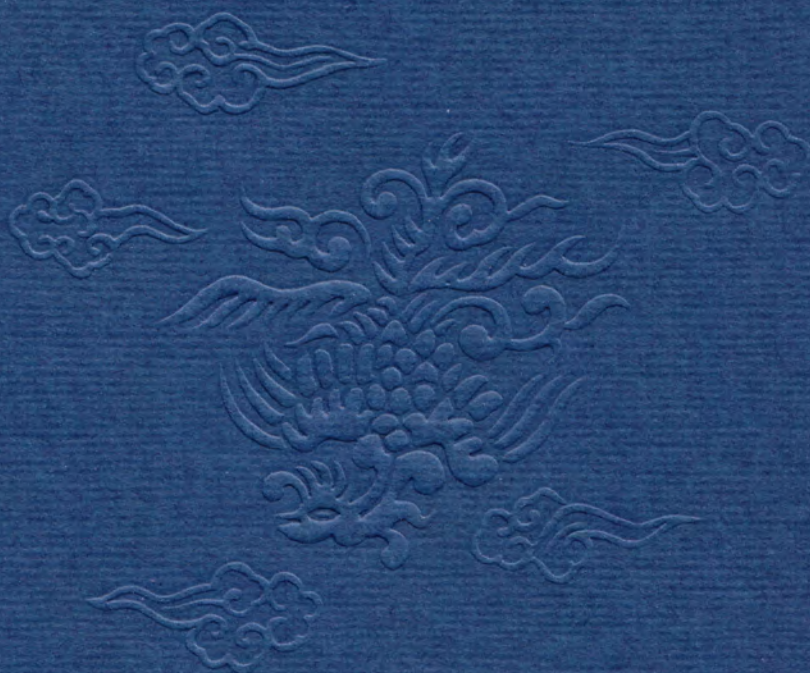


CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 31



Houn Kinran

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

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CHANOYU Quarterly

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. A list of names and romanized terms, with Chinese characters and macrons where applicable, is included following the book reviews.

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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 Soshitsu XV, the Urasenke Foundation and the Urasenke Foundation of Hawaii hope to encourage the development of these arts and promote a worldwide understanding of the culture of chanoyu.

CREDITS Itsuo Art Museum, Osaka; Kitano Shrine, Kyoto; Kodaiji temple, Kyoto; Masaki Art Museum, Osaka; Nishi-Honganji temple, Kyoto; Seikado Bunko, Tokyo; Shohoji temple, Niigata Prefecture; Tenryuji temple, Kyoto; Tokugawa Reimeikai, Tokyo; and Yamato Bunkakan, Nara Prefecture.

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An Art of the Seasons

Sen Soshitsu XV

Over the relatively short span of human existence, man has never ceased in his attempt not only to protect himself from the elements but to ultimately control them; to be the master of his world, both mental and physical. The realization of this dream seems more and more likely, but as a man of tea I cannot help looking upon that day with a certain feeling of sadness.

Sensibility towards nature is a unique benefit of living in harmony with the seasons. It could never be realized in a world in which nature were subject to the whims of man, ordering snow to blanket our gardens or rain to dampen our mossy paths. There is a sublime beauty in the flow of the seasons—from spring to summer, summer to autumn, autumn to winter, and once again to the coming of spring. Sensitivity to this flow gives birth to the most delicate of emotional feelings. We are awakened to the beauty that surrounds us every moment.

Though summer may be very hot, in due course the cool breezes of autumn blow. Autumn too gives way to the starkness of winter, followed by the sights and smells of spring. All of this comes about in due time, unhurried and unhastened. It is in nature—sometimes harsh, sometimes gentle—that we can truly sense the beauty of our world and the place in it that is ours.

A tearoom and the things that are briefly placed in it should always mirror the natural world of its surroundings, enhancing the particular season rather than competing with it. This can be accomplished in a number of ways. In summer, dewy reed blinds are hung over the open windows. These are not intended to keep out the heat; their cooling quality is a visual one. They create the dappled shade found in a forest, inviting one to pause and refresh one's spirit. Instead of a sunken hearth, a brazier is used, for its fire is smaller and more difficult to see. Scrolls that speak of wind or water are often hung, and slender summer grasses and mountain wildflowers are arranged in bamboo baskets. All of these add to the beauty of summer and, by their suggestions of coolness and freshness, rejuvenate us.

In winter the cold tearoom hints of warmth. The coolness of the summer bamboo baskets is replaced by the warmth of pottery. Gone are the scrolls that spoke of wind or water. In their place we hear the sound of the kettle as it boils on the sunken hearth. The cooling reed blinds too are gone; now latticed white paper windows capture and diffuse the sunlight.

These subtle alterations in the tearoom serve to complement the seasons. They are not an attempt to manipulate the natural environment but rather to enhance it. They keep us in touch with the world we live in and are dependent on. It is here that tea can benefit us today, even more than in the past, as with our apparently increasing ability to control nature, many of us have become insensitive to the wonder of it.

In Japan the distinct seasonal changes provide the way of tea one of its foundations. Men of tea have always tried to live within the framework of the changing seasons. They have expressed this notion in their literature, their art, and their emotionally oriented philosophy of life, following along with the timely, inevitable flow of the seasons; aiming to integrate rather than control.

The delicate sensibility of host and guest toward seasonal changes within the ephemeral world defined by the space of a tearoom creates a timeless moment of mental and physical unity; unity between host and guest, and man and nature.

In the relationship of Man and Nature, however, we must not forget that the people who live on this earth have distributed themselves across the face of the planet within every conceivable type of environment, finding various ways in which to relate to their own special environments. The problem exists everywhere of how to view the relationship between Man and Nature and retain a sensitivity to this relationship. One of the particular joys of the way of tea is the celebration of the subtle changes within each season, within each environment. Our ideal is always to nurture our tea practice within the beauty of nature so as to enhance our appreciation for the world that surrounds us. The way of tea can truly be called an art of the seasons.



On the Arts as Ways: Kenko and Zeami

Yasuraoka Kosaku

An interval of slightly more than a decade lies between the death of Kenko (1350) and the year Zeami was born (1363?), and from the time Kenko's *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness) is thought to have been written, around 1330, to the formation of *Kakyo* (The Mirror of the Flower, 1424), a representative example of Zeami's work transmitting the traditions of Noh, there is a lapse of more than ninety years. At present, no evidence can be produced to indicate that Zeami was familiar with *Tsurezuregusa*, so we cannot assume a direct link between Kenko and Zeami. Nevertheless, these two figures of the world of art, both born out of medieval times and society, share remarkable similarities concerning the problems of the arts, and, at the same time, illuminating differences.

Kenko was a *tonseisha*, one who had renounced worldly life in aspiration for Buddhahood. He was also a representative poet of his day, known as one of the "Four Heavenly Kings" of poetry, and he possessed a probing interest in art that ranged through all the various disciplines. If we trace this interest through the whole of the *Tsurezuregusa*, the following four points come to our attention.

First, the scope with which Kenko employs the terms for "art"—*gei* (artistic accomplishment, craft; see sections 130, 135, 151, 193), *no* (skill, talent; 15, 54, 98, 150, 188), and *geino* (187)—is extremely broad, embracing everything from waka (1, 14), music (1, 80), the biwa (16, 232) and flute (219), ballads (*eikyoku*, 14), *Heike monogatari* recitation (226) and linked verse (80), to horseback riding (122, 186), archery (92, 122), seashell matching (171), kickball (109) and the game of go (193). In Kenko's usage, then, *gei* and *no* retain something of their broad original sense of human activity, performance, or skill.

Second, Kenko recognizes the existence of the way (*do, michi*) in the sphere of such arts and disciplines, and he extols the specialist or master as "one who knows the way." Moreover, he does not stop at mystifying or appraising externally what it is that makes a master, but has a clearly formed awareness that mastery is rooted in the depth of a person's human experience and the sharpness of his reflection into human nature. This reflection develops into self-discipline as he comes to recognize his failings and the limits of his own powers and thereby realizes that staying within their scope, both in acquiring an art and in its mastery, is necessary to true personal attainment of the way.

Even among expressions of Kenko's insight into the mind of the practitioner, I find section 150 of *Tsurezuregusa* to be the most immediate and astute. There, Kenko states that a frequent pitfall for the person seeking to learn an art is the conceit revealed in the thought:

"On the Arts as Ways: Kenko and Zeami" is an abridgement, translation and adaptation of the author's "Kenko to Zeami," first published in the magazine *Kanze* and included in *Chusei-teki Bungaku no Tankyu* [Studies in Medieval Literature] published in 1970 by Yuseido Shuppan Publishing Co., Tokyo, *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 31, 1982 © by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.

While I still do not perform skillfully, I will not rashly let people know I am practicing. After I have learned well privately, I will go out and perform before others; this will surely be exceedingly impressive.

Kenko denounces such self-indulgence: "Such a person will not be able to master even a single art." By contrast, he praises "the person who, from the time his art is still extremely immature, associates with masters and, unashamed at their criticism and ridicule, continues unruffled to devote himself" to this art. Kenko explains that if such a person, "even though he may lack a natural knack, passes long years in devotion to his art without becoming stagnant or careless in the way," he will be able to "surpass the talented person who does not apply himself to his art and finally reach the level of master, acquire excellence, win the recognition of others, and gain unequalled fame." Expressed here is the way of endeavor in art through negation of self. In my youth I was not greatly attracted to this section, but now I find I am reminded of it often concerning both myself and others, and sense in it a grasp of the true character of human life.

Third, we notice Kenko's conviction that the principles manifesting themselves in and through the way of the arts do not confine themselves solely to the realm of art, but, if expanded and broadly applied, they become a practical standard, guiding us in the management of affairs in politics, morals, religion, scholarship, and other fields (92, 157, 171, 174, etc.). This is expressed in section 110, where Kenko records the words of an expert backgammon player:

Do not play to win; play so as not to lose. Consider which method will lead to quick defeat and then, avoiding it, follow a method that will result in slower defeat, if only by a single space.

Kenko adds, "This is the instruction of one who knows the way. The way of conducting oneself or governing the state is also thus."

One of these practical principles, appearing repeatedly in the pages of *Tsurezuregusa*, is the spirit of concentration on a single discipline achieved through the abandonment of all other involvements: "Unless we renounce all other matters, our one great concern will not be fulfilled" (188). Another is the resolution, arising from the cherishing of each moment, to actualize genuine practice and mastery in the present: "The man who practices the way should not begrudge the passage of a long time into the future. He should begrudge the wasting of a single present moment" (108). These two principles are surely to be pursued and put into practice in the study of a discipline, in scholarly research, or in religious practice, in any age or society.

One final point must be noted. The concept of the impermanence (*mujo*) of all things lies at the core of Kenko's thought in *Tsurezuregusa*, and the realization of impermanence gives rise to an emphasis on personal endeavor in the Buddhist path and on achieving resolution of the problem of birth-and-death. From this perspective, attachment to the arts is delusional thinking which must be utterly cast off. For



Wooden effigy of Zeami in his old age, sitting erect with eyes half closed; carved by Noh mask carver Irie Yoshinori in 1943. It is enshrined at Shohoji temple on Sado Island, a temple closely associated with Zeami and located near the place of Zeami's exile late in life. Camphor wood. Height 27 cm. Photo courtesy of Shohoji temple, Niigata Prefecture.

Kenko, the way of art is “a matter of this world,” and the implications of this are clearly expressed in words that he quotes: “A man would have to be a fool indeed to spend his whole life occupied with worldly matters” (151). I have cited section 110 concerning the backgammon player above; the following section, 111, states:

A certain wandering monk (*hijiri*) once said, “The man who spends day and night devoted to *go* or backgammon commits an evil that exceeds the four grave transgressions and the five damning acts.”

Kenko remarks: “I find those words, still lingering in my ears, most splendid.” While he recognizes the value of the arts as arts in section 110, here we find a vivid denial of their ultimate significance. Kenko expresses this judgment in a variety of ways in other sections as well (98, 134, 168, 188, 242, etc.).

When we consider the theory of arts expressed in *Tsurezuregusa*, we find that for Kenko there is a clear difference of dimension between matters of this world—including the arts—and the Buddhist path, and his aspiration for personal fulfillment is ultimately directed toward Buddhahood. At the same time, however, he recognizes the significance of worldly matters, and values in particular the steady reflection on human nature manifested in the arts.

To clarify the medieval character of Kenko's thought concerning the arts, I will turn here to Zeami, the Noh master who brought his art to its highest level of development and medieval treatises on the arts to their greatest achievement.

Unlike Kenko, Zeami was a master among masters of his discipline, born and raised in a Noh family and taking over the leadership of the Kanze troupe after the death of his father Kannami. Zeami's Noh theories and writings are the products of extraordinary concentration and persistence, aptly characterized in his own words,

If you desire to grasp Noh truly, first abandon all other disciplines and involvements and, devoting yourself wholly to this art alone, persevere in your study without interruption. As the years pass, of itself realization will awaken in your mind, and you will come to grasp Noh.

It is no surprise, then, that Zeami's Noh writings surpass in breadth and profundity the observations on art of a poet and writer of short essays like Kenko. Although it is impossible even to attempt a summary of Zeami's thought here, I would like to raise several points which allow for comparison with Kenko.

First, in Zeami, as in the *Tsurezuregusa*, the term “art” is broadly applied. Thus we find statements such as that when one is young, “one must endeavor only in the two elements of dance and chant,” where “dance and chant indicate all aspects of the various entertainments; they are not limited to this art of Noh” [*Yuraku Shudo Fugen*]. He also makes such general assertions as that, “In all ways of art, after one has learned and studied, one puts what one has learned into practice” [*Kakyo*]. Moreover, not only does Zeami maintain an interest in arts generally, he also investigates his own art of Noh from a variety of different perspectives.

Second, Zeami shares with Kenko the belief that mastery has its roots in the penetrating self-reflection that arises from deep personal experience. This is stated with astonishing insight and precision in such concepts as "seeing with detached seeing" (*riken no ken*)—that is, seeing oneself as seen by the audience; in his teaching of the training process in terms of dance, chant, and the three basic roles ("Nikyoku santai" in *Shikado*); and in the promulgation of lifelong training [*Fushikaden*, also known as *Kadensho*]. Further, the source of all the various abilities that a person possesses is to be sought in his own body and mind; all are developed from there. This attitude of training is expressed: "The mind that knows one's own body will become the mind of one who has attained" [*Fushikaden*]. Kenko also has a keen intellect, but it halts at the essayist's perspective of considered observation. Zeami, through his direct experience and exploration of the actualities of practice, pushed the element of self-reflection to its greatest depth in medieval treatises on art.

Third, at the same time that Zeami was an artist, he was also a medieval man of culture, and as such his theories and practice were influenced by Buddhism, and in particular, Zen. In the Zen school of the period there were two vastly differing streams. According to *Gozan Bungaku* by Tamamura Takeji, one was made up of the temples of the Gozan or "Five Mountain" system, which prospered as the official temples of the Ashikaga shogunate but suffered a deterioration of their religious vitality. The other stream, not satisfied with the Gozan system, went out into the countryside and took the form of a religious organization based on practice. In contrast to the monasteries of the Gozan system, they were called *sanrin* (mountain temples) or *rinka* (forest temples), indicating their separation from worldly society. This second stream was represented in Kyoto as well, with Daitokuji and Myoshinji as their center, and its character is reflected in Zeami's works.

Documentary evidence for Zeami's personal experience of Zen can be found in *Kintoshō*, which he wrote during his tragic exile in Sado and completed in the second month of 1436. At the end he signs himself "Shami Zempo." "Shami" is a title indicating that he was a *tonseisha*, and "Zempo" is a Buddhist name. They probably indicate that Zeami had received the tonsure and taken Buddhist vows in the Zen school. His eldest son, Juro Motomasa (1394-1432), was called Zenshun [see *Yume no Ato*], and the name of his son-in-law, Komparu Zenchiku, is sometimes written with the same character for *Zen* 善. An entry in Zenchiku's *Inari-san Sanro Ki* reads, "The master Zengan Osho; disciple Zenchiku, age 63." Zen master Zengan was a man of the *rinka* or "forest temple" stream. From this evidence, it is possible to conjecture that Zempo, Zenshun, and Zenchiku all took the tonsure under Zengan, all receiving names including the character *Zen* 善 from Zengan's name, indicating this lineage. Further, in a letter to Zenchiku written from Sado, Zeami mentions the name of Juchin, who is thought to have been Zeami's wife. Juchin is also a dharma name acquired upon receiving precepts and entering the gate of Zen.

Zeami, however, did not rashly incorporate his Zen knowledge and learning directly into his own world of Noh; his attitude was always to take his art as central, and to freely employ words and phrases from Buddhism and Zen for the sake of clarifying it. By contrast, the Buddhist coloration is conspicuous in both *Tsurezuregusa*

and Kenko's collection of Japanese poetry, *Kenko Hoshi Kashu*. Concerning the Zen school, which had suddenly risen to power in his day, there is not a single direct, concrete reference. We notice only that the statements in *Tsurezuregusa* tend to emphasize the importance of seeking the way and of one's own efforts in discipline and practice. This was the spiritual trend of the times, and is also expressed in Zeami's statement, "Do not perform that which is not the way" [*Fushikaden*].

Finally, for Kenko, the mastery of an art is not the ultimate end of human life; what a person should seek as a human being is the Buddha way. Kenko calls this "the one great matter" (188), implying an ultimate rejection of art. I would like to consider how this problem was treated by Zeami.

