

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 44



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

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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.

The Blossoming Plum Tree

Sen Soshitsu W

The plum tree bent under the winter freeze,
With showers, all at once opens its buds.
The moon, through mists, projects its shadow;
In the dark, breezes carry its scent.
A few days back, the trunk was buried in snow;
Now, branches bear flowers anew.
Through hardship and the bitter cold—
This dignity, at the forefront of spring.

In February, the month poetically referred to as “*Kisaragi*”—the month of “re-birth” or “regeneration”—I often reflect upon the above poem from the *Dokugo Shingyo*, the Zen priest Hakuin’s (1685-1768) commentary on the Heart Sutra (Skt., *Prajnaparamita-hrdaya Sutra*; Jap., *Hannya-baramitta Shingyo*).

With the first spring showers, the tight buds on the plum tree, having endured the severe cold of winter, burst open their petals to the yet chilly air. In contrast to the showy exuberance of the cherry, the plum’s presage of spring evinces refinement, even nobility. The faint scent of plum blossoms, wafting on a chilly breeze in an evening dimly lit by a cloud-covered moon, evokes a profundity too subtle and deep to express in words; yet, one yearns to somehow capture the feeling in a painting or poem. Among all of Nature’s continuing miracles, the plum tree, so recently covered with snow, flowering in such purity and refinement, is peerless. Though it may seem simple on the surface, the plum has had to endure a harsh and rigorous course in order to bloom. The last line of Hakuin’s poem reflects upon the extreme difficulty implicit in the plum’s early spring blossoms. How fitting that this exquisite flower should be the harbinger of spring, blooming before the cherry, or before the willow puts forth leaves.

I love this poem by Hakuin because of the teaching and guidance for our own lives which can be gleaned between the lines. In life, we all have wintry seasons of severe cold. What matters is how we endure this cold. The poem teaches us to face the difficult seasons of life, and to benefit from the experience.

When you think about it, our struggle is much the same as the plum’s. Before embarking on the severe path of the Way of Tea, we have to rid ourselves of the consciousness of difficulty and apply ourselves wholeheartedly, without regard for personal gain or sacrifice. Only then can the flowers of our lives blossom. Only then can one attain an unimpeachable dignity which cannot be tarnished by the words of others. The Way of Tea demands a courage comparable to that of the plum tree. For this reason, many people who have lived the life of Tea have loved and appreciated the plum.

Chanoyu should be as refreshing and soothing as a spring breeze, yet to achieve this, strict self-discipline must first be experienced. When making tea, one must never show that one has come through a severe winter of self-discipline; but that self-discipline is essential in order to be able to make a bowl of tea as refreshing and soothing as the spring breeze.

We live in an easy-access society in which many look upon the discipline demanded by the Way of Tea as odious. Even many long-time practitioners of Tea think too lightly of the training that is necessary. People tend to emulate the goal of attainment, missing the true meaning of the Way. This is a sad and deplorable tendency which seems to be on the increase. Therefore, one sees many examples of chanoyu which is shallow and irregular. I worry about the fact that so many people treat chanoyu as a purely intellectual experience rather than learning it with their whole body and letting the results infuse their spirit. Of course, there are many examples, in our economy-oriented society, in which the ends are believed to justify the means. But in the Way of Tea, this will never do. The means are the end, and any other way is a delusion easily seen by others if not by the deluded themselves.

Trying to attain the end without enduring the means is the same as trying to harvest the fruit without planting the seed. To attain a great goal, one must always endure great self-discipline. Thus, because the plum is the first to show that it has successfully endured the harsh winter, its early blossom is so precious, so deeply appreciated, and so noble. 

Kobori Enshu: Architectural Genius and Chanoyu Master

Itoh Teiji



Anonymous artist's vision of Kobori Enshu in old age. Ca. 1609. Property of the Kohoan subtemple of Daitokuji temple, Kyoto. Photo courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Ltd., by permission of Kohoan.

The late sixteenth century found Japan in a state of turmoil. Fate played havoc with peoples' fortunes in a world where the slightest error in judgment or entanglement in the intrigues of competing warriors could send one on the road to ruin. But there were also many opportunities for advancement. It was into this tumult that Kobori Masakazu Sakusuke, known to us as the architect, landscape garden designer, chanoyu master, and warrior-bureaucrat (*kanryo bushi*), Kobori Enshu, was born in 1579.

Translated and adapted from "Kobori Enshu no Ikita Jidai" in *Jimbutsu Nihon no Rekishi 17: Kinsei no Chado* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1975), by permission of the author.

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In this year, the chanoyu master Imai Sokyu (1520-1593), already over sixty years old, was in the process of constructing a memorial tower at Jorakuji temple in Sakai, near present-day Osaka city, to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of his teacher, Takeno Joo (1502-1555), who is remembered as having been one of the most instrumental figures in the development of *wabi-cha*—the chanoyu of simple taste. Also, in this year General Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) finally completed construction of Azuchi Castle in the province of Omi (present-day Shiga Prefecture), and took up residence there. Although Christianity had been introduced into Japan only about thirty years earlier, Nobunaga strongly supported the Christian movement.

The fabric of society itself was in a state of great flux. The class system that was to characterize the Edo period was only just beginning to take shape, and the dividing line between the warrior and farmer classes was still blurred. This blurring of class lines was even more so in the case of the lesser daimyo, among whom professional fighting men were extremely rare, the majority remaining in villages and engaging in farming. Enshu's father, Kobori Shinsuke Masatsugu (1540-1604), was one such rural warrior of Kobori, a village located in the province of Omi.

Kobori is now part of the city of Nagahama, and until very recently was a small, isolated hamlet consisting of but a row of thatched cottages. Sojiji temple, said to have been founded by Enshu's ancestors, is still located there, with the Kobori family seat just to the west. According to records dated 1602, the Kobori residence was only 617 square meters in area; much smaller than what one might expect, but probably the average size for the home of a warrior family of the area. Consistent with the needs of a farmer, there was a small stream for irrigation purposes on the west side of the house and a broad lane on the south.

Enshu was fortunate to have been born in Omi. From ancient times the area had been rich in culture. During the Onin War (1467-1477) many nobles fled from the capital to Omi, and in many cases the children of these aristocrats entered temples there. These same nobles, impoverished by the conflict, were forced by circumstances to either sell or abandon their art collections in the area. Even today, noteworthy art objects are to be found in the old households of Shiga Prefecture in far greater numbers than in other districts. In addition, the architecture of the area provided Enshu with early lessons in architectural design. Today the area ranks third, after Kyoto and Nara, in the number of structures designated as Important Cultural Properties. Omi, furthermore, had been along the highway used by nobles, poets, artisans, priests, and merchants shuttling between military leaders of the warring provinces. More than a simple repository, the province had been a pipeline for the transmission of culture and information.

During most of the sixteenth century, military advances on the capital were made through Omi. Resolved to seize control of the nation, powerful warriors would take the highway that passed through this province. Local warrior families residing on the flanks of the highway were thus forced by circumstances into confrontations. For example, when Oda Nobunaga advanced on the capital

through Omi in the 1560's, some tried to resist and, failing, were either relegated to farmer status or witnessed the destruction of their entire families; some surrendered without a fight and became retainers of Nobunaga; and others divided, father opposing son, brother fighting brother.

It was Nobunaga [aided by Tokugawa Ieyasu] who, in 1573, defeated [his own brother-in-law] Asai Nagamasa (1545-1573), the lord under whom Enshu's father, Shinsuke, served. Whether Shinsuke became a masterless warrior at this time, however, is uncertain. His elder brother, Tozaburo (also known as San'emon), had already entered the service of Hashiba Hidenaga (1540-1591), a half-brother of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who supported Nobunaga. Thus, it is possible that Shinsuke, too, went over to the same camp soon after, although there is no written record listing him as a retainer of Hidenaga's household until 1582.

There are various accounts concerning the identity of Shinsuke's father. The *Uchu no Kansu* (Confinement in the Rain) of 1795, written by a certain Fukusui Inshi (dates unknown), states that Shinsuke was the illegitimate son of Asai Nagamasa, while various works cited by Mori Osamu, in his book entitled *Kobori Enshu*, indicate that he was the son of another of the Asai family, Shimbei. Although conflicting, and in the case of the *Uchu no Kansu* account, involving a basic chronological discrepancy, these accounts indicate a familial link, however distant, between Shinsuke and Tokugawa Hidetada (1578-1632)—whose wife [a younger sister of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's concubine, Yodogimi] was the daughter of Asai Nagamasa—and ultimately, to Tokugawa Ieyasu, Hidetada's father. But such a tie would not in itself have constituted reason for Shinsuke's service at a later date to Tokugawa Ieyasu. It is more reasonable to assume that the relationship between the two men developed during the period when Shinsuke was the chief magistrate of Yamato (present-day Nara Prefecture).

In the autumn of 1588, Ieyasu happened to stop at Koriyama Castle in Yamato on his way to Mount Koya. At the time, Shinsuke was serving Hashiba Hidenaga, the lord of the castle. According to the account in the *Satomura Jikyu Nengetsu Ki* (Lengthy Record of Satomura Jikyu [dates and identity uncertain]), "the scrupulous cleaning of the lane and entrance, even the arrangements made for the horses and the food that was served were all so remarkable that Lord Ieyasu deigned to ask who was responsible. On being told that it was Kobori Shinsuke, he was in a rare good humor." That he was "in a rare good humor" could be interpreted to mean that Ieyasu, who had earlier conferred 630 *koku*¹ upon Shinsuke because of the latter's familial link with the wife of his son, Hidetada, and who knew that Shinsuke had since risen to become a magistrate worth three thousand *koku*, was pleased because of Shinsuke's promotion. More probably, Ieyasu was simply put into a good mood by Shinsuke's service. In either case, Ieyasu was favorably impressed, and this was to have some effect on the future fortune of Shinsuke's son, Enshu.

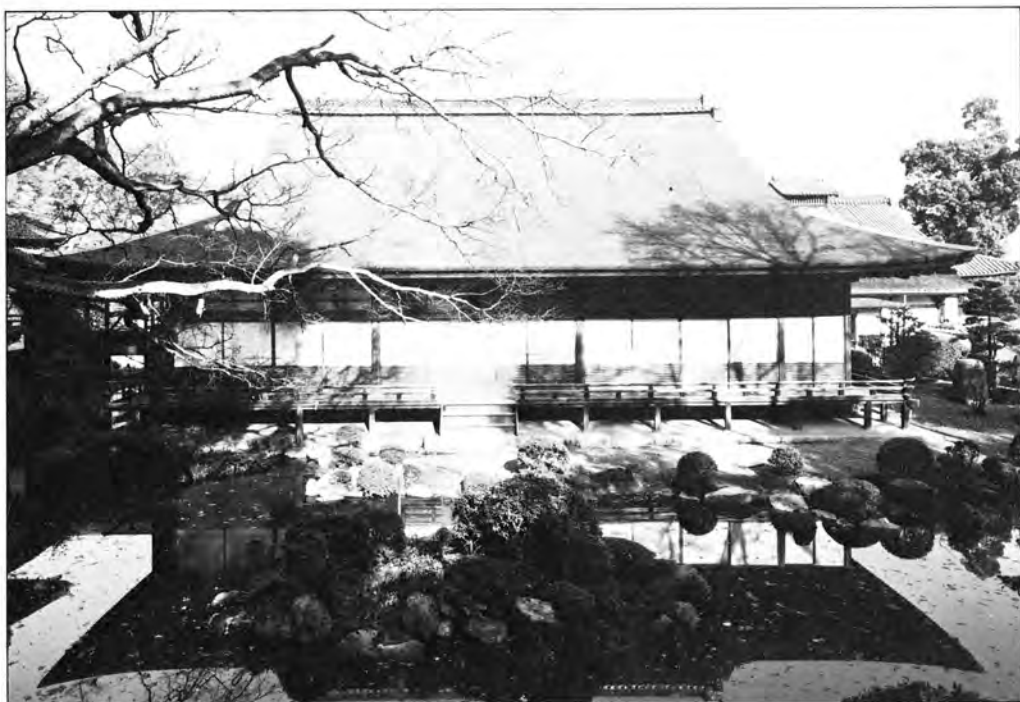
1. A *koku* was a measurement of unpolished rice (approximately 180 liters) used as a unit of government salaries and a gauge of wealth and status. In the mid-sixteenth century, one *koku* of rice was considered sufficient to feed one person for one year.

It seems that Shinsuke made every effort to promote his son's position. Of course the relationship with Ieyasu was helpful, and he was well aware of other factions with which he had to contend. In 1588, Toyotomi Hideyoshi also paid a visit to Hidenaga at Koriyama Castle. On that occasion, the nine-year-old Enshu met not only Hideyoshi but also Sen Rikyu (1522-1591), and Shinsuke somehow arranged that he be appointed to attend upon the guest of honor. That the young Enshu was allowed to serve such a high-ranking guest indicates the degree to which his education in etiquette and protocol had already progressed. Certainly he owed this to the zealous training of his father, who probably wished to push his son forward as soon as an opportunity arose.

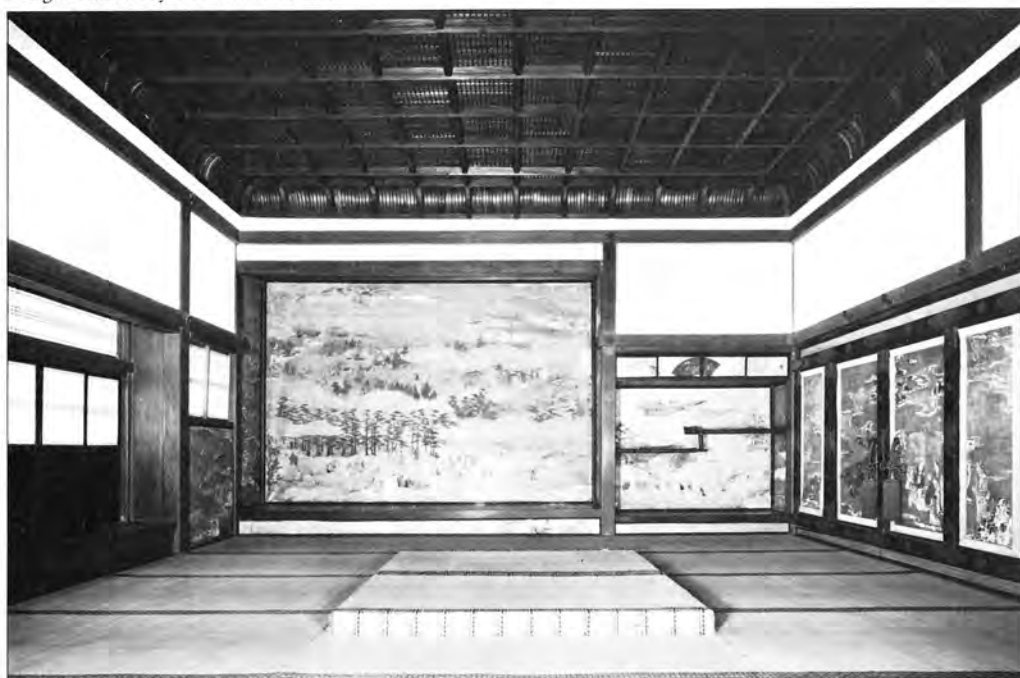
Fate was kind in many ways to the Kobori family. On the twenty-second day of the first month of 1591, Hashiba Hidenaga died of illness at Koriyama Castle, to be succeeded by his adopted son, Hidetoshi. However, only three years later, at the age of sixteen, Hidetoshi too met with an untimely death, thus bringing to an end the Hashibas of Koriyama. Almost all the surviving retainers of this house went into the direct service of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, but Kobori Shinsuke became a retainer attached to Hideyoshi's legal wife, Kita-no-Mandokoro. This alliance actually helped father and son to align themselves with the triumphal Tokugawa side at the time of the Battle of Sekigahara six years later—the battle between the forces of east (Edo) and west (Osaka), or in other words, between the Tokugawa and the Toyotomi, which ultimately allowed for the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate three years later. This east-west confrontation, which first erupted, in 1600, in the form of the Battle of Sekigahara, and finally ended, in 1615, with the Battle of Osaka, was after all, on a more personal plane, a confrontation between Kita-no-Mandokoro and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's concubine, Yodogimi [who had borne Hideyoshi's only living heir]. Thus, having been in the service of Kita-no-Mandokoro ultimately helped ensure Shinsuke and his son a place in the Tokugawa bureaucratic structure. In light of this background, it was perhaps natural that Enshu should afterwards be chosen to build gardens and tea houses in Kita-no-Mandokoro's family temple of Kodaiji.

It is recorded that at the age of fourteen, Enshu practiced Zen meditation at Daitokuji temple in Kyoto, under the famous priest Shun'oku Soen (1529-1611), and received a Buddhist name from him. Also, as Enshu's father was himself a man of Tea, having a tearoom of his own at his residence in Yamato, he often took his son to tea gatherings. At one gathering which they attended when Enshu was fifteen, they joined several important governmental figures at the home of the influential chanoyu master, Matsuya Hisamasa (1511-1598). Six months later, Shinsuke invited Hisamasa to his residence for tea. It seems that Enshu began formal chanoyu studies under Furuta Oribe (1545-1615) in about 1595.² As

2. Mori Osamu in *Kobori Enshu*, p. 38, cites evidence of the Kobori family moving into Oribe's neighborhood in this year, as the basis for his hypothesis that Enshu very likely began studying under Oribe at this time. He further notes, however, that the first specific evidence of Enshu's discipleship under Oribe is the *Keicho Otazune-gaki* (Keicho-era Memoranda of Questions), a record of some specific questions Enshu put to Oribe and Oribe's answers. The first entry in this record is dated 1603.



Above: One building of the Palace for Court Ladies (Nyoin Goshō), originally constructed in about 1618, under Enshū's supervision, on the grounds of the Kyoto Imperial Palace (Kyoto Goshō), and moved to its present site at Enman'in temple, in Shiga Prefecture, in 1647. *Below:* The main reception room within the above-shown building, exhibiting Enshū's expertise in the orthodox shoin style of architectural decoration and design. Photos by Tsunenari Studio.



