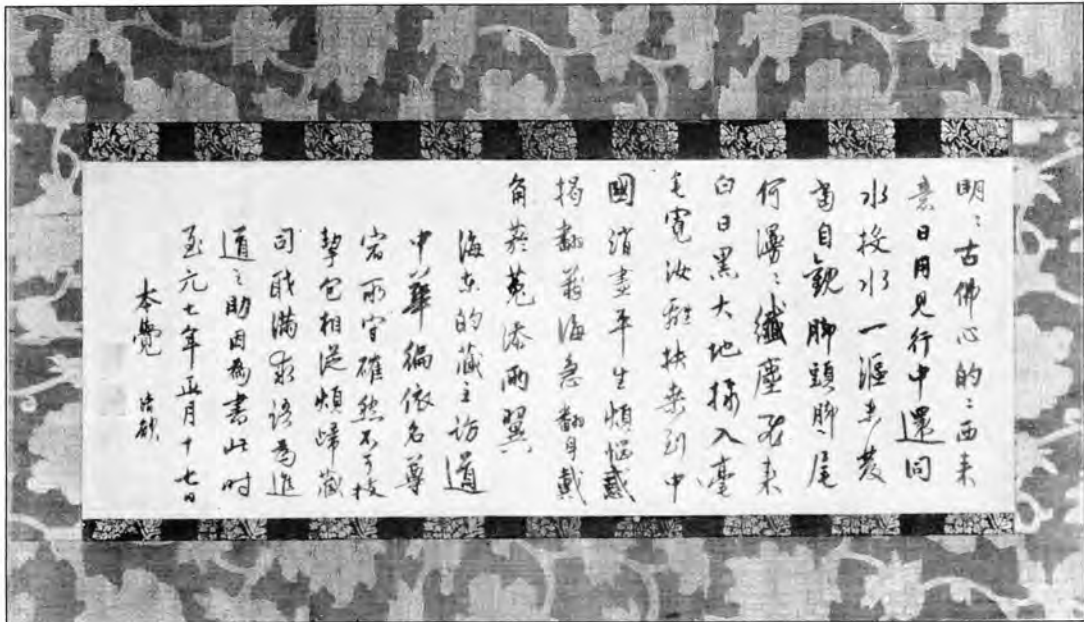
Nampōroku, "Metsugo"

These words give expression to the convictions and pride that pervaded his entire life. Unflurried by advantage and disadvantage, not influenced by gain or loss, not submitting to authority, he earnestly devoted himself to tea. This was especially true because his companion in tea was Hideyoshi, who held absolute authority; therefore it was necessary to act in the expectation of death. Simply put, his tea was a matter of life and death.

A typical instance of such tea was the morning gathering on the fourth day of the ninth month of Tenshō 16 (1588). This was a farewell tea for Zen Master Kokei, who had been exiled to Hakata in Kyushu. The place was Rikyū's residence within the Jurakudai palace compound. The main guest was Zen master Shun'oku, the second guest was Kokei, and the third and last were Zen Master Gyokuho and Honkaku-bō of Miidera temple. In the tokonoma was a calligraphy by Zen Master Hsü-t'ang (Kido):

Leaves fall from the branch, and the frost is bracing;
Fierce as a tiger horned, set out on your Zen journey,
Through east, west, south, north, where no one is,
And swiftly return to speak your spirit.

This scroll did not belong to Rikyū but to Hideyoshi, and was renowned as "the finest in the land." Rikyū was keeping it for repairs and used it without permission. Undoubtedly it was not Rikyū's practice to use others' utensils without permission, but probably he felt it to be the most appropriate scroll for Kokei's farewell. But it cannot be denied that to use Hideyoshi's scroll without permission within Hideyoshi's



Calligraphy by Liao-an Ch'ing-yu (Ryōan Seiyoku, 1288-1363) called the *Ryōan Seiyoku sobetsu no ge*. Central area: height 27.7 cm., width 73.8 cm. Photo courtesy of Tokyo National Museum.

residence of Jarakudai, for a farewell for someone who had incurred Hideyoshi's displeasure, was an audacious act. If Hideyoshi had known, Rikyū would probably have been beheaded immediately. In full realization of this, yet he proceeded with it; we see the earnest attitude with which Rikyū carried on his tea.

On the twenty-eighth of the second month of Tenshō 19 (1591) Rikyū committed *seppuku* (self-disembowelment) on Hideyoshi's order. There have been a number of theories advanced concerning the cause for this, but the riddle remains unsolved. He was seventy. At death he left the following Chinese and Japanese poems:

Seventy years of life—
Ha ha! and what a fuss!
With this sacred sword of mine,
Both buddhas and patriarchs I kill!

I raise the sword,
This sword of mine,
Long in my possession—
The time is come at last—
Skyward I throw it up!

(Trans. Suzuki, Daisetz T., *Zen and Japanese Culture* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970], p. 319)

"Seventy years of life": This strong line holds Rikyū's deep emotion of his seventy years without regret. He made the ceaseless boiling of the water in the kettle the heart of his tea, but this was a matter not merely of kettle and water, but also of exerting one's full powers here and now. It means, while alive, to live one's life with the entire body and the entire spirit. Here, while living, there is the life that is unborn, and while dying, the death that is unperishing. This line indicates the clarity of the "boiling" of the unborn and undying.

"Ha ha! and what a fuss!": with this one exclamation filling heaven and earth, Rikyū cut off cleanly his seventy years of life, his imminent death, and all calculation and discrimination.

"With this sacred sword of mine": literally this line refers to the sword made by Awataguchi Yoshimitsu, with which Rikyū ended his own life, but inwardly it refers to Rikyū's Zen attainment. This is likened to a sword, and in Zen, there is the expression, "the sword of *prajna*."

"Both patriarchs and buddhas I kill!": the word "kill" has been used in connection with the sword of the preceding line, but it does not necessarily have its literal meaning. By the sword of *prajna*, he severed and abandoned life and death, good and evil, love and hate, and also those things which were thought to have absolute value—patriarch and Buddha, Buddha Dharma, and Way of Zen, satori, and peace of mind. Rikyū in this line indicates the light of his pure and lucid mind, which transcends all things and realizes the wisdom that there is not a single thing.

The Japanese poem expresses the same content in different terms, again em-

ploying the sword and indicating the killing of patriarchs and buddhas with the expression, "Skyward I throw it up!" Rikyū not only disemboweled himself with his sword, but also "cast skyward" body and spirit, patriarchs and buddhas, satori and peace of mind, tea scoop, and tea whisk—everything.

Further, according to *Hoankō*, a record of Kokei's words, he and Rikyū had a final tea, the date of which is unrecorded. At that time, Kokei asked, "What is your final poem?" Rikyū answered, "Clear sun, blue sky, thunder sounds." There are some who see expressed in his line a feeling of intense anger at his death sentence, but this is not so. This is a stock Zen expression which is used to express the ultimate state, in which no thinking or discrimination can enter. It indicates his immovable realization transcending all things. In any case, this was the final exchange, at the point of separation by death, of two men who were closely associated for thirty years.

The Early Men of Tea and Daitokuji

From among the disciples of Rikyū, who brought the way of tea to fullness, many men of talent emerged, among whom were founders of branch schools. Together they form the foundation for the flourishing of chanoyu today. These early men of tea also practiced Zen and maintained deep associations with Zen monks, most of whom belonged to the Daitokuji branch. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* states: "Chanoyu arose from Zen; hence, men of tea devote themselves to the practices of the monks." This statement makes no distinction among branches of Zen; why is it, then, that these associations appear to be limited to Daitokuji?

Of course, there was the relationship between Murata Shukō and Ikkyū of Daitokuji. However, this alone cannot account for the continuing close tie between Daitokuji and tea. Why then, did this come about? It can be said to have arisen from the relationship of Daitokuji and the citizens of Sakai. This relationship seems to have grown from the time of Zen master Yōsō Sōi (1379-1458, Dharma heir of Kasō, and fellow disciple of Ikkyū). Yōsō endeavored to spread Zen among the people of Sakai. Ikkyū criticized this bitterly, saying that Yōsō was a heretical monk and was the greatest villain in the history of Daitokuji who heedlessly made the Zen koans easily readable and gave them to nuns, merchants, actors, and performers and had them learn the Dharma. He called it cheap marketing of Zen satori. However, it is one thing to call it the marketing of satori and quite another to call it the propagation of Zen among ordinary people. In any case, Daitokuji came to have a powerful following in Sakai, and it is this following which became the force for its revival and expansion; thus Yōsō's role in Daitokuji's history is significant.

Ikkyū composed two poems criticizing Yōsō and these are titled "Ending Relations with Sakai Citizens"; however, Ikkyū's relations with Sakai took on a different form. He preferred to live outside such great temples as Daitokuji and always lived among ordinary people. With a freedom of behavior which sometimes appeared insane, and a mysterious personal attraction, he gained many followers. While Yōsō had endeavored to propagate Zen among the people from within Daitokuji, Ikkyū spread Zen outside the temple. In any case, the ties with Sakai arose from the activities of these two polar figures.

The most active Sakai citizens were chiefly influential merchants, who closely associated with warehouse owners. They led a rich cultural life built upon their material prosperity. Besides being affluent merchants, they were poets, renga masters, tea men—men of culture. Among them, there gradually emerged men who devoted themselves exclusively to tea, and who came to be called *sukisha* and *chanoyusha*. Good examples of such men are Takeno Jōō, Sōga, Sen Rikyū, Imai Sōkyū, Tsuda Sōtatsu, Tsuda Sōkyū, Tennōjiya Sōkan, and Tennōjiya Dōshitsu. Through the activities of these men, the ties between Daitokuji and the Sakai citizens developed into ties between Daitokuji and tea. And these ties were further strengthened by the presence of Nanshūji temple in Sakai.

