



CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 49



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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TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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

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Chanoyu is a synthesis of arts that gives expression to many aspects of Japanese culture. From its beginnings in the fifteenth century down to the present, it has been both catalyst and medium in the development of distinctive art forms. Under the guidance of Grand Master 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.

One Time, One Meeting

Sen Soshitsu XV

These days I notice that the phrase "*ichigo ichie*" (literally, "one time, one meeting") is being used very freely. To write an essay entitled "Ichigo Ichie" is fine; but for a commercial establishment to advertise a bargain sale of its merchandise with the line, "Ichigo ichie! Don't miss this chance!" — the words on a banner which caught my eye recently — is certainly to overuse and cheapen the phrase. Indeed, it reveals a grievously simplistic interpretation.

"Ichigo ichie" does not simply refer to a "chance" or "good opportunity," or to a mere momentary coming together of things. It implies an infinitely more subtle concept. In terms of *chanoyu*, *ichigo ichie* is manifest in the profound communion which comes about when host welcomes guest and guest sits together with host, a bowl of tea as the mediating element. The host makes an offering of a bowl of tea to the guest; the guest partakes of and savors the offering. Through this very natural gesture, there arises a deep communion between the two. The delicate stirrings of the soul; the quiet, lingering charm and sweet pathos aroused when host and guest share such a moment together — these things, the true essence of which can never be expressed in words, leave a distinct and memorable impression in the depths of the heart. It is this, combined with the realization that within a lifetime one may never again have the opportunity to steep oneself in such a fulfilling experience, that is the manifestation of *ichigo ichie*.

The phrase "*ichigo ichie*" has existed from old. Its connection with the world of tea in particular stems from the late Edo period, after Ii Naosuke (1815-1860) published his *Chanoyu Ichie Shu* [On the Oneness of Tea], in which he recorded his thoughts on the spirit of tea. Under the heading "*Dokuza Kannen*" [The Notion of Sitting Alone] in this work, we find this passage:

The host and guests alike sensing the lingering charm and feeling loath to see the occasion come to a close, after the parting salutations, as the guests leave the *roji* garden, they themselves, without loud talk, quietly look back as they depart, and the host, more so, gazes after them even after they are no longer in view. Peaceful-minded, the host stops by at the tearoom and, sitting alone in front of the hearth, somehow wishing that the talking could have gone on a bit longer, wonders where his guests might be at the moment. Today's "one time, one meeting" having come to a close, and realizing that it will never again repeat itself, the host might also partake, in solitude, of a bowl of tea. This is the way of the ultimate mystery of a [tea] gathering. The tranquility of this moment, with nothing but the sounds com-

ing forth from the kettle to break the silence. . . . Without true self-realization, it is difficult to reach this state.

This scene described by Naosuke indeed offers a marvelous insight into the mystery of *ichigo ichie*; the spirit captured here is without doubt the very spirit which the phrase *ichigo ichie* is intended to convey.

Reflecting upon the events of that brief time spent together during the tea gathering, a certain emotion is aroused – the emotion, or impression, which those events have etched on one's heart. When host and guests are able to share a moment in perfect spiritual harmony, the host giving of himself to the fullest, and the guests reciprocating, the impression which lives on in each of their hearts will be one which is cherished. These things do not come about by pure chance or accident. They are made possible through the host's careful preparations and attention to every detail of the gathering, and the guests' wholehearted appreciation of all that he has provided. Within the "tea experience" thus realized lies the essence of "one time, one meeting." 

Shokado Shoji as "Tea Painter"

Kendall H. Brown

Shokado Shoji¹ (1584-1639) was one of the most prolific of Japanese artists and remains today as one of the most enigmatic. Famous as a painter, calligrapher, and *chajin* or "tea adept," he is credited with hundreds of paintings and works of calligraphy; yet much of his biography and the authenticity of most of the works attributed to him are uncertain. More important, Shokado's artistic significance has yet to be thoroughly assessed.

While Shokado was highly esteemed in his own time and in the centuries immediately following, his stature has diminished considerably in the post-war period. Paradoxically, much of the current indifference to Shokado can be attributed to his former fame. Throughout the Tokugawa [Edo] (1603-1868) and Meiji (1868-1912) periods, Shokado's paintings and calligraphic works were so highly valued as *chagake* (literally, "tea hanging"; scrolls for display in the tokonoma of tearooms) that, by the early decades of this century, a staggering number of forgeries had flooded the market. As a result, the monetary value of Shokado's works dropped, scholars became wary, and interest in Shokado waned.

Recently, Shokado has enjoyed a minor resurgence in Japan due to the popularization of chanoyu and renewed interest in famous *chajin* of the past. For example, as one of the leading disciples of the influential tea master Kobori Enshu (1579-1647), Shokado has been included in a few recent studies on the development of tea. Similarly, Shokado's traditional inclusion among the "*Kan'ei Sampitsu*," or "three brushes [i.e., outstanding calligraphers] of the Kan'ei era," along with Hon'ami Koetsu (1558-1637) and Konoe Nobutada (1565-1614), has secured a modicum of scholarly interest in his calligraphy.²

The paucity of study on Shokado, both in Japan and in the West, is most pronounced with regard to his painting, the few studies which have been made on Shokado the painter being largely superficial in nature. The aforementioned problem of forgeries has inhibited scholars from analyzing Shokado's paintings in depth or tracing the development within his paintings. Instead, the tendency has been to focus on a single painting in order to ascertain the work's authenticity, resulting in scholars drawing broad inferences about Shokado's style on

1. Shokado was one of the names which he assumed in his last years, adopting it from the name given to his hermitage, the "Pine Flower Hall." Shoji was his Buddhist name.
2. The origin of this grouping, the "*Kan'ei Sampitsu*," may possibly have come from Koetsu himself. A passage from the *Zoku Kinsei Kijinden* [Continued Legends of Eccentrics of Recent Times], published in 1770, records a conversation between Nobutada and Koetsu: "Konoe Nobutada asked Koetsu, 'Whom do you consider the greatest calligrapher in the realm?' Koetsu replied, 'Putting aside the question of who is number one, you, Nobutada, are second. The third is the priest from the Hachiman'" (Mizuo, p. 39). Koetsu of course ranked himself as the pre-eminent calligrapher of the day. [See note 8 regarding the "*Sampitsu*" of the early Heian period.]

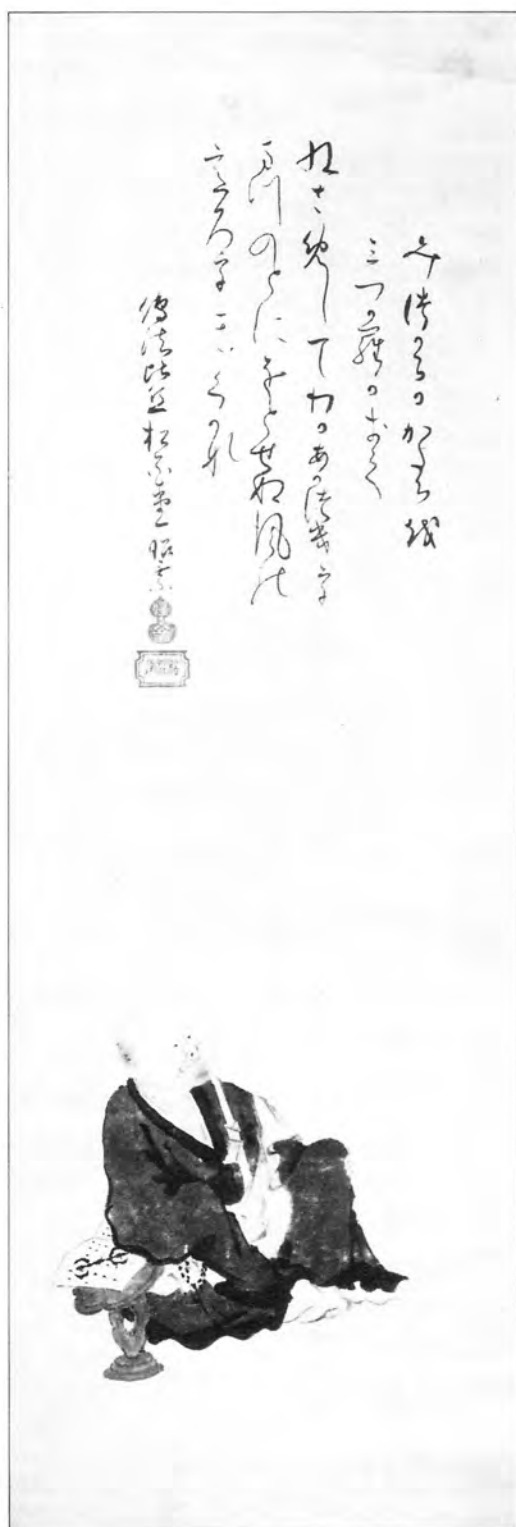


Fig. 1. Self-portrait and inscription by Shokado Shōjō. 17th century. Ink on paper. Height, 78.2 cm.; width, 26.5 cm. Photo courtesy of Shogakukan Inc.

the basis of only one or two authenticated works. The obvious problem here is that Shokado painted a variety of subjects and employed a range of styles and formats.

These factors have given rise to his ill-defined classification as either an "individualist" or an "independent." On one hand, Shokado is sometimes grouped with the non-conformist and visually iconoclastic Zenga artists, and is seen as an individualist in that his painting style falls outside those employed by painters of the orthodox schools.³ On the other hand, Shokado's connection with several schools of painting and his association with a multiplicity of stylistic influences have led other art historians to conclude that he belongs to no one lineage, and thus must be considered an independent. Defined in terms of formal lineage, either assessment may be correct. But when we take into consideration the broader matter of Shokado's stylistic affinities, we find that both assessments are overly simplistic.

As has been suggested thus far, art historians have been inclined to see Shokado in fragments, separating Shokado the calligrapher from Shokado the painter, the painter from the chajin, and the chajin from the calligrapher. Thus the relationship between Shokado's different modes of expression has not been assessed, and the sum of his diverse talents has yet to be tallied. Moreover, the rigidity of much of the method used by art historians has removed Shokado from his rich social and historical background. We must, however, look to social phenomena – changes in political, economic, religious, and philosophical circumstances – for the origins of artistic style. As Joseph Levenson has suggested, change in style is found "beyond the realm of purely aesthetic content," in the objective criteria of "outer circumstances."⁴ It seems that we think of Shokado as an individualist or an independent only in that we fail to understand the complex relations underlying seventeenth-century Kyoto society and Shokado's place within that rich environment.

Indeed, the diversity of Shokado's social connections is striking and must be understood if we are to accurately assess his art. A *shaso* (Shinto and Shingon Buddhist priest), a leading chajin, and a well-known artist, Shokado crossed the social, political, and cultural boundaries of his time. In all three of these capacities, he was in a position to mix with aristocrats, military men, other priests and literary men, and wealthy merchants. Thus Shokado was one of the most mobile members of Kyoto society – a society which was marked by a high degree of aesthetic consciousness. More significant, however, was the

3. This is the approach taken by Stephan Addiss in his summary of Shokado in the *Kōdansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, s.v. "Shokado Shōjo," and implied in his inclusion of Shokado in the catalog *Zenga and Nanga: Paintings by Japanese Monks and Scholars*.

4. Franz Shurman and Orville Schell, eds. *Imperial China: The Decline of the Last Dynasty and the Origins of Modern China* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 87. Levenson, in his chapter "The Amateur Ideal in Chinese Culture," also perceptively notes: "Historians of the arts have sometimes led their subjects out of the world of men into a world of their own, where the principles of change seem interior to the art rather than governed by the artist" (ibid.).

vital role of tea in late-Momoyama and early-Tokugawa society. Tea provided the impetus for social encounters between members of different social, political, religious, and economic groups as well as an aesthetic ideology broad enough to incorporate many disparate artistic styles.

Although early seventeenth-century society was not fluid in the sense that one could easily move between classes, it was marked by a great degree of intermingling of classes, provided one had the proper attributes. In particular, tea offered the most accessible meeting ground for those who were anxious to move beyond the limits of their own social sphere. Tea gatherings provided a rough equivalent to the French "salon," where anyone with pedigree, power, money, taste, talent, or good contacts could meet others who met at least one of these criteria. These tea coteries provided an ideal environment for developing valuable contacts which might be of use in secular or non-aesthetic affairs. More important for Shokado and others of more genuinely artistic temperament, tea gatherings allowed for the easy exchange of artistic ideas with the major aesthetes and artists of the day. It should be noted, however, that tea gatherings were neither simple aesthetic swap-meets nor casual parties for "connecting"; tea sought to harmonize the diverse views of the participants into the shared experience of a single aesthetic ideal.

The Kyoto tea community was actually quite broad in geographical terms. Strong interest in and practice of tea extended from the precincts of Daitokuji temple in the north of Kyoto to the blossoming merchant town of Sakai to the south, in what is now Osaka Prefecture, and included the satellite communities between. The numerous tea gatherings which Shokado held or attended introduced him to many of the most influential men of the day — men such as the priests of Daitokuji temple, and the precocious head of the Kano school, Tan'yu (1602-1674) — and, as we shall see, these friendships forged in the intimate atmosphere of tea played key roles in the development of his art.

Although artistic taste was a key element in Kyoto society of the early seventeenth century, no single aesthetic canon prevailed. The rise of the Tokugawa clan, it is claimed, sparked a conservative response in aristocratic and priestly circles which was manifested in art as a reaction against "the ostentatious taste of the newly risen warrior caste" and a retreat into the past — the culture of the Heian court.⁵ This formulation, accurate in the broadest terms, oversimplifies the web of social and artistic relations that made up this "conservative" movement. For instance, despite the strong ties between tea and Zen aesthetics, tea style and Zen style moved, for the most part, in opposite directions during the early decades of the Tokugawa period. Furthermore, members of the Kano school, the chief purveyors of the "ostentatious" art favored by the shogun, had strong relations with both the Zen and tea communities during this period. Shokado, if not at the heart of these distinct yet interdependent groups, was in direct contact with them. His own artistic ap-

5. Rosenfield and Shimada, p. 258.

proach to the ink painting styles of the Chinese Song and Yuan period masters, the Japanese painter-priests of the Muromachi period, and the calligraphers of the Heian and Kamakura periods must be seen in relation to the aesthetic values of the priests of Daitokuji, of the Kano school, and in the tea theory of Kobori Enshu.

One initial conclusion which can be drawn here is that Shokado, for all his presumptive individuality and independence from contemporary schools and trends, provides a suitable example for exploring the cross-currents of early seventeenth-century Japanese aesthetics. My aim here is to show – by first examining the rich aesthetic environment in which he lived and worked and the dominant role of tea in that environment, and then exploring how this influenced his art – that, although Shokado shared elements of style and aesthetic theory with several constituencies, his art was, in fact, part of a well integrated and consistent aesthetic approach, at the crux of which lay tea.

Biography and Social Background

Shokado seems not to have written anything about himself, but modern scholars have discovered several primary documents from slightly later periods which provide some information on his life. The *Takimoto Kan* [Guidebook to the Takimoto (school of calligraphy)], written in 1795, and the *Nakanuma Kefu* [Nakanuma Family Records], of unknown date, offer details concerning particular aspects of Shokado's life. The most complete and trustworthy biography is the *Shokado Shonin Gyogoki* [Record of the Doings of Priest Shokado], by the poet and Enshu disciple, Sagawada Masatoshi (1579-1653). It was compiled sometime between Shokado's death in 1639 and Masatoshi's death fourteen years later.

According to the *Nakanuma Kefu*, Shokado was born on a spring day in the twelfth year of Tensho (1584) in the Yamato district (present-day Nara Prefecture). His infant name is listed as Kitagawa Tatsunosuke. Nothing is known of Shokado's father's occupation or of the social class to which he belonged. The only possible clue to the status of his family is found in the *Seisbi Kakei Jiten* [Dictionary of Surname Lineage], which identifies the Kitagawa family name as belonging to a family of officials at the Iwashimizu Hachimangu shrine at Otokoyama in southwest Kyoto. Indeed, Shokado was to become closely linked with this shrine. As a young boy, probably at the age of seventeen,⁶ Shokado entered the Iwashimizu Hachimangu and was given the Buddhist name Shojo upon his donning of the priestly robes. Shokado soon became a disciple of the master Taki(no)moto Jitsujo (d. 1627), son of Ogawa Munetake,

6. According to Sato Torao, the *Shokado Shonin Gyogoki* lists his age as seventeen (Yabe, ed., *Chado Zenshu* 5:403). However, some scholars give other ages. For instance, Tsukamoto, without giving any source, says that Shokado entered the Iwashimizu Hachimangu at age nine in 1590 (Tsukamoto, p. 5). Even given the Japanese manner of counting age, this is contradictory if Shokado was born in 1584. Yet another theory gives Shokado's age upon entering the Hachimangu as thirteen, based upon the statement that he took the tonsure in 1596.

who was daimyo of Iyo (present-day Ehime Prefecture) on the island of Shikoku. As a young monk at the Iwashimizu Hachimangu, Shokado apparently resided in a building called the Shorobo, and thus he adopted that appellation. A single document by him signed Shorobo remains today.

