



CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 29



Hōun Kinran

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

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TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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

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

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Pause and Reflection

Sen Soshitsu XV

If you own a field, you will be anxious about it; if you own a house, it will cause you grief. Likewise, if you don't own a field or a house, this not-owning will itself be a source of worry.

This passage from a sutra is simplicity itself. A person who owns land worries about losing it or using it to make money. The owner of a house is anxious about repairs or remembering to lock the door. A person who has no land desires and connives to acquire some; those who have no house long for a place to call their own. Either way, the desires to acquire and to protect one's possessions cause endless suffering.

Desires are without limit; they can consume all of one's life. This is one of life's inescapable realities. As much as we may try, it is impossible for us to deny our desires. Indeed, we must not deny them, for paradoxically, it is these desires that make us human. But we need to step back from our desires and pause and reflect on the world that we construct with them. This is being objective about our desires.

The Japanese have a peculiar talent for relating to the world around them with a certain dispassion. They are able to view events at a distance, even those events that would appear to be the focus of their entire lives. It is this distance from events which can help anyone to live a composed life with a serene outlook. Among the Japanese, it is considered wise to maintain a moderate, reserved view of the events that whirl around one. The act of stepping back in our everyday interpersonal relationships engenders humility, which assumes the status of a virtue.

In addition to its spatial aspect, the act of stepping back has a temporal aspect. In many Japanese traditional arts, the utilization of this temporal aspect or "temporal space" is integral to mastery. The postures and movements of Kabuki and Noh dance and the procedures for preparing tea depend in great part for their depth and meaning upon the degree to which this space is vivified. Viewing an object at a certain distance allows one to grasp it concretely and objectively. Similarly, in temporal terms, the skillful manipulation of temporal space gives a feeling of ease and reveals the life in movements. This applies to all the arts of Japan, whether fine, applied, or performing arts.

In Japanese painting, for instance, blank space has a very important aesthetic function. Areas which have been left unpainted serve as a foil to the painted forms. Blank areas can reveal vistas that ink and brush can only hint at. In music, moments of silence set off the moments of sound in the same way. They impart a freshness to each moment that unremitting sound would lack.

Temporal space is of vital importance in the practice of tea. The movements which make up the procedures for preparing tea exist in time. What gives them beauty is their quality and timing. Whether the preparation is fresh or stale depends upon the host's and guests' adjustments of temporal space. Failure to use it correctly results in discord, distorted actions, and irregular rhythms.

Bearing in mind, then, the importance of viewing events from a distance, we can understand the teaching of the sutra that opened this short essay, that it is unwise to take at face value all that confronts us in our lives. It is better to meet objects and events with a certain reserve, to pause and reflect, even while being in the thick of life. This is a teaching that all practitioners of the traditional arts of Japan, or for that matter anyone, should take to heart. ☂

The Sen Family Tradition of Chadō

Haga Kōshirō

The period in which the chanoyu traditions of Sen Rikyū took shape and developed was one of dynamic and pervasive change in Japan. This period spans four generations of the Sen family—Rikyū ([Sōeki], 1522-1591), Shōan Sōjun (1546-1614), Gempaku Sōtan (1578-1658), and, in the lineage of the Urasenke school, Sensō Sōshitsu (1622-1697). In 175 years, from the latter part of the Muromachi period (known as the Sengoku era, 1480-1570), through the flowering of the Azuchi-Momoyama culture and the early stages of the Edo period to the Genroku era (1688-1703), medieval Japan was transformed into a modern nation—politically, economically, and socially. During this period international relations increased and the culture grew. Broadly speaking, it is possible to divide the period into two at the fall of Osaka Castle in 1615, the first half being characterized by war and disturbance and the second by peace and stability. Rikyū and Shōan belonged to the former, while Sōtan and Sōshitsu were active during the latter. In this article I will consider the first half, focusing on the historical movements directly related to chanoyu.

Chanoyu and the Emergence of the Townspeople Class

One of the most important elements in the formation and diffusion of chanoyu was the emergence of a class of prosperous merchants and money dealers who played a major role in cultural development. During the Sengoku era, daimyo encouraged the growth of local industries to increase prosperity and bolster the military strength of their fiefs. These industries continued to develop and expand during the entire period with which we are concerned. With the adoption of a system of free markets (*rakuichi*) and open guilds (*rakusa*) by Oda Nobunaga and then Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the abolition of barriers between fiefs, the improvement of roads, and the minting of gold and silver coins, commerce and industry expanded and the import trade prospered. These developments encouraged the growth of the townspeople class (*machi-shū*). Disciples of Murata Shukō (1421?-1502), the “founder” of chanoyu, were all influential townsmen of Nara, Kyoto, and Sakai, with the exception of a few, such as the minor daimyo Furuichi Harima (also known as Chōin, 1459-1508). Takeno Jōō (1502-1555), the next preeminent figure in the history of chanoyu after Shukō, was a wealthy merchant of the port of Sakai, and his disciples as well were almost all townsmen. Chanoyu was fundamentally a part of the culture of the townspeople, and its growth was deeply related to their emergence as a distinct class.

Such men as Imai Sōkyū (1520-1593), Tsuda Sōkyū (d. 1591), and Sen Rikyū took leading roles in the world of chanoyu during the Azuchi-Momoyama period and were also merchant-townsmen of Sakai. But the practice of tea in their time differed

“The Sen Family Tradition of Chadō” is a translation and adaptation of the author’s “*Sōryūki no Rekishibuteki Haikei* [The Formative Period of the Senke Tradition] which appeared in the exhibition catalogue *Senke Chadōten: Rikyū, Shōan, Sōtan, Sensō* [The Senke Tradition of Chadō: Rikyū, Shōan, Sōtan, Sensō] published in 1979 by Chadō Research Center, Kyoto. *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 29, 1981 © by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.

conspicuously from that of Takeno Jōō. This is because the new daimyo who had risen to power during the Sengoku era, with Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the fore, had become influential supporters of chanoyu and the style of tea of the daimyo began to replace the tea of the townspeople. When Nobunaga accompanied Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537-1597) into Kyoto in the ninth month of 1568, he received the "Tsukumo" *nasu* thick-tea container from the samurai-tea man Matsunaga Hisahida (1510-1577) and the leaf-tea storage jar named "Matsushima" from the merchant-tea man Imai Sōkyū. This sparked an inordinate enthusiasm for chanoyu in Nobunaga, and from the next year he started "*meibutsu* hunting." Later, Hideyoshi's devotion to chanoyu was to eclipse even that of Nobunaga.

A variety of reasons for their ardent interest come to mind. One is that, even after each had obtained hegemony and reached an official position second only to the emperor, holding enormous economic power in their grasp, Nobunaga and Hideyoshi felt culturally inferior when they associated with the traditional nobility, who possessed their own hereditary culture. The single best means by which they could enhance their own cultural standing and overcome their inferiority was the practice of chanoyu, of which the traditional nobility had no experience. The practice of tea was also new and exciting in its pronounced taste for the foreign and exotic. At the same time it was a highly refined art of daily life.

Hideyoshi attempted to establish a feudal class system by setting a strict distinction in status between soldier and farmer and between farmer and merchant. Nevertheless, in an age fresh from turmoil, respect for power and ability prevailed and class consciousness was often overridden. Thus, though Nobunaga's severing the allegiance of the Sakai townsmen from the Ishiyama Honganji temple might be attributed to his political ambition, it remains a fact that when he received the merchant-tea man Tsuda Sōkyū as a guest at his Gifu castle in the second month of 1574, he had his son Nobukatsu serve him at a reception and he himself served Sōkyū rice. Similarly, though there is no question that Hideyoshi sought conciliation with the townspeople of the important port of Hakata prior to his subjugation of Kyūshū, we should not overlook the fact that he accorded the merchant-tea man Kamiya Sōtan (1551-1635) of Hakata exceptional hospitality at a tea gathering at Osaka castle, and further, made tea and served it himself. Moreover, in the fifth month of 1592 he gave Sōtan a seat higher than the daimyo Horii Naomasa (1547-1608) in his golden tearoom at Nagoya Castle in Bizen.

But after the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, when Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) took leadership and began to strengthen the class system as a pillar of feudal control, the townspeople began losing their once bold spirit, finding themselves at the lowest stratum of society beneath the soldiers, farmers, and artisans. Even from the days of Hideyoshi, Sakai had been forced to hand over its prosperity to Osaka, giving up with it something of the spirit it had in its free-city days. After the battle of Sekigahara, Sakai was brought under the control of the Sakai magistrate (*machi bugyō*). Hakata, too, became a castle town under Kuroda Nagamasa (1568-1622) and was deprived of its prosperity by Nagasaki. The tea record written by Kamiya Sōtan suddenly loses its luster after 1600, and the last testament of Shimai Sōshitsu (1539-1615), has no spirit

though he was at one time a politically active merchant so influential he could demand vows of loyalty from powerful daimyo. These facts show that the status of the townspeople had declined. Following this trend, after Rikyū's self-disembowelment in 1591, leadership in the world of chanoyu passed from merchant-tea men to the daimyo Furuta Oribe (1544-1615) and Hosokawa Sansai (1563-1645), and then to Kobori Enshū (1579-1647) and Katagiri Sekishū (1609-1673). Thus daimyo tea, the more ornate style of tea developed and practiced by these men, began to flourish.

Members of the Sen family were scattered after Rikyū's death, but through the intercession of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Gamo Ujisato, and others, Rikyū's grandson Sōtan (seventeen years of age at the time) was recognized as Rikyū's heir and allowed to restore the Sen family in the winter of 1594. Meanwhile Rikyū's son Shōan, who had been in the custody of the Gamo family in Ōmi (present-day Shiga prefecture), returned to Kyoto and was given a house in front of Honpōji temple, and there he rebuilt the tearoom Fushin-an that had been part of his old house at Yoshiya-chō. From a letter written by the shogun Tokugawa Hidetada (1578-1632) thanking Shōan for a small incense container, it appears there was reciprocity between Shōan and Hidetada; however, he did not go to Edo, but devoted his entire life to carrying on the traditions of Rikyū's tea and educating his son Sōtan in Kyoto. Upon coming of age, Sōtan refused invitations to take a post under a daimyo, and endeavored instead to maintain Rikyū's traditions, enduring poverty through the aid of the priests Hōrin Shōjo of Rokuonji temple, Seigan Sōi of Daitokuji, and Takuan Sōhō in Edo. He thus viewed the prosperity of daimyo tea from the outside. No historical document survives to reveal precisely Sōtan's feelings about daimyo tea; however, he wrote in a letter:

I am seventy-three now; chanoyu is more interesting than ever. I do not invite any Kyoto people—just the usual group, Daitokuji monks only. Interest enough for a lifetime. I abbreviate. The end is in sight and I am satisfied.

This letter indicates that he took a critical attitude toward the different schools of tea in Kyoto as well as fashionable daimyo tea, and we can imagine his displeasure in observing them. Putting aside for a moment the role of historian and venturing a conjecture, it seems to me that two passages presented as Rikyū's reflections on tea from the "Metsugo" book of the *Nampōroku* might accurately reflect Sōtan's thoughts:

My only fear is that, as practitioners of tea increase in society, teachers will also grow in number and will each give guidance in his own way, or in their associations with daimyo and the wealthy, treat the thatched hut as though it were the *shoin* room and feel no need to delve into its fundamental significance. Or those bent on feasts and much drinking will enjoy banquets even in the thatched hut, but because tea in the spirit of wabi is not in accord with their minds they will find it disagreeable. Professional teachers take pleasing daimyos and making tea gatherings entertaining

to be their whole concern, and believing it their fortune that the wealthy find interest in such activities, they encourage chanoyu out of their own greed; hence, even now practices formerly unheard of abound. But how much greater my anxiety when I think of tea in its latter age to come; even condemnation fails. . . . 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!

(For a complete translation of this text, see *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 25, 1980 pp. 42-44.)

In this way Sōtan, keeping his distance not only from daimyo tea men but also from other tea men of the day, lived a plain and honest life absorbed in tea, and was a man of *wabi*. He was not, however, a rigid and dogmatic man blind to the trends of the age. He deeply understood his times. He saw that without the patronage of the shogun and daimyo, it would have been impossible for Confucianists such as the Hayashi family, the artists belonging to the Kanō school or Sumiyoshi school, and the Noh artists of the Kanze school to carry on their traditions of scholarship or art. Sōtan considered it his responsibility and mission to adhere to the true traditions of *wabi* tea transmitted from Rikyū to Shōan, and to develop them further. Therefore, Sōtan strictly refused to enter the service of a daimyo; however, he earnestly sought the aid of the daimyo Yagyū Munenori (1571-1646), the Zen priest Takuan, and others in sending three of his four sons to the houses of different daimyo. He sent his third son Kōshin Sōsa to the Tokugawa family of Kii province and his fourth son Sensō Sōshitsu to the Maeda of Kaga, and he diligently sought a post for his second son Ichio Sōshu, who went to the house of the Matsudaira of Sanuki after Sōtan's death.

Sōtan's efforts grew out of his deep concern for the preservation and development of Rikyū's tea, and there is little question that he acted wisely. Sōtan's three sons, Kōshin, Sensō, and Ichio, thus became the founders of three separate branches of the Sen family that today are known as the Omotesenke, Urasenke, and Mushanokōji-senke schools of tea. Each of these men made great efforts to merge daimyo tea with the tradition of *wabi* tea to which they had become heir from their great-grandfather Rikyū through Sōtan.

Chanoyu and New Cultural Trends

The formative period of the Sen family tradition of tea was also one in which revival of interest in native traditional culture reached a high pitch. *Wagaku* (Japanology—centering on the study of such Heian-period classics as the *Kokinshū*, *Ise monogatari*, and the *Genji monogatari*, and on courtly etiquette and customs, and largely informed by a sentimental nostalgia for bygone days—was on the rise from the mid-Muromachi

period among the nobility, with Ichijō Kanera and Sanjōnishi Sanetaka as leaders. Wagaku continued to enjoy wide popularity through the Azuchi-Momoyama period to the early part of the Edo period.

The revival of interest in the classics also permeated the world of chanoyu, bringing subtle changes in taste. Although Murata Shukō's chanoyu in a four-and-a-half-mat room inclined toward Chinese objects, he wrote that "the most important thing is the dissolution of the borderline between things Japanese and Chinese." (From *Kokoro no fumi*. For the original text and discussion of this document, see Dennis Hirota, "Heart's Mastery: *Kokoro no fumi*," *Chanoyu Quarterly* No.22, 1979, pp.7-24.) Shukō sought to fuse Chinese and Japanese tastes. His style of chanoyu was handed down to his successor Murata Sōju and advanced by Takeno Jōō. Jōō had studied wagaku, Japanese poetry (*waka*), and linked verse (*renga*) under Sanjōnishi Sanetaka. He japanized chanoyu, using everyday implements as tea utensils, and he put his knowledge of classical culture to practical use in tea. He hung a poem card written by the famed poet Fujiwara Teika (*Ogura sansō shikishi*) in his tearoom, whereas until that time only Chinese paintings and calligraphies by Zen monks had been considered appropriate.

Jōō's style, unique during his lifetime, gradually grew in popularity, and after the Azuchi-Momoyama period, with the interest in the classics, his style became fashionable. According to the *Tennojiya kaiki* and the *Sōtan nikki* tea-gathering records, Tsuda Sōtatsu and his son Sōkyū, as well as such merchant-tea men as Mozuya Dōan, Takekuraya Jōyū, and Yamatoya Sōryū, and even such daimyo-tea men as Araki Murashige, Akechi Mitsuhide, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Maeda Toshiie, displayed not only *Ogura shikishi* but also leaves from anthologies or personal collections of *waka* (*waka kaishi*), and letters by poets for tea gatherings. During the first half of the Edo period Jōō's style became still more popular, reflecting the prosperity of wagaku and a flourishing of nationalistic culture encouraged by the policy of national seclusion. At this time, chanoyu further became prevalent in noble society, and we can assume that court tea was full of classical culture. The classical patterns and elegant beauty of the leaf-tea storage jars, teabowls, small ceramic containers for powdered tea, and water jars made by Nonomura Ninsei (d. 1678-1695?) on order from the nobility reflect this. In addition, the number of teabowl names drawn from or alluding to classical poems increased in the early Edo period.

The first two-thirds of the formative period of the Sen family tradition of tea also saw the arrival of merchant ships from Portugal and Spain, and then Holland and England, the coming of Jesuit missionaries led by Francis Xavier, and the spreading of Christianity. Elements of the cultures of Europe, Southeast Asia, and the Philippines (*Namban* "southern barbarian" culture) brought by traders and priests were thus introduced and diffused in Japan. The Japanese were just beginning to reach outward to foreign countries, and their world was assuming a new dimension. Because the Japanese have been extremely sensitive to new foreign influences, the culture brought by the Europeans made a great impression on the culture and daily life of the period. For example, the importation of guns necessitated changes in military tactics and castle construction. Astronomy, terrestrial globes, and world maps transformed the Japa-

nese world view. Surgery, movable type printing, and perspective and chiaroscuro techniques in drawing were all imported from Europe at this time and they too had their effect. This new culture also influenced clothing, food, and many areas of popular taste—with the notable exception of housing.

