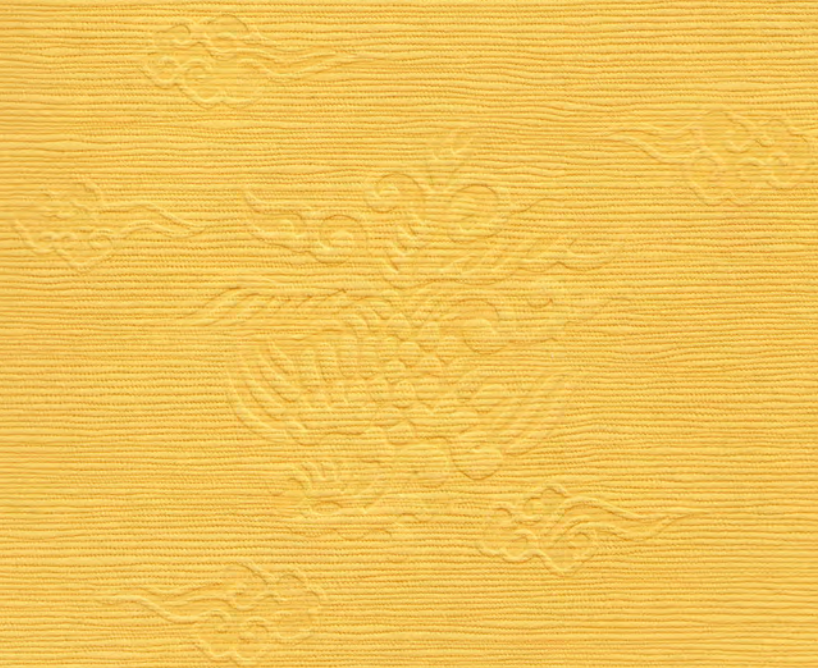


CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 57



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 tradition of chanoyu. The motif is composed of a phoenix (*ho*) amid clouds (*un*) and is the graphic representation of his Buddhist name, Hounsai.

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CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

EDITOR Gretchen Mittwer

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CONSULTING EDITORS Dennis Hirota and
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EDITORIAL ASSISTANT Kogushi Fumiko

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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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CONTRIBUTORS

Sen Soshitsu XV Fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Tea Master; President and Chairman of the Board of Directors, Urasenke Foundation; Abbot, Kyoshin'an temple; Professor, Department of History, University of Hawaii. Books by Dr. Sen available in English are: *Tea Life, Tea Mind* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1979) and *Chado: The Japanese Way of Tea* (Tokyo and Kyoto: Weatherhill/Tankosha, 1979).

Dennis Hirota Head translator, Shin Buddhism Translation Series, Hongwanji International Center, Kyoto. Publications include *Tannisbo: A Primer* (Kyoto: Ryukoku University, 1982) and *No Abode: The Record of Ippen* (Kyoto: Ryukoku University, 1986).

Gretchen Mittwer Editor, *Chanoyu Quarterly*.

Ikeda Hyoa Bamboo artisan; lecturer, Chado Urasenke Tankokai, Inc. Author of *Chikugei Henreki* [Travels through the Bamboo Arts] (Kyoto: Tankosha, 1980) and numerous articles pertaining to the appreciation of chanoyu-related arts and crafts.

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.

Doing What is Right

Sen Soshitsu XV

I often have to go to Tokyo, and during the three hours on the bullet train, I am thankful to be able to rest. I believe this feeling is shared by all those passengers whose days are filled with busy schedules. Three hours free from meetings, telephone calls, and interruptions, are extremely precious.

One day, on my way back from Tokyo, I couldn't help but notice five young men playing cards. Four of them occupied facing seats, while one sat on the floor, in the aisle, making it difficult for people to pass on their way to their seats. During the course of the train ride, I also noticed that almost all of the passengers sitting near the group, especially those who were trying to doze, were obviously annoyed by their rowdy voices and laughter. It seemed as if the atmosphere of the car was totally filled by that group. Although the conductor passed them many times, he did not reprimand them.

As the train at last neared Kyoto, I walked down the aisle toward the group in order to disembark, and was shocked to notice that a separate pair of rough looking men were playing dice for money, apparently indifferent to the frowns of the other passengers. Evidently, the first group's noisy card playing had encouraged the other pair to join in the mood. It made me sad to witness this tendency in some people to find sport in improper, irreverent behavior, and it was doubly saddening to see how such behavior could escalate, and how some people could have so little regard for others' feelings.

The incident on the train that day made me think about a lot of things. It reminded me of a story mentioned in the Koran and in old Egyptian tales, telling of a philosopher whose manners were so refined that observers asked where he had ever acquired them. His reply was that, seeing how impolite and irreverent other people were, he had resolved never to act that way. I think that learning, as the philosopher did, to avoid committing the same unsavory acts which one notes in others' behavior is an ideal that should be cultivated by all people.

There is a Zen teaching which was taught by Ananda, the highest of the ten disciples of Buddha, which is as follows:

shoaku makusa
shuzen bugyo
jijo goi
zesbo bukkyo

Do good;
Don't do evil;
Purify your own mind.
This is Buddha's doctrine.

The teaching is simple: One must always do what is right, and for this, one must purify one's mind, which is enmeshed with human attachments. It

is, however, very difficult to put this tenet into practice, and each one of us must work hard in order to actualize it in our lives.

Here, chanoyu provides us with an excellent exercise, as spelled out by Sen Rikyu when once he was asked the question, "What is the secret to Tea?" Rikyu's reply was: "In summer, impart a sense of deep coolness; in winter, a feeling of warmth. Lay the charcoal so that it heats the water; prepare the tea so that it is delicious. These are the secrets." This reply in effect paraphrases Ananda's teaching, "Always do what is right." We might be inclined to retort, as did Rikyu's inquirer, "That is something everyone knows!" And to this, we have Rikyu's words: "If so, try performing in accordance with what I have stated, and I will be your disciple." Indeed, it is extremely difficult to actually put this teaching into practice.

What is right and what is not? As long as we live in coexistence with others on this planet, the answer to this question depends largely on each individual's regard for others, founded on a pure and sincere heart. It is exactly this which is one of the chief concerns of chanoyu, and for which all society must strive. 

Higan: The Japanese Observance of the Equinox

Dennis Hirota

The Japanese, with their sensitivity to the turning of the year, have developed a rich calendar of annual observances and festivals. Among them is the celebration of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes as times for solemn self-reflection, and visits to temples and the graves of ancestors. These observances of the equinox, perhaps unique among the religious celebrations of the world, are among the most deeply felt and universally maintained by contemporary Japanese.

When the weather begins to turn mild in spring and autumn after the long cold of winter or the lingering heat and humidity of summer, there is a brief spell of temperate weather, and at this time the Japanese turn their thoughts to the world beyond. This is the time of the equinox and is called *higan*,* literally "that shore," referring to the other shore in contrast to this world. The theme of *higan* — of the world that stands beyond mundane existence — is a common motif in Japanese culture. In *chanoyu*, we find it expressed in the concept of the tea room as separated from daily entanglements, a "Pure Land" free of the dust of worldly desires. The roots of the tea room may even be seen to extend back to the secluded hermitages of recluses often built on the far side of garden ponds.

Despite the importance of *higan* in the Japanese calendar, it is difficult to summarize its significance. Of course, seasonal rites and celebrations are an important part of religious and community life in all parts of the world. There are rites of mortification to observe the close of the old year, and rites of renewal and invigoration to pray for prosperity in the new year. There are also rites of jubilation when the harvest has been completed. Many of these rites occur at times of division, at the seams of the year when death is overcome and turned into new life, and cold gives way to warmth. *Higan*, however, marks a time of equanimity and equipoise, not change.

Why is it that the Japanese so universally observe the equinox as a religious occasion? To begin, the term *higan* itself, though now commonly used to refer to the equinox periods, is strictly Buddhist in origin, meaning the other shore of nirvana in contrast to this world of samsaric existence. It is a synonym for enlightenment or Buddhahood or wisdom. In Chinese Buddhist texts it is commonly used as a translation for the Sanskrit term *paramita*, which was understood to mean "gone to the beyond." Thus the full rendering in Chinese is *tobigan*, "reached the other shore." In general Mahayana Buddhism, *paramita* refers chiefly to the practices or virtues that people perform on the path

* Usually prefixed with the honorific "o," *Ohigan*, when referring to the celebration.



Hell and Paradise. "The term higan . . . is strictly Buddhist in origin, meaning the other shore of nirvana in contrast to this world of samsaric existence." Anonymous artist. Kamakura period, 14th c. Pair of two-fold screens. Property of Konkaikomyoji temple, Kyoto.

to Buddhahood and manifest as beings of enlightenment. They are often enumerated as the six paramitas: selfless giving, precepts, perseverance, energy, meditation, and wisdom.

The Popular Sense of Higan

The popular sense of higan, however, is that of the other world — the world of nirvana — after death. Thus, higan is an occasion for visiting one's family grave and attending religious services at temples. People commonly think of higan as a time for memorial services, and for prayers for the salvation of the dead.

Since it is observed in all Japanese Buddhist sects, many Japanese probably assume that this observance was imported, together with the Buddhist teaching itself, from the Asian continent. But such a celebration of the equinox is not known in Indian or Chinese Buddhism. Higan is a particularly Japanese Buddhist custom.

Why, in Japan, are the times of the equinox associated with the world of nirvana? This may be traced to the three main features of the equinox periods:

- 1) Mild temperatures. In this sense, the seasons in which the equinoxes occur contrast with the idea of struggle or dramatic cosmic events which lie behind many other seasonal rites. As the Japanese saying goes, “Heat and cold last until higan” (*Atsusa, samusa mo higan made*). Higan is a time of reprieve; a midpoint between extremes, rather than a turning point. It is a time of peace, harmony, balance; a time of natural beauty; a time, thus, for quiet reflection.
- 2) The sun rises due east and sets due west.
- 3) Day and night are the same length.

The roots of the higan observances as we know them today go back well over a thousand years. The first recorded reference is in an official chronicle, the *Nihon Koki* [Later Chronicle of Japan], which states that in 806, about the beginning of the Heian period, it was ordered that monks in the state-founded temples observe seven-day periods in spring and autumn by reciting the *Diamond Sutra*.

By the mid-Heian period, references to higan in courtly literature indicate that the idea that the equinox period was a time for Buddhist observance had become widespread. Probably what lay behind these early literary references, and what accounts for the uniqueness of the Japanese higan observances in the Buddhist world, was the upward diffusion of popular practices. In other words, religious customs that were widespread among the people of the countryside came to be adopted by the state and the court as Buddhist observances.

But by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we find important Buddhist figures attacking the special significance given to higan, or speculating on why it should be observed. Already by this time, there was no clear, universally accepted understanding about the significance of higan.

This does not mean, however, that the observances lacked a firm foundation in Buddhist teachings. The basic Buddhist understanding of higan is rooted in Pure Land Buddhism, which teaches that beings who say the Name of Amida Buddha — the Buddha of Great Compassion — will be reborn in his land. Saying his Name, *Namu-amida-butsu*, is called *nembutsu*. According to the Pure Land sutras, Amida’s Pure Land lies billions of Buddha-worlds away from here, in the westward direction.

Pure Land Buddhists aspired to be born in Amida’s land in the west — the land of nirvana or enlightenment — on leaving this world, and it was believed that in the ideal environment there, and with the support of Amida, one would swiftly attain Buddhahood. The location of the Pure Land in the west probably derives from a widespread association of sunset with death and the world beyond. Here we find the crucial nexus between higan and Buddhism, for, at the equinox, the sun sets directly west and thus represents a particular closeness to the Pure Land. In former times people would face the setting sun and recite the Name of Amida, aspiring for birth into the Pure Land at the time of death, during the higan period.

This kind of practice actually had its basis in one of the main Pure Land sutras, the *Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life* (*Kam-mu Ryoju Kyo*), which delineates a series of contemplations that enable one to see the Pure Land and Amida Buddha and, thus, to establish a link with the realm of enlightenment. This link is considered important for the attainment of rebirth in the next world when life in this world ends. The first of the contemplations is on the setting sun:

Vaidehi said to the Buddha: "World Honored One, by the power of the Buddha, I, in my present state, have now seen that land. But how can sentient beings who appear after the Buddha's death, those who are evil, defiled, and tormented by the five sufferings, see Amida Buddha's World of Utmost Bliss?"

Then [Sakyamuni] Buddha said to Vaidehi: "You and all sentient beings should single-mindedly concentrate your thoughts in one place and perceive the western quarter. How is this to be done? Perceive in this way: All sentient beings, if not born blind, possess the visual faculty and can see the setting sun. Focusing their attention and sitting properly, they should face west and clearly perceive the sun. Then, with their minds firmly fixed and their thoughts unwavering, they should gaze upon the sun which, as it is about to set, looks like a drum suspended in the open sky. After seeing the sun in this way, whether their eyes are closed or opened, they should make the image remain clear and distinct.

The sutra teaches that after accomplishing this contemplation of the sun, one can advance to contemplations of the water of the Pure Land, the ground, trees, lakes, and so on, until one becomes able to see the Buddha and bodhisattvas there. But for Japanese Buddhists, the use of these contemplative practices was probably limited mainly to facing the sunset and saying the nembutsu. In China, the T'ang dynasty Pure Land master Shan-tao commented that Amida's land was precisely in the direction of the sunset when the sun was due west, and suggested that the equinox was therefore a particularly appropriate time for thinking about Amida and the world beyond.

Further, for the Japanese, with their sensitivity to seasonal changes, there was a link not only between sunset and the world beyond, but also between the pleasant climate of mid-spring and mid-autumn and the ideal world of the Pure Land. Thus, the Heian-period poet Saigyō (1118-1190) states:

*negawaku wa
hana no moto nite*

Beneath the cherry blossoms
May I die,



Sunset. Photo by Yamada Okishi.

*ware shinamu
sono kisaragi no
mochizuki no koro*

At the time of the full moon
Of the second month.

The time Saigyō speaks of here is the middle of the second lunar month, a time with many associations. Not only is it the time of higan, which, by Saigyō's time, was widely observed with nembutsu recitation facing the setting sun, but for Saigyō, who loved cherry blossoms and wrote numerous poems about them, it is also the time when the cherry trees begin to bloom. It may be said, perhaps, that the beauty of this season reflects the beauty of the Pure Land. In addition, it is the season when Sakyamuni Buddha entered pari-nirvana and, thus, when ceremonies celebrating this event — the Nehan-e — are widely performed. Hence, it is a time for reflection on entrance into the world beyond. We find in Saigyō's poem a fusion of higan motifs: the beauty of the season, the realm of nirvana, and death and entrance into the world beyond.

The Depth and Breadth of the Higan Observances

Perhaps the representative and most typical observance of higan during the medieval period was that held at Shitennoji temple in Osaka. Shitennoji was founded by Prince Shotoku in 593, at the very beginning of the spread of Buddhism in Japan, and it was regarded with particular veneration. The western gate of its precincts was said to lead to the eastern gate of the Pure Land, because, through it, one could see the splendor of the sun setting upon the waters of Osaka Bay. At higan in particular, people gathered to perform the nembutsu there and pray for their birth into the Pure Land.

One of the most moving accounts of the feelings associated with higan is the fifteenth-century noh play *Yoroboshi*, which gives a fully developed account of higan at Shitennoji. A man of Kawachi in the Osaka area, deceived by some slander, has driven his son from home. Realizing his error, out of repentance he vows to perform alms-giving to the beggars at Shitennoji for seven days at the spring higan period. Shitennoji, from the time of its founding, had been a refuge for the sick and vagrant, and, even today, it serves as a gathering place for the homeless.

It happens that his son has gone blind and lives a life of wandering, perhaps as an itinerant performer. He appears at Shitennoji, but his father at first fails to recognize him. He receives alms from his father and performs a dance-narration that relates the founding of Shitennoji by which the Dharma was established in Japan. Then, at dusk, he is able to envision the beauty of the setting sun in his mind's eye and rejoices. Finally, father and son come to recognize each other, and they depart together.

In the play, the beauty of the season is described in terms of the fragrant plum blossoms and, of course, the brilliant sunset. But there are also several themes stressed in this evocation of higan that we have not yet seen in the link between the setting sun and the Pure Land.

