

CHANOYU Quarterly
TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 38



The embossing on the cover is adapted from a gold embroidered fabric called *Houn kinran*, favored by Sen Soshitsu XV, fifteenth generation grand master of the Urasenke School of Chanoyu. The motif is composed of a phoenix (*ho*) amid clouds (*un*) 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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Santon, Tanihata Akio, and Betty Winchester

Chanoyu Quarterly is published quarterly by the Urasenke Foundation, Kyoto, and the Urasenke Chanoyu Center, New York. Subscriptions: Japan, four issues ¥4,400; elsewhere, US\$20.00 (air postage US\$14.00 extra). Single copies: Japan, ¥1,100 (¥900 at selected bookshops); elsewhere, US\$5.50 (air postage US\$3.50 extra). Prices subject to change. Please allow 6 to 8 weeks for delivery on all orders. Back issue list sent free upon request. U.S.A. residents write: *Chanoyu Quarterly*, Urasenke Chanoyu Center, 153 East 69th Street, New York, New York 10021. All others write: *Chanoyu Quarterly*, Urasenke Foundation, Ogawa Teranouchi agaru, Kamikyo-ku, Kyoto, Japan 602.

Manuscripts and books for review should be addressed to: Managing Editor, *Chanoyu Quarterly*, Urasenke Foundation, Ogawa Teranouchi agaru, Kamikyo-ku, Kyoto, Japan 602.

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The names of Japanese persons are written in accordance with the Japanese practice, with surname first. Kanji for names, titles of works, and italicized terms, where appropriate, are given in the Glossary.

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CONTRIBUTORS

Sen Soshitsu XV Fifteenth-generation Urasenke Grand Tea Master; President and Chairman of the Board of Directors, Urasenke Foundation; abbot, Kyoshin'an temple; professor, University of Hawaii; author, among his works are *Tea Life*, *Tea Mind* and *Chado: The Japanese Way of Tea*.

Uenishi Setsuo Researcher, Office of Prefectural History, Okayama Prefectural Hall; member of the Oriental Ceramics Association; author, among his works is *Kodai Chusei no Bizen Yo* (Ancient and Medieval Kilns of Bizen) in *Nihon Yakimono Shusei 9* (Japanese Ceramics Collection, Volume 9); co-author of *Nippon Toji Zenshu 10: Bizen* (A Pageant of Japanese Ceramics, Volume 10: Bizen Ware).

Ayamura Tan'en President, Heian Calligraphy Association; instructor of calligraphy, Urasenke Gakuen Chado Semmon Gakko; author, among his works are *Nihon no Shodo* (The Calligraphy of Japan) and *Chagake no Kaishi* (Kaishi Scrolls for Chanoyu).

Hamamoto Soshun Senior Tea Instructor, Urasenke Konnichian; Director, Urasenke Gakuen Chado Semmon Gakko; 1973 recipient of Japan's Fifth Class Order of the Sacred Treasure; author of *Tekisuian: Chanoyu Kanwa* (Quiet Talk on Chanoyu by Tekisuian [Ms. Hamamoto's pen name and the name of her tea house]) and numerous articles on chanoyu.

Tanihata Akio Researcher, Urasenke Konnichian Library; lecturer, Urasenke Gakuen Chado Semmon Gakko; author of *Chajin-den* (The Legends of Tea People) and numerous papers on the history of chanoyu.

Chanoyu is a synthesis of arts that gives expression to many aspects of Japanese culture. From its beginnings in the fifteenth century down to 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 seeks to encourage the further development of these arts and to promote a worldwide understanding of the spirit of chanoyu.

Water: The Great Gift

Sen Soshitsu XV

In 1576, the general Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) completed the construction of his magnificent castle at Azuchi on Lake Biwa. In the same year, his mentor in Zen Buddhism, Ranshuku Genshu (d. 1580) put the final touches on the *Shucha Ron* (Liquor-versus-Tea Discourse), a short, lively work that offers a number of dialogues in which characters compare and contrast the merits and demerits of liquor and tea. While Azuchi Castle lay in ruins not six years after its completion, Ranshuku's *Shucha Ron* still fascinates readers today. It contains a wealth of information on Japanese social mores at the end of the Muromachi period, as well as on the relationship between tea, and Zen Buddhist beliefs and temple practices.

In one episode, here paraphrased, a spring day finds a *sake* lover and a tea lover—imbibing their favorite beverages under the cherry blossoms—in dispute. “Why don’t you tell me about the merits of tea, and I’ll tell you all that is good about liquor,” the *sake* lover suggests. “What?” the tea lover replies. “Do you think there is anything good about liquor? I say, no! Remember how Buddha’s disciple Shakatsuda drank too much and soiled his clothes, making them no better than rags, whereupon Buddha forbade the drinking of liquor? Isn’t this a good reason to avoid alcohol? And, isn’t there a saying that you’ll fail in your every endeavor if you drink? Buddha reminded us that not only power, but even life can be lost because of liquor. Is it worth it?” Growing angry, the advocate of *sake* rejoins, “You talk a lot in an effort to frighten people. It’s too bad that you only mention uninteresting things and not what is really important. Buddha also taught us that alcohol is like good medicine. Even in the scriptures its virtues are praised in numerous places, but where is there anything good written about tea?” The discussion goes on in this way for a long time with many examples from Indian and Chinese history being cited concerning the pros and cons of both beverages. Eventually a man of leisure comes strolling by and says, “All is peaceful and harmonious in the land, is it not? Yet, you two sit here making every effort to disturb this tranquility. I drink *sake* and tea and can tell you that no matter what you may say, both are fine things.”

About thirty or forty years ago, a similar story was found in a cache of ancient Chinese writings. In it, Tea and Liquor debate their relative merits, each extolling its own virtues. However, this story ends on a different note, for Water is standing nearby listening to the ruckus. Not able to stand their quibbling any longer, Water breaks in, saying, “Don’t be so eager to promote yourself at the expense of the other, for each of you have good and bad points of which you can be proud and ashamed. Yet in all that you’ve said, haven’t you forgotten something of great importance? What would either of you be without me? I would remind you, Liquor, that eating yeast without water, and you, Tea, that ingesting dry tea leaves would be unpleasant for anyone, so please stop your boasting.”

Indeed, where would anyone be without water?

Simply observing water can be instructive. The way water conforms to the shape of that which contains it—whether it be a round bowl, a square box, or the irregular shape of a plastic bag—teaches one much about adaptability. The abundance of life that it sustains without a thought of gratitude suggests that there are riches on a higher plane of reality, far greater than one can ever imagine.

Good water is essential to the practice of chanoyu. To secure water of quality is one of the host's most important tasks when preparing for a tea gathering. In the midst of summer, the ways in which a host uses water to relieve the heat go far toward comforting the guests. The water which is sprinkled in the garden, the dew that glistens on the flower displayed in the tokonoma, and the sound of water as it falls into the kettle from the bamboo water ladle are all concrete expressions of the host's desire to put the guests at ease and bring welcome relief from the heat. In contrast to the superficial, mechanical coolness that can easily be had with air conditioning, water affords a sense of coolness that brings us in touch with nature.

Not only in the summer, but throughout the four seasons, the person of Tea gains spiritual refreshment from this simple, natural element, through the enjoyment of its taste, its sound, and its visual qualities. Bringing us closer to nature, its wellspring, it uplifts us from the mundane. From water's ability to adapt to its surroundings, we can learn to make use of the natural qualities of water in adapting ourselves to our environment. Through our appreciation of this great gift of nature, we gain insight and wisdom.



Bizen-ware Ceramics

Uenishi Setsuo

Even among modern Japanese ceramic wares, the distinctively fire-marked, unglazed pottery of Bizen is unique. Of the more than twenty known medieval kiln complexes in Japan, Bizen is one of the few that remain active. What is even more remarkable, Bizen ware has changed little since it was begun to be made at the end of the twelfth century, when it grew out of the ancient Sue-ware tradition.

The remains of old Bizen kilns are scattered in the hills around the towns of Imbe and Uraimbe near the city of Bizen in Okayama Prefecture. Archeological evidence suggests that, except for modifications in scale, the type of kiln remained unchanged up until the nineteenth century. These inclined kilns, known as *anagama* (literally, "hole kiln"), were constructed by erecting an arched clay roof over a trench of approximately one meter in depth, which ran up the natural slope of the hillside.

The chronology of those old kilns can be divided into five stages, which roughly span the twelfth to the mid-seventeenth centuries. During the first two stages, which together lasted from the twelfth through the thirteenth centuries, a small number of kilns were constructed, each running from the bottom to about the middle of the hills in the area. The small amount of gray stoneware produced in these smoke-filled reduction firing kilns appears to have been comprised mostly of small-mouthed jars, large bowls, and large, wide-mouthed jars. Other products included a few small bowls and roof tiles.

During the fourteenth century there was a noticeable increase in the number of kilns and a change in kiln location. These events mark the onset of the third stage. During this stage, most kilns ran from the middle of a slope to near its top. Although pottery similar to that produced in the previous two stages continued to be made, a new, reddish-brown stoneware, which is today considered to be the most characteristic type of Bizen pottery, was developed. This new color was the result of a change from reduction firing techniques to either neutral or oxidation techniques. Although the variety of shapes remained about the same except for a few rare exceptions, the large number of shards of this reddish-brown stoneware that have been excavated at sites in western Japan is evidence that the market for Bizen-ware products increased markedly during this stage.

The fourth stage extends from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth. Like the kilns of the first two stages, most of the kilns constructed during this stage were located at the foot of the hills. They were few in number, but their production appears to have been large. Almost all of the Bizen ware made during this stage was basically reddish-brown in color. From the distribution of shards at a number of widely scattered sites dating from this period, it is apparent that the rapid increase in production was the result of increased demand for Bizen-ware products throughout Japan.

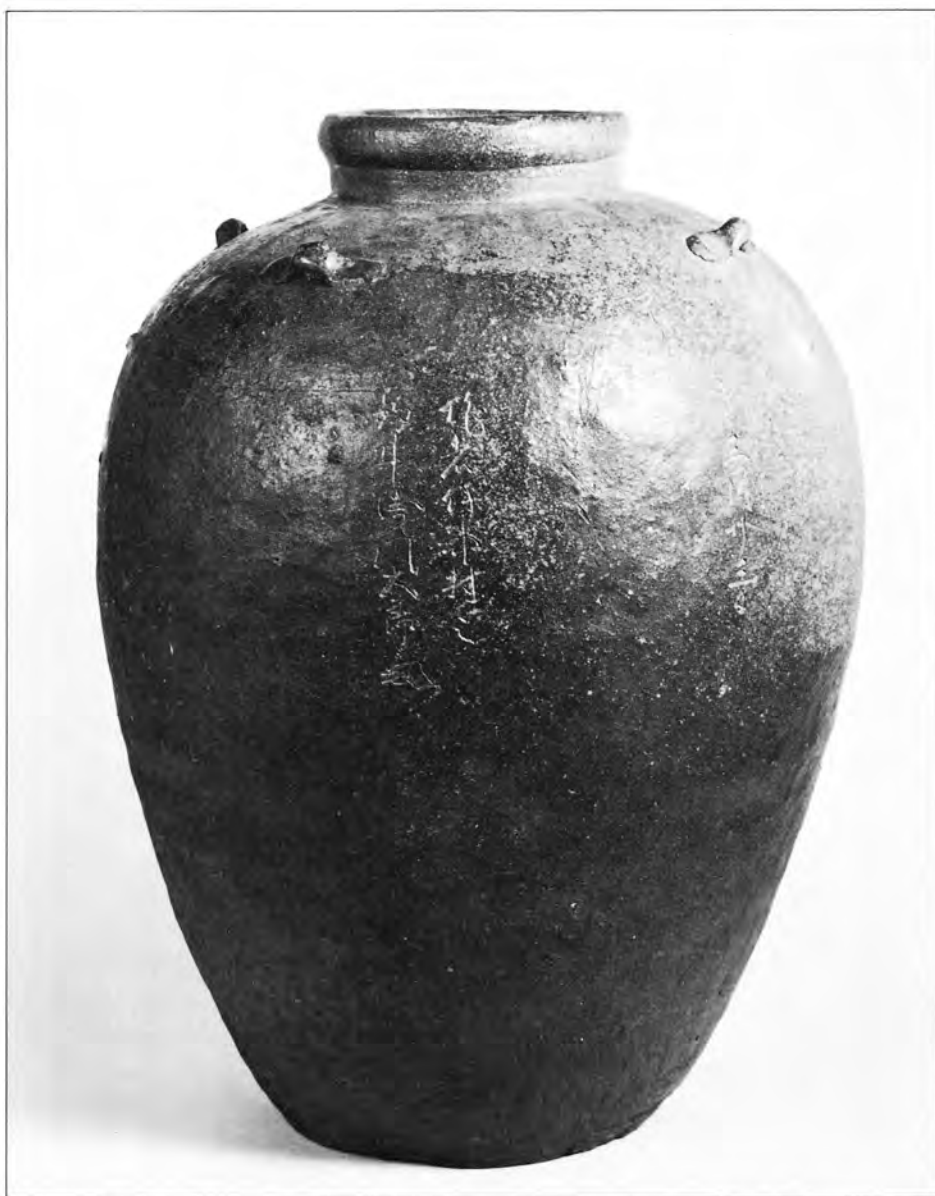
Kilns constructed during the fifth stage, which lasted from the latter half of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth centuries, were located near those of the fourth stage. There are only three famous kiln sites in this group—the Kita (north), Nishi (west), and Minami (south). Some of the kilns found there are very large, measuring about 4.6 meters in width and 54 meters in length. Kilns at these sites produced reddish-brown pottery in enormous quantities. Significantly, tea utensils began to be made from the end of the fourth stage and throughout the fifth. During this time, tea practitioners began to adapt everyday Bizen-ware products for use in chanoyu and to special order some items from Bizen potters. Many of those tea utensils still serve as models for modern-day tea utensils.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, there was a precipitous decline in the demand for unglazed pottery due to the rapid proliferation of porcelain from the kilns of Arita, Seto, and Kyoto. In order to survive, some Bizen potters began to produce glazed wares, such as White Bizen (*shiro bizen*), Color-glazed Bizen (*saishiki bizen*), and Decorated Bizen (*e bizen*), as well as slip wares using several differently colored clays. But, even while enjoying the protection of the local feudal lord, the Bizen potters' share of the ceramic market continued to dwindle, forcing the potters to reduce production to a mere trickle, where it remained until the middle of the twentieth century when—due to a revival of interest in such traditional arts as chanoyu and Ikebana, and the efforts of several modern-day Bizen potters, most notably Kaneshige Toyo (1896-1967) and the late Fujiwara Kei (1899-1983)—Bizen wares once again caught the public eye.

Dating Methods

It is fairly easy to place Bizen ware pieces in chronological order, the main reason being that many of them have a date inscribed on their surface. At present, the oldest fragment of Bizen ware featuring such an inscription bears the date Ryakuo 5 (1342). This is followed by an intact four-eared jar dated Bun'an 1 (1444), after which point in time there are many intact pieces inscribed with dates from every stage in the history of Bizen production. The approximate age of a particular piece can also be determined by carefully comparing the color and consistency of the clay, and the methods used to fire it, with other datable pieces. In addition, those pieces that have been passed down from owner to owner, and which have a clear provenance, can be dated with some accuracy.

Sometimes it is possible to determine the date of a particular piece by comparing its shape with the shapes of products from other kilns. For example, a tall, long-necked *sake* bottle, a shape not previously seen among Bizen products, was recently excavated from the seabed near Naoshima in Kagawa Prefecture. This *sake* bottle is similar in shape to several porcelain *sake* bottles with underglaze cobalt-blue decoration excavated from the site of the old Tengu-dani kilns in Arita, which were known to have been active during the closing years of the Keicho era (1596-1615). These kilns were built by Korean potters brought to Japan by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) shortly after he invaded Korea in 1592. Since one of his generals, Ukita Hideie (1573-1655), was the lord of Bizen, it is highly likely that some of these potters found their way to



Four-eared Bizen-ware jar. The earliest known intact example of Bizen ware with an incised date. The inscription states the location of the kiln, the date (Bun'an 1 [1444], third month, twenty-third day), and the place of residence and name of the maker. Property of Senkoji temple. Height, 63.0 cm.; diameter of mouth, 17.5 cm.; diameter of body at widest point, 48.1 cm.; diameter of foot, 22.8 cm. Photo courtesy of the author.

Bizen. If so, this bottle may have been produced at about the same time as the old Tengudani kiln examples.

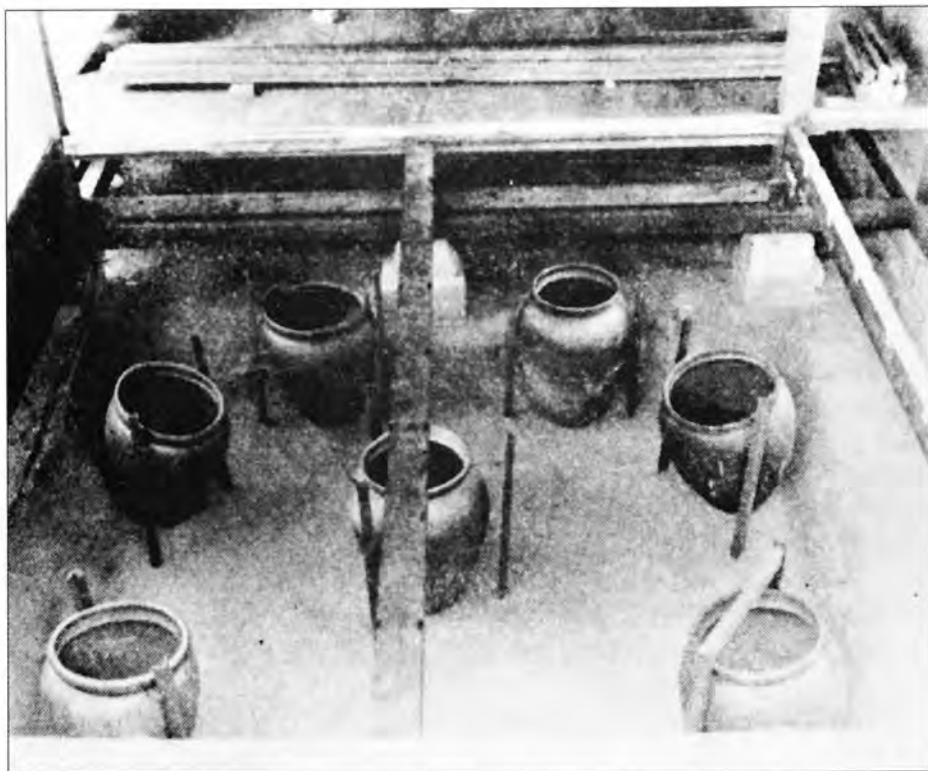
Archomagnetic dating is a method used to date kiln sites. Within each kiln there is a past magnetic line; by measuring it, it is possible to determine when the kiln was last fired. However, when using this method one must allow for a margin of error of several scores of years in either direction. If one kiln were constructed over another, repaired after use, or if it became the site of a waste heap for another kiln, then the chances for error are great. Nonetheless, used with care, this method is a useful tool for determining the approximate date of a kiln. Among old Bizen kilns which have been dated by the archomagnetic method are: the Aigafuchi Kita kiln, 1150 +/- 60 years; the Aigafuchi Minami no. 2 kiln, 1120 +/- 40 years; the Furozan Nishiguchi no. 1 kiln, 1330 +/- 30 years; the Furozan Higashiguchi kiln, 1330 +/- 30 years; and the Furozan Nishiguchi no. 2 kiln, 1550 +/- 30 years.

