

CHANOYU Quarterly
TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 45



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

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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.

Understanding Samadhi through Chanoyu

Sen Soshitsu XV

Samadhi. [Lit., application, contemplation. In Hinduism] a state of deep concentration resulting in union with or absorption into ultimate reality. . . . Enlightenment.

Such is Webster's Third New International Dictionary's definition, in part, of samadhi—the concept which, in Japanese Zen, is referred to as *sammai*.

Just as the above dictionary definition can only hint at what samadhi entails, Zen phrases, such as are often seen on scrolls hung in the tearoom, are difficult, if not impossible, to understand intellectually. However, the hints which they provide can be of invaluable guidance to us. So realizing, the great chanoyu master, Sen Rikyu, is said to have taught that “no [chanoyu] utensil ranks with the [Zen] scroll in significance. Contemplating it, both guest and host attain wholeness of mind and realization of the Way of chanoyu-samadhi. Calligraphies by Zen monks are foremost among scrolls. With veneration for what is written, one savors the virtue of the calligrapher, of practicers of the Way, of the patriarchs. . . .”

As chanoyu devotees, we are fortunate, for chanoyu itself is a Way to attaining samadhi. The Zen calligraphic scroll, which traditionally expresses the theme of a chanoyu gathering, imparts not only Zen teachings but points us to the spiritual understanding that is the base of samadhi, and in a broad sense, of all religion. Contemplating the Zen word or phrase written on the scroll, and instinctively comprehending the meaning by referring to our experiences as followers of the Way of Tea, both host and guest are able to achieve single-mindedness. In chanoyu, the other utensils also come to life through the ideas expressed on the scroll. Everything involved in chanoyu is thus an integral part of the Way.

However, this can only be so if one has the proper attitude. If the host's underlying intent is to impress his guest with his possessions, he will not only be violating the true intent of chanoyu, but will also be involving his guest in the same misinterpretation.

The goal of Zen is to arrive at a state of samadhi; in other words, to learn to be true to one's innate, pure mind. This is easily said but most difficult to attain and to live by. It is all too easy to be misled by delusions; to believe that the delusions are the reality. Without realizing it, we are blinded to the essential unity of love and hate, like and dislike, good and bad, and life and death, and we take sides with one or the other. Zen teaches that if we transcend the conflict of opposites and are true to our pure mind, then we will know the wholeness of the state of samadhi. In chanoyu, realization of this is achieved by striving to become one with nature.

Illustrative of this teaching is the following anecdote. One summer day, Rikyu was invited to the home of a certain man named Hiki Hyakuo, and was served watermelon sprinkled with what in those days was a very rare and expensive commodity, sugar. Rikyu ate only the part without sugar on it, and reprimanded his host for not realizing that watermelon has its own natural sweetness.

The principles of chanoyu have universal relevance, and lead us to samadhi. Practicing the prescribed procedures of chanoyu—be they for the laying of the charcoal, the handling of the teabowl, or anything else—we come to understand these principles, and learn to live our lives in a state of complete naturalness, free from delusions. This is the Way of Tea. Chanoyu is not concerned with superficials, nor are the rules and etiquette its primary concern. Rather, chanoyu is a place for the actualization of spiritual principles. The tearoom, with its Zen scroll, sets the mood; the host's actions and attitude reflect his pure mind; the guest becomes one with him in this pure mind. Such an approach to samadhi is open to all who practice chanoyu and who will open their minds to it. ☯

Meibutsu-gire: Famous Chanoyu Fabrics

Oda Eiichi

When we speak of the category or rank of fabrics known as *meibutsu-gire*, we speak mainly of certain famous Chinese brocades, satins, and other imported fabrics traditionally used for making *shifuku*, the cloth pouches utilized in chanoyu to protect various utensils—in particular, *chaire* (ceramic containers for powdered thick tea). It is important to realize that though these fabrics were always highly valued, their special claim to fame hinged on the fact that they protected *meibutsu* chanoyu utensils.

What, then, is a *meibutsu* chanoyu utensil? To answer this, it should first be noted that the term “*meibutsu*” (literally, “named object”) has two different yet closely interrelated connotations: one, that the object has been highly appraised, and, for this and other reasons, is famous; two, that it has been given a *mei*, a name.¹

The practice of giving *mei* to items of beauty began in China and was later adopted by the Japanese. In the Heian period, *mei* were occasionally given to musical instruments such as flutes and kotos, to swords, and even to horses and boats. In the Muromachi period, the rise in the popularity of chanoyu brought with it a sudden surge in the popularity of the practice of giving *mei* to items used in the art. The criterion may have been that the item was once owned by a famous person, or that there was a fascinating anecdote or legend associated with it, or that some connoisseur appraised it and declared it worthy of special distinction. In this way, all kinds of utensils for chanoyu came to bear *mei*, which served to strengthen their identity, and afforded them greater fame than they had before being distinguished by *mei*.

Today, chanoyu utensils of name and fame—or in other words, “*meibutsu*” chanoyu utensils—are divided into three categories: *o-meibutsu*, *meibutsu*, and *chuko-meibutsu*. Until the beginning of the Edo period, however, only the term *meibutsu* existed and there were no subcategories. Regarding the three categories of today; the first, *o-meibutsu*, is commonly said to cover objects which had been recognized as “*meibutsu*” by the time of the great chanoyu master, Sen Rikyu (1522-1591), and the second, *meibutsu*, covers items belonging to the time of Rikyu. The third category, *chuko-meibutsu*, generally refers to those items given *mei* by the chanoyu master Kobori Enshu (1579-1647), the man responsible for systematizing chanoyu under the Tokugawa Shogunate.

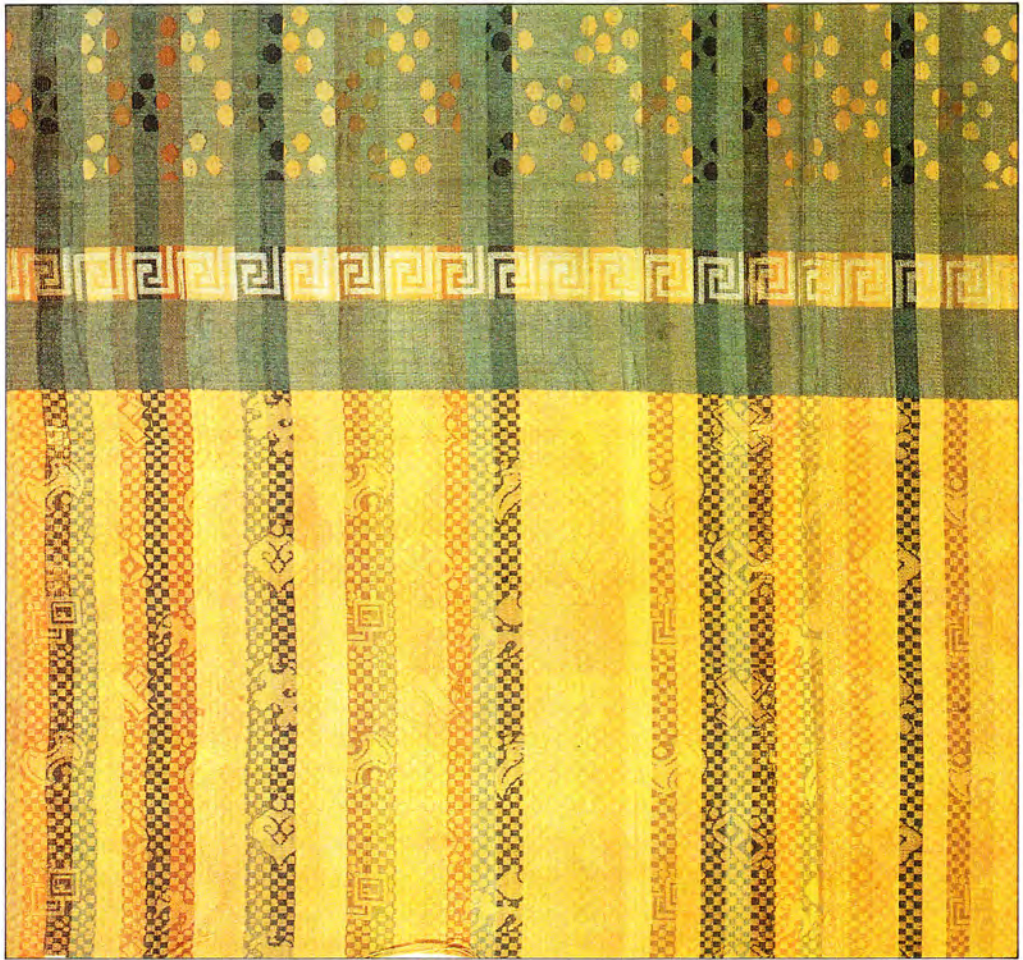
The influential chanoyu master, Enshu, in that he shouldered the responsibility of establishing chanoyu aesthetics for the Tokugawa Shogunate, can be

1. Unlike *meibutsu* utensils, *meibutsu* fabrics (*kire*, *-gire*) do not necessarily have proper *mei*, but rather, many are referred to by set terms describing their identifying characteristics, such as pattern motifs. In this article, proper *mei* are capitalized, and descriptive *mei* set in lower case. —E

Translated and adapted from “*Meibutsu-gire*” in *Senshoku no Bi*, vol. 8 (Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin, 1980), by permission of the author.



Quail. Painting attributed to the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) court artist, Li Anzhong (Jap., Ri Anchu). Ink on silk. The seal on the painting is said to be that of the sixth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshinori (1393-1441). The scroll mounting is typical of the way Chinese paintings were mounted in the Muromachi period. Various meibutsu-gire are seen here: the *jo-ge* (upper and lower sections) are of *botan karakusa kinran* (gold brocade with pattern of tree peonies and arabesques); the *chumawashi* (fabric in the middle section, surrounding the painting) is of *hitofusabana-mon inkin* (single-flower-cluster pattern in gold-leaf); and the *futai* (two vertical strips at the upper section) and *ichi-monji* (horizontal strips at the top and bottom of the painting) are of gold brocade called *Sakataya kinran*. Designated a National Treasure. Entire scroll: height, 143.8 cm.; width, 43.0 cm. Property of the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo.



Iyosudare donsū (also called *koishidatami donsū*). *Iyosudare* refers to a type of bamboo blind made in the old province of Iyo (present-day Ehime Prefecture). There are references to this type of blind in various ancient poems and stories, such as *The Tale of Genji*. It is said that this satin fabric (*donsū*) came to be called "Iyosudare" because a shifuku made from it protected a chuko-meibutsu chaire given this mei by Kobori Enshū. Its alternative name, "koishidatami" ("pebblestone walk"), derives from the background pattern of the stripes. There is evidence that this fabric was produced in China from the end of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and was imported to Japan during the Momoyama and early Edo periods. Approximate length of the portion shown here, 35 cm.; approximate width, 37 cm. Property of the Tokyo National Museum.

credited as being the one who passed on to the Tokugawa Shogunate the custom—propagated first by Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), and then carried on by Nobunaga's political successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598)—of prizing meibutsu chanoyu utensils, and of utilizing them as rewards for political or military favors. However, the number of meibutsu were limited, many having been destroyed during the turbulent days of the Muromachi period, and they were insufficient to fulfill the needs of the Shogunate. Out of this situation grew the need for creating new meibutsu. Enshu, who showed excellent aesthetic sense, was officially entrusted with the task of selecting and establishing new meibutsu. He scouted out worthy pieces from the masses of as yet unnamed chaire and sent out orders to kilns all over the country for new ones to be made according to his specifications. He had ivory lids, shifuku, and wooden boxes made for them. He thought of a suitable mei for each piece, and wrote it on the box. In this way, one after another, new meibutsu were sent into the world.

With the appearance of the large number of newly—"discovered" or newly-made chanoyu utensils (especially chaire) which Enshu deemed worthy of mei and introduced into the world of chanoyu, there was a need to distinguish between these new meibutsu and the already existing meibutsu. The utensils to which Enshu gave his "stamp of approval," thus, were classified as chuko-meibutsu, and the already existing [pre-Rikyū] meibutsu were elevated to the status of o-meibutsu.

The chuko-meibutsu classification is somewhat confused, however, by a book entitled the *Senke Chuko-meibutsu Ki* (Sen Family Record of Chuko-meibutsu), which lists objects other than those made famous by Enshu. In this record the compiler, Sakamoto Shusai (also known as Kanjian Soshin; 1666-1749), who was a yarn merchant by profession and also a chanoyu enthusiast of refined taste, listed the famous objects owned by the chanoyu masters and close associates of the Sen family—all in the Kansai region [the area of Japan centering around Kyoto]. Even though, among the objects listed, there were a number which undoubtedly belong to the category of o-meibutsu, such as the antique calligraphy known as the *Mittan Bokuseki*, today a National Treasure, and the two teabowls named *Kaga Ido* and *Mito Ido*, Sakamoto's book came to be regarded as a record of chuko-meibutsu in Kansai.

The catchall category, meibutsu, presents the greatest problem. The many objects that are today regarded as meibutsu owe their classification to various circumstances—more than it would be possible to relate in these few pages. As a whole, however, these are objects which already existed before the time of Enshu, but had not yet been ranked as meibutsu; only subsequently were they raised to this rank by chanoyu masters other than Enshu.

Now we come to the question of the relationship between these famed utensils and the fabrics (*kire*, *-gire*) used to protect them. As I mentioned at the beginning, such fabrics were always highly valued, but it was through their connection with chanoyu that they became particularly famous.

Fine fabrics have been held in high esteem from ancient times, as can be

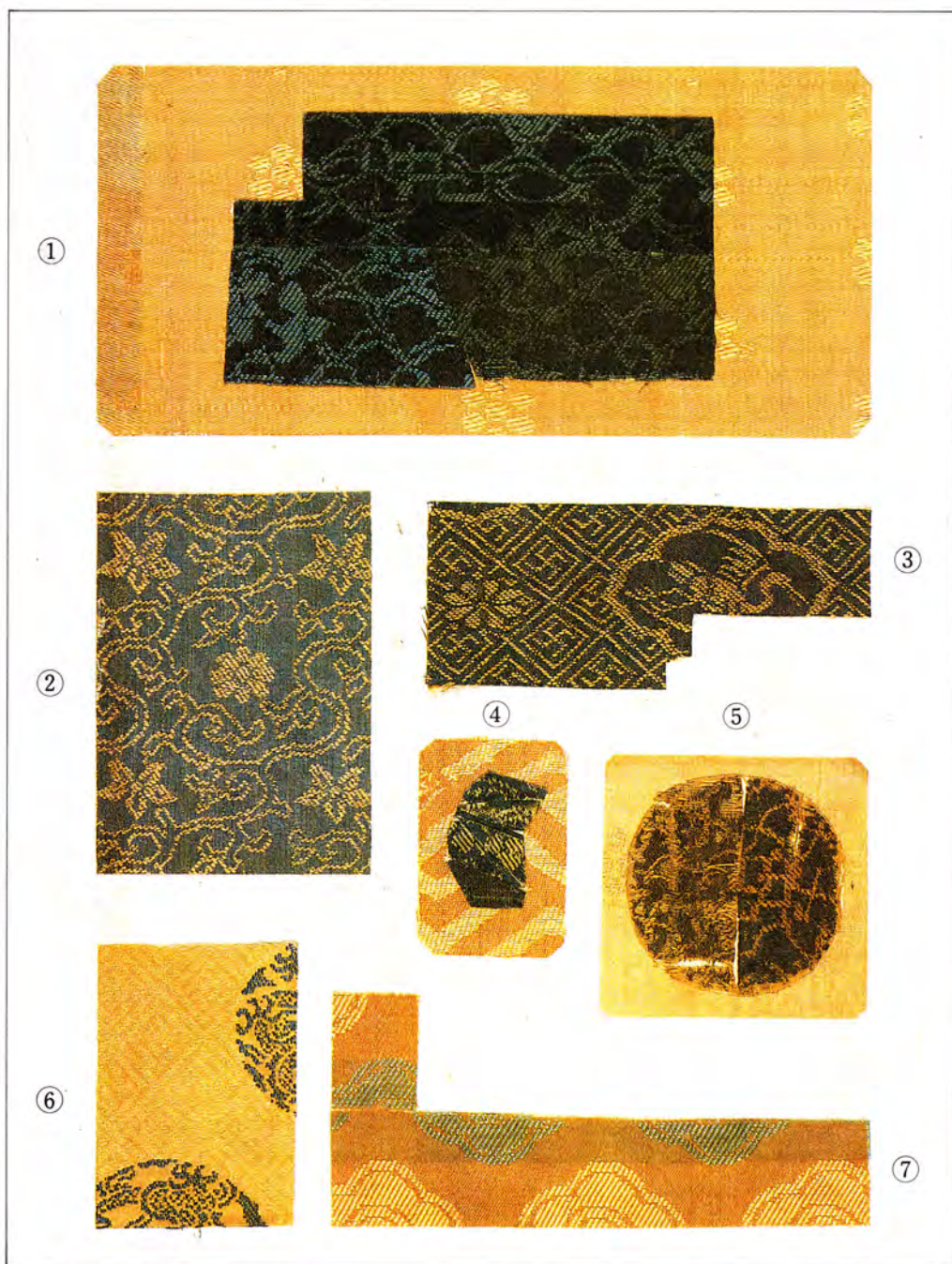
seen by the brocades dating from the eighth century and carefully preserved in the Shosoin Imperial Treasure Repository in Nara. During the Muromachi period, the flourishing of Zen Buddhism—introduced into Japan from China—promoted a general taste for Chinese things (*karamono*), and provided great impetus for a surge of Chinese imports to Japan. Significantly, many priests' robes and fabrics for use in religious ceremonies saw their way into the country about this time. Bolts of Chinese fabric were used as prizes for the tea-tasting contests (*tocha*) which were quite the rage in secular circles of the Muromachi period. In addition, the Ashikaga shoguns often put end cuttings of Chinese fabrics to practical use as scroll mountings for their Chinese paintings, to enhance the beauty of the paintings. Similar scraps, made into shifuku, were to become meibutsu-gire.