The revival and development of Daitokuji, in large part, was accomplished with the financial assistance of the merchants of Sakai, and the mediator between the two was Nanshūji. Hence, Daitokuji and Nanshūji were very closely connected, and those monks who dwelled at Nanshūji gained the opportunity to study at Daitokuji. The merchants of Sakai assisted them financially in their advancement to Daitokuji.

In this way, with the frequent visitations between Daitokuji and Nanshūji, the relationship grew beyond a mere financial one into a spiritual tie, and even from among the Sakai citizens emerged men who devoted themselves to Zen practice. When this happened, the tea which they enjoyed naturally changed. Originally an amusement based on wealth and art, the chanoyu practiced by Sakai citizens began to reveal a spiritual aspect.

Of course, the tea that was expressed with the phrase “tea and Zen are of a single flavor” began with Shukō, was continued by Jōō, and was perfected by Rikyū. But we must not overlook the atmosphere of the practice of tea which existed among the citizens of Sakai.

Tea Men and Zen Monks after Rikyū

When we consider the relations between tea men and Zen monks after Rikyū, we must take up Shun'oku Sōen (1529-1611). He had many followers among the nobility, the warriors, and such tea men of the day as Konoe Nobutada, Ishida Mitsunari, Asano Yukinaga, Furuta Oribe, Kobori Enshū, Sen Rikyū, and Tsuda Sōkyū. In the world of Zen of his time he held great authority. Furuta Oribe practiced under him and received the name Kimpo, and Enshū received the name Daiyū. Rikyū also had close relations with Shun'oku; Dōan, Shōan, and Sōtan all became followers.

Zen Master Takuan (1573-1645) was skilled in composing verse and in calligraphy and painting, and he possessed a wealth of artistic taste and culture; thus he was well known as a Zen monk of esthetic simplicity and transcendence of worldliness. He had many followers among the nobility and warrior classes, including Emperor Gomizuno-o, Shōgun Iemitsu, Konoe Nobutada, Karasumaru Mitsuhiro, Hosokawa Sansai, Yagyū Munenori, and Kobori Enshū. Takuan studied tea under Kobori Enshū, but personally lamented the decline of tea into an amusement and its drift toward lavishness. Thus, though he had considerable critical appreciation of tea utensils, he possessed none.

There is an unusual collection of poems, *Takuan Osbō chaki eika-shū*, which he wrote concerning tea utensils. He composed Japanese and Chinese verses skillfully expressing the special character of twenty-six different kinds of tea utensils. One example concerns the sunken hearth:

In the glow of the charcoal,
The shadow of the hearth's corner
At the border of north and south
Turns the color of the emerald green leaves.
In severe cold, before I know, snow has covered the ground.
Within the shaku and four-sun hearth's square,
 intimations of spring,
About the hearth sit eight old friends:
This is warmth, and the bonding of ties.

In another work, the *Takuan Osbō chatei no ki*, he shares his thoughts on chanoyu. Also, there is the well-known treatise *Fudōchi shimmyōroku* on the essentials of swordsmanship written from the Zen standpoint for Yagyū Munenori; he also left behind a variety of other writings, including sermons in the vernacular; these show a breadth of learning and culture unequaled by other Zen monks of his day. Today, his calligraphies are particularly treasured among adherents of tea.

Zen Master Kōgetsu Sōgan (1574-1643) was born the son of the rich merchant Tsuda Sōkyū in Sakai. He entered Buddhist life, practiced under Shun'oku Sōen and succeeded his Dharma.

In 1610 he became the 156th abbot of Daitokuji, and in 1625 he received the name Dairyō Kōsō from Emperor Gomizunō-o. With the giving of this name, the emperor expected that Kōgetsu would bring to completion the large buildings of Daitokuji; and in 1636 the main lecture hall and the sutra storehouse were finished. Of course, being the son of Tsuda Sōkyū he received strong financial backing from the merchants of Sakai.

Kōgetsu from childhood studied tea with his father Sōkyū and received the teaching and traditions of the *daisu* stand. Upon entering Daitokuji he studied tea under his disciple Kobori Enshū. Kōgetsu and Enshū were mutually teacher and pupil—a strikingly close relation. When Enshū built Kohō-an, Kōgetsu presented him with the *Kohō-an ki*. It is said that the two often met at Kohō-an to drink tea and talk. The heir to Kōgetsu's Dharma was Enshū's son, Kōun Sōryū (1594-1674, 184th abbot of Daitokuji).

Influenced by his father, who collected famous tea utensils, Kōgetsu also had a sharp critical eye, and most of the treasures which are today in the possession of Ryūkōin were originally collected by him.

Kōgetsu had associations with numerous men of tea but was particularly close to the tea master and calligrapher Shōkadō Shōjō (1584-1639), to whose paintings he often added verses. He was also close to the famed painter Kanō Tan'yū (1602-1674).

Zen Master Seigan Sōi (1588-1661) was born in Omi province. He was also known as Jishō, Korō, and Bōdō, and was the Dharma-heir of Kenkoku Sōryō (1556-1621, 159th abbot of Daitokuji). In 1625 he received an imperial appointment as the 170th abbot of Daitokuji and received the name Shōjōhonnen Zenji from Emperor Gomizuno-ō. He had close ties with Hosokawa Sansai, and wrote the name plaque for Shokoken, Sansai's tearoom in Kōtō-in at Daitokuji. Further he was Zen master and tea companion to Sen Sōtan, Rikyū's grandson. Concerning their close friendship there is the following anecdote.

In 1648 when Sōtan was seventy-one, he handed the main house over to his third son Kōshin Sōsa and built a one-and-three-quarter-mat tearoom behind and to the north of the house for his place of retirement. When the tearoom was completed, he invited Seigan, with the intention of requesting him to name the tearoom. However, Seigan did not appear at the appointed time, and Sōtan waited for about two hours, but having other business, he went out leaving a message for Seigan to please come again the next day. Seigan appeared after Sōtan had left, and in spite of the message, he entered the new room without hesitation, and after a short while departed briskly. When Sōtan returned and heard of Seigan's visit, he entered the room, where he found written boldly on the papered portion of the wall: "A lazy monk cannot be expected for the morrow." Sōtan was deeply impressed and immediately paid a visit to Seigan, apologized, and composed the *waka*: "Saying today, today, live this day. Whether one is alive tomorrow is another matter." Further, as a response, Sōtan wrote in precisely the same manner as Seigan's writing in the tearoom: "A happily encountered monk cannot be expected again for the morrow." This is said to be the origin of the name of Sōtan's tearoom, Konnichian (literally, "Today Hut").

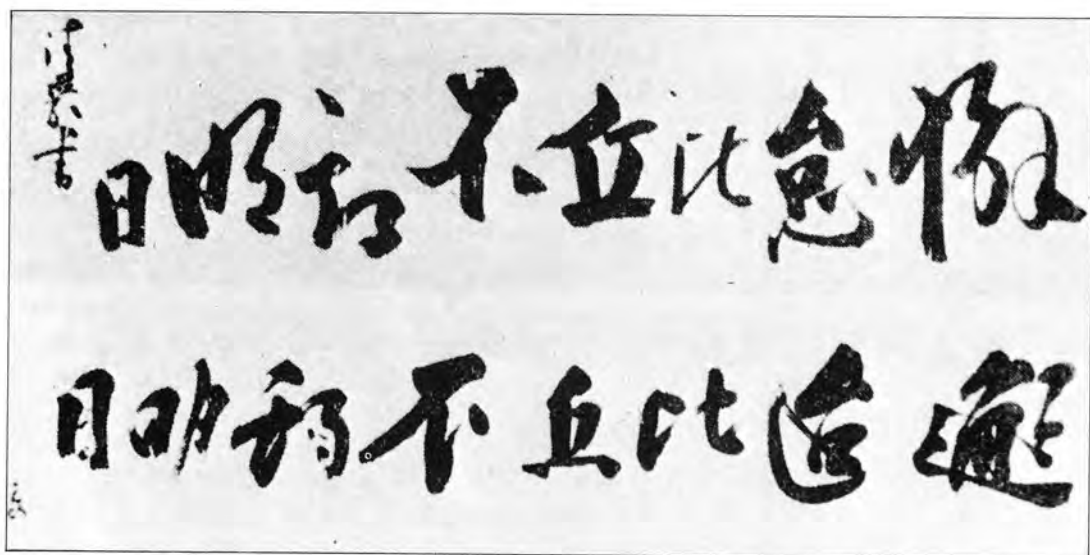
Seigan wrote the *Seigan Zenji chaji jūrokkajō* [Zen priest Seigan's sixteen articles concerning tea gatherings] and was also skilled at calligraphy and painting. His one-line calligraphies are particularly treasured as scrolls for tea.

Zen Master Gyokushū Sōha (1600-1668) was born in Harima province (present-day Hyōgo prefecture). He was also known as Seika Sanjin, Yūyū Jizai, and Shum'min. He succeeded Zen Master Gyokushitsu Sōhaku. In 1646 he became the 185th head of Daitokuji, and he died in 1668 at the age of sixty-nine. He received the name Taitetsu Myōō Zenji from the emperor.

Katagiri Sekishū diligently practiced Zen under Gyokushitsu and Gyokushū, and in his time was respected as a second Rikyū. In 1663 Sekishū built Jikō-in, a branch temple of Daitokuji, as a family temple on his property in Yamato Koizumi (present-day Nara prefecture). He invited Gyokushū to be the founder. In 1671 he added a two-and-three-quarter-mat tearoom.