First, there is the sense that higan is a time for charity or compassionate giving, the first paramita. This is seen in the father's practice of alms-giving, and we can find a concrete expression of it in the contemporary custom of making offerings to the Buddha. But beyond this, we are made to see from the perspective of the blind son. That is, higan is a time of receiving – in particular, receiving the blessings of the Buddhist teaching and of the Buddha's compassion, which embraces all living things, like the sun's light and the beauty of the season. At higan, even the blind perceive the Buddha's blessings, for, as the boy says, seeing is a matter of the heart.

Second, there is the theme of reunion. An integral aspect of higan is the sense of reunion, particularly with those separated by death, though in *Yoroboshi*, of course, it is the reunion of father and son.

In Chinese Pure Land Buddhism, there is a strong sense of division between this defiled world and the realm of the Pure Land, between this life and the life after death. As we have seen, however, in the uniquely Japanese celebration of higan, there is an abiding sense of closeness between this world and the other. In the brief periods of mild temperatures, the Japanese found that the natural beauty of the season reflected the beauty of the Pure Land, and they spoke of the western gate of the temple as opening directly into the world beyond, linked through the sunset. At higan, when day and night are of equal length, the world of life and the world of death seem also to be brought into balance, to join and fuse.

Here, however, we move beyond the framework of Buddhist teaching to something prior, to native celebrations that predate and underlie the Buddhist and hint at deeper reasons for the pervasiveness of higan celebration in Japan, and for the depth of feeling associated with higan.

Concerning this, three points may be noted. First, as I mentioned earlier, the Japanese have traditionally regarded the world of life and the realm of death to lie in close proximity, and perhaps they brought this assumption to bear on their Buddhist attitudes and their feelings about the equinox.

Second, there are various rites that suggest that aspects of higan observances may be traced to religious customs centering on such agricultural rites as sun worship and the reception of the spirits of ancestors. In particular, it seems that since the departed ancestors were thought to reside nearby, they were invited on occasion to lend their aid in maintaining the continuity of life in this world.

Third, though in the higan observances we see the influence of modes of thinking that predate the spread of Buddhism, these did not necessarily distort the Buddhist meaning. In fact, they may have helped the Japanese in developing indigenous forms of Buddhism that are faithful to basic Mahayana thought.

Concerning the first point, the closeness of the world of life and the realm of death, we find among the ancient Japanese a strong sense of separation from the dead, but there is no clear-cut difference in kind between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Though the dead are divided from the living, they both share the same world. This is expressed by poets in the *Man'yo Shu*. Hitomaro (fl. 680-700), for example, laments that his dead wife has disappeared; she has wandered off down some unknown path and now is lost in the hills, hidden from him:

People tell me
That my loved one
Is in the hills of Hagai,
Where the storks touch their wings.
I struggle up
The stony path,
All in vain:
My beloved, whom I thought alive,
I could not find,
Not even so much
As a faint glimmer.

For the early Japanese, the spirits of the dead resided in the hills.

Concerning the influence of native practices at higan, there are some locales where, at this time and, in particular, at the spring higan, fires are lit to welcome the spirits of ancestors home and to show their way back to the hills — a custom also seen at the Obon festival in mid-summer. There seems here to be a fusion of two kinds of rites, worship of the sun at the equinox and worship of ancestors, joined by their common importance to agriculture.

The spring higan does not come at the very beginning of the season, but rather, when the preparations for the new rice-planting are undertaken. There remain customs of worshipping the sun at this time, facing due east at sunrise, due west at sunset. In some places people go to a temple or shrine to the east at dawn, to the south at noon, and to the west at sunset, and there worship by reciting the nembutsu. While worship has taken the form of nembutsu recitation, it appears that the custom of “accompanying” the sun through the day at the equinox — of greeting it and seeing it off — was originally a prayer for fruitful crops in the coming year.

The fusion of worship of the sun at the start of the agricultural year and nembutsu recitation is seen in the custom of *tento nembutsu*, which is a practice of the Kanto (Tokyo and environs) area, and which is performed annually at the time of the spring higan. *Tento* is a term for the sun. A temporary altar is erected of bamboo and ropes, and figures representing the sun and moon are enshrined. People worship by performing the nembutsu — not the simple



Tento Nembutsu Odori. Illustration appearing in the late Edo period (19th c.) *Edo Meisho Zue* [Famous Places in Edo (Tokyo)]. Photo reproduced from *Nihon Zue Zenshu* no. 4 (1928), p. 2055.

recitation common in Jodo-sect and (Jodo)-Shin-sect temples, but a rhythmic nembutsu accompanied by gongs and drums, and performed while dancing around the altar. This is *odori-nembutsu* or "dancing nembutsu."^{*}

Although the custom thus involves recitation of the Name of Amida Buddha, the central figure of worship is not Amida but the sun. This kind of nembutsu practice is popularly said to have been originated by Kukai, the founder of the Shingon school in Japan, and it was probably spread by the Koya *bi-*

* See Gorai Shigeru, "Higan no Taiyo to Nembutsu," *Sado Zasshi*, 42: 3 (March, 1978).

jiri, the wandering monks of the medieval period who were based at the Shingon monastery on Mount Koya. They traveled the countryside spreading a Shingon-influenced nembutsu practice, and taught that Amida Buddha is no other than a manifestation of the central Buddha of the Shingon pantheon, Dainichi nyorai, the great Sun Buddha. Hence, there developed a tendency to identify Amida with Dainichi, and of course it was an easy step from there to identification of Amida with the sun itself.

Also, following the sun through its stations at the time of especially the vernal equinox often involves going to temples and shrines in the hills. This was originally to invite the gods of the hills down to the paddies and fields to make the crops prosper. Since the gods traveled on horseback, offerings were made of pictures of horses, *ema*. At shrines and temples it is still common for people to purchase pieces of wood with pictures on them, called *ema*, and to offer prayers by writing their wishes on them.

We see, then, that there is a complex of beliefs and customs that come together at higan: worship of the sun, visits to temples and shrines, nembutsu practice, and worship of ancestors. These all seem, however, to stem from a fundamental attitude of prayer for an abundant crop. Probably these very deep roots in Japanese agricultural life account for the strength of the feelings still associated with higan, although the original motivations seem to have been forgotten and the overlay of Buddhist beliefs have become dominant.

The Melding of Native and Buddhist Belief

The early attitudes of the Japanese served to foster the developments that mark the high points and chief characteristics of Japanese Buddhism. It may be said, somewhat conversely, that the roots of the higan observance in agricultural rites do not undermine its Buddhist significance, but provide a resonance that emphasizes the developments in Buddhist thought that the Japanese were able to make.

As I touched upon earlier, for example, the traditional sense of the closeness of this shore and the other shore may have made it easier for the Japanese to incorporate the cardinal Mahayana teaching that this realm of samsara is itself nirvana. This does not mean that this world, in the way that we know it, is the Pure Land. But for those who cross over to the other shore of nirvana, who awaken to things as they truly are, there is no difference between this shore and the other.

I think this attitude developed in two ways in Japanese Buddhism. First, the early Japanese believed that the spirits of the dead resided in the hills, and they worshipped them along with the gods of the hills at the time of the equinox. Moreover, the gods and spirits of the hills came down to lend their aid at

certain times of the year. However, the spirits of the dead did not necessarily maintain human form. They might be identified with the natural life forms and features of the hills, and with the hills themselves. There was, among the early Japanese, a strong sense of brotherhood with all things in nature, all living things, and with aspects of the earth that we do not ordinarily consider to be sentient.

It seems that in Japanese Buddhist thought, this developed into a concrete sense of the teaching that all things have Buddha-nature; all things are united in the potentiality of attaining Buddhahood. In other words, because of their traditional beliefs, the Japanese found it natural to accept the teaching that plants, trees, and the land itself attain Buddhahood. There is, in Japanese Buddhism, a vivid sense – as Shinran (1173-1263) states – that “all living things have been one’s parents and brothers and sisters in the course of countless lives in many states of existence” (*Tannishō*); a feeling of family interrelationship that goes far beyond the idea that we are all in the same boat on “Spaceship Earth.” Here Shinran, developing Japanese intuitions in a Buddhist way, is saying that all living things are our ancestors.

Second, the idea that there is no difference between this shore and the other is closely related to the idea of return, which, besides being crucial in Buddhism, is another motif found in higan. Japanese Buddhism teaches that it is wrong to seek to escape from this world or to be attached to the other shore. One must go to the other shore, but on attaining it, one immediately returns to this world to save beings in suffering.

At the heart of Japanese Buddhist thought thus lies the feeling that not only are all beings in nature united, sharing a common life, but we are all involved in a process, through living and dying, of going to the other shore and returning to this world. And for those who are awake and aware, this going and returning is wholly the compassionate activity of buddhas and bodhisattvas, who act as ferrymen passing back and forth to save beings on this shore.

Higan, when the sun sets directly westward, is a time that reminds us that the other world is not far from this world, that the dead are not departed, and that plants, trees, hills, and all living things share the same light, the same life, and that this light is the wisdom and compassion of the buddhas. ☸

Tea Sweets: A Historical Study

Gretchen Mittwer

Anyone familiar with chanoyu knows that sweets, (*o*)*kashi*,* are integral to the enjoyment of the tea. Very much like the English term “tea cakes,” in Japanese the sweets to go with tea are generally termed *chagashi* – a term which, within the usual context of chanoyu in Japan, is virtually synonymous with *wagashi*, “traditional Japanese sweets.” In chanoyu today, there are two kinds of sweets that are served: that called the *omogashi* or “main sweet” (often referred to in English as “moist sweet”), and that called the *bigashi* or “dry sweet.” At an orthodox full, formal tea (*chaji*), the guests will first be served a light meal (*kaiseki*) together with rice wine, followed by *omogashi* – one for each guest – arranged in special stackable boxes called *fuchidaka*. Having partaken of these and returned to the room after a brief intermission, they will share a bowl of tea of very thick consistency, called *koicha*. Then they will be served some *bigashi*, followed by individual bowls of tea of a much thinner consistency, called *usucha*. Again, there are occasions when the meal, wine, and thick tea are foregone, and the guests are simply served some (*o*)*kashi* – generally an *omogashi* – and the thin kind of tea. But whatever the case, sweets invariably precede the tea.

However, this custom, together with our modern-day concept of tea sweets, seems to have come about only after the early Edo period, around which time chanoyu had permeated a wide spectrum of society, becoming an amalgamation of the “extremes” of tea enjoyment – from the austere wabi-based way of tea to the banquet parties of the nobility. It was also around this time that, following the introduction of refined sugar from Portugal, the sweets industry in Japan entered a new age. Before this period, not only was today’s chanoyu still in its formative stage, the *kashi* that were served were not necessarily “sweets” at all. As a matter of fact, outside the realm of chanoyu even today, the term *kashi* might be taken to mean anything from rice crackers or potato chips to chewing gum, as a trip down the “*kashi*” aisle in one’s local supermarket in Japan will show.

In the modern *Kojien* dictionary, the definition for “*kashi*” is given as “food eaten outside of a regular meal.” In other words, in its widest sense, *kashi* is any kind of snack. A term often used as a synonym for *chagashi* is *chauke*, translatable perhaps as “food to accompany tea” or “tea-time food,” and for this, the *Kojien* lists such examples as not only *kashi*, but also pickles and

* “*O*” is an honorific prefix; in this article, affixed sparingly and in parentheses, where the term *kashi* refers specifically to the modern connotation of that term within the realm of tea.

even *tenshin* — an item known to chanoyu practitioners as the light snack often served at an informal, abbreviated tea (*chakai*). Returning to the entry for “kashi,” we find that this “food eaten outside of a regular meal” is today classified into three basic categories: “Western” sweets (*yogashi*), traditional Japanese sweets, and that referred to as *mizugashi* or “watery” kashi, referring to fruits. This last category brings us to what is conceded to be the very origin of the traditional Japanese sweet.

In the first place, the word kashi is written 菓子; the character 菓 meaning nuts and/or arboreal fruit (*ko no mi*, *kudamono*), as opposed to another character, 蔬, pronounced *kuwa* or *u*, referring to fruits of low-growing plants (*kusa kudamono*). Looking once again to the *Kojien*, we are told that the word kashi is derived from the fact that nuts and fruits originally constituted the main form of this “food eaten outside of a regular meal.” It is not difficult to imagine that the sweet, fleshy fruit growing on trees would have been particularly relished by the people of ancient times.

Earliest Traces

As legend would have it, there once lived a man called Tajima Mori, who served as physician to the eleventh emperor, Suinin (r. 29 B.C. - 70 A.D.), and who is the father of arboreal fruit or, in effect, of kashi, in Japan. According to the story, passed down to us in one of the earliest chronicles of Japan, the eighth-century *Nihon Shoki*, when the emperor was age ninety and ailing, this man went abroad to “the faraway land” (*tokoyo no kuni*; thought to refer to the area from southwestern China towards India) to procure some “timeless, fragrant tree-fruit” (*tokijiku no kagu no ko no mi*), said to be a wonderful panacea. Spending nine whole years in his mission, Tajima finally succeeded in securing some of the long-sought-after fruit, but returned to Japan only to find that the emperor had died the previous year. Shocked and saddened, Tajima went to pay his respects at the emperor’s tomb in Nara, and placing half of the fruit there as an offering, remained fixed to the spot until he at last died of self-starvation.

Though there are a number of theories as to just what this “timeless, fragrant tree-fruit” might have been, the general consensus is that it was the mandarin orange (*Citrus tachibana*).

Narrowing our discussion to the history of “traditional Japanese sweets” in the modern sense of the term, however, we find some more likely predecessors in the various processed foodstuffs of the days of pre-history — such things as *mochii* (lit., cooked rice for carrying along), which was a flat, round clump of steamed and then pounded rice, the origin of today’s *mochi* (“rice cakes”); *yaigome* or “roasted rice”; another rice product called *boshii*, made by steam-

ing and then drying the rice; a sweet, starch-based substance called *ame*; and regular boiled rice, called *katagayu*.

Though it is impossible to ascertain the exact nature of these foodstuffs as they were prepared in those days, or precisely how and when they came to be eaten in Japan, researchers have determined that Japanese rice was originally a grain native to southern China, and in the early days was reddish in color. Even today, there are Shinto shrines where the old kind of reddish rice is cultivated, and it has been suggested that the glutinous steamed red rice called *sekihan*, which is given its color by adding red adzuki beans when cooking it, and is customarily eaten on festive occasions in Japan today, may be a vestige of the ancient people's custom of eating this early type of rice.

Among the legends recorded in the *Nihon Shoki*, there is another predating the tale about the highly acclaimed "fragrant tree-fruit," regarding the above-mentioned sweet substance called *ame*. According to this, when Japan's legendary first emperor, Jimmu (r. 660 - 585 B.C.), was engaged in battles with the local chieftians (*yasotakeru*) during his move to conquer the Yamato (Nara) region, he declared: "I shall now make *ame* in many clay saucers, using no water. When it is made, I shall be able to conquer the world without the aid of weapons, and without even moving." Having commenced to make the *ame*, it was ready instantaneously, we are told. This tale is certainly, for the most part, a matter of mere myth; however, it seems quite certain that a substance called *ame* existed in Japan from very early times. Since the second component in the character for *ame* is derived from the character representing "pleasing," we can imagine that the ancient form of this substance indeed had a sweet flavor. We know, from the *Wamyō Ruijū Shō* (*Wamei Shō*) – a Chinese-Japanese dictionary compiled around the year 934 – that in the mid-Heian period *ame* was produced from rice malt.

With the rise of the country's earliest sovereign government in the Asuka district of present-day Nara, Japan entered an age of great cultural advancement based on the assimilation of Chinese culture. It is at this time that we see the introduction to Japan of the processed food items which are widely regarded as the actual forerunners of traditional Japanese sweets.

Continental Culture and Kashi

It is believed that during the Asuka period, large numbers of Koreans and Chinese flowed into Japan from the Korean peninsula, bringing with them the culture of the continent, and sparking a great admiration for that culture among the court nobles. Desirous of learning more from China, the "Mother of Civilization," and directly replanting its culture in Japanese soil, the Asuka Court organized official envoys to Sui China for this express purpose. Chinese

sources sporadically record envoys from Japan from as early as the end of the second century B.C. However, it seems that the envoy commissioned by the regent Prince Shotoku in the year 607 – the eighteenth year of the Sui dynasty – was the first to win a diplomatic agreement between the two countries. A notable feature of the missions which continued into the late Sui and T'ang periods is that they included numbers of scholars and priests specially selected to absorb as much about the country's culture and institutions as possible within their short, normally one- or two-year stays there.