Examples of the permeation of European culture in clothing include the use of heavy woolen cloth of deep red color for the vestlike coats (*jinbaori*) worn over armor by high-ranking samurai. Hideyoshi is said to have owned twenty red capes, and a cape of embroidered velvet worn by the Sengoku daimyo Uesugi Kenshin (1530-1578) has been handed down in the treasury of the Uesugi shrine in Niigata prefecture. A ruffled nightgown made in Europe, used by the lord Katō Kiyomasa (1562-1611), has been kept in Honmyōji temple in Kumamoto. Moreover, a host of clothing terms now completely assimilated into Japanese were originally adopted from Portuguese during this period; *birodo* (*veludo*, velvet), *kanakin* (*canequim*, hard-woven cotton cloth), *ransha* (*raxa*, heavy woolen cloth), *sarasa* (cotton or silk dyed with patterns of human figures, flowers, and animals), *juban* (*gibão*, underwear), *kappa* (*capa*, raincoat), *karusan* (*calção*, a type of divided pleated skirt worn by men over their kimono), *meriyasu* (*meias*, wool or cotton cloth woven to have elasticity), *botan* (*botao*, button). As for foods, sugared rice cakes (*mochi*) and sugared rice crackers (*sembei*) appeared with the introduction of sugar from the south, as well as such European baked goods as bread, biscuits, cookies (*bōro*), cake (*kasutera*), and crystallized sugar sweets (*kompeitō* and *aruheitō*). Grape wine also became available.

From painted mural screens depicting the manners of the day, such as the Hikone screen owned by the Ii family, it is clear that smoking became fashionable among samurai and common people—both men and women—as a strange new European custom. Cards also became an object of curiosity and japanized versions—*unsui karuta*—gained favor as a new form of gambling. From the Edo period on, spectacles, magnifying glasses, telescopes, glass cups, and clocks were imported, stirring up a sensation for the exotic.

Thus Namban culture unexpectedly saturated the life and culture of the times. The port city of Sakai, so many of whose rich and openminded merchants were leading tea men, was a doorway for Namban culture. In addition, Nobunaga and Hideyoshi had extraordinary interest in European culture, as did such Christian daimyo and champions of Christian culture as Ōtomo Sōrin, Takayama Ukon, Gamo Ujisato, Seta Kamon, Makimura Chōbei, Oda Uraku, Kuroda Josu, Hosokawa Sansai, and Manase Dōsan.

It would have been natural for Namban culture to also permeate chanoyu, which had from the outset been attracted to the foreign. But the enforcement of the policy banning Christianity gradually grew stricter, and the Tokugawa shogunate in 1635 closed the country to foreign intercourse. The influence of European culture thus did not fully establish itself in chanoyu, and those elements which had been adopted were later deliberately eliminated. Thus, the permeation of European culture into chanoyu was limited. It is possible, however, to trace a few examples. There are a number of teabowls with patterns of deformed crosses, and water jars with “flower” crosses (*hana kurusu mon*). There is also the “Cross Kettle,” with the pattern in relief.



Section from the *Namban Kōekizu* scroll, showing Europeans and Japanese engaged in commerce. Colors on paper. Height 86.6 cm.; length 152.9 cm. Seventeenth century. Photo courtesy of Kobe Shiritsu Namban Bijutsukan.



Straw-bale-shaped water jar with cross design. Height 15.0 cm.; mouth 10.0 cm. by 13.0 cm. Photo courtesy of Namban Bunkakan.

The extraordinarily high value placed on Luzon leaf-tea storage jars should also be viewed in this light. The jars known as "Mikazuki," "Matsushima," "Shōka," and "Shijukkoku," cherished by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, were all Luzon pieces. These jars were not actually made in Luzon but in Fukien and Canton in southern China and in north Vietnam, and were intended to be used as containers of wine, spices, and medicinal herbs. Their name comes from the fact that they were imported by Europeans through Luzon in the Philippines. Strictly speaking, then, they cannot be included as examples of European culture; nevertheless, they were cherished by tea men partly as artifacts of Namban culture. This is also true of the ceramic wares originating in Southeast Asia, known generally as *Namban-mono* or *Shima-mono* and used for water jars, vases, waste water receptacles, and ash containers. Vietnamese wares called Sunkoroku (the word comes from the name of the old capital of Thailand) used as teabowls and vases were also treasured. Textiles that play an important part in tea as scroll mountings and bags for ceramic powdered-tea containers—such as *kantō*, *donsu*, and *sarasa*—were imported from southern China and Southeast Asia, again revealing the influence of Namban culture on chanoyu.

The chanoyu of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries presents a number of interesting problems in Japanese cultural history. To give just three examples, there is the relationship between tea and the psychological makeup prevalent during the Azuchi-Momoyama period, in which contrasting characteristics—boldness and circumspection, outward-looking extroversion and seclusive introversion—were yoked together. Further, there is the relationship of the free and openhearted spirit of the age with the tea men's bold, creative attitude toward tea utensils. Finally, there is the problem of the circumstances which allowed for the utilization of chanoyu in the propagation of feudal morality. All of these issues remain to be clarified. ☞

Translated by Hirota Kimiko

Seto and Mino Ceramics of the Medieval Age

Narasaki Shōichi

Part I Introduction

When one thinks of medieval ceramics, first to come to mind are probably those wares produced at the Old Seto kilns in central Honshū. One may think of the beautiful jars and prunus vases decorated with various designs and covered with a yellowish-green or blackish-brown glaze, or of the numerous fine Temmoku teabowls and tea containers. Of course one may think of other wares too as there is no lack of ceramics from the medieval period. For example there are the splendid *kama* (wide-mouthed jars) and *tsubo* (narrow-mouthed jars) of Tokoname, Bizen, and Shigaraki (see map p. 35) whose rough, brown body clay is covered with a natural, dark green glaze.

In general, in the medieval age there were only two types of high-fired ceramics, glazed and unglazed, both of which were made by similar methods. The low-fired *baji* and *gaki* ceramics that extend in an unbroken line from the Kofun period (300-600) into the medieval age served as everyday eating utensils and as ritual implements. In addition to the native products, ceramics were imported from China and other countries and esteemed in many areas by members of certain social classes. Thus, the characteristics of medieval ceramics cannot be identified simply by understanding a few specific wares. Rather, one must systematically probe the interrelationships of all these types of wares.

At present the designation "Six Old Kilns" is often used to classify the kinds of ceramics produced during the medieval age. As the term is understood, the Six Old Kilns include: Seto, Tokoname, Echizen, Shigaraki, Tamba, and Bizen. It is not clear when this term came into use, but I believe it was shortly after World War II when the Echizen kilns, the largest in the Hokuriku area, came to be known through the work of Koyama Fujio. Koyama suggested that the kilns which developed in medieval times had characteristics which could be readily identified with certain areas as contrasted to the universal type production of high-fired, unglazed *sue* wares seen up to the

Translator's Note: This is a translation of part of *Seto, Bizen, Suze* by Professor Narasaki Shōichi of Nagoya University and presents a concise overview of the major medieval production sites throughout Japan, with particular focus on Seto. The title of Professor Narasaki's book is misleading for he actually writes about far more than three kilns. The complete work is divided into four sections: "Medieval Ceramics," "Medieval Ceramics of the Tokai Area (central Honshū)," "Medieval Ceramics of the Hokuriku and Tōhoku Areas (north and northeast Honshū)," and "Medieval Ceramics in Western Japan." In the first section he classifies medieval ceramics and explains the interrelationships of the categories. In the following three sections he discusses the major kilns within each of the areas mentioned and their probable origins and subsequent development. As all of this material is based on the most recent archeological and literary evidence, this book is an important resource for understanding the thinking of Japanese archeologists on the subject. I have attempted to translate as accurately as possible, and to faithfully retain the order, logic, and style of the original. Any shortcomings or errors are solely my responsibility.

"Seto and Mino Ceramics of the Medieval Age" is an abridgement, translation, and adaptation of part of the author's *Seto, Bizen, Suze*, volume 43 in the series *Nihon no Bijutsu* published in 1976 by Shogakukan Publishing Company, Tokyo.

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Heian period (794-1185). For this reason it entered common usage. Even now it seems to have become fixed as the term of choice. It is my belief that it is simply a popular term with no strict parameters.

Most authorities, the first being Mitsuoka Tadanori, give the following outline of the development of medieval ceramics:

1. Many places which prospered in the production of sue wares during the Heian period gradually declined after about the tenth century and production came to be limited to certain areas (Owari, Mino, Bizen, and Omi).
2. With the collapse of the aristocracy at the end of the Heian period, patronage was lost. The sue potter, to survive, turned to the production of lower priced products for commoners and began to make such objects as jars and bottles.
3. The many kilns that produced sue wares at locations throughout Japan converted to the production of wares unique to their own areas. Thus production became centralized within each area. Superior among these ceramic-producing areas were the so-called Six Old Kilns.
4. Compared to the smaller kiln sites, which for the most part ceased production during the Muromachi period (1392-1573), the Six Old Kilns have continued production into the present day.

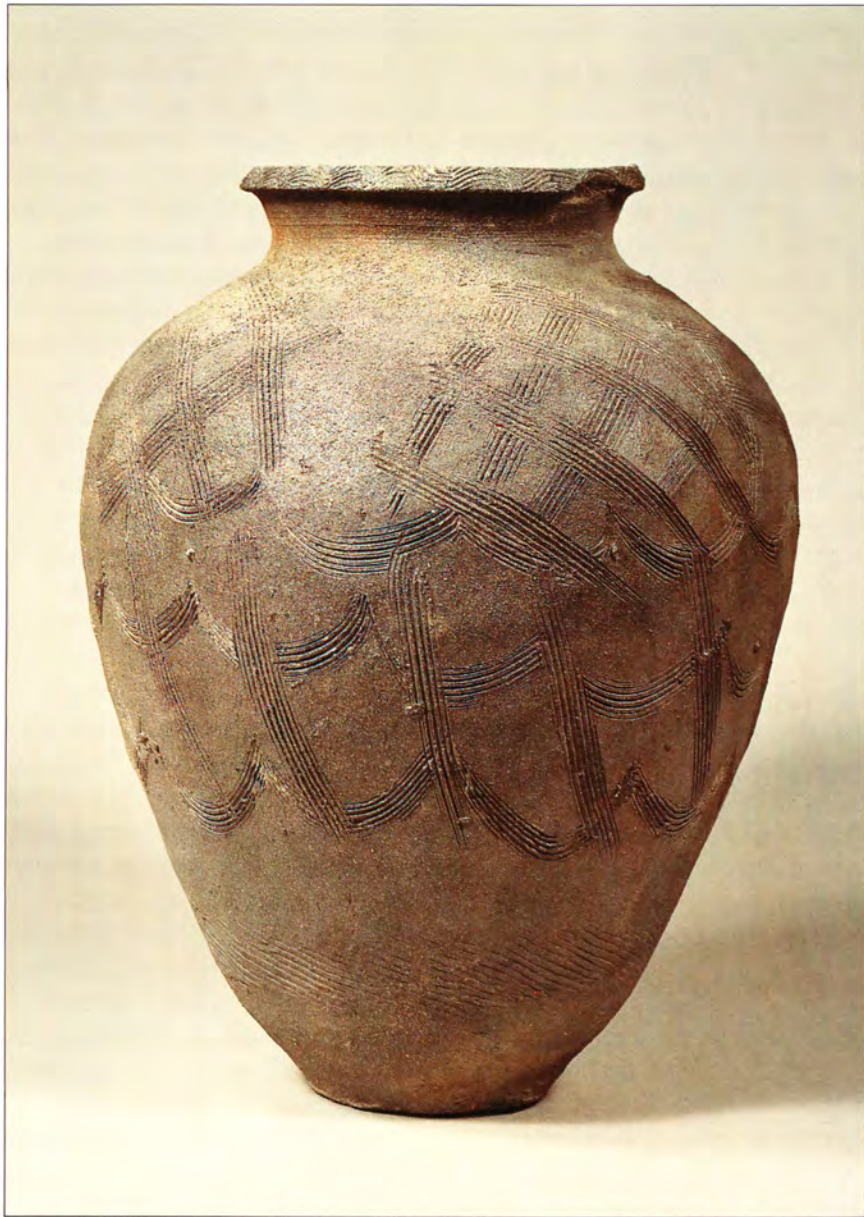
In the past ten years, investigation of sites all over the country has made great strides, and to date twenty-six medieval kiln sites have been discovered in an area extending from Miyagi prefecture in the north to Okayama prefecture in the south. (If we include objects which are clearly recognized as being of a different type but from obscure or unidentified kilns, there are more than thirty-four.) Among these are many large-scale kiln sites such as Mino with more than 500 kilns, the Atsumi peninsula with more than 400 kilns, Tokoname with more than 1300 kilns, Sanage with more than 600 kilns, and Seto with more than 500 kilns. Certainly there are more than six kilns! Moreover, at such places as Mino and Kaga, production has continued up to the present. Mino, to which we will turn later, is a kiln group independent from Seto; and the Kaga kilns have switched to porcelain production in modern times. Also, the Seto and Tokoname kiln complexes did not begin as completely independent kilns during the medieval age; rather they developed from extensions of the Owari group whose origin can be found at the Sanage complex.

I, myself, have used the term Six Old Kilns. But after reviewing the evidence of research at many sites during the past few years, I now think the term should be discarded, because it is no longer a valid criterion for distinguishing these six kilns from other kilns of the same period.

What kind of classification system, if any, will help us to distinguish medieval ceramics from wares of earlier or later ages?



Haji-ware cooking pot. Height 18.3 cm.; diameter of mouth 13.4 cm.; diameter of body at widest point 25.6 cm.; diameter of base 8.5 cm. Fourteenth century. Photo courtesy of Nagoya University Archaeology Institute, Nagoya.



Sue-ware narrow-mouthed jar with comb-scratched design. Suzu. Height 33.7 cm.; diameter of mouth 13.4 cm.; diameter of body at widest point 25.6 cm.; diameter of base 8.5 cm. Kamakura period. Property of Honda Shizuo, Toyota.

There is general agreement that the medieval age begins with the establishment of the government at Kamakura in 1192. However, current research of historical records suggests other theories. One is that Japan became a feudal country when emperors were made to withdraw from active political life and surrender their governmental power to the Fujiwara clan. Another theory has the medieval age begin with the dynastic struggles of the Nambokuchō era (1336-1392).

By examining information gained from archeological investigation at various kilns we can distinguish medieval ceramics from those of the preceding Heian period. It seems that most ceramics produced during the medieval age fall within one basic group composed of three shapes: *suribachi* (mortars), *kame* (wide-mouthed jars), and *tsubo* (narrow-mouthed jars). Wares of these shapes did not have much importance during the periods that preceded and followed the medieval age. All three are simplifications of a number of shapes seen in the Heian *shirashi* and sue wares. Some people believe that the beginning of medieval pottery takes place with the appearance of this group of shapes. If we adopt this theory, then the beginning of the medieval age takes place sometime during the early twelfth century, although this may differ with each district. It is interesting to note that this coincides with the fall of the Fujiwara clan and the rise in political power of a government controlled by retired emperors. I will explain in more detail later, but the change to the production of these three shapes, at many kilns, was gradual and a strong link with the production of the previous period remained. As an example, some kilns continued to produce such household utensils as bowls, dishes, and also religious utensils. At other places, Seto for instance, new kilns were developed around the beginning of the Kamakura period.

After the medieval age the development of modern ceramics was gradual, and strictly speaking did not proceed in a straight line. The transformation from medieval to modern, as seen in tea ceramics, began in the middle of the sixteenth century during the years 1532-1554. At Mino and Seto this same change took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century during the years 1504-1520. And by the time of the downfall of the Muromachi government in 1573 modern ceramics had been well established at kilns throughout the country.

Special Features of Medieval Ceramics

Medieval ceramics possess characteristics which can be associated with specific production areas as well as with certain traits of Heian-period wares. The influence of the hard stonewares of both the sue and shirashi lineages can be seen, but not that of the low-fired, haji and gaki earthenwares. Ceramics from the shirashi lineage come from all over the Tokai area (present-day Aichi and Gifu prefectures.) Moreover, it seems that during the medieval age the influence of shirashi wares was greater than that of sue wares. Shirashi wares were the first intentionally ash-glazed ceramics to be made in Japan. Their development took place during the Heian period at kilns located near Mount Sanage, northeast of present-day Nagoya. Sue ware, however, is a distinct kind of ceramic and is older in origin. Its production began during the mid-fifth century at the Suemura kilns south of present-day Osaka, and thereafter spread throughout Japan where production continued into the medieval age. The body of sue wares is

grey, hard and resonant, and sometimes partially covered by a natural ash glaze. (For further explanation see: *Sansai, Ryokuyū, and Kaiyū*, Tōji Taikēi, No. 5, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973.)

In some documents of the medieval age, *shiki* (glazed ceramics) were referred to by the characters 瓷器 which were read *shino utsuwa mono* 之乃辛豆波毛乃 meaning they had a glaze, while sue wares were referred to as 陶器 and read *suemono* 須恵毛能. There were two types of *shiki*: *aoshi* 青瓷 and *shirashi* 白瓷. *Aoshi* was a low-fired, lead-glazed ceramic, such as three-colored (blue, green, and brownish-yellow) or monotone green glazed wares, while *shirashi* was a high-fired, glazed ceramic. There has been some misunderstanding about these types, for *shirashi* was thought to be the same as sue ware with an ash glaze applied, but the two are different. This has been proved by documents as well as by examination of these wares.

