



CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 73



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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 Diffusion of the Way of Tea

Sen Sōshitsu XV

Today, the Way of Tea has spread to the general populace, and any individual — man or woman, old or young — may enjoy it. This widespread diffusion of Tea, however, occurred only after the Meiji Restoration (1868), when the Sen families established their iemoto system, and the Urasenke family in particular liberated the Way of Tea to the masses.

Before this time, the three Sen families were in service as chadō magistrates under various daimyō. In the case of my family, the Urasenke, at first the fourth-generation family head, Sensō, was in service to the Maeda clan of Kaga, present-day Ishikawa Prefecture. During the following generations, the family head also came to serve as chadō magistrate for the Hisamatsu clan of Iyo, present-day Ehime Prefecture, as well as caretaker for that family's Kyoto residence. Again, the eleventh-generation family head, Gengensai (1810–77), who lived during the final days of the Tokugawa regime, also served the Owari branch of the Tokugawa family. Like the Yagyū family who served the daimyō as instructors in the martial arts, the chadō magistrate served as the daimyō's instructor in chanoyu. This position also involved being in charge of the daimyō's chanoyu equipment and all other matters concerning the arts and literature.

During the Edo period, the three Sen families received an adequate stipend from the various daimyō whom they served, but when fiefs were abolished and replaced by prefectures following the Meiji Restoration, and measures were adopted to abolish hereditary stipends, the retainers of the daimyō, including the Sen families, had their stipends severed and were made to fend for themselves. What is more, due to the new government's policy of adopting Western institutions and culture, the enthusiasm for chanoyu faded. During this period, the Way of Tea stood in great danger.

As I mentioned earlier, Gengensai was the head of the Urasenke family at this time. He was the fifth son of Noritomo, chief of the office entrusted with the vestments and needle-work of the Mikawa-Okudono daimyō, and had been adopted into the Urasenke family. Conventionally,

* Translated from the serial "Watakushi no Rēkishi" [My Personal History] (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1986-87).

the successive heads of the three Sen families have been the eldest suitable son of the respective family, and if there were no such son, the rule was to adopt a male heir from one of the other two families. However, because my tenth-generation ancestor had no son and there was no eligible male offspring in either of the other two families, the highly unusual circumstance occurred wherein an heir was adopted from the family of the daimyō, with whom my family had long been on intimate terms.

Gengensai was both an adept warrior and scholar, and it is possible to say that the three Sen families were able to survive the tumultuous period of the Meiji Restoration because of him. As a retort to the government's view at that time of chadō as an amusement, he submitted a document to them titled "The Original Intent of the Way of Tea" (*Chadō no Gen'i*), bringing them to recognize Tea as a path of discipline (*michi/dō*). He was the first, also, to open the doors of Tea to women. Together with the martial arts, chadō up until the Edo period was considered a skill which samurai warriors and people in that sphere mastered. Involvement in chadō also provided such men with a place and opportunity to socialize. Women were not permitted to take part in formal tea gatherings.

Gengensai was the person who devised the style of serving tea using tables and chairs (*ryūrei-shiki*), and he also created various portable tea-box sets (*chabako*). While he fully recognized the strict aspects of the Way of Tea, by incorporating methods wherein chanoyu could easily be practiced anywhere, by anyone, he led the way to the popularization of chanoyu. One can only feel an awesome respect for his foresight. In Okazaki City, Aichi Prefecture, where Gengensai was born, a society in honor of Gengensai was formed, and several years ago, on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the municipalization of the city, a monument in his honor was unveiled at the site of the Okudono manor. This was a very gratifying event for me and my family.

Thinking of this, I am reminded of the term "*chabōzu*" (literally, "tea bonze") which is sometimes used rashly to mean "opportunist." One also hears the turn of phrase, "a mere *chabōzu* [having the gall to do this or that]," used when speaking of a *chajin* (a person whose life lies in Tea). These are not only faulty but also insulting.

To return to the story of my forefathers, however, Gengensai's son Ichinyosai (1845–62) died early of natural causes, and so a grandson of the wealthy Kyoto merchant Suminokura Ryōi was adopted as Gengensai's heir. This boy, the second son of Suminokura Gen'i, later became the twelfth Urasenke head, Yūmyōsai. For two generations in a row, the headship of the Urasenke family was thus held by men who came from outside the three Sen families. Yūmyōsai, however, retired at the age of thirty-four, leaving the family's affairs to his eldest son, Ennōsai.

The thirteenth head of the family, Ennōsai, was another who taxed

his ingenuity during the mid-Meiji to early-Taishō eras in order to see to the prosperity of the Way of Tea. He reared a large number of *chajin*, and was instrumental in having *chadō* incorporated into the teaching curriculum at women's schools.

Following Ennōsai, the fourteenth family head, Tantansai, continued from the late Taishō era until after World War II to encourage the practice of Tea in schools as well as in work places. He also actively strove to promote it among non-Japanese people.

Since the start of the Meiji era — that is, from Gengensai's time down to that of Tantansai — the history of Urasenke can be described as a one-track road leading toward the dissemination and popularization of the Way of Tea. This road has been one of constant innovation and, at the same time, constant endeavor to transmit Rikyū Koji's chanoyu ideals intact.



The Art of Emptiness: An Artistic Realm Where “Emptiness is Ultimately Appearance”

Kurasawa Yukihiro

Editor's Preface

In his afterword to Philosophy of the Way of Art, the book in which the chapter translated hereunder appears, author Kurasawa Yukihiro describes geidō, or the Way of Art, as constituting both the way of training in the arts as well as the way humans become human. Geidō, he explains, is broader in meaning than the modern concept of geijutsu, or Art per se, wherein the emphasis is on “beauty for the sake of beauty,” “art for the sake of art.” The narrower, modern context views Beauty as involving a theory of values quite independent from the philosophical and moral values of Truth and Good. From this standpoint, a work of art and the moral character of the artist who produced it are separate matters. In the Way of Art, however, there exists an indivisible connection between the concern for Art and the concern for Man, and in this respect, the Way of Art possesses a religious nature. Within the book, Kurasawa takes up four particular genres as representing the embodiment of the Way of Art: kadō (the Way of Poetry), chadō (the Way of Tea), shodō (the Way of Calligraphy), and nōgaku (the art of noh). Their religious nature is largely a reflection of the age in Japanese history when they were developed. The Way of Art was a product of the “Age of Religion” — the Japanese middle ages, spanning the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

If the independence of Art and Man, the producer of that art, is the modern premise, then the premise underlying the Way of Art — that the ideal way of Art and the ideal way of Man are inseparable — might be called a pre-modern notion. Kurasawa asserts that this,

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from the chapter “*Kū no Geijutsu: Kū-soku-zē-shiki no Geikyō*” [空の藝術—空即是色の藝境] in *Zōho Geidō no Tetsugaku: Shūkyō to Gei no Sōsoku* 増補『藝道の哲学—宗教と藝の相即』 [Revised and Enlarged Edition, Philosophy of the Way of Art: The Mutual Identity of Religion and Art] (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 1988), pp. 385–408. Unless otherwise specified, footnotes are by the translator.

however, does not mean the Way of Art is irrelevant for us today or for our future. Oswald Spengler warned right after World War I that the demise of the West was drawing near. Our modern age, primarily influenced by Western values and characterized by a multifariousness and diversity never before experienced by mankind — reflected, for example, in the inclination to sever Art from Man, or Beauty from Truth and Good — is irrefutably drawing to an end. We require a historic turnabout.

Kurasawa, as did his mentor Hisamatsu Shin'ichi, proposes that the "postmodern age" will be characterized by the unity of its multifarious facets. He suggests that the Way of Art has bearing for us now, for it reveals this kind of approach to Art and our existence as human beings, and, by extension, this can illuminate us in our approach to culture as a whole. Those presently training in the Way of Tea or other such artistic pursuits will recognize the direct bearing which the following has on their approach to their training. □

Zeami's Disciplines for the Joy of Art

As a means of gaining an understanding of Emptiness in Japanese aesthetics, let us consider a passage from one of Zeami's¹ artistic treatises.

*Disciplines for the Joy of Art*² appears to have been written when Zeami was about sixty years old. It is divided into four sections, each beginning with a quote from the classics. Zeami develops his thoughts on art on the basis of these quotes.

The first section begins with a quote from *The Book of Songs*; the second, with a quote from the Confucian *Analects*; the third, with a quote from the *Heart of Wisdom Sutra*; and the fourth returns to the *Analects*. The quote from the *Heart of Wisdom Sutra* at the beginning of the third section reads, "Appearance is ultimately Emptiness; Emptiness is ultimately Appearance."³

Zeami makes the following comments about this phrase.

¹ Zeami (a.k.a. Kanze Motokiyo; 1363–1443), himself a brilliant actor, playwright, and critic, established noh as a classic theatrical art.—E

² *Yūgaku shudō fūken* 遊楽習道 風見. Translations of all titles of treatises by Zeami cited in this article are from J. Thomas Rimer and Yamazaki Masakazu, *On the Art of the Nō Drama: The Major Treatises of Zeami* (Princeton University Press, 1984).

It should be noted that when Zeami says *yūgaku*, "the joy of [the] art," he is referring specifically to the art of noh.—Author

³ *Shiki-soku-zē-kū, kū-soku-zē-shiki* 色即是非空、空即是非色. Zeami uses the nonstandard 則 instead of the usual 即. However, it is unlikely that his use of a different character indicates a different interpretation of the idea.—Author

All the arts of the Way involve both Appearance and Emptiness. When one has completed the three stages of seedling, flowering, and fruition and reaches the Level of Fluency, one will feel capable of achieving the desired effect in any performance whatsoever. This is the realm where "Appearance is ultimately Emptiness." But to view such an effortless art as the ultimate Level is to neglect the remaining "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance." That would be like prematurely thinking that one has attained enlightenment. No matter how carefully one may exercise caution concerning right and wrong beyond cognition, the danger of error still exists. One who is free of such cautious uncertainty, one who has mastered every kind of performance with ease and confidence may then perform in an unorthodox style and yet it will be effective, being at a level beyond right or wrong, good or bad. This is the realm where "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance." Where both right and wrong are effective, there is no right or wrong. There is no need to guard against unconscious error.⁴

Let us proceed to consider this passage line by line.

The Meaning of "Art of the Way"

First, Zeami says that "All the arts of the Way involve both Appearance and Emptiness." "All the arts of the Way" means all arts which are Ways. This is the same as saying "all artistic Ways." What is the meaning of the word "Way" in phrases such as "art of the Way" and "the Way of art"? As I have related previously, I believe it means the Way that leads to the Spirit, and the Way that comes from the Spirit. Here, Spirit means the realm of subjectivity, heightened and deepened to the maximum. It is essentially the same as "the Way of penetration to one's goal" of which Bashō speaks when he says, "The Way of waka pursued by Saigyō, the Way of renga pursued by Sōgi, the Way of painting pursued by Sesshū, the Way of tea pursued by Rikyū: the same Way leads to penetration of all these." Bashō also calls this "true refinement." And when that is pursued to the ultimate, it is the true self, the original self, what in Zen is called "one's original face," Nothingness. This is also called the True Spirit, the Absolute Spirit. It may also simply be called Truth. When the

⁴ Cf. Rimer and Yamazaki, pp. 115–116. This and other translations of passages from Zeami's treatises have been adapted from the Rimer/Yamazaki edition in order to reflect the author's emphasis.

Spirit, in the sense of the realm of subjectivity, is heightened and deepened to the maximum, it becomes the True Spirit, the Absolute Spirit, Truth. An "art of the Way," "the Way of art," is the way of seeking the True Spirit, the Absolute Spirit, Truth, through refining one's art and thus heightening and deepening one's Spirit. It is likewise the Way that leads to art from the True Spirit, from the Absolute Spirit, from Truth. This may be restated precisely by saying that "the art of the Way" and "the Way of art" are Ways leading to the Spirit through art, and Ways leading to art through the Spirit. It is my custom to speak of this more generally as "the Way to the Spirit through Form" and "the Way to Form through Spirit." In this context, Spirit means the True Spirit, Absolute Spirit.

The Level Where "Appearance Is Ultimately Emptiness"

What does Zeami mean by "Appearance" and "Emptiness" when he says, "All the arts of the Way involve both Appearance and Emptiness"? In Buddhist philosophy, there are various views concerning Appearance and Emptiness, but, for the moment, let us leave such philosophical discussions aside and consider how Zeami interpreted these terms.

In *Disciplines for the Joy of Art*, after saying, "All the arts of the Way involve both Appearance and Emptiness," Zeami goes on to comment as follows:

When one has completed the three stages of seedling, flowering, and fruition, and reaches the Level of Fluency, one will feel capable of achieving the desired effect in any performance whatsoever. This is the realm where "Appearance is ultimately Emptiness."

Zeami takes the analogy of the seedling, flower, and fruit from the *Analects*, where Confucius says, "There are shoots whose lot it is to spring up but never to flower; others whose lot it is to flower, but never bear fruit."⁵ Zeami previously related his views on art in connection with this saying in the second section of *Disciplines for the Joy of Art*.

The seedling grows and puts forth blossoms; the blossoms yield fruit. Zeami applies these three stages to the three stages of training in *noh*. Elsewhere, Zeami says that the seedling, flower, and fruit correspond to the *jo*, *ha*, and *kyū*⁶ of the actor's training. We need not investigate here

⁵ Arthur Waley, trans., *The Analects of Confucius* (Vintage, 1938), p. 143.

⁶ 序破急, translated by William P. Malm as Introduction, Exposition, and Denouement in *Japanese Music* (Tuttle, 1959).

the particular stages which the seedling, flower, and fruit represent. Let us simply note that, taken together as a whole, they represent the training process.

The word for training (*keiko* 稽古) means "to study the past." The past to be studied in the Way of art means, first, the Forms indicated by one's teachers and other predecessors as "proper." It also means the Spirit, the subjective state for the expression of those Forms. Thus, training is a process of first learning the forms that have been demonstrated by one's teachers and other predecessors as "proper" and adjusting one's form to resemble them, and then through such discipline, conforming in spirit, in one's subjective state, to the spirit, the subjective state of the teacher and other predecessors who demonstrated the forms. Thus, the process of training corresponds to the stage of working "from Form to Spirit" in a Way which includes discipline to achieve both "Spirit from Form" and "Form from Spirit."⁷

The performance of *noh* is a succession of patterns from beginning to end. *Noh* may indeed be called a set of many such successive patterns. Training in *noh* begins with the memorization of such patterns, one by one. For the actor in training, these patterns are the forms that are demonstrated to one as "proper," the frames or molds to which one adapts oneself. One who has learned all the patterns comprising a given play, and has thoroughly mastered them, can perform that play from beginning to end painlessly, effortlessly, free of uncertainty, with confidence. This is the realm that Zeami calls the Level of Fluency. We may consider him to mean by "fluency" both effortlessness and confidence.

Speaking of the actor who has achieved the level of mastery of such Fluency in all plays, Zeami says such a one

will feel capable of achieving the desired effect in any performance whatsoever.

By "capable of achieving the desired effect in any performance whatsoever," Zeami would seem to mean capable of performing to one's own satisfaction from beginning to end, down to the smallest detail.