Naturally, this large-scale importation of Chinese culture and technology extended to the realm of food. In Japan, the people – at least those of noble status – had long since established the pattern of eating boiled rice as their staple food, with vegetables and meat as side dishes. From China, they now learned to manufacture milled grains, such as rice flour and wheat flour, and from these, to make various kinds of noodles, dumplings, steamed buns, and pastries. Also introduced from China was the cooking method of shallow- or deep-frying foods in oil – mainly the oil extracted from sesame seeds.

"Noodle foods" were invented quite early in China, during the Han period (206 B.C. 220 A.D.), and actual fossils of the ravioli-like noodle food called wonton – a well-known item in Chinese cuisine even today – survive from the eighth or ninth centuries. It seems, also, that the ever-popular items called *man-t'ou* (Jp., *manju*) – a steamed rice-flour bun having a filling – was quite an early invention. A Chinese legend explains its origin and curious name, "bread head," as follows: When the statesman Chu-ko Liang (fl. Three Kingdoms period, 220-265) and a small troop of soldier followers tried to cross the Yellow River, a furious storm lashed the waters so that they could not proceed. They were advised by the local people that a human sacrifice was necessary to quell the waters, but, rather than take a human life, Chu-ko made a large bread the size of a man's head, stuffing it with finely chopped meat, and the waters became calm. Perhaps this auspicious legend accounts for the auspicious image often associated with *man-t'ou*.

In any case, from the time of their invention, these flour products were known to the Chinese in a broad sense as *ping* or "dough [food]," the word *ping* indicating the idea of *blending* flour with water. T'ang texts give much attention to *ping*, which were highly popular on the T'ang dinner table. Apparently, the various forms of rice-flour *ping* which had come to be enjoyed by the northern elite in T'ang times were of Cantonese origin, while from India, there came various "exotic" baked or fried breads. Though there were, hence, many kinds and shapes of *ping*, the most popular were those made of wheat or rice flour and fried. Significantly, when these delicacies reached the shores of Japan, the Japanese dubbed them "Chinese kashi" (*togashi, kara kudamono*).

It was during the T'ang period, also, that tea-drinking became popular among the Chinese of the north, and it became customary to offer tea to a visitor. In the second half of the eighth century – about the time when Lu Yü wrote his famous *Ch'a Ching* (Jp., *Cha Kyo*), a definitive handbook on tea –

the leaves of this southern plant could sometimes be found marketed in and around the T'ang capital as "kneaded" tea (*ping ch'a*) or "powdered" tea (*mo ch'a*), and there were varieties flavored with such substances as ginger and tangerine peel. While being widely enjoyed as a pleasant, exotic beverage, tea was also valued for its medicinal qualities and as a stimulant for overcoming drowsiness — qualities which recommended it to Buddhist priests and monks.

Apparently, one of the first men to bring tea seeds from China into Japan was the T'ang priest Chien-chen (Jp., Ganjin; 8th c.), this era marking the beginning of tea cultivation in Japan. However, in Japan the beverage was regarded as a medicinal brew limited to use in Buddhist practice and religious ceremonies, or at special court functions, and the earliest tea plantations were managed, together with the imperial dairy farms and herb gardens, by the imperial office in charge of "medicines" (*kyokuyakuryo*).

It is said that sugar first entered Japan in the year 754, when Chien-chen came to pay his respects to the Japanese emperor, bringing with him a gift of a small clump of brown (unrefined) sugar. Further, in a record listing the gifts brought back to Nara in the year 805 by the Japanese priest Saicho (767-822), we also find mention of sugar. This substance apparently originated in India, and archeological findings at Han Tomb No. 1 at Mawangtui on the outskirts of Ch'angsha in Hunan, China, have revealed that a kind of sugar was being used by the Chinese in the second century B.C. The technique for making granular sugar from sugarcane entered China in the seventh century, and therefore it is likely that this substance — probably comparable to what we call raw sugar — was being used in the kitchens of the T'ang Court at the capital, Ch'angan, when the Japanese envoys called *kentoshi* visited this cosmopolitan city. However, in Japan it was still centuries before this precious rarity — at first prized as a kind of "wonder medicine" — became widely available, and apparently any sweetened cuisine gracing the tables of the Yamato nobility in Nara was mainly sweetened with a liquid produced from plants referred to as "sweet vine" (*amazura*; L. *Parthenocissus tricuspidata*). Of course honey and ame had long been known to the Japanese, and sweet fresh or dried fruits remained an important food, having become something of a dessert course, together with various forms of mochi and "Chinese kashi," in the menus of the nobility.

This "dessert course" was, in fact, called the kashi course; a fact of much import in the present discussion, for it signifies the rise of a revolutionary concept. That is, this kashi course — which remained a standard part of the elaborate and increasingly regimented dinner spreads of the nobility through the Edo period — defied description as a between-meal snack. We find a Heian-period example in the *Gosechi Tenjo Kyo Mokuroku*, a 1135 record of a court banquet, listing the kashi course — the last course on the menu — as having included small mochi, Chinese kashi, speared [dried] persimmons (*edagaki*), small citrus fruits, dried chestnuts (*kachiguri*), yams (*yaro*), "camellia mochi" (*tsubaimochi*), and sweet chestnuts (*amaguri*).

We shall return to this kashi course in a later section, but first, let us delve

a bit further into the question of the early concepts of kashi. For this, there exist several other Heian-period works, in addition to the *Gosechi Tenjo Kyo Mokuroku*, by which we can put together a rough picture of the food life of the early through mid Heian-period Japanese. For example, among the arboreal fruits listed in the ca. 934 *Wamei Sho*, we find pomegranate, pear, pine nuts, peach, loquat, plum, jujube, citron, and persimmon. The low-growing fruits include various melons, eggplant, lotus root, and strawberry. Among rice-based foods, there are mochi, *chimaki* (rice dumpling wrapped in bamboo leaves), and various Chinese kashi. Interestingly, we also find the terms *daigo*, referring to a form of clarified butter, and *nyu-no-kayu*, presumably something like yogurt.

Further, from such sources as the *Wamei Sho* and the *Goke Shidai* (late 10th c.), a 21-volume work regarding court formalities, we even have the names of twenty-two different dough foods which are said to have found their way to Japan from China by the mid-Heian period; eight specifically classified as “Chinese kashi,” and the remaining fourteen as “fruit mochi” (*kabei*).^{*} Though we have no clues as to the descriptions of some, from the *Chujirui Ki* (ca. 1295), a three-volume work on cooking, we have information on how some were made, and there are a number which, to this day, can be observed at certain Shinto shrines, where they are a traditional part of the array of food items offered to the kami, or which remain as popular fare in the Japanese diet. For example, the item called *muginawa* was a wheat-flour product twisted very thin, like string, representing the early form of Japanese *somen* noodles. *Hauton* (also spelled *hoton*) consisted of boiled strips of dough produced from mountain potato (*joyo*) and rice-flour, which would be served in a soup. This represents the forerunner of Japanese *udon*, or “noodle soup.” In those days, when the people normally ate only two proper meals a day, such foods were sure to gain favor as a snack to tide the stomach over between meals. This must account for the persistent popularity of *somen* or *udon* as the classic noontime food in Japan, and also the former’s frequent appearance as *tenshin* for *chanoyu*.

Of particular note, however, are the items called *danki*, *tsubaimochi*, and *kome*. The first, *danki* — the only one among the three that is listed as a “Chinese kashi” — were made of wheat flour and contained some sort of filling (*an*, usually referring to sweetened, mashed beans). These hence represent the ancestors of the Japanese *an*-filled *manju* (referring to a whole class of Japanese sweets), which are today considered a conventional kashi, suitable for any occasion. The second item, *tsubaimochi* or “camellia mochi,” consisted of a form of rice sweetened with “sweet vine,” sandwiched between two camellia leaves. They are mentioned in the mid-Heian *Utsuho Monogatari* and the *Tale of Heike*, as well as the 1135 court banquet menu described earlier, and were roughly the same in appearance as today’s *tsubaimochi*, which are regarded as a classic

* The difference between these two categories is unclear, most modern studies listing them separately and yet discussing them as one, under the rubric “Chinese kashi.”



"Chinese kashi" and mochi. Offering for the Saitansai New Year's Day observance at Kasuga Shrine, Nara. Photo by Irie Taikichi.

omogashi for chanoyu. In light of the various early literary references to these, researchers believe that they may actually have been a Japanese creation. If so, they would indeed represent the earliest extant "traditional Japanese sweet." The third item, *kome*, consisted of parched rice mixed with honey, representing the forerunner of present-day *okoshi* (sweet, brittle millet-and-rice bars). While *okoshi* are seldom used in chanoyu, they are an 'old favorite' tea-time snack among the general populace and, interestingly, appear as *kashi* on the New Year's menu of the Imperial Family.

One final point, of far-reaching impact on the very nature of 'fine' Japanese cuisine — tea sweets included — was the influence of Buddhism. We have already seen how Japanese tea had its start with the priest-scholars of the Nara period. These were the same people who, in abidance with the strictures of



Tsubaimochi ("camellia mochi"). Mentioned in mid-Heian period literature, tsubaimochi are possibly the earliest extant traditional Japanese sweet. Photo from Kyoto Film Agency Co., Ltd.

their faith, shunned the consumption of meat and advocated the idea of taking meals only for the sake of sustenance, and not for pleasure. Such attitudes were hardly relevant to the masses, but did have their influence on the food life of the nobility; it having been suggested that this only exacerbated the ills which they suffered due to their increasingly unhealthful lifestyles. Be that as it may, the fact is that these attitudes took their most concrete form in the Buddhist monasteries, giving rise to a range of vegetarian "substitutes" for meat-based dishes. A striking case in point is the pasty confection made from red adzuki beans, called *yokan*, well the most familiar "traditional Japanese sweet" today. As its name infers, yokan has its origins in mutton[-liver] stew. Another Buddhist influence, highly relevant to our consideration of tea sweets, is the snack called tenshin — literally, a "spot of refreshment for the soul" — associated with monastic life, for it may be argued that this tenshin constituted the first chagashi per se.

Tenshin as Chagashi

The tradition of tenshin, together with the term tenshin itself, seems to have been another import from China, where it referred to morsels of food enjoyed with wine or steeped tea. Adopted from early on in Japanese Zen monasteries, where the monks in training were originally limited to only one proper meal a day, this tenshin – generally consisting of a bowl of noodles or the like and tea – allowed the monks a means to stay their hunger.

Now, in the sense that this tenshin was a snack accompanied by tea, it was indeed a chagashi in the true sense of the term; and when we consider that chado, the Way of Tea, was an outgrowth of the tea-drinking custom of the Zen institutions, the link between today's tea sweets and tenshin becomes clear. As a matter of fact, even as the monastery practice of tea drinking gradually penetrated the world outside the monastery walls, the term tenshin long remained a synonym in chanoyu for chagashi.

As we know, tenshin today may consist of simply a bowl of somen or *soba* (buckwheat noodles), or it may include a variety of foods presented as a small meal. Generally, *sake* is served with it. At *chakai*, the informal tea gatherings where tenshin are served, this snack may either precede or follow the tea service. Whichever the case, tea sweets of some sort – regarded as quite separate from the tenshin – will directly precede the tea.

This, however, is our modern conception of a *chakai*, and of tenshin. In the early days of secular tea, the foods served for tenshin were mainly some sort of dumpling served in broth (*atsumono*; e.g., the early vegetarian version of *yokan*), noodle soup (*men*), or *manju*, with the tea directly following. It seems that, somewhere along the line, this tenshin branched in two directions, one of them representing the bud of our modern-day image of tea sweets; that is, sweets specifically designed to complement and enhance the flavor of tea. The question is, how and why did this come about.

This is a complex question. For example, let us recall the “dessert course” of the upper members of society; eminently more like tea sweets than the foods for tenshin, yet technically unable to be defined as chagashi. Let us also recall that the “main” or “moist” sweets in chanoyu today are, by rights, served directly following the *kaiseki* meal in the first half of a tea gathering; dry sweets accompany the tea of thin consistency that concludes a tea gathering. A thought automatically occurs: that, strictly speaking, it is the dry sweets that should perhaps be regarded as true tea sweets, the moist sweets really being the final course of the meal.

For those of us whose encounters with chanoyu have, as is so common, been limited to the partaking of a moist sweet and a bowl of thin tea, this may be a revolutionary thought. Nonetheless, it helps us to realize that the chanoyu as well as tea sweets of present times are the products of the blending of temple and secular customs.

In the Formative Years of Chanoyu

The history of chanoyu can be said to have its start at about the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the introduction of powdered tea to Japan by the priest Eisai (1141-1215), and his presentation of a work entitled the *Kissayōjo Ki* [Record on the Preservation of Health through Drinking Tea] to the third Kamakura shogun, Minamoto Sanetomo (1192-1219). It was at this time, also, that the tea plant began to be cultivated here and there throughout Japan. This, fueled by the renewed craze for "things Chinese" that occurred during this period, especially among the warrior class, marked the beginning of a great fad for this remarkable substance, and the advent of parties at which tea-tasting competitions would take place. Often, these were grandiose affairs, including much food and drink in the manner of the extravagant banquets of upper-class society. Meanwhile, however, the rules for tea-drinking at the great temples of the day prescribed a highly ritualistic manner of taking the beverage.

It was during the so-called Higashiyama Era, when the eighth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimasa (1436-1490), had retired into a semi-religious life at his villa today famed as the Temple of the Silver Pavilion, Ginkakuji, in Kyoto, that these two modes found a happy medium, and the drinking of powdered tea took its first real steps into becoming a Way unto its own. Yoshimasa, an avid patron of the arts, seems to have recognized the great potential of the tea-drinking rituals as a spiritual as well as social and cultural medium, and took fully to incorporating the practice into his life.

There exists a record of a secular tea function dating from just around this period. It is called the *Kissa Orai* [Letter on Tea Drinking], and states that the guests on a particular occasion first partook of some rice wine, somen noodles and [steeped] tea, rare delicacies, and then some succulent fruit. Going out into the garden for a stroll, they next moved to a pavilion for tea-drinking. There, they were served some chagashi, and then each was given a temmoku bowl [containing a measured amount of powdered tea]. A youth, holding a vessel of hot water in one hand and a whisk in the other, came around to each guest and prepared the tea. It seems that this tea service, based on the temple tea rituals, constituted a form of tea-tasting ceremony. When it was over, the tea equipment was put away and then more food and wine were served, the host and guests alike enjoying singing and dancing until dark.

Most unfortunately, this record gives no clue as to the nature of the chagashi which were served before the tea ceremony. However, at Kenninji temple in Kyoto, we can still observe an ancient Buddhist tea ritual known as the *yotsugashira* (lit., four-headed) ceremony, said to be passed down from the time of Eisai, the temple's founder. The tea at this ceremony is prepared in the same manner as described above, with the current custom being to serve a sugary sweet pressed into the shape of the temple's crest, and also a piece of *kon'yaku* (devil's tongue jelly), after the temmoku teabowls have been distributed. Each



Above: *Hasunekan* ("lotus root" *kan*). This type of sweet had its origins in *atsumono* (*kan*), or stew. Photo from Shufunotomo Co., Ltd. Below: *Hikigashi*. It is also said that decorative gift-cakes such as these have their origins in *atsumono*.





Reproduction of a kashi course served by Sen Rikyu. According to the *Chado Shiso Densho*, compiled by Matsuya Hisashige (1566-1652), the kashi served by Sen Rikyu on the 26th day of the 12th month, 1567, consisted of persimmons, kaya nuts (Japanese nutmeg, plum-yew), and octopus "with *kaishiki* (leaves or paper used as a bedding for food) laid under it." Photo by Yano Tatehiko.

guest receives these kashi in a *fuchidaka*, the same kind of stackable box used for omogashi at formal tea gatherings today. There is also, at Engakuji in Kamakura, a similar annual tea event. This temple itself has a somewhat shorter history than Kenninji, having been founded in 1282, and it is interesting to note that following the *yotsugashira* ceremony, the participants partake of a kaiseki meal.

