



CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 69



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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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The names of Japanese and Chinese persons are written surname first, in accordance with the customary practice in these countries.

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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.

The Tea Experience called *Chaji*

Sen Sōshitsu XV

The Way of Tea, based on the principles of Harmony, Respect, Purity, and Tranquility, brings human beings together in heart-to-heart communion through the medium of tea, and the *chaji* ('full' or 'formal' tea gathering), more than anything else, is where these principles are put into actual practice.

Training in the Way of Tea consists of mastering the basic procedures for the *sumi temae* (charcoal-laying presentation), *koicha temae* (thick-tea presentation), *usucha temae* (thin-tea presentation), and so forth, and absorbing all the fine points of etiquette and sensitivity which these teach us, toward the goal of one day hosting a *chaji* and sharing a bowl of *koicha* with others. By training well, hosting a *chaji*, and achieving a truly memorable event, one is able to physically experience the true meaning of the Way of Tea.

Looking at the number of *chakai* ('informal' tea gatherings) which have been taking place recently, there is no denying that the population of people involved in the Way of Tea has been increasing. In addition to people who take chanoyu lessons, there are those who are involved in research on the subject. However, it appears to me that not many people hold *chaji*, and that, therefore, there are few opportunities to experience the true Way of Tea. I also notice that the *chaji* tends to be forgotten about in chanoyu lessons; that the tendency is for people to undertake chanoyu practice solely for the sake of just that — undertaking chanoyu practice. This is due in part to the influence of the "mass" tea gatherings (*ōyose chakai*) which are in vogue, but considering that these mass tea gatherings, too, are essentially an abbreviated form of *chaji*, I think we should once again recognize that the things we learn and practice in the classroom are steps meant to lead to the *chaji*. Mass tea gatherings evolved out of various circumstances, and, to be sure, are important in their own way.

Translated and adapted from the foreword appearing in *Shōgo no Chaji: Ro Hen* 『正午の茶事 其編』, (1984), *Chanoyu Jissen Kōza* 『茶の湯実践講座』 series (Kyoto: Tankōsha Publishing Co.).

However, we should not forget that the *chaji* lies at the root of the Way of Tea.

I have always expounded the idea of the inseparability of three spheres of attainment: *dō* (the Path), *gaku* (knowledge), and *jitsu* (practice) — the three facets of training necessary to become a perfect host or guest. In my book *Cha Kyō to Waga Kuni Chadō no Rekishiteki Igi* [The Tea Classic and its Historical Relevance to the (Japanese) Way of Tea], I wrote that the cultural characteristic of the Way of Tea lies in its having the quality of an “other-worldly” pastime (*takai-kannen-teki na yūgesei*); that it serves its participants, while existing in real society, as a spiritual pastime; and that it is a place wherein any religion can be put into practice and one can exercise the kind of character-building that requires one to leap into a sort of unworldly realm. That place of practice, indeed, is the *chaji*.

The *chaji* is made up of three basic components — the *sumi temae*, *koicha temae*, and *usucha temae* — coupled with the form of meal called *kaiseki*, which originated in Zen temples. Each of these holds an important place within the *chaji*, but, among them, the *koicha temae* stands at the core. The charcoal is laid to ready the water for the *koicha*; next, the empty stomach is put into order by the serving of the *kaiseki*; once that has been taken care of, the *koicha* is prepared and served; then the charcoal fire is replenished; and then the *usucha* is presented. This series of acts all centers on the one purpose of a *chaji*; that is, to share a bowl of *koicha*.

Much training and experience are required in order to be able to prepare the ideal consistency of *koicha* and have one’s guests enjoy this under the most ideal conditions. In other words, all the requirements of *dō*, *gaku*, and *jitsu* must be met, and of course it requires many years of difficult discipline to attain this. Again, to come in touch with that singular bowl of *koicha* as a guest at a *chaji* is to learn about the setting, the utensils, the imagery and significance behind the particular selection of items (*toriatwase*), the host’s intentions, and so on, and to gain an understanding of many things. When one thinks about this, one realizes the immediacy of the words found in the *Roji Seicha Kiyaku* [Memorandum Concerning Tea Gardens and Purity for Tea], said to have been written by Sen Rikyū: “Those who do not perceive the charm of nature or who cannot learn to appreciate the trees and rocks which are laid out in the *roji* are to leave this place at once.”



Early History of The Teahouse

PART I

Nakamura Toshinori

In the sixth month of Bunki 2 (1502), Sanjōnishi Sanetaka¹ (1455-1537) bought a small six-mat cottage through the introduction of the master of linked verse (*renga*), Gensei, and transferred it to his mansion on Mushanokōji street in Kyoto. On this occasion, he remodeled it into a *jōma*,² or four-and-a-half mat building. Work on constructing the building at the new site was begun on the sixteenth day of the eighth month.³ The “Kadoya” 角屋 which appears in contemporary documents as the setting for such events as the composition of *wakan renku* (linked verse with alternating lines in Japanese and Chinese) probably refers to this cottage.

¹ 三条西実隆

² 丈間

³ The stages in the construction of this house are described in the entries dealing with the events of Bunki 2 (1502) in the *Sanetaka-kō Ki* 『実隆公記』, as follows:

6/2 [i.e., 6th month, 2nd day]. I sent a person to look at the room for sale. It is a good room. I want it badly.

6/6. I had the room which I bought today moved [to my residence]. It was brought on two or three carts and [by several] people.

6/8. I had the layout [of the building] altered to a four-and-a-half mat room.

7/18. Today was an auspicious day, so the pillars of the room were set in place and the construction of the building was begun.

7/23. The building was completed.

7/26. White plaster was applied to the *kokabe*.

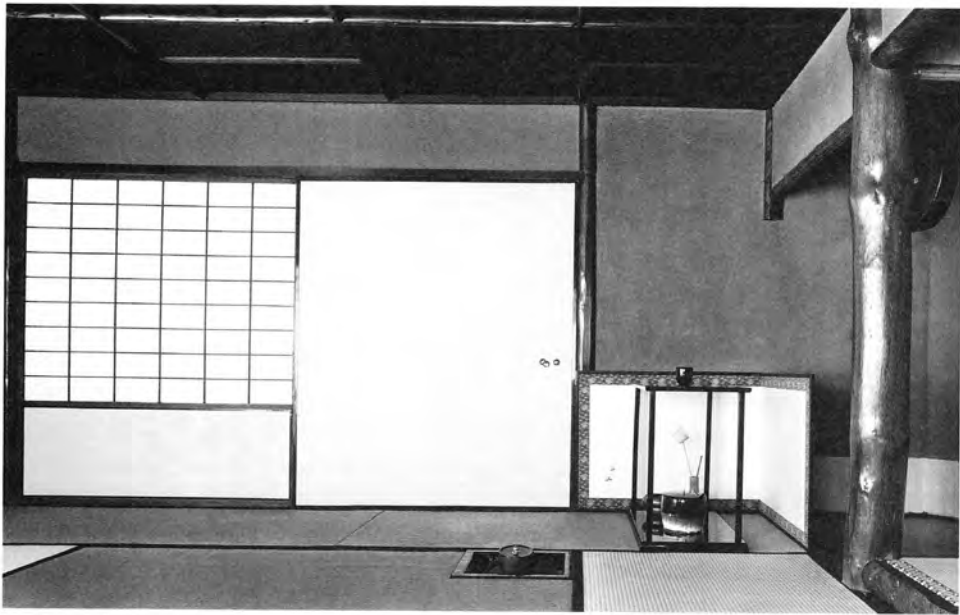
8/4. I summoned *karakami* craftsmen to paste [*karakami*] behind the *oshiita*, shelves, etc. Similarly, I summoned carpenters to work on parts of the building. All in all, the construction work was finished today.

8/5. I summoned tatami makers and instructed them about the layout [of the tatami].

8/12. I summoned carpenters to make wooden fences for the garden.

8/16. Because everything is prepared in the newly constructed hermitage, and because it is an auspicious day, I celebrated with some saké in the room in the early morning.

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from the Introductory Chapter, “*Sōan Chashitsu Seiritsu Zenshi — ‘Haisumi-e’ no Sekai kara*” [序章 草庵茶室成立前史—『掃曇絵』の世界から—], in *Machiya no Chashitsu* 『町家の茶室』 (Kyoto: Tankōsha Publishing Co., 1981). The entire chapter will be presented as a four-part series. Color plates featured in Part I are from the Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation, Tokyo. Unless otherwise specified, monochrome illustrations are courtesy of the author.



Karakami fusuma-shōji in present Totsutotsusai tearoom at the Urasenke Konnichian complex, Kyoto. Photo by Futagawa Yukio.

Oshiita (left) and decorative shelves in reception room at Kōjōin subtemple of Onjōji temple, Shiga.



For example, the *Sanetaka-kō Ki* states, "Today was the final session of the Middle General's [i.e., Sanetaka's] Japanese-Chinese [linked verse] meeting. We all assembled at the Kadoya."³

Concerning its interior, we find such statements as "I [Sanetaka] summoned craftsmen who work with *karakami*⁵ (Chinese-style paper) to paper the wall behind the *oshiita*⁶ (decorative platform), shelves, and so on." These indicate that the room in the cottage was furnished with shelves and an *oshiita* and was spread with tatami mats. Craftsmen were specially called in to paste *karakami* on the walls. The partial wall extending down from the ceiling⁷ was of white plaster.⁸ *Karakami*, literally "Chinese paper" or "paper decorated in the Chinese manner," refers to paper printed with designs in regular patterns using wood-blocks. We can well imagine that the interior of the cottage, being covered with *karakami*, must have been an exemplary model of a *sukiya*⁹ or 'teahouse style' building. It was no doubt comparable to the interior of the old *shoin*¹⁰ (room with a writing alcove and tokonoma) of the Katsura Detached Palace, the representative extant room in this style.

Unlike buildings in the *shinden*-¹¹ (palatial hall) and *shoin*-construction styles, which were decorated with paintings in the *Yamato-e* style or by colorful paintings on gold background, one of the characteristic elements of the *sukiya* style *shoin* (or the *sukiya*-construction style in general) was its walls, which were either left as plain earthen walls, or covered with *karakami*. In the Tokugawa period, when sumptuary laws prohibited townspeople and farmers from decorating their houses with gold lacquer or paintings, the use of *karakami* became widespread. In fact, so widespread did it become that even today *fusuma* (opaque sliding partitions, also known as *fusuma-shōji*) are known simply as *karakami*.

Karakami was frequently used in the residences of the nobility as well. It was employed, for example, in the teahouse and other buildings scattered throughout the yard of the palace of Retired Emperor Gomizunoo (Shugakuin Detached Palace), constructed during the Kan'ei era (1624-

³ *Sanetaka-kō Ki*, entry for 2/19/Taiei 6 (1526). The following entries during the previous year probably refer to the remodeling of the Kadoya: "The Middle General decided on the lining of the *oshiita*, etc." (5/27), "The Middle General made *karakami* craftsmen paste the area behind the shelves [with *karakami*]" (7/4), "The carpenter Zaemon Jirō came. The Middle General had him nail a rim on the shelf and *oshiita*" (7/6).

⁵ 唐紙

⁶ 押板

⁷ *Kokabe* 小壁

⁸ *Shikkui* 漆喰

⁹ 数寄屋

¹⁰ 書院

¹¹ 寝殿

44). During the construction of the private residential palace of Prince Hachijō in Kan'ei 19 (1642), the possibility of using *karakami* designed by Kobori Enshū to decorate the interior of the building was considered. This may have been due in part to the high cost of having such eminent contemporary artists as Kanō Uneme, Kanō Kazuma, and Tawaraya Sōsetsu decorate the *fusuma* and walls with paintings. Finally, it was decided to commission Tawaraya Sōsetsu to paint simple pictures on a background of white plaster speckled with gold and silver dust for the master dressing room and guests' quarters. However, *karakami* was used for the reception hall with raised dais (*jōdan*), the sleeping chamber, and the adjacent rooms.¹²

Interest in *karakami* even spread to the Imperial Palace. Most of the walls and *fusuma* of the palace for Retired Empress Meishō (or Myōshō), built during the seventeenth century, were decorated with *karakami*. This is just one example of the widespread influence exerted by architectural features of the *sukiya* style *shoin* on Japanese architecture in general.¹³

The beginnings of the *sukiya* style are already apparent in Sanjōnishi Sanetaka's Kadoya. The fact that certain features of this style were already popular among the people of this age is shown by the existence of craftsmen who specialized in the making of *karakami*. Similarly, the people placed stones, planted trees, and built fences of wooden planks in their gardens, prefiguring the later tea gardens.

Sanetaka was the foremost man of culture during this age. Not only was he the greatest authority on court ritual and precedents, but he was accomplished in the arts of Japanese poetry and linked verse, and even became the founder of the Oie-ryū lineage of incense connoisseurship. Naturally, he was deeply involved in chanoyu. On the fifteenth day of the fourth month, Eishō 4 (1507), the year after he resigned his post as Grand Minister of the Imperial Household Department (*Naidaijin*) after holding office for just a few months, he was invited to a tea gathering at the Irie residence, along with the Middle Counselor, Asukai, and Kanroji Motonaga.¹⁴ He also had chanoyu-related associations with such people as Yoshida Yotsugu, the third generation head of the Suminokura family, one of the wealthy townsmen of Kyoto.¹⁵ On the sixth day of the twelfth month, Taiei 3 (1523), Sanetaka invited the former Minister of the Left, Sanjō Saneka, and others and held a gathering to display his new teabowl

¹² Naitō Akira 内藤 昌, *Katsura Rikyū* 『桂離宮』 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

¹³ Hirai Shō 平井 聖, *Nihon Jūtaku no Rekishi* 『日本住宅の歴史』 (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1974).

¹⁴ *Motonaga-kyō Ki* 『元長卿記』, entry for 4/15/Eishō 4 (1507).

¹⁵ *Sanetaka-kō Ki*, entry for 8/5/Kyōroku 2 (1529).

(*chawan-biraki*).¹⁶ Could this gathering have been held at the Kadoya mentioned above? We cannot say. But when he remodeled a building in his residence the next year — probably a *kaisho*¹⁷ (a room or building used for social occasions) — “two carpenters came and [Sanetaka] instructed them about matters concerning the area for preparing tea,¹⁸ and about the bedroom and *oshiita*.”¹⁹ This clearly shows that he instructed the carpenters to set up an area for preparing tea.

It was also at this time that a teahouse in the “black-wood style”²⁰ was constructed at the Madenokōji mansion.²¹ It was an age in which tea gatherings were being enthusiastically held in various places. Probably the Kadoya was not used solely for poetry and linked-verse composition, but for various *suki*-related gatherings (i.e., gatherings for aesthetically refined pursuits), including tea gatherings. Takeno Shingorō (Jōō)²² studied poetry under Sanetaka, and Sanetaka presented him with a copy of Fujiwara Teika’s *Eika Taigai* [Outline of Poetry Composition]. In return, Jōō provided Sanetaka with financial assistance. Such an environment may have been the chief factor that led Jōō to turn his attention to the way of tea.

Kitchen-hearth (*Kudo*) Chanoyu

Around this time, the so-called Shimogyō chanoyu, which made frequent use of buildings like the Kadoya, was growing in popularity among the townspeople living in the Shimogyō district (or “lower Kyoto district,” referring to the southern half of the city, populated mainly by merchants and artisans). The following passage appears in the *Sōchō Nikki*, a diary of the famous master of linked verse, Sōchō (1448-1532).

¹⁶ *Sanetaka-kō Ki*, entry for 12/6/Taiei 3 (1523). However, this entry only states “Display of new *chawan*,” and does not state that a tea gathering (*chakai*) took place. In this age, the term *chawan* referred to pottery in general, and was sometimes used to denote a flower vase.

¹⁷ 会所

¹⁸ *Chanoyu-dokoro* 茶湯所

¹⁹ *Sanetaka-kō Ki*, entry for 11/12/Taiei 4 (1524).

²⁰ *Kuroki-zukuri* 黒木遣; a style which made use of lumber still retaining its bark.

²¹ *Nisui Ki* 『二水記』[diary of Washinoo Takayasu 鷲尾隆康 (1485–1533)], entry for 4/14/Kyōroku 3 (1530).

²² 武野新五郎 (龍淵): one of the most influential figures in the early development of chanoyu of the wabi aesthetic, and the teacher of Sen Rikyū (1522-91), the most eminent figure in its development.—E.

As for Shimogyō chanoyu, recently [Sōju (or Sōshu)²³], claiming to be *suki*, built a four-and-a-half mat room and six mat room. Sōju came to greet me at the gate. By the gate were tall pine and cryptomeria trees. The area within the hedge was swept clean, and I saw there five or six brightly colored ivy leaves which had fallen to the ground.²⁴

Sōju was the adopted son of Murata Jukō (or Shukō [1423-1502]; one of the first figures to introduce the concept of wabi into chanoyu—E). His tearoom, named Goshōan,²⁵ was highly praised by the Middle Counselor, Washinō Takayasu, who wrote, “Sōju’s tearoom is splendid. The atmosphere of a mountain dwelling it creates is most impressive. Truly, it is a hermitage within the city. It is the contemporary epitome of *suki*.”²⁶ This tearoom is believed to be the prototype of the *sōan*²⁷ or “thatched hut” style tearoom which Sen Rikyū later perfected on the basis of wabi aesthetics.

According to Itō Teiji, the forerunner of the thatched hut style tearoom can be discerned in the hermitage (*an*) which makes its appearance in the *Kosatsuki-sen Gō Kenbetsu Kaitei Chō*²⁸ register of the estate belonging to the Daijōin in Nara.²⁹ Such a hermitage existed at the residence of Jirō, who belonged to the Nushiya³⁰ or, in other words, Matsuya family, which compiled the well-known *Matsuya Kaiki*. Concerning this residence, it is written:

Three buildings. Number of residents: nine. Jirō. Nushiya.
One building. Number of residents: [not given]. Nushiya.
Hermitage.³¹

This entry shows that, besides the three buildings which comprised the main house and shop, the Nushiya possessed a hermitage in the adjacent plot of land. A similar situation is found with the residence of Hachiya

²³ 宗珠

²⁴ *Sōchō Nikki* 『宗長日記』 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975).

²⁵ 午松庵

²⁶ *Nisui Ki*, entry for 9/6/Kyōroku 3 (1530).

²⁷ 草庵

²⁸ 『小正月銭郷問別改打帳』

²⁹ Itō Teiji 伊藤 節爾 “*Sōan-fū Chashitsu no Genryū: Machishū no Jitaku to An*,” parts 1 and 2 「草庵風茶室の源流—町衆の住宅とア—(上・下)」, in *Nihon Rekishi* 『日本歴史』, nos. 101-102 (1956).

