

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 65



The embossing on the cover is adapted from a gold embroidered fabric called *Hōun kinran*, favored by Sen Sōshitsu XV, fifteenth generation grand master of the Urasenke tradition of chanoyu. The motif is composed of a phoenix (*hō*) amid clouds (*un*), and is the graphic representation of his Buddhist name, Hōunsai.

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT Sen Sōshitsu XV

ADVISORS Naya Yoshiharu,
Perry T. Rathbone, John Young

SENIOR EDITOR Usui Shirō

EDITORIAL ADVISORS Mori Akiko,
Tsutsui Hiroichi

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

EDITOR Gretchen Mittwer

ASSOCIATE EDITOR Hirota Kimiko

ASSISTANT EDITORS Peter Duppenenthaler,
Betty Winchester

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR Dennis Hirota

CONSULTANTS Akanuma Taka,
Hattori Tomohiko, Tanihata Akio

Chanoyu Quarterly is published quarterly by the Urasenke Foundation, Kyoto. Annual subscriptions: U.S.A., \$25.00; U.K., £18.00; elsewhere, ¥4,400. Single copies: U.S.A., \$7.00; U.K., £5.00; elsewhere, ¥1,100. U.S.A. residents write: *Chanoyu Quarterly*, Urasenke Chanoyu Center, 153 East 69th Street, New York, NY 10021. U.K. residents write: Urasenke Foundation, 4 Langton Way, London SE3 7TL. All others, and to submit manuscripts and books for review, write: *Chanoyu Quarterly*, Urasenke Foundation, Ogawa Teranouchi agaru, Kamikyō-ku, Kyoto 602, Japan. Please allow 6–8 weeks for delivery on all orders. The journal is available in microform from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, U.S.A.

NUMBER 65

<i>Sen Sōshitsu XV</i>	The Implications of the <i>Fukusa</i>	5
<i>Yoshino Hiroko</i>	The <i>I-ching</i> and Chanoyu	8
<i>Yamaori Tetsuo</i>	Kamo no Chōmei, The Recluse (continuation)	29
	Anecdotes About Sen Rikyū	43
	<i>Temae</i> —Tea Procedure: <i>Shozumi Shomō (Ro)</i>	52
	Book Reviews	66
	Glossary	76
	Chanoyu Quarterly 1990 Contents	78
	Chronology	80

The names of Japanese persons are written surname first, in accordance with the Japanese practice. Kanji for names, titles of works, and other terms marked with the symbol † are given in the Glossary.

ISSN 0009-1537 COPYRIGHT © 1991 by Chanoyu Quarterly. All rights reserved. Printed in Japan.

CONTRIBUTORS

Sen Sōshitsu XV 千宗室 Fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Tea Master; President and Chairman of the Board, Urasenke Foundation; Abbot, Kyoshin'an temple; Professor, Department of History, University of Hawaii. Books available in English are: *Tea Life, Tea Mind* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1979), and *Chadō: The Japanese Way of Tea* (Tokyo & Kyoto: Weatherhill/Tankōsha, 1979). Contributor of Foreword and Afterword to the 1989 Kōdansha International edition, *The Book of Tea*, by Kakuzō Okakura. Editor, *Chanoyu: The Urasenke Tradition of Tea* (New York & Tokyo: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1988).

Yoshino Hiroko 吉野裕子 Doctor of Literature; retired professor, Gakushūin Women's Junior College. Author of *Nihonjin no Shisei-kan* 「日本人の死生観」 [The Japanese View of Life and Death] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982), *In Yō Gogyō to Nihon no Minzoku* 「陰陽五行と日本の民俗」 [Yin, Yang, the Five Elements, and Japan's Folk Customs] (Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin, 1983), *Eki to Nihon no Saishi* 「易と日本の祭祀」 [The *I-ching* and Japan's Festivals] (Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin, 1984), and numerous other books and articles.

Yamaori Tetsuo 山折哲雄 Professor, History of Religions, International Center for Japanese Studies. Works include: *Nihon Shūkyōbunka no Kōzō to Sokei* 「日本宗教文化の構造と祖型」 [The Structure and Original Form of Japan's Religious Culture] (University of Tokyo Press, 1980), *Nihon Bukkyō Shisōron Josetsu* 「日本仏教思想論序説」 [Introduction to the Study of Japanese Buddhist Thought] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), and numerous other books and articles.

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 Sōshitsu XV, the Urasenke Foundation seeks to encourage the further development of these arts and to promote a worldwide understanding of the spirit of chanoyu.

The Implications of the *Fukusa*

Sen Sōshitsu XV

Harmony, respect, purity, and tranquility (*wa, kei, sei, jaku*) are the basic spirits underlying the Way of Tea; they represent the key doctrines as well as moral goals of the Way of Tea. In the *Genryū Chawa*[†] [Tales of the Original Way of Tea], by Yabunouchi Chikushin[†] (1678–1745), there is the following statement: “According to the venerable [Murata] Shukō, the goal of a tea gathering is for it to be thoroughly harmonious, thoroughly respectful, thoroughly pure, and thoroughly tranquil.” There are some people, however, who replace the word “pure” with “quiet.” Apparently, this is because they think that calmness is of utmost importance in all aspects of the way of tea; that the Way of Tea is an activity conducted within an atmosphere of quietude. To them, the notion of quietness is central.

If the Way of Tea is to be considered as a place for religious practice, however, those who follow it must practice the Buddhist admonition contained in the “Verse of Admonition of the Seven Past Buddhas” (*Shichi-butsu Tsūkaige*[†]), “One should purify one’s thoughts” (*jijō goi*[†]). The way to do this is to cleanse and purify everything; this is the first rule of the Way of Tea. Even before entering a tearoom, one uses water at the stone water basin in order to purify oneself both physically as well as spiritually. This resembles the use of holy water in the Catholic church. It is not quietness but rather purity that, as the bonding spirit that unifies harmony and respect, and by cleansing everything, leads to true tranquility — a realm surpassing that of calm quietude.

In the Way of Tea, the host as well as the host’s assistant (*hantō*) use a *fukusa* (a piece of silk fabric sewn into a square of double thickness). The guests also always carry one in their bosom pocket, for use when needed. This is an indication of the doctrine of purity, and, as is true also with the host’s purification of the teascoop, tea container, and other tea utensils with the *fukusa*, it is similar to the purification of the chalice in the Catholic mass.

The *fukusa* is that important, and yet the reason why a relatively large number of people who take chanoyu lessons have not been told about the meaning of the *fukusa* is probably because their teachers themselves have only studied chanoyu superficially and don’t know what is really essen-

[†]Translated from the essay “Sabaki ni mo San Tōri” しばきにも三とおり in *Cha no Shintei: Dō, Gaku, Jitsu* 茶の真諦—道・学・実 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1980).

tial. Even in the old days, there were teachers who taught only the tea procedures (*temae*). However, it seems that they nevertheless possessed knowledge of [the meaning of] things. It seems to me that people nowadays are overly concerned with intellectual knowledge and do not endeavor to gain wisdom, and, consequently, are knowledgeable only about superficial matters.

There are many kanji characters alternatively used to write the word *fukusa*: those for "cloth gossamer," "cloth wrapper gossamer," "clothing gossamer," "width [of] gossamer," and so on. In the *Chadō Sentei*,[†] an early nineteenth-century work on various aspects of the Way of Tea, there appears the following: "*Fukusa* — purple, brown, red. From Rikyū's model (*Rikyū-gata*). The *shōha*[†] (a type of Chinese Ming-dynasty patterned fabric) is for use for the tea procedures transmitted from grand master to disciple (*sōdenmono*[†])." We also find the statement: "*Fukusa* are [made of] habutae silk in the colors purple, brown, and red. . . Purple and brown are for the elderly; red is for the young or the extremely old in age" (*Fuhaku Hikki*[†] [Notes of Kawakami Fuhaku, 1716–1807]). Formally speaking, the colors for *fukusa* are purple and red, both of which colors represent the highest level of purity.

In ancient documents, we find the term "*wakin*"[†] used to mean *fukusa*, and there is a tea procedure called "*wakin*" that is based upon Sen Rikyū's method for using a *kobukusa* ("ancient *fukusa*"; piece of classic-patterned silk sewn into a square of double thickness). There is one theory that the host's practice of wearing a piece of cloth in the belt derives from the Chinese custom of wearing a jeweled sash on formal occasions. The practice serves to indicate who the host is, and also to symbolize the host's physical purity.

The acts involved in purifying tea utensils with a *fukusa* are referred to as "*fukusa sabaki*" (lit., "dealing with the *fukusa*"). There are three methods of *fukusa sabaki*: the formal, semi-formal, and informal, or *shin*, *gyō*, and *sō*, respectively. The usual method used for wiping a *natsume* (container for powdered tea used for making *usucha*, the tea of relatively thin consistency) within the context of a standard tea procedure is the informal method, and that for wiping a *chaire* (container for powdered tea for making *koicha*, the tea of thick consistency) is the informal *yohōsabaki* method (*yohō* literally means "four directions"). To briefly explain the implications of these: when the *fukusa* is not being worn it is in a state of *mu* or "nothingness"; when it is folded in half and is tucked in one's belt, the outer side corresponds with heaven, and the side hidden at the back, with earth — in other words, one carries heaven and earth with one. This is a manifestation of yin and yang. By folding the *fukusa* into fourths, it comes to represent The Four Heavenly Kings (*shitenno*[†]) and the four directions — north, south, east, and west. One purifies objects with the feeling that one is conducting a ritual purification of the four directions. When the *fukusa* is

folded into eighths, one enters the realm of the Buddha's enlightenment (*hassō jōdō*[†]). Though I cannot go into detail about these here, generally speaking the *fukusa* has these sorts of deep implications, and unless one deals with the *fukusa* in the proper spirit, one will end up being a puppet to it.

Before Rikyū's time, there were only *kobukusa*. It is Rikyū's wife, Sōon,[†] who is credited with creating the first *fukusa*, whose measurements she made four times as large as a *kobukusa*. This is why tea practitioners always keep either a *kobukusa* or a *dashi-bukusa* (a *fukusa* four times the size of a *kobukusa*, used like a *kobukusa*) and a regular "carrying" *fukusa* (*mochi-bukusa*) on their persons, and it is by becoming adept at using and handling both of these that a tea practitioner can act in the manner of either a host or a guest.

I hope that all tea practitioners will regularly devote themselves to training themselves not to regard the *fukusa* lightly but to always handle it with sincerity, and that they will come to possess a spiritual grasp of purity. 

The *I-ching* and Chanoyu

Yoshino Hiroko

Ever since the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese people have singlemindedly pursued the goal of Westernization with great speed. As a result, they have rejected their old ways of life. The slogan "civilization and enlightenment," so frequently heard during the Meiji period, succinctly symbolizes this trend. A similar slogan, "escape Asia and enter Europe," reveals their goal in a more concrete way.

Japanese intellectuals of the late Edo period, who set sail from their small island nation in the Far East and set foot in Europe and America for the first time, must have been amazed at the splendid civilizations they encountered. At the same time, they were disconcerted by the great disparity between Eastern and Western cultures. Confronted with the superior material culture of the West, they must have feared for the safety of their country. It was only natural that these young intellectuals threw themselves passionately into the task of revolutionizing Japan.

However, revolutions are always accompanied by great sacrifice. During the hundred years that Japan pursued the course of Westernization, the Japanese lost their ties with their ancestors. This, I believe, has been the greatest sacrifice that the Japanese have had to endure.

The fact that the Japanese have lost touch with their ancestors manifests itself in many ways. But I think that the most essential thing that has been lost is the recognition that the *I-ching*⁺ (Jp., *Ekikyō*; Book of Changes) and the five elements (*gogyō*⁺) theory played central roles in the lives of the people of the past.

The System of Changes in the *I-ching*

The *I-ching* divination and the system of yin, yang, and the five elements which developed from it constituted the philosophy, cosmology, and science of the ancient Chinese people. After it was transmitted to Japan during the fifth and sixth centuries, it provided the material and spiritual

Translated and adapted from "Eki to Chanoyu" 易と茶の湯 appearing in *Tankō* vol. 42, no.11 (November, 1988), by permission. Romanization of Chinese terms is in accordance with the Wade-Giles system. Unless otherwise specified, photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.

framework within which the Japanese people lived for one thousand five hundred years. This philosophy/science, which was brought to Japan both through the Korean peninsula and directly from China by students sent to study there, became the basis of all aspects of Japanese culture. It was not only used in divination but was also considered to constitute the principles of government, annual ceremonies, military science, medicine, pharmacology, and all the various arts. Therefore, it is impossible to speak of Japanese culture without reference to the *I-ching*. Today, however, the *I-ching* and the system of the five elements mainly survive as forms of divination, and thus they are generally equated with superstition. Unlike in the past, the system of the *I-ching* no longer has any credibility within the academic community.

Our forefathers used the *I-ching* to structure their annual rites and ceremonies, and to deal with the myriad events which accompany human life. However, people nowadays dismiss the *I-ching* out of hand. Even when discussing the past, they filter their views through their modern perspectives, and refuse to recognize that the *I-ching* philosophy of change long held an important place in Japan.

In the following pages, I will first give an outline of the philosophy of the *I-ching* and the five elements, and then discuss the relationship of the *I-ching* to chanoyu.

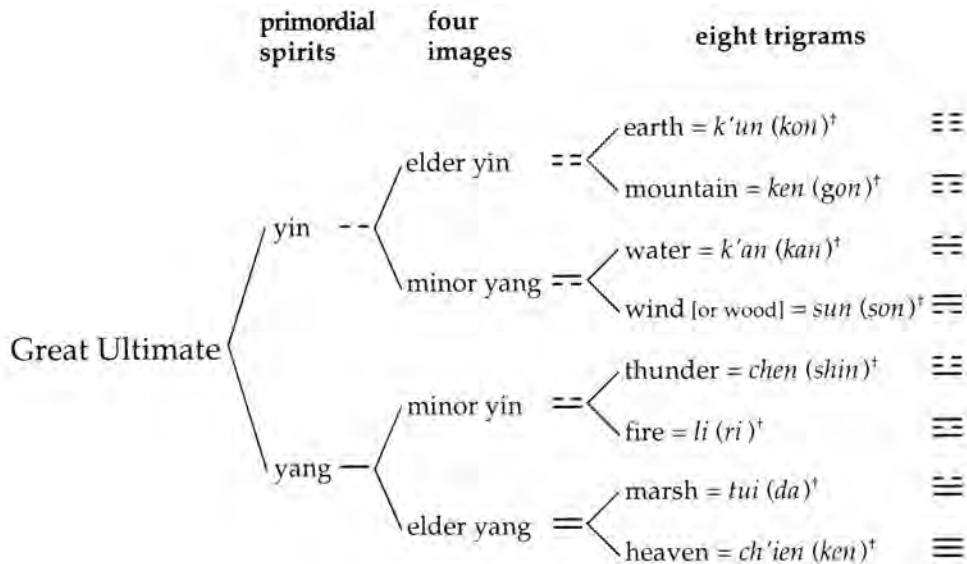
1. The System of the Eight Trigrams

In ancient Chinese philosophy, the primal existence, considered to be both absolute and unique, was thought of as "chaos." In the *I-ching*, this primal existence is called the "Great Ultimate" (*t'ai-chi*; Jp., *taikyoku*[†]). From this Great Ultimate arose two fundamental "primordial spirits," yin and yang (Jp., *in*[†] and *yō*[†]). It is said that the yang spirit rose upward and became heaven, while the yin spirit settled downward and became the earth.

Yin and yang, the two primordial spirits which arose from the Great Ultimate, are relative existences. In themselves, they do not have the power to give birth to anything. It is only when yin and yang are combined that creation becomes possible. In other words, the genesis of the myriad things in the universe resides in the union of the two primordial spirits, yin and yang.

At the same time, the myriad things in the universe never cease to transform and regenerate themselves. Not for one second do they remain still. They are always changing, always in a state of flux. Although they change in various ways, there is a regular pattern in the permutations which they undergo. This pattern is fixed, and no deviation from it is possible. The philosophy of change found in the *I-ching* was developed to explain and predict this orderly transformation of the myriad things in the

Chart 1



universe. In Chart 1, I have outlined the principle behind this permutation; a broken line has traditionally been used to represent yin and an unbroken line to represent yang.

As this chart shows, the division of the Great Ultimate results in the production of the two primordial spirits, yin and yang. Then, from the union of yin and yang, there arise four combinations which in turn are further divided to produce eight trigrams (*hakke*[†]). Each of these trigrams, called the "primary diagrams," is made up of three broken or unbroken lines. The eight primary diagrams each constitutes an "image" of a prominent natural phenomenon.

To repeat, by the Great Ultimate, the *I-ching* refers to the primal existence before the division of the two primordial spirits, yin and yang. For this reason, the Great Ultimate is considered the unique and absolute existence underlying all things in the universe. At the same time, the eight trigrams which it produces are considered to form all phenomena in the universe. Chart 2 shows this relationship. It is, of course, only a partial chart of the infinite variety of things that the trigrams can symbolize.