Medieval ceramics can thus be divided into three groups, each with its origin in *haji*, sue, or *shiki* wares.

Earthenware of Haji Lineage

In the *haji* lineage there are two kinds of wares, *haji* and *gaki*. *Haji* is a red unglazed ceramic made in a kiln with an oxidation atmosphere and is the successor of *Yayoi doki* (earthenware). It was once believed that *haji* wares were no longer produced after the spread of *shirashi* wares at the end of the Heian period, but this is not so. *Haji* wares were used as everyday household utensils by common people over a fairly widespread area. In fact, *haji* ware wide-mouthed jars and *nabe* (cooking pots), which were used especially for boiling, had a near monopoly until iron wares made in these shapes came to be distributed throughout Japan during the latter half of the Kamakura period. The ware called *gaki* does not indicate stoneware or earthenware as such, but rather implies a ware made of the same clay as roof tiles. It was the successor of a black earthenware called *kuro utsuwa* 黒器 which was made over a wide area from Kyoto to northern Kyushu during the Heian period.

Gaki wares were limited for the most part to three types—large bowls, small bowls, and small plates—and were made from about the middle of the eleventh century to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

In western Japan, the production of sue ware eating utensils declined and *gaki* wares were used as a substitute, whereas in the east, bowls and dishes of the *shirashi* lineage (*yama chawan*) were used.

Pottery of Sue Lineage

There are two main types in the sue lineage. One type was made in the Heian-period sue-ware shapes by Heian-period production techniques. But after the middle of the Kamakura period potters fired this type of ware in an oxidizing atmosphere and transformed them into medieval products. This switch produced a ware with a brownish-red colored body. The second type was made at kilns which faithfully took over the production of sue pottery from the Heian period. This type had an ash grey body which was the result of reduction firing. It is believed that the oxidizing type was made at several kilns in the west including Shigaraki, Iga, Tamba, and Bizen, while the

main kilns producing reduction-fired wares were Suzu, Kameyama, and Iizaka. Wares from Kamei (present-day Saitama prefecture) and Kanai (present-day Gumma prefecture) of the Kanto area (the plain surrounding present-day Tokyo) may also belong to this type. In addition, wares of the second type have been found from the northern part of Hyogo prefecture to Yamage (Miyazaki prefecture) and in northern Kyushu, although the kilns that produced these have yet to be discovered.

Pottery of Shiki Lineage

There are four kiln groups that produced shiki type wares: Seto and Mino, kilns which descend from the shirashi lineage and produced glazed ceramics; shirashi kilns located in the Tōkai area which made such unglazed eating utensils as small *wan* (bowls), *sara* (dishes), and *bachi* (bowls); the kilns of Tokoname, Atsumi, Kosai, Kaneyama, and Nakatsugawa which mainly produced three shapes—wide-mouthed jars, mortars, and narrow-mouthed jars; and the Heian-period sue kilns in the north where, beginning in the medieval period, shirashi pottery techniques from the shirashi-lineage kilns in the Tokai area (mainly from Tokoname and Sanage) were introduced. The medieval kilns of Echizen, Kaga, and Sasagami, as well as several kilns in Miyagi prefecture (Shinanoura, Takoda, and Tokita), may also have developed from the shirashi tradition.

Now we are able to visualize the distribution of the medieval kilns: in the east were the shiki-lineage kilns, in the west were the sue-lineage kilns of the oxidation type, and in the coastal areas, the reduction type. Of course, people used local products, but in addition they also used wares from other areas, including China, to fulfill the various requirements of daily life.

Medieval Pottery Production and Medieval Society

The kinds of ceramics used in daily life during the medieval age included such eating utensils as bowls and dishes, such storage containers as narrow-mouthed jars and wide-mouthed jars, such containers used for boiling as *kama* (cauldrons) and *rotsubo* (crucibles), Buddhist ritual objects, and a few writing utensils. But no single kiln produced all these objects. During their very earliest production period the sue-lineage kilns in the west, for example Bizen, produced eating utensils, but after the middle of the Kamakura period their production was limited almost entirely to mortars, wide-mouthed jars, and narrow-mouthed jars, plus a few kinds of Buddhist utensils, and at the end of the Muromachi period when *wabi* tea was popular, tea wares became their specialty. While this was true at most kilns in the west, in the east, except for Seto and Mino, no tea ceramics whatsoever were produced. Shigaraki and Bizen are repeatedly mentioned in very early tea diaries, which probably indicates the seniority of these two kilns, since they had, from ancient times, a very close relationship with the provinces nearest to the ancient capital. Indeed, each area was influenced to a large degree by its historical circumstances. At Suzu, for example, where a strong sue tradition persisted, production remained conservative; in addition to the basic three medieval shapes, *kebyō* (flower vases), *jōbei* (holy water pitchers), and other shapes of the previous era continued to be produced.



Shirashi-ware cylindrical jar with cover, decorated with incised peony scroll. Sanage. Probably used as a sutra-case container. Height with lid 33.9 cm.; height without lid 26.6 cm.; diameter of mouth 21.0 cm.; Twelfth century. Photo courtesy of Aichi Ken Tōji Shiryōkan, Seto.

The chief products at medieval kiln sites, except for Seto and Mino, were unglazed wide-mouthed jars, mortars, and narrow-mouthed jars. Though there are a few other products from earlier or later phases, why are these three particular shapes so prominent at medieval kilns? A brief explanation of the functions of each of these shapes may help to answer this question.

After the decline of sue wares, the narrow-mouthed jar came to be used as a preserving container. During the medieval age, however, narrow-mouthed jars were referred to as *tane tsubo* (seed jars), because they were used by farmers to preserve the seed rice and for soaking rice seeds just prior to planting to hasten germination. After the Heian period there were two harvests annually, so this soaking effectively accelerated the growth of the rice plants.

Wide-mouthed jars were used to store water and as containers for brewing *sake*, and as such were indispensable to daily life. They were also used to store night soil when this fertilization technique was adapted by farmers. Wide-mouthed jars used for this purpose were called *koegame*. After the Heian period, fertilizer, principally the ash of burned vegetation, began to be used. During the succeeding Kamakura period, this was joined by night soil. The *Shaseki-shū*, written at the end of the Kamakura period, mentions the use of horses to transport night soil to the rice fields. In the *Naki Fudō Engi* handscroll of the mid-Muromachi period appears an illustration of a wide-mouthed jar buried in the corner of an enclosed residential garden.

Mortars were used in every household to grate and grind seeds, nuts, vegetables, and sometimes medicines. They were as indispensable in the medieval kitchen as a can opener is in today's kitchen.

These three shapes were utilitarian in nature, and that they all have such a close relationship with agriculture is characteristic of the ceramics of the medieval age. The advancement in farming technology during the medieval age was the result of the careful planning and expansion of arable land and the improvement of irrigation systems. Water for irrigation was more efficiently controlled after the adoption of new technologies from China which prompted the construction of better irrigation equipment, and the building of ponds as a source of water supply. The water wheel, imported from China in the early Heian period, gradually came to be used as a source of power. The hybridization of rice plants resulted in the development of new strains of rice, such as early-, middle-, and late-harvesting types. And because of the shift to biannual rice harvests, remarkable improvements in grain production were seen. The advancement to two crops naturally required the maintenance of fertile soil, and this encouraged the development of fertilization techniques. As for farming tools, there were no noticeable improvements or inventions. At the beginning of the medieval age the hoe and the spade were still in use, but as the man-powered plow gave way to horse- and ox-drawn plows and spread throughout the farming communities, there was a definite rise in agricultural production. I believe it was a result of these agricultural changes that the limitation of ceramics to the three basic shapes—narrow-mouthed jar, wide-mouthed jar, and mortar—came about.

During the medieval age narrow- and wide-mouthed jars were also widely used in religious ceremonies. It has become clear, as a result of investigations throughout



Above: Section from the *Naki Fudō Engi* (Legends of the Naki Fudō) picture scroll showing a wide-mouthed jar used for storing night soil, buried in the corner of an enclosed residential garden. Colors on paper. Height 32.5 cm.; length 1,276.5 cm. Mid-Muromachi period. Photo courtesy of Shōjōkein temple, Kyoto.



Ash-glazed prunus vase with carved fish design. Seto. Height 26.0 cm.; diameter of mouth 4.3 cm.; diameter of body at widest point 17.4 cm.; diameter of base 9.5 cm. Fourteenth century. Photo courtesy of Tokugawa Reimeikan.

Japan, that with the construction of sutra mounds after the later half of the Heian period, both narrow- and wide-mouthed jars were used as containers for sutra cases, or, as the practice of cremation spread, as cinerary urns. The number of these jars used as cinerary urns is especially large. For instance, even in a small graveyard it is not unusual to find scores of these containers. The total number of such jars in existence must be left to the imagination, especially if we consider how many medieval burial sites there are that have yet to be discovered or studied. In addition, wide-mouthed jars used as containers for coins have been discovered sporadically.

At the beginning of the Kamakura period, as a result of the rise in agricultural production at the close of the Heian period, the noteworthy trend of selling surplus products began. And, as trade increased with Sung-dynasty China, large numbers of Sung coins came to Japan. In the more highly developed areas, such as in the farming villages of the provinces nearest the ancient capital, the farmers from a very early date began to pay their annual taxes in Sung coinage, and as years went by these coins percolated from the cities into the farming villages where they were stored in wide-mouthed jars. Kame containing thousands of Sung- and Ming-dynasty coins have been found buried at several places throughout Japan.

Mino and Seto ceramics, the only glazed ceramics made during the medieval age, were small, high-quality glazed objects completely different in function from those of other medieval kilns—they were used almost entirely as everyday, household wares. This is not to say, however, that these glazed wares were used by the masses. They were produced for the upper classes, namely, the aristocrats, warriors, shrines, temples, and wealthy farmers. Within the wide variety of shapes there were many everyday objects surviving from previous periods, but unique to Mino and Seto were such objects for use in religious ceremonies as the *shijiko* (four-eared jar), the *beishi* (prunus vase), the *bukkabin* (Buddhist flower vase), and the *kōro* (incense burner), as well as such everyday utensils as *suichū* (water pitchers), *suiteki* (water droppers), *gōsu* (small, covered incense containers) and *shokudai* (candle stands) which were decorated with floral designs and covered with a beautiful glaze.

From the end of the Kamakura period through the Muromachi period numerous kinds of tea ceramics, such as Temmoku teabowls and *chaire* (powdered-tea containers), were also produced. All of these shapes were derived from Chinese prototypes.

The outstanding characteristic of the glazed wares of Seto and Mino is that they were created in response to the demands of the upper classes who in those days valued imported Chinese wares highly. From excavated pottery shards discovered at historical sites throughout Japan, it is known that trade with China had begun during the Nara period. At that time trade was conducted by government trade officials at Dazaifu (near present-day Fukuoka city). Once goods arrived in Japan they were sent to the central government and to shrines and temples in central Japan. After trips by official Japanese envoys to T'ang-dynasty China were discontinued, trade links were maintained by private citizens. At the end of the Heian period Taira no Tadamori and his son Kiyomori took notice of the vast wealth accumulated by the private traders and commenced full-scale trading with China. They imported large quantities



Natural-glazed mortar with pouring spout. Tokoname. Height 12.4 cm.; diameter of mouth 31.0 cm. Thirteenth century. Photo courtesy of Tokoname Shiritsu Tōgei Shiryōkan, Tokoname.

of coins, textiles, and medicines, together with such high-quality ceramics as celadons and white porcelains. These were distributed to all the upper classes, through newly built harbors.

With these developments, the demand for imported Chinese wares increased. The Japanese kilns could not compete with this huge volume of imported wares, and, therefore, some of the kilns in the Tokai area converted to the production of utilitarian wares for use by farmers. Others, like the government kilns of Sanage in the Higashiyama area and the Mino sue kilns, began again to copy Chinese pottery, as the Sanage kilns had done hundreds of years before. I believe the reason these particular kilns enjoyed an advantage over kilns elsewhere was that they had a stronger connection with the government of the cloistered emperors. The changes that took place when the Kamakura government came to power were a result of Sung-style Zen Buddhism being adapted as the spiritual basis of the warrior class. The powerful new Kamakura Gozan Zen temples were established, and subsequently to meet their demands for Chinese-style pottery and porcelains, the Japanese kilns began to produce imitations of Southern Sung wares. This led to rapid prosperity for the Seto kilns.

During the early medieval age the west of Japan was more advanced than the east and large amounts of Chinese ceramics were imported for the use of the upper classes who lived there. This has become clear from the investigation of a residential site at Kusado Sengen in Hiroshima prefecture. There, the number of Old Seto fragments was far surpassed by Chinese pottery remains. The biggest users of the glazed wares from Seto and Mino were the warriors, shrines, and temples in eastern Japan. In the Muromachi period, however, commercial trade increased within Japan as chanoyu became popular throughout those provinces nearest Kyoto. New kiln products, different from those of the Kamakura period, began to be made at Seto and Mino; ceramic copies of imported tea utensils were produced in large numbers to meet the demands of tea enthusiasts.

From materials excavated at more than 140 sites from Aomori prefecture in the north to Fukuoka prefecture in the south we can see that the products of the Old Seto kilns were used throughout Japan. Of these 140 sites, however, the most numerous are in Aichi prefecture with 24, where the Seto kilns themselves are located, followed by 21 sites in Gifu prefecture. In Kanagawa prefecture, where Kamakura is located, there are 15 sites. Comparing the number of excavated sites in the west with those in the east, we see that in contrast to the scant 17 sites in the west, there are more than 120 in the east. We thus can easily see where the chief buyers of Old Seto products were located. This also proves that the supply and demand relationship between the Seto area and eastern Japan continued uninterrupted from the Heian period's shirashi production, that is to say, the buyers remained in the same area. These excavated remains, for the most part, consist of cinerary urns that were buried in cemeteries, and a few other objects, but we have yet to find any Old Seto products in sutra mounds. Household objects produced at Old Seto have recently been discovered in large numbers among the remains at medieval castles, castle towns, and mansions of feudal lords. Another important source of remains has been the medieval port towns.

From the preceding evidence we can conclude that the two large distribution centers were in the Tokai area, which includes both present-day Aichi and Gifu prefectures, and in the Kanto area with its center in Kamakura. The kilns seem to have employed a mutually agreeable division of function, that is, glazed ceramics were produced at Seto and Mino, while unglazed wares were made at Tokoname, Bizen, Suzu, and Kaneyama.

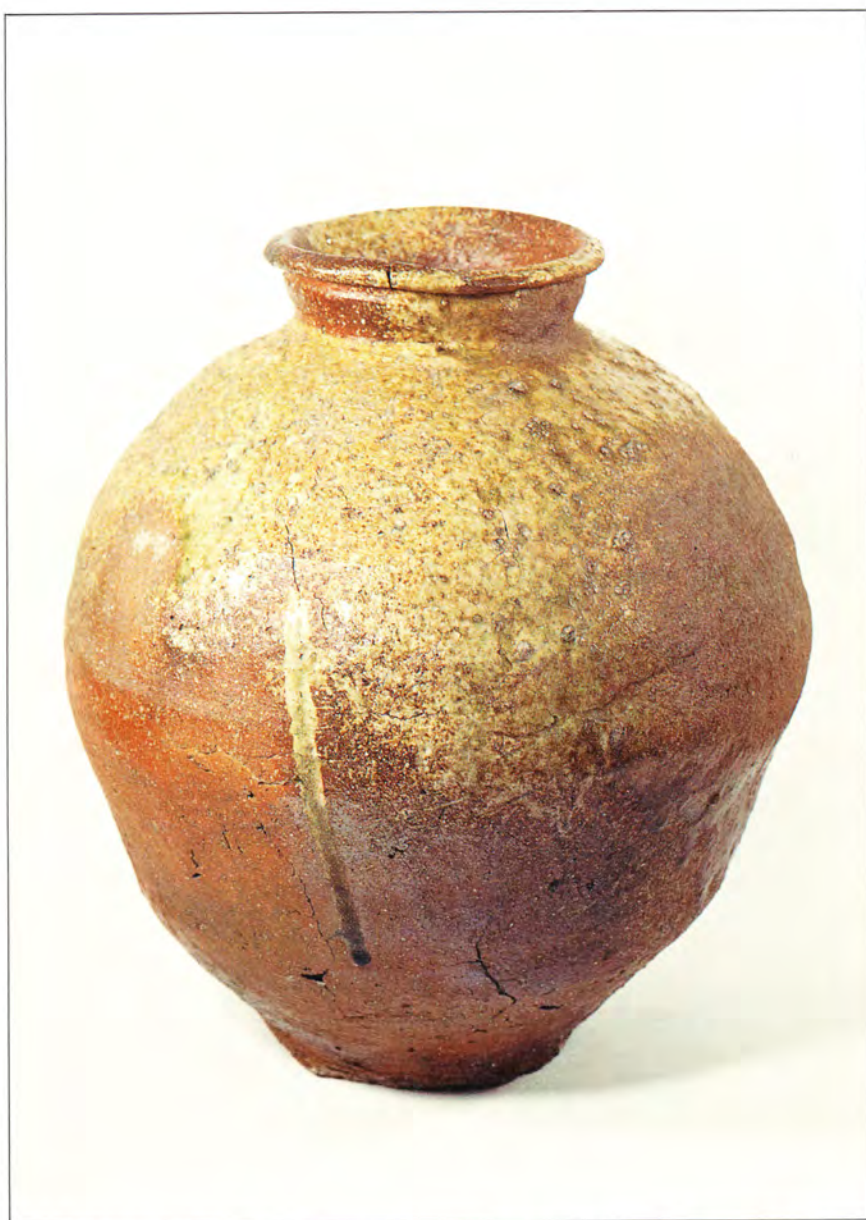
Part II Medieval Ceramics of The Tokai District

Sanage Wares

The Sanage kiln complex was one of the two largest production areas of old Japan; the other was the Suemura kiln group in the southern part of Osaka. Sanage is the kiln production site where the first high-fired, ash-glazed shirashi ware* was produced at the end of the Nara period. The old kiln remains are located in an area extending from the low hills in the eastern part of Nagoya through the villages of Nisshin and Togo in Aichi county and Miyoshi in Nishikamo county, to Toyota city, covering a roughly rectangular area of low hills, twenty kilometers on a side. There are no outstanding geographic features except for Mount Sanage (elevation 629 meters) which seems to stand out conspicuously at the southwest corner of this area. It is for this reason that the kiln remains located nearby are referred to as "the old kiln remains at the southwest foot of Mount Sanage" (*Sanage yama seinan roku koyō sekigun*), or simply the Sanage kilns. At Sanage there are remains of more than 370 sue and shiki kilns from the Kofun period to the end of the Heian period, and more than 800 shirashi-lineage kilns of the medieval age. The first Sanage kilns were constructed at the end of the fifth century at the Higashiyama kilns in the eastern part of Nagoya. These kilns made sue wares to meet the demands of the people in southern Owari; but during the Kofun period there were only about forty kilns in production; therefore, it was still a relatively small operation. During the Nara period the kilns began to spread to the east and south, and from about the end of the Nara period when they began firing shirashi, production expanded rapidly. This was exactly the opposite of what was happening at Suemura, where sue production was on the decline. It is probably the switch from producing sue to shirashi that helped to make Sanage the largest production site in Japan during the Heian period.