³⁰ 塗師屋

³¹ *Chōkyō Gannen* [1497] *Tōdaiji Hachinangū Sairei Munebetsu Ninbetsu Chō* 『長享元年 東大寺八幡宮祭礼棟別入別帳』

Jōsa³² (1519-71), the owner of the famous leaf-tea storage jar called the "*Shijukkoku tsubo*,"³³ a '*Higashiyama gyobutsu*' (i.e., treasure once belonging to Ashikaga Yoshimasa's estate). According to a survey made the year after Jōsa's death, the Hachiya residence consisted of the following rooms and buildings:

Four *ken* five *shaku*. Hachiya hermitage.
Eleven *ken*. Hachiya Hikosaburō.
Nine *ken* six *shaku*. Formerly of Hachiya Jōsa.
Seven *ken*. Hachiya's street hermitage.
Three *ken* one *shaku*. Hachiya enclosure.³⁴

As this list shows, the Hachiya residence had two hermitages.

The residences of many other wealthy townspeople also contained hermitages separate from the main house. These hermitages were considered distinct living spaces independent of the main house. Among other things, memorial services and other Buddhist ceremonies were conducted there. It is possible that the townspeople considered the hermitages to be places for pursuing a life of *suki*. Sōju's tearoom may have been a hermitage of this type. When facilities to prepare meals were added to this independent hermitage, it provided the environment from which "kitchen-hearth chanoyu"³⁵ was developed. This style of tea was held in a teahouse to which a kitchen hearth was attached, and was considered to reflect the *wabi-suki* aesthetic. The following passage indicates the popularity enjoyed by this type of tea.

Around Sakai, there are many people (who have tearooms) equipped with kitchen hearths and kettles, calling it *wabi-suki*. This is also called the Jōō style.³⁶

Yamanoue Sōheki's morning tea of the twelfth month, first day, Eiroku 10 (1567), attended by Sen Sōeki (Rikyū), was also a 'kitchen-hearth chanoyu,' as this description indicates: "A kitchen hearth was placed inside. Tea was prepared with a flat kettle, unglazed pottery, and

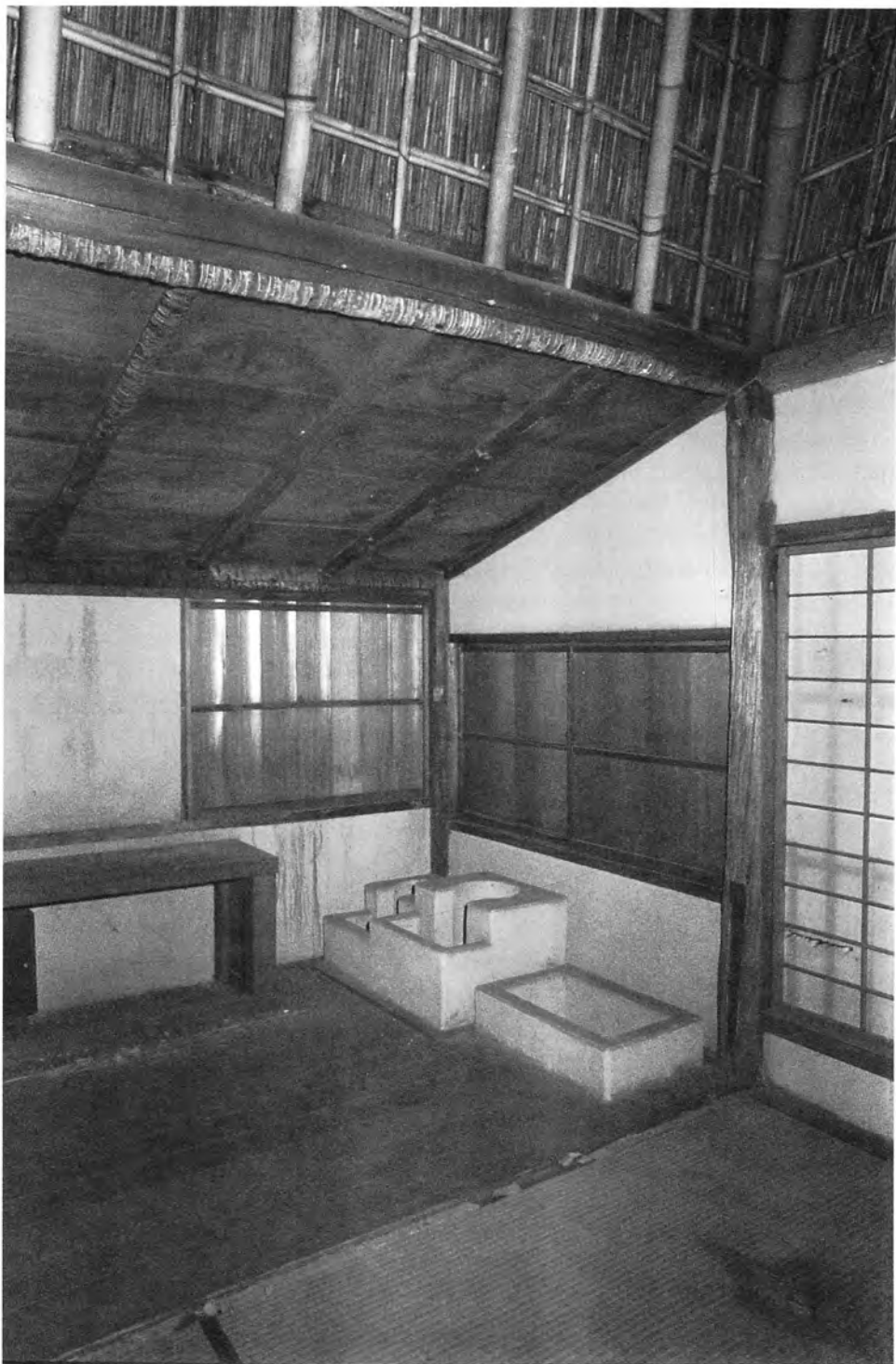
³² 鉢屋韶佐

³³ 「四十石壺」

³⁴ *Genki Sanjūnen* [1572] *Kosatsuki-sen Gō Kenbetsu Kaitei Chō* 『元龜三年 小五月銭郷間別改打帳』.
(In the measurement of rooms, *ken* = 1.82 meters; *shaku* = 30.3 centimeters. —Tr.)

³⁵ The following passage is found in the *Tennōjiya Kaiki* 『天王寺院會記』 entry for 4/14/Kōji 2 (1556): "Fourth month, fourteenth day, daytime. A hanging scroll of calligraphy, and *hibashi* (chopsticks for handling fire), were displayed at the Hatakeyama Anchinken teahouse. *Kudo* 竈土 chanoyu."

³⁶ *Jōō Ibun*, "Letter to Ikenaga Sōsa" 『紹鷗遺文 池永宗作への書』



Kitchen hearth (*kudo*) at Karakasatei teahouse on grounds of Kōdaiji temple, Kyoto.

two teabowls.³⁷ Tea in the kitchen-hearth style became so widespread that the usual style of chanoyu often came to be specifically noted as “regular chanoyu” (*tsune no chanoyu*) in records of tea gatherings.³⁸ This architectural feature, the kitchen hearth, was maintained in the tearooms of the Tokugawa court nobles. Tearooms furnished with kitchen hearths are found in the Shōkintei³⁹ and other teahouses of the Katsura Detached Palace, the country estate of the Hachijō family. They are also found in the Shiguretei⁴⁰ and Karakasatei⁴¹ teahouses at Kōdaiji temple.

The Dōjinsai of the Tōgudō

Many documents claim that the origin of the tearoom is to be found in the Dōjinsai,⁴² a four-and-a-half mat chamber in the Tōgudō,⁴³ the private chapel at Ashikaga Yoshimasa's⁴⁴ Higashiyama Palace. The Tōgudō was erected in Bummei 17 (1485). Recent scholarly opinion is divided over the question of whether or not the Dōjinsai was constructed as a tearoom. One school of thought holds that it was originally a *shoin*. Proponents of this view argue that (1) the states leading up to the construction of this room do not support the view that it was built as a tearoom,⁴⁵ (2) there is no tokonoma in this room, and (3) there is no strict principle that both host and guest sit together in this room; therefore, the statement in the *Okazari*

³⁷ *Tennōjiya Kaiki*, entry for 12/1/Eiroku 10 (1567).

³⁸ The following passage is found in the *Tennōjiya Kaiki* entry for 11/25/Kōji 1 (1555): “Eleventh month, twenty-fifth day, night. Ichiemon, Takeuchi, Uehara Kaga-no-kami, and Ishinosuke. Item: Regular chanoyu at the teahouse. Item: *Katatsuki* (angular-shouldered tea caddy) on square tray. No tea inside.”

³⁹ 松琴亭

⁴⁰ 時雨亭

⁴¹ 傘亭

⁴² 同仁齋

⁴³ 東求堂

⁴⁴ 足利義政

⁴⁵ The following entries are found for Bummei 18 (1486) in the *Inryōken Nichiroku* 『蔭涼軒日録』: 3/28. A two-tiered shelf was built for the *shoin* of the Tōgudō. An order was issued to select books to be placed there. In the six mat room to the west of the audience chamber, books were selected. [They included the following:] [Su] Dongpo, twenty volumes. *Hōyoshōran* 芳輿勝覽, fifteen volumes. *Inkai* 韻會, ten volumes. Poetry by Li Bo, seven volumes. The *Daikōekikai Gyokuhon* 大広絵会玉篇, five volumes. The five works above were placed [in the *shoin*]. 4/17. There was an order that a book not included in the catalogue of the classics should be presented and placed on the book stand of the Tōgudō. Thus I presented the *Renshitsu Shū* 蓮室集 in one volume.

However, the *Okazari Shō* 『御飾書』 states that, in addition to the regular display of “Jian-ware [i.e., temmoku] teabowl, stand, small jar, whisk, teascoop, all laid out on a tray [on the upper shelf], and a stacked food box — carved red lacquer, diamond and flower design — on the lower shelf” of the



Exterior view of Tōgudō, the private chapel at Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Higashiyama Palace (present Jishōji temple, better known as the Temple of the Silver Pavilion), Kyoto.

Sho that there was a sunken hearth⁴⁶ built into this room, and that tea utensils were displayed there,⁴⁷ shows that this room was equipped to be used for preparing ritual tea offerings to the statue of the Buddha in the chapel and to the hanging scroll of Musō Kokushi's calligraphy in the next room.⁴⁸

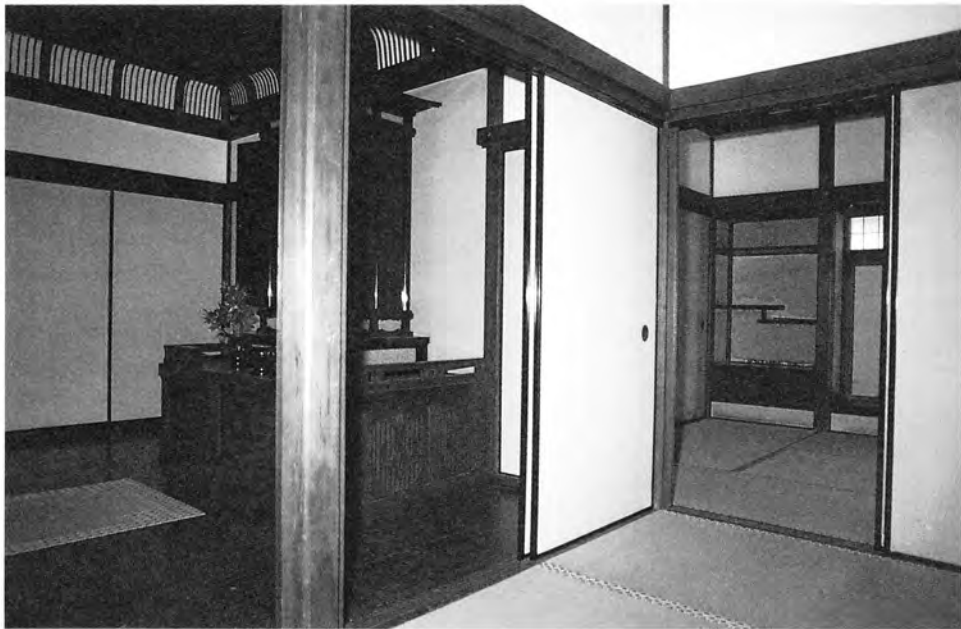
However, it goes without saying that it is impossible to make inferences concerning a tearoom of the Japanese middle ages using the standards of the Tokugawa and post-Tokugawa tearoom. By the Tokugawa period, tearooms

chigaidana (split-level shelf), and "inkstone, brush rack, writing brush, and inkstone" on the *tsuke-shoin* (writing alcove attached to a room), "on the bookstand, there was one album. To the west, there was a heap of Chinese books and two or three scrolls."

⁴⁶ *ro* 炉

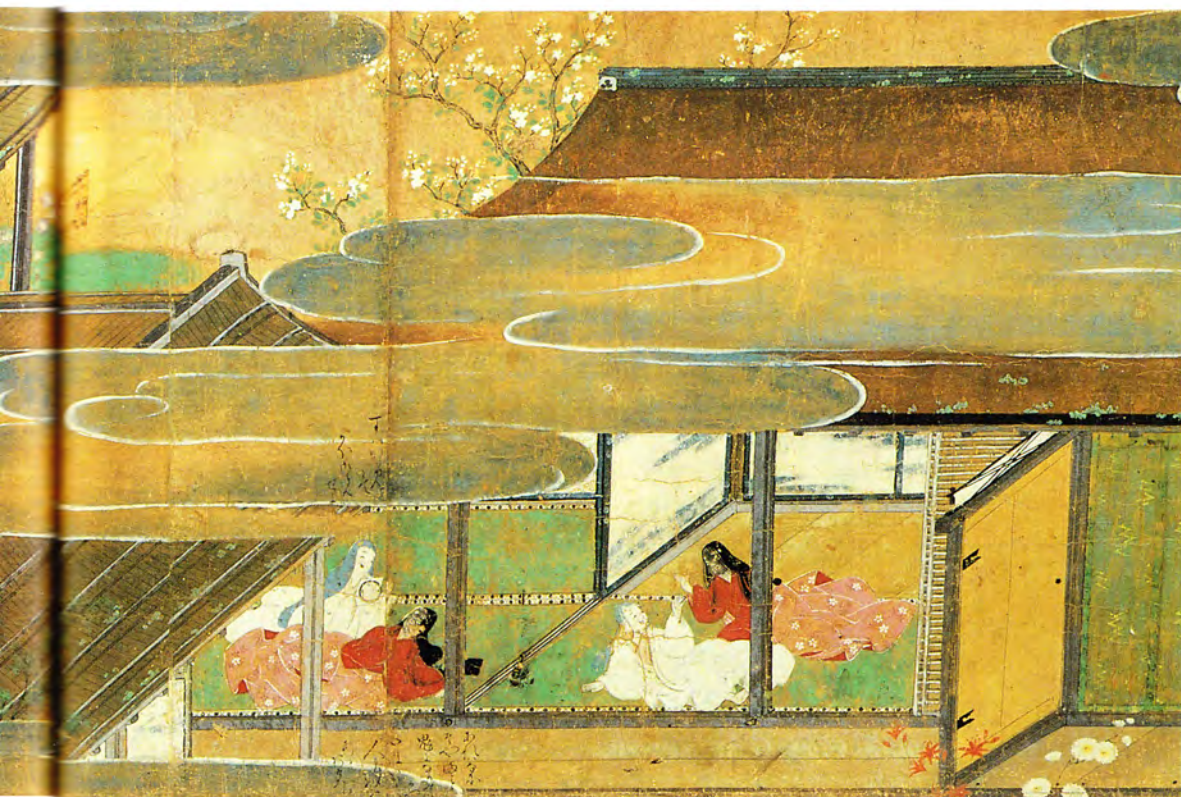
⁴⁷ The "List of Decorations of Kokawa Palace and Higashiyama Palace" in *Higashiyama Gyobutsu* 『東山御物』 (Nezu Bijutsukan and Tokugawa Bijutsukan, 1976) states: "The four-and-a-half mat room at the northeast corner of the Jibutsudō has a hearth; hanging kettle from Europe; water container shaped like an *efugo* (container for fish bait); bronze pail; stand for tea ladle — bronze, narrow neck; square waste-water container; lid rest — bronze; and chain, as usual."

⁴⁸ Kyoto City, ed., *Kyoto no Rekishi* 『京都の歴史』 (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1968), vol. 3.

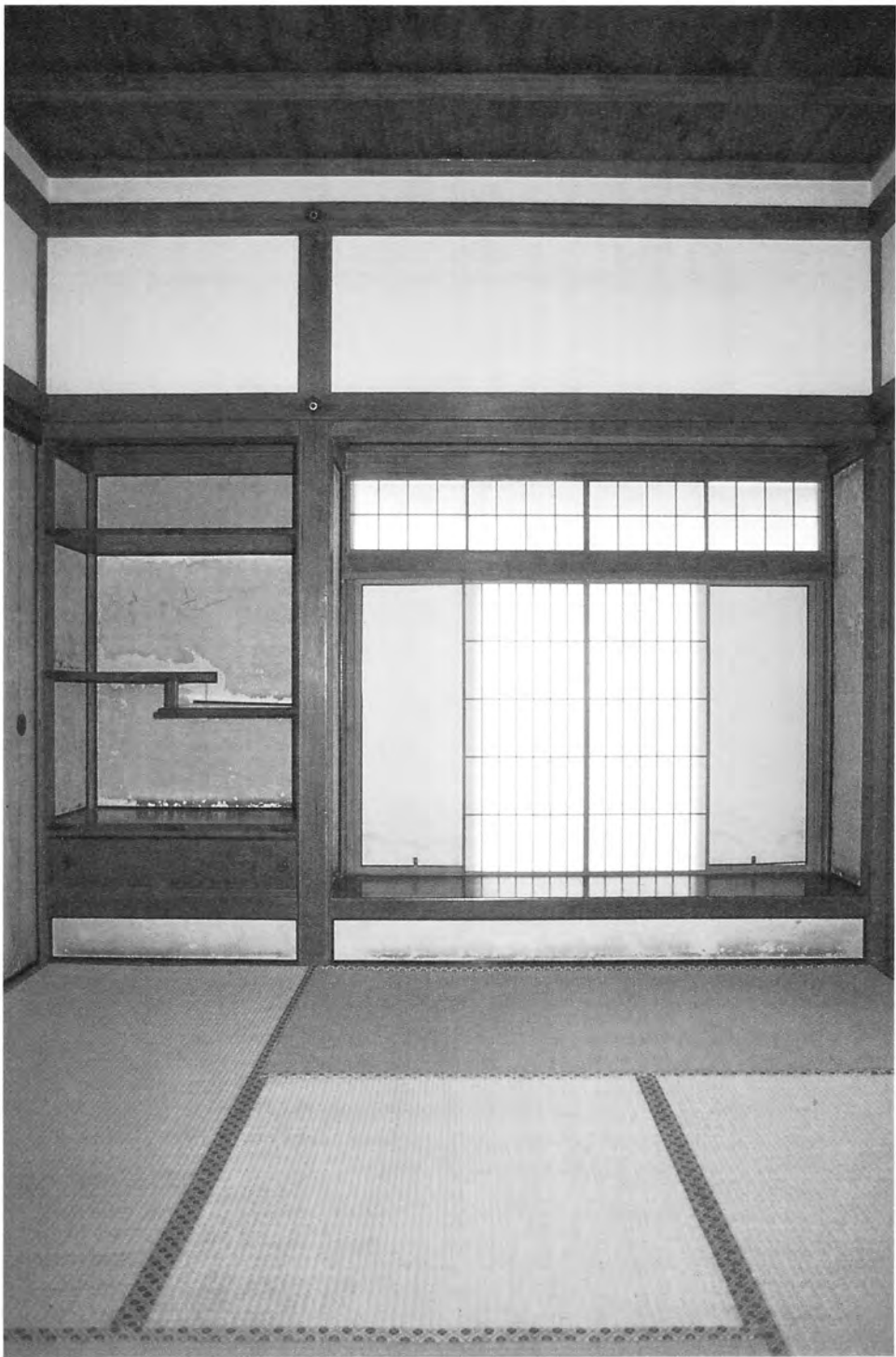


Buddhist altar room (front left) and Dōjinsai room (rear right) within the Tōgudō.