Shinsuke was still alive at the time, it would not be surprising to find evidence of his hand in this matter as well.

Another fortunate event in Enshu's life was his marriage. When Enshu turned eighteen, it was decided that he should marry the adopted daughter of the high-ranking daimyo, Todo Takatora (1556-1630). Her name is unknown; however we do know that she came from the family of Takatora's younger brother, Todo Gemba Yoshikiyo. Two years earlier, Hideyoshi had forced his adopted son, Hidetsugu, who was Yoshikiyo's lord, to commit suicide, and consequently, Yoshikiyo's three daughters had been committed to the charge of his brother. For Enshu the marriage meant a rise in rank. The Kobori family holdings of three thousand koku did not compare with Todo Takatora's holdings of ten thousand koku; nevertheless, it most certainly exceeded those of Yoshikiyo. In this way, Yoshikiyo's daughter, too, took advantage of the high rank bestowed upon her by adoption.

It is possible that this union came about because both the Kobori and Todo families had once served under the same lord, Hashiba Hidenaga. Still another reason may have been that both families were originally from Omi. Whatever the reason, it appears that this alliance was to play an important role in the molding of Enshu's destiny, especially since it affected his reception by the Tokugawa establishment. The road that led to Enshu's incorporation into the Tokugawa order, however, was mainly laid down by his father, who also helped determine the course of Enshu's official duties.

Shinsuke, though he was a so-called warrior, actually marched to battle only twice: when he fought the troops of Oda Nobunaga at the fall of Odani Castle, which marked the end of the Asai family in Omi; and when he joined up with Tokugawa Ieyasu, in 1600, and fought at the Battle of Sekigahara. There is no record of any remarkable military exploit on his part at Sekigahara. Rather, Shinsuke's expertise lay in local government and construction work. As examples of his work, there are the building of the Kannon Hall at Hasedera temple (also called Chokokuji) in Yamato in about 1586-1587; the land survey of the Yamato area in 1594-1595; the land survey of Omi Province in 1602; and the public works at Bitchu Province (present-day Okayama Prefecture) in 1603. He was most likely also involved in supervising the construction of Hidenaga's Koriyama Castle, and work on Fushimi Castle in 1601. These official duties of Shinsuke's played a major role in the development of his son's latent genius; in an era of hereditary vocations, watching one's father perform the tasks associated with his profession constituted a good part of a young man's education.

Not three years had passed since Enshu's marriage when both Takatora and Shinsuke joined with Tokugawa Ieyasu to defeat the Toyotomi forces at the Battle of Sekigahara. Their rewards for joining the fray provide an interesting insight into the values of the Tokugawa camp. For his valor in the battle, Takatora received half of the province of Iyo in Shikoku; the administrator, Shinsuke, received only a 15,400 koku increase in his stipend. Such treatment was typical, illustrating the gap that existed between the warriors who risked their lives on the field and the administrators who contributed to the government through peaceful



Portion of the "Crane and Tortoise" garden at the Konchiin subtemple of Nanzenji temple, Kyoto. Designed by Kobori Enshu, and executed by the famous landscaper, Kentei (original name, Yojiro; dates unknown), and others. Photo courtesy of Sato Akio.

activities such as land surveys, construction work, and the management of shogunal holdings.

If one defines success simply in terms of material possessions, the Kobori family would seem to have been at a disadvantage when compared to warriors such as Takatora. Taking a long view of history, however, it can be seen that Enshu's family background and administrative capabilities ultimately benefited him.

There is no evidence that Enshu, only twenty-one at the time of the Battle of Sekigahara, participated in that important historical event. But already, as Furuta Oribe's pupil, he was beginning to attract attention in the world of chano-yu, having accompanied Oribe and others on a flower-viewing excursion to Mount Yoshino in Nara the previous year, where he performed a recitative dance (*kuse-mai*) there with Oribe; and through such acts of originality as devising an underground water system for the stone basin in his garden, and holding a tea gathering by the light of a single paper lantern.

After Shinsuke's unexpected death at the age of sixty-four, in 1604, Enshu was permitted to succeed to his father's estate. This marks the beginning of

Enshu's life as a warrior-bureaucrat. It was not until 1606, however, that he received his first official position and construction project, that of supervisor of works for a new palace for the retired emperor, Goyozai, which was to be built north of the existing imperial palace. He was a mere twenty-seven at the time; but then, in that era the sword-taking ceremony which marked a male child's entry into adult society was held when a youth reached fourteen [fifteen, according to the traditional Japanese system of counting age]. It is likely, therefore, that Enshu had already assisted his father on a number of projects, and so he was awarded such an important work as his first official assignment. With this began a career which was to end only with his death at age sixty-eight in 1647, a year that also saw the passing of many of the military leaders of Enshu's youth.

From Government Official to Artist

Enshu's official work may be roughly divided into three categories: construction projects, administration and law enforcement, and the teaching of chanoyu to the Shogun.

The category of construction projects included the building and maintenance of a variety of structures—imperial palaces, a limited number of castles and shrines, tearooms—and the design and construction of gardens.

The category of administration and law enforcement included the supervision of the storage of personal and governmental rice holdings, management of the castles and lands left by deceased lords, custody of the women of the besieged army at the Battle of Osaka, investigation of conspirators on the Toyotomi side of the battle, and service as magistrate of Fushimi—the longest term of the latter lasting twenty-four years, from the end of 1623 to early 1647.

The category of teaching chanoyu to the Shogun, quite unusual work for a civil servant, also included planning and conducting such specific official functions as a flower arranging (*beika*) and ash-laying (*rohai*) event held in 1632 in a tearoom in Edo Castle, and the ceremonial offering of tea (*kencha*) before Shinto deities held in the tea hut in the grove of the Shinagawa mansion of the Shogun, in Edo, in 1636, and at Edo Castle in 1642.

It is important to understand that the great majority of the governmental duties which Enshu performed are today almost completely forgotten, and although his many achievements in government are discussed in biographies, they are almost never included among his most highly regarded accomplishments. Enshu's great works, as we know them, are rather his personal, unofficial, secret, or semi-official activities which he performed with one eye on the shogunate. This was the inevitable consequence of living in a bureaucratic age and of trying to function as a cog in a bureaucratic machine. In its formative period, the bureaucracy had been dominated by comparatively arbitrary, individual decision-making, and there had been some degree of freedom for creativity within the system. But once this system became hidebound by convention, creative activity became increasingly difficult.

Questions of design can be settled by such means as majority rule or group consensus. However, art requires the discrimination and will of a single creative individual. The Tokugawa bureaucracy, in the period of Enshu's initial activity, was well adapted for management according to legal principles and the continued application of traditional forms, but it was not geared for the furthering of artistic creativity. Even so, the bureaucracy was not entirely without merit for aspiring artists. If a person with some inborn artistic endowment, such as a talent for architectural design, were not given the chance to design and build, that person would have no means of developing his talent. Indeed, he might not even know that he possessed such a talent. The fields of architecture, landscape garden design, and chanoyu—fields in which Enshu excelled—are functions of technique and form. Without practical application there can be no growth or development of technique and form and, thus, no perfection of talent. In Enshu's own words, as found in the "*Enshu Kabegaki*" (Enshu's Wall Scribblings) section of the collection of his chanoyu-related writing known as the *Kobori Enshu Kakisute-bumi* (Kobori Enshu's Private Jottings): "Chanoyu demands daily application." Opportunities for a person like Enshu to apply his talents were available only if he stayed within the system. It should be remembered that art can exist apart from political ideology; however, in Enshu's case, it was precisely because he was such a great artist that he had no choice but to remain a member of the system, in a position where he could wield decisive power. Considered in this light, it becomes clear that Enshu was able to become a superior artist because he combined two conflicting aspects within himself: he dutifully remained part of the system and at the same time exercised a creative freedom that would have seemed impossible within such a system. The amazing thing is that he was able to do this with such success.

In 1608 Enshu became one of the construction supervisors at the Shogun's castle in Sumpu (present-day Shizuoka Prefecture). It was only the second year of his participation in government construction projects and his second large-scale project after the palace for the retired emperor, Goyozei. He was only twenty-nine, quite young to be responsible for supervising the building of a castle for the ruling Shogun. But now that the bureaucratic order was relatively well established, the right position usually guaranteed one a job, even supposing one had no great talent. Furthermore, as the designs of palaces for the imperial family and shogunal residences followed certain fixed forms, the main requisite for a supervisor of such constructions was organizational ability. That Enshu was selected for this post suggests that even at this early date he was already quite highly regarded by the Shogun in this respect. What was most valuable to Enshu at this time in his life was not so much his artistic talents, for which he was to be recognized later, as his capacity for local administration.

In the same year, in recognition of his skill in the Sumpu Castle project, Enshu was promoted to the Lower Fifth Rank and, on the recommendation of the shogunate, was awarded the title of Lord of Totomi by the imperial court. With this recognition he changed his name from Sakusuke to Enshu.



View of the south window, facing the inner roji garden, of the Bosen tearoom designed by Kobori Enshu. Bosen, located within the Kohoan subtemple of Daitokuji temple, Kyoto, is considered to be an outstanding example of a tearoom integrating the *soan* (grass-thatched hut) and *shoin* architectural styles. Photo by Tsunenari Studio.



View of the north wall, with tokonoma, of the Bosen tearoom. The plaque above the tea-preparation mat, written by Kobori Enshu, reads, from right to left, "Bosen" ("Forgotten Weir"). In the tokonoma is a scroll with calligraphy by Enshu's religious teacher, Shun'oku Soen, and anonymous portrait of Enshu (for detail, see photo on p. 7). All the utensils displayed here are items which were favored by Enshu. Photo from Hoiku-sha Publishing Co., by permission of Kohoan.

There is a certain air of destiny about his becoming Lord of Totomî. Omî, where Enshu was born, was near the seat of emperors and aristocrats. In contrast, Totomî, written with characters that mean “distant bay”—opposite in meaning to Omî, which is written with characters that mean “near bay”—adjoins Suruga (Shizuoka Prefecture), where Ieyasu’s Sumpu Castle was located. This title, to me, symbolizes Enshu’s having at last become completely assimilated into the Tokugawa establishment.

It seems that Kobori Enshu deliberately decided to bury himself within the bureaucracy, just at the time when the Toyotomi warriors were mustering a force at Osaka Castle. Having become a warrior-bureaucrat under the Tokugawa, he had to be loyal to that order. To survive in the complex organization, he had to become as shrewd as a modern-day business executive. At times, he would have had to be cunning and servile, at other times, haughty and audacious, flattering and patient with the powerful, while insistent on honor and severely authoritative with subordinates. By allowing virtues and vices to coexist within himself, Enshu was able to function capably within the system as a warrior-bureaucrat, and moreover, to seize the opportunities by which his natural genius could develop and find expression. This, to my mind, is the very reason why he managed to rise to such greatness.

There was one scandal that burdened Enshu in his bureaucratic capacity: an incident involving misappropriation of public funds. This occurred at a time when Hidetada was shogun and Enshu held the post of Chief Magistrate of the Five Imperial Provinces (Yamato, Yamashiro, Kawachi, Izumi, and Settsu). Enshu, being quite a well-known expert on chanoyu, was also solely responsible for all matters concerning Hidetada’s tea gatherings. Apparently, in this connection he had purloined ten thousand *ryo*³ of official funds and his crime was discovered. Fortunately, the incident was not publicized, for if it had been, the entire Kobori family would have been ruined and the life of the great architect, landscape garden designer, and chanoyu master would have come to an early end. Instead, three men of repute—Ii Naotaka (1590-1659), Sakai Tadakatsu (1587-1672), and Hosokawa Sansai (1563-1645)—contributed funds to cover the deficit, and saved him from certain ruin. In token of his gratitude, Enshu presented the hanging scroll named *Kuroki* (Black Tree), on which was mounted a letter by the poet Iio Sogi that had once been in Sen Rikyu’s collection, to the Ii family; the thick-tea container named *Asukagawa* (Asuka River) to the Sakai; and certain other treasures to the Hosokawa.

On reflection, the need to embezzle had arisen from Enshu’s having to serve tea to the Shogun, the funds for which would probably have been supplied from official coffers. Enshu’s embezzlement of so large a sum suggests that he was so fanatically absorbed in his plans for receiving the Shogun that he overran his official budget. One can imagine the conflict he felt between the duty to creativity which he felt as an artist and the duty to uphold the economic framework which

3. A unit of currency adopted in the late sixteenth century. The standard gold coin of the Tokugawa shogunate, the *koban*, was equivalent to one *ryo*. The standard weight of a *koban* was 17.85 grams.

he felt as a member of the establishment. Enshu's choice between these two would decide whether he would be an artist or a local official. By overrunning his budget and bringing himself to the brink of economic ruin, he chose the path of art. In fact, what kept Enshu from being branded as a corrupt bureaucrat was the greatness of his art and the presence of patrons within the establishment who were willing to shield him.

Personality and Character

The following incident took place at Tokaiji temple in Shinagawa in Edo. The temple itself had been built in 1638 as a mortuary for the shogunal household, and according to the *Ozan Itsuyu Hikki*, the notes of Ozan Itsuyu (1646-1728), who studied under one of Enshu's direct disciples (*montei*), the grounds, featuring a pond, and a tea hut and garden, were designed by Enshu at the request of Shogun Iemitsu.

On a small island in the pond, in front of the west bridge, was a single large stone. Iemitsu expressed interest in the stone and commanded Enshu to serve tea there. Assembling a kettle and brazier on the spot, Enshu offered tea and *sake* to Iemitsu. Iemitsu, in an unusually good mood, applauded the novelty, saying that such had not been seen in recent years. It was then and there decided that a name should be given to the stone.

To give the stone a name, Iemitsu summoned the priest Takuan (1573-1645), then the chief priest of Tokaiji. Nothing that Takuan suggested, however, met with the Shogun's approval. When asked, Enshu proposed the name *Mannen Isbi* (Ten-Thousand-Year Stone). Iemitsu was very pleased with this name. Takuan took a wooden plaque, and inscribed the name on the front and Enshu's name on the back. It is said that Iemitsu presented Enshu with the coat he wore that day.

Horiguchi Sutemi, an authority on traditional Japanese architecture and gardens, is of the opinion that Enshu christened this stone *Mannen Isbi* after remembering that a Japanese cedar tree at the Shinagawa residence of the Shogun had been named *Mannen Sugi* by Iemitsu. Six years previously, Enshu had built a thatch fence within a grove on the grounds of this residence and had served tea there to Iemitsu, so it is likely that he knew the origin of the name of the cedar. Indeed, *Mannen Isbi* is a rather mediocre name, lacking in artistic effect. Evidently this was a barefaced attempt to flatter the Shogun.

Let us examine another incident. It was Enshu's custom to position his water basins (*chozubachi*) high above the ground, but at Edo Castle, contrary to his custom, he placed one extremely low. When asked the reason, he is said to have replied, "It is mainly the Shogun's retainers who use this water basin in the castle, and probably none of them stand up as I do when I use it, so I placed it low so as not to seem to be above them." To Enshu's credit, this shows a sensitivity to function, proper to the feudal age. Seen from a different angle, however, it illustrates how he made the world of chanoyu reflect the status-conscious Tokugawa society.



'Seven Jewel' Patterned Kettle in Shape Resembling a Monastery Pillar Foundation Stone (*Shippo-jimon Garan-gama*). Cast, according to Enshu's specifications, by Onishi Jokyu, younger brother of the second-generation master of the renowned Onishi family of kettle smiths. Enshu's family crest was the 'Seven Jewel,' or *Shippo*. Property of Kobori Sokei XII, Grand Master of the Enshu School of Chanoyu, Kyoto. Height, 28.2 cm.; diameter of mouth, 12.0 cm.; diameter of body at the base of the lugs, 16.3 cm. Photo from the Enshu Joshuan Foundation, Kyoto.



Hanging scroll with calligraphy by the Southern Song dynasty Zen priest, Wuzhun Shifan (Jap., Bujun Shihan; 1177-1249), reading, from right to left, "Cho'ondo" ("Hall of the Sound of the Tide"). The calligraphy was executed, in 1242, as a name plaque for the lecture hall of Jotenji temple in Hakata, Kyushu. When Enshu acquired the plaque, he had the calligraphy mounted according to his specifications, and is said to have greatly treasured it—so much so that, when a wealthy connoisseur expressed wish to acquire it, Enshu retorted, "[only if you should be willing to pay an exorbitant] one thousand coins per character." As the story goes, the man immediately had three thousand-ryo money boxes delivered to Enshu, and thus, Enshu lost his prized scroll. Designated an Important Cultural Property and a *chuko meibutsu* (post-Rikyu masterpiece). Property of the Chido Museum, Yamagata Prefecture. Central area: height, 34.1 cm.; width, 103.0 cm. Photo from Shogakukan Inc., by permission of the Chido Museum.

Chanoyu, at least in the golden age of Sen Rikyu, was founded on the aesthetic sensibility of *wabi*; a sensibility which denied class consciousness. By Enshu's time, however, all this had changed and a different philosophy was in operation within the world of chanoyu. Gone was the proud, uncompromising spirit so evident in Rikyu, who was forced by Hideyoshi to commit suicide, or of the sharp-tongued chanoyu master, Yamanoue Soji (1544-1590), who died after having his nose and ears cut off by the order of Hideyoshi. Kobori Enshu sought to live and develop his art within the established order.