In the Heian period, Sanage had been the center of shirashi production. In the beginning of the twelfth century, the Sanage kilns were divided into three parts: one remained at Sanage, one was established in the north at Seto and another in the south at Tokoname. Seto became the only medieval production site for high-quality, glazed ceramics; Tokoname became the largest of the medieval sites, producing numerous everyday wares such as large narrow-mouthed jars and large wide-mouthed jars. But underlying the specialization at these three areas and all other production sites in the Tokai area was production of such eating utensils as unglazed bowls and dishes which

*The details of shirashi production during the Heian period have been fully described in my book: *Shirashi Nihon Tōji Zenshū*, Vol. 6 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1976). In this work I will discuss shirashi production after the late Heian period.



Large narrow-mouthed jar. Shigaraki. Height 40.3 cm.; diameter of mouth 16.5 cm.; diameter of body at widest point 37.5 cm. Muromachi period.



Large ash-glazed wide-mouthed jar with angular shoulder. Old Tokoname. Height 57.3 cm.; diameter of mouth 34.5 cm.; diameter of body at widest point 56.8 cm.; diameter of base 18.7 cm. Kamakura period. Photo courtesy of Tokoname Shiritsu Tōgei Shiryōkan, Tokoname.

were an extension of the shirashi-lineage kilns of the Heian period. The Sanage kiln complex, however, remained the major place of production of such wares. To date, we have already found in the Sanage complex more than six hundred medieval-age shirashi-lineage kilns within the old production area, and probably if the outlying areas were investigated, there would be more than eight hundred. During the medieval age, the main products were bowls and dishes, but from the end of the Heian period to the beginning of the Kamakura period all these kilns also produced *birokuchihei* (wide-mouthed jars) and *tankeiko* (large, short-necked jars) that belonged to the previous eras' shirashi lineage. In addition, they began to produce new items, such as mortars, and at some of the kilns, newly established after the middle of the Kamakura period, the same kind of small jars and wide-mouthed jars that had been produced in Tokoname. Especially in the Higashiyama area we can recognize special characteristics which distinguish it from other areas of the Sanage complex. This area is located in the northwest end of the Sanage group and is, as mentioned earlier, the original site of Sanage production during the Kofun period. Besides the items mentioned earlier, a variety of Buddhist utensils, *kawara* (roof tiles), and four-eared jars were produced in the Higashiyama area. From Higashiyama kiln number 105 came a few wide-mouthed jars with *sankinmon* designs (three horizontal lines) or tree peony sprays carved on their bodies. These designs are different from the kilns in other areas of Sanage. From the latter half of the tenth century through the eleventh century, shirashi production was at its peak, its center of production being the Kurozasa area, present-day Miyoshi village of eastern Nishikamo county. Here they produced superior quality shirashi, often with floral patterns incised on their surface, and bowls with the inscription *naijudokoro* 内膳所, which means children's work area within the palace, leading us to believe that this kiln was directly under government control. In the early medieval period, however, the Kurozasa kilns began to decline; they limited their production to such simple utilitarian utensils as small bowls, dishes, and deep bowls. As they declined, the center of production probably once again shifted to the Higashiyama area. One piece of evidence that supports this thesis is a bowl excavated in Mizuno ward of Nagoya bearing the inscription *takuminomandokoro* 工政所, the name of a government office, which is a product of the Higashiyama kilns. There are other pieces, such as a short-necked jar with an incised peony design and three lines around the body which was excavated from Higashiyama kiln number 105, and a four-eared jar with three lines around the body which was excavated from Higashiyama kiln number 101, which are copies of imported Chinese pots. The fact that these were found together with various tiles and Buddhist utensils seems to indicate a connection with the central government, or with the indigenous feudal lords who owned the manors, or with monks and priests.

It was at the beginning of the Kamakura period then, that the production areas directly supplying the upper-class patrons shifted to Seto. This caused a rapid decline at the Higashiyama kilns. But, production continued, even after the beginning of the Kamakura period, at some kilns in the eastern part of Sanage. These struggled on until about the end of the Kamakura period, when they too finally ceased production.

Mino Sue Wares

The center of production in the Mino area up to the end of the Heian period had been a group of kilns, referred to as the Mino Sue kilns, located throughout the low hills north of the Kiso River from Kagamigahara city through Gifu city. At present we know of more than 130 kilns that produced sue and shiki wares from the Kofun period to the Heian period, and among these there are about 20 shirashi kilns that date from the end of the Heian period. In the eleventh century these shirashi kilns were revived as a production site due to the direct influence of either the Bihoku kilns or the Sanage kilns. But in the twelfth century, as other areas switched to shirashi production, the kilns in this area were closed down, except for those in one small area in the east. Thus, the center for privately owned kilns moved to the eastern part of Mino. This group of kilns is known as the Inadayama group and were discovered in 1973 in a range of low hills east of Mino city. During medieval times these kilns made remarkable products. Here were found unglazed shirashi-lineage bowls and dishes, as well as four-eared jars with ash glaze on their shoulders and water pitchers—products that were also made at the Higashiyama and Seto kilns. The four-eared jars found at Inadayama, however, had ash glaze only on their shoulders, unlike those made at the Old Seto kilns. Prior to 1973 it was believed that all such jars must have been made at or near Seto. The Inadayama kilns date to the mid-Kamakura period. Recently, however, four-eared jars belonging to an earlier age have been found at a variety of places. For example, one jar found at the Okunoin temple on Mount Kōya in Wakayama prefecture and another from a sutra mound at Keihoji temple in the village of Sasagami in Kitakambara county of Niigata prefecture, date back to the late twelfth century. Therefore, in addition to the Mino Sue kilns there were other kilns making four-eared jars. As mentioned earlier, the kilns in the western part of the Sanage complex also produced these jars.

It is clear that four-eared jars were originally copied from Chinese porcelains of the same shape that were imported during the Heian period and used as containers for buried sutras in Japan. Notable is one such jar of domestic make found in the sutra mound at Keihoji in Niigata prefecture, which has three incised lines around the body. This is the earliest type of four-eared jar made in Japan and must, therefore, mark the beginning of new production within the kilns of the Tokai area in the twelfth century and especially at the group of government kilns.

The Old Seto Kilns

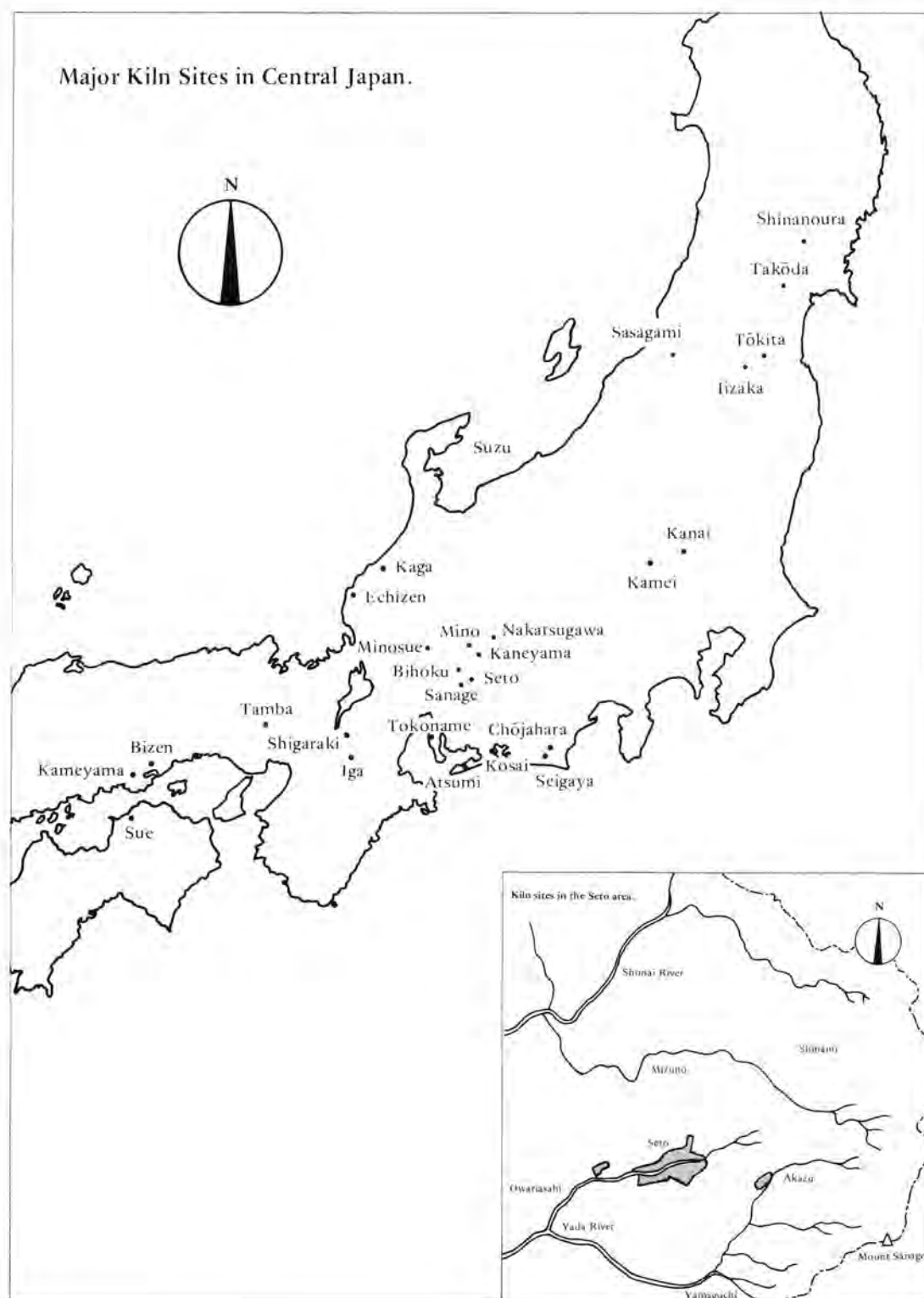
As we have noted, during the medieval age kilns in Seto and Mino were the only ones to produce glazed ceramics in Japan. From the beginning they produced high-fired wares imitating such Chinese ceramics as four-eared jars and prunus vases covered with a dark yellowish-green or blackish-brown glaze, and various Buddhist flower vases, teabowls, and powdered-tea containers, covered with the so-called Temmoku black glaze. This production was possible at Seto solely because of its close connection with the shirashi kilns of Sanage.

Seto is still the largest pottery producing area in Japan. The city is surrounded by low hills, from a hundred to two hundred meters above sea level, which extend to

the north base of Mount Sanage which is about twenty kilometers northeast of Nagoya city. The Seto kilns of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods were scattered about an area from the eastern part of Owariasahi city throughout almost the entire area of Seto city, an area about eleven kilometers from east to west and ten kilometers from north to south. There are more than five hundred old kiln sites within this area. These include kilns from the entire medieval age, from the shirashi kilns of the late Heian period to the end of the Momoyama period. This, however, does not mean that all kilns contain remains from every period. For instance, the kilns which produced shirashi during the late Heian period are located on the border of the Sanage group. They are situated in the hills lying to the south of the Yamada River which is a tributary of the southern branch of the Yada River, and also in the hills in the western half of Owariasahi city which is north of the Yada River. After the shirashi kilns came the shirashi-lineage kilns of the medieval age, the sites of which are spread over the entire area but are especially clustered in the western half with the majority being of the oldest type *anagama* (literally, trench kilns). By contrast, the kilns which produced glazed wares that are now called Old Seto wares, were centered mainly in the Shinano area north of Seto city and in the Akazu area at the northwest foot of Mount Sanage. The distribution of Old Seto kilns is in an area opposite the shirashi-lineage kilns. This seems to indicate that the Seto kilns developed first from kilns producing shirashi-type wares and then, as production increased and changed, spread to the east. Among the 448 old kiln sites which we can date, nine are shirashi kilns of the late Heian period, 238 are medieval-age shirashi-lineage kilns, and 201 are Old Seto kilns.

The Products of Old Seto

Old Seto glazed wares were, for the most part, small, utilitarian objects and religious ritual items, except for the shirashi-lineage ceramics which consisted of unglazed bowls and dishes. These glazed ceramics were high-quality products made solely for use in shrines and temples, and by aristocrats, samurai, and very wealthy farmers. Eating utensils such as bowls, dishes, and pitchers with both long and short necks were produced at these kilns as were *orosbi mezara* (flat dishes with a textured surface for grating foods), mortars, *katakuchi* (spouted bowls), cooking pots, cauldrons, *dobin* (teapots), storage jars, large, wide-mouthed jars, *yakko* (medicine jars), water droppers, small covered incense containers, candle stands, *sen* (wash basins), dishes with incurved rims and various kinds of bowls, prunus vases, *kebyō* (flower vases), *buku* (footed flat dishes), *tōmyōzara* (oil dishes), incense burners and *buttō* (Buddhist pagodas); for the tea ceremony, Temmoku teabowls and powdered-tea containers, *chakai* (stands for holding teabowls) and *chatsubo* (jars for storing tea leaves); and such miscellaneous items as *ireko* (sets of nesting dishes), *shizumi* (weights for fish nets), and *komainu* (seated guardian dogs). Most of these shapes were copied from Chinese prototypes. All these objects were not made at every kiln, nor were they made during the same period. Rather, they were produced in sets to meet the particular demands of each succeeding period. For example, among the glazed ceramics from the end of the Heian period through the beginning of the Kamakura, only four-eared jars



and a few kinds of Buddhist utensils were produced, and from the Kamakura period to the Nambokuchō era various high-quality eating utensils and cinerary urns, prunus vases, flower vases, and incense burners were made. These kilns produced exclusively either high-quality food utensils or objects for Buddhist and Shinto rituals. In the Muromachi period the Old Seto kilns began to produce utensils for daily use by common people in the larger cities. These included the remarkable products for chanoyu such as Temmoku teabowls and powdered-tea containers, *hirawan* (ash-glazed, deep teabowls), and *kozara* (small dishes). The outstanding products of the Kamakura period were containers made for cremation remains and prunus vases for use in religious rituals. Ash-glazed four-eared jars were produced in the largest number and continued to be produced until the Edo period. The prunus vase was another item produced in quantity. These were in a variety of shapes: one has a slender body with a straight profile, another has a rounded, bulging shoulder and a narrow, incurved waist, and yet another type has a stepped contour to its neck formed by a band around the center of the neck. Prunus vases were commonly called *mei-ping* (*mei-p'ing*, in Chinese) and originally functioned as either flower vases or containers for liquids for ritual purposes, when they were always displayed in pairs. They were also used as containers or cinerary urns.

Hirokuchi tsubo (wide-mouthed jars) are a notable product of the Old Seto kilns when the kilns were most prosperous. These jars, with a short, wide mouth and rounded shoulder, were copied from Chinese prototypes. They were often used as cinerary urns. One such urn was found under the Kaisan pagoda of the Kakuonji temple in Kamakura city. During the Muromachi period the main products to be made were everyday-eating utensils, but the utensils used for tea ceremonies in Zen temples—Temmoku teabowls and tea containers—are of special interest. Tea wares were their most important products. But the products of the Old Seto kilns were not all high-quality wares, some low-quality wares such as iron-glazed teapots, cooking pots, and large storage jars used in the kitchen were also made. Various handscroll paintings of the period vividly depict the way ordinary people daily used these utensils.