Chart 2

	natural phenom- enon	attribute	human relation	direction (primal)	direction (inner- world)	element
☰	heaven	firm	father	west	northwest	metal
☷	marsh	pleasure	youngest daughter	southeast	west	metal
☲	fire	dependence	middle daughter	east	south	fire
☳	thunder	movement	eldest son	northeast	east	wood
☴	wind [or wood]	penetrating	eldest daughter	southwest	southeast	wood
☵	water	dangerous	middle son	west	north	water
☶	mountain	standstill	youngest son	northwest	northeast	earth
☴	earth	yielding	mother	north	southwest	earth

2. Primal Arrangement and Inner-world Arrangement

The eight trigrams are believed to correspond to the eight directions. There are two ways of making this correspondence: the Primal Arrangement (also known as Sequence of Earlier Heaven) and the Inner-world Arrangement (also known as Sequence of Later Heaven). In the Primal Arrangement, the trigrams are paired with the direction in such a way that they correspond to the innate qualities of natural phenomena themselves. For example, the bright southern direction is paired with heaven, the dark northern direction is paired with earth, the eastern direction from which the sun rises is paired with fire, and the western direction in which the sun sets is paired with water.

By contrast, in the Inner-world Arrangement, the trigrams are made to correspond to the directions in ways that do not reflect their natural qualities. This system was modeled on human activities, such as cooking and wearing clothes. For example, whereas in the Primal Arrangement, south and north corresponds to heaven and earth, respectively, in the Inner-world Arrangement, they are paired with water and fire, respectively. This is because (1) during winter, fire desiccates and rises to heaven, while in the summer it falls to earth, and (2) water evaporates and rises up to heaven but returns to the earth as rain. This circulation of water and fire between heaven and earth is necessary to support the life of the myriad creatures on earth. It is in such ways that the Inner-world Arrangement is said to reflect human life and activities.

Among the eight trigrams, the most important are the four trigrams of *ch'ien* (heaven), *k'un* (earth), *li* (fire), and *k'an* (water), already discussed above. It will be recalled that the Korean flag consists of a symbol of the Great Ultimate (composed of two comma-shaped designs representing yin and yang) placed at the center, surrounded by four trigrams symbolizing heaven, earth, water, and fire. Thus, the Korean flag is a graphic representation of the universe and its functions according to the *I-ching* philosophy of change.

The eight trigrams are meant to express all aspects of heavenly and terrestrial activities, as well as the natural world and human relationships. However, it is impossible to precisely express all the myriad things and functions of the universe with only eight trigrams. For this reason, the eight trigrams are combined with each other to produce sixty-four hexagrams. These sixty-four hexagrams are called the "composite diagrams."

3. Numbers

Changes, it is said, are "composed of six rules," i.e., change, changelessness, simplicity, images, numbers, and principle. The first three are regulative standards, while the latter three — images, numbers, and principle — are the methods for perceiving the fundamental principle of the universe.

According to the *I-ching*, numbers are of utmost importance for perceiving the fundamental principle of the universe. The basic numbers of this system are 1 through 10 (or, on occasion, 1 through 9).

These numbers are classified according to whether they represent heaven and earth, or yin and yang:

1. Numbers pertaining to heaven (odd numbers): 1, 3, 5, 7, 9.
2. Numbers pertaining to earth (even numbers): 2, 4, 6, 8, 10.

The sum of the numbers pertaining to heaven is 25, while the sum of the numbers pertaining to earth is 30. Together they make 55, the number of heaven and earth combined.

Besides classifying the numbers from 1 to 10 into even and odd numbers, there is a method of classifying them into "essential numbers" and "composite numbers."

essential numbers	1	2	3	4	5
composite numbers	6	7	8	9	10
	water	fire	wood	metal	earth

The numbers from 1 to 5 are called "essential" because they are pure, unmixed numbers. In contrast, the numbers from 6 to 10 are called "composite" because they are created by adding 5 to the essential numbers.

In this way, the numbers from 1 to 10 can be classified into the following four categories: numbers pertaining to heaven, numbers pertaining to earth, essential numbers, and composite numbers. As shown above, among them, the essential and composite numbers are paired in the following manner: 1 and 6, 2 and 7, 3 and 8, 4 and 9, 5 and 10. These five pairs of numbers in turn are said to correspond to the five elements: water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. [In this correlation, the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 relate to the order in which the elements water, fire, wood, metal, and earth respectively appeared in the universe. —Ed]

4. The Five Elements

The five elements are not static entities but represent temporary states. As mentioned above, these five elements are always changing and transforming themselves following a fixed pattern. There are three such patterns of transformation:

1. Order of appearance
2. Order of arising
3. Order of overcoming

The order of appearance refers to the order in which the five elements appeared in the universe: water, fire, wood, metal, and lastly earth. Since this order has been discussed above, no more will be said about it here. The order of arising refers to the order in which the five elements give rise to one another:

Water gives rise to wood.
Wood gives rise to fire.
Fire gives rise to earth.
Earth gives rise to metal.
Metal gives rise to water.

We may call this the positive relationship between the elements. On the other hand, the order of overcoming refers to the order in which each element overpowers the other elements:

Water overcomes fire.
Fire overcomes metal.
Metal overcomes wood.
Wood overcomes earth.
Earth overcomes water.

This can be said to describe the negative relationship between the five elements. Because these two mutually opposed relationships exist between water, wood, fire, earth, and metal (the constituent elements of the universe), a regular pattern of transformation can be perceived among the myriad images. Moreover, it is through this regular pattern of transformation that the eternity of the myriad things in the universe is assured.

5. Chart of the Five Elements

As stated above, water, wood, fire, earth, and metal give birth to each other and overcome each other. But at the same time, these five symbolize all the myriad things and phenomena of the universe. In other words, all things in this world, both material and immaterial, can be reduced to and made to correspond to the five elements.

When we consider the chart of the five elements (chart 3) in detail, we notice several important points. For example, the five cereals ripen over the course of one year, but as charts 3 and 4 show, this process of ripening can be understood in terms of the five elements. The year is divided into yang, consisting of spring (wood) and summer (fire), and yin, consisting of autumn (metal) and winter (water). The transformation of the seasons is brought about by the activities of the element earth, called "earth-function" (*doyō*). *Doyō* is both yin and yang, and does not exclusively belong to either one of them.

Chart 3

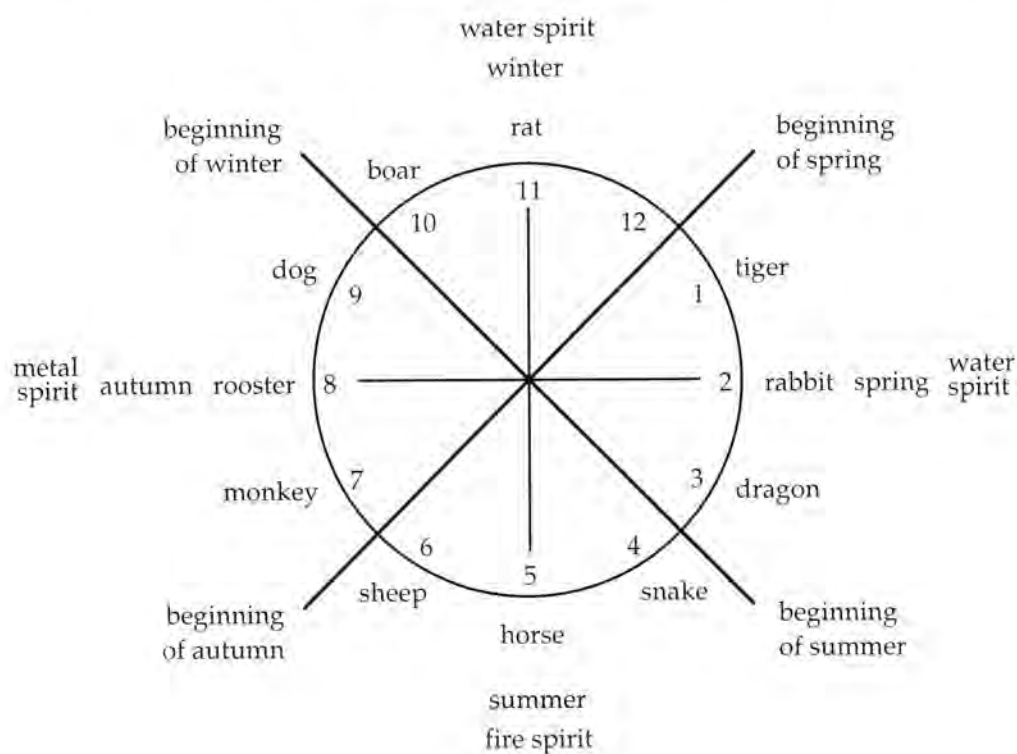
Chart of the Five Elements

Five Elements	wood	fire	earth	metal	water
Five Colors	green	red	yellow	white	black
Five Directions	east	south	center	west	north
Five Seasons	spring	summer	<i>doyō</i>	autumn	winter
Five Matters	shape	vision	thought	words	hearing
Five Planets	Jupiter	Mars	Saturn	Venus	Mercury
Five Organs	liver	heart	spleen	lung	kidney
Five Relationships	benevolence	propriety	sincerity	righteousness	wisdom
Five Animals	animals with horns	feathered animals	furless animals	furry animals	animals with shells
Five Tastes	sour	bitter	sweet	pungent	salty
Five Notes	mi	so	do	re	la
Ten Heavenly Stems	<i>kinoe</i> ⁺ (wood-yang)	<i>hinoe</i> ⁺ (fire-yang)	<i>tsuchinoe</i> ⁺ (earth-yang)	<i>kanoe</i> ⁺ (metal-yang)	<i>mizunoe</i> ⁺ (water-yang)
	<i>kinoto</i> ⁺ (wood-yin)	<i>hinoto</i> ⁺ (fire-yin)	<i>tsuchinoto</i> ⁺ (earth-yin)	<i>kanoto</i> ⁺ (metal-yin)	<i>mizunoto</i> ⁺ (water-yin)
Twelve Earthly Branches	tiger rabbit dragon	snake horse sheep	dragon sheep dog cow	monkey rooster dog	boar rat cow
Trigrams	<i>chen</i> ☳	<i>li</i> ☲		<i>tui</i> ☵	<i>k'an</i> ☵
Lunar Months	first, second, third months	fourth, fifth, sixth months		seventh, eighth, ninth months	tenth, eleventh, twelfth months

Chart 4

Arrangement of Year According to the Twelve Earthly Branches

(numbers indicate lunar months)



Yang	spring . . . wood	1st, 2nd, 3rd lunar months; tiger, rabbit, dragon
	summer . . . fire	4th, 5th, 6th lunar months; snake, horse, sheep
Yin	autumn . . . metal	7th, 8th, 9th lunar months; monkey, rooster, dog
	winter . . . water	10th, 11th, 12th lunar months; boar, rat, cow

(rectangles indicate *doyō*)

The *I-ching* and Chanoyu

Although the profound influence of Zen on chanoyu has long been recognized, few have noticed that the *I-ching* philosophy, which was the common intellectual heritage of the educated class throughout pre-modern Japan, has an even more fundamental place in chanoyu. Keeping in mind the discussion of the principles of change and the five elements outlined in the previous section, I will next turn to the relationship between chanoyu and the *I-ching*. In this section, I will focus on the following three topics:

1. The principles behind the use of tea as medicine.
2. The importance of water in chanoyu.
3. The significance of the four-and-a-half mat tearoom.

1. Medical Principles behind Tea Drinking

In China, the practice of drinking tea appeared as early as the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.). During this time, it was mainly taken as a medicine. But by the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (317–589), tea had come to be regarded as a fine beverage, and by the mid-T'ang period (618–907), its consumption had spread among the populus at large. It was in the T'ang period, specifically in the first year of the Shang Yüan era (760), that Lu Yü wrote his famous *Classic of Tea* (*Cha Ching*; Jp., *Chakyō*[†]).

As for the practice of drinking tea in Japan, Hayashiya Tatsusaburō[†] writes in *Nihon no Chashō*[†] [Japanese Works on Tea]:

The first reference to tea in Japan is found in the *Shōsōin Bunshō*[†] [Documents of the Shōsōin Imperial Repository], which mentions a kind of bitter tea called *da* 荼. In the official histories, tea appears for the first time in a notice for the sixth year of Kōnin (815) during the reign of Emperor Saga. It is stated that, when the Emperor visited Ōmi Province in this year, the Archbishop Eichū[†] personally served tea to His Majesty at Sūfukuji.

Subsequently, tea was cultivated in all parts of Japan. In the third year of Nin'an (1168), Eisai,[†] a Zen monk who visited Sung China twice, transmitted a new variety of tea to Japan. Thereafter, tea became even more popular among the Japanese.

茶經傳

茶經卷上

唐竟陵陸羽鴻漸撰

一之源

茶者南方之嘉木也一尺二尺迺至數十尺其
巴山峽川有兩人合抱者伐而掇之其樹如瓜
蘆葉如梔子花如白薔薇實如柝櫚葉如丁香
根如胡桃瓜蘆木出廣州似茶至苦枿枿下
孕孕先至瓦礫其字或從草或從木或從木并從
苗苗木上抽當作茶其字出開元文字者義從木當作
搯其字出本草草木并作茶其字出爾雅其名

The *Classic of Tea (Cha Ching)* by Lu Yü. This photograph is of the opening passage, first fascicle, of a Ming period copy in the collection of the Urasenke Foundation Library, Kyoto. To explain the origins of the name "Gogyō-dana" (Shelf of the Five Elements), the 11th-generation Urasenke grand tea master, Gengensai, quotes from the section on portable braziers found at the beginning of the second fascicle, as follows: "Inscriptions found on [the three legs of] Lu Yü's portable brazier: 'K'an (Jp., kan) at the top, sun (son) below, li (ri) in the middle.' 'When the five elements are in balance within the body, the hundred illnesses are expelled.' 'Cast the year after the Sacred T'ang Dynasty defeated the barbarian [An Lu-shan, i.e., 763].' The kettle represents the water/k'an trigram of the northern direction and the metal/tui (da) trigram and heaven/ch'ien (ken) trigram of the western direction, and it forms the image of a tall mountain — this refers to the water and kettle which are to be placed on the portable brazier. The portable brazier combines the wood/chen (shin) trigram of the eastern direction and the fire/li trigram of the southern direction. Without the wind of the wind/sun trigram, the fire will not burn vigorously. It is for this reason that wood and fire are represented below, the water and metal above become hot, and why the fire and metal of the portable brazier create the physical phenomenon of boiling the hot water. The two trigrams ch'ien [heaven] and k'un (kon) [earth] correspond to earth. They embrace fire and are the mother of the myriad things in the universe. Thus, the portable brazier should, without exception, be made of earth. . . ."



Gogyō-dana (Shelf of the Five Elements). Favored by Gengensai. The top and bottom shelves (*ten ita* and *ji ita*; lit., “heaven board” and “ground/earth board”), made of singed cryptomeria wood, represent heaven and earth, respectively. The earthen portable brazier containing the charcoal fire and metal kettle filled with water are set between the “heaven” and “earth” shelves. There are three bamboo posts supporting the upper shelf: the one at the far side has one node; that on the right-hand side, two nodes; that on the left-hand side, three nodes. Photo by Moriwaki Masahiko.

I have already mentioned that tea was used for medical purposes in Han China. The same was true during the early days of tea in Japan. Eisai's *Kissayōjō Ki*[†] [Preservation of Health Through Drinking Tea] is famous as the first tea treatise in Japan, but it is actually a medical text expounding the physical and mental benefits of drinking tea. This is shown both by the book's title and its powerful definition of tea which opens the book: "Tea is the life-nourishing medicine of the immortals."

The first chapter of the *Kissayōjō Ki* is entitled "Chapter on the Harmony of the Five Organs." In this chapter, Eisai gives a detailed explanation of why tea is an effective medicine for curing illnesses of the heart, as follows:

First, the liver prefers a sour taste. Second, the lungs prefer a pungent taste. Third, the heart prefers a bitter taste. Fourth, the spleen prefers a sweet taste. Fifth, the kidney prefers a salty taste. Moreover, the five organs correspond to the five elements (wood, metal, fire, earth, and water); they also correspond to the five directions (east, west, south, middle, and north). . . .

These organs differ in the way they partake of these tastes. If a large amount of the taste it prefers enters a particular organ, that organ is strengthened, the neighboring organ is weakened, and both organs become prey to illness. Things which taste sour, pungent, sweet, or salty are readily available, so we eat them often. Because bitter tasting things are not readily available, we do not eat them at all. Therefore, the four organs are consistently strong, while the heart is consistently weak. It is for this reason that the heart becomes ill. When the heart is ill, all the tastes are in conflict with it. When eaten, they are regurgitated. Often it is impossible to eat them at all. Now, if one drinks tea, the heart is strengthened and its illness disappears. You should know that when the heart is ill, one's skin and muscles are unhealthy in color and one's life is shortened as a result. In Japan, we do not eat things which taste bitter. Only in the great country (i.e., China) do people drink tea. Therefore the people there do not suffer from illnesses of the heart and are able to live a long time. . . .

The heart is the lord of the five organs. Tea is chief among bitter tasting things. Bitterness is chief among the various tastes. It is for this reason that the heart loves this taste. When the heart is in ascendancy, the other organs are at peace. . . .

You should know that if you are physically weak and

your will disappears, your heart also will stop beating. By drinking tea frequently, you will be full of vitality.

In essence, this describes the reason why the heart becomes ill and why tea is an effective medicine for curing the heart of its illnesses. (Many of the points mentioned in the quotation may be seen in chart 3.)