When an actor attains such a level, the significance of the pattern takes on a different significance from before. Before, a pattern was a "proper" form, a mold to which one must adjust oneself. But in the realm of Fluency, where one is "capable of achieving the desired effect in any performance whatsoever," one is already perfectly adjusted to the mold,

⁷ Whereas discipline to achieve "Spirit from Form" corresponds to "training," discipline to achieve "Form from Spirit" corresponds to "innovation," as discussed in Chapter 1, Section 8 of my *Geidō no Tetsugaku*.—Author

and so the pattern has lost its significance as a mold to which one must adjust. And since one's form already conforms perfectly to the "proper" form, there is no longer any other, more proper form; there is only one's own "proper" form. In other words, there is no pattern for the pattern itself, no form for the form itself.

This is what Zeami speaks of when he says,

This is the realm where "Appearance is ultimately Emptiness."

The general interpretation of this phrase according to Buddhist doctrine is, "Physical objects have no substance." Thus, at the Level of Fluency, in the realm where one is "capable of achieving the desired effect in any performance whatsoever," there is no pattern for the pattern itself, no form for the form itself. This may be said to be a state congruent with that in which "physical objects have no substance." It appears that Zeami interpreted the idea of Appearance in the phrase "Appearance is ultimately Emptiness" as the pattern in the actor's training, the "proper" form.

The Level Where "Emptiness Is Ultimately Appearance"

In *Disciplines for the Joy of Art*, after commenting that "This is the realm where 'Appearance is ultimately Emptiness,'" Zeami adds the following statement:

But to view such an effortless art as the ultimate Level is to neglect the remaining "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance." That would be like prematurely thinking that one has attained enlightenment.

"Effortless art" is the ultimate style or form that is realized by the enactment of Nothingness. The analogy of prematurely thinking that one has attained enlightenment is from the *Lotus Sutra*, where the Buddha speaks of people with "haughty spirit so enlarged that they imagined they had attained what they had not attained and had proved what they had not proved."⁸ This passage might be explicated as follows: "But it is wrong to think that the realm where one is capable of performing any play whatsoever to one's own satisfaction, effortlessly, with confidence, is the same as the ultimate style that is realized by the enactment of Nothingness. The realm where 'Emptiness is ultimately Appearance' yet remains unattained. To think

⁸ Burnō Katō et al., trans., *The Threefold Lotus Sutra* (Weatherhill, 1975), p. 59.

that one has attained that realm would be like prematurely thinking that one has attained enlightenment."

In terms of Buddhist philosophy, "Appearance is ultimately Emptiness" and "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance" mean the same thing, and some say it is erroneous to interpret the two differently. But Zeami clearly distinguishes between the two. And he holds that the realm where "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance" is superior to the realm where "Appearance is ultimately Emptiness." What sort of realm is it, this realm where "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance"?

Let us proceed in our reading of the passage from *Disciplines for the Joy of Art*.

No matter how carefully one may exercise caution concerning right and wrong beyond cognition, the danger of error still exists. One who is free of such cautious uncertainty, one who has mastered every kind of performance with ease and confidence may then perform in an unorthodox style and yet it will be effective, being at a level beyond right or wrong, good or bad. This is the realm where "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance." Where both right and wrong are effective, there is no right or wrong. There is no need to guard against unconscious error.

"Caution concerning right and wrong beyond cognition" is awareness of the possible existence of right and wrong beyond the limits of one's consciousness. This passage might be explicated as follows: "The Level of Fluency, where one is capable of performing any play whatsoever to one's own complete satisfaction, that is, the Level where 'Appearance is ultimately Emptiness,' still includes the danger of committing an error in judgment concerning the existence of right and wrong beyond the limits of one's conscious awareness. When there is no such danger of committing such an error in judgment, when one's style of performance is perfected beyond reproach, when it is clearly unorthodox and yet nonetheless effective, at a level where there is no longer right or wrong, good or bad, that is the Level where 'Emptiness is ultimately Appearance.' Where both right and wrong are effective, there is no right or wrong, nor is there any need for caution about what lies beyond cognition."

It may perhaps be helpful to list the main points that Zeami makes in this passage concerning the Level where "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance."

- (1) There is no need for caution concerning right or wrong beyond cognition.
- (2) The style of performance at this Level is perfected beyond reproach.

- (3) The impression may be unorthodox, but it is nevertheless effective.
- (4) There is no right or wrong, good or bad.

Exercising Caution about Right and Wrong Beyond Cognition

Next, let us turn our attention to the comment that there is no need for caution concerning right and wrong beyond cognition.

Consider the following anecdote.

This is an incident that occurred when a certain noh actor was performing the leading role in the third-category play *Izutsu*. A famous martial artist was present in the audience. As the martial artist observed the actor's performance, he thought the actor was indeed deserving of his reputation as an expert; he could detect not a trace of fault in the performance. But then, in the scene where the main character peers into the well-curb (the enclosure surrounding the well), he detected a slight faltering in the actor's movement. The martial artist, who had until then been studying the actor with bated breath, suddenly gave an involuntary shout. Another spectator who was present at the time later asked the actor about the incident. The actor said that, when he peered into the well-curb, he saw a speck of dirt. For just a moment, the actor's concentration wavered. It was just at that moment that he heard the shout, he said.

In the course of his long years of discipline, the noh actor had mastered numerous patterns. But the many patterns he had learned did not include a pattern for responding to the sight of a speck of dirt in the well-curb. And so, for a moment, his concentration wavered, and the fault showed in his performance.

When Zeami writes about things "beyond cognition," he is referring to just such unpredictable cases — for example, finding a speck of dirt in a well-curb. Because the event is unpredictable, no pattern can be prepared to respond to it. It may be appropriate to call the Level of Fluency, where one has mastered all patterns for all plays, indeed, where one is capable of performing all plays effortlessly and with confidence, the level of the expert. But unless one has transcended the danger of erring in one's judgment of good and bad beyond consciousness, no matter how great an expert, such a one has not yet achieved the Level of True Fluency, nor can such a one be said to have achieved the ultimate artistic realm.

Internal Authority

What sort of realm might it be, this artistic realm transcending the need for “caution concerning right and wrong beyond cognition”?

When Zeami was sixty-six years old, he transmitted a treatise called *Finding Gems and Gaining the Flower*⁹ to his son-in-law, Komparu Zenchiku. That treatise includes the following exchange.

Question: In the various instructions for the actor’s training, the Level of Fluency is mentioned. Does this mean the same as the Perception of the Spirit of Nothingness or the Flower of Peerless Charm?

Answer: This is a matter that must be considered carefully. Its meaning is basically the same as the Perception of the Spirit of Nothingness and the Flower of Peerless Charm. But only one who has achieved Internal Authority at those Levels can be said to have attained True Fluency. There is a Zen phrase that says, “true humanity lies beyond rank.” There is also the expression, “excellence without external form.” In other words, true excellence is beyond ranking. Such is the Level of Fluency.

As far as noh is concerned, the actor must first begin to study properly, as explained first in *Teachings on Style and the Flower* in the chapters entitled “Items Concerning the Practice of Noh in Relation to the Age of the Actor,” “Various Items Concerning Role Playing,” and “Questions and Answers,” as well as in the Separate Secret Teaching, then in *The True Path to the Flower* and *A Mirror Held to the Flower*. One who masters the innermost secrets of the art and becomes truly adept, feeling one in spirit with the art, may be said to have attained a certain level of Fluency. However, this level of Fluency may yet be only that achieved as a result of conscious practice, through effort. Such a spirit cannot yet be called the Spirit of Nothingness.¹⁰

The first point to note in this passage is the distinction between two Levels of Fluency, which might be called the Level of Acquired Fluency and the Level of True Fluency. In short, the Level of True Fluency is a level where there is no longer any need to exercise caution about right or wrong beyond cognition; that is precisely why it is called the Level of True Fluency. Let us pursue this matter further.

⁹ *Shūgyoku iokka* 拾玉辨花.

¹⁰ Adapted from Rimer and Yamazaki, p. 135.

It is possible to draw a connection between the Level of Acquired Fluency and a matter previously discussed, the level of the expert who, after many long years of training, is capable of performing the entire repertoire effortlessly and with confidence. But according to Zeami, this Level is to be distinguished from the Level of True Fluency, the Level of Fluency where the actor has achieved Internal Authority. But what precisely is meant by "Internal Authority"? Consider the following passage from *The True Path to the Flower*,¹¹ which Zeami wrote at the age of fifty-eight.

In terms of dancing and chanting, as long as one is still imitating one's teacher, one's art still obviously relies on External Authority. The imitation may appear perfect, but the art is not yet one's own. One's artistic power is still lacking; one's noh has yet to progress — such is the actor who relies on External Authority.¹²

Thus, External Authority means that the actor's style is still an imitation of the teacher's, in contrast to Internal Authority, wherein the art has become the actor's own. In other words, in the art of Internal Authority, the Self is the Subject; in this sense, it is an autonomous art.

The Subject of Internal Authority

Thus, the art of Internal Authority is one in which the Self is the Subject or source of authority; it is an autonomous art. But the Self which has become the Subject is not the self in the conventional sense of the word.

As related previously, the actor's training is a process of taking the "proper" form as one's mold, and disciplining oneself to fit that mold. In a sense, this is a discipline of self-negation. Murata Shukō, one of the founders of the Way of Tea, writes in his *Note on Heart's Mastery*:¹³ "The worst errors one can commit in this Way are self-repression and self-love." In *Style and the Flower*,¹⁴ Zeami says, "Even in the case of a superior actor, if he is filled with pride over his mastery of noh, his art will dwindle.... This is why I wrote 'rehearse with every effort; do not be overbearing with others.'"¹⁵ Thus, it is essential for the actor in training to be rid of both self-repression and self-love, to abandon pride and arrogance, to devote

¹¹ *Shikadō* 室花道.

¹² Adapted from Rimer and Yamazaki, p. 66.

¹³ *Kokoro no fumi* 心の文.

¹⁴ *Fūshi kaden* 風姿花伝.

¹⁵ Rimer and Yamazaki, p. 25.

oneself to the adaptation of one's form to that of one's teachers and other predecessors.

But the actor's training is not only a matter of developing one's form to approach that of one's teachers and other predecessors. It is also a matter of bringing one's spirit closer to their spirit, the spirit expressed in those forms. And once such identification with the spirit of one's teachers and other predecessors is achieved, thorough self-negation will also be achieved, and a new self will be born. The new self that is born through this process, which is in a sense a rebirth, is the Spirit mentioned above in the discussion of the Way as proceeding both "from Form to Spirit" and "from Spirit to Form." This is the True Spirit, the Absolute Spirit; what Bashō called the Way that leads to penetration of all Ways or true refinement; what in Zen is called one's original face, Nothingness. In the Way of the arts, it is this self that is viewed as the True Self, the Original Self.

The art of Internal Authority is thus a style or form wherein such a Self is the Subject or source of authority.

"True Humanity Lies Beyond Rank"

The Self that is the Subject of Internal Authority — the True Spirit, the Absolute Spirit — is the free Self.

It was noted above that, at the Level of Fluency where the actor feels capable of achieving the desired effect in any performance (that is, the Level of Acquired Fluency), there is no longer any pattern other than one's own pattern, no form other than one's own form. This is because the Self and the mold have become one. In such a realm, the Self is free, in a sense. The form of the Self, as it is, is the proper form, as it should be.

But, upon closer examination, such a Self is not yet truly free. The fact that the Self can achieve the desired effect in any performance may mean that it is free in some sense. But that is a subjective sense of freedom; objectively speaking, such a one is still limited by the "proper" forms and patterns. Such a state of selfhood is aptly described by Confucius: "I could follow the dictates of my own heart; for what I desired no longer overstepped the boundaries of right."¹⁶ Subjectively speaking, the heart's desires may be satisfied; but objectively speaking, one never exceeds the given bounds.

But the Self that is the Subject of Internal Authority is free, not only subjectively but also objectively. Not only is there no externally given "proper" form or pattern for this Self; on the contrary, the Self creates its own patterns. At the Level of Acquired Fluency, the Self may be at

¹⁶ Waley, p. 88.



Odori Hotei-zu [Dancing Hotei]. By the Southern Song dynasty painter, Liangkai (Jp., Ryōkai). Inscription by Daisen Fusai. Ink on paper. H., 81.5 cm.; W., 33.0 cm. Designated an Important Cultural Property. Property of the Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe.



Gyoson Sekishō-zu, Fishing Village in Twilight. Attributed to the Song dynasty priest and painter, Muqi (Jp., Mokkei). Late 13th c. Ink on paper. H., 34.4 cm.; L., 113.4 cm. Designated a National Treasure. Property of the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tokyo.

one with the pattern, but only subjectively; objectively speaking, the Self has been forced into a given form or pattern and is only buried there, while the pattern is the same as ever, a framework or mold for the Self. In the art of Internal Authority, however, there are no forms, no patterns, no inviolable rules to be taken as frames or molds, either subjectively or objectively. One creates one's own patterns; the Self is its own fundamental rule.

Thus, the Self that is the Subject of Internal Authority is radically free, unconfined, and unconstrained. The Zen expression that Zeami quotes in *Finding Gems and Gaining the Flower*, "true humanity lies beyond rank," expresses this Self. When Zeami speaks of mastery,¹⁷ as in the passage from

¹⁷ The idea of mastery expressed in the word *ran* 関 is a key concept not only in Zeami's treatises on *noh* but throughout traditional Japanese aesthetics.—Author



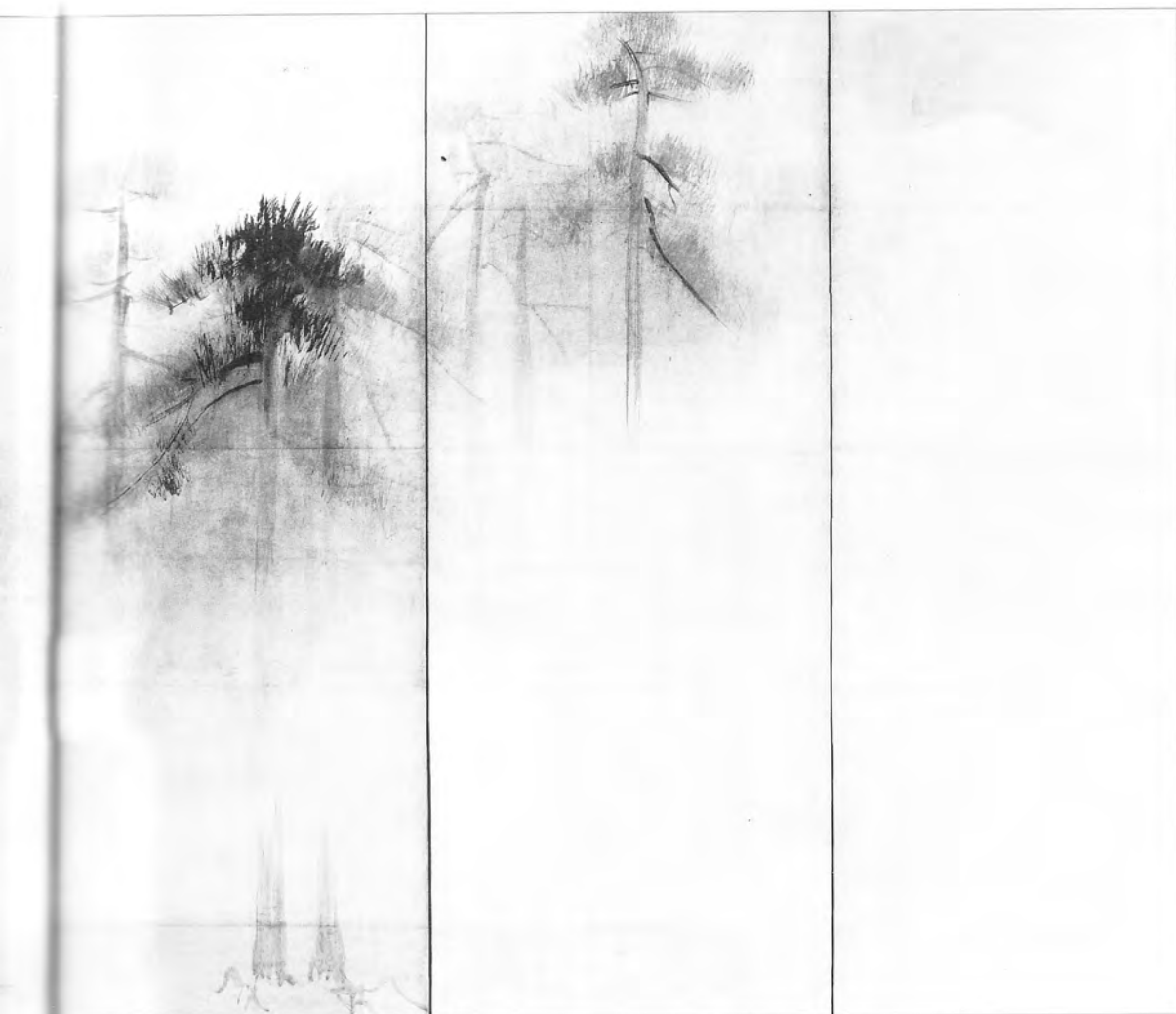
Disciplines for the Joy of Art quoted above, where he speaks of “one who has mastered every kind of performance with ease and confidence,” he means this capacity for self-expression through form and style.