The first record of shifuku appears in the *Kundaikan Socho Ki*, a compendium of connoisseurship first published in 1478. In the section entitled the *Onkazari Ki*, pertaining to the display of art objects, there are illustrations of chaire and teabowls in shifuku. Apparently, however, relatively plain material was used to make these shifuku, and there was as yet no particular appreciation of the shifuku themselves. By the end of the Muromachi period, by which time chanoyu had become widely popular, it became common practice to protect chaire with shifuku. Extant records of chanoyu gatherings of the Tembun era (also called Temmon era; 1532-1555) indicate that by that time, people had begun to appreciate the fabrics as an important element of chanoyu. In these records, such as the *Matsuya Kaiki* and the *Tennojiya Kaiki*,² there are a number of entries in which the name of the chaire used at the chanoyu gathering is followed by a notation regarding the kind of fabric used for its shifuku. The kind called *kanto* (plain striped or checked pattern fabric) appears most often, followed far behind by *kinran* (gold brocade), and then, only occasionally, *donsu* (satin). With time, however, it seems that people came to recognize the suitability of the soft, thin *donsu* for wrapping chaire, and it increased in popularity. In volume seven, the *Metsugo* (After Death) section, of the *Nampo Roku* (also read *Nambo Roku*), a record of Sen Rikyu's thoughts on chanoyu as recorded by Nambo Sokei (dates unknown), it says, "In general, Chinese meibutsu have *donsu* shifuku. . . . Shifuku woven of gold threads always have a companion shifuku."³ This provides an interesting reflection of the taste of the times and indicates that, as a rule, a single meibutsu had two shifuku: one with gold thread, and one without.

In the Edo period, the decorative aspect of shifuku came to outweigh the protective aspect. Enshu was instrumental in putting shifuku on a par with the highly-appreciated chaire. Just as many ceramic wares, such as chaire and teabowls,

2. The *Matsuya Kaiki* (Matsuya Record of Gatherings) consists of the records of the chanoyu gatherings either hosted or attended by three generations of the Matsuya family of lacquerers, of Nara, and altogether covers the years 1534-1650. The *Tennojiya Kaiki* (Tennojiya Record of Gatherings) consists of the records of the Tsuda family of the city of Sakai, proprietors of the powerful Tennojiya merchant house, and altogether covers the years 1548-1587.

3. Up until the time of Sen Rikyu, the utensils used for chanoyu were almost exclusively of Chinese origin. "Chinese meibutsu" would have been the most prestigious of such utensils. These items today are classified as o-meibutsu.



A page from the *Monryu Jo*. The *Monryu Jo*, believed to have been made by Kobori Enshu, is the property of Oda Eiichi. Its pages open accordion-fashion, with actual fabric samples pasted onto the front and back sides. The fabrics shown above, all satin (*donsu*), are: 1. *Honnoji dons* 2. *Teika dons* 3. *Sbishobo dons* 4. *Sboboji dons* 5. *Shimozuma dons* 6. *Kozaemon dons* 7. *uzu (swirl) dons*.



A page from the *Monryu Jo*. The fabric samples, all gold brocade (*kinran*), are: 1. *kakuryu* (square dragon) *kinran* 2. *tsurugi-daiko* (sword-and-drum) *kinran* 3. *Tomita kinran* 4. *Higasbiyama kinran* 5. *hanakirin* (kylins among flowers) *kinran* 6. *hanausagi* (rabbits among flowers) *kinran* 7. *futarishizuka* (paired phoenixes) *kinran* (also called *Tachibanaya kinran*) 8. *Daikokuya kinran* 9. *Kuwayama kakuryu kinran* 10. *botan* (tree peony) *kinran* 11. *Jocchi kinran*.

were distinguished by the name of the kiln site in which they were made, so fabrics came to be identified by their distinguishing characteristics, and each came to bear a particular *mei*, thus giving birth to the concept of “meibutsu-gire.”

Historical Overview of Literary Sources Regarding Meibutsu-gire

There are various books dealing with meibutsu in general which also have entries on meibutsu-gire. Important among them are the *Meiki Roku* (Record of Famous Utensils), the *Bampo Zensho* (Complete Writings on Ten-thousand Treasures), the *Yukimagusa* (Grass Amidst the Snow), the *Kokon Meibutsu Ruiju* (Categorized List of Ancient and Modern Meibutsu), and the *Chado Sentei* (Guide to the Way of Tea).

The *Meiki Roku*, compiled by a Seto-ware potter named Bessho Kichibei (dates uncertain), mentions the history of Seto-ware chaire, the differences between various kilns, and the names of craftsmen for a whole range of utensils. The section entitled “*Meibutsu-gire Ki*” (Record of Meibutsu-gire) lists sixty-two types of meibutsu-gire, including nineteen types of kanto, thirty-two types of antique kinran, and eleven types of donsū. In addition, the section gives short explanations of the fabrics and date attributions.

The dating of the book presents problems, however, for although the postscript states the date Bunroku, year of the sheep (*kinoto hitsuji*), fourth year (1595) [when Kobori Enshu would have been only sixteen years of age], there is information pertaining to Enshu in the contents. This has caused much debate about the book's actual date of origin. One plausible solution to the discrepancy is to presume the “year of the sheep” portion of the date in the postscript to be correct, and substitute the era name Jo'ō for Bunroku. By doing so, we can come up with the year Jo'ō 4 (1655). Accepting this as a valid solution, the work nonetheless proves to be not only the oldest book categorizing meibutsu-gire and giving their names, but also the first to use the term “meibutsu-gire.”

In the volume entitled *Wakan Shodogu Kokon Kenchi Sho* (Selection of Various Ancient and Modern Utensils to be Recognized on Sight) of the *Bampo Zensho*, published in Genroku 7 (1694), there is a section devoted to various historic fabrics for shifuku and scroll mountings. Altogether, sixty-five kinds of fabric are presented; but the descriptions for them are very simple. The most detailed explanation is that in the opening paragraph, about historic fabrics in general:

Fabric for shifuku. Those from the Higashiyama era⁴ and earlier are indicated as being old. These are antique imported pieces. The large vine, small vine, and double vine [patterns] are good. Well-made pieces have a coarse

4. The Higashiyama era, or era of Higashiyama culture (*Higashiyama bunka*), corresponds to the years of rule and retirement of the eighth Muromachi shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436-1490), whose patronage of the arts, especially after his retirement to his villa popularly known as Ginkakuji, or the “Temple of the Silver Pavilion,” in the Higashiyama, or “Eastern Hills,” section of Kyoto, bore one of the most elegant and refined cultural eras in Japanese history.

texture and the color of the gold is very good. Fragments of shifuku and of mountings.

For the fabric known as *unryu kinran* (kinran with motif of dragons enclosed in diamonds surrounded by clouds), the telegraphic description is: "Large diamond. Cloth for shifuku: meibutsu kinran. Pattern with diamond crests." Of note here are the words "meibutsu kinran." Apparently, by the year 1694, when the *Bampo Zensho* was published, "meibutsu" had become an established term in connection with fabrics.

Another point of interest is that three different characters are used to indicate the term *kire* (-gire): 裂, meaning "fabric"; 切, meaning a "cutting" or "clipping"; and 端, more commonly pronounced *basbi* or *ba*, meaning "edge," "border," "scrap of fabric," or "fragment." The character meaning "fabric" is used to denote that the object under discussion is a textile. The second and third characters, when used to refer to fabric, are synonymous in meaning; both used, in regard to meibutsu-gire, because of the fact that leftover pieces from bolts of cloth were utilized for making such things as shifuku and scroll mountings. It is the second character, for "cutting" or "clipping," which is used when giving the special name of a meibutsu-gire (e.g., *Tomita-gire*, *Mochizuki-gire*, *Shuko-gire*), whereas the third character, for "scrap of fabric," is used in a wider, more general sense [e.g., in the above quotation, the "fabric" in "Fabric for shifuku" is written with this character].

Through the years, it became the practice to use the name of the type of fabric, rather than simply the term "cutting," when giving the proper name (e.g., *Tomita kinran*, *Mochizuki kanto*, *Shuko donsū*), to clarify the category in which the fabric belonged. Also, in order to avoid confusion with *kobitsu-gire*, or "fragments of old calligraphy," eventually the character for "fabric" came to predominate in all instances regarding meibutsu-gire.

The *Yukimagusa*, compiled by Sakamoto Shusai—the same man who compiled the aforementioned *Senke Chuko-meibutsu Ki*—touches on the procedures of chanoyu, chanoyu masters, meibutsu chaire and meibutsu flower containers, and then on types of meibutsu-gire used for shifuku. This latter section lists 114 types of fabric: thirty-four types of donsū, sixty-two types of kinran, and eighteen types of kanto. Although all the donsū and kinran listings include short descriptions, it is interesting that for the kanto types, only their names are given. The next section of the *Yukimagusa* is entitled "Shifuku for Chaire, Lining Material." It provides a detailed explanation of the various types of shifuku, their usage, how to select cords for them, and what types of fabric were used to line them. If we take this book to be a product of Shusai's latter years, it stands as another indication of the sudden popularity of meibutsu-gire at this time.

The publication of the *Kokon Meibutsu Ruiju* in 1791, by the daimyo and chanoyu master Matsudaira Fumai (1751-1818), even further popularized meibutsu-gire. Comprising eighteen volumes, its popular name was *Jubassatsu Bon* (The Eighteen-volume Book). Of course these volumes, being a collection on famous



Eight different shifuku for the chuko-meibutsu chaire named *Zaichuan*. From left to right, the meibutsugire of which they are made are: *Daito kinran* (gold brocade named after the "national teacher" Daito Kokushi); *wachigai-dori kinran* (gold brocade with pattern of interlaced circles of birds); *dan'ori moru* (Moghul fabric woven in stripes); *nadeshiko kinran* (gold brocade with pattern of [flowers called] pinks); *keito kinran* (gold brocade with pattern of [flowers called] cockscombs); *ho'o karakusa kinran* (gold brocade with pattern of phoenixes and arabesques); *oridome kanto* (end-piece of bolt of stripe pattern fabric); and *hanausagi kinran* (gold brocade with pattern of rabbits among flowers). Property of the Fujita Art Museum, Osaka.

chanoyu utensils, cover other things besides meibutsu-gire. But two of them are dedicated to meibutsu-gire and include twenty-six types of donsū, forty-eight types of kinran, thirteen types of kanto, and twelve miscellaneous fabrics. The special feature of the *Kokon Meibutsu Ruiju* is that it has colored, woodblock-printed illustrations. This suggests that the *Kokon Meibutsu Ruiju* was mass-produced. The color illustrations would have provided an invaluable visual aide for the general public, but the written explanations of the various fabrics are very simple. For example:

Hakugyoku. Thin fabric. Background pattern is linked weights, embracing phoenixes, and sacred jewels.

Shimozuma. Thick fabric. Same design as *Hakugyoku*.

Honnoji. Thin fabric.

Mikumoya. Same design as *Honnoji*.

Koishidatami. Because this was used as a shifuku for the chaire [named] *Iyosudare*, it later came to be called by that name.

The *Chado Sentei* was written in 1816 by the chanoyu master Inagaki Kyuso (1770-1819) and published in 1847. The fourth volume of this five-volume work lists 124 types of fabric: sixty-one types of kinran, six types of *ginran* (silver brocade), twenty-five types of donsū, seventeen kanto, four *nishiki* (multicolored brocade), five *kaiki* (a glossy fabric imported from Holland during the sixteenth century), and six *sha* (gauze). The explanations and groupings of the fabrics are all taken from another book entitled the *Kire Kagami* (Mirror of Fabrics).

In addition to the various books dealing with meibutsu in general, there are several memorandum notebooks of the late Edo period which are devoted entirely to meibutsu-gire, such as the *Kokin Kifu* (Notes about Beautiful Old Brocades), the *Wakan Kinshu Ichiran* (A Look at Japanese and Chinese Sewn Brocade), and the above-mentioned *Kire Kagami*. The first two of these are clearly based on the same source. Both works list the fabrics in the same order and give the same year attributions to the respective fabrics, and in addition, their prefaces were both written by a certain wealthy merchant of Osaka who was also a profound scholar and man of culture, Ko Seikyo (also known as Tomitaya Hachiroemon; d. 1795). Regarding the compilation of the *Kokin Kifu*, Ko Seikyo writes, in his preface to that work, that it was modeled on a book [title and author unspecified] in the possession of a certain Isaka Jo'o, with information supplemented from another book belonging to Ko's own family, having far fewer entries but detailed explanations "in the hand of an old master." Explanations were supplied by Ko "where lacking"; "the explanations about the dating of *inkin* (type of fabric with gold-leaf designs) and antique kinran are mine," he comments.

Of the *Kokin Kifu* and the *Wakan Kinshu Ichiran*, the former has more detailed explanations, with special comments in red ink. Altogether, the types of meibutsu-gire in the *Kokin Kifu* number 339: 150 types of donsū, 31 types of kanto, 112 types of kinran, and 26 miscellaneous fabrics.



The *Kokon Meibutsu Ruiju*. Published in 1791. Seen here are the two volumes on meibutsu-gire. The woodblock-printed illustration to the far left is of the fabric called *Saga-gire*; that toward the center is of *Daito kinran*; that on the right is of *ningyo-de kinran* (gold brocade with pattern of foreign figure). Property of Suzuki Hajime. Photo courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Ltd.

The *Wakan Kinsbu Ichiran* has a postscript that gives, among other things, Bunka 1 (1804), ninth month, as the date of publication. This means that it was published after the death of Ko Seikyo. As it contains essentially the same number of entries and the same names of meibutsu-gire as the *Kokin Kifu*, but the explanations are somewhat abbreviated, it seems that it was a pocket edition of the *Kokin Kifu*, presumably published in response to popular demand.

The third book, the *Kire Kagami*, contains explanations of various fabrics and some illustrations of pattern motifs, but unlike the *Kokin Kifu* and the *Wakan Kinsbu Ichiran*, it has neither date attributions nor evaluations. Although there is no publication data provided, of note is that, while the order of the names of the kinran and kanto fabrics in the *Kire Kagami* differs from that of the other two works, the donsusu fabrics are listed in the same order and, in fact, quite a few of the explanations for donsusu are also the same as those given in the other two works. We may surmise, therefore, that the *Kire Kagami* derived its information about donsusu from the same source as the other two works, and furthermore, that it was produced at about the same time as the other two books.

Let us compare a few examples from the *Kokin Kifu* and the *Kire Kagami*. In the section on kinran, the entry in the *Kokin Kifu* reads:

Goku jodai (oldest period; pre-Muromachi)

Keito kire: 500 years old. Around 500 *ryo*.⁵

Purple ground which appears a bit faded. Cockscomb (*keito*) design in gold in individual clusters. Stiff. Size: 1 *sun* 4-5 *bu*⁶ (5.31-5.69 cm.). Similar to [usual] cockscomb pattern but with earth mounds.

First of all, this is one of the oldest fabrics. The color was once a deep scarlet, but it has faded. The color of the gold is very intense. The texture is rough, with twists, like *unsai* [a thick, roughly woven cotton fabric with design woven into the bias].

Compare this to the entry in the *Kire Kagami*:

Keito. Small and large [cockscombs].

Persimmon ground. There are large, medium, and small [variations of the pattern]. Cockscomb with earth mound pattern.

In the *kanto* section of the *Kokin Kifu*, we find:

Jodai (old period; early Muromachi).

Mochizuki kanto: about 300 years old. Around 2 *oban*.

Brown ground. White warp forming verticle stripes. Weft-faced *sanada* [a type of flat-woven cord] stripes in white. Gold on both edges. There is a similar *kanto* with brown ground, but less refined than *Mochizuki kanto*, called *Asakura*.

Compare this to that in the *Kire Kagami*:

Mochizuki.

Dark brown. Various *sanada* [stripes].

At about every 2-3 *sun* (7.58-11.37 cm.), the stripe pattern changes.

5. A *ryo* was a unit of currency adopted in the sixteenth century. The standard gold coin of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867), the *koban*, was equivalent to one *ryo*. Another unit of gold coin was the *ichibu-kin*, or "one-*bu* coin," equivalent to one-fourth of a *ryo*. The *oban*, another basic coin, was originally equivalent to 10 *ryo*, but was eventually devaluated to 7 *ryo* 2 *bu*. At silver mints, the exchange rate of silver was determined by weight; the *momme* (3.75 g.) being the standard unit of measure. A thousand *momme* was one *kan*, and one-tenth of a *momme* was a *bu*. The standard one-*ryo* *koban* weighed 4.76 *momme*. The many complicated variables make it virtually impossible to place a modern-day value on these monetary units and coins.