Several fifteenth-century sources concerning chanoyu provide specific names of food items regarded as appropriate for tenshin, and advice as to their serving. For example, the *Shakuso Orai*, attributed to Ichijo Kanera (1402-1481), advises that an aromatic hot drink (made of various powdered spices, "sweet vine," and hot water) should be served first, and that "it is not necessary to serve numerous dishes for tenshin. . . . serving many dishes, you will be a laughingstock." The lists of food names reveal, as mentioned earlier, that the class of food called atsumono was the most prevalent tenshin item, followed by various forms of noodles and then manju.

As for the first category, atsumono, we are at once struck by their curious names: "snapping turtle stew," "heron entrail stew," "condyle stew," "white

fish stew," "moon mouse stew," the "mutton stew" that we came across earlier, and so on; according to the *Hocho Kikigaki* [Notes on Cooking (ca., 15th c.)], altogether forty-eight varieties. Atsumono were another of Japan's borrowings from China, though — due largely to the influence of Buddhism — the Chinese influence was basically retained only in their names. Apparently, the main ingredients used in the Japanese versions of these stews were arrowroot starch, beans, flour, potatoes, and also sugar, which by this time was being imported in limited quantities from China. These were typically made into a paste colored and shaped to represent the original name of the dish, and were usually served with either a *miso* (fermented bean paste) sauce or a starchy, salt-flavored sauce. These innovative creations were to give birth to the ornamental gift-cakes called *bikigashi*, customarily presented on auspicious occasions, or formal Buddhist occasions, even today. In turn, *bikigashi* may be seen to have inspired a scope of *omogashi* currently enjoyed in *chanoyu*. But the full impact of this had to wait for nearly another century, when refined sugar at last became widely available following the commencement of relations with the Portuguese traders in the mid-sixteenth century.

Meanwhile, *chanoyu* continued to tread an eventful path, becoming the prime cultural and social medium for people of distinction. Though on one hand, depending on the occasion and the participants, it was often just one feature of a day's entertainments, on the other hand, it might be the central feature. There was temple tea, the tea of the nobility, warrior-class tea, and eventually the tea of the wealthy and even not-so-wealthy city folk. Because of the social structure of the day, these were often quite distinct in style. Thus, in the many extant records of the sixteenth century, we find food menus ranging from the very elaborate *bonzen ryori* style, typically consisting of tray upon tray of finely prepared delicacies, to very simple meals called *kaiseki*, as influenced by the Buddhist monastery traditions, as well as the temple-influenced *tenshin* snacks as described above.

One of the most comprehensive records of this period is the *Matsuya Kaiki*, a running tea diary spanning the years 1533-1650, kept by three generations of the Matsuya family of lacquer artisans based in Nara, who were very active in the tea world. Randomly picking out the year 1559, we find twenty-one entries mentioning *kashi*. Foremost among the types of items served were fruits and nuts: chestnuts, ginkgo nuts, kumquats, persimmons, and the like. It seems that for *chanoyu*, at least, such simple, native items as had been eaten as *kashi* from the days of pre-history were considered most appropriate. Next in frequency, however, were sweets such as *yokan* and *mochi* preparations. Then came seafoods such as octopus and dried abalone, and then such items as mountain potatoes, seaweed, and wheat gluten (*fu*). There are also a few mentions of decorative *kashi*, and within the entire *Matsuya Kaiki*, we can find quite a number of descriptive *kashi* names: "toasted *mochi*," "thin-skin *mochi*," "kudzu *mochi*," "lotus *mochi*," "chestnut *mochi*," "snow *mochi*," "soy-bean-powder (*kinako*) *mochi*," "sugar *mochi*," and more. In most instances,

these kashi were served in fuchidaka. Often, as many as nine or even eleven varieties would be served at one time.

As yet, there was no differentiation between omogashi and higashi, just as there were as yet no standardized forms for tea gatherings. By and large, however, no matter if it were tea at a shogunal banquet or tea in a tiny, rustic hut, the kashi course would be served at the end of the meal, followed by the tea. Apparently, the tea itself might be of thick or thin consistency, depending on preference and quality of the tea leaves. There were instances when both thick and thin tea would be served, but it seems that the practice of serving a separate kashi between the two did not become established until the Edo period.

It is well into the Edo period that we find, in a work called the *Kaiki*, recording the teachings of the nobleman and teaman, Konoe Iehiro (1667-1736), this advice regarding between-meal tea gatherings: "Whether you call it an after-meal tea or a kashi tea, there is no difference; it is a kashi tea, and one should go to it after eating a meal." He further comments on the question of whether or not to take an intermission after the kashi, saying that it depends on the kashi served. For example, he says that an intermission is in order with such things as mochi in sweetened adzuki bean soup (*zenzaimochi*) or dumplings in a thick sauce (*susuridango*), but is not advisable with mochi crackers (*hashiyagimono*). Thus, not only do we see a distinction between moist kashi and dry kashi, but also, a distinct reference to tea gatherings in which only kashi and tea were served — in which the kashi, hence, played a central role, ideally serving to prepare both the stomach and the palate for the tea.

The Metamorphosis

Perhaps the two greatest events of this next period were 1) the expansion of trade with foreign countries, through which sugar now became widely available; and 2) the general popularization of chanoyu. Of inestimable impact on the development of tea sweets, also, was the aesthetic sense that swept the world of chanoyu; an aesthetic sense that we can say was the ultimate product of all the forms and styles of the past. In a word, this was the aesthetic called *kirei-sabi*, or "elegant rusticity." Combined, these phenomena not only awakened a new taste for sweets among the Japanese people, but also led to the creation and increasingly widespread production of sweets "tailor-made" for chanoyu.

It was in 1543 that the first Portuguese trading ships landed in Japan. Among the items introduced to Japan around this time were several sugar-based confections which remain in use as higashi in chanoyu even today: the little



Photo from Sekai Bunka Sha.

star-shaped candies called *kompeito* (Pg., *confeitos*), which are the standard sweet used when preparing tea using a boxed tea set (*chabako*); and the hard, sticky candies called *arubeito* (Pg., *alfeloa*), found in a wide variety of shapes and colors usually representing things in nature. More importantly, however, the coming of the Portuguese, sparking an increased importation of sugar, signaled the beginning of the extensive use of sugar.

It might be said that, in terms of tea sweets, the *kirei-sabi* aesthetic came to the fore in the idea of sweets representing things of the season and having poetic names. Notably, this aesthetic was basically meant to cater to the shogun and nobility, and one of its features was its appreciation of the poetic and the elegant. This was to have a pervasive influence on all the traditions of *chanoyu*, as well as Japanese culture in general.

Of course, the major political event of this period was the movement of the capital to Edo (Tokyo), which in time gave rise to the notion of *Kyo-gashi*, or Kyoto-style kashi, as opposed to *Jo-gashi*, or Tokyo-style kashi. It is said that the former represent the epitome of "the traditional Japanese sweet," both in terms of flavor and aesthetic appeal, the main reasons being that not only has Kyoto always been blessed with good water and the best of natural ingredients for kashi-making, but also, Kyoto has always been the center of the aristocracy, the headquarters of many of the great Buddhist institutions, and the home of the leading tea families.

From early on, there was the establishment in Kyoto of official kashi-makers, who tailored their creations to meet the needs and the tastes of the above-mentioned clientele, and who received special privileges to the highest-quality ingredients. For example, while refined sugar remained an expensive commodity for the masses until quite late into the Edo period, it was readily available to the kashi-makers belonging to this elite guild. With these master kashi-craftsmen at the helm, the world of the tea sweet took full bloom.

Sweets and Chanoyu Today

Whether in its most abbreviated or most formal form, *chanoyu* today is virtually unthinkable without a sweet to precede the tea. There is, for one, a very practical reason for this: the tea of *chanoyu*, *matcha* (powdered tea), is a potent beverage, best indulged in after first putting something into the stomach. Moreover, it is a rather dense, astringent beverage, best complemented by something sweet and light (not oily). As we have seen, however, this latter notion did not become firmly established until fairly recent times. As we examine the history of *chanoyu*, we even find a period when, despite the availability of processed sweets such as *yokan*, these, it seems, were felt to run counter to the way of tea.

Those were the days when Sen Rikyu's influence was strong, and the wabi ideal which he promoted was at its height. It might be that Rikyu's advocacy of simplicity was instrumental in establishing the present practice of serving just one main sweet per guest. Interestingly enough, however, one of the most sacred events in chanoyu of the Urasenke tradition today is the chaji commencing a disciple's initiation into the oldest and highest-ranking tea procedures. Here, the strictly-preserved tradition is to serve seven types of sweets, always including a fruit, in a fuchidaka. In this practice, we see a living relic of the past. 

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Oribe's Shoe-shaped Teabowl

Ikeda Hyoa

Spring, Keicho 4 (1599)

Furuta Oribe (1544-1615) waited at the gate until his departing guests had disappeared from sight. "Shall we meet again?" he wondered. For the battle-seasoned warrior, there was always the possibility that each meeting might be the last. Shaking himself out of his reverie, Oribe reminded himself that he now lived in peaceful times. No longer need one always assume the worst. After all, had he not just enjoyed a wonderful tea? Oribe savored the thought.

Returning to the tearoom, Oribe sat in front of the hearth and listened for a while to the bubbling kettle. His face had that relaxed look of contentment of a tea satisfactorily completed. Soon he became aware of someone putting away the utensils in the adjacent preparation room.

"You there!"

"Yes, sir."

"Bring the 'shoe' teabowl (*kutsu-jawan*)."

Today had been the first time he had used this teabowl of his own design.

"Now this is a merry piece!" Kamiya Sotan (1551-1635), one of his guests that day, had exclaimed as he examined the shoe-shaped bowl with its funny abstract design executed in white on a black-glaze ground. Oribe had been adamant when he instructed the potters to confine themselves to abstract and geometric decorative motifs.

Now Oribe took the newly fired teabowl and prepared himself some tea. The rays of a setting late-spring sun shone through the window on the side of the tokonoma. This tearoom has acquired a nice residue of *sabi*, mused Oribe as he reflected on the five years that had passed since he had moved to Fushimi.

Oribe's guests often remarked on the brightness of the tearoom. He had designed the room himself, and it reflected a very different aesthetic taste from that of his mentor, Sen Rikyu (1522-1592). Believing that tea utensils could not be shown to best advantage in an overly bright setting, Rikyu had made dimness a prerequisite for tranquility in the tearoom. Yet Oribe purposefully ignored this stricture, adding many windows to flood the tearoom with light.

Tearoom design was not the only aspect on which Oribe chose to differ from his mentor. Dissatisfied at a very early stage with Rikyu's style of tea,

Translated and adapted from "*Oribe ga Tsukutta Kutsu-jawan*," appearing in the December 1983 issue of *Tanko* (Kyoto: Tankosha Publishing Co.), by permission. Unless specified otherwise, photos courtesy of Tankosha.

Oribe discovered his own distinctive aesthetic as he grew older, and he applied this aesthetic to his choice of tea utensils and way of preparing tea.

Yet, as long as Rikyu had been alive, there had been no sign of Oribe the tea master. As a retainer to Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), Oribe was originally just one more *otogi-shu*, a faithful attendant to the great Taiko.¹ Those days seemed so long ago, yet not even two decades had passed. Today Kamiya Sotan had recalled with emotion the day in the autumn of 1587 when he and Oribe, along with Rikyu and Hosokawa Yusai (1534-1610), had been served tea by the Taiko himself in the three-mat tearoom of the Jurakudai palace.

"It was an Ido teabowl,² was it not?" Kamiya had recalled, and the two had commiserated with each other on how rapidly those days of glory had faded. To think that when Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) had died, Oribe had been a young thirty-eight years old. . . . Seventeen stormy years had passed since then, and now Hideyoshi was gone, too — dead of illness the previous year.

Much had come to pass since the days of his youth, when Oribe had been known by his childhood name of Sasuke. Born in an era of national turmoil, Oribe had fought on numerous battlefields and enhanced the Furuta family fortunes by serving under the two great leaders of his time, Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Yet Oribe had little liking for bloody combat or the subtle strategies of power. He much preferred the more elegant pursuits of cultural refinement in which he sought to indulge himself at every opportunity. This man's lack of worldly common sense and depth of dedication to chanoyu was such that, according to one well-known tale, once, in the midst of battle, his eyes fell upon a pole in a bamboo barricade which had just the perfect node for a teascoop, and he was wounded by a flying bullet as he thoughtlessly reached out for it.

Oribe's father, Furuta Shigesada (d. 1598), had adopted the [religious] name Kan'ami and been one of Hideyoshi's special cultural advisors. It was from his father that Oribe first learned chanoyu, and he acquired his taste for beautiful objects at a very early stage. He became quite accomplished in the art under the influence of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, attaining the final polish to his skill during his apprenticeship to Rikyu.

Rikyu succeeded in synthesizing the chanoyu of the Muromachi period to create his own unique forms, and in his service to the Taiko he became the foremost master of his time — no mean achievement for one of humble merchant origins.

The young Oribe, however, had difficulty understanding Rikyu's percep-

1. An appellation by which Hideyoshi was popularly known, Taiko is the honorary title for a retired imperial regent.

2. A variety of Korean teabowl, thought to have been produced in the relatively early years of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910). Of the great quantities of Korean (*Korai*) teabowls imported to Japan during and after the Muromachi period, Ido bowls were ranked highest.

tion of chanoyu. He did not have the temperament for the kind of quiet chanoyu that Rikyu advocated. Many times during his years of apprenticeship, Oribe vowed to himself that some day he would forge a completely new kind of chanoyu.

His first step in this direction was to design new tea utensils – a step he undertook fairly early in his career. Oribe's grandfather had been a retainer to the Toki family, provincial leaders in Mino (now part of Gifu Prefecture), and the Furuta family remained in service in Mino even after control over the province changed hands – from the Toki family to Saito Dosan (1494–1556), and later Oda Nobunaga. Oribe himself did not leave Mino until he had attained adulthood.

Kilns were a common sight in the Mino hills, and the young Oribe often stopped at one for a cup of tea and to rest his horse. It was his custom during such rest stops to watch the potters at their work. He was fascinated by the process by which a lump of clay was transformed on the potter's wheel into a vessel.

The owner of the Kujiri kiln (in present-day Toki City, Gifu Prefecture), Kato Magobei (dates unknown), was a close friend of Oribe's father. A man of many talents, he maintained a residence in the capital and socialized with the nobility, participating in such cultured activities as verse linking (*renga*), *noh*, and chanoyu. Seeing Oribe's keen interest in ceramics, Magobei taught him much about the craft. It was Magobei and the many potters Oribe had come to know in his youth who inspired Oribe to attempt designing vessels for chanoyu in his later years. As one of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's close companions, Oribe was able to concentrate his energies on chanoyu and to develop his ample gift for ceramic-ware design.

Tensho-guro

Taken by a subdued black ware made by the Mino potters, Rikyu commissioned Oribe to have them attempt a black teabowl in one of his favorite shapes. The unusual lacquer-like black color was attained by plunging the lead-glazed ware into cold water immediately after it was taken out of the kiln. This created just the quiet, seasoned effect to match Rikyu's extremely understated style of chanoyu.

On an early morning in the middle of the third month of the year Tensho 5 (1577), Oribe departed on horseback from his residence in the capital to go to Mino. The long winter was over and he expected that the Mino clay should have thawed enough to be workable. The air was still frosty in the upper mountains, however, and Oribe wondered if he had perhaps come too soon. Eagerly, he urged his mount forward.

Magobei had been told the previous autumn that Oribe would probably visit in early spring, and he now awaited his guest at the gate to his home. Upon



Seto Black teabowl. "Rikyu's paper model was of a cylindrical shape, with straight sides and a very low foot." Private collection.

his arrival, Oribe was ushered into a room to sit by a hearth. As he warmed himself, he was offered some unrefined *sake*. In one swift motion, he gulped it down.

"Ah, how good the *sake* of Mino is!" he exclaimed, and then stopped to stare at the rather large cup in which it had been served.

"That is the black glaze I spoke of," said Magobei as he shifted forward.

"Yes, I see. Black like a bird's feathers. I can see that it is a color Master Rikyu would like."

"We received a letter with an order for a teabowl to be coated with this glaze. Should the bowl be shaped like this *sake* cup, in the Temmoku style?"³

"No. Master Rikyu wants a teabowl he can use in a rustic, thatched tea hut (*soan*). I've brought a paper model to show you the shape he wants. It must have a careless, rough air about it quite different from Temmoku. Now, who would you suggest to make such a bowl?"