The following episode, recorded in the sequel to the voluminous *Meiryō Koban*, a record of the personal experiences of and anecdotes regarding members of the early Tokugawa family and government officials, believed to have been edited by the Shogun's vassal, Sanada Masuyo (dates unknown), took place sometime during the years 1624-1644. It was decided that a study should be built to one side of the main living quarters at Edo Castle, and Enshu was appointed to direct the construction. When the addition was completed, Shogun Iemitsu came to inspect it and found that it did not conform to his wishes. It appears that the building did not follow the dictates of the orthodox *shoin* (study, typified by a built-in desk) style, but instead, had been designed in the *sukiya* (tea hut) style. The eaves were as low as those characteristic of tea huts, the ceiling and other appointments were felt to be too contrived, and to the Shogun's mind, the room was too small and narrow and had no feeling of spaciousness. Changes were agreed upon then and there, heedless of Enshu's original aesthetic intention. For example, the papered walls were all changed to gaudy gold-dusted plaster, and over this, seasonal farming scenes, fruit, and grasses were painted in black ink. Enshu's design had been ignored; his style, misunderstood. No matter how much confidence and pride he had in his own ideas, he was only a lone warrior-bureaucrat facing the Shogun, and there was nothing for him to do except retreat silently.

Another story, also concerning matters of architectural taste, is recorded in a work entitled *Shobai Goen* (Pine and Plum Narratives), written by a certain Itagaki Nobuaki (d. 1740). According to this, the ultra-wealthy daimyo, Maeda Toshitsune (also known, after his retirement, as Komatsu Chunagon; 1593-1658), constructed a garden, complete with an artificial hill and pond, at his villa in Otsu. When Enshu viewed the garden, he made it known that he found the tea hut too small and bemoaned the fact that the beautiful view of the lake and mountains beyond was obstructed. When this reached the ears of Maeda, the latter is said to have demolished the hill and filled in the pond of the garden, and to have rebuilt and cut an opening in one wall, where he inserted a lattice window through which Lake Biwa and Mounts Hiei, Karasaki, and Mikami were all visible in one grand sweep.

Not the smallest trace of the servility Enshu had exhibited before the Shogun is found in the above story. On the contrary, Enshu confidently expressed his own ideas on landscaping. Was Enshu able to speak so freely because he himself, though of modest income, was a chief magistrate in direct control of shogunal property, whereas Maeda, even with his million-koku stipend, was but a daimyo

with no hereditary connection to the Shogun? I think, in this case, that Enshu saw before him not a great daimyo, but a mere bureaucratic subordinate.

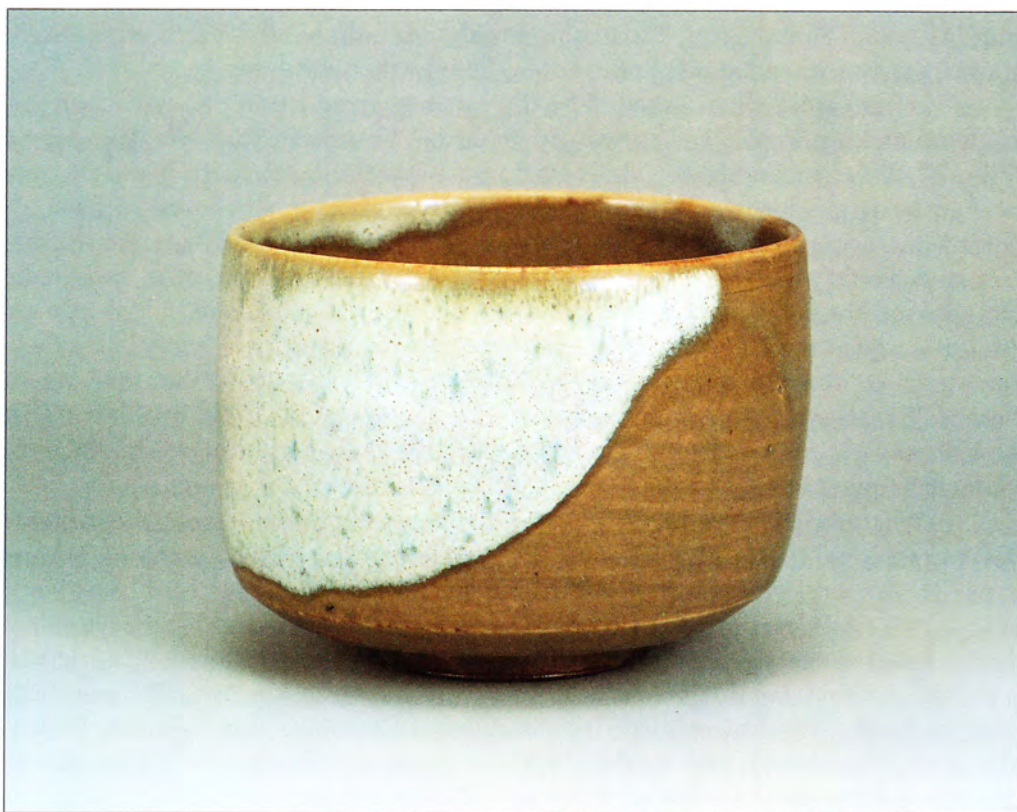
Contrast this attitude with the one shown by Enshu on another occasion to the daimyo Hosokawa Sansai. In 1625, when Enshu was supervising the construction of the Onari Hall at Nijo Castle, Sansai was commanded by the Shogun to inspect the progress of the work. Enshu, bowing low and keeping a few paces to the rear, accompanied Sansai on the inspection, but Sansai spoke not a word to him. Although Sansai's son, Tadatoshi, attempted to draw his father's attention to Enshu, Sansai pretended not to hear. Abashed, Enshu withdrew.

Afterwards, when asked if he did not recognize Enshu, Sansai made gestures mimicking Enshu and sneeringly replied, "You mean that swaybacked old fellow?" What made Sansai take such an uncivil attitude? Perhaps it was because he had been involved in the embezzlement affair, which is believed to have occurred just prior to this, and thus felt that he had a moral advantage over Enshu. Yet one would think that Sansai, himself a famous chanoyu master, had gladly contributed the funds to save him from ruin because he held Enshu in high esteem. As for Enshu, he was, after all, the supervisor of works at the Onari Hall, an edifice designed for the emperor's use. Why didn't he stand up for himself? Was it because Sansai had come at the command of the Shogun? Or did Enshu feel that he had to yield to Sansai, knowing that the Hosokawa had been one of the most eminent families in Japan long before the Tokugawa came to power?

Whatever his reasons, Enshu would often vary his demeanor according to his companions. Each case might have been different, but all had one thing in common—the hypocrisy that was necessary for survival within the established order.

We find descriptions of Enshu's personality in two works by the Neo-Confucian scholar, Matsunaga Sekigo (also known as Matsunaga Shozo; 1592-1657): a eulogy entitled *Jugoinoge Enshu Taishu Fujiwara Masakazu Ason Bohime* (Epitaph to Enshu, the Lower Fifth Rank Governor-General of the Fujiwara [Clan], the Noble Masakazu), and the biographical sketch entitled *Kobori Enshu Taishu Masakazu Ason Ryakufu* (Brief Outline of Governor-General Kobori Enshu, The Noble Masakazu)—both of which were compiled in 1648, the year after Enshu's death. It is true that these contain exaggerations such as one might expect in writings of this sort. Nonetheless, it is safe to take them as expressions of the then prevalent attitudes toward Enshu. Briefly, these works describe Enshu as extremely mild and gentle, affable, a man of few words who always thought deeply before he spoke. As regards his character, he is portrayed as upright, sincere, and extremely serious, a man who discharged his duties quickly and responsibly.

Given the circumstances in which he worked, it is understandable that mental tensions and frustrations similar to those found in modern-day business circles would play a part in Enshu's life. Today businesspeople find respite in a number of activities. But Enshu lived in a feudal age, and unlike today, there were few recreational facilities. In fact, according to Confucianism, which was the basis of the warrior ethic that then prevailed, the very concept of recreation was denied. Furthermore, the chief magistrate's residence was Enshu's office as well as



Takatori-ware teabowl named *Kaguyama* (Mount Kagu). Made according to Enshu's specifications. The characteristics of its coloration bring to mind poem 1:28 in the *Man'yo Shu*, which speaks of Mount Kagu in present-day Nara Prefecture. Property of the Nomura Art Museum, Kyoto. Height, 8.0 cm.; diameter of mouth, 10.8 cm. Photo from the Nomura Art Museum.



Seto-ware *temmoku* teabowl named *Kikka* (Chrysanthemum), once owned by Enshu. Late Muromachi period. Designated an Important Cultural Property and a *chuko meibutsu* (post-Rikyu masterpiece). Property of the Fujita Art Museum, Osaka. Height, 6.6 cm.; diameter of mouth, 12.2 cm.; diameter of foot, 4.7 cm. Photo from the Fujita Art Museum.

his living quarters, and thus he probably had to act like a public official even in the privacy of his own home.

It seems that Enshu's mental strain and frustration were often taken out on those who came to call on him in his capacity as a chanoyu master, although it is likely that he was forgiven even if he was ungracious to them. These people, mostly townspeople from Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, and Sakai, were not merely affluent but also cultured and knowledgeable. But however affluent or cultured they were, they were still beneath a warrior in social status. Although they might have had a close fellowship with Enshu through the medium of chanoyu, a social abyss existed between them. Horiguchi Sutemi provides us with some revealing examples of Enshu's untoward behavior. The lacquer merchant and man of tea, Matsuya Hisashige (1566-1652), and the chanoyu master and accomplished poet and flower arranger, Fujimura Yoken (1613-1699), jointly kept a record of tea gatherings. The record states that Enshu used to commit breaches of etiquette such as opening doors and entering rooms while standing, and when asked by his guests to let them view his utensils, shoving the utensils out without saying a word. When the Confucianist scholar, poet, and incense enthusiast, Miyake Boyo (1580-1649), visited Enshu together with Yoken, the story goes that Enshu was so silent and unsociable that they had no choice but to take their leave.

In a letter which Enshu wrote to the Shinto ritualist and chanoyu master, Choando (Kubo Gondayu; 1571-1640), at a time when Enshu was involved in construction work at Nagoya Castle, he states: "The group assembled here are a bunch of sorry fellows with nothing particular to say for themselves. A real blind men's get-together. . . ."

However, if this attitude were an everyday occurrence, people would not have called on Enshu so often, nor would they have asked him to teach them or invited him to tea gatherings. As a matter of fact, Miyake Boyo, even though subjected to uncivil conduct, was later moved to compose an elegiac poem about Enshu upon learning of his death.

Reconciling Genius with Convention

If Enshu's activities had begun and ended with what has been touched upon up to now, he would have remained unknown. The real question is, how did he manage to break free of the system, acquire creative freedom as an artist, and bequeath so many first-rate works to future generations?

Part of the answer lay in his inborn temperament and proud, self-respecting, self-important spirit. Although the following story in part conflicts with historical fact, I believe Enshu's personality is accurately portrayed through it.

The Ii family of Hikone and the Kobori family were on notoriously bad terms during the middle of the Edo period. The previously cited *Uchu no Kansu* gives the following episode as the cause of their enmity. Social circumstances were such that meetings between the immensely powerful daimyo, Ii Naotaka, and the lower-ranking Enshu were few and far between. But Naotaka, knowing Enshu to

be extremely accomplished in chanoyu, had been thinking for some time that, if the opportunity arose, he would petition the shogunate to raise Enshu to the rank of daimyo. Time passed without such an opportunity presenting itself, and he nearly gave up the idea, until one day when he went to pay his respects to the Shogun and happened to find Enshu instructing the Shogun in tea matters. Recognizing his long-awaited opportunity and realizing that tactless handling of the matter would be damaging to both himself and Enshu, Naotaka deliberately pretended not to recognize Enshu and directed his words to the Shogun: "Who and what is this man?"

The Shogun answered, "His name is Kōbori Sakusuke. He yields nothing to his father, Shinsuke, in his proficiency in the martial arts, and especially in the practice of chanoyu he is the greatest master in Japan. I requested him to come here, as I myself have a mind to learn a little about chanoyu."

Hearing this Naotaka remonstrated, "I am afraid my words will not meet with your approval, but what does Your Lordship mean by summoning such a low-ranking person into your honorable presence? It is well known to all that on a previous occasion you invited Yagyū Jūbei to instruct you in the art of fencing, being pleased to promote him to the office of Lord of Tajima and raising his stipend to ten thousand koku. It will not be to your advantage to associate with such low-born persons any more."

The Shogun was speechless, Enshu went red, and a chill fell on the company. Everyone present seemed to feel the admonition justified, and they all departed that day without a word spoken in Enshu's behalf.

Later the Shogun, understanding the meaning behind Naotaka's remark, commanded that Enshu's stipend be increased by three thousand koku. Enshu, aware that this would greatly improve the status of his house, was happy, and expressed gratitude to all the government officials concerned. But to Naotaka he spoke not a word. The chief retainer of the Kōbori household ventured to advise Enshu of the background for the raise and suggested that Enshu thank Naotaka. Enshu, however, firmly vetoed this with the remark, "Because of Ii's indecent and unworthy remarks, I lost face among the nobles. I will never forget my chagrin at his insult. The increase in my stipend was due entirely to my own talents. It is ridiculous to think that Lord Ii interceded for me."

We don't know whether this incident actually occurred. However, Enshu does seem to have been intensely confident of his own genius; a confidence which was supported by substance. That substance was his artistic sense, which, when revealed in his architectural works and the many tea utensils he collected or designed, came to be known as Enshu Style (*Enshu-gonomi*).

At what time in Enshu's life did his particular style manifest itself? By the time he was eighteen, Enshu had already begun receiving instruction in chanoyu from Furuta Oribe and was racking his brains over a system to supply water to a stone basin in his garden. From Enshu's mid-twenties to mid-thirties, Oribe's instruction was particularly thorough. At the earliest, however, an Enshu Style was not generally recognized until Enshu had reached his mid-forties; more likely,



Bamboo teascoop named *Arimayama* (Mount Arima), with its case, and side view of the same teascoop. The name derives from the alleged fact that Enshu made this teascoop while staying at a spa in the mountains of Arima, in present-day Hyogo Prefecture. Some experts attribute the atypical style of Enshu's writing on the case to his relaxed frame of mind when he carved the teascoop and case at the spa. The extremely thin, delicate structure of the bent portion of this teascoop is representative of Enshu's taste. Property of the Kohoan subtemple of Daitokuji temple, Kyoto. Teascoop: length, 17.5 cm. Case: length, 19.7 cm.; diameter, 2.5 cm. Color photo courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Ltd., by permission of Kohoan; monochrome, from Shogakukan Inc.



Octagonal old *sometsuke*-ware water jar with design of grapes on trellis. Said to have been favored by Enshu. Late Ming- or early Qing (Ch'ing)-dynasty product of the Jingdezhen (Jap., Keitokuchin) kilns. Property of the Nomura Art Museum, Kyoto. Height, 17.4 cm.; diameter of mouth, 8.1 cm.; diameter of body at widest point, 14.5 cm. Photo from the Nomura Art Museum.

when he was about fifty. In other words, we can imagine that it became established after he assumed the office of Chief Magistrate of Fushimi.

The first mention in historical texts of Enshu Style is in the *Honko Kokushi Nikki*, the diary of the priest Ishin Suden (1569-1633) of Nanzenji temple in Kyoto. In the entry for the twenty-second day of the fourth month of Kan'ei 5 (1628) is found the phrase, "the Enshu Style is much better," in reference to the *kusari no ma* (a room adjoining a tearoom and shoin that was used for the service of thin tea) and tea hut of Konchiin, a subtemple of Nanzenji.

In the *Matsuya Kai Ki*, a lengthy tea chronicle of the Matsuya family of Nara, the entry for the morning of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of Kan'ei 6 (1629) describes the three-and-three-quarter-mat tearoom at Chomyoji temple in Kyoto as having "the spirit of Enshu." In an entry from Kan'ei 17 (1640), we find the words "three-mat [large [size] Enshu style" used to refer to the tearoom at the Katagiri residence in Koizumi near Nara.

In the *Chanoyu Hisho*, another tea record of the Matsuya family, an entry dated Kan'ei 8 (1631) describes the tearoom at the residence of the well-to-do Daimonjiya family of Kyoto as "four-mat large [size], by Lord Enshu," while a Kan'ei 20 (1643) entry refers to a diagram of a tearoom with the words, "Enshu three-mat large [size]; four-mat large [size]."

Finally, the tearoom named Bosen (Forgotten Weir), at the Kohoan subtemple of Daitokuji temple, believed to have been constructed in 1642, reveals Enshu's unique touch. Clearly, it is the work of none other than Enshu.

The public recognition of Enshu's designs and the establishment of his authority in Tokugawa society influenced Enshu's sense of identity as an artist. Both his designs and his personality won him many patrons. This contributed to his creative freedom and thus increased his potential for creating superior works of art.

One distinct avenue for Enshu to actively break free of the system and acquire creative freedom as an artist, and thereby reconcile the gap between artistic creativity and the established order, was to become a master in the composite art of chanoyu. During the time of Enshu, chanoyu masters planned buildings and gardens, perfected points of etiquette, appraised paintings and crafts, developed cuisine and confections, and used tea utensils to give concrete form to aesthetic principles. They were also the "producers" in the "dramatic art" of chanoyu. In short, in the practice of chanoyu, creativity and refinement were the prime requirements.

In particular, however, it was through the most highly regarded aspect of chanoyu, the distinctive aesthetic known as *wabi-sabi* (quiet taste and elegant simplicity) that Enshu could reconcile his art with his place in Tokugawa society. In chanoyu, sensitivity to this aesthetic ideal took precedence over social status in the feudal order. A concrete example of this was the warriors' practice of removing their swords before entering a tearoom, and placing them on a special rack as a sign that they had, if only temporarily, cast off their warrior status. Further evidence of this sensitivity can be seen in the appreciation of objects in the tokonoma. In

the shoin-style palaces, ranking aristocrats would sit with their backs to the tokonoma, paying no attention to the scroll or other art objects displayed there. These objects merely constituted a foil, and any intrinsic value they might have had was ignored. In a tearoom, however, no one would ever think of ignoring such objects. Rather, objects displayed in the tokonoma received special attention; being appreciated for their own sake. Also, in chanoyu such objects served to further a spiritual exchange between host and guest. Such practices indicate that even within the bureaucracy, the mastery and practice of chanoyu could enable one to transcend social rank and gain authority in the world of chanoyu practitioners, a world that was relatively free of the constraints of Tokugawa society.

