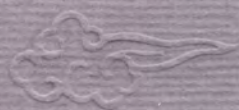




CHANOYU

Quarterly
TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 50



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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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.

A Lesson from a Leaf

Sen Soshitsu XV

When summer comes around, we who enjoy chanoyu look forward to the chance to prepare a bowl of tea using a leaf, instead of the usual lid, on top of the fresh-water jar. Seeing a large, dewy leaf on the jar gives a refreshing feeling, and adds a delightful atmosphere to a summertime tea.

The flash of inspiration that gave birth to the so-called *habuta temae* (literally, "leaf-lid" tea procedure) symbolizes an important teaching in tea, and a teaching which I feel has great import for us in our daily lives: to react spontaneously, and in the most fitting and welcome way, to whatever situation one faces.

This teaching, expressed by Sen Rikyu in his phrase "*ima no ima no hataraki*" (literally, "the workings of this very moment"), occurred to Rikyu as the result of an enlightening experience offered to him one hot, muggy day by his teacher [Takeno] Jo'o. Jo'o had invited Rikyu to his mountain retreat that day, and when Rikyu, perspiration pouring from his brow, at last reached the roji garden of the retreat after trekking up the mountain, he stopped for awhile to catch the breeze and cool off. Finally, he started to make his way through the roji to the tea hut. Reaching the stone water basin, what did he see but that it was covered by a single, big, green taro leaf, drops of dew glistening on its surface. The sight took his breath away, and his feet came to a standstill.

A nonobservant person might not have given the sight a second thought, simply thinking that for some unknown reason there was a taro leaf covering the basin. However, Rikyu instantaneously realized why the leaf was there. The master, Jo'o, wishing to have Rikyu enjoy the coldness of the well-water which he had poured for him, beforehand, into the stone basin, had picked a nice leaf off of a nearby taro plant and placed it over the basin to shade it from the beating sun and keep the water from becoming tepid. Not only this, he had also sprinkled water on it, so as to give it a cool, dewy appearance. This was Jo'o's warm-hearted way of showing thoughtfulness to his guest.

The gesture was not planned to command recognition or gratitude; it was a nonchalant gesture. It was not devised, but was as if it had been done by the hand of nature.

"Ah, this must be where the heart of Tea lies," thought Rikyu. He suddenly realized that it was in the non-material, perhaps trivial-seeming, but natural and spontaneous acts of thoughtfulness toward others that lay the key to Tea. This was where "the workings of this very moment" must be manifest, he realized.

I remember the lesson, very much related to this, which I learned many times over from my father, the fourteenth generation grand master. I would often accompany him as a guest to tea gatherings, and inevitably, upon opening the little door to the tea hut and glancing inside at the tokonoma, he would

say, "Ah, how nice!"

Opening the little door and — if it is a formal tea (*chaji*; as opposed to an informal *chakai*) — seeing, within the dimness of the room, a simple but elegant flower in a bamboo vase in the tokonoma, the natural reaction is, "Ah, how nice!" However, while most people will think these words, or something similar, they will not say them aloud. The host, working in the back room, would certainly be pleased to hear this reaction of his guest toward the flower which, though he thinks it humble and clumsily arranged, he especially selected and arranged for the tea. It would then naturally follow that, when he comes out for his words of greeting, he express his appreciation for the complement which earlier reached his ears.

These sorts of spontaneous, warm-hearted gestures and words are all too lacking in this world today. If each of us put into practice the teaching "*ima no ima no bataraki*," peace would prevail among all mankind. 🍵

One-Word Gates: *Ro, Kan, Jaku, Kan*

Shibayama Zenkei

When we enter through the tiny entrance into the quiet and peaceful tearoom, full of flickering light and the pervading fragrance of incense, the first thing that strikes us is the tokonoma and the scroll hanging in it. That momentary first impression of the scroll is decisive for the atmosphere of the tea gathering. The feelings engendered by the scroll which the host selects for the tea gathering are, therefore, very important.

I feel that a horizontal scroll featuring a “one-word gate” — especially one with an added inscription — is the most effective and satisfying of all, in terms both of artistic inflection and vitality. This type of scroll occupies a pre-eminent position among scrolls used in chanoyu. A good part of my reason for liking this type of scroll so much is my delight in “one-word gates.”

The expression “one-word gate” (*ichi-ji kan*) refers to a single word that acts as a barrier gate. Barrier gates are closely guarded and people wishing to pass are scrupulously inspected, those who seem suspicious or strange not being permitted to go through. Being able to pass beyond the barrier means that freedom has been granted to enjoy as one's own all that lies within.

Zen calls the opening of the eyes of the mind, after spiritual training, to the truth of Zen, “gaining the eyes to penetrate the barrier.” That is, in common parlance, opening the “eye of enlightenment.” The “gate to enlightenment” that Zen speaks of is called the koan. Koan are discourses and questions-and-answers conducted by the masters of old, and Zen practice consists of mastering them, penetrating these “gates to enlightenment.”

It is well known that Zen has numerous koan. Among them are those consisting of but one Chinese character, called “one-word gates.” The character might represent a word, a phrase, or a sentence. The koan thus fulfills its purpose in the one character by expressing in that one character one independent thought. Despite their utter simplicity, the one-word gates have wide implications, and further, they have an interjectionary role, acting like a sharp blow. This is the reason one-word gates invite an added inscription, and also why, as Zen expressions, they are ideal for chanoyu.

Ro

The character 露, *ro*, means “to appear” or “to be exposed,” not only “dew” as is commonly held. Compounds such as *roken* (露見; discovery), *rokotsu* (露骨; undisguised), and *rodai* (露台; outside balcony) bear out the former interpretation.

Translated, by permission, from selected sections of the chapter “*Ichiji-ji Kan*” in Shibayama Zenkei, *Zenshin Sawa* (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1969). Photographs of the author's calligraphy reproduced, by permission, from same. Unless otherwise specified, the parenthesized names following the names of Chinese persons and works indicate their Japanese pronunciation.

Ro is the most famous of the one-word gates, probably because of the koan of the Chinese Zen master Yunmen (Ummon). The koan is contained in a collection compiled in 1253, called the *Wudeng Huiyuan* (Goto Egen) [Amalgamation of the Sources of the Five Lamps].

Master Yunmen, a famous Zen master of the Five Dynasties period (907-960), regarded as the founder of the Yunmen sect of Zen, lived in the Guangfeng temple on Mount Yunmen in Shaozhou. Because of his penetrating viewpoint and his quick-witted force, he was praised as the "ruler of Yunmen," and his Zen was called "a red flag flashing," because of its hard-to-approach nobility and its sharp brunt. In particular he, more than any other master, answered questions from disciples with single words.

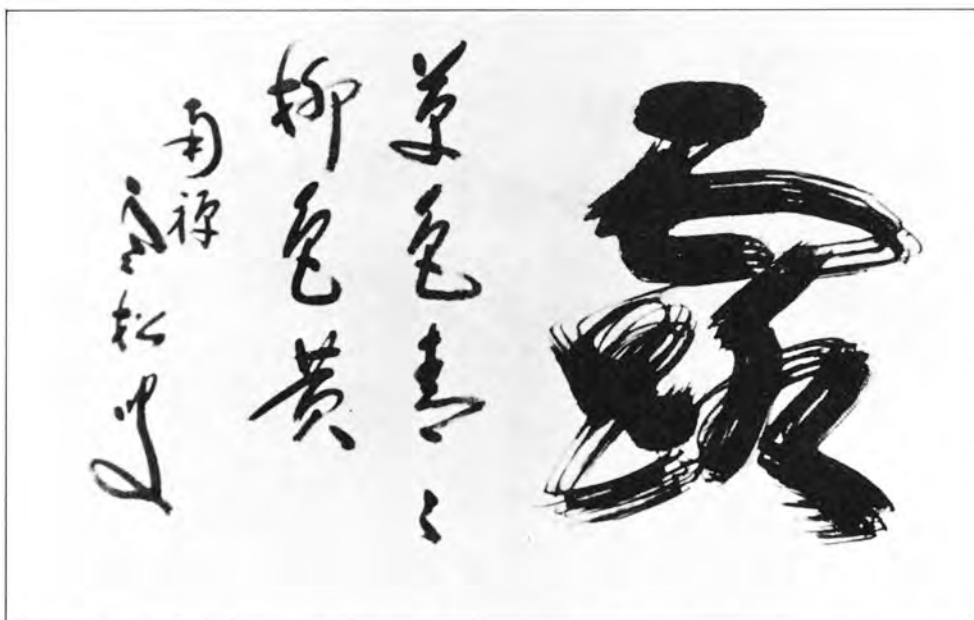
One day, a traveling monk called on him. His question to the master was barbed; posed to see how Yunmen would react. "If I should kill my father or my mother, I can kneel before the Buddha and repent my action. If, however, I should kill the Buddha or the patriarchs, where can I face myself to repent?" he asked. Master Yunmen's answer was like the flash of a great sword descending. "Exposed (*ro*)!"

Perhaps the master's intention was to say, "What do you mean, 'where'? Do you need instructions about which direction to face?" As far as Yunmen was concerned, all actions — standing, sitting, looking, listening — at all times and in all places had to be the occasion for repentance. If the master had explained that the profound and fundamental meaning of Buddhism was already exposed before our eyes, he would have completely lost the Zen-powered effectiveness of the single-word answer with its interjectionary directness. The one-word gate "*ro*," then, transmits directly, with no furbishing, the intention of Yunmen. "Killing the Buddha and killing the patriarchs" is absolute negation; a denial of what is most revered and sacred. What Buddhism calls emptiness (Skt., *sunyata*; Jpn., *ku*) and what Zen calls nothingness (Ch., *wu*; Jpn., *mu*) is not mere nihilism, but "nothing" in the Eastern sense; profound effectiveness rising from non-being. In fact, it is the subject of creation. For this reason, Master Yunmen in his reply goes beyond any total negation, and answers, rather, from a position of complete affirmation. Still, to give such explanations is to lose the profound flavor of it as a one-word gate.

Isn't it better that we accept with the whole body and the whole spirit the samadhi of *ro* just as it is, with no additional effort?

A Zen expression with a similar meaning is the three-word gate, *ro-do-do* (露堂々; appearing majestically). It means the elevated and profound truth revealed completely before us. The profound feelings engendered by the three-word gate, however, are quite different. One-word gates are Zen expressions which inspire our admiration for their superlative astuteness, directness, and frankness, rather than for their explanatory nature.

If we understand the one-word gate "*ro*" to be a koan which directly expresses the meaning, "profound effectiveness appearing before one's eyes," it is obvious that it does not lend itself to seasonal interpretation. Therefore,



"Ro." Calligraphy by Shibayama Zenkei. The accompanying verse may be translated: The grasses verdant, the willow chartreuse.

露

草
色
青
々

柳
色
黄

南
禅
寒
松
叟

its use in chanoyu is naturally not limited to any particular season. However, if I were compelled to make a judgment, I should say that it was suitable for an early summer tea gathering, for, in that it connotes “the living samadhi of the appearance of all things,” it is replete with the spirit of growing things.

Naturally, if the character *ro* is accompanied by an inscription, the scroll should be hung at the season and under the circumstances prescribed by the connotations of the inscription. For example, I have a scroll of the character *ro*, and beside the calligraphy is written:

The black kite [bird] soars into the sky; The fish penetrates the depths.

This verse clearly makes the scroll suitable for use in early summer.

Besides the Zen meaning related above, the character *ro* also has the meaning “dew” in Japanese. I think it could be effective to focus on this meaning of the character when using the scroll in a tearoom. However, interpreting the character in this way, it has no Zen meaning but, rather, imparts a Japanese feeling of extreme softness, centering on the aesthetic of elegance (*fuga*). Of course, a Zen-type inscription would not accompany the character if the character were to mean “dew.”

Kan

閑, *kan*, is a character with a variety of meanings — “defend,” “fasten,” “gigantic” — but its most common use is in the sense of “restfulness” or “loneliness,” “quietness” or “tranquility.” It is replete with the Eastern nostalgia for one who admires the elegant and delights in a life of isolation. Used as a one-word gate in Zen, its meaning centers on the idea of “tranquility” and “loneliness.” In an actively Zen context, it expresses a state of unconventional isolation.

Kan is thus the opposite of “restless” and “noisy,” though as a Zen one-word gate it indicates a refined state of mind not in opposition to “restless” or “noisy,” but which goes beyond any such opposition; a state of mind where all distinctions between enlightenment and illusion, true and false, have vanished.

One of the most famous works from the early period of Chinese Zen is the *Chengtao Ko* (*Shodo Ka*) [Song of Enlightenment] by Yongjia Xuejue (Yoka Genkaku; 665-714). Its opening lines are:

Do you know him, that tranquil (*kan*) man of the Way, who
has gone beyond learning and exerts himself in nothing?
He does not avoid erroneous thoughts, nor does he seek after
the truth.
[He knows that] ignorance itself is the buddha-nature,
[And that] this apparition-like empty body is nothing other
than the Dharma-body.



"Kan." Calligraphy by Shibayama Zenkei. The accompanying verse may be translated: Breezeless, there is a voice to the bamboo.

南 禪	有	無	閑
寒 松	聲	風	
叟		竹	

Here the character *kan* has been used with the full force of its Zen connotations.

Zen records make mention of Yongjia's life, but none treat it in enough detail to be fully satisfying. Considerable differences occur according to the particular work, though most agree that he died at the age of forty-nine in 714.

Yongjia called the person whose practice was so perfected that he was beyond learning, and who had become completely spontaneous in his actions, a "tranquil man of the Way," using *kan* to express "tranquil." Such a person, dwelling in a state beyond the distinctions of illusion and enlightenment, restlessness and tranquility, need no longer try to avoid erroneous thought or to undergo training in his search for the Truth. Just as he is, he is a true man of the Way, dwelling in the samadhi of effortless action.

It is said of the Japanese priest Tosui (d. 1683) that he was an eccentric who in his later years joined a band of beggars, with whom he lived out his life. A story about him relates that at one time, having received a scroll with a picture of the Buddha Amida, he hung it on the wall of a simple thatched hut, since he had no altar in which to place it. On the picture, he wrote the following inscription: "Though it is small, here is lodging. But Lord Amida, I have no plea for the afterlife." Here was a man unrestrained and at peace, with no fear of hell and no concern with paradise. The Japanese poet Ryokan and the Chinese eccentric Budai (Hotei) were similarly "tranquil men of the Way."

There is another famous koan associated with the character *kan*. It concerns Master Baizhang (Hyakujo; 720-814), famous for the maxim "A day of no work is a day of no eating." Baizhang returned one day from wandering in the mountains as an attendant on his master Mazu (Baso) when he suddenly began crying unrestrainedly. A monk who was with him asked whether his mother or father had died, but he shook his head. "Did someone speak ill of you?" he asked, but again, Baizhang shook his head. "Then why are you crying so?" asked the monk. "Go and ask the master," replied Baizhang. And so the monk went to Mazu and asked him, but the master merely said to go and ask someone else. Not knowing what else to do, the monk returned to Baizhang's room, where he found him laughing uproariously. Thinking it very strange, he asked, "Only a little while ago you were crying; why are you laughing now?" Completely serious, Baizhang answered, "I was crying before; now I am laughing." The monk could not utter a word. The episode caused a ripple throughout Zen circles and became a koan.

A master who lived during the Northern Song period (1127-1279), Foyan Qingyuan (Butsugen Seion; 1067-1120), wrote a poem commending the above koan as follows:

Thinking, I wound [hurt] the spirit each time.
Not thinking, suddenly I laugh and am renewed.
The clouds rest on the mountain peaks, tranquil and without
penetration.
The water flows to the bottom of the valley, always rushing.

The first two lines deal directly with the events associated with the koan. The last two are Master Qingyuan's comment on its Zen nuance. He treats in apposition the two phrases, "tranquil and without penetration" and "always rushing," drawing out the idea of penetrating tranquility and penetrating restlessness, symbolizing the profound function of effortless action which goes beyond both tranquility and restlessness. The final two lines of the poem became very famous, and were quoted from time to time in later Zen works. Even today they continue to be used in calligraphy by Zen monks (*bokuseki*) and, consequently, are often used for chanoyu.

The master Kaian (1847-1905), who lived on Mount Kokei in Gifu Prefecture, edited a collection of Buddhist expressions called *Chikuto Musetsu* [Bamboo Tube Without Nodes], in which a verse entitled "*Gukyo*" [Accidentally Flourishing] appears:

Going on alone, without disinclination,
Through towns and markets, mountains and valleys, the
whole universe,
Reaching a tranquil dwelling;
Coming and going, mind and body are without obstruction,
This barrier that people of the world find it difficult to
penetrate.

Truly a eulogy for the character *kan*! Going beyond tranquility and restlessness, going beyond illusion and enlightenment, finding tranquility even in the congestion of the towns and markets, finding tranquility even in the peace of the mountains and valleys, going and coming freely, there is nothing at all that impinges on the mind to confuse it. The one-word gate "*kan*" is full of the principle of Zen and is a barrier that cannot easily be penetrated.

A scroll with this character has no seasonal limitations, and can be used for chanoyu at any time. It is a character that suits a person who favors the spirit over the form of chanoyu.