The Iwashimizu Hachimangu was both a leading Shinto shrine and a temple of Shingon Buddhism, and was the headquarters, in the capital, of the Kyushu Hachiman cult. Built to honor the war god Hachiman, the shrine-temple was patronized by both the imperial clan and warrior families. Jitsujo, the first noteworthy occupant of the Takimotobo residence for the head priest of this shrine-temple, was a prominent Shingon theologian who expounded the doctrine of *Ryobu-(Shugo)-Shinto*, the teaching of a school of the Shingon sect which linked the deity enshrined at Ise with Dainichi (Skt., Mahavairocana; the cosmic Buddha). As Shokado was Jitsujo's leading disciple, and would later assume his master's position, we may suppose that he was well versed in the secrets of Shingon doctrine.

One of Shokado's most influential family members was his elder brother, Nakanuma Sakyo (1580 - ?), reportedly an official at the Ichijoin subtemple of Kofukuji in Nara. Sakyo was well-known in Kyoto social circles and was on such good terms with Konoe Nobutada — of the aristocratic Konoe family, senior of the five houses of the northern branch of the Fujiwara — “serving” both Nobutada's father, Sakihisa (1536-1612), and Nobutada himself, that Nobutada recommended Sakyo for adoption into the Nakanuma family. It seems that the Nakanuma family may have held some lower court rank and belonged to that growing group of declining gentry. Another significant fact about Sakyo is that he married the sister of Kobori Enshu's wife.

Shokado's relationship with the Konoe family, both through Sakyo and through the fact that the Konoes were probably patrons of the Iwashimizu Hachimangu, provided a key to his artistic maturation. In particular, since Nobutada was at the very pinnacle of the Kyoto aristocracy, attaining the post of *kampaku* or Regent, Shokado — who, following the example of his brother Sakyo, “served” both Sakihisa and Nobutada — was able, at least in part through his connection with Nobutada, to establish connections with the imperial family, the Kyoto aristocracy, and the most influential members of the Zen community.

It will be remembered that Nobutada and Shokado are both included among the “Kan'ei Sampitsu,” the three most outstanding calligraphers of the time. It was, in fact, Sakihisa and Nobutada who introduced Shokado to the courtly *sogana* or “grass kana” style of calligraphy long associated with the aristocratic priests of Shoren'in temple in Kyoto.⁷

7. The Shoren'in style can be traced back to the mid-fourteenth century when the imperial prince Son'en (1298-1358) based his own writing style on the [orthodox Japanese] style popular during the mid-Heian period. The gentle, flowing style of the Shoren'in abbots, in particular that of Soncho (d. 1597) and Sonjun (1591-1653), became the standard style for official documents, literary works, and even the correspondence of the literate common people (Rosenfield, p. 246).

It seems that Shokado, motivated by his admiration for a calligraphic scroll by the monk Kukai (Kobo Daishi; 774-835) which he reportedly saw when he visited Shitennoji temple in Osaka at age twenty, took an early interest in studying the classical Chinese script of the ancient masters.⁸ By the time he was thirty, he was probably regarded as a skilled calligrapher of this form of script, for we find that in 1614, he fulfilled a request from Nobutada's adopted son, Nobuhiro, to transcribe the voluminous epic poem entitled *Chogon Ka* [Song of Long Bitterness] by the Tang poet Bo Juyi (Jpn., Haku Rakuten; 772-846), and also a request from his religious master, Jitsujo, to transcribe the *Biwa Ko* [Harp Poem], also by Bo Juyi.

A study of Shokado's grass kana script shows that his interpretation of this style departs from the bolder and more decorative hybrid styles of both Nobutada and the other of the "Kan'ei Sampitsu," Hon'ami Koetsu – Shokado's style exhibiting extreme conservatism. This conservatism is usually credited to his admiration for the scroll by Kukai. Perhaps it was only coincidental that Shokado, a young Shingon monk, was affected by the work of Kukai, the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan. It would seem to be more than coincidence, however, that he modeled his kana on the styles of masters from the distant past – in particular the early Heian poets Ki-no-Tsurayuki (868-945) and Ono-no-Michikaze (also known as Ono-no-Tofu; 894-966). Immersing himself in the study of such great calligraphers of the past, as exemplified in his collection of calligraphy fragments known as the *Yawata-gire*, Shokado synthesized their courtly styles with the Shoren'in sogana tradition to form his own unique style, called *yama-yo* (literally, "mountain method"). This style gave rise to the Takimoto school (also known as the Yawata or Shokado school) of calligraphy, which flourished until the end of the Tokugawa period.

From the time of his entry into the Iwashimizu Hachimangu, Shokado lived in an environment with connections to tea.⁹ Moreover, Shokado's relations with Enshu, the leading chajin of the time, were largely responsible for his important role in early seventeenth-century tea society.

In 1623, Enshu was appointed shogunal administrator of Fushimi, and during the same year his relationship with Shokado solidified. The beginning

8. The monk Kukai is considered the pioneer and early shaper of Japanese calligraphy. Living in China between 804 and 806, he not only brought back to Japan the calligraphic style then popular in metropolitan Tang China, but also established an awareness of the theoretical aspects of calligraphy as an aesthetic form. Kukai and his contemporaries Emperor Saga (786-842) and courtier Tachibana-no-Hayanari (d. 842) are known as the "Sampitsu," the "three [most outstanding] calligraphers," a term of respect given to them in the seventeenth century as the three outstanding early Heian-period masters of Japanese calligraphy (*Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, s.v. "calligraphy"). One apocryphal story holds that while visiting Shitennoji, Shokado met and received instruction in Kukai's calligraphy from a mysterious old man whom he took to be a reincarnation of Kukai himself (Rosenfield, p. 246).

9. According to Yazaki Kaku, the *Tennojiya Kaiki* and other sources mention that before Shokado's residence at the Takimotobo, there was a "man of tea" residing there who was friends with the renowned tea master Sen Rikyu (1522-1591), and also with Rikyu's disciple Furuta Oribe (1543-1615) (Chiga, ed., *Chado Shukin*, 4:262).

of Shokado's tea study under Enshu is, in fact, usually listed as 1623. The proximity of Enshu's residence in Fushimi to Shokado's residence at Otokoyama certainly facilitated their frequent meeting. Enshu's tea diary, the *Kan'ei Hajime no Nikki* [Diary for the Early Kan'ei Era], for the third year of Kan'ei (1626), lists Shokado's many visits to Enshu's tea gatherings. It was through these meetings with Enshu that Shokado learned much of his tea aesthetic, adopting aspects of Enshu's taste in poetry, ceramics, and art.

Shokado's own tea diary, the *Shokado Shōjo Chakaiki*, contains the records of thirty tea gatherings held by Shokado between the twelfth day of the tenth month, 1631, and the twenty-ninth day of the fourth month, 1633.¹⁰ These entries, listing the men who attended the gatherings as well as the tea utensils and art objects displayed, are not only of use in tracing the developments within tea taste, but also for their indications of Shokado's social contacts. We find, for example, that while Shokado's tea gatherings largely involved priests of the Iwashimizu Hachimangu, they also served to bring together many military men. As the organizer of these events, Shokado was at the center of the Otokoyama "salon," which not only provided opportunities for the participants to engage in casual discussion and aesthetic contemplation, but also, it seems, furnished an atmosphere with unabashedly utilitarian and mundane overtones.

Many of the cultured men of this general period hoped to acquire the image of the aesthete who had escaped from the pressures of everyday affairs into the secluded world of tea. Where the turbulent political world of early seventeenth-century Japan was concerned, however, tea gatherings often formed the meeting ground for discussions between rival political factions, and well-known chajin frequently served as intermediaries at these conferences, as their status allowed access to both aristocratic and military segments of society. Shokado, no stranger to the political functions of tea, found his own cultural activities closely linked to distinctly social or political events. Nonetheless, these "non-artistic" connections were valuable in that they often opened doors to other literary and artistic spheres of society.

A document in the Yomei Bunko describes a tea gathering held in the sixth month of Kan'ei 3 (1626), in which Shokado, then forty-four years old, served as the intermediary between Konoe Nobuhiro, kampaku and delegate from the imperial government, and Tokugawa Ieyasu's ninth son, Yoshinao (1600-1650), lord of Nagoya Castle and representative of the bakufu. Since the fall of Osaka Castle in 1615, there had grown an intense rivalry between the imperial government and the bakufu. In an effort to reconcile the two, Emperor Go-Mizuno'o (1596-1680) promoted the leaders of both sides to special, well-balanced posts, and a union was thus negotiated. The tea meeting between Nobuhiro and Yoshinao was to demonstrate this union between the military and aristocratic groups. Shokado was well suited for the job of inter-

10. Ibid., pp. 306-310 contains the complete *Shokado Shōjo Chakaiki* compiled by Tanihata Akio.

mediary; not only was he a prominent chajin, but he was also connected to both delegates through personal and artistic relations. We have already seen something of Shokado's deeply rooted connections to Nobuhiro and the Konoe family, and Shokado was acquainted with Yoshinao through the fact that Yoshinao's mother came from the family of one of the Iwashimizu Hachimangu priests, Shimizu Sosei.¹¹ Moreover, Yoshinao was an avid amateur painter – a student of Kano Tan'yu – and thus an interest in painting also united the two men. Shokado's role in this important meeting between Nobuhiro and Yoshinao indicates the degree to which he had been able to cultivate important friendships, as well as the importance of tea during this time.¹²

Shokado's beginning as a painter also stems from his residence at Otokoyama. Sometime during the fifth month of 1615, after the fall of Osaka Castle and the collapse of the Toyotomi clan, Kano Sanraku (1554-1635) fled to the Iwashimizu Hachimangu to seek shelter from the victorious Tokugawa forces. According to the *Honcho Gasbi* [History of Painting in Our Land], compiled by Kano Eino (1631-1697) and published in 1693, during this time Shokado received instruction in painting from Sanraku.¹³ As head of the Kano school and former painter-in-residence to Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), Sanraku was one of the prime exponents of the opulent and ornamental main line of the Kano painting style. It is reported that Shokado's lessons from Sanraku consisted primarily of instruction in ink painting technique, with emphasis on the painting of Taoist and Buddhist figures, which were popular themes for chagake, though he also received some instruction in bird-and-flower painting and landscapes.

By the early years of the Genna era (1615-1624), Shokado began using the name Shikibu when signing his paintings. In the *Nishinotoin-Tokiyoshi-kyo Ki* [Diary of Nishinotoin Tokiyoshi], an entry dated the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month, Genna 8 (1622) reports that "Shikibu of the Hachiman Shrine painted four colored albums."¹⁴ Thus, at least as early as 1622, Shokado, using the name Shikibu, was known for his painting.

Shokado's ties with major political and artistic circles in early seventeenth-century Kyoto are also evinced in his connection with the Zen establishment. Although Shokado was a Shingon priest, several of his closest friends were high-ranking priests from the leading Rinzai temple, Daitokuji. We do not know for certain how Shokado first met the famous abbots Takuan Soho (1573-1645) and Kogetsu Sogan (1574-1643), but given the long relationship between the monks of Daitokuji and tea practitioners, it is likely that Shokado's status as a chajin greatly helped to secure his entry into the tearooms and

11. Ibid., p. 262.

12. Along these lines, Tanaka Sen'ō mentions that at Enshu's request, Shokado entertained the imperial family at a tea gathering in order to further strengthen the relations he had with them (Tanaka, p. 48).

13. *Chado Shukin*, 4:262. It should be mentioned, however, that the *Shokado Shonin Gyogoki* makes no mention of any study under Sanraku.

14. Ibid.

abbot's quarters of that temple.¹⁵ In particular, Takuan's close relationship with Enshu, first as his fellow pupil – together with Kogetsu – under the 111th chief abbot of Daitokuji, Shun'oku Soen (1529-1611), and then as his student of tea, may account in part for the subsequent close ties between Takuan and Shokado. Furthermore, Shokado was connected to Daitokuji through the Kono family.

During the endemic warfare of the fifteenth century, Daitokuji had been burned and severely weakened. The rebuilding of the temple and restoration of its prestige were achieved by securing patronage both from the government and from private interests. For example, much to the credit of the famous monk Ikkyu Sojun (1394-1481), the vogue for Zen in both the imperial and shogunal households gave the Daitokuji abbots considerable influence in these quarters as they commanded the attention of the emperor and shogun in their roles as instructors in Zen and aesthetics. As a case in point, Takuan, an individualistic and decidedly shrewd leader, achieving the position of 153rd chief abbot of Daitokuji at the age of thirty-five, served as spiritual advisor and tea master to Emperor Go-Mizuno'o and as Zen instructor to the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu (1623-1651).

In terms of the private sector, too, Daitokuji's strong role in the tea world provided the key in securing much of its important patronage. In fact, the rebuilding of Daitokuji was largely financed by the wealthy merchant-chajin of Sakai. It was customary for these powerful members of the so-called *machi-shu* (literally, "townspeople" class) to donate large sums of money to Daitokuji with the understanding that their sons would become priests at that prestigious temple, thus entering the most "culturally advanced" segment of society.¹⁶ Kogetsu, the son of the Sakai merchant and chajin Tsuda Sogyu (d. 1591), who served as tea advisor to Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, made quick use of his enviable aesthetic pedigree and subsequent Zen training under Shun'oku to become the 156th chief abbot of Daitokuji at the age of thirty-seven. As a student of Enshu, Kogetsu developed a fast friendship with Shokado.

According to the *Tan'yusai no Ki* [Record of (Kano) Tan'yu], Kogetsu became acquainted with Tan'yu in 1635, when Tan'yu was commissioned to paint several rooms at Daitokuji. It was Kogetsu who is credited with giving

15. The almost symbiotic relationship between tea and the Zen practiced at Daitokuji is seen in the connections between the major tea masters [since the time of the "father" of chanoyu, Murata Shuko (1421?-1502)] and their Zen masters at Daitokuji. Shuko studied under the 47th chief abbot, Ikkyu Sojun (1394-1481); Shuko's successor, Takeno Jo'o (1502-1555), studied under the 90th chief abbot, Dairin Soto (1480-1568); Jo'o's disciple, Sen Rikyu, under both the 107th chief abbot, Shorei Sokin (1505-1583), and the 117th chief abbot, Kokei Sochin (1532-1597); Rikyu's successor, Furuta Oribe, under the 111th chief abbot, Shun'oku Soen (1529-1611); and Oribe's pupil, Kobori Enshu, first under Shun'oku and then Kogetsu.
16. The link between the wealthy merchants of Sakai and Daitokuji dates back to Takeno Jo'o and Kitamuki Dochin (1504-1562), both of whom were members of the Sakai *machi-shu*, and who studied under the abbot Dairin Soto (Covell and Yamada, p. 58).

the young painter the name Tan'yu three years later.¹⁷ It is quite possible that Shokado first met Tan'yu through Kogetsu, although, since Tan'yu also studied tea with Enshu and practiced Zen meditation under Takuan, it is apparent that they shared several interests and friends. Shokado and Tan'yu worked jointly on several paintings,¹⁸ and we may assume that these works are in some way connected to both artists' relations with Daitokuji.

Shokado's link to Daitokuji also resulted in his friendships with Gyokushitsu Sohaku (1572-1641; 147th chief abbot of Daitokuji), Ten'yu Joko (1586-1666; 169th), Kosetsu Soryu (1595-1666; 181st), Gyokushu Soban (1600-1668; 185th), and Tenshitsu Sojiku (1605-1667; 190th), all of whom attended his tea gatherings and inscribed his paintings.

Shokado's broad circle of acquaintances also took in various aesthetes and scholars only marginally included in the Zen and tea communities. This group of notable literary men, whose inscriptions occasionally turn up on Shokado's paintings, includes the Neo-Confucian scholar, advisor to the shogun, and propagandist, Hayashi Razan (1583-1657); the poet and calligrapher, Ishikawa Jozan (1579-1638), who was at one time a distinguished vassal of Tokugawa Ieyasu; and the well-known poet, painter, and calligrapher, Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579-1638). Furthermore, because of the numerous indirect links which we find between Shokado and such politically powerful and aesthetically influential contemporary chajin as Maeda Toshitsune (1593-1658), lord of the Kanazawa domain (present-day Ishikawa Prefecture); Sakuma Shogen (1570-1640), retainer of Ieyasu, governor of Kawachi (present-day Osaka Prefecture), and close friend of Kogetsu and Tan'yu; Katagiri Sekishu (1605-1673), tea advisor to the Tokugawa family; and also Sen Sotan (1578-1658), heir to the wabi tea tradition of Sen Rikyu, it may be assumed that Shokado was at least loosely acquainted with these men, too.