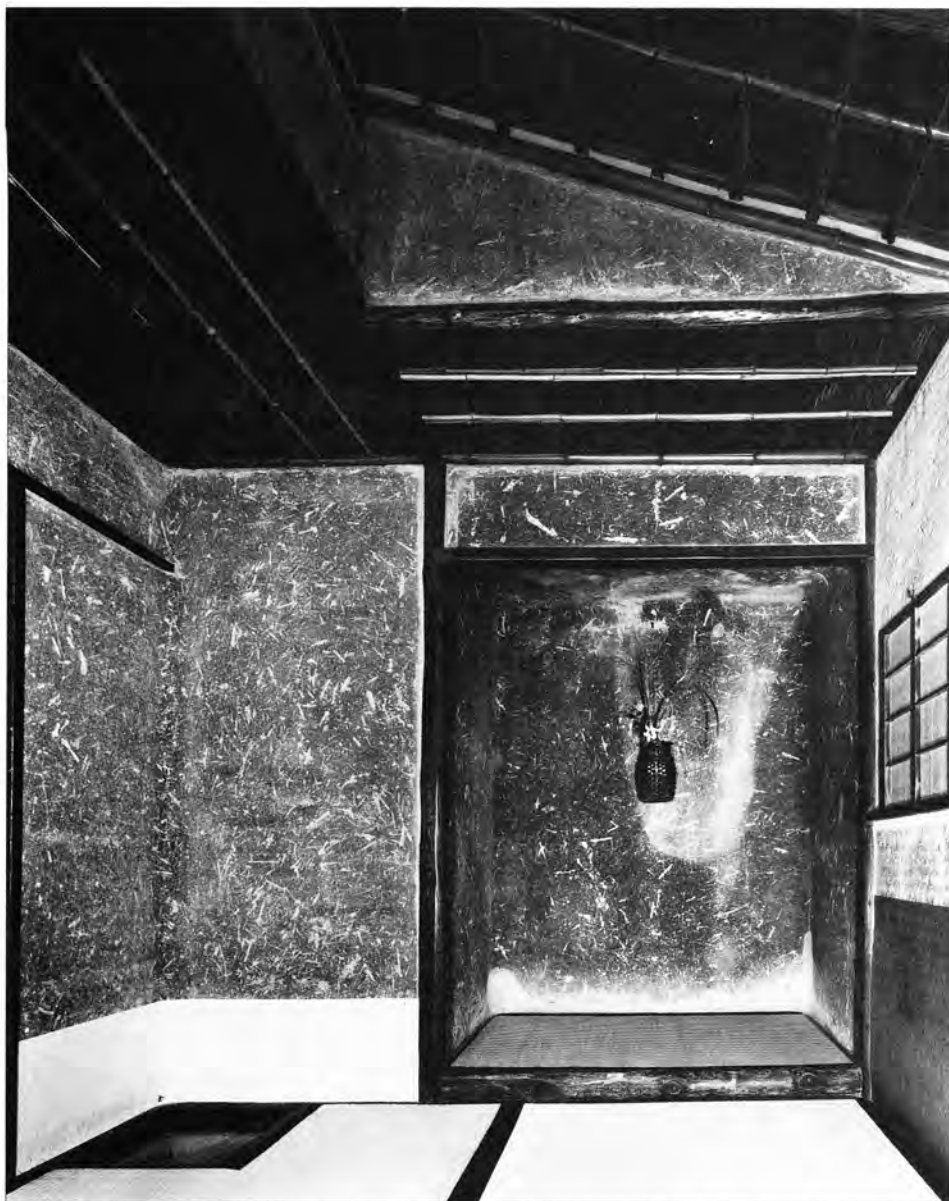
A Level Beyond Right and Wrong

The art of External Authority is one in which the Self has not yet attained true freedom. Such an actor may have mastered all the patterns for all the plays, but is still not free of the risk of making errors in judgment concerning matters beyond cognition, as in the example of the speck of dirt in the well-curb. As there is no pattern for responding to such an unexpected situation, the actor’s form deviates from any established pattern, and so the result is wrong. The Self that performs according to the art of External Subjectivity may be capable of achieving any desired effect



Shōrin-zu, Pine Trees. One of a pair of six-fold screens by Hasegawa Tōhaku. Momoyama period. Ink on paper. H., 156.8 cm.; L., 356.0 cm. Designated a National Treasure. Property of the Tokyo National Museum.





Taian tearoom. Design attributed to Sen Rikyū (1522–91). Designated a National Treasure.

within the bounds of cognition, but risks violating those bounds in areas beyond cognition.

But in the art of Internal Authority, there are no patterns to which one must adapt, no rules one must obey to begin with. Thus, one neither conforms to nor deviates from any pattern; one neither violates nor obeys any rule. If conformity to patterns and obedience to rules is orthodox or right and deviation from patterns and violation of rules unorthodox or wrong, then the art of Internal Authority involves neither orthodoxy nor unorthodoxy, neither right nor wrong; and so there is no risk of erring in one's judgment of right or wrong beyond cognition. That is why it is called the Level of True Fluency, the Level of the Master which is beyond that of the expert.

Unorthodox Style

Even the master actor who has achieved Internal Authority may falter for a moment, for example, at the sight of a speck of dirt in a well-curb. And that faltering may affect the actor's performance. But it will not cause a *fault* in the performance as it will in the case of the actor who relies on External Authority. (If a *fault* occurs, then the actor has not achieved Internal Authority.) It will simply appear to be an unorthodox style. The actor who relies on External Authority may view such an unorthodox style as a deviation from the standard pattern, and may judge it to be wrong. But such a style is beyond such distinctions as orthodox or unorthodox, right or wrong; and to the connoisseur, it may well be judged effective.

The master actor who has achieved Internal Authority may indeed violate a prescribed pattern deliberately, not because of some chance occurrence such as the discovery of a speck of dirt in a well-curb, and so deliberately create an unorthodox style. This is active creativity, the establishment of a new style.

The Art of Emptiness

In this essay, we have studied Zeami's writings on the axiom "Appearance is ultimately Emptiness, Emptiness is ultimately Appearance," and attempted to determine the nature of the artistic realm at the level where "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance." Zeami's understanding of the concepts of Emptiness and Appearance may still be somewhat unclear, but it appears that he understood Emptiness to have the same meaning as True Spirit, Absolute Spirit, and Nothingness, and that he understood Appearance to mean Form. It is clear that the realm where "Appearance

is ultimately Emptiness" is the level where Form leads to Spirit — the level of training. At the same time, the realm where "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance" is the level where Spirit leads to Form — the level of innovation.

As for the theme expressed in the title of this essay, the art of Emptiness, I mean by this phrase to refer to arts which are manifestations of Emptiness. The art of Emptiness thus means art at the level where "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance," in Zeami's words; art born through the Way which leads from Spirit to Form. If the art of Emptiness is indeed art at such a level, where "Emptiness is ultimately Appearance," we might, on the basis of the above observations, draw the following conclusions about the characteristic features of such art.

- There is no danger of the artist making any error in judgment concerning right or wrong beyond cognition.
- The artist acts on the basis of Internal Authority.
- The artist is free of constraint.
- Distinctions between right and wrong, good and bad, are irrelevant.
- The style is unorthodox and hence effective.

What artistic works might be considered worthy of such recognition? The photographs presented within the pages of this article illustrate works which I consider representative of the art of Emptiness. 

Translated by Gerry Yokota-Murakami

Chanoyu in the Early Edo Period

Tanihata Akio

Editor's Preface

With the death of Sen Rikyū in 1591, and thus the passing of the man who had consummated chanoyu as a spiritual practice based on the aesthetic ideal of wabi, chanoyu lost its single-most influential leader. Radical developments were also taking place in the political world. The despot Toyotomi Hideyoshi, under whom Rikyū had risen to the nation's top position as expert on chanoyu matters, died seven years after having ordered Rikyū's suicide. Two years later, in 1600, the Battle of Sekigahara — the decisive battle in the rise of Tokugawa Ieyasu to the shōgunate — in effect marked the beginning of the Edo period. With the ensuing changes in the nation's socio-political structure, chanoyu could no longer exist as it had in Rikyū's time. Gradually, a number of individuals began to exert their influence on the practice of chanoyu, so that in the early Edo period chanoyu developed and expanded in various directions. One key figure to appear was Kanamori Sōwa, whose elegant style of chanoyu appealed to the Imperial family and the nobility. Although Rikyū's own grandson, Sen Sōtan, is mainly known for his role as heir to Rikyū's wabi-style chanoyu, his influence also extended to the Imperial family — namely, in the persons of the Retired Emperor Gomino'o (also pronounced Gomizuno'o) and his wife, Tōfukumon'in. In addition, Kobori Enshū and Katagiri Sekishū, two of the most influential figures in the development of chanoyu suited to the members of the military class of society, were also active at this time. This article will make a general scan of these developments in the world of chanoyu during the early Edo period.

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from pp. 24–45 in the exhibition catalogue "Chanoyu no Rekishi: Sōtan, Sōwa, Enshū to Sono Jidai" 『茶の湯の歴史—宗旦・宗和・遠州とその時代』 (Chado Research Center, 1983). Footnotes are by the editor.



Embroidery picture of a noh drama scene. Created by Tōfukumon'in and presented by her to Sen Sōtan. H., 25.4 cm.; W., 35.0 cm. Property of Fushin'an, Kyoto.

In 1620 (Genna 6), Kazuko, the daughter of the second Tokugawa shōgun, Hidetada, entered the Imperial Court as the bride of Emperor Gomino'o. This entry of the Shōgun's daughter to the court through marriage was intended to formally unite the shōgunate and the imperial family. Regardless of the political motivation behind it, however, the marriage is said to have been an extremely happy one. However, ten years later, in 1629 (Kan'ei 6), with momentum gained from the "Purple Robe Incident" (*Shie Jiken*), Emperor Gomino'o abdicated the throne.¹ Accompanying this was an imperial proclamation designating Kazuko as Empress Dowager Tōfukumon'in.

Kazuko, now a retired empress, enjoyed embroidery and chanoyu. Sen

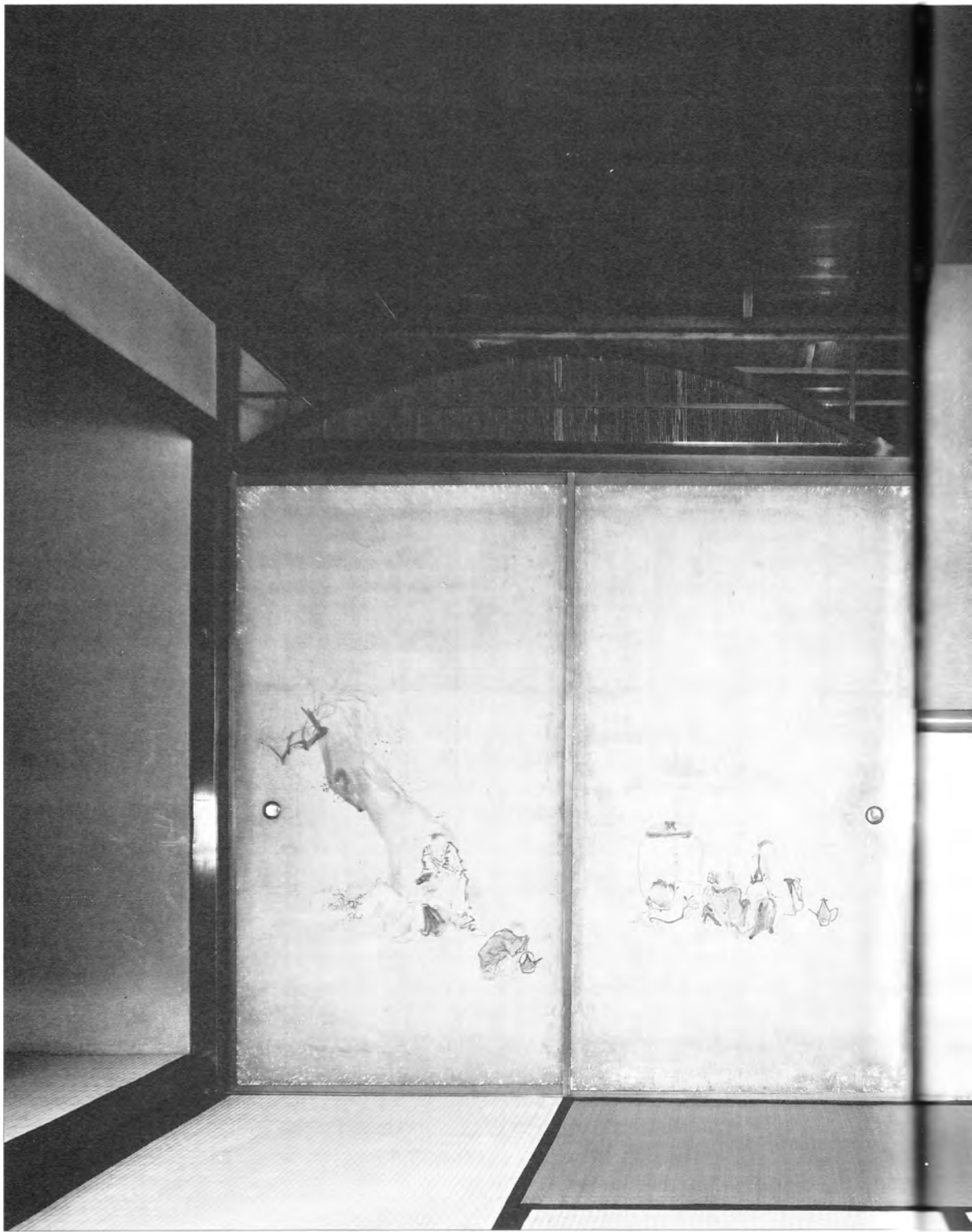
¹ Conferral of the "purple robes" (*shie*), symbolizing the highest order of priesthood, had been the traditional prerogative of the imperial court, and a considerable proportion of the court's income came from payment received for granting this honor. In 1613, the Tokugawa shōgunate attempted to demonstrate its power over the court by issuing regulations stating that the conferral required shōgunal approval. Nonetheless, in 1627 Emperor Gomino'o bestowed purple robes on priests of Daitokuji and Myōshinji temples. The shōgunate pronounced these conferrals invalid and confiscated the robes, leading Emperor Gomino'o to abdicate in protest. (Cf. Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan.)