Literary records are yet another source of information. For the most part, however, references are found only by accident. Furthermore, without drawings to provide a clear picture, it is difficult to determine with certainty from written descriptions what the exact shape of the piece might have been. But, if a specific shape can be ascertained, it can be assumed that kilns were making that particular shape by the date of the reference. For example, in the records of Yamashina Noritoki (1328-1409) entitled *Yamashina Noritoki Kyo Ki*, under an entry dated Oei 13 (1406), is found: "fourth month, eighth day, bought two Bizen-ware leaf-tea storage jars for 110 *mon* each (present-day equivalent, approximately ¥8,300). . . . Fifth month, sixth day, bought one Bizen-ware leaf-tea storage jar for 450 *mon* (present-day equivalent, approximately ¥34,000)." From this it is apparent that leaf-tea storage jars were being made at Bizen by this date.

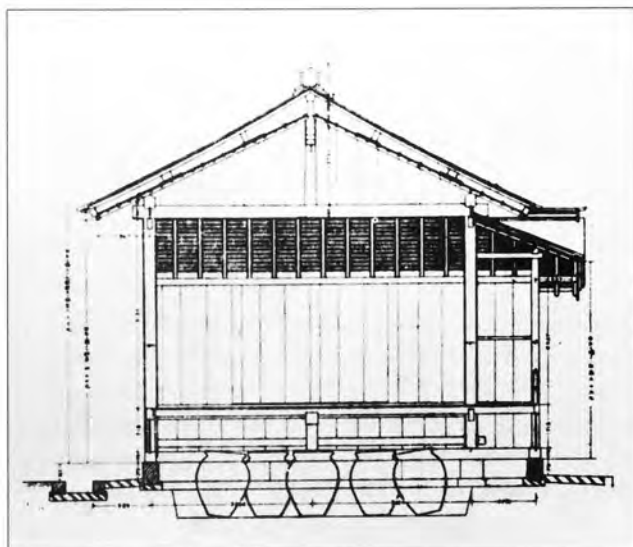
Uses and Market

Among early Bizen wares there are several examples of shapes which are no longer made today. Notable among these are large, wide-mouthed jars. Most jars of this shape were used for storing water or night soil, or as dyeing vats or coffins. From the remains of what is thought to have been a medieval warehouse, at Onomichi in Hiroshima Prefecture, eight such jars were excavated, inside of which were found charred rice and millet. Remains of grain were also found in one of sixteen jars discovered at the site of Miki castle in Hyogo Prefecture. Thus, it can be surmised that such jars were sometimes used for storing grain.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, exceptionally large, wide-mouthed jars were made in great quantities. At this time the Noh theatre was enjoying wide popularity, and it is known that these jars were placed under Noh stages to act as resonators. In the *Goyo no Yorozu Todome Hikae-cho*, a document pertaining to the Ikeda Manor of Okayama, there is an entry dated the twenty-third day of the fourth month of Genroku 8 (1695) which mentions a payment made for twelve exceptionally large, wide-mouthed jars that were to be used under a Noh stage. Yet another use for these exceptionally large jars can be presumed from the excavation of such



Above: Exceptionally large, wide-mouthed Bizen-ware jars that act as resonators under the Noh stage at Numakuma Shrine in Fukuyama City. *Below:* Front elevation of the Noh stage at Numakuma Shrine, showing the relative position of the jars. This Noh stage, an Important Cultural Property, was originally located at Fushimi Castle in present-day Kyoto City, and was moved to its present site in 1658. Photos, reproduced from *Fukuyama-shi Shi* (The History of Fukuyama City), courtesy of the author.



a jar, bearing a date of Bunroku 3 (1594), from the ruins of a *sake* brewery warehouse in the village of Joge, Hiroshima Prefecture.

Small-mouthed jars are at present used for displaying flowers or as decorative objects, but in the past they were put to many more uses. Such jars were used for storing grains or liquids (including *sake* and *shoyu*), for soaking rice seeds prior to planting in order to hasten germination, for making miso, and sometimes as cinerary urns.

With so many uses in daily life, it is little wonder that these wares were in great demand. The vast quantities of Bizen-ware shards found among the remains of medieval towns, castles, and temples throughout Japan, but especially in western Japan, provide further proof of their popularity. It is notable, also, that fragments of tea utensils were recovered in great numbers from many of the castle sites and localities where wealthy merchants made their homes, providing evidence of the importance of Bizen wares in the tea practice of the feudal lords and rich merchants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Some shards have also been recovered from seabed sites. This shows that ships loaded with Bizen wares occasionally sunk during storms. From the Mizu-no-ko Iwa seabed site in Kagawa Prefecture have come more than 150 fourteenth century Bizen-ware small-mouthed jars, mortars, and wide-mouthed jars. In the same prefecture, from the Naoshima seabed site—datable to the beginning of the seventeenth century—have come more than 300 pieces.

It has been said that all that is required to make pottery is good clay, water, and fuel; but for profitable commerce the location of a kiln is of equal importance. Kilns should be reasonably close to good roads or the sea for easy access to the market, and since pottery is both heavy and fragile, sea transport is preferred. From the beginning, the kilns at Bizen were constructed near the sea and, except during the third stage, near the foot of the mountains. Also, most of the user sites where Bizen fragments have been excavated are located near rivers or the sea.

Production Techniques

Construction and Slip Decoration

Originally, Bizen ware was formed using techniques not unlike those used in the Sue-ware tradition: large pieces were built up by the coiling method and finished on a potter's wheel, smaller pieces were thrown directly on a wheel. After the sixteenth century, however, when potters began making a greater variety of shapes, various new forming techniques were employed. Most medium-size pieces, like water jars and vases, were and still are made by placing a flat disk of clay on a turning wheel; on top of this, placing a lump of clay sufficient for the intended object; then forming the piece on the wheel. A bamboo knife is used to cut the piece from the wheel and finish shaping it. The cuts formed by the bamboo knife are strong and confident, and are readily visible on the surface of Bizen pots. In the typical Bizen potter's workshop, the master sits on one side of the wheel, forming the object, while his assistant or pupil sits on the other side of the wheel, turning it.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Bizen potters had begun to hand-craft ornamental objects such as incense containers. Before long, however, they took to using molds to produce such small items. Some examples have a layer of yellowish slip applied over a darker clay body, in which case they are called *Imbe de*; that is, in the style of Imbe. Originally, the application of this slip was to prevent water from seeping through the clay wall, but as Bizen potters became interested in glazed products, they began to use this slip much like a glaze.

Firing

As previously mentioned, the earliest Bizen wares were fired in anagama, the same type of kiln as that used to produce the Sue ware on which they had been modeled. It was not until the Tempō era (1830-1844) that potters at Bizen began to construct and use the multichambered hill-climbing kilns known as *noborigama* (literally, "climbing kiln"). For this reason, at Bizen noborigama are sometimes called *Tempō-gama*, or "Tempō kilns."

It is said that the large anagama of the Edo period were fired for as long as thirty or forty days and required about 114 metric tons of wood. Pine, which has a lot of pitch and thus burns with a high flame, has been the preferred wood for firing. Nowadays at Bizen, when one of the two or three extant noborigama are fired, it usually takes from seven to ten days, and consumes much more fuel than any other type of kiln. The reason it takes so long to fire Bizen pottery is that the clay which is used is quite problematic. Bizen clay is very impure, extremely dense, shrinks markedly during firing, and, most importantly, does not withstand high firing temperatures. Thus, great skill is required when firing it. Many days are required to slowly heat the kiln to a relatively low maximum temperature of from 1200 to 1250 degrees centigrade, at which level it must be maintained for several days. There is only one firing, and because of the excessive shrinkage of the clay, many pieces crack and warp. Good pottery is made only with much difficulty at Bizen. Perhaps for this reason, as well as aesthetic ones, old Bizen pieces are treasured by many people.

Surface Variations

Bizen pottery is at first glance rather somber and quiet, but upon closer inspection, the surface of each piece shows a broad range of subtle variations and markings which are accidentally created during firing.

Sangiri (literally, "shelf bound") is one such variation. The name derives from the location of the piece in the kiln during firing; when put into the kiln, some pieces are placed on the shelf, or step, between the fire box and the combustion chamber. Here, during firing, they become partially buried in falling ash. The buried part, deprived of oxygen, undergoes reduction firing and turns dark gray in color, while the exposed part is oxidized and turns reddish-brown.

The surface markings which look as if someone had sprinkled sesame seeds on the piece during firing are called *goma* (sesame seeds). These markings come about



Bizen-ware "round jar" shaped (*marutsubo-gata*) container for powdered thick-tea, named *Sekidera*, or "Seki Temple." Momoyama period. Identified by the late sixteenth century tea master Kobori Enshu as a Masterpiece (*chuko-meibutsu*). A fine example of the *Imbe de* style and "sesame seed" markings. Property of the Hatakeyama Collection. Height, 6.8 cm.; diameter of mouth, 3.0 cm.; diameter of body at widest point, 7.0 cm.; diameter of foot, 3.3 cm.; weight, 100 g. Photo courtesy of Otsuka Kogeisha, Tokyo.



Bizen-ware vase named *Zangetsu*, or “Morning Moon.” 16th-17th centuries. Both its distinct *sangiri* marking—the patch of red surrounded by gray—and the plum blossom shaped kiln stamp are especially impressive. Height, 23.0 cm.; diameter of mouth, 11.4 cm.; diameter of foot, 12.8 cm. Photo courtesy of the author.

when pine ash falls on the exposed surface, melts, and forms a natural glaze. Goma are classified according to their shape—*mijin goma* (smashed or broken sesame seeds), *ito goma* (threadlike sesame seeds), *tama dare* (round or circular sesame seeds)—or color—*ao goma* (blue sesame seeds) and *ki goma* (yellow sesame seeds), for example. When large plates are fired with smaller pieces resting on them, the smaller pieces and exposed parts of the plates are often covered with goma, while the circular areas under the smaller pieces remain unglazed and noticeably darker in color due to a lack of oxygen during firing. These large, usually gray, spots are called *bota mochi* after their resemblance to a sweet, made of balls of rice covered with sweetened bean paste, which goes by the same name.

Another type of marking is called *hidasuki* (scarlet cords; referring to the cords, in this case red, used to tie up kimono sleeves while working). During the medieval period, Bizen potters did not use shelves or saggers during firing. Rather, they stacked pieces or placed smaller objects inside larger ones. To prevent them from adhering to one another, rice straw was placed between them or wrapped around the bottoms of the stacked pieces. Where the highly alkaline straw reacted with the iron-rich clay, it left bright red marks; where it was not exposed to a direct flame, a light-buff colored area resulted. When there was less direct contact with the flame in the kiln, the contrast was most striking. These originally accidental markings are now produced intentionally for their pleasing aesthetic effect.

Even after a piece of Bizen ware leaves the kiln, its surface is still subject to change according to how the piece is used. When water is placed inside a piece of Bizen pottery, it gradually seeps through the body wall. This helps to keep the water inside the vessel cool. In Japan it is said that when water is kept in a Bizen jar, the water does not spoil, and that when a flower is placed in a Bizen vase, the flower will stay fresh longer. What is more, when the surface of a Bizen container is slightly wet, its color and appearance are enhanced. This is true for most unglazed wares, but with Bizen pottery the effect is particularly striking.

Tea Utensils

From about the middle of the Muromachi period, Bizen pottery began to be used for chanoyu, which was just then evolving into the style practiced today—the style which we know as *wabi-cha*. The tea master Murata Shuko (1421?-1502), who is considered to be the father of chanoyu, is credited with having introduced Bizen wares into the world of tea. Two examples of early Bizen-ware tea utensils are the “devil-bucket” (*oni-oke*) shaped water jar named *Seikai* (Blue Ocean) and a water jar which is in the shape of a seed pot.

Under the influence of the tea master Sen Rikyu (1522-1591), many feudal lords and rich merchants began to acquire Bizen wares for tea. Encouraged by this, potters at Bizen began to make pieces especially suitable for chanoyu, and the Bizen kilns became very prosperous as a result.

What qualities recommended Bizen wares to tea practitioners? Bizen wares feature neither the refinement of Chinese ceramics nor the studied beauty of Japanese



Rectangular, four-legged Bizen-ware platter with five distinct *bota mochi* markings surrounded by thick, naturally formed "yellow sesame seed" glaze. 17th century. Property of Okayama Prefectural Museum. Height, 5.5 cm.; width at upper rim, 18.7 cm.; length at upper rim, 22.7 cm. Photo courtesy of Okayama Prefectural Museum.



Rice straw being wrapped around a Bizen-ware bowl before firing. Due to a chemical reaction with the clay, the straw will create red marks, known as *hidasuki*, on the finished product. Photo courtesy of Obata Masanori, Osaka.

wares such as Mino, but are restrained and simple in feeling. The appeal Bizen ware has is due to its straightforward, natural shapes and remarkable, subtly colored surfaces. This beauty, born out of simplicity and revealed in Bizen ware, is at the heart of chanoyu.

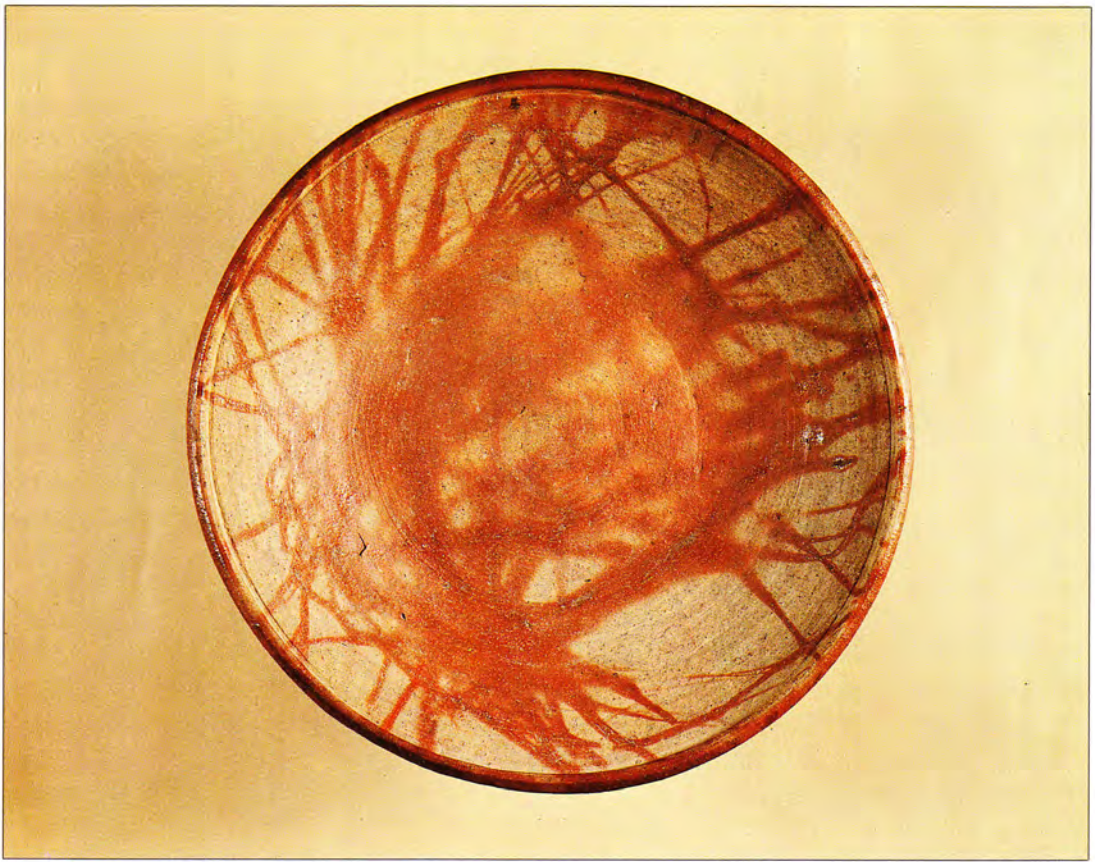
The earliest known mention of a Bizen-ware tea utensil is a reference to a *mizusashi* (水刺), or fresh-water container, in the *Daitokuji Monjo* (Daitokuji Temple Records), under the section which lists the possessions of Choroji temple, dated the eighteenth day, twelfth month, Daiei 5 (1525). After this date, Bizen ware tea utensils figure in a number of Momoyama period records; however, since space is limited, I will consider only those records and diaries kept by tea masters of this period, for it is they who popularized Bizen-ware ceramics and assured it its place in the history of Japanese ceramics.

In the *Matsuya Kai Ki*, a record of the tea gatherings of the Matsuya family of Nara, there are 100 mentions of Bizen-ware utensils: in the section headed *Hisamasa Chakai Ki* (for the period 1534-1596), 38 mentions; in the *Hisayoshi Chakai Ki* (1586-1626), 41 mentions; and in the *Hisashige Chakai Ki* (1604-1650), 21 mentions. In the *Tennojiya Kai Ki*, a record of tea gatherings kept by the Tsuda family of Sakai, there is a total of 494 mentions: in the section referred to as the *Sotatsu Takai Ki* (for the period 1548-1566), there are 8 mentions; in the section referred to as the *Sotatsu Jikai Ki* (1548-1566), 1 mention; in the section referred to as the *Sokyu Takai Ki* (1565-1587), 127 mentions; and in the section referred to as the *Sokyu Jikai Ki* (1566-1587), 358 mentions. In the *Imai Sogyu Chanoyu Nikki*, tea diary of Imai Sogyu (1520-1593), for the period 1554-1589 there are 8 mentions. In the *Sotan Nikki*, tea diary of Kamiya Sotan (1551-1635), for the period 1586-1613 there are 25 mentions. In the *Rikyu Hyakkai Ki*, a record of nearly one hundred tea gatherings hosted by Sen Rikyu during the period 1590-1591, there are 29 mentions. But perhaps the most famous are the 2 mentions in the *Kitano O-chanoyu no Ki* record of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Grand Kitano Tea gathering.* These note that a Bizen-ware waste-water receptacle and a Bizen-ware vase were among the utensils in the highest ranking tearooms, presided over by Toyotomi Hideyoshi himself, on the first day of the tenth month of Tensho 15 (1587).