On the twenty-third day of the third month, 1627, Shokado's religious master Jitsujo died and Shokado took over sole residence of the Takimotobo. He assumed the appellation "Takimotobo" as well as the names (*go*) Seisei-o, meaning something like "becoming clear in appearance," and Kushiki, or "empty knowledge." It was during the first half-dozen years after taking over the Takimotobo that Shokado's tea gatherings reached their peak. To this end,

17. Takeda, p. 106.

18. Although the authenticity of the extant joint works remains to be ascertained, evidence that Shokado and Tan'yu collaborated on some works is found in documents. According to the *Murasakino Daitokuji Meisaiki* [Inventory Record for Daitokuji of Murasaki-no (district in Kyoto)], a set of small fusuma paintings showing eggplants, grapes, chestnuts, and melons, from the shoin room of the Sunshoan structure [no longer extant] of Daitokuji, was done by Shokado and Tan'yu. The same source lists the fusuma of the Mittan tearoom at the Ryokoin subtemple as having been painted by Tan'yu, while the small fusuma of the *chigaidana* (staggered shelves) are credited to Shokado. In his discussion of Tan'yu and Shokado's joint works, Takeda also mentions research by Doi Tsugiyoshi which cites the existence of several hanging scrolls of bird-and-flower and animal subjects by Tan'yu and Shokado inscribed by Hayashi Razan, a close acquaintance of both men (*ibid.*, pp. 107-108).

Shokado commissioned Enshu to design a small tearoom, and also a *shoin* or "drawing room."¹⁹

In the twelfth month of 1637, Shokado turned the responsibility for the Takimotobo over to Sakyo's son and retired to the Izumibo nearby, where he built a small thatched cottage called the "Shokado." An illustration of the Shokado (*fig. 2*) from the *Miyako Rinsen Meisho Zue* [Explanatory Pictures of Famous Scenic Landscape Gardens in Kyoto], published in 1799, shows two men arriving at the small hut as Shokado welcomes them from the doorway. The Shokado was designed as a tearoom in the "grass hut" (*soan*) style, but also functioned as a residence (*figs. 3, 4*).²⁰

During his two years in retirement, Shokado produced a great number of paintings, signing them with the names "Shokado" and "Nanzan Inshi," or "hermit of the southern mountain,"²¹ referring to his life of largely symbolic eremitism at Otokoyama. On the eighteenth day of the ninth month, Kan'ei 16 (1639), Shokado died at the age of fifty-six.²²

19. Originally, the *shoin* was a library or study, customarily used for receiving guests. During the Higashiyama period, before the advent of "wabi tea," and when *chanoyu* was mainly a pastime of the nobility, such rooms were used for "tea parties"; thus the *chanoyu* of this period, largely focusing on the connoisseurship of Chinese art objects, was known as "shoin tea." As official architect for the shogun, with many connections, also, with the Kyoto nobility, Enshu often designed *shoin* rooms, and was a master of this style of architecture. The *shoin* possibly designed by Enshu for Shokado's Izumibo residence, which today lies intact at Higashi Kurumazuka in Kyoto, is of nine tatami mats, including two and a half "upper mats," presumably for the seating of imperial guests. Adjoining the *shoin* is a room for the seating of the guests' vassals. Notes and "stand-up drawings" (*okoshiezu*) made prior to the destruction of the Takimotobo by fire in 1773 reveal that the tearoom and *shoin* designed by Enshu for Shokado's Takimotobo residence were linked to the main temple building. There is a replica of the four-and-three-quarter-mat tearoom at the Tsukamoto Shokado Museum in Kyoto. To quote Tsukamoto Sozan, this tearoom "offers an . . . example of the way Enshu set about creating an atmosphere suitable for tea in [a] small room" (Tsukamoto, p. 26).
20. Although this ten-foot-square cottage (now located at Higashi Kurumazuka in Kyoto) is constructed in the "grass hut" style characteristic of wabi tea, the interior is fitted with many features reminiscent of *shoin* tea. At its core is a two-mat room, adjoined by an earthen-floored kitchen. The two-mat room includes a wabi style wooden alcove with unplanned wood post; shelves with sliding doors, below which there is a round, sunken hearth (*ganro*); and a small altar. The altar served Shokado's needs as a Shingon priest, while the inclusion of both wabi and *shoin* style architectural elements reveals Shokado's adeptness at integrating various artistic modes into his own lifestyle. In the words of Tsukamoto Sozan, "Where [Shokado's] spiritual and artistic life are summed up best of all is in the Shokado tea room" (Tsukamoto, p.14).
21. Nanzan, or "southern mountain," also refers to the monastic complex of the Shingon sect on Mount Koya in present-day Wakayama Prefecture, said to have been founded by Kukai. Kukai himself is known as "Nanzan Daishi," or "the great Buddhist teacher of the southern mountain" ([Iwanami's] *Kojien*, s.v. "nanzan").
22. Sato Torao relates a romantic account of Shokado's final years and death. According to Sato's unspecified sources, Shokado's "religious grandfather" (*ho sofu*; i.e., Jitsujo's religious master) as well as Jitsujo died of a carbuncle in years of the hare, and Shokado, upon an attack of the same malady, and with the year of the hare approaching, resigned his position at the Hachimangu and built the Shokado, where he spent his last days in religious exercise and in painting (Yabe, ed. *Chado Zenshu* 5:409-412).



Fig. 2. The Shokado, or "Pine Flower Hall." Woodblock print in the *Miyako Rinsen Meisho Zue* (1799). Shoko adopted the name Shokado from the name of this cottage, which he had built as his retirement quarters. He is pictured here welcoming guests to the Shokado. Photo courtesy of the Kyoto University Library.



Fig. 3. Shokado tearoom interior, east wall. Calligraphy “*Koun*” (Facing the Clouds) above the altar, by Shokado Shoji. In the altar, self-portrait by Shoji. Calligraphy on the fusuma, a poem in Chinese, attributed to Shoji. Photo courtesy of Shogakukan Inc., by permission of the Yawata City Bunka Jigyodan.

The Kano School and Tan’yu’s Influence on Shokado’s Painting

Although Shokado was not formally affiliated with any one school of painting, the style of the monochrome ink paintings (*suiboku[ga]*) of the Kano painters seems to have had a considerable impact upon his artwork; in particular, his large-scale paintings of birds-and-flowers and his renditions of Chinese sages.²³ The influence of the Kano school is not surprising, given the dominant role of Kano artists in early seventeenth-century Kyoto painting circles as well as Shokado’s personal contact with Sanraku and Tan’yu. By around 1620, Tan’yu had returned the Kano school to a place of pre-eminence among Kyoto and Edo painting workshops — a position originally secured by his grandfather, Eitoku (1543-1590), but assumed for a time after Eitoku’s death by the ateliers of Hasegawa Tohaku (1539-1610), Unkoku Togan (1537-1618),

23. Shokado’s indebtedness to Kano compositions and brush conventions varies according to the subject, form, and, probably, function of the painting. For example, large-scale bird-and-flower paintings tend to follow Kano compositions and brushwork more than smaller paintings of similar subjects do. Similarly, portraits of Chinese Zen figures and Japanese poets are more likely to exhibit an expressive style based upon Shokado’s own interpretations of Chinese and Muromachi-period Japanese *suiboku* painters.



Fig. 4. Shokado tearoom interior, south wall. Calligraphic scroll in the tokonoma, by Shokado Shoji. Calligraphy on the small fusuma to the left of the tokonoma, by Kogetsu Sogan. Photo courtesy of Shogakukan Inc., by permission of the Yawata City Bunka Jigyodan.

and Kaiho Yusho (1533-1615). Under Tan'yu's leadership, Kano painters decorated a great number of both secular and religious buildings during the first half of the seventeenth century, and in doing so, spread their influence in ways unmatched by artists of other schools and styles.

The prevailing style employed by the seventeenth-century Kano painters emphasized the ink monochrome aesthetic popular with sinophile Buddhist temples and the shogunate, and this so-called *kanga* or "Chinese painting" style accorded well with Shokado's own interest in Chinese art. Moreover, these ink monochrome Kano paintings were not out of keeping with the quiet taste of tea.

The clearest indications of Shokado's indebtedness to the style of the Kano school can be found in his bird-and-flower paintings. Looking at his numerous renditions of the popular "bamboo and sparrow" theme, exemplified in his "Bamboo" scroll (*fig. 5, r*) in the collection of The Art Institute of Chicago, we find that Shokado repeats the same stereotyped representation of the truncated bamboo stalks and flying sparrows that are seen in many Kano paintings; for example, Tan'yu's "Bamboo, Plum, and Sparrows" on a folding screen owned by Seiryōji temple in Kyoto (*fig. 6*). Moreover, in his handling of the

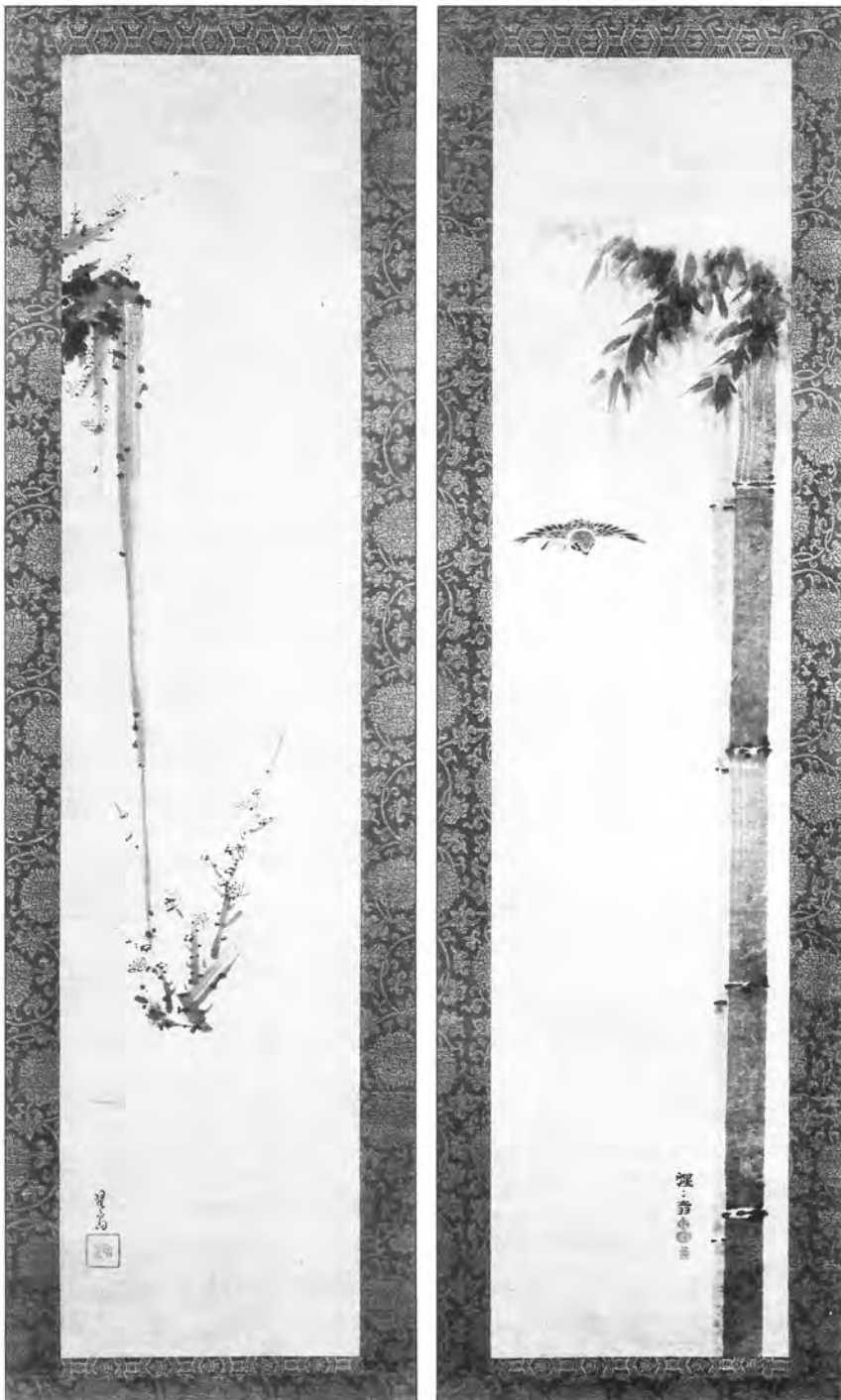


Fig. 5. Bamboo and Plum, pair of hanging scrolls. By Shokado Shojo. 17th century. Ink and slight color on paper. Height, 114.3 cm.; width, 30.5 cm. Collection of The Art Institute of Chicago. Restricted Gift of David G. Siegel Foundation, 1964.283 a-b. Photo courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago. ©1987 The Art Institute of Chicago. All rights reserved.



Fig. 6. Bamboo, Plum, and Sparrows. Detail of one of a set of six two-panel folding screens depicting birds and flowers. By Kano Tan'yu. 17th century. Ink, slight color, and gold highlights on paper. Entire screen: height, 140.3 cm.; width, 336.2 cm. Property of Seiryōji temple, Kyoto. Photo from Shueisha, Inc.

subjects, Shokado's brushwork is very close to the established canons of Kano brushwork. Yet despite the similarities in composition and brushwork, it should be pointed out that Shokado does not slavishly imitate his Kano models. Rather, in the refined simplicity and elegance of his brushwork, Shokado's paintings express their own particular sensibility. For all their boldly decorative appeal, there is also something of refined spirituality about Shokado's large bird-and-flower paintings which alludes to his training in tea and Zen, and distinguishes his paintings from the Kano works from which he borrowed many of his compositions and techniques.

In regard to his relationship with the young Tan'yu, it is interesting to note that Shokado seems to have been less an imitator and more an influence. Although Tan'yu was the administrative head of the three Kano households and artistic mentor to the generally conservative Kano painters, he, like Shokado, moved widely through Kyoto society and established important contacts within the diverse segments of the early seventeenth-century art world. As a leading appraiser or "authenticator" of paintings, he saw and made copies of many famous and not-so-famous Chinese and Japanese paintings. This practice did not formally commence until the 1650s, but surely Tan'yu was interested in paintings of the past before this time, and his constant exposure to the art treasures in the collections of the shogun, major daimyos, and Buddhist temples provided the necessary exposure to old paintings. Tan'yu's training in tea with Enshu, perhaps the result of their meeting in 1619 when Tan'yu was commissioned to decorate the fusuma panels in the newly constructed Empress's quarters in the Imperial Palace which were designed by Enshu, also introduced the artist to the refined tea aesthetic represented by Enshu.²⁴ Moreover, Tan'yu not only received major commissions from the priests of Daitokuji, but also, as a student and close friend of Kogetsu, he was a member of the priest's coterie of Zen disciples, chajin, and artists.

It is in these aspects of Tan'yu's multi-faceted career that his relations with Shokado were surely based, and the extent of their "meeting of minds," or "meeting of artistic temperaments" is witnessed in their collaborative paintings. Unfortunately, the two most interesting collaborative works known to this author, a narrow painting of "Bamboo and Chrysanthemum" and a horizontal composition showing "Hotei and Jurojin Playing Flutes," are published only in pre-war auction catalogs, and their present existence or whereabouts are unknown. However, the reproductions in the catalogs show that in subject as well as style, both of these works are simple, direct, and somewhat light-hearted. As with many of Shokado's or Tan'yu's other small-scale ink monochrome hanging scrolls, they may have been created as chagake for hanging in the tokonoma during Kogetsu's tea gatherings. The idea that Shokado and Tan'yu probably produced these collaborative paintings in the friendly atmosphere of a tea gathering and sought to express their aesthetic harmony is seen

24. See Shimizu, "Shogun and Artist," pp. 8-9.

in the similarity of the painting styles employed by the two artists and in the subject matter itself. In one painting, the theme of bamboo and chrysanthemum carries associations of longevity, but more importantly it connotes steadfastness and friendship. The other painting, of "Hotei and Jurojin Playing Flutes," offers an unmistakable analogy of friendship.

