

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 71

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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 Spirit of Tea is Global

Sen Sōshitsu XV

A number of years ago, I was invited to appear in a television commercial. It was for that coffee commercial, “taste the difference.” “Ikenobo-san has appeared, so please . . .,” I was urged. That was just after I had told Ikenobo-san, “You’re the iemoto of a flower school, aren’t you? Drinking coffee is alright, but you should drink tea.”

I have never drunk a cup of coffee in my entire life. Naturally, I therefore do not know what it tastes like. As a *chajin*, a “tea person,” I have made it my principle not to drink coffee. This is a personal decision of mine. For this reason, although I felt somewhat sorry for the person on the telephone, I firmly declined the invitation.

Since I do not know what it tastes like, I cannot say that I don’t like coffee. As a matter of fact, I like its aroma, and it could be that when I reach my end I will say to myself, “Ah, I would have liked to have had a cup of delicious coffee at least once.” My reason for not drinking coffee is a kind of attitude I embrace as a person devoted to the Way of Tea, and I do not ask that other people refuse to drink it. All I do is tell people that tea is also very good, and suggest that they drink some.

It has been more than forty years since I went alone to the United States carrying with me some tea utensils and a tatami covering, thinking to spread Tea abroad. To date, I have now visited about fifty countries of the world — countries in every region, every continent. The number of trips I have made abroad must be over one hundred and seventy.

The message that I have carried with me to all those countries has been “Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea.” Tea is based upon the four principles advocated by Rikyū Koji: Harmony, Respect, Purity, and Tranquility. These teach us to get along with others and respect each other, and to maintain a pure spirit and be able to maintain a calm state of mind in any circumstance. My motto, “Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea,” places these principles in the context of our current times. It is meant to express the thought that, even though our languages and customs may differ, let

* Translated, with revisions, from the serial “Watakushi no Birekisho” [My Personal History] (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1986-87).

our hearts touch and communicate by our sharing a bowl of tea. Thus, it might be called the international catch phrase of Tea.

Happily, the spirit of Tea has come to be understood well by people outside Japan. Some Japanese used to make negative remarks that it would be impossible for non-Japanese, who cannot even sit properly on tatami, to understand the Way of Tea.

In the Way of Tea, however, there is no difference between whether one is Japanese or not; the only difference that exists in Tea is whether one is a *chajin* or not. I know from experience that this is true.

The Way of Tea is a comprehensive cultural tradition with a history of six hundred years. Behind the ceremony of the *chaji* tea gathering, there is involved a broad range of profound cultural elements, including religion, philosophy, morality, art, and social exchange. This is why the Way of Tea has exerted a powerful influence on so many things, from pottery and other forms of art, to various aspects of daily life.

In this sense, every Japanese who has lived within the Japanese tradition possesses some "tea traits." Compared to the depth of understanding shown by people of other countries, however, I am not so sure about the level of understanding that today's Japanese possess regarding the spirit of Tea. Now that the national policy of priority towards the nation's economy is taking a turn, and we are being called upon to recognize the necessity of international cultural exchange, it is all the more important for the Japanese to understand the spirit of Harmony, Respect, Purity, and Tranquility. I believe that, for this purpose, we must endeavor even harder than ever, and devote ourselves even more strongly to achieving peace through tea.

I am now nearing the age of seventy, and my older son is training hard as the *wakasōsho* (iemoto-to-be). My grandson who will succeed after him is now eight years old, and has begun his tea training. My task now is to see to the smooth succession of the Sen family line founded by Rikyū Koji. This series of autobiographical essays will give me a good chance to sort out my thoughts on my own past, which will help me toward the success of this task.

There is a Zen phrase, "*shaza kissa*," or "Sit down and enjoy some tea." I would like readers of this series to read it with this kind of relaxed feeling.



The Kizaemon Teabowl Reconsidered: The Making of a Masterpiece

Louise Allison Cort

"This single tea-bowl is considered to be the finest in the world.
... This bowl is said to contain the essence of Tea."

These words begin an essay by the Japanese philosopher and critic Yanagi Sōetsu (1889–1961), who is best known for his founding role in the Folk Craft Movement.¹ Yanagi's essay is widely known to English readers through a translation that appears as "The Kizaemon Tea-bowl" in *The Unknown Craftsman*, an anthology of Yanagi's writing prepared by his friend, Bernard Leach.² His opening statement sums up a shared opinion of the Kizaemon teabowl that developed within the context of chanoyu over some four centuries. An unassuming brown bowl, damaged in firing, chipped and repaired, soiled through long use (indeed a bowl made not in Japan but in Korea) came to be universally accepted within Japan as a masterpiece among chanoyu ceramics. The bowl's reputation was acknowledged officially when the Japanese government designated Kizaemon a National Treasure.³ Yanagi's essay, revolving around his own experience of seeing and handling the Kizaemon tea-bowl, reconsiders the process through which its reputation accrued. It comes to a renewed, if somewhat differently stated, conviction of the bowl's worth. This essay, in turn, will reconsider the creation of the Kizaemon teabowl within the framework of Yanagi's experience.

¹ Yanagi's Folk Craft Movement is discussed at length by Brian Moeran in *Lost Innocence: Folk Craft Potters of Onta, Japan* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1984).

² Yanagi Sōetsu, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*. Adapted by Bernard Leach. (Tokyo and Palo Alto, CA: Kodansha International, 1972), pp. 190–196. Yanagi's essay in Japanese, originally published in the fifth issue of *Kōgei* (1931), the monthly magazine of the Folk Craft Movement, is collected in *Cha to Bi* [Tea and Beauty], volume 6 of *Yanagi Sōetsu Senshū* [Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu] (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1972), pp. 29–48.

³ Kizaemon is the only Ido teabowl to be so designated.

This essay is based upon a talk presented in October, 1986, at Alfred University, Alfred, New York, as part of a lecture series on ceramic masterpieces. Color photography by Hatakeyama Takashi; courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co.



The Kizaemon teabowl. Height: 8.9 cm.; diameter of mouth, 15.4 cm.; diameter of foot, 5.5 cm. Designated a National Treasure. Property of the Kohōan subtemple of Daitokuji, Kyoto.



Bottom view of the Kizaemon.

Today Japan is known as the place where a potter may be a cultural hero known by name and enjoying equal status with painters and sculptors. The Japanese notion of a ceramic masterpiece might be expected to focus on an object made by a native master such as Ninsei or Kenzan. Instead, in addition to being Korean rather than Japanese, Kizaemon was made by someone whose name cannot be known. It is what might be called a "masterless masterpiece." Yet the process by which this bowl became universally accepted and revered lies at the heart of the Japanese attitude toward all ceramics.

In trying to understand the status of the Kizaemon teabowl, it is important to recall that, during the formative period of the chanoyu aesthetic, spanning approximately one hundred years from the late fifteenth to the late sixteenth centuries, no well-known artist potters were at work in Japan. Until the mid-sixteenth century, the caliber of Japan's ceramic production fell far short of ceramics made elsewhere in Asia, especially in China. With the exception of the kilns in Seto and Mino, which produced reasonable facsimiles of Chinese glazed wares, Japan's potters turned out unglazed stoneware storage jars that fulfilled purely practical needs in barns and kitchens. They were not professional potters, but farmers who made pots during the dry season after the annual rice harvest. The ceramics that were of importance in chanoyu came from elsewhere in Asia, primarily from China. The thin, perfectly shaped and glazed Chinese ceramics must have seemed something like a miracle in Japan, which lacked the technology for producing them.⁴

As Japan's trade relations within Asia expanded in the sixteenth century, ceramics from Korea and Southeast Asia also began reaching Japan, and they too found a place within chanoyu. The Kizaemon teabowl belongs to this era. It probably arrived in Japan sometime around the midpoint of the sixteenth century, not long after it had been made. This period also marked the end of Japan's dependency on other nations' craftspeople for its luxury ceramics. During the 1590s, Japan launched two unsuccessful military invasions of Korea. The generals who participated returned to their domains in western Japan with highly-skilled Korean potters (perhaps even including relatives or descendants of the man who made Kizaemon). Under domain sponsorship, those potters set up workshops that served as the basis for a flourishing new domestic ceramic industry.⁵

Japan's attitude toward ceramics was shaped, therefore, during those years

⁴ A related example of the esteem accorded high-tech ceramics introduced into a comparatively low-tech context is discussed in Stanley O'Connor, "Critics, Connoisseurs, and Collectors in the Southeast Asian Rain Forest," *Asian Art* IV, 4 (Fall 1991), pp. 51–66.

⁵ The activities of the Korean potters in Japan are discussed in Louise Cort, "Korean Influences in Japanese Ceramics: The Impact of the Teabowl Wars of 1592–1598," *Technology and Style*, ed. by W.D. Kingery (Columbus, Ohio: American Ceramic Society, 1986), pp. 331–362. The first full-length study of a ceramic center developed by Korean potters is Johanna Becker's *Kanatsu Ware: A Tradition of Diversity* (Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1986). Another such community is the subject of Leila Philip's *The Road Through Miyama* (New York: Random House, 1989).

when the only access to them was through the serendipity of trade ships. Ceramic objects could not be ordered to suit personal preference or chanoyu role; they were taken as they came. Virtually nothing was known of their place of origin, much less their maker — they had no identity aside from their exoticness. Japanese connoisseurs were challenged to find ways of shaping those “blank” pieces into meaningful objects through the exercise of their imaginations within the framework provided by chanoyu. By singling out one potentially interesting object among hundreds of similar ones spread out in the dockside market, and by articulating the traits that made it stand out, they created a persona, an identity, for the anonymous object.

Around the time that Korean and Southeast Asian ceramics entered the Japanese market, aesthetic standards for choosing chanoyu utensils and creating an ambience for using them underwent a major shift that helped to accommodate the new sorts of ceramics. Large, formal tea-drinking events based on Chinese court procedures were supplanted in part by more intimate gatherings held in urban pseudo-farmhouses enclosed by walled gardens. Standard types of Chinese ceramics in impressive quantities gave way to smaller assemblages of less prestigious and more diverse pieces. The bowls and jars from Korea and Southeast Asia found an immediate place in *wabicha*; indeed, it could be argued that the arrival of these wares in Japan helped propel the development of the concept of *wabi*.

Inventing the Category

Let us join Yanagi Sōetsu on the occasion in early March, 1931, when he visited the Kohōan subtemple of Daitokuji in Kyoto, where the Kizaemon teabowl is now kept, and saw it for the first time. Early in his essay, Yanagi shares his expectations based on what he had heard about the bowl, on the power of its legend:

In 1931 I was shown this bowl in company with my friend, the potter Kanjirō Kawai. For a long time I had wished to see this Kizaemon bowl. I had expected to see that “essence of Tea,” the seeing eye of Tea masters, and to test my own perception; for it is the embodiment in miniature of beauty, of the love of beauty, of the philosophy of beauty, and of the relationship of beauty and life.⁶

In order to understand Yanagi’s anticipation, it is helpful to look more closely at what he knew of how the persona of this bowl began to be created — how sixteenth-century Japanese collectors made sense out of the Korean

⁶ Yanagi, *Unknown Craftsman*, p. 191.





Interior view of the Kizaemon.

bowls arriving on the market. It should be noted that the group of men who invented the category of Ido teabowls, and who began the process of “imagining” one specimen into a masterpiece, probably numbered only in the hundreds. It included prosperous merchants, monks and temple officials, doctors, warriors, and nobles in the capital of Kyoto and in nearby cities including Nara and Sakai. The common bond for this apparently disparate group was their education, acquired partially through lay instruction in Buddhist temples and partially through private tutorials in skills such as composing linked-verse poetry. Surviving chanoyu records show that these men knew one another, met regularly for tea, and competed intensely on issues of taste and ownership of utensils.

The first task was to create a category by which to designate the large, deep bowls made of reddish-firing clay and coated with light brown glaze from other Korean ceramics also making their first appearance around the same time. For some reason the glaze color was not thought sufficient as a designator, although it would have distinguished such wares from Korean green- and black-glazed stonewares or from porcelains. Records suggest that no one in Japan knew exactly where Kizaemon and kindred bowls came from (whatever lore the ships’ captains and traders might have known went unrecorded), so that kiln site could not serve as a name. Instead, on the basis of certain shared traits, all such bowls were grouped in a category known, from the sixteenth century onward, as Ido teabowls. The interesting point is just what traits were selected as meaningful in the naming process.⁷

Naming the Category

The word *ido* means “well” — the well from which water is drawn. How did that word — that image — become applied to one sort of bowl? The earliest reference to a Korean bowl appears in a tea diary record for 1537.⁸ The next mention does not occur until 1549; another follows in 1554.⁹ During those years, Chinese *temmoku* bowls predominated. For several decades, as references to Korean teabowls gradually proliferated, most appeared simply as “Korean” (Kōrai) bowls; there is no way of knowing exactly what sort they might have been. In the late 1560s, some Korean bowls began to be described, if still

⁷ Other types of Korean teabowls that reached Japan in the sixteenth century came to be known as Unkaku (green-glazed stoneware with slip-inlaid decoration under the glaze) and Mishima, Hakeme, and Kohiki (all varieties of slip-decorated stoneware with colorless glaze, known collectively in modern Korean terminology as *punch'ong* ware). Later generations of collectors multiplied the names and categories, and new varieties of Korean bowls also reached Japan. See Hayashiya Seizō, “The Korean Teabowl,” *Chanoyu Quarterly* 19 (1977), pp. 28–46.

⁸ Hayashiya Seizō, “*Chawan Hensen Shiryo*” [Records Concerning Teabowls Used at Tea-ceremony Meetings], *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Kiyō* [Tokyo National Museum Bulletin] 5 (1969), p. 193. The entry appears in the *Tennōjiya Takaiki* kept by Tsuda Sōtatsu of Sakai.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194–195.

cryptically, as “shallow,” “small,” or “tall.” These terms suggest deviations from what had come to be perceived as a standard form. A general expectation of quality is implied by the notation of two “very fine” bowls used in Sakai in 1568.¹⁰ By 1578, one Sakai host was described as using his “usual Korean teabowl.”¹¹ The first bowl to be distinguished on the basis of pattern rather than shape or quality is a “Mishima” bowl mentioned in 1565.¹² The earliest explicit mention of an “Ido teabowl” occurs in the record of a tea gathering held in Sakai by Yabunouchi Sōwa in 1578.¹³

By that year, the frequency of use of Korean bowls had greatly increased. Writing in 1590, Yamanoue Sōji took credit for having discovered the “best Ido teabowl under heaven,” which went to the collection of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He then noted that Chinese teabowls were being discarded in favor of Korean bowls, Seto bowls, and “just-fired” bowls, which made up for lack of pedigree in pleasing shape.¹⁴

Much later, chanoyu texts explained the application of the name “Ido” by pointing out that looking into the oversized bowl at a small pool of tea in the bottom is like peering into a well.¹⁵ The explanation seems plausible.

With wells the common source of water in Japan’s urban centers, the slightly unsettling experience of looking over the edge of the wooden well curb at the distant circle of water would have been commonplace. Moreover, the name’s witty play upon a physical feature is in keeping with the way in which

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

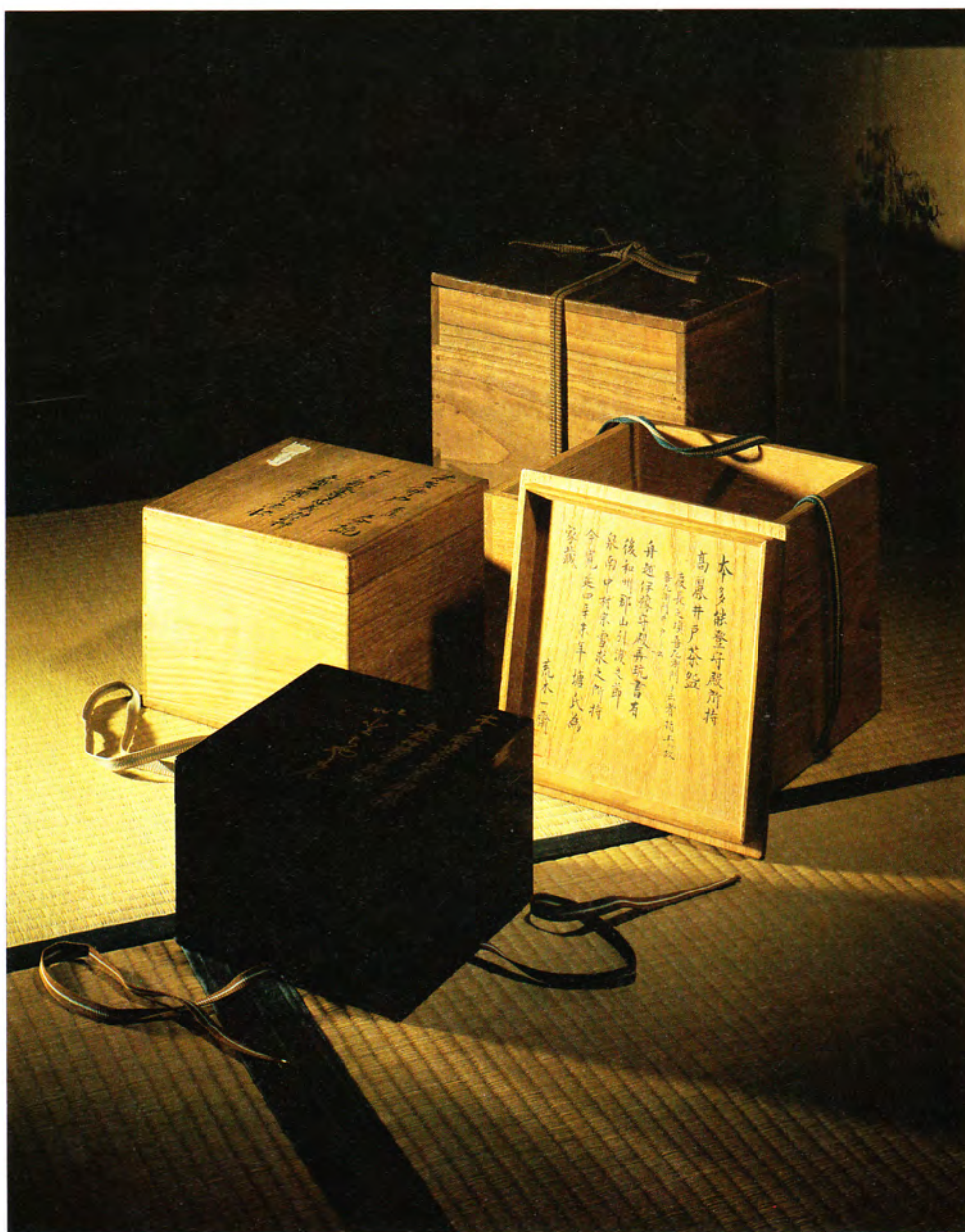
¹² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 211. Yabunouchi Sōwa (dates unknown) was the founder of the Yabunouchi school of tea.