6. When used for cloth measure, a *bu* is equivalent to approximately 3.79 mm. Ten *bu* make 1 *sun*.

In the *donsu* section of the *Kokin Kifu*, we find:

Jidai (historic; mid to late Muromachi).

Hosokawa kire: about 200 years old. Around 300 ryo.

Brown ground. The pattern is woven in colors with lightning in diamonds and amongst them circlets of rain dragons.

Compare this to that in the *Kire Kagami*:

Hosokawa.

Brown ground with pattern woven in colors. Lightning in diamonds, circlets of rain dragons.

As can be seen here, the explanations of *donsu* in these two works are almost exactly the same.

Ko Seikyo comments in his preface to the *Kokin Kifu* about the date attributions and prices quoted:

It is not clear what the basis was for determining the date attributions and prices. The prices of all the fabrics were for [the amount of material it takes to make a *shifuku* for] a *chaire*; two pieces measuring 4 *sun* 5 *bu* (about 17.05 cm.) square, and a base piece of 2 *sun* (about 7.58 cm.) square. It is said that the prices were set in the middle of the *Kampo* era (1741-1743).

From these comments we know that *meibutsu-gire* were quite costly by the middle of the eighteenth century.

At an auction which was held in 1714 to dispose of the estates of four silver mint supervisors who were sentenced for illegal practices, a piece of fabric called *Tomita kinran*, about 79.55 cm. x 53.04 cm. in size, went for the exceptionally high price of 22 *kan* (about 366 ryo). The value of this becomes clear when seen in comparison with the prices of other objects sold at the same auction. The teabowl known as the *Sakabe Ido* sold for 35 *kan* 100 *momme* (about 585 ryo), the teabowl *Kaga Ido* for 18 *kan* 507 *momme* (about 308 ryo), and the teabowl *Chojiro Kazaore* for a mere 2 *kan* 230 *momme* (about 32 ryo).

Since the Meiji period, textile experts have taken an interest in the study of *meibutsu-gire*, and have published a number of books on the subject. There are two books which warrant special mention, both dealing with the origins of the term *meibutsu-gire* and its history, and with types of fabric and their special characteristics. Both bear the same title, *Meibutsu-gire no Kenkyu* (Research on Meibutsu-gire), both were published in 1933—one in Tokyo and written by Shibuya Shukichi, the other in Kyoto, by Akashi Senjin—and both are serious, detailed studies which have contributed greatly to the field.

Of special practical value as well as aesthetic pleasure, however, are the old *kire tekagami* ("hand-mirror" of fabrics), for these have actual fabric samples,

accompanied sometimes by labels, pasted onto their pages. The earliest kire tekagami, entitled *Monryu Jo* [meaning of title unclear], is thought to have been made by Kobori Enshu himself. Presumably this samplebook was compiled from scraps of leftovers from the shifuku he had sewn for the chuko meibutsu he sent into the world. Rather than throwing the scraps away, Enshu thought to preserve and edit them for his successors. The characters "*Monryu*" on the cover of the inner box which contains the book are in Enshu's own hand. This box is protected by a bag made of fabric known as *Enshu donsū*. Although name labels were not originally provided for any of the samples in the *Monryu Jo*, all the fabrics in the book were regarded as valuable in Enshu's day, and in a later era, a companion volume, listing all the names, was made available. In the late Edo period, quite a number of kire tekagami [of various fabrics, not necessarily meibutsu-gire] were produced.

Types of Meibutsu-gire

Kinran (gold brocade)

A type of Chinese cloth which was originally imported to Japan for making Buddhist priests' robes called *hoē* and *kesa*. The first syllable, *kin*, means "gold." The second, *ran*, refers to the border cloth which was attached to strengthen the hem of a type of Buddhist cloak called *ran'e*. Kinran has a ground weave of *aya* (twill), with weft patterns woven with either gold thread or threadlike strips of gilded paper. The fabric is called *ginran* when, in place of gold, silver is used. When the ground weave is *sha*, the fabric is called *kinsha*, and when the ground weave is *donsu*, the fabric is called *kindon*. These fabrics were copied one after another in Japan. Excellent examples of kinran are the fabrics named *Anrakuan*, *Daikokuya*, and *Takeyamachi*.

Donsu (satin)

Various characters are used to denote this cloth: 緞子, 純子, 段子, 閃緞. In the *Wakan Sansai Zue* (Illustrated Encyclopedia of Japanese and Chinese Things), it is listed under a totally different term, *sendon*, translatable as "shining satin." Woven in a scattered twill, the design is integrated into the ground and does not protrude from the surface of the cloth, as in brocades. Since it is finely woven with strongly twisted dyed threads, the overall feel is soft, and for this reason, it makes very fine quality shifuku for chaire. Those which have gold woven into them are, as mentioned above, known as *kindon*, or also as *kin-iri donsū* (satin with gold). Quite a number of these with gold in them have incorrectly been categorized as kinran.

Kanto (Canton striped cloth, usually plain weave)

This can also be pronounced "kanton" and can be written with a variety of characters: 間道, 漢東, 漢島, 広東. In general it refers to striped fabric. The type called *Taishiki kanto*, which is said to get its name from its reputedly having been bequeathed by the great statesman of the Asuka period, Shotoku Taishi (574-622), is said to date from the Chinese Sui period (589-618). It is a warp ikat cloth woven in five

colors. The other kanto types originated in the direction of India, and were disseminated through the trade port of Canton. This probably accounts for the name. Mention of these appear in records of chanoyu gatherings earlier than donsū and kinran as shifuku for chaire, and even after the donsū and kinran cloths became valued, the use of kanto did not decline, for it added a change of color.

Moru (a fabric originating during the Moghul Dynasty of India)

This can be written in various ways: 莫臥爾, 回々織, 毛織, 毛宇留. Stiff fabric woven with strongly twisted thread; some have gold or silver threads wound in during plying, which gives a striped effect.

Inkin (fabrics with designs in gold-leaf)

Basket-weave gauze with gold-leaf designs pasted on by means of applying lacquer through a stencil onto the fabric and then applying a layer of thin gold leaf on top. The excess gold leaf, where no lacquer was applied, is brushed away. Purple ground is considered the most elegant, but there are also many with red, grass green, brown, and tan grounds. Curiously, none of the inkin fabrics have proper mei. Rather, their names refer to their design motifs, such as *tsukuri tsuchi* (earth mounds) or *karakusa* (arabesques). Still, they have been considered meibutsu-gire from early times. Inkin is not suitable for chaire shifuku, and is most often used for scroll mountings.

Others

In addition, there are such fabrics as nishiki, which is the general term for multi-colored brocades; *futsu*, a type of weave wherein the pattern on both sides of the fabric are the same but the colors are reversed; *shokkin* or *shokko nishiki*, a Chinese brocade based on a design of linked hexagonals and small squares, usually with a ground color of greens or blues; *kaiki*, a glossy, patterned fabric exported from China by the Dutch in the sixteenth century; *sarasa*, cotton with stamped patterns, imported originally from India and later manufactured in Japan; and *birodo*, or velvet. Nishiki is commonly used to make the pouch for the wooden container (*bikiya*) in which the chaire is kept, and *kaiki* for the linings of chaire shifuku. *Sarasa* is often used to wrap the wooden boxes in which the various utensils are stored.

The Names and Date Attributions of Meibutsu-gire

As we have seen, not all meibutsu-gire actually have proper mei. The names of the various fabrics might be categorized as follows:

- 1) Those that refer to the design patterns, such as the kinran fabrics known as *keito* (cockscorn), *hanausagi* (rabbit among flowers), and *tsuri ishidatami* (checkerboard pattern with each box enclosing a motif), and the donsū fabrics *araiso* (wave-beaten shore; fish in waves) and *uzu* (cloud jewel or swirl, depending on how it is written).
- 2) Those named after the owner of the cloth or a person who was particularly

fond of it, such as the donsū called *Shuko* (Murata Shuko; 1423-1502), another donsū called *Hakugyoku* (thought to be the name of an accomplished dancer of the Muromachi period), the kanto named *Rikyu* (Sen Rikyu), the three kinran fabrics, *Daito* (Daito Kokushi [Myocho; 1282-1337]), *Chorakuji* (Chorakuji temple), and *Tomita*,⁷ and such other fabrics as *Kiyomizu* (Kiyomizu temple).

3) Those named after a historically famous place, such as the kanto fabrics *Kamakura* and *Yoshino*, and the fabric known as *Goshuin*.

4) Those named after the chaire they protected, such as the kinran called *Osaka* and the fabrics named *Otowa*, *Iyosudare*, and *Yoneichi*.

There are also those where it is not clear what the inspiration was for the mei, such as the donsū fabric called *Fujitane*, the kanto piece named *Miyauchi*, and the *Kariba* and *Kasutera*.

In closing, I would like to mention the standard date categories of meibutsu-gire. In chronological order, they are:

<i>goku jodai</i>	Anything imported to Japan before the Muromachi period.
<i>jodai</i>	Items which were imported during the first half of the Muromachi period.
<i>chuko</i>	Items imported during the latter half of the Muromachi period.
<i>kinko</i>	Items from the Momoyama period.
<i>ato watari</i>	Items imported during the beginning and middle of the Edo period.

Translated by Monica Bethe

7. According to legend, the name *Tomita* derives from the cloth having once been owned by a certain governmental official named Tomita Sakon no Shokan Masakatsu. A note on the wrapper of the *Tomita* fabric owned by the author, Oda Eiichi, explains, however, that the name came from combining one character each from the names of two men, Kiriya Hachizaemon (real name, Tomiki) and Murata Jirobei, both of whom the emperor Seigen had asked to appraise the cloth.

Nature, Man, and Poetry: Basho and Hölderlin

Omune Akira

There is one basic thing that runs through all the following: Saigyō in his poetry (*waka*), Sōgi in his linked verse (*renga*), Sesshū in his ink paintings (*sumi-e*), and Rikyū in his chanoyu. It is *fuga*, and it allows all of them to be in harmony with nature and companions of the four seasons. For any one of these [men], there is no place without blossoms when he looks about, or without a moon when he muses. Not to be able to imagine blossoms is to be like a barbarian; to be incapable of musing on the moon is to descend to the level of beasts. But the chance to part company with both barbarianism and animality is exactly what the creative harmony and interaction with nature gives to man.¹

The above, taken from the famous Japanese poet Matsuo Bashō's (1644-1694) *Travel-Worn Satchel* (*Oi no Kobumi*) is frequently quoted in discussions of Japanese literature. But frequent quotation and fame do not themselves make for understanding. It may very well be that we Japanese have passed this down over the years as if it were something perfectly clear when in fact it is not. For instance, even one of the most well-known commentaries on this [in the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei*, vol. 46 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959)] says that references in this quotation to "blossoms" and "the moon" are indicating "the beauty of blossoms and the moon," and a note tells us that these are "representative of nature's beauty." But I suspect that this may be a distortion of Bashō's meaning. I would suggest that this understanding of blossoms and the moon as referring to the beauty of these things is to look at the matter through the distorted lens of a modern perspective. I do not think that Bashō held our distinctively modern concept of "beauty"; he was simply looking at and referring to "blossoms and the moon," and in so doing, getting at something on a much more basic level.

Johann Christian Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843) was one of the greatest of German poets. He was also much appreciated and prized by the modern philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976). In reading Heidegger's interpretation of

1. The poet-monk Saigyō (1118-1190) is considered—together with Matsuo Bashō, whom he profoundly influenced—to be one of the greatest waka poets in Japanese literary history. Sōgi (1421-1502) is revered as the epitome of the traveler-poet, and the greatest master of the renga form. The painter-monk Sesshū Tōyō (1420-1506), well known for his dynamic brushwork and structured compositions, is one of the greatest sumi-e artists in Japanese history. Likewise, the chanoyu master Sen Rikyū (1522-1591), who perfected the simple and austere, wabi philosophy of chanoyu, is considered the greatest chanoyu master of all time.

Translated and adapted from "Kagetsu no Shiso," pp. 30-38 in *Shin Kokugo Kenkyū* no. 22 (Osaka: Osaka Prefectural High Schools Japanese Language Research Association, 1977), by permission of the author.

Hölderlin, I find many points of surprising similarity between the German poet and Basho.² In fact, I see value in borrowing the European poet's insights in order to resurrect Basho's original meaning, a meaning which otherwise we overlook when we read the above famous passage too casually. I would like to compare the things said by these two poets, Hölderlin and Basho, as three problems: what a poem is, what a poet is, and what man is.

First we should note that Basho detected one common element in Saigyō, Sōgi, Sesshū, and Rikyū, and he called it "*fuga*," 風雅, a term often translated as "elegance," but one we here would do better to wait to define. The question we need to ask is whether Basho here was taking *fuga* as the essence of the work of the four men he mentioned with such admiration. And if it is their "essence," we need to ask in what sense it was so. It is important that Heidegger distinguished two different types of "essence." Most of the time, he wrote, we use that word to indicate a general concept that includes all individual instances. For example an equilateral triangle, an isosceles triangle, and an acute-angled triangle are all different; but the common feature in them all is the presence of three angles, and it is this that we ordinarily take to be the "essence" of triangles. But what we have then is only a formal essence; it has been made by stripping away and discarding the individuating features of each particular kind of triangle. Heidegger views this as an essence arrived at by a process of abstraction, and he chooses to call it a "non-essential essence." He contrasts it to something he sees as a much more alive kind of essence—for instance, that made by a convergent lens which, without eliminating the particulars of individual instances, draws things together into a one-pointed focus. This Heidegger calls an "essential essence."

I find this valuable and worth borrowing from Heidegger to grasp what Basho is talking about when he says that *fuga* runs through Saigyō, Sōgi, Sesshū, and Rikyū. If we think of *fuga* as an "essential essence," we do not need to get at it by way of abstraction, by lifting one element out of all those present and referring to it and it alone as what they have in common. The fact is that Saigyō's *waka* and the *renga* of Sōgi do not resemble one another. Nor do Sesshū's painting and Rikyū's *chanoyū*. Nevertheless, something the same runs through all of these. The important point about this "something the same" is that it preserves and gives even greater vitality to the particularity of *waka*, *renga*, *sumi-e*, and *chanoyū*. And it is this greater vitalization of their particularity and individuality that Basho calls *fuga*.

The perspective of *fuga* is also expressed by him as, "For any one of these there is no place without blossoms when he looks about, or without a moon when he muses." This locates man's humanity in his creativity. Without this kind of mentality, a human being would not be fully human—less than civilized, or even like a member of the animal world. The important thing, then, is that the *fuga* about which Basho is talking is not at all what people often think—namely, the

2. An English rendition of the original German can be found in Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, translated by Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1975); see especially chapter 7, "... Poetically Man Dwells"

addition of a supplementary bit of charm to human existence or an element of gracefulness put on top of daily life like a decoration. This is not at all what Basho means. He is insisting on something which, if it were to be absent, would amount to the loss of our humanity itself. So what he is doing here is really giving the answer to the question of "What is man?"

In order to make this clear, I shall quote something from Hölderlin. It is from a poem he wrote late in life and is something that meshes well with what was quoted above from Basho. Hölderlin's lines are:

Many are the things worth doing;
But it's as poet man is to dwell on earth.

We know the meaning of the statement, "Many are the things worth doing." We human beings have all kinds of tasks to perform in our world, and in doing them we gain a sense of achievement. Having a share in the management of a business does that; so too the school principal gains a kind of public credit by the work of administering the school. Likewise, a housewife performs valuable service in managing her home. In sum, the performance of daily tasks, when done on the basis of the effort and ability of each person, becomes that person's "meritorious service." Our world is full of exactly such kinds of very valuable work, and we human beings have gotten very busy just performing these kinds of perfectly good tasks.

Hölderlin says, however, that even if you take one of these as the work that will be the meaningful one of your life, you will still not bring to realization the true meaning of man's existence in the world. You cannot answer the question of why man exists simply by adding up all these instances of meritorious labor. These activities do not begin to touch the most fundamental matter—no matter how valuable these things are in themselves, or how much they contribute to our common life on earth. I think it is this that Hölderlin means when he writes,

But it's as poet man is to dwell on earth.

Poetry, then, according to Hölderlin, constitutes us as human beings, and the activity of poetry is of a different order than all the other things in which we get involved. Poetry is the event connected to the essence of why man lives on this planet.

If we look into the vocabulary of traditional Buddhism we find the word "*jiriki*," 自力, often translated into English as "self-power" or "on one's own power." I would suggest that it means something very close to the meritorious daily activities mentioned above—the "things worth doing" in Hölderlin's poem. But the important question is whether all these *jiriki* activities we carry out in our lives are really the deepest level of life. Actually they do not touch it, because they are not poetry. Then if we go on to ask what "poetry" means in this context, Heidegger would answer that it is the giving of names to things. Through our words we name things and build our existence; this is poetry and this is poetry's meaning. All this is not just the accumulation of merit through good activities (*jiriki*) but the discovery of life's meaning as a gift from elsewhere—something in Buddhism

called "*tariki*," 他力. It is certainly interesting that Heidegger, too, used the word "gift" to describe this deepest level of man's existence. And it is poetry that carries man to this point.