Shokado's relations with Tan'yu, although establishing another link to the Kano school, thus reveal more of a sharing of interests and equal exchange of artistic inspiration and experience. Given Shokado's specialization in small-scale ink monochrome paintings for use as *chagake*, and Tan'yu's quite different training in large-scale decorative works, it is possible that Shokado may have exerted some influence upon Tan'yu's painting in the former mode. At any rate, while Shokado's connections with the Kano school reveal one side of his artistic heritage, it seems that this Kano influence did not significantly shape Shokado's aesthetic concepts.

Zen and the Daitokuji Priests' Influences on Shokado's Painting

If the influence of Kano painting on Shokado can be summed up as strong in regard to actual painting technique and compositional types but weak in terms of aesthetic ideology, just the opposite generalization can be made about Shokado's relations with the Daitokuji priests. The influence of the Daitokuji priests Takuan and Kogetsu is clearly seen in patronage and aesthetics.

Regarding the question of patronage, once again we find that the binding factor lies in tea. There had long been an almost symbiotic relationship between tea and Daitokuji, evinced, on the one hand, in the fact that many devout followers of tea undertook Zen training at this temple, and on the other hand, in the fact that — as the religious training of the Daitokuji priests was closely associated with cultural accomplishments, and tea provided an ideal vehicle for the expression of Zen ideals in the arts — the practice of tea was an integral part of life at the temple.

The many tea gatherings held in the tearooms which dotted the grounds of Daitokuji not only served to gather together all manner of tea enthusiasts, but also created an environment which encouraged the collection, commission, and production of art relevant to the practice of tea. Given the importance of the scroll to be hung in the *tokonoma* during a tea gathering, the choice of this object was of special concern.²⁵

Although no documentary evidence exists to confirm the hypothesis that many of Shokado's hanging scrolls were commissioned by the Daitokuji priests, the fact that a great number bear the inscriptions of Takuan, Kogetsu, and other priests of their circle indicates that these priests owned many of his works. And it seems fair to assume that they used most of them as *chagake*.

The *fusuma* and wall paintings of the Mittan tearoom at the Ryokoin subtemple of Daitokuji offer a concrete example of the Daitokuji priests' patron-

25. In the *Nampo Roku*, a record of Sen Rikyu's teachings, there is the passage: "No utensil ranks with the hanging scroll in significance" (Haga, p. 7).

age of Shokado. As abbot of Ryokoin and a leading chajin in his own right, Kogetsu commissioned his friend, the pre-eminent tea architect Kobori Enshu, to build the Mittan tearoom as his personal tea sanctuary. The four-and-one-half-mat tearoom (plus three-quarter-mat *daime* for the preparation of the tea), the very epitome of Enshu's shoin style, was designed to house a single calligraphic scroll by the Song period Zen patriarch Mian Xianjie (Jpn., Mittan Kanketsu; 1107-1186), which Kogetsu had acquired in the first years of the seventeenth century. The scroll was so prized, however, that it was rarely exhibited in the tokonoma specially constructed for it in the east wall of the room. Since the decorative nature of the shoin style of architecture would not allow for so important a space to remain without some type of ornamentation, an artist was chosen to cover the back wall of the tokonoma with an ink painting. This artist was Shokado — a friend of both Enshu and Kogetsu. Shokado's painting on the back wall of the tokonoma presents a composition quite different from those employed in his hanging scrolls. The painting shows a flock of sparrows alighting upon a withered tree and soaring into the sky, beyond which a misty hill is barely glimpsed (*fig. 7*). The extremely soft and unobtrusive quality of the design and of the brushwork makes perfect sense, given that the painting was also meant to serve as a backdrop for the prized Mittan scroll.

On the wall at the base of the tokonoma for the Mittan scroll is another painting thought by some to be by Shokado. The remainder of the east wall of the Mittan tearoom is covered with a large painting that shows a broad expanse of water bound by misty hills, and at the right, a large pine tree that stretches upward. The artist of this wall painting has not been clearly identified, but the style is different enough from the adjacent paintings by Shokado to lead to speculation as to whether it was painted by him or done later by Tan'yu when the latter carried out the large project of decorating the walls of the Gyokurin'in, Kohoan, and Hoshun'in subtemples at Daitokuji.²⁶

The west wall of the Mittan tearoom includes a recessed area with built-in shelves: a series of staggered shelves (*chigaidana*), and at the top and bottom, enclosed shelves (*fukurodana*) fronted with small fusuma decorated by Shokado (*fig. 8*). Shokado's paintings on the lower fusuma illustrate two of the "Four Accomplishments" (*kin-ki-sho-ga*; i.e., music, chess, calligraphy, painting). The fusuma panel at the right shows four old men playing *go* under an

26. Covell is extremely unclear on whether the Mittan landscapes were done by Tan'yu or Shokado. She states in her discussion on Tan'yu that "he painted on the wall of the Mittan [some landscape]" (Covell and Yamada, p. 138), and in the caption beneath the landscape she also attributes the work to Tan'yu. However, the discussions of the landscape in the text state, "The style of the two paintings on the east wall is different enough that it is possible that Shokado painted one when the tearoom was new and another when Enshu came to settle at the Daitokuji" (*ibid.*, p. 67). Takeda Tsuneo reports that according to the *Murasakino Daitokuji Meisaiki*, Tan'yu painted the fusuma of the Mittan while Shokado was responsible for the painting of the shelf area (Takeda, p. 108).

overhanging pine branch; the left panel, seven scholars admiring a calligraphic scroll which they hold between them. Takeda Tsuneo sees in these paintings a fusion of Kogetsu's elegant aesthetic sensibility with Shokado's characteristic painting style.²⁷ In terms of style, these fusuma paintings represent the conservative aspect of Shokado's ink monochrome paintings. The conventional depiction of the figures, their placement in a simple setting, and the restraint evident in the brushwork all echo the mainstream Kano style of the day – a style enormously popular for the decoration of temple rooms.

Compared with the patronage link between Daitokuji and Shokado, it is a far more complex issue to trace the influence which the Daitokuji priests had on Shokado's aesthetics. Significantly, the Daitokuji priests exhibited a broad spectrum of artistic tastes which seems to have derived principally from their involvement with the labyrinthine aesthetics of tea. Kogetsu, the most prolific collector and patron of tea among the Daitokuji abbots, developed an interest in tea ceramics that extended from the rustic Korean *ido* teabowls associated with the wabi tea of Rikyu to the opulent *yuteki* ("oil spot") bowls favored by Enshu. Kogetsu's taste in painting similarly ranged from the subtleties of the thirteenth-century monk-painter Muqi's (Jpn., Mokkei) works, which he collected, to the forthright decorativeness of the Kano painters whom he patronized. Kogetsu's own works, in both calligraphy and painting, express his fondness for the spontaneous style associated with unadulterated Zen art as well as for the more elegant style linked with Enshu's so-called *kirei-sabi* (literally, "refined rusticity") aesthetic in tea.

In contrast to Kogetsu's fusion of Zen simplicity with the elegance of Enshu's tea aesthetic, Takuan was less interested in the display of wealth and surface beauty inherent in Enshu's idea of *kirei-sabi*. Although himself a tea disciple of Enshu, Takuan devoted little time to collecting artworks and overseeing the decoration of temple rooms. Instead, Takuan saw in Zen art, and in the related arts pertaining to tea, an opportunity for a spontaneous expression of the intuitive understanding of the universe and human condition that underlay his religious convictions. A reaction against the increasing secularization of his fellow priests and the growing sophistication in tea, Takuan's works and ideas stand at the forefront of the rich Tokugawa-period flowering of Zenga.

Shokado's proximity to these Zen priests and his access to the ideas expressed in their formal teaching and in their art had some measure of influence on his own attitudes toward art. At the conceptual level, perhaps this influence is reflected most in the sense of immediacy – of penetration beyond the surface appearance of the depicted object – that marks the best of Shokado's paintings. In Shokado's bird-and-flower paintings, for instance, the feeling of a "captured moment" in time suggests the Rinzai emphasis on sudden enlightenment, while the controlled energy of his boldly angular compositions invites a comparison with the vigor of the disciplined Zen mind. The painting

27. Takeda, p. 108.



Fig. 7. Mittan tearoom, east wall. To the right is the so-called Mittan tokonoma, with backdrop painting by Shokado Shōjo. Located within the Ryokoin subtemple of Daitokuji temple, Kyoto.

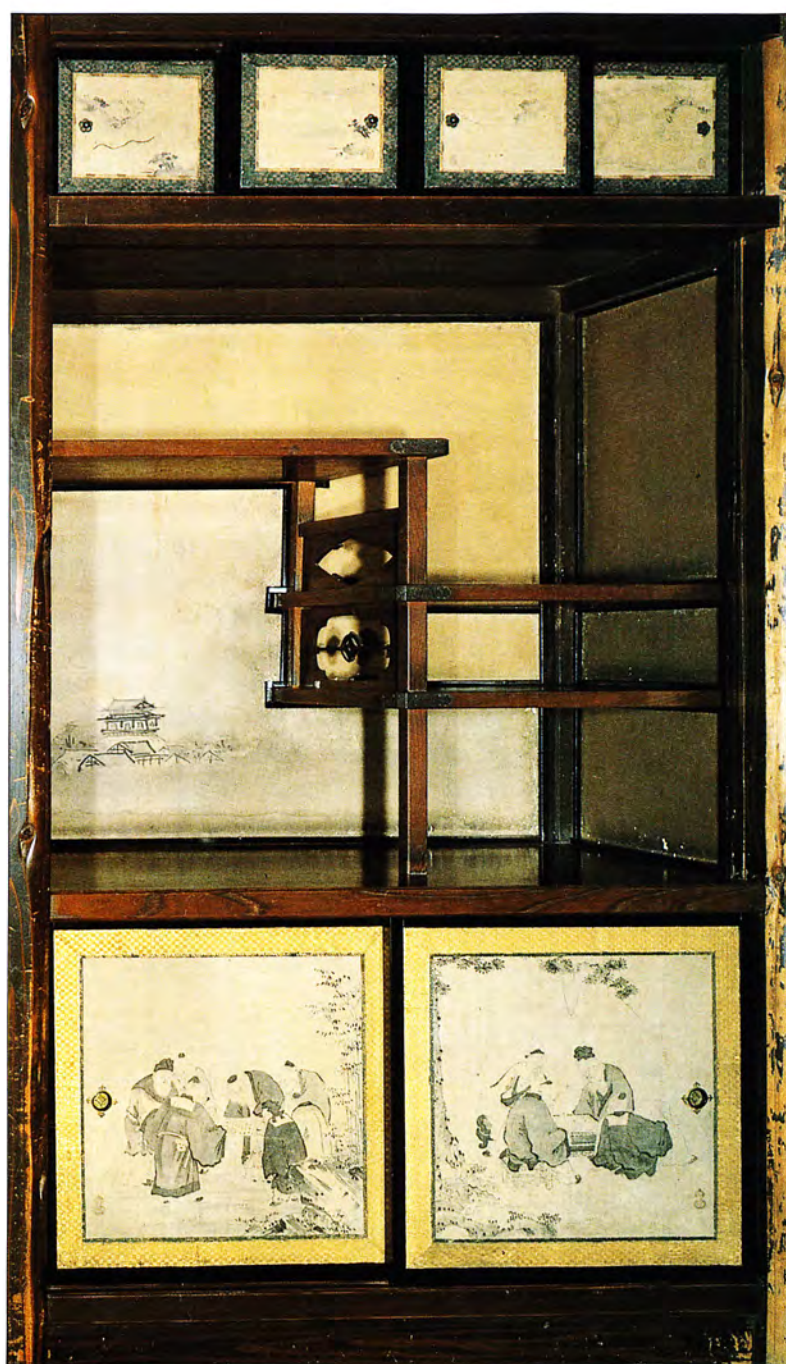


Fig. 8. Chigaidana of the Mittan tearoom. Paintings on the small fusuma fronting the upper and lower compartments (*fukurodana*), by Shokado Shoji.

of "Sparrows and Plum Blossoms" (*fig. 9*) in The Museum Yamato Bunkakan epitomizes these qualities in Shokado's paintings. However it is defined, there is some aspect of Shokado's art held in common with Zen painting that has led some scholars to group him with Zenga painters.²⁸

Yet for the most part, a comparison between the typical works of either Takuan or Kogetsu and those of Shokado immediately reveals an immense stylistic gap between the amateur and fundamentally Zen-inspired style of the Daitokuji priests and the sophisticated and only nominally Zen style of Shokado. For example, the contrast between Shokado's "Plum" in The Art Institute of Chicago (*fig. 5, l*) and a "Plum" by Kogetsu (*fig. 10*) is telling. Both paintings depict the same subject and utilize similar compositions, but in brushwork they are different. Kogetsu's brush is impulsive and forceful; the plum branch is nearly lost in what perhaps may have been his desire to demonstrate either the immediacy and vitality of his Zen experience or his ability to paint within the style "appropriate" to his position. On the other hand, in Shokado's plum, while the boldly hooked composition and "flying white" (*bakubyo*) brushstrokes indicate dramatic action, the carefully drawn blossoms and multi-layering of short strokes on the upper and lower portions of the branch, which suggest slight volume and texture, demonstrate a more careful, painterly approach to the subject. In sum, Shokado has created a marvelously effective decorative picture. As regards influence from Zenga, the single vertical brushstroke that forms the better part of the plum branch seems to draw its inspiration from the same source that underlies Kogetsu's plum. However, Shokado has harnessed the spontaneous impulse that guided Kogetsu's brush and turned this dynamic thrust of ink towards more purely visual and secular purposes.

These differences in style testify to the different conceptions and functions of their paintings, as well as to the different stylistic models upon which they are based. While Takuan and Kogetsu's paintings are didactic expressions of Zen, drawing upon the amateur tradition of Zen priest-painters who sought

28. Noma divides early seventeenth-century ink painting into two kinds: that which followed Chinese models and was either decorative or didactic (i.e., Kano painting); and Zen-based "intuitive ink play," into which Shokado is placed. Interestingly, Noma makes this categorization based on "no other reason" than the fact that Shokado's paintings are "so unusual," while simultaneously admitting a "seemingly self-conscious beauty" in the paintings (Noma, p. 113). It seems that part of the problem with Noma's classification of Shokado stems from the unqualified use of the term "Zen painting." On one hand, "Zen painting" is used to define almost any painting of a Zen subject. However, the term is also used to denote works done by Zen priests or done in some looser Zen context. Finally, "Zen painting" is frequently used to refer to ink monochrome paintings that display characteristics of spontaneity, simplicity, amateurishness, and use of empty space in composition. Given the vagueness of the term and the corresponding haziness of so much writing on the types of painting that have been called "Zen" in one form or another, it is understandable that Shokado can so easily be called a "Zen artist." Shokado's case of "mistaken identity" as a "proto-Zenga" artist offers only one more reason why the issue of Zen painting needs to be systematically addressed by both Japanese and Western scholars of Japanese painting.



Fig. 9. Sparrows and Plum Blossoms. Painting by Shokado Shoji; inscription by Gyokushu Soban. 17th century. Monochrome ink on paper. Central area: height, 94.5 cm.; width, 40.0 cm. Property of The Museum Yamato Bunkakan.

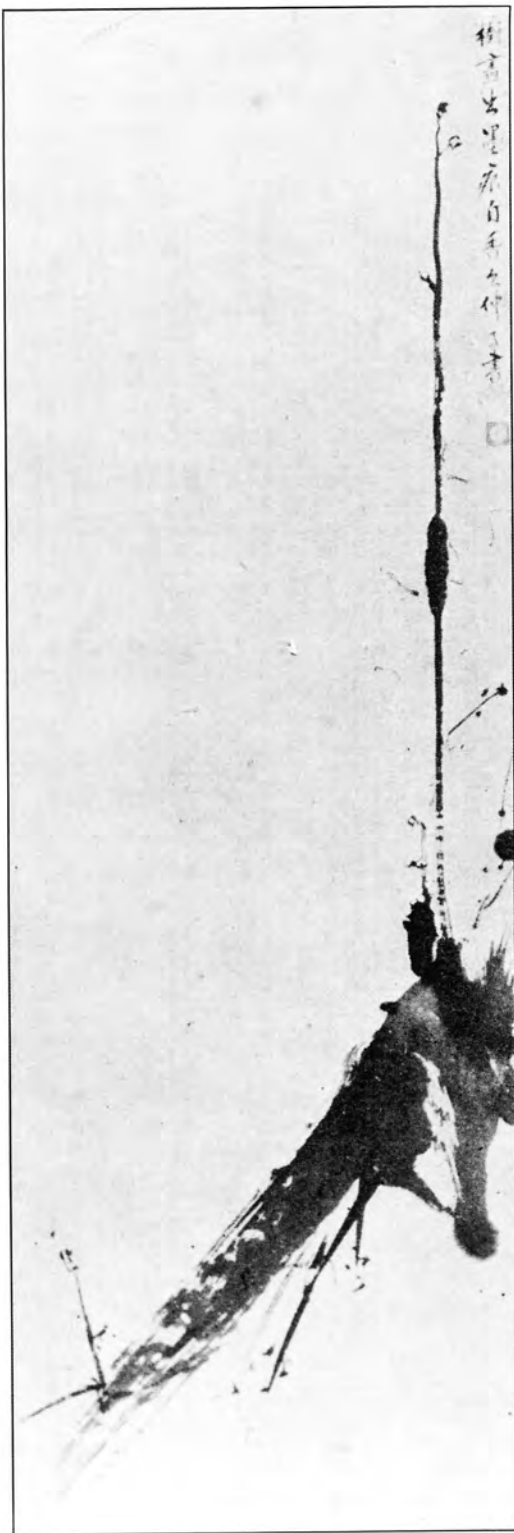


Fig. 10. Plum. Detail of hanging scroll painted and inscribed by Kogetsu Sogan. 17th century. Ink on paper. Entire work: height, 104.5 cm.; width, 27.8 cm.

to record their religious convictions with ink and brush, the paintings by Shokado are meant to decorate and delight. In sum, although the Zen element is present in Shokado's paintings, it remains subordinate to the dominant aesthetic concerns of Enshu's tea style.