Tea was originally brought to Japan by monks, particularly Zen monks, who went to China as students. This is one of the reasons why the profound effects that tea can have on the body were sometimes interpreted as having religious significance. But the important point here is the fact that the medicinal properties of tea were interpreted in terms of the theory of the five elements, which is fundamental to the traditional Chinese way of thinking. For the intellectuals of that age, the system of the Changes presented in the *I-ching* and the theory of the five elements provided the fundamental framework for understanding the universe. Thus, it is easy to see why such theories were used to explain the medicinal properties of tea. However, to people of the modern world, such an explanation seems utterly alien and is thus difficult to understand. It is only when we have carefully considered the system of the five elements described in chart 3 that we can begin to comprehend the thought patterns of the people of the past.

2. The Importance of Water in Chanoyu

The *Nampō Roku*¹ is a chanoyu treatise which records the secret oral transmission which Nampō Sōkei[†] of Sakai received from his master, Sen Rikyū.[†] It consists of seven fascicles, the first of which is entitled *Oboegaki*[†] [Memoranda]. At the beginning of this work, we find the following words:

There is shelter enough when the roof does not leak, and food, when it keeps one from starving. This is the Buddha's teaching and the fundamental intent of chanoyu. The practitioner brings water, gathers firewood, and boils the water. Making tea, he offers it to the Buddha, serves it to others, and drinks [it] himself. He arranges flowers and burns incense. In all of this, he takes for model the acts of the Buddhas and patriarchs. Beyond this, you must come to your own understanding.¹

¹ Tr. Dennis Hirota, "Memoranda of the Words of Rikyū, *Nampōroku* Book I," *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 25 (1980), p. 33.



The trigram for water is drawn on the finished ash. This is to protect the fire which will be laid on the ash. Photo by Moriwaki Masahiko.



In the case of an iron brazier, bold vertical lines representing the trigram for water are drawn on the finished ash. This symbolizes the fact that, according to the order in which the five elements arise, metal gives rise to water. Photo by Moriwaki Masahiko.

The *Oboegaki* presents Rikyū's understanding of the way of tea as a spiritual discipline. It is significant, therefore, that he treats the act of "bringing water" at the beginning of this fascicle. In fact, Rikyū never failed to personally bring water to the stone water basin, transporting it in a wooden bucket. When asked to explain its significance, he answered:

In the roji, the host's first act is to bring water; the guest's first act is to use this water to rinse his hands. Therein lies the great foundation of the roji and thatched hut.²

When he was further asked why water is involved in the first act of the host, he replied that it was because water helps wash off the "stains of worldly dust."

Of course, it is well known that chanoyu places great emphasis on cleanliness and purity. But the matter does not end there. There is a further strict prescription in the *Oboegaki* concerning the kind of water which can be used in chanoyu, as follows:

Always use water drawn at dawn for tea, whether the gathering be in the morning, at noon, or at night. This is a matter of the alertness of the man of tea — of making ready sufficient water for the whole day's tea from dawn into night. Just because it is a night gathering does not mean that one uses water drawn after noon. During that period from dusk to midnight, yin prevails; the water's spirit subsides, and poisons are present. Dawn water belongs to the beginning of yang, when its pristine spirit surfaces. It is "the flower of the well." This water is vital for tea and demands careful attention on the part of the practitioner.³

What we see here is a prescription concerning the time for drawing water. Water must be drawn in early morning, specifically during the hour of the tiger (3–5 a.m.). This holds true even when the tea gathering is held at night.

According to the system of the five elements, the structure of the year is identical to the structure of the day. Thus, the sign of the tiger (one of the twelve earthly branches) holds the same position in both the daily cycle and the yearly cycle. Therefore, (1) in terms of the structure of the year, the sign of the tiger corresponds to the beginning of the year, i.e., the first

² Ibid., p. 33.

³ Ibid., p. 36.

month (see chart 4); and (2) in terms of the structure of the day, the hour of the tiger corresponds to the beginning of the day.

"Tiger" is said to indicate movement, and thus to correspond to the initial phase of the wood spirit. (On occasion, it is also considered to correspond to the initial phase of the fire spirit as well.) Because of this, water drawn during the hour of the tiger is none other than water which is generated by the yang spirit.

Moreover, as I mentioned above, water corresponds to the essential number "1," and represents the most delicate element; i.e., the first element to come into existence in the universe. It is this water, so pregnant with symbolic significance, that is drawn during the hour of the tiger. With this in mind, let us recall the following words at the beginning of the *Nampō Roku*: "The host's first act is to bring water; the guest's first act is to use this water. . . . Herein lies the great foundation of the roji and the thatched hut." Clearly the water that Rikyū envisioned here was not simply the water which washes away the stains of worldly dust; it was water which, according to the theory of the five elements, was the very first element to appear in this world.

3. The Tearoom as a Model of the Universe

The four-and-a-half-mat tearoom was originally modeled on the yin-yang five-elements system. It means that the entire universe is encompassed within that single room. One theory holds that the tearoom arose from the study of Zen, and that it derives from Vimalakirti's ten-foot-square hut. This, however, is incorrect. As for its origins, it derives from the *I-ching*, the *Book of Rites*, and other texts. The tearoom is built facing south, since originally the rooms are to be built so that they receive light from the southeast. It goes without saying that in the *midare kazari*⁴ tea procedure one must use a tray decorated with the eight trigrams, but in all tearooms, you should make the eight trigrams your model. It is for this reason that the tearoom is to be constructed in

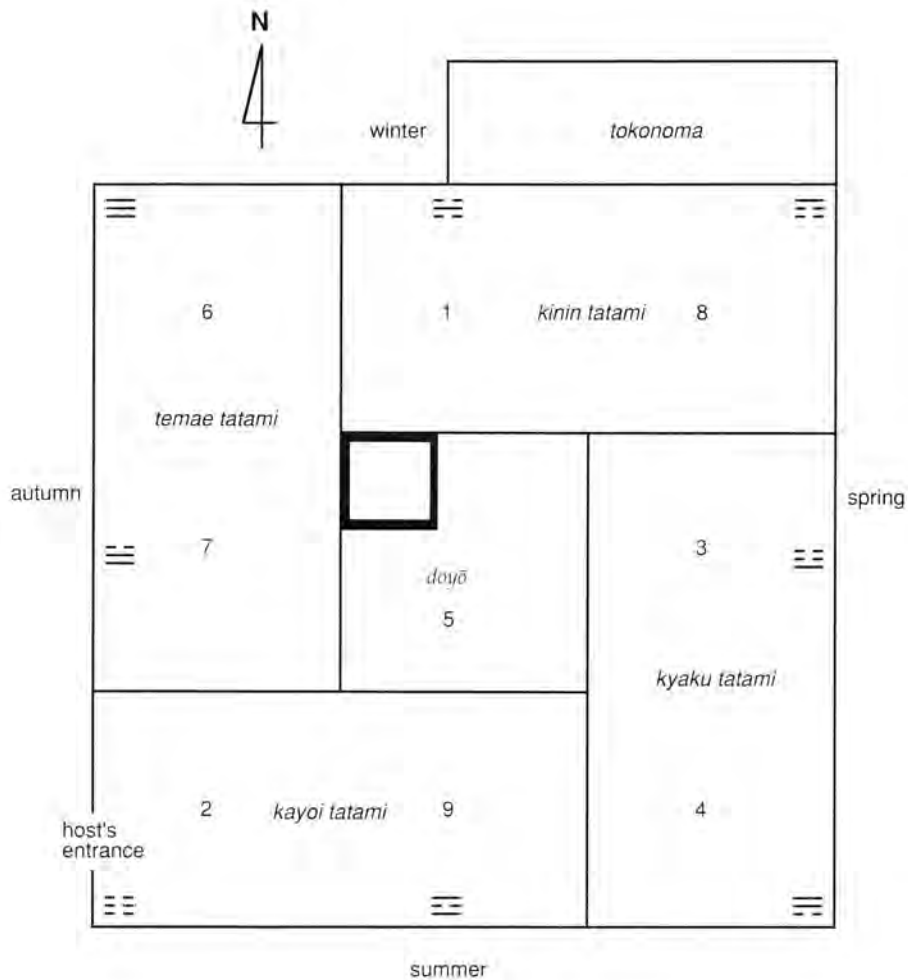
⁴ Lit., "confused display"; a method of arranging utensils on the formal *daisu* utensil stand. It is used for the *gyō na gyō daisu* (*midare kazari*) tea procedure, in which followers of the three chanoyu lineages descended from Sen Rikyū are permitted instruction after attaining proficiency in the *bondate* tea procedure which makes use of a tray on which to place the tea utensils. The *midare kazari* tea procedure is a *denpō*; i.e., one of the chanoyu methods imparted to a disciple through direct transmission from the master. —Ed.



Hakke bon (Tray of the Eight Trigrams). Favored by Gengensai; made by the 11th generation Ikkan. The trigrams are arranged according to the system of the inner-world arrangement.

Chart 5

Relationship of the Eight Trigrams and Nine Astrological Spheres⁵ to the Tearoom



⁵ *Kyūsei*, or literally "nine stars." These nine astrological spheres are referred to as: (1) *ippaku*, or literally "one white" (corresponds to the "water" star, Mercury; north), (2) *jikoku*, "two black" (the "earth" star, Saturn; southwest), (3) *sampeki*, "three blue" (the "wood" star, Jupiter; east), (4) *shiroku*, "four green" (Jupiter; southeast), (5) *gōō*, "five yellow" (Saturn; center), (6) *roppaku*, "six white" (the "metal" star, Venus; northwest), (7) *shichiseki*, "seven red" (Venus; west), (8) *happaku*, "eight white" (Saturn; northeast), and (9) *kyūshi*, "nine purple" (the "fire" star, Mars; south). —Ed.

such a way that the daisu sits in the north, with the trigram for north directly across from you. You should know that this is why one sits facing north when conducting a temae.

from *Gengensai Chadō Sōsho*^{6†}

The four-and-a-half-mat tearoom is laid out in the shape of a square, and each of the nine squares into which it can be divided is considered to correspond to the eight trigrams, [with *doyō* at the center], and the nine astrological spheres. In essence, the tearoom is thus a microcosm of the universe.

If the tearoom is the “container,” its “contents,” too, must be modeled on the universe. The use of a tray decorated with the eight trigrams can be seen as an extension of the notion that the tearoom is the universe in miniature. Furthermore, when the procedures for the “three waterings of the roji and the three layings of charcoal” were instituted, it was stipulated that the trigram for water ☵ is to be drawn in the portable brazier. This also shows the influence of the *I-ching* on chanoyu.

As these examples show, it is no exaggeration to say that, in both outward form and inner logic, the system of the *I-ching* and the five elements theory constitute the common thread which runs throughout chanoyu.



Translated by Robert F. Rhodes

⁶ *Gengensai Chadō Sōsho* [Gengensai Chadō Library] is a compendium of documents related to the way of tea, written by the 11th-generation head of the Urasenke lineage, Gengensai Sōshitsu (1801–77). It is preserved in the National Diet Library, Tokyo.

(Continuation from issue no. 64)

Kamo no Chōmei, The Recluse

Yamaori Tetsuo

The Free Interaction of the Sacred and the Profane

In his *Hōjōki* [Record of the Ten-Foot-Square Hut], Kamo no Chōmei carefully describes his daily life in the environment of his hut in Hino. He depicts with artistry the natural scenery around him in all its changes through the four seasons. On the south side of the hut was a bamboo trough through which water constantly ran. Nearby was a forest where he could freely gather firewood, so that he was never at a loss. In spring, the wisterias bloomed, and in the summer, the cuckoos sang. In autumn, the calls of the cicadas sounded everywhere. In winter, snow covered the landscape. Through these seasons, he turned his thoughts to the Pure Land in the west, thinking of the afterlife and deeply reflecting on the sadness of this world. This he records:

When I do not feel like saying the nembutsu or being diligent in reciting the sutras, I rest and am lazy. There is no one to prevent me from this, and no one who makes me ashamed.

At those times, Chōmei composed poetry and played the biwa in solitude. As he did so, gradually he would regain his composure.

My artistic skill is poor, but I do not seek to please the ears of others. I play alone, compose poetry alone, and thus bring peace to my own spirit.

Chōmei declares that it is enough if his playing the biwa and koto, and his own poetry, please his own self. It may be called a thoroughgoing indi-

Translated and adapted from parts 1–3 of "Kamo no Chōmei o Kataru" 鴨長明を語る appearing in the October–November, 1990 NHK "Kokoro o Yomu" (Reading the Heart) radio lecture series textbook (Tokyo: Japan Broadcast Publishing Co., Ltd.), by permission.

vidualism, or perhaps even selfishness. However, we must also recognize his freedom. For Chōmei the recluse or hermit, this freedom was probably the ideal. Perhaps one might say that he lacked a certain severity with regard to himself.

As we have seen, Chōmei was not completely committed to the *nembutsu* alone, nor to sutra-chanting alone. But neither was he satisfied to merely play the *biwa* or compose poetry. It was not enough for him to immerse himself in the world of artistic interests. Both worlds — religion and art — were necessary, and he sought to live freely passing from one to the other; this was the life as a hermit that he pursued.

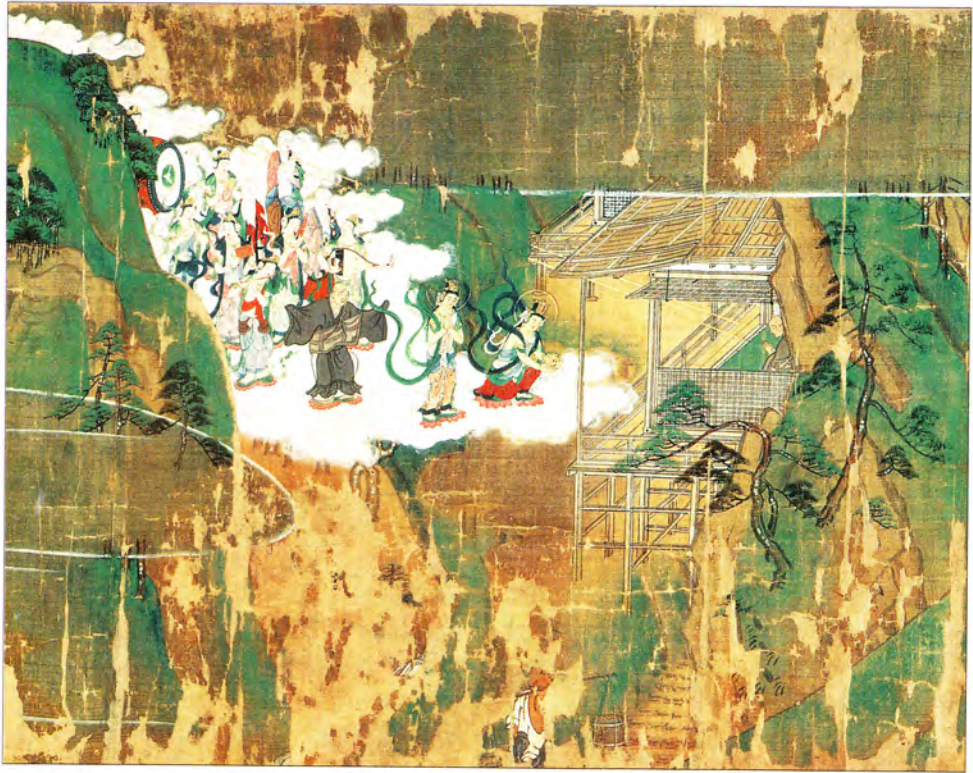
Chōmei developed his own unique view of human life and surveyed his own life. After discussing the impermanence of human life and describing the realm of his daily life in his ten-foot-square hut, he turns his attention to his own life. He states that, looking back on his life, he sees that it can be divided into several stages.

The first stage is his childhood and early adulthood. During this period he succeeded to the house of his grandmother on his father's side, but this relation was soon severed, and he also parted from his family. The second stage centers on his building a hermitage at about the age of thirty. He describes it as small, and states that at this time he came to the realization that his own fortune in the world would not be prosperous. Then, in the spring after his fiftieth year, he abandoned his home and left the world of society. This is the third stage in his life. He took up residence at Mount Ohara and remained there for five years. Of course he did not have his wife or children with him. From the outset he discarded any expectation of government appointment or stipend. He speaks again of his residence, stating that it was even smaller than before.

The fourth stage occurs in his sixties, when the "dew of life departs." It was at this time that he built his hut in the depths of Hino. With profound reflection, he withdrew to a thatched hut that was even smaller than the hermitage of his fifties. He states that he was aging and in his sixties, but actually it is thought that his move was made when he was fifty-four. He portrays himself as sixty, perhaps affecting old age out of some wish to quickly become an old man. By becoming an old man, it would become possible to go out into a freer world; his words reveal such feelings.

At the beginning of this stage of his life marked by his turning "sixty," he experienced an unexpected encounter. At the foot of the mountain on which he had constructed his hermitage, a watchman had made a rough hut. Living there with him was a lad of about ten years of age who occasionally visited Chōmei. Chōmei speaks naturally of the friendship between himself, a sixty-year-old man now become a true recluse, and the boy of ten.

In these passages in which Chōmei reflects on the stages of his life, we see that from his thirties to his fifties he still retained an attachment to the



Amida raigō zu. Kasuga Gongen Genki emaki: Section 7 of Tenth Scroll. Dated the 2nd year of the Enkei era (1309). Colors on silk. In this raigō zu, or depiction of Amida's coming to receive the dying person into the Pure Land, a monk dancing in joy is seen towards the head of the procession of heavenly beings descending to receive the soul of the dying priest (far right). The scene well illustrates the manner of ōjō, or of meeting death, for which people of this period aspired. Imperial Household collection. Photo from Benridō, Inc., Kyoto.

world of society. During this period, he passed back and forth between the realm of worldly life and the realm of a hermit. Then, during his fifties and into his sixties, his life as a hermit gradually moved from a worldly sphere to the world of reclusion. His bonds with secular life were severed bit by bit. Nevertheless, his activities in the ways of poetry and music continued. Here, in his artistic endeavors, it may be said that he moved freely in a space between the sacred and the profane, the pure and the mundane.