The Manufacture of Old Seto Wares

The main reason for the development of glazed pottery production at Seto was the existence of a very large supply of good quality clay that could withstand high kiln temperatures. The clay used for shirashi at the Sanage kilns during the Heian period came from an outcrop of clay contained in the uppermost layer of silt deposited by the Yada River. This layer covers the entire southwest foot of Mount Sanage. It is called the *senshintō* (literally, upper new age) layer. This clay has a high kaolin content, while the clay which lies to the west is high in iron. To the east, the clay is whiter and higher in quality and can withstand a higher firing temperature. Around Seto city there are especially rich deposits of clay, composed mostly of high-quality kaolin, called either *kibushi* or *gairume* clay. As the kilns spread eastward from the Higashiyama area of Sanage, more and more of these good quality clays were used, thus encouraging the development of the Old Seto kilns.

The choice of potting techniques used for producing Old Seto wares depended upon the kind of objects being made and their size. Basically, potters could choose either to wheel throw a piece or construct it with clay coils. Objects less than ten centimeters in height were made on the potter's wheel, while larger pieces were usually coiled. For four-eared jars and prunus vases, the very early ones of shirashi ware from the Heian period were made on the potter's wheel, but sometime later the coil technique was used. From the end of the Kamakura period into the Muromachi, potters again used the wheel.

The surface decorations of Old Seto wares were, in the beginning, mere copies of Chinese motifs, but gradually, as new designs and techniques were developed, numerous original designs began to appear. Generally, these designs and techniques are classified under one of the following four types: *inkamon* (stamped floral patterns), *kakkamon* (incised pictorial designs), *tenkamon* (appliqué floral designs), or *kusbigakimon* (comb-scratched designs). Stamped floral patterns were made by using carved ceramic stamps. By combining numerous stamped patterns, the surface was decorated. Incised pictorial designs were made with a bamboo spatula or a gouge. Appliqué floral designs were made by first affixing clay slabs or small round pieces of clay to the surface of a pot and then either stamping or incising a design into the affixed clay. Comb-scratched designs were done by drawing a four- or five-toothed comb over the soft clay surface. This technique was the most commonly used one that had been handed down from the Kofun period. There was an immense variety of designs. Among geometric patterns there were circles, squares, diamonds, crosses, lattices, lines in a row, and dots; among plant designs there were peony, lotus, chrysanthemum, pine tree, bamboo, plum tree, cherry tree, camellia, willow tree, vine, hollyhock, bracken, wisteria, grape plant, plantain, and lily; and from the animal kingdom came fish, bird, and monkey motifs.

For the most part, Old Seto wares have either an ash glaze or an iron glaze. At first, ash glaze was used exclusively, but during the late Kamakura period iron glaze also came to be used. From the end of the Kamakura period to the beginning of the Muromachi when the kilns were most prosperous, objects were produced with an ash glaze on the top or front, and an iron glaze on the bottom or back. Old Seto kilns were modeled after the shirashi-lineage kilns of Sanage; a pillar was constructed between the fire box and the kiln chamber, the wide, round kiln chamber was usually dug into the ground near the top of a hill. But after the late Kamakura, certain modifications in kiln structure occurred. Sometimes the upper half of the chamber was made very small in diameter to conserve heat, or as at the Konagaso kiln, the kiln was constructed deep in the ground with a wall dividing the kiln chamber lengthwise, presumably to better control the heat. By the sixteenth century, however, the *ôgama*, or large chamber kiln, had been developed. More about this follows.

The Stages of Development of the Old Seto Kilns

Scholars of ceramic history used to divide the period from mid-Kamakura through Muromachi into three stages—early, middle, and late. The early stage was charac-

terized by the production of coil-formed, ash-glazed four-eared jars; the middle stage, the production of teabowls; and the late stage, the decline. Recently, however, it has been found that potters in the Seto area were already making ash-glazed four-eared jars before the middle of the Kamakura period. These jars are presumed to be direct descendents of those made in the Higashiyama area of the Sanage kiln complex. Consequently, scholars now include this western group with Seto. And the development of a new type of kiln, the ôgama (literally, large kiln) in the sixteenth century was made to mark a new, separate stage. Thus, the Old Seto kilns of the medieval age are now divided into five stages. These stages are nearly equivalent to the five centuries from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.

The first stage represents the formative years for Old Seto. Potters from the Higashiyama area of the Sanage kiln complex moved to the eastern part of Seto city and began production. The products at this time were mainly unglazed bowls and dishes, plus some Buddhist ritual utensils, such as ash-glazed four-eared jars, flower vases, and braziers. The earliest of the four-eared jars have three lines incised around their body. The kiln remains at Hishino located along the low hills south of the Yada River and the eastern group of Minase in western Seto city belong to this first stage. The ash glaze produced at these locations was still like the shirashi-lineage glazes, very thinly applied and monotone greenish-gray in color. (Actually the glaze is translucent, and, therefore, the color is nearly the same as the body of the pot. Sometimes the glaze tends to be a darker green where it is thickest.)

The second stage, or the early phase as it was formerly called, includes the entire thirteenth century. The more than eighty known kiln remains from this period can be found in many places—Mizuno, Seto, Akazu, and Shinano. During the first half of the thirteenth century, mainly unglazed bowls and dishes were made, as well as ash-glazed four-eared jars, braziers, and water pitchers. This has only recently come to be known from the excavation and study of kiln numbers 5 and 6 at Nagane, a Hishino site. It was also at this time that four-eared jars began to be modeled after the newly introduced Southern Sung jars. Another Chinese-inspired form, a water pitcher with a chrysanthemum pattern around its spout, was found at Nagane kiln number 5. During the latter half of the thirteenth century, in addition to the large number of ash-glazed four-eared jars, many other new objects were made, some in sets or pairs, such as prunus vases, water pitchers, flat grating dishes, small Buddhist flower vases, wash basins, small covered boxes, nesting dishes, and objects for the Buddhist altar. Ash glaze was brushed over the entire surface, but even so it was a thin layer and, because it was unstable, tended to run down the body when fired. In addition to the impressed floral designs, the use of comb-scratched lines for surface decoration began at this time.

The third stage, formerly the middle phase, includes the fourteenth century and thus marks the transition from the Kamakura period through the Nambokuchō era and into the Muromachi period. This was the most productive stage for the Old Seto kilns. About sixty of these applied-glaze kilns are known. They are distributed over a wide area, but they are centered in the Akazu area of southeast Seto. Four-eared jars, prunus vases, and pitchers with short necks continued to be made as before,

but such products as Buddhist flower vases and incense burners were made in new forms. The other new products of this stage include water droppers, small jars, seated guardian dogs, and candlestands. Ash-glazed bowls, Temmoku teabowls, and powdered-tea containers copied after Chinese wares also came to be made. In fact, it was during this stage that the entire range of Old Seto shapes was produced for the first time. Most of these objects were made by the coil method; only very small things were thrown on a wheel. At about the end of the third stage, Old Seto potters began to use the wheel almost exclusively. For surface decoration they used all four types of decoration techniques. In the beginning, however, decoration was applied only around the middle of the body, but gradually it spread upward and downward to include the upper and lower body and almost covered the entire surface. Ash glaze as well as iron glaze was used during this stage. With the ash glaze, potters began to mix feldspar to prevent the glaze from running or dripping down the body and to make it more stable during firing. Iron glaze in the early stages had a transparent, dark amber color, but by the end of the third stage a stable, brownish-black, lustrous glaze was regularly being produced.

The fourth stage includes all of the fifteenth century. More than sixty-five kiln remains date from the time, and as one might expect, the center of the kiln distribution was the Akazu area. Potters continued to produce the same items as in the previous stage but produced fewer four-eared jars and prunus vases, and instead began to make more practical objects, such as deep broad bowls, small saucers, spouted bowls, and other bowls in a variety of sizes. Also a new type of Buddhist flower vase with a large flaring mouth, called a *sonsbiki* (tsun-shaped vase), were produced. Bowls and dishes, in particular, were copied from newly imported Chinese pieces and produced in rapid succession. Such tea utensils as Temmoku teabowls, which had been produced in the third stage, came to be made in larger numbers to meet the demands of temples and city residents. Nearly all the objects were thrown on the potter's wheel and sparsely decorated with either simple incised floral patterns or wavy comb marks. The amount of feldspar added to the ash glaze seems to have again been increased, as the glaze—a beautiful, light green color—is more uniform in thickness. But toward the end of this stage, potters switched to oxidizing kilns and the glaze changed to a yellowish-green color.

The fifth stage is the sixteenth century. During this final stage almost all the kilns which had actively produced pottery during the fourth stage closed. Only a few kilns near the villages continued limited operation. This marks the decline of the Old Seto kilns. These were replaced by a new style of kiln, large chamber ōgama kilns, such as the one at Mukashida. Only about ten of these kilns are known, because the center of production soon moved to Mino in the north.

Mino

The Mino area, which includes the Mino and Mino Sue kilns, is a part of a larger pottery production area called the Tono area that is centered in Tajimi city and Toki city in Gifu prefecture. Tono and Seto are at present among the largest pottery production sites in Japan. But until relatively recently, the past history of Tono had

almost been forgotten. In 1930 Arakawa Toyozō, a famous potter of Shino ware, found a Momoyama-period kiln in Ōsuga in the village of Kani. At that time he believed the kiln had been established by Seto craftsmen who moved there in the sixteenth century to avoid war raids in their own area. However, after World War II there were numerous archeological investigations in the Mino area, and another new theory was proposed, that these kilns were continuous and independent, having produced sue wares since the Nara period, and that through their own industriousness they began to make pottery in the Momoyama period, thus, in the sixteenth century, replacing Seto as the major production center. I disagree with both these theories.

As I see it, in the eighth and ninth centuries there were small-scale sue production sites in and around Tajimi and Toki cities, but these seem to have closed in the ninth century. In the middle of the eleventh century, shirashi production commenced at the Hikarigaoka kiln number 1 in the village of Nagase in Tajimi city. By the late eleventh century shirashi kilns had multiplied rapidly throughout the entire Tono area. At present we know of some fifty-eight old shirashi kilns scattered from Tajimi city to Nakatsugawa city. Among these are several known to have produced green-glazed wares. This sizable number of shirashi kilns not only met the demands of its own area, but also supplied wares to the Kanto and Tohoku areas via the Tosan road. At the beginning of the medieval age these shirashi kilns of the Tono area, together with the Sanage kilns and other kilns in the Tokai area, converted to shirashi-lineage kilns and produced chiefly unglazed bowls and dishes. During the Kamakura period, as was the general tendency, production of large jars and large, wide-mouthed jars similar to those of Tokoname began at the Kojōzan kiln at Kaneyama, in Kaneyama county, Gifu prefecture, on the eastern edge of Nakatsugawa city along the Kiso River.

In the Tono area there are more than two hundred and fifty known medieval shirashi-lineage kiln sites. The chief products of these kilns were unglazed bowls, dishes, and mortars, but some kilns, like the Akaneso kiln in Tajimi city made ash-glazed four-eared jars stamped with floral designs. This indicates that some kilns, though few in number, continued to produce shirashi wares. Into this setting were introduced the Old Seto-lineage, applied-glaze kilns in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. We have found nine kiln sites in the area of Toki city that belong to this group: one in Tsumagi village, Shiroyama, on the southern border of the earlier mentioned group; five in the Nishiyama hills; one in the village of Dachi, the Arako kiln; and another across the Toki River called the Hinata kiln is at Izumi village in Gotomaki. The oldest of these is in the middle of the Nishiyama hills and is called Ōniba. This kiln is thought to have begun production at the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth century because ash-glazed deep, broad bowls of the same shape as those from the Kasamatsu and Hinoki kilns of Seto have been discovered among the excavated remains.

When considering the problem of when the Seto-lineage, glazed-pottery kilns began, one must also take note of the existence of the *Kamaeinochō*, a document kept by the Mizuno family in the town of Dachi. This document, dated the first month of Eikyō (1436), says that the Mizuno family moved from Mizuno village in Owari

to Seto village, and then in the same year moved on to Dachi village where they built a kiln. The account further says that the founder of the Mizuno family, Sōkuro, moved from Seto to Dachi. While the extant *Kamaeinobō* is believed to have been copied in the beginning of the Edo period, it is thought to be a truthful and accurate account. The fact that an early kiln has been found in Dachi is a good argument in support of the authenticity of the *Kamaeinobō*. That all of these nine kilns are in separate locations and at some distance from the shirashi-lineage kilns seems to indicate that there was some political consideration when choosing the production site. The feudal lords of that area came from the Tsumagi family, a branch of the Toki family who were the guardian lords of the province. They must have suggested (or ordered) that potters from Seto move to Tōnō, perhaps to help improve their income.

You will recall that during the first half of the fifteenth century the Seto kilns were at their apex of diffusion and improving the quality of their products while exploiting the new field of tea ceramics. It is no wonder then that the Old Seto lineage of applied-glaze ceramics was established at this time in the Tōnō area and enjoyed a close connection with Seto. The development in the Tono area seems to have occurred in the order of the following five kilns: Ōniba, Anakōbō, Tsumagi-Nishiyama, Oroshi-Nishiyama, and Hinata. These kilns used both ash and iron glazes freely in making products that resembled Seto wares in almost every way. Therefore, when considered in this light, the so-called Seto mountain dispersion theory (*Seto yama risan*)—that the production of Old-Seto-lineage glazed ceramics in Mino occurred when potters from Seto crossed the mountain to the north and entered Mino to avoid the confusion of the Sengoku era, after the Onin war and Bunmei rebellions—is not convincing. This is mainly because these hostilities took place nearly a century after Seto potters had settled in Mino.

The Change from Anagama to Ōgama

In the early sixteenth century the Mino kilns, which had developed along the western hills, changed one after another to ōgama kilns, thereby continuing the trend which had started at Seto. Soon this new type of kiln began to appear throughout the bordering areas. The construction of the ōgama kiln at Seto and Mino was quite different from that of the anagama, which was most common in the fifteenth century and before. While the anagama was almost entirely dug into a hill, the ōgama was only half-submerged in the ground. In addition, the ōgama was equipped with a large pillar that divided the mouth of the kiln into two openings, thereby dividing the hot flames as they entered the kiln chamber. Behind this pillar and slightly higher, on a flat step cut across the kiln floor, were placed many small cylindrical pillars. These were for directing the flow of burning gases from the fire box up into the kiln chamber higher up the hill. With this arrangement, the heat could be very effectively controlled and utilized. After the excavation of the Momoyama kiln in Mino in the early 1920s the ōgama was regarded as an old kiln type, one stage before the production of Oribe wares, where both Shino and Yellow Seto wares were made. Nothing was known about when it was first built or its relationship to the anagama of the previous era. But after the archeological investigations carried out when the construction of the

Central Express Highway began in 1970, and the subsequent discovery and excavation in 1974 of the Myōdo kiln at Kasahara village in Toki county, we have come to better understand the details of ōgama construction and their production periods.

At present there are more than eighty known ōgama kiln sites within the Tōnō area, and the oldest of these is the Kamashita kiln number 1 at Onada village in Tajimi city. The products of this kiln are similar to those of the Hinata kiln, an anagama that was in production during the last anagama phase. Thus, there is a chronological continuation from the anagama to the ōgama. This fact was made clear in a recent study by the Association for Research of Old Mino Kilns. According to the findings, production passed through five stages for ōgama kilns of the sixteenth century. The limitations of space prevent mentioning all the details of these stages, but it seems that the reason for the change from anagama to ōgama at Seto and Mino lies in the potters' desire to make copies of blue-and-white porcelain eating utensils recently imported from China. The conversion to ōgama took place earlier at Seto than at Mino. The Mukashida kiln, the earliest ōgama kiln identified thus far, made round bowls and dishes modeled on Chinese Ming porcelains, as well as dishes with cobalt blue designs. But after the mid-fifteenth century, even though the potters had begun to build ōgama, Seto could not recover its stature in the depressed market, and the center of pottery production moved to the northern part of Mino.

Another reason for the move to Mino can be traced to the materials for making copies of imported porcelains, namely, the availability of a highly refractory clay and a good source of silica. Both were in abundant supply in Mino. The White Temmoku teabowls, which are treasured by the Tokugawa and Maeda families, are ash-Shino-glazed products which could have been made at Mino, probably about 1532-1555. During the same period Black Seto teabowls of irregular shapes were fired at the Amagane kiln in Onada, and then following this the Ohira, Yama-no-kami, and Kuguri sengen kilns made Yellow Seto and ash-Shino iron-decorated dishes. During 1573-1591, Shino tea utensils, which are descendants of ash-Shino glazed wares, and Shino wares for use as expensive food serving utensils, began to be made at Mino.

The gradual development from medieval to modern ceramics took place in the sixteenth century. At Mino and Seto this change took place at around the beginning of the century. By the middle of the sixteenth century a change can be seen in tea ceramics. By 1573 modern ceramics were being produced at kilns throughout the country.