Tea and Kobori Enshu's Influence on Shokado's Painting

The most important influence on Shokado's painting came not from the painting styles of the conservative Kano school nor the Zen priests of Daitokuji, but from tea – perhaps the most aesthetically developed area of Japanese artistic endeavor at the time. Specifically, the teachings of Kobori Enshu had the greatest impact upon Shokado's art.

Although he was a painter and calligrapher of some renown, Enshu neither taught nor espoused any doctrine on painting as such. Nevertheless, he did preach a new and unique style of tea which, for those who were involved with tea, provided the dominant aesthetic doctrine of the age. Those who fell under the sway of Enshu's influence constitute a remarkably diverse group. As tea master to the shoguns Hidetada and Iemitsu, to emperor Go-Mizuno'o, and instructor in tea to Kogetsu and Tan'yu, Enshu's direct teaching was widely felt. Furthermore, Enshu, as an architect and garden designer, disseminated his particular tea taste through the environments he created. The popularity of Enshu's ideals can be seen in the great number of buildings, tearooms, and gardens he designed for the Tokugawa shoguns, the imperial family, Zen establishments, and private individuals. It may well be said that Enshu spearheaded the "conservative" movement in Kyoto culture during the first half of the seventeenth century.²⁹

As mentioned earlier, Shokado's close relationship with Enshu is witnessed in the tea diaries of both men which make frequent mention of the other's presence at tea gatherings. Shokado's collection of tea objects as recorded in the *Yawata-meibutsu Ki*, with names and "personalities" attributed to famous objects, bears the indelible stamp of Enshu's teaching.³⁰ Furthermore, as Shokado's Takimotobo tearoom and shoin were designed by Enshu, Shokado was intimately familiar with the nuances of Enshu's ideas as expressed in his architectural designs. Before the effect of Enshu's tea aesthetic on Shokado can be fully appreciated, however, something of Enshu's ideals must be understood.

29. For a short biography of Kobori Enshu and list of his major architectural projects, see Itoh Teiji, "Kobori Enshu," in *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 44:7-37.

30. Enshu was noted for giving tea utensils of his liking – especially *chaire* (containers for powdered tea) – names from classical poetry. According to Hayashiya Seizo, "A large number of the chanoyu utensils today which are designated as post-Rikyu masterpieces (*chuko meibutsu*) are utensils given poetic names by Enshu. . ." (Hayashiya Seizo, p. 40). The *Yawata-meibutsu Ki* (also known variously as the *Yawata [Takimotobo] Kura-cho* or the *Shokado-meibutsu Ki*) is published in Yabe, ed., *Chado Zenshu*, 6:606-627. See also Yazaki Kaku, "Shokado Shoji to Yawata-meibutsu Ki" in *Chado Shukin*, 4:261-264.

With the political unity brought about by the Tokugawa hegemony, the resulting peace and prosperity provided the daimyo with money to spend on luxury items and time to pursue the arts. Enshu, following the teachings of his master, Furuta Oribe (1543-1615), and in keeping with his own status as a feudal lord,³¹ catered in his style of tea to the divergent tastes of the daimyo. This so-called daimyo-cha, considerably different from the rigid austerity and severe rusticity of Sen Rikyu's wabi tea, sought to appeal to a wide audience, and to this end was rather flexible in its standards, bending according to the requirements of time and place, and to the varying tastes of the daimyo. In the opening lines of the *Kobori Enshu Kakisute-bumi* [Kobori Enshu's Private Jottings], Enshu writes:

The way of tea . . . contains nothing very new, consisting simply of loyalty and filial piety, the diligent execution of the business of each household, and above all, the need to ensure that old friendships do not die.³²

This political consciousness, if not opportunism, constitutes the theoretical foundation of Enshu's daimyo-cha.

Enshu's tea aesthetic, known as *kirei-sabi*, has been interpreted in a number of ways but may be summed up as stressing the beauty of simple yet elegant ornamentation. In brief, Enshu's *kirei-sabi* tea thus differs from Rikyu's wabi by its greater ornamentation, emphasis on visual delight, and a general loosening of Rikyu's strictures. For example, in ceramics Enshu made use of both old and contemporary wares, as well as those of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese manufacture; the point was to display the most beautiful and famous pieces available. As for tearoom design, in contrast to the rather bare interior of the small soan tea huts — usually not more than four-and-a-half tatami mats in size — of Rikyu's tea, Enshu favored originality and versatility in design, often fitting his elegant and more spacious shoin-style rooms with elaborately constructed shelves for the housing and display of prized objects, extra alcoves for the storage and preparation of tea, shoji which could be raised to reveal an adjoining garden, fine polishing of wood surfaces, and decoration of fusuma and walls with ink monochrome paintings. In effect, the intimate rustic retreat of Rikyu became, under the influence of Enshu, the "ultimate in luxury and elegance," a room or a series of rooms where one could live in comfort and entertain in style. Shokado's own residences, in the dual living- and tea-rooms at the Takimotobo and the Shokado, demonstrate the integration of tea and daily activity, of art and society, fundamental to Enshu's *kirei-sabi* aesthetic beliefs.

One other component of Enshu's *kirei-sabi* aesthetic was the infusion of

31. At the age of twenty-five, Enshu succeeded his father as lord of the Omi fief. Later, he was appointed "titular governor" (*bugyo*) of Totomi province (present-day Shizuoka Prefecture), and his name Enshu comes from the alternate name for this area.

32. Hayashiya Tatsusaburo, et. al., p. 91.

a strong literary consciousness into tea. Well-versed in classical poetry and calligraphy, Enshu was not averse to the use of Zen calligraphic scrolls – for example, Zen phrases brushed by his priest friends at Daitokuji – for displaying in the tokonoma during tea gatherings,³³ but also often incorporated scrolls featuring classical Japanese poetry (*waka*). And in keeping with his fondness for classical Japanese poetry, he drew upon such poems – especially from the thirteenth-century, imperially commissioned anthology of Japanese poetry, the *Shin Kokin (Waka-) Shu*, and also from the tenth-century *Kokin (Waka-) Shu* and the eighth-century *Man'yo Shu* – to ascribe poetic names to tea objects of his liking. Enshu also popularized the innovative use of *kasen-e*, the idealized portraits of famous “immortal” Japanese poets, for hanging in the tokonoma. Again, the poets featured in these paintings tended to be *Shin Kokin Shu* poets, and in particular the group centered around Fujiwara-no-Teika (1162-1241), who was the primary model for Enshu's calligraphy and a profound influence upon Enshu's aesthetic philosophy.³⁴ Given the importance of the chagake in the tearoom – being the focal point of the room, the first object to which the guests turn as they enter, and the item which sets the mood of the room – Enshu's emphasis on secular literary subjects for chagake had a far-reaching effect.

This component of Enshu's *kirei-sabi* tea – the strong interest in Japanese poetry – seems to have caused the conservative label to be applied to his tea. However, Enshu's involvement with medieval Japanese poetics seems not to have simply been an attempt to recall an idealized past, but more specifically, to have been a result of his interest in the aesthetic notion of *yugen* (“profound and mysterious beauty”),³⁵ which was a key element in the poetry of Fujiwara-no-Shunzei (1114-1204), Shunzei's son Teika, and their followers.

Although Shokado's interest in classical Japanese calligraphy and poetry – as evinced in his collection of poetry fragments known as the *Yawata-gire* – preceded his friendship with Enshu, the direct impetus for his frequent painting of the “immortal poets” of the middle ages was probably Enshu's enthusiasm for these poets. In contrast, Shokado's less frequent painting of Chinese and early Japanese poets reveals Enshu's less enthusiastic appreciation of these figures. Considered, for instance, from a practical standpoint, it seems clear from subject and style that Shokado produced many of his paintings for En-

33. During the early history of chanoyu – the era preceding Rikyu – tea enthusiasts preferred Chinese picture scrolls for placement in the tokonoma. Rikyu, however, stressed the primacy of the written word. Hand in hand with his teachings concerning reverence for the scroll, he also taught that calligraphic scrolls are supreme, and that “among these, *bokuseki*, the writings of Buddhist priests and monks, most readily convey the spiritual truth that he found essential to the proper practice of chanoyu” (Nagashima, p. 7). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, “Japanese priests – noticeably many from Daitokuji temple – produced a great number of excellent *bokuseki* [which were used as chagake]” (ibid., p. 15).

34. See Kanda and Tanaka, eds., *Shodo Zenshu*, 22 (1959):162, 189-190, for a discussion of Enshu's calligraphy and his indebtedness to Teika's style.

35. See the entry for “*yugen*” in *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*.

shu's personal use or for use by Enshu's many followers. It is common practice for members of a particular tea lineage to employ works by disciples of their own tradition, and although this practice is more narrowly followed today than it was in the seventeenth century, it still makes sense to imagine that Enshu and members of his school desired works by Shokado. More important than the issue of patronage, however, it was probably Enshu's highly developed aesthetic philosophy, and in particular the incorporation of the idea of yugen into the kirei-sabi aesthetic, that served to focus Shokado's own perceptions not only of Japanese poetry, but of aesthetics in general.

Despite the variety of subjects and stylistic influences found in Shokado's works, we have only to recall the quite unified effect created by the body of his paintings to realize that, as a whole, his paintings are remarkably alike in mood and sensibility. This fact can be traced to the influence of Enshu's kirei-sabi. Enshu's kirei-sabi, the underlying aesthetic in Shokado's art, provided a structure for aesthetic exploration and a context for artistic expression of Shokado's individual or prior experience. For example, Shokado's essentially quiet yet subtly sophisticated portraits of poets of the past provide painted equivalents of Enshu's kirei-sabi concept. His almost exclusive use of ink monochrome creates a feeling of rusticity, while the virtuosity of his brushwork imparts a flavor of aesthetic cultivation. A good illustration of this is Shokado's imaginary portrait of the fifteenth-century renga poet Iio Sogi (fig. 11): the dignity of the figure's pose, the nobility and warmth of his features, and the refined expressiveness of the brushwork combine to create an image that fully conveys the qualities of Enshu's kirei-sabi aesthetic. Moreover, the inclusion of two of Sogi's short farewell poems, written in Shokado's famous kana script, complete the visual and written evocation of Sogi's cultivated personality and important literary accomplishments.³⁶ In Shokado's paintings of Zen eccentrics, too, his considerable "sweetening" of the figures' appearance, elegant simplification of brushwork, and addition of poetic inscriptions give the works distinct literary overtones. This secularization or poetization of Zen subjects again fits well with Enshu's kirei-sabi aesthetic, with its primary emphasis on the aesthetic quality of an object or figure.

Enshu's ideal of kirei-sabi, so apparent in Shokado's affecting poet portraits and charming representations of Zen eccentrics, is also present in Shokado's bird-and-flower paintings as well as in his landscapes. Although the subjects illustrated in these do not carry the same force of literary association which marks Shokado's figure paintings, they do reflect the same lyrical approach to subject and display the balance, quietness, and economy of means appropriate to Enshu's "refined rusticity." Again, the addition of poems on

36. Iio Sogi (1421-1502) was not only the leading renga poet of his time, but also a renowned scholar of classical court literature. He was revered by later generations as the epitome of the traveler-poet, and served as chief compiler of the second honorary imperial renga anthology, the *Shinsen Tsukuba Shu* (1495). His greatest achievement was to realize the full potential of the extended renga form.



Fig. 11. Iio Sogi. Painting and inscription by Shokado Shoji. 17th century. Monochrome ink on paper. Height, 100.6 cm.; width, 48.5 cm. Photo reprinted, by permission, from *Kokka* no. 506 (January 1933), courtesy of the Kyoto Prefectural Sogo Shiryokan (library; archives; museum).

the majority of Shokado's landscapes reinforces the impressions of delicate lyricism created by the style and composition of the paintings.

Although previous scholarship has certainly realized Shokado's close friendship and study of tea with Kobori Enshu, usually grouping both men as major figures in the conservative movement of early seventeenth-century Kyoto art, strangely, little has been made of the influence of tea and especially of Enshu's teachings on Shokado's painting style or aesthetics. Yet when we look at Shokado's art in broad perspective, it becomes clear that the guiding aesthetic principles of his art were those of Enshu's *kirei-sabi* tea; that tea and especially Enshu's teachings lay at the core of Shokado's painting. It was Shokado's deep involvement with tea that put his other interests and influences into focus, even if it was not the original impetus for them. The primary motivation for Shokado's painting was tea and his patrons were mostly his fellow *chajin*, whether Enshu, the priests of Daitokuji, members of the imperial family and other aristocratic families of Kyoto, the Tokugawa shoguns and their various retainers, wealthy *daimyo*, or sophisticated merchants. In this regard, he was, to coin a term, a "tea painter." 

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Poems by Jakushitsu Genko

Burton Watson

Jakushitsu Genko (1290-1367) was one of the most distinguished poets of the *Gozan bungaku* or "Literature of the Five Mountains," the body of prose and poetry written in Chinese by Japanese Zen monks of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.¹ Born in the Katsuyama region of Mimisaka in present-day Okayama Prefecture, he went to Kyoto at an early age and entered Zen training at Tofukuji temple. Later he continued his studies in Kamakura and became a Dharma-heir of Yakuo Tokken (1245-1330), a disciple of the Chinese monk Lanxi Daolong (Jpn., Rankei Doryu).

In 1320 Jakushitsu went to China, then under Mongol rule, studying first at Mount Tianmu west of Hangzhou and later at other Zen centers in southern China. After returning to Japan in 1326, he spent some thirty years in self-imposed obscurity, residing at a succession of country temples in the Okayama area, and later at various temples in the areas of modern Tottori, Shizuoka, and Shiga prefectures. In 1360 he was persuaded by Sasaki Ujiyori, constable of the province of Omi (present-day Shiga Prefecture), to settle down in a remote, hilly site east of Lake Biwa. The following year a temple, Eigenji, was built for him there, where he lived until his death six years later. Students flocked to study under him, and the temple has remained an important center of Rinzai Zen study down to present times.

Jakushitsu clearly cherished the life of reclusion and refused all invitations that would oblige him to live in proximity to the centers of political power in Kyoto and Kamakura. Something of his attitude, and his distaste for the great Zen establishments of the cities, can be seen in the following introduction to a poem that he wrote for a monk who shared his views:

In the first year of the Koan era (1361), I came to live out my old age at the foot of Mount Hanko (Eigenji) in the province of Omi. At that time the attendant Sorin Ka² came from the capital and, joining me in my drab and uneventful life, we passed the spring together and went on in that way till winter. I admired him for his unequaled innate qualities and the fact that he did not let his keen intelligence lead him astray. Instead he worked doggedly and determinedly at the search for enlightenment, pursuing his practice without wasting a single moment.

1. For a historical overview of *Gozan bungaku*, see Tamamura Takeji, "Literature from the Gozan Zen Temples: A Historical Overview," *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 43 (Fall 1985), pp. 14-29.
2. Sorin Chuka, a monk of Tenryuji temple in Kyoto and Dharma-heir of Muso Soseki (1275-1351). By this time, Soseki was dead and Chuka had evidently become dissatisfied with the atmosphere at the temple.



Jakushitsu Genko. Photo courtesy of The Mainichi Newspapers.