¹⁴ Kuwata Tadachika, *Yamanoue Sōji Ki no Kenkyū* [Research on the Record kept by Yamanoue Sōji] (Tokyo: Kawara Shoten, 1957), p. 251.

¹⁵ *Tōji Yōgo Jiten* [Dictionary of Ceramic Terminology] (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1969), p. 28. Other sorts of reasons, ranging from implausible to impossible, were also invented for the application of the name “Ido”:

1) Ido was the surname of a warrior who participated in the Korean campaigns of the 1590s, brought back ten such bowls, and gave five each to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, then the ruler of Japan, and to Tokugawa Ieyasu, who would succeed him. Ieyasu returned one to the warrior with the comment, “This should be named Ido,” complimenting the warrior’s skill in connoisseurship (*Tōki Daijiten* [Ceramics Encyclopedia] [Tokyo: Hōunsha, 1935] I, p. 247, quoting various texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). Teabowls were often named after their owners, but, as has been noted, the name “Ido” was documented in a tea diary more than a decade prior to the Korean campaigns.
2) Ido was the name of the place where the bowls had been made. In various explanations, it corresponded to a place name in southern Korea pronounced “Ido” by Japanese or even to India, which the Japanese call “Indo” (*ibid.*). The latter explanation is a pure flight of fancy. In Korea, a number of sites, located by surface finds in South Kyongsang and South Cholla provinces, have been proposed as the sources of Ido teabowls, but the first methodical excavation was carried out at one of the sites only in 1985. Nezu Bijutsukan [Nezu Institute of Fine Arts], *Kanzō Chawan Hyakkasen* [One Hundred Tea Bowls from the Nezu Collection] (Tokyo: Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, 1985), pp. 122–123 (English summary pp. iv–v).
3) Ido bowls were so named because many bowls of this type were dropped into wells in Kyoto and fished out again, becoming known as “well bowls” (*Tōki Daijiten*, I, p. 247). This type of accident is confirmed by recent excavations of numerous ceramics from wells within sixteenth-century residential sites in Kyoto.



Kizaemon's storage boxes. Back: outermost case. Left middle: middlebox. Right middle: outerbox. Front: innerbox.

many tea utensils were named in the late sixteenth century. Judging from parallel examples, the name “Ido” was probably given as a particular name to one bowl — perhaps the bowl owned by Sōwa — and was found to be so apt that it was soon applied to the whole class of bowls.¹⁶

Elaborating the Identity

The category of Ido teabowl established an identity within chanoyu for the anonymous Korean bowls. Once this had happened, individual Ido teabowls underwent a process of personification whereby stories collected around them, creating their histories in Japan.

Tea connoisseurs gave names to individual bowls. Such naming was done for most utensils: a name was a basic requirement for talking about an object. The Japanese term that might be translated as equivalent to “masterpiece” is *meibutsu*, literally “thing with a name.” When the “master” was unknown, however, the name was the choice of the owner.

Some Ido teabowls bear names referring to place of use, such as the bowl called “Sakai.”¹⁷ The Ido bowl “En’an”¹⁸ is named after the specific tearoom, belonging to the Yabunouchi school, in which it appeared. Other names are more abstract or personal, such as “Mountain and Lakes”¹⁹ or “Old Monk.”²⁰

Most Ido bowls, however, were named after one of their owners, and that is the case with Kizaemon. Such names underscore the fact that tea ceramics acquire significance through their history of ownership. Early in his essay, Yanagi introduces Kizaemon through its ownership:

Kizaemon is a man’s name — Takeda Kizaemon, a merchant of Osaka, who owned the bowl. . . . Honda Tadayoshi, lord of Noto, possessed this bowl at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1634 it passed into the hands of Nakamura Sōsetsu, a Tea master of Sakai. In 1751 it went to Toshi Ieshige, then in 1775, approximately, it became the property of Lord Matsudaira Fumai of Matsue, who was a great collector of Tea-bowls, at a price of 550 *ryō* (an immense sum). Fumai was exceedingly fond of it and kept it by him constantly. In 1818 he gave it to his son Gettan with the injunction, “This is one of the finest pieces in the land; you must treasure it always.”²¹

¹⁶ A comparable circumstance in the late sixteenth century wherein the name “Onioke (devil bucket)” was assigned first to a particular example, then to a type of Shigaraki stoneware mizusashi is discussed in Louise Allison Cort, “Genya’s Devil Bucket,” *Chanoyu Quarterly* 30 (1982), pp. 31–40.

¹⁷ Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo.

¹⁸ Kōsetsu Museum, Kobe (formerly in the Yabunouchi collection, Kyoto).

¹⁹ Private collection, Japan.

²⁰ Fujita Art Museum, Osaka.

²¹ Yanagi, *Unknown Craftsman*, p. 190.

Kizaemon has more than the usual pedigree, however. It is surrounded by a dark legend that is part of its power. Yanagi continues his introduction:

But this Tea-bowl got the reputation of bringing sickness and death to its owner. There was once a dilettante who owned this particular bowl. He came down in the world and finally ended up as a groom for visitors to the Shimabara gay quarters in Kyoto, but he clung to the bowl without selling it. And the unhappy man was stricken with boils and died. From this time legend had it that a curse was associated with the bowl. It had this repute before Lord Matsudaira bought it, and he himself twice fell ill with a plague of boils. His wife begged him to get rid of it, but he refused, and his son Gettan inherited it in due course. Thereupon Gettan got a plague of boils, and the family gave it into the keeping of their priests in the Kohō-an, a subsidiary establishment of the Daitoku-ji temple in Kyoto, the site of the family graves.²²

Adorning the Object

As an extension of naming and personifying, owners of fine tea utensils gave them appropriate accoutrements. For the most treasured Ido bowls, those accessories might include one or more wooden storage boxes, a cylindrical bentwood container, a padded silk storage bag, and padded silk forms made to fit inside and around the edges of the bowl. Successive owners showed respect and affection for their bowl by adding to the fittings that came with it.

Yanagi's description of the unpacking of the Kizaemon teabowl alludes to the extraordinary level of care lavished on the bowl's packaging by its various owners:

It was within box after box, five deep, buried in wool and wrapped in purple silk.²³

As another duty of ownership, owners of good bowls also cultivated the patina of use and age. All Ido bowls that survive today have been transformed greatly from their original appearance through use for tea drinking. This physical transformation is closely associated with the history of ownership: a series of careful owners can promote changes that are welcomed in the chanoyu context as aesthetically pleasing and desirable, but a single careless

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 190–191. Entrusting the bowl to the family temple implies a wish to have its power for evil exorcised. Farmers who dig up burial urns within their fields still turn them over to the local Buddhist temple so that prayers may be said for the soul of the unknown deceased, lest it turn vengeful and cause harm.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 191

owner can ruin a bowl. In properly venerated Ido bowls, brown tea tannin has been allowed to sink into the cracks and pits of the glaze. Oil from caressing hands has given a luster to the surface. Rough edges have been worn down.

In chanoyu custom, breaks and repairs are openly acknowledged. Many Ido bowls bear mends executed with gold lacquer, red lacquer, or even silver staples. The Ido teabowl best known for its repairs is "Tsutsui Tsutsu."²⁴ It belonged for a while to the warrior Tsutsui Junkei (1549–84), who gave it to his superior, Toyotomi Hideyoshi. On one occasion, Hideyoshi's page was careless when carrying the bowl and dropped it, shattering it into several pieces. A quick-witted guest defused Hideyoshi's anger by composing on the spot a poem that punned elaborately on Tsutsui (the donor's name), *tsutsu* ("well-curb," i.e., Ido) and "five," *itsutsu*.

Tsutsui's bowl
Broke into five pieces
The blame lies
With none but me.²⁵

Defining the Category

Eventually, the adventuresome connoisseurship of the sixteenth-century men who "created" the Kizaemon teabowl and lesser masterpieces among Ido teabowls was formalized for ease of understanding. Later tea teachers reached a consensus on the particular aspects of Ido bowls that defined the category and within which subtle variations were to be sought. They listed the "seven places to see" (*nanatsu no midokoro*) on an Ido teabowl, which reflected the way in which the unknown Korean potter had formed and finished the bowl:²⁶

1) the shape of the foot

The horizontal ridge roughly at the midpoint of the tall foot resembles the node on a bamboo stem. This ridge may result simply from hasty cutting of the profile of the foot, but it may have been cut intentionally as a place to grasp when dipping the inverted bowl into the glaze vat. The bottom of the foot, inside the footrim, was carved out with a quick circular stroke

²⁴ Private collection, Japan.

²⁵ Translation from Chikamatsu Shigenori, *Stories from a Tearoom Window* (1804; Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1982), pp. 121–122. The incident was first narrated in the *Chōandō Ki*, published in 1640. Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Chadō Koten Zenshū* 3 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1960), p. 357.

²⁶ As listed in *Genshoku Chadō Daijiten* [Full-color Chanoyu Encyclopedia] (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1975), p. 72. A different version of the seven points is presented in Ikeda Hyōa, "Matsudaira Fumai's Ido Teabowls," *Chanoyu Quarterly* 63 (1990), pp. 15–16.

of the cutting tool, leaving behind a central peak called *tokin* after its resemblance to the pointed cap worn by Buddhist monks practicing mountain austerities.

2) the spur marks

Ido bowls were fired economically in stacks, each bowl separated from the bowls below and above it by large spurs, or wads of coarse clay placed in a circle directly on the glazed surface. After firing, these wads were removed, leaving rough, irregularly-shaped scars. On most bowls, stilt scars appear both on the footrim and in the interior of the bowl, but bowls that were at the bottom or top of the stack have only one set of scars.

3) the shape of the "hips"

Shaped quickly on a fast-turning wheel, the wall of the Ido bowl bears a spiraling ridge. The bowl opens out casually and somewhat asymmetrically.

4) the rim formation

The thick, rounded rim of the Ido bowl incorporates uneven undulations, again because of the speed of making.

5) the circular concavity in the bottom

The potter making the Ido bowl used a broad, tongue-shaped wooden rib held against the interior surface to open out the shape. The resultant circular concavity in the bottom was termed the *mikomi*, the focal point that "drinks in the glance." This round hollow was also called the "tea pool" (*chadamari*), since the last drops of tea collect there.

6) the broad dimensions of the bottom

The broad interior shape of the Ido bowl permits easy movement of the tea whisk as tea is being prepared, encouraging the thorough aeration that produces a tasty beverage.

7) the presence and quality of crawling glaze, termed "plum-blossom bark" (*kairagi*)

Where excess clay was cut away to shape the lower wall and foot of the bowl, the roughened surface prevented the glaze from adhering smoothly and instead caused it to "crawl" or pull away in beadlike globules. The Japanese name for the effect, "plum-blossom bark," derives from the term for shark skin, which was used in sword fittings.

Over the centuries, informed connoisseurs have admired all the "points" of the Kizaemon teabowl, but one aspect of the bowl always draws special attention. Without fail, commentaries on Kizaemon remark on the extraordinary quality of the "plum-blossom bark" from the waist to the foot of the bowl. One critic called Kizaemon the "most outstanding among all Great Ido teabowls by virtue of this phenomenon."²⁷ Another raved, "The appearance

²⁷ Hayashiya Seizō, in the catalogue entry for Kizaemon in *Tokuibetsuten Cha no Bijutsu* [Special Exhibition: Art of Chanoyu] (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1980), p. 118.

of the coarse and abundant crawling is interesting beyond my powers to express."²⁸

The process of categorization — inventing, defining, naming, and so forth — not only affected the Korean bowls. It also aided in inventing, defining, and naming the individuals concerned with such matters. The ability to speak knowingly of “plum-blossom bark” defined a group of men who held esoteric knowledge in several fields and who shared that knowledge in agreed-upon ways. While connoisseurship defined masterpieces, masterpieces also defined and reaffirmed connoisseurs.

Subdividing the Category

The later connoisseurs who established a definition of the category also felt a need to distinguish among the various Ido bowls to be found in markets and tearooms. Therefore, they subdivided the category. Kizaemon belongs to the subtype known as Ō-Ido, “Great Ido.” Such bowls are characterized by their majestic size and unusually tall foot. Other bowls that clearly belonged to the same family but exhibited subtle differences in form and glaze were described by other names:

- 1) Ao-Ido, “Blue Ido,” named for the bluish tone of the glaze that appears on such bowls instead of the usual warm golden color (which was likened to the color of the *biwa* or loquat fruit);
- 2) Ko-Ido, “Little Ido”;
- 3) Ko-kannyū, “Fine Crackles [in the glaze]”;
- 4) Idowaki, “Borderline Ido,” that is, not a true Ido bowl but a close approximation.

Other Owners, Other Bowls

A chronology of Ido bowl ownership helps clarify the history of interest in such bowls and also reflects the individual preferences of the men who chose and “imagined” particular bowls.

The Ido bowl “Hōrai”²⁹ (Island of the Immortals, an apt name for a bowl that arrived from across the ocean), is said to have belonged to Takeno Jōō, the most influential tea master of the mid-sixteenth century. Jōō’s death in 1555 gives a firm date by which this bowl had arrived in Japan, although surviving tea diaries do not document his use of a Korean bowl.

²⁸ Author of the entry in *Tōki Yōgō Jiten*, p. 326.

²⁹ Fujita Art Museum, Osaka.

"Sōgyū"³⁰ belonged to the Sakai merchant and tea advisor Tsuda Sōgyū (?–1591), although it may be the bowl that had been owned by his father Sōtatsu as of 1554.³¹ Sōgyū's tea diary includes a description of one Ido teabowl he saw at a tea gathering in 1582:

Afterwards, I asked to study the Ido teabowl. This was my first encounter with this Ido teabowl. The skin is hard. Crackles are few. The color is reddish, but the interior is yellow.³²

The description indicates the points of interest in such bowls for Sōgyū and his contemporaries.

The bowl known as "Ryūkōin Ido"³³ belonged to Sōgyū's son, Kōgetsu Sōgan (1570–1643), who lived as a Buddhist monk within the Daitokuji subtemple Ryūkōin (commonly pronounced Ryōkōin), for which the bowl is named. An esteemed calligrapher, he was an influential participant in tea activities in the early seventeenth century.

It is curious that Sen Rikyū (1522–91) has no Great Ido bowls associated with his ownership. Only several Small Ido bowls are linked to his name, including one that formed part of a portable box of tea utensils.³⁴ Rikyū did own a more unusual type of "Ido" vessel (made with the same sort of clay and glaze as the Ido teabowls), a small jar with ceramic lid used in the tea context as an incense burner.³⁵

The warrior Furuta Oribe (1544–1615) is remembered, after his teacher Rikyū, as the next influential leader in tea taste. His preference in Ido bowls favored the exaggeration and eccentricity that also characterize his taste in Japanese ceramics. His bowl called "Koori Warikōdai [Elder Oribe's Split Footrim]"³⁶ features a prominent glaze flaw on the outside.

Oda Uraku (1542–1615) represented a conservative trend that contrasted with Oribe's experimentation. Younger brother of Oda Nobunaga, Uraku was a classicist who looked back to the taste of the mid-sixteenth century for models, and he made a career of instructing warriors in chanoyu procedures. Not surprisingly, "Uraku Ido"³⁷ is a classic Ido bowl with subdued features.

Hosokawa Sansai (1563–1645) was a member of an important warrior family who used his resources to become a great collector of tea utensils. The bowl associated with his name, "Hosokawa Ido,"³⁸ is often enumerated along

³⁰ Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo.

³¹ The 1554 record of Sōtatsu's bowl lists it only as "Korean." Hayashiya, "Chawan Hensen Shiryō," p. 195.

³² *Tennōjiya Takaiki*, in Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Chudō Koten Zenshū* 7 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1959), p. 373.

³³ Ryūkōin, Daitokuji, Kyoto.

³⁴ Fushin'an (Omotesenke), Kyoto.

³⁵ Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo.

³⁶ Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo.

³⁷ Tokyo National Museum.

³⁸ Hatakeyama Museum, Tokyo.

with Kizaemon and “Kaga Ido”³⁹ as one of the “three superior Ido bowls” (literally the “three Ido under heaven”). All three bowls eventually belonged to the fervent collector Matsudaira Fumai, who suffered boils rather than relinquish Kizaemon.

Kobori Enshū (1579–1647) owned the Small Ido bowl “Rokujizō.”⁴⁰ Boxes for many Ido bowls bear his inscriptions of their names. By Enshū’s time, however, a decline in the status of the Ido bowl can be detected. Chanoyu taste in the 1630s and 1640s was characterized by a revival of interest in Chinese ceramics, extending to porcelain. Utensils were of a smaller scale than that favored in the sixteenth century. By that time, too, flourishing native kilns provided an alternative source of tea ceramics. The role of the chanoyu connoisseur was no longer restricted, as it had been for men of the sixteenth century, to choosing from among existing objects, but expanded to commissioning new ceramics from native potters.

