

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 66



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.

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TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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

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

Christianity and Chanoyu

Sen Sōshitsu XV

Chanoyu is often thought to be but a matter of prescribed etiquette and steps for making tea. In anything, however, there are rules which should be followed. The Way of Tea indeed consists of rules; the prescribed etiquette and steps cannot be dismissed. However, there is another aspect of the Way of Tea — that of consecrating a bowl of tea in the spirit of prayer. One should understand that it is this aspect that constitutes the sphere in which chanoyu is put into actual practice.

History suggests that the Japanese first came into contact with foreign philosophical concepts around the fifth century. These concepts were mainly those of China, where the Three Religions — that is, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism — served to elevate the people's lives. Through this influence, Japanese spiritual philosophy had its start as a combination of elements from the native Japanese religion, Shintoism, as well as Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism.

It was in the year 1543 that three Portuguese landed on Tanegashima Island in Kyushu, and the exchange of ideas between Japan and Europe began. For the Japanese of that era to accept the material as well as spiritual concepts of those unfamiliar countries of Europe must have been a tremendous endeavor. Nonetheless, there were feudal lords such as Ōtomo Sōrin in Kyushu who, from early on, adopted the Christian faith, and gradually Christianity also became a part of the Japanese people's religious culture. The arrival of Francisco Xavier in Japan in 1549 marked the beginning of the full-fledged propagation of Christianity in Japan. It was not until 1614 that Tokugawa Ieyasu's proclamation prohibiting Christianity was enacted, and so there were more than sixty years during which Christianity was able to proliferate in Japan, and during which its influence became very strong. In terms of Japanese history, those years coincided with the Warring States (Sengoku) to the Azuchi-Momoyama periods, when the nation was undergoing unification, and also when Sen Rikyū was active in the world of chanoyu.

Translated and adapted from the essay "Kirishitan Fukyō to Cha"キリシタン布教と茶 in *Cha no Shintei: Dō, Gaku, Jitsu* 「茶の真諦：道・学・実」(Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1980).

Before that time, from the Kamakura to the Muromachi periods, Zen Buddhism had built up an extremely strong following in Japan, especially among members of the warrior class. This was also the time when the benefits of tea-drinking began to be recognized by the Japanese people. It was, in fact, through the Zen master Eisai's work entitled *Kissayōjō Ki* [The Preservation of Health through Drinking Tea], that the beneficial properties of tea became known to the shogunal family, and from there down to the warrior families and finally down to the general populace.

The benefits of tea-drinking were not limited to its medicinal value; more than this, they lay in its ability to calm the soul. The point of departure for the spread of chanoyu was that, because of this spiritually conducive effect of the beverage, there were many Zen monks who made offerings of tea to the Buddha and then served this to people as a means of propagating their religion.

For the many Jesuit missionaries who came to Japan during the mid-sixteenth century, the question of how to propagate their religion within Japan — within the lifestyle of the Japanese people — was of major concern. They realized that, to propagate their faith, they had to penetrate deeply into society; they had to mix with people and deepen their relations with them, and thereby foster mutual understanding. It did not take long for them to discover that chanoyu stood at the fulcrum of the people's culture, and that the tearoom was where they could fraternize with the people, especially members of the higher echelons of society, feudal lords and warriors, and the intelligentsia. Thus they realized that, in order to achieve their goals, they had to use chanoyu as their medium. So it was that those European missionaries of the mid-sixteenth century entered into the world of tea, and that many chanoyu practitioners of this era became Christian converts. Indeed, most of the feudal lords who are listed among Sen Rikyū's "seven disciples" — such men as Takayama Ukon, Furuta Oribe, Hosokawa Sansai, and Oda Uraku — were "Christian feudal lords" (*Kirishitan daimyō*).

There exists a work entitled *The History of the Church in Japan* (Jp., *Nihon Kyōkai Shi*) in the Vatican Library, which relates the activities of the Jesuits in Japan at that time. The man who wrote this was a missionary named João Rodriguez, who was extremely proficient in the Japanese language and served as interpreter while studying tea together with other Jesuits. Part of this work has been translated into Japanese, and more than half of the text has to do with the Jesuits' chanoyu activities. It even states that a wonderful man of culture named Sen Rikyū was going about bringing tranquility to peoples hearts by means of a bowl of tea, and that this had great effect — more effect than that of religion. ☯

Rikyū's Disciples

Murai Yasuhiko

Although I do not have an exact count, the number of people who had some form of association with Sen Rikyū¹ (1522–91) during his lifetime was extremely large. Especially during the twenty years following his appointment as “chief of tea matters” (*sadō*) to Oda Nobunaga and then Toyotomi Hideyoshi, his social circle, which had until then consisted mainly of fellow townsmen of Sakai, suddenly expanded, and it appears that his associations with people of the warrior class, in particular, greatly increased. As for people who can be regarded as having been his disciples, however, the number of course becomes limited. Indeed, as we shall later see, historical documents list as few as six or, at most, eight. Compare this with the case of Kobori Enshū's¹ (1579–1647) disciples. The *Tōryū Chanoyu Rudenshū*¹ [Document of the Line of Transmission of Our Chanoyu Lineage], written by Endō Genkan¹ and published in the year 1694, states as follows: “There are many disciples; approximately one thousand.” Even if one considers that Genkan is referring to the number of disciples in the Enshū lineage, this would seem to be an overly large number.

To reconcile this, we must consider the question of the criterion for describing a person as “a disciple.” This means that we must firstly understand the nature of the master-disciple relationship in those days.

In the *Yamanoue Sōji Ki*,¹ we find three categories of “tea people” distinguished: “*chanoyu-mono*”¹ (chanoyu people), “*wabi-suki(sha)*”¹ (rusticated chanoyu enthusiasts), and “*chanoyu meijin*”¹ (chanoyu masters). In that the category of *chanoyu-mono* refers to people who earned their livelihoods by means of [teaching] chanoyu, it seems clear that a master-disciple system had at least begun to become established within the world of tea by

¹ The title means “Yamanoue Sōji's Record.” Yamanoue Sōji (1544–90) was a tea master closely acquainted with Rikyū. Actually, there are four known versions of the work, all apparently deriving from the same original manuscript. Kuwata Tadachika presents a carefully researched version of his own in Sen Sōshitsu et. al., ed., *Chadō Koten Zenshū* [茶道古典全集] Tankōsha, 1957–62), vol. 6, pp. 117–129.

Translated and adapted from “*Rikyū Deshi Shichininshū*” 利休弟子七人衆 appearing in *Tankō* [淡交], vol. 41 (1987), special no., pp. 8–20, by permission. Annotations and mini biographies are by the translator. Unless otherwise specified, photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.

the time this work was written; that is, by the latter half of the sixteenth century. However, we do not know what the master-disciple relationship concretely entailed.

During the nine years between 1603 and 1612 that Kobori Enshū is generally believed to have undergone discipleship under Furuta Oribe,[†] he received instruction from Oribe, either in person or in the form of written correspondence, on more than thirty occasions. The record which he kept of these is known as the *Keichō Otazunegaki*[†] [Keichō-era Inquiries], and from its contents one can distinctly recognize the existence of a master-disciple relationship.

In this era, however, it was still common for a master to impart teachings to disciples by means of oral transmission (*kuden*, *kuchizutae*; i.e., information handed down by word of mouth), and so the conversations pertaining to chanoyu and related subjects (*suki zatsudan*) that took place during tea gatherings may be regarded as having constituted one form or means of teaching. For example, the following “tea story” appears in a work edited by a man named Kusumi Soan[†] and published in 1701, the *Chawa Shigetsu Shū*[†] [Collection of Tea Stories Pointing to the Moon]:

When Rikyū brought out an old round kettle at a *kuchikiri* [tea gathering for the unsealing of the storage jar containing dried tea leaves] one particular year, the group of seven asked many questions. One of them had a tea gathering at which he brought out a similar kettle. Rikyū said: I think he lacks *suki* (the refined creative sensibility attached to the art of chanoyu). If, for example, this person here brings out a round item, one should, on the contrary, bring out a square one. Though this kettle is a good likeness [of the one I used], it is, after all, but subsequential in the inspiration [behind its usage], and this makes it uninteresting. An item which is of a level high enough to be regarded as a *meibutsu* (famed item; masterpiece) inherently possesses some outstanding feature and will not fall to second place, and this is not limited to items with weighty names; it is also so for light things. At my — meaning Sōtan’s — house, we have

...

From the wording of the final part of the story, we can determine that Sen Sōtan[†] (1578–1658; Rikyū’s grandson) is here citing an episode about Rikyū, the message of the episode being that Rikyū taught his disciples not to copy others. Unlike the situation after the middle of the Edo period, during this era there was no particular teaching curriculum. Lessons were things that occurred whenever circumstances called for them.

The Establishment of the “Group of Seven”

As mentioned earlier, there were several people, though not many, who appear to have been disciples of Sen Rikyū's. Among them, there were those who, at some point in time, came to be referred to as members of his “group of seven” (*shichininshū*¹). This entity is the same “group of seven” mentioned in the above *Chawa Shigetsu Shū* story.

The editor of the *Chawa Shigetsu Shū*, Kusumi Soan, was one of Sen Sōtan's “Four Deva Kings” (*shitennō*²). He was a disciple of Sōtan's during the latter's final years, and was married to the daughter of another of his “Four Deva Kings,” Fujimura Yōken. Therefore, even if Sōtan did not tell the aforementioned story directly to Soan, but it was perhaps introduced to Soan through Yōken, we can be relatively sure that the story dates from sometime before Sōtan's death in the twelfth month of 1658.

The term “group of seven” is mentioned in one more of Sōtan's “tea stories.” The *Chadō Shiso Densho*³ [Transmissions pertaining to the Four Pioneers of the Way of Tea]² relates it as follows:

The group of seven are:

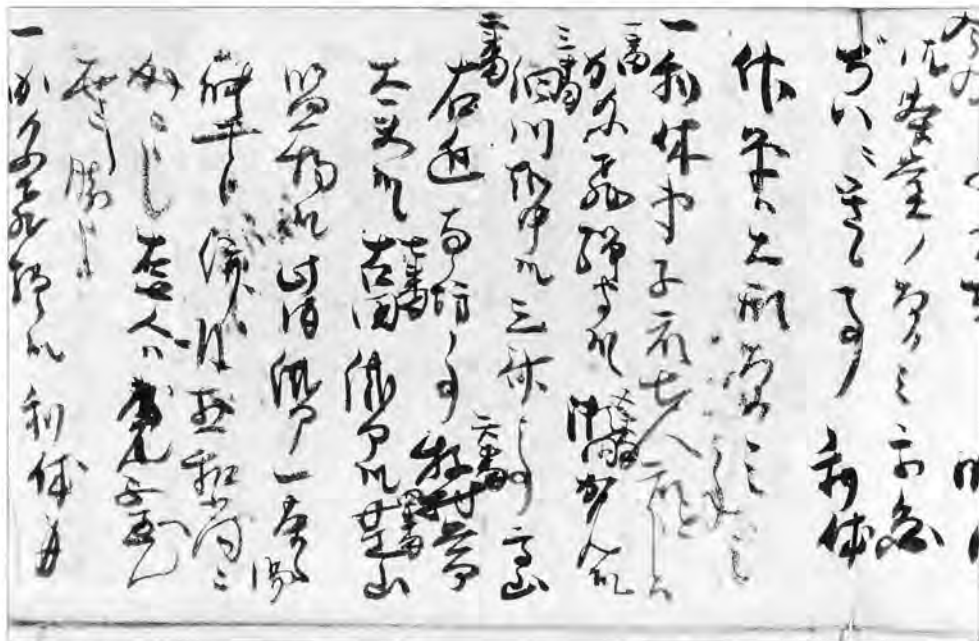
Kaga no Hizen [Maeda Toshinaga[†]], Gamō Ujisato,[†]
Hosokawa Tadaoki [Sansai],[†] Furuta Oribe, Makimura
Hyōbu,[†] Takayama Nambō [Ukon],[†] and Shibayama
Kemmotsu.[†]

These are the seven people, says Sōtan.

The original compiler of the *Chadō Shiso Densho*, Matsuya Hisashige,[†] died in 1652, six years before Sōtan. This naturally means that his book was completed by then, and that the “group of seven” nomenclature had been established by then, or in other words by the middle of the seventeenth century. Hisashige had been personally associated with Sōtan. This is verified by the fact that, having been invited by Sōtan to a tea gathering on the 5th day of the 4th month, 1649, Hisashige has left us with a description of the Konnichian tearoom (recorded in the *Matsuya Kaiki*³⁴). There is a good possibility that the topic of Rikyū's “group of seven” arose during the conversation that took place at that very gathering, or on some similar occasion.

² This work, edited by Matsuyama Ginshōan and published in 1933, is based on the late-Edo tea man Kobori Sōshū's handwritten copy of transmissions pertaining to Rikyū, Furuta Oribe, Hosokawa Sansai, and Kobori Enshū, which were originally compiled by Matsuya Hisashige (1566–1652).

³ This work consists of records kept by three generations of the Matsuya family, pertaining to chānoyu gatherings which they had attended. Hisashige's entries cover the years 1604–50.



The *Kōshin Gegaki* [Kōshin's Summer Writing]. Seen here is the portion regarding "Rikyū's group of seven disciples." Property of Fushin'an, Kyoto.

If the concept of the "group of seven" was indeed established during Sōtan's lifetime, Sōtan's sons also would certainly have had occasion to hear about this group. The fact that at least one of them *did* is substantiated by the *Kōshin Gegaki*[†] [Kōshin's Summer Writing], which includes mention of "Rikyū's group of seven disciples." This work, the *Kōshin Gegaki*, consists of itemized memoranda pertaining to tea gatherings and tea people, which Sōtan's son, Hōgensai Sōsa [i.e., Kōshin][†] jotted down over a period of several months during the years 1662–63, while he was residing in Edo (present-day Tokyo), and which he gave to his eldest son, Zuiryū-sai. The work's title derives from the fact that Kōshin mainly wrote it during the summer of 1663. One of the important pieces of information given in this work is that Rikyū had an amenuensis (*yūhitsu*) named Narumi, and the letters and such that were written for Rikyū were mostly executed by him. The article about Rikyū's group of seven disciples appears as the next item in this work, as follows:

Item: Those referred to as Rikyū's group of seven disciples
are
Number 1 — Lord Gamō of Hida Number 5 —
Seta Kamon[†] Number 3 — Lord Hosokawa of

Etchū, meaning Sansai Number 2 — Takayama
 Ukon, meaning Nambō Number 6 — Lord of the
 Fifth Rank, Makimura Hyōbu (Masakichi) Number 7
 — Lord Furuta Oribe (Shigenari) Number 4 —
 Lord Shibayama Kemmotsu.

Among them, Oribe had no talent in chanoyu, but later became a master. The seven men given above were adept in military affairs.

Comparing the above list with that in the *Chadō Shiso Densho*, which is older than the *Kōshin Gegaki*, we find that Maeda Toshinaga is replaced by Seta Kamon. Most likely, the names given in the earlier work, the *Chadō Shiso Densho*, represent the original “group of seven” membership. We do not know the year of birth nor death of Shibayama Kemmotsu, but if we consider that the youngest of the other members, Hosokawa Sansai, died in the year 1645 (see Chart B, p. 31), and that the “group of seven” nomenclature had most likely arisen during the time that he was alive, but not when Rikyū was still alive, we can narrow the years down to very few during which it must have come into existence.

Before going further, let us consider the size of this group: “seven.” The reason for having a group consisting (at least in name) of seven members was no doubt because this was an auspicious number.

There was another so-called group of seven, the “*daisu* group of seven” (*daisu shichininshū*), composed of individuals — most of them, the same people who appear in Rikyū’s group — who are said to have received direct transmission of the procedures for using a *daisu* (a special kind of freestanding shelf) from Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The procedures for using a *daisu* (*daisu no hō*) were regarded as constituting the key methodology of chanoyu, and as representing the loftiest of the tea procedures. According to a work entitled *Teiyōshū*⁴ [True Essence Collection],⁴ Hideyoshi, after first making Rikyū promise not to transmit these procedures to anyone else, personally transmitted them to seven people: the Kampaku (Toyotomi Hidetsugu[†]); Kimura Hitachinosuke[†]; Gamō Ujisato; Hosokawa, the Lord of Etchū; Takayama Ukon; Seta Kamon; and Shibayama Kemmotsu. We are told that, furthermore, at this time he had Rikyū transmit the procedures to Oda Uraku,[†] saying that this was because Uraku “has long been very adept in the art of chanoyu.”

I believe it was the late tea historian, Kuwata Tadachika,[†] who first theorized the possible connection between the “*daisu shichininshū*” and

⁴ Edited by Matsumoto Kenkyū (dates uncertain); completed in 1710. Matsumoto Kenkyū was chief of tea matters for Tokugawa Mitsutomo of Owari (present-day western Aichi Prefecture), and was a follower of the Oda Uraku line of chanoyu.

Rikyū's "*shichitetsu*" (literally, "seven sages"; i.e., seven disciples),⁵ and for many years I supported his view. Indeed, by substituting Hidetsugu and Hitachinosuke's names with the names Furuta Oribe and Makimura Hyōbu, the *daisu shichininshū* membership becomes identical to Rikyū's group of seven. Furthermore, if we consider that, owing to Hideyoshi, both of those two in Hideyoshi's group were exiled to Mount Kōya in the seventh month of 1595, with Hidetsugu committing suicide and Hitachinosuke, who was one of Hideyoshi's most important vassals, following him in death, it would appear that there was good reason for them not to be included in Rikyū's group.