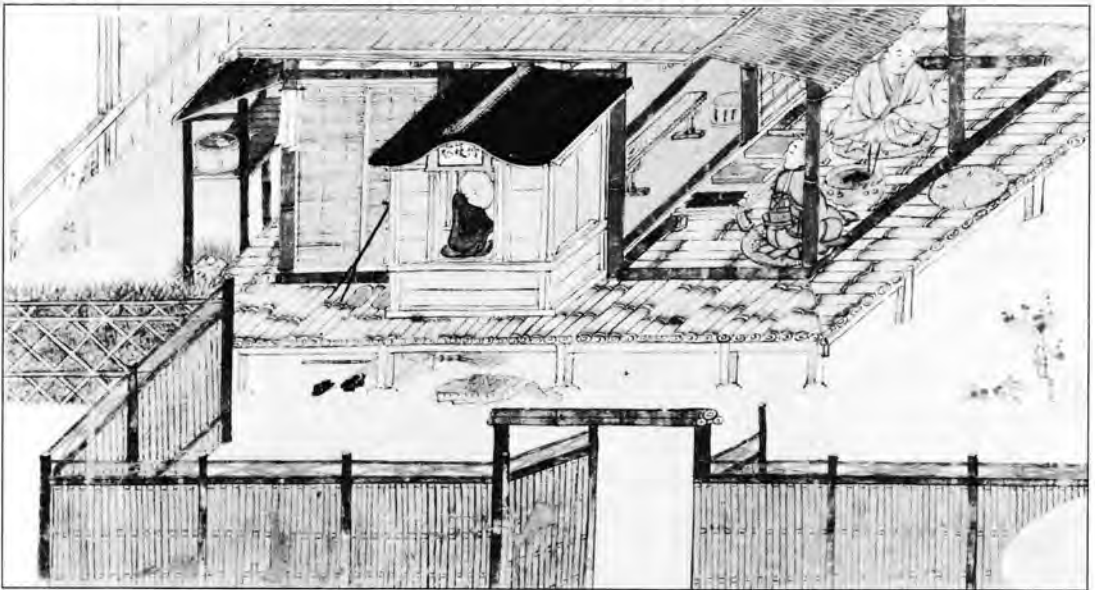
At the beginning of the *Kyaraika* (The Flower of Returning), written as his final treatise in the midst of his sorrow at the death of his son Motomasa, Zeami states:

Matters in the artistic legacy of this way [of Noh]: In the time from when I received my late father's instructions to my present old age and [the manhood of] my son Motomasa, the transmission of the inner secrets of the way had been completed; I held only the one great matter of human existence in expectation. At that point, with the early and totally unexpected death of Motomasa, the way of our school was severed and the troupe destroyed. Meanwhile, my grandson is yet an infant. The art-way of two legacies thus helplessly becomes but an unbearable delusional attachment in an old man's mind and an obstacle to the one great matter.

The "one great matter" here appears to be the "death" that is eradication of all suffering, abandonment of blind passions, and liberation from birth-and-death; it is nirvana. From this perspective, Zeami considers as the "delusional attachment in an old man's mind" his extraordinary aspiration and perseverance in the way of art transmitted from his father Kannami. Manifesting itself here is the voice of lament—typical of the medieval period—of a seventy-one-year-old artist. But unlike Kenko, Zeami does not criticize art from the transcendent perspective of the ultimacy of the Buddha way. Even in his sorrow he states,

Since otherwise in later times there would be no one who knew even the name of this mode, I set it down in paper and ink. It is a deep secret, a deep secret.

Thus Zeami records a bit of the mode of returning [*Kyaraifu no kyoku*] which he had transmitted orally only to his son Motomasa. To the very end of his life, Noh was the way to which Zeami devoted himself; it was his religion. His resolution is best expressed in the words, "Life has an end; Noh is endless" [*Kakyo*]. Human life is fundamentally restricted by death, but through consciousness of death a resolution to seriousness and to endeavor in life arises. Considered in this light, Zeami's words here indicate his true character not only as an artist but, transcending that, as a true "man



Numerous depictions of Kenko's hut survive from later ages, but they have little basis in historical reality. This illustration is from a narrative, horizontal handscroll painted in 1351, about the time of Kenko's death, and probably conveys an accurate idea of the nature of Kenko's hut. It is the 2nd section from scroll 8 of *Boki-e*, which treats the life of Kakunyo, a descendent of the great religious figure Shinran. Shown here is Kakunyo's hermitage, with a bamboo gate and bamboo verandah. Painted by Fujiwara Takaaki. Section 2: height 32 cm., width 47.9 cm. Photo courtesy of Nishi-Honganji temple, Kyoto.

of the way.”

Comparing Kenko and Zeami thus, I sense a dimension within their concern with arts that makes it impossible to label them simply “men involved with art.” In them we glimpse the significance of the medieval period for Japanese culture. It remains necessary for contemporary art and culture to come to terms with the medieval consciousness manifested in these two men. 

Translated by Dennis Hirota

The Grand Kitano Tea Gathering

Louise Allison Cort

When the wooden signboards appeared suddenly, one late summer day in Tensho 15 (1587), at all the major crossroads in Kyoto, huge crowds must have gathered to read the message. Within a few days the news had reached the other major cities, and similar signs had appeared “throughout the Home Provinces, and along the seven major highways” (*Choandoki*) of Japan. Sufficiently important men such as the Hakata merchant Kamiya Sotan and the Kyoto aristocrat Yakuin Zenso received personal invitations delivered by messenger. No one could fail to hear that Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), commander-in-chief of the nation, was issuing an open invitation to a ten-day tea-drinking festival to be held in the pine groves of Kitano Shrine, in the northwest corner of the capital. The event is known as the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering.

The name is familiar if only for the frequency with which Western historians have invoked the event as proof of Hideyoshi’s extravagant taste or of the decadence of Momoyama period chanoyu as a whole. From the Japanese point of view, however, Kitano is rightly seen as a major cultural event of the Momoyama period (1573-1603). Serious commentaries abound in both general histories and the specialized literature of chanoyu. They draw on an extraordinary array of primary evidence. (The major primary and secondary sources are discussed in the bibliography, herein.) Documentation exists in the form of a detailed inventory of the utensils that were displayed and in numerous accounts by participants from all strata of Momoyama society. Evidence in the form of extant objects is equally abundant, for the records show that participants, beginning with Hideyoshi himself, brought with them the major tea utensils in their collections. Many of those utensils are still in existence, their fame undiminished; no other event equals Kitano in capacity to explain the utensils’ reputation, significance, and manner of use. So thorough are the records of the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering that it was possible to recreate it in 1880 to commemorate its three-hundredth anniversary a few years early, and again, in 1937.

Kitano was a momentous occasion in the Momoyama world: a key move in Hideyoshi’s strategy to prove his cultural legitimacy; a turning point in the development of chanoyu style and theory; and a crisis in the personal relationship between its chief designers, two of the most influential figures in the Momoyama period, Hideyoshi and Sen Rikyu. All these implications are contained within the seven clauses of Hideyoshi’s invitation as it appeared on the signboards:

Author’s Note: I am grateful for the insights of Kumakura Isao, who discussed many aspects of this paper with me during its preparation, and for the careful corrections made by George Elison, who kindly read the text. All dates are written in the order of year, month, and day and have not been adjusted to indicate their Western calendar equivalents.



Portrait of Toyotomi Hideyoshi by Kano Nobumitsu. Important Cultural Property. Ink and color wash on paper. Momoyama period. Central area: height 53.3 cm., width 59.5 cm. Photo courtesy of Itsuo Art Museum, Osaka.



Portrait of Sen Rikyu by Hasegawa Tohaku. Colors on silk, dated 1583. Central area: height 80.9 cm., width 33.5 cm. Photo courtesy of Masaki Art Museum, Osaka.

1. In the forest of Kitano Shrine, beginning the first day of the tenth month and continuing for ten days, weather permitting, on the occasion of his presence at a grand chanoyu, Lord Hideyoshi will assemble his entire collection of *meibutsu* [famed utensils], omitting not a single one, in order to show them to serious followers of *suki* [chanoyu].
2. All earnest practitioners of chanoyu, also warriors' attendants, townspeople, or farmers, and even those of lower station, should bring a kettle, a *tsurube* [well bucket], and a drinking bowl. Those without tea [*matcha*, powdered green tea] will not cause offense by using *kogashi* [powdered roast rice and parched salt].¹
3. For the enclosures, two-mat huts will be appropriate in the Kitano pine groves, although wabi tea men may simply spread mat-covers or rice-hull bags. Participants may arrange themselves as they please.
4. This invitation is not limited to Japan but extends to everyone who sets his heart on *suki*, even to people on the continent.
5. In order that he may show the treasures to participants from distant places, Lord Hideyoshi will extend the duration through the tenth day.
6. Lord Hideyoshi's attendance is motivated by his feeling of compassion for wabi tea men. Any among such people who fail to attend will be prohibited hereafter from preparing even *kogashi*, and anyone paying a visit to such a person will suffer the same punishment.
7. Lord Hideyoshi has proclaimed that he will prepare tea personally for all wabi tea men, not only those attending from distant places.

The seven points of Hideyoshi's invitation outline all the formal elements of the Kitano tea gathering that must be examined in order to grasp the full significance of the event: the setting of Kitano; Hideyoshi's collection; guests of all classes; "people on the continent"; the strong emphasis on *suki* tea and the outright insistence on the participation of wabi tea men. The specifications of two-mat huts or mat-covers spread on the ground in informal arrangement convey a vivid image, conceived by Hideyoshi himself, of what he desired to see; the invitation reads like stage directions. Kitano was the greatest spectacle of an age with a special flair for the theatrical.

Serious Followers of Suki

Hideyoshi's invitation addressed itself simply to "all earnest practitioners of chanoyu," yet the diverse implications of this must have been apparent to all who read the notice. The misleading English term "tea ceremony" may convey the false impression that a single style of enjoying the beverage prevailed. In fact, at no time before or after the Momoyama period did a greater variety of tea-drinking practices coexist, with the divisions falling along lines of class, purpose, and philosophy. The activity known generally as chanoyu could serve the diverse functions of political caucus or country club, museum or monastic cell. Kitano, in particular, illuminated the additional potential (in the form of wabi tea) of chanoyu as a vehicle for implicit social criticism. Kitano brought together in one place the three major styles of tea-drinking current in the early Momoyama period: shoin tea, suki tea, and wabi tea. The most obvious difference among the three styles was their distinctive style in the assemblages of utensils, chosen according to particular standards. Although Hideyoshi brushed over the distinction when issuing his invitation, he had those differences clearly in mind.

His Entire Collection of Meibutsu

The classical form of tea, as practiced chiefly by the uppermost strata of Kyoto and Nara society, had developed by the late decades of the fifteenth century and was posited upon ownership of Chinese art treasures: paintings and calligraphy, bronzes and ceramics. Virtually all the utensils most esteemed a century later by Momoyama tea men of high social standing had once belonged to Ashikaga Yoshimasa's private collection. Many of those treasures had made their way into Hideyoshi's personal collection, and his plan to display them at Kitano was explicit proof that he considered himself heir to the cultural standards of the Ashikaga elite.

Followers of Suki

The second form of tea-drinking represented at Kitano had strong popular roots. At its simplest, it was the roadside vendor's beverage sold at markets, shrines and festivals; in its refined form it became the practice of the merchant class, the so-called suki tea. Economic prosperity in the early sixteenth century had brought to newly prosperous merchants the possibility of amassing tea utensils which served as transformations of wealth, much as did silverplate for merchants of contemporary Europe. Higashiyama treasures were few in number and were beyond the reach of all but the most affluent merchants, and suki tea men developed an appreciation for more modestly priced, easily obtainable Korean and even Japanese ceramics, marking the first widespread use of such common vessels for tea. Nevertheless, proof of "seriousness" still lay in ownership of at least one famous piece, meibutsu, and the foremost exponent of suki tea style, Takeno Joo (1502-1555), is said to have owned sixty meibutsu. Some of those, of course, were relatively humble objects that attained the status of meibutsu through association with Joo. Other objects had earned a pedigree by their connection with the preceding generation of merchant-class tea men, centering on their mentor, the monk Murata Shuko (1423?-1502). Quite a few such pieces appeared at Kitano. The term suki had originally referred to single-minded study within any cultural form; by

the late sixteenth century, suki taste in tea connoted specifically the enthusiastic collecting of utensils.²

Suki tea first became conspicuous in Shimogyo, the commercial section of Kyoto, but it took root in the free port of Sakai. The activities of Sakai tea practitioners were guided by men who hailed from distinguished old merchant families, headed first by Joo and subsequently by his student Sen Rikyu (1522-1591). By Rikyu's time, suki tea had become the mainstream, by virtue, in part, of the prominent role of the merchant class in creating Momoyama commercial prosperity; and Sakai tea men, identified with the suki tea style, were sought after as advisors to newly victorious generals aspiring to a position in the cultural realm. Tea drinking also provided a convenient and discreet setting for negotiating economic alliances, since Sakai merchants were equally indispensable as purveyors of firearms and munitions. Not for culture's sake alone had Oda Nobunaga advised his young commander, Hideyoshi, about to begin his career in tea: "For tea companions, choose merchants from Sakai!"

Hideyoshi's professional achievement was linked with peculiar intensity to tea. The record of his major gatherings (summarized in Appendix I, herein), from the first performance undertaken with Nobunaga's permission to the finale under the cherry blossoms at Daigoji temple in 1598, forms a well-structured series of acts in the cultural drama through which Hideyoshi reinforced his political ascent. In that respect, Kitano was the climax; all that followed was denouement.

For the occasion of his first public tea in the autumn of 1578, Hideyoshi had received from Nobunaga two objects which figured permanently among his treasures, even when their numbers had multiplied: the iron kettle known as *Otogoze* and the painting of the moon by the Southern Sung artist Mu-ch'i. Kamiya Sotan, who saw the kettle used at a gathering in Osaka Castle on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month in 1592, described it as having "smooth, rounded shoulders; a wide mouth and elongated neck; lugs in the form of demon masks; a lid from a different kettle, of Chinese manufacture" (*Sotan nikki*). At Hideyoshi's first public gathering, the Mu-ch'i painting shared the alcove display with the famous tea-leaf storage jar *Shijukkoku*, borrowed for the occasion from its merchant owner but presented by Nobunaga to Hideyoshi two years later. At a tea gathering on the first day of the third month, 1587, Kamiya Sotan saw the jar: "The glaze is yellowish-green with thicker areas and spots that shine like stars" (*Sotan nikki*). All three objects appeared at Kitano.

Nobunaga's life came to a sudden end in the summer of 1582, while he was stopping (for tea) at Honnoji temple in Kyoto. Within days Hideyoshi had seized political initiative. Later in the same year he assembled Nobunaga's three chief tea advisors, or *sado*—Rikyu, Tsuda Sokyū, and Imai Sokyū [the two Sokyūs were not related]—for a ceremony at the Myokian tea hut, where he announced his intention of enlisting them in his own service. There are indications that Rikyu already occupied a favored position within this triumvirate.

Like Hideyoshi, Rikyu had made his way upward by talent rather than by inherited position; in that respect he and Hideyoshi understood one another. Though the son of a well-to-do Sakai family, Rikyu was less affluent than either Tsuda Sokyū or Imai Sokyū. His aesthetic inventiveness had stood him in good stead from an early

age and gained him a place as Joo's student. Joo died in 1555, and Rikyu's other master, Kitamuki Dochin, died in 1561. During his thirties and forties, Rikyu appears to have practiced with zeal and distinction within the format that Joo had developed, and his reputation earned him a place as Nobunaga's sado.

Rikyu's emergence as a tea man of innovative genius, however, began only after his association with Hideyoshi. That association coincided with a marked change in his tea style, a shift away from the suki conventions established by Joo toward the rarefied form known as wabi-suki. The *Yamanoue Soji ki* later gave these characteristics as those of a wabi-suki tea man: "... possessing not a single valuable utensil and harmonizing the three traits of a resolute spirit, inventiveness, and skillful preparation." Rikyu abandoned the customary four-and-one-half mat room for the severely restricted space defined by just two mats. His taste in utensils included extensive experimentation with pieces made to his own specifications by local artisans. This alliance with Kyoto craftsmen, permitting the tea man's direct participation in designing the object, lay at the heart of Rikyu's concept of wabi. Involvement in the process of design was a challenging exercise of inventiveness, and it was an activity befitting the wabi-suki tea man, whose practices expressed self-sufficiency and reliance on what was cheap and easily available. It was an irony of the working of the chanoyu world that the objects that grew out of Rikyu's experiments—most famous being the tea bowls made by the potter Chojiro, founder of the Raku family—quickly attained the status and value of meibutsu. Not a few such pieces were used at Kitano.

Wabi Tea Men

The wabi tea ceremony was the third major Momoyama tea style represented at Kitano. Hideyoshi's summons to wabi tea men is conspicuous in his invitation, and its oddly contradictory tone, at once cajoling and commanding, reflects his ambiguous feelings toward such men. Indeed, these wabi tea men were the unknown element at Kitano; and their presence, although highly desirable to Hideyoshi, proved to be deeply disturbing.

Wabi, as elaborated by Joo and Rikyu, designated not only an attitude toward objects but an approach to life, a sort of secular philosophy directed at the prosperous merchant who was often trained as a lay monk at a Zen monastery as part of his tea activities. But the fascination for the image of the wabi tea man—homeless and possessionless, practicing tea-drinking austerely within a world obsessed by the tea hut and its trappings—arose from a longstanding attitude expressed recurrently in Japanese literature. In the Momoyama period, the Portuguese Jesuit Rodrigues was struck by the widespread inclination among Japanese "toward a solitary and eremitical life, far removed from all worldly affairs and tumult."³ He described men who

hand over during their lifetime their house, estate and public affairs to their heirs and take a house for themselves where they lead a quiet and peaceful life, withdrawn from all worldly business and disturbance. They shave their heads and beards, and exchange their secular clothes for religious and sober dress.

Wabi tea men were not ordinary beggars; more often than not, they were well-educated men who had tasted wealth and success but chose to abandon their position and comfort.

Of all Momoyama wabi tea men about whom anecdotes abound, the best remembered is Hechikan, a conspicuous figure at Kitano. As one seventeenth-century text recalled, he “followed wabi-suki without being governed by any conventional tea practice, pleasing himself in his solitary whims” (*Genryu chawa*). Hechikan’s rustic hut was in Yamashina, to the east of Kyoto. He owned only a single iron kettle: every morning he cooked his gruel in it, then scoured it with sand, filled it from the swift mountain stream, replaced it on his hearth, and boiled water for tea to be shared with whoever happened by. Yet this manner concealed the fact that Hechikan hailed from a prosperous merchant establishment, the Sakamotoya in Kamigyo, the elite area of Kyoto, and that he was married to the niece of the physician and tea man Manase Dozan.

Contrasted to such a professional tea man as Rikyu, the wabi eccentric was considered the ideal amateur. Yet the biographies of Hechikan and others like him show that the style of wabi tea men was a matter of choice rather than circumstance. Like the “mountain hut” tea pavilions created within their city gardens by Sakai tea men as a means of imaginary escape from urban congestion and the pressures of business, the idealized figure of the wabi tea man was a deliberate fiction, a theatrical role that had been formulated by the age.