Giving due consideration to the fact that some of the entries are quite vague, and that we only have access to those records which still survive, an analysis of the references to Bizen-ware tea utensils in the above-mentioned tea records shows that Bizen-ware tea utensils seem to have enjoyed particular popularity from 1576 to 1585, during the lifetime of the tea master Tsuda Sokyu (d. 1591), whose section of the *Tennojiya Kai Ki* having to do with the tea gatherings which he himself hosted, the *Sokyu Jikai Ki*, contains the most references to Bizen wares.

In investigating these records, it must be remembered that favorite pieces were often used over and over again, and furthermore, that in many instances, several tea practitioners could each have left a record of the same tea gathering; that is, a single piece may account for several mentions. However, the following breakdown of the

* For more on this important event in chanoyu history, see Louise Allison Cort's "The Grand Kitano Tea Gathering," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 31 (1982).



Large Bizen-ware dish with bright *bidasuki* markings. 16th-17th centuries. This remarkably well-preserved dish was recovered from a seabed site. Property of Okayama Prefectural Museum. Height, 9.0 cm.; diameter, 50.0 cm.; diameter of foot, 26.5-27.6 cm. Photo courtesy of Okayama Prefectural Museum.



"Devil-bucket" shaped Bizen-ware water jar named *Seikai*, or "Blue Ocean." Muromachi period. Designated as a Masterpiece which dates from pre-Rikyu times (*o-meibutsu*). Property of The Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation. Height, 18.8 cm.; diameter of mouth, 18.2 cm.; diameter of foot, 14.0 cm. Photo courtesy of The Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation, Tokyo.

shapes of the utensils and the number of times they are mentioned provides us with an indication of the overall trend. The figures in parentheses show the percentage of the total mentions of Bizen-ware utensils which that shape accounts for.

waste-water receptacle (listed under such names as <i>mizushita</i> , <i>gosu</i> , <i>kame no futa</i> , <i>boo no saki</i> , <i>mentsu</i> , <i>mizu koboshi</i>)	479 mentions	(72.8)
water jar (listed as <i>imogashira</i> , <i>teoke</i> , <i>shimekiri</i>)	90 mentions	(13.7)
vase (listed as <i>hanaire</i> , <i>kabin</i>)	44 mentions	(6.7)
jar (<i>tsubo</i>)	22 mentions	(3.3)
teabowl (<i>chawan</i>)	9 mentions	(1.4)
thick-tea container (listed as <i>katatsuki</i>)	6 mentions	(0.9)
kettle-lid rest (<i>futaoki</i>)	4 mentions	(0.6)
bowl (<i>bachi</i>)	2 mentions	(0.3)
incense container (<i>kogo</i>)	1 mention	(0.2)
water-ladle stand (<i>bishaku sashi</i>)	1 mention	(0.2)

According to the references consulted, waste-water receptacles were obviously the most frequently used Bizen-ware tea utensil during this period; second in popularity were water jars. Many of the earlier Bizen-ware water jars and waste-water receptacles were no doubt originally made as storage vessels, or for preparing and serving food, and were only later adapted for chanoyu. Most of the cylindrical Bizen-ware vases of the Momoyama period which remain intact today have a hole in the back for hanging. It is not clear whether the entries for jars refer to leaf-tea storage jars (*chatsubo*) or to the wide-mouthed jars (*mizuya kame*) used to store water in the preparation area of a tearoom complex. The fact that teabowls account for only 1.4 percent of the references may be due in part to the fact that, during the first half of the Momoyama period, imported teabowls were preferred.

It is evident that the great tea masters of the past valued the beauty of Bizen pottery. It is not an overpowering beauty, but is restrained and incomparably subtle. If a small Bizen vase were left by the roadside, it would probably go unnoticed; but once that same piece were to have a flower placed in it and be set in a tokonoma, it would truly be alive and beautiful. The same is true when food is placed in Bizen-ware dishes. It is through acquiring the ability to appreciate such beauty that the beauty of Bizen wares can be realized.



Translated by Richard Mellott

Kaishi Scrolls for Chanoyu

Ayamura Tan'en

Among genres of transcribed poetry, perhaps none exhibit to a greater degree those qualities most desired by tea practitioners—directness and forcefulness of expression, naturalness of tone and presentation, and sure attributability—than *kaishi*, a genre named after the type of paper on which the poems are written. It is not surprising that, in their relentless search for fresh and attractive works to display at tea gatherings, tea masters eventually turned to *kaishi*.

Kaishi are characterized not only by the type of paper on which they are written, but also by the fact that they are typically written in the delicate kana script unique to Japan. The original and today still the basic form of writing kanji is in the *kaisho* (square writing) style, but with the passage of time the *gyosho* (running writing) and *sosho* (grass writing) styles also developed. This process of evolution eventually led to the calligraphic representation of the Japanese syllabary, the kana script. And, coupled with poetic inspiration, the delicate beauty of ink-brushed kana script on Japanese paper gave birth to the exceedingly expressive art form of *kaishi*.

While most *kaishi* feature *waka* (thirty-one syllable Japanese verse) with conventional subjects appropriate for traditional poetry gatherings, some offer verses of a more intense, emotional nature. Some of these are so fraught with a profound sense of loneliness as to be almost cruel. At one time, *kaishi* were even used for exchanging love messages. For *chagake* (hangings for display in the tearoom), however, traditionally there has been a strong hesitation to use the darker or more sensual works.

The origin of *kaishi* can be traced to the Heian period. It was then that large, folded sheets of paper called “*kaishi*”—the predecessor of the smaller *kaishi* paper used by tea practitioners today—came to be carried within the bosom overlap of a kimono. Women seem to have been the first to keep such paper inside their kimono, and it was not until later that men began the practice. It is clear that this paper was used, among many other purposes, as stationary. The origin of the use of the word “*kaishi*” to refer to this type of paper, however, is not certain.

Considering the kanji used to write the word “*kaishi*,” the dictionary tells us that the first syllable, “*kai*” (懷), comes under the “heart” radical and falls into the category of characters that have both ideographic and phonological components. The right-half component comes under the “clothes” radical with a variant of the character for “tears” (*namida*) as its phonological component. The complete right-hand component, thus, suggests “letting tears flow and collecting them in cloth.” This means to shed tears of deep nostalgia. The whole character, in its original usage in China, probably was used in connection with respects paid to the dead and carried the meaning of “the sadness one endures in one’s heart,” rather than “the breast pocket,” as the same character later came to mean. The character for the second syllable, “*shi*” (紙), means “paper.”

This character combination appears sporadically in such works of Heian period literature as the *Makura no Soshi* (The Pillow Book) and the *Genji Monogatari* (The Tale of Genji). When these works were written, however, the combination was read in the Japanese way, “futokorogami”; the Chinese-style reading of “kaishi” was not current at that time. The reading “kaishi” probably had its origins in pre-Heian times, when men of the educated classes wrote Chinese poetry and read kanji according to the dictates of the Chinese language.

Kaishi paper was also known as *tatamigami* (folding paper). This word appears in the *Makura no Soshi*, written in characters that are read “tatogami.” Men, however, pronounced this character combination as “joshi” after the Chinese fashion. This pronunciation was related to the character read “jo” or “cho” that was used to count square sheets of paper. In the *Entairyaku*, the diary of Toin Kinkata (1291-1360), there is a record of a ministerial correspondence identified as *hito tatogami* (one sheet of paper). In commenting on a quotation from another source that also uses this same term, the Edo-period classics scholar and historian Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) stated that “joshi” refers to “what we of the present day call a paper handkerchief.”

The practice of writing poetry on kaishi paper is recorded in such sources as the four-volume *Fukuro Zoshi* (A Bag Full of Writings) by Fujiwara Kiyosuke (1104-1177), an examination of ancient poetry composition practices that appeared in 1159. This work includes a great deal of information on the early history of waka, and is a type of manual on the writing of waka. The six-volume poetry treatise *Yakumo Misho* (The Eight Cloud Selection) by the retired emperor Juntoku (1197-1242), written in the early Kamakura period, includes a treatment of the writing of poems on kaishi. Literature was an integral part of the daily lives of the ladies of the court during Heian times, so it is no surprise that there are frequent references to kaishi in their writings, too. All of these sources indicate that the history of poetry composition on kaishi paper may be traced back as far as the Heian period. Many prose and poetry collections written during the Heian period record that banquets at which the guests exchanged verses were extremely popular. We may surmise that some of the poems composed at these gatherings were waka written on kaishi paper, although none of these are known to survive today.

In this way, we see that kaishi has a long history. The use of this genre as *chagake*, however, did not come to the fore until about the middle of the Edo period, and this came about only after a series of changes in the prevailing taste in *tokonoma* display. In order to better understand the role and significance of *chagake* and how it happened that kaishi came to be adopted as *chagake*, let us briefly consider the history of the place where they are displayed, the *tokonoma*; first from its architectural beginnings, then from the standpoint of the changing trends in *tokonoma* display.

The Tokonoma and Chagake

The original ideogram for *toko* (alcove; bed) carried the sense of a long, pallet-like platform made of wood. Evidently, in ancient times such platforms were used for sleeping. In the same sense that the word *tokoro* (place; home) refers to a place where one is at

ease, "toko" has from the distant past indicated a spot or position where one can abide peacefully. As it had to be a place which lent one a sense of security, it was an enclosed space (*ma*) set against a wall—an alcove. In the course of its evolution, the floor of this alcove was raised, and the space came to be used as a place to put the family Buddhist altar. Later, the word *tokonoma* came to refer to the seat of honor within a room.

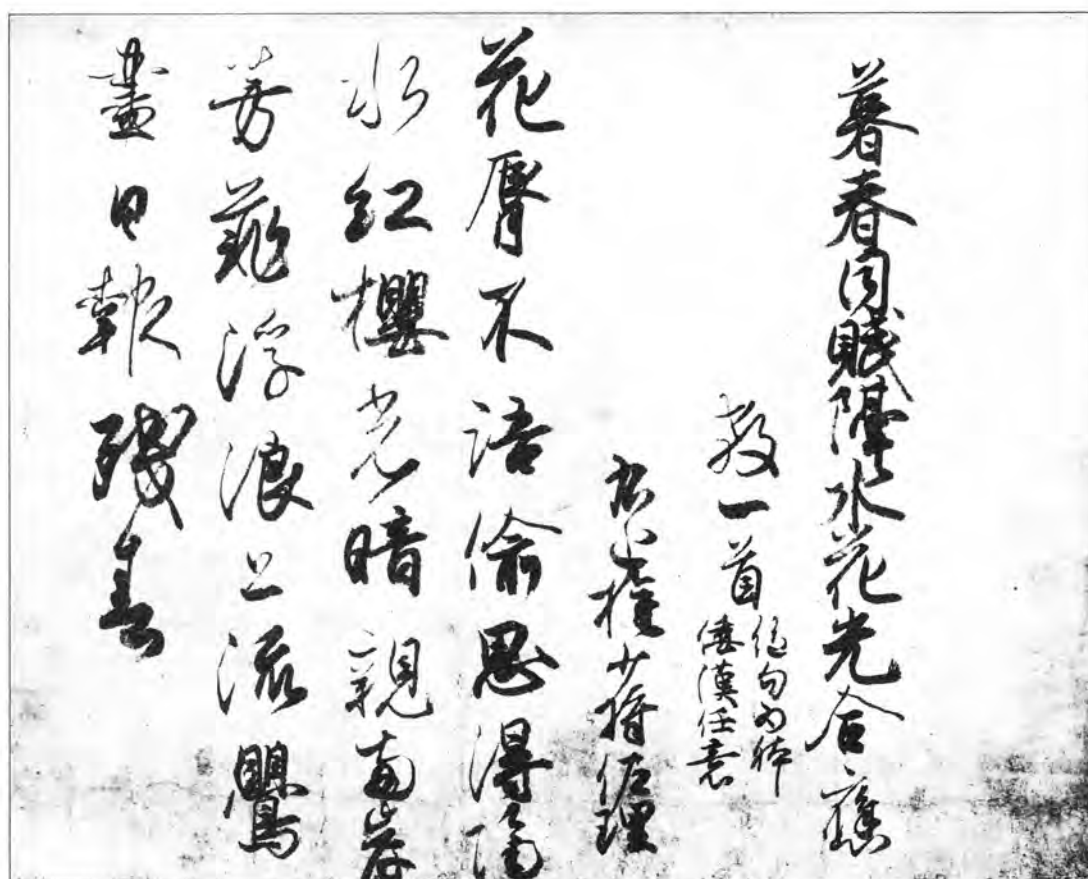
From the end of the Heian period on into the Kamakura period, the transmission of Zen Buddhism from China to Japan brought with it numerous fruits of Chinese culture. The influence of China at this time extended to every field, including architecture and interior decoration. The residences of the nobility during the Heian period were patterned after Chinese temple architecture, and *byōbu* (folding screens) were the principal objects of decoration. Through the great flood of Chinese culture at this time, however, it soon became fashionable for the nobility to own and display *kakemono* (hanging scrolls) of Chinese paintings and calligraphy; pride was taken in the lavishness of these art works, which were magnificently embellished, wrapped in rich cloths, and stored in treasure houses when not on display. There were diptychs and triptychs, then sets of four, and in the end sets of five paintings, as artists competed in the ornateness of their compositions.

Residences in the Chinese temple-inspired style included small shrines and storage spaces for writing implements, but did not have built-in shelving. By the Kamakura period, however, members of the emerging samurai class had begun to fit their homes with shelves for the storage of weapons, and in the Muromachi period, a great variety of shelving styles appeared. Originally, of course, these shelves answered a practical need, but as time went on, people began to display their favorite art objects on them. Built-in shelving thus came to play a decorative role in the home, as we can see in the *shoin* (built-in desk) style of architecture which evolved at about this time.

With the influx of Buddhism from China, the Japanese came to hang paintings of the Buddha and to display flowers in their homes. At the base of the wall on which these paintings were displayed, a small, raised platform called an *oshiita* made its appearance. This *oshiita* became a common feature of *shoin* style architecture, and gradually evolved into the *tokonoma* as we know it today. And with the emergence of the *tokonoma* as the focus of attention in *shoin* architecture, the *kakemono* also gained new prominence.

The oldest extant example of *shoin*-style architecture is to be found at Ginkakuji (the Silver Pavilion) in the Higashiyama hills of Kyoto, where Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1449-1473) spent the last years of his life in aesthetic and religious pursuits. There, his own aesthetic preferences, mixed with those of the world of *chanoyu*, gave rise to the so-called Higashiyama culture, in which the connoisseurship and display of Chinese art work were an important aspect. Accordingly, the utensils used by the wealthy, aristocratic devotees of *chanoyu* at that time tended to be Chinese imports.

Likewise during the Muromachi period, the *chanoyu* of simple taste and the *sukiya* style of architecture evolved. This style, considered by many to be the epitome of Japanese architectural sensibility, borrowed from the lifestyle of the "refined hermit" who lived in a mountain retreat fashioned of thatch or brush-wood. This retreat—the *sukiya*—was not a place where one would expect to find art objects displayed.



Classical Chinese composition on kaishi paper, by Fujiwara Sukemasa; thought to be the oldest extant example of writing on kaishi paper. Written at a poetry contest held on the fourteenth day of the third month, Anna 2 (969). National Treasure. Height, 32.2 cm.; width, 43.2 cm. Photo courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Ltd., Kyoto.

However, as tea practitioners desired to please the eyes and gladden the hearts of their guests, they appointed the sukiya with simple decorations. Among tea practitioners, the value and aesthetic effect of kakemono were recognized from early on.

The tea master Sen Rikyu (1522-1591) was influential in sweeping away lavish decoration and creating new aesthetic criteria based upon the image of the sukiya and Zen Buddhist precepts. Partially through his doing, the extravagant Chinese paintings of the Song and Yuan dynasties that were preferred during the early Muromachi period fell from favor and were replaced by an appreciation of calligraphy and monochrome ink painting. From the Zen Buddhist point of view, there were richer aesthetic rewards in works of art that denied color. In words attributed to Rikyu:

With realization, there comes incomparable refinement;
All praise of paintings cast aside,
One achieves refinement without even one work.

As this passage suggests, Rikyu's "incomparable refinement" was none other than his Zen-derived awareness. The movement, thus, was from that which has shape to that which has meaning; in the world of chagake, from *kake-e* (paintings) to *kake-ji* (calligraphy) which expressed the profound meaning of enlightenment.*

Basic to this movement was a heightened awareness of and respect for the spirit of the word, and an admiration for the virtues of writers, sages, and teachers. The rallying cry was, "Do not depict the lowly world." Calligraphers were thought to play an important moral role in their use of the words of the Buddha and of the patriarchs. In reference to subject matter and the nature of the words to be displayed in a tearoom, the *Nampo Roku*, a collection of teachings attributed to Rikyu, states, "The writing of *doka* (didactic poetry) is acceptable."