A major problem with this rationale, however, lies in the timing. If Hideyoshi did in fact transmit the *daisu* procedures to the seven, as recorded in the *Teiyōshū*, this had to have occurred sometime after the twelfth month of 1591, for it was not until then that, due to the death of his son Tsurumatsu, he adopted his nephew Hidetsugu as his heir and installed him in the post of kampaku. This was ten months after Rikyū died by committing ritual suicide as mandated by Hideyoshi. Thus, one of the vital points in the *Teiyōshū* story is invalidated — the point about Hideyoshi's having gone over Rikyū's head and having personally transmitted the esoteric procedures to the seven men. Could it be that Hideyoshi personally transmitted the procedures because Rikyū was no longer alive to do so, and the story got twisted? According to the entry for the 3rd day of the 11th month, 1597, in the *Rokuon Nichiroku*,⁶ Hideyoshi did indeed bestow Maeda Toshiie with a prized tea caddy, the "Fuji Nasu," and give him permission to perform the *daisu* chanoyu procedures. Even in this case, however, he most likely did not personally conduct the transmission to Toshiie. The fact that the *Teiyōshū* was completed in 1710, forty-seven years after the publication of the *Kōshin Gegaki*, is also problematic. Considering these various factors, I would suggest that it may actually have been Rikyū's group of seven that was the model for the *daisu shichininshū*.

Warrior-class Tea Men

The number one characteristic of Rikyū's group of seven is that, as described in the *Kōshin Gegaki*, the members were all warriors who were

⁵ Early documents refer to Rikyū's group as "*Rikyū shichininshū*" (Rikyū's group of seven) or "*Rikyū deshishū shichininshū*" (Rikyū's group of seven disciples), and later works use the term "*Rikyū shichitetsu*." The latter is the prevalent term used today.

⁶ A journal kept by successive supervisory priests of Roku'in, a subtemple of the Zen Buddhist temple Shōkokuji in Kyoto. It covers the period from 1487 to 1651.

"adept in military affairs." This is not especially surprising when we consider that Rikyū was chief of tea matters for Nobunaga and then Hideyoshi. Around the period when the "group of seven" listing of Rikyū's disciples came into existence, the tea style practiced by feudal lords (*daimyō-cha*) was understood as being directly descended from Rikyū's tea style. Of course, the number of warriors who had received tea instruction from Rikyū could not have been limited to seven. But, as mentioned earlier, the choosing of seven of them was probably because this was an auspicious number; and it seems that these seven were indeed above average in their chanoyu. There appears to be no obvious decisive factor beyond this for them to have been included in the list. We know from a number of stories, such as the one described earlier from the *Charwa Shigetsu Shū*, that all the members did not necessarily conduct chanoyu together as a group; however, there were occasions when a few of them joined together with Rikyū for chanoyu.

The second characteristic that comes to mind when we look at the lineup of members is that they were all either devout Christians, such as Takayama Ukon, or they were strong sympathizers of Christianity. Evidence shows that Ukon personally converted Gamō Ujisato and Makimura Hyōbu to the religion, and the others also became sympathizers either directly or indirectly through Ukon. This indicates that the seven men were closely acquainted, but one cannot say that this Christian connection was a decisive factor for their inclusion in the Rikyū group. It has been a matter of common debate whether Rikyū himself was a Christian, but, unless I am mistaken, nothing has yet come to light to prove that he was.

The third thing that can be said is that the members are listed as "number one," "number two," and so on, which means that there must have been some basis for this numbering. However, other than the reason behind Furuta Oribe's placement as "number seven," which is explained in the postscript to the *Kōshin Gegaki* list as being due to his initial lack of skill in chanoyu and his only later becoming a teacher of the art, just what this basis was is uncertain. As most readers of this journal probably know, Oribe rose to the number one position in the tea world after Rikyū's death. According to the *Tamon'in Nikki*,⁷ he had become known as a "chanoyu master" (*chanoyu meijin*) by the year 1599. This is just about the time that his "shoe-shaped teabowls" (*kutsugata chawan*) started to be criticized as "distorted and odd" (*Sōtan Nikki*[†] [Kamiya Sōtan's diary]: entry for 28th day, 2nd month, 1599). Thus, on the one hand he had become known as a chanoyu master, but on the other hand, opinion was mounting that he was unskilled and unknowledgeable in tea. In the *Matsuya Kaiki*, Sakuma Fūkansai[†] is reported to have said that when Oribe was a [cont'd p. 23]

⁷ A journal kept by successive heads of Tamon'in, a subtemple of the Hossō sect Buddhist temple Kōfukuji in Nara. It covers the period from 1478 to 1618.

Hosokawa Sansai, whose samurai name was Tadaoki, was born in 1563, the eldest son of the daimyō Hosokawa Fujitaka (1534–1610), better known as Yūsai. Yūsai's father was Mitsubuchi Harukazu (d. 1570), an intimate of several Ashikaga shōguns. Yūsai was adopted by Hosokawa Mototsune (d. 1553), the governor of Izumi Province (present-day part of Osaka Prefecture), and was a key intermediary between Ashikaga Yoshiaki and the hegemon Oda Nobunaga, who installed Yoshiaki as shōgun in 1568. In 1573, when Nobunaga expelled Yoshiaki from Kyoto, Yūsai sided with Nobunaga and was rewarded with a domain centering around present-day Nagaoka in Kyoto. Both Yūsai and Sansai served Nobunaga with distinction in various military campaigns. Sansai fought his first battle in 1577. In 1578, at age 15, he was made a member of Nobunaga's close circle, received the name Tadaoki (one character derived from the name of Nobunaga's eldest son, Nobutada), and was married to the third daughter of Akechi Mitsuhide. She later became a Christian convert, receiving the name Gracia (1587), and is often depicted as a model of a virtuous and valiant samurai wife. When Akechi Mitsuhide attacked Nobunaga at Honnōji in 1582, Sansai refused his father-in-law's request for assistance, and, placing his wife in hiding, joined Toyotomi Hideyoshi to destroy Mitsuhide. At this time, his father also refused Mitsuhide's request, retired from affairs, passed on his domain to Sansai, and assumed the priestly name Yūsai. Thereafter, Yūsai devoted himself to cultural pursuits, serving as instructor of classical Japanese poetry to Hideyoshi and achieving a position of high respect among the imperial family. Sansai also rose to positions of high responsibility and courtly rank in Hideyoshi's service. It seems that he became familiar with Rikyū around 1585. During the six years that were left to Rikyū, they became very close, with Sansai receiving a number of tea utensils from Rikyū. In samurai circles, Sansai was considered an expert on etiquette. He served as Tokugawa Hidetada's etiquette instructor when the latter was to visit Kyoto in 1590. Extant letters reveal that, during the events immediately leading up to Rikyū's arrest and ultimate suicide, Rikyū confided in Sansai for advice. The story of how Sansai, together with Furuta Oribe, saw Rikyū off at the boat landing at Yodo just prior to the latter's suicide in 1591 is well known. After Hideyoshi's death in 1598, Sansai sided with Tokugawa Ieyasu. He fought for him in the 1600 Battle of Sekigahara, after which he was rewarded with a domain covering parts of present-day Fukuoka and Oita prefectures in Kyushu. At this time, he gave Sen Dōan a fief within his domain. Due to failing eyesight, he retired early in 1621, assuming the priestly name Sansai. However, he continued his cultural associations with the Tokugawas and spent periods in Kyoto, mainly enjoying cultural pursuits. When, in 1632, his heir Tadatoshi (1586–1641) was transferred to Kumamoto, he moved there and resided at Yatsushiro Castle, where he died in 1645.



Above: Hosokawa Sansai. Property of Kōtōin subtemple of Daitokuji, Kyoto. Below: Shōkintei tearoom, interior view. This tearoom at Kōtōin is said to have been built according to Sansai's taste.



Takayama Ukon was born in 1553, into the powerful provincial family of Settsu-Takayama (present-day area around Osaka-Kyoto border). His father, Takayama Tomoteru (d. 1594), was one of the first protectors of the Jesuit mission in the area. Ukon, whose childhood name was Hikogoro, was baptized Justo in 1664. In 1673, he overthrew his lord, Wada Korenaga, and thereby obtained the domain of Takatsuki (southwest of Kyoto). In 1578, he betrayed his new lord, Araki Murashige, in favor of the hegemon Oda Nobunaga, to prevent a threatened persecution of Christianity. While serving under Nobunaga, he endeavored to convert the people of his domain to Christianity. He played a key role in the Battle of Yamazaki (1582), in which Toyotomi Hideyoshi won the succession to the assassinated Nobunaga's hegemony, and also served Hideyoshi in other campaigns. In 1585, he was transferred to the richer domain of Akashi in Harima (present-day part of Hyogo Prefecture); however, two years later, when Hideyoshi issued his anti-Christian edicts, he was dispossessed by Hideyoshi. It seems that Rikyū, at this time, was sent by Hideyoshi to visit Ukon and try to persuade him to renounce the religion, but was unsuccessful. After leaving Arima and spending some time in hiding, Ukon was taken into the house of the daimyō Maeda Toshiie (1538-99; father of Maeda Toshinaga) of Kaga Province (present-day Ishikawa Prefecture), and eventually attained a high status in this house. Though he never abandoned his Christian faith, he took the Buddhist tonsure and adopted the names Nambō Tōhaku. When the Tokugawa shogunate undertook its general persecution of Christianity in 1614, Ukon, together with his wife Julia and over a hundred other Christians, was banished from Japan. He died in Manila on the 5th day, 2nd month, 1615, only forty-some days after landing there.

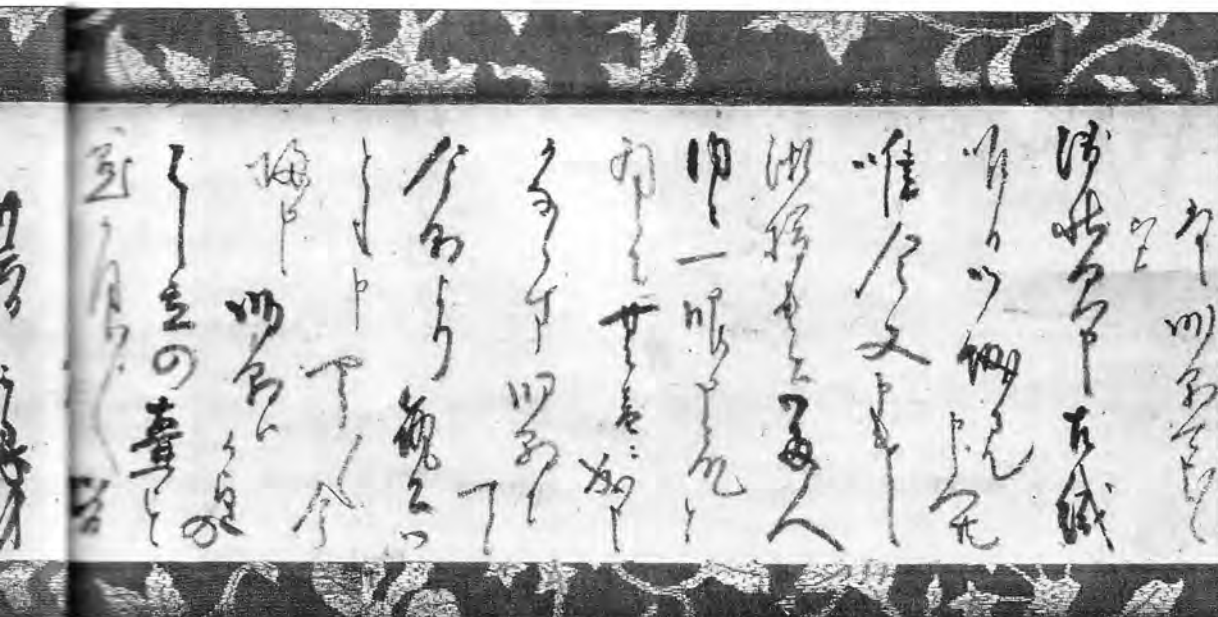
As for Ukon's chanoyu, there are records which state that he was highly accomplished in the art. João Rodriguez, in *The History of the Church in Japan* (Jp., *Nihon Kyōkai Shi*), comments that "Ukon retreated to a quiet tearoom for the purpose of praying to God." In other words, he practiced his Christian faith through chanoyu. Perhaps due to this, however, Oda Uraku criticizes his chanoyu as abnormal in its purity (*"sei no byō"*) (*Kissa Horoku*). The first record of his friendship with Rikyū dates to the last month of 1577, when Ukon invited Rikyū and Tsuda Sōgyū to a tea gathering (*Sōgyū takai-ki*). He attended Hideyoshi's grand tea gathering at Osaka Castle together with Rikyū and others on the 15th day, 11th month, 1584 (*Sōgyū takai-ki*). He was Rikyū's single guest at a morning tea gathering on the 27th day, last month, 1590, and, together with Arima Chūmu (Noriyori, 1533-1602; father of Gemban, who appears in some sources as a member of Rikyū's "group of seven"), attended another morning tea hosted by Rikyū on the 25th day, New Year, 1591 (*Rikyū Hyakkai-ki*). There are a number of extant letters between Rikyū and Ukon.



Teascoop made by Takayama Ukon. The very unique bamboo storage tube (*tsutsu*) is inscribed "to Obō" and signed with Ukon's ornate name, 花+ [reading uncertain; literally, "flower" and, in this case, "cross"]. Property of the Tekisui Art Museum, Ashiya. Photo from the Tekisui Art Museum.

Shibayama Kemmotsu, whose common name was Gennai, hailed from the province of Settsu (area encompassing parts of present-day Osaka and Hyogo prefectures). Although neither his birth nor death dates are known, he first served in the forces of Ishiyama Honganji temple, and then became a warrior under Oda Nobunaga. In 1578, when Araki Murashige was accused of spying for the Ishiyama Honganji, Kemmotsu interceded between him and Nobunaga (*Nobunaga-kō Ki*). After Nobunaga's death, Kemmotsu served under Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He was among the mounted attendants when Emperor Goyōzei visited Hideyoshi's Jurakudai villa in 1588, and rose to be a member of Hideyoshi's advisory council (*otogishū*) (*Sansai-kō Densho*). If the "Shibayama" listed in Tsuda Sōgyū's tea diary entry for the 22nd day, 12th month, 1575, refers to Kemmotsu, this record represents the earliest evidence of Kemmotsu's involvement in chanoyu. The earliest record of Kemmotsu himself hosting a tea gathering dates to the 19th day, 2nd month, 1581 (*Sōgyū takai-ki*; again, however, the record simply states "Shibayama's gathering"). The two guests at this gathering were Yamanoie Sōji and Tsuda Sōgyū. The number of extant letters between Kemmotsu and Rikyū is quite large — about equal to the number between Furuta Oribe and Rikyū. They include invitations to tea gatherings and acknowledgements of presents. Rikyū frequently asked Kemmotsu to relay messages to others who are included as disciples of his. There is a story that Sakuma Fukansai once bought a calligraphic scroll by the revered Daitokuji monk, Ikkyū Sōjun, and gave it to Kemmotsu. Kemmotsu invited Gamō Ujisato, Hosokawa Sansai, and Rikyū to tea and asked Rikyū to have the scroll's mounting redone because the scroll was too long for the tokonoma. Rikyū refused, saying that the scroll itself was fine as it was and shouldn't be altered. Kemmotsu therefore decided, rather, to alter the size of the tokonoma (*Sansai-kō Densho*). In 1584, Kemmotsu was a guest, together with Rikyū and others, at Hideyoshi's grand tea gathering at Osaka Castle (*Sōgyū takai-ki*). The *Rikyū Hyakkai-ki* [Record of One Hundred of Rikyū's Tea Gatherings] shows him as Rikyū's guest together with the warriors Toda Mambu (d. 1594) and Maki-mura Hyōbu on the morning of the 28th day, 10th month, 1590, and together with Oda Uraku, Sakuma Fukansai, and the wealthy merchant and chanoyu enthusiast of Sakai, Sumiyoshiya Sōmu (1534–1603), on the morning of the 4th day, 12th month, same year.





Letter from Rikyū to "Shibaken," i.e. Shibayama Kemmotsu. Dated only "the 26th day," with no month or year specified. The letter is an invitation to tea. Rikyū states that since Furuta Oribe had been asking to see the tea jar named "Hashidate," he had wanted to invite them to tea and was sorry he hadn't contacted them sooner. He says he will serve Oribe, Kemmotsu, and Seta Kamon a bowl of tea, so please be sure to come over tomorrow morning. He further states that he accompanied the Lord of Hizen and Hideyoshi somewhere in the morning and just returned, and that tomorrow morning he will show Kemmotsu [and the others] the "Hashidate" tea jar. Property of the Gumma Prefectural Museum of Modern Art (Tohōan Inoue Collection).

Seta Kamon is a rather little-known figure in Japanese history. A 1585 record written by a Jesuit missionary indicates that he may have been from a warrior family of Seta in present-day Ōtsu City, Shiga Prefecture. He was a warrior in Toyotomi Hideyoshi's army, and records show that he served as an attendant when Emperor Goyōzei visited Hideyoshi at the latter's Jurakudai villa in 1588. The first appearance of his name in tea records is in 1584, when he was a guest, together with Furuta Oribe, at a morning tea hosted by Tsuda Sōgyū (*Sōgyū Jikai-ki*). In 1589, he and Oribe together visited Matsuya Hisamasa at the suggestion of Rikyū, in order to view a painting of an heron by the Chinese painter, Hsühsi (Jp., Joki) (*Furuori-kō Densho*), which had been handed down from Murata Shukō to Takeno Jōō and then to Rikyū (*Rikyū-koji*

Densho). Rikyū considered this painting to represent Shukō's, Jōō's, and his own idea of wabi. Extant letters indicate that Kamon was a friend of the Sen family. The "*Metsugo*" section of the *Nampō Roku* says that Kamon once asked Rikyū to give a name to one of his favorite teabowls — a very large and shallow old Kōrai teabowl. Rikyū named it "Lake," and carved a very long and large teascoop to accompany it, which he named "Seta," a pun on Kamon's name and the Seta Bridge spanning Lake Biwa (by Ōtsu City in Shiga Prefecture). Kamon carved copies of this teascoop, which became known as "teascoops of the Kamon style" (*Kamon-gata chashaku*). When, in 1595, Toyotomi Hideyoshi's nephew and adopted son, Hidetsugu (1568–95), was exiled to the Shingon monastery on Mount Kōya and ordered to commit suicide, Seta Kamon was among those who, in this same connection, were executed by Hideyoshi.