Tōfukumon'in.
Property of Kōunji
temple, Kyoto.

Rikyū's grandson, Sōtan (1578–1658), was her chanoyu instructor. The extant embroidered pictures created by Tōfukumon'in include one of a broken peach branch, and depictions of famous literary figures such as Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, Ono no Komachi, and Sarumaru Dayū. If we also consider the other such works on record, the embroidered pictures created by Tōfukumon'in appear to have been quite numerous. Sōtan himself received several as gifts. In addition to these, he also received many other gifts from her, including a container for shells used in the clam-shell matching (*kai-awase*) game, an ink-stone box in the shape of a hand-mirror case (*kagami-no-su*), and a tea caddy by the potter Ninsei. Sōtan, furthermore, is said to have presented Tōfukumon'in with such items as a red-colored *chakin* (*beni-chakin*; a small wiping cloth usually of white linen but, in this case, dyed with saffron) and a *tsumagure daisu* (*daisu* utensil stand with red trim), which he designed especially for her.

The Retired Emperor Gomino'ō also seems to have enjoyed chanoyu. Although it is difficult to discern the exact nature of his style of tea, several ceramic tea utensils, including a cold-water container in the shape of a courtier's cap (*kammuri-gata mizusashi*) and openwork dewdrop *mukōzuke*





Kan'untei tearoom. The oldest shoin-style room within the Urasenke Konnichian complex. The comb-shaped transom is said to have been designed by Sōtan, after a comb he had received as a gift from Tōfukumon'in. Photo by Futa-gawa Yukio.

(dishes used in the meal accompanying tea), are said to have been fired at Shūgakuin, the Detached Palace which Gomino'o himself is believed to have designed. Further evidence of Gomino'o's style of tea can be found at Minase Shrine in Osaka, where there remains a tearoom said to have been to his liking (*see photo*, pp. 34–35). Known as the Tōshintei ("Wick Arbor"), its name is said to derive from the fact that the bush clover, yellow rose, and rushes used to create its ceiling were also materials commonly employed as oil lamp wicks. While the rustic atmosphere of the Tōshintei tearoom calls to mind thatched-roof farmhouses in the countryside, the room's refined construction also reveals the tastes of a distinguished noble. Yet another clue to the nature of Gomino'o's tea can be found in the "Ochaya," a tearoom said to have been transported from the Emperor's palace to Fushimi Inari Shrine in southern Kyoto, where it exists today.

The chanoyu that gained acceptance at the Imperial Court through Retired Emperor Gomino'o and Tōfukumon'in naturally exerted an influence on the nobility. Konoe Ōzan (Nobuhiro; 1599–1649), the younger brother of Gomino'o, was reportedly a frequent visitor to the tearoom Yūin which Sōtan built for his own retirement. It is also known that Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579–1638) wrote letters to Sōtan inquiring after his health. These contacts between Sōtan and members of the nobility might also constitute evidence that his rustic style of chanoyu had spread throughout the nobility.

In addition to Sōtan, there was another man of tea who had tremendous influence throughout the world of the nobility. His name was Kanamori Sōwa. Born in 1584 (Tenshō 12), he was the eldest son of Kanamori Ari-shige, lord of Hida Takayama Castle (in present-day Gifu Prefecture). Both his father and grandfather, Nagachika, were distinguished men of tea, and therefore one might say that Sōwa was immersed in the world of chanoyu



Sen Sōtan. Inscription, by Gyokushū Sōban.
Property of Fushin'an, Kyoto.



Kammuri-gata mimitsuki mizusashi. Cold-water container in the shape of a courtier's cap. Believed to have been fired at the Retired Emperor Gomino'o's private kiln on the grounds of the Shūgakuin Detached Palace. H., 18.1 cm.; D. mouth, 18.9 cm.; D. base, 12.0 cm. Property of the Tekisui Art Museum, Ashiya.

from an early age. However, as a result of disfavor incurred through his handling of the Battle of Osaka in 1614, Sōwa proceeded to Kyoto.

In Kyoto, he interacted vigorously with the nobility through the medium of chanoyu. Through this exposure, his chanoyu became known not only to Konoe Ōzan, mentioned earlier, and the court noble Ichijō Akiyoshi (also a younger brother of Gomino'o), but also to the Retired Emperor Gomino'o and Tōfukumon'in.

Just what, then, was the nature of the chanoyu practiced by Sōwa? Compared to the rustic style of chanoyu espoused by Sōtan, Sōwa's chanoyu was suffused with an aesthetic sensibility rooted in imperial tastes, which earned him the epithet "Princess Sōwa." Representative of his chanoyu are the many elegant tea utensils crafted and fired by Ninsei according to Sōwa's instructions. It is said that these delicate ceramics, born from a consummate mastery of the potter's wheel, epitomized the refined tastes of the nobility.

Ninsei was born Nonomura Seiuemon in a village called Nonomura



Emperor Gomino'o. By the tonsured Prince Gyōjo. Property of Hōganji temple, Kyoto. Photo from Shōgakusan Inc.

Tōshintei ("Wick Arbor") tearoom, view of decorated tokonoma and shelves. This three-mat room with three-quarter-sized mat (*daijime*) for tea preparation, located at Minase Shrine in Osaka, is said to reflect the tastes of Emperor Gomino'o. Alcove: scroll featuring Japanese poem by Emperor Gosai; bamboo flower container by Kanamori Sōwa. Shelves: celadon incense burner and other items for the enjoyment of *kōdō* (the art of incense appreciation). Photo by Nishikawa Takeshi. Published by permission of Shinchōsha Co.







Chōshūkaku tearoom, alcove and tea preparation area with utensils in style favored by Kanamori Sōwa. Alcove: shakuhachi-type flower container of “rusty” bamboo (*sabidake*), by Sōwa. Tea preparation area: cylindrical kettle by Onishi Jōsei; brazier with rim in the shape of a square poetry card (*shikishi*), favored by Sōwa; Korean-style Karatsu ware cold-water container; Chinese square-shouldered (*katatsuki*) tea caddy inside “Oribé-brocade” (*Oribé-donsu*) pouch; Chinese lacquered tray with mother-of-pearl inlay; “blue” Ido teabowl. The Chōshūkaku tearoom was built by Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–51), and is now located in the Sankeien Garden, Yokohama. Photo by Nishikawa Takeshi. Published by permission of Shinchōsha Co.

in the Kuwata region of Tamba (now part of Kyoto Prefecture).² After studying pottery both at Awataguchi in Kyoto and at Seto, he established his kiln and made his first tea utensils in the neighborhood of Omuro Ninnaji temple in Kyoto. It was here that he received direction in the firing of glazed ceramics from Sōwa. Before long, Ninsei's artistic talents came to the attention of the tonsured prince serving as abbot of Ninnaji temple, who granted him personal use of the first Chinese character, "Nin," in the temple's name. Combining this with the first Chinese character in his given name, he then became known as Ninsei. It is possible to say that through Ninsei, Sōwa's elegant chanoyu was given added substance.

Sōwa's fame eventually spread throughout Kyoto and as far afield as the Kaga domain (part of present-day Ishikawa Prefecture), where the third lord of the powerful Maeda clan, Toshitsune (1593–1658), enlisted his help in purchasing a great number of Ninsei's pieces. This relationship with the Maeda clan also led to Sōwa's son, Shichinosuke, being engaged as a retainer by the clan. Toshitsune also seems to have used Sōwa as an arbiter of taste to enrich Kaga's cultural milieu by introducing Kyoto-style elegance.³

The extent of the Kaga domain's orientation toward Kyoto is also revealed in the construction of the Katsura Detached Palace.⁴ Here, upon successfully arranging the marriage of a daughter into the Imperial Court, the Maeda family undertook construction of a new palace within the existing grounds. These renovations for Maeda Toshitsune's newly wed-



Square tea caddy by Ninsei. Property of the Kohzu Kobunka Kaikan, Kyoto.

² This area is known for its pottery production, mainly of sturdy wares of a utilitarian character.

³ The Maeda daimyō family had their castle in the city of Kanazawa, which in time became known as a "little Kyoto."

⁴ This detached palace (*rikyū*), located near the Katsura River in the southwest of Kyoto, was originally a country villa of the imperial princely Hachijō no Miya family. Prince Toshihito (1579–1629) of this family started construction of the villa around 1620. In 1642, his son Prince Toshitada (1619–62) married Maeda Toshitsune's daughter, and with money received from the Tokugawa shōgunate celebrating this event, together with the support of the wealthy Maeda family, he expanded the palace.



Shōkintei tea pavilion at the Katsura Detached Palace. Photo courtesy of the Chadō Research Center, Kyoto.

ded daughter, Princess Fū, occasioned the creation of most of the Katsura Detached Palace's present form, including improvements to the lakeside arbor, resulting in the tea pavilion designed by Kobori Enshū and named Shōkintei.

Kobori Enshū and Tea of the Warrior Class

Kobori Enshū (1579–1647) was a leader in the formation of daimyō-style tea in the early part of the Edo period. He is also important for the far-reaching activities he undertook in creating a new type of chanoyu in Kyoto.

Enshū was born in Sakata in the province of Ōmi (present-day Shiga Prefecture), and was the son of Shinsuke Masatsugu, a rural warrior in the service of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Known as Sakusuke Masakazu during his youth, Enshū succeeded to the family estate upon his father's death, inheriting a fief in the locality of Matsuyama in Bitchū (present-day Okayama Prefecture) with a stipend of 12,000 *koku*,⁵ and entered the service of the Tokugawa government. Enshū's talent first appeared during his participation in a number of construction projects, including Fushimi Castle, the Sentō Palace [of Retired Emperor Goyōzei], and the Shōgun's castle in Sumpu (present-day Shizuoka Prefecture). In recognition of his meritorious work on these projects, he was appointed to the Lower Fifth Rank and bestowed with the title Lord of Tōtō'omi (present-day western Shizuoka Prefecture). However, more than any of his other achievements, Enshū's prominence grew as a result of his chanoyu.

Let us take a brief look at the character and achievements of this man, Enshū, who studied chanoyu under Furuta Oribe (1544–1615)⁶ and was said to be his favorite disciple. Enshū's chanoyu, described as *kirei-sabi* (possessing "antiquated elegance"), maintained a certain grace within its overall ambience of rusticity. This quality is clearly displayed in the series of tearooms that he designed, among which the Mittan tearoom at the Ryūkōin (commonly pronounced Ryōkōin) subtemple of Daitokuji temple, the Bōsen and San'unjō tearooms at the Kohōan subtemple of Daitokuji, and the Hassō-no-seki tearoom at Nanzenji temple are representative examples.

⁵ A measure of volume or capacity, used generally for rice. In the Edo period, one *koku* of grain equaled about 180 liters. An estimate of the annual yield of farmland, measured in *koku* of unpolished rice, formed the basis of tax assessments, and the stipends of samurai as well as the wealth of daimyō were likewise measured in *koku*. As a means of comparison, the wealthiest daimyō domain in the early Edo period was that of the Maeda family, whose lands brought in an income of more than 1,200,000 *koku*.

⁶ Furuta Oribe was a daimyō and was one of Sen Rikyū's closest followers. See the articles "Furuta Oribe" (*Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 42) and "Rikyū's Disciples" (*Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 66), by Murai Yasuhiko.





Hassō-no-seki ("eight-windowed") tea-room. Designed by Kobori Enshū at the request of the priest Konchiin Sūden. Located within the Konchiin subtemple of Nanzenji, Kyoto. Designated an Important Cultural Property. Photo from Fukui Asahido Ltd.

The Mittan tearoom is four mats in size with a *daimi* (three-quarter-sized mat used by the host for tea preparation), and has a standard alcove in the northwest corner. In front of the host's mat there is an additional alcove, designed exclusively to display a rare scroll by the Chinese Zen master Mian Xianjie (Jp., Mittan Kanketsu, 1107–86), for which this room is famous. The Bōsen tearoom, on the other hand, with a spacious twelve-mat arrangement and four large *akari-shōji* (shoji with moveable panels to let in direct light) along its southern wall, is renowned for its expansiveness. Compared with those of Rikyū or Oribe, Enshū's tearooms catered to the tastes of the warrior class by eschewing in their construction the restricted feeling of narrow spaces. Whereas Rikyū's tearooms resonated with a sense of tension, it might be said that those by Enshū strove for a form comfortably suited to men of the daimyō class, who were beginning to consider chanoyu as a means of cultivation.

Another aspect of Enshū's chanoyu was the great importance placed on ceramics. The ceramic tea wares produced at what are commonly referred to as the "Seven Kilns of Enshū" — Shitoro ware of Tōtō'omi, Zeze ware of Ōmi, Agano ware of Buzen (present-day Fukuoka Prefecture), Takatori ware of Chikuzen (present-day Fukuoka Prefecture), Asahi ware of Yamashiro (present-day Kyoto Prefecture), Kosobe ware of Settsu (present-day Ōsaka Prefecture), and Akahada ware of Yamato (present-day Nara Prefecture) — were extremely well suited to the stately, refined nature of Enshū's tea. Whether or not Enshū was actually involved with the work at all of these kilns is unclear, but there is no doubt that the tea wares produced there helped to bolster his chanoyu.

His selection and collecting of *chūkō meibutsu* (post-Rikyū masterpieces) was also enthusiastically greeted by rising daimyō new to chanoyu. In general, treasured antiquities are classified into *ōmeibutsu* (great masterpiece), *meibutsu* (masterpiece), and so on, and in addition to these broad divisions there are also *Senke meibutsu* (masterpieces of the Sen Family) and other specific categories, such as *Yawata meibutsu* (masterpieces from the original collection of Shōkadō Shōjō). However, by Enshū's era these various *meibutsu* had already entered the family collections of different tea enthusiasts and could not be easily acquired. In response to the needs of those who were newly entering into chanoyu, Enshū assembled tea utensils which complemented his own aesthetic sensibilities, and exalted them as *chūkō meibutsu*. It is notable that, in designating items *chūkō meibutsu*, he assigned them poetic names adopted from classical poetry collections such as the *Kokin Shū* and *Shin Kokin Shū*. The following story is told about his naming of a Seto tea caddy from the Kinkazan kiln. When Enshū originally saw the tea caddy in his youth, he reacted indifferently to it because he sensed that it was new. Encountering this same tea caddy once again in Kyoto years later, it seemed at once to have grown older and more refined. This moved him to bequeath it the name "Asukagawa"

(Tomorrow River) from this poem found in the *Kokin Shū*:

“yesterday” we say
and “today” we live but still
months and days slip past
as smoothly and swiftly as
Tomorrow River’s waters⁷

In this way, new *chūkō meibutsu* tea utensils were recognized, many with names derived from the *Shin Kokin Shū*, *Gosen Waka Shū*, and similarly revered classical poetry collections.