Jaku

寂, *jaku*, is a character which expresses the idea of silence and ease. The character is employed in Buddhist-related compounds such as *jakumetsu* (寂滅; quiet and extinguished), *jakko* (寂光; tranquil light), and *kujaku* (空寂; a condition beyond disturbance, nirvana).

The character *jaku*, which arouses a feeling of refinement made up of "mystery (*yu*), tranquility (*jaku*), quietude (*kan*), and taste (*ga*)," is deeply loved not only by tea devotees and literati, but by Japanese society at large, as a character expressing the spirit of *sabi*, a concept which has occupied a special place in Japanese intellectual history since the middle ages.

Originally, the word *sabi* in Japanese meant "rust." Rust is the chemical reaction whereby metal that was originally burnished loses its luster and becomes unpleasant to look at. It also has the meaning of becoming old and going into decline. In either case there is the meaning that what is beautiful loses its luster, what is new becomes old; and so it is a word with a negative connotation of sadness and pity. However, Japanese philosophers of old skillfully discovered a mysterious and positive spirit, concealing deep constructive wisdom and will, in the negative depths of the expression. "He who takes by force is a weakling; he who can throw things away is strong," they said. Discarding what was glossy and bright, they discovered in dullness an ecstasy and a value which eclipsed the burnished and surpassed the beautiful. Thus at some point the formerly unpleasant word came to have the agreeable meaning of "maturing and becoming fulfilled with years," and to connote that elegance replete with mystery, depth, tranquility, and quietness which belongs to the aesthetic of *shibui*. Incomprehensible workings, backed by the mysterious principle of Zen, brought the change.

To digress a little, another word often used in the same context as *sabi* is *wabi*, a word originally meaning "apology" or "feeling anxious." The two words, *sabi* and *wabi*, often seem to be used with much the same meaning. However, *sabi* has a phenomenological character, while *wabi* is more psychological, and there are considerable differences in shade of meaning and concept. Since *chanoyu* from the beginning has been steeped with spiritual elements, tea masters of old preferred *wabi*.

The character *jaku* is used to translate the Sanskrit *nirvana*, a word which originally meant "the condition of being extinguished." Traditional translations of the term have been rather negative: for example, *metzu* (extinguished), *jakumetsu* (quiet and extinguished), *enjaku* (perfectly extinguished), *mui* (not created), *musa* (not produced by conditions), and *musbo* (non-birth). However, *nirvana* in Mahayana Buddhism meant the complete annihilation of all illusions, and living anew within the Truth. True enlightenment thus came to have a positive, constructive character. As a result, we can say that the character *jaku* expresses the profound state of non-substantiality, perfect harmony among all things, as well as the state of eternal bliss.

One of the foremost Buddhists of the past in Japan was Prince Shotoku Taishi, an outstanding thinker as well as a great man of culture. He presented a household shrine, known as the Tamamushi Shrine, to the reigning empress, Suiko, in which the following tale of the pursuit of the Way by a young ascetic of the Himalayas was depicted.

At one time a monk undergoing religious training entered deep into the mountains, when he heard a voice saying, "All phenomena are impermanent, subject to the dharmas of arising and decay." He realized the words were being said by a fierce man-eating demon. The monk was deeply struck by the nature of the verse, and greatly wanted to hear the concluding lines. He therefore approached the place where the demon was, and pleaded, "What you



"Jaku." Calligraphy by Shibayama Zenkei. The accompanying verse may be translated: Sitting quietly, listening to the wind in the pines.

寂

閑坐聽松
風

南禪
寒松叟

were saying just now is what I have been thinking for many years. But I am sure there is something more. Please tell me what those very important remaining words are." The demon replied, "I would like to do as you ask, but I am very hungry and cannot talk any more." Then the monk made a firm decision. "If only I knew those remaining words, my life would no longer matter. I will give you my body to eat, so please tell me the words." The demon replied, "What has arisen ends in destruction. Cessation (*jakumetsu*) is the only pleasure." The monk cut his finger, and from the welling blood, recorded the words on a nearby stone for future searchers to find, and then lay himself down beside the demon. At that point, suddenly, the demon changed form into the god Indra, and praised the monk.

It is said that the famous Japanese monk Kukai (a.k.a. Kobo Daishi; 774-835) translated the four lines of the verse into the well-known *Iroha* poem:

Colors are fragrant but they fade away.
(All phenomena are impermanent)
In this world of ours nothing is permanent.
(Subject to the dharmas of arising and decay)
Cross the deep mountains of conditioned things now.
(What has arisen ends in destruction)
There will be no more shallow dreaming, no more
intoxication.
(Cessation is the only pleasure)

The *Vimalakirti Nirdeśa Sutra* (*Yuima Kyo*) contains the very concise phrase, "leading people to the state of *jaku*." How does Zen penetrate the barrier of *jaku*?

The Song dynasty monk Kuōan Shihyuan (Kakuan Shion) spoke of penetrating the barrier when he depicted the eighth of the Ten Oxherding Pictures as a blank circle with the inscription: "Mediocrity is gone; there is no thought of holiness. [The oxherder] does not linger where the Buddha is; and he rapidly passes by where there is no Buddha." The Sixth Patriarch, Huineng (Eno; 638-713), proclaimed: "Originally [enlightenment] is not a thing at all; how could it be contaminated by dust?" And Hanshan (Kanzan), the Sage of Cold Mountain, declared: "Cold mountain is just white snow; silently (*jaku*) cut off the dust." The nun Nyodai, who lived during the Kamakura period in Japan, wrote: "If the bottom is taken out of the barrel, there will be no water or moon residing there." The unconditioned, mysterious stream flows out in a state of complete naturalness from the character *jaku*.

The four words that have frequently been used to express the basic spirit of chanoyu are "harmony," "respect," "purity," and "tranquility." I do not intend to elaborate on the first three here, but I would like to look further at the fourth, expressed by the character *jaku*. Many people have interpreted *jaku* simply as a word connected with chanoyu meaning "quiet and tranquil elegance," or "mystery and profundity."

It seems to me that such interpretations remain within the realm of aesthetics and overlook the Zen depth that pervades the character, with its barrier-breaking import. The character is both the essence of chanoyu and the essence of Zen. When, in this character, the import of "dropping body and mind, mind and body have been dropped" is experienced, deportment and behavior come to conform to Zen, and conform to the Way of Tea. The three spiritual principles of harmony, respect, and purity, through tranquility gain the power to act of themselves. This is the reason tea devotees have been moved to undergo Zen training in order to gain "the eye to penetrate enlightenment." It is recorded in the *Nampo Roku* that Sen Rikyu himself, who boasted of being the greatest tea master in Japan, did not assume that the rules of tea in themselves were of prime importance, and reminisced, "I used procedure as a ladder to climb to a slightly higher stage. To do so, I single-mindedly took my questions to the priests of the Zen sect temple, Daitokuji." That he did so is perhaps an indication that Rikyu wanted to put the finishing touch to his Way of Tea through jaku.

The Zen master Shikiu, a follower of Hakuin, the reformer of Zen in the eighteenth century, became an avid practitioner of tea in his later years, writing a book called *Ryaku Chaji-ketsu* [Outline of the Keys to Tea], a famous exposition of the four principles of chanoyu based on his own Zen experience. Writing of jaku, he said:

Jaku means perfecting one's abilities and truth in tranquility.
... The three merits of harmony, respect, and purity can be known and practiced among the people at large, but in the case of tranquility alone, it is momentous, and very difficult to attain unless passed on by oral transmission from a Zen monastery. Though it is secret transmission supposed to be passed on behind closed doors, I will here give its general meaning in brief. Tranquility means to dwell at peace in a state of right mindfulness, like vast emptiness, in the realm of formlessness. Gaining the realm of formlessness is not to construct chains of thought, not to be hemmed in by trivial doctrine; it is to practice tea with effortless action. It is the perfection of personal truth. Master Rikyu said in a poem:

Tea is nothing but this:
First you heat the water,
Then you make the tea,
Then you drink it.
That is all you need to know.

At the end of his exposition he wrote:

Looking at those who are now learning chanoyu, their mastery of the small points of detail in the physical actions

might be superior to that of practitioners in the past, but they are increasingly unable to advance far in the principles behind it. It must be said that they are performing erroneous chanoyu. This is because they are guided in a deluded way. What is necessary is to support and respect the principles of tea, not to allow the beauty of the Way of Tea to be lost. In order to have those who follow chanoyu understand this, I have long wanted to write down the secrets of tea. Now, in answer to the people's need, I have set down the main ideas here.

For Shikiu the principle underlying chanoyu was nothing other than penetrating the barrier of jaku. It is a gate in truth difficult to enter and difficult to attain.

Jaku does not belong to any particular season, but the circumstances surrounding the tea gathering in which it is used have to be out of the ordinary.

Kan

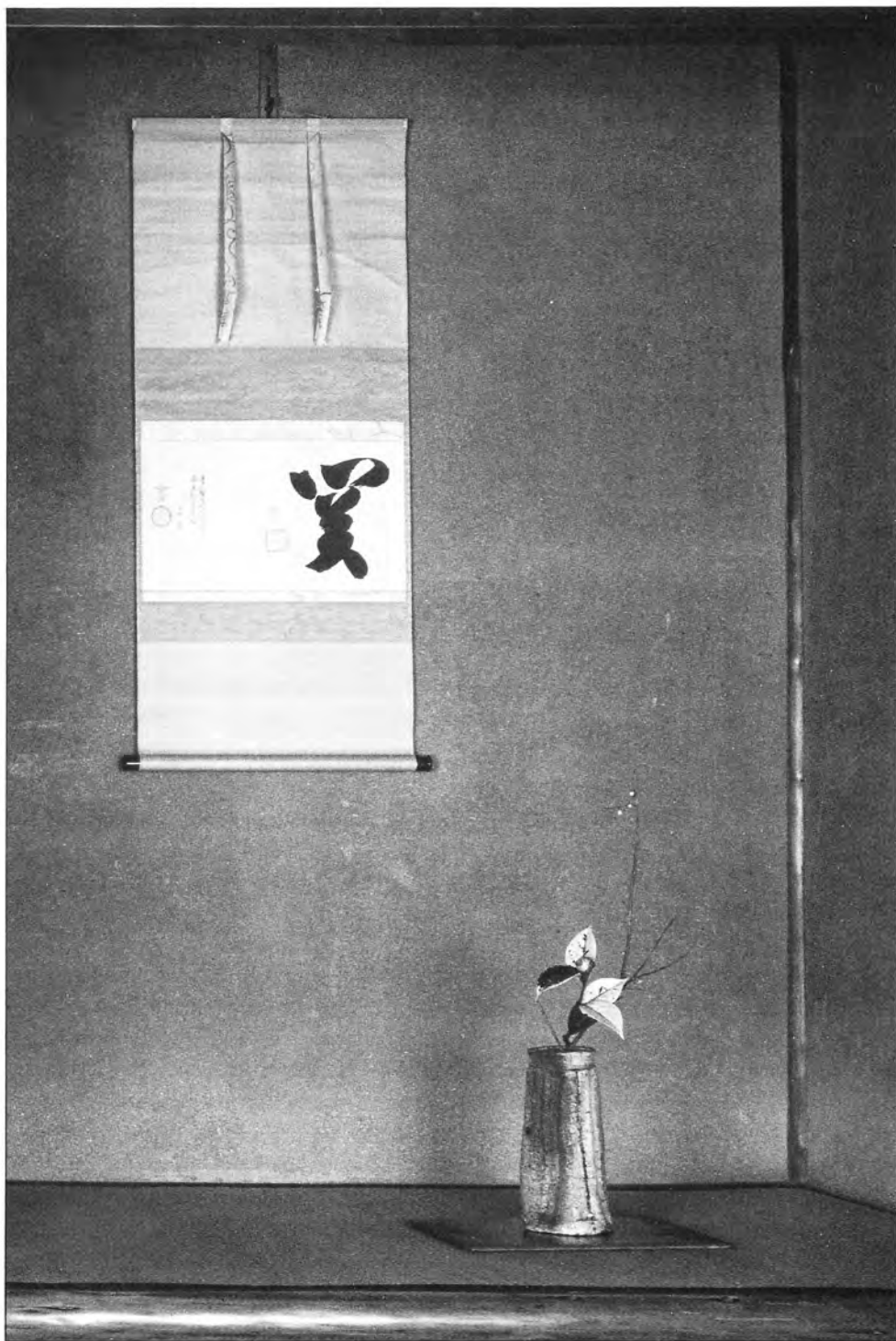
The character 関, *kan*, has a variety of meanings, including "bolt," "barrier gate," and "be set apart." The meaning that is paramount for Zen and for chanoyu is "barrier gate," the dividing point between illusion and enlightenment, error and truth, and by extension, "profound import" or "wonderful import" — that which is the substance of penetrating the barrier.

Outside the barrier gate is the country of the barbarians, wild and desolate, the realm of illusion, while inside the gate is the country of the prince, the "middle, flowering kingdom," the realm of enlightenment. The gate connecting the two is the gate leading from this shore to the other, the gate between this polluted world and the Pure Land, the gate leading from illusion to enlightenment, the gate leading from erroneous chanoyu to true chanoyu.

Long ago there was a resourceful warrior called Meng Changzi, who saved his life by imitating the first crow of the cock, tricking the guards into letting him pass through the barrier gate. However, "the Osaka barrier [one of the three most difficult barrier gates to pass through in Edo-period Japan; used as an analogy, here, for the gate to enlightenment] cannot be opened even by imitating the crowing of the cock throughout the night."

How does that unseen gate of enlightenment, without discrimination and without attributes, open? There are no expedients; this gate can only be opened by diving headlong into religious training.

The Zen master Wumen (Mumon) declared, "Zen training [means that] you must necessarily penetrate the barriers of the patriarchs; and enlightenment comes when you thoroughly investigate the paths of your mind, and go beyond them. If you do not penetrate the barriers, if you do not go beyond the paths of the mind, you will be like a ghost who clings to grasses and trees."



"Kan." Calligraphy by Kogetsu Sogan (1574-1643), 156th chief abbot of Daitokuji temple, Kyoto, in the tokonoma of the Kan'untei tearoom of Urasenke. Photo by Futagawa Yukio.

It has been said about the barrier that it is "a gateless gate," and that "what comes in through the gate is not a family treasure." The great meaning of penetrating the barrier is bringing into play the profound function which completely pierces what is without attribute and without discrimination, leaving you only able to nod and say, "Ah, is that what it is?" It is a fact of personal realization and experience, self-awakening, opening the eyes of the heart in a new and different realm.

In Japan the word for the entrance to a house is *genkan*. *Gen*, 玄, means "profundity," "mystery," "wonder," and is the profound realm of enlightenment. *Kan* is the character under discussion. Thus we can interpret the meaning of *genkan* as "the gate of enlightenment," and "the gate to ultimate truth." Outside is illusion, inside is enlightenment. A person who has passed through the *genkan* is no longer an outsider. He is the new insider of the Way, possessed of an enlightened personality.

In the final part of the *Nampo Roku*, the well-known book about chanoyu, it is written:

A pot is placed at the *genkan* as a barrier-guard. After Rikyu had given the tearoom a *genkan*, when he invited the priests to have tea, he would place a pot or some incense in the doorway, as if a question were being asked [to pass within]. It signified penetrating the barrier. Inside, he would hand out questions, such as "The pot does not move from the barrier; the priests display great compassion and penetrate it." When the guests had sat down and the host had taken his place, verses in reply [would be composed]. However, if the guest does not understand, there is no point in placing a "barrier guard" because he will just be confused and it will become a laughing matter.

Rikyu used the actuality of the *genkan* to put into practice his own Zen as well as the Zen of tea. The episode shows him to have been a true man of tea.

Another episode in the *Nampo Roku* tells that at one time Rikyu had invited a priest of Daitokuji, Shorei, and as they were quietly drinking tea together, he had Shorei comment in detail on the singular atmosphere of the simplicity and tranquility of the small tea hut. He mentioned the phrase in the Zen classic *Shinjin Mei* [On Believing in Mind], "If we can pass the barrier, we freely and easily gain the jewel," and asked Shorei to speak on that work. When Shorei came to the phrase, "When a mind is not disturbed, the ten thousand things offer no offense," he explained it as follows: "Before either yin or yang came into play, there was the One alone. If you can understand that One, you can handle yin and yang freely. As for the criterion of the tearoom, should yin and yang leave and not come back again? There should be interaction between them." Rikyu answered, "My admiration is great. It is as if I had just penetrat-

ed a barrier of many years in one word. My happiness is without bounds. I will hereafter dwell in great peace; for that I give you my thanks."

There are of course many historical problems related to the episode, but we can assume that Rikyu had for a long time been unable to gain an understanding of the phrase, "When a mind is not disturbed, the ten thousand things offer no offense." He had broken down a spiritual barrier, and was then able to create a realm of tea based on the "inner-world" concept of the wabi "grass-thatched tea hut" (*soan*). We should regard him as having become a person who had been admitted to the domain within the barrier.