Enshu's artistic works included architecture, gardens, and of course, tea utensils; and also many less tangible things, such as appraisals, criticisms, instruction, and production techniques. In order to see the extent of his creative freedom, or conversely, the extent to which he was forced to remain a slave to conventional models, let us briefly examine his architectural works which can be seen today at the Konchiin subtemple of Nanzenji temple.

The Toshogu shrine located at Konchiin has received little attention as a work of Enshu's, although it has been designated an Important Cultural Property. Ishin Suden, in the *Honko Kokushi Nikki*, writes, "The plans of the shrine are Enshu Style, which is preferable to any other." The building, however, is rather atypical of Enshu's work, being gorgeously decorated and almost identical to Toshogu shrines found elsewhere.

Also at Konchiin, there is the tearoom known as the Hassonoseki (Eight-windowed Tearoom), designed by Enshu. Although it has been moved from its original site, its original form has been preserved. Suden, in his journal, records that he constructed this tearoom in consultation with Enshu.

Enshu's architectural endeavors may be divided into two general categories: the first typified by the Toshogu shrine of Konchiin, and the second, by the Hassonoseki. By judicious use of these two styles of architecture, Enshu was able to remain secure within the Tokugawa establishment, and at the same time, to maintain an outlet for his artistic talents.

The first category is the conventional structure governed by a fixed mode, in which it is very difficult to recognize anything of Enshu's individuality: shoin-style shogunal residences, imperial palaces, Buddha halls, and Shinto shrines. Examples of his works in this category are:

- A palace for the retired emperor, Goyozai (located in Kyoto Prefecture, and constructed when Enshu was 27 years old)
- Sumpu Castle (Shizuoka, 29)
- The main turret at Nagoya Castle (Aichi, 33)
- The south gate and rear apartments at the Imperial Palace (Kyoto, 34)
- Repairs to Matsuyama Castle (Okayama, 35)
- A shoin in the central rampart of Fushimi Castle (Kyoto, 38)
- A palace for court ladies on the grounds of the Imperial Palace (Kyoto, 39)



Seto-ware *chaire* (container for powdered thick tea), named *Osaka*, of shape known as *marutsubo* (round jar), set on a red-lacquered, five-lobed tray (*goyo-bon*). Both items once owned by Enshu, and currently the property of the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo. Tea container: 16th c. Designated a *chuko meibutsu* (post-Rikyu masterpiece). Evidence shows that Enshu acquired this piece when he was in his late thirties, thus making it one of the earliest pieces in his collection, and that he often used it at his tea gatherings. The name *Osaka* derives from poem 988 in the *Kokin Shu*, which speaks of the Osaka barrier station in Otsu, within present-day Shiga Prefecture. Height, 6.4 cm.; diameter of mouth, 2.7 cm.; diameter of body at widest point, 3.1 cm. Tray: attributed to the famous early-Ming lacquerer, Chang Cheng (Jap., Cho Sei). Diameter at widest point, 18.4 cm. Photo from the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts.



The Toshogu shrine, designed by Kobori Enshu, at the Konchiin subtemple of Nanzenji temple, Kyoto. A "conventional structure governed by a fixed mode, in which it is difficult to recognize anything of Enshu's individuality." Designated an Important Cultural Property. Photo by Tsunenari Studio.



The Hassonoseki (Eight-windowed Tearoom), designed by Kobori Enshu, at the Konchiin subtemple of Nanzenji temple, Kyoto. "It is in [such tearoom architecture] that Enshu's individuality is clearly discernable." Photo by Tsunenari Studio.



[This structure was later moved to Enman'in temple in Shiga Prefecture. *See* photos, p. 11.]

- Repairs to the outer fortifications at Osaka Castle (41)
- The Fushimi magistrate's residence (Kyoto, 45)
- The Onari Hall at Nijo Castle (Kyoto, 46)
- A temporary mansion in the central rampart of Osaka Castle (46)
- A mansion within the main turret of Osaka Castle (47)
- The chief priest's quarters at the Konchiin subtemple of Nanzenji temple (Kyoto, 48)
- A palace for the retired emperor, Gomizunoo, and his empress (Kyoto, 48)
- The Toshogu shrine at the Konchiin subtemple of Nanzenji temple (Kyoto, 49).
[*See* photo, p. 33]
- A guest hall and living quarters at Konbuin temple (Nara, ca. 50)
- The Imperial Detached Palace (Kyoto, 61)
- The Amida Hall at Konbuin temple (Nara, 63)
- The main hall at the Ryokoin subtemple of Daitokuji temple (Kyoto, 66)

Works in this category were purely official projects in which Enshu naturally had to participate in his bureaucratic capacity; semi-official projects, such as those connected with Konchiin; and projects that are best described as personal, such as that of Ryokoin. It should be noted that during his day, projects for the imperial court, including gardens, were almost exclusively entrusted to Enshu.

The second category encompasses Enshu's architecture in the sukiya style: tearooms, tea huts, and other chanoyu-related structures. Examples of his works in this category are:

- A long, four-mat tearoom at his Fushimi Rokujizo residence (Kyoto, 20)
- The Shosuitei tearoom at his Fushimi magistrate's residence (Kyoto, 45)
- A tearoom at his Osaka Temma residence (ca. 46)
- The Hassonoseki tearoom and anteroom at the Konchiin subtemple of Nanzenji temple (Kyoto, 48). [*See* photo, pp. 34-35]
- A tearoom at his Rokkaku Echigo-chō residence (Kyoto, 49)
- A tea hut at Minakuchi Castle (Shiga, 54)
- A tea hut at Iba (Shiga, 55)
- A tearoom at the Shogun's Shinagawa residence (Tokyo, 57)
- The Mittan tearoom at the Ryokoin subtemple of Daitokuji temple (Kyoto, 62)
- The Bosen tearoom at the Kohoan subtemple of Daitokuji temple (Kyoto, 64).
[*See* photos, pp. 16-17]
- The Yamazato tearoom in the west rampart of Edo Castle (Tokyo, 64)
- A study in the central rampart of Edo Castle (Tokyo, uncertain)
- The Joshuan tearoom at his Fushimi magistrate's residence (Kyoto, 64)
- The Jikinyuken tearoom at the Kohoan subtemple of Daitokuji temple (Kyoto, 65)
- Repairs to the tea hut at the new Imperial Detached Palace (Kyoto, 65)
- The Tengen tearoom at his Fushimi magistrate's residence (Kyoto, 66)

These do not compare with the first category in number, scale, or cost, but it is in sukiya-style buildings that Enshu's individuality is clearly discernable. These structures, whose designs were based on the philosophy of chanoyu, were not regarded as public buildings during the feudal age. It was precisely because of this that they could exhibit a creative freedom outside the confines and conventions of the rigid class society.

Conclusion

During the feudal period, the vicissitudes of life were acute. For the warriors, always before them was the harsh truth that tragedy awaited if they made the slightest error in judgement; but on the other hand, correct judgement could lead to golden opportunities. After the Battle of Sekigahara, however, the necessity for a warrior to risk his life on the battlefield diminished, and there developed a need for a new type of warrior. There was the need, for example, for the kind of person who could perform efficiently as one cog in the great bureaucratic system which was taking shape; for the architect who, through his designs, could create a concrete symbol of military power; and for the skilled practitioner of the chanoyu that was fashionable at that time.

Kobori Enshu was one of this new breed of warrior. He excelled as a local administrator; but it was in the field of culture that he displayed the greatest achievements of his genius. Looking at him in perspective, we can say that it was not any single factor that determined the direction of his destiny. The complicated causal relations of his familial and geographical ties, the political and military climate of the period, his own resolution and judgement, and many other things were interwoven; and it was from all of these that he created his own way. In the last analysis, however, it was through the medium of chanoyu that he was able to exercise his creative powers to their fullest. ㇿ

Translated by Rebecca Otowa

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Kobori Enshu's Chanoyu

Hayashiya Seizo

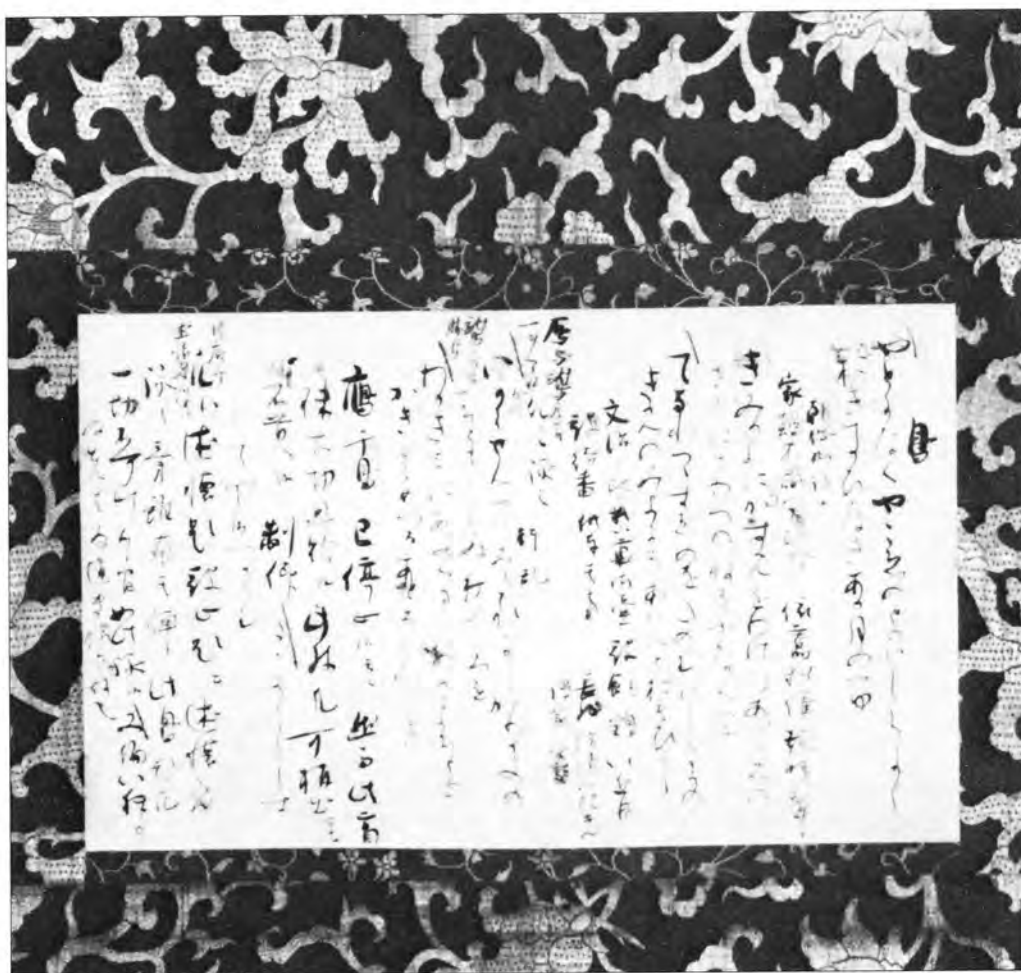
Known most widely as one of the greatest architects and landscape garden designers in Japanese history, Kobori Enshu also made outstanding contributions to the art of chanoyu. By the age of thirty-five, he had already, in his capacity as commissioner of construction for the Tokugawa shogunate, demonstrated a superb talent for planning and administration, as well as a genius for architectural and landscape garden design. The scope and nature of his lifelong work in these fields bear testimony to his ingenuity as a planner, and his innovative talents are equally well demonstrated by the mark he left in chanoyu history.

Even as a youth still studying the art of chanoyu under the daimyo-chanoyu master, Furuta Oribe (1544-1615), who had been one of Sen Rikyu's closest disciples, Enshu's brilliant, innovative ideas gained him a notable measure of recognition in the world of chanoyu. After Oribe's death, in addition to his wide range of duties as a bureaucrat within the shogunate, Enshu was called upon to succeed Oribe and become the Shogun's personal chanoyu instructor—an esteemed position which he had desired.

As chanoyu instructor to the Shogun, in charge of planning and conducting official chanoyu functions, Enshu sought, with more boldness than his predecessor, Oribe, to create a new aesthetic suited to the daimyo ruling class. What was called for was a style of chanoyu that would serve the Shogun and daimyo as an elegant pastime—a chanoyu aesthetic which would throw off the constraints inherent in Rikyu's subdued, *wabi-cha* (chanoyu of quiet taste) tradition. Rikyu's innovative genius, when it found expression through his reserved perspective, had created the wabi aesthetic. Enshu's answer to the call of his times took the form of a much different aesthetic: the spontaneous and open aesthetic known as *kirei-sabi*, or "refined rusticity." For example, Enshu would occasionally use—instead of the relatively bold calligraphic works of Zen masters—delicately executed poems by the Heian poet, Fujiwara Teika, for display in the tokonoma. Also, his occasional use of colorful blue-and-white porcelain (*sometsuke*) teabowls, as opposed to the subdued, earthy pottery of the wabi tradition, is characteristic of his preference for items of a bright and more refined nature.

Enshu's chanoyu events were always captivating and dramatic. Mood and elegance were achieved, most notably, by coordinating all the elements of a given presentation around a seasonal, poetic theme and consciously choosing utensils which were not only objects of art but which also harmonized with the chosen theme. In a collection of his writings, the *Kobori Enshu Kakisute-bumi* (Kobori Enshu's Private Jottings), we find a passage in which he wrote that "the essence of chanoyu is like the mist in spring, the cuckoo bird hidden among the young green

Translated and adapted from "Kobori Enshu no Cha," pp. 120-123 in Goto Museum ed., *Me de Miru Chado Jiten 1: Chadogu no Nagare* (Tokyo: Mokuji Sha, 1966), by permission of the author, *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 44, 1985 © by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved.



Hanging scroll with calligraphy by the two Heian poets, Fujiwara Teika, and his father, Fujiwara Shunzei. 12th c. Evidence indicates that Enshu, in charge of Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu's chanoyu events, once selected this scroll to display at a tea gathering to be hosted by Iemitsu. Property of the Eisei Bunko Foundation, Tokyo. Central area: height, 19.5 cm.; width, 49.7 cm. Photo from Eisei Bunko.

leaves in summer, the lonely evening dusk of autumn, and dawn over the snow in winter." These poetic images well illustrate Enshu's style of chanoyu.

Enshu saw potential in virtually all things, and was master of utilizing them to their full advantage. If they could enhance the drama of his "production" and contribute to the seasonal and poetic theme of the particular occasion, he used them. This attitude was to have a lasting influence on chanoyu culture. For him, a two-mat, four-and-a-half-mat, or even a large room (*hiroma*) were all suitable. His great contribution to tea architecture and, for that matter, Japanese architecture as a whole, however, was his development of the delicately elegant *sukiya-zukuri* style. In such *sukiya-zukuri* tearooms, which ingeniously blended the formal and ornate *shoin* style traditional to reception rooms in the castles and mansions of upper-class society, and the rustic *soan* (grass-thatched tea hut) style of the wabi chanoyu tradition, Enshu would bring together and use old and new utensils from China, Korea, and Japan, making for an atmosphere full of variety.

As the political situation settled and peace came to the country in the Gen'na era (1615-1624), there came a dramatic growth in the popularity of chanoyu. Consequently, the domestic production of ceramic chanoyu utensils increased markedly, and more utensils came to be imported. This is the era which saw a great influx in the importation of the blue-and-white sometsuke wares from China which had newly caught the hearts of chanoyu practitioners. Also, at Pusan in Korea, an official government mansion for Japan had been established, and many new ceramic wares for chanoyu became available from the kiln sponsored there. It was only natural that Enshu, leader of the daimyo-chanoyu movement, should become heavily involved in arranging for the supply of both these imported and domestic wares, and that many items were made according to Enshu's taste.

Enshu took a special liking to many of the *chaire*, or ceramic containers for the powdered tea used to prepare thick tea (*koicha*), that were being produced in abundance in the Seto and Mino regions. To these he gave poetic names (*uta-me*), usually selecting words or short phrases from well-known classical poems. This practice stirred the interest of many chanoyu connoisseurs, and greatly enhanced the aspect of literary enjoyment offered by chanoyu, providing it with an important dimension of poetic grace. A large number of the chanoyu utensils today which are designated as post-Rikyū masterpieces (*chuko meibutsu*) are utensils given poetic names by Enshu, or which were "discovered" during his day.

Another characteristic of Enshu's chanoyu was that he provided his utensils with very impressive boxes. This practice was instrumental in establishing the distinguished status of chanoyu utensils as a whole—the place of reverence which chanoyu utensils hold in our minds today.

Enshu's *kirei-sabi* aesthetic was welcomed by the new elite—the daimyo—as a fitting expression for them, and his style of chanoyu thus took firm root among their ranks, to thrive alongside the older wabi-cha tradition. ☂

Translated by Gertrude Gerstle

Rikyu and the Birth of the *Nijiriguchi*

Kumakura Isao

The *nijiriguchi* (lit., “crawl-in” portal) is the curse of every beginner in chanoyu. I know I am not the only one to have bumped my head and scraped my back passing through that tiny opening. Scarcely more than 65 centimeters square, the very notion of making so small an entrance immediately strikes one as odd.

As far back as the Edo period, we know that there were already those who jeered at the unseemliness of “crawling” in and out of the *nijiriguchi*. A certain Tamiya Nakanobu (literary name, Kitsuan) wrote disparagingly of it in his early-nineteenth-century publication of miscellaneous writings, the *Guzasso* (Eccentricities on the Chopping Block): “Snatching up one’s straw sandals and squeezing inside is as becoming as climbing into the sack with a streetwalker.”

A tiny “hole in the wall”—an entrance that makes a point of restricting entry—how outlandish it must seem to persons unacquainted with chanoyu. Who could possibly have invented such a thing, and for what purpose?