I would like to stress that this concept of poetry is totally different from the way it is ordinarily understood. Most people usually think of the poet's words and way of life as somehow separate from our ordinary reality—detached, perhaps, like a dream differs from our ordinary consciousness. The reason they think of poetry this way is because they have the notion that human life can be lived fully without poetry; life is made of down-to-earth realities such as food, clothing, and shelter. Then, on top of these, poetry may or may not be present. It is nice, but optional. Human life is perfectly possible even without it. This is what I mean by the concept of poetry as nothing more than a sophisticated avocation, an ornament, something added on top of all the good works that make up our lives.

Heidegger, however, insists that poetry is not this kind of take-it-or-leave-it matter. It is precisely because poetry is so unlike all our other daily activities and is connected with the basis of our existence that Heidegger distinguishes it from things usually taken to be expressions of culture or types of literature. He insists on this difference. He does not want poetry taken as just one among many other cultural activities, since to take it that way is to deprive it of its essence.

I think this interpretation of Hölderlin by Heidegger is instructive—extraordinarily so, in fact—concerning poetry's most basic point. This is why he refuses even the usual classification of it under the categories of culture or literature. Poetry is not an exquisite dream-like narration or even the expression of man's emotional life in a momentary ecstasy of words. These, Heidegger insists, are not related to the basis of human existence.

Going back to what Basho said, we recall that he took fuga—the common denominator of waka, renga, sumi-e, and chanoyu—as what constitutes man's existence "in harmony with nature and as companion of the four seasons." More concretely, he wrote that for such a person "there is no place without blossoms when he looks about, or without a moon when he muses." Without this, man is no more than a barbarian or even a beast. It is when he sloughs off barbarousness and bestiality that man becomes really man—and this is exactly what fuga means. In the *Akazoshi*,³ the haiku master is quoted as saying, "The seed of fuga is the natural rhythms of heaven and earth." The important thing is that it is not something abstract such as "beauty" that begets fuga but the changes and vicissitudes in the natural world, the "blossoms and the moon." These are the rhythms of heaven and earth, and it is when he puts his mind and feelings in harmony with these natural rhythms that man knows the fuga that makes him man.

We can notice at least three specific points of resemblance between Basho and Hölderlin. First, there is a sentence in his *Kyoroku Ribetsu no Kotoba* (Parting Words to [Morikawa] Kyoroku) where Basho writes:

3. The *Akazoshi*, or "Red Volume," together with the *Shirozoshi* "White Volume" and *Kurozoshi* "Black Volume," is a faithful recording, attributed to Hattori Toho (also known as Hattori Doho; 1657-1730), of Basho's later teachings about *baikai*. These three volumes are together known as the *Sanzoshi*.

I take fuga to be the using of a charcoal burner in
summer and a fan in winter.

He seems to go out of his way to suggest that haiku,⁴ just like a heater in summer and a fan in winter, is unconnected with practicality and utility. Basho seems to have no confidence in things that are merely practical or useful, since such things are unrelated to the reason for man's existence. For that, it is to words that he looks—as in the following:

The words written by a Shakua or a Saigyō may be only
ephemeral expressions or playthings that are quickly-
passing, but they have in them the ability to show the
pathos of all natural things. We are told that the clois-
tered emperor Gotoba said of them:

These words of poetry have the truth
and express sorrow as well.

Since this is the case, we should derive our strength
from such poetic words and at the same time take care
not to lose our way along such a narrow path.⁵

It is interesting to note how often the word “words” appears in this quotation. Especially in the phrase, “we should derive our strength from such poetic words,” Basho's own absolute confidence with respect to poetry's power becomes very clear. Whether or not mankind will keep or lose its own humanity is at stake here, and this is the first point of resemblance between Basho and Hölderlin.

The second is expressed in the *Kurozoshi*, where Basho is presented as saying, “The value of haikai lies in its capacity for correcting colloquial speech.”

The third appears in the following from the *Akazoshi*:

The master [Basho] taught, “The seed of fuga is the
rhythm of natural things.” Quiescent things look change-
less; things in motion look changeable. The only way of
arresting this ceaseless change is with our minds and
hearts—by capturing there the movements of the things
we see and hear. The windblown blossoms and scatter-
ing leaves of autumn provide a sight and sound that
needs to be retained and treasured within ourselves. Un-
less held in this place, these living things will disappear
without so much as a trace.

4. “Haiku” is the word by which we know this type of verse, although Basho's own preference was for “haikai” and it is the latter that he uses in his own writings. Here we use both terms, as does Professor Omine in his essay.

5. Shakua refers to the Heian period poet, Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204), one of the most famous waka poets in Japanese literary history. The cloistered emperor Gotoba (1180-1239; r. 1183-1198), himself a talented poet, was one of Japan's most influential and active patrons of the arts, especially of waka poetry.

In order to show how Hölderlin's thinking matches that of Basho, let us look at the following quotations from Hölderlin's writing:

Among the activities of man it is the composition of poetry that is most free of guile.

For various reasons it is the gift of speech which, among all the treasures given to man, is also potentially the most precarious.

It is generally the so-called transcendent things that seem to disappear so easily.

In contrast to:

But the things of our mundane, ordinary lives are given a permanence by what the poet can do with them.

The first point about poetry being without guile is related to the fact that the making of verse is the production of something without any practical utility in our ordinary daily lives—like the “charcoal brazier in summer and the fan in winter,” the utterly useless things Basho tells us his *fuga* consists of. Useless things are also innocent, guileless things, and on one level it is difficult to think of anything fitting this description better than poetry. Having said this, however, it is necessary to immediately add that the greatest danger to man lies precisely here. Poetry may be guileless and harmless, but whether it is present or absent is the absolutely critical question, the point at which man's very humanity is in jeopardy. This, which in Hölderlin's phrase is “potentially the most precarious gift [given to man],” is so because it touches man's fragile essence, an essence that can be so easily lost or squandered by falling into what Basho called “vulgarized language”—jargon, lifeless expressions, and the like. The thing about such vulgarized language is that it not only takes the life out of the things man has in his world, thereby really taking them away from him in effect, but it also deprives him of what makes him really human. Because man is constituted as such by his language, the question of what he does with language is of such vital importance to him. Here lies the danger: that cheapened, vulgarized language will literally de-humanize man.

We may say that Basho's *haikai* and *haiku* are really an ongoing struggle against the vulgarization and cheapening of language. However, he does not have any technique for making the point of his argument easily comprehensible and available to modern, twentieth-century people like ourselves. He has them hidden in the language of his own time and place. Therefore, we have to dig the meaning out of what he says and bring it to the surface. My suggestion here has been that someone such as Heidegger can be very helpful to us when we need to excavate and revitalize old classics such as the things written by Basho.

Ordinarily, people think of words as tools that we use for the exchange of ideas and intentions. Heidegger, however, is dead set against this notion. He holds that the idea of words as “tools” misses the whole point. It is not that it is a falsehood to say that words can be used as tools; in fact, that is exactly how they are

used most of the time. But the point, Heidegger insists, is that the essence of language does not lie in this usage. We have a world full of things that can serve functionally as tools, but to think of language as just another one of these is to violate the fact that it is only through language that the various phenomena of our world present themselves to man for the first time. Heidegger has written, "It is only when words exist that a world exists." Words, then, are not tools for man to do with as he wishes; on the contrary, the all-significant advent of language controls the possibility or impossibility of the highest in human existence. Therefore, the question as to what speech is is exactly the same as the question of what man is.

This point is made by Heidegger in his phrase, "Language is the abode of Being (*Sein*)."

For instance, when we use the word "blossoms" in our everyday speech, the real blossoms about which we are talking have their existence outside and apart from the word we use to refer to them. The word is nothing more than a sign to point to an existing something (*Seiendes*) that is called a blossom; the real blossom itself does not have its existence in the word we use to point to it.

But what, then, are we to make of the following two haiku by Basho?

<i>samazama no</i>	Making memories
<i>koto omoidasu</i>	of all kinds of things:
<i>sakura kana</i>	Cherry-blossoms!
 <i>ki no moto ni</i>	 Under the trees—
<i>shiru mo namasu mo</i>	soup and fish salad:
<i>sakura kana</i>	Cherry-blossoms!

When we read verses such as these, the cherry blossoms themselves are suddenly glistening in the sunshine, demonstrating their vitality under clear skies, and fluttering in the breeze. In this case, Basho's use of the word "cherry-blossoms" brilliantly provides them with an existence. "Cherry-blossoms" becomes none other than the very place where they live: the word is their "abode," as Heidegger says. It is his contention that we have to rescue words from being thought of merely as tools of everyday life or as signs pointing elsewhere, and restore them again to what they should be—namely, the place provided for all things to live their lives in our world. This is the real function of the poet and the real essence of his verse.

Heidegger also says that words are the events in which we hear our world. But if that is so, it becomes clear why words pose such a danger. The mission of words is to give names to things and even to constitute them as things, but on the other hand, it is also through words that the most base and vulgarized possibilities are brought to expression. Words, thus, always have this frightening capacity to bring on degradation. In answering the question as to what "degradation" means, Heidegger writes that it is to hide existence behind the things that exist. On one hand words have the capacity to reveal things, but on the other, they can also conceal or hide them, and this is the danger. The critical point is that there is no direct guarantee that a given word on a given occasion is exactly the right word, revealing something, or the wrong word, concealing it. This is why words are always accompanied by danger. And this, too, is the reason why the poet is so terri-

bly important: he is the one, the only one, who through words can bring words back to what they ought to be.

The poet, though he knows the constant danger of vulgarizing and corrupting language, does not use a specialized vocabulary of poetic words. He has no choice but to use the same words that everyone else uses in everyday life—but he uses them in such a way that their pristine purity becomes clear. Take, for example, the following haiku by Basho:

<i>shibaraku wa</i>	Just a moment
<i>taki ni komoru ya</i>	secluded behind a waterfall:
<i>ge no hajime</i>	Summer's start.

The thing about this is that it brings us back to the original purity and freshness of the phrase “just a moment.” Compared to the vitality of the phrase in this verse, the way we so often use it in lines like, “Just a moment, please,” seems lifeless and worn-out. It is this vulgarization of language or the “dirtying” of words that is reversed by poetry. Even a phrase such as “just a moment” is clean and purified when used in a poem. It is this that Basho means when he writes that the “role of haikai is to undo the vulgarization of language.” Another example is:

<i>yoku mireba</i>	Take a good look—
<i>nazuna hana saku</i>	shepherd's purse blooming
<i>kakine kana</i>	under the hedge.

We use the phrase “take a good look” often in everyday life and to refer to many different things, but somehow, in a poem such as this, it comes back to life again. This is exactly the kind of important event that happens in and through Basho's haiku.

Thirdly and finally, I find similarity with Hölderlin in the following by Basho quoted earlier: “The windblown blossoms and scattering leaves of autumn provide a sight and sound that needs to be retained and treasured within ourselves. Unless held in this place, these living things will disappear without so much as a trace.” I link this up with Hölderlin's, “The things that last are those that the poet has established.”

In ordinary language, the things we refer to as lasting are also eternal and unchanging; but the fact of the matter is that the things so called often turn out to be among those that disappear most quickly. This is what Hölderlin says—namely, that the things thought to be transcendent or divine can quickly change and even disappear. But poetry can take anything, even the ephemeral things of ordinary life, and preserve them. This happens when the poet gives names to things, an act that is not only good for the things named, but also for the man who names them, since it allows him to realize his true humanity. Unless he is able to do this, man will seem to be floating without any type of anchor on the top of a dark and bottomless abyss. The poetic act gives man an anchorage because it gives names. It makes things settled and really liveable for the first time. That is why Hölderlin says, “Many are the things worth doing; but it's as poet man is to dwell on earth.”

This is something that Hölderlin wrote in the midst of a long spate of

mental illness—but there is nothing other than the greatest sanity in these words. This is why they are so remarkable—almost mysteriously so. Other people can be perfectly normal and sane, but somehow never manage to say anything that comes this close to the basic truth about our human existence. But Hölderlin, insane as he might have been, spoke words here that are perfectly sane and sound about our human condition.

A further comment is needed concerning Basho's statement, "The wind-blown blossoms and scattering leaves of autumn provide a sight and sound that needs to be retained and treasured within ourselves." It is precisely this act that he claims to be what makes haikai, which by its words somehow preserves the life of things and events that are momentarily appearing and then passing away. But Basho brings great precision into what is meant by haikai's capacity to "preserve" things. He is not interested in "stopping something so as to see it," but in "seeing something and thereby retaining it." There is a very fine but important distinction here. The point is that Basho, in his haikai, wants to comprehend and capture the very moment—brief and momentary as it is—when a phenomenon shines with all the light of its existence and then disappears. Haikai does not stop that process in order to look at it, but grasps that very movement itself. The distinction is a subtle one, but Basho insists on its crucial importance for understanding what his poetry does: it grasps the vivid movement of the blowing blossoms and falling leaves.

In his interpretation of Hölderlin, Heidegger asks, "In the very process when things are fracturing and dissolving, what is it that rescues them through words?" His own answer, of course, is simply the composition of poetry. He himself underscores the fact that the poet must plunge himself into the very process through which things are appearing and dissolving. The composition of haiku or haikai achieves what it does because the poet is willing to place himself right in the midst of this process.

Just like a charcoal heater in summer or a fan in winter, poetry looks like an activity for frivolous moments; something with no obvious utility in our lives. But the matter might, in fact, be quite different—namely, because all those things thought to be so "useful" and "practical" can contribute nothing whatsoever to tell us ultimately what it means to be a human being. For that, we need poetry. It is absolutely essential. It defines our humanity, rescues our speech from vulgarization, and enables us to name things—to make our existence an articulate one. This is why it becomes so clear in Basho that haikai is never just an elegant element added to life or a beautification of daily existence. Nor is it even merely "literature." Fuga for him is what is indispensable to raise mankind above barbarousness and animality.

At the conclusion of the opening paragraph of his *Travel-Worn Satchel*, Basho wrote, "In the final analysis I have no particular ability or art, but I tenaciously follow this one way." Elsewhere, in his *Genjuan-ki*,⁶ however, he noted:

6. This record was written by Basho in 1690, only four years before his death at age fifty, while he was staying at a hut named Genjuan in the vicinity of his native home in present-day Shiga Prefecture.

At times I have envied those who have entered into public office and I have also thought about entry into the Buddhist priesthood.

This shows that Basho had in fact contemplated the possibility of getting fame through either secular or religious service—the world in which there are many things “worth doing,” things of considerable merit. But when finally deciding to give himself exclusively to the path of the haikai poet, he does so declaring that he has “no particular ability or art.” We, however, might be skeptical: Basho without any particular ability or art? Is this a feigning of false modesty? I think not. In his life, Basho had undergone a series of setbacks and frustrations—so much so that it could be said that he had been reduced to the basic meaning of life. I think it was in that rather desperate condition of life that he came to the realization that so-called abilities and arts cannot help very much. Here he saw that he needed to go beyond all the usually prized “abilities” of man. He had, if we may paraphrase Hölderlin’s apt phrase, discovered the need to do something other than merely accumulate more of the things “worth doing.” He had found that it is *fuga* that makes it possible for man to live a truly human life. ♪

Translated by William R. LaFleur

Blossoms and Moon, Host and Guest: A Leaf From a Renga Sequence

Dennis Hirota

Birth-hour and death-hour meet,
Or, as great sages say,
Men dance on deathless feet.

—W. B. Yeats

Perishing moment by moment, moment by moment coming to life: when we break through the hour's business of gain and loss to discover our own death, life becomes a dance that frees us to each new moment. This living-dying lies at the heart of the disciplines of *renga*, or linked verse, and *chanoyu*.

In *renga*, participants compose verses in turn, creating together a loose sequence of a set number of links. In its classical form, it is an art of the *za*—the intimate tatami-floored room, and the small group of practitioners gathered there in fellowship. *Renga* may appear to be a literary art, but the written page is little more than a record of the session—the actual linking of verse—during which each link arose from the communal process of composition and was savored by all the participants before being committed to writing. Like *chanoyu*, which it influenced, it is above all a discipline meant to sharpen one's awareness of the nature of self and things through interaction with others.

Blossoms and Moon

The *renga* sequence traverses a determined course amid moonlight and blossoms. Its flow through shifting rhythms and changing motifs is unfolded in accordance with a large body of rules—strictures necessary to keep the poets from lingering on certain themes or skirting by others—but the major landmarks are certainly the links evoking the moon or cherry blossoms. Since blossoms belong to spring and the moon is most often associated with autumn, the movement from blossom to moon is also one of seasons, necessarily mediated by other themes. The appearance of the blossom and moon links is governed by a rule based on the method of recording the sequence. The classical *renga* of one hundred links is written on four sheets of paper (*kaishi*), each folded lengthwise and inscribed vertically, with the fold at the top, from right to left. Both the front and back of each sheet is used, and the number of links to each of the eight sides is prescribed: eight on the first and last sides, fourteen on each of the six intervening sides. There should be one moon verse to each side and one blossom verse to a sheet.