"That's hard to say. Who in these remote mountains would understand what was wanted?"

3. Of a relatively symmetrical "V" shape.

"Maybe no one. But I want a bowl that will please the Master."

"Yes, well then I shall make the bowl myself. How long do you plan to stay this time?"

"Five days. I must leave on the sixth day."

"Five days. I'd better get right to work then. Please instruct me as I work."

Rikyu's paper model was of a cylindrical shape, with straight sides and a very low foot. Magobei threw several bowls in this shape. The next day, he cut and trimmed the foot of each bowl. After the bowls were dried, they were glazed and fired.

These were the first of the type of lacquer-black teabowl known by such names as *Tensho-guro*, *Hikidasbi-guro*, *Seto-guro*, and *Rikyu-guro*.⁴

Black Oribe Ware

It was some time later that Furuta Oribe created his own Black Oribe teabowl. Standing by a potter working on a Seto Black teabowl, Oribe instructed the craftsman on the shape he desired, and once the bowl had been thrown, Oribe himself marked the bowl with his fingers. He dented the lip, accentuated the wheel lines sweeping around the body, and made a deep imprint in one side near the bottom of the bowl.

Setting the bowl on a platform, Oribe gazed at it for a while. Here was a bowl with a strong personality – quite a contrast to the understated reserve of the Rikyu Black teabowl.

Oribe realized with some amazement that not only had he broken the Rikyu mold, he had achieved a completely new creation – something that had never existed before in the history of chanoyu.

The new bowl was coated with the same glaze as that used on the Black Seto bowls, and was fired in the same way. Other pieces were accentuated with spots of a feldspathic glaze, Oribe had discovered the pleasure of creating.

The next time Oribe visited the Mino mountains, he was full of plans for a new design. After Magobei had thrown a bowl on the wheel, Oribe cupped his hands around the still-soft piece and pressed it to warp the bowl's round shape. Gazing dubiously at the comical result, Magobei asked, "Is that really the shape you want?"

"Yes, it is. Go ahead and cut it off the wheel. Do you remember, Magobei, the two teabowls that got stuck together in the kiln not so long ago? I used

4. The origins of *Seto-guro* or "Seto Black" ware are unclear. Because of examples made during Rikyu's time – the Tensho era (1573-1592) – and bearing his signature, this ware is also sometimes called *Tensho-guro* (Tensho Black) or *Rikyu-guro* (Rikyu Black). *Hikidasbi-guro* ("drawn-out black") refers to the technique by which the black color is produced; the same technique used to produce Black Raku ware. It has thus been suggested that Seto Black has some relationship to Black Raku, but this has not been verified.



Oribe Black teabowl. "Eventually this kind of extremely unevenly shaped teabowl was to become Oribe's trademark." Private collection.

that funny piece in the tearoom and found it most entertaining. I think I'll continue using misshapen teabowls for a while."

Magobei nodded with little comprehension. He could not foresee that Oribe's shoe-shaped teabowls were to become famous.

Eventually this kind of extremely unevenly shaped teabowl was to become Oribe's trademark, a symbol of his divergence from the Rikyu school of thought. For a time it was an object of derision, but to Oribe's mind he was only following in his master's footsteps. He remembered Rikyu's story about purposely knocking off one ear of an Iga flower container, and his comment, "Now this has become useable." Rikyu had been talking to Takeno Jo'o (1502-1555), Rikyu's master, at the time. Perfect pieces, Rikyu had taught Oribe, could not convey the sense of wabi so essential to Rikyu's style of tea.

The warped teabowl was Oribe's interpretation of Rikyu's aesthetic of tranquility in the unbalanced. Oribe did not perceive his deviation from Rikyu's style as a defiance of his master's teachings. Quite the contrary, he was convinced that he had succeeded in expressing Rikyu's aesthetic in a concrete form.



Black Oribe teabowl with Christian cross. Geometric motifs dominated Oribe's designs; novel, among them, were Western motifs such as this. Property of the Namban Bunkakan, Osaka.

According to the tea diary of the merchant Tsuda Sogyu (d. 1591), a warped teabowl had been used at a tea gathering as early as Tensho 8 (1580), in the Azuchi-Momoyama period; but the style did not become popular until later.

Having invented the shoe-shaped teabowl, Oribe decided that on his next visit to Mino he would experiment with surface motifs, removing some of the black glaze to leave a motif in white. Later, bowls decorated in this style came to be known as *Kuro Oribe* or Black Oribe. Magobei was once again filled with amazement at Oribe's wealth of unique ideas.

Oribe did not care for motifs of material objects or of people, plants, and animals. Geometric motifs dominated his designs, the rare exceptions being an occasional persimmon, fishnet pattern, or such. Novel Oribe motifs included Western-style stripes, checks, hexagons, and a Christian cross. It is likely that Oribe saw such motifs during his years of service (1569-1573) to Oda Nobunaga, when trade began with the West and the floodgates were opened to an influx of Western motifs.

In 1568, Nobunaga met with the Portuguese Jesuit Luis Frois (1532-

1597), granting him permission to live in the capital and to proselytize. Ever an enterprising spirit, Nobunaga wore Western garb, made use of strange Western utensils, and relished Western wine. His liking for things Western quickly filtered down to the rest of the samurai class.

The textiles and utensils of the West had an exotic appeal to which the young Oribe was highly receptive, and their influence was to appear in his later years, in his distinctive choice of motifs for his Black Oribe teabowls.

Times of Turbulence

The past quarter century had been a time of dizzying change, one event rapidly following on the heels of another, like the speeding panorama of a revolving lantern.

When Oda Nobunaga was assassinated at Honnoji temple in 1582, Toyotomi Hideyoshi lost no time in consolidating his forces to take over the job of unifying the nation. In just three years and a few battles, Hideyoshi achieved supremacy and the title of *kampaku*, Imperial Regent. It was in that year, 1585, that Oribe was officially recognized as Hideyoshi's retainer and awarded the 35,000 *koku*⁵ fief of Yamashiro Nishigaoka near Kyoto. It was also around this time that Oribe came to be known as a tea master.

Hideyoshi's rapid swings from peace to war to peace again kept his retainers busy. Oribe accompanied him everywhere: to the Kyushu campaign (1587); the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering in Kyoto, which Hideyoshi held to celebrate his Kyushu victory; the Odawara campaign (1590); and the Oshu campaign (1591). Oribe corresponded frequently with Rikyu during this last campaign, the so-called "*Musashi Abumi no fumi*" being one of the more famous of the letters between them.⁶ Even on the battlefield, Oribe could not forget more cultivated pastimes.

In 1591, Rikyu, somehow having offended the Taiko, was placed under house arrest. Hosokawa Sansai (1563-1645) and Oribe braved Hideyoshi's wrath to bid their master farewell when he sailed from Yodo in Osaka to return to his former residence in Sakai. The same year, on the twenty-eighth day of the second month, Rikyu, carrying out Hideyoshi's order, committed suicide in his Sakai residence, leaving to Sansai and Oribe one teascoop apiece, later known by the names *Inochi* or "Life," and *Namida* or "Teardrop."

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5. A measure of volume or capacity, used generally for rice. Land productivity, tax assessments, stipends of samurai, and the wealth of daimyo were measured in *koku*. In the mid-sixteenth century, one *koku* of rice was considered sufficient to feed one person for one year.
 6. In this letter from Rikyu to Oribe, dated the twentieth day of the sixth month (year unspecified), Rikyu mentions that he had sent Oribe a bamboo flower container that he had made. The letter accompanies the famous *Onjoji* flower container of Rikyu's, in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

Oribe, to whom the teacup “Teardrop” had been bequeathed, treated it with the reverence accorded a mortuary tablet, never failing to pray before it every morning and evening.

Bowls from Korea

Though wars raged throughout the nation, Oribe somehow found time between battles and his administrative duties to continue his cultural pursuits. Kato Magobei often acted as Oribe’s agent, transmitting Oribe’s designs to the mountain potters of Mino, and when Oribe had the time, he traveled to Mino himself.

The Mino kilns, however, were not the only ones to come under Oribe’s influence. He traveled as well to Iga, Shigaraki, and Bizen to have the potters at these production centers craft wares to his design specifications. In particular, Oribe’s friendship with Tsutsui Sadatsugu (1562-1614), lord of Iga Ueno, led to the creation of many Iga pieces which show the Oribe touch. Among the more famous vessels said to have been designed by Oribe is the *Namazume* flower container.⁷

The *Namazume* flower container was apparently one of Oribe’s favorite works. A deep groove cuts into the middle of this cylindrical piece, and the sword guard shape of the mouth is highly unusual. Natural ash glaze drips down one side to merge into the rust-charred coloring of the base of the vessel. When he finally gave it to Ueda Soko (1563-1650), he wrote in an accompanying note that giving up the piece was as painful as having his fingernails torn off, hence the name *Namazume*, “Raw Fingernail.”

In every Oribe-style ceramic ware that I come across, I sense the potter’s deep love for clay. Oribe must certainly have shared this passion for this eminently malleable medium. Perhaps at times he even worked the clay with his own hands, though there is no documentation testifying to this.

Oribe’s constant search for new forms eventually extended overseas. The year was 1592 and Hideyoshi had ordered the invasion of the Korean peninsula. Daimyo throughout the country were moving their forces down to Kyushu. Establishing his headquarters in Nagoya Castle at Hizen (in present-day Saga Prefecture, northern Kyushu), Hideyoshi settled in to wait out the campaign. Accompanied by 150 of his own men, Oribe joined Hideyoshi at Nagoya Castle, and was appointed to an administrative position. He was forty-eight years old at the time.

While in northern Kyushu, Oribe visited the Karatsu kilns. A shoe-shaped teabowl and fresh-water container with sharply delineated throwing streaks were made under Oribe’s supervision around this time.

As the campaign waged on, Hideyoshi and his retainers entertained them-

7. Illustration appears in *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 47, p. 17.

selves with chanoyu and performances of noh. Kamiya Sotan bustled about, expending every effort to please the participants at the tea gatherings which became quite popular among the chanoyu advocates.

Ever since the Kyushu campaign, Kamiya had acted as Hideyoshi's supplies commissioner, and in this capacity had amassed considerable wealth. At the same time he worked hard to foster his ties with Hideyoshi's generals, and his days were literally steeped in tea.

At one tea gathering hosted by Kamiya, Oribe found himself seated next to Shimazu Yoshihiro (1535-1619) of Satsuma (present-day Kagoshima Prefecture). Shimazu had recently returned from the Korean peninsula and was awaiting an audience with Hideyoshi. After the tea was over, Shimazu turned to Oribe to tell him some exciting news.

"I have an interesting tale for you, Ko'ori," he said.⁸ "The region my Satsuma forces are now holding is a pottery production center called Kumhai, at which a fine white ware is made. The people over there use this ware for drinking an unrefined *sake*, but there are some pieces that I think would make excellent teabowls. I brought one back to show you."

Shimazu went out to an adjacent hut where his attendant waited, and came back with the bowl. It was a semi-porcelain ware of unusual shape coated with a transparent white glaze not found in Japan. Oribe found the throwing streaks under the glaze particularly pleasing.

"Yes, this is a good bowl. I will use it for chanoyu," pronounced Oribe after he had subjected the piece to careful scrutiny. He cupped the bowl in his hands and made as if to drink from it. How he would like to go to the peninsula and visit the Korean kiln for himself! But he had been assigned to work inside the castle, and had little hope of making the crossing.

"Will the lord of Satsuma be returning to the Korean peninsula?" Oribe asked.

"Tomorrow I will be making a progress report to the Taiko. Once I have fulfilled that duty, I plan to return to Pusan in a couple of days."

"How goes the war over there?"

"We are in a momentary lull preparing for our next move."

"I realize this is a rash request when you are busy fighting a war, but I wonder if it would be possible to have the potters of Kumhai make a teabowl. It could be presented to Hideyoshi in commemoration of this campaign. What do you think?"

"Now that would be amusing. I don't see that it should be any trouble placing an order. What kind of teabowl do you have in mind?"

"I will prepare a paper model for you to take."

"All right then. Have it ready by tomorrow."

Oribe wanted a bowl shaped like the black shoe-shaped teabowl he had

8. A friendly nickname for Oribe, combining the first character of his family name and of his name Oribe.

had made in Mino. How intriguing it would be, he thought, to combine that shape with those vigorous throwing streaks and that white glaze. He prepared a paper model shaped like the Mino shoe-shaped teabowl.

A temporary truce having been negotiated in 1593, the Taiko returned to Osaka and Oribe accompanied him. Construction of Fushimi Castle had begun in Kyoto, and work was also progressing on residences for Hideyoshi's retainers. Already a castle town was emerging. Oribe established his residence in nearby Rokujizo, making certain to incorporate on his estate a tea house, which he named "Bokakuan" (Hut of Aspiring for Awakening). A three-and-three-quarter-mat room with a thatched roof, the Bokakuan had a window on the south side, a 120-centimeter-wide tokonoma on the north side, a thick bamboo central pillar marking the three-quarter-mat server's seat, and seven windows in all, making it one of the most unusual tearooms of that time.

At last Oribe had come into his own. Up to this time the world of tea had been dominated by the merchants of Sakai, but now Hideyoshi commissioned Oribe to create a new kind of tea specifically suited to the warrior class. This he did, building new tea houses of novel design, setting his own rules for the serving of tea, and incorporating new styles of teabowls, fresh-water containers, and iron kettles. From the moment of Rikyu's death, Oribe's name as the foremost of tea masters grew with each passing day. The splendid flowering of Momoyama culture (1568-1615) provided a fertile environment for Oribe's fresh and vigorous style of tea.

Furuta Korai and Kuro Hakeme

One day early in the fourth month of Keicho 1 (1596), a large package was delivered to the Oribe residence. It had been shipped from Korea and carried down the Yodo and Uji rivers to Fushimi. A letter from Shimazu Yoshihiro, received at the end of the preceding month, explained: "The Kumhai teabowls you commissioned a few years ago have been ready for some time, but I have only just recently found a ship to carry them to Japan. The bowls were made according to your paper model, but they seem quite misshapen to me. I certainly hope they are what you wanted."

Excited, Oribe immediately had a servant open the package in the garden. The package was encased in a tight packing of straw, and in his impatience, Oribe moved to hurry the task along, all the while admonishing the servant, "take care, you may break them." Finally, there appeared a glimpse of a white glaze. It was a shoe-shaped teabowl in just the shape Oribe had ordered, vigorous throwing streaks accentuating the bowl's sturdy construction. A semi-transparent white glaze gently enveloped the bowl with pleasing effect.

Turning the bowl over, Oribe was surprised to see that the bottom edge had been trimmed in facets, the foot shaped into a hexagon, and the inside of the foot only crudely scraped. Though at first glance the bowl had appeared



White Goshomaru teabowl. Opening the package which had been shipped from Korea, it contained "a shoe-shaped teabowl in just the shape he had ordered, . . . a semi-transparent white glaze gently enveloped the bowl with pleasing effect." Private collection.

to conform to Oribe's specifications, closer inspection immediately exposed the Korean potter's strong personality.

There were three bowls in all. Oribe lined them up on the open corridor and contemplated them for a time. Each was ever so slightly different from the other. Picking up one, he looked again at the roughly finished bottom and foot. The more he looked at it, the more it seemed to Oribe that the Korean potter's rough touch was not as discordant with his original design as had appeared at first. Chagrin very quickly changed to pleasure.

On his next visit to Fushimi Castle, Oribe took one of the Korean bowls. This was later to become the highly acclaimed (*meibutsu*) teabowl given the name *Furuta Korai* (Furuta Korean) by Kobori Enshu (1579-1647).

His appetite whetted by this experience, Oribe wasted no time seeking to acquire more Korean bowls of his own design.

So Yoshitomo (1568-1615), lord of the Tsushima fief (an island, now part of Nagasaki Prefecture), having come for an audience with the Taiko, Oribe invited him to tea and succeeded in securing So's promise to convey his order to the Kumhai potters.



Goshomaru teabowl. Poetic name, "Setting Sun." This time, the bowls Oribe commissioned from Korean turned out "even more intriguing than Oribe had imagined, and eminently suited to his style of tea." Property of the Fujita Museum of Art, Osaka.