Portion of first fascicle of the *Haisumi-e* illustrated handscrolls, showing springtime scene of "lady's residence." From the left: the lady makes herself up; her lover sees her soot-covered face; he is frightened out of his wits. Ink and colors on paper. Entire first fascicle: H. 33.3 cm., W. 503.9 cm. The *Haisumi-e* handscrolls are in the collection of the Tokugawa Art Museum, and are designated an Important Cultural Property.



Interior view of Dōjinsai.

had attained an independent status as rooms used specifically for chanoyu. However, in the middle ages, tea was prepared by artistic advisors to the shōgun in rooms for making tea, and served in separate chambers. Moreover, in this age, neither tokonoma nor *oshiita* had become standard features of the tearoom. Scrolls, for example, were often hung from the *nageshi*⁴⁹ — the horizontal pieces of timber placed between pillars — rather than in a tokonoma.

The architectural feature which determines whether or not a room of the middle ages is a tearoom is the sunken hearth. Any room could be used for drinking tea. Likewise, any room could be used to prepare tea, once a chanoyu cabinet was placed there. The ability to use a room temporarily for specific purposes (such as making tea) is one of the special characteristics of Japanese houses in general. Under such circumstances, the act of cutting a sunken hearth into a room and decorating the room with tea utensils made the room take on a rather specific function. This was an important factor in the establishment of chanoyu.

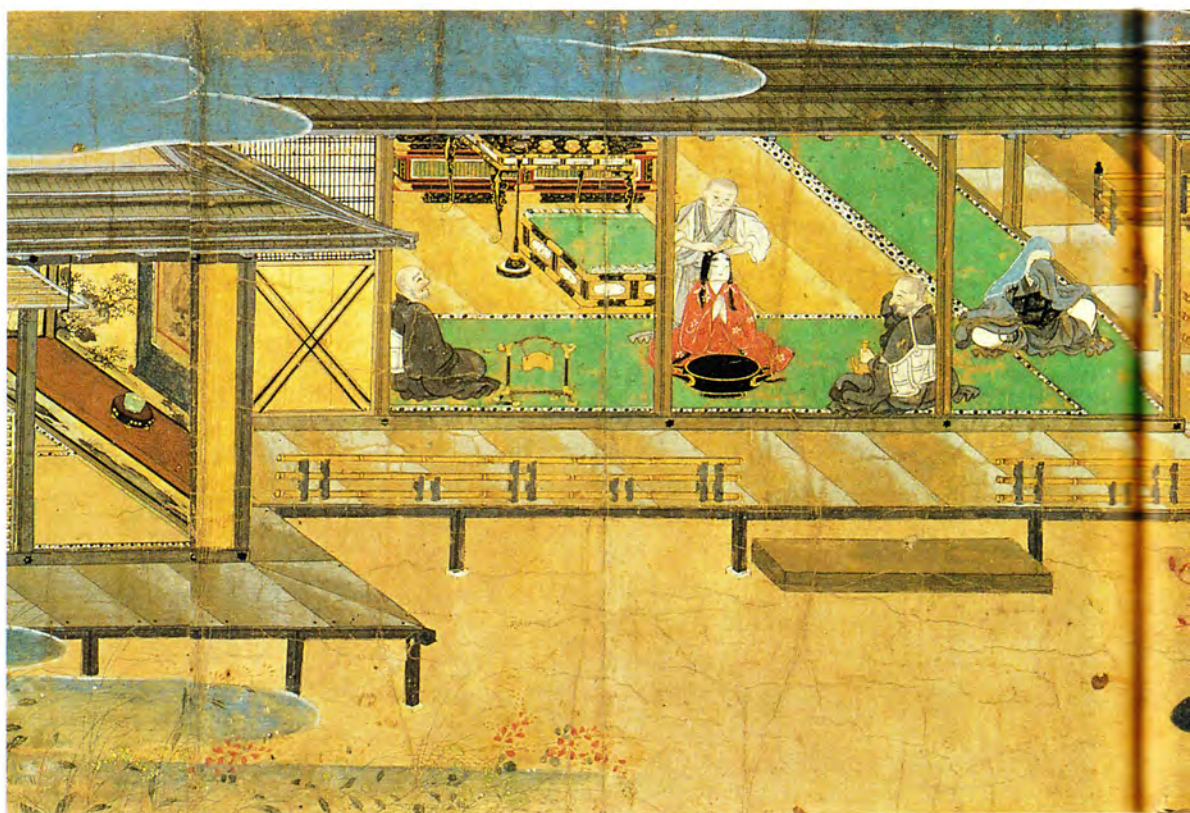
The Dōjinsai was originally built as a library. The hearth may have been cut into the floor as a means of providing heat in the winter. The fact that the hearth was an original fixture of the room can be ascertained from the writing found on the *nageshi*. However, at some stage tea utensils were permanently set out by the hearth, and this strongly suggests that the room was used for preparing and drinking tea. Isn't it possible that fire for heating was transformed into a fire for cultural activities? The room naturally retained its original character as a library. However, there is nothing strange if guests were invited into the room on occasion to enjoy chanoyu. An entry in the *Inryōken Nichiroku* states, "We talked in the *shoin* and had wheat gluten cakes and tea."⁵⁰ It is possible that a gathering like this may have taken place in the Dōjinsai. The Dōjinsai was a medieval tearoom with a dual function. We can say that many of the oral traditions concerning this room are not completely false. However, I hesitate to say that the Dōjinsai is the origin of the thatched hut style tearoom.

The Haisumi-e

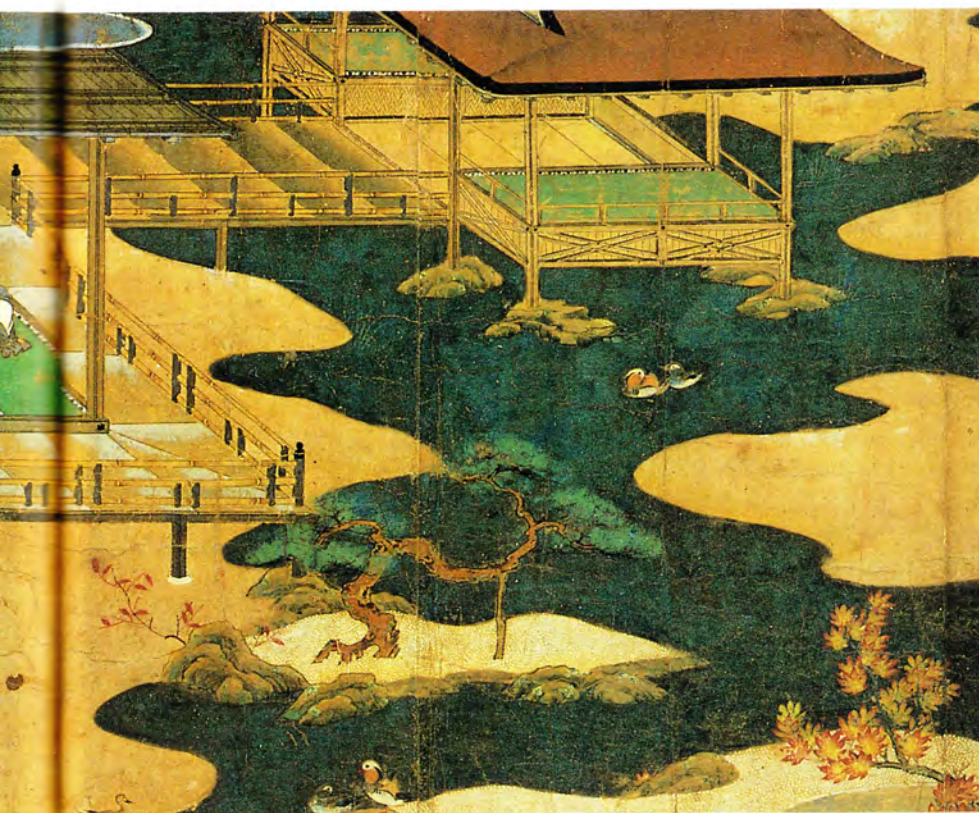
Here let me introduce a two-fascicle illustrated scroll. This pair of scrolls was long in the possession of the Tokugawa family of Owari (present-day

⁴⁹ 長押

⁵⁰ *Inryōken Nichiroku*, entry for 9/8/Chōkyō 3 (1489).



Portion of the second fascicle of the *Haisumi-e* illustrated handscrolls, showing autumn scene of "monk's quarters in Kitayama." The lady is sitting in the Buddha Hall, and is about to have her head shaved. Ink and colors on paper. Entire second fascicle: H. 33.3 cm., W. 508.1 cm.



Aichi Prefecture). At the end of the second fascicle appears the following line: "Words and pictures, altogether 21 sheets. Jōkei (signature). Ryūe (signature). (We) received transmission of the words and pictures." On the lid of the box for the scrolls, it states, "An illustrated scroll of a tale, by [a painter of the] ancient Tosa [school]. Two fascicles." It also says, "Copied by the Tonsured Imperial Prince Son'en."⁵¹ This is followed by the seal of the monk Ryōro. However, this is all, and the scroll does not even have a title.

Umezu Jirō, the first scholar to study this illustrated scroll, discovered that, although the characters who appear in the story are slightly changed due to the strong influence of medieval Pure Land Buddhist ideas, the scroll is based on the "*Haisumi*" ("The Makeup of Soot") chapter of the *Tsutsumi Chūnagon Monogatari* [Tale of the Tsutsumi Middle Counselor]. For this reason, he named this scroll the *Haisumi-e*,⁵² or "Haisumi Pictures." On the basis of detailed comparison of its stylistic features with those of other medieval illustrated scrolls such as the *Kasuga Gongen Genki E*, *Hōnen Shōnin Gyōjō Ezu* (also known as the *Shijūhachikan Den*), and the *Yūzū Nembutsu Engi Emaki* belonging to Shōryōji temple, Umezu argued that this work was composed towards the end of the Nambokuchō period (1336-92).

The *Haisumi-e* belongs to a genre of Japanese literature known as *kokkei setsurwa* (comical story). Both in terms of its story and its illustrations, the *Haisumi-e* is a medieval adaptation of Heian period classics. The first fascicle contains two sections of illustrations and one section of narrative, while the second fascicle contains one section each of illustration and narrative. However, there is the possibility that a portion of the scroll has been lost.⁵³ In the illustrations, we can see in writing the words spoken by the characters, adding to the scrolls' artistic interest.

The story develops over the course of several changing seasons. Three different dwellings are depicted in the scrolls. In the first scene, it is spring. This scene shows two sides of "a lady's residence" which retains the strong influence of the old palace-construction style of architecture. The house is surrounded by an earthen wall with a gate surmounted by

⁵¹ This note states that the narrative portion of the scroll is in the hand of Imperial Prince Son'en 尊円親王 (1298-1356), one of the most important figures in the history of Japanese calligraphy and the founder of the Shōren'in school of calligraphy. However, the calligraphy seems slightly different from that of Son'en. The gentle style of the writing seems much more closely related to the Sesonji school of calligraphy. It also seems to me that it retains features of an older, pre-Shōren'in style. This problem requires further research.

⁵² 『絵巻図説』

⁵³ Umezu Jirō 梅沢次郎, "Tokugawa Bijutsukan no Haisumi-e ni Tsuite" 『徳川美術館の絵巻図説について』, *Yamato Bunko* 『大和文庫』, vol. 25. Later included in *Emakimono Sōkō* 『絵巻物叢考』 (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1968).

a wooden beam. We can see three wings of the building, all facing south: the central structure (*shinden*), a room which projects out to the south facing the garden, and a *tainoya*⁵⁴ (literally, “parallel room”) facing the central wing. The main wing is constructed in the *irimoya* style.⁵⁵ The side of the roof is decorated with lattice covered with a wooden board on the back.⁵⁶ In the middle of what is probably the eastern façade of the building, there is an entrance from which people can get on and off an oxcart,⁵⁷ with a double door of solid wood. A bamboo blind is hanging inside the door. A *shitomido*,⁵⁸ or hinged wall panel which can be opened up for light and ventilation, occupies the bay to the right of the oxcart port, while the wall to the left is made of white plaster.

There is a series of rooms on the south side of the main wing of the building. The floors of these rooms do not appear to be covered entirely with tatami. Instead, they seem to be wood floors laid with movable tatami.⁵⁹ Sliding wooden panels⁶⁰ enclose the room from the garden outside, while the rooms inside are partitioned off from each other by opaque sliding partitions. The room which protrudes out to the south is in the *kirizuma* style (see fn 55). It faces a garden and is reminiscent of a water pavilion.⁶¹ This room is covered with movable tatami whose edges are bordered with Korean brocade. The north side of this room is made of *koshidaka-shōji*,⁶² or *shōji* made of a lattice frame covered with paper on top and wooden boards on the bottom, while the southern side consists of wooden sliding doors. The *tainoya*, surrounded by veranda with balustrade,⁶³ is in the *irimoya* style. The floor of this room is made of wood and covered with movable tatami. Regular *shōji* and *koshidaka-shōji* are used inside.

The second fascicle begins with an autumn scene. A “monk’s quarters in Kitayama” is shown here. The central section of the building is taken up with a Buddha Hall. To its right is a water pavilion and to its left is a *kaisho*. Separated from this scene by a stylized mist is the “Ono hermitage

⁵⁴ 対ノ屋

⁵⁵ *Irimoya* 入母屋; a style in which the top half of the roof is in the *kirizuma* style, while the lower half has roofs protruding out in all four directions. *Kirizuma* 切妻 is a style wherein the roof inclines only to the front and back, and the sides are straight.—Tr.

⁵⁶ *Kitsune-gōshi* 狐格子

⁵⁷ *Kuruma-yose* 輿寄

⁵⁸ 障子

⁵⁹ *Ōki-tatami* 置畳; individual tatami mats placed within a room for sitting and sleeping.—Tr.

⁶⁰ *Yarido* 障子

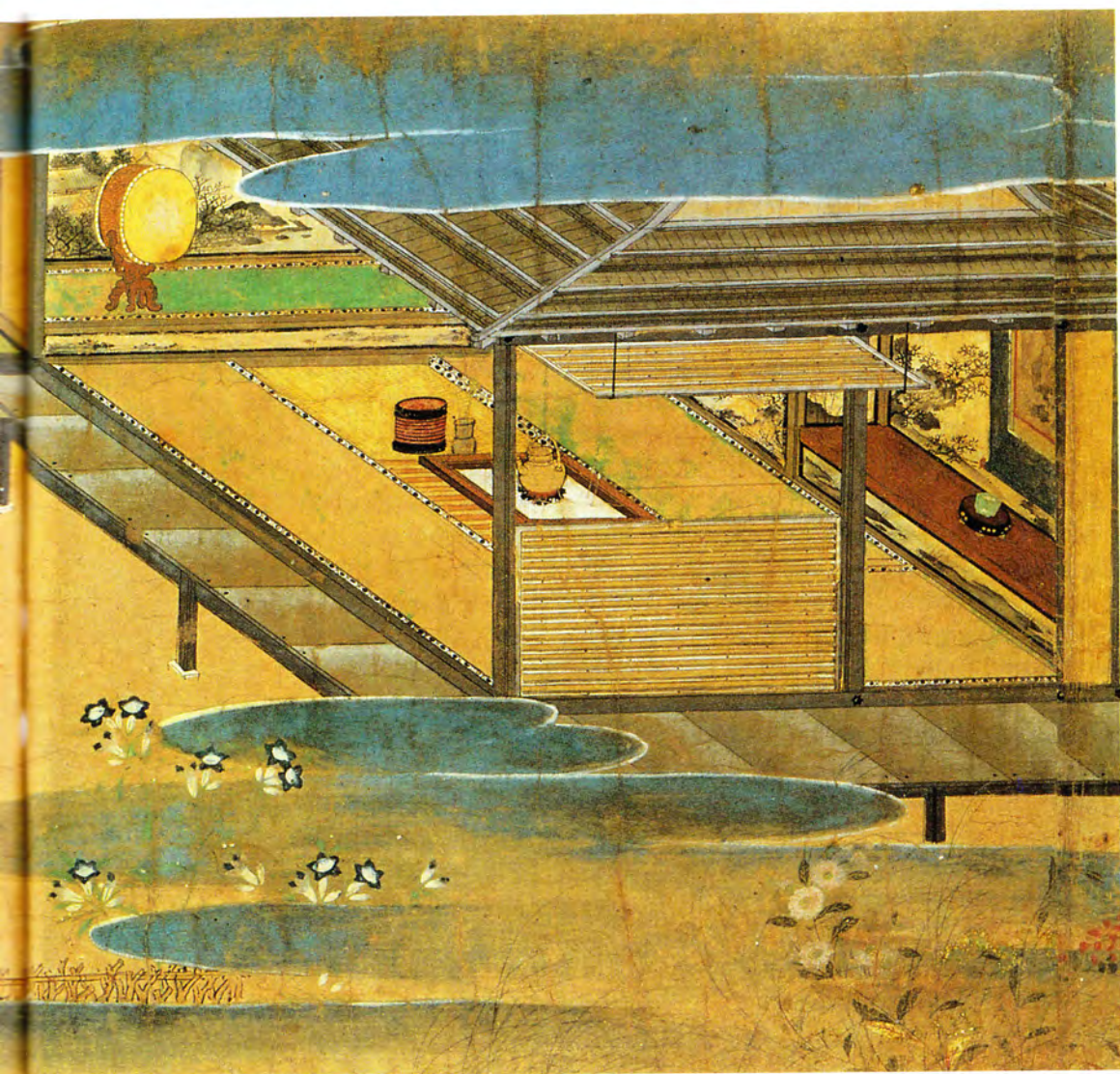
⁶¹ *Izumidono* 泉殿; a pavilion extending out into a lake from the main building.—Tr.