At best, the character of the wabi tea man offered an alternative attitude toward material wealth, an escape from the obsessive collecting required by orthodox tea, and a model of spiritual growth. Yet it seems that wabi—the core of Rikyu’s aesthetic teaching—had proven susceptible to mere superficial imitation. Hideyoshi’s very insistence on the presence of wabi tea men at Kitano suggests that, by 1587, the wabi life had already become a matter of fashion, formulated enough that Hideyoshi could list its requirements: minimal utensils, cheap tea-substitute, makeshift hut. By the time of Kitano, wabi, for many, seems to have become “an active aesthetical appreciation of poverty . . . ; the creating or remodeling of an environment in such a way as to awaken the feeling of wabi . . .”⁴ Rikyu’s grandson, Sen Sotan (1578–1658), was to write bitterly of the gap between the genuine understanding of the spiritual values of a wabi life and the mere aping of its form, making “an ostentatious show of wabi while inwardly nothing is consonant with it.” For Rikyu, the pervasiveness of this “ostentatious show of wabi” in Hideyoshi’s plans for Kitano may have been the key revelation of the Kitano event. Kitano in that sense is the first major illustration of the conflict between form and content that has consistently plagued chanoyu.

Hideyoshi, on his part, may have found himself alarmed not by the wabi poseurs who appeared at Kitano but by those few true representatives of the wabi ideal, including, quite possibly, Rikyu himself. Rikyu’s focus on a new class of utensils, valued as manifestations of the tea man’s skillful invention rather than age, cost, or pedigree, threatened the very basis of Hideyoshi’s prestige within tea culture—his collection of famous objects.

The Kitano drama is frequently explained by reference to its two directors, Hideyoshi and Rikyu. Each man is said to have embodied a different extreme: Hideyoshi's love of gold and glory versus Rikyu's pursuit of the hidden, solitary extremes of wabi. Yet Kitano, as the climax of the longstanding partnership, cannot be explained without acknowledging that, up to that moment, each man had encompassed both extremes of the contradictory tastes of Momoyama culture with brilliant success, and each had responded to that dynamic synthesis within the other. Hideyoshi could yearn after the wabi tea manner; Rikyu could design a gold tea hut. After Kitano, however, each seemed to make a choice, to defend that position which, ultimately, meant most to him. Those choices set both men at odds. After Kitano, both Rikyu and Hideyoshi became more awesome, but, at the same time, more inflexible in their singleminded pursuit of their goals. That rigidity drove a wedge into their alliance.

During the five years preceding Kitano, the two men had risen together to the summits of their respective careers. Nobunaga had used his tea advisors to maintain the proprieties, but Hideyoshi was determined to distinguish himself on his own terms. He understood the potential for that achievement within chanoyu. In Hideyoshi, Rikyu met a man who could understand and support his own break with tea tradition. From the outset they were bound in a complex alliance. In their official roles, they set the standards of cultural achievement. At a deeper level, they were linked by their respective quests for power. Hideyoshi's social status was secured by Rikyu's presence; Rikyu's creativity was underwritten by Hideyoshi's wealth, particularly by his ownership of the nation's finest collection of tea utensils. In chanoyu, the level of highest achievement was the *meijin*, or master: one who owned Chinese utensils and demonstrated extraordinary talent at both connoisseurship and preparation of tea. *Meijin* meant literally "man with a name." By 1587, both Hideyoshi and Rikyu had made the names by which they would be later known. Hideyoshi had climbed from footsoldier to Kampaku (chief advisor to the emperor) and Prime Minister and had taken the aristocratic-sounding surname Toyotomi. Tanaka Soeki had received his lay Buddhist title Rikyu, chosen by his lifelong friend, Kokei, abbot of Daitokuji temple, and referring to the Zen epithet meaning "Dispense with both fame and wealth."

In 1583 the pair had begun planning and executing a remarkable sequence of tea events. Viewed as precedents for Kitano, these may be seen as trials of the various unusual features that were combined so dramatically at Kitano. A consistent theme in Hideyoshi's tea activities was his exaggeration of one element or another. Hideyoshi magnified the ordinary scale or duration or number of guests in a startling interpretation of wabi-suki "eccentricity" that was at once Hideyoshi's unique vision and a reflection of the widespread Momoyama taste for the grandiose.

In midsummer, 1583, Hideyoshi marked the opening of his newly completed Osaka Castle with a volley of ceremonies that lasted days (including a solid week's celebration of the Tanabata Festival) and brought together both tea men and warlords. The visiting generals followed custom by presenting tea utensils: Tokugawa Ieyasu set the standard by offering the illustrious *Hatsubana* chaire, which little more than a decade earlier had been given to Nobunaga by a Kyoto merchant to mark that leader's triumphant entrance into the capital.

Two months later, Hideyoshi showed off *Hatsubana* and other treasures at a meeting convened to display the treasures of five other collectors, including Tsuda Sokyū and Rikyū. A similar gathering was held soon afterward in Kyoto, at the mansion of Yakuin Zensō, to examine famous utensils in Kyoto collections, including those of Manase Dozan, Karasumaru Mitsuyasu, Daimonjiya Eisei, and the temple Shokokuji, formerly connected closely with the Ashikaga shogunate. Hideyoshi was relishing both his power to attract gifts and his access, through that power, to private collections that otherwise would have been closed to him. None of the participants in those gatherings was unaware that he might be "invited" to contribute some of his own treasures to Hideyoshi's growing collection.

At the end of the year, Hideyoshi organized a total of six tea gatherings in one day, summoning as guests the ordinary soldiers quartered in Osaka Castle. His gesture of securing the loyalty of the lower classes by offering them tea would be repeated at Kitano.

As part of the New Year's festivities in 1584, Hideyoshi dedicated the Yamazato tea hut within the walls of Osaka Castle. In the tenth month of that year, he convened a grand meeting of some thirty tea men, including all his tea advisors and four of the seven who were Rikyū's most prominent students.

Whereas the major tea gatherings of 1583-1584 served the purpose of consolidating Hideyoshi's collection and confirming his position among his immediate followers within the walls of Osaka Castle, the events of 1585 saw him extending his influence purposefully toward Kyoto, which he "conquered" with tea just as surely as Nobunaga had with firearms and swords. The first event acknowledged the close ties of tea to the major Zen Buddhist monasteries in Kyoto. The setting was Daitokuji, heartland of Zen power within the capital and training ground for a multitude of tea men who became lay monks as part of their tea practice. Enclosures formed by folding screens set up within the various subtemples were used by the participants, who included twenty-five tea men from Sakai, fifty merchants from Kyoto, the monks of the temple, and Hideyoshi's commanders and allies. Details of the Daitokuji gathering, including a list of utensils—many of which reappeared at Kitano—were recorded by Tsuda Sokyū in his *Tennojiya kaiki*. As the focal point of the mammoth event, Hideyoshi set up a display of his collection within the abbot's quarters of Sokenin, the subtemple which Hideyoshi himself had had built to commemorate Nobunaga's family. Emulating his predecessor, Hideyoshi was displaying his utensils to prove his sovereignty in the very spot most intimately associated with the man he had supplanted.

Within a few months, Hideyoshi was appointed Kampaku. He demonstrated his new privileges with a typical gesture: he entered the Imperial Palace and served tea to the emperor with his own hands. The occasion seems to have fired his imagination, for in the New Year of 1586 he returned to the palace, that time bringing his own setting, the fabled "gold tea hut" designed by Rikyū and executed by Sakai lacquerers. The hut was a perfect image of the dynamic contrasts fabricated by Momoyama taste. In size, its three mats conformed to the fashionable wabi tea hut, although in this case those three mats were covered with scarlet wool felt, imported from Europe, and edged with red-and-gold brocade. The ceiling, the walls, and even the window frames shim-

mered with gold leaf, and the set of utensils was of solid gold. Although gleaming with the luster of the noblest metal, the hut was, in fact, portable, constructed so that it could be folded and carried into the Imperial Palace or, eventually, to Kitano.

The year of Kitano, 1587, was critical in Hideyoshi's career, and it opened portentously with yet another grand tea event, now tuned to a different purpose, designed to reinforce the cycle of events leading to his victorious Kyushu campaign which would be celebrated at Kitano. The guest of honor at Osaka Castle was a young but influential merchant, Kamiya Sotan, who came not from Sakai but from the port city of Hakata in northern Kyushu. Hideyoshi, who never made an uncalculated public gesture, had a specific goal in mind: he desired material support from Hakata for the campaign he was about to wage against one of his last undefeated opponents, Shimazu Yoshihisa, who then dominated most of Kyushu. It is even possible that he was already looking forward to the invasion of China. As one of the wealthiest Hakata merchants, Sotan was in a position to promise support and enlist it from his fellow merchants. At Osaka he was singled out from the huge crowd (so vast that tea-drinking order was decided by drawing lots, another precedent for Kitano) and overwhelmed with special treatment, which must have had its desired effect.

Shortly after the Osaka Castle gathering, Hideyoshi left for the front in Kyushu. By the fifth month, Shimazu had been brought to his knees. The victorious Hideyoshi returned to Hakata, where he celebrated with a round of tea gatherings hosted by Sotan and other prominent merchants. The gatherings in the seaside pine grove at Hakozaki, in huts specially constructed to suggest the shelters used by salt-makers, rehearsed the studiously rustic outdoor setting of Kitano. At Hakozaki, Hideyoshi may have conceived the notion of holding another public victory celebration when he returned to Kyoto. Just two weeks after his triumphant arrival back in Osaka, the notices went out announcing the grand Kitano tea gathering.

In the Forest of Kitano Shrine

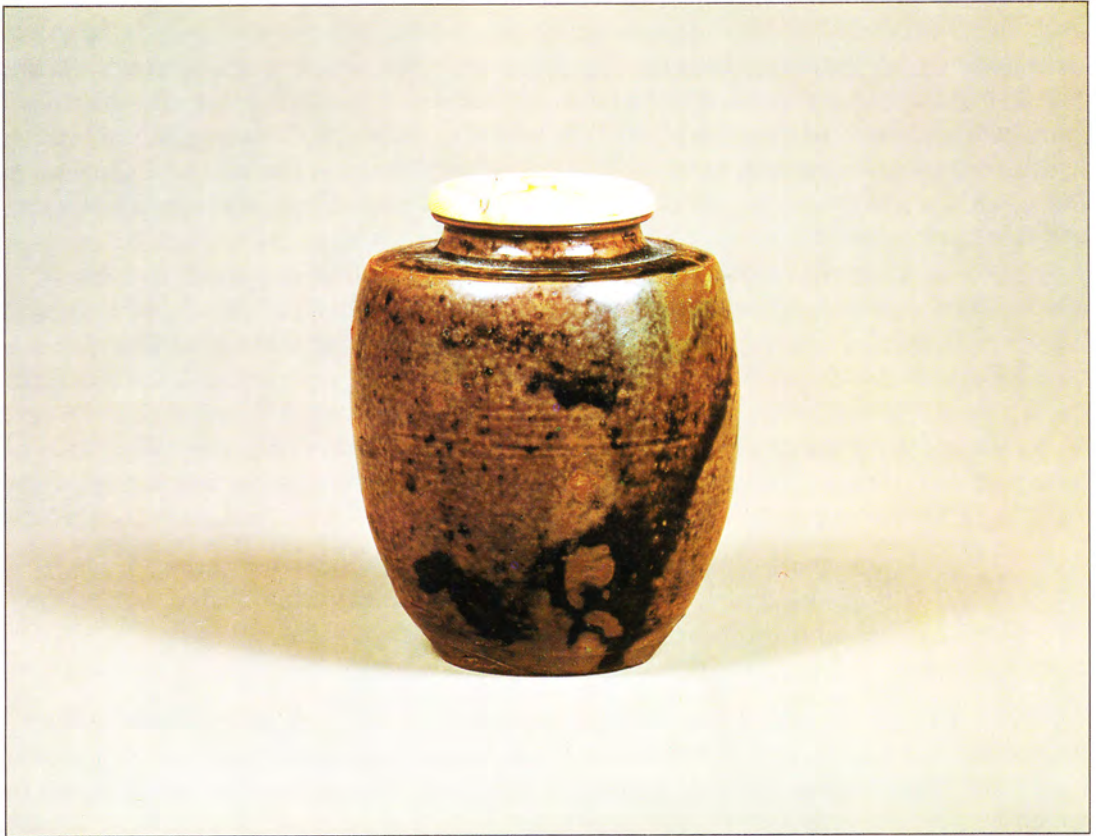
The Grand Kitano Tea Gathering can be seen as the summation of all the successful elements of the earlier extravaganzas: the display of prized utensils by many owners; the vast crowd of participants, organized by lots; the ceremony of many days' duration; the gold tea hut; the natural setting. The chief novel feature at Kitano was the gesture of issuing an open invitation to all classes throughout the country.

Closely linked to that innovation was the choice of Kitano as locale. As one of the few large areas of open land near the city, the "northern fields" in the northwest corner of the capital had long served as a gathering place for people of all classes. The shrine had existed since the ninth century. Kyoto townspeople bought and sold at the monthly market held outside the gates and enjoyed outdoor theatrical performances of *Sarugaku*, *Dengaku*, puppets, and the early form of *Kabuki*. Tea stalls sprang up in front of the gate for the refreshment of worshippers, shoppers, and merrymakers. The Kitano festival in the eighth month was a major annual event in the capital, drawing aristocrats and townspeople alike to its free theatrical performances.

Kitano Shrine had become a focal point for men of letters following its dedication to the spirit of Sugawara Michizane (845-903), the distinguished scholar and



"Tsuda Sokyū displayed the chaire *Hatsubana*, which had been Ieyasu's gift to Hideyoshi on the completion of Osaka Castle." Katatsuki chaire, thick tea container, named *Hatsubana* (First Flower). Important Cultural Property. Height 8.4 cm., diameter of mouth 4.65 cm., diameter of body at widest point 8.0 cm., diameter of base 4.7 cm. Private collection.



"Karasumaru Mitsunobu was displaying his katatsuki chaire known then as *Karasumaru*. When Rikyu called Hideyoshi's attention to the fine piece, the little jar was renamed *Kitano* on the spot." Katatsuki chaire, thick tea container, named *Kitano*. Height 5.8 cm., diameter of mouth 4.3 cm., diameter of body at widest point 7.5 cm., diameter of base varies from 3.8 cm. to 4.3 cm. Private collection.

diplomat who had been exiled to Kyushu and died there in 903, a victim of Fujiwara jealousy. During the Muromachi period, worship at the shrine in Michizane's honor took the form of votive performances of music, dance, Noh, or parties for composing *waka* or linked verse. Popularizing elements within the Zen sect reinterpreted Michizane's cultural connections with China by constructing the image of Toso Tenjin—Michizane crossing to Sung China in his dream, grasping a flowering plum branch—which became an important theme for Muromachi painters. The cult of Toso Tenjin seems to have become widespread in the Momoyama period, judging from the number of extant paintings.⁵

Aside from its obvious suitability to a great public gathering, the forest of Kitano Shrine seems to have appealed to Hideyoshi for its association with certain historical figures. Determined to outshine the Ashikaga shoguns in his cultural activities, Hideyoshi was constantly alert to precedents. In 1413 a performance of Sarugaku by the Kanze troupe had been sponsored at Kitano by Ashikaga Yoshimochi. The text of Yoshimochi's proclamation, inviting all citizens to view the performance free of charge, is so strikingly similar to the Kitano invitation as to suggest that it might have served as a model.

Master actor Kanze will perform Noh at Kitano for seven days continuously, beginning on the coming tenth day. Those who so desire are urged to attend, regardless of wealth and without consideration of age.⁶

Finally, it is worth considering the powerful precedent of Michizane himself. Hideyoshi, of course, knew the legend of Michizane's crossing to China, and it may not have been mere coincidence that made him choose Michizane's shrine for the event to which he invited even "people on the continent." He had long set his mind on an ultimate conquest of Ming China, through Korea, and the Kyushu campaign could be seen as a prelude. In Michizane's popular image as Toso Tenjin, Hideyoshi may have seen a prophecy of the successful fulfillment of his own ambitions.

Less than a month before the Kitano gathering, on the thirteenth day of the ninth month, Hideyoshi moved into his new Kyoto residence, Jurakudai. Having risen to the top civilian rank and personally served tea to the emperor, Hideyoshi now moved himself physically into the capital, out of a fortified castle into a splendid urban mansion, erected on the site of the former imperial palace, within walking distance of the new palace and not far from Kitano. From this new vantage point in the social and physical center of the city, secure in every respect, he may have felt at last that the time had come to make a gesture to secure the loyalty of the lower ranks from which he had risen.

The First Day of the Tenth Month

With the arrival of the ninth month, preparations everywhere began in earnest. One of the most detailed documents relating to Kitano, the diary of Yoshida Kanemi, hereditary priest of Yoshida Shrine at the foot of the hills to the east of the city, gives an intimate view of upper-class Kyoto's somewhat disgruntled reaction to the announce-

ment of the event. During the early days of the month, Kanemi consulted uneasily with various well-placed acquaintances, including the retired emperor Ogimachi, in the hopes of hearing that he was not obliged to attend. His concern appears to have been chiefly financial, and the preparations that he eventually undertook make clear that, for all but the wabi tea men, the cost of attending Kitano was considerable. By the tenth day of the month, however, Kanemi had resigned himself to the fact that there was no way out for him, and sought the help of the head of the Toyobo subtemple of Kenninji temple in ordering a new kettle "after a Rikyu pattern" from a Sanjo foundry, at a cost of one hundred rolls of cloth.

Kanemi's reference to "Rikyu's pattern" and similar references to it indicate how thoroughly Rikyu's taste had become established. The two-mat hut and the tsurube specified in the invitation were Rikyu's taste and had become part of wabi-suki convention. Yet no one knew better than Rikyu how to satisfy Hideyoshi's true expectations for Kitano, and he took care to caution his Sakai constituency. Two communiques from Rikyu to Sakai tea men are extant, one dated the fifteenth day of the ninth month and the second the twenty-fifth day, containing the same detailed advice about utensils:

Kettle for use on the hearth
Tsurube (well bucket)
Chaire; the pride of your collection
Bentwood wastewater receptacle (*mentsu*)
Bamboo lid rest

"Having prepared these items, you should come to the capital. Hideyoshi desires that all the Sakai participants gather in one area within the Kitano pine grove."⁷

Knowing that even within the wabi ambience, Hideyoshi expected a lavish display of important utensils, Rikyu alerted his comrades to the advisability of including their best chaire among the otherwise modest utensils.