Even after Japanese potters had mastered the techniques of making glazed wares, the attitude toward clay shared by makers and collectors alike continued to be shaped by ongoing contact with foreign wares, both antique and contemporary. Tea connoisseurs’ expectations for known Japanese potters was shaped by their appreciation of the anonymous pieces. The Hagi kilns in western Japan made a name for their faithful replicas of Ido bowls, such as the seventeenth-century bowl “Daimyō”⁴¹ that belonged to the Mori family, patrons of the Hagi kilns. Many modern Hagi potters still look back to the model of the classic Ido bowl, and each develops his own interpretation.

Contemporary Meanings of the Ido Teabowl

For Japanese art historians in this century, as for the sixteenth-century tea masters whose esoteric knowledge they inherited, the challenge lies in identifying fine points of distinction among Ido bowls sharing the same general characteristics. The ceramic historian Okuda Seiichi, faced with the task of writing about *meibutsu* Ido teabowls in a publication of the 1930s, frankly admitted the difficulties:

When it comes to the question of the masterpiece teabowl, the distinction lies in extremely subtle points. At first glance they all look the same. The overall difference in feeling or mood emerges from such points as the minor differences in throwing and trimming — whether the throwing marks show prominently or not; whether the workmanship is bold or restrained; the transmutations of the curve of the body;

³⁹ Private collection, Japan.

⁴⁰ Private collection, Japan.

⁴¹ Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo.

the coloration of the glaze; the scale and density of the glaze crackles and crawls; the way in which the glaze has mingled or flowed; the trimming of the interior of the footrim and the condition of the glaze there; the expression and positioning of the "bamboo node" on the foot. To be able to perceive this feeling or mood requires a fairly lengthy experience of "teabowl pilgrimage," and it cannot be done without having had contact with many outstanding pieces. It does not come simply, unless the person has undergone considerable training and discipline. Still less can one hope to become a first-rate connoisseur merely by looking at photographs or reading explanatory texts.⁴²

Writing not long after Yanagi had seen Kizaemon, Okuda emphasized the insufficiency of looking at plates in books or reading captions. Yet that is how most people must "see" the bowl Kizaemon even today, since it is rarely exhibited in museums. Modern readers are fortunate in having access to good-quality color photographs. Before Yanagi saw Kizaemon in 1931, he had seen only fuzzy black-and-white plates. Until photographs were available, would-be connoisseurs were lucky to have access to ink sketches reproduced in block-printed books of chanoyū lore. Otherwise they relied simply on verbal descriptions accompanying the stories and legends.

In the European context, a "masterpiece" is expected to be displayed proudly and continuously, as were objects from royal collections in state museums built in the nineteenth century by the crowned heads of Europe. In Japan, the power of the ceramic masterpiece embedded in chanoyū is intensified by a shared decision *not* to exhibit the objects in a museum setting. This stems in part from an unwillingness to separate the act of seeing from the process of handling and using — the real process, everyone agrees, by which the subtleties of a teabowl are discovered. Connoisseurs and curators agree that a teabowl displayed in a glass case only fades and parches in the bright spotlight. Today many bowls that have gravitated to Japanese museum collections are still used on a regular basis to keep them "healthy" and "moist."

Many famous bowls still reside in private collections, where they may remain invisible for generations, known only to a privileged few. Until the late nineteenth century, Kizaemon could be shown to visitors to the Kohōan subtemple only by permission of the Matsudaira family. In order to see Kizaemon, Yanagi certainly had to exercise all his connections to well-placed people in order to get the introduction that would open the boxes and reveal the bowl to him.⁴³ An Ido bowl kept in another Daitokuji subtemple was

⁴² Okuda Seiichi, "*Kokuhō no Tōjiki* [National Treasure Ceramics] III," *Tōki Kōza* 14 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1939), pp. 29–30.

⁴³ Yanagi acknowledged these introductions in his essay; Leach chose to eliminate that phrase in his English adaptation.

exhibited publicly for the first time only in 1985, and the catalogue made a point of noting the event.⁴⁴

Yanagi and Kizaemon

When Yanagi visited Kohōan and viewed Kizaemon, his imagination was already filled and shaped with the lore elaborated within chanoyu processes. He knew, for example, the old tea maxim, “First Ido; second Raku; third Karatsu,” that ranked the three most preferred kinds of teabowls.

Well as he knew the formulas and legends developed by generations of tea masters for dealing with Ido teabowls, however, Yanagi deeply disdained them. In his view, the “points to see” had become rigid rules and lazy habits that eliminated the need for active engagement with the object. Central to Yanagi’s own developing method of connoisseurship was the abandonment of those deadening rules and habits. An essay written the year after Yanagi saw Kizaemon summarizes his approach:

When you look at things, your eyes can be clouded by knowledge, by habit, or by the wish to assert yourself. But that is not the way to look at things. There should be nothing coming between the person who is seeing and the thing that is seen. A thing should be seen for what it is. This is “direct perception” — just seeing things. You enter into the thing; the thing communicates with your heart. When the two become one, you have direct perception. To know about something, without seeing it directly, gives rise to pointless judgment.⁴⁵

By seeing Kizaemon, Yanagi wanted to test his own direct perception of the bowl itself, separated from the attention of centuries of connoisseurs and their attendant cliques, stripped of its legends and aura.

Yanagi’s initial reaction, seeing Kizaemon emerge from its silken wrapper, seemed to be disappointment:

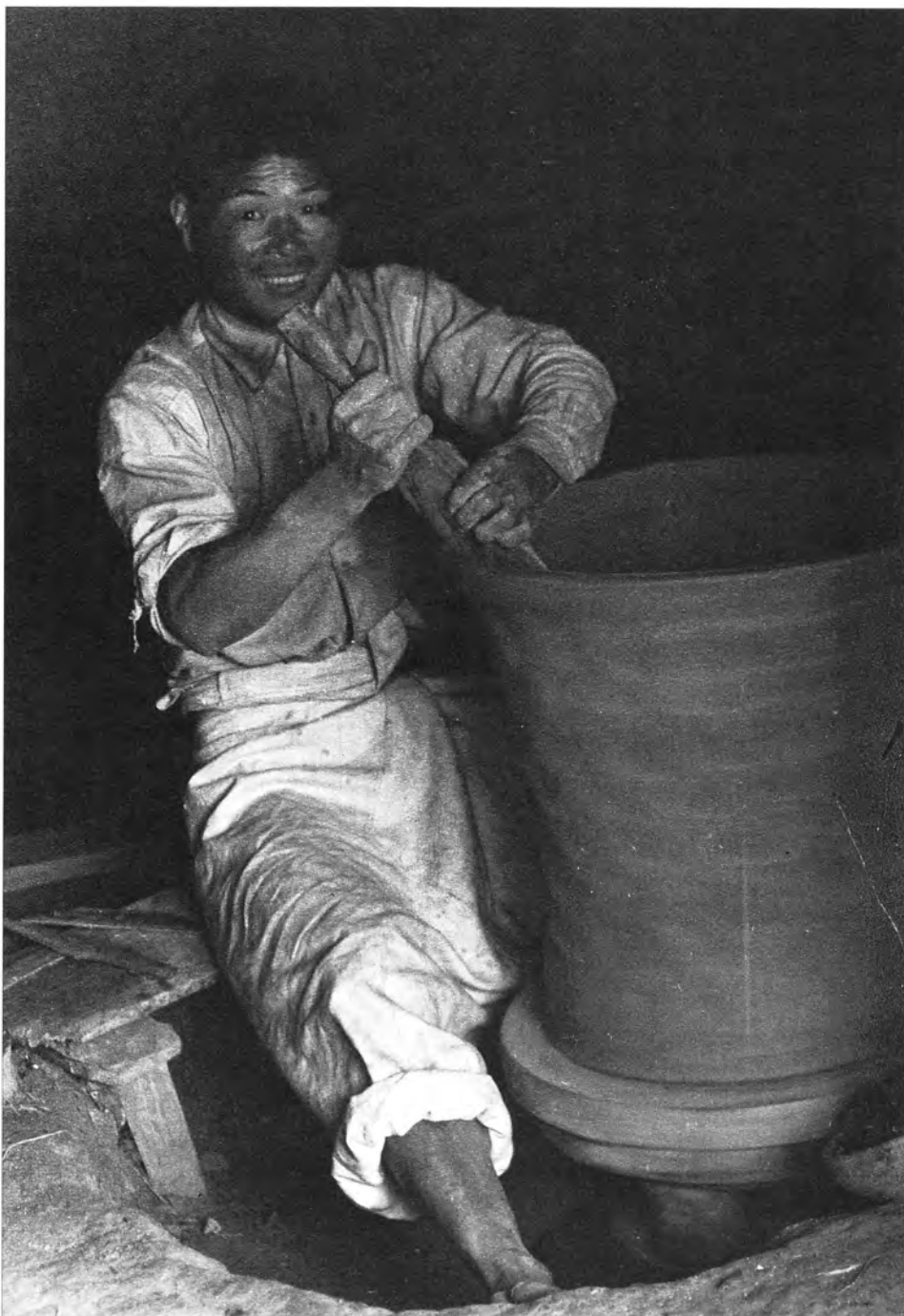
When I saw it, my heart fell. A good Tea-bowl, yes, but how ordinary! . . . It is just a Korean food bowl, a bowl, moreover, that a poor man would use every day — commonest crockery.⁴⁶

But to understand this reaction one must know that Yanagi also brought

⁴⁴ The teabowl was “Arimayama,” belonging to Nanshūji. *Daitokuji Chūdō Meihō Ten* [Exhibition of Daitokuji Chanoyu Treasures] (Tokyo, Nagoya, and Osaka: Matsuzakaya Department Store, 1985), n.p.

⁴⁵ Translated by Brian Moeran, *Lost Innocence*, p. 19.

⁴⁶ Yanagi, *Unkiōan Craftsman*, p. 191.



A Korean potter at work. Yanagi's memories of such potters colored his imaginary recreation of the history of Kizaemon. Photograph possibly by Langdon Warner, circa 1920s.

to bear on his impression of Kizaemon his own preoccupation with tracing the peasant sources of "folk craft." By 1931 Yanagi had already spent years promoting the unappreciated beauty of Korean peasant pottery — pottery of the country that Japanese forces had occupied in 1910 — and he knew how deeply ordinary Japanese disdained any Korean pottery that was not cloaked in the aura of a chanoyu persona. In choosing to perceive Kizaemon as "just a Korean food bowl," Yanagi was willfully "seeing" back to a point before tea masters began "imagining" the Ido teabowl, to the bowl as it existed in Korean terms.

He deepens the bowl's alternative identity by imagining and simultaneously "re-creating" the process by which the bowl was made, extrapolating from his own visits to Korean pottery workshops:

The clay had been dug from the hill at the back of the house; the glaze was made with the ash from the hearth; the potter's wheel had been irregular. The shape revealed no particular thought: it was one of many. The work had been fast; the turning was rough, done with dirty hands; the throwing slipshod; the glaze had run over the foot.⁴⁷

Yanagi writes of the peasant quality of the bowl made (he imagines) by an illiterate potter crouching in a dark workroom. He concludes that "no one invested the thing with any dreams."⁴⁸ By so saying, Yanagi claims the right to invest the bowl with his concept of "folk" pottery. This permits him to establish his own category of appreciation parallel to that of the chanoyu leaders and art historians. Yanagi can then reverse himself and recognize in the very casualness of the bowl's manufacture the reason for its endless appeal within established categories of Japanese connoisseurship:

But that [truth about the bowl's peasant origins] was as it should be. The plain and unagitated, the uncalculated, the harmless, the straightforward, the natural, the innocent, the humble, the modest: where does beauty lie if not in these qualities? The meek, the austere, the unornate — they are the natural characteristics that gain man's affection and respect.⁴⁹

Yanagi enumerates a series of inherent "natural" qualities that account for the bowl's appeal. Then he ponders the imaginative process, distinct from and subsequent to the process of making, that brought the bowl into being as a ceramic masterpiece. He finds that the connoisseurs of the sixteenth century were able to "see" those inherent qualities and to single out extraordinary

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 191–192.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

beauty in a seemingly ordinary bowl. With this recognition, Yanagi absorbs those first tea men into his construction of “folk,” “proving” by the logical development of his essay that they shared his own method for recognizing peasant pottery.

... [T]he eyes that first recognized this content in the Ido bowls were astounding in their perceptivity. Whence came this insight? ... The answer is simple: they saw things directly, and things appeared directly to them. ... These men did not rely on certificates of authenticity. They did not rely on inscribed names. They did not ask whose work it was. They did not follow the judgements of others. They did not love a piece because it was old. They just looked at it directly. There was nothing between the thing and their eyes; their eyes were unclouded. That was why they could make a judgement unswayed by irrelevancies.⁵⁰

Having found the points of agreement that he shares with the early tea masters, Yanagi is able to praise them:

From my heart I am thankful for those discriminating eyes of the men of Tea who chose their Tea-bowls. It was by an extraordinary honesty and depth of perception that they formed their standards. ... In their appreciation lay an astonishing creativity. Emerging from a squalid kitchen, the Ido bowl took its seat on the highest throne of beauty. The Koreans laughed. That was to be expected, but both laughter and praise are right, for had they not laughed they would not have been the people who could have made such bowls, and if they had not continued to laugh they could not have gone on making them; and on the other hand if [the bowls] had not been made as commonplace crocks the Tea masters would not have selected them. The Koreans made rice bowls; the Japanese masters made them into Tea-bowls.

The Tea masters liked the fine netting of crackle on Ido bowls for the warm, fresh friendliness it gives. They found a charm when the glaze skipped in firing, and when a “landscape” formed in the pattern of mended cracks. They enjoyed free, rough turning and felt that many pots are incomplete without it. They gave great attention to the cutting of a footring, and delighted in natural runs and drips of congealed glaze. Then again they developed a high appreciation for the internal volume and curves of bowls; they looked to see how green tea settles into them. They were particular

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

how the rims of bowls feel to the lips and how the endless ring is varied. They embraced the shape and kissed the thickness. And they knew what heart's ease there was in a gentle deformity. Finally, they worked out the conditions that made a bowl beautiful; for all beauty is inseparable from laws.

If Ido bowls had not been recognized in Japan, their beauty might not have been perceived in Korea or elsewhere. Japan became the native land of the Ido Tea-bowl.⁵¹

Yanagi expresses his satisfaction with the connoisseurs who invented and encultured Kizaemon by reiterating the seven "points to see" with new appreciation. He understands the identification of such attributes as a peculiarly Japanese aesthetic decision. The "points" discovered by sixteenth-century viewers may have become rigid rules, of which Yanagi was highly critical, but at the beginning they were pure expressions of direct appreciation of perception.

Finally, Yanagi's manner of perceiving the Kizaemon teabowl, and the bowl's very simplicity, allow Yanagi to "fill" it with his own qualities and to be refreshed by rediscovering them outside of himself.

As I held the Kizaemon Ido bowl in my hands, . . . it seemed to be telling me to go on with the work I had undertaken. I was reconvinced that the road behind me and the road ahead were right roads.⁵²

While early tea connoisseurs and later art historians found cultural persona in the Kizaemon Ido bowl, Yanagi discovered both a "naturalness" and a confirmation of his own goals. Ido bowls, by their nature as "masterless masterpieces," allow each of us to see in them what we are taught to desire culturally — as a mirror, they reflect ourselves back to ourselves as we gaze into their depths.

Epilogue

In 1991 the Kizaemon teabowl left Japan for the first time since its arrival in the sixteenth century to be exhibited in *Circa 1492* at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. The bowl's reputation was overshadowed by the massive scale of the exhibition as a whole, and no special publicity was given to its presence. Thus (having written the above essay on the basis of photographs and documents) I first saw Kizaemon when I came upon it unex-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

pectedly in an unobtrusive display case at the end of the Japanese section of the exhibition. I returned as many times as I could to stare at it through the glass, and on more than one occasion I found myself defending this lopsided, cracked and scarred brown bowl against the sceptical comments of unimpressed viewers.

When the exhibition closed, the present head of Kohōan, Kobori Takugan, flew to Washington to escort the bowl back to Japan. I felt extraordinarily fortunate to receive Mr. Kobori's permission to see the bowl briefly before it was packed. I was conscious of the many people who had observed the bowl before me as I peered over its rim into its depths. Indeed, just as earlier viewers had noted, because of the way the foot was carved from the body, the interior of the bowl extended into the foot and so was deeper than the bowl's profile suggested — like a well.

The glaze appeared beige where it was thin, but the thick globules of *kairagi* were milky white. Three stilt marks in the bottom were almost invisible under the patina. Old lacquer patches mended vertical cracks in the rim and a big round glaze flaw on one side. The impression of an open, asymmetrical form poised on a tall narrow foot was compelling.

On the whole, however, Kizaemon was smaller than I had expected. It was dried out and lusterless after its ordeal in the brightly-lit case. Upon its return to Kyoto, I was reassured, it would be soaked in water to revive it. 

Early History of the Teahouse

PART III

Nakamura Toshinori

The Zen Temple *Hōjō*

The *hōjō*, or abbot's quarter of a Zen temple, is situated at the innermost part of the temple grounds. When we look in the *Shina Zensatsu Zushiki* [Map of Chinese Zen Temples],¹ a work describing the placement of various halls and structures in Chinese Zen temples, we see depicted two buildings, the “front *hōjō*” and the “*hōjō*,” one in front of the other. They are located behind the Buddha Hall and the Dharma Hall, that is to say, at the northern edge of the north-south axis around which the buildings of a Zen temple are organized. The front *hōjō* is where the senior monk of the temple would meet with and present lectures to lay believers. Thus, it was fundamentally different in purpose from the Dharma Hall, where lectures were given to the monks of the temple in accordance with Zen monastic rules. The “*hōjō*,” meaning the inner *hōjō*, was the actual residence of the temple abbot.