Teascoop by Seta Kamon. Yōmei Bunkō Collection.

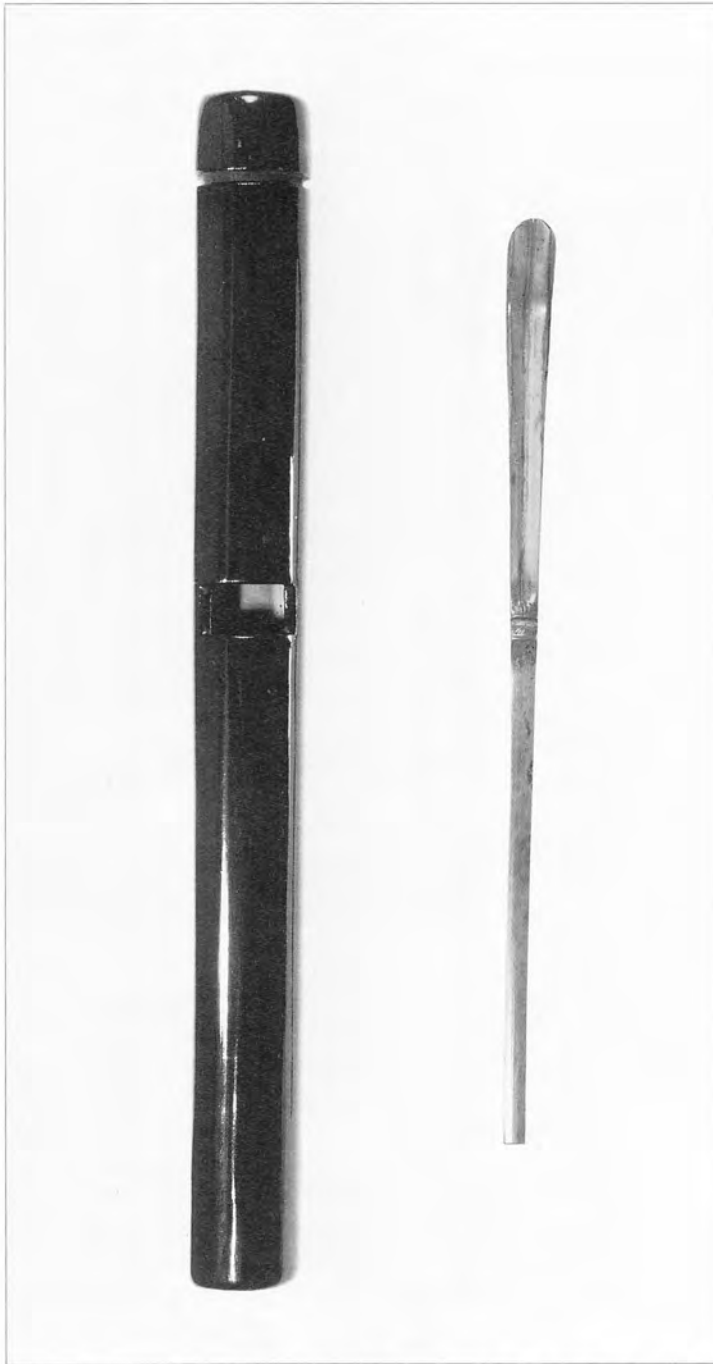
Makimura Hyōbu,

whose common name was Toshisada, was born in 1546, the second son of Saitō Iyo-no-kami (the lord of Iyo, in present-day Ehime Prefecture). His mother was the younger sister of Akechi Mitsuhide (1526–82), one of Oda Nobunaga's highest generals as well as assassin, and Hyōbu's older brother, Saitō Toshimitsu, was a captain under Mitsuhide. This Saitō Toshimitsu's daughter was the famous Kasuga no Tsubone (1579–1643), who became nurse to the young Tokugawa Iemitsu and was instrumental in establishing Iemitsu as the third Tokugawa shogun. Hyōbu himself was adopted as the heir of a



Property of Myōshinji Zakkein Temple, Kyoto.

certain Makimura Chūnosuke. He served under Oda Nobunaga, and, after Nobunaga's death, served as chief of Hideyoshi's stable managers. In 1590, he was made lord of Iwate Castle in Ise. He served in Hideyoshi's navy at the Nagoya camp in Kyushu, crossed over to Korea, and served as a member of Hideyoshi's intelligence staff, drawing up military maps. While there, he fell ill and died in 1593. His first appearance in a tea record dates to the year 1578, when he was a guest together with Tsuda Sōgyū at an evening tea gathering held at Hideyoshi's Azuchi Castle (*Sōgyū takai-ki*). In 1580, he himself hosted a gathering at Azuchi Castle, using a "twisted" teabowl (*yugami chawan*). This was several years before Furuta Oribe's "creation" of the shoe-shaped teabowl. Through the influence of Takayama Ukon, he became a Christian. There are two extant letters between Makimura and Rikyū, and four known instances of his having shared tea together with Rikyū.



Teascoop named "*Namida*," or "*Tears*," carved by Sen Rikyū. Given by Rikyū to Furuta Oribe. The unique storage cylinder, having a window through which the teascoop could be viewed, was provided by Oribe. After Rikyū's death, Oribe is said to have prayed in front of this teascoop every morning and night. Photo from the Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation, Tokyo.

youth he detested tea, but, having been won over by the flattery of a close acquaintance, he became a “relatively good tea aesthete” (*jōjō no sukisha*). Though I feel that the secret behind Oribe’s flavor as a chanoyu person lies in the very fact that people were widely divided in their opinions of him, it is interesting that the above sort of negative evaluation is reflected in his placement at the bottom of the list of Rikyū’s group.⁸

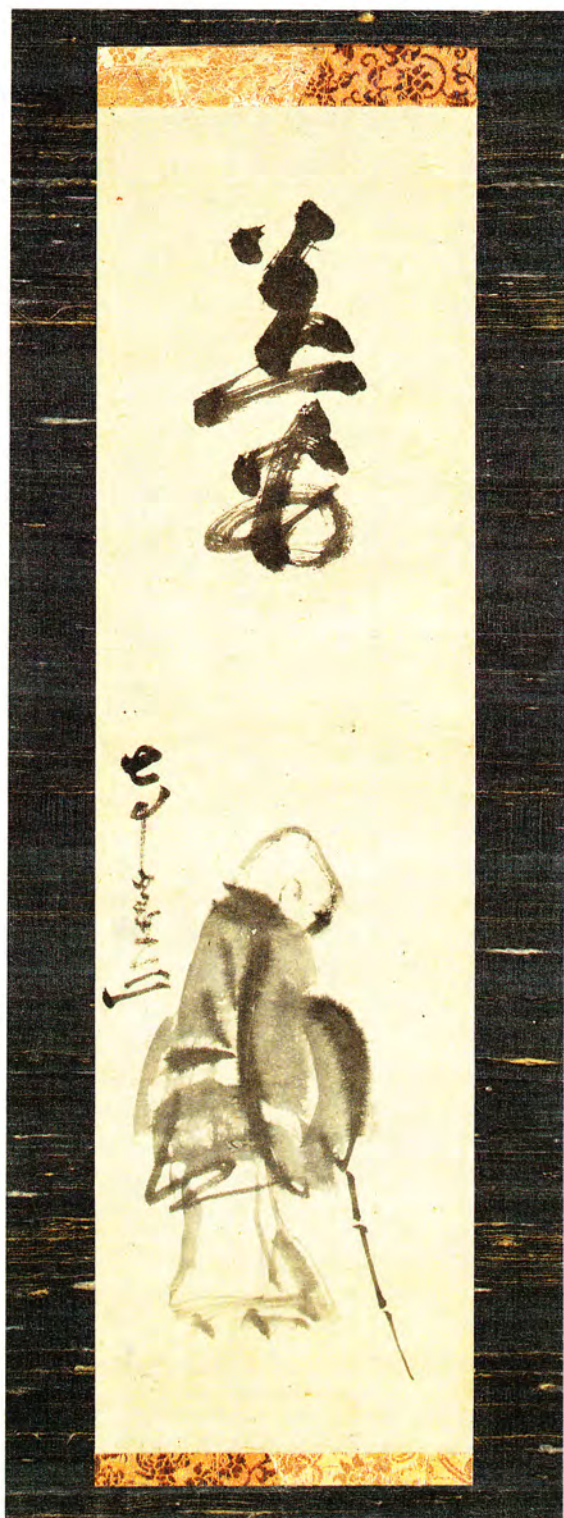
Dōan and Uraku

The question of how the various individuals in the group of seven were evaluated seems to become a direct issue in the changes which we find in the membership thereafter. As Chart A (see p. 30) shows, in the lineup of members given in the Keisei-era edition of the *Kokin Chajin Keifu*⁹ [Genealogy of Tea Men Past and Present], the names Makimura Hyōbu and Furuta Oribe have been replaced by the names Oda Uraku and Sen Dōan.* In the Tempō-era edition of the same work, it is Takayama Ukon and Shibayama Kemmotsu who are replaced by Uraku and Dōan. It is not clear what the reason was for these particular switches, but the fact that Uraku and Dōan were newly added to the membership is certainly meaningful.

In the case of Dōan (1546–1607; Rikyū’s true son), when we consider that the original membership was made up entirely of warrior-class men, it must be said that he stands out as an odd choice. However, in that Dōan had a tea follower named Kuwayama Sakon (Sōsen†; 1560–1621), who in turn was Katagiri Sekishū’s† tea teacher, and this line of chanoyu, the *Sekishū ryū* or “Sekishū school,” became the greatest chanoyu school for feudal lords (*daimyō-cha*), it makes sense that Dōan’s tea was considered to hold a place in the line of warrior-connected tea. I believe we can view the switch from Oribe to Dōan as a reflection of the growing movement, coinciding with the growth of the Sekishū school, to regard Dōan as the school’s founding father. Another possible reason for Dōan’s inclusion in the membership might have to do with the traditional belief that Rikyū’s method for conducting chanoyu in a room of one-and-a-half tatami mats in size (*ichijōhan no chahō*) was transmitted from Rikyū to five people, three of whom were Seta Kamon, Hosokawa Sansai, and Dōan. [cont’d p. 27]

⁸ For information on Furuta Oribe’s life and chanoyu, see Murai Yasuhiko, “Furuta Oribe,” *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 42 (1985), pp. 24–48. Also see Ikeda Hyōa, “Oribe’s Shoe-shaped Teabowl,” *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 57 (1989), pp. 35–54.

⁹ By Suzuki Masamichi (dates uncertain), a tea practitioner affiliated with the Sekishū line. Preface of early version dated Keisei 8 (1796). Revised edition published in Tempō 3 (1832).



Sen Dōan. By Dōan's step-nephew, Sen Sōtan. The calligraphy at the top reads "Dōan." That at the left translates as "written by Totsusai (i.e., Sōtan) at [the age of] 70," which dates the work to the year 1647, forty years after Dōan's death. Property of Konnichian, Kyoto. Photo courtesy of the Urasenke Chadō Research Center, Kyoto.

Sen Dōan was born to Rikyū and his first wife (posthumous name, Hōshin Myōju; name in life, not known) in 1546, the only boy of four children. Dōan was 32 when his mother died (1577) and Rikyū married Sōon, widow of the actor Miyao Saburō Sannyū. At this time, it was arranged that her son, Shōan, marry one of Dōan's sisters and be adopted into the family. Soon thereafter, Rikyū moved Shōan to Kyoto, thus founding the Kyoto Sen family line. The fact that there is but a single recorded instance of Dōan and Shōan sharing tea together (New Year's, 1568; tea gathering hosted by Tsuda Sōgyū) and that after the year 1572 Dōan vanished from the world of tea for nearly a decade suggests that there existed some ill feelings between the two. Stories indicate that Rikyū considered Shōan to be more talented than Dōan in chanoyu. In general, Shōan's chanoyu is today regarded as having been quieter and more refined; Dōan's, bolder and rougher. In any case, Dōan's name reappears in tea records in 1581, when he is listed, together with Rikyū and others (but not Shōan), as one of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's eight tea advisors (*Yamanoue Sōji Ki*). At the time of Hideyoshi's Grand Kitano Tea Gathering (1587), it appears that Dōan sat next to his father at a preliminary gathering of those who were most active in organizing the event (Shōan's name appears in eighth place) (*Kitano Ōchanoyu no Ki*). For the family's reconstruction of the Daitokuji temple gate, completed in 1589, Dōan's name is listed first among the official administrators of the project (Shōan's is listed third). These facts indicate that, at least as far as formal Sen family matters were concerned, Rikyū indeed regarded Dōan as his second-in-line. In early 1591, Rikyū was ordered by Hideyoshi to return to his Sakai house (where Dōan apparently still resided) and remain under house arrest. Rikyū wrote out a will (*zaisan shobunjō*) at this time, leaving much of his property in Sakai to Dōan (no mention of property in Kyoto, nor of Shōan's name). Dōan's personal cipher appears on this will. When Rikyū was ordered back to Kyoto and committed ritual suicide, the family members were forced into hiding. Dōan lived for a time under the protection of the lord of Hida (present-day northern Gifu Prefecture), Kanamori Nagachika (1524–1608). After being freed from any implication in his father's "crime" through the good offices of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Maeda Toshiie, and others, he was reemployed as a tea advisor to Hideyoshi. With Hideyoshi's death in 1598, he returned to Sakai, and then was employed as a tea advisor by Hosokawa Tadaoki (Sansai) in Buzen (part of Kyushu), receiving a sizeable stipend. It seems, however, that by 1603 he returned to Sakai, where he died four years later, thus ending the Sakai line of the family. He had a wife and just one daughter. His disciple, the daimyō Kuwayama Sakon Sōsen (1560–1632), however, became chanoyu mentor to the daimyō Katagiri Sekishū (1605–73), founder of the Sekishū line of chanoyu — the main line followed by daimyōs and other members of the warrior class.

Oda Uraku, whose common name was Nagamasu, was born in 1547, the 11th son of Oda Nobuhide (1510–51), and youngest brother of Nobunaga. Nobuhide, an ambitious military man, had been a vassal of the Kiyosu branch of the Oda family, who were deputy military governors in Owari (part of present-day Aichi Prefecture). He rose to great power as a sengoku daimyō, becoming lord of Nagoya Castle in Owari. At the time of Nobuhide's death, his second son, Nobunaga, was still a youth of 17, and Uraku was only 4. The story of how Nobunaga steadily rose to power in his dazzling career of conquest, to become the supreme hegemon over one-third of the empire by the time he died at the age of 48, is well detailed in history books. In contrast, not much is said about Uraku's life as a warrior; rather, he is best known for his chanoyu achievements.

In 1574, Nobunaga installed the 27-year-old Uraku as lord of Ōkusa Castle on the Chita Peninsula in present-day Aichi Prefecture. In 1582, Nobunaga destroyed the powerful Takeda Katsuyori, and Uraku was given a share of the acquired territory. Immediately following Nobunaga's death, Nobunaga's eldest son, Nobutada (1557–82), was attacked at Nijō Castle by the same man who had caused his father's death, Akechi Mitsuhide, and likewise committed suicide. At this time, Uraku caused his own defame by fleeing the castle. It is thought that Imai Sōkyū helped arrange for him to retire to Sakai at this time, where he spent a period immersed in chanoyu. After this, Uraku allied himself not with his nephew Nobutaka, in the latter's attempt to block Toyotomi Hideyoshi's succession to the hegemony, but with Hideyoshi, Nobunaga's former vassal and avenger. He served as one of Hideyoshi's advisors (*otogishū*). Though he was probably acquainted with Rikyū since Nobunaga's time, the first record of their connection is dated the 25th day, 2nd month, 1585, when Hideyoshi celebrated Uraku's success in pacifying Nobukatsu (Nobunaga's third son) by inviting Uraku and Nobukatsu to tea. The first concrete evidence of his use of the religious name Uraku is in a letter written by Rikyū after the 1590 Odawara Campaign. After Hideyoshi's death, Uraku fought on Tokugawa Ieyasu's side in the 1600 Battle of Sekigahara. He was rewarded with the title of daimyō and a wealthy domain in Settsu (area encompassing parts of present-day Osaka and Hyogo prefectures) and Yamato (Nara Prefecture), part of which he gave over to the tea-grower Kambayashi Hisamochi for the cultivation of tea plantations. During the 1614 siege of Osaka Castle, stronghold of the surviving members of the Toyotomi family, he fought for his grandnephew Toyotomi Hideyori and tried in vain to mediate between the Tokugawa and Toyotomi camps. With the onset of the second siege in 1615, he retired to Higashiyama in Kyoto, to devote himself to chanoyu. He established an elegant tea style; his tea house, Joan, can still be seen at Shōden Eigen'in, a subtemple of Kenninji temple. His son Yorinaga succeeded him as the second master of the Uraku chanoyu lineage.



Oda Uraku. Property of Shōden Eigen'in Temple, Kyoto.