I would now like to examine *kan* as a Zen one-word gate, where it has a deeper meaning than what I have spoken about. The original *kan* koan is a dialogue which appears in the eighth case of the *Blue Cliff Record* (Ch., *Biyan Lu*; Jpn., *Hekigan Roku*) entitled "Cuiyan (Suigan)'s Eyebrows."

Cuiyan was a Zen master early in the tenth century in China. There had, from early times, been the proverb that if anyone who was immersed in the world and far removed from the First Principle spoke too easily of Buddhism, his eyebrows would fall out in punishment and his face would become twisted. Cuiyan, at the end of the ninety-day summer training session, posed a question based on that proverb to the assembled masters, to test the quality of their replies.

"During the last ninety days," he said, "I have spoken at length and in great detail to you all, and perhaps have tried too much on your behalf. Look! Do I have any eyebrows or not?" What was Cuiyan symbolizing when he said "eyebrows?" That is the secret lurking in the question.

Three masters among the assembled monks answered. Baohao (Hofuku) said, "A person who commits a theft has a deceitful mind." Changqing (Chokei) said, "They have grown." But Yunmen only cried out, "Kan!" After that, in Zen circles, the nature of Yunmen's enlightenment revealed by "kan" was transmitted as a profound idea eternally bright, and so famous did it become that to say "kan" was to say "Yunmen," and to say "Yunmen" was to say "kan."

The compiler of the *Blue Cliff Record*, Xuedou Chongxian (Setcho Jukun; 980-1052), commented, "Losing his money, committing his crime," about Yunmen's answer, while Hakuin said, "An angry fist does not strike a smiling face." Those who understand, understand.

The founder of Daitokuji temple, Myocho (a.k.a. Daito Kokushi; 1282-1337), was considered by many to be a reincarnation of Yunmen, and was the foremost Zen master of his time. When he had finished his proper training, he received from his master, Nampo Jomyo (a.k.a. Daio Kokushi; 1235-1308), the koan of the character *kan*. For three years he untiringly battled with it, until at last one day he was suddenly able to break through it by the chance dropping of a key from the top of his desk. He ran to his master's quarters and submitted his answer to him. He was greatly complimented by the master. It was the beginning of 1308 and Myocho was twenty-seven years of age.

Myocho wrote the following poem concerning his enlightenment:

Now, broken through Yunmen's barrier,
Release everywhere — east, west, north, south.
In at morning, out in the evening, both host and guest gone.
Moving my head, my eyebrows, stirs up a pure wind.

The sentiment expressed by this poem is truly the mind-realm which is all-pervasive and in utter freedom. Can penetrating the barrier be so refreshing?

Hanging a scroll inscribed with "kan" in the tokonoma is to distance oneself from the signs of the gradually approaching shoals of old age and to retain hope in the ever-coming spring. Even the trials necessary to penetrate the barrier perhaps create the refined personality of an admirable person of tea. In addition, kan is the expression of each drop of blood of Yunmen, and even surpasses Linji (Rinzai)'s shout, "*katsu!*" It is the very inner, secret teaching of Zen. It is a character for a scroll to be used more for selected guests than for any particular season of the year. 

Translated by Gaynor Sekimori

Tea Taste in the Era of *Japonisme*: A Debate

Richard L. Wilson

The opening of Japan to the West that commenced with the treaty signed between Commodore Matthew Perry and the Tokugawa Shogunate on March 31, 1854 also opened the eyes and hearts of Western peoples to the traditional arts of Japan. Not only did they find an appeal in the newly arrived paintings, prints, and other works; conditions in the Occident, especially in western Europe, were favorable for change. By the second half of the nineteenth century, many European artists and critics had begun to sense that their own art had come to represent no more than empty formulae; the "new" Japanese art represented a bright and refreshing alternative to the lifeless academy. Japanese art, especially Japanese porcelains, had been known in the West for centuries, but with the opening of trade with Japan after 1854, access to a much broader variety of media and styles of Japanese art works made for a greatly increased interest in Japanese art in general, which in turn created a demand for more imports from Japan. Two developments fed these demands and spurred these interests: first, a series of international expositions that featured Japanese goods; and second, the emergence of dealers, collectors, and critics who could identify the finer objects, place them in a historical context, and find in them solutions to the crisis perceived in contemporary European art.

The first event in the West to trigger a broad awareness of Japanese art was the International Exposition held in Paris in 1867, where three official Japanese displays were devoted to products from those "exotic islands." Objects on exhibit were afterwards offered for sale, providing a start for some of the important early collections. In 1873 there was held a second International Exposition in which Japan participated, this time in Vienna; in the same year, in Paris, Henri Cernuschi (1821-1896) and Theodore Duret (1838-1927) exhibited works collected on their trip to the Orient in 1871-1872. The 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia acquainted American audiences with the arts of Japan. In 1878, the Paris International Exposition featured a large variety of traditional objects purveyed by two Japanese trading firms, the Kiritsu Industrial and Commercial Corporation, and the Mitsui Products Corporation. The burgeoning interest in Japanese art had become a movement, and one of its leaders, collector-critic Philippe Burty (1830-1890), had in 1872 entitled it "Japonisme" — for him, the "study of the art and genius of Japan." In its broadest context, Japonisme embraced art criticism, art collecting, curio sales, and interest in the applicability of Japanese aesthetic principles to Western painting and design as exemplified by Impressionism and Art Nouveau.

Ceramics occupied a peculiar place in the new movement. Of all the Japanese arts, they were in a sense the most well known but the least understood. Europeans were long familiar with Japanese porcelains from Kyushu, which had first arrived in the seventeenth century. These wares were prized by col-

lectors, but were seen less as *objets d'art* than as exotic interior decorations. Their styles, while based on Japanese porcelain traditions, had been modified for the foreign market, and featured an abundance of painted and gilded detail, to appeal to the late Baroque and Rococo tastes. Despite some signs in the early nineteenth century that Japanese objects were beginning to be admired for their artistic qualities, the European market continued to demand the Rococo style in the first decade of expanded relations, consequently giving way to a full-fledged export style featuring exotic subjects and designs. The kind of item favored by Western collectors is revealed in auction catalogues published some years later, after the passing of those pioneer collectors. For example, the collections of Philippe Burty and Edmund de Goncourt (1822-1896), both of which were begun in the 1860s, contained dozens of pieces in the fully-realized export style, such as gaudily painted Satsuma wares and quaint figurines from Bizen. On the other hand, however, the dealer-collectors Sigfried (Samuel) Bing (1838-1905) and Hayashi Tadamasa (1851-1906), active from the late 1870s, assembled not only a broader sampling of Japanese ceramics but also pieces more accurately reflecting traditional Japanese tastes.

What accounts for the dramatic change of the late 1870s? To put it simply, Japan had become more accessible. One important conduit to the newly opened country was the Japanese dealers active in the Paris market. The Japanese government had entrusted the Kiritsu Industrial and Commercial Corporation with preparations for the various world expositions; at the 1878 exposition the company was represented by Wakai Kenzaburo and the interpreter Hayashi Tadamasa. These two men, who would eventually set up their own firm, played central roles in the importation and interpretation of Japanese art in Europe. Philippe Burty would later write of Wakai:

A special position at the Trocadero [the 1878 Paris Exposition] was given to M. Wakai. If I remember rightly, the impression made then was not of the most vivid — M. Wakai having paid less attention to the study of European taste than to classical traditions. He had placed on his shelves specimens, but little varied, with flat covers of ivory, cups of all sizes, with mouths more or less widened, and whose outlines were constantly indented with fantastic finger marks.¹

Burty also acknowledged the contributions of Bing and Hayashi, uncontested leaders of the Japanese art circle on the continent in the last quarter of the nineteenth century:

M. Bing caused a revolution, which was in turn brought into order through the aid of M. Hayashi. They caused to issue

1. Philippe Burty, "Japanese Pottery," *Artistic Japan*, III:17 (1889), p. 210.

from the darkness a wondrous series of specimens of the work of Raku, of Ninsei, of Kenzan, and of all the list of noted potters.²

Within a dozen years, then, the interest in Japanese ceramics had moved from exotic curiosities to embrace something closer to native sensibilities.

At the same time that sophisticated Paris dealers were introducing classical tastes in Japanese ceramics, Western scholars in Japan had begun to take note of the contexts in which pots were used and admired, one of which was chanoyu. Chanoyu had of course received sporadic mention in Western reports from the sixteenth century onward, but it was not until the late nineteenth century that it received serious and systematic attention. A landmark contribution was made by the German scholar Funk in an essay in *Mitterlungen des deutschen Gesellschaft fur Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasiens* [Communications of the German Society for Natural Philosophy and Ethnology of East Asia], published in Yokohama in 1874. Funk, who actually attended formal tea gatherings in Japan, issued a lengthy, and by contemporary standards, accurate account of the history and practice of chanoyu. Funk's work was widely read and quoted in at least two early books dealing with Japanese ceramics, one by English authority Augustus Franks (*Japanese Pottery: Being a Native Report*, 1880), and the other by museum director Justus Brinckmann (*Kenzan*, 1897), of Germany. Brinckmann paraphrases Funk:

[In chanoyu,] together with the old forms of etiquette, furniture and vessels used in antiquity were passed down. In admiring and talking about them with the keen interest of antiquarians, a sense for the earnestness and simplicity of the art of the old was maintained. Even when the progressive effemination of life caused an artistic decline and the love of antiquity threatened to elapse into mere fashion, [chanoyu] provided an effective impulse to respect the works of one's ancestors, not only as objects for collection but for devoted use. For the artists this meant that they must seek inspiration in the past and at the same time take care that their works meet the approval of the practitioner. . . . [Chanoyu] cast a singular fragrance into the art of the Japanese, a spirit, teaching to partake of the earnest and simple works of remote antiquity combined with the insight of the aesthetic gourmand, and at the same time inciting to new works in this sense.³

2. Ibid., p. 216.

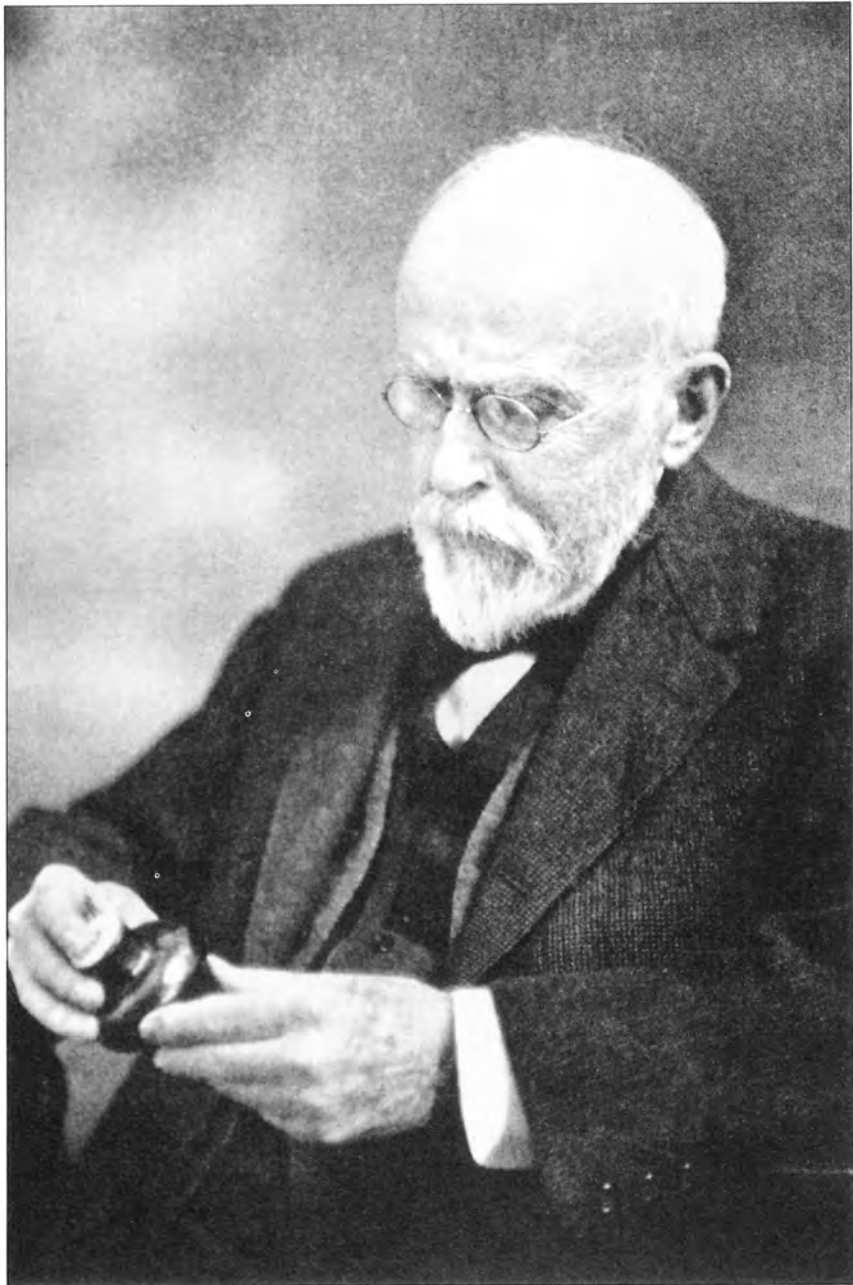
3. Justus Brinckmann, *Kenzan* (Hamburg: Lütcke and Wulff, 1897); p. 11 of privately published translation, coll. Freer Gallery of Art.

Funk's pioneering interest in Asian ethnology was also shared by the American, Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925). An invertebrate zoologist by profession, Morse had traveled to Japan in 1877, where he was recruited to serve on the faculty of the newly-opened Imperial University in Tokyo. It is now well known that Morse brought a passion for rational, systematic study to an incredibly broad range of phenomena, extending from arrow release to urban noise abatement. However, his most enduring contribution may have been to the field of Japanese ceramics, and the collections in the Peabody Museum, Salem, and especially the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, show his diligence and thoroughness as a collector. Morse's catalogue for the latter collection, published in 1901, remains a valuable guide for identifying otherwise obscure Edo period potters and workshops.

Morse's acquaintance with ceramics came about in an unusual manner. In late 1878, during his second trip to Japan, Morse began to suffer from a digestive ailment, and a physician prescribed long daily walks as a cure. Bored by the time-consuming exercise, the scientist began to visit curio shops during those outings, whereupon he developed an interest in the shell-shaped saucers (his specialty was brachiopods, a kind of shellfish) used for serving sashimi. A growing fascination with the potter's art led Morse to enlist the services of Ninagawa Noritane (1835-1882) as his teacher. Ninagawa, a dealer and antiquarian, had already begun a systematic work on Japanese ceramics, the seven-volume *Kanko Zusetsu* [Illustrated Discourse on Ancient Objects], in 1876. This study was soon translated and widely disseminated in the West, where it was a much-consulted guide on the subject until Morse's catalogue for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts was published some twenty-five years later. In Ninagawa's pottery classifications, Morse found a welcome parallel to taxonomy; he applied these "Ninagawa types" in assembling and characterizing his own immense collection.

As a keen and generally sympathetic observer of Japanese life, Morse was quick to realize that the native tastes in ceramics differed from foreign preferences. A journal entry made during a visit to Kyoto in 1879 relates his disgust over the production of export trade wares:

... many outsiders are employed, boys ten years old splashing on the decorations of flowers, butterflies and the like, motives derived from their mythology, but in sickening confusion, so contrary to the exquisite reserve of the Japanese in the decoration of objects for their own use. Previous to the demands of the foreigner, the members of the immediate family were leisurely engaged in producing pottery refined in form and decoration. Now the whole compound is given up to a feverish activity of work, with Tom, Dick and Harry and their children slapping it out by the gross. . . . "Put on all the gold you can" is the order . . . and the rough-



Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925)



Detail from *Kanko Zusetsu*, begun in 1876 by Ninagawa Noritane. Ninagawa tutored Edward S. Morse in Japanese ceramics connoisseurship, and in Ninagawa's classification of Japanese ceramics by region and workshop, Morse found a parallel to the genus and species classification system of biology.