Sen Rikyu is credited as the originator of the *nijiriguchi*, or *kuguri* (from the verb *kuguru*, “to duck under”), as it was more widely known in his day. His inspiration for this unique entrance is said to have come from the riverboats he saw in the Hirakata section of northeastern Osaka. The *Chado Shiso Densho* (Transmissions of the Four Founders of the Way of Tea), a collection dealing with Sen Rikyu, Furuta Oribe, Kobori Enshu, and Hosokawa Sansai—the four great chanoyu masters of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries—says:¹

He took interest in the *kuguri* on the boats at Hirakata in Osaka, found them to conform to his idea of *wabi*, and began to use *kuguri* for small tearooms.

The *kuguri* to riverboat cabins were extremely small. That Rikyu should have received inspiration from something so humble attests all the more to the greatness of his vision. Nothing escaped the sure eye of the master; anything could stimulate his imagination.

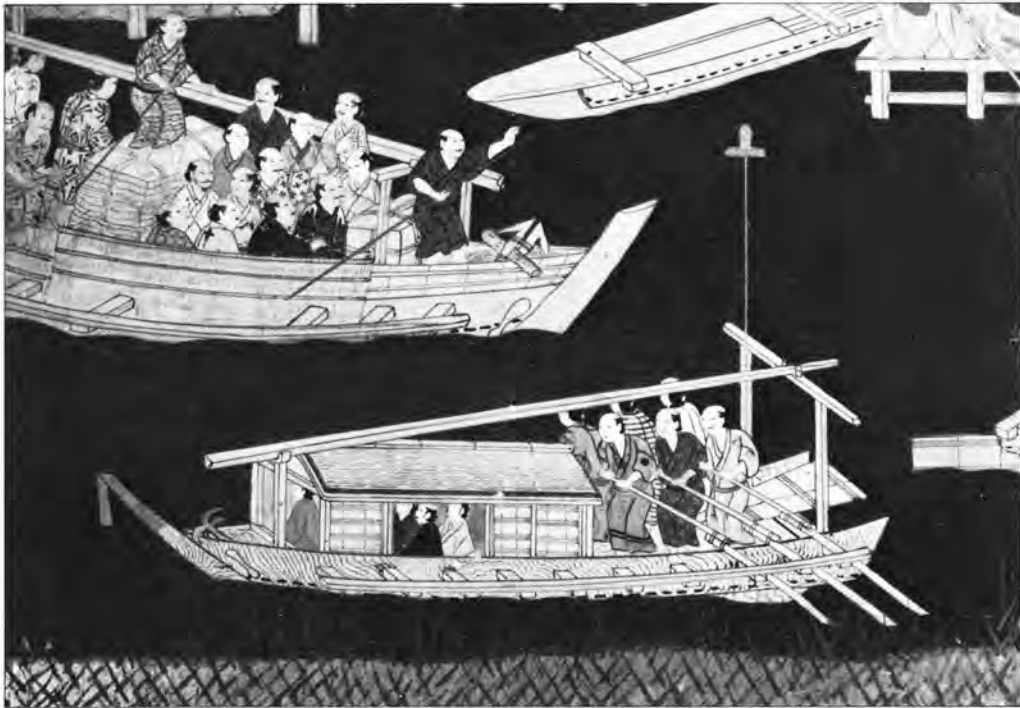
I find art historian Hayashiya Tatsusaburo’s interpretation of the above-quoted passage particularly fascinating. According to Hayashiya, a boat is a “vessel of fate”—a self-contained world with only a single layer of boarding to hold back the water—and entry through the cramped *kuguri* symbolizes a “birth” into a new group sharing the same fate.²

1. The *Chado Shiso Densho* is based upon the tea diaries of several generations of the Matsuya family of Nara, as edited and supplemented by Matsuya Hisashige (1566-1652).

2. Hayashiya Tatsusaburo, *Chuseibunka no Kicho* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1933).

Translated and adapted from “*Nijiriguchi no Tanjo*,” pp. 23-29 in Kumakura Isao, *Chanoyu: Wabicha no Kokoro to Katachi*, no. 81 of the *Rekishi Shinsho* series (Tokyo: Kyoikusha, 1977), by permission of the author.

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Detail of folding screen entitled *Kawaguchi Yukaku Zu* (Illustration of the Kawaguchi Entertainment District). "[Rikyu] took interest in the *kuguri* on . . . boats, . . . and began to use [them] for small tearooms." Property of Hosomi Minoru, Osaka. Photo from the Kyoto National Museum.

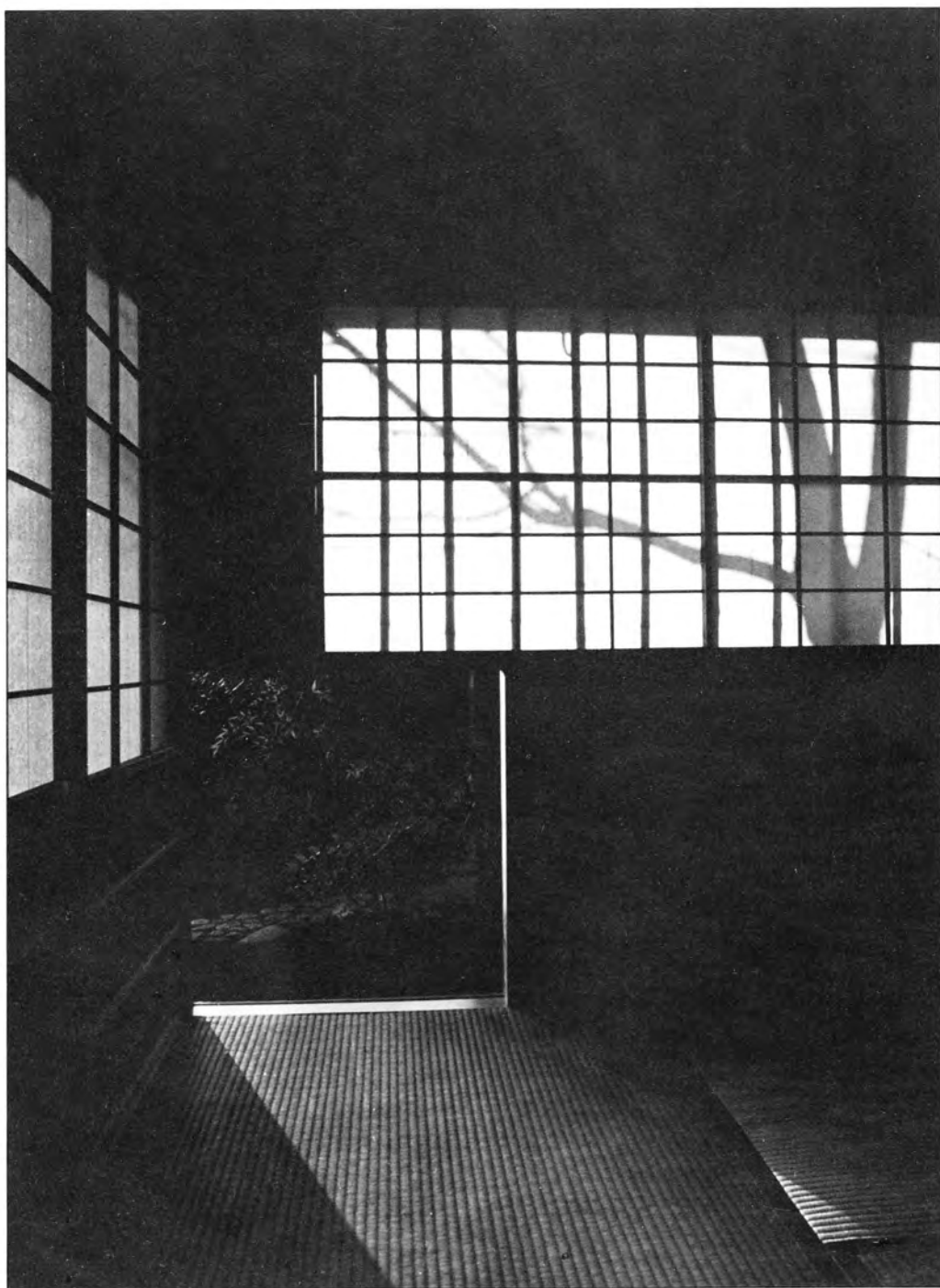
The experience of passing through from the outer world into this inner realm cannot be overemphasized. Whenever I have the opportunity to enter a tearoom through a *nijiriguchi*, the impression I get is always fresh and incisive. Horiguchi Sutemi, an authority on Rikyu's tearooms, has recorded his impression on entering a tearoom believed to have been designed by Rikyu, the Taian, within Myokian temple near Kyoto, as follows:

The feeling I had on entering through the Myokian *nijiriguchi* . . . was enough to send a surge of some force down my spine. The sensation took me out of myself totally.³

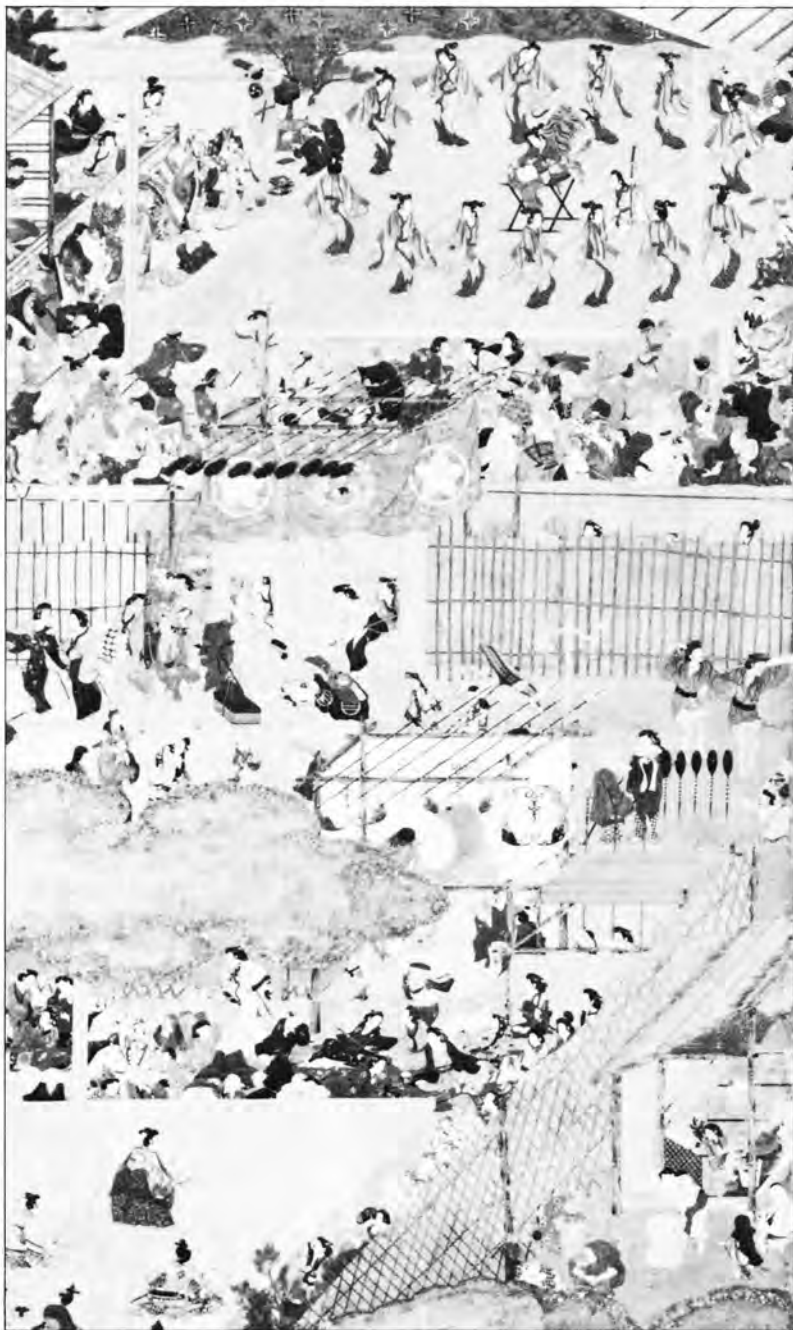
Granted the unusual sensation he describes was not due exclusively to the *nijiriguchi*, it did play a large part in it. There is definitely something to be said for this startling innovation, the *nijiriguchi*.

As great a chanoyu master as Rikyu was, I wonder, however, just how far one can go with the riverboat explanation alone. Why do historical records show that criticisms of the *nijiriguchi* appear only after the mid-Edo period, and that no criticisms were raised in Rikyu's own time? On the contrary, people apparently took to the idea and it spread rather quickly. This would seem to indicate that they already had some prior knowledge to pave the way.

3. Horiguchi Sutemi, *Rikyu no Chashitsu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1949).



A typical nijiriguchi. Photo by Kusunishi Sosei.



Detail of picture screen entitled *Merrymaking at Shijo Riverbed*. Anonymous. 17th c. Designated an Important Cultural Property. Property of the Seikado Library, Tokyo. At center is seen the *nezumi-kido* ("mousehole" wooden door) entrance- and exit-ways to the open theater at the top; below center, a man climbs through a *nezumi-kido* to find himself inside the open theater at the bottom. Photo from the Seikado Library.

An entrance that forces people to stoop and bend at the knees. The description brings to mind a distinctive architectural device, the *nezumi-kido* ("mouse-hole" wooden door) of *noh* and *kabuki* audience enclosures, through which theatergoers, having paid the entrance fee, would inch past the guard and enter the theater. One can frequently see *nezumi-kido* depicted in early genre paintings, though these post-date Rikyu's death. For instance, the seventeenth-century picture screen entitled *Merrymaking at Shijo Riverbed*, depicting the open-air theaters which flourished along the banks of the Kamogawa river in Kyoto in that era, shows several such tiny entrances to theaters.

The scholar of Japanese classical literature, Kitamura Nobuyo (1784-1856), in his *Kiyu Shoran* (A Look at Amusements and Humor) published in 1830,⁴ cites from the thirteenth-century *Kokon Chomon-ju* (Collected Tales of Past and Present) by an early Kamakura period aristocrat named Tachibana Narisue (dates unknown),⁵ on the subject of the peculiar doorways to theaters of the time, adding that "Some were small enough to be more fit for mice. These were set at the entrance to *sarugaku* [*kyogen* farce; the prototype of *noh*] theaters." The actual term *nezumi-kido* goes as far back as the writings of the Japanese Northern and Southern Courts period (1336-1392). It appears in the records of Zenrinji temple in Wakayama Prefecture, in an entry dated the twenty-sixth day of the third month of Koo 2 (1390) reporting on a votive *sarugaku* performance. From these sources, we know that well before Rikyu's time, *nezumi-kido* served as portals which linked performance spaces with the outside world.

Once through the *nezumi-kido*, one entered the world of *sarugaku* or *kabuki*—a world set off in its own time and space, apart from the outside world. The people gathered inside would form a ring around the stage as a dramatic creation unfolded; a creation which involved both the performers and the audience. Is it not, in fact, the same with *chanoyu*? The tearoom is a world wholly other than the everyday world. The tension that arises between host and guest upon entering the tearoom reaches one peak at the point of ducking through the *nijiriguchi*. The world of mundane affairs is denied entrance, and to those who gain admittance, a new world opens forth. There is even something of a mystic ritualism inherent in the art of passing through the *nijiriguchi*.

This brings to mind a connection which may be drawn between the *nijiriguchi* and the folk-religious practice of *tainai-kuguri* ("return to the womb"), a ritual of Japan's middle ages. In this ritual, people would crawl into a confined space—inside a "womb"—and emerge with renewed life, "reborn and purified."⁶ This is consistent with the idea of the *nijiriguchi* separating the tearoom from the secular world, those passing through gaining an otherworldly rebirth.

There is no historical proof that it was the *nezumi-kido* which, in fact, provided Rikyu with the inspiration for his *nijiriguchi*. At the very least, however,

4. Reprint published by Tokyo: Meicho Kanko Kai, 1975.

5. Modern edition, with annotations by Nagazumi Yasuaki and Shimada Isao, available in *Nippon Koten-bungaku Taikai, Dai 2 Ki* 84 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966).

6. See Hayakawa Kotaro, *Hanamatsuri*, no. 2 of *Minzoku Mingei Sosho* (Tokyo: Iwasaki Bijutsu Sha, 1968).

I think it is quite possible that the reason people did not resist Rikyu's creation was that they already had the image of the nezumi-kido in their minds.

Rikyu made many of the most important contributions toward what we know as chanoyu today. The creation of the nijiriguchi was by no means an isolated flash of inspiration. In a very real sense, it set the dimensions of the tearoom. And the space of the tearoom in turn defined the manners and movements of the host and guests, and the nature of their interaction—the heart of chanoyu itself.

Translated by Alfred Birnbaum



Photo courtesy of Japan Broadcast Publishing Co., Ltd.

Temae—Tea Procedure: *Gozumi* (*Furo*)

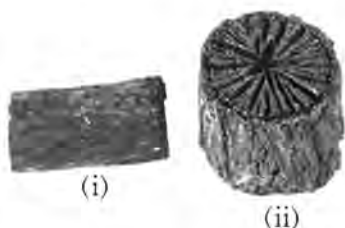
When presenting a *chaji* (formal tea gathering), where a *kaiseki* (full-course “tea” meal) and both *koicha* (thick tea) and *usucha* (thin tea) are served, the host will normally only have three *shita-bi* (fully-lit “pilot” charcoals) in the *ro* (sunken hearth) or *furo* (brazier) before the guests enter the tearoom, and will build the actual charcoal fire in the presence of the guests.¹ *Shozumi* (“initial charcoal”) is the formal procedure for this building of the fire. With a *furo*, this takes place after the *kaiseki* and before the serving of the sweets for *koicha*.² Then, after partaking of the sweets, the guests leave the tearoom for a short intermission, called *nakadachi*, while the host prepares the room for the second half of the *chaji*, the fire reaches peak heat, and the water in the kettle comes to a vigorous boil.