This time Oribe sought the same black-on-white contrast he had once achieved in Mino. He prepared several paper models for So to take back to Korea, marking each one with brisk sweeps of an ink-laden brush. The bowls that were sent to Oribe six months later turned out to be even more intriguing than Oribe had imagined, and eminently suited to his style of tea. The sweeping brush strokes of black had absolutely no hint of artifice. Only the Koreans could produce such a wonderfully natural effect. These were the bowls that later came to be known as the *kuro hakeme* (black brush stroke) teabowls.

Oribe was extremely happy with the *Goshomaru* bowls, as the series of Korean teabowls he commissioned are sometimes called in reference to the official ships on which they were transported to Japan. He was full of ideas for new designs. However, very soon a stop was put to his exuberant orders, for in 1597 Hideyoshi attempted once again to invade and take over the Korean peninsula.

Even as he waged a foreign war, Hideyoshi also continued to consolidate his rule at home. But the splendid Daigo flower-viewing of the spring of 1598 was to be the Taiko's last grand gesture. By the summer of that year Hideyoshi

was gravely ill, and in the autumn he died never having given up his hope of conquering Korea.

Upon Hideyoshi's death, Oribe turned over his 35,000-koku fief to his heir, Shigehiro, and retired to a cottage called the Gyohekitei, in Fushimi, where he devoted his days to tea.

In the second month of Keicho 4 (1599), Oribe received as his guests Kamiya Sotan, Mori Terumoto (1553-1625), and Mori Hidekane (1566-1601) at the tea gathering referred to at the very beginning of this essay. A scroll bearing calligraphy by Ishan Ining (Jp., Issan Ichinei; 1247-1317) hung in the tokonoma during the kaiseki meal. In the interval after the meal, the scroll was replaced by a white camellia in a basket. A shouldered tea caddy in a damask bag sat in front of an earthenware fresh-water jar. Oribe entered the room carrying a Korai teabowl in which he proceeded to prepare thick tea.⁹

Following this, thin tea was served by Ueda Kakuho (dates unknown), Oribe's senior pupil, while Oribe himself joined in conversation with his guests. Kakuho's entrance into the tearoom with a Black Oribe shoe-shaped teabowl immediately caught the attention of Kamiya and his two friends. They had heard much about this bowl. On one side the black glaze had been scraped away and a motif etched in an iron glaze on the exposed white ground. A square and triangle motif in white appeared on the other side. The shape alone was strange enough; the white surface decoration was indeed novel!

Kakuho placed the new bowl in front of him, straightened his back, and took a deep breath. The fire-red color of the Shigaraki earthenware fresh-water container, the black lacquer tea caddy, and the kutsu-jawan combined to create an unusually exquisite setting. Each of Oribe's guests that day, however, may have seen a very different picture. While one might have admired Oribe for his daring design, another might equally have frowned in disapproval.

E-Oribe

Just before he turned sixty, the clouds of war once again overtook Oribe. The year after the chanoyu with Kamiya Sotan, Oribe fought for Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) in the Battle of Sekigahara and was awarded with an additional 7,000-koku holding. In 1603, Ieyasu established his shogunal government and the nation settled down to nearly three centuries of peace. For Oribe it seemed that at last he would be able to devote his final years to chanoyu.

One late autumn day, Kato Magobei of Mino came for a rare visit.

"I have been very busy and haven't had time to come to the capital."

"What keeps you so occupied in the hills of Mino?"

"I am building a kiln. It is extremely large and made up of many cham-

9. As recorded in the *Sotan Nikki*, Kamiya Sotan's diary.

bers climbing a hillside. It is known as a *noborigama*, a type of [through-draft] kiln construction which Kato Kagenobu (d. 1632) learned in Karatsu."

"I remember the great kilns of Karatsu. You can fire quite a number of pieces at once."

"Yes, so many times more than the single-chambered *anagama*.¹⁰ But you know, the heat is different in every chamber and it has taken me a long time to learn the *noborigama*'s peculiarities. The fact that a large volume can be fired at once has also made it necessary to work harder at selling our wares. I have no leisure for *chanoyu* these days."

"Now that's a pity. What quality of ware does your new kiln turn out?"

"Very pretty, if I may say so myself. You are, I assume, acquainted with the *tsujigahana* cloth that was popular a few years ago.¹¹ I have always liked that design, and decided to use it on my wares."

So saying, Magobei placed before Oribe a square plate of about 24.24 centimeters. Plovers and flowers executed in sweeping strokes decorated the plate, one-third of which was coated with a bright green glaze. Oribe was taken immediately by the perfection of the design.

"This is indeed a handsome ware. To think that you thought of this. What an achievement!"

"Does it please you?"

"Certainly. You should experiment further with different arrangements of the motif and glaze on wares of all kinds of shapes and forms. As for this piece, I shall use it in a *kaiseki* at Fushimi."

Already, images of the foods he would serve on the new plate were filling Oribe's mind. He quickly suggested some shapes for Magobei to try out.

"May I, then, tell my prospective clients that this ware is recommended by my lord?"

"You want my recommendation?"

"Yes. You are widely known and highly respected. I am sure my wares will sell well if it is known that you like them."

"Oh, is that what you mean? Certainly," Oribe roared with laughter, "I would be more than happy to give you permission."

This marked the advent of *e-Oribe* or "picture Oribe" ware.¹² The wares Oribe designed attained great popularity, becoming quite the fashion among

10. Introduced from Korea in the fourth century, the *anagama* was built on a slope, allowing for sufficient draft to attain a relatively high temperature.

11. An ornate, tie-died textile accented by rubbed-on gold and silver, fine-line hand-drawn designs, embroidery, and other such design work.

12. Today this kind of ware, with asymmetrical combinations of pictorial motifs and green glaze, is the most well-known of Oribe style wares. In addition to its common usage for food vessels, it is also seen in the form of tea caddies, *furidasbi* (a container with a small hole from which its contents — usually a kind of candy — are shaken out), *biire* (a container for the pipe-lighter charcoal placed on a smoking set), and incense containers.

the wealthier Momoyama period townspeople. A variety of shapes appeared: *mukozuke*,¹³ vessels with frame-like rims, bowls having handles, broth pitchers, and more. Later, *e-Oribe* pieces were made with a red clay decorated in white slip and outlined with iron glaze.

"Oh, yes, I almost forgot. We're also making this." Magobei next pulled out a teabowl, a white Mino bowl of the type that had recently become popular. This particular bowl was shaped like a shoe-shaped teabowl.

"So you tried the shoe shape."

"We knew this was your favorite shape."

"It is, but I don't think it's suitable for a white bowl," said Oribe quietly but with conviction.

"You don't like it?"

"The shoe shape just won't do for a white bowl."

Crestfallen, Magobei rewrapped the bowl.¹⁴

Taking the square plate with its Oribe-green glaze from Magobei, Oribe went out to the adjacent preparation room. There he placed some grilled matsutake mushrooms and dried fish on the plate, filled a large Bizen flask with *sake*, and returned to pour Magobei a cup of *sake*. The *sake* cup went back and forth as the two old friends talked of many things. Magobei told tales of his travels to Sakai and Nara, and entertained Oribe with stories about other men of tea, criticisms of the various tea gatherings he had recently attended, and rumors of new and unusual tea utensils.

The cities of Kyoto, Nara, and Sakai were traditional focal points of culture, and there was considerable interchange among tea connoisseurs of these cities. For Magobei, with his teabowls and now the large-volume production of other tea wares, it was important to acquire a thorough grasp of the tastes and proclivities of the tea men of these three cities.

Furuta Oribe and Oribe Tea Wares

The *Matsuya Kaiki* and the tea diaries of Kamiya Sotan and Imai Sokyu (1520-1593) tell of Oribe's tea gatherings, as does Oribe's correspondence with dai-myō and tea connoisseurs. Though there is little detailed documentation, we

13. Literally "placed to the far side," a *mukozuke* is a vessel of food served on the guest's meal tray together with the rice and soup. The rice bowl is placed on the near left, soup bowl on the near right, and the *mukozuke* on the back portion of the tray.

14. The name Shino was not used in Oribe's day, and what is now known as Shino ware was called White Seto. The "Shino *chawan*" referred to in Imai Sokyu's (1520-1593) diary and other records is the Chinese *meibutsu* teabowl belonging to the wealthy merchant Shino Soshin. Edo period tea records and listings of ceramic wares of note classify both Shino and Yellow Seto (*Ki-Seto*) ware as Oribe ware. In excavations made after the mid-1920s, Shino-type shards have been discovered at Mino kiln sites. Though these are unlikely to have been of Oribe's design, they are similar enough to be considered sister wares.

do know that tea gatherings were frequent occurrences at Oribe's Fushimi estate. It is indeed regrettable that we do not have Oribe's own record of his tea gatherings, for we undoubtedly would have learned much more about this great man.

Still, there are aspects of Oribe's character that tell us something of his tea aesthetic — his conviction that there was a way of tea suited to the warrior class, his admiration of the chanoyu of the elegant Higashiyama culture (mid-fifteenth century), his idolization of Takeno Jo'o, master of classical Japanese *waka* poetry and his model for incorporating the poetic spirit of the Heian period into chanoyu. Clearly, Oribe was a worthy successor to Rikyu.

Historical records give us glimpses of Oribe the tea master. In 1607 he served tea to Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615). In 1610 he stopped at Sumpu Castle on his way to Edo (now Tokyo) to serve tea to Tokugawa Ieyasu, and later in Edo he instructed Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632) in the esoteric *daisu* procedures of tea. By this time he was considered the greatest tea master alive, and people from all classes of society — daimyo and others of the warrior class, members of the nobility, monks, and townsmen — were eager to be invited to one of his teas. At the same time, a growing number of people sought to own tea wares in the distinctive Oribe style.

Throughout his career, Oribe maintained close ties with the potters of Mino. His rise in status created an ever-growing need for all kinds of ceramic ware. In the correspondence between Oribe and his daimyo disciples that took place between Keicho 1 and 15 (1596-1611), frequent reference is made to gifts of tea utensils from Oribe to his pupils. These included teabowls, tea caddies, fresh-water containers, mukozuke, plates, tiles on which to place braziers, teascoops, and other utensils. I believe these were probably all new utensils which Oribe had either designed or actually made himself.

In a letter to Itakura Shigemune (1587-1656), written when Itakura was appointed city commissioner of Kyoto, Oribe states that he was sending a "Black Seto" teabowl as a gift — a rare reference to the type of ware. Most likely this wasn't a Seto bowl at all, but actually a Black Oribe shoe-shaped teabowl. Another Black Oribe teabowl complete with a box inscribed by Oribe himself was given to Matsui Yasuyuki (1550-1612), advisor to the Hosokawas.

Oribe was often paid for designing tea rooms, recommending tea utensils, and for his gifts of newly produced wares. In his letters to his daimyo friends he made reference to this, in one case expressing his thanks for "the ten silver coins," and in another, for the kindness received.

Summer, Genna 1 (1615)

Oribe's later days were quiet ones completely dedicated to chanoyu. He was already past seventy, and if he had been allowed to have his way he would



Black Oribe teabowl. According to the transmission documents, Oribe gave this bowl to Matsui Yasuyuki, advisor to the Hosokawas. Box inscribed in Oribe's hand, "black teabowl." Private collection.

have continued to live peacefully right up to his death. Such was not to be, however.

The circumstances leading up to Oribe's unhappy demise had been fermenting for some time. The summer siege of the Toyotomi's last stronghold, Osaka Castle, was underway. It was the night of the thirtieth day of the fourth month, 1615, and Osaka Castle would soon fall. A plot to distract the Tokugawa's forces by setting Nijo Castle in Kyoto afire had been exposed as the handiwork of Oribe's youngest son, Kuhachiro, page to Toyotomi Hideyori, and the Furuta clan's chief retainer, Kimura Soki. Suspected of complicity in this treachery, Oribe was ordered to commit suicide at his Fushimi residence, his last words being, "*Moshibiraki migurushii*" ("It is too ignoble to make excuses").

The Tokugawa's retribution was harsh. Oribe's family was stripped of its name, dispossessed of its fief, and its residences and famous tea utensils confiscated in a vicious attempt to erase every trace of Oribe's very existence.

All that remains today is Oribe's fame as a master of tea, a number of tea rooms of his design, and several unique ceramic wares distinguished by his

name. Still, as long as these wares continue to be treasured, Furuta Oribe will remain an immortal figure.

Postscript

I began my research for this essay with various documents, texts, and historical records, but found little usable material. The Tokugawa government's determination to erase all traces of Oribe because of his alleged betrayal had indeed been thorough.

My next approach was to piece together scattered references to Oribe in the hope that some kind of image of the man would emerge in the process. I found what I sought in the records of Oribe's contemporaries: the wealthy merchant Tsuda Sogyu's *Sogyu Takaiki*, a part of his *Tennojiya Kaiki*; the Hakata trader Kamiya Sotan's *Sotan Nikki*; the Nara lacquer merchant Matsuya Hisayoshi's (d. 1633) *Matsuya Kaiki*; and the Kofukuji monk Tamon'in Eishun's (1518-1596) *Tamon'in Nikki*. In addition, I was able to attain access to some of Oribe's correspondence, and, of course, I tried to see as many Oribe wares as possible in museums and private collections.

A source I found invaluable was Kuwata Tadachika's *Furuta Oribe: Hito to Cha to Geijutsu* [Furuta Oribe: The Man, His Tea, and His Art] (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1977). Kuwata devoted years of research to his subject, and through the letters between Oribe and Oribe's fellow tea connoisseurs, he paints a vivid portrait of the man. The very brevity and informal nature of Oribe's correspondence hints at the closeness of his friendships. Oribe was widely esteemed by men of the highest rank, and counted among his intimates great daimyo, court nobles, and temple abbots.

Oribe's exchange of letters with Hon'ami Koetsu (1558-1637) and Koborin Enshu, two of his more famous pupils, further reveals his greatness.

Kuwata's theory as to Oribe's final days and the events leading up to his suicide is convincing, for he bases his arguments on a thorough knowledge of the relevant historical records and a penetrating sensitivity to the times in which Oribe lived.

Tokugawa Ieyasu had reason to dislike Oribe. Oribe's friends, notes Kuwata, were for the most part Toyotomi men. He also was on friendly terms with Konoe Nobutada (1565-1614), a court noble and noted calligrapher with especially close ties to the Emperor. Furthermore, Oribe did not hesitate to incur Ieyasu's wrath. When the Zen priest Seikan (1568-1621), abbot of Hokoji, a temple in eastern Kyoto built by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was placed under house arrest by Ieyasu for his role, together with Toyotomi Hideyori, in having a bell, inscribed with a legend which read, in part, 君臣豊楽, 国家安康 (literally, "The country, at peace; for the Emperor and the orders, happiness and prosperity"), installed at the temple, Oribe invited Seikan to tea in deliberate defi-

ance of Ieyasu.¹⁵

Kuwata further points out that there were many who frowned upon Oribe's proximity to Tokugawa Hidetada, Ieyasu's successor as shogun. Hidetada received instruction in chanoyu from Oribe, and according to the *Sumpu Ki* [Sumpu Chronicle], a diary of life at Ieyasu's Sumpu Castle, Hidetada and his daimyo friends spent an inordinate amount of time practicing the art. Oribe surely was aware that in his actions and attitude he was courting disaster.

Now that I am myself as old as Oribe was when he died, I cannot help but feel that in his final years, Oribe's age had much to do with his defiance of Ieyasu. Though his youth was spent on the battlefield, Oribe lived well beyond the fifty-year average lifespan of his day, and he was probably determined to live his final years exactly as he pleased. He undoubtedly felt no need to court Ieyasu's pleasure, and Ieyasu's relentless determination to eliminate the house of Toyotomi must have seemed despicable.

In his old age, Oribe achieved a rare freedom from worldly constraints, taking pleasure in his friendships without regard to political alliances and rivalries, his only measures being those of culture and refinement.

Close scrutiny of historical records did in the end give me glimpses of Oribe's friendships and his style of tea. But nowhere was I able to find concrete evidence of Oribe's role in designing ceramic tea wares. There are certain pieces such as the teabowl owned by Matsui Yasuyuki, for which Oribe supplied an inscribed box, and the *Miotsukushi* tea caddy, a *chuko meibutsu* (tea object selected by Kobori Enshu) claimed to be of Oribe style by Enshu, which are undisputably of Oribe design. Still, though the Oribe name first comes into common use in designating a style of tea ware in the Tensho era (1573-1592), there is no concrete evidence that Oribe himself actually designed the pieces referred to.