As the opening day drew near, participants began crowding into the capital. The thirty-six members of the Nara delegation set out on the twenty-third. They included temple officials from Todaiji and Kofukuji temples, Shinto priests, and townspeople. Another sizeable group came from Koriyama Castle in the entourage of Hideyoshi's younger half-brother, Hidenaga, lord of the castle. Hidenaga prepared his place to the west side of the south gate of the grove, not far from the Nara group. Rikyu's letters to the Sakai tea men had instructed them to gather in one place in the grove. Similarly, the Kyoto nobles were assigned one location in the riding grounds to the east of the shrine. Despite the informality prescribed by the invitation, conventional order was observed in the manner in which groups of different locales or social levels clustered together. Kanemi had already engaged two carpenters and told them to order their materials. On the twenty-eighth he went with them to the grounds to supervise construction of his hut in the precincts of the Kyoto nobility. Some eight hundred other structures went up that day, and a total of fifteen hundred were erected eventually. Most exhibited a certain elegance in their use of lightly lacquered wood. "Between the lecture hall and the Shobaiin, no open space was to be found."



Shoka chatsubo, tea-leaf storage jar, which once belonged to Shuko. Imai Sokyū paired this jar with the painting *Autumn Moon* by Mu-ch'i in the alcove of his hut at Kitano. Height 39.7 cm., diameter of mouth 11.6 cm., diameter of body at widest point 105.1 cm., diameter of base varies from 12.4 to 12.7 cm., weight 4,350 grams. Photo courtesy of Tokugawa Reimeikai, Tokyo.



Autumn Moon by Mu-ch'i. In his rustic hut at Kitano, "Imai Sokyū placed two masterpieces in the alcove; Mu-chi's painting, *Autumn Moon*, and the tea-leaf storage jar *Shoka*." The contrast of setting and utensils illustrate one aspect of the wabi aesthetic. Central area: height 29.4 cm., width 93.1 cm. Photo courtesy of Tokugawa Reimeikai, Tokyo.

On the evening of the thirtieth, Kanemi packed his carefully selected utensils in a large Chinese-style chest and accompanied the carpenters who carried them across town to Kitano. While there, he saw Hideyoshi strolling among the huts of the nobility. Hideyoshi must have been pleased to see that he could muster tea men as easily as troops. Kanemi's carpenters sat up all night to guard the hut.

At long last the day arrived. At dawn, twenty-six members of Hideyoshi's inner circle—a mixed group of tea men, warriors, merchants, nobles, and monks—arrived at the worship hall, dressed in their crested jackets and formal *bakama* (split skirt). Entering the spacious hall, they encountered the first of the displays that Hideyoshi and his tea advisors had prepared to dazzle them. Within the hall a trio of three-mat enclosures had been created, with Hideyoshi's portable gold tea hut as the centerpiece. It served as a magnificent backdrop for Hideyoshi's seat in the center of the room. His guests arranged themselves to each side. Some form of ceremony, possibly a round of tea, began the events of the day.

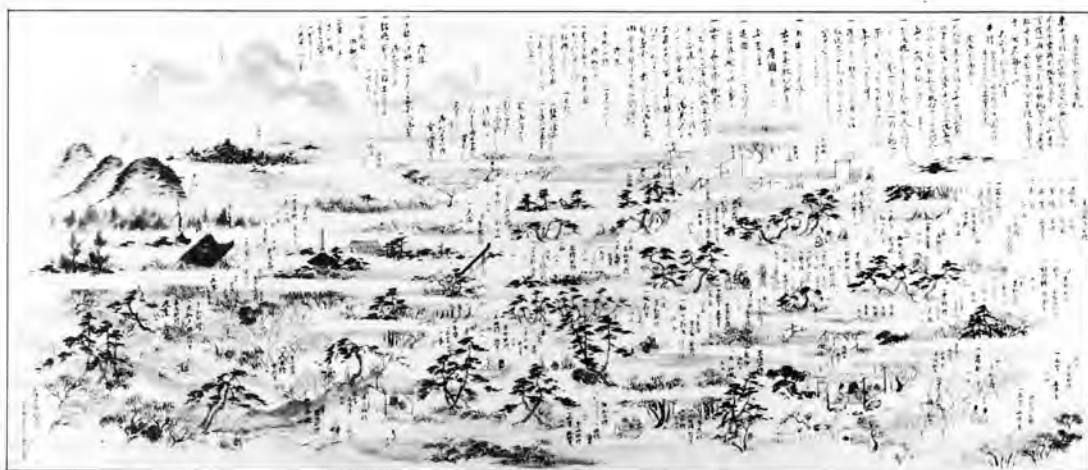
Set out in the alcoves and shelves of the three enclosures were the choicest of Hideyoshi's treasures. Their selection and arrangement had been the work of the three *sado*, with one man responsible for each display. Rikyu had been in charge of the gold hut. In retrospect at least, the nature of the choices seems extraordinarily symbolic; for astute observers on that day as well—familiar with the proud lineages of past ownership—the objects must have made a mute declaration of the complex nature of chanoyu alliances.

The utensils that had once belonged to Yoshimasa formed a tribute to the orthodox taste of the Ashikaga shogunate. The painting *Temple Bell in Evening Mist* by Yu Chien, one of the series of the Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers, had long been a favorite of tea men.

A number of other utensils had formerly been in the collections of one or both of the grand old men of the tea tradition, Shuko and Joo. Among the pieces associated with Shuko were the *Nitari* chaire and a Chinese bronze ladle stand in the *momajiri* (tall and slender with a bulging peach-shaped base) shape. Joo, as teacher to Rikyu and many other prominent tea men gathered at Kitano, was a living memory. The utensils that he had made significant included a Temmoku bowl, a bronze *zorori* (tall and extremely slender) vase, a Bizen-ware waste-water receptacle, and a kettle with "small hailstone" texturing on the shoulder. Still other pieces had passed through the hands of the students and close associates of Shuko, including Shutoku who was known for carving his own tea scoops (an ivory one by him was displayed that day), Torii Insetsu, and Matsumoto Soju.

The calligraphy by the priest Shu-t'ang that Rikyu had hung in the alcove of the gold tea hut acknowledged the formal ties between chanoyu and Zen. It might also be seen as an affirmation of Rikyu's commitment to the spiritual discipline within tea.

A fourth group of utensils reflected Hideyoshi's immediate political triumphs. In the gold hut was the Chinese *hyotan* (gourd) chaire (once part of the Ashikaga collection) given to Hideyoshi by Otomo Sorin, the Kyushu lord whose cause Hideyoshi had defended successfully against Shimazu. In a choice that reflected on his own career as well as on Hideyoshi's, Imai Sokyū had selected Joo's *nasu* (eggplant) chaire,



The Grand Kitano Tea Gathering of 1587, by Ukita Ikkei. Colors on paper. Painted in 1841, it was based on the documents and stories describing the event and depicts well the atmosphere and grandeur of the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering. Central area: height 161 cm., width 140 cm. Photo courtesy of Kitano Shrine, Kyoto.

the very one that Sokyū had presented to Nobunaga two decades earlier as the first gesture of conciliation from a Sakai merchant toward the new national leader. That gift had marked Sokyū's entrance into public life as a tea advisor. After Nobunaga's death the caddy had returned to Sokyū, who gave it away once again—to Hideyoshi.

After the opening formalities, Hideyoshi and his three sado moved outdoors to the four huts that had been built nearby for serving tea to the crowds. In those four-and-one-half-mat rooms, as well, all the utensils were Hideyoshi's. Again the choices seem laden with implications: some soon made themselves obvious to the participants, while others would become apparent only with time.

On the shelf of the hut that had been arranged for his use, Hideyoshi displayed two chaire, *Nitta*, one of the three best-known *katatsuki* (shouldered) types, named for the old warrior family that had once owned it, and the *katatsuki Menpaku* that, like so many others of Hideyoshi's utensils on view that day, would be lost in the flames that destroyed Osaka Castle in 1615, when the last of Hideyoshi's supporters were defeated. Hideyoshi's *Otogoze* kettle was suspended above the brazier on a narrow chain that had once belonged to Jōō. In the alcove were a Bizen-ware cylindrical vase and a fan-shaped painting known to tea men as *Morning Mountains*, by Ma Lin. Tsuda Sokyū had seen the painting in 1569, when it belonged to Jōō's nephew.

The painting has a spirit that expands beyond its boundaries. There are two ships, one larger, the other only partially visible. Below are waves painted in detail; from the center toward the top is a grove of trees; above the grove are mountains. Two people are in the boat, holding the sail. Overall, this is a "cool" painting. There are no forced passages.⁸

It, too, would fall victim to the Osaka fire.

Tsuda Sokyū displayed the chaire *Hatsubana*, which had been Ieyasu's gift to Hideyoshi on the completion of Osaka Castle and eventually, after the destruction of the castle and all that it defended, would return to Ieyasu. Seldom has such a modest object carried such a heavy weight of associations. He hung a painting of a willow, by Yu-chien, in the company of the tea-leaf storage jar *Nadeshiko*. In the New Year of 1587, Kamiya Sotan had learned the meaning of the jar's name: "It refers not to the nadeshiko flower [fringed pink] but to a petted child, because its proud former owner was in the habit of stroking it like a child."⁹

Imai Sokyū's journal gives a full description of his hut, situated under a towering pine tree and walled by green wickerwork. From a branch of the tree he had suspended a *tsurube* to be used by the guests for rinsing their hands. Amidst this studied rusticity, Sokyū placed two masterpieces in the alcove: Mu-ch'i's painting *Autumn Moon*, and the tea-leaf storage jar *Shōka*, which had belonged to Shuko. The contrast of setting and utensils quite literally illustrated Shuko's maxim on the display of famous utensils: "a fine steed tethered at a thatched hut."

Rikyū's pavilion deserves special attention. Although the utensils were Hideyoshi's, Rikyū may have embodied a personal statement in their selection. The place of honor in the alcove was occupied by the tea-leaf storage jar *Sutego*, which had entered

Yoshimasa's collection without a name. Yoshimasa was said to have christened it by his query, "Has such a priceless jar been wandering nameless like an abandoned child (*sutego*)?" The tale reflects well on Yoshimasa as a connoisseur of beauty overlooked by others. By the time of Kitano, this reputation adhered to Rikyu. As the *Yamanoue Soji ki* put it, "Rikyu earned his fame by turning mountains into valleys and east into west, breaking all the conventional rules of tea . . ." Specifically, Rikyu had broken away from the limited number of famous utensils and sought acceptable pieces among the simplest sorts of domestic wares easily available in local markets. Even at Kitano, he combined the illustrious *Sutego* with hallmarks of his own style: a freshly cut green bamboo lid-rest and a clay octopus-trap used as a receptacle for waste water. In this respect, Rikyu's display embraced extremes not seen in the other huts. However subtle, his startling assemblage must be seen as an important aspect of the day.

During the morning, Hideyoshi and his three tea advisors served a total of eight hundred three guests, who followed instructions made public the preceding day by forming into groups of five as they entered the east gate of a temporary fence that closed off the area and drew lots to determine who would be their host. Yoshida Kanemi drew a number that sent him to the hut of Imai Sokyu, while the Nara tea man Matsuya Hisamasa recorded his and his son's good fortune at being served by Hideyoshi. One version of the Kitano record contains the poignant story of a Nara man who, shut out after arriving too late to draw a lot, collapsed and eventually died, possibly from anxiety over Hideyoshi's thinly veiled threat against those who failed to appear.

After the noon meal, Hideyoshi set out to review the other huts within the pine groves. Until he completed his tour, the other guests were obliged to remain patiently in their places. The afternoon was bright and crisp. As Hideyoshi strolled around the grounds, guided by Rikyu, he passed the huts of some of the most distinguished figures in Momoyama culture. Oda Uraku was there, observing the tokens of power that had passed through his dead brother Nobunaga's hands, just as Tokugawa Ieyasu was having an unwitting preview of the treasures destined to enter his own coffers.

The Nara tea men in attendance represented the conservative but dedicated tradition of the old capital, and they produced the most thorough records of the event. Among the Nara delegates were two generations of the Matsuya family, lacquer merchants serving Todaiji temple, who helped compile one of the most informative sixteenth-century tea diaries and who owned the famous *Matsuya* katatsuki chaire which the father, Hisamasa, was using in his hut near the stone *torii* gate. Hisamasa, wearing a lined kimono of pale yellow hemp, had arranged screens to form a broad "alcove" in which he hung his renowned painting of a heron by Hsu Hsi. He was pleased that the Kyoto courtiers Konoe Ryuzan, his son Nobutada and Ichijoin Takenari, as well as Ieyasu and Hidenaga, all visited his hut. By contrast, Hisamasa's son Hisayoshi displayed no important utensils in his hut in front of the lecture hall, leaving that distinction to his father. Another Nara visitor was a youth named Kubo Gondayu (1571-1640), son of an official of Kasuga Shrine, who was to recall later that the experience at Kitano had awakened his lifelong interest in tea (*Choandoki*).

Throughout the afternoon Hideyoshi strolled around the grounds, showing interest in each and every hut. But he stopped short at only two, and his choices

demonstrate the remarkable eagerness, already noted in his preparations, to associate with the wabi tea men whose style was all the rage, and to whom he had issued such an unequivocal summons.

One was a man named Ikka, who had traveled all the way from the province of Mino. He had built his enclosure from grass mats suspended from the limbs of a conveniently disposed cluster of small pines. Inside, he had strewn sand over a two-mat area and floored with roof-tiles the one-mat space that contained the brazier and kettle. A small fire made of pine boughs set up a wisp of smoke. With his water dipper hanging from the fence and his tea bowl inverted as a lid over the jar of tea-substitute, Ikka was sitting in his doorway waiting for guests. One of those guests was Hideyoshi himself, who took his only bowl of tea for the day from that wabi tea man and expressed his satisfaction by giving Ikka the fashionable white fan he had been carrying.

Hideyoshi paused a second time on the outskirts of the Kyoto enclave, to the east of the worship hall. There the wabi tea man from Yamashina, Hechikan (wearing a peasant-style cap of coarse cloth dyed brown with persimmon juice), had found a whimsical solution to the problem of shelter. He had erected a large parasol, lacquered in brilliant red, which shaded an area just equal to one and one-half mats—a most extreme wabi tea hut, outdoing even Rikyu. No doubt he had calculated the irony in the fact that just such umbrellas were used to shade high-ranking courtiers in processions.

In a fine humor after these encounters, Hideyoshi finally reached the huts of the Kyoto nobility, including Kanemi, late in the afternoon. Perhaps they felt slighted, but the aristocrats greeted him with profuse bows. Karasumaru Mitsunobu was displaying his katatsuki chaire known then as *Karasumaru*. When Rikyu called Hideyoshi's attention to the fine piece, the little jar was renamed *Kitano* on the spot.

According to Kanemi, Hideyoshi withdrew from the pine groves in fine spirits and returned to Jurakudai, and the sun set on what had been, to all appearances, a brilliantly successful first day of a ten-day affair. Kanemi packed up his utensils in his Chinese chest, stationed a guard for the night, and returned home. At some point during that night, however, orders issued from Jurakudai cancelled plans for the remainder of the event. Before dawn the next morning, workmen were again swarming in the pine groves, dismantling the huts so recently erected. Kanemi's reaction shows frank relief: "The preparations and anxieties of many days were thus cut short in the enjoyment of one pleasant day, and the burden of expenses was greatly reduced." One of his first duties that morning was to call upon Rikyu and present him with one hundred rolls of cloth, "in thanks," though he does not clarify whether he held Rikyu responsible for curtailing the event or whether he was simply repaying Rikyu for the use of his kettle pattern.

Only the participants from Nara and Koriyama returned to the groves a second day, for Hidenaga had expressed a wish to serve the members of his party and display his own fine collection of utensils. By the fourth, the participants were reaching Nara and regaling those who had remained behind with descriptions of the event.

The precise cause, or causes, of Hideyoshi's abrupt change of plans may never be known. The official explanation, as recorded in the *Tamonin nikki*, cited news of



The wabi tea man Hechikan, under his large parasol which shaded an area just equal to one and one-half mats—a most extreme wabi “tea hut.” Detail of the drawing of the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering. Photo courtesy of Kitano Shrine, Kyoto.

an uprising in the Kyushu territory of Sassa Narimasa, yet it seems that Hideyoshi had known of the uprising for weeks, and even the Tamonin diarist, at the time of his writing, greeted the story with skepticism. While news of the Kyushu rebellion may have dampened the mood of the celebration, it was not of a sufficient scale to cause Hideyoshi to curtail his carefully made plans.

Japanese historians vary in their reactions to the turn of events. Murai Yasuhiko accepts the official reason, noting that the rebellion was serious enough to cause Hideyoshi to order Sassa's death by suicide. He also suggests that Rikyu's various letters to Sakai tea men can be interpreted to mean that plans had already been shortened to a one-day event. Even if that were the case, the information did not reach the general populace: at the close of the first day, Kanemi—who would have been delighted to stop—was preparing to carry on. Haga Koshiro suggests that the sheer physical demands of serving tea to more than two hundred guests left Hideyoshi exhausted and alarmed at the prospect of having to continue for ten days. Hideyoshi's stated purpose of showing off his treasures had been accomplished as effectively in one day as it would have been in ten. Hayashiya Tatsusaburo speculates that the Sakai tea men, headed by Rikyu, Tsuda Sokyū, and Imai Sokyū, may have proven to be altogether too prominent in the day's events.

That last suggestion is supported by another circumstance relating to the Kyushu campaign that may have had a more profound effect on Hideyoshi: Kamiya Sotan had failed to arrive. Following that merchant's support for the campaign and his hospitality thereafter, Sotan needed to be thanked publicly; moreover, he needed to be cultivated as a continuing ally in the forthcoming Korean venture. Sotan's diary shows that he received Hideyoshi's personal invitation only two weeks in advance of the event, just as he was supervising the thatching of his new house in Hakata. Seeing, however, that he was the only invited guest from Kyushu, he set out in haste by ship, in bad weather, but did not reach Kyoto until the eighth day of the tenth month. Hideyoshi nevertheless welcomed him cordially, insisting that he would serve tea to the visitor immediately. Sotan was made guest of honor at the opening of the two-mat tea hut in the Jurakudai.

The outcome of the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering may have alarmed Hideyoshi for yet another reason. Although he summoned utensil-less wabi tea men, he had planned an unprecedented display of his own outstanding collection of tea utensils. Unexpectedly, the eccentrics seem to have captured the attention of the crowd and cast a shadow on Hideyoshi's treasures. He must have been alerted to the charisma of those men who had given up wealth and conventional position to enjoy the tea style of "having nothing." If that were the case, he could not have failed to associate this threatening aspect of wabi "renunciation" with Rikyu's reputation for "turning mountains into valleys and east into west." Hideyoshi may have feared that his own mountain of treasures might shrink to a relatively insignificant heap. If such realizations made Hideyoshi suspicious and resentful of Rikyu, he was now free to express those feelings, for Sotan's positive response proved to Hideyoshi that he was no longer so reliant upon the financial backing of Sakai merchants or—by extension—upon the services of Sakai tea men.