One night as we were seated around the fire leisurely chatting, he said to me, "When I was living in the temple with the other monks, I used to be so fond of reading old books that I would almost give up going to bed or forget to eat my meals. But then it suddenly occurred to me that trying to gain understanding through learning and the exercise of reason was in all probability merely prolonging my delusion, making my egoistical outlook worse than ever and laying foundations that would most likely lead me into a scramble for fame and profit. Was it not in fact the root cause that kept me bound to the realm of birth and death? How much better, I thought, if I put all study-desk matters out of my mind and contented myself with being a know-nothing, understand-nothing fellow, better if I left the temple, took a closer look at myself, and made enlightenment my only goal.

"It also occurred to me that the men of past times, even after they had come to understand the Great Truth, would still try to avoid becoming entangled with material things and everyday affairs. Some went off to the western mountains and never came back again. There were some whose whereabouts only became known because of the vegetable leaves that came drifting down the valley stream; some composed lines such as 'Vexing, vexing, worldly affairs,/ better off in the mountains and hills!/ Sleep under the vines and creepers,/ let a heap of stones pillow your head.'³ How different such men are from me and the likes of me, who do

3. The man who went off to the western mountains was the Chinese monk known as Abbot Liang (Jpn., Ryo), who originally lectured on the sacred texts but later became a disciple of the Zen master Mazu (Baso; 709-788) and eventually disappeared into the mountains. The man whose hiding place in the mountains was given away by vegetable leaves washing down the stream was another disciple of Mazu named Longshan (Ryuzan). The author of the verses quoted was Lanza (Ranzan), a monk who lived in a cave on Mount Heng and refused to leave his retreat even at the summons of the sovereign, Emperor Suzong (Shukuso; r. 756-762). The verses are from his long poem entitled "Song of Delighting in the Way."

nothing but put our heads together, raise a rumpus, and let the seasons pass without accomplishing anything! So I vowed that from now on I would never return to the monastery, but would try to follow in the venerable footsteps of those wise recluses, spending the rest of my life on that alone."

I was more than ever impressed with the lofty character and wonderful vision of this man, not the kind that could ever be matched by our common run of mediocrities. So I wrote this poem to present to him.

There are some three hundred and fifty poems in Chinese by Jakushitsu, preserved in a work compiled after his death, the *Eigen Jakushitsu Osho Goroku*. (I have used the annotated edition published in Kyoto in Kan'ei 21 [1644].) Many of the poems are doctrinal in nature or otherwise rather specialized, but in the selection here, I have concentrated on works that reflect Jakushitsu's delight in his mountain retreats and his relations with friends and students. Though he shunned the cities, he was by no means averse to the company of others. On the contrary, like many recluses, he was acutely aware of the pleasures of companionship. His poetry is marked by warmth, lightness, and an engaging sense of humor, qualities that I hope will be apparent in the ten examples that follow. All the poems in my selection are in the four-line *jueju* or *zekku* form, the first two using a five-character line, the remainder, a seven-character line. The texts of the preface quoted above, and of all but one poem (no. 2), will be found in Harada Ryumon's *Jakushitsu Genko* (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1979), a work to which I am much indebted. For the text of no. 2, see Kitamura Sawakichi's *Gozan Bungaku Shiko* (Tokyo: Toyamabo, 1941), p. 296.

1.

Written on the wall of a mountain retreat in Shii Village (Okayama Prefecture)

Water in the ravine flows down to the world of men,
clouds from the scarps pass on to other mountains.
Listen a while to the hidden birds chattering,
as though they're extolling the idleness of this countryside monk!

2.

Spending the night at Kongoji

(There are several temples by this name and it is uncertain which is intended here.)

Often I come visiting to this nearby temple.
We talk all night, never breaking off.
In this mountain village there are no signal drums.
When the window whitens, then we know it's dawn.

3.

Putting up for the night at Senkoji
(Senkoji was a temple in Onomichi on the Inland Sea.)

Ten years ago I visited my friend.
At sight of each other, we clasped hands, talked on like spring.
Who'd have thought tonight I'd sleep in his old room,
moonlight piercing the cold window, wind rocking the bamboo.

4.

Two poems written on the wall at Mount Konzo
(At Konzosanji temple in Tanto, Hyogo Prefecture; second of two poems.)

Wind buffets the waterfall, sending me cold sounds.
From peaks in front, a moon rises, the bamboo window brightens.
Old now, I feel it more than ever — so good to be here in the mountains!
Die at the foot of the cliff and even your bones are clean.⁴

5.

My former attendant Zaio came to visit me at my new place in Nobe (Shizuoka Prefecture). We sat around the fire pit all night talking of worthwhile matters. When he got ready to leave, I put together this little poem to express my gratitude.

I cut reeds for a new hut in a crook of the empty mountain.
You must have cared, coming so far to see me in my distant retreat.
We've burned up all the dry sticks, run out of words as well;
together we listen to the sound of icy rain pelting against the window.

6.

Spring Day, Mountain Walking

Head covered with wispy hair, twisted in silvery tufts:
can't tell if I'll be around to welcome spring next year.
Bamboo staff, straw sandals, lots of delights in the country;
looking at mountain cherries — how many trees does this make?

4. The last line is probably an allusion to the following poem by the Chinese poet Wei Yingwu (I Obutsu; 737-?), who shared Jakushitsu's love of the reclusive life.

Visiting someone on my day off but not finding him home
(A variant version of the title makes it clear that the person visited was the poet-recluse Wang Jian [O Ken].)

Nine days racing around, one day free:
I looked for you, didn't find you — now I go home empty-handed.
I've wondered why your poems seem to clean a man to his bones:
ah, your gate looks out on the cold brook, snow blankets your hills

The poems quoted so far have reflected Jakushitsu's belief in the purifying nature of the mountain setting, its power to "clean a man to his bones." Jakushitsu in fact viewed the scenes of nature as the most eloquent guide to enlightenment, as is seen in the two poems quoted next. In these, he directs the student's attention to the elements of the mountain landscape and calls upon him not only to observe them, but to learn to identify with them, since they constitute a concrete embodiment of "this thing" that the student is seeking, the ultimate principle of Buddhism. As Jakushitsu puts it elsewhere in a short prose piece addressed to a student, "You are the green mountain, the green mountain is you!"⁵

7.

Two poems to show to a monk (first of two poems)

This thing – I show it to you clear as can be!
No need to plot any special feats or exploits.
Breezes mild, sun warm, yellow warblers caroling;
spring at its height already there in the blossoming treetops.

8.

To show to the priest Son

A man of the Way comes rapping at my brushwood gate,
wants to discuss the essentials of the Zen experience.
Don't take it wrong if this mountain monk's too lazy to open his mouth:
late spring warblers singing their hearts out, a village of drifting petals.

The following poem is one of a series describing various Buddhas and bodhisattvas. This one is on the bodhisattva Manjushri or Monju, a fictional being who represents Supreme Wisdom. His statue is a regular fixture in Zen meditation halls, since it is his understanding that meditators are seeking to acquire. He is customarily portrayed riding on a lion and holding a "wordless sutra" and a sword, the latter used to cut off delusions. It was by awaking to his wisdom that the seven Buddhas of the past, the last being Shakyamuni, were able to attain enlightenment.

9.

Haven't finished reading the last of your wordless sutra,
old sword, its blade dulled, pointlessly held in your hand,
so many years stupidly seated on the back of the golden-maned lion –
who'd believe you were once teacher to the seven Buddhas?

5. Kageki Hideo, *Gozan Shishi no Kenkyu* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1977), p. 136.

The last poem to be quoted was written to accompany a painting, a *chinso* or formal portrait of Jakushitsu himself. The portrait, which no doubt showed Jakushitsu wearing full priestly robes and looking very solemn, was painted at the request of a woman lay believer.

10.

At the request of the woman lay believer Jigen

Who took these splendid robes of purple and gold,
wrapped them around the old fool's lump of red flesh?
When bystanders see him, I'm afraid they'll laugh —
better send him back to stay in his old green mountain!



Tea Procedure: *Kagetsu*

Anyone who practices *kagetsu* can readily understand that this complex exercise was designed primarily as a discipline aimed at emphasizing the training aspect of *chado*. From beginning to end the five participants must allow no lapses in concentration; each person must be completely aware of the constantly varying set of circumstances in the room. The framework of this discipline is, of course, the set of rules involved, while the more subtle element which evolves through practice is the mutual ability of individuals to interact with acute sensitivity to each others' timing and temperaments.

Having attempted a basic description of the various movements and procedures, such as the footwork, and the handling of the *orisue* and *fuda*, in our previous issue (*Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 48), we will here present a general run-through of a typical, basic *kagetsu* session. Readers are invited to consult *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 48 for detailed explanations of the movements and procedures. Furthermore, please keep in mind that the session presented here is only one example of what could happen; that each time *kagetsu* is practiced, chance, in the random drawing of the *fuda*, will determine the way in which the session progresses.

As a rule, an eight-mat room is used — this size being the standard for all the *shichiji-shiki* — though *kagetsu* in larger or smaller rooms (four-and-a-half mats being the smallest size room used) is also possible. *Kagetsu* is practiced at any time of the year (i.e., in both the *ro* and *furo* seasons), and normally, a *tana* (utensil stand) is utilized. The following example utilizes a *ro* and the style of *tana* called *Enno-joku*. This basic *kagetsu*, in which four bowls of *usucha* are made and a *tana* is utilized, is called *hira-kagetsu*.

To prepare for *hira-kagetsu*, a scroll is hung and flowers are placed in the *tokonoma*. The *tana* is placed on the *dogu tatami*, and on it are arranged the *mizusashi* and *natsume*. A *chawan* with *chakin*, *chasen*, and *chashaku* is readied and placed next to the *sadoguchi* in the *mizuya*, as is a *kensui* with *futaoki* and *hishaku*. A *mizutsugi* is filled with water and a *chakin* folded and placed on its lid.

First, the five members sit together in the *mizuya* with their fans before their knees, and pass around the *orisue*, which contains the five *fuda* placed face-down. Saying "*osaki ni*" ("excuse me for going before you") to the person who will draw next, each person draws a *fuda* and places it face-down on the far side of his fan. After the last person puts down the *orisue*, everyone looks at his own *fuda* and the five *fuda* are called out by their respective holders in this order: "*tsuki*," "*hana*," "*ichi*," "*ni*," "*san*." *Tsuki* indicates who will be the first guest; *hana*, the host; *ichi*, the second guest; *ni*, the third guest; and *san*, the fourth guest. The *fuda* are put back into the *orisue* face-down. The five members bow together. Then the host takes his *fukusa* from inside

his kimono, folds it, and tucks it into his obi, while the guests one by one enter the tearoom. Before sitting at the sadoguchi each guest says "*osaki ni*" to the guest who will follow him.

At the end of the *kagetsu* as well, after all the participants have returned to the *mizuya*, they sit and bow in unison to each other in way of saying "thank you."



One by one, in their designated order, each guest sits outside the *sadoguchi*, places his fan before his knees, and bows before walking into the tearoom (1).



Taking their respective places in the 8-mat area and placing their fans behind themselves, the guests wait for the host to enter (2).



The host steps in, sits at an angle just within the *sadoguchi*, and everyone bows in unison (3). The host then stands and returns to the *mizuya*.



Each guest takes his fukusa from inside his kimono and places it on the left (L) palm. In unison, the guests open their fukusa, fold them in the triangular shape (4), and tuck them into their obi.



The first guest excuses himself to the second guest, saying "*osaki ni*" (5), and, leaving his fan on the tatami, stands (R foot) to enter the 4½-mat area.



All the guests follow the pattern described in step 5, in turn excusing themselves to the next guest as the person on their right stands (6).



The guests take their places in the 4½-mat area (7).



The host, sitting outside the sadoguchi with the orisue before his knees, picks up the orisue, turns it so that the front edge faces away from himself, and brings it to the first guest (8). He then returns to the mizuya.



The host brings the chawan to the temaeza, setting it to the far left. He takes the natsume from the tana, places it slightly to the right in front of the tana, and then places the chawan to the left of the natsume (9).



The host leaves again, returns with the kensui, and sits in the upper half of the fumi-komi tatami. He sets the kensui in the upper left-hand corner of the tatami (10).



Standing with R foot, the host takes three steps back, turns to the right by bringing L foot to the right-hand edge of the tatami (see photo 66), takes two steps in the adjacent kayoi tatami, steps into the kariza with R foot, and sits (11).



Once the host is seated at the kariza, the first guest says "*osaki ni*" to the second guest and starts passing the orisue. Each guest draws a fuda and places it face-down in front of the knees, one line within the tatami border. As the preceding guest places the fuda on the tatami, the next guest says "*o-saki ni*" to the following person (12). (Note: The saying of "*osaki ni*" before drawing a fuda takes place only during the first round.)



The fourth guest, after placing his fuda in front of his knees, sets the orisue on the kariza tatami, where the host is sitting (13).



The host takes the last fuda from the orisue (14).



By clenching the fuda between the palm and last two fingers, the host closes the orisue and places it in front of his knees. As he withdraws his hand from the orisue, the guests, in unison, pick up their fuda (15).



In unison, everyone looks at the face of the fuda. The person holding the hana – in this instance, the third guest – calls out “hana” (16).

The four guests, in unison, put their fuda down as before (the hana fuda, face-up) while the host again clenches his fuda and picks up the orisue. After returning the fuda to the orisue, the host places the orisue to the fourth guest’s left (17).



The fourth guest returns his fuda to the orisue and passes the orisue to the third guest (18).



Before returning the hana fuda to the orisue, the third guest draws a kaefuda (19) and places it to the right of the hana fuda on the tatami.





20

After the second and finally the first guests have returned their fuda to the orisue, the first guest places the orisue in the “stop position” five tatami lines outside the front of his half-mat and five lines from the right-hand border of the tatami (20).



21

Once the orisue has stopped, the person who drew the hana (i.e., the *sho-bana*, “first hana”) picks up his kaefuda, stands (L foot) (21), takes two steps back, and proceeds toward the fumikomi tatami. (Note: Only during the first round is the hana person required to wait for the orisue to be placed in the “stop position” before standing up.)



22

Entering the fumikomi tatami with L foot (22), the *sho-bana* takes two more steps in the first half of that tatami, enters the second half with R foot, and sits.



23

The *sho-bana* picks up the kensui, and at the same time that he stands (R foot) to go to the temaeza, all the members who were sitting to his geza side – the side closer to the sadoguchi – also stand (R foot) (23).



They take two steps back, and move up into the next seat (*seki no kuriage*) (24), crossing the tatami border with R foot as they enter their new places.

The sho-bana sits at the *te-maeza*, sets the *kensui* to the left, and places his *kaefuda* on the upper shelf of the *tana* (25).



The sho-bana takes the *hi-shaku* and *futaoki* from the *kensui* and sets them in their prescribed places for the *te-mae*. Then everyone bows in unison (26).

The sho-bana begins the *te-mae*. When he has finished preparing the utensils and takes the *chashaku* to put tea into the *chawan*, the first guest picks up the *orisue* (27).





The orisue is passed from the first guest to the fourth, each person drawing a fuda (28) and placing it on the tatami as before. The fourth guest places the orisue in the "stop position" to his left, five lines within the front border of the tatami and the same space within the left edge.



The sho-bana makes tea, and when he places the bowl of tea on the adjacent tatami, the guests, in unison, pick up their fuda (29) and look at them. In succession, the person with the tsuki calls out "tsuki"; the person with the hana, "hana"; and the person who made the tea, "matsu."



In unison, the guests put their fuda down (tsuki and hana, face-up), the tsuki person — in this instance, the second guest — placing his fuda to the left (30) so that he can slide forward to get the tea. (Note: Whenever the first guest is tsuki, he places the fuda to the right so that he can slide forward; all other guests, to the left.)



As soon as the fourth guest puts his fuda down, he takes the orisue from its "stop position" and places it on the kariza tatami (31). Meanwhile the tsuki person takes the chawan to his seat and drinks the tea.



The person who just made the tea takes his kaefuda from the tana, goes and sits at the kariza, places the kaefuda in front of his knees, and picks up the orisue (32).

He places his kaefuda in the orisue (33), then sets the orisue to the fourth guest's left.



The orisue is passed up to the first guest, each guest returning his fuda to the orisue; those with the tsuki and hana first drawing kaefuda. Meanwhile the tsuki person, making sure he doesn't interrupt the flow of the orisue, returns the chawan (34). (Note: The orisue takes precedence over the drinking of the tea, so if the tsuki has not finished drinking when the orisue comes, he stops drinking, sets the chawan down within the front border of the tatami, draws a kaefuda and returns the tsuki fuda, passes the orisue on, then resumes drinking. If he finishes drinking just before the orisue arrives, he sets the chawan outside the front border of his tatami.) Once the tsuki has returned the chawan, he sets his kaefuda in front of his knees.



Once the new hana — in this instance, the third guest — has passed the orisue on, he takes his kaefuda and goes to the temaeza (35).