In the case of Uraku (1547–1622), we may safely say that, as the story about the *daisu shichininshū* indicates, he was generally regarded as belonging in a different class from the top warrior tea men of his day. Uraku was the younger brother of Oda Nobunaga, and there was no reason for him to condescend to either Hideyoshi or Rikyū. I believe that this attitude acted in complicating his life after Nobunaga's death, and that, even in terms of authority in chanoyu, Uraku did not consider himself as a disciple of Rikyū. I would attribute his undertaking of repairs to the Samegai well, which is historically connected with Murata Shukō (1423–1501; regarded as the founder of chanoyu), and his erecting of a memorial tombstone for Takeno Jōō (1502–55; disciple of Murata Shukō), as expressions of his desire to stand above Rikyū and align himself directly with the original forefathers of chanoyu. Therefore, he himself would probably have been displeased in being included as a member of Rikyū's group, and we can view his later inclusion as reflecting a rising opinion of him in later years.

As for the other men, such as Araki Murashige,[†] who alternatively appear in other works listing the names of the group's members, their backgrounds are rather unimpressive as compared with Dōan and Uraku.

Araki Murashige was born in 1535, and in his early days served under Ikeda Katsumasa in Settsu. He first made a name for himself in the army of Nobunaga's puppet shōgun, Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537–97), and was appointed by Nobunaga as lord of Settsu. There, he made his residence at Arioka (Itami) Castle, and allied himself with Nakagawa Kiyohide (1542–83), Takayama Ukon, and others. From quite early on, it seems that he became an enthusiastic practitioner of chanoyu, and amassed a large collection of famous tea utensils. The first known instance of his participating in chanoyu with Rikyū is at a gathering which he himself hosted on the morning of the 6th day, 12th month, 1577, inviting Rikyū and Tsuda Sōgyū as his guests (*Sōgyū takai-ki*). In 1578, while he was taking part in Hideyoshi's campaign against Mōri Terumoto, he was accused of spying for the Ishiyama Honganji. Having been forewarned, he prepared for resistance, took sides with Mōri and the Honganji, and rose against Nobunaga. His allies Kiyohide and Ukon abandoned him, and his castle was taken, but Murashige himself succeeded in escaping and found protection under Mōri. He took the tonsure, adopted the Buddhist name Dōkun, and spent the latter half of his life mainly immersed in chanoyu. He died in Sakai in 1586.

Sakuma Fukansai, whose common name was Jinkurō, was born in 1556, the son of Sakuma Nobumori, who was a prominent warrior serving under Oda Nobunaga. Records of Fukansai's chanoyu activities and friendship with chanoyu practitioners of Sakai date from about 1577. In 1580, during the uprising of the Ishiyama Honganji against Nobunaga, Nobumori and Fukansai were both exiled to Mount Kōya for their preoccupation with chanoyu and consequent failure to support Nobunaga's campaign (*Nobunaga-kō Ki*). With the death of Nobumori in 1582, however, Fukansai was pardoned. After Nobunaga's death, he allied himself with Oda Nobukatsu (also read Nobuo; second son of Nobunaga), and when Hideyoshi and Nobukatsu made temporary peace in 1584, Fukansai was placed under detention. He took the tonsure and adopted the religious name Fukansai at this time. He later became one of Hideyoshi's attendants. After Hideyoshi's death and the downfall of Osaka Castle, he became an advisor to the second Tokugawa shōgun, Hidetada. There are numerous records of Fukansai's chanoyu activities, a number of which show him together with Rikyū. Also, several letters exist between the two.

Arima Gemban was born in 1569, the son of Arima Noriyori (Chūmu; 1533–1602), a warrior hailing from Arima in Settsu province. In terms of chanoyu history, it is his father who is the more famous. Noriyori was lord of Ōgo Castle in Settsu, and was one of Hideyoshi's top generals, serving him in his Chūgoku Region, Kyushu, and Korean campaigns, and becoming one of his advisors (*otogishū*). There are a number of extant records showing his chanoyu activities; on several occasions, he was Rikyū's guest for tea (*Rikyū Hyakkai-ki*). An extant letter from Rikyū to Noriyori shows Rikyū asking him to send workers and tools over to help in the reconstruction of the Daitokuji gate. Like Noriyori, Gemban served under Hideyoshi. In reward for his service in the Battle of Sekigahara, he was made lord of Tamba Fukuchiyama Castle (in present-day central Kyoto Prefecture). After Hideyoshi's death and the downfall of Osaka Castle, he was moved to Chikugo-Kurume (in present-day Saga Prefecture, Kyushu), was given a large stipend, and formed his own clan.

Maeda Toshinaga was born in Owari (present-day part of Aichi Prefecture) in 1562, the eldest son of Maeda Toshiie (1538?–1599), one of Oda Nobunaga's principal captains and, in his later career, one of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's closest confidants. Toshinaga was bound to those two leaders by close family ties: he himself was married to one of Nobunaga's daughters; two of his sisters were adopted by Hideyoshi, and another was Hideyoshi's concubine. His father, Toshiie, was a close friend of Rikyū's, and it is said that it was through this connection that another of Toshinaga's sisters was wed to Tadatoshi, the son and heir of Rikyū's disciple Hosokawa Sansai. Just preceeding Rikyū's death, Toshiie led a movement to appease Hideyoshi's anger against Rikyū (*Sen Rikyū Yuishogaki*). Toshinaga was only 29 years old when Rikyū died. Except for the fact that his name appears in the *Chadō Shiso Densho* list of Rikyū's disciples as given by Sōtan, there seems to be little or no concrete evidence of his acquaintance with Rikyū, nor of any particularly outstanding contribution to chanoyu. For the great role he played on the side of Tokugawa Ieyasu in the 1600 Battle of Sekigahara, he obtained the provinces of Kaga (part of present-day Ishikawa Prefecture), Noto, and Etchū (present-day Toyama Prefecture), making the Maeda domain the wealthiest of any daimyō domain in the Edo period. Heir to the senior branch of the Maeda family, Toshinaga had no children, and adopted his step-brother Toshitsune (1593–1658) as his successor. This Toshitsune was betrothed to Ieyasu's granddaughter, Tamahime. Toshinaga retired from active life in 1606. He built Takaoka Castle in present-day northwestern Toyama Prefecture in 1609, where he resided until his death in 1614.

Chart A
The Rikyū Shichininshū Members Listed in Various Sources

person source*	Gamō Ujisato	Hosokawa Sansai	Takayama Ukon	Shibayama Kemmotsu	Seta Kamon	Makimura Hyōbu	Furuta Oribe	Sen Dōan	Oda Uraku	Araki Murashige	Sakuma Fukan(sai)	Arima Gemban	Maeda Toshinaga
<i>Chadō Shiso Densho</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓						✓
<i>Kōshin Gegaki</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
<i>Chadō Sentei</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
<i>Chasōtekiden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
<i>Kokin Chajin Keifu</i> (Keisei 8 — 1796)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓			
" , rev. ed. (Tempō 3 — 1832)	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	
<i>Kan'ya Chawan</i>	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
<i>Chanoyu Kojidan</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓			
" , another version	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							✓	
" , another version	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓		
<i>Chaji Hiroku</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓			
" , another version	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓		
" , another version	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							✓	
<i>Chajin Keiden</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓				
<i>Chake Suikoshū</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	

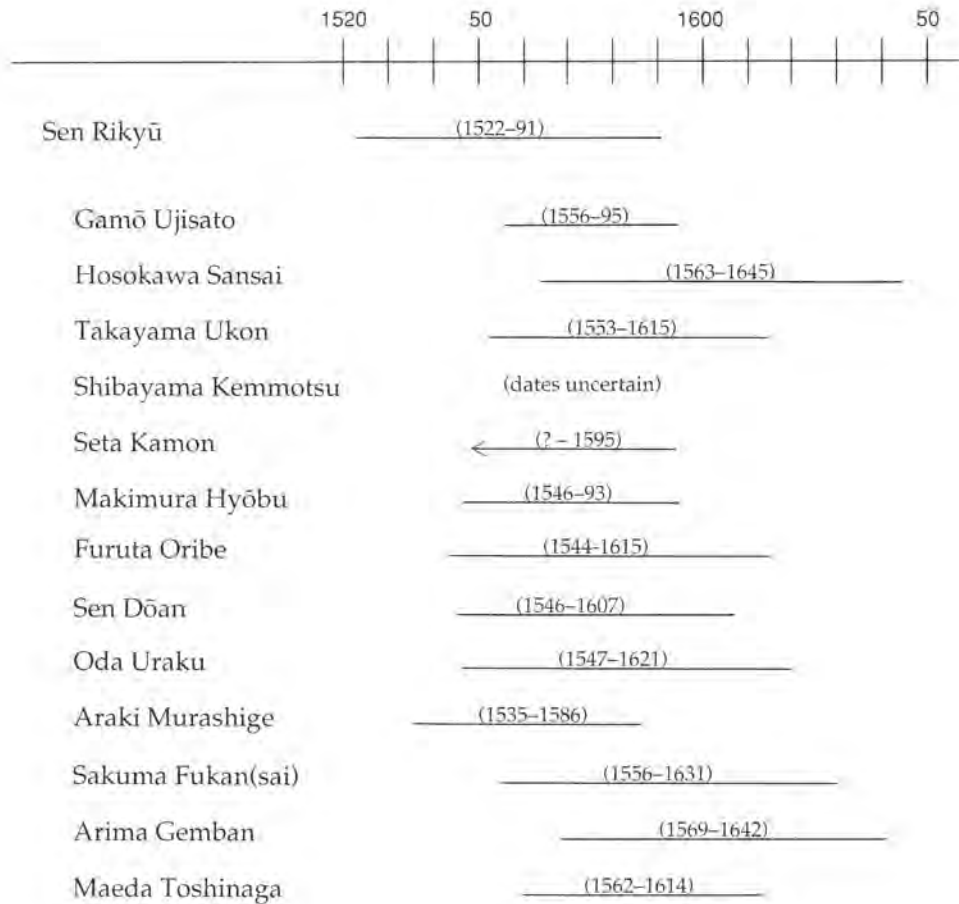
* **Notes to sources not mentioned in main text** (in order of appearance in chart)

Chadō Sentei[†] [The Way of Tea "Weir and Hoof"]. By Inagaki Kyūsō (1770–1819), a tea practitioner affiliated with the Omotesenke line. Completed in 1847. 5 vols. A general compendium on chanoyu.

Chasōtekiden[‡] [Precise Biographies of the Forefathers of Chanoyu]. By Inagaki Kyūsō (see above). Undated. 1 vol. An explanation of the Omotesenke lineage.

Kan'ya Chawan[§] ["Leisurely Night" Tea Stories]. Edited by Ii Naosuke (Sōkan; 1815–60), feudal lord of Ōmi Hikone domain, and tea practitioner affiliated with the Sōen branch of the Sekishū line. Undated. A compendium regarding old chanoyu customs.

Chart B Lifespans of Rikyū Shichininshū Members



Chanoyu Kojidan[†] [Discussion of Old Chanoyu Matters]. By Chikamatsu Shigenori (1695–1778), a military strategist and man of culture. Completed in 1731. A collection of chanoyu legends and historical information.

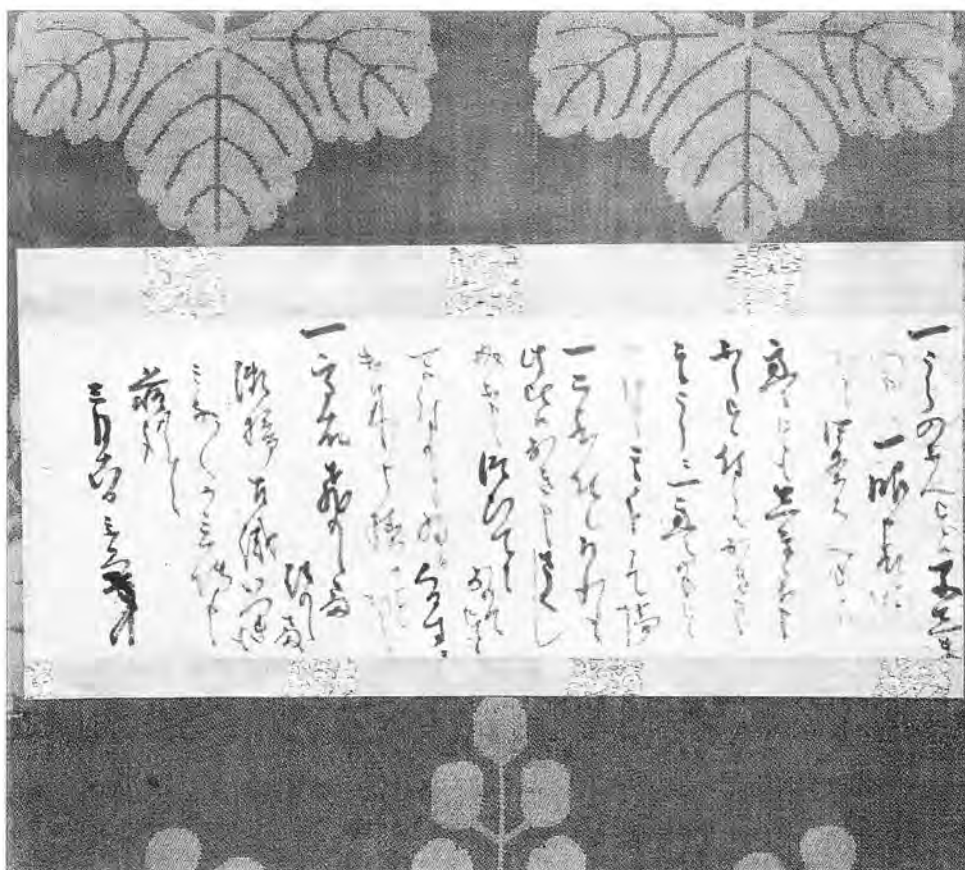
Chaji Hiroku[†] [Secret Record of Tea Matters]. Edited by Ekiyu Yūjin (dates uncertain). Preface dated Tempō 12 (1841). 5 vols. A chanoyu encyclopedia.

Chajin Keiden[†] [Genealogy of Chanoyu Personages]. Edited by Tominaga Nangai (1774–1854), a Japanese classical scholar affiliated with the feudal Owari-Ishikawa clan. Published in 1837. 1 vol.

Chake Suikoshū[†] [Chanoyu Family "Tipsy Old Assemblage"]. Edited by Kogetsu (dates and identity uncertain). Published from 1841–48. 5 vols. A chanoyu encyclopedia.



Bamboo flower container named "*Karayoshi*," made by Gamō Ujisato. Photo from the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo.



Portion of a letter by Sen Rikyū dated the 3rd month, 18th day, (year unspecified). Because the first portion of the letter is missing, the addressee is unknown. In the portion mounted as a scroll here, the final portion of the letter, Rikyū mentions the names of five men included in his *shichininshū*: Takayama Ukon, Gamō Ujisato, Hosokawa Sansai, Seta Kamon, and Furuta Oribe. The text pertains to Rikyū's building of a tea house. It seems that there was to be a four-and-a-half tatami tearoom at the front, but it still remained unfinished. However, a one-and-a-half tatami tearoom at the rear had been completed, so he wished to extend an invitation to tea, and says to relay this message to the others listed above. Property of the Tekisui Art Museum, Ashiya. Photo from the Tekisui Art Museum.

Like Oribe or Like Sansai

The concept of “Rikyū’s group of seven disciples” had come into existence by the first half of the seventeenth century, and, in terms of the several tea lines that had branched out from Rikyū’s tea, the concept can be said to have arisen from within the *daimyō-cha* line, and to have been a means of describing the line’s genealogy. As for this line of tea and just who was heir after Rikyū, we come to the question of Oribe and Sansai. The story is well known of how these two were at the boat landing at Yodo on the 13th day of the 2nd month, 1591, to see Rikyū off as he traveled down the river from his Jurakudai residence to his home in Sakai, where he had been ordered by Hideyoshi to remain confined. The episode shows that they were Rikyū’s two closest disciples. In light of this, they should certainly be regarded as central figures among Rikyū’s disciples.

As mentioned earlier, however, public opinion regarding Oribe’s chanoyu lay to both extremes, and he may actually have even detested chanoyu as a youth. That he was both described as a “chanoyu master” and “inept at chanoyu” probably stemmed from people’s contrary thoughts regarding his chanoyu principles. Oribe created the shoe-shaped teabowl, made tearooms having many numbers and kinds of windows, and designed roji gardens that had lovely views. In every aspect of his chanoyu, there was a strong sense of design. For this reason, people’s opinion of his chanoyu was strongly divided.

As compared with this, however, Sansai was faithful to Rikyū’s chanoyu through and through. This led to such evaluations of his chanoyu as the statement in the *Matsuya Kaiki*:

Eki [Rikyū] said that a true aesthete will inevitably do something original, and, for this reason, Furuori [Furuta Oribe] is commendable; but Hosokawa Sansai is not a bit unique and consequently he has not gained much of a reputation.

A similar passage appears in Yabunouchi Chikushin’s[†] (1678–1745) *Genryū Chawa*[†] [Tales of the Original Way of Tea], but it goes on to say that Sansai’s comment on this was that the claim was due to a basic lack of understanding of chanoyu. Sansai presents an exposition of his chanoyu philosophy in his work entitled *Sansai Chanoyu no Sho*[†] [(Hosokawa) Sansai’s Writing on Chanoyu], saying that if one is to achieve a true chanoyu style of one’s own, one must first lay the proper foundations by mastering the chanoyu style of one’s teacher, and that it would be a simple matter to merely make

a display of originality. He adds: "One should realize that, as for a person regarded as inept in chanoyu in the old days and a person regarded as talented nowadays, the inept of old possessed better art than the talented in this age. It is said that Oribe has a poor eye and that he is inept at chanoyu, but since the talented have all died, he has become regarded as a chanoyu master. It appears that tea people from now on will not even be of Oribe's level."

A point of interest here is that the passage is nearly identical to the postscript to the *Kōshin Gegaki* passage. My guess is that the latter was taken from Sansai's work, and that Kōshin, in quoting it, supported Sansai's view.