Paralleling this process, Enshū also exercised inventiveness in resurrecting many long neglected tea utensils and introducing newly imported foreign ceramics to chanoyu. These were not, however, innovations based exclusively on Enshū’s fancy. “The mist in spring; cuckoos hidden in the shade of summer leaves; autumn’s loneliness gathering in the evening twilight; a sunrise over snow in winter: in all of these, the taste of chanoyu.”

As displayed by this passage in the *Kobori Enshū Kakisute no Fumi* [Kobori Enshū’s Private Jottings], the aesthetic criteria for Enshū’s chanoyu were deeply rooted in imperial tastes — in the artistic sensibilities that arose among the nobility of the Heian period (794–1192). And it was precisely this “imperial taste” that the increasingly stable Tokugawa government and the military elite under its command were striving to acquire.

About the time that Enshū presented tea (*kencha*) for the third Tokugawa shōgun, Iemitsu, in Edo in 1636 (Kan’ei 13), Enshū’s prominence grew to a national level. In Sendai, the Daté clan’s employment of an Enshū disciple, Shimizu Dōkan, as chanoyu advisor motivated the lords of various domains to contend among themselves in adopting Enshū’s style of



Outer container (*hikiya*) for the “Asukagawa” tea caddy. H., 8.1 cm.; D. body, 6.2 cm. Polished wood. Characters “Asukagawa” (on the lid), and inscription of the *Kokin Shū* poem from which this name derives (on the body), by Kobori Enshū. Property of the Yuki Museum of Art, Osaka.

⁷ By Harumichi no Tsuraki (d. 920). Tr. by Laurel Rasplia Rodd, et. al., in *Kokinshū* (Princeton University Press, 1984). According to Rodd, et. al., Tsuraki’s poem is an allusive variation on the following anonymous poem, also included in the *Kokinshū*: in this world of ours / what is there that does not change / Tomorrow River — / the deep pools of yesterday / have become today’s shallows.



chanoyu. These developments, however, could only be called natural given the circumstances of samurai society in the Edo period, a class structure in which the Shōgun stood at the pinnacle.

Following in Enshū's footsteps were other figures who also influenced the development of daimyō chanoyu. Two of them were Funakoshi Nagakage (1597–1670), the Lord of Iyo (present-day Ehime Prefecture), and Katagiri Sadamasa Sekishū (1605–1673), Lord of Iwami (part of present-day Shimane Prefecture). Like Enshū before him, Funakoshi studied chanoyu under Oribe and demonstrated his talents on various important construction projects for the Tokugawa shōgun. Probably Funakoshi's most auspicious undertaking was preparing tea (*kencha*), together with Katagiri Sekishū, for the fourth Tokugawa shōgun, Ietsuna. For this important event, a calligraphic scroll by the Chinese Zen priest Wuzhun Shifan (Jp., Bujun Shibān) was hung in the alcove, and the *ōmeibutsu* tea caddy "Seitaka Katatsuki," passed down from Oda Nobunaga to Tokugawa Ieyasu, was used. It is reported that Shōgun Ietsuna was extremely impressed with the skillfulness of the tea preparations.

Offering tea together with Funakoshi on this occasion was Katagiri Sekishū, whose given name was Sadamasa and who also used the religious name Sanshuku Sōkan. Sekishū's uncle, Katagiri Katsumoto, was one of seven warriors who became

Scroll by Funakoshi Nagakage. One of the few extant examples of Funakoshi's calligraphy. Photo courtesy of the Chadō Research Center, Kyoto.

known as the “Seven Spears of Shizugatake” for their valor in the Battle of Shizugatake (1583). In 1627 (Kan’ei 4), upon the death of his father, Katagiri Sadataka, Sekishū succeeded to the fief of Yamato Koizumi with a stipend of more than 10,000 *koku* and entered the service of the Tokugawa government. His first appointment was as supervisor of reconstruction work on Chion’in temple in Kyoto. For nine years, he therefore resided in Kyoto and, during this time, cultivated his chanoyu under the tutelage of Kuwayama Sōsen (1560–1632), a disciple of Rikyū’s eldest son, Dōan. He also interacted with many of the period’s major figures, such as Kanamori Sōwa, Kobori Enshū, and Shōkadō Shōjō, and studied Zen at Daitokuji temple under Gyokushū Sōban. It was during this period of his life, also, that most of his contacts with the Imperial Court, including Empress Dowager Tōfukumon’in and tonsured Prince Gyōnen of Myōhō-in temple, took place.

Sekishū’s chanoyu was characterized by a bright, open atmosphere, like that extolled by Enshū, which he tempered with a degree of tension. In response to a question from tonsured Prince Gyōnen, Sekishū initiated him in the one-and-a-half-mat tearoom tradition of chanoyu which had been passed down from Dōan to Sōsen, and then from Sōsen to himself. The spirit of this tradition strove for wabi like that found in nature, as expressed in this poem:

In weeds peeping from the wall,
a solitary katydid;
in the garden’s autumn drizzle,
how it trembles amid the dew.

By subtly mitigating the growing opulence within chanoyu, a trend fostered by Enshū and others active during the Kan’ei era, this current sought to redirect it toward a more deeply spiritual tea.

After Kobori Enshū’s death, the chanoyu practiced by Sekishū began receiving attention from various daimyō. This occurred as their vassals and chanoyu advisors began turning one after another to the style and substance of Sekishū’s tea. In this way, the chanoyu embraced by the daimyō moved from the warrior-style tea of Furuta Oribe to the *kirei-sabi* tea, incorporating classical imperial tastes, created by Oribe’s successor, Kobori Enshū, and then to a tea whose foundation ultimately lay in the concept of *kirei-sabi*. Through the influence of Funakoshi Nagakage, Katagiri Sekishū, and others, changes gradually emerged in the practice of Enshū’s chanoyu. Nonetheless, the tradition of Enshū’s chanoyu continued uninterrupted among many daimyō and chanoyu advisors right up to the end of the Edo period. As such, the influence exerted by Kobori Enshū’s chanoyu was far-reaching.

Right: Katagiri Sekishū. Property of the Taimadera Nakanobō, Nara. Photo from Shōgakukan Inc.



Below: Jūnishi-gama. Kettle with pattern of characters representing the twelve animal signs. Owned by Katagiri Sekishū. H. 23.5 cm.; D. body, 27.2 cm. Property of Jishōji temple, Nara. According to an inscription on the box, Sekishū had this kettle ordermade, basing the design on an existing Chinese jūnishi-gama. Photo from Shōgakukan Inc.



Buddhist Priests and the Way of Tea

During roughly the same period as Sōtan, Sōwa, and Enshū, there was a certain priest active in the world of tea. His name was Shōkadō Shōjō (1584–1639). Not much is known about Shōjō's background, but his childhood name was Tatsunosuke, and his elder brother, Nakanuma Sakyo, was an official at the Ichijōin subtemple of Kōfukuji temple in Nara, where he spent his early years. Moving to Kyoto around the age of ten, Shōjō studied calligraphy under Konoe Sakihisa (Ryōzan; 1536–1612) while serving as a retainer for the Konoe family. Shōjō's inclusion as one of the "*Kan'ei no Sampitsu*" (Three Greatest Calligraphers of the Kan'ei Era) can be attributed to the foundations in the art of calligraphy that he received during this time.

Later, Shōjō entered the Takimotobō of Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine in Kyoto and studied the teachings of Shingon Buddhism as a disciple of Jitsujō. During these studies, Shōjō's brilliance was recognized by Hōben Sōzu, who is said to have initiated him into all the secret teachings of esoteric Buddhism, presumably with the expectation that he was destined for greatness. Shōjō acquired his painting skills in a similar fashion from Kanō Sanraku, who was living in seclusion on Otokoyama nearby, and gradually developed an idiosyncratic style with distinctly "tea-flavored" overtones. This quality also led to Shōjō's eloquent inscriptions appearing above many paintings.

It was not until relatively late in his life that Shōjō took up chanoyu. He already seems to have been over forty when he began his training under Kobori Enshū. Nonetheless, according to a tea record in the Konnichian Library collection, by 1631 (Kan'ei 8) Shōjō's ability had already developed to such a remarkable degree that he reportedly held his own *kuchikiri chaji* (formal chanoyu gathering to unseal the leaf-tea storage jar containing that year's tea). The name "Takimotobō" appears in the tea record of this event, probably indicating that it was chiefly the three-mat tearoom named Kan'unken, which was part of the residence called Takimotobō within the Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine, where the gathering was held.

Insofar as his chanoyu activities are concerned, Shōjō became famous for the number and variety of treasured tea utensils which he owned. Collectively, these masterpieces have been designated as *Yawata meibutsu*. At the top of this list is a Chinese Han dynasty *ōmeibutsu* tea caddy known as the "*Kokushi Nasu*," so christened from its ownership at one time by Governor (*kokushi*) Kitabatake of Ise. Other artistic masterpieces which are known to have been in this collection include a *waka* (Japanese poem) by the revered poets Teika and Tameie; paintings by the celebrated masters Muqi (Jp., Mokkei), Minchō, and Sesshū; an old Seto broad-bottom (*shiribari*) tea caddy; and a "*Hana no Shirakawa*" ink-stone box.



Shōkadō Chakaiki. Shōkadō Shōjō's record of tea gatherings. In this record, Shōkadō notes the details of eleven tea gatherings which he held during the year 1631 (Kan'ei 8). Konnichian Library Collection.

In 1637 (Kan'ei 14), near the last year of his life, Shōjō moved from the Takimotobō to the Izumibō nearby, where he built a thatched cottage for his retirement. The two-mat room with pyramid-like (*hōgyō-zukuri*) roof included a cooking hearth, alcove, and a round tea hearth, and was designed to serve both as his residence and tearoom. In retreating to such an abode, Shōjō could be said to have ultimately chosen a dwelling akin to that of Kamo no Chōmei (1156?–1216)⁸ and Yoshida Kenkō (ca. 1283–ca. 1352)⁹ — a religious abode (*hōjō*) -cum- thatched hermitage (*sōan*).

Shōjō was by no means the only Buddhist priest of the time with a fondness for chanoyu. Another was Konchiin Sūden (1569–1633), who displayed extraordinary ability as a “priestly regent” after being appointed by Tokugawa Ieyasu [to serve as Ieyasu’s diplomatic advisor]. Sūden commissioned Kobori Enshū to design a tearoom for his temple residence (see photo, pp. 40–41). Together with Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645) and Kōgetsu Sōgan (1574–1643), he too became deeply involved in chanoyu.

The Zen priests Takuan, Kōgetsu, and Gyokushitsu Sōhaku (1572–1641) are famous for their vehement protests against the Tokugawa government concerning the “Purple Robe Incident” and consequent abdication of Emperor Gomino’o, for which Takuan and Gyokushitsu were exiled. For all three, their efforts were aimed at greater independence from such religious politics. Their lives and activities subsequent to the Incident, however, offer an interesting contrast. First let us consider the circumstances surrounding Takuan.

⁸ See “Kamo no Chōmei, The Recluse,” by Yamaori Tetsuo, in *Chanoyu Quarterly* nos. 64–65.

⁹ Author best known for his *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness).



The Shōkadō. Shōkadō Shōjō's abode during his last years. Located in Yawata City, Kyoto Prefecture. Photo courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co.

The son of a warrior of Tajima Province named Akiba Tsunanori, Takuan was born into a family which had for generations been devout Buddhists. In time he entered Daitokuji temple, eventually receiving certification of his spiritual achievement from Ittō Jōteki (1533–1606) of Nanshūji temple in Sakai, whereupon he was given the name Takuan. Succeeding to the position of 153th chief abbot of Daitokuji temple at the early age of thirty-five, he relinquished the role within days and left to visit such temples as Nanshūji and Tajima Sūkyōji.

For Takuan, the "Purple Robe Incident" was the decisive catalyst that brought his particular genius to the surface. Up until this time, the Tokugawa government had imposed regulations on Daitokuji and Myōshinji temples as a means of controlling Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines. However, when these measures began encroaching on the Emperor's prerogative to grant the purple robes, going so far as to invalidate those which the Emperor had bestowed, Takuan, along with Kōgetsu and Gyokushitsu, was incited into protest. In his own expression of protest, Emperor Gomino'o, indignant at this usurpation of his right of imperial conferral of the purple robes, suddenly abdicated the throne.

As a result, Takuan was exiled to Kaminoyama in Dewa Province (present-day Yamagata Prefecture). Finding a sympathetic reception in Kaminoyama, however, he passed his exile in a hermitage with an attached



Takuan Oshō Chaki Eika Shū. Collection of Takuan's poetry celebrating tea utensils. According to a preface dated 1660 (Manji 3), Takuan originally presented this collection to Kōgetsu Sōgan. Konnichian Library Collection.

tearoom named Harusamean and was treated with warm hospitality. From close friends he was sent kimonos and containers of leaf tea, and seemed to have enjoyed chanoyu during his banishment.

In 1632 (Kan'ei 9), with the death of the second Tokugawa shōgun, Hidetada, and Iemitsu's succession, Takuan was pardoned. Because he was taken into Iemitsu's confidence and promoted to a position of trust, however, he could not return to Kyoto at this time. Iemitsu demonstrated the extent to which he respected Takuan by frequently inviting him to his tea gatherings. At one such gathering hosted by the Shōgun in 1637 (Kan'ei 14), the flowers and charcoal were arranged by Iemitsu himself, and rare utensils including a calligraphic scroll by Zen Master Xutang (Jp., Kidō, 1185–1269) and an *ōmeibutsu* tea caddy known as the "Narashiba Katatsuki" were used. Takuan's deep love of tea is evident in his authorship of the *Takuan Oshō Chaki Eika Shū*, a collection of his Chinese and Japanese poetry celebrating more than twenty kinds of tea utensils.

Let us now look at the priest Kōgetsu Sōgan. Kōgetsu was the son of Tsuda Sōgyū, an eminent man of tea and head of the wealthy and influential Tennōjiya merchantile house in Sakai. As a youth, Kōgetsu took Buddhist vows under the guidance of Shōrin Sōkin (1505–83) of Nanshūji temple. Later, he trained assiduously under the renowned Zen



Kōgetsu Sōgan. Property of the Ryūkōin subtemple of Daitokuji, Kyoto.

priest Shun'oku Sōen as part of an illustrious life in Zen. After extensive experience at Nanshūji temple in Sakai and Zuiganji temple in Ōmi, Kōgetsu, at the request of the daimyō Kuroda Nagamasa (1568–1623), established the subtemple Ryūkōin at Daitokuji temple. In addition to this, he became the 79th abbot of Sūfukuji temple in Hakata, and was requested by Matsuura Shigenobu (1549–1614), Lord of the Hirado domain, to be the founder of Shōshūji temple. In 1625 (Kan'ei 2), Kōgetsu was given the name Zen Master Dai-ryō Kōsō by Emperor Gomino'o.

Immediately after this, the "Purple Robe Incident" occurred and Takuan and Gyokushitsu were exiled. It is unclear why Kōgetsu alone, though he participated in the same activities alongside Takuan and Gyokushitsu, was not banished. One explanation is the practical consideration that to exile three of Daitokuji's most capable men all at once would disturb the upcoming 300th anniversary of the temple's

founder, Daitō Kokushi, and hinder the temple itself at a time when a revival was being promoted.