⁶² 腰高障子

⁶³ *Kaichōsen* 木口欄



Portion of the second fascicle of the *Haisumi-e* illustrated handscrolls, showing the *kaisho* and what appears to be the kitchen, where a man is grinding something using a hand mill, at the "monk's quarters in Kitayama."



of Kitayama," surrounded by a brushwood fence with a wattle gate. It is snowing. There is an altar in the hermitage. The front and left portions of the room are covered with tatami. Instead of walls, the building is enclosed by shōji used to bring light into the rooms⁶⁴ and sliding wooden panels. A hollowed out bamboo pole is used to draw water into the garden. With this scene, the illustrated scroll comes to an end.

Among the scenes shown in the *Haisumi-e*, it is the picture of the "monk's quarters in Kitayama" which draws attention. This cloister, located deep in the mountains of Kitayama spreading north from the city of Kyoto, is situated in an elegant setting featuring a garden lake. Perhaps it is the residence of a nobleman who took the tonsure.

The story of *Haisumi-e* goes like this. At one time, a woman was lying awake at night in anticipation of a male visitor, a monk. But when she was making herself up for the tryst, she mistakenly powdered her face with black soot used for drawing eyebrows. As a result, when her lover took one look at her, he was frightened out of his wits [see pp. 18-19 plate] and immediately ran out of the house. The lady, too, upon looking into a mirror, thought that she had turned into a demon, and began to wail about her sad fate. But when her tears washed away the soot, she realized her mistake. Still, she could not bring herself to run after her lover. Realizing the impermanence of all things in this world, she decided to become a nun. The cloister which she visited to shave her head was the "monk's quarters in Kitayama" shown in the second fascicle of the scroll.

In this scene, the lady is just about to have her head shaved [see pp. 22-23 plate]. She is sitting in the Buddha Hall which occupies the middle of the picture. The lady is surrounded by three standing monks. Off to one side is a crying nun, her mother. The lady herself is calm, looking as if she is resigned to her fate.

The front of the Buddha Hall consists of four bays. Among them, only the bay to the left is closed off by *koshidaka-shōji* using a frame of vertical grating (*osa-kōshi*). The other three bays are open, and there are no doors or partitions in sight. The building is surrounded on the front and side by a veranda with bamboo railing on its balustrade. This gives the building the appearance of a typical monk's residence. In the center of the hall, set back to the interior, is the altar. Before the altar is a desk and a raised seat for the monk. Tatami are laid out only around the edge of the room, and the rest of the floor is of wood.

An open corridor leads out from the right side of the hall to the water pavilion built over the lake. Again, all four sides of the structure are open. Its central portion, equal in width to the corridor leading up to it, is

⁶⁴ *Akari-shōji* 明子障子

covered with wooden flooring, but a tatami is placed on the right and left sides of the pavilion, raised up from the floor in the manner of a raised outdoor seat or bleacher (*sajiki*). Undoubtedly, it was used as a hall for enjoying the cool breeze (*nōryōdai*) in the summer and as a moon-viewing pavilion (*kangetsudai*) in the autumn. The roof is in the *irimoya* style. Whereas all the other buildings have roofs made of wooden boards (*tochiita-buki*), this structure is covered with a roof of cypress bark (*hiwada-buki*). This unique feature adds greatly to the elegant atmosphere of the pavilion.

The Tearoom in the Hermitage

The section of the building which most attracts attention is the *kaisho* which is found adjacent to the Buddha Hall [plate pp. 26-27]. The *kaisho* extends about half a bay into the garden from the Buddha Hall, and is surrounded by a veranda with balustrade. It is about one-and-a-half bays long on all sides, and occupies a space equivalent to a *hōjō*,⁶⁵ or a "ten-foot-square room." The reason for my interest lies in the fact that several features of the room suggest that tea must have been served there.

Practically in the center of the room, there is a hearth, slightly smaller in size than half a tatami mat, cut into the floor. A metal tripod is placed in the hearth, and a metal tea kettle hangs from a chain attached to the ceiling. The space of about half a tatami mat on the far side of the hearth is spread with rush matting, but the rest of the room is completely covered with tatami bordered with Korean brocade. Next to the hearth on the rush matting is a bronze ladle stand containing a ladle, and what appears to be a water container in the shape of a rice pail. Chopsticks for handling the fire are stuck into the ash of the hearth. The layout of these implements suggests that tea was probably made by someone sitting on the rush matting.

Moreover, the fact that the person preparing tea sat on rush matting clearly indicates the difference in social status between him and the people drinking tea. This is significantly different from the situation in Tokugawa period tearooms, where the ceiling above the host preparing the tea was built lower than that above the guests' seat, in order to express the host's humility.⁶⁶ The *Haisumi-e* depicts a world quite different from

⁶⁵ 方丈

⁶⁶ This lower ceiling is called *ochi-tenjō* 落天井

the age in which the principle of host and guest having tea together had become firmly established. However, it at least points forward to the later ideal.

The entire wall of the room is covered with an ink painting of mountain scenery in the style of Xia Gui⁶⁷ (dates unknown), a Chinese painter of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279). There are also two niches (*hekigan*) in this room. The one which appears in the right part of the picture is an *oshiita* which has its back to the adjoining Buddha Hall. It is slightly less than one bay in width. A scroll of an ink painting of mountain scenery in the style of Li Tang⁶⁸ (1131-62), an early Song dynasty painter, hangs in this niche. A celadon incense burner is placed before the hanging scroll. The other niche takes up the entire back wall of the room. It is one-and-a-half bays wide and is a *tokonoma* covered with *tatami*. This *tokonoma* is shallow, and is only about as deep as the *oshiita*. Like the *oshiita*, it is a *kamachi-doko*,⁶⁹ or "raised alcove," and has a horizontal wooden beam affixed to the front.⁷⁰ A drum placed on the left side within the alcove is the only decoration it contains. In this illustration, one bay of the outer wall of this room is enclosed by a *shitomido* with its upper section raised. However, the remaining sections are wide open. This is probably nothing more than a convention of this genre of painting, employed to enable the viewer to see into the room. Presumably, in a real building *shitomido* or other types of walls or partitions would completely enclose the room.

There is another room in the building, to the left and further towards the interior. It is connected to the rest of the building only by a veranda. There, a man in monk's garb is grinding something using a hand mill. The mill is painted with red lacquer. Perhaps he is grinding tea leaves. This room, surrounded on two sides by a veranda in which the floor boards are laid parallel to the side of the room,⁷¹ appears to be the kitchen. The garden is in full bloom with morning glories and other autumn flowers, and there is a man busily chopping wood. The front part of the room is covered with two *tatami* mats bordered in black. In the central portion of the room, beyond the *tatami*, there is a hearth with a tripod. The hearth is about the size of half a *tatami* mat. Both the floor beyond and to the sides of the hearth is covered with split bamboo. This kind of split bamboo floor is also shown in a picture of the Chikujōan ("Bamboo Pole Hermitage") at Shōrin'in in Ohara which appears in the illustrated scroll called the

⁶⁷ 夏珪

⁶⁸ 李唐

⁶⁹ 欄床

⁷⁰ This kind of *tokonoma* beam is called *kekomi*. 蹴込み

⁷¹ *Kire-en* 博縁

Boki-e. This architectural element is evocative of the image of a hermitage. As for the walls, only that section which corresponds to the back of the left wall of the tokonoma in the next room is covered with wooden panels. Further on down, the wall seems to consist of sliding wooden doors to which horizontal pieces of wood have been attached as supports. The sliding doors appear to have been set into place, making them impossible to open. A fire is brightly burning in the hearth of the *kaisho*. This detail, together with the appearance that tea is being ground in the kitchen, suggests that tea is perhaps being readied to commemorate the lady's taking of the tonsure.

Illustrated scrolls and folding screens decorated with scenes of contemporary life (*fūzoku-zu byōbu*) help fill in the gaps where historical documents are missing, and provide us with concrete images of the past. In particular, they are the most important materials for the study of architectural history. Of course, due to their very nature, pictures are composite images created through the artistic activities of the painter, and do not reflect the past just as it was. However, these materials have an immediacy and concreteness which make it impossible to dismiss them out of hand as being nothing more than fiction. In general, these paintings and scroll illustrations reflect the past with a fair degree of accuracy. They do not show us idealized visions, but the actual situation of the past.

In the *Haisumi-e*, the proportions of the residences are all depicted with a high degree of accuracy. However, because it appears quite probable that the walls and partitions between the pillars were left blank in the painting, we cannot make hasty decisions concerning the accuracy of the scale of the buildings themselves. But there are two reasons for holding that the *kaisho* of the "monk's quarters of Kitayama" was a *hōjō*, or, in other words, a four-and-a-half mat room. First, only the space in front of this room is divided by pillars into sections which are one bay in length and a half a bay in length, respectively. A *shitomido* with its upper section raised is depicted in the section between the pillars which is one bay in length. However, it should be noted that the half bay section is drawn deliberately. Although there are cases where five bays are narrowed down to three bays, or three bays narrowed down to two, there is no known case of narrowing down one bay into half a bay. Although it may be argued that two-and-a-half bays were compressed into one-and-a-half bays, there is another reason for believing that this room was one-and-a-half bays square in size. This is the fact that the hearth is cut into the floor at the center of the room. If the hearth were cut to one side of the room, or if the floor were not covered with tatami, it would be impossible to ascertain the size of the room. However, when we take into consideration the fact that the hearth at the center of the room is half a tatami in size, and consider the manner in which the tatami are laid out in the room, it

appears improbable that this room could be anything other than a *hōjō* — a four-and-a-half mat room.⁷²

Let us return once again to the question of the date of this illustrated scroll. As stated above, it is believed to have been created sometime towards the end of the Nambokuchō period. Architecturally speaking, there is nothing conclusive in the pictures which could help us date the scroll more exactly. However, there is some circumstantial evidence that suggests an earlier date for the scroll. For example, the floor of the room is not covered entirely with tatami, and a part of the room is laid with rush matting. Moreover, *shitomido* are still used for the walls of the four-and-a-half mat *kaisho*. These architectural features are more typical of an earlier period of Japanese architecture. Thus, although there is validity in the conclusion, reached on the basis of research from the standpoint of art history, that the *Haisumi-e* was composed at the end of the Nambokuchō period, there remains the possibility that the scroll may have been created even earlier.

The *kaisho* shown in this illustrated scroll is a transitional structure belonging to a period when Japanese architecture was moving from the *shinden* style to the *shoin* style. But it is important to note that the roots of later full-fledged tearooms are already found in this age when extravagant entertainments (*basara*) flourished.



(to be continued)

Translated by Robert F. Rhodes

⁷² One point which bothers me, however, is the fact that the tatami to the right of the hearth is laid out so that its edge comes to the middle of the hearth. Thus, although the tatami to the left side of the hearth seems to fit the layout of a four-and-a-half mat room, because the beams of the house are missing from the illustration, it is impossible at this point to definitely conclude that it was a four-and-a-half mat room.

White Tea: Tea in the Song Dynasty

Takahashi Tadahiko



Illustration of brick tea in the *Xuanhe Beiyuan Gongcha Lu*. The writing states "Soaring dragon and auspicious clouds. Silver press and copper frame. Diameter, 2 cun 5 fen (approx. 7.6 cm.)."

The history of tea in China is rich in diversity. There existed some forms of tea that are unfathomable from the standpoint of our common understanding of modern-day tea. For example, during the Song dynasty (960-1279) there was a type of compressed tea (*kokei cha*,¹ "solid tea"), referred to as *tuancha* (*dancha*, "brick tea"), that was predominantly produced in Fujian Province (Fukken-sho). Although we know that it was drunk after being ground into a powder — that is, after being processed into *mocha* (*matcha*, "powdered tea") — I suppose there are few people capable of imagining just what physical appearance this tea had. It is also widely known that the tea of Song-dynasty China, reportedly, was white. However, specific details pertaining to this are very difficult to understand.

Unfortunately, not many works have been compiled to date concerning the history of tea in China, let alone the tea of the Song dynasty. Encyclopedias, historical dictionaries, and the like are especially prone to equivocal descriptions. One finds accounts that equate Tang (618-907) and Song dynasty tea. Though in China the term *jiancha* (*sencha*) refers to tea made by decoction, one finds the "leaf tea" (*hacha*) of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) onward described in Japanese works as "*sencha*,"

¹ Unless otherwise specified, names and italicized terms within parentheses indicate their Japanese pronunciation. Kanji glossary for Chinese and Japanese terms is provided at the end. Romanization of Chinese follows the Pinyin system.—E.

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from "*Shiroi Ocha: Sō no Dancha/Matcha ni Tsuite*" 「白いお茶—宋の団茶・末茶について」 [White Tea: Brick/Powdered Tea of the Song Dynasty] appearing in the December 1988 issue of *Tankō* (Kyoto: Tankōsha Publishing Co.). Translation assistance, Zane Ferry.

and the steeping of tea in a *cha hu* ("tea jar"; the kind of tea pot called *kyūsu* in Japanese), "the *sencha* method" (*sencha hō*).² Inaccuracies such as these are all too common. Discussing the history of tea in China with nomenclature peculiar to Japanese invites misunderstanding and is a cause of confusion.

Therefore, I think it is best here to disregard such potentially confusing descriptions and, instead, make a close reading of Chinese literary documents — tea records and poetic literature — in order to help clarify the mystery of Song-dynasty tea. A discussion of tea and related subjects by Aoki Masaru, in a book written years ago entitled *Chūka Mei-Butsu Kō* [An Inquiry into Chinese Item Names],³ will serve as a guide.

Now, in discussing Song-dynasty brick tea, I would first like to consider the position that Song tea occupied within China's long tea history. Tea reached an exceedingly refined state, and was the subject of some exceptional records, during diverse periods. If one were to consider these as representing peaks in the tea culture of China, at least three such peaks would be discernable. Tea of the mid-Tang dynasty, as depicted by Lu Yu (Riku U; d. ca. 804) in the *Cha Jing* (*Cha Kyō*, Tea Classics), would be the first. This tea, a compressed circular disk with a hole in it, was ground into a powder and prepared by the *jiancha* (*sencha*) method — in other words, by decocting the powdered tea in boiling water. The second peak would be the tea of the Northern Song dynasty, as represented by the *Cha Lu* (*Cha Roku*, Tea Descriptions) of Caixiang (Saijō; 1012-67) and the *Daguan Cha Lun* (*Daikan Cha Ron*, Daguan Tea Treatise) of Emperor Huizong (Kisō; 1082-1135). This compressed brick tea was ground into a powder and prepared by the *diancha* (*tencha*) method — in other words, by pouring hot water over it in a cup and mixing. The third peak, from the mid-Ming dynasty onward, can be seen in such works as the *Cha Shu* (*Cha So*, Tea Monographs) of Xu Cishu (Kyo Jisho; dates uncertain). The tea was in leaf form, and was prepared by simply placing the leaves in a tea pot, pouring hot water over them, and letting them steep. This was called the *paocha* (*hōcha*) method. The *gongfucha* (*kufūcha*; literally, "leisurely" or "laborious" tea) of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) emerged out of this third peak. It goes without saying that a great variety of teas existed during all periods of Chinese history, but the above three can be taken as representative of the people's pursuit of tea's true flavor.

Song-dynasty brick (powdered) tea can be understood as an outgrowth of the tea of the Tang dynasty. In effect, through improvements in the production of compressed tea, a more finely-textured brick tea was

² In standard modern Japanese usage, "*sencha*," literally "brew(ed/ing) tea," generally refers to the higher grades of green tea; i.e., young tea leaves processed by steaming, rolling, and drying them, and made into a beverage by brewing them in hot water.—E.

³ Aoki Masaru 青木正児, *Chūka Mei-Butsu Kō* [中華名物考]. Originally published by Shunjūsha in 1959. Recently republished as vol. 479 of the Heibonsha *Tōyō Butoku* series (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1988).

created, and grinding this resulted in a powdered tea so fine that immediate infusion by the addition of hot water — the *diancha* method of preparation — was possible. On the other side, however, there appears to be a large difference between Song-dynasty tea and that of the Ming dynasty. This can be understood as indicated in the following chart.



of its original form. Therefore, this discussion must naturally focus on pertinent literary sources.

Black When Solid, White When Ground Up

The following discussion of brick tea focuses especially on the high grade compressed tea predominantly produced in Fujian Province, particularly in the Imperial tea plantations comprising the northern gardens, and does not refer to Song dynasty compressed tea in general, which was referred to as *piancha* (*hencia*). No data exists concerning the low grade compressed teas of other regions. Although they may have resembled modern-day *jin'yacha*, this is something that we must leave to our imagination. [In literary sources,] concentration was placed on the Song dynasty's most refined tea culture, the *tuancha* of Fujian Province (this particular *tuancha* or "brick tea" is also known as *Jiancha* [*Kencha*]), and, secondly, on the leaf tea (also called *chaocha* [*sōcha*]) of Jiangnan (Kōnan; the southern Yangtze River basin).

We can roughly see what the physical appearance of brick tea was like by illustrations in the [*Xuanhe*] *Beiyuan Gongcha Lu* (*Senna Hokuen Kōcha Roku*) [*Xuanhe Record of Tea Offerings in the Northern Gardens*] attributed to the son of Xiong Fan, Xiong Ke. The tea was of various shapes — cylindrical, square, foliate, and so on — and, measuring from approximately 4 to 9.1 centimeters in diameter, featured designs of dragons and such things embossed on the top surface. The illustrations in the *Beiyuan Gongcha Lu*, however, are uncolored sketches, and we cannot tell what color the brick tea was.

A literatus of the Southern Song dynasty, Chen Yuan (Chin En), describes brick tea in a poem prefaced 「留龍居士試建茶既去輒分送并頌寄之」 (I detained Layman Long, we tried some Fujian tea, and he has already left. Immediately, I sent him a portion of the tea together with a poem of praise concerning it),” as follows:

未下鈴鎚黑如漆 已入篩羅白如雪
從來黑白不相融 吸盡方知了無別

Before the hammer, black like lacquer;
Sifted through a screen, white as snow.
Black and white, by nature antagonistic —
Yet a taste neither distinctions know.

(Brick tea, before it has been broken with a hammer, is shiny black, like lacquer, but once it has been broken,

pulverized, sifted, and thus is in its powdered form, it is white like snow. Fundamentally, black and white do not normally give in to each other, but when I drank the tea, I realized that there was no difference between them.)

Continuing, he also says in a poem prefaced 「得老龍見和復呈」 (Receiving Old Man Long's responding poem, I offered him another poem):

是渠白芽 聚為黑塊
方訝墨堅 復如粉碎

White buds gathered
Make an ingot black.
Hard, dark as an ink stick;
Powdered, white comes back.

(In the first place, this brick tea consists of white tea-leaf buds gathered and compressed into a black mass. It is amazing that something hard like an ink stick should regain its white color as a powder when pulverized.)

If taken at face value, these verses imply that brick tea was hard, black, and shiny, much like the ink sticks of China and Japan, and when pulverized into powdered tea for drinking, it was completely white. Poetic expression, as we know, often tends toward exaggeration. Nonetheless, when considered together with information given in other Song-dynasty literary sources, one becomes convinced that these expressions of whiteness and blackness are not necessarily extreme.

Henceforth, let us approach this problem by dividing it into two parts: (1) Was the appearance of brick tea black and shiny or not? And (2) was it actually white when in its powdered state?