Correspondence in Direct Mind

Since tea and Zen are reputed to be of one taste, it is sometimes thought that all Zen monks are familiar with tea. However, not all Zen monks are men of tea, nor does this lack of familiarity disqualify them from Zen practice. Tea arose from the rituals in Zen monasteries and was nurtured by Zen; in both respects there is a close relation.



Upper portion shows calligraphy by Seigan Sōi (1588-1661), lower portion shows calligraphy by Sen Sōtan (1578-1658). This pair of calligraphies is the origin of the name *Konnichian* (Today Hut). The upper portion says, "A lazy monk cannot be expected for the morrow." Lower portion says, "A happily (unexpectedly) encountered monk cannot be expected for the morrow."

Today's tea, an offshoot of Zen monastic tea rituals, was transformed and transmitted to men in secular life. Early tea men, such as Shukō, Jōō, and Rikyū developed this as the way of tea, and in so doing had close contact with Zen monks and imbibed the Zen spirit, and thus were able to refine tea from a cultural phenomenon to a discipline possessing religious depth. The central Zen monastic tea rituals have been transmitted within temples continuously down to the present; hence, there is no need for Zen monks to study the secular way of tea. The connection between tea and Zen is not necessarily one between tea and Zen monks. Further, there are some who take the oneness in the taste of tea and Zen to mean that tea, as such, is Zen. However, though we speak of the oneness of tea and Zen, or say that the content of tea is Zen itself, Zen is Zen and not tea, and tea is tea and not Zen. Zen has its own standpoint and tea its own sphere. Therefore we must not confuse the two. Concerning this, the contemporary Zen monk Shibayama Zenkei Rōshi explains the words "jikishin no majiwari" (correspondence in direct mind), which appear in the *Nampō-roku*, in his book *Zenshin chawa*.

Jikishin is a straight mind, right mind, pure mind without any mixture. The pure mind or Buddha-mind spoken of in Buddhism is this *jikishin*. This mind is perfectly endowed equally to all at the time of birth, but sadly, it is buried under the dust of illusion and attachment, and its existence is forgotten. This is the nature of ordinary human beings. Therefore we must sweep away the dust of illusion and attachment to discover the buried *jikishin* and clearly make it our own. Zen, and perhaps religion in general, takes as its purpose the realization of this *jikishin*.

Tea, however, is the correspondence or association in direct mind. Rather than making an issue of direct mind itself, tea centers on the relationships based upon direct mind. Because of this, tea naturally needs rules concerning the making of tea and tea manner, and a location—tearoom and *roji*—as well as utensils. This is the origin of tea culture and tea arts. If direct mind alone were the problem, the way of tea would not have come into being.

Though we speak of the oneness of tea and Zen, Zen to the very last stands as religion, taking the relaxation of direct mind as its purpose, and tea stands as a way of life and a culture, with relations among people at its center.

However, tea is not merely associating but is associating in direct mind; thus the reason we say the content of tea is Zen is because direct mind is the basis of the association.

Zen monks should never forget the realization of direct mind at any time, whatever they do. The Zen priest Hakuin (1689-1768) admonishes:

Do not pick tea; do *zazen*. Do not read sutras; do *zazen*.
Do not do cleaning; do *zazen*. Do not ride a horse; do *zazen*.
Do not plant tea; do *zazen*. This does not mean to abandon
all involvements in order to do *zazen*. Talking, laughing,
joking, discussing, moving foot or hand—gather all this up
into one bundle and, turning it upside down and leaving it
behind, make it all the one slice of Zen-samadhi.

Thus he recommends a strict zazen-samadhi; these are all for the sake of realizing direct mind.

This does not hold only for Zen monks; people of tea must not forget the realization of this direct mind either. Associations in tea must be associations in direct mind. In the *Nampōroku*, Rikyū states:

Chanoyu of the small room is above all a matter of practicing and realizing the way in accord with the Buddha's teaching.

Chanoyu is not a hobby or amusement; it is practicing and realizing the Buddha-Dharma; that is, becoming a person of direct mind is the central purpose of tea. Therefore, to forget direct mind and reduce it to mere association is to make Rikyū's way of tea but an empty shell.

Today, the world of tea is flourishing. But is this the prosperity of the true way of tea? Out of concern for the future of tea, in the *Nampōroku*, Rikyū cautions us:

There is no question but that, within ten years, the fundamental way of tea will die out. When it dies out, people in society will believe, on the contrary, that it is flourishing. The miserable end—when it becomes completely a matter of worldly amusement—is visible now. How lamentable it is! I strove with all my powers to create tea in the spirit of the roji and thatched hut, which had never before existed in either China or Japan, and though I believe it might even accord with Joshū's intent, it is out of step with this latter age; soon the true way will come to an end. How sorrowful this is to me! Before long the two-mat room will become a twenty-mat tea hall, though I regretted even that the three-mat room I created might be an impediment to the way. But be that as it may, to think thus merely expresses an attachment to the way of tea. Even the Great Way of the Buddhas and patriarchs, of the bodhisattva saints and sages, has its eras; it prospers and declines. One must not be saddened in the least about tea. Neither is it the case that no Buddha will appear in this latter age. In the way of tea also, people with a true realization will come forth in later ages, and they will surely sense and share the aspiration that you and I have kept. If such a person extends a bowl of tea toward me—even though a hundred years have passed—it will moisten my bones; will not my departed spirit rejoice in accepting it? Without fail I shall become a guardian spirit of the way of tea. Surely the Buddhas and patriarchs will lend their power.

Nampōroku, "Metsugo"

Translated by Kimiko Hirota

A Chinese Poem in Praise of Powdered Tea

Translation and Notes by Sonja Arntzen

*The water of Chien runs true, cold, and pure.
The tea people have already risen early,
Facing the young shoots and spring rain,
Plucking it, binding it, wrapped in spring ice.
When it is pounded fine, a fragrant powder forms;
Boiled freshly, a jade milk thickens.
When you are feeling agitated, if you take one sip,
How is it that you crave it like wine.*

寧 煩 烹 碾 採 萌 茶 建
羨 襟 新 細 綴 芽 民 水
酒 時 玉 香 帶 先 已 正
如 一 乳 塵 春 社 夙 寒
澗 啜 凝 起 冰 雨 興 清

The custom of powdering tea leaves and drinking them suspended in hot water began in the tea growing districts of Fukien province during the early Sung dynasty (950-1279). It was through the efforts of an official named Ting Wei in the employ of the Emperor Shin-tsung (reigned 997-1022) that the custom spread to the court and came to enjoy a vogue throughout the country. Ting Wei was primarily interested in the economic potential of the Fukien region and tapping the bountiful tea production more efficiently through taxes. His reports were apparently very detailed and replete with figures; however he was not insensitive to matters of taste. In particular, he understood the "taste of tea." His poem translated above is perhaps the earliest poem written in praise of powdered green tea (*matcha*).

The source for the poem is volume 2 of the *Ch'a tung-pu* (茶董補) written by Ch'en Chi-ju (陳繼儒). The last line is literally "How is it [one] craves a Sheng (澗) river-full of rice wine" which alludes to an ancient phrase, "As for rice wine, it should be like the Sheng River, i.e. as plentiful." 

Men of Tea : An Evaluation by Yamanoue Sōji, Part 3

Tanihata Akio

Yamanoue Sōji, one of the leading disciples of Sen Rikyū, classified the many practitioners of tea into three categories: *chanoyusha* (man of tea), *wabi suki-sha* (practitioner of tea in the spirit of wabi), and *meijin* (master). But, like almost all classification systems, as soon as it was conceived it was subject to modification. For example, the *wabi suki-sha* discussed in Part 2 (see *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 27 (1981), pp. 51-58) and the time-honored masters, known as *kokon no meijin*, I am about to discuss here, do not necessarily differ in status. Indeed, there are suggestions that *wabi suki-sha* were regarded as equals of *meijin* or possessed an even higher status, as indicated by the passage, "After attaining the status of *meijin*, one should devote himself to the *wabi* style of *chanoyu* if he owns even a single famous tea utensil" ("Chanoyusha no den" section of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*). In this article I will explore what distinguishes a *meijin* and then compare the *meijin* classification with the *wabi suki-sha* classification.

In a passage in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, Yamanoue Sōji (1544-1590) defined a *meijin* as "one who possesses *meibutsu* (famed) utensils and is accomplished in both connoisseurship and in tea manner, and further, possesses a profound aspiration in this single way of tea." However, following this definition is a list of men who Sōji felt belonged to one of three categories: *chanoyusha*, *wabi suki-sha*, and *kokon no meijin*. Among these men Murata Shukō, Torii Inetsu, and Takeno Jōō are listed as "*chanoyusha* and *suki-sha* and therefore *kokon no meijin*." This would seem to suggest that men in the category of *meijin* can be further designated either as ordinary *meijin* or as *kokon no meijin*. To be considered a *kokon no meijin* a person must be a *chanoyusha* as well as a *suki-sha*, and meet these six requirements:

1. be a connoisseur of utensils
2. be skilled in tea manner
3. lead the life of a teacher of *chanoyu*
4. possess inner awareness
5. exhibit creativity
6. have distinguished achievements

Should not a *kokon no meijin* also meet those requirements that distinguish one as a *meijin*? A *meijin* is one who owns famed utensils and has profound aspirations solely in *chanoyu*. It is impossible to conceive of a *kokon no meijin* less accomplished than a *meijin*; therefore, clearly these two requirements should be added to the list of six, making a total of eight.

"Men of Tea: An Evaluation by Yamanoue Sōji, Part 3" is the third and final installment of a series of three articles. The first installment appears in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 26, and the second in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 27, both published in 1981. *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 28, 1981 © by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.