Kōgetsu's involvement in the "Purple Robe Incident" was basically as summed up above, but what was the nature of his connection to chanoyu? As already mentioned, Kōgetsu's father was the wealthy merchant and prominent man of tea, Tsuda Sōgyū. It is therefore natural to assume that, having been influenced by his father, he was proficient in chanoyu. The "oil-drop (*yuteki*) temmoku" teabowl which has been designated a National Treasure, the paper patterns of tea caddies, and the many other famous tea utensils owned by Ryūkōin, are said to have either been passed down to him from his father, Sōgyū, or to have been acquired by Kōgetsu himself. Another product of his efforts is the *Bokuseki no Utsushi* [Copy of Calligraphic Works by Zen Masters], a compilation of Kōgetsu's own detailed assessments of calligraphic scrolls. A recently published edition indicates that a number of the listed scrolls which passed under Kōgetsu's scrutiny are no longer in existence. Thus the work is an



invaluable source of information for the study of tea history.

Judging from Kōgetsu's *Bokuseki no Utsushi* and other records, calligraphy by Daitokuji priests came into much wider use as tea scrolls during the early Edo period, whereas works by Chinese Zen priests and by Heian period poets such as Fujiwara Teika had predominated up to that time. Although the origins of this trend extend back to the days of Rikyū, the use of scrolls by Daitokuji priests reached an unparalleled level as part of the chanoyu that flourished under Sōtan, Sōwa, and Enshū during the Kan'ei era.

The fact remains, however, that until this time only the works of an elite, venerated few, such as the founder of Daitokuji temple, Daitō Koku-shi, or Ikkyū Sōjun (1394–1481) and Kokei Sōchin (1532–97), were used. Not until after the Battle of Sekigahara (1600) and the stabilization of Tokugawa political power were the works of Takuan, Kōgetsu, Gyokushitsu, and others, such as their teacher Shun'oku Sōen, widely used as tea scrolls.

It should also be pointed out here that the works of these priests were hung in tearoom alcoves during their very lifetimes. Although it seems natural that men of tea would revere works by their own Zen teachers, the only previous instance in which calligraphy by a living Zen teacher was used as a tea scroll was in the case of Rikyū and his teacher Kokei Sōchin. As a rule, only works of a venerable age had been considered suitable prior to this time.

Although the exact causes of this new trend are unclear, the "Purple Robe Incident" seems to have contributed to its advance. Even without garnering significant support as a result of the "Purple Robe Incident," Takuan, Kōgetsu, Gyokushitsu, and others of their generation were exceptionally capable Zen priests. Nonetheless, this

Scroll by Gyokushitsu Sōhaku. Central area: H. 121.2 cm.; W. 26.2 cm. The writing may be translated, "The white clouds outside the window are deep." Property of the Tokyo National Museum. Photo courtesy of the Chadō Research Center, Kyoto.

alone would not have adequately justified such extensive use of their works for tea. Rather, by risking their lives to defend Imperial Court tradition, and by struggling for Daitokuji's independence from state control, they seem to have evoked a powerful response among the people of Kyoto, and to have earned a great deal of sympathy among the daimyō as well, who by rights were bound in service to the Tokugawa family. I venture that this would certainly have won them acceptance among the many literati with allegiances to the Imperial Court, and may have been the ultimate reason for their scrolls appearing in more and more tearooms. Takuan's pardon by Shōgun Iemitsu, and subsequent preferential treatment upon returning to Edo from exile in Dewa, may also have played a part. To the literati surrounding the Imperial Court, as well as to the townspeople of Kyoto, it may even have seemed as though the Tokugawa government was tacitly approving of the earlier protests by Takuan and the others.

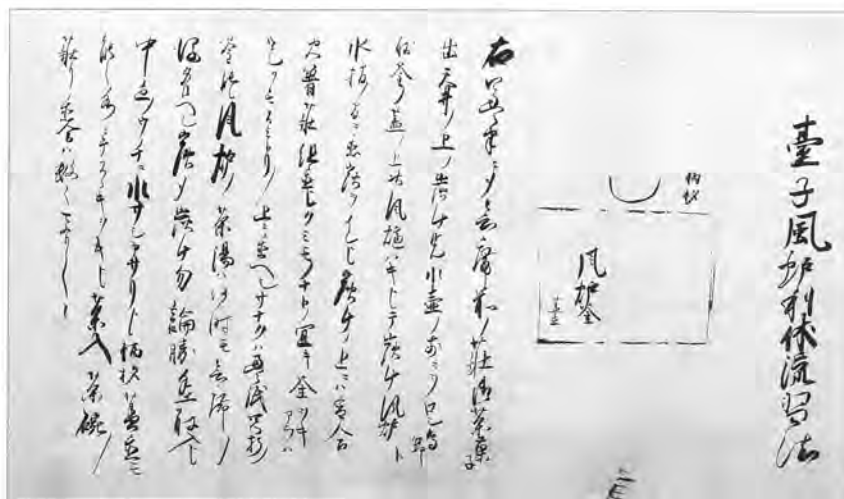
There seems to have been good reason for Takuan's, Kōgetsu's, and Gyokushitsu's defense of the Imperial Court; they may even have been seen by some as contributing to reconciliation with the Shōgunate. Together, these interpretations might be understood as providing the impetus for the increased use of calligraphy by Daitokuji priests in tearoom alcoves. Although this group of Buddhist clergy did not occupy a central position in the world of tea, they figured importantly in the chanoyu of the early Edo period.

Sōtan's Disciples

The wabi tea cultivated by Rikyū was passed through Furuta Oribe and on to Sōtan, Sōwa, and Enshū, under whose influence it developed in different directions. Sōwa's tea was embraced by the nobility; Enshū's tea passed through Katagiri Sekishū and became popular with daimyō throughout the country. In contrast to this, the wabi tea of Sōtan spread roots everywhere through his greatest disciples and his three children.

One of these disciples was Sugiki Fusai (1628–1708), also known as Sugiki Mitsutaka, whose family was responsible for taking care of pilgrims at Ise Shrine. While performing this role, Fusai became a chanoyu disciple of Sōtan's and trained diligently under his guidance. After Sōtan's death in 1658 (Manji 1), Fusai mastered the secret teachings of chanoyu under Sōtan's sons Ichio, Kōshin, and Sensō, eventually learning all the tea procedures.

Returning to Ise, Fusai pursued his family's vocation while also taking on chanoyu disciples of his own. When a disciple would reach a certain level of expertise, Fusai would write out a record to serve as a reminder of the points that he had taught, and would present this to the disciple.



Fusai densho. Sugiki Fusai's written tea instructions. Konnichian Library Collection.

These written records covered procedures for formal tea gatherings (*chaji*), the handling of tea utensil stands, tearoom design, and many other areas, and filled ten volumes, earning it the appellation *Fusai Jukkan Jō* [Fusai's Ten Volume Treatise]. As this indicates, Fusai's instruction methods were rather unique, but his chanoyu is said to have been a legacy of Sōtan's own austere wabi-style tea.

Strikingly different from Fusai, and yet one of the same four disciples of Sōtan, was Yamada Sōhen (1627–1708). Son of the head priest at Chōto-kuji temple in Kyoto, Sōhen began studying chanoyu under Sōtan around age five or six, and is said to have mastered all the tea procedures by the time he was twenty-six. Like Fusai, he transmitted his teachings in writing. The book that he wrote, entitled *Chadō Benmōshō* [The Way of Tea at a Glance], became the first book on chanoyu in the Sen lineage of tea.

Considering that no one connected with the Sen family had yet published a book on chanoyu for the general reader, it would seem that the needs of the times had changed, and that Sōhen's *Chadō Benmōshō* effectively launched a new era in the world of tea. On Sōtan's recommendation, Sōhen was employed by the Ogasawara family of Yoshida in the province of Mikawa (in present-day Aichi Prefecture). Leaving this position, however, he went to Edo to spread chanoyu.

Fusai and Sōhen were the ones who, as Sōtan's direct disciples, actively spread his chanoyu throughout various parts of the country. In addition to them, however, there were also tea men such as Fujimura Yōken (1613–99), Miyake Bōyō (1580–1649), and Kusumi Soan (1636–1728), who admired and supported Sōtan's tea from the periphery. Although there were many



Chadō Bemmōshō [The Way of Tea at a Glance].
By Yamada Sōhen. Konnichian Library Collection.

other people surrounding Sōtan who did not directly transmit his tea to others, in their everyday enjoyment of chanoyu they showed their appreciation of the humble, austere spirit of his tea. The names of the great majority of these people are not known; nonetheless, it is reasonable to regard them as having been important patrons in nurturing the Sen family. Thanks to their activities, Sōtan's chanoyu succeeded in being passed on intact to later generations. ☂

Translated by Zane Ferry

Temae — Tea Procedure

Daisu Furo Shozumi

When conducting a *sumi* (charcoal-laying) *temae* with a *daisu*, the major distinctions in the *temae*, as compared with a standard (i.e., “*hakobi*”) *sumi* *temae*, stem from the fact that the *hibashi* (*kazari hibashi*) are a formal part of the *daisu* display. This affects the *temae* in such obvious respects as the fact that the *hibashi* are not brought into the tearoom in the *sumitori*, but are taken from the *shakutate* on the *daisu* during the *temae*, and are replaced in the *shakutate* at the end. Before being replaced in the *shakutate*, they must be dusted off with the *habōki*, adding another interesting dimension to the *temae*. What is more, the *hibashi* are afforded special treatment during the *temae* itself, as seen by the fact that their tips are never placed on the *tatami*. This occasions the use of certain variant techniques in handling them. Other than these points pertaining to the *hibashi*, there is one subtler distinction to be mentioned. Whereas in standard *sumi* *temae* the *kama* is not moved as far away for *shozumi* (the initial charcoal-laying *temae*) as it is for *gozumi* (the latter charcoal-laying *temae*), in the *daisu sumi* *temae*, (as in all *sumi* *temae* with *tana*), it is moved to the more distant location in both cases. Fundamentally, however, the basic elements of the *temae* — the actual laying of the charcoal, the dusting of the *furo* or *robuchi*, the cutting or adding of the ash, and so forth — are conducted in the same manner as for a standard *sumi* *temae*. The following guide presumes the reader’s thorough familiarity with the standard *furo shozumi* *temae*, the use of the *mizutsugi*, as well as the *daisu furo usucha* *temae*.* The *daisu furo gozumi* *temae* will be taken up in the next issue, no. 74.

To prepare for the *daisu furo shozumi* *temae*, before the guests enter the tearoom, the host sets up the *daisu* on the *dōgu tatami* as for a *daisu furo usucha* *temae*. In addition, a *kōgō* containing three pieces of *byakudan* (sandalwood) incense is placed at the left-hand corner of the top shelf (*ten’ita*), and a *habōki* is placed diagonally to the right of the *kōgō*, as shown in the photo (facing page, top). In the *mizuya*, the placement of the actual *sumi* in the *sumitori* is exactly as for standard *furo shozumi*, but because the *kōgō*, *habōki*, and *hibashi* are displayed on the *daisu*, the only utensil placed within the *sumitori* is a pair of *kan* (kettle lifting rings). The two

* A general outline of the standard *furo shozumi* *temae* is given in *Chanoyu Quarterly* issue no. 13; a step-by-step guide to the use of both a *koshiguro* as well as a *katakuchi mizutsugi*, in issue no. 44; a detailed guide to the *daisu furo usucha* *temae*, in issue no. 71.

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.



kan are set together with the open ends facing down, and placed in the front portion of the sumitori so that they lean against the front of the *dōzumi*. The haiki and kami kamashiki are prepared as for standard furo *shozumi*. In the context of a complete chaji, a kaiseki meal precedes this temae. At the end of the kaiseki meal, the *sadōguchi* door is closed. To begin the *shozumi* temae, the host sits just outside the *sadōguchi* with the prepared sumitori placed to the side away from the guests.



(1)

Open the *sadōguchi* door, and bow together with the guests. Then pick up the sumitori (1) and carry it to the temae tatami.



(2)

Sit in front of the *mizusashi*, and place sumitori on tatami in front of *mizusashi* (2). Return to the *mizuya*.



(3)

Put kami kamashiki (hereafter, kamashiki) inside front of kimono so that the folded end (*vasa*) is to the right-hand side, hold haiki with the right hand (hereafter, R), and proceed to the temae tatami. Sit diagonally facing left and, reholding haiki with the left hand (hereafter, L), place it in the left rear corner of the temae tatami (3).



(4)

Shift sitting position to directly face furo, take habōki from daisu with R, and place it diagonally to the right front of the sumitori (4). [Note: the angle of the habōki at this time is more acute than usual, to allow for the kama to be placed as far up on the tatami as possible in step 12.]



(5)

Take kōgō from daisu with R, set it briefly on L palm, and place it to the left front of the daisu with R (5).



(6)

Place fingertips of both hands on tatami. With L remaining in this position, remove hibashi from shakutate with R, and bring them out of the daisu (6).



(7)

Hold hibashi underhand near the center with L, rehold them overhand at the handle ends with R, and set them into the left side of the sumitori (7).



(8)

Close kama lid with R (8). (As governed by the usual rules, the fukusa may be used. If it is, return it directly to your obi afterwards.)



(9)

Take kan from sumitori with R (9), hook them onto the kama, and lean them against the kama shoulders.



(10)

Take kamashiki from kimono with R, hold it with L so the folded end comes to the left-hand side (i.e., the side toward the furo, the fire source), regrasp it with R, and place it in front of the sumitori and habōki, so that it rests at an angle (10).



(11)

Shift sitting position a knee's breadth forward (right knee first, then left knee aligned with it) (11).



(12)

Lift kama off of the furo (12).



(13)

Set furo on the kamashiki (13), then temporarily lean kan on kama shoulders. Shift sitting position to face kama. Drag kama together with kamashiki so they rest on the halfway point of the temaeza half-mat .



(14)

Remove kan from kama, put them together, and, holding them with R, place them to the right side of the kama (14).



(15)

Shift sitting position to again face the furo, hold habōki with R, and conduct first dusting (*shobaki*) of the furo in the standard, prescribed manner (15).



(16)

Return habōki to right front of the sumitori, this time placing it at a natural angle (16).



(17)

Take hibashi from sumitori with R, support them underhand near middle with L, and rehold them for use with R (17).



(18)

Rearrange the front "pilot charcoal" in the furo, and lay the fresh charcoal (18). Rehold hibashi in the reverse of the manner described above, and return them to the sumitori.



(19)

Pick up habōki with R, conduct second dusting (*nakabaki*) of the furo in the standard, prescribed manner (19), then return habōki to its place on the tatami.



(20)

Shift sitting position to face diagonally toward left, hold haiki with L, transfer it to R, and shift sitting position to again face furo. Using both hands, place haiki in front of knees (20).



(21)

Take haisaji with R and, with L steadying R wrist, use haisaji to remove a crescent of ash from the front of the ash form in the furo (21). Deposit the removed ash onto the far side of the ash form. Then return haisaji to haiki.



(22)

Pick up haiki using both hands, hold it with R, shift sitting position, and return haiki to its original position in rear corner of the tatami (L) (22). Again shift sitting position to face the furo.



(23)

Pick up habōki and conduct final dusting (*gobaki*) of the furo in the standard, prescribed manner (23). Place habōki on sumitori.



(24)

Pick up kōgō with R, and place it on L palm (24). Remove lid and place it in front of right knee.