This changes slightly in his sixties. Fundamentally, he does not abandon his activities in the paths of artistic activity and refinement, in poetry and music, but these activities gradually become purified. In this process, his depiction of his relation with the young lad is deeply impressive. The innocent association between the old man and the young boy stands out as a time of great happiness.

At the age of "sixty" in Chōmei's text — actually fifty-four — he reaches a deep maturity. His sense of resignation has deepened. He has become able to look on the world of society and mundane life with greater distance. He seeks to go beyond the secular world. It may be said that the spirit of artistic endeavor has withered; this is the opposite face of his wish to become an old man.

Spiritual Maturity and the Concept of the Four Stages of Life

Since ancient times, the gods of Japan, when they have manifested themselves in the world, have often taken the form of old men or of children. For example, although it is said that the god Hachiman does not to reveal a form in the world, old texts state that a priest who had prayed for a revelation once saw him appear in the form of a child. It is also said that his usual form was that of an aged person.

It appears that gods were thought to be close in nature to the aged. At the same time, they were thought of as similar to children. Old men and young boys were looked upon as human beings with a character close to that of divine existences. As existences apart from mundane life and approved by the gods, they had long been regarded as objects of faith.

To give another example, from the Heian period into the medieval period, various records of birth into Amida's Pure Land (*ōjōden*) and biographies of eminent monks (*kōsōden*) were compiled. The *Japanese Records of Attaining Birth in the Land of Bliss* (*Nihon Ōjō Gokuraku Ki*) by Yoshishige Yasutane was one of these, and it includes the following story: There was once a monk who performed austerities in the mountains with great diligence. A young boy suddenly appeared and began performing various

tasks to aid him, such as preparing meals, gathering firewood for the bath, cleaning, and so on. But when the monk grew lazy in his practice, the boy stopped coming. He had been closely watching the monk.

Boys who have the ability to look into the hearts of people frequently appear in legends. They may be considered manifestations of gods or Buddha. Such incarnations frequently appear in the world and observe the lives of human beings.

It is important to note this religious tradition here, for Chōmei unconsciously inherited it and was influenced by it. We also find stories of boys in his *Tales of Aspiration* (*Hosshinshū*).

Further, we should note that old men have traditionally been revered as persons closest to the gods. This faith in old men reached its apex with Zeami¹ in the fifteenth century. The *okina*² (old man) is the representative of the elderly sage in Japan, and the person who has lived splendidly as an old man is thought to become a god or Buddha after death. Further, through becoming an old man, the person becomes able to look back over his life and reflect on each of its stages. The basic lineaments of his childhood, or thirties, or fifties become apparent to him.

Chōmei's late years were quite solitary, but I sense a movement toward a brightness. The process of spiritual maturation in these last years is depicted in his life in his ten-foot-square hut at Hino on turning "sixty," with the dew of life beginning to disappear. It is seen in particular in his encounter with the young lad.

In ancient India, already before the time of Sakyamuni, the ideal human life was described in terms of "four stages." Chōmei, as we have seen, showed a deep interest in the impermanence of human life and human dwellings, in what kind of home a person resided and how a person passed his life. These same concerns were given careful thought in India.

The first of the four stages was that of the student. This is the time when a person studies under the guidance of a teacher. In devotion to study, one lives a life of continence and discipline. The second stage was that of householder. One marries and becomes the head of the house, attending to its affairs. These first two stages may be considered as focusing on the mundane.

The third stage was that of forest dweller. The householder, after establishing a home by marrying, raising children, and carrying on an occupation, temporarily leaves the house and pursues a free life of artistic activity and religious endeavor. Bearing a musical instrument, he makes a pilgrimage of sacred sites. Or going into the Himalayas, he practices religious contemplations. During this stage, he devotes himself to such a life of freedom. In other words, the man who has borne the burdens of mundane life goes out to enjoy freedom through artistic and religious activity. In this way, he is freed from the bonds of secular life that have confined him up to then.

Finally, one out of a thousand, or perhaps ten thousand, of those who have passed through the stage of forest-dwelling go on to the fourth stage, that of the sage. This is called the stage of wandering. The person in this stage becomes an itinerant sage who wanders constantly. He completely severs his life together with others in society, leaves his family, and travels in solitude. An example of such a sage is Sakyamuni Buddha. Most human beings, however, after passing a time as forest dweller, return to normal life in society.

In this concept of human life in four stages, we see on the one hand the world of mundane life, and on the other the realm of the sacred. While passing from one to the other, a handful of the religious elite advance into the path of the sage, the final stage, but most people return to life in the mundane world. Most return, but by passing again between the sacred and the profane, they are able to touch the artistic and the religious realms. In this way, spiritual maturation and richness emerge. This was the expectation. In considering Chōmei, who is representative of the recluses of medieval Japan, one is reminded of the stage of the forest dweller in the Indian scheme of the four stages.

The Concept of *Ōjō* Seen in the *Hosshinshū*

Let us now turn to Chōmei's view of the phenomenon of *ōjō*,[†] or birth into Amida's Pure Land (the Land of Bliss), and death. In Chōmei's day, the problem of how to attain *ōjō* was of major concern. In other words, the matter of how one should come to life's end — the conditions of one's death — was extremely important. This was a concern that the medieval Japanese shared with their contemporaries in Europe. In Japan, however, the foundation of the medieval concept of death was laid in the preceding era. There had been, for example, the wandering Amidist holy man Kūya[†] (903-972), who traveled from village to village and town to town spreading the Pure Land teaching among the common people. And the previously-mentioned Tendai monk Genshin (942-1017) had propagated the teaching among the nobility and intellectuals.

By the eleventh century, this diffusion of the Pure Land teaching started giving rise to the creation of Buddhist paintings of the Pure Land and of the various hells. These included depictions of Amida's coming to receive the dying person into the Pure Land (*raigō zu*[†]). There are a variety of such depictions that are still extant. Large numbers of paintings of hell were also made. Such paintings played a large role in deepening the concept of death in the medieval period.

Chōmei was, of course, influenced by the medieval view of death. In his own way, he sought to deal with the question of how one should meet one's end in order to be received into the Pure Land, and he expressed his own solution. His answer, however, was unique, and it may be said that his view of the phenomenon of *ōjō* occupies a special position in Japanese medieval thought.

In considering the problem of how a person should die, Chōmei had in mind a model whom he revered, Yoshishige Yasutane. As mentioned before, Yasutane, whose Buddhist name was Jakushin, had been a disciple of Genshin. Like Chōmei, he had been a member of the Kamo clan, and was at first active as a court scholar. Due to his origins in the lower nobility, however, his political prospects were limited and he achieved no success in this. Because of this, and also because he was strongly influenced by Buddhist thought, he renounced secular life and, climbing Mount Hiei, became a disciple of Genshin. Together with Genshin, he formed the group of nembutsu practitioners called the "nembutsu-samadhi fellowship of twenty-five" (*nijūgo-zammai e'*). The members of this fellowship gathered once a month to perform uninterrupted nembutsu recitation together through the night and aspire for birth into the Pure Land. This nembutsu fellowship, formed on the basis of the Pure Land teaching and led by Yasutane, was a group for spiritual cultivation and religious practice aimed at the attainment of *ōjō* through a "good" death.

As was mentioned previously, Yasutane exerted a deep influence on Chōmei's writing of the *Hōjōki*. Already in the tenth century, Yasutane had written the essay entitled "Record of My Pond and Hut" (*Chiteiki*), in which he treated the impermanence of the world. Chōmei composed his own record taking it as a model, and, through such imitation, he created his own literary world.

In Yasutane's *Japanese Records of Attaining Birth in the Land of Bliss*, which records the lives of people who performed practices to attain *ōjō*, there appear many ordinary, unknown people. The work records in detail how they spent their final moments. The compilation as a whole may be considered a kind of encyclopedia of death, giving illustrations of how people die; that is, how they attain rebirth in their final moments.

Influenced by Yasutane, Chōmei sought to compile his own such record. There were many kinds of practitioners — those who splendidly attained *ōjō* at the end, and those whose final moments were accompanied by worldly attachments. Chōmei put together a collection of such biographies, titling his work *Tales of Aspiration*.

When we look closely at the figures depicted in Chomei's tales, interesting problems emerge. By considering a few examples, we can grasp his ideal method of attaining *ōjō*.

Attaining *Ōjō* by Self-immolation and Self-drowning

Awakening the aspiration for enlightenment (*hosshin*[†]) implies abandoning mundane life, performing practices, and seeking to approach the world of enlightenment. Chōmei's *Tales of Aspiration* is a collection of stories of people who had awakened such aspiration. One tale is entitled "The Attainment of Birth into the Land of Bliss through Fasting by a Monk Visiting Mount Shōsha" (volume 3, tale 32).

Mount Shōsha is in present-day Himeji city, and is included among the sacred sites devoted to Kannon Bodhisattva. It is called the western Mount Hiei, and is well known as a place of religious practice. Once, a wandering monk whose chief form of practice was to chant the Lotus Sutra climbed this mountain. He said to the leading elder of the mountain: "The time of my death is approaching, and every day I recite the nembutsu and aspire for *ōjō*. I often hear stories of people who have attained *ōjō* through self-immolation, or through throwing their bodies into the sea or into rivers. However, I personally dislike such painful, conspicuous, and unusual forms of *ōjō*. I want to attain it with as little suffering as possible. Thus, I want to enter a complete fast and attain *ōjō* peacefully." The monk further said that he did not want anyone to know of his intentions, but the elder allowed the story to slip out. Thus, people given to gossip gathered about the monk, spreading rumors and venting criticism, thereby creating an unsettled atmosphere. Then, the monk disappeared. Disliking the fuss of a curious world, he left behind no indication of his whereabouts. When people searched for him, they found only his sacred texts and wretched clothing. They all realized that he had splendidly fulfilled his fast and achieved *ōjō*.

As indicated by this story, attaining *ōjō* by self-immolation, though rare, did in fact occur. The idea of making an offering to the Buddha by burning one's body and thus attaining birth in his Land of Bliss is taught in the Lotus Sutra as a type of practice. It was first performed in Japan by a monk named Ōshō at Mount Nachi in Kumano. The site is still preserved today.

Taira no Koremori (1157–84), a member of the Heike, is an example of someone who attained *ōjō* by self-drowning. He sought to escape after defeat by the Minamoto, finally fleeing to Kumano, where he cast his body into the sea at Kumano Nada. Such deaths by drowning in rivers and seas frequently appear in the literature of the day.

To give one more example of such attempts at attaining *ōjō*, there was the phenomenon of sea-crossing. This also took place at Kumano. It was thought that the land of Kannon Bodhisattva, Fudaraku, lay across the sea, and with it as their goal, people set out in small boats. Anticipating death,

they stocked their boats with a few days' provisions and put out to sea, gradually fading away. It was believed that, through such acts, they were reborn in the land of Kannon. It was precisely such a method of attaining *ōjō* that the monk visiting Mount Shōsha disliked, preferring instead the quiet, inconspicuous way of fasting. This sentiment seems to well reflect Chōmei's own preference.

In reading the medieval collections of examples of the methods by which people sought to attain *ōjō*, it appears that there were those who deliberately chose the most conspicuous and violent methods possible. Chōmei, however, chose differently. His inclusion of the "Monk Visiting Mount Shōsha" story is a reflection of his belief that there must be a more humane means of attaining this goal.

***Ōjō* while Pursuing a Life of Refinement**

Tales of Aspiration also includes a story entitled "Attaining Birth into the Land of Bliss through Reclusion: Tonomine Sōga Shōnin" (volume 1, number 5). Tonomine is in present-day Nara Prefecture. Sōga[†] is a well-known figure. He first climbed Mount Hiei and trained under the head abbot, Ryōgen[†] (912–985). But he performed many strange acts and eventually descended the mountain. Among religious eccentrics, he is surely one of the most extreme examples in Japanese Buddhist history. While on Mount Hiei, he performed the thousand-day practice, and he is also said to have eaten refuge with beggars. He bestowed precepts on an imperial consort, but also performed violent acts within the palace. He was an eccentric who certainly could not have served in the formal practice halls of Mount Hiei. He left the mountain, wandered throughout the provinces, and finally performed practices at Tonomine, where he lived as a recluse.

When nearing death, Sōga called his disciples and told them to bring a *go* board, on which he proceeded to play by himself. After finishing, he told them to bring a crown, which he donned to perform a dance called "butterfly." When his disciples asked what he was doing, he answered: "When I was young, I wanted to play *go* and dance. But I was told that I wasn't allowed to, and so I couldn't. Those things have remained in my heart. If death were to come, the thoughts of wanting to play *go* and dance would become attachments and prevent me from attaining *ōjō*. So I have finally played *go* and danced."

Chōmei relates this story and adds a comment: Sōga's actions may appear to us as the actions of a crazed man. When we reflect, however, we see that he sought to end his delusional attachments. We should recognize this as exceedingly rare and venerable.

Ōjō is not to be attained with stiffness and solemnity, thinking only of enlightenment. One may lead a life of austerity and in the end attain the goal, but this is not all there is to attaining *ōjō*. If one wants to play *go* or dance, then, while doing so, one gradually meets one's end. While living out one's interests or demonstrating an attachment to the world of the arts, one can also little by little approach the world of birth into the Land of Bliss. Chōmei calls this method "*ōjō* while leading a life of *suki*" or artistic cultivation." While playing the *koto* or the *biwa*, one can draw closer to the realm of birth, he concludes.

Suki refers to the path of artistic activity, of elegance and refinement. If, through such activities, one purifies the mind by totally devoting oneself to them, they hold significance for the attainment of *ōjō*. What is to be avoided in life is the harboring of unfulfilled attachments that will linger on. While describing the story of a religious eccentric, Chōmei presents his own ideal of an aesthetic manner of *ōjō* — the attainment of *ōjō* through artistic devotion.

There is an anecdote concerning Chōmei that resembles the story about Sōga. It is recorded in a work entitled *Bunkidan*,[†] which dates from about fifty years after Chōmei's death. According to this, Chōmei's teacher in music, that is, the *koto* and *biwa*, was a man named Nakahara Ariyasu.[‡] When Ariyasu died, Chōmei organized a gathering of music lovers and well-known musicians of the day as a memorial. It was a meeting exclusively for the performance of "secret music," or pieces that were not to be played before unrestricted audiences. At this meeting, he performed the secret piece, "*Takuboku*." However, he was criticized for this. Although his ability as a musician was recognized, he had not received official transmission of the secret music "*Takuboku*." In spite of this, he had performed the piece before others. This incident was later related to the retired emperor Gotoba, and Chōmei was summoned. Chōmei tried to defend himself: "I am by nature inclined toward music and poetry. My desire to play the secret piece was extremely pressing, and the thought was upon me day and night. In order to free myself of this desire, I invited people to the gathering and played the piece." However, Chōmei's explanation was not accepted, and eventually he entered on the path of reclusion.

Although there is some question as to the truth of this anecdote, Chōmei implies here that his desire to play the secret music would turn into an attachment that would prevent him from attaining *ōjō*. The resemblance to the earlier story concerning Sōga is clear. Together, these two anecdotes serve to depict Chōmei's thoughts about attaining *ōjō*.

Literature and the arts liberate one from depression; they free the spirit through beauty. The freeing of the spirit through deep aesthetic emotion may be seen as fundamentally one with the attainment of *ōjō*. From early in his life, Chōmei held the conviction that they were not in contradiction.

The Way of Artistic Endeavor is the Way to Emancipation

Next, let us turn to a story entitled "The artistic endeavor (*suki*) of the monk Eishū" (volume 6, story 7), which relates how a monk attained *ōjō* while devoting himself to art. Eishū[†] lived in poverty, but he had an understanding of the flute. In other words, he was inclined toward the world of aesthetic refinement and poetic beauty. A distant relative of his named Yorikiyo was the administrative head of the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, and on seeing Eishū's life of practice devoted to the flute, which the latter played morning, noon, and night, he offered him anything he wished. After a time, Eishū went to Yorikiyo and said that his wish was to play a flute made of bamboo brought from China. Yorikiyo happened to have a manor in Kyushu, from which missions to China departed, and he was able to order Chinese bamboo, which he delivered to Eishū.

Yorikiyo was all the more impressed by Eishū's way of life, and he began to send provisions and ordinary necessities almost daily. When he received these, Eishū shared them with the musicians of the Hachiman Shrine, passing the days in performance with them. When the provisions were depleted, he played the flute alone. It is said that he became the foremost flutist in the country. Chōmei adds the comment: "How can such a spirit be the source of grave transgression?" That is, how can such deep devotion to refinement and aesthetic sensibility as shown by Eishū be a transgression of the Buddhist path? The heart that loves beauty is free of sin; it is precisely such a spirit that is in accord with the resolution of one who has left worldly life.

I have spoken of Chōmei's interest in an aesthetic attainment of *ōjō*, of birth into the Pure Land through artistic practice. Here, while describing the way of life of Eishū, Chōmei reveals his own thoughts on the attainment of *ōjō* through the discipline of music and artistic sensibility.