Gozumi (“latter charcoal”) is the formal procedure for replenishing the fire, to ensure that plenty of hot water will be available for the *usucha*. This procedure is generally foregone during the warmer *furo* months, but when it is conducted, takes place immediately following the *koicha* procedure. Then, while the newly-added charcoals ignite and the kettle again comes to a boil, the host provides a *tabako-bon* (“tobacco tray”), *bigashi* (dry sweets), and perhaps cushions, and the guests spend a few minutes chatting and relaxing.

The charcoals, or *sumi*, and their arrangement in the *sumitori* (charcoal basket), are as follows for *furo gozumi*:

1. The most notable exception is an *atomi* (“after-look”) *chaji*—a gathering held right after another *chaji*, for persons who were unable to attend the prior, ‘main’ *chaji*.
2. A detailed description of the *shozumi* procedure is given in *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 13.

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- (i) *makura-zumi*
- (ii) *kodai*



- (iii) *warikuda*, split side down
- (iv) *gitcho*
- (v) *warigitcho*, split side away from *gitcho*
- (vi) *ten-zumi*



- (vii) *wado*

The entire arrangement of the sumitori, in addition to the charcoal as listed above, includes the following, given in the order they would be placed in the sumitori (see photo, top p. 47):

Three white *eda-zumi* charcoal, branch ends down, set in the front space so that they lean against the edge of the sumitori at about the 5:00 point.

Kogo (incense container), containing three chips of *byakudan* (sandalwood), set atop the *kodai* charcoal.

Hibashi (metal "fire" chopsticks), set to the left of the *gitcho* and *warigitcho* charcoal, with the ends of their handles resting on the front edge of the sumitori.

Kan (metal rings for lifting the kettle), with open ends matched and to the bottom, set in the front space and leaned against the *wado* charcoal.

Kumi kamashiki (woven kettle-rest), set on edge so that it leans against the left-hand side of the *wado* charcoal.

Haboki (feather brush), laid across the left-hand portion of the sumitori.

In addition, a *haiki* (shallow bowl for ash), with a mound of *fuji-bai* (white wisteria ash) and a *baisaji* (ash spoon) set on edge in the ash, handle resting over the right-hand edge of the *haiki*, will be utilized.



Furthermore, a *mizutsugi* (water pitcher) filled with fresh, cold water, and with a *chakin* (linen wiping cloth)—rinsed but not wrung, and folded in the standard manner—placed on its lid, will be needed to replenish the kettle and purify the room with steam. If a metal *koshiguro* *mizutsugi*, as opposed to a ceramic *katakuchi*, is being used, a bamboo *futaoki* (lid-rest) is hung on its spout.

The steps illustrated on the following pages are for the most conventional *furo* setting, *bongatte*—that is, when the *furo* is on the left-hand side of the *dogu tatami* (utensil mat).



(1)

The host sits just outside his doorway and sets the sumitori down on the side farthest from the guests. He bows, saying “I will fix the fire” (*hi o naosasete itadakimasu*) (1), and at the same time, all the guests bow in return.



(2)

The host carries the sumitori in, sits at the *temae-za* (area on the dogu tatami where the host sits to prepare tea), and sets the sumitori down to the right of the furo (2).



(3)

The host exits, holds the haiki in front of himself with his right hand (R), proceeds to the *temae-za*, and sits diagonally facing away from the guests. The haiki is transferred to the left hand (L), and placed within arm's reach near the left-hand edge of the dogu tatami (3). Then the host shifts position to sit in front of the furo.



(4)

R takes the feather from the sumitori and places it between the sumitori and furo (4).



(5)

R takes the kogo from the sumitori, rests it momentarily on L palm to get a better grasp, and sets it down in the left-hand corner of the *temae-za* (the corner formed by the left-hand edge of the dogu tatami and an imaginary line drawn from the front edge of the board on which the furo rests) (5).



(6)

If the host is a woman and/or the knob of the kettle lid is made of iron, silver, or gold, or is too hot to handle with the bare hand, the fukusa is taken from the belt and folded as it would be to wipe a chashaku. R closes the kettle lid with the fukusa. Then the fukusa is returned to the belt. In all other cases, the host uses his bare fingers to close the kettle lid (6).



(7)

R takes the two kan from the sumitori, and L takes one of them. The kan are simultaneously slipped through the lugs of the kettle and leaned against the upper part of the kettle (7).



(8)

R takes the kumi kamashiki from the sumitori and transfers it to L (8).



(9)

L wrist rotates to the right and R regrasps the kumi kamashiki from the top edge (9).



(10)

Finally, R turns the kumi kamashiki over as though flipping a page down to the right, and sets it down in front of the sumitori (10).



(11)

The host, sliding first the right knee forward (11) and then the left, edges slightly closer to the furo.



(12)

R and L hold the kan, lift the kettle out of the furo, and set it down on the kumi kamashiki (12). The kan are again leaned against the upper part of the kettle.



(13)

The host shifts position to face the kettle, grasps the kan, slides the kettle and kumi kamashiki together to a point halfway down the dogu tatami, and removes the kan (13).

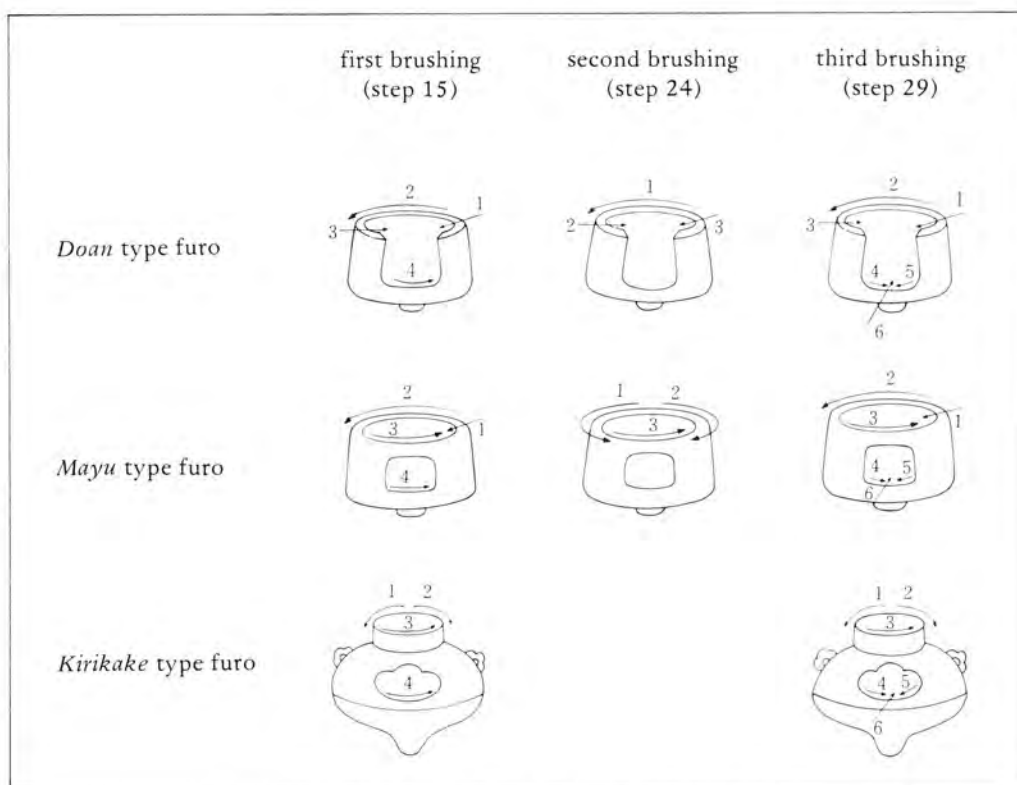


Diagram A: Steps for brushing off the furo



(14)

R and L match the kan together so that the open ends are even, and R sets them down to the right of the kettle, open ends facing away from the tatami edge (14). The host shifts position back to sit directly in front of the furo.



(15)

R picks up the feather and brushes off the furo as shown in diagram A (15). The feather is placed diagonally in front of the sumitori.



(16)

R grasps the hibashi handles from the top, draws the hibashi out of the sumitori, and rests their tips on the mat in front of the host's right knee (16). The hand is slipped up and over the ends of the handles, to behold the hibashi for use.



(17)

The remaining embers in the furo are rearranged so that they will be sure to ignite the new charcoal (17).



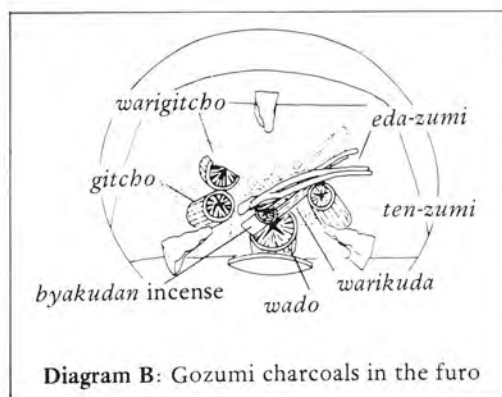
(18)

R clasps the *wado* charcoal with the hibashi, and L secures the hibashi (18).



(19)

The *wado* charcoal is placed in the furo, just behind the *mae-gawara* (clay guard-plate) (19). (For arrangement of gozumi charcoals in the furo, see diagram B.)



(20)

L rests on the lap. Using only R, the *gitcho* and then *warigitcho* are placed in the furo (20).



(21)

Next, two *eda-zumi* are laid alongside the *warikuda*. All three of these are picked up together and placed in the furo (21).



(22)

Finally, the *ten-zumi* is placed in the furo (22).



(23)

In the reverse of step 16, the hibashi are regrasped and returned to the sumitori (23).



(24)

R picks up the feather, brushes off the furo as shown in diagram A (24), and then places the feather down as before. (Note: for all furo made of bronze or iron, such as *kiri-kake* type furo, this step is deleted.)



(25)

The host shifts position diagonally to the left, picks up the haiki with L (25), and shifts back to face the furo.



(26)

R takes the haiki from L and sets it down in front of the host's knees (26).



(27)

R picks up the haisaji, L temporarily holds it near the scoop, and R regrasps it toward the middle of the handle. L steadies R wrist as R flattens an area of the fuji-bai, scoops a tiny portion, and places it in the crescent-shaped cut in the furo ash (27).



(28)

L temporarily holds the haisaji near the scoop, R regrasps it toward the end of the handle, and it is returned to its original position in the haiki. R picks up the haiki, transfers it to L, the host shifts position diagonally to the left, and L sets the haiki down as before (28). The host shifts back to face the furo.



(29)

R picks up the feather and brushes off the furo as shown in diagram A (29). The feather is laid back across the left-hand portion of the sumitori.



(30)

R picks up the kogo, sets it on L palm, removes the lid, and sets the lid down in the center of the tatami (30).



(31)

R takes the *hibashi* from the *sumitori* and holds them for use, as in step 16 (31).



(32)

A chip of *byakudan* incense is placed on top of the *wado* charcoal, and then another chip is placed on the hot ash to the side of the burning charcoals (32).



(33)

The *hibashi* are returned to the *sumitori*, the lid placed on the *kogo*, and the *kogo* set atop the *kodai* charcoal in the *sumitori* (33).



(34)

The host shifts position diagonally to the right, and picks up both *kan* with R. L takes one of the *kan*. Both *kan* are simultaneously slipped through the kettle lugs (34), and momentarily leaned against the upper part of the kettle.



(35)

The host firmly grasps the kan and slides the kettle and kumi kamashiki together in front of the sumitori. Once again, he removes the kan, placing them to the right of the kettle with R (35).



(36)

The first guest asks if he and the other guests may take a look at the charcoal and ash in the furo, and the sumitori ("*o-furo chu no haiken*"). The host bows to signal his consent (36). The host shifts diagonally to the left, picks up the haiki with L, transfers it to R, rises, turns to the left, and carries the haiki out.



(37)

The host sits just outside his doorway, with the mizutsugi—spout to the left—set in front of his knees, and waits for the guests to finish inspecting the items on the dogu tatami (37).



(38)

The host carries in the mizutsugi, sits facing the kettle, and sets the mizutsugi down to the right (38).



(39)

R takes the chakin from the mizutsugi lid and places it on the kettle lid (39).



(40)

STEPS 40-46 BELOW ARE FOR A KOSHIGURO MIZUTSUGI. FOR A KATAKUCHI, SEE PP. 64-66.

R takes the futaoki from the koshiguro's spout (40), sets it momentarily on L palm, then places it in front of the host's knees.



(41)

R uses the chakin to grasp the knob of the kettle lid and place the lid on the futaoki (41). The chakin is transferred to L, and L uses the top edge of it to flip open the hinged lid of the mizutsugi spout.



(42)

R grasps the mizutsugi handle, L holds the chakin to the bottom of the spout, and water is poured into the kettle (42). The mizutsugi is returned to its place on the tatami, and L, with the chakin, flips the lid of the spout closed.



(43)

The chakin is transferred back to R, and R uses it to replace the kettle lid on the kettle (43). The chakin is placed on the kettle lid, and the futaoki hung back on the koshiguro's spout.



(44)

R takes the chakin, and L holds the knob of the kettle lid. The lid is wiped with the chakin in two strokes (44). (See diagram C for steps for wiping the kettle lid and kettle.)

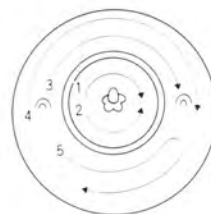


Diagram C: Steps for wiping the kettle lid and kettle.



(45)

L rests on the lap as R wipes the body of the kettle (45).



(46)

R places the chakin on the mizutsugi lid. The host picks up the mizutsugi (46), rises, and carries it out.



(47)

The host reenters, sits in front of the furo, and picks up the kan with R (47).



(48)

L takes one of the kan, and R and L simultaneously slip both of them into the kettle lugs (48).



(49)

The host firmly grasps the kan, lifts the kettle into the furo (49), and then leans the kan against the upper part of the kettle.



(50)

In the reverse of steps 8–10, the host returns the kumi kamashiki to the sumitori (50).



(51)

The host holds the kan and adjusts the kettle in the furo, then removes the kan from the lugs (51).



(52)

R and L match the kan together. R holds them at the section where the ends are open, and places them in the front space of the sumitori, leaning them against the inner front wall (52).



(53)

The host slides back slightly from the furo, then opens the kettle lid a crack with R (53).



(54)

The host picks up the sumitori, rises, exits, and just outside his doorway, sits facing the guests and sets the sumitori down. He bows (54), and at the same time, all guests bow in return.

The following photos, courtesy of Japan Broadcast Publishing Co., Ltd.

WHEN USING A KATAKUCHI

a. After placing the chakin on the kettle lid (step 39), R and L remove the mizutsugi lid.



b. The lid is turned upside-down, as though flipping a page over from left to right.



c. R and L place the overturned lid in front of the host's knees.



d. R uses the chakin to hold the knob of the kettle lid and place the lid in the mizutsugi lid. The chakin is transferred to L.



e. R grasps the mizutsugi handle, L holds the chakin to the bottom of the spout, and water is poured into the kettle.



f. The chakin is transferred back to R, and R uses it to close the kettle lid.



g. L holds the knob of the kettle lid while R wipes the lid with the chakin in two strokes. (See diagram C, p. 61, for steps to wipe the kettle.)



h. L rests on the knees as R wipes the body of the kettle.



i. R places the chakin in the overturned mizutsugi lid, then R and L place the overturned lid on the mizutsugi. The host picks up the mizutsugi, rises, and carries it out (step 46).



Book Reviews

Three Poets at Yuyama. By Steven D. Carter. Berkeley: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, Center for Japanese Studies, Japan Research Monograph No. 4, 1983. ix + 126 pp. US\$12.00.

Long neglected, *renga*, or linked verse, is now a "hot" topic in the West, and adding to the earlier work of scholars such as Earl Miner, Donald Keene, and Konishi Jin'ichi, Steven Carter is one of the young American scholars who is contributing greatly to our understanding of this verse form.

Three Poets at Yuyama is a revised version of two articles which originally appeared in *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 33, No. 3 (Summer 1978), and No. 4 (Autumn 1978). The book includes a brief introduction, a longer chapter on the life of the *renga* master Sogi (1421-1502), a chapter on Sogi's poetic legacy, an introduction to the background and appreciation of the one-hundred-verse linked sequence "Yuyama sangin," including an analysis of the opening ten verses and, on facing pages, a romanized version of the complete sequence, with English translation, and annotations, allusions, a prose gloss, and word or topic associations.

As can readily be appreciated, introducing *renga* to an English-language readership is no small task, and Carter has done an admirable job here. He has a solid grasp of the complexities of the form, and in preparing the text, has used the annotations, notes, and commentaries of the leading Japanese scholars such as Fukui Kyuzo, Kaneko Kinjiro, and Shimazu Tadao. There are, however, a few printing errors which mar the text. On p. 61, for example, the translation of the *hokku*, or opening verse, reads:

Under a thin snow
the lives lie rich in color
on the mountain path.

Here, "lives" should read "leaves." This poem appears correctly on pp. 64 and 74. Again, on p. 65, line 18, "waka" should read "waki." On p. 83, in the explanatory note to verse 20, Carter notes that this verse alludes to *Kokin Shu* 938 by the famous poetess Ono-no-Komachi, yet inexplicably reverses the pronouns "she" and "he" (Fun'ya-no-Yasuhide is the male), robbing the unwary reader of the power of the allusion. There are also several errors in the romanization of the verses. However, these are minor errors.

I would like to address some more major problems encountered in English-language presentations of *renga*. While I will use Carter's text as a case in point, my comments are directed to *renga* studies in general. One of the joys of *renga*, I feel, is the extent to which the audience/reader participates in the unfolding of a poetic sequence. Each listener/reader in medieval Japan "read" each link, simultaneously re-reading the former verse, through her/his accumulated knowledge and control of the tradition of classical Chinese and Japanese literature. Naturally, therefore, all listeners/readers would not necessarily share the same reading of any given link. In fact, Japanese *renga* is often wonderfully ambiguous, allowing for disparate and even totally different "readings." Annotations to allusions, though they may not be "wrong," tend to give the sequence a unitary reading, in essence presenting us with a sort of "ideal reader," but at the same time denying the importance of *renga*'s impoverished exactitude.