As this indicates, the *hōjō* originally had both public and private functions, physically divided into two buildings. However, the inner *hōjō* disappeared early on from the Zen temple compound. This was the result of the growth of *tatchū*, or private cloisters, to which the temple abbots retired after their tenures, and which were turned into the abbots' memorial halls after their deaths.² [Hence, they are called memorial-hall-style *hōjō* (*tōsho-gata hōjō*).]³

The decline of the *hōjō* is apparent at Kenchōji, a Zen temple built in Kamakura in Kenchō 5 (1253). Behind the Buddha Hall there is a *raima* (ceremonial chamber) that is one *jō* five *shaku* (about 4.5 meters) square in

¹ 『支那禪刹図式』. See the *Sō Gōzan Garinzū* 『宋五山伽藍図』 belonging to Daijōji temple, as well as the *Dai-Sō Shōzanzu* 『大宋諸山図』 belonging to Tōfukuji temple.

² Hattori Fumio 服部文雄, *Sōbō, Hōjō, Kuri* 『僧房・方丈・庫裏』, *Nihon no Bijutsu* no. 161 (Shibundō, 1979).

³ 塔所型方丈

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from the Introductory Chapter, “*Sōan Chasritsu Seiritsu Zenshi — ‘Haisumi-e’ no Sekai kara*” [序章 草庵茶室成立前史—『掃墨絵』の世界から—], in *Machiya no Chasritsu* 『町家の茶室』 (Kyoto: Tankōsha Publishing Co., 1981). The entire chapter is being presented as a four-part series. Unless otherwise specified, illustrations courtesy of the author.



Memorial-hall-style *hōjō* at Ryūgin'an private cloister within compounds of Tōfukuji temple in Kyoto. The photograph shows the "middle chamber" to the fore and the "donor's chamber" to the rear.

size. Further behind this chamber, beyond the entrance hall (*genkan*), there is a two-storied building, the second story of which serves as a *Tokugatsurō* (literally, "tower for catching the moon"). To the east of this structure, there is a building called the *Daikyakuden*, or "Great Guest's Chamber," built in the *shinden* style.⁴ As this shows, the *hōjō* has completely disappeared, and there only remains the *Daikyakuden*, which retains the function of the "front *hōjō*."

Basically, a memorial-hall-style *hōjō* consists of six rooms. To the south of the building, there is a wide veranda. Behind the veranda, there are three rooms opening to the south. Behind them, on the north side of the building, there is another set of three rooms. Among the three southern rooms, the central one is the main room of the *hōjō* and is called the *shitchū no ma*, or "middle chamber." It is used for performing religious services. Of the rooms found to either side of this central room, that closer to the entrance is considered the "lower room" and is called the *raima*. The remaining room, considered the "upper room," is called the *danna no ma* (donor's chamber). These three front rooms are collectively called the *kyakuden* (guest's chamber). Of the three northern rooms, the central room is the sleeping chamber

⁴ *Kenchōji Garan Shizū* 『建長寺伽藍指図』 (Genkō 1 [1331]).

(*minzō*), whereas the eastern room is the *shoin* and the western room is the *ehatsu-no-ma* (chamber for clerical robes and begging bowl). These three rooms are collectively called the *shoin*. As this layout shows, the three southern rooms are “public” spaces, whereas the three northern rooms constitute the “private” space of the building.

On the tenth day of the second month, Bummei 2 (1470), Ichijō Kanera, Takatsukasa Fusahira, and others attending a night-time sarugaku performance by torchlight (*takigi sarugaku*) at Kōfukuji were served tea at the temple. The following record is left of this tea service:

Item: Tea in the nine-bay room was prepared by the courtiers of the shōgun and noble families, who divided the tasks among themselves. Mokuami was ordered to supervise it. The tea in the six-bay room in the northern [part of the building was conducted by] ladies-in-waiting as well as [the abbot of] Hokkeji. Moronaga was assigned the task of receiving guests, etc.⁵

Here, too, the northern and southern parts of the *hōjō* were used for different purposes.

During the latter part of the Japanese medieval period, the independence of the memorial cloisters within the temples increased. Rooms called *shinzen*, enshrining portraits of the cloister's founder (*chinzō*), came to be constructed in the middle chamber of the *hōjō*, and, through such a process, the *hōjō* gradually developed into the main hall of worship in a temple. The memorial-hall-style *hōjō* was the forerunner of these worship-hall-style *hōjō* (*hondō-gata hōjō*⁶).

Kaisho* Rooms for *Suki

When we look at the *Minamimuki kaisho* of Yoshinori's Muromachi-dono palace, we realize that its floor plan is quite similar to that of a memorial-hall-style *hōjō*. I previously mentioned that there exists a significant correspondence between the decorations (*shitsurai*) of the nine-bay room of the *Minamimuki kaisho* and the “middle chamber” of Kenninji's *hōjō*. Likewise, the three southern rooms of the *Minamimuki kaisho* — specifically, the nine-bay room in the center, flanked by a six-bay room to the east and a seven-bay room to the west — correspond to the *kyakuden* portion of a *hōjō*. Similarly, the three northern rooms of the *kaisho* — the sleeping chamber (*gominshō*) at the center, with the study (*shosai*) called the *Zakkeshitsu* to the

⁵ *Daijōinji-sha Zōjiki* 『大乗院寺社雜事記』。

⁶ 本堂型方丈

east and the room called the “west chamber” (*nishi no gosho*) to the west — correspond to the *shoin* section of a *hōjō*. (As the *Ruijū Kaeriji Shō* states, *gominshō* and *minzō* both mean “sleeping chamber.”) Just as with a *hōjō*, the *kaisho* was divided into “public” and “private” areas, with the southern half being its “public” space, and the northern half being reserved for “private” use. As we previously saw, in its description of Sasaki Dōyo’s *kaisho*, the *Taiheiki* mentions a six-bay *kaisho*, *shoin*, and sleeping chamber. These must refer to the various rooms in the northern and southern areas of the building. We can imagine that this was already a common floor plan for a *kaisho* in Dōyo’s days. The *Okazari Shō* reveals that the layout of the *kaisho* in Ashikaga Yoshimasa’s Higashiyama-dono palace was similar to the *Minamimuki kaisho* in Yoshinori’s Muromachi-dono palace.⁷ Clearly, the layout of Yoshimasa’s *kaisho* was based upon earlier precedents, such as the *Minamimuki kaisho*. Later structures were also patterned after these *kaisho* buildings. They include the main wing of the residence of Miyoshi Yoshinaga, the Governor of Chikuzen, which was visited by Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshiteru on the third day of the third month, Eiroku 4 (1561). Another example is the *On (omote) taimen-sho* ([Front] Audience Chamber) built in the first month of Tenshō 11 (1583) by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in his Osaka Castle.⁸

The *kaisho* included built-in decorative features such as an *oshiita*, shelves, *tsuke-shoin* (built-in writing desk), and *toko* (alcove), as well as removable stands (*oki-dana*), used to display *karamono*, or wares imported from China. These decorative elements of the *kaisho* were later incorporated into the *shoin* style architecture which became widespread during the early-modern (i.e., Edo) period. There are important differences, however, between the *kaisho* and the *shoin* styles. For one thing, the main room of the *kaisho* was the central room on the south side. Each of the three rooms on the south side was used independently of the other two rooms; each room, moreover, was laid out along a north-south axis. This is in marked contrast to the “*shuden* (main wing) of six and seven bays,” which, according to the *Shōmei*,⁹ was a typical example

⁷ According to the description of the Higashiyama-dono *kaisho* in the *Okazari Shō*, the southern rooms consisted of the following:

East: “Hunting room.”

Northeast: “Room completely covered (with paintings).” Nine-bay room of the *kaisho* (“the Saga room”).

West six-bay room.

The northern rooms of this structure consisted of the following:

The “Ishiyama room.”

The “Closet room.”

The “Chanoyu room.”

From the *Iryōken Nichirōku*, we can also see that there was another room, the “north five-bay room,” in this structure.

⁸ *Miyoshi Chikuzen no kami Yoshinaga Asontei (kō) Onari no Ki* 『三好筑前守義長朝臣家江御成之記』. In *Ōsakajō no Zu* 『大阪城之図』, belonging to the Nakai family.

⁹ 『匠明』; an Edo period work on architecture.

of early *shoin* style architecture. The main chamber of this building was the westernmost room on its south side. This room opened up onto a series of rooms to the east. As this indicates, these rooms were laid out along an east-west axis.

There is also a clear difference in the functions of these rooms in the two buildings. Their difference can be demonstrated by comparing the floor plans of the *shuden* above with the seating arrangement during a *kissho no gi*¹⁰ held in Ōei 17 (1410) at the *kaisho* of the main hall of Hosshin'in temple, which is believed to be the prototype of the *shuden* above.

The nine-bay *kaisho* in which this ceremony took place faced south. Compared with the nine-bay room next to it to the east, it protruded one extra bay south along a wide veranda. This room was three bays long north to south, and three bays wide east to west. Of the three bays to the east, the northern two bays were connected to the adjacent room, while the southernmost bay was separated from the wide veranda by a sliding panel made of cypress planks (*sugito shōji*). Among the three southern bays of the *kaisho*, two were covered with hinged wall panels (*shitomido*) while the remaining bay was fitted with a sliding wooden panel (*yarido*). During the ceremony, however, the hinged wall panels were raised, and the cypress door and sliding wooden panel were removed and replaced with hanging blinds. A pair of folding screens were placed along the northern and western walls. A seat for the abbot Mansai was prepared by placing two tatami mats with borders of large Korean style embroidery in the northwest corner of the room. This seat faced south. Along the two southeast bays of the room, two more seats were prepared. The seat to the west, consisting of one tatami mat with borders of small embroidered designs, was for the chief superintendent of monks, while the seat to the east, consisting of one tatami mat with red bordering, was established for the scribe.

In this way, the transition from the middle ages to the early modern period is marked by a 90-degree revolution of the central axis of the house. We can surmise that this transition occurred around the time Hideyoshi built his Jurakudai Palace after finishing Osaka Castle; i.e., around Tenshō 15 (1587).

In Bun'an 4 (1447), a *tōcha* took place in the *hōjō* of Jōkein temple. A record of this gathering states,

I went to Jōkein thanks to an invitation. The *hōjō* was decorated. Snacks (*tenshin*) were served. We played *kaicha*.¹¹ Many rare things were presented, and I took Confucius. It was most elegant and quite interesting. These past few days were greatly enjoyed by all.¹²

¹⁰ 吉書儀; a ceremony featuring the reading of a felicitous message, held on New Year's Day, on the assumption of office, and similar felicitous occasions. —Tr.

¹¹ 同茶; a game in which one tastes one of three bowls of tea served, and guesses the taste of the other two bowls of tea. —Tr.

¹² *Kennaiki* 『建内記』, entry for 4/25/Bun'an 4 (1447).

As this passage reveals, the *hōjō* of a Zen temple also served as its *kaisho*. The *hōjō* was sometimes counted among the “ten scenes of the Zen temple” (*zenrin jukkyō*). Even if it was not included among the ten scenes, it was built next to a garden lake, and the garden lake was inevitably counted among the ten scenes. The *Daikyakuden* of Kenchōji had a garden lake to its north. To the west of this lake were the *Tokugatsurō* as well as a two-story Kannon Hall called Entsūkaku. The interior of this Kannon Hall is said to have been “covered with gold,” and is reminiscent of the Buddha Relic Hall (*shariden*), better known as the Gold Pavilion, of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu’s Kitayama-dono palace. Both the floor plan and the decorations of the *kaisho* were probably taken over from the *hōjō* because these buildings were used for the same types of activities. The Sanjō Bōmon-dono residence of the first Ashikaga shōgun, Takauji, was turned into a temple after his death and was renamed the Tōjiin. An old map of this temple shows a Kannon Hall and a *hōjō* to the east of the Buddha Hall (which originally was the *shinden*, or main building, of Takauji’s palace) overlooking the garden lake.¹³ Probably this *hōjō* was the *kaisho* of Takauji’s palace.

On the night of the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month, Eikyō 9 (1437), during an imperial visit to the Muromachi-dono palace, the “ceremony of the three boats” (a ceremony in which experts in Chinese verse, Japanese verse, and music displayed their skill from three boats) took place. On this occasion, boats with phoenix figureheads were set afloat on the garden lake, bonfires were lit on the island, and lanterns were hung on the corridors to the west of the *kaisho*. It must have been a spectacular sight. After the music from the boats had died away, verses in Chinese and Japanese were presented at the “east six-bay room” in the *Minamimuki kaisho*. A record of the imperial visit states,

We gathered at the room at the eastern edge of the *kaisho*. We pretended that it was a fishing pavilion. Chinese and Japanese verses were presented. The Retired Emperor’s seat faced south. Nobles were divided into seats placed to the east and west.¹⁴

The *Muromachi-dono Gyōkō Okazariki* states,

Here, in the room, the poems of the three boats were presented. On the night of the twenty-fifth, the paintings were rolled up.

The latter passage reveals that the paintings of the eight scenes of Xiao Xiang by Fang Ru which had been on display were put away at this time.

¹³ Found in Kawakami Mitsugu 川上 実, *Nihon Chūsei jūtaku no Kenkyū* 『日本中世住宅の研究』 (Bokusui Shobō, 1967).

¹⁴ *Eikyō Kūnen Jūgatsu Nijūichūnichū Gyōkōki* 『永享九年十月二十一日行幸記』

Such *suki* gatherings took place in the southern, “public” rooms of the *kaisho*. The same was true with the tea ceremonies and parties which featured *tôcha*. The *chanoyu-dana* (chanoyu cabinet) of the southern room of the *Shinzô kaisho* was used for making tea for such “public” gatherings.

Hearth (*Irori*) Tea

Let us turn our attention to the northern rooms of the *kaisho*. Among them, there are several equipped with *chanoyu-dana* and *daisu*, revealing that they were used for preparing tea. [See floorplans, *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 70, pp. 38-39.]

A. *Minamimuki kaisho*

North chanoyu chamber.

Kettle. The usual. Mizusashi. The usual. Inlaid. Stand. The same. Waste-water basin. Sometsuke.

Kettle stand. Bronze.

Top shelf. Six. Kensan teabowl. Stand. Flower shaped. Tray. Round. Tea caddy in the *taikai* style. One pair each.

Middle shelf. Kensan teabowls; two. Stand. Carved spiral designs on gold background. Square tray. Vermillion. Carved spiral design.

Bottom shelf. Hot-water container; one. Bronze. Ladle stand. Lid rest. Both celadon.

Broom with white whisks. Charcoal container. Towel. Ash scrapers; two. Chinese bronze.

Same split-level shelves. Shells above.

Large teabowl. With gold leaf. Stand. Flower shaped. Lacquer. Red. Vase with long neck. With gold leaf.

Stacked food container. Ceremonial tally. Cloisonne. Lacquer plates; twenty. Ceremonial tally. No design.

B. *Izumidono kaisho*

Four-bay room.¹⁵

Split-level shelves of the chanoyu chamber.

Teabowls; two. Blue. Large and small. Stand. Large: lacquer, red. Small: lacquer, red. Jar. *Katatsuki* style. Square tray. Ceremonial tally. Cloud and dragon style.

Stacked food container; one pair. Lacquer, red. Ceremonial tally, yellow lotuses. Saké pitcher. Celadon.

¹⁵ Since the northern rooms of the *Izumidono kaisho* had a quasi-formal function, it may not be possible to consider this room in the same way as the northern rooms of the other two *kaisho*.

Kensan teabowl; one pair. Stand. Lacquer, red. Tray. Ceremonial tally. Peony design.
Kettle. Silver. Mizusashi. Celadon. Lid: natural copper. Ladle stand. Lid rest. Both natural copper. Ash scraper. Natural copper. Waste-water basin. Sometsuke. Kettle stand. Bronze.
Charcoal container.

C. *Shinzō kaishō*

North "L" shaped room.
Chanoyu cabinet. Red lacquer. Nothing on top.
Top shelf. Kensan teabowls; one pair. Stand. Flower shaped. Lacquer, red. Square tray. Lacquer. Bird design.
Teabowls; two. Blue. Flower design. Large and small. Stand. Lacquer, red. Round. Jar. *Katatsuki* style.
Square tray. Ceremonial tally. Red background.
Middle shelf. Stacked food container. Lacquer, red. Round. Peacock and peony design.
Bottom shelf. Kensan teabowls; five. Silver stand. Tray. Kettle. *Furo*. Ladle stand. Inlaid. Donated by Saemon Kurō. Lid rest. Celadon.
Mizusashi. Bronze. In the shape of a saké pitcher. Woven lid handle. Waste-water basin. Sometsuke. Kettle stand. Bronze.

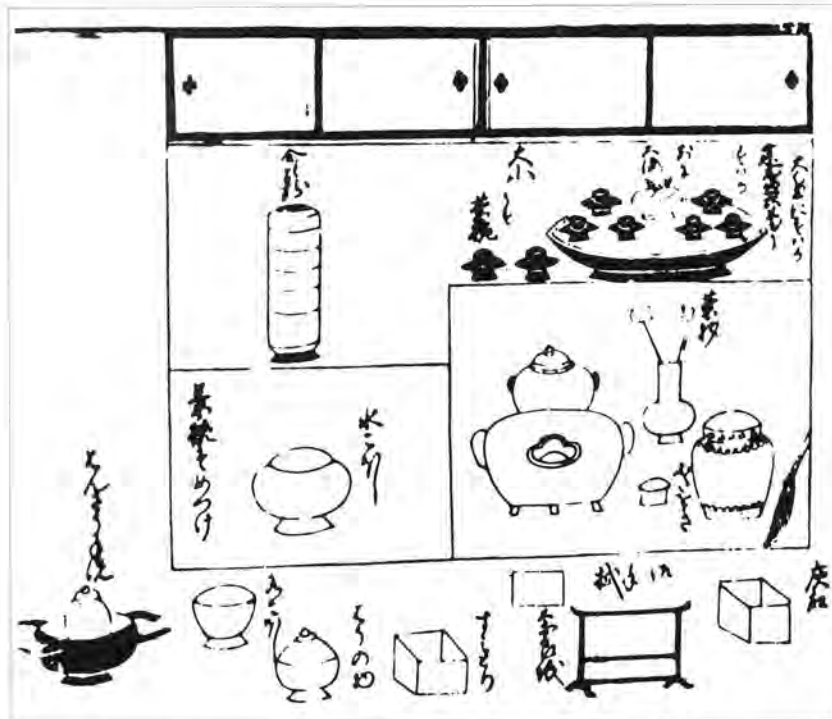
A similar chanoyu room is also found among the northern rooms of the *kaishō* at the Higashiyama-dono palace, but let us focus for now on the "north chanoyu chamber" of the *Minamimuki kaishō*. It appears that this room was meant to be entered from the "north room with lower floor." The following items were found in this "room with lower floor":

Northwest, corner: towel in tube.
Northeast, corner: washbasin, silver; stand, lacquer; stand for towel, towel, twill with white background.