Finally, there is the story entitled, "The Monk Hōnichi Composed Poetry as his Religious Practice" (volume 6, story 9). Hōnichi[†] regularly composed poetry three times every day — morning, noon, and evening. He composed one poem at each of these times. Thus, he devoted himself to poetry just as one would perform a religious practice. Concerning this, Chōmei says :

Poetry is a way by which one can attain a thorough grasp of the way things are. It is a means by which to purify the mind and perceive the impermanence of the world. This is the working of poetry.

In other words, poetry has a special power to lead a person toward aspiration for enlightenment.

Following this is a story concerning Genshin, who, as we have seen, spread the Pure Land teaching on Mount Hiei, where he led a life devoted to the practice of the nembutsu. His words are quoted, "Poetry is deceptive language." That is, it is no more than fallacious word-play. From this point of view, poetry is an obstruction to Buddhist practice, and Genshin admonishes against succumbing to its lure. This story is well known, but Chōmei continues: "One morning, Genshin noticed a boat out on the waves and, deeply impressed, unconsciously recalled the verse, 'To what can it be likened, the dawn. . . .' Thus he realized that the world of poetry cannot be lightly dismissed. On occasion, it can closely approach the realm taught in the Buddhist scriptures. Thus he said, 'The sacred teaching and poetry are one.' "

We cannot take up the question of the veracity of this story here, but it is important to note Chōmei's introduction of it into his *Tales of Aspiration*. He was profoundly in agreement with the way of thinking expressed in the statement attributed to Genshin. He comments in conclusion:

We find here the spirit of artistic dedication (*suki*), in which a person ceases to delight in joining socially with others, or to sorrow at declining fortune. He is moved to deep compassion by the opening and scattering of blossoms, and his mind is made lucid whenever he thinks of the moon's rising and setting, so that he seeks above all to remain unstained by worldly defilements. Thus, the reality of arising-and-perishing naturally manifests itself to him, and attachments to fame and profit completely die away. This is indeed the gateway to freedom and emancipation.

Thus, a life of reclusion in devotion to art shares a common spirit with the Buddhist path. The cultivation of aesthetic sensibility is not merely a life of emotion, but enables one to grasp the nature of human life and the transience of nature. Through artistic practice, attachments and desires are washed away, and one is led to emancipation.

Seeing the Religious in Beauty

Concerning the character of Chōmei's concept of *ōjō*, we have considered his ideals of aesthetic cultivation and music as means of attaining birth into the Pure Land. This may be called an aesthetic attainment of *ōjō*, in

which a sensitivity to beauty is not denied, but rather is embraced within the movement towards the attainment of birth into the Land of Bliss.

From the Heian period, there were two general methods of religious practice undertaken by Japanese Buddhists. The people performed various practices and disciplines in order to finally attain emancipation and enter the realm of enlightenment, or, in the case of the Pure Land teachings, to attain birth into Amida's land. These practices and disciplines were means for eradicating worldly desires and attachments, and so it may be said that there were two methods by which people strove to free themselves of desires.

The first method consisted of a way of life in which they performed practices while suppressing their desires. The Tendai school formed a world pervaded by an exceedingly strict and austere suppression of desires.

By contrast, the second method turned not on the suppression of human desires, but rather on liberation through the artistic sublimation of those desires. This method is seen in the esoteric teachings of Kūkai, who founded the Shingon school on Mount Koya.

According to the first method, one finally, through severe discipline, turns oneself into a 'withered tree' and, in the extremity of austerity, attains birth into the Pure Land. According to the second method, one attains birth into the Pure Land through an aesthetic sensibility — through a profound apprehension of nature and the cosmos. One achieves this by refining one's human feelings and perceptions so that they gradually become sublimated. Flowers blossom and scatter. While perceiving the beauty of the changes in nature, one grasps the nature of one's own existence. This was the sort of view that Chōmei possessed.

Experiencing beauty deeply, one composes poetry, or plays the biwa, and while doing so one moves toward birth into the Land of Bliss. Here, it is important to note that when one devotes oneself to artistic practice and refinement, one is freed of attachments and becomes pure in heart and mind. This is the source of the difficulty of this path. It is only when one approaches the world of beauty with a mind free of self-attachment that the way of artistic cultivation can become a path to liberation.

We must also note that at the foundation of Chōmei's view of human life lay the problem of art and religion, or of aesthetic values and faith. These were, for him, not in a relationship of opposition or mutual exclusion, demanding a choice of one or the other. Rather, he considered religion, or beauty, or art, or faith to be within a world in which they co-existed, a world of religion within art, or faith within beauty. According to the perspective of the dominant Buddhist thought of the day, these two — religion and art — were in mutual opposition. But Chōmei, taking the stance of an ordinary person, perceived a world in which they were harmonized.

In actuality, I believe that this way of thought found in Chōmei is an attitude that flows at the roots of Japanese Buddhism. For example, in Zen, it is said that the phrase, "Willows are green, blossoms are red," expresses the realm of satori; the world of Zen satori is symbolically expressed here within the beauty of nature itself. Or perhaps the realm of satori expresses itself as the willows being green, the blossoms red.

In Zen it is said that "Chanoyu and Zen are one," or "Swordsmanship and Zen are the same." That is, the ways of the arts or of the martial arts and Zen are bound together as one. At work here is a spiritual attitude — an aesthetic awareness or view of religion — that runs deep in Japanese tradition. In beauty one perceives faith, in faith one perceives beauty.

The belief that aesthetic awareness and faith were in opposition — that a person must choose one or the other — was strong during the Kamakura period, but this other attitude may be said to have formed the basic spirit of the Japanese, and when we consider it, Chōmei's achievements give us valuable insights. 

Translated by Dennis Hirota

Anecdotes About Sen Rikyū

Through the passage of time, the historical figure Sen Rikyū[†] (1522–91), who exerted a powerful influence on his age and on the world of chanoyu ever since, has become a fabled figure. Not only does there exist a great number of anecdotes about Rikyū, but we often come across different versions of the same anecdotes. In this article, let us take a look at some early versions as recorded in several of the oldest known collections of chanoyu anecdotes.

From the *Chōandō Ki*

The *Chōandō Ki*[†] was written in the year 1640, by a man named Kubo Gondaiyū[†] (also known by the names Risē and Chōandō; 1581–1640), a chanoyu devotee of Nara. It is one of the earliest anecdotal collections pertaining to chanoyu, and the episodes are written more in the style of biographical transmissions than anecdotes. It is included in *Chadō Koten Zenshū*, vol. 3.*

Preferable Chanoyu (*Konomashii chanoyu*)

Once Rikyū remarked: There are two types of tea gatherings where one can feel comfortable. The first is that where the host can capably entertain one with an after-meal tidbit (*jango no kashi*), without serving a meal; the other is that where the host is so skillful that one senses no feeling of tediousness. It is better not to go to other kinds of teas.

Comment: This is regarded as one of chanoyu's most famous sayings.

[†] Sen Sōshitsu et. al., ed. *Chadō Koten Zenshū* 『茶道古典全集』 [Complete Collection of Tea Classics]. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1957-62. 12 vols.

This article is a translation and adaptation of selections from the section "Rikyū no Itsuwa" 利休の逸話 in *Rikyū Daijiten* 『利休大辞典』 [The Rikyū Encyclopedia] (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989). Translation, by Gretchen Mittwer.

From the *Chadō Shiso Densho*

The *Chadō Shiso Densho*[†] [Transmissions pertaining to the Four Pioneers of the Way of Tea] is actually a modern work (1933). It consists of Matsuyama Ginshōan's[†] edited version of the late-Edo chanoyu devotee Kobori Sōshū's handwritten copy of transmissions pertaining to Sen Rikyū, Furuta Oribe,[†] Hosokawa Sansai,[†] and Kobori Enshū,[†] which the successive heads of the Matsuya family of lacquerers of Nara had heard firsthand from these respective chanoyu masters, and which were compiled by Matsuya Hisashige (1566–1652) in the form of the *Matsuya Nikki*[†] [Diary of the Matsuyas]. Hisashige's original manuscript is thought to have been compiled in the year 1652. In the section of the *Chadō Shiso Densho* pertaining to Hosokawa Sansai, we find numerous instances of Sansai relating stories about Rikyū. Apparently, anecdotes were common subjects of conversation at tea gatherings. A modern edition of Matsuyama's *Chadō Shiso Densho*, edited by Kumakura Isao,[†] is available (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1974).

Oribe and Sansai See Rikyū Off
(*Rikyū o Oribe to Sansai ga miokuru*)

This is when Rikyū was commanded to commit ritual suicide. Sansai and Oribe, having arranged to have a conveyance (*norimono*) for Rikyū put aboard the boat at Yodo, went there to see him off as he was on his way to Sakai after being ordered to remain [in Sakai] under house arrest. Rikyū's wife, Sōon,[†] accompanying Rikyū, greeted them with the words, "Though there are many disciples, they are of no use; only you two not only show concern like this but even arrange for transportation to be brought around. This is gratifying." Hearing this, Rikyū said, "Such extent of concern is unnecessary," and, with those words, departed.

Comment: Matsuya probably heard this story from Hosokawa Sansai himself. The fact that Sansai and Oribe alone went to see Rikyū off is verified by Rikyū's famous letter to "Matsusa" (Matsui Yasuyuki,[†] the Lord of Sado; 1550–1612), dated the 14th day of the 2nd month, (1591), which Rikyū wrote in response to a letter of well-wishing that he had received from Matsui. At that time, Matsui was an important officer under Sansai. In the letter, however, Rikyū makes no mention of Sansai and Oribe's arrangements for something for him to ride (probably a palanquin to take him to Sakai once the boat reached Osaka) and of his refusing this, nor of Sōon having accompanied him.

Rikyū is Invited for the First Time to a Tea Hosted by Jōō
(*Rikyū, Jōō no cha ni hajimete manekareru*)

When Rikyū was young and still called Yoshirō, no matter how much he requested to be invited to a tea by Takeno Jōō,[†] he received no invitation. Even though he made *haka-ma* (long, wide pantaloons-like garment worn by men on formal occasions) and *kataginu* (stiff, broad-shouldered vest-like garment worn by men on formal occasions) in anticipation, he received no invitation. When Jōō built his four-and-a-half-mat tearoom in Sakai, everyone expected that they would be among the ones invited to the opening. Without calling anyone else over, however, Jōō sent an invitation to Rikyū alone: "Master Yoshirō, come to tea tomorrow." Rikyū replied: "I will not go tomorrow; I will go the day after tomorrow." It was thought strange that Rikyū, who had been so anxious to go to a tea hosted by Jōō, should ask for a day's extension, but in the meanwhile Rikyū traveled through the night to Kyoto, had a robe known as a *hentetsu*,[†] worn by people like monks, made, and ventured to the tea gathering dressed like a holy man (*hōshi*). Jōō was greatly impressed, and it is said that this is when he gave him the name Sōeki.[†]

Comment: Realistically speaking, of course, it would not have been such an easy matter to appear at the tea two days later dressed in semi-layman semi-monk attire.

The Reason behind Rikyū's Suicide
(*Rikyū seppuku no gen'in*)

These circumstances surrounded Rikyū's suicide. There was a man named Kinoshita Yūkei,[†] who was a minister of Hideyoshi's. However, he incurred Hideyoshi's displeasure and was divested of his position. Although Rikyū was close to Yūkei, he did not inquire after him. However, when Hideyoshi's displeasure was finally assuaged and Yūkei was reinstated to his former post, Rikyū visited him to express his congratulations. Yūkei was bitter and, saying he did not know anyone named Rikyū, had him turned away at the gate. Therefore, they became foes. After that, they did tentatively make up, but the incident left Yūkei holding a

grudge against Rikyū. When Hideyoshi, [seeking some new form of pleasure], asked Yūkei to make an interesting suggestion, Yūkei engrafted the idea of Rikyū's daughter into his mind, and, acting as Hideyoshi's emissary, approached Rikyū to serve his daughter up to Hideyoshi. Rikyū refused, and so Yūkei finally grew angry and, jointly with Maeda Gen'i,[†] told Hideyoshi about the way Rikyū had talked. This is why Rikyū was commanded to commit ritual suicide. The reason Maeda Gen'i held a grudge against Rikyū was because once, when he showed a high-waisted tea caddy to Rikyū, calling it a *katatsuki* (an angular-shouldered tea caddy), Rikyū didn't say a word and ignored him.

Comment: This is a story that Hosokawa Sansai heard. In a story included in the *Sen no Rikyū Yuishogaki*[†] [Genealogy of Sen Rikyū], which consists of oral information given by Rikyū's great-grandson, Kōshin Sōsa[†] (1613-72), as well as information gathered from other sources of Sōsa's time, we find Hideyoshi out hunting when he first saw Rikyū's daughter. Hideyoshi's hunting partner at the time was Kinoshita Hansuke.[†] It is not known whether this Hansuke and the above Yūkei were actually the same person.

From the *Kōshin Gegaki*

The *Kōshin Gegaki*[†] [Kōshin's Summer Writings] was written in the summer of 1663 by Rikyū's great-grandson, the fourth generation Omotesenke grand master, Kōshin Sōsa, and consists of memoranda of oral information received from his father, Sen Sōtan.[†] Basically, the information pertains to Rikyū's tea utensils and chanoyu methods, but we also find a few anecdotal episodes. It is included in *Chadō Koten Zenshū*, vol. 10.

The Amidadō[†] Kettle (*Amidadō no kama*)

The priest of the Amidadō (Amitabha Hall) in Arima wanted a large kettle. As he was acquainted with the person who then served as Rikyū's amanuensis, he asked that person to have Rikyū make a paper pattern for him, and to have the kettlesmith Yojirō[†] make the kettle. By and by, the finished kettle was delivered to Rikyū from Yojirō, and when Rikyū saw that it had turned out remarkably nicely,

he made it a part of his own collection and used it at a tea gathering. After that, feudal lords requested to be permitted to make copies of this "Amidadō" kettle, and the kettle became very popular. Because the kettle was originally requested by the priest of the Amidadō, it was named "Amidadō" kettle.

Comment: There are numerous stories relating the origin of the style of kettle known as "Amidadō." Although records of the usage of the kettle appear in even earlier tea diaries, the earliest appearance of the story of its origin is in the *Chōandō Ki*. In that version, we are told that Rikyū searched out the kettle of the Amidadō at Arima and copied it. The form became popularly called "Amidadō." In the section on Rikyū in the *Chadō Shiso Densho*, the story is that the priest of the Amidadō himself made a paper pattern and had the kettle cast, but he never went to get the finished kettle. Rikyū discovered this kettle and copied it; he was impressed, feeling that he himself would not have been able to design such a kettle, and kept the copy in his private collection. This version of the story goes on to say that he later sold it to Hosokawa Sansai for thirty pieces of gold. The *Kōshin Gegaki* story states, at the end, that when Rikyū was placing the order for the kettle, Sōtan, who was eleven years old at the time, overheard him telling Yojirō to make the surface texture rough. This would place the making of the kettle in 1588.

From the *Chafu*

The *Chafu*¹ [Tea Genealogy] is a sixteen-volume anonymous work which appears to have been written around the late seventeenth century. The information focuses on old chanoyu customs. A copy is preserved in the National Diet Library.

The Invention of the Lid having a Hole (*Subuta no hatsume*)

In olden times, there were no lids called *subuta*² (lit., "hole lid") for tea caddies; they started with Rikyū. Before Rikyū's time, there was little ivory in Japan. It was limited to use for such things as items for imperial presentation (*gomotsu*), and there were not even many feudal lords who possessed any. Toyotomi Hideyoshi wanted to have a lid of Rikyū's design made for a famed *katatsuki* (angular-shouldered tea

caddy), and managed to get a slice of ivory just sufficient to make one lid, which he gave to Rikyū. In order to have the lid made to his taste, Rikyū gave specific instructions about the thickness and such, and the maker lathed the lid accordingly. However, the lathing exposed a hole in the ivory, and a flaw appearing as though the lid were worm-eaten (*mushikui*) was created. The maker, at wits end as to what to do, apologized to Rikyū that he had failed terribly. Rikyū told him to bring it and show it to him at any rate, and when he saw it, he praised him, saying that this indeed was a great accidental achievement, and that he had succeeded in making an unparalleled lid. The maker felt that he had been saved from a critical predicament. Rikyū, saying that he had not known about such things until then, starting having [lids featuring] holes made from that time on, and it became the custom that unless a tea-caddy lid were a *subuta*, it could not be used.

Comment: This story, revealing one concrete aspect of the aesthetic of "beauty in the imperfect," is also found in part in the *Shōfū Zatsurwa*[†] [Pine Wind Miscellany], written by Inagaki Kyūsō[†] (1770-1819), a chanoyu devotee affiliated with the Omotesenke line.

From the *Nampō Roku*

The *Nampō Roku*[†] [lit., Southern Record] may be said to be a collection of anecdotes pertaining to Rikyū. Many fascinating stories are found especially in the "*Oboegaki*"[†] [Memoranda] and "*Metsugo*"[†] [Posthumous] sections. The man supposed to have written the original text upon which the record is based, Nambō Sōkei[†] (dates unknown), is shown to record questions which he put forward to Rikyū and Rikyū's answers to them, as well as things which he had seen or heard elsewhere. The *Nampō Roku* itself dates from about the time of Rikyū's centennial, or the end of the seventeenth century. It is considered to be one of the best sources for knowing how Rikyū was characterized at that time. It is included in *Chadō Koten Zenshū*, vol. 4.