Although the moon and blossom verses might be taken as the highlights of a sequence—the most demanding, the most enduring in impression—the development of the whole turns on the modulations within the sequence. Here, plainer, less conspicuous verses are necessary. The practitioner must produce links not

only on striking aspects of natural beauty and the sentiments they inspire, but on the broader terrain of human life. He must transcend the self through discerning the shared karma of the sequence. Every verse must play its role in bringing the whole to fulfillment. Basho says of Sogi, the most renowned renga master—as well as of Rikyu and other masters of arts as Ways—“all that is seen is blossoms, all that is reflected upon is the moon.” Linked verse (in a version of thirty-six links called *renku*) was an intrinsic part of Basho’s art, and one senses in his comment a vision nurtured in communal practice. Renga—with its necessity to explore ordinary reality—demands freedom from the constricted and divisive perspective of the egocentric self and the imagined shadows that it imposes on the actual world.

Further, if the moon and blossoms come perilously close to triteness as symbols of natural beauty, the undercurrent awareness of this also forms a venerable tradition in Japanese aesthetic culture. In *Essays in Idleness*, Kenko asks if, for the sensitive person, blossoms are to be seen only at their height, or the moon only when full—indeed, if they are to be looked upon only with the eyes. The renga master Shinkei (1406-1475) states, “Turn your attention to the faint and subtle. It is the link . . . like the moon amid clouds that has character.”¹ And the chanoyu master Murata Shuko (1421?-1502) employs the moon veiled by clouds as an analogy for the use of elegant Chinese utensils together with rough native ware, in order to express an aesthetic ideal of spiritual depth.

To see the moon and blossoms in every thing is a denial of the conventional moon and blossoms. Shuko did not merely combine flawless treasures from the continent with products from countryside kilns; his own favored utensils included subdued, misfired celadon and glossless temmoku. It is as though the obscuration of the boundary between Chinese and native products were discovered in a single vessel—the varied journey amid moon and blossoms compressed into a single bowl. We approach here the realm where there are “neither blossoms nor crimson leaves,” the realm of wabi that the *Nampo Roku* advises is achieved only after profound appreciation of treasured pieces. Basho’s moon and blossoms, too, are seen only by masters—those who have cultivated the ability to discover and disclose each thing as moon and blossoms, and in whose art, aesthetic preferences are at the same time moral in nature. It is for this reason that the chanoyu master Takeno Jo’o (1502-1555) characterizes the essence of wabi not in formal, aesthetic terms, but as freedom from self-attachment and pride.

Host and Guest

In the ‘dance’ of renga and chanoyu, there moves “the sword that kills, the sword that brings to life” (Blue Cliff Record, Case 15). Self-transcendence is also freedom to act from the place of the self—as the selves bound by place. The renga poet responds as lover and recluse, traveler and court lady, at the promptings of circumstance.

In chanoyu, there is a form of training called *Kagetsu no shiki* (Blossom-

1. Dennis Hirota, tr., “Selections from *Shinkei Sozu Teikin*,” *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 22 (1979), p. 24.

Moon procedure). Blossoms and moon here refer to the lots employed—carefully formed rectangular chips of bamboo bearing on the inner face either a numeral 1, 2, or 3, or an emblem of a blossom or the moon. These lots were adopted from the art of incense (*kado*), another art of the *za*. Although direct parallels cannot be drawn, in *Kagetsu* we see a form of training meant to nurture qualities also found in *renga*. Five participants prepare and drink tea, together acting as host and guest. Lots are drawn at the beginning of the procedure to determine the initial host, and again, several times during the session. The person with the blossom lot prepares tea, while the moon lot indicates the guest who drinks. There are numerous variations rung on this basic procedure, and there are more elaborate procedures that include the arranging of flowers, laying of charcoal, and burning of incense. *Kagetsu* was created during the Edo period, at a time when *chanoyu* was in danger of becoming merely an elegant pastime. Its creators, Joshinsai, the seventh head of Omotesenke, and Yugensai Itto, the eighth head of Urasenke, took as their inspiration a phrase from the Blue Cliff Record, Case 15, which states that a Zen teacher “has seven things.” These seven things are: great capacity and great function, swiftness of intellect, wondrous spirituality of speech, the active edge to kill or give life, wide learning and broad experience, clarity of mirroring awareness, and freedom to appear and disappear.² In all, seven procedures were created, with *Kagetsu* as the foundation, so that teachers of *chanoyu* would come to possess these qualities.

At the heart of *Kagetsu* lies the swift exchange of the positions of host and guest. At various points in the progress of the tea, the guest is suddenly called upon to act as host, with duties to be performed at precisely that stage in the tea, and the participant who has acted as host takes the role of guest. A central element of *chanoyu* is clearly expressed here: host and guest each have their distinct roles to fulfill in complement to the other, and at the same time, each has responsibility to the whole, and must be able to grasp at each point the rhythms and transitions in the progress of the gathering. Each assumes, with his role in the tearoom, the responsibility to create the whole. Each manifests a self that arises from a deeper denial of self in the practice of the whole.

Literary terms borrowed from the art of *waka*, such as pattern and ground, close and distant, are used in *renga* to express the nature of the relationship or linkage (*tsukeai*) between verses. I suggest another pair, borrowed from *chanoyu*, that emphasizes the character of *renga* as an art of the *za*: the relation of host and guest. Though some links might stand alone—*baiku*, in fact, may be seen as the development of opening links to independent status—in general their meaning is established only with reference with the preceding or the following link. Each link is guest to the preceding link, articulating one face while disclosing itself in relation to its host, and it must also act as host, providing a place upon which the following link will stand. At each step in the session, guest bows to host, and host bows to guest. As they bow, they relinquish the self, and as they rise, they

2. Thomas Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record* (Boulder: Shambhala, 1977), p. 103.

take on new self in relation to the other. In chanoyu, the proper attitude of host and guest toward each other is described, "In this lifetime, this single encounter" (*ichigo ichie*). Moment by moment, with each bow, this attitude sustains the gathering, both in renga and in chanoyu.

The following is the first quarter of a sequence known as *Yuyama Sangin*, composed at Arima springs by Sogi and two of his finest disciples. Methods of translating renga are a subject of controversy; probably the most widely accepted practice is to render each link once, as indeed it appears in the original. I have translated each link twice, in relation to its preceding and its succeeding link, for I have sought in particular to indicate the ways in which a single verse comes to hold distinct implications through linkage.

1

*usuyuki ni
konoha iro koki
yamaji kana*

Twentieth day, tenth month, Entoku 3 (1491)

Way through the mountains
under glaze of snow
the fallen leaves
deep crimson

Shohaku

2

*iwamoto susuki
fuyu ya nao min*

Under glaze of snow,
leaves turn
deeper
on the mountain path
withered rushes
about the rocks
yet hold the eye
in winter.

Socho

3

*matsumushi ni
sasoware-someshi
yado idete*

Even into winter
I'll look
toward the pampas grass
at the rock's sill:
where plaints of insects
began calling me forth.

Sogi

4

*sayo fukekeri na
sode no akikaze*

Beckoned by the cries
of insects
I came out of the house.
It is now the still of night.
My sleeves gather
the autumn wind.

Shohaku

5 Moon

*tsuyu samushi
tsuki mo hikari ya
kawaruran*

Autumn wind in my sleeves:
the night has grown late.
The dew is so chill
it holds the moon's
light
altered.

Socho

6

*omoi mo narenu
nobe no yukusue*

The dew is chill
The moonlight
not the same:
I do not know
this moor
or where it will take me.

Sogi

7

*katarau mo
bakana no tomo ya
tabi no sora*

Strangers
at road's end
across the moor—
We spoke together
but companions
pass on
under the sky of travel.

Shohaku

8

*kumo o shirube no
mine no barukesa*

Though I speak
they are inconstant
company
in the traveler's sky:

clouds that mark
the distant peak.

Socho

9 Blossom

*uki wa tada
tori o urayamu
hana nare ya*

first leaf, back

The ridge so distant
pale clouds are its marker,
troubling the heart with envy
of birds there
at those blossoms.

Sogi

10

*mi o nasabaya no
asayu no baru*

Troubled only by
blossoms
that start
an envy of birds:

full of the wish to transform myself
from morning to night
in spring.

Shohaku

11

*furusato mo
nokorazu kiyuru
yuki o mite*

Would myself were spring now,
at daybreak and dusk—

Finding even back in this village
the snow's
finally gone.

Socho

12

*yo ni koso michi wa
aramaboshikere*

Snow
even in the village
is melting utterly
but it's through this world
I'd have
some way.

Sogi

13

*nani o kawa
koke no tamoto ni
uramimashi*

That the Way lay open
for all the world:
the wish
of one who, in moss robes
of seclusion, knows no
bitterness.

Shohaku

14

*sumebe yamagatsu
bito mo tazunu na*

With robes of moss
what
resentment should I feel?
Dwelling here,
a rude woodcutter,
I want no company.

Socho

15

*na mo shiranu
kusa-ki no moto ni
ato shimete*

Living here I've turned
into a man of the woods—
Do not seek me out:
nameless,
the grasses and trees
under which I've made
my shelter.

Sogi

16 Moon

*aware wa tsuki ni
nao zo soi-yuku*

Choosing now a place
amid grasses and trees
whose names I have
never heard,

I know
at moonrise
the tears of things
grown full.

Shohaku

17

*aki no yo mo
kataru makura ni
ake ya sen*

Moon's light brings
sorrow

yet nearer,

even this long autumn night
when our pillows touch
and we whisper together
foretasting the dawn.

Socho

18

*omoï no tsuyu o
kakeshi kuyashisa*

Already the fall
night nears dawn.
Where we rest our heads—

like a dew

settling—
the bitterness of this love
returns to me.

Sogi

19

*ta ga naranu
ada no tanomi o
inochi nite*

Bitter
this dew of longing
reaching out:

No other's to blame.
My life
given to words
that were never meant.

Shohaku

20

*sasou tsute matsu
wabibito zo uki*

There is no one,
An empty troth
has been my life
waiting for someone
to beckon:
utterly forlorn
is a woman adrift.

Socho

21

*sumi-banare
ima wa hodo sae
kumoiiji ni*

Desolate
the man of ill-fortune
awaiting summons:
Living apart now,
he looks far off
to the cloud
lanes of the capital.

Sogi

22

*irinishi yama yo
nani ka sabishiki*

Abiding far
from the world now,
on paths amid clouds
I've entered
these mountains:
Why would I feel deserted?

Shohaku



second leaf, front



23

*wakite sono
iro ya wa miyuru
matsu no kaze*

Whence
the solitariness
of these hills
I've come to?

No color's disclosed:
a wind through the pines.

Socho

24

*izumi o kikeba
tada aki no koe*

No image is seen
in wind at the pines
but welling water
sounds purely
the coming of fall.

Sogi

25

*botaru tobu
sora ni yo-bukaku
hasbi-i shite*

Rising water
spills
the sound of autumn
to the deep of night
where fireflies drift still
beyond the verandah.

Shohaku



Sumi and How It is Made

It may be said that the history of charcoal began with man's prehistoric discovery of fire. Records show that this source of heat and fuel was definitely being used in Japan during the Nara period. For example, it is documented that the Great Buddha statue of Todaiji temple in Nara, made of gilt-bronze, was cast using charcoal.

By the Heian period, the basic techniques for making the type of charcoal used today in Japan, *sumi*, had been established. One production site was Ono, in the suburbs of present-day Kyoto, the name Ono even being found in a poem in the *Goshui Waka Shu*, an anthology of Japanese poems dating to 1086, as follows:

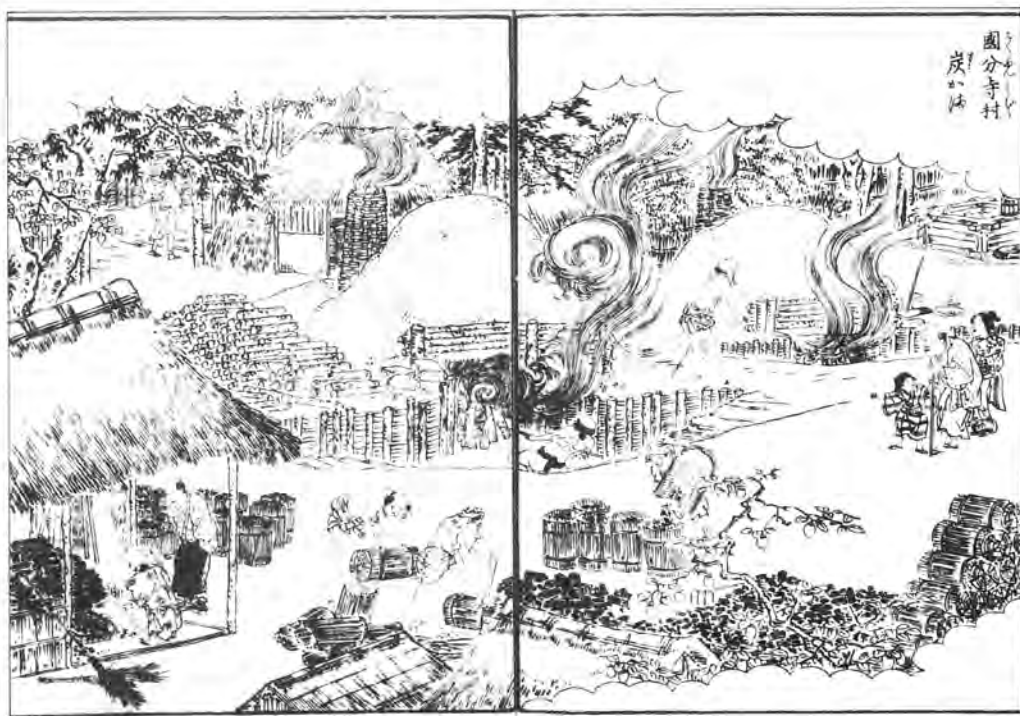
By the time the first snow falls in the Capital,
They are beginning to busy themselves
Making sumi in the mountains of Ono.

During the same period, it is also known that at Yokoyama, in present-day Osaka Prefecture, a white-colored sumi was being produced. It seems that this sumi was held in particularly high esteem during the courtly Heian period, because of the fact that it would not soil the hands. A poem of that time, included in the imperial poetry collection entitled *Shinsen Rokujo*, expresses wonder at how such a white sumi could be produced.

From these bits of information, it is evident that Japanese sumi-makers have, since ancient times, done a good deal of experimentation in order to refine the quality of their product. However, it was not for several centuries after the end of the Heian period, with the advent of chanoyu and the consequent demand for high quality sumi, that the techniques for making sumi—very much as we know them today—were perfected.

Since the Muromachi period, and continuing to the present, Ikeda-zumi—the sumi available from the distribution center of Ikeda, in present-day Osaka Prefecture—has been the most sought-after in the world of chanoyu, both for its good burning quality and its beautiful appearance. However, it should be remembered that in the Muromachi period, the act of laying the fire in the brazier or hearth was as yet not considered something to do in front of one's guests, so there were neither any rules concerning the sumi itself, nor any prescribed procedures (*temae*) for how to lay it. The military theorist and man of culture, Chikamatsu Shigenori (1695-1778), explains in his seven-volume history of chanoyu, the *Chanoyu Kojidan*, that the man considered the father of the wabi aesthetic in chanoyu, Takeno Jo'o (1502-1555), placed charcoal just as it was in the hearth, without any particular preparation. He notes, however, that such unprepared

This article is based on information given in Tsutsui Hiroichi, "*Sumi to Sumi-demae*," appearing in the August-September 1980 issues of *Tanko* (Kyoto: Tankosha Publishing Co., Ltd.), and (anonymous) "*Chanoyu no Sumi no Dekirumade*," appearing in the November 1985 issue of *Nagomi* (Tokyo: Tankosha Publishing Co., Ltd.). On-scene photographs, by Kobayashi Tsunehiro. Appreciation goes to Ronald L. Nado for his work on the translation.



Kokubunji Village Sumi Kiln Site. Woodblock-printed illustration in the twenty-volume *Edo Meisho Zue* (Album of Noted Places in Edo), published in 1835-1837. Kokubunji is located in Musashino, on the outskirts of present-day Tokyo. Property of the Kyoto Prefectural Sogo Shiryokan.

charcoal tended to spark when first ignited, creating an unpleasant appearance in the hearth. The man credited with perfecting the wabi "way of tea," Sen Rikyu (1522-1591), thus came upon the idea that by igniting the sumi once, before placing it in the hearth, quickly extinguishing this, and then igniting it again in the hearth, the problem of it creating an unsightly hearth would be eliminated. This method of preparing the sumi, known as "twice-ignited sumi," thereafter became widespread.

There is the following story from the generation after Rikyu, found in a chanoyu etiquette book called the *Chado Kyubun Roku*, edited by Fujimura Seiin (1650-1733).¹ It gives a clue as to when, and perhaps how, the aesthetic appreciation of sumi began to take concrete shape in chanoyu. The chanoyu master Furuta Oribe (1543-1615), who was one of Sen Rikyu's closest disciples, one day invited friends to tea. When the basket containing the sumi, so skillfully arranged by Oribe in the preparation room, was brought into the tearoom for the laying of the fire, the guests, discovering the arrangement to be exceptionally exquisite, remarked that it would be a shame to dismantle it for use in the hearth.

1. Fujimura Seiin, himself an active devotee of chanoyu, was the second son of the historically famous chanoyu master, Fujimura Yoken (1613-1699), who was one of the main disciples of Sen Rikyu's grandson, Sen Sotan (1578-1658).



Ikeda-zumi. Woodblock-printed illustration in the *Nippon Sankai Meibutsu Zue* (Album of Famous Japanese Items from the Mountains and the Sea), published in 1800. The writing gives a summarized description of Ikeda-zumi. Property of the Kyoto Prefectural Sogo Shiryokan.