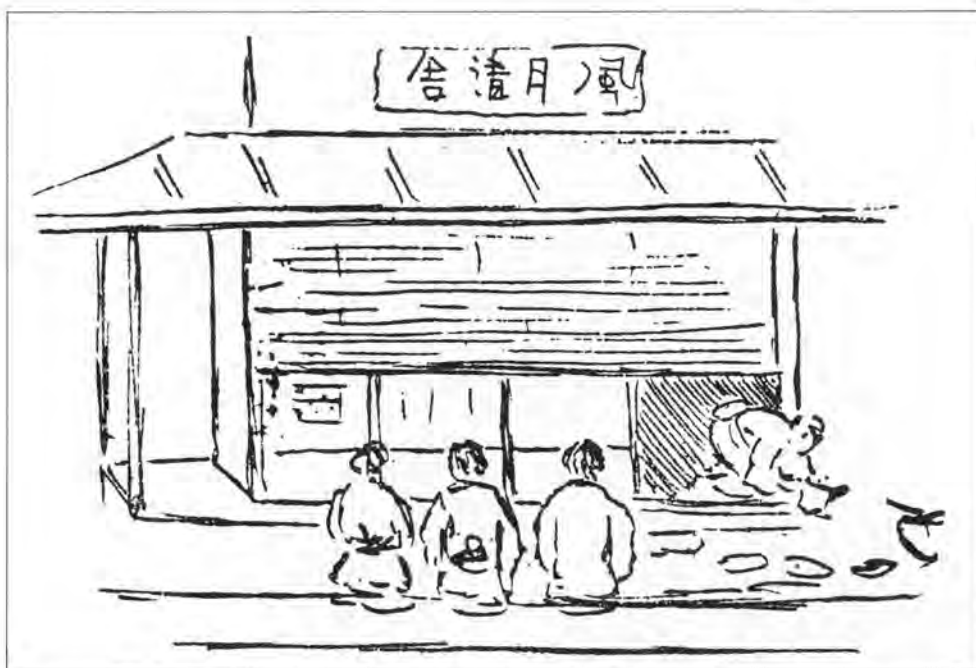
ness of the work, which is exported to America and Europe, confirms to the Japanese that they are dealing with people whose tastes are barbaric.⁴

Morse expands on the point in his first publication on Japanese ceramics, "Old Satsuma," featured in an 1888 issue of *Harper's* magazine:

It was my good fortune to examine many collections of pottery, and by studies and sketches to make myself familiar with many types of pottery rarely if ever seen in the private collections in our country or the public collections abroad. I was much struck at the outset with the almost entire absence from these collections of what we regard as decorative pottery. . . . In lieu of these one sees sober little tea jars, brown bowls, irregular-shaped dishes, vessels of various kinds, and these either with no decoration upon them, or the merest suggestion of an attempt that way in one or two hasty touches of monochrome. . . .⁵

4. Hickman and Fetchko, *Japan Day by Day: An Exhibition in Honor of Edward S. Morse* (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1977), p. 30.

5. Edward S. Morse, "Old Satsuma," *Harper's*, no. 460 (September 1888), p. 513.



A sketch from Edward S. Morse's personal diary illustrates a moment during a chanoyu gathering.

Morse's interest in Japanese culture also encompassed actual participation. He studied noh chanting and was a frequent competitor at connoisseurs' pottery-guessing contests. Of special importance for Morse's understanding of Japanese ceramics was his study of chanoyu. He practiced chanoyu under the Kohitsu family of professional antiquarians (his teacher appears to have been Kohitsu Ryoichi), and he was even informed by his instructor that he was the first Westerner to take lessons in the art. In his introduction to the Boston catalogue, Morse acknowledges the importance of the influence of chanoyu on Japanese ceramic art:

... the origins and persistence of this refined custom have had a most profound influence on the fictile art of Japan. The tenets have insisted on repose in form and decoration ... it may be nearer to the truth to say that those whose tastes are quiet and refined enough to enjoy the formal drinking of tea, with its easy, though apparently rigid etiquette, demand cleanliness, purity, and simplicity in all the appointments connected with the service.⁶

6. Edward S. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1901), pp. 16-17.

A combination of talent, perseverance, and good fortune had thus enabled Morse to study and collect ceramics through firsthand experience in Japan. Meanwhile, in the West, other dedicated enthusiasts were pursuing the subject under much different conditions and attitudes. Such was the case with English collector James Lord Bowes (1834-1899). Morse and Bowes make an interesting contrast. Morse lived in frequent debt and found relief only after selling his collection to the Boston Museum in 1892. Bowes made an early fortune in the wool brokerage and opened a well-appointed museum at his Liverpool estate, Streatlam Towers, where gate receipts were donated to charity. Morse doggedly sought out potters, kilns, and collections in the field; Bowes, who never visited Japan, depended on dealers, informed friends, and the official reports issued with exhibits at the world expositions. Bowes, for all his enthusiasm, was a manifestation of Victorian armchair romance; Morse was a trained observer.

Bowes' collecting activities actually began well before Morse's initiation to Japanese ceramics; the former made his first purchases at the 1867 Paris Exposition, and by 1874 he had amassed a large collection. It will be remembered that this period was marked by the emergence of a distinctive, overwrought export style, and it appears that most of Bowes' purchases were so informed. That bias emerges in a series of sumptuous books by Bowes, including: *Keramic Art of Japan* (co-authored by architect George Ashdown Audsley, 1879); *Japanese Marks and Seals* (1882); and *Japanese Enamels* (1886). In 1890, Bowes published *Japanese Pottery*. Its 576-page text is divided into a general history and local survey of Japanese kilns, together with a catalogue of the Bowes collection, containing 1,022 entries, the bulk of which describe decorated products from Satsuma, Kutani, and Kyoto kilns. Unbeknownst to Bowes, most of those pots had been made during the previous three decades. But Bowes' introduction is not without hubris:

It was, indeed, only in 1867 that the beauty and diversity of Japanese art, and that of the Ceramic wares especially, were revealed to the outer world, when the treasures of the last of the Shoguns were displayed at the Paris Exposition, and when, following upon his deposition in 1868, and the abolition of the feudal system three years later, the collections . . . were dispersed and thrown upon the markets of foreign countries. . . . And perhaps it may be that the Japanese of future generations will have to study the best forms of their art in foreign countries, for there is no doubt that many of the finest examples have been sent abroad. . . .⁷

Bowes, who had obviously read Morse's disparaging comments on the decorated wares in the 1888 *Harper's* article, scorned the American:

7. James L. Bowes, *Japanese Pottery* (London: Edward Howell, 1890), pp. vii-ix.



James Lord Bowes (1834-1899)

... in Japan ... the rude undecorated pottery of the middle ages has exercised a strange and unaccountable fascination upon the native mind, always prone to venerate whatever is ancient, and has led connoisseurs to ignore the beauty of the noble works produced during the last two centuries. In this eccentric taste they have been followed by some western collectors, who have blindly accepted the faulty standard current in Japan.⁸

The issues had thus been articulated: on one side there was Bowes, championing the decorated export wares believed by him to represent the flowering of Tokugawa culture; Morse, on the other hand, affirmed native tastes embodied in the quiet, undecorated wares made for or inspired by chanoyu. Sides having been drawn, a vociferous editorial-page battle ensued. The November 13, 1890 edition of the *New York Nation* featured a scathing review of Bowes' *Japanese Pottery* by Morse. Bowes was first taken to task for the selections in his catalogue:

Any complete collection of Japanese pottery, which is to furnish material for a work on the subject, should include only those objects made for the Japanese, and representing, of course, only things in accordance with Japanese taste and tradition. . . .

Regarding "what a complete collection of Japanese pottery should be," Morse advised:

First, the common ware of the masses. . . . Second, pottery for table use [and] objects used by the more refined classes for tea ceremonies. . . . Pieces noted for their age or ugliness . . . excite the admiration of the tea lover . . . because they come from the site of some famous kiln or were used by some celebrated man in past times. Such specimens are breathlessly examined by the *chajin* in Japan in much the same way that an American, if it were possible to induce any reverence in him, might examine the boots of Christopher Columbus or the jack-knife of George Washington.

Finally, Morse expressed astonishment in the author's suggestion that the proper place for studying Japanese ceramics might be outside Japan. Pointing to the many mistakes made by Bowes, and the fact that "more than a third of the specimens figured come under the category of export wares," Morse charged that "the book reveals how far one may go astray who undertakes to study the products of a country from just the opposite side of the globe."

8. Ibid., p. x.



Undecorated and decorated wares from *Japanese Pottery*, by James Lord Bowes. Bowes believed that decorated wares represented a progressive artistic spirit which was at work in the Tokugawa era, whereas undecorated wares symbolized a blind reverence for the dark ages of Japanese history.



Within a month, Bowes issued a proud rebuttal which was carried in the *Boston Transcript*:

. . . [I would] point out that the main object of my work is to make clear the distinction between the three principal branches of the industry, namely the Undecorated, the Decorated, and the Modern, to assign each one its fair share . . . I am aware that the rude objects which come within the first category have exercised [such] a strange and unaccountable fascination over the minds of certain American collectors that they are unable to see the beauty in the artistic works produced during the past two centuries.

Bowes also summoned to his cause another Japan hand and Morse opponent, Captain Frank Brinkley. According to Bowes' citation of Brinkley, the "*chajin* wares with which Professor Morse is so enamoured" possess:

Features which to vulgar eyes looked like gross technical imperfections; their shriveled shapes and blotched surfaces suggested beauties imperceptible to the profane; the experts of the 13th and 14th centuries threw into their dust-bins piles of distorted and blistered cups, bowls and pots which, in their silly ignorance, they conceived to be disgraces to the technical skill of their time; these rejected treasures the *chajin*, two hundred years later, disinterred from the dirt and placed among the gems of his cult.

In sum, Bowes protested that "even in Japan, where blind reverence for antiquity is the dominant feeling, a more enlightened spirit prevails. . . ."

Morse volleyed back with not one but three spirited pieces, one in the *Boston Transcript* (December 30, 1890), one in *The Studio* (January 10, 1891), and another in *Japan Weekly Mail* (January 10, 1891). In *The Studio*:

Instead of an exhaustive collection which Mr. Bowes claims to possess, the poverty of the material is far more apparent than the richness of it. . . . At least half of the specimens figured, and a large number of them described, come under the definition of "export" goods, many of them doubtless very beautiful, but as much out of place in a collection of Japanese pottery . . . as would a lot of Manchester-made Java sarongs be in a collection of English cotton prints.

These general remarks were followed by some fifty specific criticisms of Bowes' scholarship, charging in conclusion that the English collector was "exceedingly reluctant to be undeceived."

A VINDICATION
OF THE
DECORATED POTTERY
OF JAPAN

BY
JAMES L. BOWES

His Imperial Majesty's Honorary Consul for Japan at Liverpool

AUTHOR OF

"Japanese Marks and Seals"

"Japanese Enamels"

"Japanese Pottery"

and Joint-Author of *"Ceramic Art of Japan"*

&c.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

MDCXCXI.

Title page to James L. Bowes' *A Vindication of the Decorated Pottery of Japan*. Bowes published this book-length tirade against Edward S. Morse and his "chajin aesthetics" at his own expense in 1891.

Finally, Bowes took an action with little parallel in the history of art criticism. In April, 1891, he published *A Vindication of the Decorated Pottery of Japan*, a hard-cover sixty-three-page volume elaborating his position and attempting to refute Morse. In the book, Bowes returns to his concept of the decorated and undecorated wares. The undecorated wares, according to Bowes, are the wares of the chajin who have "always affected the greatest admiration for the rude products of a by-gone age, ignoring the progress of their own country in the direction of the beautiful." The epitome of "chajin ware" was the *chaire*, or tea caddy, for which Bowes reserved a special indignity:

I have here before me a very interesting vessel of hard stone-ware covered with a "rich flambe brown glaze" with "beautiful running and mottled effects," as Professor Morse would write, and, to follow his words, it has the *itogiri*, or thread mark, on the bottom, an interesting feature, no doubt, upon which Professor Morse dilates for half a column in his article. . . . The fact is, the specimen under review is a common ink bottle, which I found in the school-room of my house.⁹

As a final poke at the chajin aesthetic, Bowes illustrates an ordinary drainpipe along with several iron-glazed tea caddies and a flower vase, quoting fellow traveler Brinkley:

At Karatsu and Bizen they excelled in the manufacture of accidents. They could make a pot look as though it were the product of some wayward genius, who, failing to achieve a drain tile or sewer pipe had stopped short at a ewer or flower vase.¹⁰

After *A Vindication*, no further sparring seems to have occurred. Perhaps Morse had tired of fighting the recalcitrant Bowes; Morse was after all a man of broader interests and abilities. As for Bowes, little more was heard from him. His collection was auctioned off three years after his death in 1899, and his once-gorgeous tomes decompose on library shelves. Morse, on the other hand, went on to write his massive pottery catalogue (1901) and *Japan Day by Day* (1917). Sadly, there was to be no resolution to this debate in the closing decades of the nineteenth century; a deeper understanding of the Japanese spirit was to remain elusive. The distance between the two cultures may have prompted Philippe Burty's wistful description of what must have been one of the first presentations of chanoyu in the West:

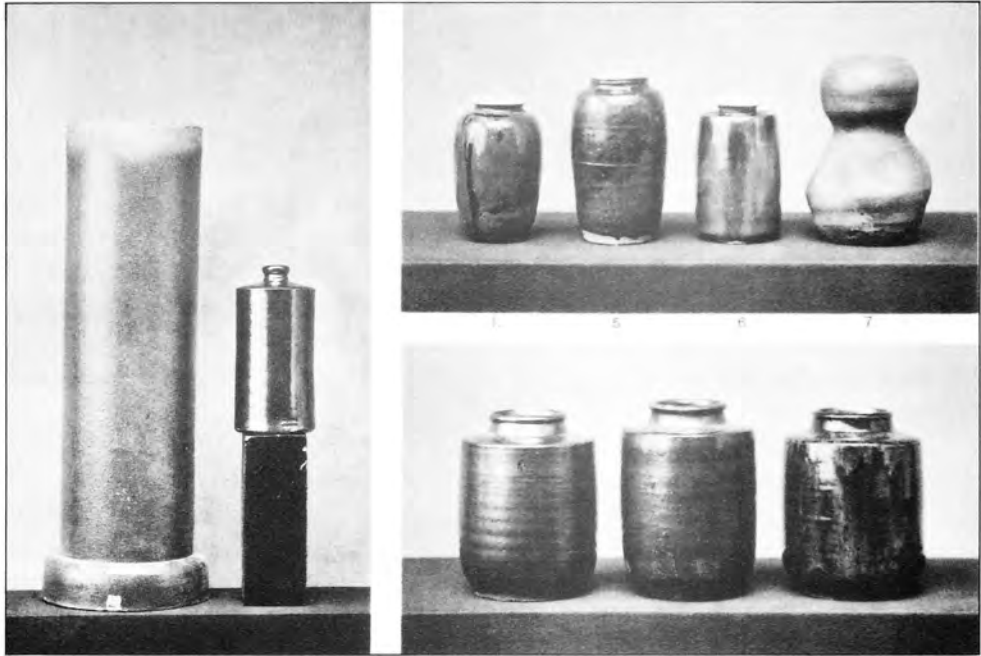
One evening, during the Exposition of 1878, some Japanese friends who were at my house improvised a *chanoyu*. Some barbarians of the West were also there. The beverage was tasted, and seemed more disturbing than agreeable. A [guest] closed a nostril after inhaling the perfumes, declaring that they had an aftertaste as of soup. I experienced a feeling of sadness. I felt myself a stranger in my own home. Does the charm only exist where it unfolds itself naturally?¹¹

The question of art unfolding "naturally" evokes one important facet of the Morse-Bowes debate: what role does an understanding of context play in

9. James L. Bowes, *A Vindication of the Decorated Pottery of Japan* (London: private publication, 1891), pp. 25-26.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

11. Philippe Burty, "Japanese Pottery," *Artistic Japan* III:18 (1889), p. 232.



To display the visual kinships between the *chaire* and ordinary objects like a drainpipe or an ink bottle, Bowes published this photograph in *A Vindication*.

the appreciation of ceramics? Morse, for his part, suggests in the 1890 *Nation* review that context and ceramic art are inseparable:

A collection, even for an art museum, would not be true if it included only pieces having great intrinsic beauty; or, to put it another way, if an art museum were to preserve only the beautiful pottery from any country[,] nine-tenths of the objects of this nature from England, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, and a goodly portion of the pottery of other countries, would have to be banished. Applying the same rule throughout a museum of art, other collections would suffer in the same way. . . .

Bowes would disagree. Regardless of his faulty attributions, he saw artistic quality more in terms of visual opulence and technical display. Was he mistaken? Does a piece, regardless of its visual characteristics, possess more artistic merit if it strongly projects the life of the culture in which it was created? By extension, does intellectual knowledge of a culture enhance the artistic experience? Or are those two different experiences? Perhaps rationality merely signals the failure of visceral evocation?

Another issue related to the Morse-Bowes debate is how availability shapes one's knowledge of art. Undoubtedly Morse encountered, studied, and collected wares in the tea taste in part because he was on the scene precisely at a time when they were available. The same is true for Bowes; his appreciation crystalized – some might say ossified – around the bright and ubiquitous export standard of the mid-nineteenth century. It is interesting and somewhat ironic that while rarity seems to play some role in our appreciation of art, a correlation can also be drawn between availability of objects and our fascination with them. A homely analogy might be that the best pie is always the one in the oven. In any case, both Morse and Bowes were flawed as connoisseurs. Morse pursued types of ware that were important and representative in their heyday, but by and large the pieces he bought only recalled that heyday – and often with considerable license. As for Bowes, he fell prey to the oft-used Meiji dealer's story that the richly enamelled and gilt pieces from Satsuma and Kutani were masterpieces from imperial and shogunal collections formed in the Tokugawa, when in fact they were recently made works, designed and destined for export.

And how do tea wares – especially wares conceived in the spirit of *wabi-cha* – emerge after the debate? It is on one hand tempting to side with Morse in finding in the humble undecorated wares something quintessentially Japanese. But the panorama of Japanese ceramic history, and more recently archaeology, suggest a broader picture. Indeed, it is Bowes who was correct in asserting that his decorated wares – or at least fine, finished wares – represent a more pervasive Japanese preference. There are accordingly two facets to the wabi ceramics question: these pots represent but one brief episode in the his-

tory of Japanese ceramic art; at the same time they have exercised a fascination out of all proportion to their production. Bowes may have grasped the former truth, and Morse the latter.