The Dawn Tea and Renowned Water from the Samegai Well (*Akatsuki no cha to Samegai no meisui*)

Late one night, snow was falling and the atmosphere was beyond description, so Tsuda Sōgyū[†] suddenly decided to

call on Rikyū. Rikyū thought that someone was bound to come for a visit on such a night, and he had the roji gate left slightly open in anticipation. Passing the waiting bench in the roji, Sōgyū could smell the fragrance of some wonderful incense coming from the distance, and could faintly see some lantern light through the spaces between the trees. He was an expert on incense, and immediately recognized that the fragrance was of Ranjatai[†] incense, so, when he entered the tearoom, he requested to see the burnt remains of the incense. (To make such a request is the convention in the case of famed incense.) As Rikyū and Sōgyū talked about this and that, the sound of someone opening the side door of the mizuya was heard. Rikyū said, "The person I sent to fetch some water from the Samegai[†] well got late, and has just returned. Let me change the kettle water." He took the kettle and retreated to the mizuya. Looking into the hearth, Sōgyū saw the last embers of the charcoal fire burning with a beauty beyond description. Sōgyū took the charcoal basket from the shelf and added some charcoal to the fire. When Rikyū came back with the hailstone-pattern kettle now filled with the famed water, Sōgyū informed him that, since he thought the fire would have to be made hotter once the water was changed, he already went ahead and added some charcoal. Rikyū was impressed with Sōgyū's judgement, and replied: "It is precisely because one may meet a guest such as yourself that it is worth heating water and preparing tea."

Comment: The theme of fetching water from the Samegai in anticipation of guests on a snowy night is found in other collections of anecdotes predating the *Nampō Roku*. For example, the *Kōshin Gegaki* includes a version, however with Tsuda Sōgyū appearing as the host and Rikyū as the guest. In the *Chawa Shigetsu Shū* (introduced on the following page), the story has Sumiyoshiya Sōmu[†] as the host and Rikyū as the one who added the charcoal. A notation says that Hosokawa Sansai used to repeatedly tell this story.

Rikyū was a Large Man
(*Rikyū wa ōotoko*)

Rikyū always said that tea utensils should match the character of the person using them. Because Rikyū was a large man, small and distinctly modest utensils suited him. For a

person with a large frame to use large utensils appears ungainly and is not in accord with the spirit of tea. Beautiful, colorful utensils are good for older people. If the utensils are overly rustic (*wabi*), they will seem dirty and the atmosphere will not be refreshing. Shōmu became extremely serene in his old age, but used a lovely roundish jar on a vermillion, flower-shaped tray to make tea. Rikyū was impressed with this, and thought that it suited Shōmu well. The roundish jar was something which Shōmu had received from Rikyū.

Comment: The *Nampō Roku* is the only work in which this anecdote appears. It is interesting that the "supreme being in the land" at the time, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, on the contrary was a very small man.

From the *Chawa Shigetsu Shū*

The *Chawa Shigetsu Shū*¹ [Tea Stories Pointing to the Moon] was written by Kusumi Soan,[†] from stories related to him from his teacher, Fujimura Yōken,[†] who had in turn heard them from his own teacher, Sen Sōtan. Soan's preface states that the work was compiled in the year 1695. Having been compiled a century after Rikyū's death, the stories tend to treat Rikyū in an idolized manner. This was the first collection of anecdotes to be printed in quantity and to thus have been read by a wide audience. To some degree, it influenced all the anecdote collections published thereafter. It is included in *Chadō Koten Zenshū*, vol. 10.

Utensils for Wabi Tea (*Wabi no chadōgu*)

A certain practitioner of wabi tea who lived in the country sent Rikyū a gold coin, asking him to buy him a tea utensil — anything at all — and send it to him. Using all of the money to buy white linen fabric for him, Rikyū told him that practitioners of wabi tea need no special utensils; as long as the *chakin* (linen wiping cloth) that one uses are pure and clean, one can conduct chanoyu.

Comment: This is one of several examples of how Rikyū sometimes employed blunt words and tactics to teach people to understand what is essentially important in chanoyu.

The Morning-glory Tea
(*Asagao no chakai*)

Someone told Hideyoshi that morning glories were blooming beautifully at Rikyū's residence. Anxious to see them, Hideyoshi was invited to an early-morning tea. However, when he got there, there was not a single morning glory blooming in the garden. Disappointedly entering the little room, he saw a single bright blossom in the alcove. Hideyoshi as well as his attendants were startled. Rikyū was the recipient of much praise.

Comment: This famous anecdote appears in a number of later collections, but the version in the *Chawa Shigetsu Shū* is probably the oldest. Kusumi Soan cautions readers that this is an example of Rikyū's curious sense of humor, and that after Kobori Enshū's time it became the rule not to have flowering plants in the roji. In his novel, *Honkakubō Ibun*, the late Inoue Yasushi makes an analysis of Hideyoshi's psyche concerning this incident, saying that he was probably initially enthralled with Rikyū's act, but that this feeling later probably changed to anger.

Discerning the Thickness of the Cutting Board
(*Manaita no atsusa o mikiwameru*)

Once, Rikyū made a request to Hosokawa Sansai asking to be allowed to view a *Tsuru no hōchō shiki*[†] (ceremonial butchering of a crane; a ritual connected with the art of cooking, which warriors of the middle ages were expected to be adept at performing). No crane was available at the time, and so the ceremony was conducted using a heron. After the event, Rikyū said that the ceremony was nice but he wondered why it seemed that the cutting board was a bit low. Sansai asked someone in the kitchen, who told him that the regular cutting board had become old and so the top had been shaved down about 3 millimeters. Hearing this, Sansai clapped his hands and laughed out, saying that this indeed was what is called a keen discernment.

Comment: There are numerous stories about how discerning Rikyū was in terms of the measurements of things. In this same work, there is another anecdote about how he once said that the overlapping portions of shoji paper are too narrow if they are one *bu* (approximately 3 millimeters), and too wide if they are one and a half *bu*. 

Temae — Tea Procedure: *Shozumi Shomō* (Ro)

Among the *jūrokkajō*, or “sixteen items” on the Urasenke teaching schedule of *temae*, there are only two involving the laying of charcoal: *bon kōgō* and *sumi shomō*. The *temae* called *sumi shomō*, or literally “request for charcoal,” is used when the host asks one of the guests to lay the charcoal. During the *ro* season, the host may ask that this be done for the initial charcoal-laying (*shozumi*) or the second charcoal-laying (*gozumi*). If the request is for the former, it is known as *shozumi shomō*; if it is for the latter, it is *gozumi shomō*. In the *furo* season, only *shozumi shomō* is possible (see *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 29 for a guide to *furo sumi shomō*).

Although there are no rules concerning when *sumi shomō* may be done, it is most appropriate when one of the guests is an experienced tea practitioner who is especially skilled in the procedure for laying charcoal (*shozumi* or *gozumi temae*), or when the host himself is rather inexperienced. It may also be done as a means of lending interest to a tea gathering held among close friends. The host may either ask a specific guest to do the *temae*, or he may ask the guests to decide among themselves who will do it. Because *sumi shomō* may be requested at almost any kind of tea gathering, tea practitioners would be well advised to master the procedures.

The *shozumi shomō* procedure is a variation of the basic *shozumi* procedure (see *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 55). The main difference is that, after preparing the *ro*, the host leaves the room and sits just outside the doorway while the guest who has been selected to lay the charcoal goes to the host's seat and places the charcoal in the *ro*. As a gesture of humility and gratitude for having the honor of being allowed to lay the charcoal, the guest refrains from adding the incense to the fire. The host returns to the room and, seated in front of the *ro*, pauses to appreciate the manner in which the guest has laid the charcoal. The guest then asks him to burn the incense after fixing the charcoal arrangement.

Another unique feature is that the host brings a *mizutsugi* into the room and adds water to the *kama* — a step which is normally only done during *gozumi*. The *temae* illustrated here is performed without a *tana*; the *mizutsugi* is a *koshiguro yakan*. A *katakuchi* type *mizutsugi* should be used if the *temae* is performed with a *tana*.

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto



(1)

Sit at sadōguchi with sumitori placed to side away from guests. Bow (1). Take sumitori in both hands, stand, and proceed to temae tatami.



(2)

One step into temae tatami, turn toward guests, sit, and place sumitori to right of ro, leaving enough space between it and ro to place habōki and hibashi (2). Return to mizuya.



(3)

In the mizuya, place kami kamashiki in bosom pocket. Then hold haiki in right hand (hereafter, R), reenter tearoom, and, before proceeding to temae tatami, sit and close sadōguchi door (3).



(4)

Three steps into temae tatami, turn 130 degrees in guests' direction and sit. Use left hand (hereafter, L) to help R readjust grip on haiki. Place haiki in far bottom corner of temae tatami (R) (4), so handle of haisaji is parallel to tatami border and faces upper end of temae tatami.



(5)

Shift sitting position to face ro. Take habōki from sumitori (R) and lay it between sumitori and ro, leaving enough space between it and sumitori to place hibashi. Take kan from hibashi (R) and lay them on temae tatami, to front left of sumitori. Lay hibashi between habōki and sumitori (R) (5).



(6)

Take kōgō from sumitori (R), rest it on L palm in order to readjust R grip on it (6), and place it to right of kan.



(7)

Close kama lid (R). [Depending on the circumstances as determined by the usual rules, use fukusa to do this (7). If using fukusa, immediately return it to belt after this.]



(8)

Pick up kan (R), simultaneously hook them into the kama lugs (8), and lean them against upper part of kama.



(9)

Take kami kamashiki from bosom pocket, grasping it so R thumb is on side away from body (9). Hold kami kamashiki perpendicular to body (loose upper corners toward you, thumb to the right, fingers on the left). Rehold kami kamashiki (L), thumb on right, fingers on left.



(10)

Place kami kamashiki to side of left knee so that it rests diagonal to left corner of ro frame (10).



(11)

Move up closer to ro (right knee forward, left knee evened with it). Lift kama onto kami kamashiki (11), and again lean kan against upper part of kama.



(12)

Shift sitting position to face kama, regrasp kan, and pull kama and kamashiki together to the center of the tatami. Repeat, this time bringing kama and kami kamashiki near the wall, their front sides facing diagonally toward the ro (12).



(13)

Remove kan simultaneously, and put them together so that the open ends are to the bottom. Grasp kan across top and bottom with L, and place them near the wall, to left of kama, next to lifting lug (13).



(14)

Shift sitting position to face ro. Take habōki (R) and conduct the first dusting of the ro (*shobaki*) (14). [When the *shobaki* begins, the first guest bows to the next guest and moves toward the ro. The other guests follow the first guest's lead.] Finishing the *shobaki*, place habōki diagonally to right of kōgo.



(15)

Take hibashi (R) and, resting the tips on the tatami in front of right knee (15), rehold for use.



(16)

With hibashi, move frontmost 'pilot charcoal' to far side of the other two pieces (16). Regrasp hibashi in reverse manner of step 15, and place them in sumitori.



(17)

Move sumitori diagonally forward and to right, to make space for haiki (17).



(18)

Shift sitting position to diagonal right. Take haiki (R), adjust grip (L, R), and with haiki in R, shift sitting position to again face ro. Place haiki in corner of ro tatami (R assisted by L). L remaining on haiki, hold haisaji handle with R by grasping it overhand, and scoop some ash from the right-hand area of the haiki ash (18).



(19)

In the standard manner, distribute the haiki ash over the ash in the ro, first from the far side to the left center (19), next from the left center to the front, and then from the far side to the right center.



(20)

As usual, take a scoop of ash from the haiki (20) and, with the scoop thus filled, rest haisaji handle on rim of haiki.



(21)

Regrasp haisaji handle underhand (R) (21) and distribute the haiki ash down from the right center to the front of the ro ash. Gather remaining haiki ash to the left in the haiki and leave haisaji leaning face down on the ash.



(22)

In reverse order of step 18, pick up haiki and return it to its former position (22).



(23)

Shift sitting position to face ro, and conduct second dusting of the ro (*nakabaki*) (23).



(24)

Return sumitori to its former position. Place habōki in its original position on sumitori (24).



(25)

Again shift sitting position to diagonal right. Move haiki back with R to a position next to kama (25).



(26)

Stand and proceed to the mizuya. Just outside sadōguchi, turn and sit facing the sadōguchi. Request the guests to decide between themselves who will lay the charcoal and to please lay the charcoal (*"dōzo mōshiwase de sumi o"*) (26).

(27)

The guests agree as to who will lay the charcoal. That person stands, proceeds to the temae tatami, sits facing the ro, and places the habōki diagonally to the right of the kōgō (27).



(28)

He/she takes the hibashi from the sumitori (R) and lays the charcoal in the usual manner (28). (The photograph shows the guest laying the *dō-zumi*.) Once he/she has placed the *ten-zumi* in the ro, the last guest bows to the guest above and returns to his/her seat, and the other onlooking guests follow his/her lead. After returning the hibashi to the sumitori, conducting the last dusting of the ro (*gobaki*), and returning the habōki to the sumitori, the guest who laid the charcoal returns to his/her seat.





(29)

Once the guest who laid the charcoal returns to his/her seat, bow and say "thank you" (*"arigatō gozaimashita"*) to him/her (29).



(30)

Go and sit in front of ro, and take a look at the charcoal in the ro. The guest who laid it asks you to fix it and place the incense in (*"dōzo onaoshi no ue, kō o"*). Acknowledge this with a bow (30).



(31)

Take *kōgō* with R and rest it on L palm. Remove lid and place it on *temae tatami*, to front left of *sumitori*. Take *hibashi*, rehold them for use as before (31), and place incense in ro. Rehold *hibashi* as before, and return them to *sumitori*.



(32)

Replace lid onto *kōgō*. At this point, the first guest asks to examine the *kōgō*. Acknowledge this with a bow (32).



(33)

Turn kōgō so that the front faces the guests, and place it out on ro tatami (33).



(34)

Shift sitting position to face the kama. Move haiki back to its former position (L) (34).



(35)

Pick up kan, simultaneously hook them into the kama lugs, and pull kama and kami kamashiki together to the spot where you originally placed them (35).



(36)

Remove kan simultaneously, put them together, and place them to the left and toward the kama, next to the lifting lug (36).



(37)

Shift sitting position further around to right, pick up haiki (R), use L to help readjust grip, and, with haiki in R, stand up and return to mizuya (37). [The first guest gets the kōgō, returns to his/her seat with it, and places it to his/her side away from the next guest, within the tatami border.]



(38)

Return to tearoom with mizutsugi and sit facing kama (38). Set mizutsugi down to the left.



(39)

Place chakin on kama lid (R). Take futaoki from mizutsugi spout, rest it on L palm in order to regrasp it, and place it in front of knees (R). Using chakin, remove kama lid and rest it on futaoki. Open lid of spout with chakin, hold chakin under spout, and pour water into the kama (39). Place mizutsugi back on tatami and, using chakin, close lid of spout and replace kama lid onto kama. Place chakin on kama lid. Pick up futaoki, rest it on L palm in order to regrasp it, and return it to spout.



(40)

Wipe the far side and then near side of the kama lid with the chakin (40).



(41)

Then wipe the back side of the kama body twice, and finally the front side once (41). Return chakin to mizutsugi lid, and take mizutsugi to mizuya.



(42)

Return to tearoom, sit facing the ro, pick up the kan (L), and hook them simultaneously into the kama lugs (42).



(43)

Lift kama into ro (43), and rest kan against upper part of kama.



(44)

Pick up kami kamashiki (L), hold it over sumitori, and flick R forefinger onto it to tap off any loose particles of charcoal (44). Return kami kamashiki to bosom pocket.



(45)

Adjust kama on gotoku if necessary (45).



(46)

Simultaneously remove the kan, put them together, hold them at the open ends, and place them in the sumitori (46).



(47)

Move back slightly (left knee back, right knee evened with it). With bare fingers, open kama lid so that it rests slightly ajar on the kama mouth (47).



(48)

Move sitting position sideways to right so body is centered toward outer right-hand edge of ro frame. Pick up sumitori (48) and proceed to mizuya.



(49)

Just outside the sadōguchi, turn and sit down, place sumitori in front of knees, and close the door (49). [The guests begin examining the kōgō.] Put sumitori aside and wait for the guests to return the kōgō to the ro tatami.



(50)

Once the kōgō has been returned, enter and sit facing the kōgō. Answer the first guest's questions about it (50).



(51)

Pick up the kōgō, place it on L palm, secure it with R, and proceed to the mizuya. Just outside the sadōguchi, turn, sit, place kōgō to side away from the guests, and bow (51).



Book Reviews

Shogunal Politics: Arai Hakuseki and the Premises of Tokugawa Rule. By Kate Wildman Nakai. Harvard East Asian Monographs No. 134. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988. xxii + 427 pp. US\$23.00.

Kate Wildman Nakai has provided her readers with a wide-ranging political and intellectual biography of Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), one of the most creative Confucian minds of the Edo period. He was a prolific author and is perhaps best known for *Tokushi Yoron*, historical lectures on the Japanese state, and *Oritaku Shiba no Ki*, his autobiography, both of which Nakai used extensively in her research for this work. Hakuseki was also politically active as a shogunal advisor, especially during the reigns of Ienobu and Ietsugu, who bridged the better known regimes of Tsunayoshi and Yoshimune.

There was a fine irony in Hakuseki's career. As a Confucian, he advocated the recruitment of men of ability, including those of *rōnin* (masterless samurai) status, into official positions. However, he himself never attained a regular office in the bakufu, and was able to offer his advice from behind the scenes thanks only to his personal position as tutor to Ienobu. He had grown up the son of an irregularly employed samurai, and was himself a *rōnin* early in life. Through much of his service, he had *yoriai* status — a sort of reserve position — and often found himself at the mercy of Manabe Akifusa, another shogunal advisor, who contrived to place himself between Hakuseki and the shogun. With the accession of Yoshimune, many of Hakuseki's programs fell under reformist attack, and his influence waned.