As the *Chawa Shigetsu Shū* story about the group of seven goes to show, Rikyū taught his disciples that they should be different from others in their creativity. Oribe, having been a faithful disciple, consequently created a world of tea that was different from even his teacher Rikyū's, and so, in a way, he ended up contradicting Rikyū's tea. In this sense, he and Sansai were quite the opposite. There is no simple answer to the question of which of their two ways of thinking was correct, and I think that, above and beyond the differences in the two men's personalities, we must see the two philosophies as representing two valid examples of how Rikyū's followers interpreted and pursued his teachings and his art. In this sense, although I must conclude this paper by saying that research pertaining to Rikyū's group of seven is still poorly lacking, I believe that the importance of the group lies not only in the fact that it is composed of representative disciples of Rikyū's, but that it serves as a valuable reference in probing the paths of development of the Japanese arts.

In closing, I express my special appreciation to Tanihata Akio for supplying some of the source information used in the preparation of this paper. 

Translated by Gretchen Mittwer

Gamō Ujisato

Rebecca Otowa

Introduction

The present-day township of Hino lies in one of the river valleys that run from the Suzuka mountains, on the border between Shiga and Mie Prefectures, to Lake Biwa, Japan's largest freshwater body. The town follows the line of the shallow, fast-flowing Hino River, and on either side, broad fields of the famous Ōmi rice give way in the hilly areas to dairy and beef cattle farms.

Records of the settlement date from the 7th century, when it was known as Gamō-no, or "field of abundant cattails." Gamō was also the name of the noble family who lived here in the Ashikaga period (14th century). This family is believed to be descended from the Heian period nobleman, Fujiwara Hidesato.¹ They came to this district from the far northeast of Japan; however, whether they originated there or were simply returning to their homeland after a period of living in the northeast is not clear.

It was Gamō Sadahide² (d. 1579), the grandfather of Gamō Ujisato,³ who built the castle of Nakano here around 1530, and ushered in an era of prosperity and prestige for the family. From that time, as well as providing able and loyal fighters (of whom Ujisato was one) to the great national unifiers of the Sengoku (Warring States) period, the Gamō family also encouraged manufacturing and trade in the castle town of Hino. This patronage gave rise in later years to the financially successful *Hino shōnin* (Hino merchants) of the Edo period, whose major products were lacquerware, medicines, and firearms.

Ujisato himself, in addition to a distinguished military career cut short by his untimely death at the age of forty (1595), is mentioned in the *Kōshin Gegaki*⁴ at the top of the list of the so-called *Rikyū shichitetsu*⁵ (Rikyū's "seven sages"; i.e., Rikyū's seven disciples). Modern scholars find much fruit for discussion in the apparent enigma of this high placement on the list in spite of the paucity of records of his tea activities. Of course, judging



Gamō Ujisato. Property of Kōbain Temple, Kyoto.

by the records, the *shichitetsu* seems to have been a kind of brotherhood of tea, rather than a group of students officially studying tea under Rikyū, as we might imagine from the word “disciple.” The very concept of master and disciple, and the circumstances under which tea was practiced and studied, seem to have been much looser than today. In any case, there is no lack of evidence of Ujisato’s cultivated nature and friendship with Rikyū, and as we shall see, there are actually several possible reasons for his placement at the top of this list.

Gamō Ujisato was a highly cultured man who loved the arts. Still, he seems to have opted in the main for the life of a warrior, and paradoxically, it was in this capacity that he could best serve Rikyū and the Sen family. Namely, he saved Rikyū’s son Shōan[†] (1546–1614) from the wrath of Hide-

yoshi at the time of Rikyū's death and thus preserved the family line which continues to the present fifteenth generation.

My own interest in Gamō Ujisato stems from the fact that he and my husband share a common ancestor. The samurai Sadahide (1444–1514; name pronounced the same as Ujisato's grandfather's, but written with different kanji), who was also known by the priestly name of Chikan, took up residence at Otowa, on the eastern outskirts of Hino, and there built a castle which survived until the Sengoku period. His heir, Hideyuki, was usurped by the second son, Takasato, who was the great-grandfather of Ujisato. The fourth child of Sadahide, Hideyori, fathered the line which has continued to my husband's generation, while Ujisato's lineage died out with the death of his great-grandson Tadachika (1605–34). Gamō Ujisato's name lives on in Hino, in a bronze statue erected in Hibarino Park for the 400th anniversary in 1985; in the Hino Shōninkan, a commemorative museum; and in a saké of the name "Gamō Ujisato," brewed only in the town.

Early Life — Service under Oda Nobunaga

Ujisato (or to give him his juvenile name, Tsuruchiyo¹) was born the son of Gamō Katahide¹ and the grandson of Sadahide, both retainers of the great national unifier, Oda Nobunaga (1534–82). At the time of his birth in 1556, the family had prospered at Nakano Castle in Hino for thirty years. We can well imagine that in his early childhood, Tsuruchiyo was surrounded by an atmosphere of culture befitting a descendant of the Fujiwaras. The family seems to have been practicing chanoyu at the time as well.¹

In 1568, at the age of thirteen, the boy Tsuruchiyo was sent to Nobunaga's headquarters in Gifu Castle. His status there was *hitojichi*, a type of hostage. Many subject clans at this time sent family members to Nobunaga as proof of their loyalty, and also as an insurance for Nobunaga against rebellion; these young boys also received indispensable training in the arts of war during their residence.

Tsuruchiyo quickly came to the notice of Nobunaga, who marked the boy's intense interest in his elders' talk of military strategy and also his

¹ Sadahide, Ujisato's grandfather, who died in 1579, in his declining years lived in a separate dwelling, called the Keirintei, and there studied Zen with priests from Myōshinji temple. It is believed that this dwelling also served as a tea house. (Segawa Kin'ichi, *Gamō-ke Seisuiroku*, vol. 2) This edifice is now part of Seigenji temple in Hino.

flair for poetry. It was arranged that he should study Zen under the priest Nange[†] of Zuiryūji temple in Gifu, and *renga* (linked verse) poetry under Satomura Jōha[†]. These influences intensified his youthful interest in art and culture.

In addition, although no records exist, there is a possibility that during these years under Nobunaga, Tsuruchiyo may have come into contact with Rikyū, who was in service to Nobunaga from 1573. He certainly could not but be aware of his master's avidity to secure treasured tea utensils (*meibutsu dōgu*), as during the years 1568–70 Nobunaga was conducting "hunts" to confiscate items in Kyoto and Sakai, with the additional objective of gaining power over the influential inhabitants of those cities.

In many ways Tsuruchiyo seems to have been singled out by Nobunaga, who stood as his patron in his coming-of-age ceremony (*gempuku*) in 1569, bestowing on him the name Chūzaburō Masuhide.[†] Nobunaga also gave him his daughter, Fuyuhime (the "Winter Princess") to be his bride in 1570. It was during this important time, too, that the young man participated in his first battle under Nobunaga, in the ranks of his father Katahide's army. In this, a battle against Kitabatake in Ise, he distinguished himself and confirmed his taste for warfare. During the next few years he fought in several important campaigns, mainly in the army of Shibata Katsuie, Nobunaga's greatest general. In the battle of Nagashino, the young Masuhide witnessed the first use of firearms in battle in Japan. Nobunaga's general, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, told Masuhide to note the change in fighting style; in later years the enterprising Gamō family saw to it that the Hino merchants began to manufacture firearms.

The Gamōs, father and son, had an important part to play in the tumultuous events of 1582. Nobunaga had sent Hideyoshi to subdue the Chūgoku area; a request soon arrived for reinforcements, whereupon Nobunaga himself set out with several regiments. On the way, they stopped for two nights at Honnōji temple in Kyoto, which proved to be fatal for Nobunaga. One of his generals, Akechi Mitsuhide, saw his chance to bid for power, and, with two thousand men, surrounded Honnōji and set it on fire. Unable to escape and with most of his personal guard killed, Nobunaga committed suicide, to avoid an ignominious death at the hands of his enemy. At this time Gamō Katahide was guarding Azuchi Castle in Ōmi, according to Nobunaga's orders. When word of Nobunaga's death reached Ōmi, most of the local lords quickly transferred their loyalty to the apparent victor, Mitsuhide, but the Gamō family remained steadfast. Just before Azuchi Castle was surrounded by Mitsuhide's supporters, Katahide managed to send his son Masuhide to escort Nobunaga's family to temporary safety at Nakano Castle in Hino. Even a direct request by Mitsuhide could not sway the Gamō family from loyalty to Nobunaga. Their steadfastness was later commended by Hideyoshi and was probably one

reason for Hideyoshi's constant reliance upon Ujisato in many campaigns. After the defeat and death of Mitsuhide very soon afterwards, Hideyoshi took control, styling himself a kind of regent for Nobunaga's grandson Kohoshimaru, and resumed the interrupted work of his deceased lord — the unification of Japan. At this time the Gamō family pledged their loyalty to Hideyoshi.

Increase in Wealth and Involvement in Tea under Hideyoshi

Hideyoshi defeated his main rival, Shibata Katsuie, in the Battle of Shizugatake. On his way back to Kyoto, it is said that Hideyoshi stopped at Nakano Castle, where he was served tea by the Gamō family. He also received Masuhide's younger sister as a concubine at this time.

Hideyoshi had a difficult task in subduing those who were unwilling to acknowledge his supremacy. In 1584, he awarded Masuhide the 120,000-*koku* fief of Matsugashima in Ise; this served the dual purpose of rewarding a valuable retainer and placing a strong supporter in a trouble spot. We may imagine that Masuhide may have had mixed feelings about the award, as his father had died just that year, and he was probably reluctant to leave Hino when he had only recently adopted the economic policies (*rakuichi-rakuza*)² that would lead to its prosperity. Nevertheless he obeyed, and immediately set about the task of taking control of the surrounding area. In fact, since his new fief was on the main pilgrims' route to the Grand Shrine of Ise, Masuhide encouraged the Hino merchants to follow him and join with the local merchants in providing the pilgrims with goods and services.

It was at this time that he found it necessary to choose a name which did not resemble Hideyoshi's, and settled upon Ujisato, taking part of the name of his ancestor Fujiwara Hidesato. He also adopted the unique silver "catfish-tail" helmet (*namazu-o no kabuto*) that remained his trademark.

During these years, Ujisato continued to subdue many rebellious districts in the name of Hideyoshi. He participated in Hideyoshi's attempted assault on the Korean peninsula in 1582, and joined forces with the great general Maeda Toshiie and others in Hideyoshi's Kyushu campaign of 1587. Later that year, the famous tea gathering known as the *Kitano Ō-*

² The *rakuichi-rakuza* was a system in the Sengoku period whereby local daimyō encouraged artisans and merchants in their jurisdiction by doing away with old restrictions and permitting the free sale and movement of products.

chanoyu was held at Kitano Shrine in Kyoto. The greatest treasures of Hideyoshi's considerable collection were on display there, as was his famed portable golden tearoom (*ōgon no chashitsu*). The record states that Ujisato had tea at the second seating area (*seki*), which was for high-ranking military men and was presided over by Rikyū, who was then serving Hideyoshi as chief of tea matters (*sadō*) and steadily gaining in power and influence. Ujisato's prestigious placement at this gathering gives us some idea of how close he was to both Hideyoshi and Rikyū.

This was a time when Hideyoshi and his followers were experimenting with Western religion and culture. It was said that Hideyoshi himself slept in a Western-style bed, while his wife dressed in European fashions. Ujisato, too, was persuaded by the great Christian daimyō Takayama Ukon,³ also one of Rikyū's *shichitetsu*, to embrace the faith. (It is conceivable that Ujisato had encountered the new religion earlier in his life, when we consider that a monastery stood near Azuchi Castle.) He was baptized and given the Christian name Leao in 1585. However, only two years later, Hideyoshi began to be uneasy about the power of the new religion, and issued the edict forbidding Christianity. Unlike some of the other prominent Christians, Ujisato immediately renounced the faith in favor of the traditional absolute of loyalty to his lord.

The years from 1587 to 1591 were an eventful time for Ujisato. First of all, there was the steady increase of his wealth and prestige, as Hideyoshi continued to reward his military successes with ever-expanding domains. After his meritorious service during the Odawara campaign in 1590, he was awarded a fief of 420,000 *koku* in remote Kurokawa³ (present-day Fukushima Prefecture in northern Japan). Some scholars contend that the remoteness of the new fief represented an attempt on Hideyoshi's part to prevent Ujisato from wielding power in political intrigues in the capital; however, it seems more likely that, as in other instances, Hideyoshi was gratefully making use of a trusted retainer by placing him in an as yet unassimilated region. This is borne out by the fact that Ujisato was in a perfect position to aid Hideyoshi in the final subjugation of northern Japan in 1591, after which his fief was doubled to 919,320 *koku*.

But of course, more of interest to us are Ujisato's tea-related activities at this time. There is no doubt that he was a member of an exclusive group which shared occasions of tea with Hideyoshi and Rikyū. This group, although not listed or named at that actual time, appears with varying members in a variety of later sources; and Ujisato was unfailingly listed as a member. He was one of the group known in later years as the *daisu shichininshū*, or "group of seven" convened by Hideyoshi to impart the tradition of *daisu*-style *chanoyu*, which also served as a political brain trust

³ The name of the fief of Aizu Wakamatsu was originally Aizu Kurokawa, and was changed to Wakamatsu by Ujisato, upon building a new castle, in 1592.

where Hideyoshi discussed his sweeping plans for national unification. At around the same time, it seems, Rikyū, without the mediation of Hideyoshi, was associating with his own group of daimyō, whose members, as listed in later works including the *Kōshin Gegaki*, were almost the same as Hideyoshi's *daisu shichininshū*. This was the group known as the *Rikyū shichitetsu*. The group formed by Hideyoshi consisted of his son Toyotomi Hidetsugu,[†] Kimura Hitachinosuke,[‡] Gamō Ujisato, Hosokawa Sansai,[†] Takayama Ukon, Seta Kamon,[‡] and Shibayama Kemmotsu.[†] Rikyū's *shichitetsu* had almost the same membership, substituting Furuta Oribe[‡] and Makimura Hyōbu[‡] for Hidetsugu and Hitachinosuke. It is of interest that several men who were very close to Rikyū, and who are regarded today as eminent men of tea of that time (such as Yamanoue Sōji and Sumiyoshiya Sōmu), were not included. Like Hideyoshi's group, Rikyū's consisted largely of politically influential daimyō. Possibly this contributed to Hideyoshi's growing unease with regard to Rikyū's influence within the government.

In comparison with other eminent tea men who were active at this time, Gamō Ujisato does not make many appearances in contemporary records of tea gatherings. However, enough remains to give a picture of a dedicated and knowledgeable tea practitioner. In particular, some letters exchanged between Ujisato and Rikyū during the time when Ujisato was at Matsuzaka (1587) throw some light on the subject. One, addressed to "The Chamberlain of Ise," is a reply to Ujisato's request that Rikyū help him choose wares to use for a *yobanashi chaji* (night tea gathering) that he was planning. Another, a letter of thanks, suggests that Rikyū was diligently attempting to further relations between Ujisato and Hideyoshi. One other letter, written by Ujisato and still extant, tells of his gratitude in receiving some medicine from Rikyū and inviting him to a tea gathering to express his thanks. Although there are few actual records of Ujisato's tea gatherings, these letters and others allow us to imagine a fairly active tea life.

Several famed tea wares (*meibutsu dōgu*) are recorded to have been in Ujisato's possession. Of these, perhaps the most famous is the teabowl made by Raku Chōjirō and named *Hayabune*.[†] A red Raku bowl of unusual shape and glazing, it is regarded as the finest of the so-called *Chōjirō shichishu*,[†] the representative bowls chosen by Rikyū. It is recorded that Ujisato received it from Rikyū in preference to Hosokawa Sansai and Furuta Oribe. He also possessed another of the *Chōjirō shichishu*, the black Raku bowl named *Hachi-hiraki*,[‡] and also a famed Chinese powdered-tea container (*karamono chaire*) named *Nabeya katatsuki*,[†] and a famed large tea jar (*chatsubo*) named *Sōgetsu*.[†] Ujisato's concentration on Raku teabowls shows his inclination toward Rikyū's taste in tea wares. Indeed, it is recorded that along with Hosokawa Sansai and Shibayama Kemmotsu, he always agreed with Rikyū in matters of taste, while Oribe and others had

different views. His possession of powdered-tea containers and tea jars reflects the influence of Hideyoshi's avidity for collecting. The fact that Ujisato had these famed tea wares in his possession at all speaks volumes for the esteem in which he was held by both Hideyoshi and Rikyū.

Ujisato is known to have made at least two tea articles with his own hands. One is a thick and solid flower container made of bamboo, with a hatchet-cut opening, named *Karayoshi*¹ [photo, p. 32]. The other is a strong and distinctively shaped teascoop named *Moshihotaretsutsu*, with "Ujisato" written on the container.

In spite of an apparent absence of documents, upon investigation it seems that Ujisato was actually a ubiquitous, intimate, and important presence in the tea life surrounding Hideyoshi and Rikyū during these years. He was destined to play an even more important part in the tragic events of 1591.

The Death of Rikyū — Ujisato Takes Shōan to Wakamatsu

It is well known that in the late 1580s, the growing political power and influence of Rikyū were becoming a source of unease to Hideyoshi. The final straw seems to have been the erection of a wooden statue of Rikyū on the second story of the Kimmōkaku gate at Daitokuji temple. Hideyoshi was outraged by the fact that he would in effect have to pass beneath Rikyū's feet in order to go through the gate, and by what he saw as Rikyū's insufferable arrogance; although Rikyū's family actually financed the construction of this part of the gate in commemoration of the death of Rikyū's father. It was this, as well as charges of corruption involving the sale of tea wares, that formed the basis of Hideyoshi's order that Rikyū commit suicide in the second month of 1591.