Sōji lists Shukō, Insetsu, and Jōō as kokon no meijin. There were several other men who were regarded as meijin, but not kokon no meijin. One of them, Sen Rikyū, is referred to as a meijin in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* in the explanatory notes on the leaf-tea storage jar named "Hashidate." It states, "This [storage jar] owned by Sōeki [Rikyū] who is regarded as a meijin, suits the taste of tea (*cha no kanmi*)."

In addition, Nōami, Furuichi Harima, and Takekuraya Jōteki are mentioned as meijin in the "Chanoyusha no den":

Nōami. He was a meijin found among the *dōbōshū*, men who served the Ashikaga shoguns as their personal aides and companions. Nōami wrote the authentications for the paintings that were selected as *gomotsu* (shogun's treasures).

Furuichi Harima. He was a disciple of Shukō. He was a meijin as well as a *suki-sha*. He owned about thirty utensils from China.

Takekuraya Jōteki. He is a meijin. He owns a flower container called "Kateki no hanaire." He is also a meijin in the art of flower arrangement.

Each of these three men received the designation of meijin. When we view these men in the light of the qualifications for meijin stated earlier, Shukō, Insetsu, and Jōō were kokon no meijin, and Nōami, Furuichi Harima, and Jōteki were meijin. Rikyū should have been considered a kokon no meijin for he was evaluated to have attained the same level of mastering as other kokon no meijin as evidenced in the passage "Sōeki's [Rikyū's] chanoyu has attained a chilled and lean air like a tree in winter. No ordinary tea man should try to copy him." Probably Sōji did not include Rikyū as a kokon no meijin because in 1589, when Sōji wrote the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, Rikyū was still alive and Sōji was hesitant to openly name his own mentor as a kokon no meijin. What then distinguished the kokon no meijin from the three meijin listed by Sōji?

Perhaps we can understand what distinguishes a kokon no meijin from a meijin by examining the tea practices of the men Sōji placed in these two categories, though space permits only the briefest of introductions.

Meijin: Nōami

One of the tea practices of the mid-Muromachi period was based on the service of tea in the shogun's household. This consisted of drinking tea in a shoin reception room, appointed with many Chinese paintings, flower vases, ceramics, powdered-tea containers, teabowls, and so on, and the esthetic appreciation of these objects. Indeed the reason for such a tea gathering was the appreciation of these objects.

Artistic advisors to the shogun called *dōbōshū* virtually controlled the serving of tea in the shoin. Their work included writing authentications for the paintings collected by the Ashikaga family and providing expert opinion and mountings of paintings and calligraphies and the appraisal and safekeeping of Chinese art objects. The

Okazariki, a guide to the formal display of art objects in the shoin of the shogun's palace, and the *Kundaikan sôchôki*, a compendium on the connoisseurship of Chinese paintings and tea utensils, vividly depict the work of the dôbôshû.

Nôami (1397-1471) was one very famous dôbôshû. It seems his activities were well known, for his name appears in numerous contemporary accounts. For example, Jinson, a priest of Kôryûji temple in Nara, wrote in his diary, "Nôami, a meijin of our nation, has died." From the reign of the fourth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimochi (1386-1428), to that of the eighth, Yoshimasa (1436-1490), Noami attended the shogunal palaces and distinguished himself as an artist, a linked verse (*renga*) poet, a mounter, and an art connoisseur and appraiser. His abilities in these areas were cultivated through the practice of shoin tea.

But Nôami was not the only dôbôshû to play an active role in shoin tea. Contributions of such other dôbôshû as Ryuami, who oversaw the arrangement of flowers, and Zenami, skilled in landscape architecture, were important in the formation of shoin tea. Yet, Nôami was the only dôbôshû to be designated a meijin by Sôji because he distinguished himself as a connoisseur of art objects and had the ability to select the best objects from among the many that poured into Japan during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. He had also played a seminal role in the formulation of the procedures for using a *daisu*, a large Chinese lacquer utensil stand, to prepare tea. Although his accomplishments had little to do with the wabi tea that interested Yamanoue Sôji, Nôami was sufficiently qualified to be regarded a meijin in view of his contribution to the formation of wabi tea through Murata Shukô whom he greatly influenced. Nevertheless, Sôji qualified his designation by noting that Nôami was a "meijin among dôbôshû."

Kokon no meijin: Murata Shukô

As mentioned earlier, Murata Shukô (1421?-1502) practiced an early form of wabi tea. It is also said that Shukô studied with Nôami, and, according to the *Yamanoue Sôji ki*, Nôami introduced Shukô to Ashikaga Yoshimasa, who in turn received instruction in chanoyu from Shukô. It is doubtful that the relationship of teacher and pupil existed between Shukô and Yoshimasa, but such a relationship between Shukô and Nôami was not unlikely considering the fact that the *Shukô issbi mokuroku*, which occupies the major part of the *Yamanoue Sôji ki*, is about the connoisseurship Shukô learned from Nôami.

While little is known of Shukô's specific achievements, his influence on the development of chanoyu as a spiritual and esthetic discipline was tremendous. Several anecdotes have been handed down that suggest Shukô's feeling about the unity of chanoyu and Zen Buddhism. In one story, which varies from one account to the next, we hear how Shukô, living at Shômyôji temple in Nara, went to Kyoto where he studied tea while he practiced Zen mediation under Ikkyû Sôjun at Daitokuji temple. Encouraged by Ikkyû's words, "The teachings of Buddha are also found in chanoyu," Shukô strove to formulate a style of chanoyu that included spiritual and religious elements. In another tale it is said that Shukô told his heir Murata Sôju, "After I die, I

would like you to hang the calligraphy by Engo (Yüan-wu) and make an offering of tea with the "Nagezokin" *chaire* (powdered-tea container)." As if to substantiate this, in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* appears, "Item 1. Calligraphy by Engo in the possession of Iseya Dowa in Sakai . . . this is the calligraphy that was given to Shukō some time ago by priest Ikkyū. It has been made into a hanging scroll." It is believed that the practice of displaying a scroll of calligraphy for a tea gathering originated with Shukō.

Shukō's sense of connoisseurship is clearly revealed in the Shukō chawan, a type of Chinese teabowl that carries his name. When compared to an elegant Temmoku teabowl the Shukō chawan appears crude. But this crude quality is what commended it for use in the "chilled and lean" style of tea advocated by Shukō. However, it was not just the beauty of imperfection that Shukō valued. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* notes that Shukō also possessed the "Shukō konasu" *chaire*, an apple-shaped (*bunrin*) *chaire*, and a painting titled *White Herons* by Hsü-hsi (Joki); the *Matsuya meibutsu-shū* mentions twenty-nine tea utensils that were owned by Shukō. Some of these utensils had been handed down from earlier days, and some had been designated as meibutsu but had been altered. The set of paintings titled *White Herons* is one example. The *Yamanoue Sōji ki* notes that Shukō remounted the calligraphy by Yüan-wu that he received from Ikkyū without the *ichimonji* (horizontal bands of fabric traditionally placed above and below the work), suggesting that the more austere mounting suited his taste.

The room in which Shukō served tea also reflected his austere esthetic. During the days of Nōami, tea was drunk in a spacious reception room called a *shoin*. Shukō, however, set aside a small four-and-a-half-mat room for the service of tea. He reduced the width of the tokonoma to one bay. In such a narrow alcove it was impossible to display a formal set of three or five hanging scrolls. Instead, he occasionally hung a pair. Furthermore, an incense burner on a stand, a container of flowers, writing paper, an inkstone box (*suzuribako*), a small low writing desk (*bundai*), a miniature landscape on a tray (*bonseki*), and even a leaf-tea storage jar (*chatsubo*) were often displayed in the tokonoma. Although the size of the room had been reduced, the display of objects in the room still was suggestive of elegant *shoin* practices.

However, Shukō modified the practice of serving tea in the *shoin* and founded the practice of wabi tea. To Sōji, Shukō's chanoyu still focused on meibutsu. Shukō's comment "How engaging is the sight of a fine steed tethered at a thatched hut," meant to Sōji that it was "good to place a meibutsu [utensil] in rude surroundings." When viewed from this perspective, Shukō's tea was one stage in the evolution of chanoyu from *shoin* tea to wabi tea. This, considered together with the fact that Shukō owned many meibutsu, Shukō's high level of connoisseurship and creativity, and his understanding of the relationship of Zen and chanoyu, would leave little choice to Sōji but to designate Shukō a *kokon no meijin*.

Meijin: Furuichi Chōin

Furuichi Chōin (1459-1508) came from a powerful samurai family in Nara. His family had had influence over the Yamato region (present-day Nara prefecture) since the

twelfth century, while maintaining an alliance with Kōfukuji temple. The Furuichi clan was also known for its support of and participation in the gentler arts of linked verse, Noh drama, and so on. Some accounts tell us that Chōin's older brother Chōei was accomplished in chanoyu, that he frequently hosted gatherings called *rinkan chanoyu* which combined bathing and tea drinking, and that Chōin followed his brother's example and hosted such gatherings himself.

When Chōin became interested in the style of tea advocated by Shukō, he sent two of his subordinates to study with Shukō, and had them make daily reports to him on what they saw and did (*Matsuya meibutsu-shū*). If this account is fact, then Shukō most probably knew that Chōin hosted *rinkan chanoyu* gatherings, a practice altogether different from that of Shukō's.