Though Nakai is at pains to emphasize the tenuousness of Hakuseki's position, Hakuseki was nonetheless a major historical figure. He argued in favor of the restoration of the silver content of the currency after its severe debasement under Tsunayoshi. He supported the extension of bakufu control over foreign trade, including that conducted through Satsuma and Tsushima; and he advocated the reform of the administration of the shogun's directly held territories and the post town system. The common thread running throughout his policies and recommendations was a desire to make of the shogun a national monarch and to strengthen his office vis-à-vis competing constituencies such as the *rōjū* (a member of the shogun's Council of Elders), the daimyo, the burgeoning bureaucracy, and even the imperial court in Kyoto.

Nakai does her finest work in explaining how Hakuseki marshaled evidence from the Chinese classics and from the Confucian ideology to support his political position that the shogun ought to exercise authority on a national scale; that he should be not just a feudal hegemon who was *primus inter pares*, but a king in name as well as fact. The author depicts a Hakuseki who was both subtle and imaginative in adapting Chinese principles to Japanese reality and in balancing

the tactical considerations of the pragmatic politician with the ideas of the scholar and thinker. This appears most clearly in his involvement in the Korean embassy of 1711, and in his reinterpretation of Japanese history.

In the former, Hakuseki contrived to have the shogun style himself *Kokuō* (national monarch). He was to be King of Japan rather than merely shogun or *taikun*. To strengthen the civil as opposed to military image of the shogun's rule, Hakuseki supervised every detail of the protocol and entertainment of the ambassadors. He even used wooden and earthen utensils for the state banquet in preference to ones lavishly decorated with gold, as that presumably accorded with the practice of antiquity. *Gagaku* (ancient Imperial court music and dances) replaced *noh*, which in his view was the sort of "licentious vulgar music condemned by Confucius and Mencius." The present to the Korean king was a screen decorated with pictures of Japan's past, as a kind of visual aid to the understanding of Japan's civil accomplishments. His purpose, however, was not to equate the shogun to the Korean king or to depict the two as peers under the aegis of the Chinese throne in a Sinocentric world order. Hakuseki aimed to establish Japanese superiority. Not surprisingly, the Koreans balked, and it required hasty negotiations to reach an acceptable compromise.

Rather more significant was Hakuseki's attempt to employ Confucian reasoning to establish the shogun as king of Japan in his own right and not as nominal deputy of the emperor in Kyoto. To do so, he needed first to cope with the problem of the divinity of the imperial house as explained in the *Koji Ki*, the *Nihon Shoki*, and the *Kuji Ki* (a work now believed to be of later provenance than the *Koji Ki* and *Nihon Shoki*, which are of the eighth century). Based on linguistic evidence, he argued that the *kami* (gods) of the *kamiyo* (age of the gods) were in fact human, and that the Chinese character meaning deity had been incorrectly used to write that word. Further, he needed to demonstrate the operation of a Confucian Mandate of Heaven in the Japanese state. To do so, he examined the most ancient reigns of Japan and found evidence of a passing of the mandate from ruler to ruler until the imperial virtue began to decline. The substance of authority passed to others until the *buke* (samurai, warriors) exercised power in fact. It was, Hakuseki asserted, Go-Daigo in the fourteenth century who finally lost the mandate in a definitive way. In his estimation, Heaven did not immediately bestow its mandate upon another ruler, and the Ashikaga house did no more than support the facade of the past. Not until Tokugawa Ieyasu did a suitable candidate appear to accept Heaven's will.

Nakai's presentation reveals the work of a complex mind and a person who dared to challenge the conventions of his day. She also shows Hakuseki to have been quite willing to relinquish his intellectual position if he perceived an advantage in doing so, as, for example, when he admitted the divine origins of the imperial house in order to support Japanese superiority in his dealings with the Koreans.

One may wonder why Nakai did not more explicitly relate Hakuseki's ideas to his own self interest. She certainly supplies the reader with ample evidence to suggest that Hakuseki's motivation was to strengthen the source of his own tenuous support. A shogun who was king could confidently treat *rōjū* and daimyo as ministers and subjects, and could relegate the imperial house to the past. A

Hakuseki who served such a shogun-king in a personal capacity could only benefit. Nakai would have done well to explore that connection more fully.

Though this work is wide-ranging, it is not exhaustive. Some writings of Hakuseki hardly appear. *Hankan-pu*, for example, is an early study of daimyo houses, but Nakai does not incorporate it into her discussion of Hakuseki's thought. *Seiyō Kibun*, based on interviews with the Italian priest Giovanni Battista Sidotti, does not appear prominently here, either. Still, this volume is an important contribution to the understanding of a major figure in the Edo period.

Ironically, Hakuseki's major contribution may have been one that led to an end he hardly desired. By raising the Confucian issue of the separation of name and substance, Hakuseki sought to affirm that the shogun as the holder of the substance of authority ought also to have a title that reflected that authority; namely, the title of king. Others using the same data, however, concluded that the congruence of name and substance could best result from the return of political authority to the emperor, and it was that idea which helped prepare the way for the Meiji Restoration.

V. Dixon Morris
Associate Professor
Department of History
University of Hawaii

Kyōgoku Tamekane: Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan.
By Robert N. Huey. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989. 228 pp.
US\$35.00.

Around the beginning of the tenth century, Ki no Tsurayuki carefully wrote in the preface of the *Kokin Shū* that poetry is the seed of the human heart. As Robert Huey clearly indicates in his study of the Kamakura period poet, Kyōgoku Tamekane (1254–1332), poets of a later age were unafraid to toss around those same precious “seeds” in the battle between rival schools over literary excellence. In the flurry of what now seem like petty arguments, the seeds of *waka* were at times deliberately strewn about in legal rigmarole. It is indeed difficult to ignore the political state of affairs and its effect on the composition of *waka* during the late Kamakura period. A poet had to be concerned not only with the constantly changing succession in imperial rule, but, likewise, able to forecast the political stamina of his supporting patron. The imperial poetic anthologies provided a poet with his most crucial outlet for publishing, and for establishing a reputation. Being chosen as one of the compilers of such an anthology gave a poet immense influence in selecting the work of poets he admired, including poems by himself. It also provided him with the opportunity to promote the poetry of his own school and at the same time slight a rival school by intentionally excluding a large number of their poems. Tamekane's life was undoubtedly tethered to the political upheaval of his age. He in fact ended his life in the provinces after being sentenced to what would be his second and final term of exile.

Despite Tamekane's perhaps unsuccessful life as a politician, he is nevertheless remembered for his innovations in the *waka* form of poetry, and his role as one of the leading members of the Kyōgoku school. The Kyōgoku style gradually became known for its frequent use of imagery in nature poetry and its tendency to rivet on temporal changes in the scenery. As the description "innovator" suggests, Tamekane broke traditional rules and experimented with language in trying to discover new and unique ways to approach conventional topics. Huey points out, in his provocative comparison of *waka* composition to the cultivation of bonsai, that the poet, despite all his efforts to explore the limitless qualities of a topic, could not forget the paramount importance of the outward form. No matter how keenly the Kyōgoku poets sharpened their sheers and pruned away at the traditional use of language, they did not actively seek to completely level the already fixed structures of the poetic tradition. Tamekane skillfully executed his innovations from within the tradition, with the use of such techniques as *jī-amari* (the addition of at least one extra syllable in one or more lines), syllable clustering, pauses, manipulation of vowels and consonants, and the repetition of sound sequences. He vigorously defended *yamai*, the "poetic illnesses" which were vocabulary forbidden in poetry, and encouraged a freer use of language. The conservative Nijō school poets, on the other hand, took a more medical approach to poetry and prescribed the surgical removal of diseased words and poetic illnesses in order to keep the body of poetry pure and clean, thus encouraging a type of literary sterility. Huey helps to more accurately define the label of innovator which has been applied so readily to Tamekane and his poetry. Despite Tamekane's somewhat revolutionary image, we are reminded that the Kyōgoku poets were an elite and exclusive group. Their style did not suddenly arise out of nowhere, and it did indeed have precedents. Tamekane, despite his close feeling of identity with the *Man'yō Shū* poets, surprisingly did not use much *Man'yō Shū* vocabulary in his own poetry.

The latter half of the Kamakura period was politically anything but serene, and the world of poetry was snared in a major feud among Teika's descendants. Between the material struggle for family property, and a cultural struggle for possession of Teika's literary collection and thus inheritance of his poetic legacy, the battle among Teika's descendants was inflamed by Teika's son Tameie's changing of his will and, later, by the nun Abutsu's deliberate withholding of Teika's private documents. As the government focused attention outward on the crisis of the Mongol invasions, the already unstable domestic situation was heightened by the court politics of the time, in which imperial succession alternated between two separate imperial lineages, making the designation of a crown prince necessary each time a new emperor ascended the throne. Tamekane aligned himself with the Jimyō-in line and was favored by the emperors Fushimi and Hanazono. A literary salon developed around Emperor Fushimi and provided a fertile setting for the formulation of a Kyōgoku style.

Nowhere was the privilege of voice more pronounced than in the selection of the committee of compilers for an imperial poetic anthology. Imperial anthologies were publicly commissioned, and the personal taste of the compilers could often come to define an entire period of literature. As pointed out by Brower and Miner in *Japanese Court Poetry*, of the last twelve imperial anthologies, ten were

either compiled by Tameie, poets of the Nijō school, or allies of the latter, and only two were compiled by the Kyōgoku and Reizei factions. Tamekane finished compilation of the *Gyokuyō Shū*, known for being the longest of the twenty-one imperial anthologies, in 1312. Despite his first sentence of exile in 1293 and consequent pardon in 1303, Tamekane never stopped working on the commission which he initially received from Emperor Fushimi in 1293. Tameyo of the Nijō school lineage challenged Tamekane's right as official compiler, and a series of complaints were filed with the Bakufu against Tamekane. Tamekane stubbornly defended his position in this literary court battle of rightful inheritance and petty differences, and, as Huey helps clarify in his partial translation of some of the crucial issues, both men showed little reserve in forcibly manipulating language to suit their personal interests.

In addressing the problem of canon formation in the Japanese literary tradition, Huey raises an issue that is important for those who might possibly take the imperial anthologies as barometers for what they believe to be the "best" poetry of a certain poet. It is difficult — not only in the case of Tamekane, but most likely in the case of many poets of the classical period — to trace the literary development of one particular figure. Poems were often prepared far in advance for occasions which presented themselves at a later time. Perhaps even more interesting than attempting to trace the development of one personality is the fact that the political atmosphere itself generated the writing of poetry. And just as there were those silenced for their political beliefs, so too, in the world of poetry, were there muffled cries from those excluded from publishing in the imperial anthologies. Tamekane's voice remains today due mainly to his political support from two emperors and his work on the *Gokuyō Shū*. But what about the others who, perhaps due to weak imperial patronage or disadvantageous positions, were forever exiled from the pages of those monumental anthologies?

Janet Ikeda
Ph.D. Candidate
Princeton University

On the Narrow Road: Journey into a Lost Japan. By Lesley Downer. New York: Summit Books (Simon & Schuster), 1989. 280 pp., including bibliography and index. US\$19.95.

There are three good reasons for reading this book: Matsuo Bashō enthusiasts can relive the haiku poet's sixteenth century journey from Edo to Japan's northernmost provinces; one can join author Lesley Downer in her search for traces of what even most Japanese believe is a lost world; and one can indulge in an example of armchair travel at its highly informative and stimulating best. In following Bashō's documented route and spending much of her travel time on foot, the author has literally been able to follow in the master's footsteps.

Most visitors to Japan come with a confusion of images in mind: Mount Fuji, geisha, tea ceremony, and cherry blossoms on the one hand; high technology,

mass production, and contrived artifice on a multitude of levels on the other. What newcomers usually seek is a Japan of the past: what is often described by foreigners as the 'real' Japan — gently ritualized and aesthetically refined. The hard reality of what they find is quite different: concrete sprawl from Tokyo to Osaka, and materialistic values far in excess of their wildest dreams.

Downer was no different from the average newcomer in terms of what she sought after when she first arrived in Japan in 1978, attracted by Bernard Leach's assurance that Japan produces the very best pottery in the world. And, during the more than ten years that she spent in the country studying calligraphy, pottery, and Zen Buddhism among other things, she remained as much in love with that 'real' Japan as any other Japanophile. Wondering if it was such a complete myth, she felt that if it existed anywhere it would surely be in the far north, still reported to be relatively untouched and, therefore, unspoiled. For her to find this out, an assignment to research *The Economist's Business Guide to Japan* (1986) provided the opportunity and funds; Bashō's diary, the *Narrow Road to the Deep North* (*Oku no Hosomichi*), the perfect device.

Fierce determination drove her to search out paths altered by either centuries of weathering or recent urbanization. Her fluency in Japanese enabled her to puzzle out the inscriptions on aged moss-covered monuments and signposts. If she had listened to a certain "know-it-all" whom she met early on in her travels, she would have turned back immediately, for he spoke disparagingly of the Bashō boom of recent years and was adamant that she was wasting her time seeking out wilderness because all Japan looked the same these days. Luckily, Lesley Downer was made of sterner stuff, and others whom she met were more encouraging. For example, there were the local haiku poets of Obanazawa, who gathered the author into their circle and, in so doing, convinced her that the haiku creative tradition was as lively as ever. Nevertheless, unlike so many Bashōphiles, Downer was not a driven purist.

In the book, she makes it clear from the very start that she is not setting out to make a poetic journey, but rather to seek out what remains of what Bashō might have seen and experienced on his journey of three hundred years ago. She quickly puts the capital behind her by taking a bullet train as far as the legendary Shirakawa barrier, from where she sets out in earnest. If the weather turns foul, the track peters out, her calf muscles begin to contract too much, or loneliness gets the better of her (Bashō at least had Kawai Sora for company), she sticks out her thumb without a twinge of conscience, taking whatever turns up in terms of transport or cross-cultural encounter.

A vivid picture is painted of rural communities in decline. Formerly bustling ports lie in dereliction; a little valley between Oishida and Shijo, which proved the most genuine step-back-in-time, may soon be drowned by a dam; two hundred young farmers in Ogura have no hope of finding brides, as the local girls prefer life as office workers in Tokyo to working the land. Downer simply cannot understand why. Historical characters and episodes from Japan's dramatic past are brought to life with scholarship, sensitivity, and humor.

In *On the Narrow Road* — a marvelous if highly subjective blend of atmosphere, history, and the idiosyncracies of people met along the way that cleverly contrasts the ugly, chaotic but charged energy of modern Japan with the simple

aesthetic of the old — Downer achieves many of her goals. She reaches the end of her pilgrimage with Bashō's spirit so strong within her that she is able to pen what even she can admit is a passable poem: *tabi owaru / umi no otera ni / tsubame* — Journey's end, In the temple by the sea, Swallows . . .

Lesley Downer wrote *On the Narrow Road* twice; first, in 1987; then, still dissatisfied, over the first seven months of 1988. The care shows. She admits to taking hours to create what she feels is a well-rounded sentence, or to turn a perfect phrase.

I do, however, have just one grouse. Writers with experience in Japanese language and culture often litter their English prose with Japanese words and phrases. This makes a certain degree of sense for an audience on the same level of proficiency and understanding, but can be extremely irritating to those who do not share such experience. Is the writer showing off, or trying to teach some basic Japanese? Personally, I began to feel that if one more *semi* (cicada) began to sound off, I would, too. Otherwise, I — as a Bashō enthusiast, Japan romantic, and ardent travel book buyer — was well satisfied.

Since Downer began her literary career with a series of highly successful Japanese and vegetarian cook books, moved on to travel writing, and is currently mostly involved with features back in London, curiosity demands to know what she will choose as a subject for a follow up. Since she was a nominee for the coveted Thomas Cook Travel Book Award in the United Kingdom last year, she now has quite a reputation to live up to.

Angela Jeffs
Writer
Hayama

Kurozumi Shinto: An American Dialogue. Edited by Willis Stoesz. Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Anima Books, 1989. 276 pp., including notes, bibliography, and index. US\$19.95.

Thanks to the transition from the Shōwa to the Heisei era and the many religious rituals which have accompanied this, Japanese Shinto has been given a public exposure as never before, correcting the one-sided image of Japan as a country predominantly steeped in the Buddhist tradition. However, even if we call Japan a basically Shinto nation, some further corrections — or at least modifications — are still in order. It is no doubt true that the greatest part of Japanese Shinto belongs to what is called "Shrine Shinto"; i.e., the type of Shinto which finds its social expression in the rituals and festivals at the shrines found all over the country — from the small ones on the local level to the big ones attracting worshippers from far away — and which has close links with the ceremonies performed at the Imperial Palace. Yet, there is also another kind of Shinto less well known by non-Japanese. It is called "Sectarian Shinto," and it includes the many autonomous religious groups in the Shinto tradition which came into existence during the late years of the Edo period and the early years of the Meiji period, and their offspring. One of these Shinto sects is Kurozumi-kyō, which draws its fun-

damental religious energies from the worship of Amaterasu, the "Sun Goddess," and from the spirit of its founder, Kurozumi Munetada (1780–1850).

The present volume originated on "the initiative of The Reverend Muneharu Kurozumi, Chief Patriarch of Kurozumi-kyō, to introduce Shinto to English-speaking audiences, and in several scholarly moves to put this religion into perspective" (p. 1). It does so in a way which, in the eyes of this reviewer, will probably appeal both to readers who are already to some extent acquainted with Japan's religious scene and to those who are less knowledgeable about it.