As soon as the new hana passes behind him, the former hana, sitting at the kari-za, stands (R foot), takes two steps back (36), and goes to sit at the vacated seat.



The new hana sits at the te-maeza, puts his kaefuda on the tana, and then prepares the chawan in the standard manner to make the next bowl of tea. When he takes the chashaku to scoop the tea, the first guest starts passing the orisue. The person with the kaefuda (i.e., the previous tsuki) does not draw a new fuda, but simply passes the orisue down to the next person (37).



When the tea is placed on the adjacent tatami, all the guests who drew new fuda pick up and look at their fuda (38). As explained in step 29, "tsuki," "hana," and "matsu" are called out.



The guests put their fuda down (tsuki and hana, face-up). The first guest having drawn tsuki in this instance, he puts his fuda down to the right so that he can slide forward to get the tea (*see* note in step 30) (39).



The procedure continues as in steps 31-34, everyone returning his fuda to the orisue, the tsuki and hana persons (in this example, the fourth guest has drawn the hana) first taking kaefuda (40).



Since in this instance the first guest was tsuki and will not draw a new fuda during the next round, after taking a kaefuda he passes the orisue back to the second guest (41).



The second guest places the orisue in the "stop position" five lines outside the front border of his tatami and the same space to the left of the right-hand edge of the tatami (42).



In the meantime the third hana will have gone to the temaeza — the previous hana filling his vacated seat — and will be preparing to make the next bowl of tea. When he picks up the chashaku, the second guest starts passing the orisue (43).



As before, when the tea is placed out on the adjacent tatami the guests who drew new fuda look at their fuda, and "tsuki," "hana," and "matsu" are called out (44).

The fuda are put down (tsuki and hana, face-up), the tsuki — in this case the fourth guest — placing his fuda to the left so that he can slide forward to get the tea (45).



The fourth guest goes to get the tea (46).



Returning to his place, the fourth guest places the cha-wan before his knees, inside the tatami border, and then takes the orisue (47) and places it at the kariza. Meanwhile the person at the te-maeza takes his kaefuda and comes to the kariza.





As described in steps 32-33, he places his kaefuda in the orisue and passes the orisue to the fourth guest. The fourth guest has not yet finished drinking the tea, so he temporarily sets the chawan down inside the tatami border (*see* note in step 34). He takes a kaefuda from the orisue and places it to the right of the tsuki fuda (48), then puts the tsuki fuda in the orisue and passes the orisue on.



The fourth guest resumes drinking the tea and returns the chawan, while the orisue continues to the first guest. Drawing a kaefuda and passing the orisue on, the final hana (*shimai-bana*) takes his kaefuda and goes to the *temaeza* (49). As usual, the person at the *kariza* fills the vacated seat.



The *shimai-bana* prepares to make the last bowl of tea. When he picks up the *chashaku*, the first guest starts passing the orisue (50).



During this last round, the orisue is passed at an angle (*sumikake*) (51). (Note: when passing the orisue *sumikake*, the character — on the orisue faces the guest to whom the orisue is being passed.)



To pick up the sumikake orisue, the guests grasp it across the top and bottom edges (52).



Since in this instance the fourth guest has a kaefuda and will not draw a new fuda, he first sets his kaefuda to the left (53), then — in the manner of returning a chawan — takes the orisue to the shimai-bana at the temaeza. (Note: In cases where the fourth guest does not have a kaefuda but must draw a new fuda, he immediately places the new fuda down to the left while L holds the open orisue, then closes the orisue and takes it to the shimai-bana.)



The fourth guest turns the orisue so that the front edge faces the shimai-bana, and sets it down sumikake to the left of where the chawan will be placed (54).



The fourth guest returns to his place and puts his fuda in front of his knees. As usual, when the bowl of tea is placed out, the guests who drew new fuda pick them up (55) and look at them. This time, only "tsuki" is called out.



56

The shimai-bana takes his kaefuda from the tana, shifts position to face the guests, and puts the kaefuda before his knees. Picking up the orisue by grasping it across the top and bottom edges, he opens it and puts his kaefuda inside. During this time the final tsuki goes forward to get the tea (56).



57

Turning the orisue so that it faces the fourth guest, the shimai-bana places it sumi-kake on the adjacent tatami. He shifts back to his former position and pours a ladleful of cold water into the kama. The fourth guest again sets his fuda to the left, and slides forward to get the orisue (57).



58

The orisue is passed up, sumikake, to the first guest, each guest putting his fuda into it (no kaefuda are drawn during the last round) (58).



59

The final tsuki does not return the chawan until the first guest has put the orisue in the "stop position" (59).



Once the orisue has stopped, the final tsuki returns the chawan to the shimai-bana (60).

The shimai-bana takes the chawan and places it before his knees. Everyone bows in unison (61).

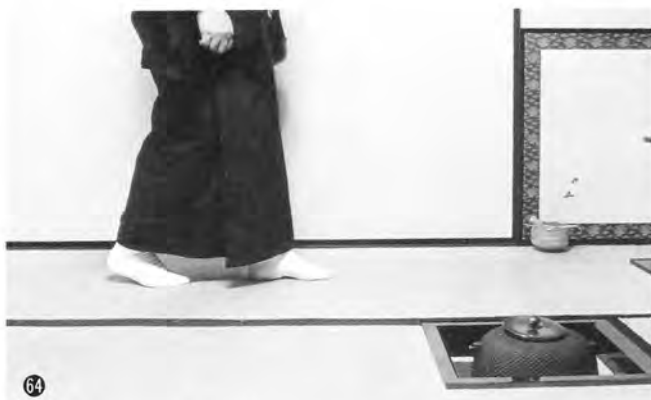


Those guests sitting in places other than their original positions within the 4½-mat area stand and return to those original positions (*zagawari*). Those going *kamiza* (away from the *sadoguchi*) stand with R foot and take two steps back; those going *geza* (toward the *sadoguchi*) stand with L foot (62) and take three steps back. Turning in their intended directions of movement, they proceed along their own left-hand sides of the tatami.



The shimai-bana continues with the closing steps of the *temae*, leaving the *natsume*, *hishaku*, and *futaoki* on the *tana*, and the *chawan* to the far left. He picks up the *kensui* and stands (L foot) (63).





Holding the kensui, the shimai-bana steps back, R foot crossing the line between the dogu tatami and the fumikomi tatami (64). (Note: If the shimai-bana happens to be the original host, after step 63 he turns to the left and immediately returns the kensui to the mizuya as in a standard temae; thus steps 64-67 are eliminated.)



The shimai-bana sits in the upper half of the fumikomi tatami and places the kensui in the upper left-hand corner of the tatami (65).



Standing with R foot, the shimai-bana takes three steps back, turns to the right by bringing L foot to the right-hand edge of the tatami (66), and proceeds to his original seat in the 4½-mat area.



Once the shimai-bana has passed behind the host at the kariza, the host stands (L foot), takes two steps back, and goes to get the kensui at the fumikomi tatami as described in step 22. Sitting and picking up the kensui, he stands (L foot) (67), turns in the standard manner, and takes the kensui to the mizuya.



The host returns, proceeds to the temaeza, picks up the chawan, and takes it to the mizuya (68).



Once the chawan has been taken out of the room, the first guest slides forward with the orisue, turns it so that the front edge faces the host, and places it on the tatami adjacent to the temaeza, five tatami lines from the border, where the chawan is normally placed (69).



The host returns with a mizutsugi and places it to the front-left of the tana (70).



The host shifts position to face the guests, and everyone bows (71).



The host picks up the orisue by the sides (72). Turning the hand so that the back of the orisue faces himself, L pinches the left side while R regrasps the orisue at the right (thumb on back, four fingers on front). R holding the orisue in this way, the host slips it into the pack of kaishi paper which he has in the front of his kimono.



The host shifts position to face the tana and replenishes the mizusashi (73).



When the host stands to return the mizutsugi to the mizuya, the guests stand in unison (L foot) (74).



The guests step backward into their original places in the 8-mat area (75) while the host takes the mizutsugi to the mizuya. After putting down the mizutsugi, the host takes the orisue from his kimono and leaves it in the mizuya.

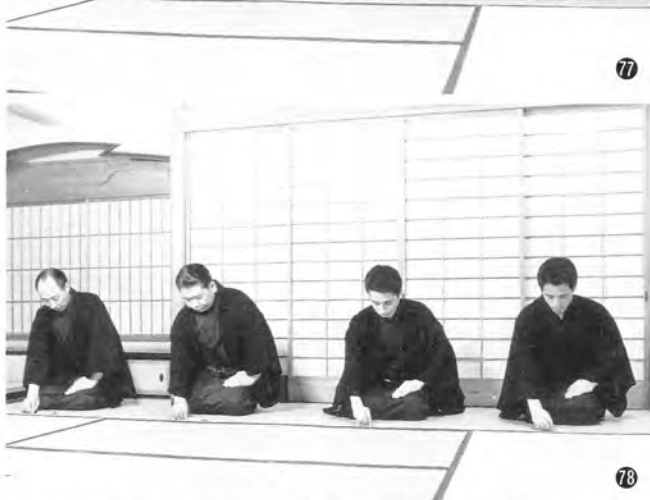


The host reenters the tea-room and sits at an angle just within the sadoguchi. Everyone bows in unison (76). Then the host returns to the mizuya.

In unison, the guests take their fukusa from their obi, open them out (77), fold them into eighths, and put them into the front of their kimono.



The guests take their fans from behind themselves and place them in front of their knees (78).



Beginning with the first guest, each guest in turn excuses himself to the next, stands, and leaves the room (79).



Book Reviews

Japanese Religion: A Cultural Perspective. By Robert Ellwood and Richard Pilgrim. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1985. xi + 162 pp., including glossary, bibliography, and index. US\$13.50.

This is a remarkable book in what appears to be a remarkable series of studies. As the subtitle indicates, it is from a "cultural perspective" that religion — in this volume, Japanese religion — is viewed. Such an approach gives a latitude seldom found in other publications on the same subject.

The tone is set from the very beginning. After a brief introduction on "The Japanese Way," a phrase which already suggests that the following pages will deal with something more than the various religious organizations in the "laboratory of religion" that Japan is said to be, the authors, in the second chapter, take the reader along on "an imaginary tour of monuments and memories." Tokyo, Kamakura, Kyoto, and Nara are visited, and — in addition to descriptions of temples and shrines — references to "an air of the religious or spiritual" in literature and other art forms are offered to stimulate the reader's interest in the unknown depths of Japanese culture. In the following chapters, this same "cultural perspective" is applied to a whole range of subjects, like a fan that is repeatedly unfolded and folded, each time with new, fascinating pictures presented on it.

The third chapter, "Japanese Religion in Historical Perspective," relates the history of Japanese religion from ancient times to the modern; an overview which excels by virtue of its harmonious blending of generalized observations and concrete illustrations. Only authors very familiar with their subject are able to do this so well. This chapter ends with a sort of poetic description of scenes from the past, in which the authors again take the reader on a visit. This time, however, the journey is not to places in the present, but to historical events in which the reader is made a living participant. The chapter concludes with a presentation of two "Exemplary Persons"— namely, Shinran Shonin (1173-1263), founder of the Jodo Shinshu sect of Pure Land Buddhism, and Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), a classical scholar of the Edo period.

The fourth chapter, "Countercultures," is rather short, but follows the same method: a general introduction followed by some concrete "Exemplary Movements." "The Caterpillar Cult," "Nichiren and Nichiren Buddhism," and "Nakayama Miki and Tenrikyo" are considered.

After this "Panorama of Japanese Religion," Part Two turns to "Specific Patterns in the Religion of Japan." The various chapters on "Religion and the Arts," "Conceptual Worlds," "Ritual and the Practice of Religion," "Religion and Society," and finally "Japan in Change and Continuity," are all rather concise. The "Exemplary Models" that adorn them are so well chosen and so vividly described that they easily make one forget the academic jargon which pops up here and there in the introductions to each theme. Descriptions of the "poetic realities" of Shinto and Buddhism alternate with those of Zen

meditation and *yamabushi* (lit., "mountain warrior") rites. Ancient Shinto court rituals find a place alongside the daily life at a Buddhist monastery and the practices of a contemporary Soka Gakkai member. The fan unfolds and folds many times again, and the pictures it offers linger in the mind of the reader only to be enriched still further by each subsequent presentation.

The appendix provides "Brief Summaries of Major Japanese Religious Traditions," followed by a glossary, a brief bibliography, and an index.

As I said at the beginning, I find this new volume on Japanese religion a remarkable achievement. Except for a few places where the enthusiasm of the authors for their subject — especially in the chapter on the arts — caused them to get lost in speculation which some readers might find somewhat far-fetched, the book as a whole reads like a piece of art itself, with overtones of religious fervor. It has grasped the soul of Japanese culture and expressed this in a way understandable to non-Japanese. However, to call it an "introductory textbook," as the authors do in their preface, might not be the most appropriate way to characterize it. Especially for students who have never been in Japan, and who are coming into contact with the world of Japanese culture and religion for the first time, it might better serve as "required additional reading." Notwithstanding all its concrete descriptions, as a first glimpse into Japan it still might prove too heavy for easy digestion. In that this study delves relatively deeply into its subject, it will benefit readers who are already familiar to some extent with Japan.

Keeping these favorable considerations in mind, there are still some criticisms. For one, the manner of romanizing Japanese terms is a source of constant irritation. To understand the Japanese language when it is written in roman alphabet, it is essential to indicate the long vowels as distinguished from the short. Although technical matters of printing probably lay behind the decision not to indicate these, in a publication of such a high academic level, this is impermissible.* As it is, teachers using the textbook will have to advise their students of each vowel that should be marked with a macron, for I cannot see how the students can learn the Japanese terminology otherwise.

There is another aspect of this study which I would consider an even more basic flaw. In their admiration for things Japanese, the authors have almost completely left out one fundamental element — the role of Christianity in Japan. Only a few lines are devoted, in passing, to the Christian religious tradition. If the authors' claim that religion in Japan has a much wider significance than its institutionalized forms — and it is precisely this that constitutes their "cultural perspective" — they should know that one cannot disregard the great influence Christianity has had and increasingly has on Japanese culture. If one pays attention to the religiosity found in works of art, particularly in Japanese literature, the case for including Christianity is very strong. Apart from considerations of actual numbers of converts, most observers of Japanese culture will agree that no discussion about Japanese religion is complete without taking the Christian tradition's "cultural reach" into account. After

all, if Japan can be called "unique," it is not so much because it has kept its Shinto and Buddhist traditions intact, but because it has also been able to absorb Christianity into its culture and to make it an integral, if new, part of it. That the authors of the volume under review did not even mention this point is hard to understand.

There are so many facets to Japanese culture that they are virtually inexhaustible. Apart from the above criticism, Ellwood and Pilgrim in this book open up a number of new perspectives which will surely inspire scholars to study the yet unexplored areas.

Jan Swyngedouw
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Nagoya

* *CHANOYU Quarterly* must plead guilty to the same count. It is hoped that one day this regrettable situation may be corrected. —E

Kosode: 16th–19th Century Textiles from the Nomura Collection. By Amanda Mayer Stinchecum with essays by Monica Bethe and Margot Paul. New York and Tokyo: Japan Society and Kodansha International, Ltd., 1984. 234 pp., including 56 color and 8 b/w plates. US\$50.00, ¥10,000.

The legacies of Nomura Shojiro show him to have been a man who was a combination collector, scholar, and designer. Not only did he leave behind a world-class collection of Japanese costumes and textiles, but also several books on those subjects and the creation of a unique type of two-panel folding screen.

This book is a tribute to him and much, much more. It served as the catalogue for an exhibition held at the Japan Society in New York in the spring of 1984. It contains the most thorough study of sixteenth- to nineteenth-century Japanese costumes and textiles that has yet appeared in English. In addition, it is a beautiful book.

Nomura Shojiro was born in 1879 into a family of cloth merchants. He became a very successful dealer in Japanese art objects, including antique costumes and textiles. His command of English helped him make an impact in the United States, where he organized what was surely the first traveling exhibition of Japanese textiles. The catalogue for that exhibition, dated 1914, is a collector's item.

Margot Paul's essay on Nomura Shojiro begins *Kosode*. She has contributed a well-researched and fascinating account of the life and work of this multi-talented man. His two-panel folding screen creations are described. They are reminiscent of a type of highly prized painted screen called *tagasode*, which depicts *kosode* ("small sleeve" kimono) dramatically draped over racks. Nomura's screens have a trompe l'oeil effect when viewed from a distance; but in fact the racks are composed of thin, lacquered wood strips and metal ornaments specially prepared for the screens, and the draped *kosode* are precious

sixteenth- through eighteenth-century kosode fragments, adhered to the panels. Nomura's collage-tagasode have the remarkable effect of recreating the feeling of the whole kosode in a living way, even though they consist only of fragments of kosode that Nomura managed to ferret out over the course of many years. Furthermore, because these fragile pieces were mounted on screens, albeit in a manner that is contrary to today's practice of textile conservation, they have survived in a relatively fine state of preservation.