It must have been difficult for the nineteenth century Western man to come to terms with tea ceramics. The Western notion of art, steeped as it was in concepts of monumentality, even eternity, was ill-suited to the self-effacing, transitory beauty of these objects. It is thus not surprising that Bowes repeatedly pointed to the diminutive size of the chaire as a demerit. Bowes' use of the photograph as a critical tool is also telling. The photograph, which glorifies paintings or sculpture in an eternal stasis, robs the tea ceramic of its life, which comes through change. If still photography is the proper medium for reproducing Western art, perhaps the moving picture is appropriate for tea ceramics.

History, if we will trust it, will tell us at least two things about art: that it is at once culture-bound and, in certain sublime instances, transcendent. That latter quality, now beckoning, now evasive, invites our most fecund musings. In that predicament, the antagonists Morse and Bowes — and of course we, too — are one. 

kaiseki kaiseki

From 会席 to 懷石 : The Development of Formal Tea Cuisine

Tsutsui Hiroichi

One winter morning Sen Doan (1546-1607) invited his father, Sen Rikyu (1522-1591), to attend a snow-viewing tea. When Rikyu arrived he glanced into the front garden and saw Doan, wearing a straw raincoat and a sedge hat. Doan had been gathering vegetables in a nearby field and was just returning home.

When the meal trays were carried into the tearoom and Rikyu — in pleasurable anticipation of banishing the early-morning cold — removed the lid from his soup bowl, he found that the bowl contained sea bass and some greens. However, sea bass was out of season, and therefore scarce and expensive. Rikyu had been wondering about Doan's plans for the meal ever since he had glimpsed him returning from the field, and the chilly mood created by the soup was very disappointing to him. He chided his son for his lack of sensibility, emphasizing that the cuisine for tea in a *wabi-soan* (simple and unpretentious "grass hut") was first and foremost a matter of doing one's best to convey the atmosphere of *wabi*, and certainly not of serving rare delicacies. For Rikyu the ideal *kaiseki*, or "tea cuisine," was a simple cuisine using ordinary ingredients; a "down-to-earth" kind of meal.

What is *Kaiseki*?

The word *kaiseki*, of course, refers to the meal served at a formal tea gathering (*chaji*). As the title of this article suggests, however, at first the word was written with the kanji 会席, but later 懷石 came to be used.¹ To my knowledge, the earliest record in which the latter kanji are used to denote *kaiseki* is the *Nampo Roku* [Southern Record], a record of Sen Rikyu's teachings.² The "*Sumibiki*" [Inked-out Passages] chapter states that the host of a tea gathering, after the first entry of the guests, "should serve the 懷石 after adding charcoal to the fire." In the *Koji Ruien* [Encyclopedia of Historical Information], compiled between 1896-1914, the word 懷石 is explained as follows:

1. The term *kaiseki* 会席 in itself can loosely be translated as "the scene of a get-together." Originally, this term was often used to refer, specifically, to a tea gathering or — as an abbreviation of *kaiseki ryori*, "cuisine for serving at a get-together" — to the food for a tea gathering. In present usage, the term applies to an elegant banquet-style cuisine which borrows from both *honzen ryori* (see note 3) and the *kaiseki* 懷石 of *wabi*-style *chanoyu*.
2. It is not known exactly when this work, attributed to a certain disciple of Rikyu's named Nambo Sokei (dates unknown), was originally written. However, the greater portion of the work — all but the section entitled "*Metsugo*" [Posthumous] — is generally believed to have been written sometime during Rikyu's lifetime. The samurai and tea enthusiast Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655-1708) is credited as its editor.

Translated and adapted from "*Kaiseki to Kaiseki*" in the April and May, 1980 issues of *Tanko* (Kyoto: Tankosha), by permission of the author.



The main meal tray for a modern-day, early-summer kaiseki. Cuisine by Tsuji Yoshikazu. Photo courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Inc.



A typical morning meal at the Eiheiiji training monastery. Photo, by Yano Masayoshi, courtesy of Shufunotomo Co., Ltd.

The word 懷石 (*kaiseki*) is used in the same way that the similar word 薬石 (*yakuseki*) is in Zen temples. The name comes from the heated stones which monks bound on their stomachs to prevent hunger, and was used to refer to a small, frugal meal. It is a name peculiarly well suited to wabi-style tea, conveying a sense of subtle hidden beauty.

This points up the Zen influence on the development of tea cuisine; and we might suppose that the adoption of the Zen-related term was intended to reflect the increasingly Zen-like, spiritual, and austere qualities of chanoyu as wabi-cha, or chanoyu of the wabi aesthetic, gradually took root.

This is a key point in our understanding of *kaiseki*, for, although food has always been an integral part of the tradition of tea, it was not until the advent of wabi-cha that *kaiseki* assumed the characteristics which one associates with tea cuisine today: “a small, frugal meal . . . conveying a sense of subtle hidden beauty.”

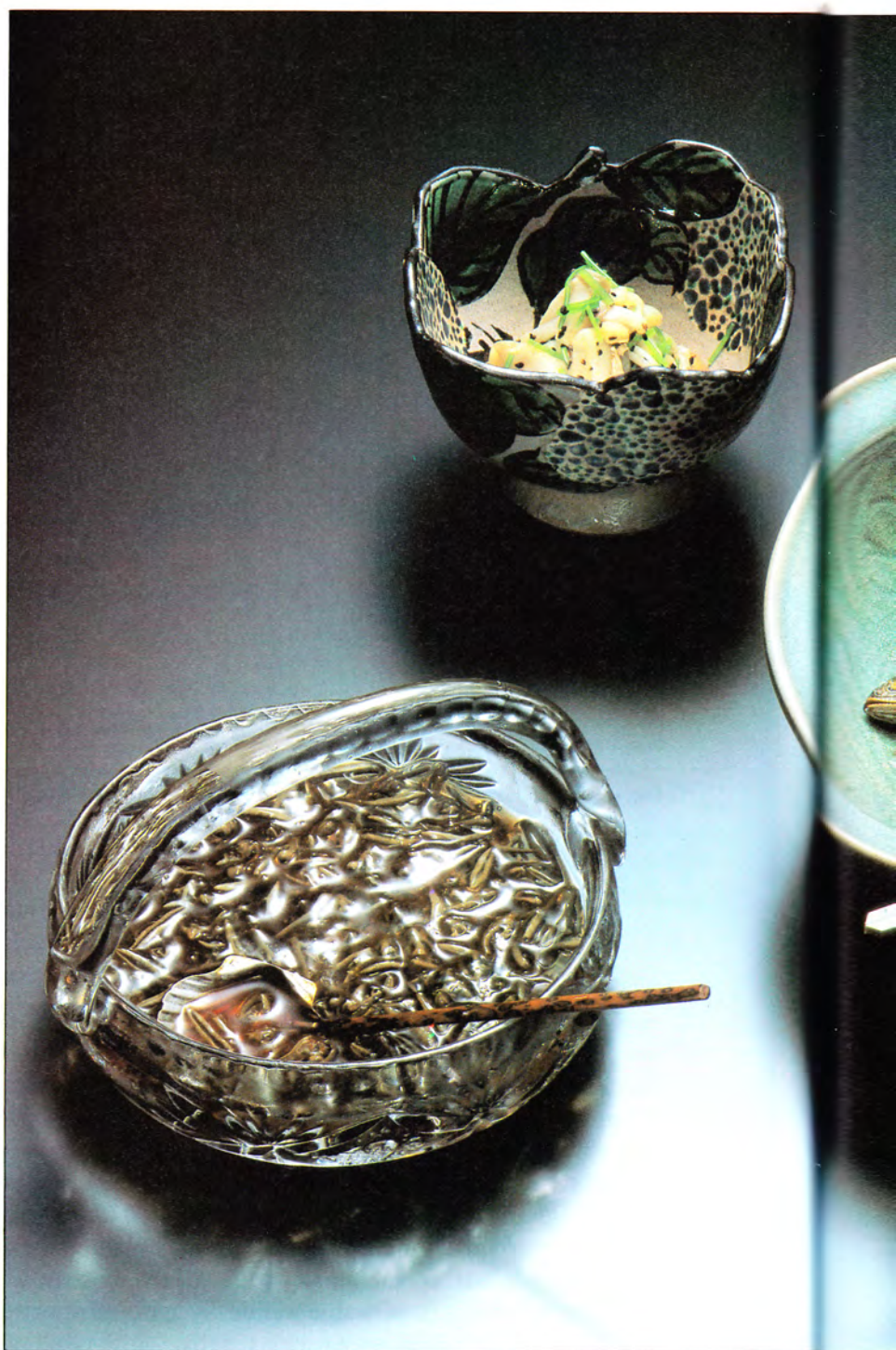
The *Nampo Roku* contains a famous statement reflecting Rikyu's perspective: “It is enough that your house shelter you, it is enough that your food keep you from starving.” And in the same work we find a passage describing the kind of meal that was recommended, as follows:



"Kaiseki sought . . . to embody as its essential 'ingredient' the host's sincerity of heart." Here we see the host serving his guest a second helping of soup. Photo courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Inc.

The meal . . . should consist of [only] one soup and two or three side dishes. *Sake* should be offered sparingly. Food of a pretentious character (*ryori date*) is inappropriate. . . . Of course, the overall mood of the components is an important consideration, just as it is for *chanoyu* itself.

Unlike the lavish *kaiseki* which was popular before the age of *wabi-cha*, when *chanoyu* was mainly a recreational pastime for the wealthy elite, and the idea was to enjoy a feast, *wabi-style kaiseki* sought to reveal the subtle beauty inherent in simple, seasonal, everyday ingredients by limiting the number of dishes, and by choosing containers suited to the ingredients, to the season, and to the overall atmosphere of *wabi*. In *wabi-cha* it was the direct communion of minds within the small space of a *wabi-soan* which was held as most important. And just as *wabi-cha* ideally embodied overflowing hospitality in the midst of scarcity, so *kaiseki* sought, within dishes of utmost simplicity, prepared in the most personalized manner possible, to embody as its essential "ingredient" the host's sincerity of heart.



Three side-dishes for a modern-day, summertime kaiseki. Cuisine by Tsuji Yoshikazu. Photo courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Inc.



The Formative Years

Although the wabi ideal in tea is said to date from the time of Murata Shuko (1423?-1502), the recognition of this ideal did not bring about an immediate and all-pervasive change in the popular form of tea enjoyment. Boisterous and extravagant tea gatherings still continued to be held, with food and drink served in great quantities and consumed without reserve. In the *Choka Chanoyu Monogatari* [Tea Stories in Long-Verse Style], traditionally attributed to Soami (d. 1525), who was a cultural advisor to the Muromachi shogun, we find the following unattractive and rather comical account of the scene at a tea banquet of the period:

Now they get down to the meal.
Raw fish, chicken, and everything else.
They lift the lids with haste,
And grab with bare hands
The raw-smelling dishes,
These overindulgent, gluttonous people.
The beautifully laid out dishes
They turn upside-down and spill around.
They even crunch on the bones,
Mixing many things in their mouths,
Using their chopsticks in the wrong way.
Their chatter is mingled with songs,
They prattle about the most trivial subjects;
Their voices rise as they compete,
Each pretending to know everything.
They take no note of prearranged times.
Lifting up the large *sake* cups,
They force themselves to drink
Much more than they are capable of,
Till their behavior becomes undignified.

On the other hand, however, we find in the poem collection entitled *Uso Shu Shikan Sho* [Crow and Rat Collection in Four Volumes], of 1572, this statement: "In the great ancient days, tea aesthetes (*chajin*) would serve a simple meal of rice, and then tea made of powdered leaves." What is meant by "the great ancient days" is not clear; but when we survey the accounts of tea gatherings listed in the earliest section of the *Matsuya Kaiki* [Matsuya Family's Record of Tea Gatherings] — the section covering the years 1533 through 1553 — we find several instances where very simple meals were served. Among the twenty-eight tea gatherings recorded, sixteen contain some mention of food. Nine of these were light meals consisting simply of some variety of noodle (e.g., *somen*, *udon*, or *kirimugi*), a kind of dumpling called *suiton*, or a gelatinous sweet called *suisen* (made of kudzu, and cut into thin, noodle-like strips).



A boisterous and extravagant tea gathering of the middle ages. Detail from the eight-panel *Yuraku-zu Byōbu* [folding screen with depictions of amusements] (a.k.a. *So'oji Byōbu*) in the collection of The Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation. Artist anonymous. Early Edo period.



Warriors sit down to a *honzen ryori* meal, as servants serve and cooks are busy in the kitchen. Detail from the picture-scroll *Shuban Ron* [Discourse on Wine and Food], in the collection of Sanji Chionji temple. Artist anonymous. Late Muromachi period. Photo from the Kyoto National Museum.

Four of the other seven meals consisted of the *ichiju sansai*, or “one soup and three side dishes,” recommended in the *Nampo Roku*; the remaining three, a similarly limited number of dishes.

According to the details given for the tea gathering which Matsuya Hisamasa (d. 1598) attended on the twelfth day of the fourth month, 1533, where only *somen* noodles were served, the gathering took place at Kofukuji temple in Nara, and was hosted by four high priests of that temple. Of interest, especially, is the fact that the *somen* was served after the tea [whereas *kaiseki* normally precedes the tea]. This suggests that temple tea gatherings were somewhat different, in form, from tea gatherings held in the lay world.

Looking at the first section of the *Matsuya Kaiki*, we find that four of the sixteen meals mentioned were of the *ichiju sansai* format. One of these appears in the entry for the twelfth day of the ninth month, Tembun 6 (1537), regarding a tea gathering hosted by Jushiya Sogo (dates unknown), under whom Sen Rikyu's teacher, Takeno Jo'o (1502-1555), is believed to have studied. From this we might say that the groundwork had been laid for Jo'o's statement, as set down in *Jo'o Montei e no Hatto* [Jo'o's Rules for His Disciples]: “Even for a particularly honored guest, the meal should not exceed *ichiju sansai*.” With this declaration by Jo'o, pre-dating the *Nampo Roku*, the *ichiju sansai* meal became recognized as a virtual symbol of *wabi-style* tea cuisine.

Interestingly, the *Matsuya Kaiki* entry for the day following Jushiya Sogo's tea gathering lists a tea gathering given by “Master Yoshiro.” Yoshiro was the name by which Rikyu was known in his youth, and if the “Master Yoshiro” of this tea gathering indeed refers to Rikyu, he would have been a mere fifteen years old at the time. The meal served on this occasion consisted of one dish of salted fish and one of marinated freshwater salmon, placed on the tray with the rice and soup, and a *bikimono* (food arranged on a large platter which the host passes around, each guest helping himself to a portion) of broiled sweetfish. Furthermore, there was another broth consisting of sea bass. Thus the meal altogether included two soups and three side dishes (*niju sansai*).

The Structural Components

Basically, we might say that *kaiseki* was a simplification of the existing formal, ceremonial-style cuisine, called *honzen ryori*, which was indulged in by the upper classes, and which had traditionally pervaded *chanoyu*.³ We find

3. *Honzen ryori* (literally, “main tray” cuisine) was the formal cuisine of the middle ages. A modification of the stylized cuisine of the Heian-period nobility, *honzen ryori* was characterized by the highly ritualized serving of several table-like trays (*zen*) of extravagant foods. The first tray (*honzen*), having rice on the near left, soup on the near right, and other dishes on the far side, would be placed in the center before the guest. This central tray would be flanked on both sides by two other trays of various foods. As many as seven trays could be served per guest at one meal, and there were strict rules regarding how the guest should eat the foods. One notable difference between *honzen ryori* and the *kaiseki* of *wabi-style* tea was the use, in *kaiseki*, of trays without legs.

reference to this background in the *Yamanoue Soji Ki* [Record of Yamanoue Soji], a record of chanoyu teachings and traditions in the line descending from Murata Shuko, compiled by Yamanoue Soji (1544-1590), where there is the statement: "Up until about ten years before the time of Takeno Jo'o, the second and third trays of honzen ryori were still used to hold a great variety of foods." As chanoyu came under the influence of Zen and began to emphasize the search for truth, however, the elaborateness of honzen ryori, with its meaningless intricacies, was done away with, and kaiseki became more akin to the type of meal served in Zen temples, which traditionally emphasized the idea that "it is enough that your food keep you from starving." With the development of wabi-cha, the new focus in kaiseki was on pursuing beauty within frugality.