In a letter sent to Chōin which has come to be called the *Furuichi Harima (Chōin) hoshi ate issbi* or the *Kokoro no fumi* Shukō states that in the practice of chanoyu the awakening of an inner vision and esthetic sense are essential. It is uncertain whether Chōin fully understood the spirit of this letter but judging from the fact that he sent two of his subordinates to study under Shukō suggests he had a great interest in Shukō's style of tea. The *Chōandōki*, an early Edo-period collection of tea anecdotes, notes that Chōin found a particularly beautiful stone among those that were used to hold down the roofs of houses in Nara. He named it "Zansetsu" (lingering snow) and cherished it as an object to display for chanoyu. This would seem to indicate that Chōin viewed chanoyu differently from his older brother Chōei who practiced *rinkan chanoyu*, a custom which had little use for such small-scale display. Putting these facts together, it appears that Sōji designated Chōin a *meijin* because Chōin was the first person in Nara to adopt Shukō's style of tea.

Kokon no meijin: Torii Insetsu

That Torii Insetsu was designated a *kokon no meijin* by Sōji suggests he was as well known as Nōami, Shukō, and Chōin. Sōji even noted that "until Insetsu's time [tea was practiced] in Shukō's style." Be that as it may, history concedes only the faintest of outlines of Insetsu's tea practice, much less of his life.

Insetsu is said to have owned Chinese tea utensils and art objects and so we can infer he must have had some skill as a connoisseur. In addition to the *Oarare no sarugama* kettle, considered to be a classic *meibutsu*, it is known that he possessed the "Chitane" leaf-tea storage jar and a *haikatsugi* Temmoku teabowl. However, these alone would not qualify him as a *kokon no meijin*. It appears that the most important factor considered for the designation was that he lived in Sakai.

Similar to the way Furuichi Chōin was designated a *meijin* by Sōji for his introduction of Shukō's style of tea to the Nara area, Insetsu's having spread Shukō's tea to Sakai must have been the reason Sōji regarded him a *meijin*. Following Insetsu, Sakai produced other *meijin*, Takeno Jōō, and then Sen Rikyū; Sakai came to be known as the city where chanoyu thrived. With this in mind it is easy to understand why Insetsu, who provided the impetus that led to the accomplishments of Jōō and Rikyū, should be regarded as a *kokon no meijin*.

Kokon no meijin: Takeno Jōō

Takeno Jōō (1502-1555) was a native of Sakai who as a youth went to Kyoto and studied Japanese poetry under the well-known poet Sanjōnishi Sanetaka. It seems that originally he wanted to become a linked-verse poet. The passage in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* that reads, "Jōō was a renga poet until he was thirty," probably refers to this. At about that age he also studied tea under Fujita Sōri and Jushiya Sōgo and went to Nara to study the connoisseurship of tea utensils with Matsuya Hisamasa (or Hisayoshi?), who had been collecting famed utensils used by Shukō. Soon after this period, Jōō began to pursue chanoyu seriously.

Like other meijin, Jōō collected many Chinese and meibutsu utensils. Thirty-six such utensils owned by Jōō are specifically mentioned in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, and the "Chanoyusha no den" states that he owned sixty meibutsu pieces. But not all of these had been handed down as such; rather many of them had been newly adopted for use in chanoyu. As noted by Sōji, "All of today's utensils were discovered and adopted by the discriminating eyes of Jōō."

Several such adopted utensils are the mounted poems elegantly written by Fujiwara Teika on small squares of lightly colored paper that are called *Ogura sansō shikishi*. Until Jōō's time, calligraphies or paintings displayed in the tokonoma for tea were always the work of a Chinese artist or monk and never that of a Japanese. The atmosphere created by the hanging of an *Ogura shikishi* was totally different in feeling from that created by works of calligraphy or paintings that were redolent with Chinese esthetics and Zen. As mentioned earlier, Shukō had labored to fuse Zen with chanoyu, but at the core of his style of tea were Chinese utensils. Using Teika's calligraphy may very well have been an attempt by Jōō to further japanize the practice of tea, Jōō's study of Japanese poetry under Sanjōnishi may have led to this and other efforts to japanize chanoyu.

Like Shukō, Jōō changed the appearance of the room in which tea was served. For example, the papered walls favored by Shukō did not suit Jōō. He preferred an earthen wall reminiscent of farmhouse wattle walls. The heretofore orthodox black lacquer finish on the sill of the tokonoma he replaced with a light-colored lacquer finish or in some cases dispensed with the finish entirely. These changes in the room's appearance affected the selection of utensils to be used in the tearoom. Perhaps this is why ordinary household wares attracted Jōō's eye and began to play a role in chanoyu. For example, he used a well bucket as a water container and a bentwood rice container as a waste water receptacle; he invented a bamboo lid-rest for the kettle lid. These were changes in chanoyu that even Shukō could not have wrought.

During this brief comparison of Murata Shukō, Torii Insetsu, and Takeno Jōō—each of whom was designated a kokon no meijin in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*—and two men who were regarded as meijin, I have tried to find reasons behind Sōji's evaluation of them.

I believe that Sōji's evaluation of the status of tea men is not wholly trustworthy, because other men who deserve to be regarded as meijin are not included in his list, men the likes of Tsuda Sōkyū and Imai Sōkyū for example. Along with their

contemporary Rikyū, they comprise the three great masters of the art, and their lives and accomplishments are as well known as those of Shukō and Jōō. Both of them owned many famous utensils. Concerning Tsuda Sōkyū's accomplishments in chanoyu, the *Nampōroku* relates that "Tennojiya Sōkyū boldly applied his individuality and ingenuity to chanoyu. He hosted tea gatherings two or three times during the winter and once or twice during the summer [that were so impressive] many people talked about them." Concerning Imai Sōkyū the *Nampōroku* relates that "he performs the procedures of tea splendidly."

Why then did Sōji not include these two men? There are several possible reasons. One of them is that Sōji's mentor Rikyū and Tsuda Sōkyū were not on friendly terms. The cause of their discord is unclear, but it was common knowledge among their contemporaries; and Sōji, who recognized himself as Rikyū's leading disciple, also seems to have disliked Sōkyū. Reflecting his dislike of Tsuda Sōkyū, Sōji coldly commented, "Generally Sōkyū is believed to be a good [tea man], but I do not think so." And in the section on the "Shukō konasu" chaire, Sōji wrote, "Because I and [Takeno] Sōga (Takeno Jōō's son who after Jōō's death became Imai Sōkyū's ward) did not get along, I could not see a reputedly famous tea utensil." Considering that the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* is a book based largely on Sōji's experiences, it is possible that Sōji chose to evaluate Tsuda Sōkyū negatively because of Sōkyū's differences with Rikyū. The fact that Imai Sōkyū is not mentioned in the "Chanoyusha no den" can probably be traced to the same reason.

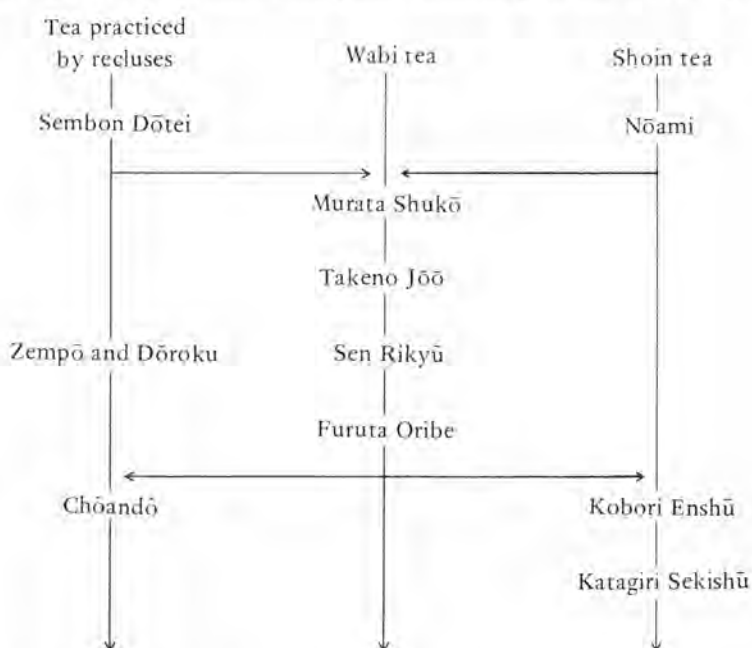
Conclusion

I have encountered several inconsistencies and problems in Yamanoue Sōji's evaluation of tea men. The categories and qualifications he set were not nearly so appropriate to the men he evaluated as he would have us believe. For example, if my conjectures are right, Matsumoto Shuhō and Shino Sōshin should not have been placed in the category of chanoyusha. After researching their lives and achievements, it seems to me that they should have been ranked in a separate category, one that was slightly higher than a chanoyusha but not as high as a meijin. Concerning such wabi suki-sha as Ishiguro Dōtei, Hechikan, and Chōandō who lived and practiced tea in relative obscurity, we find in sources other than the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* that they were in fact revered by the great tea masters and were oftentimes the source of inspiration in the adoption of certain tea practices that, taken collectively, had a substantial influence on the development of chanoyu. Yet another problem is in the relationship of the two categories of wabi suki-sha and kokono no meijin. I would like to consider this problem more thoroughly for I believe it sheds light on Sōji's evaluation in general.

A wabi suki-sha, a practitioner of tea in the spirit of wabi, is "one who does not have a single meibutsu, but possesses inner awareness, creativity, and distinguished achievements," and a kokon no meijin is a chanoyusha as well as a wabi suki-sha. As far as the qualifications are concerned, therefore, it appears that a kokon no meijin is higher in rank than a wabi suki-sha. But as mentioned in the beginning of this article, Sōji states in another section of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, "After becoming a meijin one

should devote himself to the wabi style of chanoyu, if he owns even a single famous tea utensil." These words suggest that a wabi suki-sha is given a status higher than that of a meijin. Could it be said then, that wabi suki-sha and kokon no meijin have the same status? To state my conclusion first, I believe it is impossible to compare the two because the criteria for judging their chanoyu were utterly different.