Rikyu could not have been oblivious to the change in his city's fate or in his own. He had been present at Hakozaiki and had helped to develop plans for Kitano, whose complex underlying purposes he could not fail to understand. Rikyu was conspicuously uninvolved in the hospitality for Sotan's tardy visit to Kyoto. After Kitano, perceiving the fragility of his alliance with political power, Rikyu seems to have turned fully toward his independent and increasingly remarkable tea activities, transforming the norms of architecture, utensils, and practice. About that time his student Yamanoue Soji likened the master to a "bare tree in early winter" (*Yamanoue Soji ki*), a telling image for Rikyu's increasingly lonely, isolated position. In the following year, when Hideyoshi sent Abbot Kokei into exile in Kyushu on dubious charges, Rikyu held a farewell tea for his old friend in his Jurakudai residence, right under Hideyoshi's nose. Less than four years after Kitano, Rikyu was to take his own life on orders from Hideyoshi. Shortly before that final act, Rikyu may have been recalling the turning point of Kitano when he wrote a poem to his daughter:

That fellow Rikyu,
What great fortune:
To think he will turn out to be
A second Michizane.¹⁰

It has been suggested that Rikyu may have viewed his suicide in much the same way as Hideyoshi had seen Kitano—as a decisive opportunity for crystallizing his vision of tea and the height of its power.

Kitano was the last successful event created by the brief but brilliant alliance of these two masterful designers. It also marked the end, in effect, of the most idealistic period in the development of chanoyu. The ideal of tea in which all classes participated freely was an outgrowth of Momoyama social mobility, and both men had supported the concept, even if, in Hideyoshi's case, it was enforced by a dictatorial invitation. Never again would a single tea gathering be convened by such an open welcome to all tastes and classes, to all the diversity and brilliance of early Momoyama culture. The heterodox gathering at Kitano came closest to realizing the ideals of the sixteenth-century chanoyu on a grand scale, but it proved too fragile to survive. In its very attempt to celebrate on a gigantic scale a new spirit of intimacy, Kitano embraced impossible contradictions. Rikyu asserted time and again that the "democracy" of tea was born in the intimate association of a small group of friends. That intimacy could never be approximated in a vast crowd. In the years to follow, the practice of tea grew to even grander proportions in terms of sheer numbers of followers among all classes. But the activities of those classes were strictly segregated, and the further development of tea was marked by the stratification and classification mania that calcified many aspects of Japanese culture. The thrilling but sometimes unmanageable dynamism of early Momoyama tea experiments was replaced by a less threatening but deadening new orthodoxy of taste.

The epitaph to the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering was written some decades later by the genre painter and alert observer of society Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650), who on a journey to Kyoto

went to worship at Kitano Tenjin. A road two *cho* [approximately 218 meters] long, slippery with green moss, leads from the south gate beneath the shadows of the ancient pines surrounding the lecture hall, through the densely wooded pine grove, and beneath a torii. In the time of Lord Hideyoshi, tea men gathered from near and far in pursuit of true suki. Arranging themselves in this pine grove, they prepared tea according to various designs following their lofty principles. In our day that seems like a dream 11

1. Although kogashi is often interpreted to mean roast barley or inferior grades of tea, a contemporary Japanese-Portuguese dictionary described it as "arroz em po com outras misturas, q se bebe como Cha" [powdered rice with admixtures, which is drunk like tea]. *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com a declaracao em Portugues* (Nangasaqui no Collegio de Iapam da Companhia de Iesus, 1513), p. 55; facsimile edition published by Doi Tadao, *Nippo jisho* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1960), p. 109. My thanks to George Elison for this reference.
2. A full discussion of the historical development of the key term suki is given in Kumakura Isao, "Suki no hassho to tenkai," *Tanko* 28, no. 4 (April, 1974): 24-31.
3. Joao Rodrigues, S.J., *This Island of Japan*, trans. and ed. Michael Cooper, S. J. (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1973), p. 265.
4. Daisetz T. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture*, Bollingen Series 64 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 284.
5. The development of the cult of Tenjin is presented in Sugawara Hisao (ed.), *Sugawara-ko* (Kamakura: Tokiwayama Kanjuroku II, Tokiwayama Bunko, 1965), pp. 63-103.
6. Murai Yasuhiko, *Sen no Rikyu: Sono shogai to chanoyu no imi* (Tokyo: Nippon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1971), p. 197.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 197 (letter of 9. 15). The letter of 9. 25 is contained in *Chado koten zenshu* 6, p. 12.
8. *Chado koten zenshu* 7, p. 230.
9. *Chado koten zenshu* 6, p. 163.
10. Beatrice M. Bodart, "Tea and Counsel: The Political Role of Sen Rikyu," *Monumenta Nipponica* 32, no. 1 (Spring, 1977): 74.
11. Iwasa Matabei, *Kaikoku no ki*, quoted in "Kitano ochanoyu shimatsu ki," *Tanko zokan* 5 (November, 1959): 187.

Appendix 1: The Formation of Hideyoshi's Tea Style

1578	10	15	Hideyoshi's first public tea gathering, held with Nobunaga's permission
1581	12		Gift of important tea utensils from Nobunaga
1582	11	7	Tea gathering at Myokian tea hut, assembling Rikyu, Tsuda Sokyū, and Imai Sokyū as Hideyoshi's sado
1583	5	24	Rikyu's first recorded appearance as Hideyoshi's sado, at Sakamoto Castle
	7	2	Inaugural tea gathering at Osaka Castle
	7	7-13	Tanabata Festival tea gatherings at Osaka Castle
	9	16	Tea utensil display at Osaka Castle
1584	1	3	Opening of two-mat Yamazato tea hut in Osaka Castle
	10	5	Tea gathering with thirty guests at Osaka Castle
1585	3	5	Daitokuji temple tea gathering
	7	11	First Imperial Palace tea gathering
1586	1		Second Imperial Palace tea gathering, using the gold tea hut
1587	1	3	New Year's tea gathering at Osaka Castle, in the Muromachi grand style, with Kamiya Sotan as guest
	6		Outdoor tea gathering at Hakozaeki, Kyūshū

Appendix 2: Chronology of the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering

1587	7	14	Hideyoshi returns to Osaka Castle after victorious Kyūshū campaign
	7	28	Notice of Kitano tea gathering appears on signboards in Kyoto
	8	2	Notice of Kitano tea gathering reaches Nara
	9	3	Yoshida Kanemi consults Yakuin Zenso regarding necessity of attending
	9	4	Kanemi consults Hosokawa Yusai
	9	6	Kanemi consults Asukai Chushō
	9	8	Kanemi consults Yakuin and Asukai
	9	10	Kanemi consults Hino Terusuke, retired emperor Ogimachi, and Otomo Sorin; he accepts Yakuin's advice that he should attend, although he complains of the effort involved
	9	12	Kanemi, accompanied by Toyobo, orders Rikyu-style kettle at Sanjo foundry
	9	15	Rikyu sends letter to younger brother in Sakai, giving instructions for preparations for Kitano
	9	17	Kamiya Sotan receives invitation in Hakata

9 . 19	Kanemi engages carpenters, orders lumber for tea hut
9 . 22	Sotan departs Hakata for Osaka
9 . 23	Nara participants depart for Kyoto
9 . 25	Kanemi receives instructions from Maeda Gen'i concerning location of his tea hut; Rikyu sends another letter of instruction to Sakai
9 . 28	Kanemi constructs his tea hut, as do many others
9 . 30	Kanemi forwards his utensils to Kitano, sees Hideyoshi there
10 . 1	Grand Kitano Tea Gathering
10 . 2	Huts dismantled before dawn, following notice that remainder of event has been cancelled; Nara and Koriyama delegates take tea with Hidenaga Kanemi takes gift to Rikyu
10 . 4	Nara delegates return home; Sotan reaches Osaka
10 . 8	Nara goldsmith describes event to Tamonin diarist; Sotan arrives at Jurakudai
10 . 14	Special tea gathering for Kamiya Sotan in Jurakudai

Bibliography

All translations from primary sources appearing in the text are by the author, unless otherwise noted.

I. Primary Sources

Records of the event

Kitano is the only single tea gathering deemed important enough in its own time to be recorded in an independent document, alongside the regular tea-diary records. The major variants of the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering record (*Kitano ochanoya no ki*) are discussed by Hayashiya Tatsusaburo in *Chado koten zenshu* 6, pp. 17-22. The standard text, housed in the Naikaku Bunko, was published in *Gunsbo ruiju* (vol. 368) in the early nineteenth century. Errors in names and details in that text show that it had already gone through many copies, an indication of its enduring value to Japanese tea men. It gives the fullest details of the event. Reprinted in *Chado koten zenshu* 6, pp. 3-8, the copy prepared by Hisada Soetsu (d. 1768), founder of the Hisada school of tea, includes a list of famous utensils allegedly used by various participants. Reprinted in *Chado koten zenshu* 6, pp. 36-48, another eighteenth-century copy, by Sakai Uta-no-kami Munemasa (d. 1790, lord of Himeji Castle and famous tea utensil collector), is taken from a version copied out, according to the colophon, by Domon Genzaburo, descendant of the Matsuya family of Nara, "from an old family record" in 1786. Closely resembling the Sakai book is one section of a Meiji period copy of the *Domon bikki* (Domon family diary) belonging to the Keio University Library, Tokyo, reprinted in *Chado koten zenshu* 9, pp. 132-134.

Text of the invitation

Several variants of the text exist. That used here is translated from the *Gunsbo ruiju* version, reprinted in *Chado koten zenshu* 6, p. 3. This longer version is dated 1587.7.29. A shorter version dated 1585.8.2 is included in the *Hoan taiko ki*, and that date is repeated in the *Choandoki* (see Recollections, herein), suggesting that announcements reached the provinces some days after they had been posted in Kyoto. The *Hoan taiko ki* version lists the names of five magistrates as supervisors of prior arrangements, but anachronisms in the titles and names cast doubt on the list.

Diaries of direct participants

Matsuya kaiki (*Chado koten zenshu* 9, pp. 132-136, 164). The two generations of the Matsuya family attended Kitano, and each records his manner of participation. Matsuya Hisamasa (d. 1598) was a frequent tea companion of Rikyu and owned the "three famous Matsuya utensils"—the *Matsuya* katatsuki chaire, a painting of a heron by Hsu Hsi, and a rectangular inlaid-lacquer tray. Hisamasa noted all the utensils used within the worship hall and in the four outdoor huts; he described Hideoyoshi's visit to Ikka's hut; and he listed the names of all the members of the Nara delegation. The record of Hisayoshi (d. 1633) is brief.

Imai Sokyū chanyōu nikki nukigaki (*Chado koten zenshu* 10, p. 37). The list of utensils that Sokyū used in the outdoor hut is at variance with the lists included in the *Matsuya kaiki*, *Kitano o-chanyōu un ki*, and *Genryū chawa* (see Recollections, herein).

Kanemi Kyo ki ("Kitano ochanoyu shimatsuki," *Tankō zokan* 5 (November, 1959), pp. 171-174. The journal of Yoshida Kanemi (1535-1610), hereditary priest of Yoshida Shrine and overseer of Toyokuni Shrine in Kyoto, close associate of courtiers and military figures.

Tamonin nikki (Tsuji Zennosuke, ed., *Tamonin nikki*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1935-1939; reprinted 1967, vol. 4, p. 95). Diary of the scholar-monk Eishun (1518-1596) of the Tamonin subtemple of Kofukuji temple, Nara. Eishun did not attend the event himself, but he heard the details from Nara participants and noted them.

Sotan nikki (*Chado koten zenshu* 6, pp. 232-233). Diary of Kamiya Sotan (1551-1635), the sixth-generation head of a Hakata merchant family prominent in overseas trading ventures throughout the sixteenth century. Sotan received his lay Buddhist name from Abbot Kokei of Daitokuji in 1586. He owned the chaire *Hakata bunrin*.

Recollections

Choandoki (*Chado koten zenshu* 3, pp. 359-361). Choando was the tea pseudonym of Kubo Godayu (1571-1640), member of a Nara family serving Kasuga Shrine. He was recalling the event decades later, but his descriptions are extensive and include mention of Ikka and Hechikan.

Matsuya nikki (Matsuyama Ginshoan and Kumakura Isao, eds. *Chado shiso densho*. [Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1974], p. 22 and 27). The journal compiled by Hisayoshi's son Hisashige in 1649 relates that Hisayoshi appeared at Kitano without utensils of significance as the outcome of a disagreement with a Nara magistrate.

Genryū chawa (*Chado koten zenshu* 3, pp. 467-468 and 473-476). The text by Yabunouchi Chikushin (1678-1745) includes anecdotes about Hechikan, Oda Uraku, and Hosokawa Sansai as Kitano participants; the text of the invitation that appeared on the signboards (in two versions); and a list of the utensils used in the four outdoor huts.

Chawa shigetsu shu (*Chado koten zenshu* 10, p. 232). Among the anecdotes of Fujimura Yoken (1613-1699) collected in this anthology is the story of the renaming of Karasumaru Mitsunobu's katatsuki chair.

Muromachi dono nikki ("Kitano ochanoyu shimatsu ki," pp. 182-185). The ten volumes, assembled from diaries of officials serving under the twelfth shogun Yoshiharu and from documents in the Shokokuji archives at the request of Kyoto magistrate Maeda Gen'i, include a section on Kitano describing Hideyoshi's encounter with Hechikan that varies from the generally accepted version. It describes a bamboo and brushwood hut instead of the lacquered parasol.

Kaikoku no ki ("Kitano ochanoyu shimatsu ki," p. 187). The genre painter Iwasa Matabei recalls the events of the grand tea gathering on the occasion of his visit to the shrine in the early seventeenth century.

Hoan Taiko ki ("Kitano ochanoyu shimatsu ki," pp. 178-182). Memoirs of Hideyoshi's era by the Confucianist Kose Hoan (1564-1640) give the text of the invitation, lists of utensils, and details of preparation for the event.

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Venus, Dragons, and Autumn Grasses: Europe, China, and Japan

Minamoto Toyomune

I have long felt that a nation's art is more than an accumulation of artistic tradition; it is a distillation of the essence of its people. Although this approach may be considered somewhat simplistic, a study of recurrent artistic themes is useful when trying to gain an insight into this essence. I have long been interested in this approach, and have come to think of the image of Venus as symbolic of Europe, the dragon of China, and autumn grasses of Japan.

Venus—the European Aesthetic

By Venus, I mean the Greek or classic ideal in art in which Venus represents, above all, objective realism as exemplified by the perfect human form. In Japanese art, one must look to *yamato-e* for the most typical examples of the human figure. As a means of comparison, I should like to bring in the mid-thirteenth century *yamato-e* portrait of Koogimi from the Satake picture scroll of the Thirty-six Immortal Poets (*Sanjurokkasen emaki*). Here one sees a noblewoman enveloped in her Heian period court costume, the body utterly disregarded. And while the facial features have not been simplified as much as in the *bikime kagibana* style, in which the expression of Heian nobility is uniformly depicted with two short brushstrokes for the eyes, a hooked line for the nose and a red dot for the mouth, neither are they realistic; reality is transcended in favor of an air of refined grace. The person is never portrayed in realistic detail.

In direct contrast to this, the figure of Venus is in every sense an accurate portrayal of the human form. The Louvre's Venus de Milo, for instance, shows all the minute surface rises and curves of the flesh. It shows not only European realism, but even more the very materiality of the human body—what might be called its three-dimensionality, or perhaps more appropriately in this case, its physicality—for actually that is what is expressed with much graphic accuracy. One might likewise find it a vision of rational nature, which I personally see as deriving from an underlying spatial *weltanschauung* of Europeans. They seem to be striving to express something extremely sensual in the image of Venus. This can be seen as a basic undercurrent throughout European art, given that this European spatial *weltanschauung* takes the visible aspect of the object as its essential being. And since humans exist in physical forms, the nude is naturally seen as the most fitting expression of humanity. In seeking to fulfill what are essentially, for Europeans, sensual aesthetic demands, however, it is characteristic of the classic ideal that, although it mirrors reality, it also seeks to purify and idealize it, and expresses this idealized form in such works as the Venus de Milo.

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Yamato-e portrait of the poetess Koogimi (Kodai-no-kimi) clad in the formal Heian period court costume, from the Satake picture scroll of the Thirty-six Immortal Poets. Important Cultural Property. Thirteenth century. Colors on paper. Calligraphy traditionally attributed to Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169-1206); painting said to be the work of Fujiwara Nobuzane (1176?-1265?). Height 35.7 cm., width 59.7 cm. Photo courtesy of Yamato Bunkakan, Nara Prefecture.

Even when classicism had ostensibly disappeared, a new art was created centered on the Virgin Mary. It seems reasonable to view this worship of the image of the Virgin as a transformation of the Venus aesthetic. We see Mary holding the infant Christ in much the same way that Venus had been portrayed flanked by the infant Cupid. In my opinion the Virgin Mary image is a variation on the underlying Venus aesthetic. This becomes readily apparent during the Renaissance, when we find such painters as Michaelangelo and Raphael portraying Mary in the very same manner as classical artists had when portraying Venus. Indeed, from the Renaissance onward, classicism was reborn and subjects from Greek mythology were quite common. Even Renoir's women can be seen as a comparatively recent expression of this ideal. The essence of this Venus aesthetic, objective realism, can be observed in male images, still lifes and landscapes; it permeates all of traditional Western art.

Lung—the Chinese Aesthetic

In China, one can find no better symbol of that country's art than the *lung* (dragon). I do not suppose there is any other subject which has enjoyed such persistent favor as the dragon. As a design on the back of bronze mirrors, ceramics, imperial robes, the national flag, and countless other objects, the list seems endless. Among painters, Ch'en So-weng [Ch'en Jung] and Mu-ch'i were particularly adept at dragons.

The dragon gives an impression of "majesty" or "involute solemnity," coupled with a sense of otherworldly transcendence, perhaps even of *yugen* (ethereal mystery). At the very least, the feeling is of characteristics beyond reality. Further, there is a power, a physical strength linked to a feeling of omnipotence, which is common to the representation of all dragons.