The earliest catalog of ceramic wares purported to be in the Furuta Oribe style was not compiled until the Kambun era (1661-1673), a good half-century after Oribe's death.

Once I had gotten together as much information as possible, I set about tracing the interrelationships among the historical records, traditions, and Oribe wares — a task much like connecting numbered dots to see what kind of image will emerge. Using my imagination to fill in the blanks, I tried my utmost to find the links between Oribe ware and the historical man Furuta Oribe, warrior and master of tea.

Gradually there emerged in my mind a living, breathing entity — perhaps only a figment of my imagination, but nonetheless alive. How simple it was to return with this man to a spring day in Keicho 4. 

Translated by Susan Murata

15. This inscription includes characters composing the names Ieyasu and Hideyoshi. Apparently, Ieyasu, who sought a pretext to make war with the Toyotomi, charged that an intentional, snide play had been made on these characters.

Temae—Tea Procedure: *Kinindate Usucha* (Ro)

Kinindate is usually the first of the sixteen so-called *konarai** that a student of the Urasenke tradition of tea will learn after becoming thoroughly accustomed to the preparation and drinking of both *koicha* and *usucha* in the basic *hiradema* style. It involves the preparation of tea for a *kinin*, a guest of noble rank or birth, and though in actual practice the need for such a *temae* may have almost entirely disappeared, *kinindate* is of immense value as a form of training, as it emphasizes, perhaps more than any other *temae*, the importance of consideration for the guest.

One of the most striking features of this *temae* is the handling of the *chawan*, which is placed upon an unlacquered wooden stand called a *kinindai* (*dai*). Both hands are needed to carry this combination of *chawan* and *dai*, so the *usuki* is normally placed in the tearoom in advance, on a *tana*. The *tana* featured on the following pages is a *maru-joku*. (See *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 52 for basic instructions on *tana* usage.) Further, the *bigashi* (dry sweets) are served on a type of stand called a *takatsuki*, with a piece of white paper folded and laid across it, on which the sweets are arranged.

A *hanto* helps the host in serving the *kinin*. As the *hanto*'s role is integral to this *temae*, the following instructions include brief explanations of his part.



(1)

Sit at *sadoguchi*, place *chawan* and *dai* to the side away from the guest, open door, and bow (1).

* Literally, "small teachings." The second component of the term, *narai*, refers to teachings traditionally handed down by word of mouth from teacher to student in arts such as tea, calligraphy, verse composition, etc. In Urasenke tea there are sixteen of these basic teachings (*temae*); namely, *Kinindate*, *Kinin Kiyotsugu*, *Chasen Kazari*, *Chawan Kazari*, *Chaire Kazari*, *Chashaku Kazari*, *Nagao Chaire*, *Kasane-jawan*, *Tsutsumi-bukusa*, *Tsubo Kazari*, *Sumi Shomo*, *Hana Shomo*, *Irekodate*, *Bon Kogo*, *Jiku Kazari*, and *Otsu-bukuro*.

Photos courtesy of Tankosha Publishing Co.



(2)

With both hands (R + L), pick up chawan and dai. Shift R up to steady the chawan on the dai, stand up, go to temaeza, and sit in front of tana (2).



(3)

Shift R back down to hold rim of dai at the side. Then, sliding the left hand (L) around to hold the front edge, place chawan and dai near the wall (3).



(4)

Take usuki from tana (R) and place slightly to the right in front of tana (4).



(5)

Grasp dai (R at right side, L at front) and, sliding L to left side and then R to front, place chawan and dai to left of usuki (5). Return to mizuya to get kensui. Reentering tearoom with kensui (L), turn and sit facing sadoguchi, set kensui before knees, and close door before proceeding to temaeza.



(6)

Sitting at *imae* (the sitting position for conducting the temae) — body aligned with the outer corner of the ro frame — set kensui straight down to side of body, take hishaku (L), and hold it briefly in the “mirror” (*kagami-bishaku*) pose (6).



(7)

Take futaoki from kensui (R) and place in corner of ro tatami (7).



(8)

Rest hishaku on futaoki (R) (8). Move kensui up (L) so that it sits on the halfway line of the tatami, adjust sitting position if necessary, and pause briefly for concentration. [About this time, the hanto sits in front of the sadoguchi, opens the door, bows, slides into the room, pivots around, and closes the door. He then pivots back around and waits near the sadoguchi, resting hands lightly on tatami at either side of body.]



(9)

Grasp dai (R at front right, L at left side) and, sliding R to right side, place chawan and dai in front of knees (9), leaving enough space in between to place usuki, and aligning chawan and dai with the outer corner of the ro frame.



(10)

Place usuki between chawan and knees (R) (10).



(11)

Take fukusa from belt and, in usual manner, fold it and purify usuki, then place usuki between tana and front-left corner of ro frame, to the left of the middle of that space (L) (11). Refold fukusa, purify chashaku, and rest it on usuki (R). Place chasen to right of usuki (R).



(12)

For women, or if knob of kama lid is extremely hot, fukusa will next be used to remove kama lid. In these cases, clasp the fukusa between index and middle finger of L. Otherwise, put fukusa into belt. Then take hishaku (R) and hold briefly as in "mirror" pose. L holding hishaku, remove kama lid (R) and set on futaoki. (If fukusa used here, place fukusa to the side of left knee [12]).



(13)

Take chakin from chawan (R) and place on kama lid (13).



(14)

Rehold hishaku for use (R), and pour ladleful of hot water into chawan (14). Rest hishaku on mouth of kama, aligning end of handle with the outer right-hand edge of the ro frame.



(15)

Take chasen (R) and, L steadying chawan at left-hand side, place in chawan, leaning it against inner right-hand side (15).



(16)

Grasp dai at sides (R + L) and move chawan and dai closer to knees (16). With L steadying chawan across left-hand edge of rim, do *chasen-toshi* in the standard manner. Return chasen to right of usuki (R).



(17)

Take chawan (R assisted by L) (17).



(18)

Discard water into kensui (L) (18).



(19)

Take chakin (R) and wipe chawan as usual (19), leaving chakin in chawan at the end. Return chawan to dai (R assisted by L); then return chakin to kama lid (R).



(20)

Hold chashaku (R) and, with L fingertips touching tatami, invite the guest to eat the sweets (20).



(21)

In the standard manner, take usuki (L), remove lid (R), scoop tea into chawan (21), and return the usuki and chashaku to their places.



(22)

Remove mizusashi lid (R) and, transferring it to L, lean it against left-hand side of mizusashi (22).



(23)

Take hishaku (R), scoop ladleful of hot water, pour suitable amount into chawan, pour remainder back into kama, and rest hishaku on kama as before. Take chasen (R) and, L steadying chawan across left-hand edge of rim, whisk the tea (23). Return chasen to its place on tatami.



(24)

Grasp dai at sides (R + L), pick up chawan and dai, and shift body so as to sit centered with right-hand edge of ro frame (24).



(25)

Turn chawan and dai by first sliding R to the back of the dai (25), followed by L to the front, and rotating the chawan and dai one quarter turn clockwise; then repeating this procedure one more time.



(26)

Sliding L to the front left, place chawan and dai to right of kama lid (R + L) (26).



(27)

Move back slightly (left knee, right knee), and rest hands lightly on tatami at sides (27). [The hanto now comes forward and takes the tea to the guest. Sitting facing the guest with the chawan and dai on the tatami, he turns them two quarter turns as the host did, only keeping them down on the tatami, and places them before the guest. Moving slightly back, he bows, then returns to his seat.]



(28)

When the guest expresses that he will partake of the tea, acknowledge this with a bow (28), and then, again with hands touching tatami at the sides, wait while he drinks the tea.



(29)

If fukusa was used in removing the kama lid (step 12), when guest takes first sip of the tea, take fukusa with L (29) and return it to belt. [Once the guest has finished drinking the tea and looking at the chawan, the hanto returns the chawan and dai to the host, turning them as before, and then returns to his place.]



(30)

Move forward (right knee, left knee), grasp dai (R side, L front), pick up chawan and dai, slide L to left side, and shift body to face imae (30). Place chawan and dai before knees.



(31)

In the usual manner, scoop ladleful of hot water into chawan and discard the water into kensui. If the guest wishes more tea, return to step 19 and prepare another bowl of tea. When the guest does not wish any more tea, he normally informs you just when you have discarded the water into the kensui. With emptied chawan in L, place R fingertips on tatami and acknowledge this with a bow (31).



(32)

Place chawan on dai (R assisted by L). Bow and inform guest that you will now close the procedure (32).



(33)

Take hishaku (R), scoop ladleful of water from mizusashi, and pour into chawan (33).



(34)

Take chasen (R) and, L steadying chawan across left-hand edge, do *chasen-tosbi* in standard manner for closing procedure (34). Return chasen to its place.



(35)

Take chawan (R assisted by L) and discard water into kensui (L). Chawan remaining in L, take chakin (R) and place in chawan. Set chawan on dai (R assisted by L) (35).



(36)

Place chasen in chawan (R) (36). Take chashaku (R) and, holding it above right knee, draw kensui closer to body and toward the wall (L).



(37)

Take fukusa from belt (L) and, in standard manner for closing procedure, fold it (37), purify chashaku, place chashaku face down on chawan (R), dust fukusa off over kensui, and return fukusa to belt.



(38)

Move usuki to front right of mizusashi (R). Grasp dai at sides (R + L) and, sliding R to front right, place chawan and dai to left of usuki (38).



(39)

Take hishaku, scoop ladleful of water from mizusashi, and pour into kama. Do *yugae-shi* (39).



(40)

Hold hishaku briefly as in "mirror" pose. L holding hishaku, place kama lid slightly ajar on kama (R) (40). Rest hishaku on futaoki (R).



(41)

Replace mizusashi lid on mizusashi (L, R) (41).



(42)

The guest asks to be shown the usuki and chashaku. Acknowledge this request with a bow (42).



(43)

Take hishaku (R), hold with L as R adjusts grip, and place on tana shelf (R). Take futaoki (R), place on L palm, and with R at right knee, shift body to face tana. Place futaoki on tana (R) (43).



(44)

Grasp dai (R at front right, L at left side) and, sliding R to right side and then L to left front, move chawan and dai to the wall. Then take usuki (R) (44), place on L palm, shift body to sit centered with right-hand edge of ro frame, and place usuki before knees.



(45)

Take fukusa from belt, fold it, and purify usuki in standard manner for placing out for guest's inspection, setting fukusa before knees at the end. Turn usuki so it faces the guest, and set in corner of ro tatami (R) (45).



(46)

Take fukusa (R), place on L palm, and, with R at right knee (46), shift body to face tana.



(47)

Take chashaku from chawan (R), turn it face-up, and place on top of fukusa in L, L thumb securing it. With R at right knee, shift body to face imae (47).



(48)

Turning chashaku and fukusa in clockwise direction so chashaku handle faces away from yourself (R), place chashaku, resting on fukusa, to right-hand side of usuki (48). Shift body back to face tana. [At this point the hanto comes forward and takes the usuki, and chashaku on fukusa, to the guest. Sitting facing the guest with the items on the tatami, he places the usuki, and then the chashaku still on the fukusa, out in front of the guest in the same way the host placed them out on the ro tatami. He moves slightly back, bows, and this time goes to sit on the tatami beside the fumikomi tatami. The guest sets the items inside his tatami – the usuki near his right knee, chashaku to its right, and fukusa next to that – and waits for the host to finish and retire to the mizuya.]



(49)

Take kensui (L), stand, turn to the left, and go to sadoguchi. Sit, place kensui before knees, open door, again take kensui (L), stand, and exit. Leaving kensui in mizuya, return to tearoom and sit in front of tana. Grasp dai (L at front, R at right side) and, sliding L to left side, lift chawan and dai. Shift R up to steady chawan on dai (49), stand, turn to right, and exit.



(50)

Leaving chawan and dai in mizuya, return to tearoom with mizutsugi, sit facing tana (50), and replenish mizusashi in the usual manner.



(51)

Retire to mizuya with mizutsugi. Entering mizuya, turn and sit at sadoguchi, place mizutsugi before knees, and close door (51). [When the guest has finished looking at the usuki and chashaku, he places all three items outside his tatami for the hanto to retrieve. The hanto comes forward, bows, and takes the items to the ro tatami, this time handling the chashaku and the fukusa separately. At the ro tatami, the usuki is turned and placed toward the left, the chashaku turned and placed to the right of the usuki, then the fukusa turned and placed to the right of the chashaku. The hanto stands, goes and sits before the closed sadoguchi, opens the door, slides out, pivots around, bows, and closes the door.]



(52)

Open door, stand, proceed to temaeza, and sit facing the usuki, chashaku, and fukusa. Bow (52), converse with the guest concerning the utensils, and bow again.



(53)

Take fukusa (R) (53) and return it to belt. Take usuki (R), place on L palm, hold chashaku with R, and shift body to face tana.



(54)

Rest chashaku vertically on top of mizusashi, on the right-hand side (R), and place usuki on tana shelf (R) (54).



(55)

Take chashaku (R) and transfer to L, holding it just below node. Move right-hand grip up a bit (55).



(56)

With chashaku in R, stand, turn to right, and go to mizuya. Crossing sadowuchi, turn to face into the tearoom, sit, place chashaku to the side away from the guest, and bow together with the guest (56). Close sadowuchi door.



Book Reviews

Shinzo: Hachiman Imagery and Its Development. By Christine Guth Kanda. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985. xiv + 135 pp., including notes, plates, bibliography, glossary, and index. US\$30.00.

A tale in the ninth-century *Nihon Ryoiki* [Miraculous Instances in Japan of Virtue and Vice Rewarded in This Present Life; (the earliest Japanese collection of Buddhist moral tales, ca. 822)] furnishes a glimpse of the cultural notions that inform the entire history of Japanese wooden sculpture. A villager passed by a felled tree intended for a Buddhist image but discarded and used instead as a simple bridge over a stream. The spirit of the tree, being unsettled, was moved to speak to the villager who was persuaded to have the tree transformed into an image. The special bond between society and nature that characterizes this story has elevated the production of sculpture in Japan into a vibrant relationship between its makers, its users, and the medium itself. This complex relationship evolving over nearly a millennium of Japanese history is the subject of this especially fine book.

The focus of this monograph is the tradition of wooden images depicting Shinto deities in anthropomorphic form, called *shinzo*. A deity of unique importance was Hachiman, who was identified with the legendary Emperor Ojin of the Kofun period. Images of this deity are not only among the earliest examples of *shinzo*, but also form the largest group with the greatest documentation. A study of this deity in key periods permits the author to discuss the development of Hachiman iconography specifically, and to note the shifts in artistic styles and changing attitudes vis-a-vis the Buddhist surroundings in which Shinto sculpture emerged. Part I of the book is an exposition of the development of Shinto image worship from its earliest appearance in the late Nara period to later developments in the Heian and Kamakura periods, including the iconography associated with Hachiman.

The author is the first to recognize systematically two distinctive categories in *shinzo* iconography: the courtly, and the syncretic. The attributes of the former were modelled upon the garb and regalia that marked the imperial aristocracy that derived its authority from its descent from the *kami*. The syncretic type included the *kami* that had overlapping functions with Buddhist deities, especially those connected to the esoteric traditions, reflecting the well-known principle of *honji suijaku* (original prototype and its local manifestation). These images are more apt to be housed in Shinto shrines within a Buddhist temple complex, and their style is similar to contemporaneous Buddhist sculpture. The two most common deities in this pantheon are Zao Gongen and Daishogun.

Part II of the book is devoted to "case studies" that illustrate the histories of three sets of Hachiman images. The first is a ninth-century Hachiman

triad that was discovered in 1956 in Toji, the chief temple of the Shingon sect in Kyoto. The triad, consisting of Hachiman and two female attendants, was produced from a single tree. Documents reveal the close connection that the Shingon sect had with the chief Hachiman center in Kyoto, the Iwashimizu Shrine. The second example is the tenth-century Yakushiji Hachiman triad which was also carved from a single tree, a feature that must have been of significance but which is not mentioned in any of the documents. The ample documentation available for the last example, the Hachiman of Todaiji, makes this work from the early Kamakura period a unique window for viewing the tensions between the Shogunate, the imperial court, and rival religious institutions. The Hachiman shrine at Todaiji was destroyed by fire in 1180, and, through the efforts of the famous Chogen, a suitable model for the Hachiman image was uncovered — a painted version that belonged to an imperial collection. Upon its discovery, rival claims for possession of the painting arose among three temples. The details of the controversy are best left for the reader to enjoy, and the intrigue has been captured with the flair that it deserves.