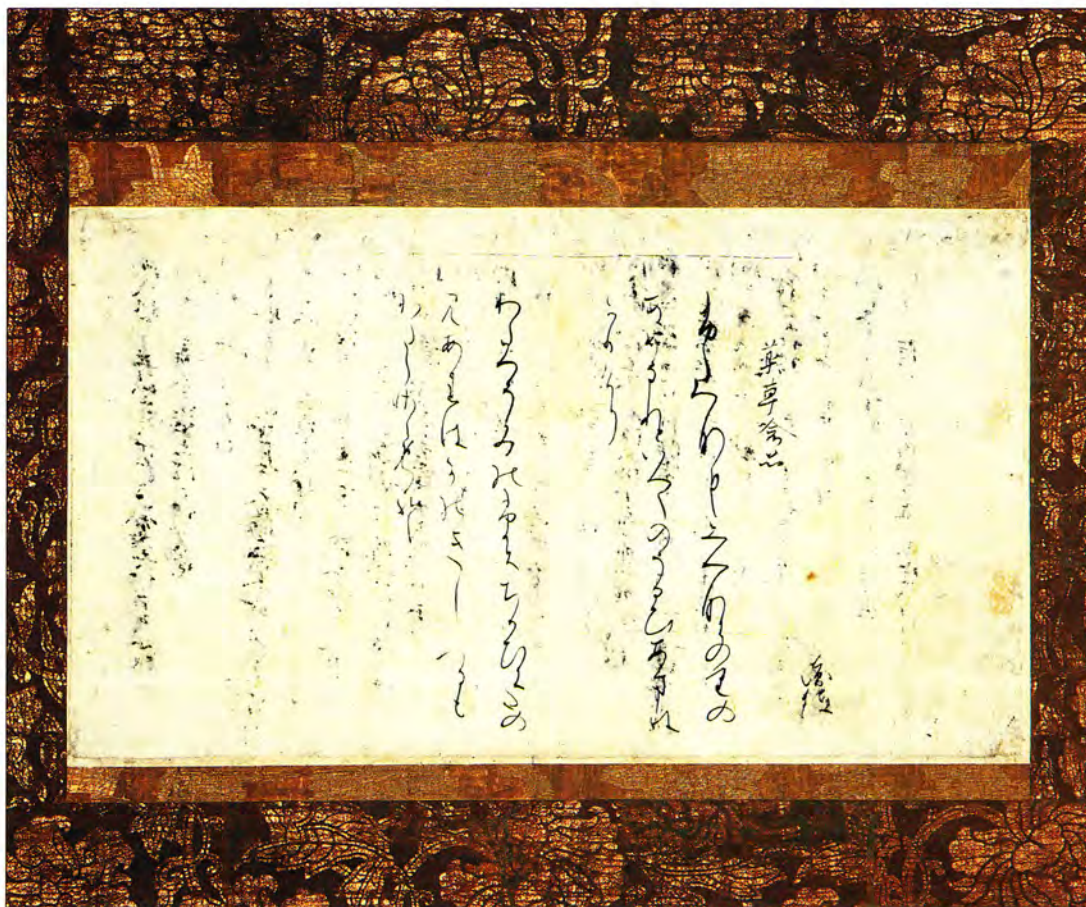
Besides the appropriateness of the words, another consideration was the clarity of the brushstrokes, which would make it possible to read the scroll even in the shadowy tokonoma of a tearoom. There was one Muromachi period tea master who expressed it well when he noted his preference for scrolls that did not force one to put one's hands inside the tokonoma to appreciate them. Perhaps it was for reasons of legibility that small, delicately written works have never shared in the popularity enjoyed by larger works with bolder brushstrokes.

Kaishi as Chagake

In the late sixteenth century, a renewed interest in Heian period culture took place, stimulating a reappraisal of calligraphy and a renewed interest in transcribed poetry—most notably kaishi.

The work thought to be the oldest among extant compositions on kaishi is one executed by Fujiwara Sukemasa (Sari, 944-998) when he was twenty-six. It is a classical Chinese composition, written for a poetry contest held at the residence of the emperor's chief advisor, Sukemasa's grandfather Fujiwara Saneyori (900-970), on the

* For more on this transition in the history of kakemono, see Nagashima Fukutaro in "Picture versus Word: Trends in Tokonoma Display," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 35 (1983).



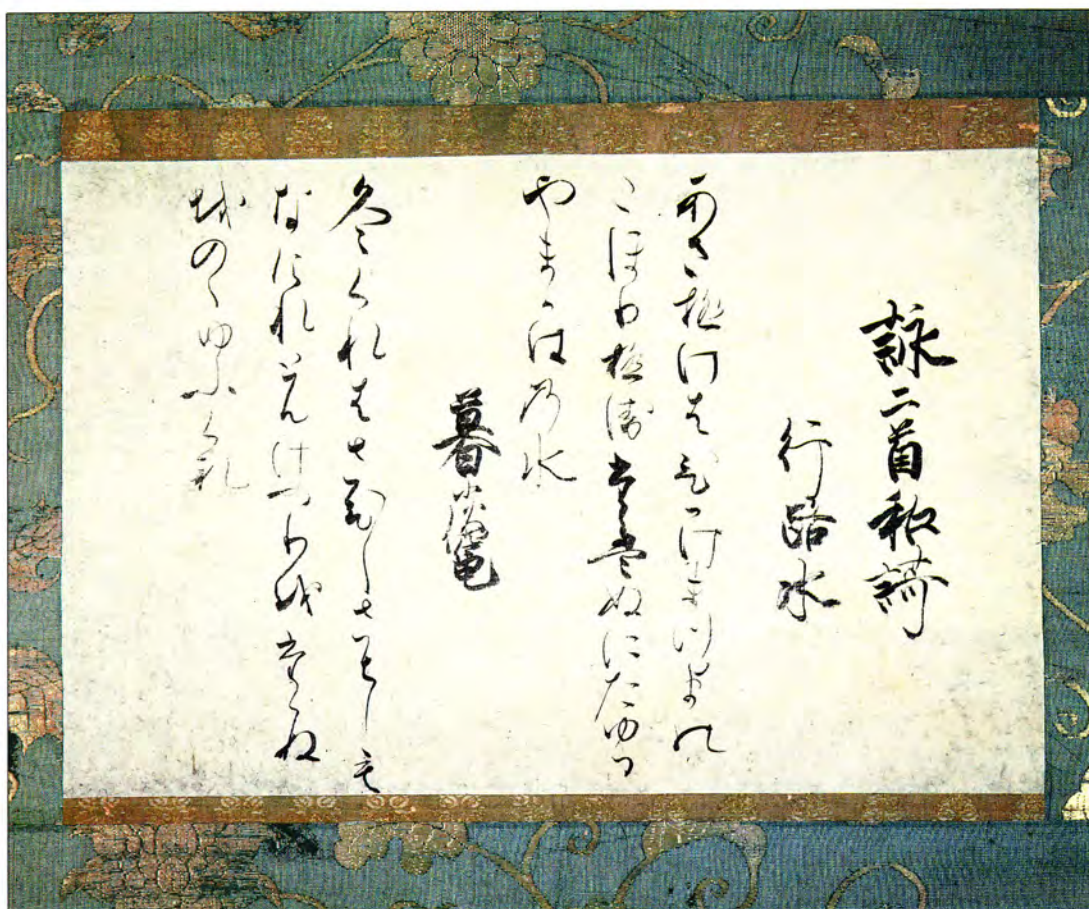
Mounted *Ipponkyo Kaishi* by Saigyō. Late Heian period. On the first line is Saigyō's Buddhist name, En'i, and on the second, the title *Yakuso Yubon* (Medicinal Herbs). The romanized reading of the two poems and their English translations are given hereunder. The *Yakuso Yubon* chapter of the Lotus Sutra, written on the reverse side of the kaishi, is visible through the paper. Property of Kyoto Mingekan. Central area: height, 27.4 cm.; width, 47.6 cm. Photo courtesy of Kyoto National Museum.

*futatsu naku
mitsu naki nori no
ame naredo
itsutsu no urui
amanekarikeri*

*watatsuumi no
fukaki chikai ni
tanomi areba
kano kishibe ni mo
watarazarame ya*

The rain of the Dharma
Is [single and absolute,] without
A second or third,
But its five kinds of moistening
And nourishing is universal.

Since we entrust ourselves
To the vow that is like
The vast ocean,
Assuredly we will cross
To the other shore.



Mounted *Kumano Kaishi* by Emperor Gotoba. Kamakura period. Important Cultural Property. On the first line is the preface *ei nishu waka*, "the reading of two Japanese verses." The romanized reading of the two poems and their English translations are given hereunder. Property of Goto Art Museum. Central area: height, 31.5 cm.; width, 48.5 cm. Photo courtesy of Sakamoto Manshichi Photo Research Laboratory, Tokyo.

Koro no Mizu

*asa yukeba
hikage matsu ma no
kori yue
taenu ni tayuru
yama kawa no mizu*

Kure no Sumigama

*fuyu kureba
sabishisa toshimo
nakeredomo
keburi o tatanu
ono no yugure*

"Path along Water"

Walking in the morning:
Because of the ice
In the interval before sunlight,
There's water, and yet none
In the mountain stream.

"Charcoal Kiln at Dusk"

When winter comes,
There is no
Particular loneliness; still,
No smoke rises from the hearths
In the hamlet at dusk.

fourteenth day of the third month of Anna 2 (969). At that time, men still wrote much of their personal correspondence in Chinese. No doubt Sukemasa would have written in Chinese on public occasions as well. To have a working knowledge of Chinese, in fact, was the mark of a man of culture.

For a spontaneous composition, Sukemasa's poem was superbly executed. There is a delicate movement to the calligraphy; the characters are composed with dexterity; the subtle changes in the shading of the ink are well apportioned. Surely those who were present at the contest were struck by Sukemasa's skillful use of the style of calligraphy that had been developed by Ono no Tofu (894-966), who had died only three years earlier, and who was extolled as the greatest calligrapher of the day. Surrounded by the guests at the poetry contest, Sukemasa boldly executed his poem on a sheet of kaishi. On that spring day, Saneyori would have been in a fine mood. Others, of course, also wrote Chinese poems that day, but it was only his grandson's masterpiece that Saneyori saw fit to preserve for posterity.

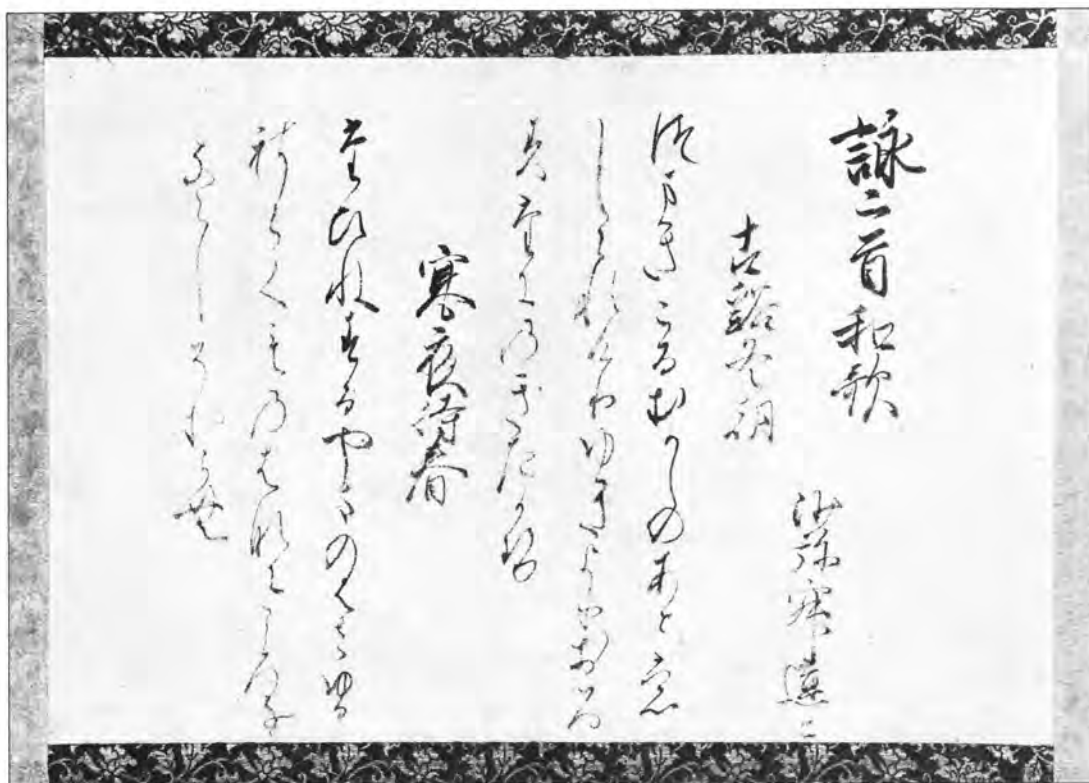
Sukemasa's poem is set out on the paper with the title first, followed by his rank, his signature, and the text of the poem in four lines. The five characters of the fourth line are written in the running style. Unlike the preceding lines, the fourth line is followed by a broad blank space. It is thought that this approach to the arrangement was already, to some extent, a matter of convention and may have been based on a model that was then current in China.

With the flowering of Japanese culture in the Heian period, works in Japanese, written according to Japanese poetic conventions, became prominent. The waka form was progressively refined as Japanese writers threw off one after another of the Chinese fetters. Calligraphy in kana script gradually became more prevalent and exchanges of delicately brushed waka became popular as lovers' correspondence.

After the practice of sending envoys to China was halted in 894, the popularity of writing in Japanese increased even more dramatically. About 905, the compilation of the *Kokin Shu* (Collection from Ancient and Modern Times) waka anthology was completed; in 951, the Wakadokoro (Imperial Poetry Bureau) was established; in 959, Ono no Tofu broke with precedent by drafting a Japanese-language poem at a poetry contest given within the grounds of the emperor's palace. The preeminence of Chinese poetry, once unquestioned, diminished. Still, it was ten years after Tofu had committed his precedent-breaking composition to paper that Sukemasa wrote the aforementioned Chinese poem. In their public roles at least, men continued to feel an attraction to Chinese poetic forms and took pride in their command of such forms.

Beginning in the Chotoku era (995-998), we see the appearance of early examples of kana calligraphy in a beautiful, running style. This style grew in popularity during the years when the *Genji Monogatari* was being written and on into the heyday of the political ascendancy of Fujiwara Yukinari (972-1027). No waka compositions on kaishi, however, survive from this time. Of course, many waka appear in literary works such as the *Genji Monogatari* and *Makura no Soshi*, but original compositions on kaishi paper are not extant.

It is only with works by the priest-poet Saigyō (1118-1190) and his colleagues that we at last find extant examples of waka written on kaishi—the *Ipponkyō Kaishi*



Mounted *Kumano Kaishi* by Jakuren (Fujiwara Sadanaga, ?-1202). Kamakura period. National Treasure. On the first line is the preface *ei nishu waka*, "the reading of two Japanese verses," and on the second, Jakuren's signature. The romanized reading of the two poems and their English translations are given hereunder. Property of Yomei Bunko, Central area: height, 30.0 cm.; width, 43.4 cm. Photo courtesy of Yomei Bunko, Kyoto.

Kokei Fuyu no Asa

*tsumaki koru
mukashi no ato mo
shigurekeri
yuki yori orosu
tani no kitakaze*

Kan'ya Haru o Matsu

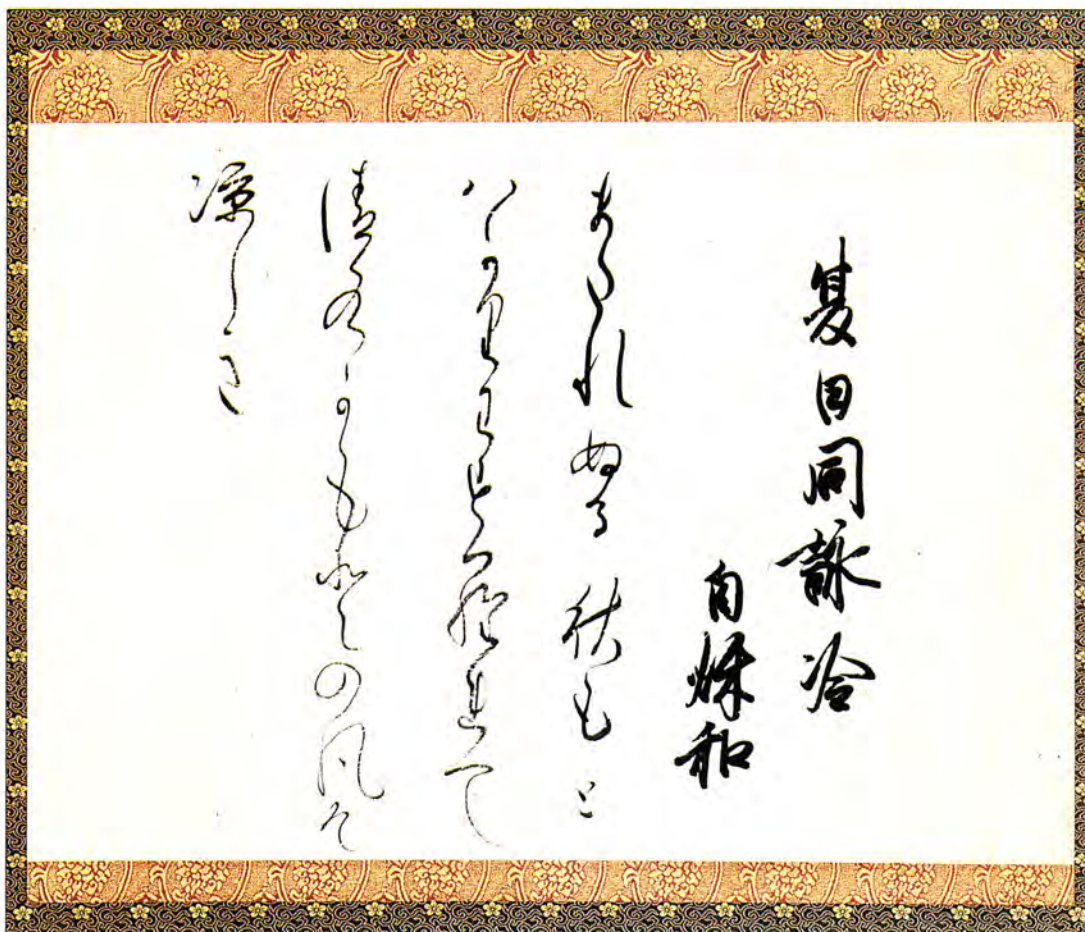
*tabine suru
yama no ha sayuru
shirakumo no
hana ni kokoro o
narashi somuran*

"Winter Morning in Old Valleys"

Where of old
Firewood was gathered,
The chill drift of rain:
Into the valley from off the snows,
The north wind descends.

"Cold Night Awaiting Spring"

Sleeping in journey,
The mountain ridge sharp:
Like white clouds
Will be the blossoms
Already anticipated in the heart.



Mounted Japanese verse on kaishi paper, by Emperor Reigen (1654-1732). Edo period. The romanized reading of the poem and its English translation are given hereunder. Property of Fujii Eikan Bunko. Central area: height, 35.1 cm.; width, 50.1 cm. Photo courtesy of the Chado Research Center, Kyoto.

*Kajitsu Onajiku Aki no
Yawarakanaru yorimo
Reinaru Koto o Eizu*

*matarenuru
aki moto bakari
wasurarete
shimizu ga moto no
kaze zo suzusbiki*

“Reading about an Autumnal Day in
Summer”

Autumn that had been
Long awaited
Was also somewhat forgotten:
This coolness of wind
Where the pure water flows.