Consequently, the arrangement was not used, but was left on display.

In the *Oboegaki* (Memoranda) section of the *Nampo Roku* (also read *Nambo Roku*), a record of the teachings of Sen Rikyu, we find the following succinct words which help us to understand Rikyu's own evaluation of sumi: "... lay the sumi so that it heats the water, ..." In other words, to Rikyu's mind the question was, "What is the most important thing one is dealing with?" His answer: it is the practical problem of how to make a "good" fire, a fire that does its job well.

This was the basic attitude up through Rikyu's time. Nevertheless, examining extant records of chanoyu gatherings from this era, we find that just from about the time of Rikyu, it became acceptable—although only in chanoyu conducted in rustic surroundings—to lay the fire in view of one's guests.

Finally, in the period following that of Rikyu, when chanoyu became centered around such daimyo as Furuta Oribe and then Kobori Enshu (1579-1647), the artistic point of view gained priority. It is interesting to speculate on why this occurred when it did. The chanoyu historian, Tsutsui Hiroichi, muses: "Of course, sumi had long been a part of everyday life, and is something which turns to ash once it is used [so it is not surprising that it had not, till then, been seen as an object worthy of special artistic consideration.] However, considering the fact that, in chanoyu, all of the utensils can and do become the focus of artistic con-



Ohara Women Vending Firewood, and Charcoal Maker. From the first scroll of the *Shichibuichi-ban Shokunin Uta-awase San-gan* (Seventy-one-game "Workers" Poem-Matching Contest; 3 Scrolls). Artist anonymous. Muromachi period. Ink and colors on paper. Height, 33 cm.; length of entire scroll, 18.5 m. Property of The Sonkei-kaku Library, Maeda Ikutoku-kai Foundation, Tokyo.

sideration, it is interesting that for Rikyu and his contemporaries, this attitude did not extend to the use of sumi. Rather, it was not until the advent of *daimyo cha* (chanoyu designed expressly for the feudal lords) that sumi became the focus of artistic consideration." Although it will require much research to evaluate, for certain, why this phenomenon occurred when it did, Tsutsui is of the opinion that, in contrast to the more-or-less permanent beauty of the various utensils, the warrior-class devotees of *daimyo cha* were attracted to the transiency of the sumi—burning, changing each second, and finally disintegrating to ash. Truly, there is an awesome pathos embodied in this, a kind of awesome beauty, and perhaps this is what moved these men.

Apparently, this new aesthetic appreciation of sumi led chanoyu practitioners to do much experimentation with sumi. They tried using small bamboo branches, bundles of pine needles, and pine cones. They tried various methods and substances for coloring them white, or even brick red. Many of the products of their experimentation proved too artificial and gaudy for the wabi feeling desirable for chanoyu, and never took hold, but one such unique item, the white *eda-zumi* ("branch charcoal") used to this day in chanoyu, did win continuing favor. Even in Rikyu's time, there was a type of *eda-zumi*, naturally grey in color. But today's *eda-zumi* is produced by charring twigs of azalea, camellia, or some variety of oak, and then coating them with a lime substance made of pow-

dered seashells. Gradually, after much experimentation, the combination of black sumi and white, lime-covered eda-zumi, the types and sizes of the various sumi pieces, and the procedures for placing them in the brazier or hearth, became fixed as we know them today.

The Sumi-making Process

Sumi can be divided into two main categories, according to the way in which it is made: *shiro-zumi*, or "white charcoal," which is usually made of holm oak (Jap., *ubamegasbi*), and is produced by the "outdoor-finished" method; and *kuro-zumi*, or "black charcoal," the best type—that with bark intact and near-perfect "chrysanthemum" pattern showing at the cross-section—being made of chestnut-leaved oak (Jap., *kunugi*), produced by the "kiln-finished" method. The hard, slow-burning sumi called *bincho-zumi*, frequently used at Japanese restaurants to prepare charcoal-broiled foods, is a type of shiro-zumi, as is the eda-zumi used in chanoyu. All the other pieces of sumi used in chanoyu are kuro-zumi, preferably of chestnut-leaved oak.

Sumi production is mainly carried out in the wintertime, when the felled trees have attained the proper degree of dryness, and the climate is suited for the long hours of firing and subsequent cooling process required to make high-grade sumi. In the case of the aforementioned Ikeda-zumi, wood from seven- or eight-year-old chestnut-leaved oak is used. Omitting discussion here of the special methods employed in making eda-zumi, the initial steps for making either ordinary shiro-zumi or kuro-zumi are basically the same. The cut lengths of wood are arranged vertically in the back portion of the kiln, so that the root ends are to the top. The open space at the top of the kiln is filled with small brushwood, in order to avoid any airspace being left there. Next, the fuelwood is placed in front of this and ignited. By continuously feeding kindling in through the furnace door, the temperature within the kiln should eventually reach 800 degrees centigrade in the upper area of the kiln, and 400 degrees centigrade along the floor.

The difference between shiro-zumi (including eda-zumi) and kuro-zumi lies in the way the smoldering sumi is extinguished. In the case of shiro-zumi, when the wood in question has carbonized to the proper degree (an experienced sumi-maker will know when this is, from tell-tale signs in the chimney smoke and other factors), the kiln door is opened, allowing air to rush in, and causing the sumi to become bright red. The red-hot sumi is removed from the kiln and quickly "doused" with ash, which results in the grey color of shiro-zumi.

In the case of kuro-zumi, when the wood has carbonized to the proper degree, the kiln is sealed completely air-tight with stones and mud, thus smothering the smoldering sumi inside. When the kiln has cooled to the degree that there is no further possibility of combustion, the finished kuro-zumi is removed. The right timing will have produced a firm, bluish-black sumi, not in the least disintegrated on the outer surface, but which is evenly carbonized throughout. It is said that the finished product will weigh one-fourth the weight of the original wood.



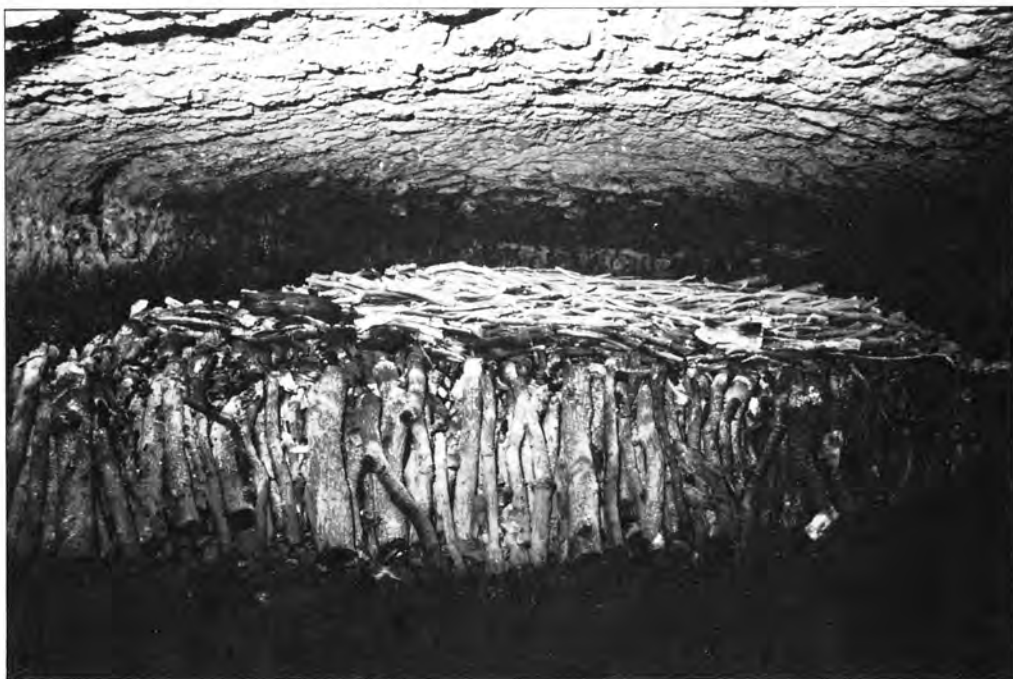
Above: Overall view of a typical kuro-zumi kiln site, with firewood piled high. In the past, almost all sumi kilns were located deep in the mountains. Nowadays, many are located on flatland. *Below:* Placing the wood in the kiln. Because the pieces placed in the front tend to carbonize irregularly, the best pieces—those to be used for chanoyu—are placed toward the back of the kiln.



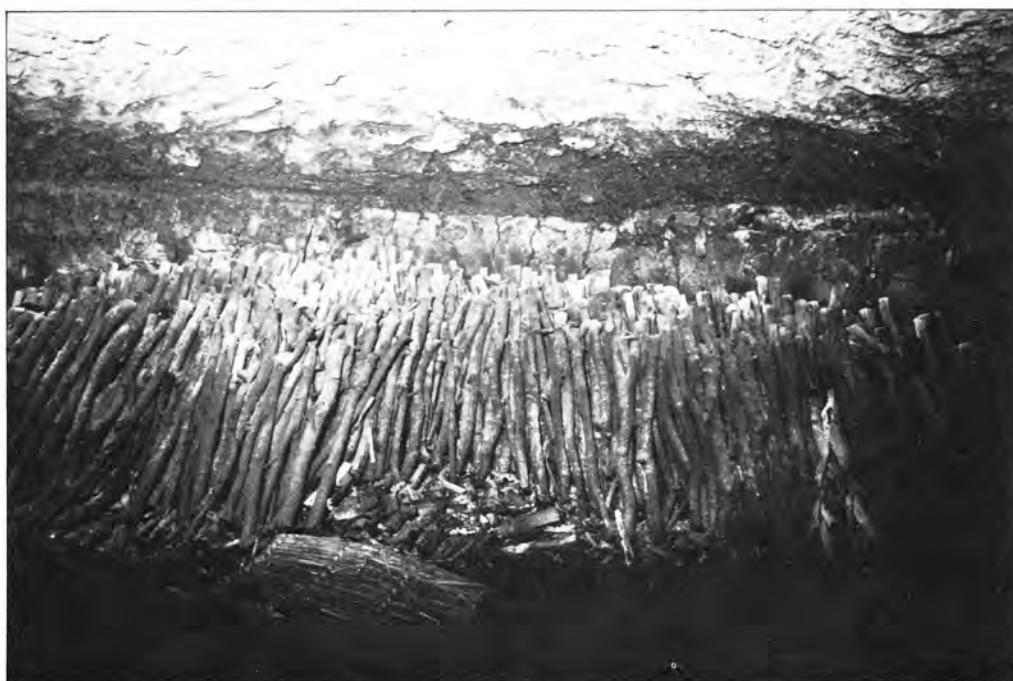


Above: Smoke rising from the chimney. An experienced sumi-maker can tell, from the smoke, how the burning process is coming along. *Below:* The kiln door, sealed with mud. When the wood has carbonized to the proper degree, the kiln is sealed air-tight, to smother the fire. The kiln is then allowed to cool to the point that there is no further chance of combustion.





Above: The finished sumi within the kiln. The finished product is about twenty percent shorter than the original wood, and about three-fourths lighter. *Below:* The best-quality pieces, toward the center and to the back of the kiln, which are destined for use in chanoyu. Only about three-fifths of the entire batch will be useable for chanoyu.





Above: Removing the sumi from the kiln. The interior of the kiln is still extremely hot. Within this, the sumi-maker carefully places each piece, one by one, on a straw mat, and bundles them. An average batch yields about fifty bundles. *Below:* The bundled sumi, ready to be taken to market. The best pieces have a fine "chrysanthemum" pattern at the cross-section, with bark firmly intact.



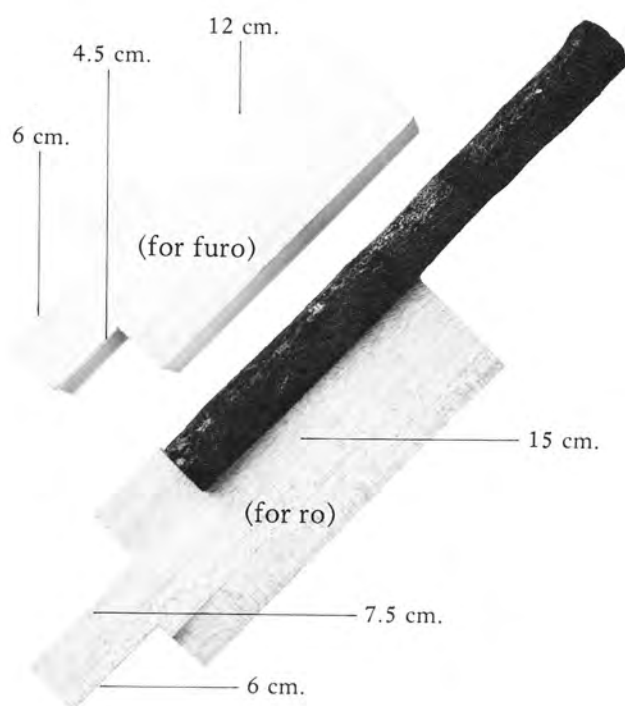
As can be imagined, sumi-making is a demanding job. Climbing into the kiln to bundle and remove the finished sumi, the heat is still so intense that one can only remain inside for four to five minutes at a time. Furthermore, since one important “trick” to ensure a good quality product is to start with a well heated kiln, as soon as one batch of sumi is removed, a new batch is started.

Storage and Cutting

Because sumi is highly absorbent, it should be stored in a dry, odor-free place. For use in chanoyu, it must be cut to specific lengths. These lengths differ, depending upon whether the sumi is to be used in a *furo* (brazier), or in a *ro* (sunken hearth). There are specially designed rulers as well as special fine-toothed saws for this. After being cut, the individual pieces are washed in order to remove any charcoal dust, set on end in a shady, well ventilated area, and allowed to dry.

Size chart (approximate lengths, in centimeters)

	furo	ro	notes
<i>do-zumi</i>	12.1	15.2	This is the largest, trunk-like piece. For furo use, the diameter is considerably smaller than for ro.
<i>marukuda</i>	12.1	15.2	The diameter should be somewhat less than the <i>do-zumi</i> .
<i>warikuda</i>	12.1	15.2	The same as the <i>marukuda</i> , but split in half lengthwise.
<i>wado</i>	4.5	6.1	Considerably larger in diameter than the <i>do-zumi</i> .
<i>makura-zumi</i>	6.1	7.6	The name, “pillow charcoal,” derives from the fact that it serves as a “head rest” for the other pieces. A <i>warigitcho</i> is used.
<i>marugitcho</i>	6.1	7.6	For furo use, approximately the same diameter as the <i>do-zumi</i> . For ro, considerably smaller.
<i>warigitcho</i>	6.1	7.6	The same as the <i>marugitcho</i> , but split in half lengthwise.
<i>ten-zumi</i>	6.1	7.6	The smallest in diameter of the pieces this length.
<i>kodai</i>	6.1	7.6	The name means “incense platform.” The diameter depends upon the size of the incense container to be placed on it, and the overall size of the charcoal container.
<i>eda-zumi</i>	15.2	18.2	





Temae—Tea Procedure: *Ryurei Shozumi*

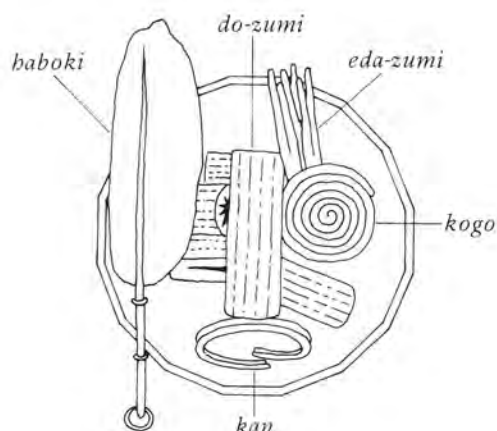
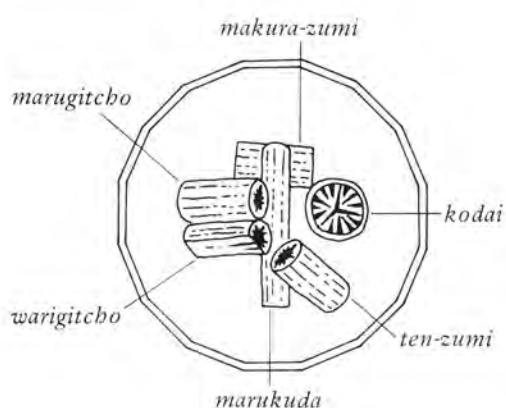
At a *chaji* (full-course chanoyu gathering) using a *furo* (brazier), the charcoal fire is built in the company of the guests directly after the *kaiseki* meal and before the *omogashi* (sweets for *koicha* [thick tea]) are served. This is called *shozumi*, “initial charcoal.” It is a standard convention that, when using the *ryurei* table designed by the eleventh-generation Urasenke grand master, Gengensai, the *furo* will be the type known as *kirikake*; that is, one which allows for a kettle to fit exactly on the *furo* rim, thus supporting the kettle above the fire, with no *gotoku* (tripod) needed. *Kan* (lifting rings) are often attached to this sort of *furo*. If they are attached, they are always lowered when removing the kettle, and raised when the kettle is on the *furo*. It should be kept in mind that when conducting *shozumi* with most other types of *furo*, there are three times in which the *furo* is brushed with the *haboki* (feather duster), whereas with a *kirikake*, the second, or middle brushing (*nakabaki*) is deleted, leaving only the first and last brushings (*shobaki* and *gobaki*).