The book is illustrated with professionally produced black-and-white photographs of images, most of which will be new to readers. The book's handsome layout complements the author's informative and lively style. It is fair to conclude that a neglected chapter in the rich history of traditional Japanese art has been opened.

Donald M. Stadtner
Associate Professor, Department of Art
The University of Texas at Austin

No Abode: The Record of Ippen. *Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Dennis Hirota.* Kyoto: Ryukoku University, 1986. 251 pp., including notes, map, chronology, lists of correspondences and variant readings, and index. ¥1,500.

This volume is a complete translation of the *Ippen Shonin Goroku*, an Edo period compilation of the words of Ippen Shonin (1239-1289), a Pure Land *bijiri* (holy man) and founder of the Ji sect. The translations themselves have appeared in serial form in the pages of *The Eastern Buddhist* from 1978 through 1981. To these have been added an extensive essay on Ippen's thought, three passages found in other texts, a map and chronology to follow Ippen's life, and an explanation and charts clarifying the sources of the translations.

In part because the sect that claims him as a founder is so small today, Ippen has not received the attention given Honen or Shinran, the other Pure Land founders. Although there has been significant growth in Japanese scholarship on Ippen and the Ji sect in the past twenty years, this is the first book on Ippen in a Western language. Ippen's importance, though, is clear: the Ji

sect was a substantial force in medieval Japan, and, if Dennis Hirota is correct, Ippen's thought represents a distinct and perhaps extreme pole in Pure Land thought.

Ippen left behind no extended writings, nothing comparable to, say, Shinran's *Kyogyoshinsho*, and even burned all the books in his possession at the end of his life. The *Record*, then, consists of poems, short sayings, letters, and the like, a situation which presents any translator with a nightmare. First, there is the difficulty of the material itself, especially the poetry, with all the word play, allusion, and other features one would expect. In addition, we are not always given a precise setting for the material, which would clarify certain meanings. Finally, without extensive expositions of doctrine, a translator would have difficulty choosing, out of a range of options, expressions which capture precisely what Ippen meant.

Hirota has admirably met all of these challenges. I was particularly impressed with his handling of the *waka*, whose translations are given together with transliterations of the Japanese. Appropriately for this material, he has striven for the literal over the literary, and at times is forced into awkwardness (e.g., the second verse on p. 100), but still has provided us with accessible verses that demonstrate a remarkable range of religious uses of poetry. Indeed, the entire text is eminently readable, with clear and generous notes providing technical commentary.

Hirota's introductory essay is the most coherent and thorough introduction to Ippen's thought I have read in either Japanese or English. Nevertheless, I must disagree with one of his major themes: his effort to present Ippen as having "a probing, critical attitude distinctly modern in tenor" (p. 11). While Hirota never defines "modern," it is clear that he wishes to apply the term to the "demythologizing" (p. 24) interpretive method that Ippen derived from the Seizan branch of the Jodo sect and which was ultimately based on the *Meditation Sutra*. Following this method, Ippen saw all of Sakyamuni's teachings as intending to awaken beings to "Other Power," and hence concluded that none of the Buddha's words could have any significance apart from it. "When the contemplations taught by Sakyamuni are understood not literally, but as devices to strip us of attachments to self-power," writes Hirota, "we arrive at attainment of birth through the nembutsu" (p. 24). Ippen applies this "Seizan hermeneutic" to even basic Pure Land expressions. All this leads Hirota to characterize Ippen's thought as "a tenacious effort to break through Pure Land symbols and concepts to the reality in which they are rooted" (p. 22). This reality is discovered in the "eradication of dichotomous thinking in the one thought-moment" (p. 34). Indeed, Ippen is "poised resolutely at the edge where all dualities fall away. Each utterance of the Name is the brink of transcendence" (p. 50).

Hirota presents, I think, an accurate description of Ippen's mode of thought. Indeed, many of the intellectual strategies he describes are characteristic of any thinker under the sway of esoteric (*mikkyo*) Buddhism, a fact

which makes Hirota's essay even more valuable, especially in the classroom. What disturbs me is the characterization of this mode of thought as "demythologizing" and "modern." (I am reminded that at a recent meeting of the American Academy of Religion precisely the same kind of thinking was deemed "archaic"!) Without getting into a lengthy discussion of these labels, let me just point out some difficulties in Hirota's use of them. In the first place, Ippen made ample use of myth, notably that of Bhikṣu Dharmakara (e.g. p. 86), and nothing Hirota has shown demonstrates a Bultmann-like approach to texts as a measure of the existential impact of revelation on people with a mythic world-view. All that he shows is that Ippen's understanding of some myths was grounded in others. More importantly, his "modern" sense of Ippen leads him to regard Ippen's religious practice as what I would call symbolic rather than effective. In particular, Hirota translates the term for the pieces of paper Ippen distributed (*fuda*) as "slips," instead of "talisman," "amulet," or some other term indicating they had potency. For Hirota, they just represent the utterances of the Name, and hence the crisis Ippen experienced at Kumano is that of the relationship between faith and utterance (p. 19), when the story clearly shows that it is that between faith and the *fuda*. As Hirota points out, references to Ippen's "propagational activities" (p. 21) are few in the text he is translating, but there is ample evidence in the *Hijiri-e* that these practices were effectual in themselves – a very unmodern, yet necessary consequence of Ippen's mode of thought.

Despite this one reservation, *No Abode* is an extremely welcome addition to a growing body of translations from the major Japanese Buddhist figures. It should be read by all students of Japanese Buddhism.

James H. Foard
Associate Professor
Department of Religious Studies
Arizona State University

Tall Mountains and Flowing Waters: The Arts of Uragami Gyokudo. By Stephen Addiss. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987. ix + 163 pp. US\$25.00.

The Nanga (Southern school of Chinese painting) artist Uragami Gyokudo (1745-1820) was a man of many talents. Although he came late to the art of painting, he was possessed of sufficient energy and will to produce hundreds of landscapes that survive, happily, to this day.

These paintings were not always appreciated. In his own day, Gyokudo was better known as a poet and, especially, as an accomplished *ch'in* (seven-stringed Chinese lute) player. He was clearly a man steeped in the rarified musical worlds of classical China as well as Japan, much sought after by fellow literati, collectors, and parvenus. Moving in such circles first in the Okayama

area, then traveling throughout the country for seventeen years, Gyokudo, in his sixties, finally arrived in Kyoto with his best work yet in front of him.

This essentially represents the view of the artist presented by Stephen Addiss in *Tall Mountains and Flowing Waters*; a view embraced by collectors and students of Edo painting since the fifties, when Gyokudo's paintings began to command attention and high prices in Japan. The book strives to introduce the reader to the artist's considerable achievements in music, poetry, calligraphy, and painting. It succeeds in this to the extent that one is capable of following the author's exegesis of ch'in music composition and performance, or of agreeing with his interpretation — largely descriptive — of the artist's poetry and calligraphy. This is not an easy task, given the nature of the author's prose style and the volume's editing, not to mention our general unsophisticated state of knowledge concerning these art forms.

Such difficulties are particularly unfortunate since the subject has been keenly researched by the author for well over a decade, and is well-deserving of such study. Hopefully this exemplary, multifaceted approach to one Edo-period artist's life will encourage others to plunge deeper into these waters. Certainly Gyokudo stands head and shoulders above most of the Nanga artists so favored by American professors and their graduate students seeking suitable dissertation topics in Edo art history.

Gyokudo's art approaches that of Ike-no-Taiga (1723-1776) and Yosa Buson (1716-1783), yet differs so fundamentally from theirs in its overt personal style as to never have sufficed to accord him ranking with these two giants in the Japanese mind. Why this is so, and the question of to what extent the American celebration of his accomplishments in painting issues from a fascination with his obvious visual proximity to abstract expressionist painting of the fifties and sixties, will ultimately require some careful thought and examination. There are some serious students of Japanese art, after all, who consider Gyokudo much overrated as a painter.

A considerable body of writing on Gyokudo exists and continues to grow, to which this volume may be judiciously added in the hope of coming to a better understanding of his art and its place in the history of Japanese painting. Perhaps a future book — or better yet, an exhibition — will assist in placing Gyokudo's art in sharper perspective, comparing his soaring pictorial statements with those of his predecessors, his contemporaries, and those few students who dared to follow in his path. After all, a major exhibition of his paintings has never been held. Meanwhile, the value of the book under review here is to broadly advance our knowledge about the man and his accomplishments, whetting our appetites for ensuing studies whose thrust, one hopes, will be to analyze as well as to describe his art in more depth.

Michael R. Cunningham
Chief Curator of Asian Art
The Cleveland Museum of Art
Ohio

Naturescapes: The Flower Arrangements of Tamura Suiko. By Judith Clancy. Printed by Endo Photographic Co., Ltd., 1987. Limited edition (500 copies). 176 pp. ¥ 10,000, including surfacemail postage. [Orders should be sent directly to the author at: 34 Momonomoto-cho, Shichiku Kita-ku, Kyoto 603, Japan.]

This book describes the life and work of Tamura Suiko (b. 1908), master ikebana artist of the Ohara school. The author, Judith Clancy, studied ikebana with master Tamura for twelve years, and conceived the book as a tribute to his work.

In her very inviting style of writing, Clancy describes the artistic development of Tamura as it has been influenced by the people around him, the natural surroundings of his country home, religion, and other sources of inspiration. In that much background information is provided in describing the artistic development of a great artist, this book should be a source of inspiration for all artists. The text is in both Japanese and English, thus opening its use to a large audience, and because of the pleasant writing style, is easy to read. In her writing, Clancy succeeds in communicating her great interest in Japanese culture as a whole to the reader. Students and teachers of ikebana will find many useful ideas in the pages showing and describing the various specific arrangements.

The photographs of the arrangements, mainly from the period from 1966 to 1978 — coincidentally, the years when Clancy studied with Tamura — are skillfully done, and are accompanied by explanatory descriptions. These explanations are indeed helpful, for they illuminate various points which the viewer might overlook.

Clancy believes that Tamura's overall use of "fresh, natural settings, especially in landscape style arrangements," comes directly out of Shinto sensibilities. We see that in Tamura's work, trees — unpruned or shaped, dead or alive — are often the center of focus. There is also an "integration of popular Buddhist imagery" in many of his works. As for a Zen influence in particular, however, we are told that this is more subtle than the influence of popular Buddhist imagery, and is "perhaps best thought of in the greater sphere of Zen's contribution to Japanese aesthetic standards as a whole" (p. 68).

The natural surroundings of Tamura's home have had a decisive influence on the development of his art of flower arranging. This is made apparent by the inclusion in this volume of photographs of the natural environment where he lives. Tamura's residence is situated at the foot of Ryuo-zan, "Dragon King Mountain," in Shiga Prefecture, below which spreads a wide and beautiful valley. This mountain is near the famous old ceramic center of Shigaraki. "The mountains exert a visible effect on Tamura's work," says Clancy, and "are . . . his main source of materials" (p. 80).

The care with which the layout of the book was designed makes the book a treasure. Every arrangement has been given a full page, in accordance

with the ikebana tradition of creating space. Much attention has been given to the very large arrangements; less to the smaller pieces, although they could also provide very interesting study material for the reader. One should not expect the book to be a textbook, however, although a student of ikebana may profit from the many ideas described. At the end, there is included both a Japanese and an English list of flower names.

This book is a very valuable addition to the literature on ikebana. It is especially unique in its artistic approach, and in its beautiful layout and cover. The price is high, but one forgets this very quickly after the purchase has been made and one becomes the fortunate owner of a numbered copy of this limited-edition publication.

L. Rodrigues de Miranda
Former President (1981-83, 1985-87)
Ikebana International of The Netherlands

Glossary

[] denotes Japanese reading.

<i>amazura</i>	甘葛煎	<i>konarai</i>	小習
<i>atsumono</i>	羹	<i>Kuwata Tadachika</i>	桑田忠親
<i>chagashi</i>	茶菓子	<i>Kyō-gashi</i>	京菓子
<i>chauke</i>	茶請	<i>man-t'ou [manjū]</i>	饅頭
<i>Chien-chen</i> [Ganjin]	鑑真	<i>maru-joku</i>	丸卓
<i>Chūjirui Ki</i>	厨事類記	<i>Matsui Yasuyuki</i>	松井康之
<i>daisu</i>	台子	<i>Matsuya Kaiki</i>	松屋会記
<i>danki</i>	団喜	<i>Mōri Hidekane</i>	毛利秀包
<i>Eisai</i>	榮西	<i>Mōri Terumoto</i>	毛利輝元
<i>ema</i>	絵馬	<i>muginawa</i>	素餅
<i>e-Oribe</i>	絵織部	<i>mukōzuke</i>	向付
<i>fuchidaka</i>	縁高	<i>nembutsu</i>	念仏
<i>Furuta Kōrai</i>	古田高麗	<i>omogashi</i>	主菓子
<i>Furuta Oribe</i>	古田織部	<i>Rikyū-guro</i>	利休黒
<i>Gōke Shidai</i>	江家次第	<i>Seikan</i>	清韓
<i>Gosechi Tenjō Kyō</i> <i>Mokuroku</i>	五節殿上饗目錄	<i>Seto-guro</i>	瀬戸黒
<i>Goshomaru</i>	御所丸	<i>Shakuso Ōrai</i>	尺素往来
<i>hauton</i>	鱒鮓	<i>Shimazu Yoshihiro</i>	島津義弘
<i>higan</i>	彼岸	<i>Sōgyū Takaiki</i>	宗及他会記
<i>higashi</i>	干菓子	<i>Sōtan Nikki</i>	宗湛日記
<i>Hikidashi-guro</i>	引出し黒	<i>Sō Yoshitomo</i>	宗義智
<i>bikigashi</i>	引菓子	<i>Sumpu Ki</i>	駿府記
<i>Hōchō Kikigaki</i>	庖丁聞書	<i>Tajima Mori</i>	田道間守
<i>honzen ryōri</i>	本膳料理	<i>takatsuki</i>	高杯
<i>Ikeda Hyōa</i>	池田瓢阿	<i>Tamon'in Nikki</i>	多聞院日記
<i>Itakura Shigemune</i>	板倉重宗	<i>Tennōjiya Kaiki</i>	天王寺屋会記
<i>Jō-gashi</i>	上菓子	<i>tenshin</i>	点心
<i>Kaiki</i>	槐記	<i>Tenshō-guro</i>	天正黒
<i>Kamiya Sōtan</i>	神谷宗湛	<i>tentō</i>	天道
<i>Katō Kagenobu</i>	加藤景延	<i>tsubaimochi</i>	椿餅
<i>Katō Magobei</i>	加藤孫兵衛	<i>tsujigabana</i>	辻ヶ花
<i>kinin</i>	貴人	<i>Ueda Kakuho</i>	上田覚甫
<i>Kissa Ōrai</i>	喫茶往来	<i>wagashi</i>	和菓子
<i>Kissayōjō Ki</i>	喫茶養生記	<i>yōkan</i>	羊羹
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| Book Reviews: <i>Death Was His Koan: The Samurai-Zen of Suzuki Shosan</i> . By Winston L. King. (Sonja Arntzen) / <i>A History of Japanese Literature, Volume Two: The Early Middle Ages</i> . By Jin'ichi Konishi; Tr., Aileen Gatten. Ed., Earl Miner. (Laurel Rasplica Rodd) / <i>The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of 'The Tale of Genji.'</i> By Haruo Shirane. (Karen Colligan-Taylor) / <i>A Japanese Touch for the Seasons</i> . By Kunio Ekiguchi and Ruth S. McCreery. (Wayne Muromoto) / <i>Rituals</i> . By Cees Nooteboom. Tr., Adrienne Dixon. (William R. LaFleur). | |

Matsushita Konosuke died of pneumonia on April 27, 1989 at the age of 94. He had been an Advisor to the CHANOYU Quarterly since its founding in 1970.

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