This is similar to the "towel and small hand-washing basin" described as being placed in front of the *chanoyu-dana* in the Manji 3 (1660) block-print edition of the *Okazari Sho*. According to Horiguchi Sutemi, "Towels and basins were placed in the room because the *roji* garden still did not exist. When needed, they were taken out and used on the veranda. They were used in place of the *tsukubai*, which developed later."¹⁶

It is possible that in the *Minamimuki kaishō* the "north room with lower floor" functioned as a kind of *roji*, where guests could wash their hands during the *nakadachi* (intermission) and other occasions. Since the north chanoyu chamber

¹⁶ Horiguchi Sutemi 堀口 穂巳, *Rikyū no Cha* 『利休の茶』 (Kashima Shuppankai, 1970).



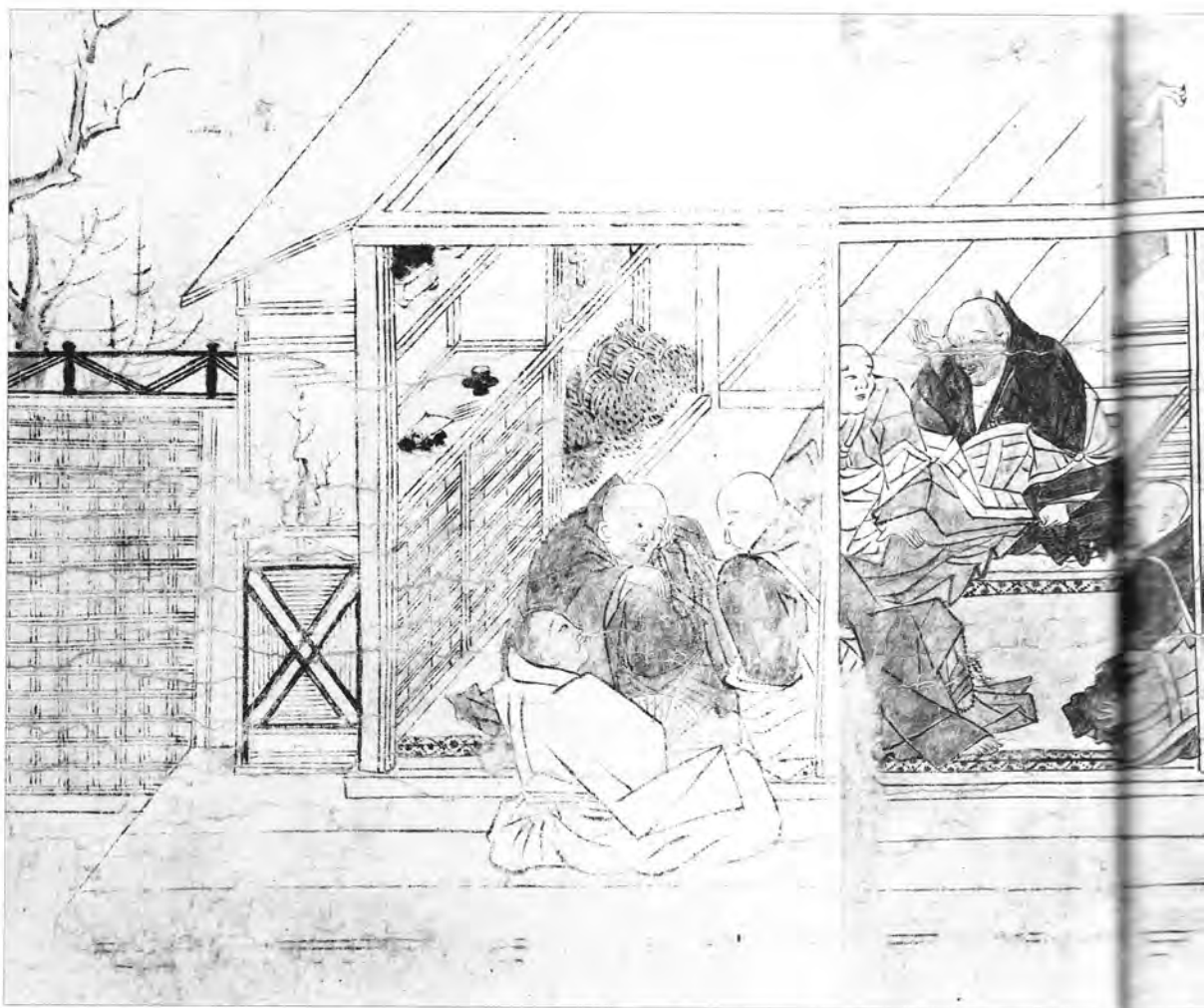
Chanoyu-dana of "east room with lower floor" (*higashi ochina*) at Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Ogawa-dono Palace, as depicted in the Manji 3 (1660) block-print edition of the *Okazari Sho* preserved at the Urasenke Konnichian Library.

had an alcove, it may have been used as a room where host and guests had tea together, and we can suppose that tea gatherings incorporating *nakadachi* had already developed. It appears that, in contrast to the tea ceremony and *tōcha* which took place in the southern half of the building, a more informal, everyday form of chanoyu took place in the north chanoyu chamber. This room was probably identical to the "chanoyu room" found in the *shoin* section of the Zen temple *hōjō*.¹⁷

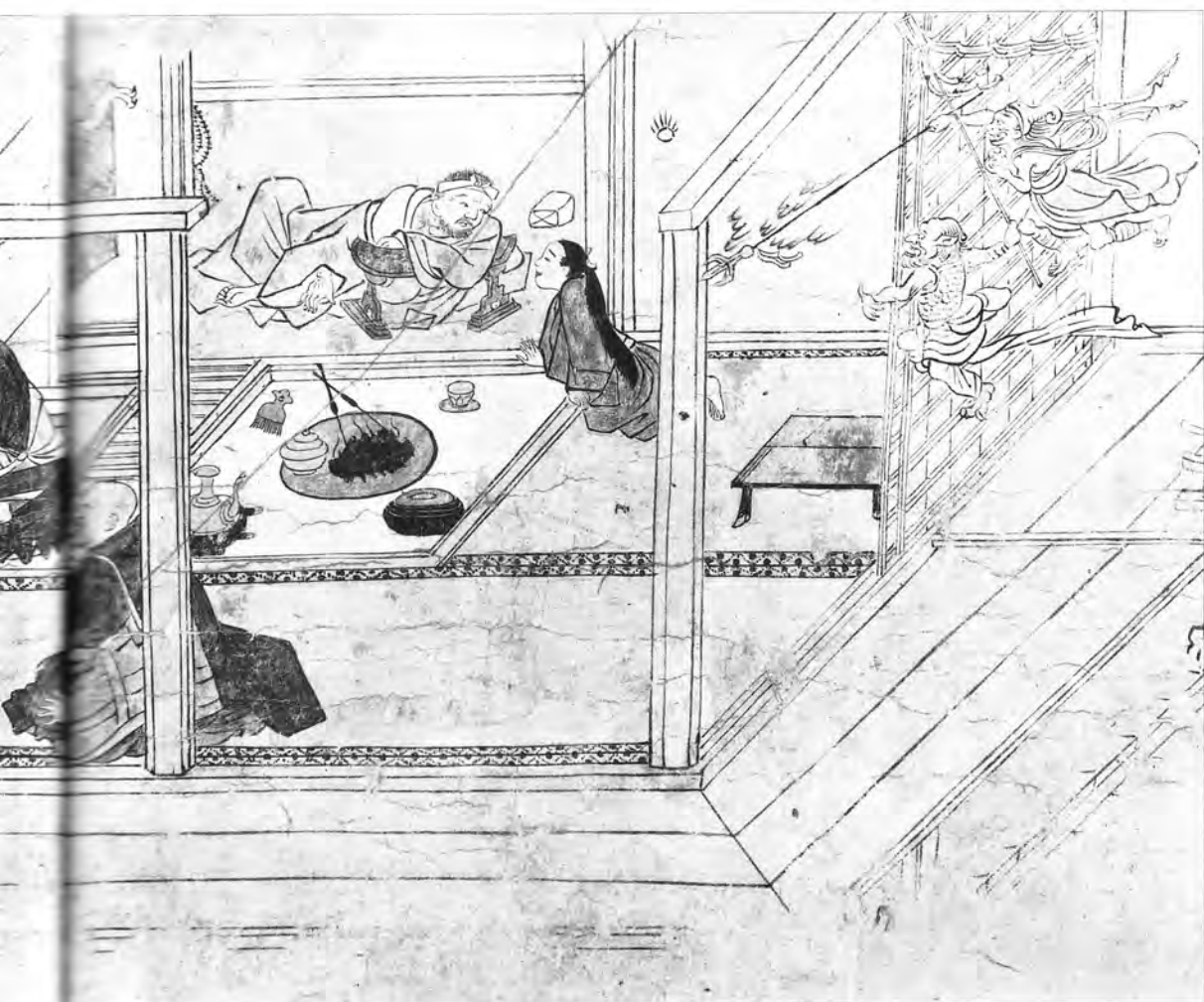
Another feature common to the chanoyu rooms of the *Minamimuki kaisho* and the Zen temple *hōjō* is the fact that a hearth was cut into both of them.¹⁸ A room with a hearth was always found among the northern rooms of a

¹⁷ Kawakami *op cit.* The dormitory of the monk in charge of robes and begging bowl of the memorial cloister of Shōkokuji temple in Bunkō 3 (1503) consisted of the *shoin*, sleeping chamber, and chanoyu room. The same was true of the dormitory of Nanzenji temple in Eishō 15 (1518). However, these examples are from a slightly later period.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* The *hōjō* of Engakuji, which was reconstructed after a fire in Ōan 7 (1374), consisted of the following rooms: guest's room, *shoin*, hearth room, small dormitory, robe and begging bowl pavilion (this pavilion also had a hearth room and small dormitory), and servant's quarter. Shōkokuji and Nanzenji also had *shoin* rooms with a hearth.



Fudō Riyaku Engi [Illustrated Legend of Acalanatha], Chapter 3. Portion of single-volume handscroll. Colors on paper. Kamakura period, 14th c. Designated an Important Cultural Property. Collection of the Tokyo National Museum. This chapter shows the private living quarters of the ailing priest Chikō, who is reclining in the room at the back. There is an *irori* hearth in the front room. Various daily implements are by the hearth, while tea implements are seen on the shelves at the left. Photo from the Tokyo National Museum.





Fudō Riyaku Engi [Illustrated Legend of Acalanatha], Chapter 2 detail. (For particulars, see caption on previous page.) This scene shows the home of the mother of Chikō's disciple, Shōkū, who has come there to bid her farewell. There are removable tatami on the floor of the room where Shōkū sits. An *irori* hearth is cut into the floor. In the far right-hand corner, there is a portable stand with shelves — perhaps the forerunner of the kind of utensil stand employed in chanoyu. Photo from the Tokyo National Museum.

kaisho. There was a round hearth in the *Zakkeshitsu* in the *Minaminuki kaisho*. Similarly, there was a hearth in the "four-bay room facing north" of the *Shinzō kaisho*. However, these hearths do not seem to have been directly related to chanoyu. It appears that they were used primarily for heating.

In the *Izumidono kaisho*, there is no room which is specifically described as having a hearth. However, among the decorations of the "red-lacquered alcove room" of this *kaisho*, there appear a number of items which suggest that there was a hearth in this room. Among the decorations of this room were the following:

Hanging kettle.

Mizusashi. Also a Namban piece. Waste-water basin. Natural copper.

Ladle stand. Natural copper; ladles, two; charcoal chopsticks (*hibashi*), bronze.

Lid rest. Natural copper.

Ash scraper. Bronze, border of rosewood.

Broom with white whisk.

Fire cover.

According to the *Okazari Sho*, similar implements were found in the *Dōjinsai* of the *Tōgudō*. Moreover, these implements resemble those found in the *kaisho* depicted in the *Haisumi-e*. The "red-lacquered alcove room" was a room in the style of a study equipped with both *tsuke-shoin* and shelves, just like the *Dōjinsai*. On one of the shelves, implements for tea were displayed, as the following entry shows:

Top.

Hot-water container. Rao-zhou [Jp., Nyōshū]. Metal lip.

Stand. Carved spiral design. Lacquer. Red. Tube; one. Silver.

Medicine container. Carved spiral design. Lacquer. Red.

Teabowl. Rao-zhou. With design. Metal lip.

Square tray. Carved spiral design. Lacquer. Red.

Stand. Lacquer. Vermillion. Flower. Flower shaped.

*Tsusu*¹⁹; twenty. Black inside. Lacquer, red, outside.

Footed lacquer plates, large and small. Forty. Red lacquer, ten. *Rinka*, ten.

Lustrous vermillion, the same.

Tea jars; six. Large and small. Two; silver. One: with design. Four: natural copper.

One: small.

Ladles; seven. Three natural copper. One bronze. One Chinese bronze. One crystal.

¹⁹ Unidentified. May refer to a small but deep pot-like food bowl made of lacquered wood.—Ed.

Since this room was called an alcove, it might have been laid out with tatami or covered with rush matting.²⁰

It appears that this “red-lacquered alcove room” of the *Izumidono kaisho* was used as a private space. A tea of the *suki* style, in which one enjoyed ordinary tea in an elegant setting around a hearth, was served there. In contrast to the “public” chanoyu, such as the ceremonial offering of tea and *tōcha* which took place in the southern rooms of the *kaisho*, a “private” form of tea took place around the hearths in the rooms to the north. The fact that the “*Kakai*,” the *kaisho* of the Sanjō Bōmon-dono palace of Ashikaga Yoshimochi, was described as both a “banquet room” and “living room” reveals that the *kaisho* possessed a dual function. The same can be said of the hearth of the Dōjinsai. Moreover, the hearth depicted in the *Haisumi-e* is a forerunner of these later hearths.

Although it is much later in time, the *Matsuya Kaiki* states that many of the tearooms built during the Eiroku period (1558-70) were constructed facing north. Furthermore, it was said that, “Fundamentally, rooms for chanoyu should face north.” The reason for this is given as follows:

As for the reason why, tea utensils can really be seen in regular light which is not too bright. Light from the east, west, south, and north causes changes. In bright light, tea utensils look shabby.²¹

According to this passage, the movement of the sun disturbs the equilibrium of the mind, and furthermore, makes tea utensils appear inferior. The fact that rooms for chanoyu were located in the northern sections of the *kaisho* must have influenced the rule that a tearoom must face north. It was Sen Sōeki (Rikyū) who first built a tearoom facing south.²² This led to a revolutionary development in the character of chanoyu.



(to be continued)

Translated by Robert F. Rhodes

²⁰ An alcove does not necessarily indicate a room laid out with tatami.

²¹ Jōō Ibum, “Letter to Ikenaga Sōsa” [紹興遺文 池永宗作への書].

²² The *Matsuya Kaiki* [松屋会記] entry for 4/23/Eiroku 2 (1559) states: “Item: Sen Sōeki, Jōsa, Hisamasa, two people. *Hidari kamae yojōhan* (four-and-a-half mat room with tea-preparation mat on the left-hand side), facing south. . . .”

Chanoyu and the Imperial Court

Tanihata Akio

The *kencha* tea presentation by Rikyū at the court of Emperor Ōgimachi (r. 1557–86) was the beginning of the era which saw the full-scale introduction of chanoyu into the sacred Imperial precincts. This article will consider the manner in which chanoyu was practiced in the Imperial Court during the Edo period, with reference to the 108th emperor, Gomino'o (also pronounced Gomizuno'o), his wife Tōfukumon'in, the 111th emperor, Gosai, and the figures who influenced their tea practice, including Sen Sōtan and Gengensai Sōshitsu.

In the world of wabi tea created by Sen Rikyū, chanoyu had attained a high level of spirituality. However, tea practice in the Imperial Court of the early Edo period had a slightly different aspect. Let us first consider one instance in the tea life of Gomino'o.

At noon on the 18th day of the 9th month, 1636 (Kan'ei 13), Gomino'o held the customary *kuchikiri chakai* — i.e., a tea gathering to unseal the jar containing that year's tea leaves — at the Sentō Palace. The guests were the second son of Emperor Goyōzei, Konoe Nobuhiro; the sixth son of Goyōzei and head of Myōhōin Imperial temple, Priest-prince Kyōnen; Great Minister Yotsutsuji Suetsugu; former Great Minister Nakanoin Michimura; Sub-minister Asukai Masanobu; Sub-minister Shigenoi Sueyoshi; Lord Anekōji Kinkage; Lord Ogawa Bōjō Shunkan; and Hōrin Shōshō of Kajūji temple.