After a brief Preface by the editor, Professor Willis Stoesz, Chapter 1, by H. Byron Earhart, describes the background of Kurozumi-kyō by placing it in the general framework of the Shinto tradition, and Chapter 2, by Helen Hardacre, analyzes the role of its founder. These introductions lead us to Part Two, "Kurozumi Teaching," consisting of three chapters in which the current head explains the basic tenets of the sect's religious faith, and one chapter which gives a translation (by Harold Wright) of some of the *dōka* poems composed by the founder, which are basic tools in the teaching. Part Three, "Perspectives on Kurozumi-kyō," (Chapters 7 to 12) deals with the sect in a more scholarly way, ranging from a treatment of folk religious elements and Buddhist affinities in it to the more universal attitude which could already be detected in the life of the founder. This third part ends with a dialogue between the current head of Kurozumi Shinto and a Catholic priest about the idea of peace in the Shinto and Christian traditions. Part Four, "Conclusion," (Chapter 13) is a summary by the editor, who, from a Western-Christian viewpoint, briefly presents Kurozumi-kyō under the five headings of immanentism, universalism, pastoral intention, ritual focus, and the mediatorial role of the founder.

The main reason for recommending this book is the harmony it strikes between generality and particularity. Whether it is dealing with the specific teachings of Kurozumi Shinto or with the subtle aestheticism of its poetry, these are always placed in a more general context so that readers not familiar with Japanese traditions can understand them. Also, the balance between views of the Kurozumi sect from the inside — (the explanations given by its current head and translations of the founder's poems) — and those from the outside — (the interpretations by the American scholars) — contribute to better understanding. This is especially so since the spirit of "sympathetic detachment" of the latter, which pervades this book, invites the reader to join in the interreligious dialogue it purports to promote. At the same time, the simplicity with which the spirit of the Kurozumi sect itself is introduced by its representatives manifests an equally open attitude which cannot but fascinate the reader, even though it comes from a tradition with a way of thinking far removed from that of most contemporary Westerners.

This is not a highly academic work which tries to cover all aspects of the Kurozumi sect. (For a more scholarly approach, the reader should refer to *Kurozumikyō and the New Religions of Japan* [Princeton University Press, 1986], by Helen Hardacre, who is also one of the contributors to this volume.) But, perhaps better than scholarly studies, this little volume is able to convey some of the spirit of this Shinto religious sect as it is alive in contemporary Japan.

If this reviewer may make some small criticisms: some of the Notes are too

long and might better have been incorporated into the main text; and, the picture of amulets on p. 190 (Figure 3) is upside down. These points notwithstanding, I warmly recommend this work.

Jan Swyngedouw
Professor of Japanese Culture and Religion
Nanzan University
Nagoya

The Art of Zen: Paintings and Calligraphy by Japanese Monks 1600–1925. By Stephen Addiss. New York: Henry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989. 224 pp. including 73 color plates 44 black-and-white illustrations. US\$39.95.

The Art of Zen was conceived in connection with an exhibition of the same name that toured the United States in 1989. Rather than write the usual entry-oriented catalogue, Professor Addiss took the opportunity to write a book intended to introduce the history of Zen art in Japan since 1600.

The book pivots around the key figure Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1769), the Zen master who transformed the subsequent history of Japanese Rinzai Zen and its related art forms. In the first chapter, it begins with a focus on Daitokuji temple and the monk Ikkyū (1394–1481), followed by brief discussions of important later monks such as Takuan (1573–1645) and Isshi (1608–46). The early Edo period, covered in chapters two and three, is divided between such individualistic priests as Fūgai (1568–1654) and Bankei (1622–93) and the major figures of the new Obaku Zen sect. In chapter four, Hakuin's life and works are examined at the greater length required for this central figure whose original style of painting was to be the dominant influence on the works of later generations of Rinzai Zen monks. Next is a discussion of "the followers of Hakuin," followed by a chapter on the later Edo period, represented by the works of Ryōkan (1758–1831) and two Zen-influenced esoteric monks, Jiun (1718–1804) and Gōchō (1749–1835). The volume concludes with an examination of the careers of Sengai (1750–1838) and Nantembō (1839–1925).

Professor Addiss' text focuses on the lives of the Zen monks and includes interesting traditional anecdotes that help personalize their often eccentric characters and teachings. The discussion of paintings and calligraphy is most often employed to define the intriguing personalities of these historic figures and their Zen teachings rather than to delineate the nature of Zen art. Indeed, one of the useful functions of this pioneering work is that it raises as many questions as it answers concerning the relation of Zen and art.

There are many possible definitions of "Zen art," including the following: art work done by Zen monks; art work with Zen themes (Daruma, Kanzan and Jitoku, etc.), whether done by Zen priests or non-Zen artists; and art work with a "Zen meaning," including works by non-Zen artists on themes not specifically "Zen" in content. Individual works may fall into any one or two of these categories.

ries, or even into all three. Addiss does not directly address this question of definition, yet clearly employs several of the meanings listed above. For example, although Shōkadō, Nobutada, and Jiun were not Zen priests, their works included in the book can be recognized as falling within the second and, more frequently, the third definition.

Still, recognition of these different categories does not entirely solve the problem of distinguishing the various kinds of Zen art in Japan. An equally important distinction can often be made between “professional” and “amateur” artists among Zen monks. In the Muromachi period, Ikkyū’s paintings might be classified as amateur, while those of his disciple Bokkei might be considered professional. In general, the professional artist-monk received extensive training in painting, and tended to perpetuate a certain style with a high degree of technical skill, while the amateur artist-monk had comparatively little training in painting and thus created works that relied more on direct, expressive qualities than on any formal skills. Hakuin is the most important example of this latter category of amateur artist-monk. The term *Zenga* is often used to describe the works of this amateur group, especially the paintings of Hakuin and his followers. This distinction between professional and amateur also holds for calligraphy. Understanding this helps to account for the radical differences in style seen when one compares the work of Takuan (plate 12), Mokuan (plate 39), and Hakuin (plate 67). Takuan and Mokuan represent accomplished calligraphers in the Japanese and Chinese traditions, while Hakuin created a vital style unique to himself that depended upon a direct, frank, even blunt use of the brush rather than skillful manipulation of a calligraphic tradition.

Returning to the text with these categories and distinctions in mind, one can observe the rationale for including some non-Zen artists in the book, and one can also more clearly perceive the different traditions of Zen art that are being presented. It is notable, for example, that after Addiss examines the prominent early-Edo Daitokuji priests Kōgetsu (1574–1643) and Seigan (1588–1661), the conservative Daitokuji tradition that emphasized technical skill is dropped, resulting in the exclusion of such interesting later figures as Daishin (1657–1730), Chūhō (1759–1838), and Taikō (1772–1860) among others. It can be further seen that the non-traditional, inventively direct calligraphic styles of Jiun and Gōchō were linked more closely with that of amateur *Zenga* monks than with that of earlier calligraphers in their own schools of esoteric Buddhism. Hence, their calligraphy is close in expressive impact to Hakuin’s. On the other hand, the acclaimed work of the Zen monk Ryōkan was based on his exhaustive study of Chinese calligraphers known to him through copy books printed in Japan, and exhibits the influence of the Japanese literati interest in penetrating the essence of certain styles of traditional Chinese calligraphy. Even a glance at Ryōkan’s delicate, even sublime calligraphy places it at the opposite end of the spectrum from Hakuin’s massive calligraphic style.

Following this twisting and turning development of Zen-related art forms is one of the delights of reading this book. In order to understand the background for this development, however, further examination of the influence of patronage, temple tradition and hierarchy, and artistic lineage on the art of Zen is needed. Future publications may help to bridge the gap that still separates scholars who are active in the history of religions from those active in the history of art.

There are a number of fine features in the layout of the book, including the excellent decision to reproduce the whole mounting of a calligraphy by Isshi, allowing full appreciation of the exquisite presentation often accorded the finest works of Zen art. The color plates well reproduce even the subtle tonal variations of the paper surface of many of the works. At the same time, however, some works, although given the whole page, are inexplicably printed small in size, while some other important works are literally relegated to the margins. The second and third sections of Hakuin's delightful "One Hundred Demons" (plate 58) scroll were transposed. Occasionally, it seems as though the generally successful attempt to beautifully present the works resulted in mannerisms such as the off-center position and unnecessarily small size of the last two color plates. Fortunately, the clarity of the photography and printing allows a clear view of the details even in most of the small reproductions.

This book is the best of Professor Addiss' many publications that have helped to broaden the popularity and understanding of the arts of Japan. The engaging, easy-to-read presentation of a form of art that too often mystifies the general public makes this book an effective introduction to a field that has been studied far too little. Many readers will find themselves intrigued and challenged to further develop their growing appreciation for Zen art. The development of a wider audience for this important aspect of Japanese art is necessary for the further development and support of scholarly research and museum activities related to it.

Paul Berry
Assistant Professor, Japanese Art History
University of Washington

Glossary

[] denotes Japanese reading

Amidadō	阿弥陀堂	Eichū	永忠
Bunkidan	文机談	Eisai	榮西
Cha Ching [<i>Chakyō</i>]	茶經	Eishū	永秀
Chadō Sentei	茶道筌蹄	<i>Fuhaku Hikki</i>	不白筆記
Chadō Shiso Densho	茶道四祖伝書	Fujimura Yōken	藤村庸軒
Chafu	茶譜	Furuta Oribe	古田織部
Chawa Shigetsu Shū	茶話指月集	Gengensai Chadō	玄々斎茶道叢書
chen [<i>shin</i>]	震	<i>Sōsho</i>	
ch'ien [<i>ken</i>]	乾	Genryū Chawa	源流茶話
Chōandō Ki	長闇堂記	gogyō	五行
doyō	土用	hakke	八卦

<i>hassō jōdō</i>	八相成道	<i>Nambō Sōkei</i>	南坊宗啓
<i>Hayashiya</i>	林屋辰三郎	<i>Nampō Roku</i>	南方録
<i>Tatsusaburō</i>		<i>Nihon no Chasho</i>	日本の茶書
<i>hentetsu</i>	編綴	<i>nijūgo-zammai e</i>	二十五三昧会
<i>hinoc</i>	丙	<i>Oboegaki</i>	覚書
<i>hinoto</i>	丁	<i>ōjō</i>	往生
<i>Hōnichī</i>	宝日	<i>okina</i>	翁
<i>Hosokawa Sansai</i>	細川三斎	<i>raigō zu</i>	来迎図
<i>hosshin</i>	発心	<i>Ranjatai</i>	蘭奢待
<i>I-ching [Ekikyō]</i>	易經	<i>Ryōgen</i>	良源
<i>in</i>	陰	<i>Samegai</i>	醒ヶ井
<i>Inagaki Kyūsō</i>	稲垣休叟	<i>Sen no Rikyū</i>	千利休由緒書
<i>jijō goi</i>	自浄其意	<i>Yuishogaki</i>	
<i>k'an [kan]</i>	坎	<i>Sen Rikyū</i>	千利休
<i>kanoe</i>	庚	<i>Sen Sōtan</i>	千宗旦
<i>kanoto</i>	辛	<i>Shichibutsu Tsūkaige</i>	七仏通戒偈
<i>ken [gon]</i>	艮	<i>shitennō</i>	四天王
<i>kinoe</i>	甲	<i>Shōfū Zatsuwa</i>	松風雜話
<i>Kinoshita Hansuke</i>	木下半介	<i>shōha</i>	蜀羽
<i>Kinoshita Yūkei</i>	木下祐桂	<i>Shōsōin Bunsho</i>	正倉院文書
<i>kinoto</i>	乙	<i>sōdenmono</i>	相伝物
<i>Kissayōjō Ki</i>	喫茶養生記	<i>Sōga</i>	僧賀
<i>Kobori Enshū</i>	小堀遠州	<i>Sōon</i>	宗恩
<i>Kōshin Gegaki</i>	江岑夏書	<i>subuta</i>	窠蓋
<i>Kōshin Sōsa</i>	江岑宗左	<i>suki</i>	数奇
<i>Kubo Gondaiyū</i>	久保権大輔	<i>Sumiyoshiya Sōmu</i>	住吉屋宗無
<i>Kumakura Isao</i>	熊倉功夫	<i>sun [son]</i>	巽
<i>k'un [kon]</i>	坤	<i>t'ai-chi [taikyoku]</i>	太極
<i>Kusumi Soan</i>	久須美疎安	<i>Takuboku</i>	啄木
<i>Kūya</i>	空也	<i>Tsuda Sōgyū</i>	津田宗及
<i>li [ri]</i>	離	<i>tsuchinoe</i>	戊
<i>Maeda Gen'i</i>	前田玄以	<i>tsuchinoto</i>	己
<i>Matsui Yasuyuki</i>	松井康之	<i>Tsuru no hōchō shiki</i>	鶴の包丁式
<i>Matsuyama</i>	松山吟松庵	<i>tui [da]</i>	兌
<i>Ginshōan</i>		<i>wakin</i>	和巾
<i>Matsuya Nikki</i>	松屋日記	<i>Yabunouchi</i>	藪内竹心
<i>Metsugo</i>	滅後	<i>Chikushin</i>	
<i>midare kazari</i>	乱荘	<i>yō</i>	陽
<i>mizunoe</i>	壬	<i>Yojirō</i>	与次郎
<i>mizunoto</i>	癸	<i>Zeami</i>	世阿弥

Chanoyu Quarterly 1990 Contents

Issue No. 61

Rikyū Remembered	Sen Sōshitsu XV
A Biography of Sen Rikyū	Murai Yasuhiko
Chronological Chart of Major Historical and Tea Events Centering Around the Life of Sen Rikyū	
Memoirs of Monk Honkaku	Inoue Yasushi

Issue No. 62

Just Sit and Have Tea	Sen Sōshitsu XV
Sen Rikyū's Tea Utensils	Akanuma Taka
Everyday Zen	Ueda Shizuteru
Tea Procedure: <i>Chaire Kazari (Ro)</i>	
Book Reviews: <i>Nichiren's Senji-shō: An Essay on the Selection of the Proper Time</i> . Tr. with introduction by Kenneth Dollarhide. (Laurel Rasplia Rodd) / <i>An Introduction to Buddhism</i> . By Takasaki Jikido. Tr., Rolf W. Giebel. (Robert Sharf) / <i>Intuition and Reflection in Self-Consciousness</i> . By Nishida Kitarō. Tr., Valdo H. Viglielmo, et. al. (Robert W. Adams) / <i>Shinran: An Introduction to His Thought</i> . By Yoshifumi Ueda and Dennis Hirota. (Minor L. Rogers) / <i>The Paintings of the Lotus Sutra</i> . By Willa J. Tanabe. (Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky) / <i>Zen: Tradition and Transition</i> . Ed., Kenneth Kraft. (Dale S. Wright).	

Issue No. 63

A Withered Tree Flowering	Sen Sōshitsu XV
Matsudaira Fumai's Ido Teabowls	Ikeda Hyōa
Everyday Zen (continuation)	Ueda Shizuteru
Tea Procedure: <i>Chawan Kazari (Ro)</i> , <i>Chashaku Kazari (Ro)</i> , <i>Chasen Kazari (Ro)</i>	
Book Reviews: <i>Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu</i> . Ed., Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao. (William R. LaFleur) / <i>Space and Spirit in Modern Japan</i> . By Barrie B. Greenbie. (David Hale) / <i>Culture and Management in Japan</i> . By Shūji Hayashi. Tr., Frank Baldwin. (John Welfield) / <i>The Rainbow World: Japan in Essays and Translations</i> . By Burton Watson. (Nicholas J. Teele) / <i>Rediscovering Japanese Space</i> . By Kishō Kurokawa. (Kazuo Matsubayashi) / <i>Temple und Teehaus in Japan. The Temple and Teahouse in Japan</i> . By Werner Blaser. (Gerhardt Staufenbiel).	

Issue No. 64

Purity in the Roji

Sen Sōshitsu XV

The Taste of Tea: Excerpts from the *Chami*

Okuda Shōzō

Kamo no Chōmei, The Recluse

Yamaori Tetsuo

Tea Procedure: *Kasane-jawan* (Ro)

Book Reviews: *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*. By Gary L. Ebersole. (Laurel Rasplica Rodd) / *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*. By Taikō Yamasaki. (Eko Susan Tanaka) / *The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei*. By John Stevens. (Paul L. Swanson) / *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan*. By James C. Dobbins. (James H. Foard) / *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion: Buddhism, Taoism, Zen, Hinduism*. Ed., Stephan Schuhmacher and Gert Woerner. (Thomas Hare) / *Tetsubin: A Japanese Waterkettle*. By P.L.W. Arts. (Gary C. Cadwallader) / *Modern Japan Through Its Weddings: Gender, Person, and Society in Ritual Portrayal*. By Walter Edwards. (John A. Mock) / *A Pilgrim's Guide to Forty-Six Temples*. By Shiro Usui. Tr., Stephen D. Miller. (Herbert Plutschow).

Chronology

Asuka period, 538–645

Hakuhō period, 645–710

Nara period, 710–794

Heian period, 794–1192

Kamakura period, 1192–1336

Muromachi period, 1336–1568

Momoyama period, 1568–1603

Edo period, 1603–1868

Modern period, 1868–

Printing and binding by Nissha Inc., Kyoto.

Shirley M. Friedman
Theodore M. Friedman

Japan
New York, N. Y. A.