Translated by Richard Mellot

The Role of Anecdotes in the Transmission of Tea Traditions

Tsutsui Hiroichi

Much of what we know today about the earliest tea practices is based on anecdotes about the early tea masters. Originally such anecdotes, including conversations between renowned masters, were recorded and shared in confidence among a small community of tea practitioners. In the Edo period (1603-1868) however, these anecdotes and conversations were published or transcribed in book form and became a great force in the establishment of tea traditions. Further, the growth in the number of tea practitioners during the Edo period encouraged the rapid proliferation of tea-related anecdotes. If one includes those tea stories contained in the collections of miscellanies not directly related to chanoyu, undoubtedly their number easily exceeds a thousand. Today, certain of these are known by many people, whether or not they practice chanoyu, and provide subjects for novels, movies, and serious and comic drama.

The oldest anecdote that refers to tea drinking appears in the *Sbaseki-shū*, a collection of Buddhist tales by the priest Mujū (1226-1312) who resided at Jufukuji temple which had been founded by the priest Eisai (or Yōsai, 1141-1215) in Heian-kyō (present-day Kyoto). The *Sbaseki-shū* contains, among other materials, anecdotes about Eisai. According to it, a certain cowherd passed a spot where a monk was drinking tea and asked, "What's the name of that potion? I'd like some." The monk replied, "This is a potion endowed with three virtues. Since it is not too expensive, let me give you some." The monk then explained what the three virtues were: "First, since it prevents the sleepiness that accompanies the practice of meditation, if one drinks it one will not sleep the entire night. Second, if one takes it when one has over-eaten, it will help digestion, make one's body feel light and one's mind refreshed. And, third, it is a potion which quells sexual desire, making one impotent."

Upon hearing this, the cowherd refused the offer of the potion, saying, "If that is the kind of potion it is, then I do not want it. In the first place, since I am working as a cowherd in the service of the court, at night I want to stretch out my legs and sleep well. And for us who live such a poor life that we lack even three proper meals a day, if digestion is too good, we have problems. And, if I should happen to become impotent, I will not be able to attract the girls."

As for an anecdote within a book on chanoyu, the oldest is one that concerns a tea gathering in which Oda Uraku and Furuta Oribe participated. It is recorded in the *Sōjimboku* (1626):

Oda Uraku invited Furuta Oribe to a tea gathering using the *daisu* (utensil stand) on the eleventh day of the fourth month, Keichō 12 (1607). The display was *yotsukazari* (four

"The Role of Anecdotes in the Transmission of Tea Traditions" is a translation and adaptation of the author's *Itsuwa to Chasbo* [Anecdotes and Tea Records] published in 1977 by Tankōsha Publishing Company. *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 29, 1981 © by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.

utensils in place), with a *futatsu-oki* (both brazier and water jar) combination. On that occasion, Uraku used the peerless *dakioke* water jar *Ryūtō* ("Dragon Head"). This piece was brought to Japan by Hideyoshi when he was conducting his campaign in Korea. Katō, Lord of Higo, presented it to him. When the daisu is used and the water jar is *meibutsu*, the guest must inspect it [in a special manner]. But Oribe did not do so, and Uraku, who was peeking in from the adjoining room, laughed. After the *kaiseki* meal and the confection, Uraku entered with a basket charcoal scuttle. He finished laying the charcoal, but before he could replace the kettle Oribe asked to inspect the inside of the brazier. Uraku thought it strange but withdrew and watched from without. Oribe stuck his head into the daisu in order to inspect the brazier. Unable to bear the heat on his face, he attempted to withdraw his head and thus hit the upper shelf of the daisu, completely displacing the utensils. . . . Uraku thought more deeply about putting an unfamiliar person to trouble by performing something difficult, and he had Oribe bring out pillows and place them beside the alcove Uraku lay down and had Oribe do so also. Then they drank tea in that position.

While there are several anecdotes in the *Sōjimboku*, if one is looking for works made up solely of conversations and anecdotes among tea books of the early Edo period, then there are the *Chōandōki* and the *Kōshin natsugaki*.

The *Chōandōki* is a book by the Shinto ritualist Kubo Gondayū (Chōandō, 1571-1640) of Nara's Kasuga shrine, a man who had close relationships with such tea men as Kobori Enshū, Shōkado Shōjō, and Sakawada Masatoshi. It is thought that the *Chōandōki* was written in the year he died. Not only did it include stories about certain practitioners of tea, but it also recorded conversations dealing with the early practice of tea.

The *Kōshin natsugaki* was given by Sen Sōtan's son, Hogensai Kōshin Sōsa, to his son, Zuiryūsai Sōsa in 1662. Within it are collected stories which Rikyū's grandson Sōtan had heard concerning his grandfather's style of tea. It brings to light for the first time such things as the paper mountings of paintings and writings; the origins of the *Amida-do*, *shiribari*, and *yoho* kettles; a listing of the seven disciples of Rikyū; and the origin of bamboo flower containers.

Various conversations from the biographies of Rikyū, Oribe, Enshū, and Sansai are also recorded in the *Chadō shiso densho*, edited by Matsuya Hisashige of Nara, and constitute further examples of the genre early in its development.

Why is it that so many tea anecdotes were created? Two reasons can be offered: one, following the increase in the population of tea practitioners, anecdotes were introduced as a method for guiding the novice and, two, the anecdotes themselves

served as topics for conversation in the tearoom. Tea anecdotes were also created as a means to arouse interest in chanoyu among novices. We might even say they resemble sermons which the Buddhist clergy devised to lead people to religious belief. And, at a single tea gathering where one must spend as much as four hours, anecdotes were a means of maintaining the atmosphere that had been created. Regulations concerning conversation in the tearoom date from early times. For example:

Concerning tea conversation: in order to speak about the judgments of the old meibutsu utensils handed down by masters of the past and stories about tea [men], one should study for more than twenty years under an advanced practitioner.

Yamanoue Sōji ki

and

Talk in the tearoom should be about such topics as the coolness or warmth of the day, the clearness or cloudiness of the sky, the wind, the rain, flowers, and the moon. However, the history of Chinese utensils, the manner in which the ancients performed tea, such lines as, "Does that meibutsu enter the category of the esthetic?" "This is meibutsu, but do you know something about it?" and "Why did this meibutsu come to be considered so?"—these should be reserved for the conversation of the skilled and elders. They are not appropriate for the young.

Bunrui sōjimboku

When researching the history of tea, we look for the sources upon which tea traditions are founded and frequently arrive at anecdotes. Anecdotes, after being shared in the setting of the tearoom, encouraged the establishment of certain tea practices. Indeed, conversation in many cases became a vehicle for the establishment of tea traditions. The origin of *suicha*, the practice of sharing one bowl of thick tea (*koicha*) among the guests, is explained in one such anecdote:

Rikyū began the practice of *suicha* because, in the past, when preparing thick tea separately for each individual, the interval between guests was too long and both the host and guests became bored.

Chanoyu kojidan

From this anecdote we can infer that the manner of drinking thick tea before Rikyū's time was to prepare it separately for each guest, and that in his day thick tea began to be served in the *suicha* fashion. Since the first accounts of *suicha* are in the Tenshō 14

(1586) entries of the *Matsuya kaiki* and the *Sōtan nikki*, it can be said that the anecdote which reports that Rikyū initiated the practice is indeed factual.

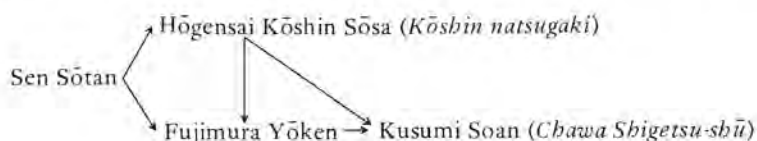
Among anecdotes which established the manner in which a utensil is handled, there is one that concerns the usage of a *subuta*, a blemished ivory lid for a ceramic thick-tea container (*chaire*). According to this anecdote Rikyū had an ivory lid made for one of his tea containers but, by mistake, he received a lid with a blemish on it from the craftsman. As unmarred lids were preferred during Rikyū's days, the craftsman said he would make another. Rikyū, however, thought the lid quite striking and kept it. Later, at a tea gathering for his disciple, Furuta Oribe, Rikyū used the blemished lid, placing it on the tea container so that the side with the blemish was toward the host, and set the tea scoop on the opposite side of the lid toward the guests. At the end of the gathering, Oribe asked for the container and took it home. When Oribe invited Rikyū for tea he used the same container and lid but placed the lid so that the side with the blemish faced the guests, and rested the tea scoop on the side nearest the host. Seeing this,

[Rikyū] praised him saying, "Well done. There is no one who can measure up to you. Disparaging the blemish, I turned it toward the host; appreciating it, you turned it toward the guests."

Chawa mamuki no okina

The first collection of tea anecdotes made available to the average tea practitioner was the *Chawa shigetsu-shū* (1701). For this collection to have been published we can infer that a corresponding foundation for it must have already been in existence. In other words, conversations which existed in old private collections were assembled and arranged in book form. The publication of the *Chawa shigetsu-shū* was an important event in the history of chanoyu because the demand for such a collection of anecdotes reflected the growth in the population and prosperity of tea practitioners.

The *Chawa shigetsu-shū* was written by Kusumi Soan (1636-1728), one of Sen Sōtan's four major disciples (*Sōtan shitenmō*). Although one of Sōtan's disciples, Soan no doubt studied chanoyu with his father-in-law Fujimura Yōken, another of Sōtan's four major disciples. The *Chawa shigetsu-shū* is Soan's collection of the notes Yōken made concerning Sōtan's teachings. It contains nearly seventy anecdotes, most of which are in some way related to Rikyū. Such well-known anecdotes as "the tea gathering of the morning glories" and the history of ownership of the "plover incense burner" are here recorded for the first time. It is thought that the anecdotes were passed down according to the following diagram:



That most of the anecdotes in the *Chawa shigetsu-shū* also appear in the *Kōshin natsugaki* is only natural since Sōsa and Yōken both recorded what they had heard from Sōtan. Interestingly, the two works diverge at certain points. This can be attributed to differences in the recollections of these two masters. To understand the manner in which these two books differ let us compare one of the anecdotes common to both the *Kōshin natsugaki* and the *Chawa shigetsu-shū*. In the *Kōshin natsugaki* appears this entry:

Sōeki [Rikyū] said, “The stone at the mouth of the stone water basin [on the garden path to the tea hut] should be placed with one’s eyes closed. It is because people place the stone intentionally that it often disappoints. There is absolutely no one who can understand these matters.

In contrast to this, the *Chawa shigetsu-shū* entry reads:

Rikyū said, “As for the stone in front of the stone water basin, one should have a servant place it in some container and then, with eyes closed, simply toss it out. The stone which then lies before the water basin should be adjusted slightly and left as is. It is wrong to place it deliberately.

The publication of the *Chawa shigetsu-shū* provided the stimulus for the assembling of other collections of anecdotes associated with the early masters of tea. The *Fukō chawa*, thought to have been written around this time, and the *Sansai chanoyu kugi*, also known as the *Hosokawa Sansai chasho*, are two that soon followed it.

Another collection of anecdotes from this period is Matsumoto Kenkyū’s *Tokkaku-shū*. Kenkyū was a disciple of Oda Sadaoki of the Oda Uraku school of tea. In the Hoēi 7 (1710) preface to this book, Kenkyū says that he practiced tea for more than ten years under the direction of Sadaoki, and that since he thought it a shame that the stories he had heard during his study and the intriguing facts which he had learned when in attendance at various tea gatherings might be forgotten, he wrote them down so they might serve as a record for his family. Sixty-three stories are included in the *Tokkaku-shū*. One unique aspect of this work, in contrast to earlier collections of anecdotes in which traditions and anecdotes relating to Rikyū predominate, is that here most relate to Sadaoki and Uraku.

Accompanying the growth in popularity of chanoyu, in great part due to the rise of the merchant class in the Genroku era (1688-1704), came the largest collection of anecdotes, the seven-volume *Chanoyu kojidan* by Chikamatsu Shigenori (1695-1778). Shigenori was born the son of a samurai family in Owari, present-day Aichi prefecture. He studied the military arts from his youth, and at the age of seventeen went to Edo to begin his military service. However, within two months his lord died, and Shigenori returned to Owari where he made a name for himself as a tactician and gunnery expert for the Tokugawa family, and left for posterity more than one hundred volumes on military strategy. In the 1739 preface to the *Chanoyu kojidan* he says that the book resulted from his study of the three branches of the Sen family school of tea

from the time of his youth, and is his record of the traditions of tea which he learned during more than twenty years of study. Within the seven volumes there are as many as three hundred and five entries of an anecdotal nature. Thereafter no collection of anecdotes has surpassed this lengthy work. I know of no record of the printing or the publication of this book. Interestingly, all of the extant manuscripts, while varying in certain places, share a preface by Kobayashi Kensō of Kyoto, dated the eight month of Kyōhō 16 (1731), and a postscript by Minamoto no Takatada dated Gembun 5 (1740). It is conceivable that Shigenori, stimulated by the publication in 1701 of the *Chawa shigetsu-shu*, had a preface and a postscript written for his own work in preparation for its publication, but that some obstacle had arisen and it was never in fact published.

Anecdote collections reached their peak in the period following the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804-1829), during which the culture of the Edo period reached full maturity. Many books on chanoyu were published due to, among other reasons, the increase in the number of tea practitioners which accompanied the establishment of the grand-master (*iemoto*) system and the rising popularity of steeped leaf tea (*sencha*) and criticism of the practice of chanoyu. The first of these was Seki Chikusen's two-volume *Chawa mamuki no okina* published in 1803.

Chikusen was a disciple of Yasutomi Seiinsai Jōtsū, one of the four major disciples of Chikushin, the fifth-generation head of the Yabunouchi school of tea. It is thought that, while becoming wealthy as a clothier in Kyoto, he became a disciple of Seiinsai and received the transmission of the secrets of Chikushin's tea. The *Chawa mamuki no okina* is an arrangement, in eighty-three stories, of notes which Chikushin had made. From the poem which he included in the preface, he took the title for the work:

<i>kono bōzu</i>	This monk sits
<i>mamukō ni natte</i>	Facing straight forward.
<i>zashitaruo</i>	Should people go against him
<i>somuku to bito no</i>	It is their views
<i>miru ga okashii</i>	that are distorted

The publication of the *Chawa mamuki no okina* was greeted with great enthusiasm. The reason for this response is of some interest. For although the demand for recorded conversations had increased along with the number of tea practitioners and led to the compilation of many works on tea, few if any were ever actually published. The publication of the *Chawa mamuki no okina* reversed this trend. This was soon followed by Chikamatsu Shigenori's *Chasō kanwa*. The source for this second work was Shigenori's earlier work, the *Chanoyu kojidan*; the *Chasō kanwa* was nothing more than a selection of a hundred and twenty-nine stories from his earlier work.

That the *Chasō kanwa* was published, in spite of Shigenori's death twenty-seven years earlier, demonstrates how great the response was to the publication of the *Chawa mamuki no okina*. Bookdealers, taking advantage of the renewed interest, sought out books of conversations in response to the trend; the book most in demand was the *Chanoyu kojidan*. In 1805, the *Zoku chawa mamuki no okina*, was published. This

sequel to the earlier *Chawa mamuki no okina* was made up of quotations from various books. In its sixty-three stories it tells us of the breadth of Chikusen's learning.

Another work of interest to us is the five-volume *Chaji hiroku*. This work's organization is unique; five volumes are arranged using forty-one headings: *kama* (kettle), *mizu* (water), *chaire* (ceramic container for powdered tea), *chawan* (tea-bowl), *kensui* (waste water receptacle), and so on, and anecdotes are clearly distinguished and conveniently incorporated under each heading.

The *Chasō kanwa* was reprinted in 1816. In 1824, a three-volume work, the *Kissa shisō-ben*, was compiled by Hayami Sōtatsu, a distinguished disciple of the eighth-generation master of the Urasenke school of tea, Yūgensai Ittō Sōshitsu, and published by Sōtatsu's son, Sōka. Later, this work was reprinted under the title *Kissa meigetsu-shū*. Although few anecdotes were included in the *Kissa shiso-ben*, different versions of these anecdotes were brought together with the author's commentary on them. In 1829, Fukuda Kojitsu Shoin published the first edition of *Kissa yoroku* and, six years later, its sequel. In 1849 the *Chawa mamuki no okina* and its sequel *Zoku chawa mamuki no okina* were published as a single four-volume work, and in 1852, the *Chaji shūran*, edited by Koeda Ryakuō, appeared, including in its third and fourth volumes Inagaki Kyūsō's *Shōfū zatsudan*. In the same year Ii Naosuke compiled his *Kan'ya chawa*.