Assessing Brick Tea's Appearance

In discussing brick tea's appearance, it is necessary to take a look at its production process. Fortunately, this data is preserved in the *Beiyuan Bielu* (*Hokuetsu Betsuroku*) [Supplementary Records of the Northern Gardens]. To summarize: young tea-leaf buds were selected, steamed, drained of their moisture by wringing them out in a cloth bag, put in an unglazed pottery vessel and ground with a wooden pestle while adding water, pressed in a mold, and dried. The grinding stage continued for an

entire day, during which time copious amounts of water were added, resulting in a very fine-grained tea. It probably differed from the compressed tea of the Tang dynasty in this respect.

The molds used during the pressing stage were variously made of bamboo, copper, and silver, and consisted of a frame and design-incised press. If it were for imperial tea, the upper face would be embossed with dragon or phoenix designs. The pressing process could be said to have resembled that used in the molding of ink sticks. As is apparent from the aforementioned *Beiyuan Gongcha Lu*, these embossed designs were minute in detail and could not have been achieved without the finely grained surface of this tea. Tang-dynasty compressed tea, with its wrinkled surface described in the *Cha Jing*, must have been unsophisticated by comparison.

What was the surface color of this brick tea which had been molded so smoothly? By way of example, I cite a verse by Mei Xiaochen (Bai Gyōshin) of the Northern Song dynasty, who had some association with Caixiang, author of the *Cha Lu*. The verse, prefaced 「答建州沈屯田寄新茶」 (In acknowledgement of the new tea received from Shen Duntian of Fujian Province), is as follows:

春芽研白膏 夜火焙紫餅

Spring tea-leaf buds ground into white paste,
Roasted all night makes purplish cake.

In other words, by grinding early spring tea leaves into a sticky white substance, placing it in a mold, and drying it over a fire all night, a purple-hued solid cake of tea was made.

Consulting other relevant examples of Song dynasty poetry, one frequently finds expressions such as *cang bi* (*sō heki*, deep blue-green) and *xuan gui* (*gen kei*, dark jade). Along with the “black” mentioned by Chen Yuan, these all refer to deep colors. Conversely, expressions describing the surface appearance of brick tea as “white” have yet to be found.

I myself tried to reenact the manufacturing process by steaming tea-leaf buds, grinding them, placing the paste in a mold, and drying it. Although the freshly ground paste was quite a light green, I observed the surface color gradually darkening as it dried. The end result was a solid molded tea that was dark green in surface appearance and, depending upon how one looked at it, had a purplish tinge. My point is not to boast of having recreated Song-dynasty tea, but rather to confirm that the transformation mentioned by Mei Xiaochen from “white paste” to “purplish cake” was real. My sample tea also achieved quite a degree of luster and hardness.

Leaving that aside and returning to literary documents, let us look at a

famous line from the *Cha Lu* of Caixiang. It says, "The white color of tea is esteemed. Nevertheless, much *bingcha* (*heicha*, 'cake tea') has 'rare paste' painted on its surface. Hence, the varying colors from blue-green and ochre to purple and black." A range of colors are mentioned, and, as one might expect, most of them are dark tones. In the quoted line, it is clear from what we discussed earlier that "the white color of tea is esteemed" refers to the brick tea's internal color or its color once it was ground into powder. It is unclear what the *zhen gao* (*chin kō*) or "rare paste" was, but it may have been some type of expensive spice. In that Caixiang employs the kanji for "oil" to refer to "painted," it is not difficult to imagine that this coating heightened the tea's surface luster.

In this way, brick tea was something that resembled ink sticks in many ways, and no doubt this is what prompted the following passage by Sima Guang (Shiba Kō; 1019-86), in the *Huaman Lu* (*Gaman Roku*, Record of an Undistinguished One):

Tea and ink sticks are certainly contrary. Tea wants white; ink, black. Tea wants newness; ink, oldness. Tea wants weight; ink, lightness.

Had brick tea and solid ink not so closely resembled each other, there would have been no need for such comparison.

Black Temmoku Teabowls to Enhance White Tea

As cited in the above data, Song-dynasty tea was described as white, and there was a strong underlying concept equating 'whiter' with 'better.' This white color was most likely the color of the tea once it was ground, or perhaps its color once the powdered tea was mixed with hot water. The *Cha Lu* mentions that the color of freshly ground tea was white, but that when left overnight it darkened. Thus it can be said that brick tea's compressed form also protected it from denaturation.

Mention is also made that when this white powdered tea was mixed with hot water, the color remained white, and the *Cha Lu* praises tea served with a "brilliant white" water surface. Of course, skepticism arises in regard to how Song-dynasty tea, purportedly from the same tea plant grown today, could possibly have been white. One naturally wonders if it were not actually green and simply described as white.

However, there is reason to believe that the people of the Song dynasty themselves felt that, in contrast to the green color of Tang-

dynasty tea, their tea had become white due to its improvement. The *Wengyou Jianping* (*Ōyukanpyō*, "Commentaries from a Round Window") by Yuan Wen (En Bun), and other documents of the Southern Song dynasty, note a poem by Bo Luotian (Haku Rakuten; 772-846) commenting on the green color of Tang tea, and add that such comments would have been unwarranted had he seen the tea of Song.

Additionally, the appellations given to Song-dynasty brick tea, such as "*Bai Cha*" ("White Tea"), "*Long Yuan Sheng Xu*" ("Dragon Garden Exceeding Snow"), "*Bai Ru*" ("White Milk"), "*Di Ru*" ("Milk"), and "*Shi Ru*" ("Stone Milk"), often had to do with the color white. It is also commonly known that early Fujian brick tea was called *lamiancha* (*rōmencha*, "wax surface tea") or, in other words, tea that, in its state as a beverage, resembled melted wax.

This type of "white," because it derived from tea powder suspended in hot water, is probably more accurately described as a milk white color. And according to a poem by Mei Xiaochen prefaced 「宋著作寄鳳茶」 (Regarding the 'Phoenix Tea' received from Song Zhuzou),

味余喉舌甘 色薄牛馬湏

The aftertaste in throat and on tongue, sweet;
The color, paler than milk of cows or mares.

In this can be seen an expression of tea's color being pale like milk.

Assuming that brick tea was indeed white, perhaps the only way to explain this peculiarity is through examination of its processing method. Therefore, I would like to once again consider the processes recorded in the "Supplementary Records of the Northern Gardens," which I outlined earlier. By following those processes, there would have been a great likelihood of producing a tea of pale color. Among the reasons for this, one could list the following:

- (1) Young tea buds would contain very little chlorophyll. (The practice of extracting and using only the centermost pulp of young tea buds [Ch. *shuiya*, Jp. *suiga*], and the use of leaves which were white from the beginning [Ch. *baicha*, Jp. *hakucha*], are also believed to have existed. If these were the case, the chlorophyll content would have been even further reduced.)
- (2) During the straining process, and when the water was added, the pigment would be flushed out.
- (3) The steaming would suppress the activity of enzymes, and the catechins [flavones] would not turn red or yellow.
- (4) The copious amounts of water added during the grinding process,

the maintaining of low temperatures, and the lack of contact with air would hamper increases in the tea's red and yellow pigments.

Furthermore, one cannot overlook the fact that the grains were made very fine, and this would cause the color to approach white. I would be interested in receiving opinions from those involved in science in regard to these processing details.

The pale color attained with this tea was emphasized even further by the black surface of the Jian-ware cups (Ch. *Jian zhan*, Jp. *Ken san*) (i.e., temmoku teabowls) used in preparing the beverage. Against the black background of these bowls, the tea's fine grains could clearly be seen floating in the hot water in a state likened to the movement of clouds through the sky. This aesthetically desirable condition was known as *yunjiao* (*unkyaku*, "drifting clouds"). (Refer to Aoki Masaru, *Chūka Mei-Butsu Kō*, for more information.)

In a situation where these 'drifting clouds' dissipate quickly and settle to the bottom, the water's transparent surface reveals itself in a condition disparaged as *shuihen* (*suikon*), or "water marking." According to the *Cha Lu*, judgments took place wherein the tea preparation that developed 'water markings' first was considered the loser, and that in which the tea particles lingered suspended in the water indefinitely as 'drifting clouds' was the victor. Lu You (Riku Yū; 1125-1210), in his Szechwan travel diary entitled *Rushu Ji* (*Nyūshoku Ki*, "Entering Szechwan"), tells of a cheap kind of Fujian tea mixed with starch. This extra ingredient was probably to give added viscosity to the hot water so that 'water markings' would not appear in the prepared tea.

When attempts at discerning the presence or absence of water markings were undertaken, a container such as a Jian-ware cup, providing a narrow angle between its walls and the water's meniscus, would naturally be helpful. After the explanation by Caixiang in the *Cha Lu* that black cups were efficacious, he declared that whitish-green cups were not used by the *Doushijia* (*Tōshika*; the specially designated tea judges). For the advantages provided by both its color and shape, the Jian-ware cup functioned as a tool for the tea tasters of this period.

As we have seen, then, one cannot talk about Song-dynasty tea being white without, at the same time, discussing about the container in which the beverage was served and the method in which it was prepared (i.e., the *tencha* method). During other periods, the Tang dynasty for example, when the *jiancha* (*sencha*) method of tea preparation predominated, descriptive phrases such as *songhua* (*shōka*, "pine flowers") and *qu* (*kiku*, *kōji*; "yeast"), referring to yellow-green flowers floating on the beverage's surface, were common. If, in Tang poetry, the word "snow" were to have been used to describe tea, it would have corresponded to the whiteness

of flowers. A distinction between that 'white' and the milky 'white' of Song-dynasty tea would have to be made.

Moving in the other direction in history, during the Ming dynasty tea was poured into white porcelain cups, and it was the color of the water itself (i.e., the hot water in which the leaf-tea had been steeped) that was admired. This is just like how we drink our so-called black tea out of white Chinaware cups. The Ming-dynasty admiration for "colorless" tea is an indication of the subtle distinctions that were vital in their appreciation of the water's color.

In this way, simply by mentioning the color of a tea exclusive of other factors in a given period, such as the manner in which that tea was prepared and served, one cannot hope to gain a precise understanding of the color.



Kanji list (alphabetical order)

baicha (*hakucha*) 白茶

Bai Cha 白茶

Bai Ru 白乳

Beiyuan Bielu 北苑別錄

(*Hokuen Betsuroku*)

bingcha (*heicha*) 餅茶

Bo Luotian (*Haku Rakuten*) 白樂天

Caixiang (*Saijō*) 蔡襄

cang bi (*sō heki*) 蒼壁

cha hu 茶壺

Cha Jing (*Cha Kyō*) 茶經

Cha Lu (*Cha Roku*) 茶錄

chaocha (*sōcha*) 草茶

Cha Shu (*Cha So*) 茶疏

Chen Yuan (*Chin En*) 陳淵

Daguan Cha Lun 大觀茶論

(*Daikan Cha Ron*)

diancha (*tencha*) 点茶

Di Ru 的乳

Doushijia (*Tōshika*) 鬪試家

gongfucha (*kufūcha*) 工夫茶

hacha 葉茶

Huaman Lu (*Gaman Roku*) 畵漫錄

Huizong (*Kisō*) 徽宗

jiancha (*sencha*) 煎茶

jiancha (*Kencha*) 建茶

jian zhan (*Ken san*) 建盞

jìn'yacha (*kin'atsucha*) 緊壓茶

kokei cha 固形茶

kyūsu 急須

lamiancha (*rōmencha*) 蠟面茶

Long Yuan Sheng Xu 龍園勝雪

Lu You (*Riku Yū*) 陸遊

Lu Yu (*Riku U*) 陸羽

Mei Xiaochen (*Bai Gyōshin*) 梅堯臣

mocha (*matcha*) 末茶、抹茶

paocha (*hōcha*) 泡茶

piancha (*hencha*) 片茶

qu (*kiku, kōji*) 麴

Rushu Ji (*Nyūshoku Ki*) 入蜀記

Shi Ru 石乳

shuihen (*suikon*) 水痕

shuiya (*suiga*) 水芽

Sima Guang (*Shiba Kō*) 司馬光

songhua (*shōka*) 松花

tuancha (*dancha*) 团茶

Wengyou Jianping 甕驢間評

(*Ōyukanpyō*)

xuan gui (*gen kei*) 玄圭

Xuanhe Beiyuan 宣和北苑貢茶錄

Gongcha Lu (*Senna*

Hokuen Kōcha Roku)

Xu Cishu (*Kyo Jisho*) 許次綬

Yuan Wen (*En Bun*) 袁文

yunjiao (*unkyaku*) 雲脚

zhen gao (*chin kō*) 珍膏

Temae—Tea Procedure

Furo Shozumi & Gozumi with Tana

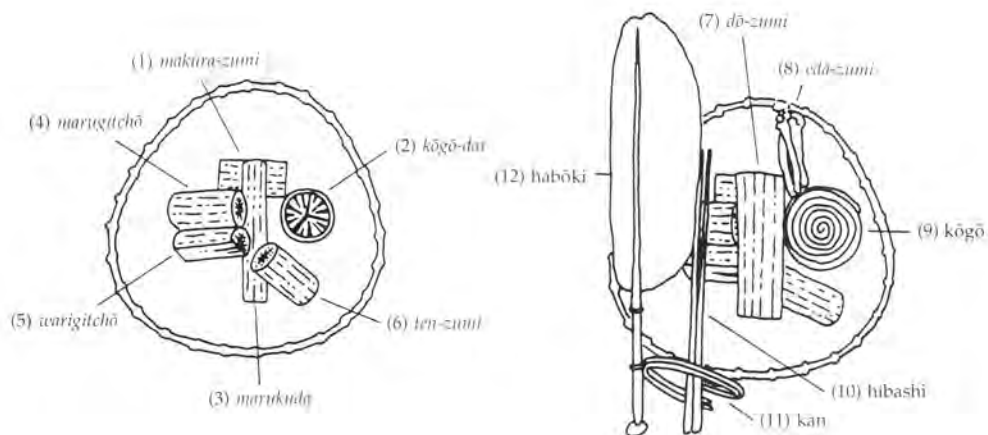
When presenting a tea gathering using a small *tana*, both the *shozumi* and *gozumi* must be conducted somewhat differently from standard *shozumi* or *gozumi*. There are numerous varieties of small *tana*, each with their own unique characteristics and methods of use.* Also, a single *tana* may often be used in different ways. To cover all of these possibilities in a general manual is impossible. In this article, we will present a general guide taking the *maru-joku* *tana* as an example. Brief pointers regarding the use of other common types of *tana* will also be given. It should be emphasized, however, that these by no means cover the whole spectrum of *tana* use. The one and only way for chanoyu students to acquire such knowhow is through practical experience during their chanoyu training. The following guide assumes the reader's thorough familiarity with the standard *furo shozumi* and *gozumi* techniques, and is based on the use of a standard type of *doburo* (clay *furo*). For detailed instructions, readers are directed to *Chanoyu Quarterly* issues no. 13 (comprehensive *shozumi*) and no. 44 (*furo gozumi*).

Furo Shozumi with Tana

Basically, the preparations of the *sumi*-laying equipment are no different from those for standard *furo shozumi*. These include the preparation of a *sumitori* as in the drawings on the following page, which show the cut pieces of charcoal arranged in the *sumitori*, and the completely assembled *sumitori*. Within the *kōgō*, there are three pieces of *byakudan* (sandalwood incense). As usual, a *haiki* is prepared with a mound of *fuji-bai* (white

* See "Chadōgū Notes: *Tana*, Part II," *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 52 (1987), pp. 45–69, for descriptions of some representative types.

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.



wisteria ash), and, just prior to bringing the haiki into the tearoom, the host places a haisaji in it, so that the scoop is standing vertical in the ash mound and the handle is resting on the edge of the haiki. Also at this time, the host places a kami kamashiki in the "bosom pocket" (*futokoro*) of his or her kimono, with the *wasu*, or "folded side," on the outside (i.e., right-hand side).

When the guests enter the room, the *furo-kama* is on the left-hand side of the *dōgu tatami*, with the lid of the *kama* set ajar, and the small *tana* — in this case, a *maru-joku*, with *mizusashi* on its bottom shelf and *natsume* on its top shelf — is on the right-hand side.



Sitting at *sadōguchi* with *sumitori* to side away from guests, bow together with guests, then carry *sumitori* to front of *tana*, and place it directly before the *tana* (1).



(2)

Fetch haiki from mizuya, reenter tearoom and sit at temaeza so body faces diagonally away from guests, and place haiki in standard position in far bottom corner of temae tatami (2). Then shift sitting position to sit directly before furo-kama.



(3)

Place habōki diagonally to right front of sumitori (3). [Note: the angle to place the habōki at this time is more acute than usual, to allow for the kama to be placed as far up on the tatami as possible in step 9. See p. 47 diagram.]



(4)

Take kōgō with right hand (hereafter, R), rest it briefly on palm of left hand (hereafter, L) (4), and, with R, place it at the usual spot for the futaoki.



(5)

Close kama lid (5). (Women will use fukusa here, as will men, if knob of kama lid is not bronze. Return fukusa to obi after use.)



(6)

Take kan from hibashi (6), separate them, hook them into kama lugs, and rest them against upper part of kama.



(7)

Take out kami kamashiki (hereafter, kamashiki), temporarily rehold it with L, rehold it with R so that the *wasu* is on the side toward the fire (i.e., the left-hand side), and, taking into consideration the diameter of the kama to be placed on it, set it down so it is centered with the sumitori (7).