By the time of Takeno Jo'o, it had been established that the ideal meal for wabi-cha should consist of no more than ichiju sansai, including something marinated (*namasu*), something boiled (*nimono*), and something broiled (*yaki-mono*). It must be emphasized, however, that although the wabi aesthetic penetrated the whole tradition of tea, and tea cuisine in general came to avoid ostentation while at the same time emphasizing warm-hearted hospitality, this frugal ichiju sansai format was primarily adhered to by those who practiced wabi-cha and who thus enjoyed tea in very small tearooms. It definitely did not suit all styles of tea. After all, there were "tea people" who delighted in collecting valuable utensils from China, and there were those who preferred chanoyu of a more rustic atmosphere; there were soan tea huts, and there were large, stately tearooms. All these diverse circumstances had to be considered. To cite but one example of the variations that were possible, the *Uso Shu Shikan Sho* says that when one has invited an aristocratic guest who possesses [i.e., delights in] valuable tea objects from China, one should make tea in the formal manner with a *daisu* utensil stand, and the meal should consist of two or three side dishes on the main tray (*honzen*) accompanied by two or three other trays, other soups, and a hikimono. But the confined space of a wabi-style tearoom prohibited the serving of large amounts of food on numerous trays. In short, today's style of kaiseki developed under various conflicting influences.

Let us now examine the ichiju sansai meal served by Jushiya Sogo, as described in the *Matsuya Kaiki*, in more detail, and see how it compares with honzen ryori. The rice and soup were arranged on the front part of the tray, and at the back, broiled salmon and shellfish in their shells. Marinated freshwater salmon was served as a hikimono. The meal tray in this kaiseki was clearly a version of the first tray served in a typical honzen ryori meal. The hikimono corresponded to the fifth tray of honzen ryori.

One fact comes to light when we compare this meal to that served by "Master Yoshiro" the next day; namely, that there as yet were no rules regarding which side-dishes were to be placed on the main tray. Sogo served the broiled food on the tray and the marinated food as a hikimono, while "Mas-

ter Yoshiro" did the reverse. At this early period in the history of kaiseki, and in the history of wabi-cha itself, the various rules were just in the making. What existed was the wabi ideal: the idea that kaiseki should be something which nourishes the spirit. And in terms of number of dishes, there existed the basic concept that "the meal should not exceed ichiju sansai."

From his earliest years, Rikyu – Jo'o's successor as the leading proponent of the wabi aesthetic in tea – adhered closely to the ichiju sansai format. For example, on the twenty-seventh day of the second month, 1544, we find in the *Matsuya Kaiki* the first mention of a tea gathering hosted by "Soeki," which was Rikyu's Buddhist name. This is probably the earliest record of a tea gathering unquestionably hosted by Rikyu. The two guests were the priest Ejun (dates unknown), of Shomyoji temple in Nara, and Matsuya Hisamasa. On this occasion Rikyu served rice, soup with tofu and wild horsetail (*tsukushi*), and the following three side dishes: gluten cakes (*fu*), the vegetable called *udo*, and jellyfish. The "sweets" served afterwards were *kaya* nuts, chestnuts, and dried octopus (*kumotako*). It is remarkable that even at the youthful age of twenty-two, Rikyu was serving such thoroughly wabi meals.

However, this is not to say that Rikyu always served ichiju sansai. He is known to have served only one side dish on a couple of occasions, two soups on several occasions, and at least on one occasion, as many as five side dishes. Furthermore, there were occasions when Rikyu arranged some of the dishes on a second tray. For example, let us examine the "two soups, three side dishes" meal which he served on the fifth day of the first month, 1587, to the aristocrats Hino Terusuke (1555-1623) and Hosokawa Yusai (1534-1610), and the merchant-class tea master Imai Sokyū (1520-1593). Here, Rikyu first brought in individual, short-legged trays having on them the rice, a vegetable soup, and vinegared crane meat arranged on an earthenware dish. Then, on similar trays, he brought in soup made of sea bream, a dish of skewered abalone, and dressed (*aemono*) turnip greens with cuttlefish. Various sweets were served in stacked lacquered boxes (*fuchidaka*). In the *Rikyu Hyakukaiki* [Record of Rikyu's Hundred Gatherings], a record of the tea gatherings which Rikyu held from the eighth month of 1590 to one month before his death in the second month of 1591, we can count 1 "one soup, one side dish" (*ichiju issai*), 44 "one soup, two side dishes" (*ichiju nisai*), 32 "one soup, three side dishes," 2 "one soup, four side dishes" (*ichiju yonsai*), 1 "one soup, five side dishes" (*ichiju gosai*), 2 with only two side dishes and no soup, 2 "two soups, two side dishes" (*niju nisai*), and 2 "two soups, three sides dishes." The two occasions among these total of 86 when a second tray was used were those to which the military leader Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) had been invited. In the words of Rikyu's renowned disciple, Furuta Oribe (1544-1615), as related in the work *Soho Ko Furuorie Otazunegaki* [The Honorable (Kōbori) Enshū's Inquiries to Oribe]: "There are [nonetheless] very few instances of the side dishes exceeding three in number in the 'small tearoom' (*sukiya*) arrangements of Rikyu."

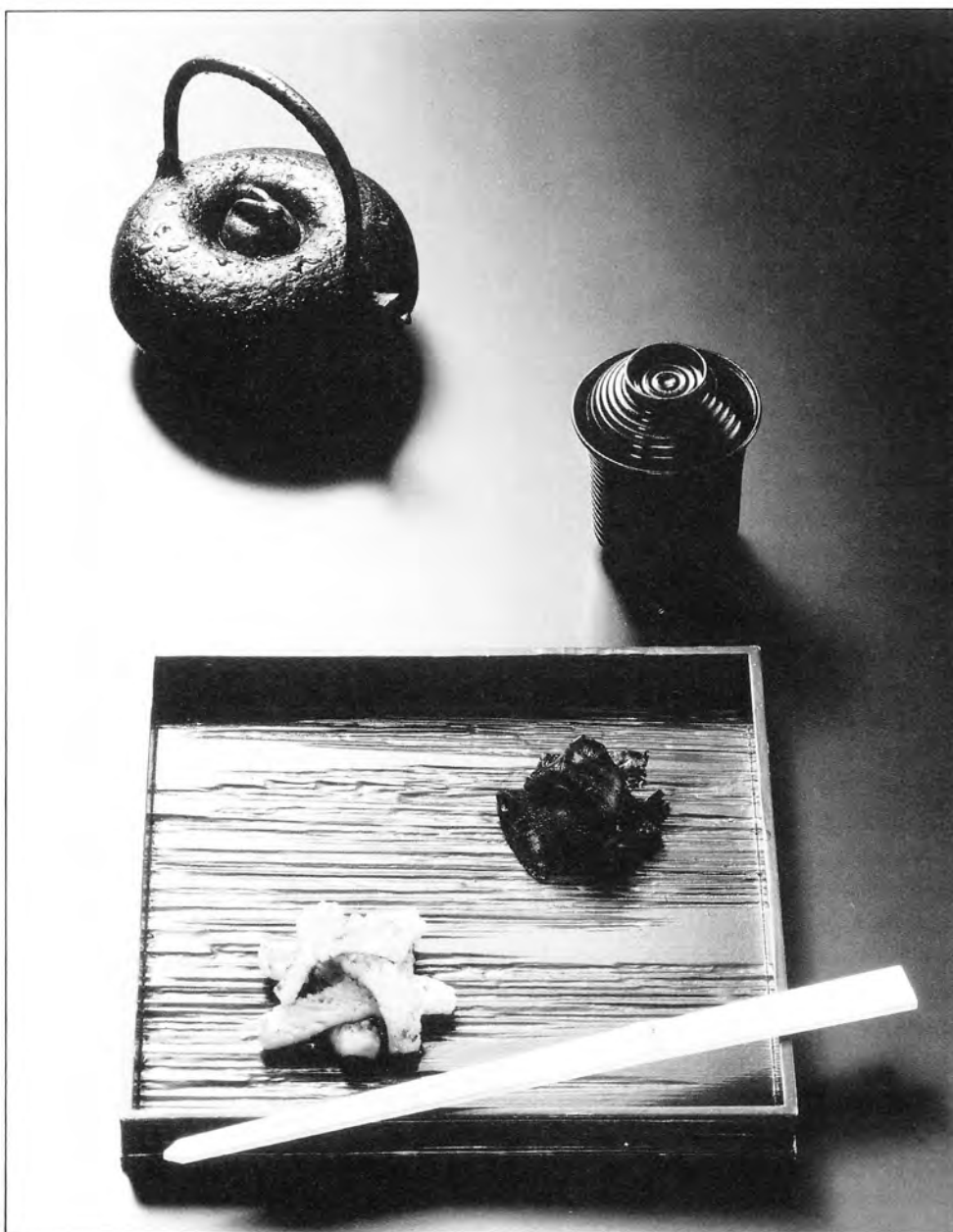
Perhaps the most representative example of Rikyu's kaiseki style was the meal which he served to his guest, Araki Dokun (d. 1586), at a tea gathering held in 1583. First, on a red lacquered tray were arranged rice and a soup consisting of finely chopped quail meat with shredded greens; on the far side of the tray were, on the right, a small dish containing lightly salted sea bream in *sake*, and, on the left, a clay bucket-shaped container with sea cucumber entrails (*konowata*). After the guest began to eat, a large hikimono dish with broiled miso-coated tofu (*dengaku*) was brought out. We might call this a completely standard ichiju sansai meal. The "sweets" were served in fuchidaka and were of five kinds: a type of steamed cake called *manju*, coated with soy sauce and then broiled; roasted chestnuts; mushrooms; a type of water chestnut called *hishi*; and arrowhead bulbs (*kuwai*).

In the wider world of tea, however, it seems that even during Rikyu's lifetime there occurred a trend back toward more complex meals. For example, the *Matsuya Kaiki* describes the following meal served by a certain Usuboya Genshiro on the twelfth day of the third month, 1555: Rice, codfish soup, and broiled salmon and cuttlefish on the first tray; next, sea bream, a kind of shellfish called *akagai*, and chicken soup served on a low lacquered tray (*oshibiki*); then, carp and a type of sea snail called *tsubetagai* arranged on a wooden tray and passed in the manner of a hikimono. Further, there was a "middle course" (*chudan*) consisting of kudzu sweets and crab meat, and a "final course" (*godan*) of somen noodles and clams. This meal, although not as correct in style as honzen ryori, had a similar formalism about it.

Regarding the serving of a "final course," the *Uso Shu Shikan Sho* tells us that in the case of *sake*-loving guests who had traveled far, it was considered good practice to send them off with an additional snack and *sake* after the usual meal and tea had been served. It suggests, also, that if the host had some particularly famous or valuable utensil which he had not yet brought out that day, he could show it to his guests at this time. However, the passage cautions that one should be discreet about offering this final course if the guests were light drinkers, or in the case of early morning or evening tea gatherings. The passage goes on to suggest that the practice of serving a final course was in vogue at the time [1572].

Thus we see that the purpose of this "final course" which had become fashionable was to send the guests off with a final serving of *sake*. The *Uso Shu Shikan Sho* also has the following words, however, warning against over-indulgence in *sake*:

Sake should not be drunk in quantity. When the host has taken great trouble and offered a bowl of his precious powdered tea, or when he has exhibited his private treasures; when old friends come together or when refined conversation is the object, drunkenness on the part of either the guest or host is rude and inconsiderate. Picking up chop-



The *bassun* tray with tidbits "from mountain and sea," a small side-soup, and a *sake* pourer for a modern-day, autumn kaiseki. Cuisine by Tsuji Yoshikazu. Photo courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co., Inc.

sticks, eating the rice, drinking the soup, partaking of the raw fish, receiving the *sake* and hot water — each activity has its own special feeling.

It would probably be true to say that the serving of a second tray, or of a final course, essentially represented a special occasion, such as a special dignity being invited as a guest, or the opening of a new tearoom, or the acquisition of a new utensil. One good example of this is the *kuchikiri* (breaking of the seal of the leaf-tea storage jar) gathering which Rikyu held on the last day of the tenth month, 1576, inviting Sumiyoshiya Somu (1534-1603), Takeno Soga (1550-1614), Tsuda Sogyu (d. 1591), and Imai Sokyū. The *kaiseki* included a dish of dressed ingredients, broiled salmon, and a soup of wild goose and greens. After tea was served, a final course consisting of a clear soup with blowfish was offered. What is notable in all of Rikyu's *kaiseki*, however, is that, no matter what the occasion, the number of actual dishes served was relatively limited, and the food itself was very simply prepared, thus preserving the mood of *wabi*. Contrast this day's *kaiseki* with the food served by a certain Hirano Doze on the twenty-third day of the fifth month, 1581, to commemorate his first use of a particular *chaire* (caddy for powdered tea). The *Tennojiya Kaiki* [Tea Diary of the Tennojiya (Merchant House)] account of this event tells us that Hirano served a meal of one soup and nine side dishes (*ichibu kyusai*) during the morning, and at lunch time there was a meal consisting of pounded rice (*mochi*), fish, clear soup, and various other dishes. Boiled rice with hot water poured over it (*yuzuke no meshi*) was served for the evening meal.

Rikyu's incorporation of two complete meals, both including a second tray, can be seen in one of the two events mentioned earlier in reference to the *Rikyu Hyakukaiki*, where Hideyoshi was among the guests. The instance in question was a morning tea gathering held on the thirteenth day of the ninth month, (year unspecified but believed to have been 1590). Here, Rikyu first brought each guest a short-legged, cedarwood tray on which was arranged the rice, fermented bean (*natto*) soup, and marinated eel. This was followed by a second tray having on it a soup of wild duck, a dish of dressed ingredients, and broiled sea bream. In total, the number of dishes was thus two soups and three side dishes. As it was midday when the gathering was finished, a luncheon was served in a separate, large room. For this, Rikyu served a meal of rice with hot water poured over it, a vegetable soup, a dish of dressed ingredients, skewered abalone, and broiled miso served in a gilded bucket-shaped container. This was followed by a second tray with eel and steamed fish paste (*kamaboko*).

As we survey the various examples of *kaiseki* arrangements during this developmental period in the history of *wabi*-style *kaiseki*, it becomes apparent that though the preexisting tradition had been to place the rice, a soup, and two side dishes on the main tray, Rikyu favored the idea of placing the rice, a soup, and only one side dish on the main tray. Today, this is considered the

standard arrangement for the main tray. However, the question of the type of side dish to be placed on the main tray – marinated food, broiled food, dressed ingredients, etc. – remained for the following generation to settle.

The Choice of Ingredients

There is a story that lord Toyotomi Hideyoshi once held a tea gathering, inviting a group of the greatest daimyo in the land. On that occasion, the guests entered the tearoom in a congenial mood, and kaiseki was brought in, including sea cucumber entrails, which was a highly prized delicacy. At this particular gathering, however, there was one guest who became ill at the mere mention of “sea cucumber entrails.” But the poor man was afraid that if he refused to eat the delicacy, he would get into trouble for offending Hideyoshi, so he forced himself and gulped down the detested food. When Hideyoshi saw this, he said to the man, “You seem to like sea cucumber entrails a great deal. I’ll have the chef give you a second helping.” We can understand the feelings of that unfortunate guest, but he had no alternative. When the second helping was set before him, he bolted it, hoping he would not be noticed again. Although feeling very queasy, he managed to last out the first half of the tea gathering; but he could not bring himself to reenter the tearoom for the second half, and had to hurry home, confiding the reason for his rudeness to his fellow guest.

This story teaches us that taking care to make sure of the guests’ likes and dislikes before serving food is one of the host’s most important duties. The host should take each guest’s background into account when choosing the food to be served.

For a time during the formative stage of kaiseki, it seems that the menu was selected with the general idea of treating the guests to foods they did not often have a chance to eat. The *Usō Shū Shikan Shō* states:

An essential of consideration toward the guest: to serve sea or river foods to a person from the mountains, and mountain foods and vegetables to a person from the seaside. Likewise, to serve foods of the south to a person from the north, and so on.

Later, however, there emerged a decided reversion of this concept. Ii Naosuke (1815-1860), who was chief minister of the Tokugawa shogunate and also a famed tea aesthete, says in his *Chanoyū Ichie Shū* [Collection on the “Oneness” of Chanoyū]:

This idea that it is good to serve unusual foods, such as foods of the west to guests from the east, or foods from the south to guests from the north, is a great mistake. Tea people of the past said, “Distorted, unnatural cuisine is worrisome to the guest.”

It is certainly true to say that serving unknown or very unusual dishes is a misplaced kindness, and that it could cause discomfort to the guest. However, this conclusion was reached only after a great deal of trial and error.

Let us consider a related question which was under debate, that of the guest's obligation to eat everything set before him. It was apparently considered good manners in the formative period of chanoyu to eat all the food served, regardless of one's own likes or dislikes, as happened in the case of Hideyoshi's guest and the sea cucumber entrails. We read in the *Sojimboku* ["Tea"] of 1626, however:

It is not necessarily good to have the fixed idea that one must eat all of the kaiseki meal without exception. Of course this is not to say that it is bad to do so, but one need not necessarily do so.

This passage shows that the obligation to eat everything still existed in the early seventeenth century, but that it was perhaps beginning to come under criticism. During the Genroku era (1688-1704), another guideline as to what need or need not be eaten was formed. It is described in two works: the *Chado Bemmosho* [The Way of Tea, A Clear Explanation], written by Yamada Sohen (1627-1708), one of the chief disciples of Rikyu's grandson, Sotan; and the *Chanoyu Kojidan* [Old Chanoyu Anecdotes], of 1731. To quote the latter:

In the old days, it was thought that a guest must eat all that was set before him at a tea gathering, without heeding his natural likes and dislikes. He was required to force himself to eat foods he could hardly bear. But in time the rule has become that a guest must eat all of a dish if he touches it with his chopsticks, and conversely, that if he does not intend to eat it, he should not touch it at all.