More than half of the illustrations in *Kosode* are of Nomura's screens. The screens are difficult to photograph, particularly because of the reflective gold foil applied as background. Perhaps for that reason they are not shown fully opened. This is unfortunate, as is the fact that the photography and lighting do not convey the three-dimensional qualities of the objects adhering to the screens.

The principal author of *Kosode*, Amanda Mayer Stinchecum, has written a wide-ranging text that covers important areas such as costume evolution, design, weave structures, techniques of textile decoration, and the history of the weaving industry. While much has been published in Japanese on these subjects, little of that information has been available in English. The task of translating and synthesizing so much of the Japanese scholarship in the field was a prodigious one, and Stinchecum deserves endless gratitude from Japanese textile enthusiasts for her efforts. The best sections of her text are those dealing with the changing style of kosode design. This is traced through all of the important historical eras from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, with special emphasis on the Keicho (1596-1615) and Kambun (1661-1673) eras. Stinchecum's catalogue entries further develop this stylistic analysis and also present pertinent information such as the meanings of specific design motifs, technical data, dates, and social and historical contexts. Listed with each entry are publications in which the relevant kosode has previously appeared. That all of the ones illustrated in *Kosode* have been previously published, and in most instances several times, is a tribute to the importance of the Nomura Collection.

Monica Bethe's contributions to *Kosode* are innovative in terms of the topics usually dealt with in the Western approach to textile and costume history. She has written extensively on the dyed colors found in kosode — their many meanings, means of production, and history. For instance, she describes in detail the complex processes involved in turning gromwell roots, safflower petals, and indigo leaves into the purples, reds, and blues that appear in Japanese fabrics. Her contribution is appended with a chart showing the natural source of each dye, method of extraction, mordants used with it, characteristics, historical usage, and range of colors produced. These subjects are so often neglected in textile literature that we forget how color could be as symbolically significant as design, and that the dyeing industry was as important as the weaving industry. Bethe writes about dyes in a way that only a person with lots of practical experience can.

Kosode includes several useful and interesting appendices. Alex Kerr researched inscriptions found on linings once attached to kosode fragments that were made into patchwork Buddhist altar cloths (*uchishiki*) and monk's surplices (*kesa*). Many of the kosode fragments which Nomura used on his folding screens were taken from such Buddhist textile items. The drawings of weave structures, in Appendix 2, were contributed by Laura Hartman. Diagrams and information about changes in the cutting and tailoring of kosode material are reprinted from articles by Kamiya Eiko, which Stinchecum has translated and adapted. Monica Bethe's dye chart constitutes the last appendix. Furthermore, a glossary, extensive footnotes, a very complete bibliography with both Japanese and English references, and an index are also included.

In thoroughness and quality, *Kosode* outranks any other English-language work on this subject. It will probably be the standard reference on kosode for a long time. However, were the book to be the ultimate of its kind, it should have included a discussion of loom technology, sericulture, and costume customs. The kinds of looms that were used to weave the fabrics, and the ways in which the looms were manipulated, are not described. Neither are the production and treatment of the silk fabrics that kosode were made of. It would be interesting to know what kind of people wore these costumes, on what occasions they were worn, and how and with what other accessories they were worn. This is not to be critical, but just to say that since thoroughness was apparently a goal of the book, as is evidenced by the wide range of topics it already covers, why not go all the way?

As a book for the non-specialist, *Kosode* is easily enjoyable because of its many color plates and fine designs. For the specialist, the good organization of the book, with catalogue entries facing each illustration, make it convenient to use.

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The Chinese Art of Tea. By John Blofeld. Boston: Shambhala Publications Inc., 1985. 206 pp., including appendices. US\$9.95.

Though there may be some who believe that tea originated with Twinings or Lipton, most people today probably associate the origin of tea with the Orient, if not with China itself. I doubt, however, that many are aware of the extent to which the drinking of tea has colored China's cultural history. Part of this lack of awareness is due to the fact that—like much of China's cultural heritage—tea and its related culture were suppressed during the Cultural Revolution. Blofeld, a China scholar and writer who has spent a great deal of his life in the Orient, especially China, reports that during a return trip to China in 1982, tea drinking among the common people was almost nonexistent.

tent due to the communist insistence that the drinking of tea was "unproductive leisure." He discovered that "the once packed tea houses" in the cities were no longer there. Furthermore, he lamented that "even quite ordinary tea was considered a luxury, so people had grown accustomed to drinking hot water which they referred to as tea."

Fortunately, since 1982 it appears that tea drinking has begun to regain its popularity in China. Blofeld cites an article in the Washington Post which reported that the teahouse storytellers, once so common, but "persecuted by the communists for propagating feudalism through their epic tales of old dynasties," had returned to a teahouse in Chengtu, the capitol of Szechuan Province. There is little doubt that the drinking of tea will reenter the mainstream of Chinese life, but it will return from exile to find competitors like coffee and Coca-Cola coming in with the tide of Western influence.

Most of the book, however, deals not with the present situation, but with the history of tea in China as it is related in historical documents, legends, and poetry. Included are quotations from old manuals concerning the proper way of cultivating the tea plant and of preparing the beverage itself. Other chapters deal with such topics as the origin of the poetic names of various famous Chinese teas, the influence of tea drinking on the development of Chinese ceramics, architecture, and gardens, the health benefits of tea, and even its potential as a hair rinse or mosquito repellent.

In the course of this discussion, the reader is introduced to many famous figures in Chinese history, such as the Emperor Hui Tsung (r. 1101-1125) who wrote a book on tea. He was not only uncommonly knowledgeable on the subject, but also became so engrossed in it and other pleasures that he neglected his empire and was forced to end his life in exile. Then there was also Lu Yu (d. 785) who wrote a book entitled *Cha Ching* [The Classic of Tea]. Among other accomplishments, he is said to have possessed an amazing ability to distinguish the particular part of a particular river from which the water for tea had been drawn!

The main weakness of the book in this reviewer's opinion is its comparison, however brief, of Japan's chanoyu with the Chinese art of tea. Although the author admits that he knows little about chanoyu, he asserts that it is overly rigid, too formal, and stifling in its demand for "punctilious conduct." This he contrasts with what he considers the "spontaneity" of the Chinese art of tea. However, historically speaking, there is an explanation for these differences. Within China itself there were two different traditions: that of the Confucian scholar-officials, who sought a way in which they could act spontaneously in an informal atmosphere, and that of the Buddhist monasteries, where the use of tea had a religious and philosophical basis. It was this latter tradition that Japanese Zen monks learned while studying in China, and which became the basis of Japan's chanoyu. The point which I wish to make is that these traditions are different, each deserving consideration on its own merit. It is therefore not fair to criticize one in the light of the other.

One must point out, however, that while Blofeld often characterizes the Chinese art of tea as an informal affair, he admits that at times it has had an obvious philosophical direction. Because of this, one can find similarities with the chanoyu of Japan. For example:

A combination of fine tea, enchanting objects and soothing surroundings exerts a therapeutic effect by washing away the corrosive strains and stresses of modern life. One may go further and come to recognize that this combination, in some circumstances, induces a mood that is spiritually refreshing; for as tea, beauty and quiet surroundings are all conducive to peaceful contemplation and to a relaxed, genial state of mind, they may lead to the dawning of an experience which magically reveals the close kinship between the individual and the totality of his surroundings. (p. 183)

We can imagine the Chinese scholars, as often depicted in Chinese landscape painting, sitting in their grass huts sipping tea while gazing out upon a vast mountain landscape and thereby finding their kinship with the universe. This is an outward, expansive path. The Japanese, on the other hand, seek the same kinship but take an inward, condensed path closing out the 'vast landscape' and finding its essence concentrated in a single flower displayed in the tokonoma.

For those who wish to make tea in the Chinese manner, the author lists the equipment needed and suggests substitutes for items not available in the West. He also provides a diagram showing the arrangement of utensils for presentation of a Chinese tea ceremony. Finally he gives instructions on making the tea, including proper water temperatures and steeping times.

Although obtaining really good tea outside of the Orient is difficult, the author adds a note at the end describing his recent discovery of a tea company in San Francisco's Chinatown that has fine teas.

Most of the pages have small, interesting illustrations in the margins. These are derived from window and balustrade lattices of tea shops, temples, and residences. The appendix includes a map of China showing the main tea growing regions, and a list of teas, giving their English and Chinese spellings as well as their type according to whether they are green, black, etc.

For many modern-day Westerners who rely on the tea bag, this book will provide insight into the proper art of making tea. It provides us all with some of the colorful history associated with Chinese tea, a tradition that has suffered much loss over the centuries but one that is sure to continue.

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The Sword and The Mind. By Yagyu Munenori. Translated by Hiroaki Sato. New York: The Overlook Press, 1985. x + 133 pp., including bibliography and glossary. US\$16.95.

This book is a translation of the *Heiho Kaden Sho*, a treatise written in the 1600s by one of the most famous swordsmen in Japanese history, Yagyu Munenori (1571-1646). Not only is it a splendid translation, the contents in themselves afford the reader a splendid insight into what it takes to become more than a mere “technician” — what it takes to be a true master — in any of the traditional martial arts of Japan. There is, one will realize, much more for a student of any of the traditional martial arts of Japan to understand than just the mental and physical requirements demanded by them. As Munenori the master “talks” to his son, and to us, from the pages of *The Sword and The Mind*, explaining about the Yagyu-ryu or Yagyu ‘school’ of swordsmanship [also called the Shinkage school], one reflects on the fact that he is not only stressing the philosophy of the art of swordsmanship in particular, but also, in general, the philosophy of all the traditional Japanese martial arts. In this sense, though some may say that *The Sword and The Mind* is not a book for beginners, any student of any school of martial art will profit from a dozen readings of Munenori’s text.

Having studied and practiced many forms of Japanese swordsmanship myself, I have a personal interest in this book. My teachers in *iaido* [study of swordsmanship using an actual sword] and *kendo* [study using a sword made of bamboo] always stressed the history and philosophy of the art rather than the combative outcome. For nearly fifty years, I have found this emphasis on the “sword and mind” an advantage not only in my practice but also in my day-to-day life.

One of the important lessons one learns through the study and practice of swordsmanship is that, to become truly proficient, one needs to be distinctly aware that one is face-to-face with a life or death situation. The period in which Munenori, and his father before him, lived was wrought with just such situations. Munenori’s father, Muneyoshi (1527-1606), studied under Kozumi, the Lord of Ise, who instructed him in both the philosophy and techniques of swordsmanship, and then Muneyoshi went on to found the Yagyu school. Later, he was granted the title of Governor of Tajima, in what is now a part of Hyogo Prefecture, and served the famous warlord Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582). By Munenori’s time, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) had gained considerable influence in the political world. Munenori served Ieyasu, and fought with great distinction at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600. Following the Tokugawa side’s victory in this battle, the shrewd Ieyasu awarded Munenori a large grant of land in the village in present-day Nara Prefecture where Munenori’s father was born, Yagyu Village. Here, the Yagyus built their residence and training hall (*dojo*).

Munenori wrote the *Heiho Kaden Sho* as a book of instruction for his

own son, Mitsuyoshi, who is generally known to Western followers of the Yagyū school simply as Jube. As mentioned earlier, the treatise covers the philosophy of swordsmanship, and in addition, the special sword techniques of the Yagyū school. In this English translation, Hiroaki Sato has brought out the exact points which Munenori wanted to implant in his son's mind regarding the reason and purpose for each technique. What the reader will no doubt realize is that the Yagyūs were promulgating a total way of life.

The illustrations which Munenori included in his original manuscript, and which are included in this current publication, cover the forms that were designed to meet the new techniques of other swordsmen. Some were intended to counter the 'two-sword form' (*Niten-ichi-ryū*) practiced by Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645), though it is interesting to note that the two masters, Munenori and Musashi, never met on the field. It is regrettable that on page 48 the original plate has been reversed. The description of the technique, however, is correct.

This is a book that anyone interested in Japanese history, culture, and society should find absorbing. The instructions concerning training of the mind and body point to the essence of the pragmatic philosophy followed by the samurai of yesteryear; a philosophy which is equally valuable today. The instructions are sound, and will allow the reader to acquire an understanding of the Way without the violent fact of physical combat. In our present day and age, we live by our minds, not by the sword. I recommend this book as worthy of study for a mind that wishes to improve its ability to meet the ever-present stress arising out of the constantly changing circumstances of our daily lives; as a way of "polishing the mind."

From time to time over the years, I have been able to visit Yagyū Village, which is only forty kilometers from Nara City. Located on a mesa south of the village, the Yagyū family residence is still intact, with the training hall a short distance away. Behind the walled residence, down at the base of a draw, is a small grove of tall pines surrounding the graves of the Yagyū clan. There, in the silence, one may almost feel the spirit of the swordsmen in the air.

Gordon Warner
7th *dan kyōshi* in kendo
7th *dan rensō* in iaidō
Okinawa

Glossary

() denotes alias, [] denotes Japanese reading.

Akizato Ritō	秋里籬島	Kitagawa Tatsunosuke	喜多川辰之助
<i>chagake</i>	茶掛	Kitamura Sawakichi	北村澤吉
<i>Chanoyu Ichie Shūchinsō</i>	茶湯一会集 頂相	Kobori Enshū	小堀遠州
<i>Eigen Jakushitsu Oshō Goroku</i>	永源寂室和尚語録	<i>Kobori Enshū Kakisute-bumi</i>	小堀遠州書捨文
Furuta Oribe	古田織部	Kōgetsu Sōgan	江月宗玩
<i>Gozan Bungaku Shikō</i>	五山文学史稿	Konoe Nobutada	近衛信尹
<i>Gozan Shishū no Kenkyū</i>	五山詩史の研究	Konoe Sakihisa	近衛前久
Gyokushitsu Sōhaku	玉室宗珀	Kōsetsu Sōryū	江雪宗立
Gyokushū Sōban <i>bakubyō</i>	玉冊宗璠 白描	Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi)	空海 (弘法大師)
Harada Ryūmon	原田龍門	Kūshiki	空識
Hayashi Razan	林羅山	Lanxi Daolong [Rankei Dōryū]	蘭溪道隆
Hon'amī Kōetsu	本阿弥光悦	Lanzan [Ranzan]	懶瓚
<i>Honchō Gashī ichigo ichie</i>	本朝画史 一期一会	Liang [Ryō]	亮
Ii Naosuke	井伊直弼	Longshan [Ryūzan]	龍山
Iio Sōgi	飯尾宗祇	Maeda Toshitsune	前田利常
Ikkyū Sōjun	一休宗純	Mazu [Baso]	馬祖
Ishikawa Jōzan	石川丈山	Mian Xianjie [Mittan Kan-ketsu]	密庵咸傑
Jakushitsu Genkō <i>jueju [zekku]</i>	寂室元光 絶句	Miyako Rinsen <i>Meishō Zue</i>	都林泉名勝図会
Kageki Hideo	蔭木英雄	Muqi [Mokkei]	牧谿
<i>Kan'ei Hajime no Nikki</i>	寛永初之日記	Nakanuma Kefu	中沼家譜
<i>Kan'ei Sampitsu kanga</i>	寛永三筆 漢画	Nakanuma Sakyō	中沼左京
Kanō Einō	狩野永納	Nanzan Inshi	南山隱士
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Shōkadō Shōjō 松花堂昭乗
 Shōkadō Shōjō Chakaiki 松花堂昭乗茶会記
 Shōkadō Shōnin Gyōgōki 松花堂上人行業記
 Shōrōbō 鐘樓坊
 Shun'oku Sōen 春屋宗園
 sōgana 草仮名
 Sōrin Chūka 霜林中果
 suiboku (ga) 水墨 (画)
 Suzong [Shukusō] 肅宗
 Takimotobō 滝本坊
 Takimoto Kan 滝本兼
 Taki(no)moto Jitsujō 滝本実乗
 Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭

Tenshitsu Sōjiku 天室宗竺
 Ten'yū Jōkō 天祐紹梶
 Tokugawa Yoshinao 徳川義直
 Tsuda Sōgyū 津田宗及
 Wang Jian [Ō Ken] 王健
 Wei Yingwu [I Ōbutsu] 韋應物
 Yakuō Tokken 約翁徳僊
 yama-yō 山様
 Yawata-gire 八幡切
 Yawata-meibutsu Ki 八幡名物記
 yūgen 幽玄

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