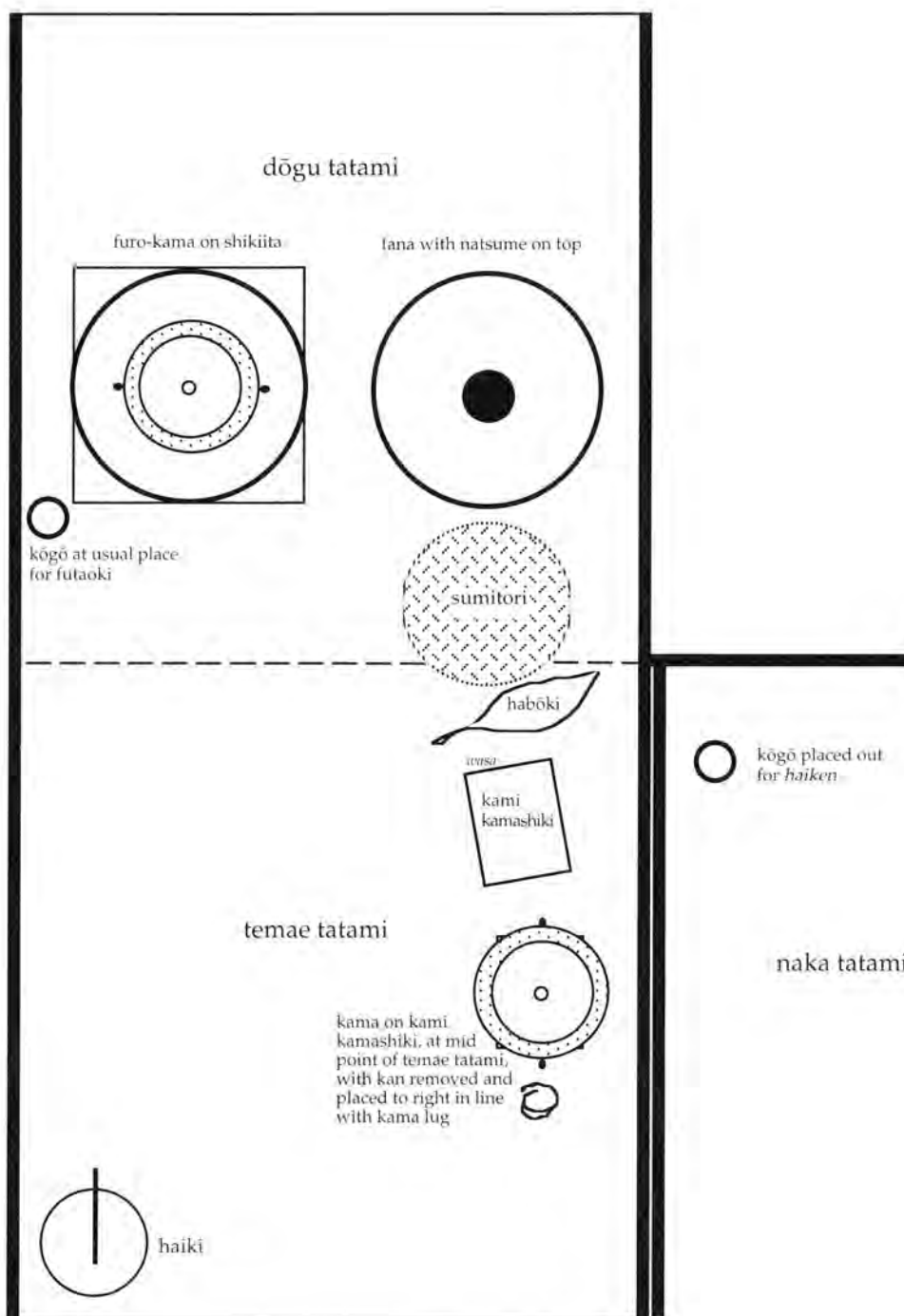
(8)

Move a knee's breadth forward (right knee, left knee) (8).



(9)

Lift kama from furo and place it on kamashiki (9). Rest kan against kama as before, and shift sitting position to face kama.



Placement of various items during *furo shozumi* with *maru-joku tana*



(10)

Slide kama on kamashiki down to mid point of the temae tatami (10).



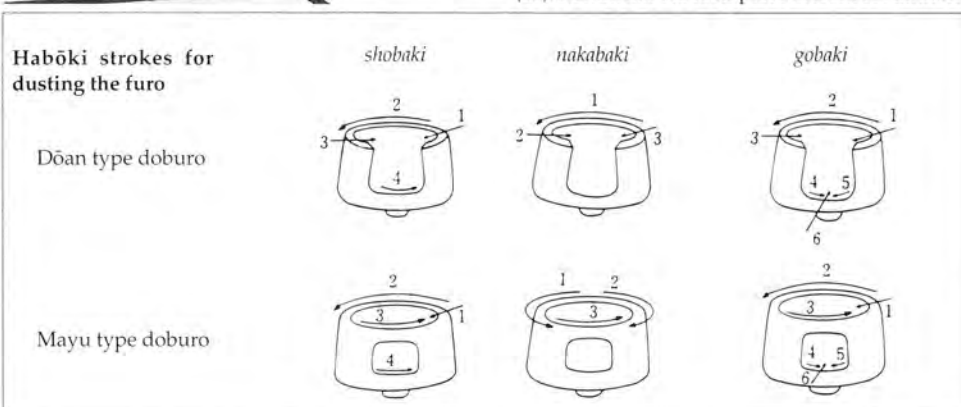
(11)

Remove kan, put them together, and set them down on right of kama, in line with kama lug (11).



(12)

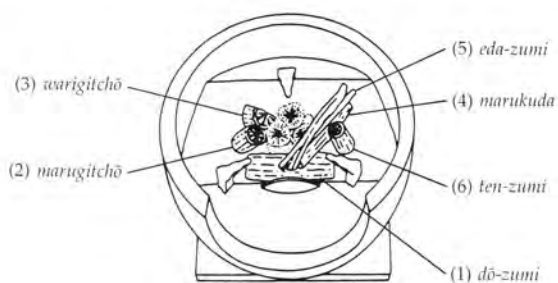
Pick up habōki and do *shobaki* (first dusting) of furo (12). Return habōki to its place in front of sumitori.





(13)

Hold hibashi for use, and move front-most *shitabi* ("pilot charcoal") to the far side of the other two pieces (13). Place all the *sumi* pieces in the *furo* in the designated order, as shown in the diagram below. Then return hibashi to *sumitori*.



(14)

Take *habōki* and do *nakabaki* (middle dusting) of *furo*. Return *habōki* to its previous position (14).



(15)

Shift sitting position to face diagonally away from guests, pick up *haiki* with L, rehold it with R, shift sitting position to face *furo*, and, using both hands, place *haiki* before knees (15).



(16)

Take haisaji with R, and, with L bracing R wrist, use haisaji to remove a crescent of ash from the front of the ash form in the furo (16). Sprinkle the removed ash onto the far side of the ash form. Then return haisaji to haiki.



(17)

Pick up haiki, return it to its original position in bottom corner of tatami (17), and shift sitting position to again face furo.



(18)

Pick up habōki and do *gobaki* (last dusting) of furo (18). Place habōki on sumitori.



(19)

Pick up kōgō with R, and place it on L palm. Remove lid and place it near right knee (19).



(20)

Hold hibashi for use (20), and place two pieces of incense in furo. Return hibashi to sumitori, and replace kōgō lid onto kōgō. [At this point, the main guest asks to *haiken* the kōgō.]



(21)

Bow in acknowledgement of the guest's request (21).



(22)

Shift sitting position to face *kyakutsuki* (i.e., the corner of the adjacent tatami). Turn kōgō so that the front faces the guests, and place it out on adjacent *naka* tatami (22).



(23)

Pick up kan, separate them, and hook them into kama lugs. Slide kama on kamashiki to position where it was originally placed (23), and rest kan on upper part of kama.



(24)

Shift sitting position to directly face furo. Lift kama onto furo (24), and rest kan on kama.



(25)

Pick up kamashiki with R, rehold it with L, and tap it over the sumitori to loosen and remove any sumi particles (25). Hold kamashiki with R, and put it away into kimono as in the beginning.



(26)

Adjust kama on gotoku (tripod) if unlevel. Remove kan, and place them together. Place kan in sumitori (R) so that they lean on front side with open ends on top (26).



(27)

Move a knee's breadth back (left knee, right knee). Pick up habōki and dust lid of kama (27). Return habōki to sumitori.



(28)

Set kama lid ajar (28). (If fukusa was used in the beginning, use it at this time also.)



(29)

Shift sitting position diagonally away from guests. Pick up haiki with L, hold it with R, and take it to mizuya (29).



(30)

Return to temae tatami, sit in front of tana, pick up sumitori (30), and exit tearoom. Just outside sadōguchi, sit, place sumitori in front of knees, and close fusuma.



(31)

After the guests return the kōgō, reenter tearoom, sit facing kōgō, and answer the questions concerning the kōgō (31).



(32)

Pick up kōgō, and return with it to mizuya (32). Sit at sadōguchi, place kōgō on side away from guests, and bow together with guests.

Use of Other Types of Tana

At the beginning of the temae, the host may choose to display the habōki and kōgō on the tana. When displaying the habōki and kōgō on a tana that does not have a peg, the two items are basically placed as shown in photo A, which illustrates such a display on an *Empi-dana*. For a tana with a peg, such as a *sugi-dana* as shown in photo B, the habōki is hung from it, and the kōgō is placed on the bottom shelf near the tip of the habōki. To remove the habōki from the peg and place it on the tatami, follow the steps illustrated on the next page.



A



B



(a) Remove habōki from peg with R.



(b) Rehold it underhand with L.



(c) Rehold it overhand with R.

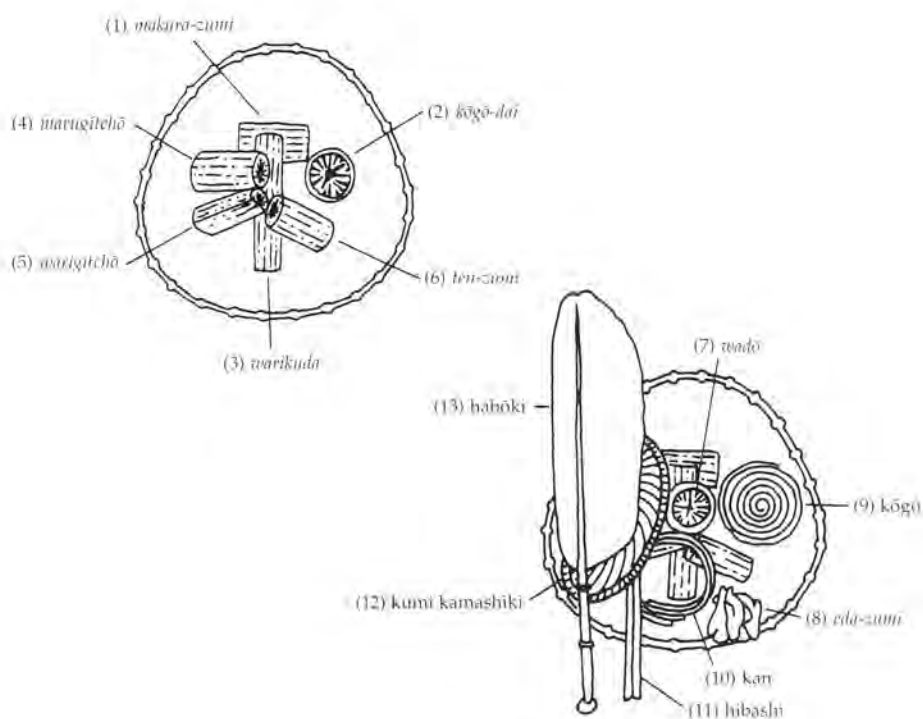


(d) Place it diagonally in front of sumitori.

How to remove habōki from peg

Furo Gozumi with Tana

Basically, the preparations of the sumi-laying equipment are no different from those for standard *furo gozumi*. These include the preparation of a sumitori as in the drawings below, and the preparation of a haiki as for *furo shozumi*. A mizutsugi is prepared in the standard manner; the type of mizutsugi to use, however, depends upon the tana. With a *maru-joku* tana, as featured in the following guide, the type of mizutsugi to use is a *katakuchi*. Detailed instructions on the use of a *katakuchi* are given in *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 44. Generally speaking, a *katakuchi* is used for tana with three or two legs, or one which does not require that the mizusashi be taken off the tana to be refilled. This also includes tana for which the mizusashi is brought to the very front edge of the bottom shelf to be refilled, e.g., *asugi-dana*. A *koshiguro yakan* is used for tana with four legs, or tana which require that the mizusashi be taken off the bottom shelf to be refilled.





(1)

The furo-kama and *maru-joku* are on the dōgu tatami just as at the beginning of the *shozumi* temae. Sitting at sadōguchi with sumitori to side away from guests, bow together with guests, then carry sumitori to front of tana, and place it directly before the tana (1).



(2)

Return to mizuya, and reenter tearoom holding haiki (R). Advance to temaeza, sit diagonally, and place haiki in designated position. Shift sitting position to directly face furo-kama. Place habōki diagonally to right front of sumitori (2).



(3)

Take kōgō with R, rest it briefly on palm of L, and, with R, place it at the usual spot for the futaoki (3).



(4)

Close kama lid (4). (Women will use fukusa here, as will men if knob of kama lid is not bronze. Return fukusa to obi after use.)



(5)

Take kan from sumitori (5), separate them, hook them into kama lugs, and rest them against upper part of kama.



(6)

Take kumi kamashiki (hereafter, kamashiki) from sumitori, rehold it with L, and, turning it as though opening a Japanese book, rehold it with R (6) and set it down so it is centered with the sumitori. Move forward a knee's breadth (right knee, left knee).



(7)

Lift kama from furo and place it on kamashiki (7). Rest kan on upper part of kama. Shift sitting position to face kama.



(8)

Slide kama on kamashiki down to mid point of temae tatami (8). Remove kan, put them together, and set them down on right side of kama, in line with kama lug.



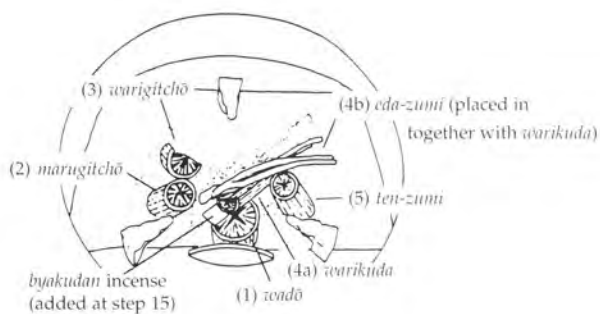
(9)

Shift sitting position to directly face furo. Pick up habōki and do *shobaki* of furo (9). Return habōki to its place in front of sumitori.



(10)

Hold hibashi for use, and arrange the remaining sumi embers to serve as starters. Add all of the sumi pieces in the designated order, as in the diagram below (10). Then return hibashi to sumitori.



(11)

Pick up habōki and do *nakabaki* of the furo (11). Return habōki to its previous position.



(12)

Shift sitting position diagonally away from guests, pick up haiki with L (12), hold it with R, shift sitting position to again face furo, and, using both hands, place haiki in front of knees.



(13)

Hold haisaji, scoop a small crescent of *fuji-bai* from the haiki, and, with L bracing R wrist, fill the crescent-shaped hole in the ash form (see *shozumi* step 16) (13). Replace haisaji in haiki. Return haiki to original position.



(14)

Pick up habōki (14) and do *gobaki* of furo. Return habōki to sumitori.



(15)

Hold kōgō on L palm, remove lid, and place lid near right knee. Hold hibashi for use, and place incense in furo (15).



(16)

Return hibashi to sumitori, replace lid on kōgō, and return kōgō to sumitori (16).



(17)

Shift sitting position to face kyakutsuki, pick up kan (R), separate them, and hook them into kama lugs. Slide kama on kamashiki to original position (17). Remove kan, put them together, and place them down to right side of kama in line with kama lug. [At this point, the main guest asks to *haiken* the placement of the sumi and the ash form.]



(18)

Acknowledge the request (18).



(19)

Shift sitting position diagonally away from guests, pick up haiki, and return with it to the mizuya (19). [The guests one by one advance to the temaeza and look at the furo and the sumi-laying equipment.] Sit just outside sadōguchi with mizutsugi in front of knees, and wait for all the guests to return to their seats.



(20)

After all of the guests have finished, pick up mizutsugi, proceed to temaeza, sit facing kama, and place mizutsugi down to the right (20). In standard manner, refill kama and wipe the outside with the wet chakin. Return mizutsugi to mizuya.



(21)

Return to temaeza and sit facing the furo. Hook kan into kama lugs, and lift kama onto furo (21). Rest kan on upper part of kama.



(22)

Return kamashiki to sumitori (22).



(23)

Adjust kama on gotoku if it is unlevel, and return kan to sumitori (23).



(24)

Move back a knee's breadth (left knee, right knee), and set kama lid ajar (24).



(25)

Pick up sumitori (25), and return with it to mizuya. Sit at sadōguchi, place sumitori to side away from guests, and bow together with guests.



Book Reviews

To Be Human Against All Odds. By Frederick Franck. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991. 188 pp. US\$12.00, ¥1,600.

In his latest book, *To Be Human Against All Odds*, author/artist/global visionary Frederick Franck takes on the enormous task of defining the nature of both humanity and inhumanity, with a focus on the triune brain theory of Dr. Paul D. MacLean and an emphasis on the future of *homo sapiens*.

James Heisig, of the Nanzan Institute for Culture and Religion, which holds the copyright on this book, correctly gauges in his excellent foreword that this volume will be a problem for librarians trying to catalog (that is, categorize) it. Is it about religion? About philosophy? About art? About the connections between the new physics, the new biosciences, the triune brain theory, and the shape of future technologies?

The answer is yes to all these questions. The result might, in other hands, have been a fragmented, disjointed two hundred pages of text. However, Frederick Franck is a renaissance man who has never let himself be pulled into the fragmenting specialization of interests and expertise that he sees as one of the hallmarks of what Western culture arbitrarily labels "the twentieth century."

The text is woven out of his experiences at two global conferences held in Takayama Japan on the theme "Creating the Future of Humanity." Franck gives the reader an impassioned view of what he himself wryly describes as the Yoko Civilization Research

Institute's "sanguine optimism in taking for granted that our species would have a future, bunched together as it is on our spaceship Titanic on its collision course with the unyielding iceberg of Reality" (p. 21).

Who of us, as we face personal collision with a new century, a new millennium, is not affected by the roaring pace of change in the scope and attitude of scientists and theologians? Are we converging toward what Franck identifies as "generic religion"? This convergence appalls traditionalists, and so may the non-traditional art works Franck uses to illustrate his text. His visual eloquence, together with his frequent 'stream-of-consciousness' style of writing and his poet's imagery, give us a sobering portrait of humanity's track record in this century.

Franck's earliest memory is of hearing the guns of World War I shatter the calm of his rural home in Europe. His awed realization, as he begins this book in 1989, is that although the iron curtain has been peacefully shattered, guns and violence are again being used by those who resurrect past territorial claims to reset new boundaries. It is from the storehouse of his own existence that he laments (and we lament with him) that "the unprecedented intra-species violence and destructiveness of our era may have numbed us to and alienated us from the very meaning of being human" (p. 81).

Is there hope for us? Frederick

Franck feels that it lies in our confrontation with the meaning of and possible reason for such inhumanity. He cites the triune brain theory of Dr. MacLean, proposing that dependence on or domination by the reptilian brain that is part of our evolutionary origin accounts for the inhuman tendencies that have marked this century with brutality on a planetary scale: torture, oppression, cruelty, and mass genocide. One of the few flaws in this remarkable book is that, although the theory is mentioned frequently, it is not until the end of the text, in an Appendix reprinting MacLean's article in the *Encyclopedia of Neuroscience*, that we clearly understand the triune brain theory and its role in human evolution. Could the goose-stepping Hitlers of this century have been responding to the reptilian posturing of that ancient reptilian part of the modern human brain? To have read MacLean's article early on would have enhanced the reader's understanding of Franck's allusions to the triune brain theory. MacLean writes clearly and well. His intimations concerning the importance of play in the evolutionary development of mammals and humans are intriguing. This is an idea which Franck may wish to pursue in some future work wherein he may further explore the triune brain theory and the possibility of future evolution from *homo sapiens* to what Franck describes as "*homo religiosus*."