(Sutra-volume Kaishi), estimated to have been written sometime between 1179 and 1183. Based upon Tendai Buddhist teachings, these kaishi accompany the titles of each of the twenty-eight chapters of the Lotus Sutra, and have the respective sutra passage on the reverse side. They were composed according to one of two schemes: a group of poets would gather and each would compose a waka inspired by a different chapter title; or poets would compose their own complete sets of twenty-eight poems. Saigyō's poems accompany the *Yakuso Yubon* (Medicinal Herbs) chapter of the sutra. All the waka of the *Ipponkyō Kaishi* are in pairs—one pair to a sheet of paper, one poem explicating the meaning of the chapter, the other, the poet's own emotional response to it. Their format is diverse, suggesting that in Saigyō's time there was still no standard format for the execution of waka on kaishi.

Although the term *kyōura kaishi* (literally, "sutra-back" kaishi) is used to describe those poems written on kaishi by Saigyō and others, originally, the poetry was written on the front, and it was not until later that the sutra passages were transcribed on the back. To consider the *Ipponkyō Kaishi* as a single group, too, is deceptive, because there are many variants. The quality of paper varies, as does the way in which the poetry was transcribed. Furthermore, titling practices differ dramatically. In some instances the poem title is prefaced by a line or two telling which sutra chapter inspired the poem; in other instances, the preface simply states "the reading of two Japanese verses." Occasionally, there are examples with no preface. Most of the waka are arranged in three lines, but some are executed in five, and others are divided into four lines. In their style of calligraphy, the compositions by Saigyō are entirely different from those by the other poets. His highly delicate and refined brushwork recalls the works of the Heian period.

In the years 1200 and 1201, Emperor Gotoba (1180-1239) made visits to Kumano Shrine, where he hosted poetry composition gatherings. Joining him were some of the most renowned poets of the day. Of the kaishi that were written at these gatherings, only about thirty have been preserved, and today they are referred to as *Kumano Kaishi*.

The *Kumano Kaishi* provide evidence that by the beginning of the thirteenth century the kaishi genre had approached a somewhat standard format. The phrase "the reading of two Japanese verses" was written on the first line and, on the second line, the author's name and official title. The title of the poem takes up the third line and the three-line text of the waka begins on the fourth line. The first line of the waka contains the opening units of five and seven syllables; the second line, similarly, units of five and seven syllables; and the last seven syllables appear on the third line. This division by line was almost standard, but some poets mixed kanji with their kana, while others preferred the flow of script that consisted entirely of kana. Such individual preferences meant that the syllable arrangement of the waka did not always neatly conform to the standard. In fact, there are instances in which the overall syllable count is more or less than the classic thirty-one, and some of the waka are written in four lines. Because kaishi were often composed at public gatherings, poets would write lines as the spirit moved them. Thus, although a movement toward a standardized form was taking place, the idiosyncracies of individual poets are also apparent.

In addition to the thirty or so extant *Kumano Kaishi*, there are about twenty *Kumano Rui Kaishi* (Quasi Kumano Kaishi). These were written by the same poets who wrote the *Kumano Kaishi*, and bear a strong resemblance to them. They well express the prevailing mood of the Kamakura period. The size and boldness of the brushstrokes alone tell us something of the sensibility of the age.

From the late sixteenth century on, however, there was a swing back in favor of the elegant and delicate grass-style kana calligraphy preferred during the Nara through the Muromachi periods, and the popularity of collecting *kobitsugire*, bits and pieces of such ancient works, grew apace. *Kobitsugire* came to be displayed and admired at tea gatherings, especially those hosted by the nobility; however, in only a few cases did the owners of such pieces know the identity of the persons who had written them. For example, there were collectors of such works who would automatically identify any poem from the *Kokin Shu* as the work of Ki no Tsurayuki (868?-945?).

The earliest record of a kaishi being used as a chagake is dated the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of Kyoho 13 (1728). On that day, the senior high priest of Higashi Honganji temple in Kyoto hosted a tea gathering, and hung in the tokonoma "a practice page (*shitagaki*) executed by [Fujiwara] Teika (1162-1241) on kaishi." It is probable that kaishi were used at tea gatherings before this, but there is no documentation to provide proof.

Among the first tea enthusiasts to appreciate kaishi in the chanoyu setting was the nobleman-monk Yorakuin (Konoe Iehiro, 1667-1736). In his chanoyu practice he achieved a synthesis of the courtly Heian tradition and the spirit of the Way of Tea, basing it upon a broad foundation of both Chinese and Japanese culture, and thereby opened a whole new realm of art. One expression of this new synthesis was the use of kaishi in the tearoom. Highly accomplished in a number of aesthetic disciplines, Yorakuin himself was an expert calligrapher and poet, and exerted considerable influence in the world of arts and letters. His stamp of approval, together with the temper of the times, provided great impetus to the growing popularity of kaishi for display at tea gatherings.

More importantly, however, it was and still is the qualities intrinsic to the kaishi genre that attract the attention of tea adepts. Kaishi nearly always include the name and official title of the writer, so both guest and host at a tea gathering know exactly who wrote the piece that is on display. Furthermore, the paper, itself, is plain monochrome white and the brushstrokes are typically quite distinct, making the poems easy to read. These are significant points, for if the guests can neither read nor make sense of the poem that the host has painstakingly chosen for the gathering, they will miss the import of the piece and its relevance to the particular occasion, the host's attentions will have gone for naught, and the guests will have spent their time without maximum reward.

The directness of the poetry itself is another quality that appeals to tea practitioners. The spontaneous composition of waka on kaishi paper, in accordance with the conventions imposed by the form itself, left no room for either clever planning or nonsensical thoughts. Rather, it forced poets to give over their compositions to only

that which was deeply felt. Indeed, such waka may be called authentic expressions of the poet's self. In the days when this genre was just being adopted in the tearoom, the display of kaishi also constituted a kind of criticism directed at the raucous conduct of certain chanoyu enthusiasts, calling for quietude and sincerity.

The adoption of kaishi as chagake represents a quintessential development of the pre-modern period in Japan. Of the indigenous Japanese forms of transcribed poetry, kaishi is the most approachable; its clear, flowing style and utterly natural feeling touch the heartstrings with a subtle melody. ㇿ

Translated by Howard Curtis

A Tea Master's Vision of the Ten Oxherding Pictures, Part II

Hamamoto Soshun

Part I of "A Tea Master's Vision of the Ten Oxherding Pictures" appears in Chanoyu Quarterly, no. 37. An abridged version of the introduction is here reprinted.—E.

From ancient times, Zen masters have borrowed images from nature to serve as markers pointing toward enlightenment. With expressions such as "The colors of the mountains are the body of purity," "The valley speaks with a broad, long tongue," and "The finger pointing at the moon," they have tried to express the Zen spirit in concrete images. This practice was adopted by tea masters, who have produced tea writings with such titles as *Shigetsu Shu* (The Pointing at the Moon Collection).

Among these images which have been borrowed from nature, the animal most frequently referred to is the ox. Perhaps the Zen flavor of the ox lies in its stolidness, its unexpressiveness—the very embodiment of patience. The Tang dynasty (618-907) Chinese Zen master Guishan (Izan, 771-853) announced that when he died, he would be reborn as an ox on a farm near his temple. The guardian deity of the Yellow River was an iron ox that spanned the river, its head on the south side and its tail on the north. It became a symbol of immovable determination, and reference was made to the "spirit of the iron ox." By contrast, the expression "ox of mud" was used to refer to an indecisive person.

The best known usage of the image of the ox, however, is surely the ten oxherding pictures, which depict the stages of Zen practice. In these pictures, a herding boy has lost sight of his ox—his true self—and awakens a desire to take up the search for it. We can probably safely attribute the original set of pictures, each with an accompanying verse, to the Song dynasty (960-1279) monk Kuoan Shihyuan (Kakuan Shion), a thirteenth-generation descendent in the dharma after the great monk Linchi (Rinzai, d. 867). The historical work *Goto Egen* notes that Kuoan "created ten ox pictures with verses." The commonly circulated version of the pictures now includes, besides Kuoan's verse, a prose note to each picture and a general preface, which were added later by the Chinese Zen master Chiyuan (Jion, dates unknown). In addition, the Chinese Zen masters Shigu Xiyu (Sekko Kii, dates unknown) and Huaina Dalien (Eno Tai-ren, dates unknown) each added a verse, and Seigan Shotetsu (Tesshoki, 1381-1459) of Tofukuji temple added two *waka* (31-syllable Japanese verse).

The following commentary treats Kuoan's verses and Chiyuan's notes. Kuoan's original pictures are no longer extant, but numerous monks and painters have taken up the theme since his time. The illustrations for this article are from a set by the Zen master Denne (Yoju Zentei, d. 1940), the 488th chief abbot of Daitokuji temple.

"A Tea Master's Vision of the Ten Oxherding Pictures, Part II" is a translation and adaptation of part 2, sections 4 and 5, of the author's *Tekisui-an: Chanoyu Kanwa*, Kodansha Publishing Company, 1981. *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 38, 1984 © by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved. Photos courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Ltd., Kyoto.



IV

Taking Hold of the Ox

Long hidden in distant meadows; finally met with today. Because that realm was so pleasing, the ox can scarcely be kept in hand. It longs for the sweet grasses ceaselessly. The obdurate heart won't be ruled, its wild nature remains. If the oxherd wants it tractable, he's got to use the whip.

*Having pushed all his energies to the brink, he takes hold of the ox.
But its will is strong, its strength undaunted: it won't be easily broken.
One moment it's suddenly clambering up into highlands;
The next, settling deep again into cloud-mists.*

第四得牛

久埋郊外，今日逢渠。
由境勝以難追，戀芳
叢而不已。頑心尚勇，
野性猶存。欲得純和，
必加鞭楚。

頌曰

竭盡精神獲得渠
心強力壯卒難除
有時纔到高原上
又入煙雲深處居

Taking Hold of the Ox

The oxherd has finally roped the unruly ox. He is dragged by it, but it is caught. In Zen Buddhism, which tells us "you must die completely," this stage corresponds to "Great Death," that experience of the peak of birth-and-death that leaches all the triviality out of one's existence and thereby allows a new life to unfold.

There are many anecdotes concerning Zen masters of the past and this profound experience. The Tang-dynasty Zen master Yaoshan (Yakuzan, 745-828) at first studied the sutras and treatises and strictly observed the precepts. One day, however, he reflected deeply on himself: "The great man leaves the dharma and becomes pure. Why should I painstakingly devote myself to minute practices?" He realized that to become a master one must not be bound by the dharma, and without the slightest trace of reluctance he abandoned the teachings he had practiced up to then. Making his way to Zen master Shitou (Kisen, 700-790) of Hunan, he asked, "Once, in the south, I heard of the teaching, 'Pointing directly to one's mind, seeing one's true nature, and becoming Buddha,' but it is not clear to me. Please, out of your compassion, instruct me!" Thus he entered the path of Zen. Another anecdote tells us that the Zen master Teshan (Tokusan, 780-865), while practicing under master Lungtan (Ryutan, ninth century), burned the Diamond Sutra.

These masters let go of all their past, as if they had climbed with their bare hands to the top of a hundred-foot pole and then released their grip. This event—"Great Death"—is at the heart of all religious experience. It is the turning point of practice.

It is the same in the Way of Tea. Sometime during the process of serious and exacting practice and gradual refinement, some small incident chances to catch us and cause us to begin genuine self-reflection. Out of a great doubt concerning everything in our experience up to then, we develop a self-repugnance. We feel that everything we have accomplished and accumulated is worthless and wrong, and we all but smash the kettle. This is the point of transformation. Here, the serious are born anew and start over.

<i>narai oba</i>	Realize
<i>chiri-akuta zo to</i>	That your practice
<i>omoekashi</i>	Is dust and dirt,
<i>shomotsu wa bogo</i>	That books are scraps of paper
<i>koshibari ni seyo</i>	To cover bare walls.

The writings that we have firmly clung to and depended on and the notes in which we have diligently recorded what things we thought were important are cast away without regret. We seek to set out anew, with a new realization that the crucial thing is our true mind that transcends all of these.

Toward the end of the Meiji era, in the outskirts of Saga City, there was a lofty-minded scholar of Chinese literature who had acquired a reputation as a "second Confucius." He opened a private school and lectured on the Chinese classics. One day, he was to lecture on the topic "the forthright spirit that knows no shame" (*kozen no ki*) of Mencius. He opened his book, but uttered not a word. Wondering, his students looked up, and before their eyes his face turned white, and then beads of sweat ap-

peared and ran down his forehead. His face showed anguish. The class was taken aback. After a while he closed his book. "I apologize for not having transmitted the truth," he said as he quietly stood and left the room.

He had been living in rented quarters with a family in the area, having no relatives and being unmarried, but thereafter he disappeared and was never heard from again. This story was related to me in my youth by one of his students. I wonder if we have ever experienced such serious self-reflection with regard to the Way? Even if we are plagued with doubts, we feel no responsibility to convey this to others, but quietly gloss over them and compromise with ourselves. Do we not fall into self-deception?

As the preface to the fourth picture states, we have now found and seized the ox of true self that we, having been blinded by our passions, had lost sight of. But the habits of long years are not easily broken. The unsubdued heart longs for the wild meadows. Herein lies the struggle of the oxherd.

There is still no freedom from judging right from wrong—from rejoicing at being praised and becoming angry when scolded. Stubborn arrogance and self-attachment remain strong, and our mean disposition still surfaces; hence, in order that the heart become genuinely tranquil, it is necessary that the whip be applied incessantly. One must rid oneself of what is known in Buddhism as *jukke*, which means "habit-energy," residue, or the lingering influence of passion.

Murata Shuko (1421?-1502), founder of the Way of Tea, states in his "Letter on Mastery of the Heart" (*Kokoro no Fumi*): "In this Way, chief among evils is the heart's overbearance and attachment to self. To begrudge the masters and scorn beginners is thoroughly wrongheaded. You must approach the masterful and beseech their least word, and never fail to guide beginners." This is an admonition for tea practitioners, who easily fall into self-satisfaction with the dregs of their practice. The worst thing in the Way of Tea occurs when the consciousness of the long years one has spent in practice turns into self-attachment.

In Zen also, much importance is placed on practice after attainment of satori. It is said that satori is easy, but continuing in right-mindedness is difficult.

Chanoyu is known as an activity of the spirit, but we tend to be easily distracted and to commit surprising errors. This is because we do not have singleness of mind. Gengensai (1810-1877), the eleventh generation head of the Urasenke School of Chanoyu, was once summoned by the head of the Maeda family of Kaga, in present-day Ishikawa Prefecture. While he was traversing a long corridor in the residence, a retainer, thinking to test the "tea master," fired a gun. The rhythm of Gengensai's steps, however, was not disrupted in the least. The retainer was deeply impressed. Gengensai was no usual person, but maintained himself in the right-mindedness established through his training in the Way of Tea.

In another anecdote, a certain man of Tea, having obtained a Chinese container for powdered thick-tea, invited guests to a tea gathering in order to show it to them. Although he was experienced and well-versed in the procedures of preparing tea, he became flustered because the main guest was an eminent elder master. The more he tried to recover his composure, the more mistakes he made.

It is in such situations that we realize that, though we may understand intellectually that chanoyu is a matter of the spirit, still we are distracted by our fellows, the circumstances, or both. Before we can reach real freedom in the practice, self-satisfaction tends to establish itself in our hearts. Although we may be accomplished in the order and manner of preparing tea, our practice is far from perfect. We must resolve to polish our tea-mind. Even though we err, if our tea-mind is steady and sure, we will not end in failure; our practice will become a calm show of variation, a manifestation of the free and spontaneous working of our tea spirit.

Shuko's letter tersely states the message of the preface and verse to the fourth picture: "Become heart's master, not heart mastered." If we allow the heart to dominate, it turns selfish, and we are blinded by passions. When we see people who possess famous utensils and fine treasures, we desire to own at least one such splendid item. It is fine to love utensils, but in us it changes into attachment. The mind labors in determining the good and bad of the tea preparation, but if we come to realize that things are no more than appearances, all clinging falls away. Still, how hard it is to let go!

In Buddhism, it is said, "Blind passions are themselves enlightenment." One need not cut away one's passion for splendid utensils. There is, however, no special need to have them ourselves. In Tea, all phenomena in the world exist for our own sake; all the famous tea utensils, while they are before our eyes or in our hands, nurture our tea-minds. With each encounter with them, our gratitude arises, not a desire to possess. We do not cut off our love for them. When we realize that all things are for our own sake, we rejoice, and our hearts become rich. At the same time, we thoroughly realize that our own utensils are but temporarily borrowed, so that there is not a single thing that is really ours.

We enter this world naked, and after a time go naked to death. We bring nothing with us and take nothing with us. Nothing is ours. If we truly understand this, we will neither be bound by attachments nor lose sight of our original minds.

Arrogance and self-attachment poison life. Completely abandoning our contrivances, designs, and discrimination, we seek to keep from losing grip on the ox we have taken hold of with much pain and effort. But even after having come this far, if we fail in seriousness, the ox will again vanish into the mists. Hence, we must never be lax in using the whip.



V

Taming the Ox

When the slightest thought happens to arise, another thought follows.
Through illumination, all becomes true and real; through ignorance, all
is delusion. This is not because of the objects; it arises simply from
one's mind. Just pull hard on the nose-tether, and never waver.

Whip and tether, moment by moment, must never be let go.

Or else it will wander off as it pleases,

drawn by the dust-objects of the world.

If the oxherd always firmly leads, it will grow calm and docile;

Even unfettered by rope or chain, it will naturally follow him.

第五牧牛

前思纔起，後念相隨。
由覺故以成真，在迷
故而為妄。不由境有，
唯自心生。鼻索牢牽，
不容擬議。

頌曰

鞭索時時不離身
恐伊縱步惹埃塵
相將牧得純和也
羈鎖無拘自逐人

Taming the Ox

The struggle has ended, the oxherd leads the ox as he wills. There is no longer any worry about being drawn about by the ox, as in the fourth picture, but the binding rope remains. In Zen, this is the stage of practice after attainment of satori. It is said that the blind passions have finally been eradicated, but the residue remaining from long years under their sway is not to be eliminated in a day's discipline. To remove ten years' residue requires ten years. Satori has been reached and the ox has been tamed, but it is still impossible to let go of it. For, if one is lax, one regresses and slides back into the rough.

Zen teaches that "the embryo of the sage is long in being nurtured." Most past masters and men of virtue have gone through long periods of slow maturation.