It seems that three kinds of tea were prepared. The tea service was carried out by Sub-minister Kajūji Tsunehiro. The ornaments of this gathering are also of interest. In the tokonoma was a set of three scrolls, believed to be the work of Muqi (Jp., Mokkei; late 13th c.), depicting Hanshan and Shide (Jp., Kanzan and Jittoku), a dragon, and a tiger. As prescribed by the old rules, among the items displayed on the built-in *tsuke-shoin* dais were a miniature rock garden (*bonseki*), seal box (*inrō*), ink stone (*suzuri*), writing brush, and brush stand (*hikku*), while on the built-in staggered shelves (*chigaidana*) were an incense

Translated, by permission of the author, from "Kinri no Chanoyu: Gomino'o-in, Gosai-in, Gengensai" [禁裏の茶の湯—後水尾院・後西院・玄々斎—], appearing in the April, 1989 issue of *Tankō* (Kyoto: Tankōsha Publishing Co.). Photos courtesy of the Urasenke Foundation Chadō Research Center, Kyoto.

burner, bamboo food container (*jikirō*), and another miniature rock garden. In addition, there seem to have been a painting of Hotei by Ningjue Daochong (Jp., Chizetsu Dōchū; 1178–1250), a blue-and-white porcelain incense burner, and other things.

On this day the tearoom at the east end of the Imperial Palace was mainly used. This was an edifice consisting of several rooms overlooking a pond. It is conjectured that part of this building now survives as the “Ochaya” at Fushimi Inari Shrine in Kyoto. After tea was over, there were various recreations on the islands in the pond, in the boats floating on the pond, and even in the garden — “drums, flutes, and song,” “ditties,” and “dancing by young girls.” An atmosphere of “drunken revelry” prevailed far into the night.

One more example of Gomino’o’s tea should be considered. Sekishuku Kentaku of Shōkokuji temple had been invited to the palace of Gomino’o shortly before the gathering described above, to partake of tea. The guests on this occasion were the tonsured prince Kakujin of Omuro Ninnaji temple, Nijō Yasumichi, the prince Fushiminomiya Sadakiyo, Prince Hachijōnomiya Toshitada, Saionji Kimmasu, Hino Hirotsuke, and Nishinotōin Tokizane. First there was a meal, followed by tea, “singing and playing,” gruel, soup, and saké, after which the meeting ended. Of interest here is the list of utensils: “kettle and brazier, waste-water receptacle, cold-water container, tea caddy, all of gold and silver.” The details are unclear, but this is considered to be a reference to a set of utensils for use with the type of formal stand called *daisu*. All the utensils were fashioned of either gold or silver.

This mention of golden *daisu* utensils may remind us of the golden tearoom erected by Toyotomi Hideyoshi on the occasion of the *kencha* he offered to Emperor Ōgimachi at the Small Palace in 1587 (Tenshō 14). It is recorded, “*Daisu* of gold, on top a golden *temmoku* teabowl with accessories; on the side, a gold square tray with a golden *natsume* container for powdered tea; below, a golden brazier, kettle, golden ladle stand, golden waste-water receptacle; golden cold-water container, golden lid rest, golden Ido teabowl with accessories; golden teascoop; tea whisk, and ‘tea cloth’ (*chakin*), the only two objects appearing as usual.”

A tearoom thus equipped doubtless arose out of Hideyoshi’s taste for gold, but this tradition seems to have been carried through even into the Edo period. It is probably safe to say that the objects now displayed in the Tokugawa Art Museum are of the same type. When Chiyohime, the eldest daughter of the third Tokugawa shōgun, Iemitsu, went as a bride to Mitsutomo, the second Tokugawa lord of Owari, the items in her dowry included “a full set of pure gold *daisu* utensils” comprising *daisu*, brazier, kettle, cold-water container, waste-water receptacle, lid rest, ladle stand, and also a *temmoku* teabowl with stand, a tea caddy, and a *natsume*. The tea utensils in the palace of Gomino’o, in all probability, dated from midway through the same period as this. The tea gathering held in the Imperial precincts also owed much to the influence of Momoyama culture. The above two examples are probably enough to show

us how different the chanoyu of the Imperial Court of the early Edo period was from the earlier ideal of wabi tea.

This tea practice closely resembled the so-called *shoin* style performed by the military leaders of the former Muromachi government, in which the room was decorated with large numbers of *karamono*^{*} pictures, tea utensils, and works of art. It was not restricted to the act of drinking tea, but included various recreations; in fact, a relatively high degree of importance was given to the latter. Of course, the Edo period manifestation was not just a reappearance of the earlier style. For one thing, it was not held on such a large scale as before; also, the tea utensils used included a higher proportion of objects originating in Japan. The hanging scrolls, too, followed the tradition of the Imperial Court, using writings of emperors and famous court poets. A final point of difference may be found in the extra predominance of ceramics from the Kyoto area in the tea caddies.

We must not forget to mention the people who provided behind-the-scenes support for Gomino'o's tea practice. One of these was Tōfukumon'in Kazuko, the eldest daughter of the second Tokugawa shōgun, Hidetada, and bride of Gomino'o. Although the wedding was problematic, they enjoyed a harmonious marriage throughout their lives. It is said that Sen Sōtan came to give lessons to Tōfukumon'in, and many times had the honor of performing *kencha* under her auspices. He is also said to have thought up the idea of using a red-colored *chakin*, out of concern that any lipstick stains should not be noticeable. The rich-looking *Seishitsu tsumagure daisu* (green-lacquered *daisu* with red trim), not exactly what we would expect from the "Sōtan of wabi," is also said to have been designed by Sōtan to present to Tōfukumon'in.

On the other hand, Sōtan once received a gift of matsutake mushrooms from Tōfukumon'in and the retired Emperor Gomino'o. Also, he received several embroidered pictures from Tōfukumon'in, including one with design of the poet Narihira and the poem, "*tsuki ya aranu / haru ya mukashi no / haru naranu / waga mi hitotsu wa / moto no mi ni shite*" (The moon, the spring — nothing is the same as it was before. Only I myself remain unchanged); a container with a hollyhock design for keeping shells used in the clamshell-matching (*kai-awase*) game; an ink-stone box; and a rabbit-ear cold-water container made by Ninsei, among other things. Both Gomino'o and Tōfukumon'in highly appreciated Sōtan's wabi tea.

The chanoyu of the Imperial Court exhibited many changes over the course of time. These changes were most apparent during the time of Emperor Gosai, who was born the seventh son of Gomino'o in the 11th month of 1637 (Kan'ei 14). Whether influenced by his father or by the times he lived in, he showed

* Literally, Chinese object. Mainly refers to imported art objects dating from the Song and Yuan dynasties. —E.

an appreciation of chanoyu from an early age. By the time of his coming-of-age ceremony, he had already hosted a tea gathering inviting Gomino'o, and upon his accession in the 2nd year of Meireki (1656), he held a *kuchikiri chakai* according to yearly custom. His interest in tea seems to have deepened even further after his abdication. The number of tea gatherings he is known to have hosted during his life exceeds one hundred.

The tea style of Gosai in his later years seems to be quite different from that of his youth; from a form resembling the tea of Gomino'o described above, it gradually approached a wabi form. Let us examine a tea gathering of Gosai's later years.

In the 6th month of 1684 (Jōkyō 1), Gosai held a tea gathering inviting his uncle and tea teacher, Prince Jōshūin, head of Sanzen'in temple, and his younger brother, Prince Sambodai'in, head of Ichijōin, a subtemple of Kōfukuji in Nara. The tearoom was a three-and-three-quarter mat room (*sanjō-daime*) in the Imperial Palace. In the tokonoma was a calligraphy by Tameie, son of Fujiwara Teika. The kettle was of the Ashiya type, and on the shelf was a fan-shaped incense container of Old Bizen ware and kettle lifting rings (*kan*). After a *kaiseki* meal, two blossoms of white lotus were placed in a flower container having a design of divining blocks (*sangi hanaire*). Thick tea (*koicha*) was made using a Masanobu-type Shunkei tea caddy and "newly imported" teabowl.

As in the above example, waka typifying the culture of the Imperial Court were extensively used as hanging scrolls. The majority of them were pieces by people such as Ietaka, Teika, Shunzei, or Emperor Gofushimi and Emperor Gokomatsu — pieces that could be classified as "ancient writings" (*kohitsu*). Respect for such ancient writings was a tradition of the Imperial Court, and this was reflected in the chanoyu that was being formed at this time. To complement the scrolls, utensils of relatively high quality, such as *karamono* incense containers and flower vases, were displayed. In comparison, the cold-water container, teabowl, and other things were largely of a more recent vintage, such as newly-imported pieces and the so-called *Kyōyaki* ceramics from the Kyoto area. This made a vivid contrast with the items in the tokonoma.

To sum up, the tea gatherings of Gomino'o were not only held in the midst of profuse ornamentation, but were accompanied by various recreations; in contrast to this, those of Gosai were held in small rooms, and the utensils showed a trend toward aesthetic unity.

The chanoyu of the Imperial Court, as we have seen, changed from a practice combined with recreations in the early Edo period to the more wabi tea of the Retired Emperor Gosai. During this interval, the grand masters of Urasenke continued their relationship with the Imperial Court. A historical account written by the 11th grand master, Gengensai Sōshitsu, describes this from its beginning in Rikyū's *kencha* before retired Emperor Ōgimachi, to the relations



Above: "*Kikusen*" 菊泉 incense container favored by the 11th-generation Urasenke grand master, Gengensai Sōshitsu. Height, 3.0 cm.; length, 7.0; width, 5.3 cm. By Raku Keinyū.
 Below: Tobacco container in shape of container for *kai-awase* shells, favored by Gengensai. Height, 7.8 cm.; diameter, 6.3 cm. By Shunsai (identity uncertain).



with Gomino'o and Tōfukumon'in, and, further, the history of the grand masters' tea presentations at the Court from the time of the 4th grand master, Sensō.

Gengensai himself seems to have had deep connections with the Imperial Court. From Emperor Kōkaku he received a kettle with irregularly drooping bottom edge (*odare-gama*) crafted by Yojirō and a Korean-style fan-shaped cold-water container (*Kōrai suehiro-gata mizusashi*); from Emperor Kōmyō, an alloy flower vase with wide mouth (*kodō shinnari usubata hanaire*) and a small ornament made from platinum with design of three chrysanthemums (*kikubana shirogane saiku*), among other things. His performance of *kencha* in the Imperial Court might be said to constitute full repayment for these gifts. In the 6th month of 1865 (Keiō 1), the *kencha* he had petitioned through the Nakanoin family was permitted. It is well known that the "*Kikusen*" incense container was created as a memento, echoing the shape of the sweet, and that the *Wakin-date* style of tea service was revived for the occasion. Moreover, Gengensai expressed his happiness in the following poem with preface:

The *koicha* is "*Ryō-no-kage* (dragon's shadow)."
The teascoop is "*Takasago Matsugae* (pine branch at Takasago)."
The joy I feel at presenting tea.

Seichū (stamp)

Behind the fine basket, the color of the dragon's shadow is intense.
The dew falling at Takasago; the sap flowing in the pines —
Two hundred and eighty years of listening have passed [since the
time of Rikyū];
My humble offering of tea in the pristine quiet of the Palace.

The *kencha* presented by Gengensai was none other than the fruit of the deep and continuing relationship between the grand tea masters and the Imperial Court; it was also the result of the understanding of *wabicha* which deepened within the chanoyu of the Imperial Court from the time of Emperor Gosai.

Gengensai has left us with several "favored tea utensils" (*konomi-mono*) inspired by items which Tōfukumon'in had presented to Sōtan. The container for the shells for *kai-awase* was the model for a container for tobacco, while the shells are represented by a shell-shaped incense container. The ink-stone box inspired the "*Kagaminosu*" incense container crafted by Keinyū, the 11th-generation Raku master. Likewise, Keinyū made a version of the rabbit-ear cold-water container. These exist as remembrances of Gengensai's great achievements.



Translated by Rebecca Otowa

Temae — Tea Procedure

Daisu Furo Usucha

All of the formal procedures for preparing tea in chanoyu may be said to have their historical origins in the *daisu* procedures, the earliest procedures to have been formulated for preparing tea within view of guests. The *daisu* utensil stand, together with a set of utensils for making tea, is believed to have first been imported to Japan from China in the year 1267, by the priest Nampō Jōmyō (Daiō Kokushi; 1235–1308). It was not until about two centuries later, however, that strictly prescribed rules were established for displaying the utensils on the *daisu* and preparing tea in front of guests, marking the advent of *shoin-daisu cha*, the tea service conducted with decorum in the elegant *shoin* drawing rooms of the Ashikaga aristocrats. From this, there gradually developed the many various procedures, as well as the wide range of different utensil stands, that exist today.

The standard type of *daisu* used in chanoyu today is the completely black-lacquered, highly polished *Rikyū-gata shin (nuri) daisu*, usually called *shin daisu*, or “formal” *daisu*. The photographs and instructions in our *daisu* temae series starting with this issue will focus on the use of this basic and most formal *daisu*.

In general, however, all *daisu*, to a greater or lesser degree, exude an aura of magnificence and formality. And, in practical terms, they are rather large. This places certain restrictions on their usage. *Daisu* temae are not appropriate for *koma* (“small rooms”; rooms of less than four-and-a-half tatami mats), or rooms in which the actual tea-preparation space is of a *koma* format. Also, they are not conducted in *gyaku-gatte* situations — room formats wherein the guests are seated to the host’s left.

Before placing the *daisu* on the *dōgu tatami* (i.e., the upper half of the tatami on which the host sits), a *furosaki byōbu*, or folding screen to stand along the back and side of the *dōgu tatami*, is set up. The *furosaki byōbu* should be one which is somewhat taller than the *daisu*. The position for the *daisu* on the *dōgu*

tatami is 16 lines of tatami weave from the imaginary front line of that half mat, and 1 line of weave from the side away from the guests — the left-hand side. If one is using a *daisu* with visible woodgrain, the side of the bottom shelf (*jiita*) which corresponds to the base of the tree should be placed to the side away from the guests.

In the *furo* season, the utensils displayed on the *daisu* are: *furo-kama* on the left-hand side of the *jiita*; *mizusashi*, filled nine-tenths full with fresh, filtered water, on the right-hand side; *shakutate* (ladle stand) toward the back, midway between the *furo-kama* and *mizusashi*; and *kensui* with *futaoki* in it, in front of the *shakutate*. A pair of *kazari hibashi* ("display" *hibashi*, with decorative finials), as well as a *sashitōshi hishaku* (*hishaku* with handle that "passes through" to the far end of the cup), are set in the *shakutate* — the *hibashi* leaning to the back, and the *hishaku*, to the front. This overall arrangement of utensils is known as *sōkazari*, or "full display." In addition, an *usuchaki* (e.g., a *natsume*) filled with powdered *usucha* tea is displayed on the center of the top shelf (*ten'ita*). As a rule, the type of *furo* to use is a black *doburo* (clay *furo*).^{*} The *mizusashi*, *shakutate*, *kensui*, and *futaoki* should be of either metal or glazed ceramic; matching sets are called *kaigu*.

For *daisu furo usucha*, the items to have ready in the *mizuya* are the usual *chawan* set (*chawan*, *chakin*, *chasen*, and *chashaku*), and a filled *katakuchi mizutsugi* with folded *chakin* on its lid. Before commencing the *temae*, *higashi* (dry sweets) are served. After placing the *higashi* before the main guest, bowing with the main guest, and returning to the *mizuya*, the *sadōguchi* door is closed.



(1)

To commence the *temae*, sit at *sadōguchi*, place prepared *chawan* to side away from guests, open the *sadōguchi* door, and bow together with the guests (1).

^{*} The exception is when the grand tea master (or his proxy) performs *kencha* tea offerings at Shinto shrines or *kucha* tea offerings at Buddhist temples, in which cases he uses a bronze *kirikake furo*. The first set of utensils brought together with the *daisu* to Japan from China was of bronze (*karakane*).



(2)

Pick up chawan with the right hand (hereafter, R), set it on the palm of the left hand (hereafter, L), stabilize it on the right with R, and go sit squarely in front of the daisu (2).



(3)

Rehold front-left of chawan with L, and temporarily place chawan to the left (3).



(4)

Raise the body, placing one foot onto the other, and take the usuchaki at the side with R (see photo 54). Set usuchaki on L palm, and uncross the feet to sit normally. Then rehold usuchaki from the top with R, and place it to front-right of mizusashi (4).



(5)

Pick up chawan with L, hold it with R, regrasp it at left-hand side with L, and place it next to usuchaki (5).



(6)

With both hands, take kensui from daisu (6), then set it to your left side with L.



(7)

Place fingertips of both hands on tatami. With L remaining in this position, lift hibashi out from back of shakutate with R (7) and, keeping them vertical, bring them out of the daisu by passing them around right-hand side of shakutate and then left-hand side of kensui.



(8)

Turn tips of hibashi to the left, bringing hibashi parallel to your knees. Hold hibashi underhand toward the center with L, slide R to hold the finials, and swivel hibashi so the tips point away from your body (8).



(9)

With R, regrasp hibashi underhand near center, to far side of L. Slide L toward body to hold hibashi finials overhand with thumb on right-hand side and fingers around left. Place fingertips of R on tatami, and lay hibashi to left of daisu with L, placing them as far in as hand will comfortably allow. Regrasp finials with L, and slide hibashi further in so finials extend 1 cm. from front of daisu (9).



(10)

Remove futaoki from kensui with R, rest it on L palm, then regrasp it with R and place it in front of shakutate on daisu, slightly closer to front of daisu than it was when in the kensui (10). As usual, move kensui slightly forward with L, straighten kimono, then place hands on lap and pause for concentration.



(11)

Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, regrasp it at right-hand front with R, and place it in front of knees, leaving space for the usuchaki. Pick up usuchaki from top with R, and place it between chawan and knees. In standard manner, purify usuchaki with fukusa (11), then place it to left-hand front of mizusashi.



(12)

Refold fukusa, purify chashaku, and place chashaku on usuchaki (12). Take chasen from chawan and stand it to right of usuchaki. Move chawan closer to knees. Then, as governed by the usual rules, either return fukusa to obi if it is not to be used to handle the kettle lid, or temporarily place it in front of right knee.



(13)

Place fingertips on tatami as before, and, with R, lift hishaku out of shakutate from right-hand side (13). Passing hishaku handle around right-hand side of kensui, bring hishaku out of the daisu.