Few of us flow with such ease from Western culture and a Judeo-Christian base to the culture and Buddhism of the East. Franck's comfortable rooting of himself in both gives us a model for evolving into the new, non-traditional, "*homo religiosus*" that Franck sees as already emerging in Europe, Japan, and America. He rescues us from the traditional clichés of religious voca-

bulary in both East and West by defining 'spiritual' as "the innate human thrust towards the Real, to that which is" (p. 95).

For a Buddhist reader such as myself, there is a poignant reminder of the importance of 'beginner's mind' in Franck's plea that "a new innocence, perhaps even a new naïveté, is needed." For the Christian reader there will be a jolt, perhaps an inner illumination that enables one to jettison the baggage of two thousand years of institutional dogma. One Catholic theologian invited to the Takayama conferences, José de Mesa of the Maryhill School of Theology in the Philippines, redefined the concept of 'salvation' when he told the conferees that in this new post-modern era, "Becoming fully human is what Christianity calls salvation. As a Catholic theologian I can only interpret this as meaning that becoming fully human is the realization of Christ-consciousness" (p. 100).

Franck's comment is that "Meister Eckhart's *istigkeit* (isness) and Mahayana Buddhism's idea of Suchness, Buddha-nature, Original Face, the Unborn — all of them [are] pointers to the specifically human" (p. 101). They also, for this reviewer, help to restore our confidence that the iceberg of inhumanity can melt under the warmth of enlightened, compassionate, mutual respect for the differences of others. "For the new *homo religiosus*," writes Franck in his chapter on 'A Generic Faith,' "insight, conscience, and realization take precedence over unquestioning 'obedience'." He defines generic faith as "nondogmatic but intense religious orientation to life-as-it-is" (p. 169).

This is what seems to have been clearly stated by Takahara Kakusho, a Buddhist priest, whom Franck quotes as follows:

For Buddhists subject and environment are inseparable. Hence science and technology are seen as neither good nor evil in themselves. They become good or evil according to how they are used. In today's world, and in much that has been said here [at Takayama], changes in attitude are becoming noticeable. It is as if there were an inner voice telling us what direction to take. It is as if the Buddha of Infinite Light were reaching out from deep inside us, from the center of matter itself. (p. 100)

It is this going beyond good and evil of Mahayana's Pure Land Buddhist horizon to which Franck returns in his conclusion. There he warns us that, as the American comic character Pogo once said, "We have met the enemy and they is us!" Franck's statement is both more grammatical than Pogo's and more a

warning bell to each one of us to wake up to this precious, unrepeatable moment of the present. It is, his text reminds us, the only time we have to exercise our individual responsibility to continue to be human against all odds. Franck writes, "the antihuman forces in our own culture which trespass against the sacred structure of reality have resulted in an anticulture that cannot possibly survive its own internal contradictions" (p. 176). "As in a hologram," Franck concludes, "the whole is present in each of its parts. This anticulture is present in each one of us. And it is precisely there, in each one of us, that the enemy must be confronted" (p. 176).

Frederick Franck's fresh way of seeing into the nature of the choices each of us makes as we collaboratively weave the karmic fabric of life on this planet is indispensable reading for those who truly wish To Be Human Against All Odds.

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The Emptying God: A Buddhist-Jewish-Christian Conversation.
Edited by John B. Cobb, Jr. and Christopher Ives. Faith Meets Faith Series.
Mary Knoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990. xix + 212 pp. US\$16.95.

The title of this book, though basically accurate and provocative, does not quite convey the full substance, meaning, and impact of the volume. *The Emptying God* primarily consists of a main essay by Masao Abe, representing Zen Buddhism, which elicits responses from a number of the foremost contemporary Christian theologians, especially those representing process theology or "death of God" theology, including Thomas J. J. Altizer, John B. Cobb, Jr., Jürgen Moltmann, Schubert M. Ogden, and David Tracy. There are also responses from Eugene B.

Borowitz, representing Judaism, and Catherine Keller, representing feminist theology. Finally, Abe provides a rejoinder which clarifies issues raised collectively by the respondents. The result is a remarkably stimulating and thought-provoking example of inter-religious, cross-cultural dialogue. The volume conveys the excitement and creativity of dialogue actually taking place before the reader's eyes, and it gives the impression that all the parties involved have genuinely entered into a dialectical conversation, in the Socratic

sense, that moves in spirallike fashion ever closer to truth. That is, the participants are committed to self-reflection and self-correction, in light of the Other, without compromising or sacrificing the integrity of their foundational positions. They eagerly take on some of the most fascinating and compelling issues facing interfaith dialogue, including metaphysics and ethics, the nature of God and of humans, good and evil, and scientism and religion. While the book makes excellent reading for people from a variety of theological perspectives, I will comment primarily on the significance of Abe's writings for Japanese Buddhism.

Abe, according to Christopher Ives, has "since the death of D. T. Suzuki in 1966... served as the main representative of Zen Buddhism in Europe and North America" (xiii). With the recent death of Nishitani Keiji, he is also perhaps the leading spokesperson of the Kyoto school of Japanese Philosophy, which seeks to integrate Mahayana Buddhism, encompassing both Zen's self-power and Pure Land's other-power doctrines, and Western philosophy and religious thought, especially mysticism and existentialism. As Cobb, Altizer, and Tracy note, the Kyoto school has been singularly successful in promoting dialogue, in some ways reversing the trend that has generally found Christianity initiating and therefore dominating interfaith concerns. Abe, one of the first Kyoto school and Buddhist thinkers to have a solid grounding in Christian theology, is particularly well-suited to this task, as "his position, or his 'positionless position,' comes through with stark force, rendering problematic all the ideas and tools with which Christians are accustomed to work" (Cobb: xi).

Abe's lead essay, "Kenotic God and Dynamic Sunyata," begins by taking up

and extending the philosophical mission of Nishitani, who critically evaluated from a Nietzschean perspective the inner contradictions of Christianity in light of the forceful role of nihilism and the hegemony of science in the modern world. Like Nishitani, Abe acknowledges that dialogue between religions must be framed in terms of the encounter between traditional religion as a whole and nihilism and scientism, in that both of these negate religiosity and offer alternative models of truth. This level of encounter ironically provides an inspiration for religions to seek out their common essence so as to offset the challenge provided by the rival, anti-religious ideologies. Then, the main sections of the essay go beyond Nishitani in their treatment of three main concerns. First, Abe examines and seeks to revise Christian theology from within its own structure, rather than as an outside critic. Influenced by the writings of Moltmann, as well as Karl Rahner and Hans Küng, on the mystery of the incarnation and the meaning of the Trinity, Abe interprets the Pauline passage (Philippians 2:5-8) that deals with the kenosis or self-emptying of God as the key to Christian self-understanding. Abe wants to make the case that basic, traditional Christian theology of the kenotic structure of God is, as shown long ago by Eckhart and Boehme, based on a realization of nonduality and nothingness that does not compromise the uniqueness of Christ. When the "total abnegation" of God's divinity is appropriately understood, Abe argues in Buddhist translogical fashion, then "the Son of God is truly the Son of God precisely because the Son of God is not the Son of God" (p. 28).

Next, Abe is willing to entertain Christian criticisms of Buddhism by clarifying the fundamentally dynamic

and positive quality of the Mahayana Buddhist doctrine of sunyata, which admittedly sounds negative to the Western ear. He considers the main strengths of Buddhist philosophy concerning the beginningless and endless aspects of time and the quality of naturalness or suchness: Buddhist awakening is consistently realized in "the process of living-dying *at this moment . . .*" (p. 59). Yet Abe concedes that because Buddhist thought has been primarily concerned with the "trans-human" dimension beyond time in the conventional sense, it appears weaker in terms of concrete ethical issues in history. Another topic considered in Abe's essay is a Buddhist response to the Holocaust. Although the responsibility for this terrible case of evil and suffering is at least in part Christian, with Judaism as the victim having to reconcile the event with its own understanding of God, it is possible that Buddhist notions of karma, transmigration, and dependent origination can shed light on the causes and possible sense of resolution of the Holocaust.

Abe's contributions cover nearly half the book, and his essay reveals him in top form, with his usual penetrating insight and profound understanding of the Buddhist tradition coupled with a precision and sharpness often associated with Western rationality. The respondents also give excellent presentations. They are careful to acknowledge the merit of Abe's critique when it hits home, and are also able to take him to task when they feel he either misunderstands or misrepresents Christianity, or presents Buddhism in a way that is not altogether persuasive. The Christian respondents discuss many of the same concerns about Buddhist thought in relation to ethical and historical matters that Abe has already raised. In addition, the Jewish respondent points out a

possible trace of bias in Abe's presentation of Nietzsche's view of history which seems to associate the Old Testament with a "pre-moral" stage of civilization, and the feminist argues that the dialogue has been largely insensitive to women's concerns, although the Buddhist commitment to end suffering could invite "women [to] become forces for transformation rather than scapegoats for the intolerable" (p. 112).

Abe's well-reasoned rejoinder is particularly notable for the way, in light of the issues discussed by his Western counterparts, he explains the ability of Buddhism to be truly dynamic in the concrete, historical realm. Although he does not use the term explicitly, Abe is basically offering a timely update of the traditional Buddhist distinction between "two truths": absolute and relative. Here, Abe also integrates, again unstated, some of his thinking with regard to his recent analysis of the philosophy of time in Dōgen's doctrines of being-time, impermanence-Buddha-nature, and the oneness of practice and attainment (see Abe's *A Study of Dōgen: His Philosophy and Religion*, SUNY Press, 1992). According to Abe, historical and ethical issues are located at the intersection of the "horizontal" or relative view of time, which in Buddhism is linear, unidirectional, and irreversible, and the "vertical" or absolute view of time, which is translinear, multidirectional, and reversible. The advantage of the Buddhist approach — the reason that Nishitani refers to Zen as the transcendental or self-surpassing (*kōjō*) philosophy that serves as the paradigm of all religions and philosophies unbound to any sense of revelation or externalized authority of truth — is that it demonstrates how the reversibility and irreversibility of time are realized in the fullness of the present moment. Therefore, without imposing itself or insisting on correcting Christi-

anity, Buddhism offers the possibility for liberation from all factors of human suffering based on the realization of the eternal now.

As eloquent and convincing a spokesperson as Abe is for Buddhism in the contemporary world, helping to complete Nishitani's philosophical encounter with nihilism and science, there still seem to be several areas for discussion that could enhance his dialogue with the West. First, as Abe shows, the strength of Buddhism primarily lies in the metaphysics of *sunyata*, but the transition to ethical issues, particularly on the magnitude of the Holocaust, needs further clarification. On the one hand, it should be pointed out that Buddhist approaches to morality since the inception of the religion are thorough and insightful in terms of individual spiritual training as well as community and social affairs. Yet, as a monastic religion, Buddhism probably has not had the opportunity to articulate and clarify the application of these principles, and this probably needs to be done in a more specific and legalistic way than the abstract, philosophical discussion offered in the book. In addition, the

dialogue is conducted entirely on the level of "great tradition," with little mention of how religions, now faced with anti-religious ideologies, will be able to appeal on the level of "little tradition"; that is, how they will be able to appeal to the rituals and symbols that sustain the belief and practice of the less intellectual believers who are increasingly secularized and indifferent to religiosity. Nietzsche said that "God is dead" because we have killed him, and Heidegger laid the blame for this at the hands of philosophers who create an image of an abstract deity that is incapable of commanding a worshipful, reverent attitude. It appears that if religion is to survive and prosper in the face of its rivals and challengers, it must develop a two-truths approach of liberating "common folk" from their preoccupation with secularistic or superstitious attitudes while at the same time addressing and rectifying their genuinely spiritual needs.

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Impermanence is Buddha-nature: Dōgen's Understanding of Temporality. By Joan Stambaugh. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990. x + 146 pp. Cloth. US\$18.95.

Few premodern Japanese thinkers have received as much attention from Western philosophical circles as the thirteenth century Sōtō Zen master Dōgen. This interest has been sparked and facilitated by insightful English translations of key portions of Dōgen's masterful collected work, the *Shōbōgenzō* (especially those by

Norman Waddell and Masao Abe), and by several book-length studies of Dōgen's thought — most notably those by Hee-jin Kim, Steven Heine, and Carl Bielefeldt. Kim and Heine, in particular, have examined Dōgen from a cross-cultural philosophic perspective.

Professor Stambaugh, whose back-

ground is primarily German Philosophy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, first turned to Dōgen in the climactic chapter of her book *The Real is Not the Rational* [Albany, NY, 1986]. Also the author of *The Problem of Time in Nietzsche* [Lewisburg, 1987], she has combined in her present book many of the concerns and issues raised in these previous works while embarking on several new avenues of investigation. She is genuinely impressed with Dōgen, and portrays him as a strong and critical voice capable of insights that frequently go beyond the formulations proffered by the Western philosophers with whom she compares him, philosophers such as Aristotle, Hegel, Nietzsche, and Heidegger.

Generally her method of argument in each chapter consists of setting out basic categories—such as transcendence-immanence, identity-difference, etc.—or sketching the view of a particular philosopher—such as Hegel's notion of dialectic—and then allowing Dōgen to either supplement or supplant what has been introduced. In the earlier chapter this method proves fruitful and she repeatedly zeroes in on crucial passages from Dōgen's seminal works: *Uji* ("Being-Time"), *Genjōkōan* ("Actualizing the Kōan"), *Busshō* ("Buddha-nature"), *Gyōji* ("Ceaseless Practice"), and so on. She is a careful reader, sensitive to many of the philosophical subtleties of Dōgen's writings, and her insights are frequently illuminating and lucid. This is no mean task, given the difficult and unusual language Dōgen uses to express himself.

She is particularly effective, I think, in her discussion of the Buddha-nature fascicle, clearly explaining why, for Dōgen, Buddha-nature is neither something that someone possesses nor a potentiality that someone develops or brings to fruition. Dōgen's denials

fly in the face of what virtually all East Asian Buddhists had said (and many continue to say) about Buddha-nature; namely, "X has (or possesses) Buddha-nature," or "One develops (insight of or into) one's Buddha-nature." Instead, Dōgen states that Buddha-nature is not permanent or other than impermanent things, and yet, in the context of Buddha-nature, impermanent things are not impermanent things. Buddha-nature is the world becoming the world each moment, or, as Buddhists have put it more traditionally, "coming-to-be-just-as-it-is" (*yathā-bhūtam*). This is because each thing encompasses more than itself, while at the same time being nothing but itself (i.e., what it is in an encompassment). Each and every distinct situation instantiates a totality (or, perhaps better, an "encompassivity") that neither subsumes it nor is subsumed by it. Things neither move through time, nor does time move things. Everything is right here now, and "[t]he fact that past and future are in the present moment means that there is nowhere for the present moment to go. The passage of the present moment takes place within the present moment; it does not make a transition into the future, for the future is not 'ahead' of it" (p. 49). Buddha-nature is the instantiation of specific totalities in the inescapable, unmoving present, a present which nonetheless never abides for more than a moment—and thus, itself, is impermanent.

Dōgen's formulations are as challenging to modern readers as they were for his contemporaries, a veritable assault on our most basic common-sense and philosophical assumptions. And that is how Dōgen intended them. T'ien-t'ai* (Tendai) and Hua-yen (Kegon)

* Romanized spelling of Chinese names and terms in this review follows the Wade-Giles system.—E.

Buddhists had talked about “totality” for centuries, usually in dialectical terms asserting some sort of identity between particular events and the totality of events. Dōgen insists that totality is not a dialectical interfusion — that would only be an abstract conceptualization — but rather an immediate experience of the full presencing of a totality through any distinct, particular occasion, i.e., encompassivity through singularity. Thus Dōgen repeatedly dislodges such commonplace Buddhist ‘identity’ axioms as “Form is emptiness” or Kegon’s “mutual interpenetration of all events” (*jiji muge*) by posing a barrier to such facile identifications. Rather than expound the inseparability of life and death, he says that, seen properly, “life is fully life, death is fully death,” and they shouldn’t be conflated in the name of “totality” or anything else (cf. his *Shinjingakudō*). Dōgen is jarring his fellow Buddhists out of their dialectical complacency and smugness, since this sort of conflation is only a verbal, conceptual exercise, not the actual realization of “the three-thousand chilicosms in and as one single thought-instant” (as Tendai would say). Likewise, past and future can be *conceptually* related, i.e., one can generate concepts to link a conceptualized present with concepts of the past or future, but, *as lived*, the present relates only to the present and the future only to the future. In other words, even when we think about the future, we are only thinking in a present moment; the future itself is always elsewhere. Dōgen, in true Buddhist fashion, seeks to help us overcome the skewer of conceptual conflation. Practice, for Dōgen, is the persistent enactment of this overcoming with its concomitant encompassing vision.

The later chapters are unfortunately weakened by two handicaps. First, since Stambaugh cannot read Dōgen in the

original classical Japanese, she is at the mercy of translators and interpreters, an unhappy place to be when dealing with a writer such as Dōgen whose message is as much in the creative and innovative *way* that he used language as in *what* he said. Her obvious sensitivity to linguistic, terminological nuances — admirably displayed in her treatment of Heidegger and Hegel — regrettably is not brought to bear on Dōgen’s text.

Secondly, she is not a Buddhologist, and thus, despite admirable efforts, she fails to appreciate Dōgen’s creative appropriation and radical critique of Buddhist formulae and terminology. For instance, rather than properly contextualizing Dōgen’s project within Tendai and earlier developments in Ch’an, she offers marginally helpful and potentially misleading synopses of Nagarjuna and Kegon. Dōgen is much closer to Tendai — after all, he grew up in a Tendai monastery — and much of what he critiques as problematic (e.g., inadequate notions of Buddha-nature) can be traced back to Kegon formulations (e.g., their notion of *tathagatagarbha*). More importantly, many of the keys to Dōgen’s otherwise baffling statements lie precisely in Tendai thought, especially in the way it formulates the relation between particularity and encompassivity.

These handicaps converge in Stambaugh’s later chapters and become enmeshed in one particular statement which, judging from the frequency and intensity with which Stambaugh repeatedly returns to it, serves as her major “insight” into Dōgen. She cites Kim’s translation of a passage late in the *Uji* that ends: “‘Mind obstructs ‘mind’ and sees ‘mind.’ ‘Words’ obstruct ‘words’ and see ‘words.’ ‘Obstruction hinders obstruction and sees obstruction; obstruction obstructs obstruction’: this is time.” For some reason which is never

adequately explained, she thinks the phrase "obstruction obstructs obstruction" is the key to all of Dōgen, or, as she puts it, "self-obstruction is Absolute Freedom." Whatever that might mean, she has apparently been misled by Kim, who, in his discussion of this passage says very much the same thing (he doesn't explain what he means by it either). Stambaugh, familiar on the one hand with tautological definitions of thinking going from Aristotle to Heidegger, and on the other with Hegel and the German Idealists, and the vital role the notion of Absolute Freedom played for them, transfers this importance onto Dōgen. Confused about the contextual significance of such terms as "unstained" (*muro*) and "undefiled" (*fuzen*), and led by sloppy translators to draw dubious distinctions between various epistemic terms (chapter 7), her argument falters and grows obscure. Perhaps she has distracted herself by using Dōgen to set the ground for Heidegger (the only philosopher she intimates may have a deeper vision than Dōgen and with whom the book ends). It might have been instructive had she allowed Dōgen to critique Heidegger's central idea, the "ontological difference."