According to the *Kōshin Gegaki*, at the time of Rikyū's suicide at his villa in Jurakudai in Kyoto, Ujisato was in his home fief of Aizu Wakamatsu, and so was unfortunately unable to do anything to prevent his death. However, it is also recorded in the *Ujisato Ki*¹ [Record of Ujisato] that Ujisato had journeyed to Kyoto in the New Year, and actually visited Rikyū after the death sentence had been passed. We are left with the impression that the *Kōshin Gegaki* sought an excuse for the inability of Ujisato to save his master. Yet if anything, the balance of power between Ujisato and Rikyū was the other way around: had the roles been reversed, Rikyū might have been influential enough to save Ujisato, but as things were, Ujisato simply could not wield enough power to intercede for Rikyū with

Hideyoshi. Although he could not save Rikyū himself, however, he performed a great service for the Sen family by taking Rikyū's son Shōan to safety in Aizu Wakamatsu, thus ensuring the eventual continuation of the Sen family line.

It appears likely that at the time of Rikyū's death, his sons Dōan and Shōan were in Hideyoshi's hands. To say that Ujisato saved Shōan from the wrath of Hideyoshi conjures up a dramatic picture of a secret, perhaps moonlit, flight. However, in actuality, it was several months after Rikyū's death that Ujisato made a formal request to Hideyoshi for the release of Shōan. The fact that Hideyoshi consented to this request suggests that perhaps he was beginning to feel the absence of Rikyū. In any event, Ujisato took Shōan to his fief in June of 1591, and Shōan lived there for the next three years.

What was Shōan's position in the world of tea? Born in 1546, a full ten years before Ujisato, he is believed to have been the son of Miyao Saburō Sannyū of Sakai and Sōon, the woman who became Rikyū's second wife and brought Shōan with her. At this time Rikyū already had a son, Dōan, also born in 1546, by his first marriage; and Shōan became Rikyū's adopted son and eventually his son-in-law, marrying his daughter Okame. In the *Kōshin Gegaki*, there is a story that Rikyū once set up a test to discover the characters of his two sons. He placed two bamboo lid-rests before them, one smooth without a joint, and the other having a large joint in the middle, and asked them to choose the one they liked. Dōan chose the jointed lid-rest and Shōan, the jointless one. From this, Rikyū determined that Dōan's character was direct and single-minded, while Shōan's was warm and peaceful. Rikyū himself preferred the jointless lid-rest. This congruence of taste between Rikyū and Shōan may have led Rikyū to prefer the adopted son; at any rate, Dōan disappeared from the tea world for ten years (1571–81) before he was reconciled to the family. The two brothers lived separately, Dōan in Sakai and Shōan in Kyoto. After Rikyū's suicide, Dōan served Hideyoshi in the role of *sadō*, as his father had, and inherited the property held by Rikyū in Sakai. Here he founded the Sakai branch of the Sen family which subsequently died out. Shōan, as an adoptive son and no actual kin to Rikyū, was possibly in an ambiguous position until Ujisato came to the rescue and took him to Wakamatsu, a two-week journey from Kyoto in those days.

It is certain that Shōan engaged in tea-related activities while residing at Aizu Wakamatsu. In fact, he and Ujisato contributed to the spread of Rikyū's concept of *wabicha* (chanoyu of the wabi aesthetic) in the area. Although unverified, it is believed that Ujisato requested Shōan to design a tea house to his taste at Wakamatsu Castle, and the result was named Rinkaku.¹ It had a three-and-three-quarter-mat (*sanjo-daime*) tearoom with a mizuya (separate preparation area), and a six-mat *shoin*-style room known as a *kusari no ma* (lit., chaining room). This style was perhaps closer



Rinkaku teahouse. Wakayama Castle is seen in background. Photo courtesy of Asahi Shimbunsha.

to that of Furuta Oribe than that of Rikyū in such touches as the large windows (Rikyū had maintained that large windows let in too much light, showing up the wabi utensils' irregularities too harshly). This tea house was moved to the residence of the Morikawa family in Wakamatsu in 1874, and has recently (1990) been restored to the grounds of Wakamatsu Castle, where it can be seen today. During the years of Shōan's residence, it may be imagined that he and Ujisato enjoyed tea-related activities with local enthusiasts. At least one important visitor, the second-generation master of the Raku pottery family, Raku Jōkei Kichizaemon (1581–1635), was welcomed to Wakamatsu, as recorded in the *Raku-ke Monjo*[†] [Raku Family Document].

The Death of Ujisato

In 1594, Ujisato journeyed to Kyoto to participate in the celebrations for the completion of Hideyoshi's Fushimi-Momoyama Castle. At this time, he suffered from a relapse of the illness which had struck him before in



Shōan Meshidashijō [Shōan's letter of summons]. Property of Fushin'an, Kyoto. Photo courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Inc.

Nagoya during the Kyushu campaign of 1587.⁴ It is recorded that Hideyoshi noticed Ujisato's worsening condition at a banquet in the 11th month of 1594, and immediately arranged for him to be examined by the greatest doctor in the land, Manase Dōsan. Hideyoshi also asked Maeda Toshiie and Tokugawa Ieyasu to recommend doctors, whereupon nine famous physicians gathered at Ujisato's bedside. It seems to have been around this time that Ujisato, uneasy about Shōan's continued safety, enlisted the help of Tokugawa Ieyasu. Together, they petitioned Hideyoshi to pardon Shōan. The resulting pardon was transmitted to Shōan, then still residing at Wakamatsu, in a letter written by Ujisato and Ieyasu, which is extant and now known as the *Shōan Meshidashijō*[†] [Shōan's letter of summons]. It is thought that a similar document of pardon must have been sent to Rikyū's true son, Dōan, but there is no proof of this.

Upon receiving the pardon, Shōan apparently made all speed to Kyoto, where he spared a minimum of time to thank Hideyoshi before rushing to Ujisato's bedside, as the latter lay dying. One story goes so far as to say that Shōan was more upset over Ujisato's death than that of his own father, Rikyū, and there is no doubt that a strong and warm tie existed between these two men.

It is recorded in the contemporary historical work, *Nippon Nempō*,[†] by Organtino, that on his deathbed, Ujisato expressed to Takayama Ukon a desire to reaffirm his faith in Christianity, and raising his eyes to a sacred image proffered by Ukon, surrendered his last breath in a spirit of con-

⁴ This disease was described in a contemporary medical work, the *Igaku Tenshoki*, as a "bloody flux," but it is not certain whether this refers to jaundice, rectal cancer, or hemorrhoidal infection.

fession. As well, in the tradition of the cultured Japanese, he composed a final poem. It reads as follows:

*kagiri areba
fukanedo hana wa
chiru mono o
kokoro mijikaki
haru no yamakaze*

The cruel wind of spring
Impatiently blows away the blossoms
That would fall soon enough!

Thus Ujisato passed away on the 7th day of the 2nd month, 1595, at the age of forty.

The First of the *Shichitetsu*

As we study the life of Ujisato in detail, his prominent position at the top of the list of *shichitetsu* in the *Kōshin Gegaki* and other works gradually becomes more comprehensible. Several factors, contributing to the esteem in which he was held by these chroniclers, come to mind.

The first of these factors is the relatively obvious one of Ujisato's eminence in Hideyoshi's retinue. As mentioned above, Rikyū's "seven disciples" mainly consisted of politically powerful lords who were involved in artistic pursuits (*suki daimyō*), and by 1591 Ujisato had become one of the five greatest daimyō in Japan. This would have counted for a great deal in the eyes of the authors of these records. Also, even though by the time the *Kōshin Gegaki* was written, the unified nation had passed under the control of Tokugawa Ieyasu, still, in a historical sense, the authors would have wanted to present a picture of things as they were in the days of Hideyoshi. At that time Ujisato, with Maeda Toshiie and Tokugawa Ieyasu, were the most wealthy and powerful daimyō under Hideyoshi. In fact, it could be said that it was due to the fact that Ujisato and Toshiie died so soon that the task of unifying the country following Hideyoshi's death in 1598 fell to Ieyasu. Some scholars are of the opinion that, had Ujisato lived, the course of Japanese history might have been utterly changed. There is no doubt that his death by illness at the age of forty cut off a brilliant military career and prevented Ujisato from becoming a household word, possibly even on a par with Ieyasu.

Another factor concerns Ujisato's eminence in the tea world at that time, as evidenced by his presence at the *Kitano Ō-chanoyu* and his participation in Hideyoshi's "group of seven" as well as in Rikyū's *shichitetsu*. If there are few records of his name at contemporary tea gatherings in works

extant today, that is not to say that there may not have been records which were lost. Also, at the time the *Kōshin Gegaki* was written there may have been a word-of-mouth tradition about Ujisato's tea activities which has not come down to us. I believe it would be an error to judge Ujisato's prominence in the tea world solely by records which have survived the intervening four hundred years.

But the greatest factor influencing the author of the *Kōshin Gegaki* must in the end have been Ujisato's great service in safeguarding the continuation of the Sen family line, thus assuring that Rikyū's tea tradition would endure. Even after an interval of several months following Rikyū's death, Hideyoshi probably remained upset by the tumultuous events of that winter of 1590–91. It must have required great courage, even for such a high personage as Ujisato, to beard the lion in his den and request permission to take Shōan to Wakamatsu. Ujisato's strong conviction of the importance of preserving the great tea family must have overridden his misgivings. Here we get a glimpse of the love that this gruff military figure must have had for chanoyu and the people connected with it. It could also be interpreted as another instance of the loyalty which formed one of the deep absolutes of his life. In any case, his bold action ensured that Shōan could live in a safe environment during these dangerous years, and eventually return to Kyoto with a pardon and a gift of land from Hideyoshi. Visiting Konnichian, the present family seat of Urasenke, and gazing at the Kabutomon gate which faces the main gate of Hōmpōji temple, we cannot but feel thankful to Ujisato for his contribution to the continuation of chanoyu.

Of course, we can never know what was in the mind of Kōshin Sōsa when he placed Ujisato's name at the top of the list of Rikyū's "seven disciples." But I will be grateful if this article has helped, even slightly, to shine a little light on this great figure of Japanese history and the world of tea. 

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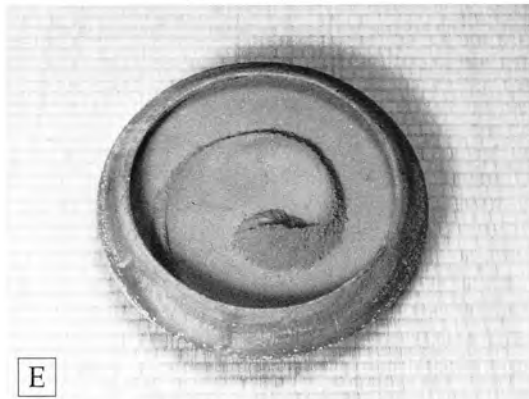
Temae — Tea Procedure: *Gozumi Shomō*

During the ro season, the host may ask one of the guests to lay the charcoal in a procedure called *sumi shomō*, “request for charcoal,” either for the initial charcoal-laying (*shozumi*) or the second charcoal-laying (*gozumi*).

As with *shozumi shomō* (see *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 65), *gozumi shomō* is most appropriate when one of the guests is especially skilled in laying the charcoal. (Note: it is not appropriate during a *yobanashi chaji*, at which *gozumi* is conventionally eliminated.) In the case of *gozumi shomō*, however, there are also special skills required of the host, which are not required in the standard *gozumi temae*. These include the preparation and handling of a *tomoe handa* (a *handa* [type of large unglazed ceramic container] holding a bed of dry ash which has been shaped into a *tomoe* [comma] pattern), and the removal of the remaining burning charcoal from the ro.

Mastery of the necessary skills on the part of both the host and the guest, however, can lead to a rare and wonderful chanoyu experience, for *gozumi shomō* can be very atmospheric and engender a keen feeling of oneness among all the participants. Because of the warmth of the fire, this unique *temae* is often done during the coldest part of winter. The guests gather around the ro as the host removes all of the burning charcoal and places it in the *tomoe handa*, then adds fresh moist ash to the ro and replaces a few pieces of nicely burning charcoal to start the *gozumi* fire, and the chosen guest replenishes the ro with new charcoal.

Except for the additional preparation of the *tomoe handa*, the preparations are the same as for regular ro *gozumi* (see *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 59). As shown in the photos on the next page, the *tomoe handa* is prepared as follows: First confirm that the front of the *handa* is facing toward you and two of its legs are on the left side and in a position to be parallel to the ro frame. With the *nagahibashi* (long iron chopsticks), spread out the ash evenly in the *handa* (photo A). Using the *sokotori* (ash scooper), start forming the spiral *tomoe* pattern from the portion of the ash nearest yourself (B). Revolve the *sokotori* clockwise around the *handa*, leading with the heel portion of the scoop, to make one full revolution (C). Continue turning the *sokotori* one half revolution toward the center, so that the handle faces toward you and the scoop faces away (D). Photo E shows the completed *tomoe* design from the front, i.e. the host's perspective. Place the *sokotori* face down over the ash, so that the handle rests on the front-left edge of the *handa* (F). Place the *nagahibashi* diagonally under the *sokotori*, so that their handle portions rest on the front-right edge of the *handa* (G). Photo H shows the completed *tomoe handa* from the host's perspective.





(1)

Sit at sadoguchi with sumitori placed to side away from guests. Bow together with guests (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).



(3)

Shift sitting position sideways to direct front of ro. With right hand (hereafter, R), take habōki from sumitori and lay it between sumitori and ro (3).



(4)

Close kama lid (R) (4). [Depending on the circumstances as determined by the usual rules, use fukusa to do this. If using fukusa, immediately return it to belt after this.]



(5)

Take kan (R) from sumitori, simultaneously hook them into the kama lugs (5), and rest them on upper part of kama.



(6)

Take kumi kamashiki from sumitori (R), turn it over to the left and rehold it on left side with your left hand (hereafter, L) (6), and place it to side of left knee so that it rests diagonal to left corner of ro frame.



(7)

Move up closer to ro (right knee forward, left knee evened with it). Lift kama onto kumi kamashiki (7), and again rest kan on upper part of kama.



(8)

Shift sitting position to face straight left, regrasp kan, and pull kama and kumi kamashiki together near wall. 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 (8).



(9)

Shift sitting position to face ro. Take habōki (R) and conduct first dusting of the ro (*shobaki*) (9). [When *shobaki* begins, the first guest excuses himself/herself to the next guest and moves toward the ro. The other guests follow his/her lead.]



(10)

Finishing *shobaki*, place habōki on sumitori (10).



(11)

Pick up sumitori (R + L), shift sitting position to diagonal left, and place sumitori to front-left side of ro, where the kama was first placed (11).



(12)

Return to mizuya and bring out prepared tomoe handa in both hands (12).



(13)

Sit to right of ro and place tomoe handa down so that two of its legs are parallel to and close to the ro frame. [Note: the left-hand edge of the tomoe handa will protrude over the ro.] Adjust your position to sit directly facing ro. Hold sokotori (R + L) (13).



(14)

Place sokotori so that the scoop rests face down on the front-left edge of the tomoe handa (14).



(15)

Pick up nagahibashi (R), transfer them to L, and rehold for use with R. Carefully take the burning charcoal out of ro (15), starting with the *dō-zumi*.



(16)

Place the *dō-zumi* in the front part of the tomoe handa, so that it lies straight horizontally (16). Place the other pieces of charcoal in back of the *dō-zumi*, being careful that they do not crumble into small pieces.



(17)

After removing all of the relatively big pieces, gather the small embers into the center of the ro (17).



(18)

Transfer the nagahibashi to L, hold them overhand with R, and place them down on the front-right edge of the tomoe handa, so that the handle ends rest on the tatami and the pointed ends protrude diagonally over the tomoe handa (R + L) (18).



(19)

Hold sokotori with R overhand near scoop and L overhand on handle. While shifting L near scoop and R to handle, bring sokotori to standing position with scoop facing away. Insert the scoop under the gathered small embers in the ro from the near side. With L, turn the handle clockwise so that it rotates to the far side and the scoop, under the small embers, faces toward you (19).



(20)

Carefully lift the sokotori up, and carry the embers to the tomoe handa (20).



(21)

Regrasp the sokotori underhand with L, and dump the embers out on the far side of the *dō-zumi* (21).



(22)

Rest the sokotori face down on the *tomoe handa* as before (22). Pick up *nagahibashi*, hold for use, and once again gather any remaining embers into center of ro. Repeat from step 18. Thus conducting this process two or three times as necessary, the ro should be made as free as possible from any leftover charcoal.



(23)

With the *nagahibashi*, rake the ash in the ro to form valleys in each corner and peaks in the center of each side. To do this, follow the order for spreading *shimeshibai*: start with far left corner valley and rake ash into peak at far center, then return to far left corner valley and rake ash into peak at left center. Go to near left corner valley and rake ash up into left center peak (23), then return to left corner valley and rake ash into peak at near center.



(24)

In a mirror image of the above-described pattern, form the valleys and peaks in the right half of the ro, again ending with the peak at the near center (24).



(25)

With the nagahibashi, one at a time take three relatively small, nicely burning pieces of charcoal from the tomoe handa (25) and place them in a cluster — two pieces in front, and one in back — in the center of the ro to serve as “pilot coals.”



(26)

The photo shows the inside of the ro at this point, from the guests' perspective. Once these “pilot coals” have been laid, if the *dō-zumi* in the tomoe handa remains largely unburnt, replace it in its original position in the ro. Put any other largely unburnt pieces back into ro in such a way that the new charcoal pieces can be easily laid.



(27)

Rehold the nagahibashi overhand with R, set them on the sokotori handle (27), and pick the nagahibashi and sokotori up together (R + L).