The fearsome nature of the dragon would seem to be rooted in an instinctual fear of snakes, observable among peoples everywhere. The Chinese, however, have endowed their dragon with a mystic majesty. This is not to say it is the object of worship as the *naga* (serpent) is in India; rather, it is the very fearsomeness of the dragon which elevates to a symbol of dignity. Further, in its transcendence of reality, its even mystic quality, one can detect an emphasis on things beyond the worldly, which says much of the Chinese view of life. While the Chinese experience does include human life in all its forms, the realities of which are often shallow and base, a great deal of weight is given to the concept of human life as an ideal transcending the vileness of this world. This line of thought seems to underscore the whole of Chinese art, the idea of emulating a lofty purity of mind. Undoubtedly, this view that, in order to maintain a nobility of the human spirit, one must go beyond the worldly, is deeply rooted in China. Therein, I believe, lies the reason why Chinese art excels in a detached, unemotional beauty that is chill, almost sternly cold.

One can surely see this in Yin and Chou bronzes where the *hui lung* motif itself represents a dragon. Generally speaking, these bronze wares were ritual vessels, and because they were sacred objects, there is a striving for dignity in the shapes themselves. It is this sense of dignity that makes them utterly austere, molding them into dehumanized forms that do not invite emotional approach.



"The dragon gives an impression of 'majesty' or 'involute solemnity,' coupled with a sense of otherworldly transcendence, perhaps even of *yugen* (ethereal mystery)." Painted by Suo-Weng. Colors on silk. Southern Sung dynasty. Central area: height 173.3 cm., width 100.3 cm. Photo courtesy of Tenryuji temple, Kyoto.

In Yin and Chou bronzes, one also notices the pattern filling the entire surface of the vessels. No space is left untouched. In this, there is a certain element of what the German aesthetician and art historian Wilhelm Worringer and others have called horror vacui, an uneasiness or fear of blank space found among primitive peoples; but it is more than that alone. One senses that there is also something in the art taste of the Chinese which runs to the polished, the concentrated. One may say that a major distinguishing feature of Chinese art is its high density. I refer not only to patterns covering entire surface areas; even when what is depicted fills only a tiny portion of the surface, whatever is there is felt to be extremely polished. I consider this one of the greatest elements in Chinese art, this sense of "fullness." Therein also lies the strength of Chinese art.

Take, for instance, the landscapes attributed to Tung-yuan, Chu-jan, and other artists of the tenth century, a peak in the history of Chinese landscape painting; the "fullness" of these pictures is not a quantitative fullness, but rather lies in their overwhelming power, the sheer strength that wells forth. This fullness might be called their depth, their profound feeling of distance. This is due in part to the Chinese concept of *san yuan* (three distances): *kao yuan* (high distance), *shen yuan* (deep distance), and *p'ing yuan* (level distance). Painting a landscape required the evocation of great distance. This, however, is not to be understood as perspective distance. It refers to the spiritual depth which permeates the picture plane. I believe this particular vision of profound distance is a major distinguishing feature of Chinese art.

Chinese painting focuses on landscapes. To be sure, the Chinese did paint people, flowers, and birds—nearly anything; however, it was landscape painting which was most highly regarded in China. The landscape, in the Chinese view, is not meant to be an actual scene, but rather an ideal spiritual realm. It was in the purity, tranquility and profound seclusion of nature that they sought their highest ideal. A landscape was a symbol of the ideal in life. The taste for landscapes thus derives from a spirit of transcending the worldly, and this profundity in landscapes has made landscapes central to Chinese painting throughout history. Likewise, among the Chinese this same reverence for the transcendent, inclined to flights of imagination, shaped their unique vision of the dragon. Different in form from the cobralike naga, and also in character from the devilish dragon of the West, the lung has a mystic, ageless solemnity; and, with its ability to set people trembling with apprehension, it represents an exclusion or negation of the human in favor of the pursuit of an ideal life of noble-minded purity. Such is the ideal of Chinese art. This has been the underlying stream of thought in China since ancient times; I believe that Chinese arts, particularly painting, are always ethical in nature. By ethical, I do not mean that they are necessarily a moralistic means of fostering virtue and discouraging evil but that the arts themselves are a realization of the highest human ideals.

Akikusa—the Japanese Aesthetic

Japanese artists were, to a greater degree than the Chinese, oriented toward the sensual, the real world, the human element. Thus, while different from the perceptual sensualism of Europe, there was a commonality of spirit between Japan and the West. This



Landscape by Sun Chun-che. Important Cultural Property. Colors on silk. Yuan dynasty. Central area: height 142.0 cm., width 59.5 cm. Photo courtesy of Seikado Bunko, Tokyo.

element grew and gave rise to the elegant refinements of the Fujiwara period (tenth to twelfth centuries), although these, too, stand in contrast to the European quest for sensual beauty, for I would hold that the European idea of beauty is essentially visual, whereas the Japanese is essentially emotional. The Japanese word *utsukushi* (beautiful) originally held a meaning different from its present-day one; it referred to something "lovable." The appellation *utsukushi wagimo* as it is used in the *Manyōshū*, for instance, calls to the poet's beloved. Likewise in the Fujiwara period, one finds the words *utsukushiki mono* in the *Makura no Soshi* (the "Pillow Book" of Lady Sei Shonagon) describing the "cuteness" of children, and the phrase *nani mo nani mo chiisaki mono wa itoutsukushi* (anything that is tiny is lovable). However, such a concept of beauty must be recognized, above all, as emotional. This is not the case with the European conception of beauty as a visual sensibility. The Japanese sense, by contrast, is extremely emotional and sentimental. In China it is neither sentimental nor sensual. Chinese beauty is a thing of willful rigidity; one might even call it spiritual. With the arrival of the Fujiwara period in Japan there arises a highly sensual element which leads the arts in a human direction. The *monogatari* (tale) which forms the mainstream of Fujiwara literature is essentially a description of human life. It is by no means an objective description, but rather a lyrical delineation of the world of sentiments, these being considered the very essence of life. Human life, moreover, is seen as time that passes while a person carries on interactions with others. With this sense of time, the Japanese tended to a view of people and things centered on their transient aspects. Ultimately, I believe, the Japanese base themselves upon an essentially temporal *weltanschauung*. Indeed, consideration of the Japanese arts would seem to demand recognition of this temporal *weltanschauung* among the Japanese, for as a people they have a surprisingly strong consciousness of time.

Autumn is the season which most strongly brings to mind the passage of time. The *Kokinshū* (the first imperial *waka* anthology, 905) contains two scrolls for spring, one for summer, two for autumn and one for winter, with autumn poems greatly outnumbering spring poems. Autumn makes for a heightened awareness of the passage of time, and conversely, people feel their deepest sentiments in reflection upon that which is fleeting. As lamented by the poet Wakayama Bokusui:*

<i>katawara ni</i>	By my side
<i>akikusa no bana no</i>	Flowers of the autumn grasses
<i>kataruraku</i>	Bespeak
<i>horobishi mono wa</i>	A tender longing
<i>natsukashiki kana</i>	For things no more.

Even in the spring scrolls of the *Kokinshū*, many of the poems speak of spring's passing, of cherry blossoms as they fall rather than when they are in full bloom. These feelings, nonetheless, should not be regarded as pessimistic, for if anything, the Japanese as a

* Wakayama Bokusui (1885-1928) was a Meiji and Taisho period poet friend of the poet Ishikawa Takuboku. He was known for poetry on the themes of nature and *sake*. This particular poem is from his collection *Rojo* (On the Road) and is evidence of the persistent popularity of the autumn grass theme, as well as showing a great similarity to the *Kokinshū* poems.

people show a decided optimism and positive outlook toward life. It is rather *because* they affirm life that the falling cherry blossoms are viewed with such loving regret. Such feelings are best symbolized in the image of autumn grasses.

By autumn grasses, I do not mean dry grasses nor those that have begun to fade. I refer to such grasses and flowers as *bagi* (bush clover), *susuki* (Japanese pampas grass), *ominaeshi* (patrinia), and *kikyo* (Chinese bellflower). In the Tempyo period (710-784) during which the *Manyoshu* was written, the yellow blossoms of the *yamabuki* (Japanese rose) and *ominaeshi* were greatly admired. Yellow is a bright, indeed quite worldly color. Contrary to what one might imagine of autumn grasses, therefore, the *ominaeshi* and other flowers made for a rather light feeling. Nothing in the least dark or hinting of decay, these autumn grasses and flowers go well against a clear, blue autumn sky. They are also quite slender. The pampas grass, and likewise the bush clover are always depicted as tracing beautiful curves. And while *ominaeshi* actually grows upright, it is not so tall a plant that one would have to look up at it; furthermore, its blossoms are extremely delicate. In fact, while *ominaeshi* and *fujibakama* (hemp agrimony) have surprisingly straight stems, it might conversely be said that their straight lines are there to accentuate the curved lines of the pampas grass and bush clover, for it is those beautiful curves which set the overall tone. The delicate, sensitive, and gentle nature of these curving lines is the essence of their beauty.

It is difficult to say exactly when the autumn grasses first appeared as a painted motif. Autumn grasses decorate the lacquered *Mitsudae-bon* tray in the Shosoin repository, so the motif goes back at least as far as 745. At any rate, one can find any number of examples of autumn grasses painted in early times. In literature, the subjects of poems were often scenes from painted screens. On viewing the scene painted on the screen, poets of old would pen a verse on that theme. Generally, in ancient times the subjects for painted screens were the four seasons.

The *Kuhon Raigo* (door-panel paintings showing Amida's descent to greet believers) were painted in 1053 and were originally part of the Hoodo of Byodoin temple. In the section of these paintings depicting the category "lower class, upper rank," a woman whose husband has just died is shown weeping behind a screen, and outside the house the ground is thickly grown with autumn grasses. The paint has utterly worn off; still, there are places where the surface is built up slightly from the thickness of the paint. These raised portions have been blackened by the fingers of countless pilgrims who have visited the temple, but it is still possible to discern the picture from the reflection of the raised areas under certain angles of light. Recently, these door-panel paintings have been placed in storage to protect them from pollution, and copies to replace them have been made. The artists who painted the reproductions carried out an extremely exhaustive study, and rendered them as close as possible to the original paintings, so one can see that these autumn grasses were painted with a beautiful sense of color for floral designs. The *Sanjurokunin-shu* (Anthology of Thirty-six Immortal Poets) which is thought to date from around 1120, consists of calligraphy on elegant papers printed over with designs in *kirazuri* (powdered mica). Among these designs there is one of deer with autumn grasses. Because bush clover is depicted, it seems likely that these decorated papers were made in Japan.



Cabinet for books of poetry with design of autumn grasses in maki-e. Important Cultural Property. Momoyama period. Height 38 cm., width 31.5 cm., depth 22 cm. Photo courtesy of Kodaiji temple, Kyoto.

Certainly the autumn grasses may be regarded as a Japanese idea. In China there are almost no pictures of autumn grasses; the Chinese did not paint either pampas grass or ominaeshi in their pictures. There is not even a single example of bush clover to be found. In China, the ideogram which the Japanese read as "hagi" (bush clover) refers to a different plant. The ideogram itself 萩 is a combination of the symbol for plant 艹 and for autumn 秋, and one assumes that the purely Japanese identification of this ideogram with the bush clover is due to their having thought highly enough of the bush clover to consider it the representative plant of autumn. On the other hand, in China the ideogram for bush clover is written 芽子 (*yatzu*), and the plant does not appear to have had much importance in Chinese art. The autumn grasses are depicted in the *Genji Monogatari Emaki* (lit., Painted Scroll of the Tale of Genji). What is today called the Painted Tale of Genji is thought to have originally shown close to one hundred scenes. Of these, nineteen still remain, and of the nineteen scenes, three depict autumn grasses. While it might seem easy to attribute the presence of the autumn grasses to the description of the mood in those scenes where there are verses on the autumn grasses, such is not the case. Instead, the scenes represent two or three places chosen from long passages in each chapter of the *Genji Monogatari*, and the only reason that autumn grasses were worked into the chosen scenes at all appears to have been that on some deep psychological level the artist had a liking for the autumn grasses themselves.

Particularly interesting in this respect are the *Choju giga* (Scrolls of Frolicking Animals) of the late twelfth century, belonging to Kozanji temple, for in the spaces between the animal caricatures, where the painter might just as easily not have inserted anything, here and there are clumps of autumn grasses. They are quite lovely. I might even be tempted to call these the epitome of Japanese autumn grass pictures.

Of interest in the Momoyama period at the time of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi—an era of flamboyant style—is that there was a good deal of *maki-e* lacquerware being done with autumn-grass designs. One finds pampas grass, patrinia, bush clover, and even chrysanthemums being enjoyed as decorative motifs in *Kodaiji maki-e*.^{*} Helpful in understanding the Momoyama period is that, at a time noted for its sweeping grand manner, something as unassuming as autumn grasses should have been so surprisingly popular; not only was there this brash, showy side to Momoyama tastes, there was also a sphere of unexpectedly finer emotional sensitivity. This is decidedly not confined to *Kodaiji maki-e*. In painted screens and the like, scenes of the four seasons were preferred, and while it is only natural that autumn grasses should be depicted on the autumn panels, it was not uncommon to paint autumn grasses alone.

The Thread of Japanese Art

A thread of sentimentalism runs through all of the arts of Japan. Here one finds why the model genre of Japanese painting—the *emaki* (painted scroll)—always portrays

* *Kodaiji maki-e* is a representative style of Momoyama period *maki-e* (sown picture), in which powdered gold or silver is sprinkled over a plain lacquer ground in order to form pictures. This type of *maki-e* is typified by the lacquered interior decoration of the mausoleum at Kodaiji temple, Kyoto.

sentimental themes in the form of tales in which human life is the subject. Symbolic of this sentimentalism are the autumn grasses.

The distinguishing features of any art are to be apprehended through a consideration of its three aspects of *hyoshutsu* (to express something), *zokei* (formative execution), and *bi* (beauty). Not a single one of these can be neglected.

Hyoshutsu refers to the mode of self-expression which, in the case of Japanese art, is characteristically sentimental. The artist tries to portray that which is found emotionally moving in the perceived object. This is not the surfacing of a sensual self as in the image of Venus in the West, nor is it art manifesting an idealized self as found in China. This is why I chose the sentimental autumn grasses as the symbol of Japanese art.

In its formative execution, Japanese art is essentially planar. The Japanese have no view of space in a three-dimensional or depth-perspective sense. Take, for instance, Mount Fuji, "A white fan hung upside-down from the heavens over the Tokai sea-board." Mount Fuji is perceived as a flat shape not unlike a white fan. Everything is always translated into a plane; this is, viewed as flat.

That is why one does not see sculpture developing much in Japan. Sculptural perception is born of the vision of objects in their volumetric aspects; hence the Japanese are poor at sculpture. Other than Buddhist statuary made because of the demands of their Buddhist faith, the Japanese developed no sculpture of their own volition. In the Momoyama period a decorative architectural sculpture—carved *kaerumata* (lintel) and *ramma* (transom) were in abundance—however, this type of work was referred to as *e-yo chokoku* (pictorial sculpture), and was entirely planar.

This also explains why Japanese painting is lacking in the expression of depth in the Western sense. In Japanese painting, objects existing in spatial depth are merely arranged higher or lower on the picture plane. This is a technique different from Western perspective, that is, from the expression of three-dimensional space. Here, too, lies the reason horizontal composition constitutes the main of Japanese painting. Even in theater, an instructive comparison can be drawn between actors moving left and right on the Japanese stage as opposed to their entering and exiting from the three-dimensional direction of backstage in the West. Thus, Japanese art does not have the substantial quality of Western works, and at the same time lacks the depth found in Chinese ones.

One has simply to note that the process by which *suibokuga* (ink painting) was brought in from China and eventually became Japanized was none other than a process of simplification into "planar" images. Here is a linear art which depicts objects not as masses, but as outlines. This cannot be attributed solely to the use of the brush. Rather, the rendering of things into line is essentially due to the Japanese *seeing* things as planar or with a peripheral outline. This is what pushes Japanese painting toward expression in line, whereas Chinese painting, although painted with the same brush, strives to express the subjective beat of the painter's own artistic life. All in all, the brush in China is in no way a mere tool for expressing lines; it is an instrument for expressing the rhythms of life itself. In that sense, Chinese painting is truly an art of the brush. That is what is called *bitsui* (Chinese *bi-yi*), or "idea in the brush." The

two active portrayals of the *Rokuso* (Sixth Patriarch) by the Southern Sung painter Liang K'ai clearly exemplify this. Japanese painting has nothing comparable to show in the way of *hitsui*, for even though it is all a question of the particular artist's hand movements—much in the same vein as the artist in the West is said to have a certain “touch”—one is forced, upon recognition of the actual character of painting styles, to admit that here Japanese painting is essentially distinguished by its use of linear forms. In the previously mentioned Scrolls of Frolicking Animals, for example, one particularly notes the dance of line; that is to say, it is the lines which manifest *hitsui*. The Scrolls of Frolicking Animals may well be patently a work of line from beginning to end. The same holds true in calligraphy: Chinese calligraphy is no mere shaping with lines, it is again an art of the brush; but Japanese calligraphy in its characteristically playful linking of *kana* (syllabary) into long *renmen yushi* (continuous threads), is truly an art of lines.

Beauty, as it exists in Japanese art, has the “sympathetic” beauty of *aware*, the beauty found in emotional identification with ephemeral qualities of the perceived object. *Aware* is not the sympathy of sadness, as a literal rendering of the term might suggest. The beauty of *aware* is primarily subjective. This subjectivity sets it apart from most other kinds of beauty in which the aesthetic value is entirely in the perception of the object itself. Subjectivity is the very stuff of Japanese beauty. What one sees in the Painted Tale of Genji, the beauty of flowing *kana*, is a sensual beauty, and falls within the bounds of emotional *aware*.

For while beauty in the usual sense is an enjoyable sensation experienced through things perceived, *aware* is a subjective emotion experienced when the mind becomes taken with the vital being, the life of things. This entering into the feelings of things is fundamentally the working of the temporal *weltanschauung*. The sight of autumn grasses is connected with feelings that arise at that season. It is the same with cherry blossoms in the spring: to feel that “Ah, spring has arrived!” is to be reminded of one's own ephemerality. The Japanese experience beauty in this way of viewing things. Time in nature is seasonal, and likewise nature is always viewed in connection with the seasons. It is viewed in its *aware*. One might even say that here lies the reason Japan's *yamato-e* genre developed as pictorializations of the *monogatari* theme of human life, *aware* ultimately being a vision of humanity. I believe that the transformation of the austere beauty learned from such Chinese imports as Zen Buddhism and ink painting into the Japanese sense of *wabi* is a result of the aesthetic feeling of *aware* in the Japanese mind. In no way does the word *aware* conjure up, for me, the usual literal image of the sorrow of one's own humanity. Rather, it seems to require consideration in a more active, positive sense.