The sixth patriarch Huineng (Eno, 638-713), after receiving a robe and begging bowl as signs of dharma-transmission from the fifth patriarch, is said to have fled to the south in accord with his master's instructions, and to have spent fifteen years there among a band of hunters, waiting and becoming nurtured.

When Chaozhou (Joshu, 778-897), who is known for his words, "Have a cup of tea!" set out to travel as a means of training, he vowed that if he encountered someone of superior attainments—even if that person were but a seven-year-old lad—he would beg to be instructed by him, and if he encountered someone inferior to himself—even if that person were a hundred-year-old elder—he would offer instruction. It may be said that these intentions allowed him a long time for nurture. Chaozhou was eighty when he became the resident monk of a temple for the first time.

In Japan, Rinzai Zen is represented by the lineage of Daio (Nampo, 1235-1308), Daito (Myocho, 1282-1337), and Kanzan (Egen, 1277-1360). Although each was eventually designated a National Teacher (*kokushi*), they each went through lengthy periods of "nurturing" their awakening.

Daio began his practice under Ryu Rankei (1213-1278) in Kamakura. But desiring to experience Zen firsthand in China, he later journeyed to the continent. There he sought out a fine teacher, the Zen master Xutang (Kido, 1185-1269), and practiced under him for nine years, eventually receiving sanction. When Daio was about to return to Japan, Xutang expressed his joy in his attainment and sorrowed at the parting: "With the passage of days, my grandchildren in Japan will be numerous! . . . My Way moves eastward." After returning to Japan, Daio hid himself as a wandering monk and did not even see his teacher Ryu. He was discovered, however, and returned to Kamakura. Later, he spent more than thirty years at Sofukuji temple in Hakata.

When Daito, a disciple of Daio's late years, passed "Ummon's barrier gate" under Daio's guidance at Kenchoji temple in Kamakura, the master said, "You far surpass me. Our school will greatly flourish under you. But you must nurture yourself for twenty years, unknown to others." Daito followed his words and hid himself among beggars beneath the Gojo Bridge in Kyoto and at Unkyoji temple.

Daito's disciple Kanzan, who later founded Myoshinji temple, received sanction in 1330, after which he left the capital and spent his years of nurture as a cowherd in Mino. When, after Daito's death, the retired emperor Hanazono (1297-1348) sought a

Zen master from whom to receive the dharma, he was told that Daito had a disciple named Kanzan who had attained the core of Daito's dharma, but that his whereabouts were unknown. The retired emperor had him located and dispatched a messenger commanding that he appear, but Kanzan did not comply.

These examples illustrate the great importance of practice after attainment of satori in Zen. In terms of the Way of Tea, even though we may have received certificates that authorize us to practice the most difficult tea procedures (*ogi*), we are never to think that our practice has been perfected. It is easy to learn the rules and manners. To make them our own and manifest the wondrous, free working of the Tea spirit, however, we must take the first step through our own efforts.

There is a saying, "Old teachings illumine the heart." Taking the teachings of the masters of the past in total seriousness and looking upon the masters as models will nurture our own growth. In this way, our tendencies toward arrogance and conceit are dispersed.

The preface to the fifth picture describes the workings of the mind: "When the slightest thought happens to arise, another thought follows." As I write, the blossoming of the cherry trees has passed, and new green leaves are beginning to unfurl. Now the plumes of wisteria blossoms have begun to extend downward and present a lovely sight. This much, as the preceding thought, is fine. But when this is followed by a succeeding thought—the impulse to break off a branch and make it our own, for example—we are caught in attachments. The delusional thinking of this succeeding thought must be eliminated. This applies not only to beauty in nature, but to all things.

For the practitioner of Tea, to love and revere utensils is fine, but the succeeding thought must not arise. The old masters carefully preserved and regarded the renowned scrolls and tea utensils as provisions for their practice of the Way of Tea. If we venerate these with the thought that "the old teachings illumine the heart," then in all things that meet our eyes or that we take in our hands, we experience joy and gratitude. Even at this point, however, if self-centered delusion occurs, it turns into attachment, and we fall back.

It does not matter what those things are that meet our eyes or that we take into our hands; it is a question of our state of mind. Therefore, we are told again and again that we must be the heart's master and never let go of the tether. We must allow no room for egocentric thinking to enter. An old verse states:

<i>kokoro yori</i>	It is the heart
<i>kokoro mayowasu</i>	That with the heart
<i>kokoro nari</i>	Deludes the heart:
<i>kokoro no koma ni</i>	Never give rein
<i>kokoro yurusuna</i>	To that clamorous heart's colt.

In Zen, there is a diversity among the various lineages on how the period of nurture is spent—in concealment or in wandering—but, whatever course is taken, it is quite long, and in the Way of Tea, it may be said to span a lifetime.

I remember a lady, before World War II, who devoted herself enthusiastically to chanoyu, engaging in practice daily. She had a passion for utensils, and frequently held

tea gatherings, transmitting her love of chanoyu to others. She was a person of Tea at heart, and was not one to leave details to others, but considered them her personal practice. Even when spending several days away from her home, she would take along her own brazier to practice laying ash. When I heard this, I was deeply impressed. We may easily imagine that a person so involved in chanoyu would welcome two or three days away from it, but this is the thought of one not wholly committed. For true practitioners, apart from chanoyu there is no life; each new day is itself the Way of Tea—"Each new step is the place of practice."

Several years ago, an internationally acclaimed pianist came to Japan. Even though news reporters were waiting, upon arriving at his hotel he immediately sat at the piano and commenced a strenuous session of practice. When he finished, one reporter asked, "Is it still necessary for a virtuoso like yourself to practice this way?" He answered, "If I skip one day, I will feel it. If I skip two days, my friends will know. If I skip three days, the public will know." This is the insight of a master, and is true in all the Ways.

The real worthiness of a person of Tea lies not in his being thoroughly versed in the rules and manners, nor in his being able to make tea with finesse according to some splendid procedure. Neither is it in his having many disciples, or having passed his entire life in Tea. Clearly it is not in being renowned or in having many possessions. The person who is truly worthy of veneration is one who has opened his eyes to the spirit of the Way of Tea and continues his practice after attaining awakening.

The fifth picture brings us finally to the purity and maturity that is the result of being long-nurtured. Though carrying on one's life amidst the world, one is not defiled by attachments to it. Though there is a rope, it is as though there were none. The heart's ox follows freely and naturally, as though it were one's shadow. ㇿ

Translated by Dennis Hirota

Famous Sources of Water In and Around Kyoto

Tanihata Akio

From ancient times, tea masters have been very particular about the water they use to make tea. The existence of many records that recount episodes about water serves to underline their concern.

In the *Chanoyu Hyorin*, a nine-volume encyclopedic work on chanoyu, Endo Genkan (seventeenth century) touches upon a number of subjects, including tea utensils, tearooms, tea procedures, and flowers. He also mentions fourteen famous sources of water for preparing tea, including the Yanagi no I (Willow Well), from which many tea masters sought to obtain water, especially for preparing the year's new tea in late fall, and the Rikyu no I (Rikyu's Well), from which Sen Rikyu (1522-1591) is said to have fetched water for the tea that was prepared in Toyotomi Hideyoshi's (1536-1598) tearooms at the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering which took place in 1587.* Names of similarly famous sources are also mentioned in the *Yosbu Fushi* (Topography of Yoshu), dated 1684, which lists the products of the Yamashiro area (now a part of present-day Kyoto Prefecture), the *Miyako Meisho Zue* (An Illustrated Guide to Famous Places in the Capital [Kyoto]), published in 1780, and the *Kyoto Bo-moku Shi* (Kyoto Sectional Survey), published in 1916. Among wells that are noted for their delicious water are the Ocha no I (Tea Well), which is located in the garden of Ginkakuji, the Silver Pavilion, and was once a source of water for the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436-1490); the Kikusui no I (Chrysanthemum-water Well), which is located in the garden of the central-Kyoto residence of the Kongo family of Noh masters, and which was used by the tea master Takeno Joo (1502-1555); and the Ume no I (Plum Well), which is located within the Urasenke complex. There were and still are numerous other famous sources of water in the city of Kyoto, for example, the Sansai Ido (Sansai Well) on the grounds of Kitano Shrine, where the tea master Hosokawa Sansai (1564-1645) is said to have drawn water during the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering; the Hoensui (Overflowing Garden Well), which was located on the grounds of Hideyoshi's Jurakudai Palace; the Gingasen (Silver River Fountain), a favorite of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408), which was located on the grounds of Kinkakuji, the Golden Pavilion; and the Otowa no Taki (Sound-of-Wings Falls), located at Kiyomizu Temple, whose waters are said to prolong life.

The most famous of all renowned sources of water, however, was the Samega I well, which was located near the corner of Horikawa and Gojo streets in Kyoto. [The characters used to write the name for this well vary from source to source.] Horikawa street follows the course of an underground stream which flows into the city from the mountains in the north. The founding headmasters of a number of schools of chanoyu

* For more on this important event in the history of chanoyu, see Louise Allison Cort, "The Grand Kitano Tea Gathering," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 31 (1982).

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The Ume no I, or "Plum Well," located at the residence of the Urasenke grand tea master. Important Cultural Property. This well takes its name from the plum blossom shaped pulley for its well-buckets. Stacked in the back are water buckets for carrying the "special" water to the preparation rooms of the various tearooms within the Urasenke complex.

established their homes near Horikawa street in order to have access to this source of pure, mountain water. Tofu manufacturers, for whom a source of quality water is of great importance in their trade, have since early times established shops along Horikawa street for the same reason. By the middle of the Muromachi period, it was commonly known that the water from the Samega I was special. The early tea master Murata Shuko (1421?-1502) was fond of its water, as was Ashikaga Yoshimasa. Rikyu, too, chose to use water from this well. In one of his letters he urged a friend to attend his tea gathering, which was to be held the following morning, because the water would be from the Samega I. Included with the letter was the following poem:

*ame furite
kono Samega I wa
nigoru tomo
ukiyo no naka wa
nadoka nigorashi*

Though when it rains
And the water of Samega I
Becomes cloudy,
Our world will not
Be affected.

In the *Kissa Shisho Hen* (Volume on Tea Drinking which Points to the Palm), a collection of short tea anecdotes, Hayami Sotatsu (1727-1809) relates a famous incident concerning a winter's morning tea gathering hosted by the rich merchant Tsuda Sokyū (d. 1591) at the latter's residence in Kyoto. Sokyū had invited Sen Rikyu and Hosokawa Sansai to this gathering, and while the two were waiting at Sansai's residence before leaving for Sokyū's home, it began to snow. As the snow continued to fall, they became impatient and decided to set out early. When they arrived, Sokyū was in the midst of his preparations. He invited them into the tearoom, burned incense in the famed incense burner named *Fuwa*, and had them pass the time by enjoying the incense. About ready to properly receive his guests, Sokyū had just removed the kettle from the sunken hearth and was replenishing the charcoal fire when he heard a knock at the door of the preparation room. The water he had requested from the Samega I had arrived. Rikyu and Sansai were impressed at the timing of the water's arrival, and appreciated Sokyū's arrangement to have that "special" water brought for the occasion. Sokyū took the kettle into the preparation room and filled it with the freshly-drawn water from the renowned well.

In the eighteenth century *Samega I Ki* (Record of Samega I), written by the priest Kojun Jikei (dates unknown), the water of the Samega I is praised as being far superior to the water drawn from the famed sources in China which the eighth century Chinese aesthete and tea enthusiast Lu Yu (Rikuu) had listed. Through the generations, the wooden structure that surrounded the Samega I became worn and decayed. The tea master Oda Uraku (1547-1621), regretting its sorrowful state, had the old structure replaced by one of stone. One can still see the inscription in the stone which states that Uraku had the newer structure installed in the first month of Genna 2 (1616).

Another episode concerns the keeper of the Samega I, Ichiami (dates unknown). Although little is known about him, we do know that he was an unpretentious tea master whom Rikyu respected. We also know that Rikyu taught him how to make water ladles for chanoyu. His ladles were of such good quality and became so famous, in fact, that Hideyoshi designated him the best ladle-maker in Japan. Even today, the



The Uji Bashi San no Ma platform on the Uji Bridge which spans the Uji River in southern Kyoto, from where it was said that water of particularly excellent quality could be drawn. Each year, at the time of the Uji Tea Festival, a traditional water-drawing ritual is performed at this historical spot on the bridge. Photo courtesy of Inoue Hiromichi, Nara.

ladle shape known as "Ichiami," with its characteristic asymmetrical cup, is highly admired by tea enthusiasts.

One particular spot on the bridge which crosses the Uji River in Uji City, just southwest of Kyoto, is famous for the water which can be drawn from the river at that point. At this spot there is a special platform on the bridge, which extends out from the third piling from the western end, called the Uji Bashi San no Ma. The water that flows beneath this platform is said to originate from either an underwater palace beneath the Karahashi bridge which spans the Seta River in nearby Otsu City, Shiga Prefecture, or a spring underneath Benzaiten Shrine on Chikubu Island in Lake Biwa. When Hideyoshi resided at his castle at Fushimi, in what is now the southern part of Kyoto City, he used this water for tea.

At one end of the Uji Bridge is the Tsuenjaya, a tea shop that dates from the Muromachi period. The owner of this renowned establishment has on display there a bucket that was used in Hideyoshi's time to draw water from the river at the Uji Bashi San no Ma. Endo Genkan, in the *Chanoyu Hyorin* mentioned at the beginning of this discussion, notes that the water taken from the river at this point was of such unusual quality that it was slightly lighter than ordinary water of the same volume.

In recent years many of the famous wells of Kyoto have, for various reasons, been covered over. It is my hope, however, that because these wells have such great historical significance, the ones that still remain will be protected and preserved. Furthermore, not only in and around Kyoto but wherever one may live, if one has the desire to do so, one can surely discover excellent sources of water for chanoyu.

Translated by Gertrude Gerstle

Appendix: How Water from a Famous Source is Served at a Tea Gathering

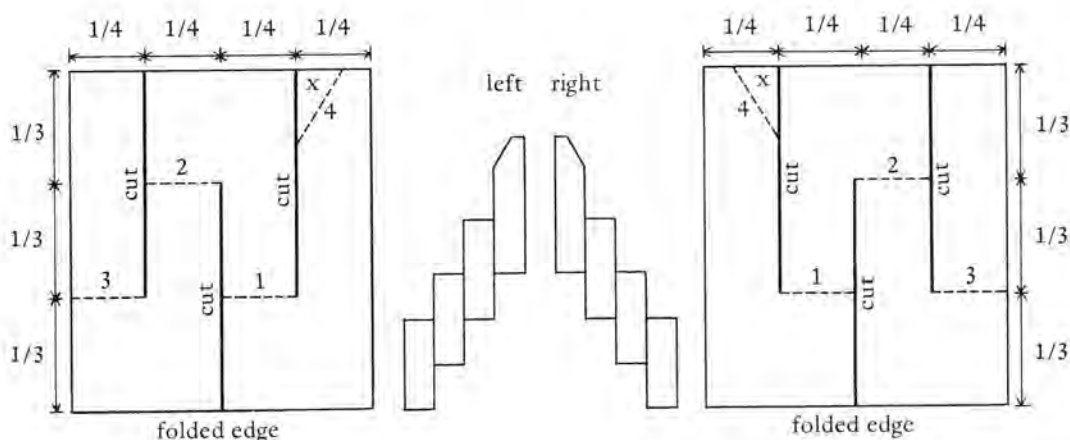
When the water for a tea gathering is brought from a famous source there is cause for celebration, because the tea that results will be especially delicious. In the lexicon of chanoyu there is even a special name, *meisui-date*, which means the preparation of tea with famous water, reserved for this event. And, as is the case with other special chanoyu events, there are a number of procedures that have been especially devised for the occasion.

Chanoyu enthusiasts believe that water is at its peak in flavor at four o'clock in the morning, so it is then that it should be drawn and transferred to containers that will not adversely affect its flavor. For the same reason, experienced tea practitioners prefer to limit *meisui-date* tea gatherings to the morning hours. These gatherings are usually convened during the warm months, from May to October, when the portable brazier is in use.

For *meisui-date*, any type of kettle and fresh-water container may be used. However, one of the more distinctive fresh-water containers to use is one in the shape of a square well-bucket. Called a *tsurube*, this container features a two-part lid and is made of unfinished wood—usually of a species of cypress known as *binoki*. For *meisui-*

date, the tsurube should be brand new and decorated with a straw rope and paper pendants. The rope-and-paper decoration, called *shimenawa*, is the same as those which can be seen at Shinto shrines, where they function to mark venerated places and objects.

While the tsurube is purchased or made to order, the *shimenawa* must be prepared by the host. The rope is made by knotting two lengths of rice straw together at the root ends (the roots having been cut off), and then twisting the lengths together by rolling them between the palms—the right palm pulling toward the body, the left, pushing away. This is the method for twisting rope at Shinto shrines and is opposite that of ordinary rope. The paper pendants that hang from the rope are made from two sheets of women's *kaishi* (each measuring 17.6 x 14.4 cm.), the paper "napkins" that are part of the accoutrements of a tea practitioner. They are folded in half along the longer axis and cut across the fold into three equal pieces, resulting in six pieces altogether. Three of these are then cut to hang on the left-hand portion of the tsurube and three to hang on the right-hand portion, according to the following diagram:



To form the zig-zag pendants, the cut pieces are folded forward along the dotted lines in the order shown in the diagram.

Before the tsurube is decorated, it is thoroughly soaked and then filled with the special water. This soaking swells the seams and joints of the bucket and gives it a fresh appearance. The rope is wrapped around the tsurube near the top and knotted at the far left-hand corner. The ends of the pendants marked "X" in the diagram, folded so that they taper, are inserted into the rope by untwisting the rope slightly. Two pendants—one right-oriented and one left-oriented—are inserted to hang at the front of the tsurube; likewise, two at the back; the remaining left-oriented pendant is inserted into the rope on the left side and the right-oriented one on the right.

It should be noted that the procedure to be described here basically follows that for standard *koicha* (thick-tea) presented with the portable brazier (see *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 14, 1977, pp. 65-79), except for the sampling of the water taken directly from the tsurube.



(1)

The decorated tsurube is in place on the host's mat when the guests enter the room. The *chaire* (container for powdered thick-tea) sits in front of it (1).



(2)

The procedure starts, as usual, with the host carrying in the utensils. The host sets the lid rest on the mat and rests the water ladle on it. He and all the guests bow (2). The first guest asks to sample the water. The host acknowledges the request and proceeds to wipe the *chaire* and *chashaku* (tea scoop) in the standard manner.