Any *sumitori* (charcoal container) appropriate for *furo shozumi* may be used. In the photographs shown here, a sixteen-sided *sumitori* made of Japanese cedar and painted with a pine arabesque design is used. Called the *Matsu Karakusa-e* *sumitori*, it was favored by Gengensai.

To prepare for the *ryurei shozumi temae*, the *sumi*, *kogo* (incense container), detachable *kan* for the kettle, and *haboki* are arranged in the *sumitori* as shown in the following diagrams. As the *hibashi* (metal “fire” chopsticks) are

Photographs courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Ltd. Drawings, by Sen Art Studio.

kept in the *shakutate* (ladle stand) on top of the *tenchaban* (host's main table), the *kan* are placed open end down and leaning against the *do-zumi* at the front center of the *sumitori*. The prepared *sumitori* is then placed in the center of the lower shelf of the *tenchaban*. A *baiki* (ash container) is not used with a *kirikake*. When putting the *kami kamashiki* (special pad of paper, used to rest the kettle on) into his kimono, the host must remember to insert it folded-end first, as in the normal *shozumi* *temae* conducted with a *ro* (sunken hearth), because the kettle will be moved to the left, away from the guests.



(1)



The host steps into the tearoom and the guests rise. The host bows (1), and at the same time, all the guests bow in return.

(2)



The host approaches the *tenchaban* from the right-hand side and seats himself on the stool. He takes the *sumitori* from its place on the shelf below the *tenchaban* (2).



(3)

The host places the sumitori in front of the mizusashi (fresh-water jar) (3).



(4)

The host stands, steps behind the stool, and moves the stool to the left so that it is directly in front of the furo (4). Then he again takes his seat.



If kan are attached to the furo, they are now lowered, beginning with the one on the guests' side (5).



(6)

The host takes the haboki with his right hand (R), and places it slightly to the right in front of the sumitori, so that the handle is pointing diagonally toward himself (6).



(7)

R takes the kogo from the sumitori, and rests it briefly on the palm of the left hand (L) (7).



(8)

R firmly regrasps the kogo and places it to the left of the furo (8).



(9)

R draws the hibashi from the shakutate (9).



(10)

R holds the hibashi so that they are parallel to the host, and L grasps them underhand, toward the center (10).



(11)

R regrasps the hibashi overhand, toward the ends of the handles (11).



(12)

R places the hibashi in the sumitori, so that they are to the left of the sumi and the handles rest on the front edge of the sumitori (12).



(13)

If the host is a woman, and/or the knob of the kettle lid is made of iron, silver, or gold, the fukusa is taken from the belt and folded as it would be to wipe a chashaku. R closes the lid of the kettle 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 (13).



(14)

R takes the 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 (14).



(15)

The host, with R, takes the kami kamashiki from his kimono (15).



(16)

L takes the kami kamashiki from R, and places it to the left, so that it is diagonal and the fold is to the side near the fire (16).



(17)

R and L hold the kan of the kettle, lift the kettle out of the furo, and set it down diagonally on the kami kamashiki (17).



(18)

R and L slide the kettle and kami kama-shiki together slightly away from the guests, and then, simultaneously, remove the kan (18).



(19)

R and L match the kan together so that the open ends are even. R holds them while L grasps them. L places them to the left of the kettle, so that the open ends are toward the host (19).



(20)

R picks up the haboki and brushes off the furo (20) as shown in Diagram A. Then the haboki is returned to its place in front of the sumitori.

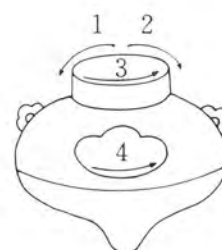


Diagram A: Shobaki



(21)

R takes the hibashi from the sumitori (21), and as in step 10, they are held parallel to the host. Then R slips around the tips of the handles, to hold the hibashi for use.



(22)

With the hibashi, the host rearranges the *shitabi* (starter charcoals) (22).



(23)

The sumi is placed in the furo, beginning with the do-zumi. L assists for the do-zumi only (23). After the do-zumi, the proper order is: marugitcho, warigitcho, marukuda, eda-zumi, and finally, ten-zumi.



Shown here is an overall view of the layout of the utensils after the sumi has been placed in the furo.



(24)

In the reverse of step 21, the hibashi are regripped and returned to the sumitori. Then R picks up the haboki and brushes off the furo (24) as shown in Diagram B.

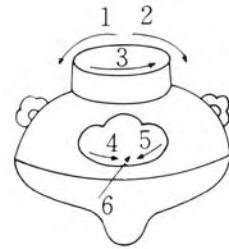


Diagram B: Gobaki



(25)

R returns the haboki to its original place on the sumitori (25).



(26)

R picks up the kogo (26) and places it on L palm.



(27)

R removes the lid of the kogo, and places it in front of the host on the tenchaban (27).



(28)

As in step 21, R picks up the hibashi and holds them for use (28). (L will be holding the kogo, so only the fingertips can be used.)



(29)

Using the hibashi, the host places incense in the furo (29). The hibashi are returned to the sumitori.



(30)

R replaces the lid of the kogo, at which time the first guest asks to view the kogo. The host acknowledges this with a bow (30).



(31)

Still holding the kogo on L palm, the host shifts position to face the near right-hand corner of the tenchaban. R then turns the kogo clockwise two quarter turns, and places it on the *kikka* (table adjacent to the tenchaban) (31). The host shifts back to face the furo.



(32)

L grasps both kan for the kettle from the sides, R takes one of them, they are simultaneously slipped through the kettle lugs, and then momentarily leaned against the upper part of the kettle (32).



(33)

The host firmly grasps the kan and slides the kettle and kami kamashiki slightly toward the furo (33).



(34)

The host returns the kettle to the furo (34), and once again leans the kan against the upper part of the kettle.



(35)

L picks up the kami kamashiki and holds it over the sumitori. R thumps the kami kamashiki with the middle finger, to remove any matter which might have fallen onto it (35).



(36)

L transfers the kami kamashiki to R, and it is returned to its original place in the host's kimono (36).



(37)

The host holds the kan of the kettle and adjusts the kettle in the furo, then removes the kan from the lugs (37).



(38)

R and L match the kan together. R grasps them at the section where the ends are open (38).



(39)

R places the kan in the front space of the sumitori, leaning them against the inner front wall (39).



(40)

R takes the haboki and brushes the lid of the kettle, as though writing the character 7 (40).



(41)

The haboki is returned to its place on the sumitori (41).



(42)

R takes the hibashi from the sumitori and transfers them to L. Then R takes the haboki and, as L holds the hibashi over the sumitori, brushes off the upper sides of the hibashi in two strokes (42).



(43)

L rotates the hibashi so that the undersides are to the top, and R brushes this side off in one stroke (43).



(44)

R returns the haboki to the sumitori (44).



(45)

R holds the handles of the hibashi, L grasps them toward the center, and R regrasps them as though holding a pencil (45).



(46)

R returns the hibashi to the shakutate (46).



(47)

If kan are attached to the furo, they are now raised, beginning with the one on the guests' side (47).



(48)

R sets the lid ajar on the kettle (48). (For use of *fukusa*, see instructions for step 13.)



(49)

The host stands and returns the stool to its original position in front of the *tencha-ban* (49).



(50)

The host sits down again, picks up the *sumitori* (50), rises, turns toward the guests, and takes the *sumitori* to the *mizuya* (preparation room).



(51)

While the host is in the *mizuya*, the *banto* (host's assistant) fetches the *kogo* from the *kikka* (51) and takes it to the guests for their inspection. When they have finished inspecting it, the *banto* returns it to the *kikka*, and then goes out to the *mizuya*. (Note: Before stepping out the door, the *banto* may stop, turn toward the guests, and bow. The guests will remain seated, and bow in return.)



(52)

The host enters, seats himself so that he faces the kikka, and answers the questions the first guest has regarding the kogo (52).



(53)

The host picks up the kogo with R, sets it on the palm of L, secures it with R (53), rises, and takes the kogo to the mizuya.



(54)

Finally, the host steps into the tearoom, all the guests rise, the host bows (54), and the guests bow in return and appreciation.



Book Reviews

The Challenge of Japan's Internationalization: Organization and Culture. Edited by Hiroshi Mannari and Harumi Befu. Nishinomiya and Tokyo: Kwansei Gakuin University and Kodansha International, Ltd., 1983. 308 pp. US\$14.95, ¥2,900.

"Internationalization," the "in" word of the 1980's in Japan, was the theme of a conference held at Kwansei Gakuin University's Sengari Seminar House from June 30 to July 5, 1981. The result of the conference is the book under review.

It is easy enough to be critical of a volume based on a conference, and it will be evident immediately that the views expressed here reflect my predilections as a historian. Nonetheless, I was struck by some critical imbalances. First, the participants were limited to Japanese and Western scholars. It is as if the "internationalization" of Japan were a bilateral phenomenon. It is true that several participants addressed the issue as the Japanese see it, that is, Japanese attitudes vis-a-vis the advanced industrial societies and not the "less developed countries." (Herbert Passin, "Overview: The Internationalization of Japan—Some Reflections," p. 21; Harumi Befu, "Internationalization of Japan and Nihon Bunkaron," p. 233.) However, having raised the issue, they confront it but tangentially (Befu, pp. 255-257; 262). They fail to ask what kind of "challenge" to Japan's internationalization it is that ignores so much of the rich and old cultures right at Japan's doorstep; the cultures of countries with which Japan has had and continues to have relationships. Were these countries not more advanced than Japan in the past? Is it not just possible that Japanese reactions to these advanced countries in the past might tell us something about contemporary Japanese reactions? Second, although the word "culture" appears in the title of the book, the approach is that of social science, and the participants are mainly sociologists (Koya Azumi, Robert N. Bellah, Winston Davis, Jerald Hage, Geert Hofstede, Frank Hull, Mannari Hiroshi, Robert M. Marsh, Ross E. Mouer, Herbert Passin, Sugimoto Yoshio). There are two political scientists (Chalmers Johnson, Kamishima Jiro), and one historian (W. Mark Fruin). Third, there is a lack of historical perspective. Except for Kamishima and Bellah, the participants limit themselves, when they do address the historical dimension, to the period from the *Bakumatsu* (twilight years of the Tokugawa Shogunate) to the present. It is as if the Japanese had been robbed of both their cultural heritage and their history. Although Befu mentions the possible existence of *Nihon Bunkaron* prior to the Meiji period (pp. 253, 260), he does so *en passant*. The basic reason for Japanese interest in internationalization for him is that it reflects Japan's "identity crisis on a massive scale," that Japanese claims to uniqueness are a reaction to this crisis, and that, finally, "this claim to uniqueness has a Western (emphasis mine) bias as does the Japanese concept of internationalization" (p. 259). I have no doubts that his analysis would have been fuller had he re-read Sir George Sansom's classic, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*.

Despite the heavy preponderance of sociologists, the positions taken and the conclusions presented differ greatly among them—which is why conferences continue to be held and books never stop being written. Passin softens the positions of fellow sociologists on the "convergence theory." This theory, as applied in this conference, is that "'complete internationalization' would be reached when Japanese organizations show 100 percent of the same characteristics [i.e., there is a convergence] as the relevant Western (emphasis mine) organizations in the same field." Passin clearly does not subscribe to this theory (p. 22). But other participant sociologists do:

Thus, our hypothesis that "made in Japan" organizational structure and management decline over time and that a convergence toward Western forms occurs as multinational strategies are played out by Japanese MNC (multinational corporations) subsidiaries **must** be regarded as **provisionally confirmed** (emphases mine). (Marsh, Mannari, "The Internationalization of Management in Japanese Multinationals," p. 74)

Significantly, other sociologists believe that convergence "may" come about because of the many lessons the West can learn from Japan, and because of the current interest in Japanese practices shown in the United States (Azumi, Hull, Hage, "Managing High Technology in an International Perspective: A Comparison between Japan and the United States," p. 141).

It is difficult to imagine two more different approaches to their own discipline than the Johnson and Kamishima contributions. Johnson does not dismiss cultural or social values explanations of political behavior, but he is not comfortable with such explanations. He puts it bluntly: "... its [Japan's] closure for about 40 years in mid-century [the 20th] had very little to do with culture and everything to do with politics" ("The Internationalization of the Japanese Economy," pp. 35, 36, 38). The danger that Johnson sees in the Western propensity to deal with Japan as a unique culture is that it relieves "Japan's foreign competitors from the need to assess their own performances"—in other words, "if the Japanese are literally unique ... then comparisons with them would be meaningless" (p. 34)—and that Westerners can learn nothing from the Japanese experience. For Johnson, Japanese institutions and practices may be different, but they are not unique. Therefore, Westerners can study them and benefit. [He reiterates this theme in a paper given elsewhere by describing ten Japanese institutions that Japan's competitors "must match or meet (although not necessarily copy)." ("The Japanese Economy: A Different Kind of Capitalism," August 12-14, 1985, Boston University.)] Kamishima, following Yanagita Kunio, makes a plausible, provocative, but probably unprovable case for the proposition that geography is the "most important single factor that gave Japanese society its peculiar character ... " ("Political Principles and Japanese Society," p. 176). I suspect that it is this kind of reasoning that makes Johnson chary of historical, cultural explanations of political behavior.

The two anthropologists both agree on the existence of cultural factors as explanations of current social behavior. (As a matter of fact, so do Marsh and Mannari in their observations of Japanese managerial difficulties in Indonesia and Thailand, p. 76). However, in Befu's case, "*Nihon Bunkaron*" is a cultural factor that exists as an ideology, whereas for Wagatsuma, though he warns against simplistic generalizations, "cultural norms and psychological tendencies" do exist that set Japanese apart from others ("Internationalization of the Japanese: Group Model Reconsidered"). But both come to the rather dismal conclusion that the reality of ideological and cultural differences will make it difficult, if not impossible, for the Japanese to become internationalized.

Fruin, the only historian, shows why it is risky to ignore history ("The Taste of Success: The Democratization and Internationalization of the Kikkoman Corporation"). One of his basic theses is that the "democratic reforms" of the American Occupation were not crucial in "democratizing" the relationship between management and employees in large corporations and at Kikkoman because it "did little more than formalize" existing traditions. [This should give pause to the widely held belief that the way major Japanese companies organize themselves and are run are post-World War II developments.] More importantly, democratization was an "imposed system of Western values which often lacked resonance with established Japanese

ideas and institutions" (pp. 96-98, 108). In short, Fruin believes that anything imposed and not consonant with indigenous values, practices, and institutions has little chance to evolve in the society. This view, of course, is not original and was stated emphatically by Sansom in his *The Western World and Japan* and by Sir Hamilton Gibb in his study of the spread of Islamic culture. However, it does not suffer from constant repetition. Fruin's other basic point is that Kikkoman's internationalization strategy was voluntary and therefore successful, and that the "free form" character of internationalization makes "variety (emphasis mine) of organizational devices and styles appear effective" (p. 109). So here, in an important way, he parts company with some of the sociologists and is closer to Johnson, the political scientist. I suspect that Passin misread the thrust of Fruin's paper when he linked the sociologists' papers with that of Fruin's (p. 21).

It would appear from the above that the best parts of a volume based on any conference usually do not appear in print. This is the record of the discussion among the participants as they have a go at each other over their differences. Since the responsibility of the person who writes up the overview or concluding chapter is to pull things together, the tendency is to obscure sharp, subtle, and significant differences.

Finally, a few contributions deserve special mention. Passin is always a pleasure to read. He is probably one of the most active American specialists on Japan. He is also one of the few who takes every opportunity to spend extended periods in Japan. He therefore tries to see matters from the "inside," i.e., from the Japanese perspective. One can count on his observations to be fair, sensitive, and in many cases, wise. His piece is vintage Passin. Johnson must be taken seriously for he is one of the most knowledgeable of the political scientists studying contemporary Japan. His paper is an excellent starting point in understanding the current trade problem between Japan and the Western industrial nations. I found myself nodding in appreciation in reading Fruin, but this, admittedly, reflects my bias as a historian. Quite apart from Befu's discussion and the basic conclusions he draws from it, I noted that his presentation is marked by a perspective that is different from all the others—that of a Japanese-American—and this may be of interest to that audience.

I would like to close on a personal note. On July 25, 1985, Wagatsuma Hiroshi passed away. It was an untimely and great loss to both his family and the Japan studies field. I know that had he lived, we would have been able to have had a lively, frank, and open-ended discussion of this significant volume. And, as in so many instances in the past, I would have learned much from him.

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Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen. Edited by Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory. Studies in East Asian Buddhism, No. 1; The Kuroda Institute for the Study of Buddhism and Human Values. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983. xxxi + 389 pp., including notes and appendices. US\$14.95.