Through most of the Muromachi period (1392-1568), there had been two main types of tea practices. One was shoin tea, the style practiced by the dōbōshū of the Ashikaga shogunate, and the other was an early form of wabi tea inherited from a lineage of recluses. Through the efforts of Shukō, Jōō, and Rikyū, these two were fused to create wabi tea. But this does not mean that the practice of other styles of chanoyu following the lines of the earlier two disappeared. Rather, they continued, albeit in changed form, without interruption according to the following diagram:



Wabi tea reached its peak in the practice of Shukō, Jōō, and Rikyū during the Muromachi and Azuchi-Momoyama periods, but in the Edo period it divided into the two older forms of chanoyu.

Yamanoue Sōji's descriptions of chanoyusha, wabi suki-sha, and meijin are limited to an evaluation of those who practiced wabi tea, and do not include practitioners of shoin tea or the style of tea practiced by recluses. The names of those who were the driving force behind shoin tea are completely missing from the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, and not much attention is given to the tea practiced by recluses. Among the leading figures in the world of shoin tea, there must have been men who qualified as meijin and the same must have been true among recluses as well. Once we understand this, various unresolved matters come to our attention because Sōji attempted to evaluate practitioners of wabi tea and meijin by the same criteria, without considering

those recluses who practiced tea and those men who practiced shoin tea. Nonetheless, these matters do not diminish the research value of the *Yamanoue Sōji ki*. Keeping in mind its shortcomings it is still an excellent resource for information about the tea men of history. ㊦



Temae—Tea Procedure : *Bon Kōgō*

During a formal tea gathering which includes the presentation of a light meal and two types of tea, the host builds a small charcoal fire in the company of the guests. This fire will heat the water with which the tea is made. Because the fire burns down it is also necessary to add more charcoal later during the gathering to keep the water at the proper temperature. The name for the family of procedures for this building and rebuilding of the fire is *sumi-demae*. The first building is called *shozumi* and the second, *gozumi*. During the season when a *furo*, a portable brazier, is used *shozumi* is presented immediately after the meal and before a serving of sweets. When the *ro*, a sunken hearth, is used *shozumi* is presented before the meal. *Gozumi* is presented between the thick and thin tea services year-round.

For the building of the fire *sumi*, charcoal made from various hardwoods, is brought into the tearoom in a container called a *sumitori*. For the *sumi-demae* presentations a number of utensils are carried in the *sumitori* as well: *hibashi*, a pair of metal chopsticks; a pair of metal rings called *kan*; and, on most occasions, a *habōki*, feather brush and a *kōgō*, incense container. For a complete description of the *shozumi* procedure see "Chaji: Shozumi" in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 13 (1976) pp. 65-77.

When the host of a tea gathering wishes to show the guests a *kōgō* that is particularly famous or one that is too large to fit inside the *sumitori*, the host brings it into the tearoom separately on a tray in a variation of the basic *shozumi* procedure. This procedure is called *bon kōgō*.

Any kind of *furo* can be used for this presentation. The *bon kōgō* procedure featured here is presented with a ceramic *furo* called a *Dōan mentori-buro* placed on the left half of the *tatami* where the host will sit to make tea. The student of tea should be aware that certain steps in the following procedure vary according to the type of *furo* used and that the procedure featured here applies solely to a tea gathering presented with a *Dōan mentori-buro*.

The guests at a tea gathering should be aware that the host selects the utensils he uses to build the fire, as well as the *furo* and *kama*, with as much care as he does the utensils for preparing and serving tea. Therefore it is appropriate to ask about these utensils when they are handled during the procedure. However, questions about the *kōgō* and tray are directed to the host only after the charcoal fire has been laid.



(1)

The host sits at the host's entrance and places the *sumitori* to the side so it will be in plain view of the guests. The *sumitori* contains charcoal, a pair of *hibashi*, a pair of *kan*, and a *habōki*. Note that the *kōgō* is not brought into the room in the *sumitori*. The host opens the door and bows to signal the beginning of the presentation. The right hand (R) and the left hand (L) pick up the *sumitori*. The host stands, walks into the room, and sits on the right side of the host's mat. R and L place the *sumitori* to the right of the *furo* and *kama* (1). The host stands, turns, and leaves the room.



The host enters the room carrying a *haiki* in R. The *haiki* contains a *baisaji* stood on edge in a small mound of white *fuji-bai* ash. In the front fold of the kimono the host carries a *kami kamasbiki*. The host proceeds to the host's mat, turns slightly away from the guests, and sits. R transfers the *haiki* to L which places it to the left in the corner of the host's mat (2).



(3)

The host shifts to a position directly in front of the *furo* and *kama* (3).



(4)

R picks up the *habōki* (4).



(5)

R places the habōki in the space between the furo baseboard and the sumitori (5).



(6)

R lifts the two kan off the handles of the hibashi and places them in front of the sumitori (6).



(7)

R picks up the hibashi (7) and places them in the space between the furo baseboard and the habōki.



(8)

R puts the lid on the kama (8). Note: Women use the folded fukusa to close the kama. Men do likewise when the lid's knob is made of iron or silver.



(9)

R picks up the two kan (9).



(10)

R raises the two kan in front of the host and transfers one to L. R and L insert the kan into the *kantsuki* (lugs on the kama) and rest them on the shoulder of the kama (10).



(11)

R removes the kami kamashiki from the front of the host's kimono, transfers it to L, and grasps it again to place it at a slight angle in front of the sumitori (11).



(12)

The host, hands on knees, slides toward the furo (12).



(13)

R and L grasp the kan and lift the kama out of the furo and place it on the kami kamashiki (13). R and L rest the kan on the shoulder of the kama.



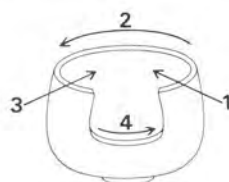
(14)

The host, hands on knees, shifts position to face the kama. R and L grasp the kan again and slide the kama and kami kamashiki in an arc toward the righthand corner of the host's mat, stopping on the imaginary line that marks a quarter of the length of the entire host's mat. R and L remove the kan from the kantsuki. L transfers one kan to R and, after aligning the two kan, R places them to the right of the kama and kami kamashiki (14). The host, hands on knees, shifts position to face the furo.



(15)

R picks up the habōki and brushes off the rim of the furo in four strokes (15).

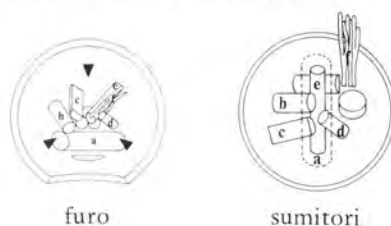


R places the habōki at an angle in front of the sumitori. R picks up the hibashi. While standing them on end to the right slightly ahead of the knee, R adjusts its grip on the hibashi. R picks up the front piece of burning charcoal with the hibashi and places it behind the other two pieces of burning charcoal (16).

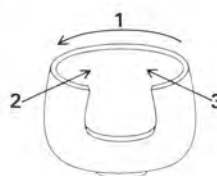




R, assisted by L, picks up the *dō-zumi* (a) with the *hibashi* and places it in the *furo* (17). R picks up the *gitchō* (b) and places it in the *furo*, likewise the *wari-gitchō* (c). R stands the *ten-zumi* (d) to the side inside the *sumitori*. R picks up the *kuda-zumi* (e), then the *eda-zumi* (f), and finally the *ten-zumi* and places each in the *furo*. R places the *hibashi* in the *sumitori*.



R picks up the *habōki* and brushes off the rim of the *furo* in three strokes (18).



(19)



The host, hands on knees, shifts position to face to the left of the *furo*. L picks up the *haiki* and transfers it to R. The host, L on the left knee, shifts position to face the *furo*. R, assisted by L, places the *haiki* in the space between the *furo* baseboard and the host's knees (19).

(20)



R removes the *haisaji* from the *haiki*, transfers it to L, and re-grasps it. As L supports R at the wrist, R removes a small amount of ash from the front of the shaped ash in the *furo* with the tip of the *haisaji* (20). R spills the ash in a short line, from left to right, on the far side of the shaped ash.



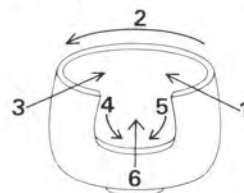
(21)

R transfers the haisaji to L, re-grasps it, and places it on edge in the mound of ash in the haiki. R, assisted by L, lifts the haiki. The host, L on the left knee, shifts position to face to the left of the furo. R transfers the haiki to L which places it to the left in the corner of the host's mat (21).



(22)

The host shifts position to face the furo. The host picks up the habōki and brushes the rim of the furo in six strokes (22). R rests the habōki on the rim of the left side of the sumitori.



(23)

The host, hands on knees, shifts position to face to the left of the furo. L picks up the haiki and transfers it to R. The host stands (23), turns, and carries the haiki out of the room.



(24)

The host enters the room carrying the kōgō on a tray, L holding the tray and R steadying the kōgō. The host sits in front of the furo. R and L grasp the tray and place it in front of the sumitori (24).



(25)



R, assisted by L, picks up the kōgō (25). R places the kōgō on the palm of L.

(26)



R removes the lid of the kōgō and places it in the center of the tray (26).

(27)



R takes one piece of incense from the kōgō and drops it close to burning charcoal. R takes a second piece of incense and places it on the dōzumi (27).

(28)



R picks up the lid of the kōgō and places it on the body resting in the palm of L. R, assisted by L, places the kōgō in the center of the tray. The main guest asks to take a closer look at the kōgō and tray. The host bows in acknowledgement of the request (28).

(29)



R and L grasp the tray (29) and lift it in front of the host. The host makes a quarter turn toward the guests.