Let us now categorize the kaiseki meals of Rikyu's tea gatherings recorded in the *Rikyu Hyakukaiki* according to the various dishes served. Among broiled, marinated, and other dishes, there were 27 occasions of salmon, 22 of sea bream, 22 of sea cucumber entrails, 21 of carp, 18 of abalone, 16 of sea kelp (*kurome*), 11 of steamed fish paste, 7 of tofu, 6 of "fowl," and 1 each of sweetfish, food served directly in the small pot in which it was cooked (*nabeyaki*), sprats (*bishiko iwashi*), broiled and then dried miso mixed with other flavorings (*boromiso*), dried abalone (*tawarago*), assorted ingredients blended with sake and vinegar (*mizuae*), broiled miso, and skylark meat (*unjaku*). The soups can be categorized as follows: 16 occasions of miso, 12 each of wild goose and leafy greens (*na*), 10 of fermented beans, 8 of swan meat, 5 of codfish, 5 of oysters, 3 each of "fowl," flat mushrooms, and stalks [of greens] (*kuki*), 2 each of blowfish, sea bream, and wild duck, and 1 each of crane meat, composite vegetables, minced fish (*tataki*), carp, and pheasant.

The sea bream of Sakai, Rikyu's hometown, was famous enough to be the subject of a figure of speech, "the cherry-colored sea bream of Sakai," and carp was no doubt prevalent in the nearby Yodo River. As for abalone, sea kelp, and sea cucumber entrails, these were considered delicacies. Looking at the soup ingredients, we note that after such conventional items as miso, fermented beans, and leafy greens, wild goose and swan figure prominently. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that these birds are found in late autumn and winter, the time of year in which the tea gatherings listed in the *Rikyu Hyaku-kaiki* took place.

If the formal tea cuisine served at present-day tea gatherings seems rigidly fixed, with certain prescriptions for the way to serve each item and the number of dishes to serve, it can be seen from the above discussion that such conventions must have taken a long time in developing. Whatever the rules regarding technique which have come down to us today, however, it remains that hospitality, manifest in the serving of simple and unpretentious foods in a quiet atmosphere, is still the emphasis. Rikyu's ideal can thus be seen to have exerted its influence throughout all succeeding generations. The Japanese word for "feast," *chiso*, literally means "running round," and since the earliest days of wabi-cha, tea people have succeeded in embodying the true meaning of the word by making every effort to extend a warm welcome to their guests. ♪

Translated by Rebecca Otowa

Book Reviews

Space in Japanese Architecture. By Mitsuo Inoue. English translation by Hiroshi Watanabe. New York and Tokyo: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1985. x + 210 pp. including glossary, notes, reading list, and index. US\$25.00, ¥3,800.

Asked to describe characteristics typical of "traditional" Japanese architecture, one might well mention the use of natural materials and colors, free-flowing interior spaces, simplicity in interior decor, an openness to the out-of-doors (indicative of a close interior-exterior relationship), a lack of formal symmetry, a paucity of furniture, and a seeming lack of concern with permanency. Yet at the same time that these characteristics come readily to mind, perhaps because they contrast so markedly with the architectural heritage and tradition of the West, many of us are also aware, often from direct personal experience, that numerous renowned examples of traditional Japanese architecture exist which can not be easily categorized or described according to these characteristics. For example, using only the above criteria, how is one to make sense of Nikko's Toshogu shrine complex in all its garishness, the monumentality of Japanese castle complexes, or the elaborately decorated interiors of many Buddhist halls of worship? How are we to put into such a construct such seeming anomalies as the Horyuji temple complex in Nara, Heian Shrine in Kyoto (a three-fifths copy of the former capital's earliest palace complex), or the cliff-hanging Kiyomizudera temple, to say nothing of a host of other famous building sites regularly visited by Japanese and foreign travelers alike?

Inoue Mitsuo, in this study of Japanese architecture, explores just such issues as these. In *Space in Japanese Architecture*, Inoue puts a host of seemingly disparate architectural elements into a single developmental sequence, one emphasizing movement from a plastic view of architecture to one more pictorial in focus, then ultimately on to one oriented to the arrangement and organization of interiors around "movement space":

During the ancient period interest was concentrated on exterior composition rather than on interior space. The Japanese of the prehistoric era in particular showed little concern for space, and were drawn instead to material objects. With the introduction into Japan of continental culture, this predisposition developed into a tendency to compose buildings sculpturally in exterior space. By the Heian period, however, the attachment to material objects weakened somewhat, giving way to a predilection for producing illusionary pictorial compositions to be viewed from a fixed direction. From the end of the Heian period into the medieval period, a consciousness of interior space gradually awakened. Methods developed for extending, dividing, and combining interior spaces. Eventually, the design of interior spaces came to take precedence

over exterior appearance; this tendency was quite marked during the medieval period and reached its peak in the feudal period.

In his exploration of this historically-based developmental process, Inoue's provenance is not strictly limited to a consideration of architecture in isolation; he also concerns himself with architecture as a cultural metaphor, one indicative of a unique approach to numerous other aspects of traditional Japanese life. In particular, literature, religion, and the decorative arts are seen as having been influenced by many of the same tendencies at work in architecture. The episodic nature of literature, attitudes towards the divine/supernatural, the impact of Chinese cultural institutions, and the design elements considered in the layout of Japanese gardens are among the wider cultural topics considered in this slim volume.

Inoue's aim is "to investigate as systematically as possible the development of space in Japanese architecture," and to do so by following and clarifying "the process of the development of Japanese architecture from the prehistoric era to the creation of movement spaces in more recent times. . . ." In so doing, however, *Space in Japanese Architecture* is principally concerned with "monumental" architecture, that associated with Buddhist and Shinto religious complexes and with the residential compounds of Japan's aristocratic elite. Inoue investigates this world primarily through study of site arrangements and building plans (not three dimensional components – a limitation recognized by the author). Some attention is given to samurai residences, and passing reference is made to rural farmhouses and the urban residences of common townsmen. Nonetheless, the author's primary focus is clearly on the architectural patterns most readily apparent in the structures associated with large-scale building projects and, among them, with those fortunate enough to have survived the ravages of time. Explorations of the forms of traditional Japanese folk architecture have generally been slower to surface in Japan than elsewhere. Edward Sylvester Morse's *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*, for example, appeared in the United States in 1886, but not until the 1930s and the folk art (*mingei*) studies of Yanagida Kunio and others did an interest in folk architecture (*minka*) develop in Japan itself. This weakness, if it be construed as such, is present in this volume as well.

Despite the limitations of his focus on elite and religious architecture, Inoue ranges widely as he explores not only extant examples of traditional Japanese architecture but also original architectural drawings – those prepared for reconstruction purposes or by archaeologists working from little more than depressions left by long-vanished wooden pillars – scroll paintings and other artistic representations, literary references, and diary accounts. He skillfully utilizes all these resources to flesh out our understanding of even long-vanished examples of pre-feudal architecture in Japan. He succeeds in the end in weaving for the reader a rich and detailed tapestry, one particularly convincing in its complexity of nuance and depth.

The work, which originally appeared under the title *Nihon Kenchiku no Kukan* in 1969, has in no way been outdated by its late appearance in English. The book adds a great deal to the interpretive insights already available in English in the works of such notable figures as Itoh Teiji, Ashihara Yoshinobu, Heinrich Engel, and Suzuki Kakichi. Moreover, the book is particularly representative of the growing sophistication with which the non-Japanese world can now approach a basic understanding of Japanese architecture. Earlier works tended to be essentially descriptive, focusing on the information needed to understand the function, purpose, and site inter-relationships of the various building forms likely to be encountered in Japan. The subject matter discussed tended to concentrate on exteriors, and on those architectural forms – temples, shrines, palaces – open to public scrutiny and investigation. Later authors sought to interpret those various structures in a functional or symbolic manner, to categorize by stylistic nuance, or to discuss materials and processes involved in their construction. Inoue's work is the first available in English to attempt to place the wide variety of structures found in the Japanese architectural environment into a single, chronologically-arranged, historical survey of a developmental process at work. As such, *Space in Japanese Architecture* is not only an extremely valuable addition to works available in English on traditional Japanese architecture, but is also of fundamental importance to the student of traditional culture.

Watanabe Hiroshi has done yoeman's service in his translation of Inoue's Japanese original. The translation is a model of lucidity, balancing fidelity to the original text with the need to make the text comprehensible to a non-Japanese-speaking audience, a readership undoubtedly unfamiliar with basic terminology and concepts much more readily known to, understood, and accepted by a Japanese audience. Watanabe provides a chronology, a glossary of terms, additional illustrations, a bibliography, and extensive annotation to the original text for the benefit of those dependent on the translation for an understanding of Inoue's argument and explanation. His lapses as translator (and editor) are few—an occasional term left untranslated or unexplained at its first introduction, a place or two where an additional illustration would have helped to further clarify the text, and a mistranslation or two. For example, Watanabe translates *bisashi* as "aisle," a common enough rendering. However, a *hisashi* is more of an "enclosed verandah" or "gallery." I believe "aisle" leaves a false impression of the original place and purpose of the *hisashi* as an architectural extension of the interior of a Buddhist temple hall or an aristocratic palace.

Taken as a whole, however, the book is a model of its kind. The explanatory illustrations are almost always located within a page of the discussion in the text; the captions provide additional information not necessarily appropriate to the textual context of the discussion, but nonetheless helpful; the diagrams are clearly labeled; appropriate cross-references are provided. Inoue's overall organization of the text is made overtly clear as well; one need not

wander through a conceptual fog emerging only in the work's concluding paragraphs with a firm understanding of the author's intent. This clarity makes the work accessible to the relative novice, although some basic familiarity with major structures in Japanese architecture is essential to an understanding of Inoue's analytical and theoretical framework. The book is highly recommended as an important addition to the growing number of books seeking to analyze the functional and symbolic organizational patterns underlying the myriad forms of traditional Japanese architecture.

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Brocade by Night. '*Kokin Wakashu*' and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry. By Helen Craig McCullough. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985. xii + 591 pp. US\$60.00.

Kokin Wakashu: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry. With Tosa Nikki and Shinsen Waka. Translated and annotated by Helen Craig McCullough. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985. vi + 338 pp., including appendixes and index of first lines. US\$49.50.

*miru hito mo
nakute chirinuru
okuyama no
momiji wa yoru no
nishiki narikeri*

Unseen by men's eyes,
the colored leaves have scattered
deep in the mountains:
truly we may say brocade
worn in the darkness of night!

Ki-no-Tsurayuki
(*Kokin Wakashu* no. 297)

Borrowing the analogy in the above poem, we might say that the *Kokin Wakashu* (*Kokin Shu*) itself resembles brocade worn in the darkness of night — "The weaver's skill cannot be appreciated without proper illumination" (*Brocade*, p. 415). Dr. McCullough is a first-rate scholar who has brought an enormous amount of information on the *Kokin Shu* to English readers for the first time. In addition to providing us with the second translation of the *Kokin Shu* to appear in as many years, she has written a companion volume, *Brocade by Night* — indeed an illuminating study that no student of the *Kokin Shu* should go without reading at least once. As the other recent translation of the *Kokin Shu*, by Laurel Rasplica Rodd and Mary Catherine Henkenius, was reviewed in *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 43, I will here refer readers to that review for a basic introduction to the *Kokin Shu*, and center this review on *Brocade by Night*.

Scholars have long noted the difference between the poetry of the *Kokin Shu* and that of the earlier anthology of *waka* (Japanese poetry), the *Man'yō*.

yo Shu, but there has been considerable debate over both the nature of the ingredients and the recipe that produced the "Kokin style." The rise of the Kokin style is in fact one of the most complex problems in the history of Japanese literature. Now, really for the first time in English, we have an illuminating description of many of the factors involved, and how they may have blended together to produce that style of poetry.

The Kokin style has been characterized as one emphasizing the use of poetic techniques, literary convention, wit, reasoning (both direct and indirect), feigned confusion or surprise, and imagery from nature. Another vital factor to consider is that very often, poems were written on set topics or upon command. Although the Kokin style was the direct descendent of pre-Heian Japanese poetry, McCullough, following a growing group of Japanese scholars, sees these characteristics of its style as stemming more or less directly from the influence of late-Six-Dynasties Chinese court poetry. The Kokin poets were, she notes, "the heirs of a long tradition of experimentation and adaptation, not . . . radical innovators" (p. 72). The Kokin style is thus a real blend of different elements.

In the first chapter, Dr. McCullough traces the history of Chinese poetry from the *Shih ching* (*Shi jing*; 6th century B.C.) through the poetry of the *Yu-t'ai hsün-yung* (*Youtai xinyong*; mid 6th century A.D.), naturally centering her discussion on the late-Six-Dynasties period of Chinese poetry which most influenced the poets of the *Man'yo Shu* and *Kokin Shu*. Although she considers many of the important late-Six-Dynasties poetic techniques which are thought to have influenced the Kokin poets, she should have indicated how extensive the influence of those techniques was on the Kokin poets. Interested readers should refer to Anne Birrell's English translation of the *Yu-t'ai hsün-yung*, *New Poems from a Jade Terrace*, so that they can find out more about the late-Six-Dynasties poetry that the poets of the *Man'yo Shu* and *Kokin Shu* loved so much, and thus be better able to evaluate the extent of the supposed influence.

In presenting the late-Six-Dynasties poetic techniques, McCullough introduces much of the basic critical terminology used throughout the book, and although much remains to be done, her efforts have brought scholarship to a new threshold in confronting the problems of developing a vocabulary for adequately explicating waka, and providing precise definitions of those terms so that they can be gainfully applied to a reading of the poems. This is most important in understanding how techniques which were developed in China may have been used in Japan. Although in this chapter McCullough refines and improves her 1978 presentation of Jin'ichi Konishi's analysis of late-Six-Dynasties poetic techniques, there are still problems, one of which is that of defining Japanese critical terms. Her definition of *mitate* as "a blanket term embracing figurative language" (p. 66) is surely inadequate. This deficiency is balanced in Chapter Five, however, where she masterfully explains and illustrates the critical principles of *kokoro* (literally, "mind," "heart"; "Content,

. . . the author's subject, his attitude . . ." p. 326) and *kotoba* (literally, "words"; "Words [or language], . . . the tactics employed to convey *kokoro*" p. 326). Related to this are problems of successfully divorcing oneself from Western critical standards which emphasize "originality," in order to appreciate those which emphasize the importance of maintaining tradition, and of overcoming expectations and preferences based on Western poetry's tendency to emphasize narration and intellectual content, in order to appreciate the delicate shadings of *waka* – brief expressions of moments of consciousness which are more emotional than intellectual.

The second chapter, "Pre-Heian Song & Poetry," is divided into three parts: early song, the *Kaifuso* (759, the first anthology of poetry in Chinese written by Japanese), and the *Man'yo Shu*. In this chapter, as in those following, McCullough regularly draws parallels between Chinese and Japanese poetry (indicating the use of Chinese poetic techniques and literary conventions) while at the same time pointing out native Japanese elements.

The third chapter is "The Dark Age of Public *Waka*." Among the sections making up this chapter are a discussion of the three imperial anthologies of poetry in Chinese by Japanese, a consideration of the anonymous *Kokin Shu* poems, and a look at mid-eighth-century Japanese poets. The first section gives us the first real discussion of these three anthologies in English.

The fourth chapter is the "Return of *Waka* to Public Life." Among its contents are a discussion of *byōbuuta* (screen poems), poetry contests, the *Shinsen Man'yo Shu*, and Sugawara Michizane's Chinese and Japanese poetry.

The fifth chapter, "*Kokinshu* and Its Prefaces: Genesis and Aesthetic," contains a valuable exegesis of *kokoro* and *kotoba*, key critical terms which are introduced in the *Kokin Shu* prefaces. This is a superb chapter, because it introduces and thoroughly explicates critical terms which are vital to an understanding of the *Kokin Shu* style. Readers who already have a basic understanding of this period of Japanese literature may do well to read this chapter first.

The sixth chapter is "The *Kokinshu* style and the Individual Voice." In it we have portraits of the poetry of most of the main authors of the final periods of poetry contained in the *Kokin Shu*. The best are those of Mibu-no-Tadamine, Oshikochi-no-Mitsune, and Ki-no-Tsurayuki. Hopefully, this chapter will inspire others to do full-length studies of individual *Kokin Shu* poets.

The seventh chapter is "*Kokinshu* as Literary Entity." In this chapter, McCullough presents the principles of selecting and arranging poems in the *Kokin Shu* which she believes were followed by its editors; some rather subjective judgement is involved. Major emphasis is given to the six books of seasonal poems and the five books of love poems. The former discussion is much better than the latter.