(3)

The host places the *chasen* (tea whisk) on the mat to the right of the *chaire*, and the *chakin* (linen wiping cloth) toward the front on the left-hand half of the tsurube lid (3).



(4)

To open the tsurube, the host reaches his right hand over to the far side of the tsurube and slides the left half of the lid slightly toward himself so that the lid protrudes from the tsurube at the front. He then grasps the protruding portion with both hands (4), and slides the lid off toward himself, as though opening a drawer.



(5)

This half of the lid is placed on top of the right half (5), leaving enough overhang in front to allow for easy removal.



(6)

The host scoops a ladle of water from the tsurube, pours it into the teabowl, returns the ladle to the lid rest, and sets the teabowl on the adjacent mat (6). The first guest goes after the teabowl and brings it back to his seat. As each guest in turn takes a sip, the first guest asks the host where the water is from and other related questions. The first guest returns the empty teabowl to the mat adjacent to the host's mat.

The host places the teabowl in front of his knees, and he and all the guests bow. The host picks up the ladle, holds it with the left hand, and removes the kettle lid with his right, resting it on the lid rest. He ladles hot water from the kettle into the teabowl, sets the ladle on the kettle, and discards the water into the waste-water receptacle. The host again ladles hot water from the kettle and pours it into the teabowl. He inspects the chasen in the usual manner. From this point, the standard koicha procedure is followed.

When returning the left half of the lid to its original place at the end of the koicha procedure, the host grasps the overhanging portion of the lid with both hands and slides it toward himself, as though opening a drawer. The host rests the lid on the left half of the tsurube and pushes it back into place. 



Temae—Tea Procedure: *Arai-jakin*

In the sultry months of summer a bowl of *usucha* prepared according to the *arai-jakin* procedure offers a welcome respite from the heat for both the host and guests at a tea gathering. The informal manner of the procedure and its distinctive, lavish use of water make for an utterly refreshing experience. In fact, the very nature of the procedure, emanating coolness, precludes it from being presented in any season other than summer and, even then, on only the very hottest days.

The procedure as it is described here is a variation of the standard *usucha* procedure (see *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 15, 1976, pp. 65-76). Depending on the occasion, however, *arai-jakin* can also be presented with any number of *tana* (free-standing utensil stands). What distinguishes *arai-jakin* from other *usucha* procedures is the manner in which the *chawan* and *chakin* are readied before the presentation and how they are handled during the procedure.

The other utensils are readied as for the standard *usucha* procedure: the *furo* is placed on a wooden board on the left-hand half of the host's mat in the tearoom and the kettle, filled with water, is set on a trivet over the fire in the *furo*, with its lid slightly ajar. In the preparation room, the *natsume* is filled with powdered tea, the *mizusashi* is filled with water, the *futaoki* is placed in the *kensui*, and the *bishaku* is set face down across the *kensui*, its cup resting on the far rim.

Prior to the presentation, thoroughly wash a new *chakin* and set it to soak in cold water. To soak it, hold it horizontally, grasping the upper right-hand corner with the right hand and the lower left-hand corner with the left, and allow the resulting upper triangular portion to fall away from you along the diagonal; fold the *chakin* again by bringing the two tips, or "ears," together toward you; grasp both the "ears" with the right hand; and lay the folded *chakin* in the soaking basin, hanging the "ears" over the rim of the basin to the right. Just before the presentation is to commence, fill the *chawan*—for this procedure a broad and shallow *bira chawan*—a little over half full with cold water. Lift the *chakin* out of the basin by grasping the "ears" and set it in the *chawan*, laying the "ears" over the right edge of the *chawan*. Set the *chasen* in the *chawan* in the usual manner, resting the tines on the *chakin*, and place the *chashaku* face down to the right of the *chasen* on the edge of the *chawan*.



(1)

The host sits at the host's entrance, places the mizusashi on the side farthest from the guests, and bows to signal the beginning of the presentation (1).



(2)

Holding the mizusashi, the host proceeds to the right-hand side of the host's mat and places the mizusashi in the middle of the right-hand half of the mat so that its center is aligned with that of the kettle (2).



(3)

The host returns to the preparation room, places the prepared chawan (including the chakin, chasen, and chashaku) on the palm of his left hand (L), steadies it at the side with his right hand (R), and proceeds to the host's mat (3).



(4)

R grasps the chawan and, as L steadies it at the side, places it to the far left (4).



(5)

The host returns to the preparation room, places the natsume on the palm of R, grasps the kensui (including the hishaku and futaoki) with L and proceeds to the host's mat. L sets the kensui straight down (5).



(6)

L grasps the natsume from the side, then R takes it from L by holding it from the top (6).



(7)

R places the natsume to the right in front of the mizusashi (7).



(8)

R, assisted by L, raises the chawan above the host's knees (8).



(9)

While R maintains its grasp on the chawan, L secures a hold at the side. R regrasps it slightly toward the front (9).



(10)

R, assisted by L, places the chawan to the left of the natsume in front of the mizusashi (10).



(11)

L takes the hishaku from the kensui and, turning its cup up, brings it upright above the host's knees. R steadies it near the bottom of the handle (11).



(12)

L still holding the hishaku upright in front of the host, R takes the futaoki from the kensui and places it near the front, left-hand corner of the board on which the furo rests (12).



(13)

R grasps the hishaku toward the lower end of the handle and rests its cup on the futaoki (13).



(14)

R lowers the handle of the hishaku onto the mat so that the end rests just in front of the host's left knee (14).



(15)

L moves the kensui forward, aligning it with the host's knees. The host straightens his kimono at the knees, rests his hands on his lap, and pauses for a moment (15).



(16)

R grasps the chawan slightly toward the front and, assisted by L, picks it up and brings it above the mat in front of the host's knees (16). R maintains its grasp as L secures a hold at the left side.



(17)

R regrasps the chawan from the side and, assisted by L, places it in front of the host's knees leaving enough space between it and the knees to place the natsume (17).



(18)

R grasps the natsume from the top and places it between the chawan and the host's knees (18).



(19)

L takes the fukusa from the obi. The fukusa is folded to wipe the natsume (19).



(20)

The host wipes the natsume in the standard manner and places it to the left in front of the mizusashi (20).



(21)

The fukusa is refolded to wipe the chashaku. The host wipes the chashaku in the standard manner (21) and places it on top of the natsume.



(22)

L still clutching the fukusa, R draws the chasen from the chawan and stands it to the right of the natsume (22).



(23)

If the knob of the kettle lid is made of iron, silver, or gold, or if the host is a woman, R takes the fukusa—folded as it would be to wipe a chashaku—from L and places it between the index and middle fingers of L. Then R picks up the hishaku, transfers it to L which holds it with the index finger and thumb, assists L to bring it to the upright position, and steadies it near the bottom of the handle. Otherwise, the fukusa is returned to the obi (23), then R picks up the hishaku.



(24)

In the former case above, R takes the fukusa from L and uses it to grasp the knob of the kettle lid. R, grasping the lid thus with the fukusa, removes the lid and places it on the futaoki, then places the fukusa—still folded as it would be to wipe a chashaku—behind the kensui. In the latter case above, the host removes the kettle lid with his bare hand (24).



(25)

L transfers the hishaku to R, and R rests it on the kettle (25).



(26)

R and L pick up the chawan and place it closer to the host's knees (26).



(27)

R grasps the "ears" of the chakin and lifts the chakin out of the chawan. As R holds the chakin up over the chawan, L folds the chakin in half lengthwise and holds it toward the middle (27).



(28)

L bends the lower portion of the chakin up to the right and R bends the upper portion down to the right, thus folding the chakin further in half (28).



(29)

R and L partially wring out the chakin over the chawan (29).



(30)

R and L completely wring out the chakin over the kensui (30).



(31)

R and L bring the chakin above the host's knees, grasp one "ear" each, and pull the chakin out to its full length (31).



(32)

The chakin is completely opened out (32) and folded in the standard manner, as illustrated in photos 33-38.



(33)

The top one-third is folded down to the back (33).



(34)

The top half is folded down to the back (34).



(35)

R brings the chakin to a vertical position above the host's left knee and L holds it in the center (35).



(36)

L thumb remains in the center as the chakin is folded into two (36).



(37)

One-half of the right-hand portion is folded under (37).



(38)

One-third of the right-hand portion is folded under (38).



(39)

L thumb is removed from the chakin and R places the thus-folded chakin on the kettle lid (39).



(40)

R and L pick up the chawan (40) and bring it over the kensui.



(41)

The water is emptied into the kensui (41). (Note: if the chawan is extremely wide and shallow, R may assist L in emptying the water into the kensui.) R returns the chawan to the mat in front of the host's knees.



(42)

R takes the hishaku and scoops hot water from the kettle into the chawan (42), then returns the hishaku to the kettle.



(43)

R picks up the chasen. The host inspects it in the standard manner (43) and returns it to its place in front of the mizusashi.



(44)

R picks up the chawan, transfers it to L, and L empties the water into the kensui. L still holding the chawan, R takes the chakin from the kettle lid, wipes the chawan in the standard manner (44), and places the chakin in the chawan.



(45)

R takes the chawan from L, places it in front of the host's knees, takes the chakin out of the chawan (45), and returns it to the kettle lid.



(46)

R takes the chashaku from the natsume and holds it above the host's right knee. The host bows, touching the fingertips of L to the mat, and asks the guests to partake of the sweets (46).



(47)

The host picks up the natsume, removes the lid, places it in front of his right knee, and scoops the powdered tea into the chawan (47). He replaces the lid onto the natsume, returns the natsume to its position in front of the mizusashi, and places the chashaku on the natsume.



(48)

The host removes the mizusashi lid and leans it against the side of the mizusashi in the standard manner (48).



(49)

The host takes the hishaku and scoops hot water from the kettle into the chawan, pours the extra hot water back into the kettle, and returns the hishaku to the kettle (49).



(50)

The host takes the chasen and whisks the tea (50), then returns the chasen to its place on the mat.



(51)

R rests the chawan on the palm of L, turns it clockwise two quarter turns, and places it on the adjacent mat (51). If at step 24 the fukusa was placed behind the kensui, then when the main guest takes one sip of the tea, R picks up the fukusa and it is returned to the obi. When the guest has returned the empty chawan to the adjacent mat, R rests it briefly on the palm of L and then places it in front of the host's knees.



(52)

The host takes the hishaku and scoops hot water into the chawan, then returns the hishaku to the kettle. R picks up the chawan, transfers it to L, and L discards the water. If more tea is to be prepared, the host picks up the chakin and proceeds again from the middle of step 44, wiping the chawan, excluding the bow and invitation to partake of the sweets. If not, the first guest asks the host to finish and the host, L still holding the chawan, bows in acknowledgement (52).



(53)

L transfers the chawan to R, and R places it in front of the host's knees. The host bows, saying that he will finish (53).



(54)

The host takes the hishaku, scoops cold water from the mizusashi (54), and pours it into the chawan.



(55)

The host returns the hishaku to the kettle (55).



(56)

R picks up the chasen. The host inspects it in the standard manner (56) and returns it to its place in front of the mizusashi. R picks up the chawan, transfers it to L, and L empties the water into the kensui.



(57)

L still holding the chawan, R takes the chakin from the kettle lid and places it in the chawan (57), then takes the chawan from L and places it in front of the host's knees.



(58)

R sets the chasen in the chawan (58).



(59)

R picks up the chashaku and holds it above the host's right knee. L moves the kensui back and slightly to the left in alignment with the host's shoulders (59).



(60)

L takes the fukusa from the obi. R holding the chashaku in the last two fingers, the host folds the fukusa to wipe the chashaku. He wipes the chashaku in the standard manner (60) and places it face down across the chawan.



(61)

R moves the chawan slightly toward the left in front of the host's knees (61).



(62)

R grasps the natsume from the top and places it to the right of the chawan (62). In the standard manner, the host brushes the fukusa off over the kensui and returns it to the obi.



(63)

The host takes the hishaku, scoops a ladleful of cold water from the mizusashi, and pours the water into the kettle (63). R transfers the hishaku to L, with L brings it to the upright position, and steadies it near the end of its handle.



(64)

The host places the kettle lid on the kettle, leaving it slightly ajar (64). R takes the hishaku from L and rests it on the futaoki.



(65)

The host places the mizusashi lid on the mizusashi (65).



(66)

The first guest asks to see the natsume and chashaku. The host bows in acknowledgement (66).



(67)

R picks up the hishaku and transfers it to L. L, turning its cup down, lays it over the kensui with its cup hanging over the edge (67). R picks up the futaoki, transfers it to L, and L places it behind the kensui.



(68)

R places the chawan to the far left (68).



(69)

R grasps the natsume from the top, places it on the palm of L, and the host shifts position to face diagonally toward the guests (69). R places the natsume in front of the host's knees.



(70)

The host takes the fukusa from the obi and folds it to wipe the natsume (70).



(71)

The host wipes the natsume in the standard manner, placing the lid in front of his knees when he wipes the mouth (71).



(72)

R places the fukusa in front of the host's knees, takes the natsume from L, places it on the palm of L, turns it clockwise two quarter turns, and places it on the adjacent mat (72).



(73)

The host returns the fukusa to the obi and shifts back to face the furo and mizusashi. R takes the chashaku from the chawan, turns it face up, and transfers it to L. The host shifts position to face diagonally toward the guests again. R takes the chashaku from L so that the tip of the handle points away from the host, and places it to the host's right of the natsume on the adjacent mat (73).



(74)

The host shifts back to face the furo and mizusashi. L takes the hishaku from the kensui and, turning its cup up, transfers it to R, which holds it sideways above the host's knees. L picks up the futaoki. R, holding the hishaku with the last two fingers, grasps the futaoki from the top with the remaining fingers (74). The host shifts position to face diagonally away from the guests. L picks up the kensui. The host returns the utensils he is carrying to the preparation room.



(75)

The host reenters the tearoom and proceeds to the host's mat. R picks up the chawan, places it on the palm of L, and steadies it at the side. The host returns the chawan (including the chakin, chasen, and chashaku) to the preparation room (75).



(76)

The host again reenters the tearoom and proceeds to the right-hand side of the host's mat. This time, he carries the mizusashi back to the preparation room (76).



(77)

The host sits outside the host's entrance. When the guests have returned the natsume and chashaku to the mat adjacent to the host's mat, the host stands, proceeds to the host's mat, and sits facing the utensils. He answers any questions posed by the first guest (77).



(78)

R places the natsume on the palm of L and holds the chashaku. The host stands, proceeds to the host's entrance, pivots just outside the entrance, sits, places the chashaku and natsume to the side farthest from the guests, and bows to signal the end of the presentation (78).



Book Reviews

Hideyoshi. By *Mary Elizabeth Berry*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1982. 293 pp. US\$30.00.

Even the most cursory glance at English material on Japanese history reveals that the events of the last hundred years have received nearly as much attention from historians as the previous millennium and a half. While biographies of Post-Restoration statesmen have appeared in rapid succession, students have had to rely on Walter Dening's account published in 1888 for a close look at one of Japan's most outstanding pre-modern personalities, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598). *Hideyoshi* remedies this plight: here we have a carefully researched, eminently readable account of the farmer's son whose military genius brought unity and peace to Japan after a long period of civil strife.

One might wonder why "the greatest man in the history of Japan," as Sansom called Hideyoshi, had not attracted a Western biographer during the hundred odd years after Dening's work. The reason undoubtedly lies in the fact that there is virtually no reliable material on the first two-thirds of Hideyoshi's life, making the task of the biographer an extremely difficult one.

Berry has coped well with this difficulty. She launches her book with a chapter outlining her theme, namely her interpretation of Hideyoshi's political thought. Differing widely from the conventional interpretation of Hideyoshi as an autocrat whose final aim was the total domination of Japan, if not the world, she sees him as "a radical and consistent federalist" who "respected the domain as the essential, largely autonomous unit of local government" (p. 5).

To span the sparsely documented period from Hideyoshi's birth to his appearance as successful general under Oda Nobunaga, the author describes "the society he encountered and the experiences that shaped it" (p. 9). Chapter 2, "A World Without a Center," is a succinct and scholarly account of the decline of the Ashikaga shogunate and the early history of the Oda family. Chapter 3, "The Terror," deals with Nobunaga's quest for hegemony until his assassination in 1582. These two chapters, nearly one quarter of the total text, make lively and informative reading and are to be highly recommended to those requiring a substantial summary of that period.

Chapter 5, the longest in the book, is devoted to Hideyoshi's domestic policies. It is a well-written exposition of the policies that were to shape the social order for the next three centuries: the cadastral surveys and taxation, the disarmament of the peasants, and the separation of the military class from the land. Here the author is at her best. Her enthusiasm for the subject is clear when she writes that this "most basic feature of his government" is more interesting to her than "Hideyoshi's personal and somewhat informal approach to administration, his preference for ad hoc appointments, and the late formation of a hierarchy that was neither large nor complex . . ." (p. 140). The importance of Hideyoshi's domestic policies is disputable. Yet the neglect of the "personal and somewhat informal" side of Hideyoshi's government is dangerous for a book interpreting his political thought.

In chapter 4, "Conquest and Conciliation," the author poses herself the question of why Hideyoshi's troops progressed so much faster in the unification of Japan than Nobunaga's. Rightly she comes to the conclusion that "the catalogue of battles he never had to fight suggest that behind the story of military victory is a more important story of negotiation and alliance" (p. 67). However, while the author maintains that Hideyoshi favored negotiation and alliance out of respect for the daimyo and domain, the material furnished by the "personal and somewhat informal" side of his government suggests that Hideyoshi saw himself forced to engage in complicated and not always honorable diplomatic maneuvers to obtain maximum results with the limited military capacity available to him. A great variety of people—merchants, monks, and tea masters—were used to act as his spies and secret emissaries to coax the enemy, or at least some of the latter's supposedly loyal vassals, into submission. (See for instance Kuwata Tadachika, *Teibon Sen Rikyu no Shokan*, Tokyodo, 1971 and my

"Tea and Counsel," *Monumenta Nipponica* 32, n. 1: 49-74.) For instance, although Hideyoshi was petitioned by his allies to chastise the Shimazu clan for its aggression, he was for a long time reluctant to extend his lines as far as Kyushu, and instead had the daimyo Hosokawa Yusai and the tea master Sen Rikyu write a threatening letter to Shimazu's senior retainer revealing his "secret" war plans. ("Tea and Counsel," pp. 53-54). When this did not have the desired effect and he finally came to experience the determined resistance of the Satsuma warriors, a settlement was soon reached whereby Shimazu retained all of his original domain with autonomous government. For Hideyoshi to attempt to destroy Shimazu would have been foolhardy in the extreme. His rear was open to the powerful Kanto daimyo as well as the just recently "pacified" Chosokabe in Shikoku, and if Shimazu had been treated less generously, these men might have found good cause to combine their strength in an all out attack on the new hegemony. Under these circumstances I find it difficult to follow Berry in regarding the Kyushu settlement as an example of Hideyoshi's "commitment to outsiders" (p. 91) and not just the result of plain self-interest.