While all of these anecdote collections were being edited and published and reedited and republished one after another, the question of their authorship was not considered an important issue. One cannot help concluding that bookdealers and their customers cared less for who wrote a book than for what was written. In any case, whatever was foremost in the minds of tea adepts and teachers, it was necessary for them to acquire new knowledge. It appears this development was related to the publishing and subsequent availability of these anecdote collections. Apparently the increased number of tea practitioners and the professionalization of the position of tea master, both of which took place in the late Edo period, made it impossible for tea masters to rest secure in their knowledge of tea etiquette alone. ➤

Excerpts From the *Chanoyu Kojidan*

Translated by Alfred Birnbaum

One snowy New Year's Eve when Hideyoshi was at his Jurakudai residence, he happened to hear that someone was holding a tea gathering in town that very night. Deciding to pay a call, he donned a hat and coat of straw, and set off on foot towards the center of Kyoto accompanied by a retainer. They came to a small house in a certain quarter where a lamp was faintly visible, and drawing near, they observed through the slightly parted roji gate all manner of trees and a stone water basin, each of the most interesting character, and beyond these what appeared to be a small tearoom. Opening the pinewood door to step inside, they were guided by the sound of a boiling kettle to where a devotee of the Way invited them to partake of tea. Upon stepping out to greet them, however, the host could somehow either tell that this guest was no ordinary person or recognized who he was and, after showing them into the room, he was presently seen to brush the snow off the upper branches of a tree in the garden, knocking down two *yuzu* (citrons) which he brought inside. He then removed the kettle from the hearth to the preparation room, returned with a small kettle, and after a while had prepared *yuzu miso*. Placing this in earthenware bowls, he arranged these together with rice bowls on wooden trays, and set the small kettle he had brought into the room on the hearth to heat. The host then invited his guests to please have some of the rice gruel that was in the kettle which had just come to full boil. He added more charcoal to the fire, and the other kettle to which fresh water had been added was set on the hearth to heat, at which point he made tea for them. Hideyoshi said that in all his life he had never experienced a tea gathering as interesting as this.

There exists a similar story, some mistake having possibly occurred in transmission, which is presented as follows: One snowy evening Hideyoshi inquired of Rikyū, who was attending him, as to who was supposed to be holding a tea gathering in town that night. Rikyū gave the name of Hariya of Kamidachiuri street, to which Hideyoshi said that if such be the case Rikyū should accompany him there and they set off at once. The Hariya household was then but a small one-lot dwelling.

It is unknown now whether these events took place on a New Year's Eve as previously mentioned, or on the snowy evening just described. Another story exists concerning Hariya, which is presented as follows: Hariya Sōshin had invited Hosokawa Sansai and Rikyū to morning tea, and was out sprinkling water to the farthest reaches of the outer roji. On setting the gate open in expectation of either of his guests, however, who should happen to come along but Hideyoshi on his way from Jurakudai to Fushimi. Chancing to see Hariya, Hideyoshi stopped his bearers to inquire whether Sansai and Rikyū had been invited to have tea that morning at the house of someone by the name of Sōshin. Upon hearing that Sōshin himself was the host in question. Hideyoshi expressed his pleasure at being fortunate enough to meet the tea master

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and made his way into the waiting chamber. At this, Sōshin quickly took his leave, inviting him into the tearoom. First, he took the kettle off the hearth, and added more charcoal. He then removed the kettle to the preparation room where he poured away the hot water, and added fresh cold water, returning to set it on the hearth still wet. Finally, he placed washed rice and seaweed on a wooden offering stand, and bid Hideyoshi step out for the middle recess without the usual *kaiseki* meal. After a while Sōshin informed him that the water had come to a boil, and when Hideyoshi had reentered the room Sōshin brought out a small teabowl in which he made a dipperful of tea to test for poison. Returning this small bowl to the preparation room, he proceeded to make tea in the prescribed manner. So impressed was Hideyoshi by the singular distinction of this service that he then and there vested Sōshin with a fief of one hundred *koku* sealed in perpetuity to this very day. Once Hideyoshi had left, he served food to Sansai and Rikyū, and made them tea. The family line of this Hariya continues even now.

Once at a tea gathering held during the coldest days of winter, tea was served in a Totoya teabowl. But when cold water was poured into the bowl to rinse the tea whisk, the bowl cracked in two, spilling water onto the tatami. The host, however, showed no sign of surprise. Quickly apologizing, he undid his robe from about his shoulders and used it to mop up the spill, though all present thought it a pity. At another tea gathering on a snowy day, a *katade* teabowl, having been rinsed with cold water, crumbled into pieces without warning, just as the guest had asked to see the *chaire* (ceramic powdered-tea container). This also proved something of an awakening, yet both mishaps were the result of the conflict between hot and cold water. Thus has it been passed down from those days that in times of extreme cold, the teabowl should be rinsed with warm water in the preparation room, and the chakin soaked in hot water and wrung out before being placed in the bowl. Moreover, in the case of the most formal *shin* procedure for making tea, one is advised to take such precautions as rinsing the tea whisk in hot water.

Lord Maeda Toshitsune Chūnagon of Kaga was fond of chanoyu and sent a retainer by the name of Okabe Dōka to Fushimi for a period of three years to learn from Kobori Enshū. Dōka lived until the age of ninety-seven and resided in the precincts of Daishōji temple in the castle town of Kaga. There he was wont to speak of the favorite sayings of Enshū, that taste in *chadō* depended upon the charcoal and flowers, and even more, on the proper placement, combination, and handling of utensils; on a balanced alignment of chaire, tea scoop, and tea-container bag laid out when the guest asks to see the utensils; and on seeing that these were not handled carelessly, for in his words, anything else would be incorrect.

The practice of striking a gong as a signal to enter the tearoom after the middle recess derives from the tea hut of a certain person in Fushimi, where a gong was used because the waiting arbor was so far away. Thus, where it is extremely close, the striking of the gong is a matter of discretion.

One day Oda Uraku paid a visit to Rikyū, and found him trying out old spare lids on a chaire. Inviting him into the room, Rikyū continued testing lids while they conversed until at last he decided that one particularly large lid, though not fitting exactly, made an all the more interesting combination. Rikyū showed this to Uraku, and soon thereafter Uraku was trying his own hand at pairing up a chaire with a lid in the very same manner. But, on showing his to Rikyū, he was told that the lid did not go well with this chaire and that having a new lid made would make for a better match. For though Rikyū himself had at one point approved of such a combination of lid and chaire, it was deemed appropriate for that chaire alone. Thus, never should one rule of connoisseurship be thought unfailingly correct.

Rikyū's son Shōan once found Rikyū in the midst of hanging a kettle from a *jizai* (suspended hook) over the hearth in a small tearoom which featured a central post. Shōan told his father that he found the *jizai* ill-suited to the room, to which Rikyū replied that in all his years no one had ever failed to agree with his opinion on this, so how was it that his own son had now taken it upon himself to talk back to him? Shōan, however, repeated that no matter who had hung onto Rikyū's taste in the past, the fact was that the *jizai* did not go well, and having so declared, went into the preparation room.

On one spring morning, Rikyū set off towards the Higashiyama hills of Kyoto to view flowers, inviting another man to go with him. En route, Rikyū asked, just to check, whether his companion had set the kettle on the hearth before leaving. When he replied that he had not because he was to be accompanying Rikyū from early that morning, Rikyū took exception and told him that such was not in keeping with *chadō* and that he should go back and put the kettle on while Rikyū waited, for one could never tell whether someone might come to visit in the evening.

Ordained Lord Saitō Sanjō-no-kami Dōzan of Minō was a devotee of tea and once met with Okabe Yūzaemon of Seta where the roji was planted entirely with cherry trees. Similarly, a roji made to the design of Takeno Jōō in Hirano featured a planting solely of irises to go with a copy of the Yatsushashi bridge, whereas in the roji of a certain Anchi of Kyōgyoku were gathered various types of bamboo. Or again, one master had a roji exclusively of pines, while another planted only nandin in his, showing that one rule should never be considered absolute.

Takeno Jōō instructed Rikyū about the roji, having him learn the verse: "Bear in mind there be many varied flowers that mingle in the autumn mead." Thus we know that long ago, flowering trees were planted in the roji. However, Kobori Masakazu Tōtomi-no-kami (Kobori Enshu) held that flowers were to be appreciated in the tearoom, so no flowering trees were planted in the roji and none are to this day.

Hosokawa Sansai, having once come across two Amida-dō kettles, one with a wide mouth, the other small, asked Rikyū which was the true Amida-dō shape and was told that the one with the wide mouth was the true shape. Sansai then asked him if perhaps the wide mouth was not too wide overall, and did not the small mouth make for a better appearance? Rikyū, however, reiterated that, no, the small mouth was not acceptable, yet also added that making the wide mouth a little smaller might indeed improve the kettle, for that was the shape of his own “Amida-dō.” Nonetheless, much as Seta Sōbe preferred a small mouth, might not this be a kettle which he had made? Henceforth, all inquiries have faithfully held to Rikyū's preference in kettles.

Rikyū instructed that when the *yuzu* is seen to turn color, it is time to open the leaf tea storage jar that contains the tea of that year. Another master said that the *furo* should be used for tea from the time new foliage appears on the white fir.

Sansai once accompanied Rikyū to tea at the home of a certain person in Sakai. On seeing Rikyū smile as he pointed to a thick cropping of brush bamboo to the side of the steppingstones in the *roji* (garden path to the tearoom), Sansai asked him for his thoughts on the matter. Rikyū replied that such an arrangement was most inappropriate, for this might occasion such troubles for the guests as having their clothes become wet, indicating a lack of insight on the part of the host. One should keep this in mind when considering low-growing plants for the *roji*.

Rikyū said that it is a skilled practitioner in tea connoisseurship who might tastefully combine [the austerity of] a mustard seed with [the richness of] a chestnut. ㇿ



Temae—Tea Procedure: *Sumi Shomō*

During a formal tea gathering that includes the presentation of a light meal and two types of tea, the host builds a small charcoal fire to heat water for the tea in the company of the guests. The procedure for building this fire is called *shozumi*. Because the fire burns down during the gathering it is necessary to add more charcoal to keep the water at the proper temperature. This second procedure is called *gozumi*. The name for the family of procedures for this building and re-building of the fire is called *sumi-demae*. For a complete description of the *shozumi* procedure see “*Chaji: Shozumi*” in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 13 (1976).

The importance of properly laying the charcoal fire according to the *sumi-demae* procedures cannot be overstressed. Learning to handle and lay charcoal is just as important as learning the method and manner of preparing tea. But, to become proficient in building the fire and have confidence in one's manner takes many years of practice. Therefore, should the host of a tea gathering have as his guests people more adept in *chanoyu* than himself the host may, as a gesture of respect to the guests and to insure that the charcoal is laid properly, ask them to build the fire. The procedure the host and guests follow for this variation of the *sumi-demae* procedures is called *sumi shomō*. During the seasons when the *furo* is used, the *sumi shomō* procedure the host and guests follow is a variation of the basic *shozumi* procedure; during the seasons the *ro* is used *sumi shomō* can be done when either *shozumi* or *gozumi* is performed.

Many kinds of *furo* can be used for this presentation. The *sumi shomō* 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*.

When *shozumi* is presented it is appropriate for the main guest to ask about the *furo* and *kama* and the utensils used to build the fire. Even if the guest is asked to lay the charcoal this is still the case. However, the opportunities for conversing about the utensils are limited and the guest should direct questions to the host with particular care as to their timing.



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 *kōgō*, a pair of *hibashi*, a pair of *kan*, and a *habōki*. In the front fold of his kimono the host carries a *kami kamashiki*. 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, enters 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).

(2)



The host shifts to a position directly in front of the *furo* and *kama*. R picks up the *habōki* (2) and places it in the space between the *furo* baseboard and the *sumitori*.

(3)



R lifts the pair of *kan* off the handles of the *hibashi* (3) and places them in front of the *sumitori*.

(4)



R picks up the *hibashi* (4) and places them in the space between the *furo* baseboard and the *habōki*.



(5)

R picks up the kōgō (5).



(6)

R places the kōgō on the outstretched palm of L and then re-grasps it (6) and places it to the left of the near lefthand corner of the furo base-board.



(7)

R closes the lid of the kama (7). Note: Women use the folded fukusa to close the kama. Men do likewise when the lid's knob is made of iron or silver.



(8)

R picks up the two kan (8).



(9)

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 of the kama) and rest them on the shoulder of the kama (9).



(10)

R removes the kami kamashiki from the front of the host's kimono, transfers it to L, and grasps it again to place on the tatami at a slight angle in front of the sumitori (10). Note the direction of the two folded sides of the kami kamashiki.



(11)

The host, hands on knees, slides toward the furo. R and L grasp the kan and lift the kama out of the furo and place it on the kami kamashiki (11). R and L rest the kan on the shoulder of the kama.

(12)



The host, hands on knees, shifts position to face the kama. R and L grasp the kan 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 host's mat (12).



(13)

R and L remove the kan from the kantsuki. L transfers one kan to R. R and L align the two kan (13).

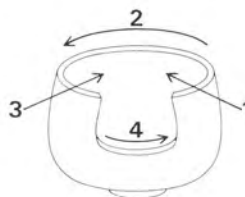
(14)



R places the two kan on the tatami 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).

(16)



R places the habōki on the rim of the left side of the sumitori. The host stands (16), turns and leaves the room.

(17)

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. The host proceeds to the end of the tatami that abuts the end of the host's mat and sits there (17).



(18)

R transfers the *haiki* to L. L places the *haiki* to the left in the corner of the tatami (18).



(19)

L removes the *fukusa* from the host's sash and with R folds it in the same fashion as for wiping the *chashaku* during the preparation of thin tea (19).



(20)

R places the folded *fukusa* to the right of the *haiki* (20).



(21)



The host stands, turns, and leaves the room. At the host's entrance the host turns, sits, and invites the guests to build the fire (21). The host remains sitting in the host's entrance while one of the guests builds the fire.

(22)



The guests confer. The guest who agrees to lay the charcoal fire stands and proceeds to the tatami that abuts the end of the host's mat and sits there (22).

(23)



R picks up the host's fukusa. R and L together unfold it (23) and place it in the guest's sash.

(24)



L picks up the haiki (24) and transfers it to R.

(25)



The guest stands (25) and proceeds to the host's mat, turns slightly away from the other guests, and sits.

(26)



R transfers the haiki to L which places it to the left in the corner of the host's mat (26). The guest shifts to a position in front of the furo.

(27)



R picks up the habōki and places it on the tatami at an angle in front of the sumitori (27).

(28)



R picks up the hibashi and, while standing them on end to the right slightly ahead of the knee, R adjusts its grip on the hibashi (28).



(29)

R grasps the hibashi (29).



(30)



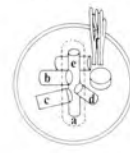
R picks up the front piece of burning charcoal with the hibashi and places it behind the other two pieces of burning charcoal (30).



(31)



furo



sumitori

R, assisted by L, picks up the *dōzumi* (a) with the hibashi and places it in the furo (31). R picks up the *gitcho* (b) and places it in the furo, likewise the *wari-gitcho* (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.



(32)

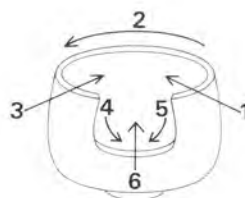
R places the hibashi in the sumitori (32).



(33)

R picks up the habōki and brushes off the rim of the furo in three strokes (33).

The guest, hands on knees, shifts position to face to the left of the furo. L picks up the haiki and transfers it to R. The guest, 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 guest's knees. 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 (34). R spills the ash in a short line, from left to right, on the far side of the shaped ash in the furo. R transfers the haisaji to L, R re-grasps it, and places the haisaji on edge in the mound of ash in the haiki. R, assisted by L, lifts the haiki. The guest, 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.



The guest shifts position to face the furo. The guest picks up the habōki and brushes the rim of the furo in six strokes (35).

(36)

R rests the habōki on the rim of the left side of the sumitori. The guest, hands on knees, shifts position to face to the left of the furo. L picks up the haiki and transfers it to R. The guest stands (36), turns, and proceeds to the end of the tatami that abuts the end of the host's mat. The guest turns and sits.



(37)

R transfers the haiki to L. L places the haiki to the left in the corner of the tatami (37). L removes the host's fukusa from the guest's sash. R and L fold the fukusa. R places the folded fukusa to the right of the haiki. The guest stands, turns, and returns to his place.



(38)

The host bows to the guest who has built the fire, stands, enters the room, and sits at the end of the tatami that abuts the end of the host's mat. R picks up the folded fukusa. Together R and L unfold the fukusa (38). L returns the fukusa to the host's sash.



(39)

L picks up the haiki (39) and transfers it to R. The host stands, turns, and carries the haiki out of the room.



(40)

The host enters the room, proceeds to the host's mat, and sits in front of the furo. With the fingertips of R and L on the tatami the host examines how the charcoal has been laid (40).



(41)

The guest who laid the charcoal asks the host to add incense to the fire. The host bows in acknowledgment of the request (41).



(42)

R picks up the kōgō (42) and places it on the outstretched palm of L.



(43)



R removes the lid of the kōgō and places it on the tatami in the very center of the mat (43).

(44)



R picks up the hibashi and, while standing them on end to the right slightly ahead of the knee, R adjusts its grip (44).



(45)

With the hibashi R picks up one piece of incense from the kōgō and drops it close to the burning charcoal (45). R takes a second piece of incense and places it on the dōzumi.



(46)

R stands the hibashi on end to the right slightly ahead of the knee and R adjusts its grip. R places the hibashi in the sumitori (46).



(47)

R picks up the lid of the kōgō and places it on the body resting in the palm of L. The main guest asks to take a closer look at the kōgō. The host, fingertips of R on the tatami, bows in acknowledgment of the request (47).



(48)

The host, R held on the right knee, makes a quarter turn toward the guests. R turns the kōgō 90° clockwise twice (48).

(49)



R places the kōgō on the adjacent tatami (49).

(50)



R picks up the two kan and transfers one to L.
R and L insert the kan into the kantsuki (50).

(51)



R and L grasp the kan and slide the kama and
kamashiki in an arc to a position directly in front
of the host (51).