(30)



Keeping the tray level, R and L turn it 180° clockwise (30).

(31)



R and L grasp the sides of the tray (31) and place it on the adjacent tatami.

(32)



The host, hands on knees, slides back the left knee and then the right (32).

(33)

The host places his hands at his sides, knuckles to the tatami (33). The host remains in this pose until the main guest has taken the kōgō and tray to his place.



(34)

The host, hands on knees, slides forward the right knee and then the left. R picks up the two kan and, while raising them in front of the host, transfers one to L. R and L insert the two kan into the kantsuki. R and L grasp the kama and kami kamashiki in front of the host (34).



(35)

R and L remove the two kan from the kantsuki. L transfers one kan to R. R and L align the two kan. R places the kan to the right of the kama (35). R stands, turns, and leaves the room.



(36)

The host enters the room carrying a *mizutsugi* with a folded *chakin* resting on the lid and a bamboo *futaoki* placed over the spout. The *mizutsugi* shown is called a *yakan*. The host sits facing the kama and places the *mizutsugi* to the right, its spout facing the kama. R picks up the *chakin* and places it on the kama lid just ahead of the knob (36). Note: When using a *katakuchi* *mizutsugi*, (a *mizutsugi* with a broad, flat, knobless lid the underside of which will accommodate the kama lid) a *futaoki* need not be brought into the room.



(37)

R removes the futaoki from the mizutsugi spout, places it on the palm of L to adjust its grip, and places it in the space between the kama and the host's knees (37). Note: If using a katakuchi mizutsugi, R and L remove its lid, turn it over, and place it in the space between the kama and the host's knees.



(38)

R drapes the chakin over the knob of the kama lid. R lifts the lid off the kama (38) and rests it on the futaoki. Note: If using a katakuchi mizutsugi, the kama lid is placed inside the up-turned lid.



(39)

R picks up the chakin and transfers it to L. R grips the handle of the mizutsugi as L holds the chakin below the spout. Together R and L lift the mizutsugi and pour water into the kama (39).



(40)

R and L place the mizutsugi on the tatami. R releases its grip on the handle. L transfers the chakin to R which places it on the kama lid just in front of the knob. R lifts the kama lid and places it on the kama. R picks up the futaoki and, after placing it on the outstretched palm of L to adjust its grip, slips it over the spout of the mizutsugi (40). Note: If using a katakuchi mizutsugi, its upturned lid remains on the tatami.



(41)

R picks up the chakin and, while L holds the kama lid knob, wipes the far side (41) and the near side of the kama lid.



(42)

L releases its grip on the kama lid knob. R dampens the far side of the kama by wiping the shoulder and the body with the chakin (42). R dampens the near side by drawing the character ㇿ with the chakin on the body. At this time the guests may begin to examine the kōgō and tray. R places the chakin on the lid of the mizutsugi. Note: If using a katakuchi mizutsugi, R places the chakin on the upturned lid resting on the tatami and R and L pick up the lid and place it on the mizutsugi.



(43)

As R grasps the handle and L lends support, the host stands (43), turns, and carries the mizutsugi out of the room.



(44)

The host enters the room and sits facing the furo. R picks up the two kan, transfers one to L, and R and L insert them into the kantsuki. R and L lift the kama and place it over the charcoal fire. R and L rest the kan on the shoulder of the kama. R picks up the kami kamashiki and transfers it to L. As L holds the kami kamashiki over the sumitori, R taps the upper surface to remove any soot that has rubbed off the kama (44). L transfers the kami kamashiki to R which returns it to the front fold of the kimono.



(45)

R and L lift the kama slightly to level it (45). R and L remove the two kan. L transfers one kan to R. R and L align the two kan and R places them in the sumitori.



(46)

R opens the kama slightly, and rests the lid at a slight angle on the mouth of the kama (46).



(47)

The host, hands on knees, shifts to a position in front of the sumitori (47).



(48)

R and L pick up the sumitori (48). The host stands, turns, and carries the sumitori out of the room. If the guests are still examining the kōgō and tray at this time, the host returns to the host's entrance, sits, and waits for them to finish and return the kōgō and tray to the mat adjacent to the host's mat.

(49)



The host stands, enters the room, sits facing the kōgō and tray, and answers any questions about the kōgō and tray—the reason that the kōgō was treated with such care, the shapes of the kōgō and tray, their provenance, and so on.

(50)



R and L grasp the sides of the tray (50). R and L lift the tray in front of the host.

(51)



As L adjusts its grip to better support the tray, R steadies the kōgō (51). The host stands, turns, and carries the kōgō and tray out of the room.

(52)



At the host's entrance the host sits, places the kōgō and tray to the side in view of the guests, and bows to signal the end of the presentation (52).



The host sits aligning his body with the front of the kama. He uses his fukusa to remove the lid of the kama.

Variations of Bon Kōgō When Presented with the Ro

Other than the basic differences of the furo and ro presentations, bon kōgō when presented with the ro differs in two ways. First, the host sits aligning his body in the normal position for *shozumi* when presented with the ro. Second, hibashi are used to take one piece of incense from the kōgō and put it on the dōzumi.

Book Reviews

The World of the Japanese Garden: From Chinese Origins to Modern Landscape Art. By Loraine Kuck. With color photographs by Takeji Iwamiya. New York & Tokyo: John Weatherhill Inc., 1968 and 1980. \$37.50.

One sparkling morning in the spring of 1956, as I followed intently the winding path of stepping-stones through the gardens of Katsura Rikyū in Kyoto I met a lady who, like me, was also studying Japan's garden art. We exchanged ideas and impressions about those evocative landscapes, and later, from time to time, together visited other gardens. The lady was Loraine Kuck whose perceptive insights of twenty-five years ago are reflected in this thoughtful and fluent presentation of the Japanese garden as a unique and major art form.

Through a chronological framework, she traces the development of the gardens, in their numerous configurations, from their primeval roots through the superimposition of crucial influences from China, and the later stages of its indigenous adaptations and growth to its modern forms: the extensive parklike stroll, or series, garden: the *cha-niwa* (tea garden); the garden for contemplation as part of a religious establishment; the small domestic *tsubo-niwa* (courtyard garden); and the garden which combines aspects of all or some of the aforementioned types.

Furnishing evidence of assiduous research, the text nicely integrates anecdotes on decisive historical events and characters with analysis of the designs of important gardens, most of which were built in and around Kyoto, the thousand-year-old capital city. Although, at times, conjecture and speculation on motivations and methodologies of the early garden builders seem somewhat facile, in general, they make the gardens more intimate, humanized, and less remote in time and space. The book is written in a readable, down-to-earth style, happily free of pretentious and mind-numbing jargon.

Starting with brief surveys of the high points in the creation of gardens in ancient Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Mughal India, and the Mediterranean world, Loraine Kuck then devotes considerable commentary to the gardens of China and how they inspired the subsequent development of the Japanese landscape garden.

The impact of T'ang China upon Heian Japan produced those polychrome pleasure gardens so movingly described in the *Genji monogatari*, from which colorful passages are quoted by Kuck. In later chapters covering Kamakura and Muromachi times, she reveals how the sober restraints of Zen Buddhist theology and practices, and the monochrome paintings of China's Sung artists, led to fundamental changes: gardens became smaller in scale, contemplative in mood, quiet in color, and more abstract and symbolic, as exemplified by gardens located in these temples: Tenryūji, Saihōji, Kin-kakuji, Ginkakuji, Ryōanji, and Daisenin.

In the book's treatment of the influence of Zen upon gardens, however, greater importance should have been attributed to the force of Taoism, that appealing and romantic philosophic system of Chinese thought propounded by Lao-tsu and his follower Chuang-tsu in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Taoism pervaded Chinese and Japanese life and art, signaling an escape from the artificiality of a worldly life—the throwing off of the stifling constraints of Confucian rules—and a return to nature, primitivism, and the rural ideal. The weight of Taoist concepts of man's relationship to nature should not be underestimated.

But with discerning criticism, rarely voiced by other writers on Japanese gardens, the author does point out a serious paradox: in later centuries those very inspiring and liberating Taoist and Zen currents eventually weakened and were submerged. The earlier garden artists, literati, priests, and esthetes passed into history, to be replaced by professional garden builders. This new breed of

garden makers was able to produce the outward forms with rocks and plants, but often in rigidly repetitive and stultifying rules and conventions. The earlier sense of freshness, freedom, and originality was gone.

Fortunately in recent years, the author indicates, a few landscape architects and designers have dared to discard outworn formulae and are seeking new ways to express the basic, age-old sense of humanized naturalism.

Although the book beautifully conveys in words and pictures the story of the Japanese garden, I wish Loraine Kuck had gone one step further to suggest the relevancy of the principles of the Japanese garden to the improvement of our many modern public spaces. My reasons are (1) transcending its distinctive forms, the Japanese garden reflects a profound understanding of the workings of the human mind; (2) a symbolic experience of nature, concentrated within a limited space, can move a man; and hence (3) all who have the power to determine the usage of land, whether in city, town, or rural area, might consider how the Japanese garden's landscapes evoke a human response that inspires us to cherish the natural environment beyond the garden's walls.

Finally, a comment on the physical book: it is beautifully designed, sturdily bound, and cleanly printed with a clear and attractive typeface. Its 212 illustrations (44 of which are in faithfully reproduced and glowing color) convey magnificently the details and the underlying spirit of the Japanese garden. Understanding of the overall layout of each typical garden described in the text would have been enhanced, however, if the book had included simplified or schematic plans in line drawings.

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Early Buddhist Architecture in Japan. By Kakichi Suzuki. Translated and adapted by Mary Neighbor Parent and Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd. and Shibundō, 1980. 238 pp. \$16.95, ¥3,480.