(28)

With L, rotate the nagahibashi and sokotori clockwise until the sokotori scoop faces outward to the right, and regrasp them with R. Reach both hands out to pick up the tomoe handa (28).



(29)

While picking up the tomoe handa, shift sitting position sideways to right, so your body is centered toward outer edge of ro frame (29). Stand and return the items to the mizuya.



(30)

Bring in haiki (R) (30).



(31)

Three steps into temae tatami, turn in guests' direction and sit diagonally as shown in the photo. Place haiki in far bottom corner of temae tatami (31), so handle of haisaji is parallel to tatami border and faces upper end of temae tatami.



(32)

Shift sitting position to face sumitori. Pick up sumitori (R + L), shift sitting position to face ro, and place sumitori in its original position to right of ro (32).



(33)

Take haboki (R) and set it down diagonally in front of sumitori (33).



(34)

Move sumitori diagonally away from you, to make room for haiki (34).



(35)

Shift sitting position to diagonal right. Take haiki (R) (35), adjust grip (L, R), and with haiki in R, shift sitting position to again face ro.



(36)

Place haiki in corner of ro tatami (R assisted by L). L remaining on haiki, hold haisaji handle with R by grasping it overhand. Pick up haisaji and drop the incense into the ro, near the hot ash (36).



(37)

In standard manner, distribute the shime-shibai over the ash in the ro (37). Place haisaji face down in haiki. Pick up haiki (R assisted by L), hold it with R, shift sitting position to diagonal right, and return haiki to its original place. Again shift sitting position to face ro.



(38)

Pick up habōki (R), and conduct second dusting of ro (*nakabaki*) (38). Return habōki to its place on tatami.



(39)

Return sumitori to its original position closer to ro. Then place habōki in its original position on sumitori (39).



(40)

Again shift sitting position to diagonal right. Move haiki back with R so that it is by the wall and near the kama (40).



(41)

Stand up and proceed to mizuya. Just outside threshold, turn and sit facing the sadoguchi. Request guests to decide between themselves who will lay the charcoal, and to please lay the charcoal (*"Dōzo omōshi-awase no ue de sumi o"*) (41).

(42)

Without taking too much time to decide, the guests agree as to who will lay the charcoal. That person (hereafter, guest A) stands, goes around the other guests to the temae tatami, and sits facing the ro. Guest A places the habōki diagonally in front of the sumitori (42).



(43)

Guest A takes the hibashi (R) and lays the charcoal in the standard manner (43). (The photo shows guest A taking the *wadō* from the sumitori.) [Note: there are no strict rules concerning this laying of the charcoal; however, the placement of the charcoal laid by the host should not be altered.] Once guest A has placed the last piece, 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.



(44)

Guest A returns the hibashi to the sumitori, picks up the habōki, and conducts the last dusting of the ro (*gobaki*) (44).



(45)

Guest A places the habōki in its original place on the sumitori, stands up (45), and returns to his/her seat.



(46)



Once guest A returns to his/her seat, bow and express your thanks to him/her. Go sit in front of ro, and take a look at the charcoal in the ro (46). Guest A asks you to fix it and replace the kama on the ro (*"Dōzo onaoshi no ue de okama o"*). Acknowledge this with a bow.

(47)



Shift sitting position to face straight left. Move haiki back to its original position (L) (47).

(48)



Pick up kan, simultaneously hook them into the kama lugs, and pull kama and kumi kamashiki together to the spot where they were first placed when the kama was taken from the ro. Remove kan simultaneously, put them together, and place them to left of kama, near the lifting lug (48).



(49)

Shift sitting position further around right. Pick up haiki (R), use L to help readjust grip, and, with haiki in R, stand and return to mizuya (49).



(50)

Enter tearoom with mizutsugi (50) and sit diagonally facing kama. Set mizutsugi down to left.



(51)

Pour water into kama in the standard manner (51).



(52)

Wipe kama lid and then far side and near side of kama body with chakin (52). Replace chakin on mizutsugi, and return mizutsugi to mizuya.



(53)

Return to temae tatami and sit in front of ro. Insert kan into kama lugs, lift kama into ro (53), and lean kan on kama.



(54)

Return kumi kamashiki to sumitori (R) (54).



(55)

Adjust kama on gotoku if necessary, remove kan, put them together, hold them from open ends (R), and place them in sumitori (55).



(56)

Move back slightly (left knee back, right knee evened with it). With bare fingers, open kama lid so that it rests slightly ajar on kama mouth (56).



(57)

Shift sitting position sideways to right so body is centered toward outer right-hand edge of ro frame. Pick up sumitori (57) and proceed to mizuya.



(58)

Just outside the threshold, turn and sit facing sadowuchi, and place sumitori to side away from guests. Bow together with guests (58). Close the door. ☞

Book Reviews

Tomoshihi — Light: Collected Poetry by Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko. Edited by Marie Philomene de los Reyes and Masako Saito. Tokyo: Tanko-Weatherhill, Inc., 1991. 196pp. ¥3,500 (including tax).

Tomoshihi, translated as “Light,” is a collection of poetry by Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko which was originally published in Japanese in 1986, while they were still Crown Prince and Princess. According to the publishers, it has been produced “in the hope that it may lead to a better understanding of the Emperor and Empress, as well as of Japan”; and it “is the first time that a collection of Imperial waka has been published in English.”

As befitting its authors, it is a handsome, hardbound edition with two or three poems on each page. The layout is generous, and ample space is left between the poems to allow for unhindered appreciation of each. In addition, notes at the bottom of each page provide background information to the poems, such as the place or event which prompted the composition, and make interesting reading in themselves.

The book consists of a brief introduction on the Japanese tradition of writing poetry, by Marie Philomene, which includes descriptions of the various types of poems included in the book. This is followed by English translations of a selection of 166 poems by Emperor Akihito (166 *waka* and 6 *ryūka*). “The *ryūka*, consisting of three eight-syllable lines followed by a final six-syllable line, was developed in the kingdom of Ryūkyū [Okinawa] and written in its language” (pp. 8–9). The next section is a selection of 140 poems by the Empress (139 *tanka* and 1 *chōka*), for several of which she herself has also provided the English translations. The poems are followed by some background information on the daily lives of the Emperor and Empress by Yasuo Shigeta, Deputy Grand Chamberlain. This is probably the weakest section of the book in that it reads very much like a press release from the Imperial Household Agency; however, it does provide one with a general picture of the yearly cycle of official functions at the Imperial Court, and, for that, it is worth reading. The book ends with a section listing all the poems in Japanese and romanji.

Many of the poems were composed for the Imperial New Year’s Poetry Reading, which is part of the New Year’s celebrations at the Imperial Palace. Poems for this event are written on a theme selected by the emperor. These themes will undoubtedly be familiar to practitioners of tea because students often receive fans decorated with pictorial representations of the year’s theme from their teachers at New Years.

The editors decide to deviate “from the traditional waka pattern of five-seven-five-seven-seven syllables so as to allow concentration on grasping the imagery and atmosphere of the works” (p. 9). Perhaps because of this, the poems have an intimate quality in them that is sometimes lost in more “formal” translations.

The most interesting poems are perhaps those inspired by some place or event of personal interest. It is said that one of the purposes of poetry is to capture the “suchness of the moment” — to increase our awareness of such moments and to make us more open to them. There are a number of such poems in this collection. For example, number 144 (In Senegal) by the Emperor:

I gaze over the vast dry land
Together with someone
Who came to raise vegetables
In Senegal, a country
Far from her homeland. (p. 70)

and number 27 (Withered Grass) by the Empress:

On the vast meadow
Ruffled with withered grass
In late autumn, I’ve come
With my little one — amusing ourselves
Stepping on each other’s shadow. (p. 95)

Several of the poems are records of official functions, such as number 133 by the Emperor:

Among the physically handicapped
Marching in the stadium,
There is one
Accompanied by his guide dog
Trotting beside him. (p. 65)

I have always wondered what heads of state think about at such times. One wonders what the world would be like if more heads of state composed poetry at such times.

All in all I found most of the poems to be both enjoyable, interesting, and insightful. I do not know if they will “lead to a better understanding of the Emperor and Empress,” but they certainly make them seem much more human, and in that respect I feel that the book has been a great success.

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Tales of Heichū. By Susan Downing Videen. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1989. viii + 235 pp. US\$22.00.

The literary character, Heichū, who has traditionally been identified with the late ninth century middle-ranking courtier and poet of modest reputation, Taira no Sadafun, first appears in an anonymous tenth century poem tale, the *Tales of Heichū* (*Heichū Monogatari*), as a model of the sensitive courtly lover, somewhat resembling Ariwara no Narihira although his sexual exploits tend to be less successful and less dangerous socially than Narihira's. Thereafter, the character of Heichū reappears in a variety of different guises. The comic potential of his lack of success was capitalized upon in the *Tales of Times Now Past* (*Konjaku Monogatari*). Kamakura period anecdotal literature (*setsuwa*) used him as an example of profligacy in admonitory tales. In the Edo period, he not only became one of the legion of dandies who provided amusement in popular fiction, but also a dehumanized seducer in short pornographic tales. Finally, Heichū has been given psychologically complex portraits in modern short stories by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō. Susan Videen follows this transformation of the Heichū legend, providing translations and interpretive commentary for all the relevant source materials, the first and foremost being the *Tales of Heichū* itself. Nor is any secondary source overlooked; even the *Genji* commentaries which explain the allusions to the Heichū story in the *Tale of Genji* have been included.

As implied above, the treatment of the topic is exhaustive. Barring the discovery of some unknown manuscript of the *Tales of Heichū*, there is really nothing else left for anyone to do with the Heichū legend. The work follows the development of the legend chronologically, devoting a chapter each to the four main periods, with sub-divisions within the chapters for the different literary works. This format necessitates a certain amount of repetition, both in the kinds of source material and in the interpretive introductions to the texts. Nonetheless, because the commentary keeps unfolding new perceptions and insights, the amount of overlap is not wearisome.

To follow a legend through a thousand years of transformation is a task worth doing. It becomes very evident how much the narrations inform us about the preoccupations of the teller's period. This kind of study demonstrates that writers are always expressing themselves through the framework of the cultural milieu they inhabit. The preoccupations of Heian period culture stand out with great clarity. The Akutagawa and Tanizaki short stories are particularly interesting in this regard, because they speak out of a cultural milieu so close to our own. The context provided by following the development of the legend deepens our appreciation of what Akutagawa and Tanizaki did with it. Even though these two authors paint quite different psychological portraits of Heichū, the complexity of those portraits marks both works as 'modern.' What is it about our age that makes us so fascinated with the working of the human psyche? This is the kind of question one is led to contemplate by such a study as this—a close examination of one literary subject over a long period of time, which serves to delineate broad shifts of concern within a culture.

The translations are an important part of this book. They allow the reader to make his or her own judgements about the development of the legend. Videen is a gifted translator. One example of her skill is how the translations from the Heian poem tales and from the *setsuwa* materials read like different prose styles in English. Another is how her translations of the poetry that are such a key part of the poem tales read like poetry in English. Take the following example:

I love you as	<i>Fuku kaze ni</i>
The blade of grass that bends	<i>Nabiku kusaha to</i>
Before the lusty wind.	<i>Ware wa omou</i>
Do not leave me to wither,	<i>Yowa ni oku tsuyu</i>
Abandoned by the night's	<i>Noki mo karezu na.</i>
refreshing dew.	(p. 43)

Here she achieves a poetic quality by bringing out the erotic connotations latent in the wind and dew imagery as well as mimicking in English the languid rhythm of the original. She consistently finds appropriate ways to express the essence of each poem. Moreover, her translation style distinguishes between poems that have some depth and density to them and those that are merely flippantly clever bits of wit. Her translation of the Akutagawa story, "The Art of Love" (*Kōshoku*), is another tour de force; she gives the narration a very distinctive voice that is recognizable as Akutagawa's own. One regrets that she did not provide a complete translation of Tanizaki's "The Mother of Captain Shigemoto" (*Shōshō Shigemoto no Haha*). There is no complete translation of that story in English yet, and the excerpts she provides certainly whet one's appetite to see the whole in her translation.

To conclude, this is an intelligent, competent piece of literary scholarship with some fine translations. It lays another solid block in the foundation for the study of Japanese literature in English.

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18th Century Japan. Edited by C. Andrew Gerstle. Sydney: Allen & Unwin Australia, 1989. xvii + 163 pp. Australian \$24.95, paperback.

This volume grew out of a 1982 conference on "18th Century Edo" sponsored by the Japan Foundation and the Australia-Japan Foundation. It consists of nine papers, each of which constitutes an independent chapter with its own notes and references. These are organized under three parts, as follows:

Part I Pleasure Quarters and Theatre

- 1 The pleasure quarters and Tokugawa culture *Teruoka Yasutaka*
- 2 Flowers of Edo: Kabuki and its patrons *C. Andrew Gerstle*
- 3 Edo Jōruri *Torigoe Bunzō*

Part II Edo Language

- 4 The development of Edo language *H.B.D. Clarke*
- 5 Edo and Tokyo dialects *Hiroko C. Quackenbush*

Part III High Culture

- 6 Group portrait with artist: Yosa Buson and his patrons *Mark Morris*
- 7 *The Tale of Genji* in the eighteenth century: Keichū, Mabuchi and Norinaga *Thomas J. Harper*
- 8 The role of traditional aesthetics *Nakano Mitsutoshi*
- 9 Matsudaira Sadanobu and Samurai Education *Robert L. Backus*

Like most conference volumes, this one is hard to review. I confess to being of two minds about it: I am excited and stimulated by the information and insights provided, yet more than a little disappointed that more was not done with the opportunity presented. In addition, the title of the book is a bit misleading, since the book's contents are limited to culture and thought.

Perhaps it is best to be done with the less positive points first. These mainly concern essays by the Japanese scholars Teruoka, Torigoe, and Nakano which were translated into English. Scholarly conventions and expectations differ vastly in Japan and the West. I applaud and respect the efforts made by the editor and translators to bridge these daunting cultural and linguistic gaps. But regrettably, those gaps remain. Of these translated chapters, only Teruoka's would qualify as a publishable essay by Western standards. As one of Japan's leading scholars on the topic, he presents a wealth of detailed information not available elsewhere in English.

Nakano's paper introduces stimulating ideas about the need for a positive reappraisal of eighteenth-century culture in its own right, not just as a transition between Kamigata (Kyoto-Osaka area) and Edo cultures. He submits the concepts of *ga* (elegant) and *zoku* (vulgar) for that purpose, and argues for the primacy of the former. But his paper is too brief to develop his topic or to substantiate his thesis. Torigoe's paper, too, is short: seven pages plus a chart. Its main problem, however, is that it was intended for a Japanese scholarly audience. What does one make of sentences like this on p. 58: "Sometimes Edo Jōruri is taken to include *miyazono-bushi* (or *sonohachi-bushi*) and *shigedaya-bushi* which, although originating in Kyoto, are in the *itchū bushi-bungobushi* tradition"?

Given the seven-year interval between conference and book, much more could have been done to expand, revise, or even rewrite the Nakano and Torigoe papers for Western readers. In addition, more than the usual number of typographical errors are to be found in this book. And there are puzzles. An endnote on p. 131 cites a Japanese work published in "Year 25." On p. 20, Teruoka says that "a note signed by Tokugawa Ieyasu acknowledging the Bakufu's debt of 80,000 gold pieces" surfaced in 1705 when the Yodoya suffered confiscation and banishment. Is this a mistake? Ieyasu died in 1616 and his bakufu was not known for

borrowing. I will not labor the point with more examples. Suffice it to say that rigorous editing would have enhanced this book's worth. Hence, my disappointment at the opportunity lost.

Happily, the volume's strong points more than make up for such shortcomings. Quackenbush and Clarke contribute informative pieces on Kamigata and Edo dialects and language patterns showing the development of modern standard Japanese. In an age when linguistic jargon tends to dominate language studies, these papers are refreshing not only for their content, but also for their readability. Yet again, they could have been expanded and developed beyond their original format.

Gerstle has assembled some of the foremost Western experts on eighteenth-century Japanese culture and thought, and he has had them deal with their particular fields of specialization: himself on kabuki, Morris on Buson, Backus on Matsudaira Sadanobu and Chu Hsi studies, and Harper on Tokugawa *Genji* criticism. These four essays form the core of the book.

Gerstle's chapter argues that Edo kabuki was central to the cultural vibrance of the nation and was a form of defiance of feudal authority by the common people. Yet kabuki was not limited to townsmen, and won many adherents among their daimyo and samurai social betters who were supposed to be pursuing more elegant pastimes. Hence, Gerstle's thesis contrasts with Nakano's, which emphasizes the concept of "elegance" and the aspiration of the lower classes to approach that ideal. More on this point could have been said in the book's Introduction, and, of course, in Nakano's chapter. In his future work, I hope Gerstle will develop the theme of "actors as outcasts" and the socio-political implications mentioned in this essay.

Morris takes up a fascinating and important topic in Tokugawa social history: how famous men of the arts and letters such as Buson made a living. We know something about the finances of scholars who opened private academies or who served as bakufu and domain teachers, but Morris is the first to treat a major literary figure in this way. He shows that Buson could be quite a shrewd operator, which underscores the criticism made by Confucian moralists about useless belletrists who were little better than merchants.

Backus, perhaps the premier authority on Matsudaira Sadanobu in Japan as well as the West, portrays him as "the last prominent defender of the old order . . . who could act with confidence in his beliefs" (p. 133). Although I disagree with Backus' views on the primacy and centrality of Chu Hsi in Tokugawa Confucian thought, I find his discussion of the school's elite and popular teachings very insightful. But, to discover a different side of Sadanobu — one he strove mightily to keep hidden — the reader should see Haruko Iwasaki's "Portrait of a Daimyo: Comical Fiction by Matsudaira Sadanobu" in *Monumenta Nipponica* 38:1 (Spring 1983), which came out after Backus' 1982 conference paper.