This work constitutes the first volume of the Kuroda Institute's projected series on East Asian Buddhism, and represents the present degree of sophistication of Buddhist studies in America. It is definitely not intended for the general reader; however, scholars and teachers seeking enrichment of resources, and critical analyses and interpretations of primary sources—so necessary

to an authentic understanding of Buddhist tradition—will find it an invaluable addition to their libraries. The book itself consists of analysis, classification or correlation with known collections, and interpretations of Ch'an (Jap., Zen) and Hua-yen (Jap., Kegon) texts, many of which have recently turned up in the Tun-huang finds and in Japanese collections. The photo-type printing is wide-spaced and easily read, suffering only occasional minor proofreading lapses, while the hand-penned Chinese characters are finely and pleasingly executed.

Of the five lengthy essays (from 60 to 80 pages each), three deal with the early development of Ch'an, and the remaining two principally with Hua-yen. There is an interesting contrast between these two groups of essays. The Ch'an essays—one each by Jeffrey Broughton, Luis Gomez, and John McRae—pursue less the practice of Ch'an than the textual-historical puzzles of the development and interrelationships of certain schools in Tibet and China, and are based on Chinese and Tibetan texts found among the Tun-huang manuscripts. The Hua-yen essays, on the other hand, emphasize the practical expression of what has been thought of until recently as an obscure Nara sect which virtually died out save for its theoretical traces in the increasingly practice/realization orientation of later centuries. They are based on materials which have long been available, but which until now have been rarely studied. This review will center on the two essays on Hua-yen.

Peter Gregory's essay, "The Teaching of Men and Gods: The Doctrinal and Social Basis of Lay Buddhist Practice in the Hua-yen Tradition," provides a lucid textual and historical analysis of the emergence, in the work by Tsung-mi (Jap., Shumitsu; 780-840), of lay themes which Gregory considers integral to the study of Hua-yen teachings during the T'ang period—the themes of karma and rebirth. In pursuing the whys and wherefores of this emergence in the T'ang context, Gregory provides us with an annotated version of a new translation of the "rebirth text" associated with the then popular cult centering on the miraculous power of the Hua-yen sutra. It was for this cult that Tsung-mi formulated his theory of karmic destinies. Gregory also gives a concise account of Tsung-mi's syncretic feat of incorporating Confucian and Taoist principles as part of Buddhism's realm of discourse during a period of Confucian revival and anti-Buddhist campaigns. The author further reviews the political and economic reversals which reduced imperial and aristocratic patronage of Buddhism during Tsung-mi's lifetime, contributing to his interest in reaching the lay masses with Buddhist teaching suitably adapted both to their level of understanding and to the continuing vitality of the indigenous Confucian and Taoist traditions. It is an excellent vignette of Buddhist apologetics and of the centuries-long enterprise of "ordering" the sutras and doctrines in terms of phases of the Buddha's life and levels of the believers' understanding. It would be a useful supplement to undergraduate courses in Chinese and/or Japanese Buddhism using DeBary's *The Buddhist Tradition* or Wright's *Buddhism in Chinese History*.

In Robert Gimello's essay, "Li T'ung-hsuan and the Practical Dimensions of Hua-yen," and his eight-page appendix, "A Translation of the Earliest Surviving Hagiography of Li T'ung-hsuan," he argues, with abundant support from recent scholarship, for a revision of the conventional narrow view of Hua-yen as merely a scholastic system. Gimello gives ample evidence of Hua-yen's dynamic, responsive, and varied character, as seen in the "five-rank" thought which usually is wrongly assigned to the Ts'ao-tung (Jap., Soto) Ch'an school. He builds his case principally around the obscure and little-studied layman Li T'ung-hsuan (635-730), a master who, although clearly standing apart from the "orthodox" Hua-yen line, had a great influence upon it, especially at times of the school's need for adjustment and innovation. Gimello offers an emerging hypothesis that it was laymen in the Hua-yen tradition who fostered creativity and adaptive exposition of traditional texts, while the traditional master-disciple relationships within the temples consistently produced a concern for doctrinal correctness and conservatism.

Whether or not in strict fidelity to Li's own ideas, the legacy which comes down to us through later "rediscoveries" of this idiosyncratic thinker has a signal capacity to recast abstruse doctrines into concrete forms of faith and practice. Gimello documents this with examples of the Korean utilization of Li's teaching by Chinul (later twelfth century) and of the Shingon sect's appropriation of it by the Japanese monk, Koben (Myoe Shonin, 1173-1232). Gimello argues that it was Li's colloquial language, his accurate reflection of the actual imagery of the *Avatamsaka* sutra, rather than the mainline Hua-yen treatises, that offered tradition-centered legitimization to such diverse experiential forms as those of Chinul and Koben. Hua-yen is convincingly portrayed here as capable from the beginning of "novel interpretation or creative hermeneutics" (p. 361).

East Asian studies, as they expand and root more deeply in the West in the decades ahead, will stand in debt to these authors and the Kuroda Institute's publishing program.

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Autumn Lightning: The Education of an American Samurai. By Dave Lowry. Boston and London: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 1985. xiii + 179 pp. US\$8.95.

In the midwestern city of St. Louis, when America was experiencing the dramatic social and political changes of the 60's and 70's, the then-teenage Dave Lowry somehow found his way—little realizing, at the time, what it would entail—to an apprenticeship with one of the few remaining exponents of a four-hundred-year-old samurai martial tradition, *kenjutsu*, or swordsmanship. *Autumn Lightning* is a meditative reflection of his study under Kotaro Ryokichi, who came to America as an engineer but was disciplined in the Yagyu Shinkage school of swordsmanship.

Lowry begins his story with his first attempts at persuading this teacher—or *sensei*, as Lowry respectfully refers to him throughout the book—to agree to teach him. The story goes on to become a personal chronicle of the lessons he learned from Kotaro-sensei and the sensei's wife about swordsmanship, philosophy, and Japanese attitudes, customs, and culture. Lively episodes of sweat and toil in the training hall are interspersed with the teenager's myriad and often bewildering encounters with very traditional Japanese ways of looking at life. In addition to Lowry's personal experiences, there is discussion of the historical and philosophical background of *kenjutsu*, and anecdotes about some of the greatest martial artists of medieval Japan. There are short discourses based on the philosophy of the Yagyu Shinkage school by its early master, Yagyu Munenori (1571-1646), and the Zen master Takuan Soho (1573-1645). Also included are Lowry's impressions about his own training, his growth into adulthood, and the state of martial arts in America.

While the West has by now become quite used to the various "modern" forms of martial arts (such as kendo, judo, aikido, kyudo, and karate[do]), the older forms—of which *kenjutsu* is one—are still considered antique, quaint, and mysterious, even by the Japanese themselves. These older forms, called *bujutsu* (warrior techniques), are survivors of family traditions handed down, from the medieval period, as codified warrior skills.

The Yagyu Shinkage school has been one of the most respected schools of swordsmanship. The names of past Yagyu family members pop up in samurai movies extolling their real

and legendary exploits. Yagyu Muneyoshi (1527-1606) was a minor daimyo during the civil wars that saw Oda Nobunaga's rise to power. His synthesis of various fighting arts became the Yagyu Shinkage school. His son, Yagyu Munenori, served Tokugawa Ieyasu as fencing master and overseer of the daimyo in the realm. Munenori rose high in power and prestige, and his study of Zen under Takuan enabled him to turn swordsmanship from just a method of slaying others into that of physical and spiritual discipline. Munenori's son, Yagyu Jubei Mitsuyoshi, also became a fencing master for the Tokugawa, and it is this Jubei who is popularly portrayed in so many movies and television programs.

Philosophically, the Yagyu Shinkage school stresses "the sword that gives life," not "the sword that takes life," meaning that training in swordsmanship is not primarily for the purpose of winning a battle by killing one's opponent. Under Yagyu Munenori, martial training became a means of self-discipline and meditation that ennobled and gave life to the martial student.

One of the most important aspects of the book is Lowry's description of the trials of undergoing a painfully different kind of cultural and physical training than what he had been used to. He writes of the pains, frustrations, and joys of learning a Japanese tradition, and the insights gained, that will strike a responsive chord in any Western student of a traditional Japanese discipline. Lowry's lessons began with etiquette, then martial arts, and then the ways of Japanese society, aesthetics, and culture—all rather heady stuff, indeed, for a teenager rushing out of puberty. He was taught the use of chopsticks as well as the sword. His sensei's wife rapped him on the head with a hoe for tromping through her flower garden as many times as his sensei thumped him with a thick wooden sword for losing his concentration (*zanshin*). In describing these experiences, Lowry successfully conveys the compassion, humor, and humanity of his sensei and the sensei's wife. They taught him a very special way of looking at the world; lessons which had very little to do with fighting prowess, but rather, which were to help him gain a greater understanding of himself and those around him.

Autumn Lightning is not a scholarly book on the history and traditions of Japanese traditional warrior skills. Nor is it a technical "how to" manual on the Yagyu system of ken-jutsu. The stories about the famous medieval martial warriors who began the Yagyu Shinkage school, though based on solid research, read like historical fantasy; but they never dip to the level of those commonplace blood-and-guts samurai potboilers.

Lowry's blending of history, philosophy, and personal experiences succeeds. His devotion to the culture of his Japanese sensei shines through in this loving tribute to his training, and binds the story together, giving it shape and, eventually, a conclusion.

The book ends with some quiet observations on martial ways and means, and what they could mean in the modern world. Lowry's sensei taught him that being a swordsman in this era is to contribute some good to humanity via "the sword that gives life." Finally, Lowry sees his own role as trying to meld the lessons of his chosen tradition with that of his inherited one. For him, his training in the Yagyu Shinkage school was a great but gentle struggle within himself. This is appropriate, as the great swordsmen of old Japan all eventually realized that their greatest battle was not against other warriors, but against their own inner demons. For any Western student of an oriental discipline, this is a familiar goal. Such readers will find this book stimulating, heartwarming, and immensely inspiring.

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Glossary

() denotes alias.

<i>Akashi Senjin</i>	明石染人	<i>jōdai</i>	上代
<i>Akazōshi</i>	赤冊子	<i>Jūbassatsu Bon</i>	十八冊本
<i>Anrakuan</i>	安楽庵	<i>Kagetsu no shiki</i>	花月の式
<i>ato watari</i>	後渡り	<i>kaiki</i>	海気(海黄)
<i>aya</i>	綾	<i>kaishi</i>	懷紙
<i>Bampō Zensho</i>	万宝全書	<i>Kamakura</i>	鎌倉
<i>Bessho Kichibei</i>	別所吉兵衛	<i>Kariba</i>	狩場
<i>birōdo</i>	天鵝絨	<i>Kasutera</i>	かすてら
<i>Botanka Shōhaku</i>	牡丹花青柏	<i>kindon</i>	金殿
<i>Chadō Kyūbun</i>	茶道川聞録	<i>kinko</i>	近古
<i>Roku</i>		<i>kinran</i>	金欄
<i>Chadō Sentei</i>	茶道茶躰	<i>kinsha</i>	金紗
<i>Chanoyu Kojidan</i>	茶湯古事談	<i>Kire Kagami</i>	切鏡
<i>Chikamatsu</i>	近松茂矩	<i>kire tekagami</i>	裂手鑑
<i>Shigenori</i>		<i>Kiriya (Tomiki)</i>	切屋(富木)
<i>Chōrakujī</i>	長樂寺	<i>Hachizaemon</i>	八左衛門
<i>chūko</i>	中古	<i>Kiyomizu</i>	清水
<i>chūkō-meibutsu</i>	中興名物	<i>Kobori Enshū</i>	小堀遠州
<i>Daikokuya</i>	大黒屋	<i>koishidatami</i>	小石たたみ
<i>Daitō Kokushi</i>	大燈国師	<i>Kokin Kifu</i>	古錦綺譜
<i>Fujimura Seiin</i>	藤村正員	<i>Kokon Meibutsu</i>	古今名物類聚
<i>Fujimura Yōken</i>	藤村庸軒	<i>Ruijū</i>	
<i>Fujitane</i>	藤種	<i>Kō Seikyō</i>	江世恭
<i>Furuta Oribe</i>	古田織部	<i>(Tomitaya</i>	「富田屋八郎右衛門」
<i>fūtsū</i>	風通	<i>Hachirōemon)</i>	
<i>Genjūan-ki</i>	幻住庵記	<i>Kundaikan Sōchō</i>	君台觀左右帳記
<i>ginran</i>	銀欄	<i>Ki</i>	
<i>goku jōdai</i>	極上代	<i>Kurozōshi</i>	黒冊子
<i>Gosbuin</i>	御朱印	<i>Kyoroku Ribetsu</i>	許六離別の詞
<i>Goshūi Waka Shū</i>	後拾遺和歌集	<i>no Kotoba</i>	
<i>Gotoba</i>	後鳥羽	<i>Matsudaira Fumai</i>	松平不味
<i>Hakugyoku</i>	白極	<i>Matsuo Bashō</i>	松尾芭蕉
<i>Hattori Tohō</i>	服部土芳	<i>Matsuya Kaiki</i>	松屋会記
<i>(Hattori Dohō)</i>		<i>meibutsu</i>	名物
<i>Hosokawa</i>	細川	<i>Meibutsu-gire no</i>	名物裂の研究
<i>ichigo ichie</i>	一期一会	<i>Kenkyū</i>	
<i>Iio Sōgi</i>	飯尾宗祇	<i>Meiki Roku</i>	名器録
<i>Inagaki Kyūsō</i>	稲垣休叟	<i>Metsugo</i>	滅後
<i>Iyosudare</i>	伊豫籬(伊予籬)	<i>Mikumoya</i>	三雲屋
		<i>Miyauchi</i>	宮内

<i>Mochizuki</i>	望月	<i>Sen Sōtan</i>	千宗旦
<i>Monryū Jō</i>	文龍帖	<i>Sesshū Tōyō</i>	雪舟等楊
<i>Morikawa Kyoroku</i>	森川許六	<i>sha</i>	紗
<i>Murata Jirobei</i>	村田治郎兵衛	<i>Shakua (Fujiwara Shunzei)</i>	釈阿(藤原俊成)
<i>Murata Shukō</i>	村田珠光	<i>Shibuya Shūkichi</i>	渋谷終吉
<i>Nambō Roku</i>	南坊録	<i>Shimozuma</i>	下妻
<i>Nambō Sōkei</i>	南坊宗啓	<i>Shinsen Rokujō</i>	新撰六帖
<i>Nampō Roku</i>	南方録	<i>Shirozōshi</i>	白冊子
<i>Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikai</i>	日本古典文学大系	<i>shokkin</i>	蜀金
<i>nishiki</i>	錦	<i>shokkō nishiki</i>	蜀江錦
<i>Oboegaki</i>	覚書	<i>Shōtoku Taishi</i>	聖德太子
<i>Oda Eiichi</i>	小田栄一	<i>shukkai</i>	述懷
<i>Oi no Kobumi</i>	笈の小文	<i>Takeno Jō'ō</i>	武野紹鷗
<i>ō-meibutsu</i>	大名物	<i>Takeyamachi</i>	竹屋町
<i>Ōmine Akira</i>	大峯あきら	<i>Tennōjiya Kaiki</i>	天王寺屋会記
<i>Onkazari Ki</i>	御飾記	<i>Tomita</i>	富田
<i>Ōsaka</i>	逢坂	<i>Tomita Sakon no Shōkan Masa-katsu</i>	富田左近将監正勝
<i>Otowa</i>	青羽	<i>Tsutsui Hiroichi unsai</i>	筒井絃一雲翫
<i>Saigyō</i>	西行	<i>Wakan Kinsbū Ichiran</i>	和漢錦繡一覽
<i>Saiokuken Sōchō</i>	柴屋軒宗長	<i>Wakan Sansai Zue</i>	和漢三才図会
<i>Sakamoto Shūsai (Kanjian Sōshin)</i>	坂本周斎(関事庵宗信)	<i>Wakan Shodōgu Kokon Kenchi Shō</i>	和漢諸道具古今見知鈔
<i>sammai</i>	三昧	<i>Yoneichi</i>	米市
<i>sanada</i>	真田	<i>Yoshida Kenkō</i>	吉田兼好
<i>Sanzōshi</i>	三冊子	<i>Yoshino</i>	吉野
<i>sarasa</i>	更紗	<i>Yukimagusa</i>	雪間草
<i>sendon</i>	閃緞	<i>za</i>	座
<i>Senke Chūkō-meibutsu Ki</i>	千家中興名物記		
<i>Sen Rikyū</i>	千利休		

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Temae—Tea Procedure: *Chitose Bon*
Book Reviews: *Kokinshu: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*. Translated
and annotated by Laurel Rasplica Rodd et al. (Hiroaki Sato); *Jodai-gire*.
By Kaneo Matsumoto. (Alan Kennedy); *Iconography of the Tale of Genji: Genji Monogatari Ekotoba*.
By Miyeko Murase. (Leon Zolbrod); *Religions of Japan*. By H. Byron Earhart. (Jan Swyngedouw)

The Blossoming Plum Tree

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Kobori Enshu's Chanoyu

Rikyū and the Birth of the *Nijiriguchi*

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

Sen Soshitsu XV

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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-

Design and English typesetting, by the *Chanoyu Quarterly* staff, Foreign Affairs Section, Urasenke Foundation, Kyoto. Printing and binding, by Nissha Inc., Kyoto.

ERRATA *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 44, p. 20, photo legend and credit. Grand Master Kobori Sokei XII and the Enshu Joshuan Foundation are both of Tokyo, *not* Kyoto. The editor expresses apology for the error.

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Kyoto, Japan
New York, U. S. A.