Japanese beauty is emotional in character, but as the Japanese view of life is essentially optimistic, there is none of the gravity found in China. Such optimism instead seems to render the aesthetic *aware* of the Japanese into the refined elegance of *yubi*, a beauty which may be said to radiate a warm and intimately human feeling apprehended on finding something lovable in the perceived object. Indeed, it is certainly notable that the Japanese word “*utsukushi*” comes closer to “lovely” than “beautiful” in its derivation from a love-related meaning. Further, *yubi*, as typified in the

Painted Tale of Genji, has a character of sensuous floral vivacity and prettiness.

This is the beauty of the autumn grasses. The beauty of the curves of pampas grass, the almost humble floral beauty of hagi and ominaeshi, these themselves are most surely yubi. One distinguishing feature of yubi is that it does not possess any element to impose a tension of heroic or solemn "power." Japanese art in essence simply lacks such "power" in its beauty.

When yubi becomes crystallized in its expression, its decorative nature is revealed. This decorativism is characteristic of much of Japanese art. In the works of Edo-period Rimpa school artists Tawaraya Sotatsu and Ogata Korin, one finds decorativism in painting unparalleled in all the world's art. This decorative quality is not limited to Sotatsu or Korin. Japanese emaki scrolls and the like are essentially decorative. Even more than a tradition, this can be considered the essence of Japanese art; for while artistic tradition is born of the accumulation of historical precedents, essence is a quality which comes from the makeup of the people. As Venus in the West and the dragon in China, in Japan the autumn grasses clearly symbolize this essence.



Translated by Alfred Birnbaum



Temae—Tea Procedure: *Tsubo Kazari*

Tsubo Kazari is the procedure for the display and inspection of the *tsubo* or *chatsubo* (tea-leaf storage jar). It is generally conducted at the first *ro* gathering of the season, on which occasion the guests arrive to find the tsubo, placed in a silk cord netting, displayed in the tokonoma.

The tsubo is the storage container for the green tea leaves which were picked in early May. After harvesting, the tea growers select the choicest leaves to be sealed in the tsubo. The leaves for *koicha* will be placed in paper bags—forty grams of leaves in each bag—which, when ground, will provide the proper amount of powdered tea for five guests. These bags—the number of which depends upon the size of the tsubo—are surrounded by loose leaves, which act as a type of packing for the higher quality leaves used for *koicha*, and which are used for *usucha*. The mouth of the tsubo is covered with a wooden stopper and, in order to ensure that it is airtight, a strip of paper is pasted around the edge. The seal of the tea grower who packed the tea is impressed on this paper tape at the front of the tsubo. A small cloth covering is placed over the wooden stopper and secured with a doubled string wrapped around to the left twice and tied at the front. The entire tsubo is clothed in a silk cord netting. This netting protects and insulates the tsubo from the warmth of handling which may cause moisture to condense on the inside of the tsubo, spoiling the tea. Only the fingertips, spread apart for stability, should touch the tsubo directly; the palms of the hands are held away. The tsubo is carefully stored through the summer in a dry, dark place, waiting to be opened at the *Kuchikiri* (seal cutting) ceremony, in which the new tea leaves for the year will be sampled for the first time. This event marks the beginning of the annual tea calendar.

Any type of tsubo may be used for tsubo kazari; however, the spot where it is placed in the tokonoma depends upon its preciousness. If it is of especially rare value it is displayed in the center. Next in order would be a spot slightly further from the mat on which the host prepares the tea, and that of lesser regard closer to the host's preparation mat.

Following tsubo kazari the host replenishes the charcoal fire in the *ro*. A *kaiseki* meal is then served, after which the guests temporarily leave the tearoom while the host prepares the room and grinds the new tea to be prepared when the guests return.



(1)

The host sits at his entrance while the guests enter the room and take their designated places. The main guest, seeing that everyone is settled, says *dozo obairi o* (please enter) to the host. The host enters, sits and exchanges greetings with the main guest (1).



(2)

The main guest, after inquiring about the other items in the tokonoma, requests to inspect the tsubo. The host, acknowledging, rises to fetch the tsubo, avoiding as much as possible the *kagidatami* mat (where the tsubo will be placed).



(3)

Sitting squarely in front of the tsubo, the host picks it up with R and L grasping it near the bottom (3).



(4)

The host retraces his steps, avoiding the *kagidatami*, and carries the tsubo to the tatami in front of the host's entrance (4).



(5)

The host faces the guests, sits, and sets the tsubo down beyond the edging of the tatami (5).



(6)

R and L undo the tie of the netting (6).



(7)

With ring and little fingers holding the loose ties, the netting is pushed down on both sides with thumbs spread apart from the first and middle fingers (7).



(8)

R holds the top and tilts the tsubo while L, palm up, grasps the bottom of the netting (8).



(9)

L pulls the netting off (9).



(10)

R holds both ties together and folds them down onto the netting (10).



(11)

The netting is folded in half, rightside onto left (11).



(12)

R sets the folded netting down on the right of the tsubo leaving sufficient space in between to later fit the cloth covering (12).



(13)

L, thumb spread from fingers, stabilizes the tsubo while R pulls the string that secures the cloth covering (13).



(14)

R, around to the right, unwinds the string (14).



(15)

Unwinding the string to the extent that both doubled ends are even, R holds all string ends and pulls the string off (15). The doubled string will be halved.



(16)

Loopsides resting on outstretched fingers of L, R folds the strings upward in half (16).



(17)

R twists the strings once (17).



(18)

R sets the string on the netting (18).



(19)

R and L remove the cloth covering (19).



(20)

The covering is laid between the tsubo and the netting (20).



(21)

R and L tilt the tsubo slightly and the seal is visually checked. The main guest then asks to take a closer look at the tsubo and cloth covering. The host bows in acknowledgement (21). *Note:* The bare tsubo, without the netting, is handled with fingertips spread apart, palms held away. Body heat will have an adverse effect upon the tea in the tsubo.



(22)

R and L place the cloth covering back over the lid (22).



(23)

R picks up the netting, holding the string down with the thumb (23).



(24)

The netting is transferred to L, likewise securing string with thumb, and with R on right knee the host shifts position one-quarter turn to the left (24).



(25)

L places the netting, string on top, in the left-hand corner of the tatami near the wall (25).



(26)

Hands on knees, the host shifts position back to face the tsubo. R and L, fingertips only, turn the tsubo halfway around counterclockwise so that the front faces the guests. Lifting the tsubo, the host rises (26).



(27)

The host carries the tsubo to the main guest (27), then returns to his original position.



(28)

The main guest bows, saying *osaki ni* (before you) to the second guest (28).



(29)

The main guest then places his hands flat on the tatami and inspects the tsubo (29).



(30)

R and L lift off the cloth covering, and with elbows resting on knees, the main guest examines the cloth covering (30).



(31)

R and L set the cloth covering down to the right of the tsubo (31).



(32)

Heeding the “fingertips only” rule, the tsubo is tilted to get a good view of the seal. The main guest leans slightly and examines the tsubo by slowly rotating it in the direction of the second guest (clockwise). The tsubo should never be raised completely off the tatami (32).



(33)

When finished, the main guest replaces the cloth covering and passes the tsubo to the second guest, setting it down outside the edging of the tatami (33).



(34)

The second guest and all successive guests follow the main guest's pattern (steps 28-33) in examining the cloth covering and tsubo, except that the tsubo is rotated in the direction of the main guest (counterclockwise) (34).



(35)

When the last guest has finished, he turns the tsubo so that the front faces away from himself. Holding it with spread fingertips, he rises and carries it back to the main guest (35).



(36)

The last guest sits, places the tsubo in front of the main guest, then returns to his seat (36).



(37)

The main guest again removes the cloth covering, sets it down to the right, and rechecks the seal (37).



(38)

The main guest replaces the cloth covering and turns the tsubo counterclockwise so that it faces away from himself (38).



(39)

The host retrieves the tsubo and returns to his original position (39).



(40)

The host sits and removes the cloth covering (40).



(41)

The cloth covering is laid to the right of the tsubo, and a final check of the seal is made (41).



(42)

The host replaces the cloth covering and sets the tsubo a full arm's distance away from himself in order to allow room to spread the netting out. R and L on knees, he shifts position one-quarter turn to the left (42). Then L picks up the netting and the string.



(43)

R takes the string (43).



(44)

The string is put into the front of the host's kimono (44).



(45)

L holding the netting, and R on knee, the host shifts back to face the tsubo. R and L open the netting up on the tatami just in front of the tsubo so that the ties are spread out to the sides, and the tsubo is lifted into it (45).



(46)

R and L pull the netting up by raising and evening the ties (46).



(47)

R grasps both ties at the top, and L holds them in place near the lid of the tsubo (47).



(48)

From overhand, R regrasps the ends of the ties and twists them once (48). R bends them down in half and grasps them.



(49)

L supports the tsubo from underneath as the host rises and leaves the room (49).

Variations of Tsubo Kazari

Although Tsubo Kazari is practiced in class all year round, it is presented only during the ro season, particularly at the first gathering of the ro season. Also, it may be presented at New Years or other such auspicious occasions during the ro season. The tsubo is sometimes displayed on the shoin shelf rather than in the tokonoma.

Book Reviews

The Japanese Courtyard Garden. By Kanto Shigemori. New York & Tokyo: John Weatherhill Inc., English Edition, 1981. 223 pp. 37.5 cm. x 26.5 cm. U.S.\$150.00 ¥25,000.

I opened this formidable volume ignorant and finished it edified. Looking at the large, vivid pictures is almost tantamount to having the gardens themselves. There is probably enough inspiration and information here for anyone, especially a city-dweller, to plan his or her own space of green or space of stone. Though at times Mr. Shigemori's descriptions get a little precious (he is apt to imbue the gardens with qualities bordering on the human), still this book is a straightforward and elegant introduction to a very special development of Japanese culture that he obviously feels has been neglected. He seeks lovingly and authoritatively to make amends in the four sections of his book: ten pages of text outlining the development of the small garden; seventy-five magnificent colorplates; architectural drawings and plans of the layout of each of the seventy-five gardens with comments on esthetics and other pertinent information; a glossary containing historical periods, technical terms, and names of plants—their Japanese names, English equivalents, and Latin botanical terms—though there seems not to be any reason why some are listed by their Japanese and some by their English names. However, since the glossary is only three and a half pages long, it is no hardship to scan the entries.

The literal meaning of *tsubo niwa*, a pot or jar (*tsubo*) garden (*niwa*), suggests to most Japanese a small interior space. But apparently this puts a misleading size limitation on the term. *Tsubo niwa* really are designed to fill spaces left after a building is constructed, connecting structures or serving as privacy zones between lots, and admitting sunlight to otherwise dark interiors.

The original courtyard gardens were meant for the eyes of the noble inhabitants of the Imperial Palace only. They were intimate, smaller than public gardens, yet large enough for paulownia and wisteria which needed considerable sunlight and good ventilation. This type of garden was made smaller when adapted for shrines, temples, private homes and shops, and was characterized by trees and shrubs, rocks, and flowering plants. As the arts of flower arrangement and tea ceremony flourished in the early seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, flowers were usually absent. Hedges and bamboo fences developed, stone lanterns and stone water-basins began to appear, and stepping-stones became popular. All these were related to the guests' participation in the tea ceremony. Gradually the influence of the tea ceremony inspired people to create a garden space similar to the *roji* (the small garden meant as a transitional pathway from the mundane to the tea world) within their homes, even if they lacked a tearoom. While giving sunlight and space for rest, these small gardens proved their worth in a very practical way during the great fire of 1788 which destroyed most of Kyoto; as fire breaks they saved many houses from total destruction. After that, hardly any merchant's house lacked a small garden.

An interesting departure from the traditional Kyoto esthetic in gardens was developing in Edo, seat of the actual government of the country. From the world of the geisha arose terms like *iki*, chic; *tsu*, sophistication; *share*, elegance or wit; *asobi*, detachment from everyday life and affairs. While gardeners outside of Kyoto sought, mostly unsuccessfully, to incorporate these esthetic elements into horticultural creations, the Kyoto garden designers took pride in the traditions of their unique city and preserved and refined their techniques even through the upheavals accompanying the advent of the Meiji period. Stone lanterns, water basins, and stepping-stones as well as small trees and shrubs, nandin, camellia, and moss, continued to be standard features of Kyoto courtyard garden design, although various kinds of bamboo and other plants, as well as minor Western features such as ceramic pots or sculpture, were introduced in the early twentieth century.

It is a tribute to the Kyoto gardening tradition that fine examples of the courtyard garden still exist, though not often seen by the public, in such diverse places as government buildings, company dormitories, office lounges, and shops of various kinds, as well as homes. Almost a third of the gardens selected for this book are less than twenty years old; others date to mid-Edo or earlier; there is a fair sampling of various types in between. Of special interest are the courtyard gardens from each of the Sen schools of tea.

At \$150, this informative book is still cheaper than hiring a gardening consultant; beyond that, who can put a price on this kind of sheer photographic lusciousness that at once soothes the spirit and stimulates the mind?

Constance Kimos
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Toward a Philosophy of Zen Buddhism. By *Toshibiko Izutsu*. Reprint. Originally published, Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977. Boulder, Colorado: Shambhala Publications, Inc.; Prajna Press, Great Eastern Book Co., 1982. 259 pp. U.S.\$10.00. **Zen Action, Zen Person.** By *T. P. Kasulis*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1981. 177 pp. U.S.\$12.95.

R. H. Blyth dedicates one of the volumes of his *Zen and Zen Classics* to D. T. Suzuki, saying that he is "the only man who can write about Zen without making me loathe it." I revere Blyth as the one Westerner—if there is a second one it is Thomas Merton—who is capable of writing about Zen that way. Nor do I know of too many Orientals who have the gift to write on Zen with sufficient grace to inspire and delight the reader, to bring the reader closer to Zen's heart, to remind the reader of what is forgotten only on penalty of spiritual inertia and deterioration. Here I am thinking of the two marvelous lectures Suzuki gave in 1946 for the Emperor; Garma C. Chang's magistral *Philosophy of Totality* (University of Pennsylvania Press); and Keiji Nishitani's "What is Religion?" (*Shukyo to wa Nanika*) which, fortunately, will soon be published as *Religion and Emptiness* by the University of California Press. Among these few, also, is Professor Toshihiko Izutsu. To review his *Toward a Philosophy of Zen Buddhism* properly would require Hui Neng's wisdom and Dogen's philosophical acumen. Falling somewhat short of this pitch of perfection, I must be resigned to witness here to my gratitude for this quiet, intense, even poetic work which rivals D. T. Suzuki at his finest. I see that I have here, in just one paragraph, almost catalogued the little library I would take to the proverbial uninhabited island.

Izutsu, although steeped in the world of Zen, is especially known as a distinguished Islamic scholar. One of his most important works, *Key Philosophical Concepts in Sufism and Taoism*, is a comparative study of Chuang Tzu and the Sufi mystic Ibn'Arabi. He is a regular speaker at the Eranos Conferences at Ascona, Switzerland, and has taught at Keio University and at McGill in Montreal. Until recently he was connected with the now defunct Imperial Academy of Philosophy in Teheran.

To write well on Zen, one has to write from the center of the Zen mentality, even the Zen experience. Having chanced to hear Izutsu once, he struck me as typical of those eminent Japanese thinkers, Zen thinkers in particular, who differ radically from our Western professorial types by supplementing erudition with the insights that many years of meditation have yielded. These men have gone through the crucible, and every one of their words witnesses to their having become not merely well-oiled machines, but integrated human beings. I am thinking here of the ones with which I am most familiar, representatives of the Kyoto School: Nishida, Nishitani, Hisamatsu, Abe, Ueda, whose gifts are such that one must reread their writings periodically, each time discovering new

riches, new nourishment, new delight. They are the Zen writers whose maturation has empowered them to succeed in transmitting by "words and letters" surprisingly well much that, according to Bodhidharma, resists being transmissible in words and letters. They also gainsay the old saw that Zen is "anti-intellectualistic."

Zen seems here to manifest the intellectual faculties as purified by the fire of experiencing, matured to an experiential knowing that supersedes mere knowledge. Attaining an intellectual multidimensionality, Zen thought then brings us in intimate touch with those dimensions of reality that are beyond the measurable, weighable, quantifiable, definable, and certainly the debatable. Such writing on Zen becomes revelatory, a sign of the superintellectual dimensions of the human mind itself, a manifestation of Nan Ch'uan's "ordinary mind," as the locus of what Izutsu calls "infinite spiritual energy." "Once its individual determinants are removed, this energy will expand itself to the farthest reaches of the universe" Analogous to the mountain that has gone through the stage of no-mountain, to become Mountain once more, "my" mind having gone through the stage of no-mind may emerge at last as "this ordinary mind"

Izutsu proceeds from the conviction that there is a philosophical potential hidden in the Zen experience, however antiphilosophical Zen may be, and however much the world of Zen is, indeed, a world of Silence. But it is a silence pregnant with words that can only emerge from its depths in a special kind of language that issues directly from the Zen experience of the real, "as the self-articulating activity of the nonarticulated." On this language, the author feels, one can validly reflect in the philosophical mode; provided, once more, it is truly actualized as Zen reflecting upon its own self.

We are here at the opposite pole from the intention formulated on the jacket of Professor Kasulis's book which promises an investigation of "not only the personal meaning found in Zen practice, but also "the conceptual roots supporting the practice."

In Izutsu's book "articulation" is the very center of contemplation and analysis in its linguistic and semantic aspects. It deals with the sense in which the language of Zen—which emerges from silence—not from concepts!—may yield meanings that can be developed into a philosophy. To do this, a secure grasp of the nature and structure of the Zen experience of reality is indispensable. Izutsu, therefore, realizes fully that Zen silence when expressing itself is not limited to assuming verbal forms. Especially where he speaks of its manifestation in pictorial expression, he reveals himself to be gifted with exquisite aesthetic sensitivity.