(52)



R and L remove the two kan from the kantsuki.
L transfers one kan to R and, after R and L align
the two kan, R places them to the right of the
kama (52).

(53)

The main guest, or the second guest if the main guest laid the charcoal fire, asks the host if he may examine the inside of the furo. The host bows to invite the guests to do so (53) and then says he will add water to the kama. The host stands, turns, and leaves the room.



(54)

The host readies a *mizutsugi*, in this example one called a *yakan*. The host places a folded *chakin* on its lid and a bamboo *futaoki* over its spout. The host stands in the host's entrance, sits, and places the *mizutsugi* in front of his knees. He waits while the guests finish viewing the furo (54). Note: A *futaoki* need not be brought into the room when using the type of *mizutsugi* called a *kataguchi* with a broad, flat knobless lid the diameter of the underside of which will accommodate the kama lid.



(55)

The host picks up the *mizutsugi*, stands, and enters the room. The host sits facing the kama and places the *mizutsugi* to the right, its spout facing the kama (55).

R picks up the *chakin* and places it on the kama lid just ahead of the knob. 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. (Note: If using a *katakuchi mizutsugi*, R and L remove the lid, turn it over, and place it in the space between the kama and the host's knees.) R drapes the *chakin* over the knob on the kama lid. R lifts the lid off the kama and rests it on the *futaoki*. (Note: If using a *katakuchi mizutsugi*, the kama lid is placed inside the upturned lid of the *mizutsugi*.) 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 (56). 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 ahead of the knob. R lifts the 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. (Note: If using a katakuchi mizutsugi, the upturned lid remains on the tatami.) R picks up the chakin and, while L holds the kama lid knob, wipes the far side and the near side of the kama lid. 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. R dampens the near side by drawing the character ㇿ with the chakin on the body (57). 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 replace it on the mizutsugi.) As R grasps the handle and L lends support, the host stands, turns, and carries the mizutsugi out of the room.



The host enters the room and sits facing the furo. R picks up the two kan (58).



(59)

R and L insert the kan into the kantsuki (59).



(60)

R and L lift the kama and place it over the charcoal fire (60). R and L rest the kan on the shoulder of the kama.



(61)

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 (61). L transfers the kami kamashiki to R which returns it to the front fold of the kimono.



(62)

R and L lift the kama slightly to level it. R and L remove the two kan. L transfers one kan to R and R places the pair of kan in the sumitori (62).



(63)

The host shifts position to the center of the host's mat (63).



(64)

R opens the kama slightly, and rests the lid at a slight angle on the mouth of the kama (64).



(65)

The host, hands on knees, shifts to a position in front of the sumitori (65).



(66)

R and L pick up the sumitori (66). The host stands, turns, and carries the sumitori out of the room. If the guests are still examining the kōgō at this time, the host returns to the host's entrance, sits, and waits for them to finish and return the kōgō to the mat adjacent to the host's mat.



(67)

The host stands, enters the room, and sits facing the kōgō and answers any questions the guests may ask about the kōgō (67).



(68)

R picks up the kōgō and places it on the outstretched palm of L. As R steadies the kōgō the host stands, turns, and leaves the room. At the host's entrance the host sits, R places the kōgō to the side in view of the guests, and the host bows to signal the end of the presentation (68).



The first guest sits aligning his body with the front of the ro and prepares to add the charcoal. The host watches from the entrance.

Variations of Sumi Shomō When Presented with the Ro

Other than the basic differences of the furo and ro presentations, the sumi shomō procedure for shozumi, when presented with the ro differs in that the host sits aligning his body in the normal position for shozumi when presented with the ro.

Book Reviews

The Traditional Theater of Japan. By Yoshinobu Inoura and Toshio Kawatake. New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, Inc, 1981. 259 pp. \$20.00, ¥3,800.

First published in two volumes as *A History of Japanese Theater* by the Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai in 1971, this book appears now in a handsome one-volume edition with many black-and-white illustrations. Part I is devoted to Noh and Kyōgen and the many theatrical forms that preceded them, while Part II covers Kabuki and Bunraku. The book's major contribution lies in the first half. There are a number of excellent studies in English of Noh, Kabuki, and Bunraku, but there is little detailed information on the earliest Japanese performing arts like Kagura, Gigaku, Ennen, Dengaku, and Sarugaku, unless one is willing to piece the story together from a number of sources.

Part I, the work of Professor Inoura, begins with an overview of ancient and medieval drama which helps the new student of Japanese theater to place, in context, the genres he is about to discover. Each of the following eleven chapters discusses a distinct genre, or traces the gradual development from Sangaku to Sarugaku Noh to Nohgaku. With the usual Japanese passion for organization and classification, the author divides the history of Noh into a first stage of consolidation (Kan'ami), a second stage of consolidation (Zeami), a final stage of consolidation (On'ami and Zenchiku), a period of change (Nobumitsu), and a period of stabilization. While these divisions are not particularly illuminating, the discussion itself is, and the reader will be happy to find a book that describes in some detail what happened to Noh after Zeami. Noting that "many introductory books have been written regarding Nohgaku today," Inoura rightly decides to describe modern conditions in rapid outline.

Kyōgen is given its due, and pointed out is its importance in the balance and rhythm of a total Noh program—and yet one wonders whether "vulgarity" (p. 107) is quite the word to characterize this utterly joyous but highly stylized form. *Yūgen*, considered of such importance in Noh, is also sensibly put into perspective by Inoura's reminder that "the depth of yugen mood has varied from writer to writer according to the point of view." Since he discusses at some length Noh dramatists other than Zeami, he affords us a healthy balance to that view which would only allow the aesthetics of Zeami with his quasi-rejection of "realism" (*monomane*) and his embracing of *yūgen*.

Professor Kawatake's portion of the book is less satisfying. Perhaps because he was aware that his territory had been adequately covered already in English (despite the arrogant assertion of the dust jacket to the effect that this book is "unlike books on the same subject by non-Japanese authors, which tend to give only a superficial view at best"), he skips about among the material in a rather disconcerting way, writing with little continuity and depth. The chapter devoted to the "History of Kabuki" is perhaps indicative—it is only six pages long.

There are also factual matters which come as a surprise: the climax of *Kabuki Jinya* is the parting of man and wife (p. 170), the *hanamichi* has "often been used in the antirealism movement in the theater," (p. 185), in Kyōgen "use of music is but rarely made," (p. 198), Benkei in *Kanjinchō* exits "holding a banner on his back," (p. 200) and *Gobiiki Kanjinchō* is listed as a *sewamono* (p. 220).

Some of these perhaps are due to the translation process. The volume lists no translator, and one wonders whether the authors themselves actually wrote this book in English. If so, they are to be congratulated, for it is no mean feat to write at such length in a foreign language. And yet, if the publishers had carefully examined the earlier edition, they would have seen that it needed the close attention of an expert translator. Time and again one is brought up short by what is at first either nonsensical or difficult to grasp. A few examples: "These poses make the hero appear all the larger than he actually is," (p. 190); "For other types of roles, such as the good Samaritan . . ." (p. 189), "In most cases writers of Noh plays were at the same time composers, but in some cases

they were only one or the other" (p. 119); "The fixation of styles and patterns will promote the centripetal high polish and purification and at the same time urge the display of intense, free, and original personality" (pp. 112-113).

With a bit of goodwill one can usually determine the meanings here. But there is no excuse for not having updated the text in references to actors who have changed their names (Kikugorō VII is once correctly called by that title, and twice referred to by his former name, Kikunosuke), or in references to the National Theater. The author expresses his hope that the National Theater will soon begin training Kabuki actors—a program that was initiated in 1969.

Aragoto, *wagoto*, and *onnagata* are studied as the three basic styles of Kabuki acting. These are scarcely parallel, since *aragoto* and *wagoto* are, indeed, styles of acting, but the *onnagata* covers an immense range of female roles containing a number of styles. *Mie* are mentioned a number of times but are never described. The activities of the stage assistant who strikes wooden clappers to accompany the *mie* are noted thus: "He has square pieces of wood in his hands and fiercely beats them against the floorboard" (p. 197). The wood pieces are oblong and are struck against a board, not the floor; and "fiercely" would scarcely indicate to the uninitiated the rhythms used. Okuni is referred to as though we should know who she is; her role is described later, and then only briefly in the chapter on Kabuki's history which, inexplicably, is the final chapter of the volume.

There are some original and refreshing insights into Kabuki. The author sees the *hanamichi*, for example, as expressing the essence of Kabuki, symbolic of the empathy linking spectators and actors. He might have gone on to point out, then, how un-Kabukilike are most neo-Kabuki plays in which the existence of the *hanamichi* is virtually ignored. He reminds us too of something the Westerner often forgets, the importance of the Kabuki text and its delivery: "The primary charm of Kabuki may be the ample musicality, including this agreeable effect of the rhythms of lines, which is found in almost all the pieces" (p. 200). This offers an important counterweight to the view of most Westerners, who tend to overemphasize the purely visual aspects.

Despite its limitations (and I have not pointed out all of them), this volume contains much that is valuable, particularly in the first half. That part will be read profitably by anyone interested in the rich development of Japanese performing arts through the ancient and medieval periods.

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A Japanese Touch For Your Garden. By Kiyoshi Seike, Masanobu Kudō, and David H. Engel. Tokyo and New York: Kōdansha International Ltd. 1980, 80 pp. US\$14.95, ¥2700.

The virtues of this book grow with time and reflection. It is what it promises to be: a brief but clear introduction to the practical construction of a Japanese garden, with an emphasis on personal design and satisfaction. The authors have gathered a good selective handful of the enormous store of traditional and fundamental knowledge common to modern professionals and gardening books in Japanese. This knowledge is arranged in such a manner that the layman can acquire a fair sense of the art of the Japanese garden with some idea of the materials and techniques usually applied, and practice

this art himself. What distinguishes this book from a detailed gardening manual, however, is its price and size as well as its inspired evocation of an awareness of the importance of restraint, naturalness, and proportion in landscape gardening.

The arrangement of materials is simple but thoughtful. There has been a great effort by the authors to reduce Japanese gardening principles and traditions to their essential elements and to suggest why these elements persist. In the first three sections of the book, the three main forms of the Japanese garden are introduced in a series of photographic essays in color with pointed, sometimes thought-provoking comments. For example, in the prologue to the section on *tsubo niwa*, the authors write, "The courtyard garden . . . is a garden in a small enclosed area. The garden does not fill it up. . . . He aims for balance and proportion without resorting to geometric artifice. He links the garden compositionally to his home. And he exploits numerous untouchables: wind direction, sounds, seasons, sunlight, the true and apparent dimensions of empty space."

The section on the small, enclosed garden is also the largest of the three sections dealing with garden forms probably because it is the type of garden most readers would like to build as an interesting addition to their lifestyles.

Each section of photographs is designed to give an idea of the wide variety and endless possibilities within each kind of space or style. There are photographs of old and new, traditional and modern gardens, but the reader will also observe that these gardens are all linked by materials and principles which the Japanese have captured directly from nature by emulation and patient observation.

All of the photographs, however, are of Japanese gardens, some of which may be overly familiar to interested readers who have seen them numerous times, much like magazine advertisements. Photographs or illustrations of successful adaptations of Japanese principles, materials, or techniques to Western living conditions and settings are disappointingly absent. More than likely it was the authors' plan to leave the reader to continue further explorations on his own, but the reader's curiosity is left unsatisfied and that becomes one of the limits of this book.

Materials and principles are described in a detailed section entitled, "Grammar and Vocabulary." On page 38, for example, there is a concise description of the basic principles and points to remember in garden-making that is well worth reading, because each point represents a note in the scale the Japanese gardener himself ideally tries to keep in mind. These notes range from the concrete to the poetic: ". . . in the end, the garden speaks for itself. The length of shadows in winter, the seed pods that carpet the ground in spring, and the direction and sound of the wind are some of the many things the gardener can't control. He doesn't try to. . . . By giving nature its freedom, the gardener opens himself to the new relationships that nature will suggest."

Once these principles are stated, such materials and elements of design as rock formations, steppingstones, lanterns, and fences are described with brief comments on their practical construction. Again, each subsection contains color photographs of these elements at work in the garden with illustrations of their various forms.

The book is recommended as a practical and provocative summary of Japanese garden construction because its design involves the reader himself in the problems and pleasures of the art on an intimate level. The authors might have included a list of the tools commonly used in Japan, with ideas or suggestions for their use. More consideration should also have been given to the importance of careful, regular maintenance which so many gardens in Japan enjoy and deserve. For gardens too offer no exception to the observation that much of what is beautiful in Japan is a result of devoted grooming.

The space devoted to plants is also too brief, and other detailed areas may similarly appear brief to professionals or experienced landscapers specifically interested in technique.

Brief mention must be made, on the other hand, of other gifts this book offers, such as sche-

matic layout plans alongside many of the photographs, and the section titled "For Further Reference." Here the authors have kindly included lists of useful books in English, Japanese gardens in America, and places where Japanese materials are available in America and Japan.

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An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings: T'ang, Sung, and Yüan. By James Cahill. University of California Press, 1980, 401 pp. US\$25.00.

In 1958, after Osvald Siren's seven-volume study of Chinese painting was published, many students of Asian art history forever put away older books on the subject. Although some found fault with many of Siren's views, the usefulness of his "Annotated Lists of Chinese Paintings" in volumes 2 and 7 was beyond dispute. The immediate demand for those two volumes inspired the editors to decide to publish the Lists separately, with corrections and additions by James Cahill (who had worked on the original project in the mid-fifties.)

Cahill points out in his preface to *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings*, "Twenty years have passed since then, and the first volume is just now appearing." When the other two volumes (on Ming and Ch'ing painting) appear the revised List will be complete, but it has "changed in character until it is now an essentially new work." The change includes data taken from Ellen Johnston Laing's *Chinese Paintings in Chinese Publications, 1956-1965*. But Cahill has corrected Siren's and Laing's Lists, made additions of his own, and, most significantly, succeeded in his effort to "organize more clearly and accurately than before the vast corpus of known Chinese paintings."

The feature for which I am most grateful is the brave attempt to assess the authenticity and quality of works cited. For fifty years American scholars have been in the forefront of applying Western methods of stylistic analysis to Asian art. The effort has provided Chinese painting and other Asian arts with a degree of historical perspective absent in traditional Asian connoisseurship. Stylistic analysis is hardly a science, but it usually is a more reliable tool than catalogues of brush strokes, personal preferences, or even scientific machines, when the age of a work of art is in question. A decision regarding authenticity using stylistic analysis requires solid reasoning; it cannot be made capriciously.

Cahill says the assessments in his *Index*, "represent my own opinions" and are in accord with Siren's views only in "a very few cases." He insists that "far more research will have to be carried out before the great number of early and purportedly early paintings can be attributed and dated by anyone with reasonable assurance." From this we may conclude that such assessments of Cahill as "important early work; good copy c. 10th-11th century, after T'ang original?", and the asterisks that he places in front of some entries indicating that they are "likely to be genuine, or of special value to an understanding of the artist" represent nothing more than personal opinions to be ignored or taken lightly. That would be a big mistake, for the judgments in the *Index*, as far as I can tell, are consistent with current scholarly opinion which often amounts to a consensus. Anyone bringing a painting to Cahill for evaluation will receive a highly reasoned response based on the same criteria used by his colleagues, including "the relationship of different versions of a composition; the identification of subjects; the determination of probable authorship from signatures, inscriptions, and seals; questions of dating and authenticity; the proper placing of misattributed works; the periods of activity of artists; and others."

James Cahill has made extensive use of Japanese sources and modern Japanese scholarship. Li Chen (active c. 780-804), who is credited in the *Honcho Gashî* (seventeenth century) and elsewhere with supervising the painting of the mandalas and portraits that Kobo Daishi brought back to Japan, is thus included in the *Index*, along with Yü-chien (mid-thirteenth century), identified, following the 1960s research of Professor Suzuki Kei, as "probably" Yü-chien Jo-fen, the T'ien-t'ai priest, rather than the Ch'an priest Ying Yu-chien.

This first volume of Cahill's *Index* therefore, is, indispensable to anyone interested in the history of Chinese painting. Artists are listed in alphabetical order in seven chapters dealing with works from the T'ang and earlier, and through the Five Dynasties, Sung, and Yüan periods. Paintings through the Sung are listed by collection in the order of the Peoples' Republic of China, the Palace Museum in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other collections in Taiwan, Japan, the United States, and Europe. Because many Yüan paintings are dated they are listed chronologically. In addition to basic biographical information on each artist and the titles, dates, and assessments of the paintings, the books and articles containing illustrations (and/or studies) of the paintings are cited and former collections are noted.

For a student of tea the *Index* is of limited interest. All of the famous old Chinese paintings known to the tea world are included, of course, and the *Index* can be the starting point for research on any of them. But early Chinese paintings are simply too rare to be of practical concern to tea people. Ancient Japanese art historical classics (such as the *Kundaikan Sôchôki* and *Butsunichian Mokuroku*) indicate that paintings by such Sung masters as Hsia Kuei, Ma Yuan, Mu Ch'i and Yü-chien were in shogunal collections and are appropriate for tea use. But most paintings available for use in teahouses today are Japanese paintings that are (a) in the academic Chinese style perpetuated by the Kanô School (whose models included the Chinese artists mentioned earlier), or (b) of the Nanga and other lineages that occasionally provided appropriate works for Japanese tea masters.

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