For the same reason that I propose, above, that *renga* can be appreciated without having access to each and every purported allusion, I believe that a good translation will not be overly explicit, nor will it read too much into the original. For instance, anyone translating

Japanese into English encounters the problem of subject and number, for in English one is almost forced to name the subject, while in Japanese, and in renga especially, this is not the case. Verse 56 of "Yuyama sangin," for example, and Carter's translation (p. 100) are:

<i>Mushi no ne hishshi</i> (sic)	The insect's voice grows thin
<i>shimo o matsu koro</i>	as I await the frost.

Carter opts for the singular "insect's" in the translation, though he uses the plural in the prose gloss where he writes, "the voice (singular!) of the insects seems thin and distant" (p. 101). More importantly, however, he interjects the individual poet into the verse as subject through the use of "I." That is, Carter assumes that in this link the poet, Socho, is speaking of himself—it is he who awaits the frost. Yet one might equally well read this verse as speaking of the insect(s) waiting for the frost. The original verse can easily accommodate both of these readings and probably others as well. Another example, of numerous ones which could be cited, is verse 72 (p. 108):

<i>Yume wa ato naki</i>	Dreams gone without a trace,
<i>nobe no tsuyukesa</i>	I face dew-drenched fields.

Once again "I" intrudes, though it is only one—and perhaps not even the most fitting—possible reading. *Yume wa ato naki* resonates with a depth of allusions from medieval Japanese literature and has a clear Mahayana Buddhist overtone of *mujokan*, the ephemerality of all material things. It is hardly a personal statement, but rather a general statement of the human condition and of all the phenomenal world.

Why then does "I" continually obtrude in translations of such poetry? The answers to this question are too many and too complex to sufficiently treat in this short space. Nevertheless, I will offer a few remarks.

Carter rightly notes that "the genre (of renga) cannot be properly understood without attention to its history" (p. 3). What he means by history quickly becomes apparent as he writes, for example,

After Yoshimoto and Gusai the history of linked verse is little more than a narration of the distinctive styles of a group of poets too numerous to mention. (p. 7)

What a brief history of linked verse shows us is a chronology of poets working within a strictly defined tradition. . . . (p. 11)

This view of what constitutes literary history echoes that expressed earlier by the major interpreter of renga to the West, Earl Miner, who wrote in *Japanese Linked Poetry* (Princeton University Press, 1979) p. 19: "The history of the development of renga from its short version in antiquity to its successors in haiku is also necessarily the history of a line of poets." Such a history based on a chronology of poets and consisting of biographical sketches and tracings of literary styles, diction, etc., not only leads to an emphasis on the most talented individuals of any given period, but also accounts in some measure, I would argue, for the pronoun "I" which obtrudes in the translations. In *Three Poets at Yuyama*, Sogi is clearly portrayed as the "star." One wonders, though, whether this emphasis here and in renga studies in general does not distort renga in a serious way. When the individual poet is continually interjected into the verses, appearing on the surface of the text, something is lost. The poet's voice is sometimes there, to be sure, but more often than not it is subsumed in the sequence as a whole. As Carter himself notes, Sogi was a master of background verses and unobtrusive allusions.

The Western tendency to put the individual in the foreground has other unfortunate consequences as well. Namely, one sorely misses any sense of the role(s) renga played in the cultural discourse of medieval Japan. One must ask how renga participated in and contributed to this cultural discourse. Carter, for example, describes Sogi as "a pseudoreligious figure—a man dedicated to a *micchi*, or Way" (p. 35). In doing so, Carter ignores the significance of the fact that renga was a performing art and that one of the functions of renga as a religio-aesthetic *micchi* was to serve as a vehicle of religious practice enabling the participants to overcome ego attachments. The characterization of Sogi (and implicitly *Tsukuba no micchi*, the Way of Renga) as "pseudoreligious" is possible only by carrying a certain prejudice into the study of medieval Japanese culture. When Carter writes, "... it is evident that at least after (Sogi's) decision to lead the life of a renga master at around the age of thirty, his primary allegiance was to literature rather than to religion" (p. 15), he introduces an unfortunate and inappropriate bifurcation of literature and religion. Sogi's understanding and practice of a religio-aesthetic Way, as well as that of much of medieval Japan, made no such distinction. Religion was not something "other-worldly" while literature was this-worldly and secular. Carter probably knows Sogi's renga treatises as well as any Westerner, so it is doubly surprising to find him ignoring Sogi's many serious statements on the way of poetry.

In conclusion, however, I would like to say that there is much of interest to be learned from *Three Poets at Yuyama*. It is a very competent annotated translation of "Yuyama sangin," and should be appreciated by the specialist as well as the general reader interested in Japanese literature.

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Buddhism and the Arts of Japan. By Richard B. Pilgrim. Pennsylvania: Anima Books, 1981. viii + 72 pp. Paperback. US\$3.95.

This book is one of a series of six separately issued essays on Buddhism and Hinduism edited by Robert McDermott and published by Anima Books. The series, funded in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities, is designed to introduce these major Asian faiths to the American university student. At the same time, it is intended to review, for the Asian Studies faculty member, noteworthy audio-visual materials available for use in the classroom.

Pilgrim, in this volume, presents an analysis of Japanese Buddhist art. He approaches this from three main angles which are delineated in the first chapter: the first, Buddhist images as symbolic and effecting a "religious transformation" in both the artist and the viewer; the second, what Pilgrim labels the "formless arts" of the Ch'an or Zen tradition, which reflect the truth of Reality as "Emptiness/Suchness." Artistic expressions in this second category need not conform to specific Buddhist iconography but must express the "immediate process of activating or manifesting that Reality"; the power of spontaneous expression generated in the creation of a work of art and the work's immediate impact upon the viewer are central. The third angle concerns the broad and deep, yet subtle impact Buddhism has had on Japanese culture.

The second chapter, "Buddhism and Its Art," discusses Buddhist enlightenment in a Mahayana framework, from the traditional notions of salvation in Pure Land Buddhism to

more radical solutions proposed by Zen. Buddhist art is interpreted as a didactic tool which serves not only the artist but also the viewer. To illustrate this point, the fifteenth century Ox-herding scroll traditionally attributed to Shubun (d. ca. 1460) is reproduced. Each of the ten black-and-white paintings from the scroll is accompanied by a short caption that explains the meaning of this influential parable. Unfortunately, translations from the original Ox-herding text are not provided.

The work proceeds, in the third chapter, with a historical summary of Japanese Buddhist art that begins with fairly standard comments on the contributions of Shintoism. Pilgrim then demonstrates how Buddhist art in Japan gradually became independent of its Chinese and Indian models, and how Buddhism came to have a pervasive influence on Japanese literature from the middle of the Heian period.

The penultimate chapter is the longest and contains the author's most original thinking. Quotations from the Shingon master, Kukai (774-835), and the Zen master, Dogen (1200-1253), reveal the importance they gave to art in pointing the way to Reality, at the same time warning about the spiritual risk of confusing concrete images with Reality itself. Pilgrim includes a diagram in this chapter which presents seven major architectural components of a Buddhist temple organized into the shape of a human body, symbolizing the "transformation of human consciousness." This type of anthropomorphic diagram was not propounded, however, until the early Edo period, as Martin Collcutt has pointed out in his *Five Mountains* (Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981). Collcutt also observed that the diagram may simply represent a visual mnemonic used by temple builders, and did not deduce from it any of the unsubstantiated conclusions drawn by Pilgrim.

Far more convincing is the discussion, in the second section of this chapter, of Buddhist-influenced arts outside the temple context which express Buddhist ideals. In a series of thoughtfully selected quotations from primary sources, connections are drawn between Buddhism, Japanese poetry, and the noh theatre. To reinforce these connections, Pilgrim uses illustrations from a theoretical work on noh by Komparu Zenchiku (d. ca. 1470), the *Rokurin Ichibu* (Six Circles, One Dewdrop). The captions by Pilgrim contain passages from the original text that clearly establish the connection.

The concluding chapter is a single page of summation. The short bibliography presents a happy balance between standard sources and more specialized titles.

To the extent that the work is designed for an introductory course of study, it may be misleading in its emphasis on Zen-related art. Pilgrim discusses the other major forms of Japanese Buddhism, but all of the seventeen illustrations and the bulk of the text is devoted to exploring ideas central to Zen. Despite this criticism, the work deserves a place in the libraries of educators involved with traditional Japan.

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The Sword of No-Sword: Life of the Master Warrior Tesshu. By John Stevens. Boulder and London: Shambhala, 1983. xii + 171 pp. US\$9.95.

A glance at the entry for Yamaoka Tesshu (1836-1888), who was also known as Yamaoka Te-tsutaro, in the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* reveals only his official, governmental positions as negotiator for the Tokugawa shogunate and, later, close aide to Emperor Meiji. These were

important roles; but more meaningful were Tesshu's spiritual life, his Zen, his calligraphy and painting, and his swordsmanship—the focuses of Stevens' book.

The first chapter of *The Sword of No-Sword*, "Tesshu's Life and Times," describes in rather brief and anecdotal style the circumstances of Tesshu's early life and training, and his involvement in the politics of the time. The second, "The Sword of No-Sword," discusses his early kendo and Zen training, his establishment of the Muto or "No-Sword" school of kendo, as well as various incidents related to his teachings and his disciples. The third chapter, "Great Enlightenment," tells of Tesshu's spiritual training in Zen, as well as his early years of poverty and his charitable support, in later life, of those less well-off than himself. This chapter takes the reader through to the man's death, of stomach cancer, at age fifty-three.

In the third chapter, anecdotes regarding Tesshu's service to Emperor Meiji offer many interesting insights into government at the highest level during his day. The question remains in my mind, however, what exactly his position was "while serving as governmental official in Shizuoka" that enabled him to organize a committee to promote Hakuin Eikaku's elevation to national teacher and restore Hakuin's temple, Ryutakuji. We are told, in this chapter, of still other concrete ways in which Tesshu expressed his religious interest, such as his donation of many thousands of pieces of calligraphy to raise money for the restoration of numerous temples. This was not for the purpose of popularizing Buddhism. Stevens translates his words: "I've simply worked to strengthen and deepen the practice of Zen which I consider the heart of Buddhism. If just one person carries on the right transmission, I will be satisfied" (p. 64).

The fourth chapter, "The Ascending Dragon," details Tesshu's calligraphic endeavors, describing his early training in the art and giving examples of his enormous output—estimated at over one million pieces in his last eight years alone. The fifth and final chapter, "Tesshu's Writings," contains thirty-three entries, mostly personal anecdotes and short essays which are statements of his kendo philosophy.

Although the anecdotes and biographical insights are interesting in themselves, my personal discovery was that they illustrate a life which embodied many of the ideals of the great tea master, Sen Rikyu, as found in the *Nampo Roku*, a record of Rikyu's teachings. An obvious parallel to Tesshu's unpretentious lifestyle may be drawn, for instance, with Rikyu's "Shelter is enough if the roof does not leak; food, if it keeps one from starving." Or there is the subtler parallel between Rikyu's "It is good to be in accord; it is wrong to desire to be so" and an anecdote of Tesshu's pertaining to an intensely gripping match between two kendo experts. An interesting parallel can be drawn, also, between Rikyu's advice regarding the techniques of chanoyu and Tesshu's philosophy regarding the specifics of sword techniques and training of young swordsmen. In the *Nampo Roku*, Rikyu's teaching is: "There are no settled rules governing either the motions of the hands or the utensils. But precisely because of this, one firm rule—a great law—prevails. Specifically, this means that chanoyu is nothing but performing with wholeness of heart in realization of the Way—a matter of acts and the spirit, beyond physical forms." Tesshu's philosophy, similarly, was built around a core of Zen realization and a constant admonition to train until one masters the self.

From a more general viewpoint, however, I believe that the far-reaching value of this book lies in its emphasis on the values of strong spiritual self-discipline, the forging of the spirit, and a quest for awakening. These are vital points for students of any traditional Japanese discipline, whether it be a martial art, the Way of Tea, or even the Way of the Office Worker. Stevens writes, for example:

The important element was never to retreat or hesitate; swordsmen must keep up the attack until they drop. It was not that Tesshu

disregarded technique; forbearance can be developed no other way. When students complained of a lack of progress after a year's training, Tesshu thundered, "You've just begun!" Pointing to his abdomen, he continued, "You must experience swordsmanship here!"

Three years of uchi-komi training had many benefits: the body naturally became hardened; one developed strong arms, a powerful grip, sharp vision, and stable hips; one's movement gradually became free-flowing, characterized by forceful blows and sweeping attacks; unconcerned with winning and losing, totally absorbed in the moment at hand, one attained presence of mind.

(p. 22)

Not surprisingly, Stevens compares Tesshu to that semi-legendary swordmaster, Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645). Musashi is infinitely the more famous; but Tesshu is the more accessible, having lived so close to our own times, and having left many recorded anecdotes and writings. His faithfulness to the Zen ideal, his dedication to self-training and to achieving true naturalness, and his ideal of attaining the states of no-self, no-enemy, and ultimately no-sword, have as much meaning and impelling strength for us today as they did in his day, or as they did in the days of Rikyu and Musashi.

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A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms. By Hisao Inagaki, in collaboration with P. G. O'Neill. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1984. xvi + 473 pp. including indices. ¥7,500.

Professor Inagaki began his *Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms* at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, originally intending to compile a brief glossary of simple English equivalents or explanations for the Buddhist terms one runs across in reading the Japanese classics. Some ten years later, he has produced a full-fledged dictionary of Buddhist terminology which will be of great use not only to students of Japanese literature, but also to those working in intellectual history, the arts, philosophy, and indeed, Buddhist studies.

The dictionary contains some 5,000 entries, each of which includes a romanization of the term in question, the kanji for it, and a definition. When relevant, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the terms are also included. The words Professor Inagaki has defined are taken from the *Heike Monogatari*, *Hojo Ki*, *Ichigon Hodan*, *Ise Monogatari*, *Kokon Chomonju*, *Makura no Soshi*, *Okagami*, *Sbaseki Shu*, *Taketori Monogatari*, *Taibei Ki*, *Tsurezuregusa*, and *Yamato Monogatari*. Entries are also included for major Buddhist sects, historical figures, and some syncretic Shinto-Buddhist deities. (For example, there is a listing for Hachiman Daibosatsu.) Literary sources are cited for most of the terms, and when available, references to the *Taisbo Tripitaka* are given for Buddhist scriptures. At the back of the volume one finds a stroke number index for words in kanji, an index comparing Chinese (Wade-Giles) and Japanese readings for important kanji, an alphabetical index of Japanese terms, an index of Chinese terms (mostly names mentioned in the text proper), and an alphabetized Sanskrit and Pali index.

Most definitions, especially those given for abstract terms, are brief: from only one word to a line or two. For example, *satori* is defined quite simply as "enlightenment." Terms of a more concrete or more specific nature are defined in somewhat more detail. For *arayashiki*, for instance, the entry is:

阿賴耶識 Sk. *ālaya-vijñāna*, 'store-consciousness'; the eighth and the most fundamental of the eight levels of consciousness established in the doctrine of the Hossō sect. It stores all potential energy for the mental and physical manifestations of one's existence, and supplies the substance to all existences. It also receives impressions from all functions of other consciousnesses and retains them as potential energy for their further manifestations and activities; cf. *hasshiki*.

Some of the longest entries in the dictionary are given for famous individuals in the history of Buddhism. After Kukai's name, for instance, one reads a substantial biography with references to his writings and priestly rank.

This variation in the length of entries seems reasonable, and the relatively detailed entries for historical figures, Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas will no doubt be of great use. If one requires more than simply "enlightenment" for *satori*, there are other reference books. One probably should not expect extensive explanations of such abstract terms or concepts from a single-volume dictionary.

I was a bit disappointed not to find entries for terms such as *sabi*, *wabi*, *yugen*, and *kyogen kigyo*, but strictly speaking, these are literary and aesthetic terms with a Buddhist background, so Professor Inagaki cannot be strongly criticized for their omission. In a trial use of the dictionary to read a passage from Zeami's *Fushikaden*, I was pleased to find that it contained all ten of the ten words which I looked up. The definitions were to the point and helpful in understanding the passage.

All in all, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms* seems just the sort of work one would want to have on one's shelf alongside Iwanami's *Kojien* and Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary and other such standard reference works. Professor Inagaki deserves our gratitude for the effort he has made to provide us with this valuable new dictionary.

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Buddhist Faith and Sudden Enlightenment. By Sung Bae Park. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983. x + 211 pp., including notes, glossary, bibliography, and index. Rs. 80.

In this ambitious book, Sung Bae Park attempts to set forth a comprehensive analysis of the role and significance of faith in Buddhism, and explore how Buddhist faith is related to Western (specifically Christian) notions of faith. This is an important work, since it is one of the few in English to focus on the crucial place which faith holds in Buddhism and to study it from this perspective.

Park, formerly a Zen (Kor., *Son*) monk in his native Korea, received his Ph.D. in Buddhist Studies from the University of California, Berkeley. He is currently a member of the

Center for Religious Studies at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Park possesses extensive knowledge of Buddhist philosophy, and this book is full of insight, not only on faith, but also on central Buddhist doctrines and concepts. Furthermore, his broad knowledge of Western philosophical and religious issues allows him to engage in pertinent comparisons between Buddhist and Western concepts of faith.

As Park points out, Buddhism is generally understood as a religion of meditation and enlightenment. But he reminds us that faith also plays a central role in the Buddhist religion. He states, "Without right faith, no practice can be initiated and no enlightenment attained in Buddhism" (p. 1). This book shows, however, that Buddhist faith is fundamentally different from Western or Christian faith. "Unlike Western theistic religions, which are based upon dualistic subject-object structure, as expressed in the 'faith in . . . ' construction (e.g. 'faith in God'), the East Asian tradition of Mahayana Buddhism is based on a nondual *t'i-yung*, or 'essence-function' construction. . . . (Buddhist) faith does not require an object; rather, it is a natural function (*yung*) of one's own (originally enlightened) Mind, understood as *t'i*, or 'essence'" (p. 1).