(14)

Transfer hishaku to L and, with R, remove kettle lid (14) and rest it on futaoki. (Those using fukusa: now bring R behind hishaku handle and place fukusa in back of kensui.)



(15)

Take chakin from chawan with R, and set it on kettle lid (15).



(16)

Hold hishaku for use, pour hot water into chawan, and rest hishaku on kettle (*oki-bishaku*) (16).



(17)

Conduct *chasen-tōshi* as usual (17), then return chasen to its place on tatami.



(18)

Discard chawan water into kensui, wipe chawan with chakin (18), return chawan to tatami, and return chakin to kettle lid.



(19)

Take chashaku from usuchaki with R, and invite the guest to partake of the sweets (19).



(20)

Take usuchaki with L, remove lid and place it before right knee, scoop appropriate amount of tea into chawan (20), replace lid onto usuchaki, and return usuchaki and chashaku to their former positions.



(21)

Remove mizusashi lid with R, hold it at left-hand side with L, regrasp it above L with R, and, with R, lean it against left-hand side of mizusashi (21).



(22)

Take hishaku, scoop hot water, and pour appropriate amount into chawan (22).



(23)

Return remaining hot water to kettle, and rest hishaku on kettle (*kiribishaku*) (23).



(24)

Take chasen and whip the tea, return chasen to its place, and, turning the chawan to face the guests, place it on the adjacent tatami (24).



(25)

When the guest tells you that he or she will partake of the tea ("*otemae chōdai itashimasu*"), bow and acknowledge this (25). (If *fukusa* was used at step 14, when main guest takes first sip of tea, return *fukusa* to obi.)



(26)

When chawan is returned, place it in front of knees, pour hot water into it, rest hishaku on kettle (*okibishaku*), and discard the chawan water into kensui (26). If, at this point, the main guest does not ask you to finish the temae, and more tea is to be prepared, wipe chawan with chakin and repeat from step 19.



(27)

If no more tea is to be prepared, the main guest asks you to finish the temae ("*dōzo oshimae o*"). Bow and acknowledge this (27). Place chawan in front of knees, bow, and tell the guests you will finish the temae ("*oshimae itashimasu*").



(28)

Take hishaku from kettle, rehold it for use, and pour cold water into chawan. Rest hishaku on kettle (*hikibishaku*) (28).



(29)

Conduct *chasen-tōshi* as usual for finishing temae (29), return chasen to its place, and discard chawan water into kensui.



(30)

Place chakin in chawan (30), place chawan in front of knees, and place chasen in chawan.



(31)

Take chashaku with R, move kensui back with L, take fukusa from obi, and fold it for wiping chashaku. Wipe chashaku (31), then set it on chawan. Dust fukusa off over kensui, and return it to obi.



(32)

Move usuchaki to front right of mizusashi (32). Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, rehold it at front right with R, and set it to left of usuchaki. [This arrangement is referred to as *honjima*.]



(33)

Take hishaku from kettle, rehold it for use, and pour ladleful of cold water into kettle (33). Do *yugaeshi* (scoop ladleful of hot water and pour it back into kettle).



(34)

Transfer hishaku to L and hold it upright. Place kettle lid ajar on kettle with bare fingers of R (34).



(35)

Grasp hishaku handle near the center with R, and, L fingertips on tatami, return hishaku to shakutate (35).



(36)

Immediately pick up mizusashi lid with R and, in the reverse of the manner it was removed from the mizusashi, replace it on the mizusashi (36).



(37)

At this point, the main guest asks to inspect the usuchaki and chashaku. Bow in acknowledgement (37).



(38)

Pick up futaoki with R, rest it on L palm, regrasp it with R, and set it further back on the daisu, at position where it originally rested in the kensui (38).



(39)

In the reverse of step 9, with L, slide hibashi slightly out from side of daisu (39) and pick them up.



(40)

Grasp hibashi underhand near center with R, regrasp them to far side of R with L, slide R down to finials, swivel the finials out to the right, and slide R back down the handles slightly, to hold hibashi like a pencil (40). Place L fingertips on tatami while bringing hibashi into vertical position with R, and return hibashi to shakutate, following the same path as when they were taken out.



(41)

Pick up chawan at right-hand front with R, transfer it to L, regrasp it with R, and set it to the far left (41).



(42)

Pick up usuchaki with R, rest it on L palm, shift sitting position to *kyakutsuki* (direction diagonally facing guests), and place usuchaki in front of knees with R (42).



(43)

In standard manner, purify usuchaki with fukusa (43), turn it clockwise, place it out on adjacent tatami, and return fukusa to obi.



(44)

Shift sitting position to directly face daisu, take chashaku from chawan with R, transfer it to L, again shift sitting position to *kyakutsuki*, and, in standard manner, place chashaku to right of usuchaki so that the handle faces the guests (44).



(45)

Shift sitting position to *kattetsuki* (direction diagonally facing away from guests), pick up kensui with L, and return kensui to mizuya (45).



(46)

Return to temaeza, sit squarely before daisu, pick up chawan (46), and return it to mizuya.



(47)

Return to temaeza with mizutsugi, sit in front of mizusashi, and place mizutsugi down to the left, so that it is at center of tatami and is parallel with front edge of the daisu (47).



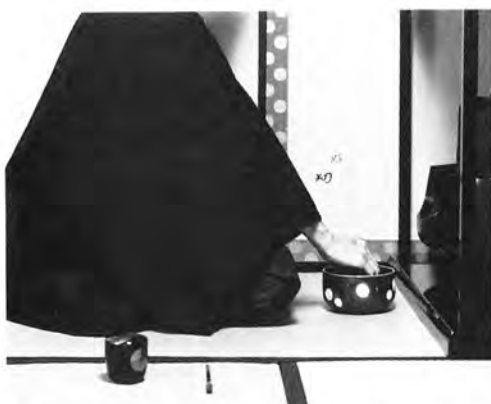
(48)

Remove mizusashi lid with R, grasp it at side with L, and lean it against left-hand side of mizusashi (48).



(49)

Hold chakin under mizutsugi spout with R, pick up mizutsugi with L, securing lid with thumb, and add water to mizusashi (49). Set down mizutsugi, wipe bottom edge of spout with chakin, and return chakin to its lid. Close mizusashi lid in reverse manner in which it was opened, then return mizutsugi to mizuya.



(50)

While the guests inspect the usuchaki and chashaku, cleanse and wipe the kensui. When the inspected items have been returned, sit outside sadōguchi with kensui before knees, then hold kensui with L and proceed to temaeza. Sit squarely before daisu, and place kensui before knees with both hands. Pick up futaoki with R, rest it on L palm, rehold it with R, and place it in kensui (50).



(51)

Pick up kensui with both hands, and return it to its original position on daisu (51).



(52)

Shift sitting position to directly face inspected items, and answer the main guest's inquiries about them (52).



(53)

Pick up usuchaki with R, rest it on L palm, hold chashaku with R, and shift sitting position to face daisu. Temporarily place chashaku on right-hand side of mizusashi lid (53).



(54)

Raise body, placing one foot on the other. Grasp usuchaki from side with R, and place usuchaki on center of daisu *ten'ita* (54). Uncross feet to sit normally.



(55)

Take chashaku with R, hold it toward center with L, regrasp it slightly in from tip of handle with R (55), and proceed to sadōguchi.



(56)

Just outside sadōguchi, sit down, place chashaku to side away from guests, bow together with guests, ending the *temae* (56), and close sadōguchi door.



Book Reviews

Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan.

Edited by James H. Sanford, William R. LaFleur, and Masatoshi Nagatomi. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. xii + 275 pp., including list of contributors and index. US\$39.50.

Studies of the relationship between Buddhism and the arts generally fall into two categories: those written by Buddhologists who use the visual and literary arts to illustrate and support doctrinal issues and those written by art or literary historians seeking to highlight the way Buddhist religious ideals are given aesthetic expression. *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan* transcends this duality and in the process compels the reader to rethink traditional categories such as art and religion, sacred and profane, elite and popular, Buddhism and Shintoism.

Flowing Traces, a loose translation of *suijaku*, the more dynamic half of the *honji suijaku* equation, is an unusually apt choice of title for this impressive compendium of essays. The study of *honji suijaku*, a doctrine that holds that Shinto deities are the manifest traces (*suijaku*) of primordial buddhas and bodhisattvas who are their original ground (*honji*), is not the major thrust of this book. However, it is a meaningful metaphor for the thesis advanced by the editors and developed in various ways by the contributors to this volume. Simply put, it holds that just as Buddhist and Shinto deities must be seen as two expressions of a single truth, so too "the path of the Buddha and that of the artist could with very little difficulty be seen as one" (p. 6). This view challenges the prevailing assumption in the West that the arts are merely instruments of Buddhism. It also raises serious questions about the validity of "our usual, Western-specific, analytic constructs — for example, that something is 'religious in content' and 'artistic in form'. . . ." (p. 7).

The idea that the arts — whether visual, literary, or dramatic — are as valid an expression of Buddhist doctrine as scriptures is most eloquently illustrated in the opening essay in the volume, William LaFleur's "Symbol and *Yūgen*: Shunzei's Use of Tendai Buddhism." In seeking to explain the roots of the elusive aesthetics of *yūgen*, LaFleur looks beyond Zen to the influence of Tendai philosophy, which, though often ignored, contributed significantly to the flowering of Japanese art. Following the lead of Japanese scholars such as Konishi Jin'ichi, he calls attention to the importance of the *Lotus Sutra*, the *Makashikan* (*Mo-ho chih-*

kuan), and other Buddhist texts in the formation of the medieval Japanese aesthetic of poets such as Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204) and his son Teika (1162–1241). It is, of course, in the *Lotus Sutra*'s parable of the three vehicles that expedient means (*hōben*) — one of the great harmonizing principles of Japanese Buddhism — is given its most eloquent and influential expression. In analyzing this celebrated passage, LaFleur emphasizes that in medieval Japan parables and allegories did not function in the same way as they did in medieval Europe. "For the medieval Christians, the important thing was to be able to decode literal and historical messages because these represented 'a shadow of something more real or significant'" (p. 23). But in Japan, "the illustration is in no way subordinate to what it illustrates" (p. 25). This rejection of ontological dualism, LaFleur argues, underlies the attribution of positivity to the negative that characterizes *yūgen*.

Barbara Ruch's "Coping with Death: Paradigms of Heaven and Hell and the Six Realms in Early Literature and Painting" also challenges traditional assumptions about the role of Buddhist teachings in Japanese culture. Her essay explores the way Japan adapted and interpreted imported Buddhist concepts pertaining to death, heaven (*gokuraku*), hell (*jigoku*), and karmic rebirth within the six realms (*rokudō*). Using a wide range of literary and visual materials as points of reference, she argues that popular perceptions of what happened at death often differed significantly from the orthodox teachings of Japanese religious leaders. A similar collapsing of conventional distinctions between "sacred" and "profane" also underlies Susan Matisoff's "Holy Horrors: The Sermon-Ballads of Medieval and Early Modern Japan," an overview of the development of "sutra explanations" (*sekkyō*) and analysis of three characteristic examples of this dramatic genre.

Given the importance of charismatic religious leaders in shaping Japanese Buddhism, it is not surprising that three of the essays deal with the biographical process. Both James Foard and Laura Kaufman focus on the monk Ippen (1239–89), the founder of the Ji sect of Pure Land Buddhism. Although their approaches differ, both seek to demonstrate the allusive techniques used to convey Ippen's saintly character in his illustrated biography, the *Ippen Hijiri-e* of 1299. Kaufman's analysis is devoted chiefly to an examination of the role played by the sacred architectural and landscape settings that are given unusual prominence in this pictorial biography. Scenes of pilgrimage and *meishō*, places celebrated in poetry, she argues, do not serve merely as a realistic backdrop for Ippen's activities, but rather to reinforce, through allusion and evocation, his character as a holy man. Foard explores the place of Ippen's biography within the larger Buddhist hagiographical tradition. Taking issue with those who claim that Japanese writings show very little interest in individual character, he argues that by imposing Western critical standards on what constitutes "biography," we may overlook the rich variety of techniques used to delineate character in Japanese writings. This is particularly true in Buddhist hagiography where meaning is often conveyed by elaboration, alteration, and recombination of earlier sacred biographies. This technique of "mythic prefiguration" is central to Ippen's characterization in the *Ippen Hijiri-e*.

While Kaufman and Foard focus on a well-known religious personality,

Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis devotes her attention to the less familiar figure of Chūjōhime. Chūjōhime, legend holds, inspired the Buddha Amida to descend to earth and oversee the weaving of the Taima mandala, a tapestry depicting the Pure Land. In her study, ten Grotenhuis carefully documents the way the image of Chūjōhime was shaped and reshaped through changing popular beliefs and spiritual requirements, ultimately rendering her both more human and more divine.

Yoshiaki Shimizu's "Multiple Commemorations: *The Vegetable Nehan* of Itō Jakuchū" takes as its subject an often reproduced but heretofore little studied painting alluding to the Buddha's death that depicts a recumbent radish (*daikon*) surrounded by an assortment of other vegetables. His meticulous elucidation of its content leads from Jakuchū's profession as a greengrocer, and the symbolism of radishes in the diet of Zen monks, to the place of radishes and other food plants in the botanical illustrations of the eighteenth century. One important aspect of this composition that is overlooked, however, is its obvious humor. Given the thematic thrust of this volume, Jakuchū's painting would have provided an ideal focal point for a discussion of the way humor, by simultaneously subverting and reinforcing Buddhist values, helps people to understand non-duality.

The influence of Buddhism in the development of the dramatic arts, a leitmotif of several of the essays in this volume, is the main thrust of both Frank Hoff's "Seeing and Being Seen: The Mirror of Performance" and Royall Tyler's "'The Path of My Mountain': Buddhism in Nō." Hoff's essay explores the philosophical and religious basis for the unusually close relationship between actor and spectator in Nō, particularly as revealed through the treatises of Zeami (1363–1443). Tyler, echoing some of the themes developed in Kaufman's essay, stresses the importance of sacred place, pilgrimage, and numinous landscape elements in Nō.

The ten essays in this volume present a wealth of new information as well as refreshing reinterpretations of familiar topics in a fluent, readable manner. Together with the excellent introduction, they should be required reading for anyone with a serious interest in the multi-faceted relationship between Buddhism and arts in Japan.

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Bashō and His Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary. *Compiled, translated, and with an Introduction by Makoto Ueda.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992. vi + 457 pp. US\$49.50.

Sheer delight is the description that comes to mind for this new work of Makoto Ueda on Bashō, and even that does not do it justice because it often moves one

to emotions profounder than delight. This is the first book in a Western language that comprehensively conveys the richness, range, genius, and power of Bashō's poetry. How does it do this?

To begin with, it contains more haiku than any other single work: 255 in all. (Ueda uses the term *hokku* in accordance with the usage of Bashō's time, but I will use *haiku*.) There are quite a few haiku here that to my knowledge appear for the first time in English translation. For example, this poem on the death of Jutei, a woman whom Bashō took care of in the latter part of his life:

never think of yourself
as someone who did not count —
festival of the souls (p. 393)

Or this one on dishes:

plates and bowls
dim in the twilight —
the evening cool (p. 389)

Ueda has organized the poetry in chronological order, dividing Bashō's life from 1644–94 into five periods for each of which he provides a generous selection of haiku. This gives us a clear sense of the development of Bashō's verse. One can see, for example, that the verses where Bashō experimented most radically with the haiku form in terms of line length and strange rhythms are virtually all from the period when he first moved to Edo and suffered from uncertainties and disjunctions in his life. Take this one entitled "sentiment of a winter night in Fukagawa," written in a remarkable four-thirteen-five syllable pattern:

the sound of an oar slapping the waves
chills my bowels through
this night . . . tears

ro / no / koe / nami / wo / utte / harawata / kōru / yo / ya / namida
oar/'s / voice / wave / [acc.] / beating / intestine / freeze / night / : / tear
(p. 63)

Likewise, due to the grouping, the quality of *karumi* "lightness" that Bashō espoused in his later career becomes crystal clear. In a sense, it is like looking at a retrospective exhibition of an artist's work. Trends and discoveries become quite apparent. Thus, in contrast to Ueda's earlier work, *Matsuo Bashō* (Twayne, 1970), where poems were used to support a biographical account, here the poetry is the core and the biographical introductions to the five sections simply help frame the poetry.

As the title *Bashō and His Interpreters* indicates, there is another important

dimension to this book. For each haiku, Ueda presents a selection of interpretations that range from Bashō's own words, to those of his immediate disciples and later disciples, to rebels such as Masaoka Shiki, and to modern critics and practitioners of haiku, including informed "laymen" such as the Taishō novelist Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and the philosopher Watsuji Tetsuro. Excerpts from the works of seventy-nine commentators find their way onto these pages. Ueda states ingenuously in his preface,

As is well known, this 17 syllable verse form demands the active participation of those who read it. The poet leaves the poem unfinished, so to speak, and each reader is expected to "complete" it with a personal interpretation. It is instructive, then to see how other readers have gone about interpreting specific poems. (v)

In weaving a work like this that is a tapestry of other texts on the warp of Bashō's haiku, Ueda succeeds at creating a work that is poly-voiced and open-ended. An extended quotation seems in order.

town where I was born —
as I weep over my umbilical cord
the year comes to a close

furusato / ya / heso / no / o / ni / naku / toshi / no / kure
native-village / : / navel /'s / cord / on / weep / year /'s / end

NOTE

Written in Ueno. It was customary to keep one's umbilical cord as a memento. The custom is still preserved in certain rural areas of Japan today.