One is tempted to quote a work of this importance in its entirety, but since this is not practical, let me attempt a minimal summary of some key ideas. One of these is the "Field of Awareness" in Zen, which somehow intensifies the "anthropocentric" tendency present in earliest Buddhist teaching (however cosmocentric the Buddhist worldview may be), which is so centrally concerned with the conception of *anatta*, non-ego. Zen made this problem of Man even more central, in the sense of "absolute Selfhood," pondering "who" this very human subject might be that is so very different from Aristotle's "rational animal." The human image typical of Zen emerges precisely where this common-sense image is smashed to smithereens. In Zen, Man in his true reality as absolute Selfhood, must be grasped directly, prior to his being objectified as a "thing." This image of Man issues from a dimension which absolutely transcends the bifurcation between subject and object so characteristic of the human intellect. The point at which self becomes one with it-self has, in Dogen's terminology, become "body-mind dropped off" into nothingness, to be resuscitated out of nothingness as the "dropped-off mind-body." It has transcended itself once and for all.

This conception of Man in the Zen sense did not occupy a key position until Rinzai put Man, the human Person, rather than Mind, Nature, Prajna, Dharma at the very center, as the core of his world view. It is far from a naively realistic image. It is, radically pragmatic as it may be, the image of a two-storied being in which both the individual and the supra-individual are perfectly united. For

this image to disclose itself to our eyes, however, a shift is needed on the part of the perceiving of "subject": from the dimension of everyday consciousness to that of prajna, pure consciousness or super consciousness. "The world discloses itself to our eyes," says Izutsu, "in exact accordance with the actual state of our consciousness." Prajna, "transcendental" or nondiscriminating cognition, sees "all things as egoless, as being devoid of a self-subsistent, permanently fixed essence."

He points out that essences are perceived not because they are objectively there, but because they are part of the structure of the discriminating mind. That which perceives things and events in their indetermination is *mushin*, no-mind, a mind in the state of nothingness. Such perception prior to the split between subject and object of which the principle is called the *tatbagata-garbha*, the "Womb of absolute Reality," is for Izutsu "a dynamic field of power in its entirety and wholeness, a field which is neither exclusively subjective nor exclusively objective, but comprehends both subject and object in a peculiar state prior to its being bifurcated into these two."

He describes zazen as that "somatic-psychological posture" which does not lead to a Socratic "knowing of oneself," but to a becoming of oneself. The self one can *know* will forever remain objectified—a thing to be known, of which Ikkyu says "No matter how hard you search after it, you'll never be able to grasp it. That is your I."

The keyword "nothingness" refers, above all, in this context, to the nullification of ego conceived and represented as a self-subsistent entity, so that the whole world of being may disclose itself as Nothingness: as that ultimate reality which Ti Tsang urged Fa Yen to see "how It is nakedly apparent in everything and every event," for here the Real is seen in the apparent, and the apparent in the Real, without any discrepancy between them.

The dynamic, non-articulated Field from which one can, through abstraction, indeed derive the perceiving subject and the perceiving object, is that which in Zen has been indicated by the key term "Mind." In a particular phase of consciousness this nonarticulated Field is seen as articulating itself freely into either subject or object: not as an abstraction, but as a total actualization or concretization of the whole Field. At this stage "I" does not refer to ego but to this concretization of the entire Field. Izutsu clarifies to what extent Joshu's cypress tree is this concretization of the Field as "object," while Rinzai's "True Man without rank in this mass of red flesh" is its crystallization in terms of "subject." The Field can go back again to its original state of stillness once "the wind has fallen off," as Dogen expresses it poetically. The Field is the eternal "now" and the ubiquitous "here".

The traditional terms of "Mind" and "no-mind" have here been auspiciously replaced by the modern philosophical key term "Field," in which our own place in the structure of the whole may rise into awareness. Izutsu delves deeply into the Zen view of consciousness, that difference between "consciousness-of" and "pure consciousness," and touches with exceptional sensitivity on that "artistic samadhi" of poet, painter, and musician in which *Sunyata* discloses itself not as a negative ontological state of their "being nothing," but as the very plenitude of being.

His elucidation of the role of semantic articulation becomes pure *upaya* toward awakening. His thumbnail sketch of the Kegon conception of the fundamental structure of the phenomenal world is exemplary. I cannot resist quoting it:

The whole universe is represented as a limitless number of luminous mirrors facing one another so that the world is made to appear as an infinite mass of light with an unfathomable depth. In such a situation the slightest movement of even one single mirror cannot but affect the whole world of light. And since in the phenomenal dimension all things are moving from moment to moment, and since each single movement of every single thing brings into being a new order of things, a new world is born afresh every moment.

Izutsu's is not the first attempt at a philosophical account of Zen; the third patriarch Sosan's *Shinjin Mei* (Hsing Hsing Min) and Sekito's *Sandokai* are his illustrious predecessors, as is the great Dogen. The process of the self-articulation of reality, although essentially of a nonverbal nature, must therefore have an inner structure which can be analyzed and rearticulated in a verbal, conceptual form, provided it is Zen experience converting itself into Zen philosophy.

It is not possible to do justice to those densely written chapters in which Izutsu contrasts poetic speech—in which the words are transparent and “open” in meaning—with the tightly closed and frozen meanings of nonpoetic language; to his concise yet unequalled precision in speaking of the koan, in balanced reverence for both Rinzai and Dogen's approach; to his superb elucidation of that “a-thinking that is THINKING” and by which one achieves a metaphysical knowledge of being in the supraconceptual dimension of consciousness, and which stands in such glaring contrast to “the conscious manipulation of clear and distinct ideas” of Cartesian thinking. This “a-thinking,” he stresses, is out of reach of the thinker caught in ego-consciousness. Izutsu almost succeeds in conjuring those subliminal regions of the so-called unconscious where all that remains is a “self-illuminant IS”....

As an artist, I find what Izutsu says about painting and calligraphy in a few pages is equivalent to volumes of artistic, intellectual scholarship. Equally brilliant is his chapter on the externalization of the internal and the internalization of the external: “... everything that has hitherto been imagined as taking place outside of himself is in reality taking place in an interior space.” It proceeds to illustrate this convincingly in an exemplary manner that prompts me to end with Chang Sha's famous *mondō*.

- A monk: “What kind of thing is my mind?”
Chang Sha: “The whole universe is your mind,”
The monk: “If it is so, I would have no place to put myself in.”
Chang Sha: “Quite the contrary; this precisely is the place for you to put yourself in.”
The monk: “What, then, is the place for me to put myself in?”
Chang Sha: “A boundless ocean! The water is deep, unfathomably deep!”
The monk: “That is beyond my comprehension.”
Chang Sha: “See the huge fishes and tiny fishes, swimming up and down as they like”

I read T. P. Kasulis's *Zen Action, Zen Person* twice, with dutiful perseverance, with respect rather than delight. His “approach is philosophical” and “above all an inquiry into ourselves.” As such, it invites comparison with Professor Izutsu's book. I would recommend one be read in conjunction with the other. Dr. Kasulis starts his study with an excellent and interesting investigation of the three Japanese words for “person” as being characteristic of the Japanese cultural context. What follows is replete with well-chosen quotations from contemporary Zen masters such as Sasaki Joshu and Shibayama Zenkei and also from classic Zen texts by Dogen and Hakuin, to which extensive, learned, and thoughtful sections are devoted. Still, there is something presumptuous about the attempted “clarification” of key terms as used by such venerable figures as D. T. Suzuki in pointing at “essentialist” elements in Zen which (by Izutsu, for instance) are shown to be anything but essentialist. One questions his choice of a philodendron as a characteristic example of one of those “conceptual filters” at this juncture of history, in which the reality of precisely the True Man is filtered out by such terms as “human material,” all over the globe. As the product of a baseball-free culture, I am incompetent to evaluate Kasulis's eloquent explications of Zen disciplines as being analogous to this game, but where he quotes Akiyama's formulation that “both thinking and not-thinking are without-thinking,” I have grave doubts about it as an improvement over the more usual

term "non-thinking" or Izutsu's "a-thinking that is thinking"—even more so as it requires clarifications like the following:

1. Thinking
noetic attitude: positional (either affirming or negating)
noematic content: conceptualized objects
2. Not-thinking
noetic attitude: positional (only negating)
noematic content: thinking (as objectified)
3. Without-thinking
noetic attitude: nonpositional (neither affirming nor negating)
noematic content: pure presence of things as they are

(p. 73)

While still attempting to distill vital insights from this information, my eye wandered to page 78 and the strange statement: "To say that one practices zazen in order to become an enlightened person is like saying one practices medicine to become a doctor. To practice medicine is to *be* a doctor." I reflected that, had I read this while struggling with my exams in medical school and taken it at face value, I might have dropped out and started to practice medicine illegally, trusting it would make me *be* a doctor, while making me *be* a convict . . .

I cannot help feeling that the book was published a little prematurely. Had it marinated longer, some of the all-too-academic fragrances—to which I confess being allergic—might have evaporated and its overall aroma have been enhanced.

Many chapters end with a haiku by Basho, as if to prove that a poet long ago succeeded in saying clearly, in seventeen syllables, what philosophers still need many pages to try to convey. One of these haiku reads in Dr. Kasulis' translation:

Ah, the ancient pond.
A frog makes the plunge;
The sound of water.

To make or to take the plunge is not really the question. Rather one wonders, for the sake of both Basho and that overworked amphibian, whether the poor frog will be made to plunge again and again, or whether this may, mercifully, be its terminal plunge; its *salto mortale*.

Dr. Frederick Franck
Pacem in Terris
Warwick, New York

The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang. By Stephen Owen. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981. 456 pp. \$29.95, ¥9,280.

With this impressive volume, Stephen Owen continues his period-by-period study of T'ang poetry, which began in his previous monograph, *Poetry of the Early T'ang* (New Haven, 1977). There can be no question that Owen is the most erudite scholar of Chinese poetry working in the West today; he appears to have read virtually every poem written in the T'ang dynasty, and writes with familiarity about even the most obscure poets. Such formidable knowledge makes it possible for Owen to

undertake an unprecedented task, namely, the charting of poetic development practically decade by decade through the so-called High T'ang period of the mid- and late-eighth century A.D. This is not a book for the general reader—the text itself, amply provided with Chinese characters, the nearly one hundred pages of highly technical notes on the individual poems, the finding list and bibliography of works in Chinese, Japanese and Western languages are all aimed at the specialist.

Although individual chapters are devoted to the famous masters—Wang Wei, Meng Hao-jan, Li Po, Tu Fu, Wei Ying-wu (treated here as a foreshadower of mid-T'ang poetry)—more than half the book is taken up with discussions of lesser-known poets. Such an approach is probably a wise one, for Owen maintains quite rightly that one cannot understand the true achievement of the major writers without having some sense of the stylistic norms of their times. As a result of Owen's carefully focused presentation of so much detail, he succeeds perhaps to a greater degree than any previous scholar in capturing the stylistic distinctions among poets who often seem similar or identical upon first reading. In addition, he strikes an intelligent balance between acknowledgment that there often existed a "shared style," practitioners of which were indistinguishable from each other, and assertion of the unmistakable stylistic individuality of the truly great masters.

Why, then, does one put the book down with a feeling of dissatisfaction? Is one simply stunned by such a plethora of facts and names, or by the effort required to follow quite subtle stylistic nuances distinguished by Owen in his analyses of poems on nearly every page? Is one saddened at the loss of innocence in our reading of Chinese poetry, which is surely signaled by this book? Does one actually fear that, just as in Chuang Tzu's famous parable, Primal Chaos died when his divine friends, out of misguided kindness, provided him with newly drilled eyes, ears, nostrils and mouth, a certain rarified beauty in Chinese poetry will somehow fail to recover from such an aggressive act of critical appropriation?

Probably all of these are involved. But the most serious problem with the book lies in Owen's very attitude toward the art of poetry itself. Owen is a modern literary critic par excellence. For him, the art of poetry is essentially an end in itself, and good poetry is characterized by precisely those qualities of complexity and manipulated ambiguity in which New and post-New Critics revel. This position, which has to be deduced by the reader from hints strewn throughout the text, makes of Owen a better interpreter of some poets than of others. He is best, for example, in analyzing complexities of voice in Meng Hao-jan (ch. 6, one of the finest studies of this poet we have), and Tu Fu's bold expansion of Chinese poetic syntax (ch. 11). It is no surprise that he considers Tu Fu's hermetic *Autumn Meditations* to be the greatest series of poems in the Chinese language (p. 214). But Owen unfortunately does not change his standard of values when dealing with other poets, and this sometimes leads to readings—or, to be more precise, interpretations of *tone*—which are highly idiosyncratic. In discussing Li Po, for example (ch. 8), Owen is so anxious to present Li as a brilliant manipulator of poetic persona that he misses what I believe is an authentic visionary quality in such poems as *Dream Journey to T'ien-mu Mountain*. True visionary poetry is not the product of the manipulated artistic imagination, but rather *comes* to the poet through visionary experience which he then feels compelled to express (cf. Blake).

With Wang Wei, the problem becomes more acute. Owen's critical obsession with complexity and irony blinds him to the distinction between two different dichotomies: that between complexity and simplicity on the one hand, and that between profundity and shallowness on the other. A poem can be complex and quite shallow (as with so many of the early T'ang court poets Owen admires). It can be also simple and profound. Also, because Owen's catalogue of different approaches to poetry (see pp. 148-149) is excessively poet-centered, he fails to account for the one role of poetry that is of crucial importance for understanding Wang Wei and others: that it is a *vehicle*, a *means* to express what is in the world. In a word, nature—the physical world (*wu-se* in the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*)—is

what Owen leaves out of the equation. He is a quintessential Romantic in his unremitting insistence on the centrality of the poet's consciousness and craft.

All these factors force Owen to misrepresent the essential point of such a poem as *The Luan Family Rapids* (p. 39) by Wang Wei. The egret in the last line is not a semiotic omen of some curley hidden message. It is, in keeping with basic Taoist doctrine, innately numinous, possessed of the Tao "in and of itself" (*tzu-jan*). It is mysterious in the spiritual sense, but it is not an "enigma." Here, Wai-lim Yip is closer to the truth than Owen, although Yip too overstates his case, as Owen correctly implies (p. 322, n. 5). The profound simplicity of Wang Wei is not a cunning artistic strategy; to argue that it *is* is to trivialize the poet, not to honor him. Wang is writing in a style appropriate to his vision and experience, and it is these which take priority. The poetry is a *means* to embody them. The extent of Owen's misunderstanding of this point becomes clear when he states, of a poem about visiting a Buddhist temple, that Wang uses the temple and the landscape as emblems "for a rigorous poetic craft" (pp. 42-43). This is a reversal of Wang's priorities.

Perhaps Owen is compensating for the earlier tendency of Western enthusiasts to see all Chinese poets as quietist Oriental sages, and is striving to demonstrate that they were (self-) conscious practitioners of their craft. If this is so, he has overcompensated.

Czeslaw Milosz, Nobel laureate in literature in 1980, issues this warning to poets in his *Arts Poetica?*:

... poems should be written rarely and reluctantly, under unbearable duress and only with the hope that good spirits, not evil ones, choose us for their instrument.

[As translated by the poet and Lillian Vallee in Czeslaw Milosz, *Bells in Winter* (New York: Ecco Press, 1980 edition), pp. 30-31.]

Milosz feels the time has come for poets to liberate themselves from the Romantic notion that the poet is God. Critics of poetry should liberate themselves from the same idea, and see the best poetry for what it is: an *instrument* for conveying something that lies, as the Chinese say, "beyond the words" (*tsai yen chih wai*).

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Glossary

bī	美	gei	芸
chaire	茶入	Genryū chawa	源流茶話
Ch'en So-weng (Ch'en Jung)	陳所翁	Gozan Bungaku	五山文学
Chōandōki	長閑堂記	Hatsuhana	初花
Chōju giga	鳥獸戯画	Hechikan	ノ観
Chu-jan	臣然	hijiri	聖
dō	道	hikime kagibana	引目鉤鼻
emaki	絵巻	hitsui	筆意
e-yō chōkoku	絵様彫刻	Hōdō	鳳凰堂
Fūshikaden	風姿花伝	Hsu Hsi	徐熙
		hui lung	魁龍

hyōshutsu	表出	Rojō	路上
Imai Sōkyū	今井宗久	Rokuso	六祖
Juchin	寿椿	Sanjūrokkasen emaki	三十六歌仙絵卷
Kadensho	花伝書	Sanjūrokunin-shū	三十六人集
Kakyō	花鏡	sanrin	山林
Kannami	観阿弥	Sarugaku	猿楽
Karasumaru	烏丸	Satake	佐竹
Kenkō	兼好	Sei Shōnagon	清少納言
Kenkō Hōshi Kashū	兼好法師家集	Sen Rikyu	千利休
Kintōsho	金島書	Shami Zempō	沙弥善芳
kirasuri	雲母刷り	Shijukkoku	四十石
Kitamuki Dōchin	北向道陳	Shikadō	至花道
Kōdaiji maki-e	高台寺蒔絵	Shōka	松花
Kokinshū	古今集	Sōtan nikki	宗旦日記
Koōgimi	小大君	Sugawara Michizane	菅原道真
Kubo Gondayū	久保権大輔	suibokuga	水墨画
Kuchikiri	口切	suki	数寄
Kyaraifū no kyoku	却来風の曲	Sutego	捨子
Kyaraika	却来華	Takeno Jōō	武野紹鷗
Liang K'ai	梁楷	Tamonin nikki	多聞院日記
Makura no Sōshi	枕草子	Tennōjiya kaiki	天王寺屋会記
Ma Lin	馬麟	tonseisha	遁世者
Manyōshū	万葉集	Tōso Tenjin	唐祖天神
meibutsu	名物	Toyotomi Hideyoshi	豊臣秀吉
meijin	名人	Tsubo Kazari	壺莊
michi	道	Tsuda Sōkyū	津田宗及
momojiri	桃尻	Tsurezuregusa	徒然草
monogatari	物語	Tung-yuan	董源
Mu-ch'i	牧谿	waka	和歌
mujō	無常	Wakayama Bokusui	若山牧水
Murata Shukō	村田珠光	Yamanoue Sōji ki	山上宗二記
Nadeshiko	撫子	yamato-e	大和絵
Nikyoku santai	二曲三体	Yamazato (tea hut)	山里
Nitari	似	yūbi	優美
Nitta	新田	Yu Chien	玉潤
nō	能	yūgen	幽玄
Noh	能	Yūroku Shūdō Fūken	遊樂習道風見
Otogoze	乙御前	Zeami	世阿弥
renmen yūshi	連綿遊糸	Zengan	善岩
riken no ken	離見の見	Zenshun	善春
Rimpa	琳派	zorori	曾呂利
rinka	林下	zōkei	造形

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