Park makes clear that this book is not a philological or historical presentation of the ways in which faith has been understood in Buddhism. Instead he says that he analyzed "the structure of Mahayana Buddhist faith on philosophical grounds" (p. 3), meaning that he approaches Buddhist faith from a particular standpoint. Park's experiences as a Zen monk greatly influenced his choice of this standpoint—so much so that the whole book can be characterized as presenting a Zen perspective on faith. The interpretive scheme he employs is centered on the distinction he makes between "doctrinal faith" and "patriarchal faith"—a distinction he borrows from the famous Korean monk, Chinul. According to Park, doctrinal faith is belief that "I can become Buddha," while patriarchal faith is belief that "I am *already* Buddha" (p. 19). In other words, the former is based upon the belief in one's ability to attain enlightenment through practice, while the latter is rooted in the realization of one's innate enlightenment. Thus the arousal of patriarchal faith is equivalent to enlightenment itself. The division of faith into these two categories forms the core of all subsequent analysis in this book, and is the most important contribution Park makes to our understanding of Buddhist faith.

Furthermore, Park relates these two kinds of faith to two traditional concepts which have played an important role in Chinese Buddhism: the concepts of gradual enlightenment and sudden enlightenment. The question of whether enlightenment is attained gradually or suddenly was the source of much discussion within Chinese Buddhism. Gradual enlightenment is the position that one can become a Buddha only after a long period of practice, while sudden enlightenment is the position that since all beings are originally enlightened, enlightenment is attained instantly when one realizes one's innate Buddhahood. According to Park, doctrinal faith is based on the notion of gradual enlightenment, while the arousal of patriarchal faith results in the attainment of sudden enlightenment.

The bulk of the book is divided into three parts—faith, practice, and enlightenment—and within each of these parts, Park attempts to show how certain Buddhist doctrines can be understood using the doctrinal faith/patriarchal faith scheme. For example, among those included in the first part, on faith, are the doctrines of Buddha-nature, *tathagatagarbha*, the triple bodies of the Buddha, Two Truths, and skill-in-means.

Despite the penetrating insights found in this book, it is not without its problems. In particular, Park's rigid adherence to the doctrinal faith/patriarchal faith scheme leads him to gloss over significant ideas which cannot be adequately covered under this scheme. A case in point is the discussion of Pure Land Buddhism, to which one sketchy chapter is devoted. This chapter concentrates heavily on those aspects of Pure Land thought which can be interpreted

within his scheme, such as the acquisition of non-backsliding faith, but does not do justice to many important Pure Land ideas, such as Amida Buddha's Original Vows. Essentially Park fails to present a holistic picture of Pure Land Buddhist faith.

This is truly a pity, since it is in Pure Land Buddhism that the Buddhist concept of faith was most fully explored. It has produced such valuable interpretations of faith as Shantao's unique analysis of the "two kinds of deep faith," which interpret faith in terms of a dynamic tension between profound faith in one's deeply sinful nature and an equally profound faith in Amida Buddha's Original Vows which paradoxically promise the salvation of just such sinful men. It seems to me that it is ideas such as "two kinds of deep faith" which represent the most important contribution made by Buddhism to our understanding of faith.

As it stands, this book greatly broadens our appreciation of Buddhist faith by pointing out its major role in Zen Buddhism and showing us how it can be interpreted from the Zen perspective. However, a more thorough investigation into faith as interpreted in Pure Land Buddhism would have greatly increased the value of this book.

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The History of the Japanese Written Language. By *Yaeko Sato Habein*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1984. x + 229 pp. US\$16.50, ¥3,000.

Without question, the history of the Japanese writing system is an important field of study containing a number of complex and significant problems. A historical study of the Japanese writing system must concern itself with the language's linguistic and literary history and with that of calligraphy and printing, but it must also distinguish itself from these areas.

In the early years following the introduction of writing from China in the fifth or sixth century, the written form of the Japanese language consisted entirely of Chinese kanji; some of the characters being used for the meanings they conveyed, as in the case of verbs and common nouns, while others were used only for their phonological value, as in representing the inflections and particles of the spoken Japanese language. However, this presented immense problems for the reader, and so eventually two native syllabaries—katakana and hiragana—were developed. Nevertheless, texts written according to the dictates of the Chinese language, entirely in kanji, long continued to be the written language of the world of officialdom, the simpler Japanese kana being utilized only in the private world. For instance, the oldest extant works by women—their diaries, poetry, and stories—are overwhelmingly in pure Japanese, written in kana, with few kanji being used. With time, kana found its way into temple and administrative records, resulting in a mixture of Chinese and Japanese. It is possible to historically identify three basic strands or styles of written Japanese: *wabun* (pure Japanese); *bentai kanbun* (modified Chinese); and *kanamajiribun* or *wakan konkobun*, a mixture of the former two; in addition to the continuing tradition of writing in pure Chinese, *kanbun*.

The description both of the history of these strands and of the nature of their representative texts is a complex problem, and Habein has given the patient reader what is probably the fullest description of the problem available in English. Hers is, however, a study which has serious problems of its own. Here I will limit myself to those that seem most crucial.

Habein's book consists basically of two parts. The first is a survey of the history of the Japanese written language. Roughly a hundred pages long, it is divided into five chapters, each

covering a different period of history, from the introduction of writing from China through the Meiji period. The second part of the book contains forty reading selections in Japanese covering the same periods. Between these two parts are a bibliography, a list of Heian period kana, and an index.

The author's aim in the survey section is to represent, as simply as possible, something of the great complexities involved in discussing her subject. She places great emphasis on literary texts, but also refers to those in the areas of history and religion. There are two serious problems, however. First, the English, while generally adequate, is often awkward. For example, "*Kenpo Jushichijo* was written in *kanbun* (Chinese style of writing), modeled on classical Chinese. The strong influence of Confucian and Buddhist writings can be observed in its writing style, as well as in the underlying philosophy" (p. 8). Second, and ultimately more damaging, there are far too few examples to illustrate the points which are made, and in most cases (as in the one just cited) the texts represented in the reading selections are barely dealt with in the survey section. The reader is therefore, among other things, deprived of essential information by which to understand the differences between the three strands of the written language and the terms used to discuss them. In the first chapter the reader is introduced to the terms *kanbun*, *man'yogana*, *jun-kanbun*, *bentai kanbun*, and *senjyogaki*, but only given examples of *man'yogana*. The reader is told that the strand seen in the *Koji-ki* (written in the year 712) and that of the *Nihon Shoki* (721) are different, and that this is true also of the *Man'yo Shu* (latter 8th c.) and the *Kokin Shu* (905?), but the differences are neither concretely demonstrated nor exemplified.

As for the second part of the book, the Reading Selections, it is unfortunately necessary to point out one serious problem here as well. While representative texts have been chosen, there are no notes or accompanying commentaries; the texts are simply lined up. Even most Japanese would find the classical texts forbiddingly difficult to understand without notes. I fear that most non-Japanese will just glance at them once and wish they had been made more accessible.

In light of the great efforts Habein must have made in producing this book, it is painful to have to conclude that it will probably be found unsatisfactory by students, teachers, and general readers alike. I must say in closing, however, that there is a great need for a book on this subject, and that if the editing had been properly done, the book could have been greatly improved. It seems, sadly, a case of a potentially superb book going to press prematurely. I hope a revised edition may be considered feasible before too long.

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Japanese Culture. By H. Paul Varley. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984, Third Edition. xiii + 331 pp. Cloth, US\$24.00; paper, US\$12.95.

A person interested in learning about Japanese culture as a whole has a wide range of choice as to what he or she might read. There is George Sansom's *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, Edwin Reischauer's *Japan: The Story of a Nation*, and Fosco Maraini's *Meeting with Japan*, to mention a few. While most of the available publications are either outdated or focus too much on modern Japan, we find in Paul Varley's *Japanese Culture* a more up-to-date and balanced cultural history

of Japan. The author does not neglect any period and, within each of these, addresses most of the topics we would identify with a nation's cultural history: religion, history, art, literature, and—in the case of Japan in particular—film.

The book is not meant to be a complete cultural guide to modern Japan, but rather to function as a source through which to trace the cultural development of the nation from the earliest era to modern times. Within this range, it incorporates most of the scholarly advances in the field of Japanese history and culture.

Having praised the book in general, I would like to mention some minor weaknesses and suggest points which, in my view, would have added to the value of the book. For one, *Japanese Culture* supplies only superficial information about the Japanese technological and economic miracle. Also, it lacks much analysis of modern life, particularly family life, in Japan. For example, almost nothing is said about food or leisure pursuits. On page 18, we are told that the emperor lost his power under the clan system, but no reasons are given. It would have been interesting if the author had incorporated more of the results of recent scholarship on such matters as the Chinese provenance of the Yayoi rice culture (p. 4); the location of Yamatai (p. 8); and Shinto deities, festivals, and myths (pp. 8-9, 11). I feel there should have been a more lengthy treatment of the twenty-year cycle of the Ise Shrine (p. 16), for it forms part of specific time systems in archaic Shinto. The discussion of Prince Shotoku, who has been made into a cultural hero, is also too brief and not critical enough (p. 22).

Attention should be called to a few factual errors and points which, in my opinion, warrant different interpretations than those given by the author. Regarding the factual errors: it is no longer tenable to classify the Ainu as Caucasians or proto-Caucasians (p. 45); Saigo was a member of the lower aristocracy, not the warrior class (pp. 86-87); Portuguese was used as the *lingua franca* only in the seventeenth century and was replaced by Dutch during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (p. 191). Also, I wonder if it is not an overstatement to call Mimana a Japanese outpost in Korea (p. 15). Regarding interpretations: humor in Kyogen (p. 105), I believe, should be understood in terms of the ritual reversal of social roles in Shinto festivals; Zen gardens (p. 122) should be interpreted more with reference to Zen meditation and Chinese (Taoist) models; and some of the paintings made on walls and sliding doors of castles (pp. 138-139) warrant a political interpretation.

I regretted the absence of any mention of the *yamabushi* ascetics who were so important in religion and culture in pre-modern Japan, and also of *yamabushi* artists such as Enku and Mokuji. Furthermore, the Ise pilgrimage in the Edo period and the forced separation of Shinto and Buddhism in the Meiji period should have been mentioned.

Finally, I regretted the absence of a more comprehensive conclusion, where the author might have made some general statements about, say, the continuity of Japanese history and culture resulting in the Japan of today, wherein both ancient and modern culture co-exist in a unique way.

Despite these criticisms, Varley's *Japanese Culture* remains the best book of its kind on the market. I strongly recommend it to any reader interested in Japan. In fact, I have used it regularly as a textbook in my classes on Japanese culture.

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Glossary

() denotes alias, [] denotes Japanese reading.

<i>Arimayama</i>	有馬山	<i>Imai Sōkyū</i>	今井宗久
<i>Asukagawa</i>	飛鳥川	<i>Ishin Sūden</i>	以心崇伝
<i>Bōsen</i>	忘茶	<i>Itagaki Nobuaki</i>	板垣信精
<i>Chadō Shiso</i>	茶道四祖伝書	<i>Itoh Teiji</i>	伊藤ていじ
<i>Densho</i>		<i>Jikinyūken</i>	直入軒
<i>Chang Cheng</i>	張成	<i>Jōrakuji</i>	常楽寺
[Chō Sei]		<i>Jōshuan</i>	成趣庵
<i>Chanoyu Hisbo</i>	茶湯秘抄	<i>Jōtenji</i>	浄天寺
<i>Chōandō</i>	長閑堂	<i>Jugoinoge Enshū</i>	從五位下遠州赤守
(Kubo Gondayū)	(久保権太夫)	<i>Taishū Fujiwara</i>	藤原政一朝臣
<i>Chōmyōji</i>	頂妙寺	<i>Masakazu Ason</i>	墓碑銘
<i>chōzubachi</i>	手水鉢	<i>Bobimeī</i>	
<i>chūkō meibutsu</i>	中興名物	<i>Kaguyama</i>	香久山
<i>Daitokuji</i>	大徳寺	<i>kanryō bushi</i>	官俣武士
<i>eda-zumi</i>	枝炭	<i>Keichō Otazune-</i>	慶長御母書
<i>Enshū-gonomi</i>	遠州好み	<i>gaki</i>	
<i>Enshū Kabegaki</i>	遠州壁書	<i>kencha</i>	猷茶
<i>Fujimura Yōken</i>	藤村庸軒	<i>Kikka</i>	菊花
<i>Fujiwara Shunzei</i>	藤原俊成	<i>kirei-sabi</i>	綺麗寂び
<i>Fujiwara Teika</i>	藤原定家	<i>Kisaragi</i>	如月
<i>Fukusui Inshi</i>	臥酔隠士	<i>Kitamura Nobuyo</i>	喜多村信節
<i>Furuta Oribe</i>	古田織部	<i>Kiyū Shōran</i>	嬉遊笑覧
<i>gitcho</i>	健持	<i>Kobori Enshū</i>	小堀遠州
<i>goyō-bon</i>	五葉盆	(Kobori Masa-	(小堀政一作助)
<i>gozumi</i>	後炭	<i>kazu Sakusuke)</i>	
<i>Guzasso</i>	愚雑俎	<i>Kobori Enshū</i>	小堀遠州書控で文
<i>Hakuin</i>	白隠	<i>Kakisute-bumi</i>	
<i>Hasedera</i>	長谷寺	<i>Kobori Enshū Tai-</i>	小堀遠州太守
(Chōkokuji)		<i>shū Masakazu</i>	政一朝臣略譜
<i>Hassōnoseki</i>	八窓の石	<i>Ason Ryakufu</i>	
<i>Hayashiya Seizō</i>	林屋晴三	<i>Kobori Shinsuke</i>	小堀新助政次
<i>Hayashiya</i>	林屋辰三郎	<i>Masatsugu</i>	
<i>Tatsusaburō</i>		<i>kōdai</i>	香台
<i>heika</i>	瓶花	<i>Kōdaiji</i>	高台寺
<i>hiroma</i>	広間	<i>Kohōan</i>	孤蓬庵
<i>Honkō Kokushi</i>	本光国師日記	<i>Kokon Chomon-</i>	古今著聞集
<i>Nikki</i>		<i>jū</i>	
<i>Horiguchi Sutemi</i>	堀口捨己	<i>Konbuin</i>	興福院
<i>Hosokawa Sansai</i>	細川三斎	<i>Konchiin</i>	金地院
<i>Ii Naotaka</i>	井伊直孝	<i>kuguri</i>	置り
		<i>Kuroki</i>	黒木

<i>kusari no ma</i>	鎖の間	<i>shoin</i>	書院
<i>kusemai</i>	曲舞	<i>Shōsuitei</i>	脩翠亭
<i>kyōgen</i>	狂言	<i>shozumi</i>	初炭
Maeda Toshitsune (Komatsu Chūnagon)	前田利常 〔小松中納言〕	<i>Shun'oku Sōen</i>	春屋宗園
<i>makura-zumi</i>	枕炭	<i>sōan</i>	草庵
<i>Mannen Isbi</i>	万年石	<i>Sōjiji</i>	總持寺
<i>marutsubo</i>	丸壺	<i>sukiya</i>	数寄屋
Matsuya Hisamasa	松屋久政	<i>sukiya-zukuri</i>	数寄屋造り
Matsuya Hisashige	松屋久重	Tachibana Narisue	橘成季
<i>Matsuya Kai Ki</i>	松屋全記	Taian	待庵
Matsunaga Sekigo (Matsunaga Shōzō)	松永尺五 〔松永昌三〕	<i>tainai-kuguri</i>	胎内くぐり
<i>Meiryō Kōban</i>	明良洪範	<i>Takeno Jōō</i>	武野紹鷗
Mittan	密庵	Takuan	沢庵
Miyake Bōyō	三宅半平	Tamiya Nakanobu (Kitsuan)	田宮仲宣〔橘庵〕
<i>montei</i>	門弟	Tengōan	燈台庵
Mori Osamu	森蘊	<i>ten-zumi</i>	点炭
Myōkian	妙喜庵	<i>Tōdō Gemba</i> Yoshikiyo	藤堂玄蕃嘉清
Nanzenji	南禅寺	<i>Tōdō Takatora</i>	藤堂高虎
<i>nezumi-kido</i>	鼠木戸	<i>Tōkaiji</i>	東海寺
<i>nijiriguchi</i>	踰口	<i>Tōshōgū</i>	東照宮
<i>Ōsaka</i>	和坂	<i>Tōzaburō</i> (San'emon)	藤三郎〔三右衛門〕
<i>Ōzan Itsuyū Hikki</i>	桜山一有筆記	<i>Uchū no Kansu</i>	雨中之鑑子
<i>robai</i>	草灰	<i>utamei</i>	歌銘
Ryōkōin	龍光院	<i>wadō</i>	輪廊
Sakai Tadakatsu	酒井忠勝	<i>warigitcho</i>	割毬打
Sanada Masuyo	真田増善	<i>warikuda</i>	割管
<i>sarugaku</i>	猿楽	Wuzhun Shifan [Bujun Shihan]	無準師範
<i>Satomura Jikyū</i> <i>Nengetsu Ki</i>	里村貞休年月記	Yamanoue Sōji	山土宗三
Sen Rikyū	千利休	Yamazato	山里
Sen Sōshitsu	千宗室	Zenrinji	禪林寺
<i>Shōbai Goen</i>	松梅詣園		

Chronology

Asuka period, 538-645
Hakuho period, 645-710
Nara period, 710-794
Heian period, 794-1192
Kamakura period, 1192-1336
Muromachi period, 1336-1568
Momoyama period, 1568-1603
Edo period, 1603-1868
Modern period, 1868-

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