The last chapter is "Tsurayuki and the *Kokinshu* Legacy." It contains a valuable discussion of the comments on poetry which are contained in Tsurayuki's diary, *Tosa Nikki*. This chapter also deals with the other anthology of *waka* which Tsurayuki compiled, the *Shinsen Waka*, which is discussed primar-

ily in terms of how the structural and aesthetic principles evidenced in the anthology represent Tsurayuki's views on poetry. McCullough has included translations of both of these works in her *Kokin Shu* volume.

The poems of the *Kokin Shu* are more often than not complex and difficult to understand; Japanese commentators have been arguing over interpretations of more than a few of the words and lines for hundreds of years. Translating them into English is a huge and very challenging task, but McCullough is a good translator, and what is even more important, the translations in *Kokin Shu* have an elegance which often captures the tone of the original. She is, however, prone to over-translation. Here are some examples from the first of the twenty books of the *Kokin Shu*: in poem no. 28, "*ware zo furiyuku*" (I become older and older) is translated as "for me there is no end of aging"; in no. 31, "*sato ni sumi ya naraeru*" (used to living in villages) is translated as "dwell in realms"; in no. 43, "*haru goto ni nagaruru kawa o hana to mite*" (every spring the flowing river seems like flowers) is translated as ". . . I each springtime see flowery shadows floating on the flowing stream"; in no. 50, "*sato tomi*" (far from villages) is "in the remote hills"; in no. 60, "*ayamatarekeru*" (mistakenly seen as) is "betrayed by unwary eyes"; and in no. 66, "*koromo wa fukaku sometekimu*" (dye the robe deeply and wear it) is translated as "dye my robe carefully . . . and wear it." In the poem cited at the beginning of this review, the last two lines may be more accurately translated as "colored leaves are night's brocade!" As a last example, at the beginning of Book Eleven, the word '*bito*' is variously translated as "you" (no. 461), "absolute stranger" (no. 474), "someone" (no. 479), and "my beloved" (no. 480) in the space of just ten poems.

It would have been better to have had more annotation to accompany the poems, because so many of them demand it; unfortunately, there is very little. On the basis of her *Kokin Shu* alone it is impossible to fully appreciate the real beauty, complexity, and depth of many of the poems; thus *Brocade by Night*, indeed a monumental accomplishment, is a necessary companion.

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Dogen Studies. Edited by William R. LaFleur. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985. 165 pp. US\$19.00.

This volume is the result of a colloquium held at Tassajara Springs in California in the Fall of 1981, sponsored by the Kuroda Institute for the Study of Buddhism and Human Values. Here Buddhist scholars from various places gathered for several days of dialogue focused on the Zen master Dogen (1200-

1253). The written product of this meeting, edited by William R. LaFleur, is a book that will lend great sophistication and depth to the Western understanding of Dogen. After an introductory essay by LaFleur which weaves diverse approaches to Dogen together into a simulated dialogue, the volume takes a textual-historical approach as its point of departure. Carl Bielefeldt's substantial essay, "Recarving the Dragon: History and Dogma in the Study of Dogen," is a historical analysis of the image of Dogen that is being transmitted to the West in modern times. According to Bielefeldt, this image emerged from the work of early Tokugawa period Soto Zen scholar-monks who, by historical circumstance, were led to establish a particular image of Dogen as the focal point and origin of the Soto lineage, and a version of his teaching as the school's official ideology. Thus, the account of Dogen that still prevails in Japan today, and that we in the West are inheriting, is linked to an ideological position — one maintained by a powerful religious institution. Working extensively with contemporary Japanese secondary sources, Bielefeldt shows how the extant historical evidence is now being reinterpreted in ways that question the legitimacy of this orthodox image. For instance, modern textual analysis of the *Shobogenzo* now shows that the ideology of Soto transmission from Dogen has obscured the fact that some segments of the text read very differently from others, and that dates assigned to these respective chapters show that Dogen underwent a significant change of mind, style, and concern in the few years surrounding his move to Eihei-ji in 1243. Bielefeldt describes several ways that Japanese historians of Zen have tried to account for this "turn" in Dogen's thought, or at least for why sections of the *Shobogenzo* written before this time read so differently from those written after. The great value of this essay is that it introduces English language readers to the complexity of contemporary Dogen research in Japan. And although the essay ends by bemoaning our possession of an "antique" image of Dogen, the essay itself will go a long way toward "recarving" that image for us.

Yet, as LaFleur's introductory essay shows, historical investigation of the person behind the text concerns only one aspect of the problem. One can also step back and analyze the text itself. This is precisely what Hee-Jin Kim does in the next essay. Kim's analysis probes deeply into the language of the text, showing how the *Shobogenzo* works on its readers and how it can bring about the continuing effects in the reader that it does. By highlighting the rhetorical dimension of the text we can see why the *Shobogenzo* is beginning to be recognized as a masterful literary effort. The essay is well organized, divided into sections that deal with Dogen's techniques, with numerous clear examples given of each.

Thomas Kasulis' essay, "The Incomparable Philosopher: Dogen on How to Read the *Shobogenzo*," poses an important and interesting question to the text itself: How should the *Shobogenzo* be read? The essay elaborates on sections of the text which appear to speak to this issue. Thus we find that Dogen's advice on this matter is that we read the text in "intimacy" as if we were

"intertwined" with it. While these suggestions clearly lead us in the direction of an authentic approach to reading the *Shobogenzo*, the extent to which this essay goes in interpreting them is perhaps questionable. For instance, we may want to question on hermeneutical grounds whether the intimacy involved is really between the reader and the person Dogen, as the essay suggests, rather than between the reader and the text or its content. The essay may also go too far in suggesting that this "intimacy" or "intertwining" means that the reader is no longer separable from the text or its author. That sort of "entanglement" would entail an identity without difference that would prevent a critical or dialogical appropriation of the text. Nevertheless, the implication of this essay is very important — that we have not really begun to read the *Shobogenzo* until, in all sincerity, we put the text in a position to question our approach to it.

In his essay "The Oneness of Practice and Attainment," Masao Abe takes up one of Dogen's most basic concerns — the concern in fact that is traditionally held to have propelled Dogen's own quest. This issue, so significant to Dogen and the Buddhist world, is not so clear to Western readers, for whom the concept of "original attainment" is difficult to grasp. Abe's essay is concise in that it focuses on this one question and works diligently toward a clarification in modern terms, concluding with an application of his solution to two contemporary issues. Although earlier English language literature takes up this theme in Dogen's works, this essay goes furthest towards projecting it as an issue rather than a doctrinal conclusion.

In a thoughtful essay by John Maraldo, Dogen's "practice of Body-Mind" is examined in a cross-cultural philosophical setting in such a way that this difficult concept is greatly clarified. More importantly perhaps, Maraldo uses this understanding of Body-Mind in Dogen to shed new light on the traditional Western body-mind "problem." Thus, we are shown how this philosophical problem, and the various solutions that have been proposed, can be seen from a very different angle which turns them around and erases their customary boundaries. This essay exhibits comparative philosophy at its best and hints at the importance that this philosophical practice will hold for us in the future.

In the essay "Dogen's View of Authentic Selfhood," Francis Cook takes on the role of a Buddhist theologian in attempting to explicate the meaning and significance of Dogen's view of authentic selfhood for our time and place. Thus, rather than offering a literal interpretation of the *Shobogenzo*, he attempts to rewrite the meaning of the text in contemporary terms by borrowing language from contemporary Western thought. While this approach is not entirely new, Cook is one of the first to be clear about his task and to approach it methodically and on its own terms. Here the emphasis is on the application of Dogen's insight to our contemporary situation, especially insofar as the *Shobogenzo* can show us the limitations — indeed the inauthenticity — of our own self-understanding.

Robert Bellah's concluding remarks debate the positive and negative dimensions of the current American appropriation of Zen. Focusing on one theme – the individual in society – he explains how the solid social structures that Dogen could assume in his time are not present in contemporary American society. For this reason, Bellah warns that Dogen's liberative techniques could possibly have the negative affects of undercutting some of the few social ties that remain to bind Americans together as one nation or community. At the same time, however, he notes that the communal spirit of responsibility is nowhere more clearly present in America today than in Zen communities. Without deciding this question, Bellah concludes that "a more sympathetic understanding of all the pre-modern traditions of the world, Western and Eastern, is desperately needed now."

Having surveyed the individual essays, we are now in a better position to appreciate LaFleur's introductory essay. This essay is extremely helpful in providing what each separate essay could not – a sense of the interaction and dialogue that brings all these divergent perspectives together and that did so at the Tassajara meeting. By the woven texture that these perspectives form when seen together, we get a further glimpse into the complexity and depth of Dogen. Thus LaFleur's essay adds a further dimension to *Dogen Studies* which, as a whole, is an excellent addition to the rapidly growing literature on Dogen and an important contribution to East Asian Buddhist studies.

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Sake: A Drinker's Guide. By Hiroshi Kondo. Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., 1984. 128 pp. US\$14.95, ¥2,900.

This book is much more than a drinker's guide. It goes into great detail about the history and making of *sake*. *Sake*, it seems, is much more than just the favorite spirit drink of Japan, for it also has a profound social and religious significance. Part One, "Sake: Japan's Good Drink," tells of how *sake* influenced even the philosophy of the middle ages, and later, the pursuit of *furyu*. This *furyu*, which literally means "the flow of the wind," included such ideas as taste, elegance, and wit; all concepts which had a profound influence on Japanese notions of pleasure.

The section on *sake* brewing is of special interest to anyone who enjoys the unique taste of a good *sake* and has wondered how it is actually made. *Sake* must be brewed in the coldest weather, for temperature control is critical in the brewing process. In the past, the temperature could be raised by putting heated stones into the brewing vats, but unless the weather was naturally

cold, it could not be lowered. This seems to account for the fact that *sake* was not brewed in the warmer parts of Japan such as southern Kyushu and Okinawa, where *shochu* and *awamori* were the popular drinks. The basic ingredients of *sake* are only water and rice. The purer the water the better the *sake*, which accounts for the location of the famous *sake* centers such as Fushimi and Nada at places where the water seemed to be of the best quality. Though the actual work of making the *sake* has changed somewhat in modern times, the brewing process is essentially the same today as it was in the past. After the war, some additives began to be used to "improve" the taste or to enhance preservability; however, there now seems to be a movement by connoisseurs to ask brewers to return to the "pure" form of *sake*, and some of these are now available at premium prices.

In Part Two, "Principles of Connoisseurship," we learn that the art of *sake* tasting has developed a vocabulary which surpasses even that used for wine tasting. In addition to the basic terms *amakuchi* (sweet) and *karakuchi* (dry), there is a long list of other terms to describe the more subtle attributes or faults of a particular *sake*. Indeed, there seem to be more terms to describe the weaknesses of a *sake* than to praise its strengths. When judging a *sake*, not only the taste but also the smell and the looks are considered. To help determine the clarity, a special cup is used which is white and has two blue concentric circles in the bottom in a sort of bull's-eye pattern. The white part is used to judge the color of the *sake* while the line where the blue and white meet tests the transparency.

The author introduces what he considers to be some of the great *sake* brands. He describes their qualities and even gives the addresses of their breweries. He goes into detail to tell us how to read *sake* bottle labels, and is also very careful to instruct us on how to warm and serve *sake*, and the etiquette to be observed at a formal Japanese banquet where *sake* is inevitably served. Along this line, there is a chapter devoted to *sakana*, the food to serve with *sake*. This includes complete menus and even some recipes.

The last section is devoted to drinking at *izakaya*, the public drinking shops where most people probably do their drinking. It includes a list of forty such shops with their addresses and the types of food served. Most of them are in Tokyo, but a few in Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe are included. The book is well illustrated with photographs, drawings, and charts, and at the end, includes a list of *sake* distributors in the United States, and an index.

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Kyoto

Glossary

() denotes alias, [] denotes Japanese reading.

<i>aemono</i>	和物	<i>ichijū gosai</i>	一汁五菜
Araki Dōkun	荒木道薫	<i>ichijū issai</i>	一汁一菜
Baizhang	百丈	<i>ichijū kyūsai</i>	一汁九菜
[Hyakujō]		<i>ichijū nisai</i>	一汁二菜
Baohao [Hofuku]	保福	<i>ichijū sansai</i>	一汁三菜
<i>bokuseki</i>	墨跡	<i>ichijū yonsai</i>	一汁四菜
Budai [Hotei]	布袋	Ii Naosuke	井伊直弼
<i>Chadō Bemmōshō</i>	茶道便蒙抄	Imai Sōkyū	今井宗久
<i>chajin</i>	茶人	<i>Iroha</i>	いろは
Changqing	長慶	<i>Jō'ō Montei e no Hatto</i>	紹鷗門弟への法度
[Chōkei]		Jūshiya Sōgo	十四屋宗伍
<i>Chanoyu Ichie Shū</i>	茶湯一会集	Kaian	海晏
<i>Chanoyu Kōjidan</i>	茶湯古事談	<i>Kanko Zusetsu</i>	観古図説
<i>Chengtao Ko</i>	証道歌	Kōgetsu Sōgan	江月宗玩
[Shōdō Ka]		<i>Kōji Ruien</i>	古事類苑
<i>Chikutō Musetsu</i>	竹簡無節	<i>kuchikiri</i>	口切
<i>chisō</i>	馳走	Kūkai	空海(弘法大師)
<i>Chōka Chanoyu Monogatari</i>	長歌茶湯物語	(Kōbō Daishi)	
<i>chūdan</i>	中段	Kuoan Shihyuan	廓庵師遠
Cuiyan [Suigan]	翠巖	[Kakuan Shion]	
<i>daisu</i>	台子	Linji [Rinzai]	臨濟
Ejun	惠遵	Matsuya Hisamasa	松屋久政
<i>enjaku</i>	円寂	<i>Matsuya Kaiki</i>	松屋会記
Foyan Qingyuan	仏眼清遠	Mazu [Baso]	馬祖
[Butsugen Seion]		Meng Changzi	孟嘗君
<i>fuchidaka</i>	縁高	<i>metsu</i>	滅
<i>fūga</i>	風雅	<i>mui</i>	無為
Furuta Oribe	古田織部	Murata Shukō	村田珠光
<i>godan</i>	後段	<i>musa</i>	無作
<i>Gūkyō</i>	偶興	<i>mushō</i>	無生
Hakuin	白隠	Myōchō (Daitō Kokushi)	妙超(大燈国師)
Hanshan [Kanzan]	寒山	<i>namasu</i>	膽
<i>bassun</i>	八寸	Nampo Jyōmyō	南浦紹明(大応国師)
<i>bikimono</i>	引物	(Daiō Kokushi)	
Hino Terusuke	日野輝登	<i>Nampō Roku</i>	南方録
<i>honzen ryōri</i>	本膳料理	<i>nijū nisai</i>	二汁二菜
Hosokawa Yūsai	細川幽齋	<i>nijū sansai</i>	二汁三菜
Huineng [Enō]	慧能	<i>nimono</i>	煮物
<i>ichiji-kan</i>	一字関		

Ninagawa Noritane	蜷川式胤	Takeno Sōga	武野宗瓦
Nyodai	如大	<i>Tennōjiya Kaiki</i>	天王寺屋会記
<i>osbiki</i>	折敷	Tōsui	桃水
<i>Rikyū Hyakukaiki</i>	利休百会記	Toyotomi	豊臣秀吉
<i>Ryaku Chaji-ketsu</i>	略茶事訣	Hideyoshi	
Ryōkan	良寛	Tsuda Sōgyū	津田宗及
<i>ryōri date</i>	料理たて	Tsuji Yoshikazu	辻義一
Sen Dōan	千道安	Tsutsui Hiroichi	筒井絃一
Sen Rikyū	千利休	<i>Uso Shū Shikan</i>	烏鼠集四卷書
Sen Sōshitsu	千宗室	<i>Sho</i>	
Shibayama Zenkei	柴山全慶	Utsuboya Genshirō	菴屋源四郎
Shikiu	斯経	<i>wabi-sōan</i>	佗び草庵
<i>Shinjin Mei</i>	信心銘	<i>Wudeng Huiyuan</i>	五燈会元
Shōrei	笑巖	[<i>Gotō Egen</i>]	
Shōtoku Taishi	聖徳太子	Wumen [Mumon]	無門
<i>Shuban Ron</i>	酒飯論	Xuedou Chongxian	雪齋重顕
Sōami	相阿弥	[<i>Setchō Jūken</i>]	
Sōeki	宗易	<i>yakimono</i>	焼物
<i>Sōho Kō Furuori</i>	宗甫公古織へ御尋書	Yamada Sōhen	山田宗徧
<i>e Otazunegaki</i>		<i>Yamanoue Sōji Ki</i>	山上宗二記
<i>Sōjimboku</i>	草人木	<i>Yongjia Xuejue</i>	永嘉玄覺
Suiko	推古	[<i>Yōka Genkaku</i>]	
<i>sukiya</i>	数寄屋	Yoshirō	与四郎
<i>Sumibiki</i>	墨引	<i>Yuima Kyō</i>	維摩経
Sumiyoshiya Sōmu	住吉屋宗無	Yunmen [Ummon]	雲門
Tachibana Jitsuzan	立花実山	<i>Yūroku-zu Byōbu</i>	遊楽図屏風
Takeno Jō'ō	武野紹鷗	<i>Zenshin Sawa</i>	禅心茶話

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