COMMENTARY

When the baby is born, the parents set aside its umbilical cord and store it away with the record of the birthdate. In this hokku the poet tearfully recollected all those years of indebtedness to his parents. Probably he had to write something for the year's end and then remembered about his umbilical cord. —*Donto*

The poet reflected nostalgically upon his childhood, as he was about to send off the old year in his native town. —*Nobutane*

The hokku's middle phrase does not necessarily indicate that the poet had his umbilical cord before his eyes at the time. The cord is a metaphor for his blood relation to his parents. —*Handa*

The word “weep” in this hokku does not imply a sentimental, effeminate type of emotion that makes one give free vent to one’s tears. The simple, powerful style of the poem leads us to think of a masked *nō* actor with eyes partly downcast in a stylized gesture of weeping. That is an expression of sadness free from sentimentality, with the weeper’s hands drawing close to his face in a subtle movement. The verb *naku* [“to weep”], consisting of just two hard-sounding syllables, is there in so affirmative a way that all that was sentimental has evaporated. —*Yamamoto*

The year’s end is the time when families do housecleaning in preparation for the New Year. Probably Bashō discovered his umbilical cord accidentally while helping to do the cleaning. By saying “I weep,” therefore, he expressed how he felt when he made the discovery. —*Utsubo*

The image of the umbilical cord, which was a physical connection between the poet and his mother, gives vivid expression to his longing for the dead mother. It also provides a physical origin for all his nostalgic memories involving his mother and his native town. —*Kon*

(p. 178)

Sometimes the commentaries carry on a conversation with each other, as here on this famous haiku,

the stillness —
seeping into the rocks
cicadas’ screech

If my sensibility is reliable, there should not be many cicadas here. —
Mizuho

I disagree. The whole mountain is filled with the cicadas’ screech. —
Watsuji

I’d rather have many cicadas in this scene. It is a little dark and cool there, and the cicadas’ cries are sounding in unison. —*Komiya*

(p. 149)

The choice and linking of commentary is where we see Ueda’s hand. What seems so transparent and easy in this providing of commentary is, of course, the result of enormous erudition and labour. It is fitting for a work on Bashō’s poetry that none of that erudition and labour calls attention to itself.

I have only one small quibble. A reader wanting to look at Ueda’s sources in the original has a difficult task ahead, because the bibliography included in the work is only for further reading in English. Ueda intends this book for readers

of English, and that is fair enough. Yet, what a contribution it would have been to have a bibliography of the Japanese sources, because they span such a large range.

To conclude, this is a gem of a work that invites reading and re-reading. I suspect that many readers will find it not only stimulates creative interpretation but also inspires one to want to write haiku oneself.

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Women of the Mito Domain: Recollections of Samurai Family Life.
By Yamakawa Kikue. Translated with an introduction by Kate Wildman Nakai.
Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1992. xxiv + 196 pp., including index.
¥4,120.

Yamakawa Kikue (1890–1980) was a well-known leader and author in modern feminism blended with socialism, and was the first chief of the postwar Women's and Minors' Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Labor. During the most oppressive years of Shōwa Japan, she turned to the late Tokugawa period to study women's lives in the samurai class. Her own mother, Chise, born in 1857, at age eighty-seven served as the key informant, recalling the experiences and tales of her natal family and forebears rooted in the Mito domain. Based on this and additional sources of information, including her grandfather's diary, Yamakawa came up in 1943 with *Buke no Josei*, a delightfully personal and yet remarkably objective account which amounts to a historical ethnography. The present volume is Kate Nakai's excellent translation of this original as the main text, and of selected portions from Yamakawa's later work, *Oboegaki Bakumatsu no Mito Han* (1974), translated as "Notes on Late-Tokugawa Mito."

Yamakawa's great-grandfather was one of the co-founders and head professor of Kōdōkan, the domainal school sponsored by Lord Nariaki, and this fact marked not only the Aoyama family's scholarly legacy inherited by his sons, but also their involvement in the domainal polity. The Mito domain in turn was a hub of national politics tangled with the Bakufu and the court in the turbulent late Tokugawa period. Set within this historical context, *Women of the Mito Domain*, therefore, extends its radius far beyond what the title suggests, and, in her introduction, Kate Nakai, more than just a translator, shares her expertise concerning the broad historical significance of the text. Particularly important, as Nakai states and Yamakawa details in two chapters, is the bitter struggle between the pro-Imperial "Tengu" faction and the Bakufu loyalist "Student" faction, resulting in a series of brutal executions in relentless retaliation. This provides local insight into the bloody reality often

hidden behind the so-called "bloodless revolution" surrounding the national transition from Tokugawa to Meiji.

Such political activism, which actually involved the Aoyama and the whole domain as victims, was kept outside the women's concern: when Chise asked her father about the factional fight, "he dismissed her question with a laugh" (p. 30). While learning in Chinese classics was mandatory for boys, literacy required for girls was no more than ability to write letters in Japanese syllabary. More critical for them was mastery of domestic skills, particularly sewing. Reflecting a woman's domestic confinement and attention, the book gives rich details of daily life, covering the Aoyama school run by Chise's father at his residence, housewifely chores, training in literacy and sewing, dress, grooming, food, dwellings, amusements, and so on. Each chapter contains some illustrative anecdotes unanticipated from its title, as if Yamakawa avoided over-editing the original narratives and allowed them to flow in free-association. Across chapters, great attention goes to clothing and hairstyle — the two realms of life requiring women's hard work and skill.

I detect three major themes recurring and framing the above topics. One is the strong rank consciousness, even in the relatively egalitarian Mito domain — the consciousness of barriers between bushi (I follow Nakai's use of "bushi" rather than the more limited term, "samurai") and commoners or foot soldiers, or between different bushi ranks. Schools segregated children of foot soldiers and commoners from those of full-fledged bushi through classroom separation; the number of retainers or horses was determined by rank; a wife who came from a commoner family was permanently denigrated as "secondary wife," as Chise's grandmother was; ranks were marked by the material of clothes such as cotton vs. silk, the length of sleeves, width of obi, use of *haori* and *tabi*, etc.; hairstyle was another status indicator; disdainful remarks such as "old clothes dealers" (p. 37) or the mere "daughter of a restaurant owner" (p. 94) were voiced against parvenues of townsman origin.

More pervasive is the second theme, the economic privation and harsh living condition of the lower-ranking bushi families, which was interlocked with rank distinction in a contradictory manner. The families too poor, for example, to meet the rule of having a certain number of retainers temporarily hired some when necessary. A younger son unable to establish a branch household was eager to marry into the wife's family as adopted son-in-law. Cosmetics were ruled out as an extravagance; no cushion was used even for a guest. Sugar being a prohibitive luxury, *ohagi* cake was seasoned with salt. Yamakawa's grandfather as a young man was found eating supper in the dark to save oil for reading. Hard pressed to make ends meet, women were more like domestic "workers" while men also had to engage in side jobs such as "making skewers for grilled eel" (p. 158). Economic plight was a problem of the domain as a whole, and to cope with it Nariaki had imposed strict austerity policies to prohibit luxuries and wasteful pastimes including those of tea ceremony, flower arrangement, and playing music. There was a gap between upper-ranking houses (those with a stipend of 500 or more *koku*) in command of a large retinue, and lower-ranking houses (those with a stipend of 100–200

koku) with few servants, and it was the latter that made up the majority of bushi. Below these was the marginal class (represented by foot soldiers) receiving less than 100 *koku*. The irony was that men of this sub-bushi class were much freer to earn their living by taking up a variety of jobs than fully-titled bushi who were bound by status dignity. A more striking contrast existed between these poor, frugal bushi and wealthy, extravagant, pleasure-seeking townsmen. The lower-ranking bushi were thus squeezed between status constraint and meager subsistence. Not surprisingly, as Yamakawa notes, many of this class welcomed the Restoration as a liberation and were ready to lead the modern Japan.

A third theme, cutting across the above two themes, is the gender issue surrounding the Tokugawa patriarchy, which is discussed primarily in connection with marriage and divorce. The overwhelming male dominance was manifested in severe screening of bridal candidates but not of grooms, ease of divorcing a wife but not a husband, concubinage as a sanctioned institution, abortion forced upon the wife (or a concubine), women regarded as no more than child-producing bodies. Yamakawa, who generally refrains from making a value judgment, conveys her sense of injustice over such gender inequity, and sides with Fukuzawa Yukichi in his attack on Kaibara Ekken's "seven reasons" for divorce. What complicated the gender problem lay beyond the relationship between man and woman or husband and wife. Both men and women were forced into their proper places by their parents, in-laws, elders, the entire kin group, status peers, or even the power structure of the domain itself, as when the lord picked spouses for them. Under these circumstances, a man could be just as victimized as a woman, as exemplified by status-mismatched lovers eloping and ending in tragedy. Also, an unusually strong-willed woman, like a wife nicknamed "nun shogun," could be more oppressive to other women than to men. Moreover, as Yamakawa observes with ethnographic fidelity, women in those days never questioned, but accepted all these abusive practices as natural.

It is easy to criticize Yamakawa for viewing the post-Meiji Japan favorably in contrast to its Tokugawa predecessor. But Nakai may be right in suggesting that Yamakawa tried to express her critical opinion indirectly and subtly by drawing a parallel between the prewar tyranny, of which the Yamakawas were victims, and the atrocities perpetrated in Mito during the 1860s. More generally, I believe that the post-Restoration change, even though it entailed a "samurai-ization" of the entire nation in some respects, was an improvement toward equality in class and gender over the previous system described in this book. Yamakawa Kikue thus makes good sense.

For this new publication, we should be thankful not only to the translator, publisher, and Yamakawa herself, but also to Yanagita Kunio, who persuaded Yamakawa to write the original text.

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Inner Peace, World Peace: Essays on Buddhism and Nonviolence.
Edited by Kenneth Kraft. New York: State University of New York Press.
1992. 148 pp., including index. US\$12.95, paperback.

At this time of worldwide ecological and political crises and ever intensified violence, Kenneth Kraft's book is an indispensable reminder, for whosoever takes Buddhist insights seriously, that neither awakening nor inner peace is attainable in splendid isolation from the avoidable suffering we humans wreak upon ourselves and on countless fellow beings.

In his own contribution to this collection of essays — each one of which reflects profoundly upon the human condition and the relevancy of Buddhist thought to it — Kenneth Kraft points out: "a principal concept that underlies most forms of engaged Buddhism is the interdependence of all existence/non-existence." Indeed, one of the very summits of Mahayana's perception of the Structure of Reality is Kego (Hwa Yen)'s insight into the radical interdependence of all phenomena, all beings in the Universe, to the extent of their unimpeded mutual interpenetration.

In the ecological crisis that forebodes the end of our species, seventh-century Kego reveals itself as the avant-garde of what thirteen hundred years later we are beginning to recognize, and that is taking form in movements like Deep Ecology.

The remarkable spread of Buddhist ideas and values in the contemporary Western world coincides with the shock of realization that the biosphere is showing symptoms of a terminal illness. We have heard the tolling of the bell and suspect it may be tolling for us, not just for the thousands of species we have already sacrificed on the altar of our anthropocentric narcissism. We have reached the endpoint of that anthropocentric worldview which has dominated Judeo-Christianity and hence Western culture with which it is inextricably interwoven.

In the worldview of Buddhism, which is essentially cosmocentric and which faces the contingencies of being/non-being without any anthropomorphic image of an omnipotent Creator, the pretensions of the empirical ego are unmasked. The little Me's illusion of "enlightened self interest" becomes the ultimate contradiction in terms: the reality of this "self" is radically denied.

Luis O. Gómez's essay on "Nonviolence and the Self in Early Buddhism" points at the crux of the matter: "Proponents of *ahimsa* often show a tendency, subtle or expressed, to justify non-violence through self-righteousness." Such non-violence is bound to be "ritualistic" and/or "moralistic," infected by self-assertion instead of being rooted in a fundamental insight into *anatta*, the no-self, in which self-identity with other beings is "actualized." The other becomes literally my alter ego, and I am "neither I nor Other" or "both I and Other."

Concern with non-violence is indeed inseparable from abandoning the I-versus-Other obsession, whether this "I" is the individual ego or some in-group ego. In-group egos have been the root cause of all the nationalisms, racisms,

religious sectarianisms which, through the centuries, have self-expressed their pathology in persecution, war, massacre, and pogrom.

True non-violence applies to animals as it does to our fellow humans. Christopher Chapple points out that both Buddhists and Jains have practiced it from time immemorial. It is almost inconceivable how anyone, Buddhist or not, who is really opposed to violence and killing can avoid being a vegetarian, can disregard the cruelty, the indignities perpetrated on animals, their breeding, cruel transportation, and nauseatingly mindless slaughter.

Buddhists and Jains may have struggled against "religious" animal sacrifices, which nowadays may no longer be widespread but are replaced by the perfidious desecration of animal lives in high school biology courses, the futile research for the cosmetic vanity industry, and the indiscriminate vivisection for pharmaceutical purposes.

Donald Swearer's essay debunks the *canard* of the non-violence of Buddhist history. Even if there have never been Buddhist crusaders massacring heretics on their pilgrimages to Buddhagaya, there has been plenty of violence committed and condoned by monks and laymen, from ancient Mount Hiei to today's Sri Lanka. He also pays homage to King Asoka (272-236 BC), who, after his conversion from hedonism and rapacious aggression, became a humane ruler, advocating the avoidance and/or peaceful settling of conflicts, the practicing of gentleness to all creatures, and the application of the tenets of the Compassionate Buddha in the social sphere. Unfortunately, he did not start a trend.

The contemporary monk Buddhadasa, born in 1906, of whom Swearer speaks reverentially, may not be an Asoka, but he is the founder of Suan Mokh, the "Garden of Empowering Liberation," in an abandoned monastery in Thailand's interior. While preserving the simplicity of early Buddhist forest shelters, it includes a "spiritual theatre" equipped with the latest audio-visual technology to teach Buddhist fundamentals. Although accused of heterodoxy and wild idealism, Buddhadasa has made a profound impact on Thai Buddhism, and Suan Mokh is still an oasis in which the feasibility of communal living is taught based on the equivalence of all beings, their mutual interdependence, and selflessness. Buddhadasa endorses neither capitalism nor any form of socialism apart from a Dharmic socialism which implies "not taking more than one's fair share." (I have formulated this elsewhere as "Too much is at least as dehumanizing as too little"). Not indulging in developing either coherent philosophy or doctrine, Buddhadasa is committed to provoking insights that transform people and inspire them to work towards a better world.

Robert Thurman's "Tibet and the Monastic Army of Peace" quotes the Dalai Lama's noble prayer of "Words of Truth" written soon after his flight from Lhasa in 1959, an almost unknown hymn which is comparable in its nobility to Saint Francis' "Canticle to the Sun." In Cynthia Eller's contribution, I was most touched by quotations from Tich Nhat Hanh, such as: "The techniques of non-violent action are not non-violent action itself. Techniques without the

inspiration of love and sacrifice cannot be successful and will lack their deeper strength" (p. 106).

Gene Sharp's essay on non-violent struggle offers a useful, sometimes perhaps slightly rose-tinted overview of effective non-violence in our ghastly century.

Of all the valuable material in this book, however, I personally found Sulak Sivaraksa's "Buddhism and Contemporary International Trends" to be the most cogent, inspiring, and directly relevant. This final essay in the book is virtually a compendium of the material preceeding it. I found it so profoundly stirring that I cannot resist trying, however inadequately, to paraphrase some of its most salient points.

1. Soon after Shakyamuni's death, the Sangha was split by cultural, economic, and political conditions. Often dependent on State patronage, the priestly cast became part of the ruling elite, exerted its own social power, served its own vested interests.

2. Not religion's impact on culture, but cultural forces dominating religion or equated with it are perilous (cf. Sri Lanka, where nationalist ideology and racial prejudice nullify Buddhist condemnation of all such discrimination). Could it be due to neglecting the transposition of Buddhist principles into contemporary idiom?

3. Buddhist precepts against killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, lying, and intoxication logically include the making of and dealing in weapons, especially those of mass destruction. They would equally condemn a society resigned to let more people die of hunger within a few years than were killed by World Wars I and II combined. Meanwhile we go on living in luxury, consuming wastefully, allowing economic power structures to prevent food to go where it is desperately needed, even if those starving are themselves its producers.

4. Building a peaceful world and establishing a just economic order are inseparable. Innumerable politicians, media moguls, generals, industries, technologists, stockbrokers. . . and intellectuals, however, thrive on permanent threats of war. The ideological and cultural power of the military-industrial complex is poisoning especially American life.

5. To practice "right livelihood" in our predicament requires, beyond living simply, working towards the overturn of structures of blatant injustice, speaking out about the need to reassert control over the destructive forces unleashed.

6. Improper sexuality, by Buddhist norms, includes the structures of male domination and exploitation of, and violence against, women, especially those of oppressed races or classes.

7. Consumer culture works hand-in-glove with greed and lust for power. The "coca-colonization" of all cultures, the massive lies of advertising which pervert indigenous cultures in the name of progress or modernization, must be denounced uninterruptedly.

8. Any "war on drugs" is a sham as long as it tolerates the regimes of pseudo-political criminals who profit by large scale drug traffic. Alcohol and drug

addiction moreover thrive in crippled cultures, especially in those subcultures of despair spawned by unemployment, destitution, alienation, exploitation.

9. Western science may have progressed immensely in its understanding of the material world, but beyond that it has failed: for "higher truth" one must still turn to religion. The disasters brought about by unrestrained technology coupled with this science would require a separate study.

10. Obviously, international controls by a body like the U.N. need broadening and strengthening in order to create an effective international judicial system, control of the stockpiling of armaments, and regulate the taxing and arbitrary power of the giant transnational corporations which shape the lives of billions of humans who are deprived of any influence on their policies.

To sum up: Unless work for peace and justice is coordinated with the social realities of our collective karma, it is utopian. Buddhist principles are definitely not limited to the destiny of individuals, but embrace the entire reality of sentient existence. A mind freed from hostility has to be supplemented by skill in dealing with the complexities of social systems; there is no split between insight and action. Buddhists and non-Buddhists have already begun to restructure consciousness, and to rethink society for the benefit of humankind.

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Chronology

Asuka period, 538-645
Hakuhō period, 645-710
Nara period, 710-794
Heian period, 794-1192
Kamakura period, 1192-1336
Muromachi period, 1336-1568
Momoyama period, 1568-1603
Edo period, 1603-1868
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