Pride of place in this volume goes to Harper. Most English-language scholarship on Kokugaku (National Learning) explains its emergence in the eighteenth century, either by stressing nativist reaction to excessive sinophilia, or by tracing the ideals of poetic emotion and literature for its own sake. Harper focuses on *Genji* commentaries by Keichū, Kamo no Mabuchi, and Motoori Norinaga to argue that Kokugaku also arose as a revolt against scholarly aristocratic privilege.

The "newness" of their commentaries had less to do with content than class origins. They argued that classical works of literature should be accessible to all Japanese, not private heirlooms transmitted semi-secretly by a few high-ranking court families. I would argue with Harper's emphasis on the non-aristocratic nature of these men, since they claimed and used noble ranks and titles. Nevertheless, he has produced a highly thought-provoking and important study.

Despite the reservations mentioned at the beginning of this review, *18th Century Japan* is of considerable interest and value. Its contributors do not resort to the latest fads in semiotics, hermeneutics, and structural-cultural anthropological theory in order to get their message across. For the most part, this is a book on Tokugawa thought and culture that is eminently readable and enjoyable.

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Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan. By Heinz Morioka and Miyoko Sasaki. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990. xi + 470 pp., including bibliography, glossary, and index. US\$30.00.

Rakugo is the traditional Japanese art of storytelling, performed by professional narrators called *hanashika* in vaudeville-type variety halls called *yose*. *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan* fills a gap in the literature on traditional Japanese narrative and performing arts by providing a detailed discussion of the historical roots and evolution of *rakugo*, aspects of performance, prominent *hanashika*, and the themes, characters, language, and tone of the tales themselves. Appended to the text are a list of the main houses of *hanashika*, titles of *rakugo* text collections and individual tales published since 1884, an extensive annotated bibliography, and a glossary of terms. The discussion comes alive through the many translations provided of excerpts from *rakugo* texts and performances. Six stories are translated in their entirety, with commentaries on gags and puns, the way the performer will manipulate his voice and timing to create a certain effect, and the way he will respond to various types of audiences. The text includes excellent black-and-white illustrations of traditional performances and basic stage conventions.

The main text is divided into three parts. Part One, "The Narrative Art of Classical Rakugo," discusses types of narrative art performed on the *yose* stage, including a type of story reading, *kōdan*, originating in explanations of sutras by Buddhist priests, and several genres of storytelling, such as *manzai*, sketches and parodies of modern life performed by a comedian pair, and *rakugo*, a short, humorous story ending in a punch line. A typical afternoon or evening performance

might incorporate a balance of these narratives. The authors proceed to categorize *rakugo* into classical and modern pieces, to group them by subject, such as *ninjō-banashi* (moving tales about commoners), *kaidan-banashi* (ghost stories), *shibai-banashi* (parodies of kabuki plays), and so on, and to categorize them by theme. In Part One, the authors also describe the *hanashika*, who is generally of humble social origins and speaks in the vernacular, depicting by himself, through characteristic jargon and speech styles, an entire community of characters. Textual examples and illustrations permit the reader to visualize how the *hanashika* uses his only two props, a fan and a small towel, to mime action while seated on a bare stage.

Part Two, "Topics in Rakugo Narration," describes the type of humor found in *rakugo*, particularly the way reality is made to exist in a context of unreality. The section on *ninjō-banashi*—stories of the complications of common life, depicted with gentle humor and irony—are prefaced with a very good explanation of *giri* (duty) and *ninjō* (indulgence of one's natural inclinations). Students of Edo society, literature, and performing arts will find this chapter both informative and entertaining. The final chapter in Part Two, "Universal Folklore Motifs in Rakugo Narration," will be of particular interest to the student of comparative literature.

Part Three, "The History of Rakugo," discusses the roots of *rakugo* narration in the Buddhist sermon tradition, prototypes in tale collections such as *Konjaku Monogatari* and *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, the establishment of *rakugo yose* in the late eighteenth century, the effects on *rakugo* of restrictions placed on public entertainment, and the directions *rakugo* has taken in the postwar period. Of particular interest in this section are the profiles of *hanashika*. Readers will be surprised to learn about Australian-born Henry James Black (1858–1923), who grew up in Yokohama from age six and became a professional *hanashika*. Assuming the stage name Kairakutei Buraku, he established his reputation by adapting Western novels to the *rakugo* stage. Typical of current trends in *rakugo* are the new tales of Katsura Shijaku II, who has written *rakugo* in English. The book concludes with his story, "Robot Shizuka-chan," a satire on one of the sources of annoying noise in modern Japanese life, talking machines. It is the authors' view that, while traditional *rakugo* will continue to be performed, the survival of this art may depend on the integration of tales which incorporate current topics of concern to the audience.

The authors stress throughout the text that, although *rakugo* is being forced to adapt to the requirements of mass media and large halls, it is essentially an art that depends on the intimate relationship between performer and audience. We realize that, in spite of this fine introduction to the language and performance of *rakugo*, it will only come to life when we set down the book and enter the *yose*.

The puns and jokes in *rakugo* can be translated, or at least explained. What cannot be adequately conveyed is the way the *hanashika* creates an aura of tension that leads to an outbreak of laughter. This can be understood only by experiencing an actual performance. The buildup to a gag—even a silly one—is full of amusing details the *hanashika* adds to increase or decrease the tension his audience is feeling. It is here that the artistry of the storyteller comes into play. Without his impeccable sense of tim-

ing and without the sheer force of his personality, one telling of the story would be very much like another. (p. 98)

Many books on noh, kabuki, and bunraku are available to the Western reader. *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan* broadens our understanding of traditional performing arts and provides a deeper look into the popular culture of Japan.

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The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought. By Rolf A. Stein. Translated by Phyllis Brooks. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990. xxvi + 393 pp., including reference matter. US\$39.50, cloth.

This marvelous book, a translation of Rolf Stein's 1987 work entitled *Le monde en petit: jardins en miniature et habitations dans la pensée religieuse d'Extrême-Orient* (Paris: Flammarion), has been faultlessly presented by Stanford University Press in a manner that is artistic and inspiring. Professeur Honoraire of the Collège de France, Stein is well known for his scholarly work on the religious cultures of Asia. The present work is a summation of his lifelong study of the "interlocking symbols and images that lie at the core of the (Asian) universe ..." (from the Introduction), a theme developed in a number of earlier publications and presented here as a legacy of French research on Asia. The book is divided into three parts discussing the structure, symbols, and meaning of: 1) miniature gardens, 2) dwellings, and 3) the religious places of China, Vietnam, Tibet, and north Asia. It is illustrated with line drawings, photographs, and 115 figures.

The methodology of the book is comparative: a simple and straightforward presentation of details taken directly from field observation and literary sources. The text is unencumbered by speculation or Western-derived theories that might otherwise distract from the authenticity of the topic and the beauty of its presentation. Stein indulges the reader with poetic and artistic images coupled with an astute erudition that convinces by evidence rather than argument.

A wealth of scholarly references is provided for those who wish to delve more into the sources of Stein's research. This reviewer read the text first, then went back to re-read the text along with the endnotes, and finally read the endnotes alone, some of which are a page or more in length. This technique — i.e., the use of lengthy references separate from the text — increases the usefulness of the work, because it allows the general reader without a background in Asian scholarship to

follow the argument of the book without the burden of detailed scholarship. At the same time, it allows scholars and students to use the work for research. Frequently, the endnotes are themselves miniature studies, rather like the "miniature gardens" that are the subject of Part I. I would thus recommend the book not only as a work of literary art for the general reader, but also as an excellent study for graduate and undergraduate use.

The author begins with an explanation of his method, describing how the work took shape.

Forms, images, and details are combined at different times and in different places like the elements of a language. I have only tried to follow them, reveal them, and show how they connect and separate again under the impetus of historical, sociological, and psychological circumstances. (xxvi)

This theme is elaborated in the first chapter, where the work of Marcel Granet (1884–1940) is cited as background for Stein's own book. Stein's goal is to look for the "presence of the macrocosm in certain enclosed spaces, or microcosms," (p. 5) specifically in miniature gardens (Part I), dwellings (Part II), and sacred places (Part III). The reader sees that this theme is repeated over and over again in art, architecture, miniature gardens, the *p'en-ching* (miniature gardens) of China and Vietnam, the bonsai of Japan, and other landscapes. These all provide places for access to the nourishing womb of interior meditation, the healing herbs of Taoist mountainsides, and the realms of the Taoist immortals.

The use of the gourd as a symbol of the interior of the human body, the matching of the microcosm to the structure of the macrocosm, the significance of female divinities, the relationships of stones and trees to bodily and spiritual health or wholeness, are among the subjects discussed in Part I.

Part II presents ideas from Stein's earlier articles which appeared in *Journal Asiatique* and in *Arts Asiatique*, both in 1957, but here they are "vastly expanded" with pictures and textual explanations not found in the earlier works. Stein uses ancient archaeological remains as well as modern household structures to show structural and symbolic consistency between past and present Asian and native North American archaeology and art. The reader walks through ancient and modern dwellings, Tibetan and Chinese tombs and households, noticing openings in the center of roofs, towers, and underground chambers. The horizon is broadened to include Siberian, Ainu, Eskimo, and American Indian lodgings, extending the miniature garden theme to a geographically wide range of dwellings. By reading the endnotes to this section, one can compare Stein's ideas with those of other scholars who have written about Asian symbols and myths.

Part III deals with the so-called "Gate of Heaven" and "Gate of Earth" concepts, showing how these symbolic images are found in temples and sacred places in Asia. The gourd-shaped garden, the human body, and the temple are structurally similar. Mount Kun-lun in China and Mount Sumeru in India are equivalent to the human head, while the underworld — i.e., the watery and fiery regions under the earth — are depicted in art as a part of the lower half of the gourd-body. Stein summarizes his work with the words, "... one remains awestruck at the

startling coherence and continuity of certain fundamental forms and ideas" (p. 272).

On finishing the book, one is left with uplifted feelings, wishing that the dialogue between Stein and his reader could go on. The art, bonsai, and architecture of Japan, and the relationship between miniature scenes and meditation in the human body (pp. 230, 270), are themes which Stein modestly defers to others who have already treated these topics well, he states. One would wish that these themes be developed by Stein in a future work, or by students inspired to carry the research and its methodology further. There is a wealth of topics, such as the Taoist theme of unity with the Tao of Wu-wei (non-act, or transcendent act) (seen as taking place in the Yellow Court, the lower third of the gourd during interior meditation), and the relationship between the Tantric Buddhist lotus and Vajra worlds (two parts of a single meditation process) that might also fit into Stein's two-world model. This is a book that inspires the reader to do further research and study. In the words of Edward Schafer's sensitive foreword, "... it is obvious that no serious student of China's past can afford to overlook what is written here" (xix). It is indeed a masterpiece — an example of scholarship on Asia at its best.

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Inspired Flower Arrangements. By Toshirō Kawase. Foreword by Issey Miyake. Tokyo and New York: Kōdansha International, 1990. 119 pp., including 74 color plates. US\$39.95; ¥7,000 (including tax).

Of the many ikebana publications now in print, few offer the satisfaction and stimulation that this beautifully photographed volume on the floral arrangements of Toshirō Kawase does. An ikebana master who eschews founding a school or having disciples, Mr. Kawase's goal is to bring about a love for the creative use of flowers in everyday life rather than adherence to a set of static principles for flower arranging. From a very early age he showed a natural interest in and aptitude for flower arranging, which, after a foray into the world of theatrical production, was to become his life's work.

The artist takes his inspiration from the formal *tatehana* (literally, standing flowers) and the more casual *nageire* (literally, throwing in) styles of flower arrangement that evolved during the Muromachi Period — the formative period of many of the Japanese arts. Choosing to work only with the traditional flowers, grasses, shrubs, and branches used in classical Japanese ikebana, he astonishes the viewer with his ability to provide fresh insights into the intrinsic nature of flowering plants.

The first and major part of *Inspired Flower Arrangements* is comprised of 74 sumptuous color plates of ikebana arrangements of the four seasons, ranging from large-scale compositions of massed branches or plants in imposing bronze receptacles to tiny, single blooms in gilded clam shells, evocative of the game of *kai-awase* (clamshell matching) played by Heian Period nobles. The book's large "coffee table" format provides the perfect setting for the artist's large-scale arrangements that are combined with multi-panelled folding screens and art work in the large guest rooms of temples and private homes. Mr. Kawase also expands his arrangements by placing them in the grounds and gardens of these same homes and temples.

The second section of the book, "The Universe in a Single Flower," traces the history and development of ikebana from its roots in the Shinto *yorishiro* (places of kami residence, such as evergreens) and Buddhist *kuge* (floral offerings), through the emergence of the aesthetic of *miyabi* (an ideal of elegance that embraces notions of transience, mutability, and evanescence), to *tatehana*, *nageire*, and the many forms of modern ikebana. Toshirō Kawase also gives us his philosophy on the need to see ikebana not as a type of plastic art which has floral material as its medium, but as a creative endeavor in which the very essence of the living floral material can be expressed. An examination of the color plates clearly shows how well he has succeeded both in his large arrangements and in his smaller intimate creations — all of which offer new insights into the relation of nature and art.

The last section, a commentary on the individual color plates, provides a discussion of what inspired the artist to create these particular arrangements and identifies their settings. It also includes helpful advice on how to treat delicate and difficult materials.

This book is a joy to behold, and Juliet Winters Carpenter's masterly translation of the text makes it a joy to read as well. *Inspired Flower Arrangements* is indeed a welcome addition to the literature in English on ikebana.

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Glossary

Araki Murashige	荒木村重	Kobori Enshū	小堀遠州
Arima Gemban	有馬玄蕃	<i>Kokin Chajin Keifu</i>	古今茶人系譜
<i>Chadō Sentei</i>	茶道筌蹄	<i>Kōshin Gegaki</i>	江岑夏書
<i>Chadō Shiso Densho</i>	茶道四祖伝書	Kusumi Soan	久須見疎安
<i>Chaji Hiroku</i>	茶事秘録	Kuwata Tadachika	桑田忠親
<i>Chajin Keiden</i>	茶人系伝	Kuwayama Sakon	桑山左近
<i>Chake Suikoshū</i>	茶家醉古襍	(Sōsen)	(宗仙)
<i>Chanoyu Kojidan</i>	茶湯古事談	Maeda Toshinaga	前田利長
<i>chanoyu meijin</i>	茶湯名人	Makimura Hyōbu	牧村兵部
<i>chanoyu-mono</i>	茶湯者	Matsuya Hisashige	松屋久重
<i>Chasotekiden</i>	茶祖的伝	<i>Matsuya Kaiki</i>	松屋会記
<i>Chawa Shigetsu Shū</i>	茶話指月集	<i>Nabeya katatsuki</i>	鍋屋肩衝
<i>Chōandō Ki</i>	長闇堂記	Nange	南化
<i>Chōjirō shichishū</i>	長次郎七種	<i>Nippon Nempō</i>	日本年報
Chūzaburō	忠三郎賦秀	Oda Uraku	織田有楽
Masuhide		<i>Raku-ke Monjo</i>	楽家文書
Endō Genkan	遠藤元閑	Rinkaku	麟閣
Fujiwara Hidesato	藤原秀郷	<i>Rokuon Nichiroku</i>	鹿苑日録
Furuta Oribe	古田織部	Sakuma Fukansai	佐久間不干斎
Gamō Katahide	蒲生賢秀	<i>Sansai Chanoyu</i>	三斎茶湯書
Gamō Sadahide	蒲生定秀	<i>no Sho</i>	
Gamō Ujisato	蒲生氏郷	Satomura Jōha	里村紹巴
<i>Genryū Chawa</i>	源流茶話	Sen Dōan	千道安
<i>Hachi-hiraki</i>	鉢閑	Sen Rikyū	千利休
Hōgensai (Kōshin)	逢源斎 (江岑)	Sen Shōan	千少庵
Sōsa	宗左	Sen Sōtan	千宗旦
Hosokawa Sansai	細川三斎	Seta Kamon	瀬田掃部
(Tadaoki)	(忠興)	Shibayama	芝山監物
<i>Kan'ya Chawa</i>	閑夜茶話	Kemmotsu	
<i>Karayoshi</i>	唐よし	<i>shichininshū</i>	七人衆
Katagiri Sekishū	片桐石州	<i>shichitetsu</i>	七哲
<i>Keichō</i>	慶長御尋書	<i>shitennō</i>	四天王
<i>Otazunegaki</i>		<i>Shōan Meshidashijō</i>	少庵召出し状
Kimura	木村常陸介	<i>Sōgetsu</i>	双月
Hitachinosuke		<i>sokotori</i>	底取

<i>Sōtan Nikki</i>	宗湛日記	<i>Toyotomi</i>	豊臣秀次
<i>Takayama Ukon</i> (Nambō)	高山右近 (南坊)	<i>Hidetsugu</i>	
<i>Tamon'in Nikki</i>	多聞院日記	<i>Tsuruchiyo</i>	鶴千代
<i>Teiyōshū</i>	貞要集	<i>Ujisato Ki</i>	氏郷記
<i>tomoe handa</i>	巴半田	<i>wabi-suki(sha)</i>	佗数奇(者)
<i>Tōryū Chanoyū</i>	当流茶湯流伝集	<i>Yabunouchi</i>	藪内竹心
<i>Rudenshū</i>		<i>Chikushin</i>	
		<i>Yamanoue Sōji Ki</i>	山上宗二記

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–

ERRATA

CHANOYU QUARTERLY NO. 65

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

p. 55, step 12 should read:

Shift sitting position to face straight left,
regrasp kan, and pull kama and kumi
kamashiki together near wall (12).

p. 61, step 34 should read:

Shift sitting position to face straight left.
Move haiki back to its former position (L)
(34).

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