The idea that Hideyoshi consciously and deliberately limited his own central authority and that the daimyo, by their own free choice, accepted him as a suzerain, is fully developed in chapter 6, "Federation and Its Motives." The author concludes that Hideyoshi's relationship with the daimyo cannot simply be explained "in terms of military expedients or personal advantage" (p. 164), but was based on the realization and tacit agreement that government along federalist lines was necessary for their own and the nation's survival. For this purpose "Hideyoshi conspired not just in the protection but in the enhancement of daimyo power, much in the way the daimyo conspired in the creation of a central authority" (p. 161). Berry admits that there were tensions between Hideyoshi and the daimyo, but she regards the relationship as one of mutual trust and esteem. "Without faithful allies," she notes, "it is inconceivable that Hideyoshi would have made domainal rule and power sharing the foundation of his settlement" (p. 165). Unfortunately there is no documentary evidence to reveal Hideyoshi's thoughts on this subject. The material that is available, namely the correspondence of Hideyoshi's personal advisors with each other and the daimyo, does not permit the conclusion that either side perceived each other in such friendly terms. To the contrary, the use of threats, intrigue, and bluff paint the scenario of a rather desperate power struggle. When, under such conditions, a daimyo finally submitted to Hideyoshi because he feared for his survival, surely it must be called "Hobson's choice" rather than "electing alliance" (p. 159). Also, the fact that Hideyoshi never accepted alliance without demanding hostages illustrates his distrust.

"The Pursuit of Legitimacy," chapter 7, covers Hideyoshi's relationship with the imperial family, his ascent on the ladder of court honors, and the display of splendor with which he loved to surround himself. The final section, dealing with Hideyoshi's building projects in Kyoto, will be especially appreciated by those who like to hunt for the remains of bygone days.

The last eight years of Hideyoshi's life, when he had finally reached his aim of "pacifying" the country, are the most dramatic and controversial of his life. Chapter 8 deals with the tragic and often puzzling events of those years: the passing away of his half-brother Hidenaga, the death sentence of his aged tea master Sen Rikyu, the ruthless annihilation of his nephew Hidetsugu with the latter's family, the persecution of the Christians, and finally the grandiose invasions of Korea that came to an end with his own death. Hideyoshi's thoughts and feelings during these years, such as his increasing megalomania and his paranoiac concern for his infant son, are well documented (in Adriana Boscaro, *101 Letters of Hideyoshi*, *Monumenta Nipponica Monograph* 54), and it is surprising that Berry has not dwelt longer on this eventful period. Even though one might ascribe Hideyoshi's behavior to partial insanity, there are still a great number of unanswered questions, especially when one postulates a federalist theory. If the daimyo were "strong men capable of insurrection whose support of the Toyotomi federation was voluntary in the final instance" (p. 169-170), why did they choose to support a ruler whose foreign policy and bouts of cruelty showed increasing signs of madness which,

in the final instance, could jeopardize their own and the nation's safety? Further, when looking at Hideyoshi's political thought, some consideration must be given to the role of his advisors. Is it mere coincidence that all those events which tarnish Hideyoshi's image took place after the death of his half-brother Hidenaga? In a rare first-hand report of Hideyoshi's relationship with a daimyo, a letter by Otomo Sorin describing his visit to Osaka in search of military assistance, he is depicted as being preoccupied with showing off his new golden tearoom, while political matters were handled by Hidenaga and Sen Rikyu (p. 224 and Takita Manabu, *Hennen Otomo Shiryo*, Oita, 1968, 27: 74).

As a final point of criticism, it may be mentioned that on occasion Berry is somewhat inconsistent in her interpretation. Thus on pages 48-50 she describes in detail Nobunaga's excessive cruelty, having concluded on page 42 that "real enmity toward the man was probably rare."

The above criticism, however, is insignificant in view of the author's achievement, namely that of turning rather dry material into a readable whole and, more importantly, bringing Hideyoshi back to life, for her federalist theory, no doubt, will provide the basis for many a scholarly argument.

Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey
Department of History
University of Ottawa

Sakaki Hyakusen and Early Nanga Painting. By *James Cahill*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1983. ix + 146 pp. US\$10.00.

The study of Nanga (Japanese literati painting) has revived in recent years after several decades of decline. The Chinese roots of Nanga may have been responsible for its earlier loss of popularity; Japanese nationalistic feelings tended to dominate the art world during the middle years of this century. During that time, typically native arts such as *yamato-e* and the Rimpa and Ukiyo-e schools received more attention from collectors and scholars.

Many, among the leaders in the revival of interest in Nanga, have been non-Japanese. Stimulated by increasing knowledge of Chinese painting, Western scholars and collectors have investigated the Japanese literati tradition with new insights and renewed appreciation. One such expert has been James Cahill, professor at the University of California at Berkeley, who has recently revised several earlier articles into a small volume full of interesting observations and comparisons. Focusing primarily, but not exclusively, upon the work of Sakaki Hyakusen (1697-1752), Cahill examines the Chinese roots of Nanga in a manner that only a leading scholar of Chinese painting could attempt. His primary assertion is that Hyakusen, one of the pioneers of Nanga, could not have based his style merely upon the imported Chinese printed books that previous scholars had supposed formed the models for early Nanga painting. Cahill convincingly argues that, although there is little written evidence that Ming dynasty literati paintings were available to Japan in the early eighteenth century, Hyakusen's paintings themselves prove that he must have had access to works by artists such as Sheng Mao-yeh and Li Shih-ta, eclectic masters of the late Ming dynasty.

Professor Cahill's book thus serves a double function: it not only elucidates the sources for much of Hyakusen's work, but also supports the proposition that in the study of painting, the artworks themselves are as reliable as, or more reliable than, documents and written records. Cahill buttresses his contentions with eighty-six black-and-white reproductions as well as footnotes to the whereabouts of other works that he cites. Although the plates are small, they suffice to allow the reader to follow Cahill's arguments on stylistic sources.

Cahill first discusses the figure paintings of Hyakusen and of two painters that Hyakusen influenced, Nakayama Koyo (1717-1780) and Yosa Buson (1716-1784). After a short chapter on the bird-and-flower and ink monochrome plant subjects by Hyakusen, Cahill devotes the largest section

of his book to the artist's landscape painting. As the author points out, Hyakusen has been a difficult artist to study for a number of reasons, including the great stylistic diversity in the remaining corpus of his works. Nevertheless, a large part of Hyakusen's stylistic development is considered in this volume.

Rather than a complete study of the artist's work, Cahill's book is a compendium of insights, opinions, comparisons, and arguments revolving around the Chinese influence upon Hyakusen's paintings. The author's bias towards the "Japanese" side of Nanga is clear when he refers to Gion Nankai, the first pioneer of Nanga, as "fastidious," "conventional," and "static" in his paintings, which are "confined to an airless, abstract world." In actuality, Nankai followed the ideals of a Chinese literatus more fully than did Hyakusen, being known as an excellent poet and calligrapher in Chinese as well as a painter, but Cahill clearly prefers the work of Hyakusen, whose paintings were "not merely a calligraphic exercise." Therefore we must not read this book as a balanced study of early Nanga, which it does not attempt to be, but rather as an original and provocative effort not only to assess the role of Hyakusen, but to re-examine the entire question of Chinese sources in the works of several early Nanga masters.

Like Professor Cahill's earlier catalogue *Scholar Painters of Japan: The Nanga School* (New York, 1972) and his books on Chinese painting, this volume is stimulating in ideas, trenchant in comparisons, and self-assured in viewpoint. Frequently brilliant, occasionally arbitrary, it is certainly one of the most interesting studies of Nanga yet to appear in any language. While a great deal of research still remains to be done regarding the foundation of Nanga painting in Japan, we can be grateful to Professor Cahill for his important contribution to this difficult but fascinating field. For anyone interested in literati ideals in art, or in how one culture was able to transplant and naturalize distinctive values from abroad, this volume can be warmly recommended.

Stephen Addiss

Kress Foundation Department of Art History
The University of Kansas

Earth 'n' Fire. By Amaury Saint-Gilles. Tokyo: Shufunotomo Co., Ltd., 1983. 4th edition. 192 pp. Paperback. US\$9.95, ¥1,500.

This book was first published in 1978, and the fact that the current printing is the fourth edition shows that there is a demand for a "survey guide to contemporary Japanese ceramics." In this edition Saint-Gilles has extended the note on his own career and added a timely warning that visitors to potteries ought not forget that potters are busy people. Other than this, however, the book has not been revised or updated in any way, and the text, including any elementary typographical errors that appeared in the first edition, is reproduced here in almost exactly the same layout.

The book has its origins in short articles on kilns and/or potters that appeared in the *Mainichi Daily News* over an extended period of time. These articles clearly did a great deal to facilitate the sometimes difficult process of putting interested people in touch with what was going on in the world of Japanese ceramics. Names and addresses were provided in the articles, and are included in the book along with a map showing approximate locations of the potteries and workshops dealt with. The very nature of the pottery scene in Japan, with its proliferation of styles, types, origins, and approaches, makes the subject impossible to deal with in its entirety. That there are said to be more than a thousand professional potters working in Kyoto alone, indicates the vastness of the field. In this small book that covers all of Japan, it is clear that selection must be a very important point, and here it must be said that Saint-Gilles has included examples of almost all kinds. In addition, he has attempted to give condensed historical background to areas or styles that need some setting, for

example, *Kyo-yaki* (wares produced in Kyoto), and Arita or Imari wares. Considering the rather unreliable documentation that is available in Japanese and in English, Saint-Gilles manages to provide enough information to help visitors to potteries place what they are seeing.

In terms of the accuracy of the information, however, the book leaves something to be desired. The technical information is frequently somewhat puzzling, or at least the terminology is unusual. Japanese potters traditionally seem to have had a very pragmatic approach to glaze technology and kiln design, and in my own experience, attempts to solicit accurate technical information are not very successful. Perhaps this is partly because secrets were to be protected or because many family potteries do not really “know” scientific explanations for what over the years has proven successful. For example, Saint-Gilles’ references to firing iron glazes so that they become green (p. 84) cloud the simple fact that the kiln is being reduced, and the vague mention of “ash” glaze covers a very complicated subject. Perhaps potters did not wish to mention which ashes they used, but where so-called “folk” potteries are concerned, the ashes of rice straw, or of any number of woods or other vegetable matters formed the basis of most glazes. It would be of interest to know what kind of ash is being used. In the description (by no means easy) of various technical processes, the book mixes Japanese terminology with English in a rather carefree manner, resulting in some confusion for readers. Expressions such as “pinch-setting” (p. 78) and “footing-rim” (p. 119) are not standard.

It may be unusual to mention problems of English usage in a review of a book on ceramics, but for me the breezy, familiar style, clearly based on journalism, is something of a detraction. Though the writer’s enthusiasm is never in doubt, the frequent appearance of clumsy phrases and unfocused expressions tends to cloud the narrative. A few random examples might include the description of Shimizu Chiyoichi’s kiln at Tamba as “one of the active split bamboo kilns” (p. 70) (surely it should be “one of the split bamboo kilns still in use”?), the breathless description of Setojiki (p. 128), and the rather overdone account of Aizu-Hongo glaze that “careens between deep brown with slight white accents and creamy shades with apple-green highlights” (p. 160). Regarding this last example, the complex chemistry of ash glazes produces effects that are literally indescribable.

Some of the major problems facing contemporary Japanese potters are taken up by Saint-Gilles: the conformity to tradition in kilns with established styles; the need to sell both to tourists looking for low-priced presents to take home, and to tea masters at very high prices; and the capitalization on reputation, as for example, at Mashiko. The book has some interesting and useful illustrations, though not all are of high quality, and it is sturdily bound for a pocket-sized paperback. It lacks a bibliography, which would perhaps have told us why Saint-Gilles chose particular potters in particular areas. It might be accused of giving too much space to some not very well known potters while covering, for example, Tamba in a page. Yet, for all its shortcomings, this book fills the need for a handy, practical guide of value to anyone who wishes to set out on a pottery pilgrimage in Japan. It will clearly need revising at some point in the not too distant future; but to make the ideal, balanced survey, it would have to be rewritten.

David Hale
Visiting Lecturer
Kyoto University

Glossary and Chronology

Ashikaga Yoshimasa	足利義政	Huineng (Enō)	慧能
Ayamura Tan'en	綾村坦園	Ichiamī	一阿弥
<i>boo no saki</i>	はうのさき	Imai Sōgyū	今井宗及
<i>Chanoyu Hyōrin</i>	茶湯評林	<i>Inui Sōgyū</i>	今井宗及
Chaozhou (Jōshū)	趙州	<i>Chanoyu Nikki</i>	今井宗及茶湯日記
Chiyuan (Jion)	慈遠	<i>Imbe de</i>	伊部手
Daiō (Nampo)	大応(南浦)	<i>imogashira</i>	芋頭
Daitō (Myōchō)	大燈(妙超)	<i>Ipponkyō Kaishi</i>	一品經懷紙
<i>Daitokuji Monjo</i>	大徳寺文書	<i>jukke</i>	習氣
Denne (Yōjū Zentei)	伝衣(要宗全提)	Juntoku	順徳(院)
<i>dōka</i>	道歌	(Retired Emperor)	
Endō Genkan	遠藤元閑	<i>kaisho</i>	楷書
<i>Entairyaku</i>	園太暦	<i>kake-e</i>	掛絵
Fujiwara Kei	藤原啓	<i>kake-ji</i>	掛字
Fujiwara Kiyosuke	藤原清輔	<i>kame no futa</i>	亀のふた
Fujiwara Saneyori	藤原実頼	Kamiya Sōtan	神谷宗湛
Fujiwara Sukemasa	藤原佐理	Kaneshige Tōyō	金重陶陽
(Sari)		Kanzan (Egen)	関山(慧玄)
Fujiwara Teika	藤原定家	<i>katatsuki</i>	肩衝
Fujiwara Yukinari	藤原行成	Ki no Tsurayuki	紀貫之
<i>Fukuro Zōshi</i>	袋草子	<i>Kissa Shishō Hen</i>	喫茶指掌編
<i>Fuwa</i>	不破	<i>Kitano Ō-chanoyu</i>	北野大茶湯之記
Gengensai	玄々斎	<i>no Ki</i>	
<i>Genji Monogatari</i>	源氏物語	<i>kolitsugire</i>	古筆切
<i>gōsu</i>	合子	Kojun Jikei	古潤慈稽
Gotoba (Emperor)	後鳥羽(天皇)	<i>Kokin Shū</i>	古今集
<i>Gotō Egen</i>	五燈会元	<i>Kokoro no Fumi</i>	心の文
<i>Goyō no Yōrozu</i>	御用之萬留控帳	<i>kokushi</i>	国師
<i>Tōdome Hikae-chō</i>		<i>kōzen no ki</i>	浩然の氣
Guishan (Izan)	鴻山	<i>Kumano Kaishi</i>	熊野懷紙
<i>gyōsho</i>	行書	<i>Kumano Rui Kaishi</i>	熊野類懷紙
Hamamoto Sōshun	濱本宗俊	Kuoan Shihyuan	廓庵師遠
Hanazono	花園(上皇)	(Kakuan Shion)	
(Retired Emperor)		<i>Kyōto Bō-moku Shī</i>	京都坊目誌
Hayami Sōtatsu	速水宗達	Linchi (Rinzai)	臨濟
<i>hidasuki</i>	緋襪	Lungtan (Ryūtan)	竜潭
<i>hishaku sashi</i>	柄杓指	Lu Yu (Rikuu)	陸羽
Hosokawa Sansai	細川三斎	<i>ma</i>	間
Huaina Dalien	懷納大璉	<i>Makura no Sōshi</i>	枕草子
(Enō Tairen)		<i>Matsuya Kai Ki</i>	松屋会記

<i>meisui-date</i>	名水点	<i>shiro bizen</i>	白備前
<i>mentsū</i>	面桶	Shitou (Kisen)	希遷
<i>Miyako Meisho Zue</i>	都名所図絵	<i>shoin</i>	書院
<i>mizu koboshi</i>	水覆	<i>Shucha Ron</i>	酒茶論
<i>mizushita</i>	水下	<i>sōsho</i>	草書
<i>mizuya kame</i>	水屋甕	<i>Sōtan Nikki</i>	宗湛日記
Motoori Norinaga	本居宣長	<i>sukiya</i>	数奇屋
Murata Shukō	村田珠光	Takeno Jōō	武野紹鷗
<i>namida</i>	涙	Tanihata Akio	谷端昭夫
<i>Nampō Roku</i>	南方録	<i>talamigami</i>	畳紙
Oda Nobunaga	織田信長	<i>Tennōjiya Kai Ki</i>	天王寺屋会記
Oda Uraku	織田有楽	<i>teoke</i>	手桶
<i>ōgi</i>	奥儀	Teshan (Tokusan)	徳山
Ono no Tōfū	小野道風	Tōin Kinkata	洞院公賢
<i>oshiita</i>	押板	<i>toko</i>	床
Ranshuku Genshū	蘭叔玄秀	Toyotomi Hideyoshi	豊臣秀吉
<i>Rikyū Hyakkai Ki</i>	利休百会記	<i>tsubo</i>	壺
Ryū Rankei	隆蘭溪	Tsuda Sōkyū	津田宗久
Saigyō	西行	<i>tsurube</i>	釣瓶
<i>Samega I Ki</i>	佐女牛井記	Uenishi Setsuo	上西節雄
<i>sangiri</i>	栈切り	Ukita Hideie	宇喜多秀家
Seigan Shōtetsu (Tesshoki)	清巖正徹(徹書記)	Xutang (Kidō)	虚堂
<i>Seikai</i>	青海	<i>Yakumo Mishō</i>	八雲御抄
Sen Rikyū	千利休	<i>Yakusō Yubon</i>	藥草喻品
Sen Sōshitsu	千宗室	<i>Yamashina Noritoki Kyō Ki</i>	山科教言卿記
<i>Shigetsu Shū</i>	指月集	Yaoshan (Yakuzan)	薬山
Shigu Xiyu (Sekko Kii)	石鼓希夷	Yorakuin (Konoe Iehiro)	予楽院(近衛家熙)
<i>shimekiri</i>	占切	<i>Yōshū Fushi</i>	雍州府志

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 Hakuho period, 645-710
 Nara period, 710-794
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