What does Dōgen's phrase about obstruction obstructing obstruction mean? Obstruction (*keige*; a compound found in the Heart Sutra and elsewhere) is usually taken by Buddhists to be the basic human cognitive problem. Dōgen is saying that the moment by moment actualization that he is calling 'being-

time' now actualizes obstructedly, and then now actualizes some other way. Obstruction, non-obstruction, both are being-time. Dōgen denies that there is anything *in potentia* that lies behind or in these moments; there is absolutely nothing to reify (and so it might be better to use the term "instantiate" rather than "actualize," since it is not the actualization of a potential). Each full and complete moment "passes" (*kyōryaku*) into another full and complete moment ("... today flows into today, tomorrow flows into tomorrow").

But to Dōgen — for whom the other reading of the kanji *uji* ("being-time"), namely *aru toki* ("sometimes," or "at some times"), is not an errant notion but merely a shallow statement of the full import of *uji* — all things in all their changing particularities, *insofar as they instantiate in/as an instant*, whether as free or obstructed, all these are being-time. Sometimes one sees fully; sometimes one's vision is obstructed; both are being-time (though there is a tendency to not recognize the latter as such). Each moment has its parameters, its horizons, but it is complete unto itself. And each moment is necessarily momentary, hence impermanent. Buddha-nature is a name for the actualization of each moment. Therefore, as Dōgen and the title of this book state, "Impermanence is Buddha-nature."

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Themes, Scenes, and Taste in the History of Japanese Garden Art.
By Wybe Kuitert. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1988. xiii + 348 pp. Hfl. 80.—

This book represents a new trend among young European and American students

of the Japanese garden. Completing their academic dissertations by conduct-

ing in-depth research in Japan, the theses are then rewritten for commercial publication to a wider audience. The result has been the publication of a number of books of high quality.

The book under review here, by Dutch landscape architect Wybe Kuitert, looks at three particular aspects of the Japanese garden. Given the extensive history of landscape design in Japan, these detailed studies open windows to reveal the meaning of gardens at different points in time.

The author plays down the common thought that the Japanese garden represents man in harmony with nature whereas in Western gardens man conquered nature by imprinting his formalities and symmetries on the landscape. Kuitert prefers to explore ideas that are often common to both East and West.

The first part of the book is called "Themes," and deals with the late Heian period, from the tenth through the twelfth centuries. Often called the "Golden Age" of Japanese gardens, the Heian period produced a basis of native garden art that was to be influential in subsequent centuries. The prime examples of these gardens were those of the nobility and the Imperial court. Unfortunately, none of these gardens exist today in their original state. They were sumptuous gardens distinguished by their large boating ponds and a ritualistic court life that looked to nature as the basis of everyday life. There is, however, an abundance of literature (often written by women of the court, such as Lady Murasaki's *Tale of Genji*), illustrative scrolls, and recent excavation of palace sites that gives us a clear insight into what these gardens were like. Kuitert tells us how nature was perceived, and about the literary content that was to be found in the garden imagery of that era. The Heian period also produced the first garden manual, the *Sakuteiki*. It was written by a

Heian nobleman and became a codified presentation of thematic images for creating landscapes in grand courtly gardens.

The second part of the book is called "Scenes," and moves to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which are termed the Medieval period. The focus shifts to Zen Buddhist gardens. Here, the author explores the development of Zen gardens and the evolution of the small temple gardens of rocks and gravel that are referred to as *karesansui* (dry landscape) gardens.

Kuitert postulates that the Chinese landscape art of the Song period (960-1279) that was imported into Japan was a primary influence in the layout and imagery of these austere gardens of alluring rock arrangements set in a field of white gravel or verdant moss. A recent and popular interpretation of Zen gardens is that they express the "spirit of Zen." The author claims, however, that research shows no historical evidence to support this view. According to Kuitert, the "spirit" explanation was created in the intellectual climate of the 1930s, along with an emerging nationalism. It is his view that these gardens made full use of the Chinese theory of composing landscape scenes. There is considerable evidence that Zen gardens were inspired by landscape painting. Although the imagery in these gardens seems ambiguous, the book points out that historical evidence exists which elucidates their original meaning.

The third part of the book is called "Taste," and covers the first half of the seventeenth century. In the early 1600s there was a great surge of creativity in all the arts due in part to the shift from a military to a peacetime economy. Japan had ended centuries of warfare and, with a centralized government,

settled into a relatively calm period. In Kyoto, the tea masters and chanoyu exercised a tremendous influence on garden design. The idea of psychologically preparing your guest as he moved through the tea garden to the teahouse was a concept that was expanded upon in largestroll gardens of the nobility, military rulers, and Imperial family. These stroll gardens became a sequential series of spaces and vistas that unfolded as one moved through the garden. They were to be the place of aesthetic and literary pursuits. Kuitert looks at the elite who gathered around the emperor, and at their pursuits of artistic taste based on chanoyu, Buddhism, and literature. The recurring theme of the author is that, in order to understand the Japanese garden, we must look beyond mere appreciation to the intent and concepts of the garden originators.

The book contains drawings and black-and-white photographs that are not up to the quality of the text. Some additional illustrative material of higher quality would be welcome. Yet, these are minor distractions from a well researched and thoroughly documented book.

Finally, the author does not rely exclusively on Japanese scholars, but utilizes his own evaluation of primary resources when available. One has the impression that the author has spent considerable time in the gardens themselves, carefully examining the sources of his academic study. This book is an impressive presentation and a welcome addition for its new interpretations of Japanese gardens.

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An Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual. By *Jennifer L. Anderson*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991. xvi + 348 pp., including notes, glossary, and bibliographies. US\$49.50, hardcover; US\$16.95, paper.

There are times, and this is one of them, when a publisher should be slapped with a wet tea bag for using a title that claims too much. This is not a book about "Japanese" Tea, if that means chanoyu in its many manifestations across the Japanese cultural landscape. Dr. Anderson is careful to limit herself to Urasenke. As a matter of principle, she declines to comment upon the practices of other Tea schools. And she adds, with some irritation, that many Japanese actually misuse Tea: they claim it as a badge of ethnic uniqueness ("intended to be admired, not comprehended," p. 220) but refuse to personally explore its spiritual promise.

As a veteran practitioner, Anderson is able to offer a comprehensive beginner's guide to Urasenke. In addition to 225 pages that cover Tea's history, social organization, and modes of performance, she provides another hundred pages of appendices and notes, plus an extensive glossary and bibliography. The book should be a great help to English-literate novices as they struggle to acquire background knowledge and to absorb the rather formidable vocabulary of Japanese technical terms that one needs to be able to talk about Tea much less engage in it.

For an outsider such as myself, however — for those of us not ready to

embark upon Tea as a spiritual quest — the book is a bit heavy on the mental digestive system. It told me more about Urasenke than I really wanted to hear: pages and pages of data with only an occasional comment on how it feels to be practicing Tea. The point would be irrelevant if the book were intended only for novices, but the author has addressed it to scholars as well. The book evolved out of her doctoral dissertation, and is an attempt to translate the chambered rituals of Tea into the equally chambered rituals of academic discourse.

I am not qualified to judge her understanding of Tea, but, as a card-carrying academic, perhaps I am entitled to offer a professorial quibble or two. Anderson announces her desire “to propose some avenues of inquiry and establish a factual basis for further discussion” (p. 10). There are difficulties, though, both in the way she pursues her three avenues of inquiry and in the way she grounds her factual evidence for them.

On her first avenue she examines Tea as heritage, as a fabric of ideas and activities evolving in historical time. However, history does not seem to spark the author’s curiosity; the narrative is dutiful but does not raise any issues worth arguing about. Her five chapters on the transformations of chanoyu over the centuries amount to an apologia for the pedigree of the House of Sen.

By contrast, her second avenue of inquiry is open and well lighted. Here, Anderson examines Tea as a society, a set of roles and rules for carrying on the chanoyu heritage. This is the shortest section in the book, but for me it is the most persuasive. In two chapters Anderson provides the best brief description I have seen in English of the iemoto system and its modes for instruction. She finds, as others have, that even in the post-modern world the iemoto concept is

proving to be “an efficient organizing principle” (p. 81). And she accounts for Urasenke’s success in becoming the largest and most influential Tea school by noting that pedigree is not enough; the family also has carried on a “judicious management of human resources” (p. 78). Perhaps Rikyū lived above the clouds; the present members of his lineage seem to have their feet firmly on the ground.

But how does Tea enable its practitioners to get off the ground and into higher levels of spirituality? This is Anderson’s third avenue of inquiry and dominant theme of the book: Tea as a medium for individual struggles to achieve satori or salvation or peak experience (substitute whatever label you prefer for the sublime).

Unfortunately, this avenue of inquiry turns into a spread of diverging paths. The difficulty is that spiritual striving has to occur within the consciousness of an individual; it is not a shared experience though there are ways to communicate about it. But in the scholarly vocabulary that Anderson employs in this study, there is no concept of individual consciousness: her concept of ritual construes it as collective experience.

If one wants to demonstrate that Tea is “transformatory ritual” — that it changes people and does not, or not merely, celebrate the status quo — one needs to showcase the transformations, not the ritual acts. Anderson’s lengthy description of a model Tea session, however, is written in third person. It is relentlessly behavioristic: the performers are faceless role-incumbents named Host and Guest. Neither they nor the observer show any evidence of subjectivity. We only see what they do; we learn nothing about what doing it is doing to them.

Anderson defends her stance by hoisting another flag of principle: citing an “obligation to protect the privacy of

my fellow tea practitioners" (p. xiv). This is beside the point. Generations of equally principled scholars have found ways to report on people's subjectivity without revealing their names or baring their family skeletons. And since the author is a veteran practitioner of Tea, she is fully qualified to report on her own experience, and this would be a better book if she had.

If there are ways to resolve the dilemmas of privacy, there may not be any easy way to resolve the dilemmas of orthodoxy. And this undercuts Anderson's desire to "establish a factual basis" so that others might join in a scholarly discussion of Tea. As an initiate of Urasenke she is obligated to report the facts as defined by her school's philosophy and is not at liberty to question its

teachings in public. This puts a formidable barrier in the way of further discussion, since the outsider is only able to examine the official truths. For example, Anderson asserts "Rikyū's state of enlightenment as a matter of historical and ethnographic fact" (p. 51). I have to wonder whether many historians and ethnographers will accept such an assertion in the absence of supporting evidence.

As a whole, however, the book is informative, readable, and graced at times with quotable turns of phrase. That's no small achievement.

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Masterpieces of Japanese Prints: The European Collections—Ukiyo-e from the Victoria and Albert Museum. By Rupert Faulkner. General editor, Muneshige Narazaki. Editor, Richard Lane. Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1991. 152 pp., including 133 color plates. US\$40.00, ¥5,800 (including tax).

In the last fifty years we have been pleasantly confronted with a growing number of publications on Japanese prints, so that we are well provided nowadays with general surveys and specialized studies in the field, as well as with publications of entire collections and sometimes splendidly edited catalogues of exhibitions and auctions that also offer material important for our knowledge of Japanese prints. But among this mass of publications available on the subject, only a very few can claim to have contributed anything of marked originality, or to have broken any fresh ground. This admirable publication, however, is in quite a different category.

In preparing this book, Rupert Faulk-

ner, in consultation with B. W. Robinson and the editors, Muneshige Narazaki and Richard Lane, has done a wonderful job. This is unquestionably a very fine book. The color plates are superb, and the texts are clear and authoritative, being written by the two leading experts in Japanese prints, and supervised by renowned scholars. Such an array of talents makes it unnecessary to devote space to critical assessment of minor corrections.

The selection of 133 outstanding color plates from the vast collection of about 25,000 Japanese prints at the Victoria and Albert Museum must have been a very complex task, even if the choice was more or less dictated by the

plates reproduced in the two sumptuous volumes published in Japanese by Kôdansha in 1988 and 1989 as part of their *Ukiyo-e Masterpieces in European Collections* series.

In his essay, "Ukiyo-e: An Introduction to the 'Floating World,'" Richard Lane moves with an ease and assurance born of long familiarity with the subject, to discuss, in chronological order, the contribution of individual ukiyo-e artists with reference to the plates published in the book. Rupert Faulkner, curator of Japanese art at the Victoria and Albert, introduces us further to the Japanese woodblock prints in the museum. Following a brief history of the acquisition of the prints collection, and after paying well-deserved homage to his predecessors at the Japanese Prints Department, he discusses the history and techniques of ukiyo-e woodblock printing, the artists, and the subject matter. He, too, treats the subject more or less chronologically, necessarily grouping together artists and schools working around the same period or in

the same style, and makes some acute observations on the aesthetic quality of the prints and their composition.

The book is completed by various appendices: notes on the plates, which are quite extensive and highly enlightening; a list of artists by schools; and a bibliography.

This book is a welcome addition to a series of popular and inexpensive publications devoted to the collection of an individual museum. The Victoria and Albert holds a place of special honor among all scholars and lovers of Japanese prints, and the book undoubtedly achieves the goal stated in the foreword, which is "to deepen the appreciation and understanding of ukiyo-e in general, as well as to make available to as wide an audience as possible a sample of the riches that the Victoria and Albert Museum is able to offer to its public."

Eli Lancman

Director

The Tikotin Museum of Japanese Art
Haifa, Israel

A British Artist in Meiji Japan. By Sir Alfred East. Edited and introduced by Sir Hugh Cortazzi. Brighton: In Print Publishing, Ltd., 1991. 136 pp. £12.50.

I have seldom enjoyed a book more than this attractive, beautifully produced little volume, the manuscript of which Japan scholar Sir Hugh Cortazzi so felicitously discovered and made available to readers after it had languished in store for a hundred years.

Alfred East (1844-1913) was considered the finest landscape painter of his day in Britain, and in 1889, when he was 45, the Fine Art Society in London sent him to Japan for six months to depict

the countryside there so that people could see for themselves what Japan really looked like. Their woodblock prints, screens, and scrolls having aroused great interest in Europe, everyone was eager to know more of this curious and intriguing land. Japanese art seemed to Western eyes so conventional and stylized that people wondered if the trees really grew that way, whether the mountains were truly shaped like that, and whether the ladies

were all so tall and willowy with outrageous hairdos. So Alfred East sallied forth with his watercolors and oils — mediums people in the West could understand — to remedy the situation.

East was apparently more meticulous as an artist than as a writer, and the delightful journal he sporadically kept during his stay in Japan would sadly have remained a skein of tangled jottings and never seen the light of day had it not been for Sir Hugh Cortazzi's discovery and skillful editing. With his fine writer's touch and knowledge of Japan, Sir Hugh has tidied up the material with his usual flair, and given readers a polished work in which the artist's vivid powers of observation delight on every page.

East's point of view was not that of the run-of-the-mill tourist or travel writer. He was in Japan to do a serious job: to depict the local scene as faithfully as possible with his brush. He describes it with his pen with the same clarity and candor. I found it a lively, informative, and entertaining read.

To anyone familiar with Japan today, it is fascinating to travel with East to well-known places like Kamakura, Ha-

kone, and Nikko, and see them as they were then, traveling not by limousine but by rickshaw for six hours or longer at a stretch over horrendous rutted, muddy, potholed roads. Beautiful scenery was everywhere then, unmarred and worth no end of effort to reach. "The whole country," he wrote, "appeared like one great garden." Some of the famous views East painted do not even exist anymore, such as the then celebrated vista of Fuji across Ikishimaganuma, the seaside marsh at Suzukawa, near Hara on Sagami Bay, which has long since been reclaimed. His painting of the view is one of the eight reproduced in the book, and I was amazed to see that it shows a number of what appear to be the Japanese red-crowned cranes, now extinct in Honshu.

The publication of this book coincided with an exhibition of East's work at the Fine Art Society in Bond Street, London, during the 1991 Japan Festival in Britain — just a hundred and one years after they were exhibited there in 1890, the year following Alfred East's return from Japan.

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The Signore: Shogun of the Warring States. By Kunio Tsuji. Translated by Stephen Snyder. Tokyo & New York: Kōdansha International, 1989. 198 pp. Cloth. US\$17.95, ¥2,800 (including tax).

Historical fiction acts to bring the usually dusty facts of history to life, illustrating either the continuity of a kind of life within a certain period or creating an approximation of it out of the author's imagination and research. This book, translated from the author's *Azuchi Ōkanki*, is written in the form of a very long letter to a distant friend. It tells of

matters seen, felt, and pondered by an Italian adventurer who comes to Japan in the sixteenth century as guard for a company of Jesuit missionaries. Historically, this was the age of unification begun by Oda Nobunaga, who is indeed the "Signore" of the title.

There is a good bit of the kind of detailed observation that is so con-

ductive to a satisfactory participation in the story. The story, however, is rather a personal account of the moral and spiritual struggles of several men in the hero's immediate environment, with special emphasis on the Signore. What detail there is rings true, such as the construction and magnificence of Nobunaga's castle. Even short term visitors to Japan will smile when the narrator recalls the Japanese pleasure with the foreigner who tries to speak their language or try their customs. There is but one passing mention of "tea parties," and an interesting episode about a man called "Tzuda," who we must suppose is Tsuda Sōgyū, a famous tea master who was also involved in the arms trade. But there is little else of a really cultural nature, and this should remind us of the actual environment of this period which gave birth to the wabi ethic. Life and death were truly daily concerns, and the magnificent homes and castles of those in power were in great contrast to the delapidation and general destruction of the capital, Kyoto, and its environs. One can see in the mind's eye a magnificent war stallion tied in front of a mud-walled thatched hut (as really many homes were in those days). Though the author's main concern with the moral and psychological make-up of several of the main characters is a trifle too didactic for me, the depicted image well reflects the mind set of the Italian Renaissance man. The ending treats the treacherous assassination of Nobunaga and the subsequent destruction of Akechi by "Hashiba"

(known to us by a later name, Toyotomi Hideyoshi) in hardly more than a paragraph. In an age so filled with adventurous material, the author has chosen to report on very few of the battles fought; he mainly delves only into the destruction of the Ishiyama fort and the priestly enclave on Mount Hiei.

A well written and thought out historical novel can change our views of the events and personalities in history in a way that plain facts have very little chance of doing. I'm afraid this book does not quite rise to these heights but gives only a glimpse, perhaps all we could realistically expect from a Japanese author portraying an Italian stranger in a very strange land, of one of the richest and most exciting periods in Japanese history. In all respects, this book does not really seem like one aimed at an international audience, but instead is simply using someone without the traditional Japanese prejudices and multiple interconnections that characterized the main historical actors of the period to present a new, more balanced view of one of the most influential but mysterious figures of early modern history.

For his translation of *The Signore*, Stephen Snyder received one of the two translation awards presented in April, 1990, from the Donald Keene Center of Japanese Culture (Columbia University, NY).

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Chronology

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Hakuhō period, 645-710

Nara period, 710-794

Heian period, 794-1192

Kamakura period, 1192-1336

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