(25)

Take hibashi from sumitori with R and, with the aid of L (25), rehold them for use. Place the incense in the furo.



(26)

Again with the aid of L, regrasp the hibashi overhand near handle ends with R, and return them to sumitori (26).



(27)

Place lid on kōgō. The main guest asks to view the kōgō at this time. Placing fingertips of R on tatami, bow and acknowledge the request (27).



(28)

Shift sitting position to face diagonally toward the guests, turn kōgō so the front faces the guests, and place it out on the adjacent "middle" tatami (28).



(29)

Pick up kan with R, hook them onto the kama (29), drag the kama together with kamashiki to the spot where they were originally placed on the tatami, and lean kan on kama shoulders.



(30)

Shift sitting position to face furo. Lift kama onto the furo (30), and lean kan on kama shoulders.



(31)

Pick up kamashiki with R, hold it with L, and bring it over the sumitori. Tap it with flick of R middle finger to remove any loose particles (31). Rehold it with R so the folded end again comes to the right-hand side, and place it inside front of kimono.



(32)

Adjust kama so that it sits straight, remove the kan and put them together, hold them with R, and place them in the sumitori (32).



(33)

Shift sitting position a knee's breadth backward (left knee first, then right knee aligned with it), pick up habōki with R, and dust kama lid as usual (33). Place habōki on sumitori.



(34)

Take hibashi with R, and grasp them underhand near handle ends with L (34).



(35)

Pick up habōki with R, and dust off upper sides of the hibashi in two strokes (35).



(36)

Turn L palm down to turn hibashi over, and dust off this side of the hibashi in one stroke (36). Place habōki on sumitori.



(37)

Return hibashi to shakutate (37).



(38)

Set kama lid ajar (38). (As before, if fukusa is used to handle the kama lid, return it to obi directly after use.)



(39)

Shift sitting position to face diagonally left, pick up haiki with L (39), hold it with R, and take it to the mizuya. (The main guest goes to get the kōgō at this time.)



(40)

Remove kamashiki from kimono and leave it in mizuya. Then reenter tearoom and carry sumitori back to the mizuya (40). (The guests now start examining the kōgō.)



(41)

When the kōgō has been returned, go to the temae tatami, sit facing the kōgō, and answer the main guest's questions about the kōgō (41).



(42)

Pick up kōgō with R, place it on L palm, steady it with R (42), and go sit just outside the sadōguchi. Place kōgō to the side away from the guests with R, bow together with the guests to end the temae, and close the sadōguchi door.



Book Reviews

Seeking the Heart of Wisdom: The Path of Insight Meditation.
By Joseph Goldstein and Jack Kornfield. Boston & London: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 1987. xv + 195 pp., including glossary and index. US\$13.00, UK£7.99, CAN\$17.50.

The character of this book can be gathered from a few sentences in its short preface: "The book offers a clear explanation of the meditation instructions and exercises that are given on retreats"; "[It] was born out of the authors' twelve-year collaboration in teaching vipassana meditation"; and "These teachings are strongly rooted in the Buddhist tradition, especially as it has developed...in Thailand and Burma." A very important question, which experience has taught me to ask, is: Does this book really describe all the "exercises" which take place in these retreats, or are there, besides, "non-meditational" practices, such as sutra chanting, worship periods, and the like involved? Since the book gives no indication of any such things, I must suppose that it provides us with an insight into the full content of the sessions, and judge accordingly.

The book is a handbook for practice. Consequently, simply reading it, as I had to for the sake of this review, is about as exciting as reading a computer manual without having a computer at one's disposition. But this of course does not tell us anything about its value as a manual, and, while not really able to judge for myself, I am inclined to believe the blurb on the back cover, which says: "It is one of the most useful manuals ever written for those who seek to follow the path of insight meditation." With more to go on this time, I am also inclined to agree with the same blurb's characterization of the book as "a skillful blend of pragmatic instruction, psychological insight, and perennial wisdom" — but precisely therein may lie the roots of the misgivings which will be touched on in a minute.

After two short forewords, one by the Dalai Lama (a testimony to the ecumenical spirit wherein the book is written) and one by Robert K. Hall, the book unfolds into sixteen chapters (as many retreat conferences or "*teishō*" [lectures by the Master]), which lead from meditational practice deeper and deeper into the Buddhist theory, to which the practice is supposed to give access but which undergirds it from the beginning. This happens in three more or less distinct steps: "Understanding Practice" (Part One), "Training the Heart and Mind" (Part Two), and "The Growth of Wisdom" (Part Three). The book thus becomes a manual for meditation that is at the same time an introduction to all the fundamental tenets of Buddhism.

The method of meditation proposed here is called vipassana or insight meditation and is described as "training of mindfulness" (p. 5), "directing attention to our everyday experience and learning to listen to our bodies, hearts and minds" (p. 6), "our practice is to explore the totality of what we are" (p. 19), "simple, bare attention to what is happening...without evaluation, without interpretation" (p. 30). This distinguishes the method rather clearly from other Buddhist meditation methods, as for example Zen meditation, which is usually described as "objectless," or some forms of tantric meditation, characterized in the book as having a more "dramatic quality" (p. xi). The authors, however, rather than paying attention to these differences, appear to suppose that the Buddhist meditation method is basically one, and therefore feel free to refer also, for instance, to Zen experiences and words. But what strikes me most, as a Christian, is the fact that this form of meditation focuses not on sacred objects, events, or symbols, but on the everyday and "very profane" self. This, of course, gives it an enviable immediacy and brings it in the vicinity of psychology and psychiatry. At the same time, however, it provokes in me the question of how far this form of meditation can, or wants to, be seen as "religious" — a question not in the sense of "Does it fit some (or worse, my) definition of religion?" but in the sense of "Can it mobilize religious powers of healing beyond the purely psychological ones?" or again, "Can it be detached from the 'religious atmosphere' (taking refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma, the *sangha* [Buddhist community]) wherein it is traditionally practiced in Theravada countries, without losing its power?"

With Robert Hall, I admire the "unadorned simplicity" (p. xi) of these teachings, which makes them accessible to many of our contemporaries, but I have the uncomfortable feeling that in them, notwithstanding the ample attention accorded Buddhist teachings, the religious commitment of traditional Buddhism has been toned down to a questionable degree. Thus, for instance, the goal of the exercise is now described in the following words: "We can approach our lives with a sense of spiritual urgency, with a great desire to understand this body and mind before we die" (p. 187) — not quite the expectations motivating the traditional Buddhist practitioner. And I have a similar misgiving when, at the end of the treatment of faith as one of the five spiritual faculties, faith is presented as "trusting the unfolding process of our lives" (p. 129). Can this kind of "psychological faith" inspire people to go the whole length of the path? The authors are undoubtedly right in writing, "If we get quite concentrated but have not balanced the mind by arousing an equal amount of energy, we shall be stuck in a calm but dull state" (p. 42). But my question is, where is that energy supposed to come from?

This same line of thought could induce me to ask further questions, such as, what exactly the talk on the life of the Buddha (chapter 7) is supposed to do for the meditators — whether it is supposed to simply give their practice some historical depth or maybe also impart on their faith some "transcendental" and invigorating aspect. But the small number of lines left for this review makes a switch of attention obligatory.

What I admire most in the book is its great stress, from the first to the last page, on compassion. It could even be said that the Dalai Lama's words, "insight and compassion" (p. ix), render the character of the book better than the title, which speaks only of "insight meditation." But the need which the authors feel to constantly put a special stress on compassion belies their often expressed conviction that compassion necessarily flows from insight. Especially important in relation to compassion is chapter 15, "The Path of Service," which is an admirably balanced presentation of the relation between contemplation and action for others. Equally significant is the authors' genuinely Buddhist stress on suffering and the need to open ourselves to it in chapter 9, "Suffering: The Gateway to Compassion," wherein it is said, for instance: "It is vital that we remain connected to and sensitive to this fact [of the enormous lot of suffering in the world and in ourselves]" (p. 99).

To somebody who is usually more exposed to Mahayana teachings, the book's emphasis on the precepts (pp. 7–10 and *passim*) appears as healthy and feels "very Theravada." For a Christian, on the other hand, it is refreshing to see how the human imperfections and transgressions are approached here as causes of suffering and hindrances on the spiritual path, rather than from the perspective of sin and punishment. However, it seems to me that the authors exclude an important aspect of religious (also Buddhist) experience when they write, rather cavalierly: "In view of karmic law, guilt is an inappropriate feeling and a rather useless burden" (p. 114). Granting that guilt is often religiously misused and therefore some caveats are in order, I still seem to detect here an excessive (and not really Buddhist) concession to some strands of contemporary psychology — a trend which I also recognize in the authors' condemnation of desire because "it is...a sense that we are somehow incomplete, and it keeps us cut off from the joy of our own natural completeness" (pp. 33–34).

Not being competent to judge the excellence of the book as a manual of practice, I can only say, more or less repeating myself, that I feel it to be the fruit of long years of practice and serious reflection and, as such, it must be worth consulting, preferably alongside some more traditional Theravada literature.

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Returning to Silence: Zen Practice in Daily Life. By Dainin Katagiri. Boston & London: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 1988. xiv + 194 pp., including index. US\$15.00.

Dainin Katagiri Rōshi, founder of the Minnesota Zen Meditation Center, passed away in 1989 at the relatively young age of sixty-one. *Returning to Silence*, published only a year before Katagiri's death, forms a suitable memorial for its author, explaining in clear terms the Sōtō approach to Zen practice

and indicating through its clean, lucid spirituality something of the type of man Katagiri must have been.

"Silence," as the title suggests, is for Katagiri the central concept of Zen practice. He sees two basic aspects to silence: the human and the universal. The former incorporates the desire and the suffering — both superficial and existential — of human existence. Universal silence, experienced only when "we have been driven into a corner" and passed through the realm of despair, is "as-it-isness" (p. 6): the original nature of human consciousness, the dynamic emptiness of the "real moment...constantly working, arising, disappearing, appearing" (p. 11). Silence is the state of the mind that is free of projections and judgements, where "there is nothing to compare, nothing to criticize, nothing to evaluate" (p. 12).

Despite a few lapses into the type of flowery prose that so plagued early descriptions of Zen ("Zen is just like a bird flying in the vastness of the sky, like a fish swimming in the pure water" [p. 59]), Katagiri is generally careful to show the essential simplicity of true silence. Silence is not something "acquired" by the mind through training, nor imposed upon it through force of will. It is simply the mind as it is in its original state, before our personal attempts to control the world through judgment and conceptualization. He writes:

We are peaceful, we are harmonious from the very beginning. That is why we should not expect to *acquire* peace [emphasis mine]. Take off all conceptual clothes, and then what is left? Finally, there is nothing to think about. All we have to do is plunge in. For twenty-five hundred years the Buddha has been teaching us that we are buddha, that we lack nothing of the highest enlightenment.... Mind is tranquillity; it means peace and harmony. What is wrong with mind? Nothing is wrong with mind. What *is* wrong is that for many years we have given our mind the chance, the environment, the circumstances for it to be a monkey mind. (pp. 122–23)

It is in this sense that Katagiri sees silence as something to be "returned to." Since one is simply going back to that which has always been there, strictly speaking no form of practice should be necessary. The habits of the "monkey mind" run deep, however, and to slow it enough so that the original silence can be glimpsed almost always requires some form of meditative practice. Zen meditation is known as *zazen*, where the body is free of tension and the mind can settle into a relaxed awareness of the present moment (a state which Katagiri, following general Buddhist usage, calls "mindfulness").

The practice of mindfulness is very important. Mindfulness is very closely related to samadhi and wisdom. If we are without mindfulness we cannot have samadhi, which is perfect stillness. Zazen is the basic practice that allows us to experience exactly what perfect stillness is. (p. 29)

The practice of mindfulness is not limited to zazen; "the Buddha-dharma is actually human life" (p. 39), says Katagiri, so that "practice is to be just right at the moment" in everything you do. "To be mindful of Dharma means when you do gassho, be mindful of gassho. When you walk in the street, be mindful of walking...look at the walking itself that you are doing now" (p. 30).

This emphasis on the immanent nature of silence also underlies the Sōtō Zen reluctance to speak of "enlightenment," a word that too easily suggests an outside experience that one "gets," and that hence tends to lead the practitioner back to the world of concepts. Katagiri explains:

Attaining enlightenment is not the main purpose of practicing Buddhism. This is false understanding, and to practice with the goal of attaining enlightenment in mind is false practice. It is already to be in the conceptual world of before and after, missing the most important point. (p. 94)

Katagiri's interpretation of Zen practice is quite orthodox, even viewed from the Rinzai Zen tradition (the differences between the Sōtō and Rinzai schools are largely matters of emphasis). The points he makes are ones that are well worth repeating, though, and he presents them in a way that I found both contemporary and refreshing. He also manages to maintain his focus on "the most important point" throughout the book, regardless of what issue he discusses. His comments on social action are a case in point. Westerners attempting to develop a more socially engaged approach to Zen have a supporter in Katagiri, but one who emphasizes that the true goal of Buddhist practice, the "return to emptiness, which is pure activity" (p.26), should always remain central. He writes, for example:

The troubles in the human world are very complicated, [and] you should not ignore them.... But we also must take care not to attach to something good or pretty or sweet. It's not so easy, particularly if we do something good; we want to be proud of ourselves, we want to attach to our lives. But it is essential that we attach to neither the mistakes nor the good actions of our lives. (p. 73)

The final goal is that we shouldn't be obsessed with the result, whether good or evil or neutral. This is emptiness. This is the most important meaning of emptiness. (p. 49)

The few reservations I have about the book are perhaps a bit unfair in that they are less about what the book *is* than about what it is *not*. Nevertheless, there are certain issues that I think a Zen book should address, particularly one that sets itself the task of relating Zen practice to daily life.

The most important reservation involves the rather abstract way in which Katagiri deals with many of the important questions in the book. His discus-

sion of zazen, for example, is confined pretty much to the question of proper mental attitude. This is extremely important, of course, since mental attitude helps determine the entire direction of one's practice. However, the realization and deepening of the mental silence Katagiri speaks of depend very much upon the *physical* side of meditation, a fact reflected in the Sōtō school's stress on sitting posture, breathing, hand position, and the other bodily elements of zazen. Indeed, the successful practice of *shikantaza* — the "just-sitting" meditation of Sōtō Zen — is so closely linked with proper posture that good sitting form is almost the distinguishing mark of the Sōtō monk. Katagiri recognizes this, of course, and mentions on several occasions the importance of posture and breathing, but he never goes beyond the most general of comments on what the actual practice of zazen is all about. It is true that zazen has been described elsewhere, but surely a monk as experienced as Katagiri must have had much valuable advice to offer. I certainly would have been very interested to hear what he had to say.

Katagiri's consideration of the Buddhist precepts is similarly general. He has his reasons for taking this approach:

Buddhist precepts are not moral or ethical imperatives or orders given by someone that people must follow. They are the ground of Buddha's world, through which we can manifest ourselves as buddhas. We are already enlightened and the precepts are already enlightened words.... If we take the precepts as Buddha's mind, Buddha's teaching, we can each behave as a buddha.

Katagiri's section on the precepts thus emphasizes their underlying spirit, and there are indeed many thought-provoking insights in his discussion. Yet people also benefit from more concrete guidelines on how to direct their lives. As the series of scandals at Western meditation centers in the 1980s showed, many Zen practitioners (and even supposed teachers) fail, despite the best of intentions, to behave anything like "already enlightened" buddhas. Meditation does not automatically provide the answers to all ethical and moral questions; at some point the practitioner has to make a conscious decision on how he or she is going to live. Here again, Katagiri, with his years of experience in American Zen centers, must have had much to say on the practical, everyday implications of a moral life based on silence and mindfulness.