Early Buddhist Architecture in Japan provides a rare example of the translated volume improving upon the Japanese original, in this case an issue of the monthly magazine *Nihon no bijutsu* which has been updated with new archaeological findings and documentation. The translators have specified and clarified ideas and facts that were only vaguely expressed in the original publication. Fortunately, they have added an introduction, with labeled drawings, that carefully explains architectural terms and building techniques. The book also has an extensive bibliography and a truly useful index.

Professor Suzuki traces the development of Japanese temple architecture from the late sixth century through the twelfth century. Beginning with an investigation of the excavated remains of Asukadera, he describes the importation of Chinese and Korean building styles into Japan's very receptive culture. Like a detective, Suzuki gathers clues from foundation stone dimensions, roof-tile designs, and a mud imprint of Shitennōji's eaves that collapsed during a typhoon in the mid-seventh century, and then carefully analyzes what these earliest Japanese buildings in foreign styles might have looked like. As in any mystery, the evidence must be examined by a well-qualified expert and the author describes in detail how he reached his conclusions.

But the wealth of technical detail is both an asset and a liability when the overall effectiveness of this book is considered. The translators explain in the introduction that the subject is limited to ancient architecture because the material is complex, and that precise descriptions of how the buildings evolved are essential to understanding all later Japanese architecture. The fundamental information that is provided here is rarely available in English-language texts about Japanese buildings. But the elaborate analyses can also prove confusing to the unprepared reader. Terminology is

very explicit and several paragraphs read like excerpts from a construction manual. Such a scholarly treatment in English has long been needed; this volume is definitely not a simple tourist guidebook.

Suzuki has provided a useful book for both the curious traveler and the student of architectural history. The captions for many photographs are lengthy and informative and summarize the main text. Usually illustrations appear on the same page as the longer in-text descriptions. This allows readers to see an illustration, scan a few pertinent notes, and then decide whether to delve deeper into a more detailed discussion. In addition to the excellent index, the editors have listed extant structures with their addresses. A list of illustrations is also given in Sino-Japanese ideograms. The labeled drawings are plentiful and distributed throughout the text, and Suzuki has appended a technical guide to elaborate on terminology and features not covered in the main text.

In his discussion of the rebuilding of Hōryūji in the 670s, Professor Suzuki proposes the idea of regional variations of building forms, even within the small Yamato area. He explains how the Japanese carpenters constantly modified the Chinese and Korean techniques, and this gave the buildings a set of distinctive Japanese characteristics which later came to be called *wayō*. These include the use of cypress bark instead of tiles for roofing, lower and more gently inclined rooflines, simpler bracketing joints and eave supports, and the creation of a double roof structure, to name only a few. He feels that a unity in structural systems is the emerging principle of *wayō*, that floors, walls, and ceiling are all tied together in a single design of continual lines and harmonious proportions. Midway in the book he states:

The Tōshōdaiji *kondō*'s greatest distinction is that it presents an architectural form which is virtually complete in both design and structure, and it is here that we find the prototype of the native Japanese style (*wayō*).

Suzuki argues that the extensive construction program of Tōdaiji in Nara and the *kokubunji* subsidiary temples established in provinces throughout Japan during the mid-eighth century gave birth to *wayō*. Local carpenters throughout the country tried to duplicate the Nara standards but gradually modified the imported techniques to suit native skills and tastes. His argument is correct for the evolution in Japan of continental techniques, but it is rather one-sided and mildly nationalistic. He implies that the imported mainland models were more uniformly consistent, but he does not acknowledge that similar regional styles were developed concurrently in China and Korea. Admittedly, Buddhist temples on the mainland from this period are few in number and have changed greatly over the centuries, but I feel we will not have the whole picture of early Buddhist architecture until more research and excavation is completed in China and Korea as well. Professor Suzuki's discussions, especially in this revised English text, are valuable contributions to our understanding of the architecture of this period.

My other reservation with this book, and with most histories of European and Asian architecture, stems from the emphasis on building forms to the detriment of the reasons these buildings were constructed. The people who built temples seem secondary to the elaborate discussions of bracketing joints. The changes in religious concepts and ritual that ultimately dictated how these buildings were to be shaped and used seem peripheral to much of Suzuki's analysis. I realize the book is brief and the volume's role is narrow in the *Nihon no bijutsu* series (now numbering over 180 issues), but I hope that future histories of architecture will present the builders with their buildings. To know why we build is as important as to understand what we build.

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Japanese Cooking, A Simple Art. By Shizuo Tsuji with introduction by M.F.K. Fisher. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1980. 517 pp. \$14.95, ¥3,500.

It has been years since an attempt has been made at producing a comprehensive English-language Japanese cookbook and Tsuji Shizuo, head of the largest professional training school for chefs in Japan, is eminently qualified to write such a book for our modern era. For an introduction he has called on his longtime friend and fellow epicurean M.F.K. Fisher, who is best known for her many detailed writings on food, from the simplest to the most sophisticated tastes and ingredients. In the introduction she refers to food authority Diana Kennedy, who says we must never try to adapt one national cuisine to another, but instead adjust the two. Fisher adds, "Westerners can, with few changes in their hereditary conditionings, adjust themselves to some shifts in pattern and even in behavior without losing their own identity at the table." In this way the cuisines of East and West meet, and we can get on with the enjoyment of Japanese cooking.

There are two main ingredients in Japanese cooking, a delicate soup stock called *dashi* made from kelp (*kombu*) and dried bonito shavings (*katsuo-bushi*), and Japanese soy sauce (*shōyu*). Tsuji shows the reader how these two simple tastes can be combined with any number of ingredients to create dishes with taste sensations which seem—to the uninitiated—exotic beyond belief. But, Tsuji says, "It is not really exotic at all, because the essence of Japan's culture is its closeness to nature. Like Japanese painting and poetry, our cooking, too, is simply the result of an acute awareness of the seasons." He continues, "Its key requirements are also two: the pristine freshness and prime condition of materials used and beauty of presentation." In the West a third requirement (easily met in Japan) must be added—a suitable environment in which to enjoy the creations. To my mind these three requisites enjoyed together make for a perfect dining experience.

Japanese Cooking opens with sixteen pages of color plates that show examples of the many fish, vegetables, and other necessary ingredients which should be available outside Japan in larger cities around the world. Following these are photographs of beautifully arranged examples of each kind of cooking described in the book. These pictures will be a helpful guide to those who are new to this cuisine and who might be a little nervous about serving only small amounts of food on a plate.

The text offers recipes that are authentic and easy to follow. Most recipes feature a good introduction. Moreover, additional information is often given to introduce the reader to regional variations of a certain dish. For example a recipe for *sukiyaki* Osaka-style (p. 267) carefully lists the steps for making the sauce in the pan along with the beef. At the end of the recipe it talks of the Tokyo style of *sukiyaki* which involves making and simmering the sauce beforehand and then adding the other ingredients.

Japanese cookbooks are often filled with recipes using Western substitutions for Japanese ingredients such as chicken stock for *dashi* or sherry for *sake* and *mirin*. Dishes prepared with these substitutes taste little like what one eats in Japan. But in Tsuji's book, non-Japanese ingredients are worked into Japanese taste experiences. For example, in Japan, fresh *shiitake* mushrooms are popular for cooking but are difficult to find in many parts of the world. Tsuji suggests that white mushrooms, also called button mushrooms or *champignon*, can be used in their stead.

At first glance *Japanese Cooking* seemed difficult to understand, but after reading it I found it very straightforward. Part one features an informative list of ingredients and utensils and an excellent discussion of the Japanese meal. There is also a separate section on knives that lists varieties and the use of each, as well as a discussion on sharpening. From there it goes on to a step-by-step explanation of each of the basic Japanese food preparations: *dashi* (soup stock), making various soups, *sashimi* (raw fish), *yakimono* (grilling), *mushimono* (steaming), *nimono* (simmering), *agemono* (deep frying), *sunomono* and *aemono* (salads), *nabemono* (one pot cooking), *gobanmono* (rice dishes), *susbi* (vinegared rice dishes), *menrui* (noodles), *tsukemono* (pickling vegetables), *okashi*

(Japanese sweets) and finishing with a good discussion of tea and *sake*. Part two offers the experienced cook many new and interesting recipes under the same headings as part one. No other Japanese cookbook in English presents the variety of foods and number of techniques Tsuji's does.

For the many chanoyu enthusiasts living outside Japan, the section on *okashi* is particularly interesting. Tsuji tells how to make a sweet bean paste called *an* and then continues with recipes for several traditional sweets. Two of these, *Satsuma-imo kinton* and *sakura mochi* are just right for serving with a bowl of *matcha* (powdered green tea). For those who may not be chanoyu enthusiasts but want a good description of how to make *matcha*, Tsuji has even included a description of this process as well (p. 334-335).

The book is filled with Suzuki Yoshito's outstanding drawings. He depicts the many difficult boning, cutting, and slicing techniques in a fashion that is very easy to follow.

At the end of the book there is an extensive list of oriental food shops and sources in North America. Also given are seasonal Japanese fish charts, a listing for calorie counts and weights for some foods, as well as measurement and temperature conversion tables.

Although this book was written for people outside Japan, I am sure it will be a valuable and fun-to-use resource for people residing in Japan. This book does omit some of the harder to find ingredients available only in Japan and in a few major cities abroad. But in Japan this does not present problems that a friendly local merchant cannot solve. (If all else fails, a call to the Tsuji International Cooking School in Osaka might do the trick. The staff is fluent in many languages and delightful to talk with.)

With its excellent section on how to make *okashi* as well as a recipe for chicken sashimi, *Japanese Cooking, A Simple Art* is at the top of my scale of ten.

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