Some of Katagiri's apparent lack of concreteness may have simply been due to his Eastern manner of expression. When discussing the value of "beneficial action," for instance, he relates the Chinese story of a tortoise that looks back three times at a man who had just saved its life; later, when the man has a golden tortoise image made, the image turns its head back three times as a sign of the first animal's everlasting gratitude. This legend possesses a certain charm and timeless significance, but I as a Westerner would have found Katagiri's argument even more persuasive if he had illustrated it not with a parable from the distant past, but with a few experiences from his own life.

I do not wish, however, to overemphasize the book's few weaknesses at the expense of its generally fine quality overall. Katagiri's genuine concern with the spiritual life is evident throughout, and he provides much valuable guidance for the Zen practitioner.

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The Art of Ogata Kenzan: Persona and Production in Japanese Ceramics. By Richard L. Wilson. Tokyo & New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1991. 271 pp. US\$49.95.

Richard Wilson's *The Art of Ogata Kenzan* is the culmination of over ten years' research dedicated to the examination of one of the major figures in the history of Japanese art and design. It is an attempt to make a measured assessment of an artist who has been subject to a process of mythification from the time of his death in 1743 right up to the present day. While on the one hand being able to draw on the substantial body of research into primary sources carried out by Japanese scholars in the early decades of this century, the author has had to navigate carefully through and around the writings of more recent commentators whose point of departure has almost invariably been Kobayashi Taichirō's biography *Kenzan Kyoto Hen* [Kyoto Kenzan] of 1948. It is to his credit that he has challenged Kobayashi's compelling but misleading cocktail of "East Asian spiritual ethos and Western artistic angst" and has attempted to bring objectivity to an area where subjective opinion has been rife. As part of his endeavor he has also extended the boundaries of discussion into areas little touched upon by scholars up to now. This includes the detailed consideration of Kenzan's successors and imitators, the stylistic classification of Kenzan and Kenzan-tradition works in Japanese and overseas collections, the running of workshop tests based on Kenzan's pottery notes, and the analysis of potsherds excavated from Kenzan's first kiln at Narutaki in northwest Kyoto.

The extent of Richard Wilson's researches is apparent from the lengthy appendices included at the back of the book. A condensation of a huge amount of work into documentary and material sources, these are both a supplement to and the starting point for the main body of the text. The first appendix is an annotated chronology referenced to primary and secondary sources which follows the Kenzan tradition from Kenzan's birth in 1663 through to the breaking of the New Sano Kenzan scandal thirty years ago. The second is a translation of Kenzan's *Tōkō Hitsuyō* [Essentials for the Potter] of 1737, the more extensive of two pottery manuals which Kenzan wrote at the end of his life. From this it is evident that as well as being an innovator in his own right, Kenzan was heir to two Kyoto ceramic traditions: the Ninsei stoneware and overglaze enamel tradition on the one hand, and the so-called

Oshikōji earthenware tradition on the other. The third appendix, a guide to connoisseurship, is a classification into seventeen groups based on the stylistic analysis (shapes, techniques, decoration, calligraphic style, use of signatures) of over three thousand Kenzan works (mainly ceramics, but some painting and calligraphy) identified in existing collections and previous publications. Groups one to ten are of "authentic" works produced in Kenzan's workshops either under his supervision or with his direct participation. Groups eleven to sixteen identify the works of Kenzan's followers, starting with his son Ogata Ihachi and going through to early twentieth century Kyoto products and the works of the Edo Kenzan succession and its imitators. Group seventeen is concerned with Kenzan and Kenzan-style paintings from the mid-eighteenth to twentieth century.

The features of Kenzan's work summarized in the guide to connoisseurship are discussed at greater length in the third to fifth chapters of the book. These deal with the three main periods of Kenzan's artistic career, first at Narutaki (1699–1712), then at Chōjiyamachi in downtown Kyoto (1712–21), and, finally, in Edo (1731–43). The background to his achievements and the forces that motivated him are dealt with in the first two chapters. The first is written in terms of a general introduction, while the second is more specific in its biographic treatment of Kenzan's formative years. Having examined the immediate circumstances of his family's social position and the access it provided him to late seventeenth century Kyoto salon culture, it describes his decision to move to the northwest outskirts of Kyoto in 1688 as being primarily influenced by Chinese ideals of the scholar-recluse and how, during the ten years before he ventured into the making and designing of ceramics, he steeped himself in a variety of gentlemanly pursuits, calligraphy in particular.

While the second chapter concentrates on the sinophilic aspects of Kenzan's interests, the first chapter focuses more on the centrality of native cultural pursuits in seventeenth century Kyoto and their importance to Kenzan. It begins by discussing the division of labor and specialization found in Kyoto craft workshops and the use of Japanese poetic traditions as sources of imagery for sophisticated craft products. It looks at how the curbing of the powers of the upper merchant classes under early seventeenth century Tokugawa rule led them to join the equally strictured imperial court in the idealization of classical courtierly traditions, notably those of the Heian period. The classical revival that was such an important aspect of Kyoto culture at this time realized some of its most inspired forms through the agency of Kenzan's great uncle, Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637), and the painter Tawaraya Sōtatsu. They were the initiators of what, through the subsequent involvement of Ogata Kōrin (1658–1716), Kenzan's elder brother and some-time collaborator, came to be called the Rimpa school. An examination is also made of how the notion of *sakui*, "creativity," as explored through activities such as *chanoyu*, led to a precedent set during the sixteenth century for upper class merchants to exert a direct influence on the production of high quality crafts by becoming amateur designers. Drawing these various strands together, the chapter ends

with an overview of the history of Kyoto ceramic manufacture up to the end of the seventeenth century kiln and a discussion of the circumstances, particularly those pertaining to the demise of the Ninsei workshop, culminating in the opening of Kenzan's first kiln.

If Kenzan's achievements could be summarized, it would be in terms of his firm grasp of technique and love of innovation coupled with the sophistication of a gentleman scholar sensitive to the changing tastes of the fashion-conscious elites of Kyoto and Edo. As a new and remarkable phenomenon in the world of Japanese ceramics responsible for "the professionalization of amateurism," it was inevitable that Kenzan and his work should have been taken up and celebrated by subsequent generations of potters. On the premise that in order to know Kenzan the individual it is essential to understand how he has been interpreted by his successors, Richard Wilson has gone to considerable lengths to piece together the complicated history of the Kenzan traditions in Edo and Kyoto. His analysis forms the sixth and penultimate chapter of the book. An interesting contrast is made between the enthusiasm for Kenzan's amateur spirit shown by his Edo successors and what was primarily, in the case of his Kyoto followers, a concern with his techniques and designs. The chapter ends by looking at the development of Kenzan studies in Japan and the West since the middle of the nineteenth century. A combination of approaches are identified, ranging from empirical research into primary sources to more polemical writings and the sort of idealization seen in Kobayashi's biography of 1948, in which Kenzan is romantically portrayed as an artist whose inner spirit grew in inverse proportion to a steady decline in his material fortunes.

The publication of Kobayashi's biography marked the beginning of a Kenzan boom in the 1950s. This was accompanied by the making of many fakes which were authenticated by being shown in art exhibitions. As Richard Wilson puts it, "If the objects did not attract undue criticism or violate the Kobayashi 'mood,' they would become part of the orthodox corpus.... Technically inferior or stylistically anomalous works were seen to express Kenzan's emphasis on 'inner values'; more refined pieces reflected his inheritance of the Ninsei tradition or collaboration with the talented Kōrin" (p. 190). In this way the scene was set for the sudden appearance of several hundred pots and a batch of diaries reputedly produced by Kenzan at Sano, a village north of Tokyo, during his stay there in 1737. These are what were subsequently exposed as forgeries in the New Sano Kenzan scandal of 1962, a remarkable affair which is the subject of the final chapter of the book. The outline of the scandal and more recent developments make fascinating reading, but what is especially interesting is the author's discussion of how and why experienced scholars, museum curators, and connoisseurs were seduced into accepting what were quite obviously fakes. In addressing the question of where authority in the field of Kenzan studies resides, he suggests that the principles of Western art criticism have never properly taken root in Japan: "In Japan, the art object is perceived not as autonomous, but as an inseparable part of

a historical and social nexus. 'Intrinsic' qualities of beauty or genuineness are secondary in importance to the authority of past and present owners and admirers — an authority believed to be vested in the objects that these persons own or otherwise champion" (p. 195). In view of the quagmire into which such a system can so easily lead, and in the obfuscating context of which Richard Wilson has undoubtedly had to conduct much of his research, his attempt at an objective assessment of Kenzan and his oeuvre is to be admired and valued all the more.

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Nō and Bunraku: Two Forms of Japanese Theatre. *By Donald Keene. Photographs by Kaneko Keizō.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. 199 pp. US\$40.50, clothbound; US\$19.50, paperback.

When I first arrived in Japan in 1966, Donald Keene's elegant, oversized books entitled *Nō: The Classical Theatre of Japan* and *Bunraku: The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theatre*, lavishly illustrated with evocative and informative photographs by Kaneko Keizō, had just been published by Kōdansha International. They were the perfect introduction for my budding interest in Japanese theater. Despite my very small salary, I splurged, bought them both, and still allocate them a special place on my bookshelf. The comprehensive coverage of each art, combining a scholarly historical and literary approach with details on performance elements brought to life by superb narrative illustrations, laid an invaluable groundwork for all my later research and facilitated an immediate involvement in both of these traditional Japanese theaters.

Many years later, when I myself came to teach Japanese theater, I wished to make the volumes required reading, but, as they were long out of print, this proved impossible. It is therefore a great pleasure to find that they have been republished in a single volume by Columbia University Press at an affordable price. The insightful, balanced text communicating an obvious love of both theater arts remains untouched. As Keene writes in his preface to this Morningside Edition, "on rereading[,] it seemed to me that the two books effectively transmitted my profound affection for Nō and Bunraku and it would be difficult to change anything without changing the whole" (p. 4).

Indeed, the masterful discussion of the literary intricacies of the texts of the plays needs no revision. The details on performance traditions are well-backed by biographical and historical data, providing a vivid, personalized insight into technical aspects of each art. Quotes from living performers and from the writings of past masters bring the Western reader very close to the

markedly different creative processes involved in each of these traditional Japanese performing arts. The coverage of on-stage and off-stage elements that go into the theatrical events is thorough and multi-sided. In this combined edition where the two texts appear side by side, the added internal contrast helps bring out the salient characteristics of both Nō and Bunraku.

In his opening chapters on aesthetics, entitled "The Pleasures of Nō" and "The Pleasures of Bunraku," respectively, Keene tries to define the stage experience of each of these arts to the uninitiated Westerner. In both cases, he starts with the premise that theater is the art of illusion and reality. Contrasting Bunraku, a theater capable of great pathos, with Punch and Judy, he suggests that a puppet theater where wooden dolls play themselves has the capacity of being either (both?) obviously representative and totally real. Bunraku, he explains, carefully balances realism with non-realism. Historically, this balance was achieved differently at different times. In the seventeenth century, crude puppets had the stage, while manipulators, narrator, and shamisen player were hidden from view. By the eighteenth century, as the puppets became more and more life-like, their movements expertly guided by three men working in unison, the excessive realism was balanced by the manipulators appearing in full view of the audience. The narrator and shamisen player also came to the fore, attracting attention away from the puppet action, asserting the importance of the text, and clarifying the triangular cooperation fundamental to the Bunraku aesthetic.

In the case of Nō, the very concepts of illusion and reality must be recast in light of its ritual origins and aesthetic of profound beauty. The brilliant opening sentence, "Nō begins with a mask, and within the mask the presence of god," sets the course for a discussion which is at times insightful, at times confusing. A comparison with various forms of Western drama or opera defines what Nō is not, but fails to bring the reader closer to what Nō is. Quotes from the writings of Zeami (1363–1443), the founder of Nō, are inspirational, though hard to fathom in concrete terms. They do, however, underscore Keene's emphasis on beauty being the aim of performance, and illustrate how far this beauty is from a realistic representation of beautiful things. An old man, Keene repeats several times, plays the role of an elegant court lady better than a beautiful girl does. Restraint and suggestion are the means by which "Nō reaches out towards eternity through beauty and the elimination of the temporal and accidental" (p. 17).

There are places where one wishes that in republishing Keene had taken the time to recast some of the more confusing statements in the light of his own deepened understanding, and to iron out some of the contradictory statements and minor errors of fact. I, for one, was puzzled by the combination of the following sentences: "Hōshō Kurō (1837–1917), the creator of modern Nō, said that the difference between an amateur and a professional Nō actor was that the professional always played a part in exactly the same manner" (p. 17). "The pupil imitates exactly, avoiding any suspicion of making a fresh attempt to penetrate a role. Only once he has proved that he has mastered

the routine techniques will be initiated into the secret traditions, and only long afterwards will he perhaps interpret the roles slightly differently from his predecessors" (p. 58). If these do not sound as if they imply opposites, try reinterpreting them in the light of the following: "When Hōshō Kurō appeared twice within a short time in *Sumidagawa*, an admirer remarked that one interpretation had seemed quite astringent, the other almost youthful. Kurō, pleased to find such acuteness of appreciation, ... [said that] ... the slightly different "dignity" [of two masks] had *inspired* different performances" (pp. 61–62; emphasis, mine).

The historical sections for both Nō and Bunraku are excellent once on the solid ground of written records. Keene's coverage of the early performing arts which came before Nō, however, lacks clarity. This is partly due to oversimplification, particularly in his discussion of early performing arts such as *sangaku*, *gigaku*, and *bugaku*, and partly reflects a lack of verifiable scholarship in Japanese for the complex period from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

The photographs are excellent but, presumably due to size and price limitations, scanty. Herein lies the major difference between this and the first edition, where the photos took precedence and made visually accessible the topics touched on in the text. When reading the historical sections, I looked in vain for the illustrations of early puppeteers and of medieval performances. I was also sorry to see that the serial photographs showing the sequential progression of single plays were cut. Most particularly, however, I miss the detailed photos of dance steps, instrument construction, puppet manipulation, and mask and puppethead carving. In the original volumes, it was these photos that I found most intriguing, these that rounded out my view of the world of Nō and Bunraku in a way no other book did.

Perhaps today it is not as necessary as it was in the '60s, when nothing else was available, to have these windows into the inner workings of the theater arts as a way of life and training. In the '90s, we have, in addition to an expanding library of videos of performances, Barbara Adachi's well-illustrated *Backstage at Bunraku* (New York: Weatherhill, 1985), Bethe and Brazell's *Nō as Performance and Dance in the Nō Theater* (East Asia Papers, Cornell University; 1978 and 1982, respectively), and Komparu Kunio's *The Noh Theater* (Weatherhill, 1983), to mention only a few performance-oriented books on the topic.

Despite the limited photographs, *Nō and Bunraku* stands as a classic introduction to two of the three major forms of traditional Japanese theater. For those Westerners without first-hand experience, it provides a needed supplement to translations of texts by presenting a multifaceted, personalized picture. For those who have seen a performance or two, it opens doors to facets of theater tradition, literary subtlety, and historical perspective not readily available in such concise form.

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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

Modern period, 1868–

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