

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 76

CONTENTS

Spirited Boyhood

Sen Sōshitsu XV

Museums and Tea Utensils

Takeuchi Jun'ichi

Kaō: Monogram Signatures
in the World of Tea

Oda Eiichi, text
Hatakeyama Takashi, photography

The Styles and Roles of *Kaō* in Tea

Oda Eiichi

Temae—Tea Procedure: *Furo Nagaita*
Sō Kazari, Koicha

Book Reviews

Recent Issues of *Chanoyu Quarterly*

Issue no. 74

Born as the Urasenke Successor *Sen Sōshitsu XV*

The Way of Tea and Buddhism *Hisamatsu Shin'ichi*

PHOTO ESSAY—Tokyo Shinchakai

Tea Gathering

Tang Dynasty Tea Utensils and *Han Wei*

Tea Culture: Recent Discoveries
at Famen Temple

Issue no. 75

Early Training *Sen Sōshitsu XV*

The History of Chanoyu *Kumakura Isao*

in Early-Modern Japan

Zenkiga: Expressing the *Okimoto Katsumi*

Spirit of Zen

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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<i>Sen Sōshitsu XV</i>	Spirited Boyhood	5
<i>Takeuchi Jun'ichi</i>	Museums and Tea Utensils	7
<i>Oda Eiichi, text</i> <i>Hatakeyama Takashi, photography</i>	<i>Kaō</i> : Monogram Signatures in the World of Tea	14
<i>Oda Eiichi</i>	The Styles and Roles of <i>Kaō</i> in Tea	31
	Appendix — Key to <i>Kaō</i> Styles	40
	<i>Temae</i> — Tea Procedure: <i>Furo Nagaita</i> <i>Sō Kazari, Koicha</i>	56
	Book Reviews	72
	Chart of Japanese Historical Periods	80

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.

Spirited Boyhood

Sen Sōshitsu XV

During my elementary school days, I often came down with fevers due to tonsillitis, and was a frail child. Because of this, I was constantly made to do things that would strengthen my constitution. I was a rascal, nonetheless, and once I brought some friends home and took them into the tearooms, where I thought it would be fun to play. However, mother reprimanded me, saying, "You shouldn't step on the tatami." My retort was, "Why shouldn't we step on the tatami? Aren't tatami for stepping on?" Mother then enlightened me to the fact that there were tatami especially for guests, there was one especially to place utensils on, and there was one to make tea on. "Tatami borders represent boundaries, and such things are the wellspring of courtesy and deference," she taught me.

My brother Yoshiharu was healthy and quite muscular . . . to the extent that, when I had fights and got beaten, he would go and even the score for me. He liked to play Tarzan, and would sling a rope from the famous pine tree in our garden, and swing down from it. Once, the bark of the pine tree got torn away, and naturally, the culprit was known in no time. Mother grabbed both of us by our collars, pulled us down the hallway, and finally threw us into the storehouse in the back.

Yoshiharu and I did not fight with each other, but when our mischief went too far, mother would bundle up our bedding, have us carry it on our backs, and declare, "I'm taking you right now to have Daitokuji keep you." Yoshiharu would inevitably cry, "No, no . . .," in despair. Daitokuji is our family temple, where our ancestral grave is located. What is more, Rikyū committed ritual suicide.[†] This being the case, Daitokuji was a terribly frightening place for Yoshiharu. As for myself, however, I knew that in order to become the iemoto one day, I would have to undergo training at Daitokuji. Perhaps I didn't fear the temple because I had already resigned myself to that fact.

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

† A tombstone for Rikyū stands at the subtemple Jukōin within the Daitokuji compound, where the Sen family tombstones are located. At Daitokuji, there is also another tombstone for Rikyū, situated behind the building called the hōjō.—E

What I did not like was my being scolded when my brothers performed unsavory deeds. "It's because you aren't sturdy," I would be told. At the time, I felt that it was unfair, but thinking back on it I believe my mother felt pity for me, but reared me with the thought that I was the eldest boy and would be the family heir.

Changing the subject — ever since the age of ten or so, I have never failed to pray before going to bed. This began with an experience I had one night when I was nine. My Sendai grandmother, Kikujū, who liked to involve herself in tea practice, was staying at our house. After supper this particular evening, she was doing *koicha* practice with the disciples who were in training at Konnichian. Half out of curiosity, I peeked into the room, whereupon my grandmother had me enter and sit down, and proceeded to let me drink a bowl of tea. When I lay down to sleep that night, my head was buzzing, probably from the tea, and a strange thought entered my mind: People are living because they are breathing, but what exactly am I, this person who is breathing here? Of course I could not come to an answer, and I was overcome by fright.

When morning came, I rushed to my mother and poured forth the question, in effect, "What does my existence as a human being mean?" Taken by surprise, she asked me what had seized me, and after hearing my explanation, she said, "If that's it, you should try praying." What she told me was that I had all my predecessors, and I had been blessed with my life because of this. The way to understand myself was to feel daily gratitude for my good fortune in having been able to enjoy another day of being alive.

From that time on, it became my daily habit to pray in the morning and at night, and I have followed the creed that everything in life is a matter of effort and deserves appreciation ("*arigatai*") — nothing is simply to be taken for granted ("*ariyasui*").

During overnight outings in elementary school, I felt some embarrassment in praying like this. Once when we were on an extended excursion to the seaside, however, I found that there was a boy in my grade who was a Christian and who prayed before going to bed, and this enabled me to do so, too. I was told by a friend, "What's up, Sen? You sure are doing something strange," but within my life thereafter, praying was my way of uplifting my spirits during times of sadness and hardship.

Museums and Tea Utensils

Takeuchi Jun'ichi

Tea utensils are objects meant for people who practice chanoyu, and they intrinsically belong to a person's private domain. A small number of guests will participate in a tea gathering hosted by the owner of a particular tea utensil, or perhaps several utensils, and they will spend a while within that domain. The tea gatherings described in old tea diaries were events such as this. Again, historically speaking, the fiery passion shown by tea devotees bent upon obtaining tea utensils gave rise to many an episode in the "transmigration of famous items," and owners' names are often noted in the inscriptions on the items' protective boxes. The fact that paper was expended on making storehouse inventories and catalogues of noted items also indicates that tea utensils were considered a person's private domain.

A tea utensil exists as the realization of a tea devotee's aspirations regarding chanoyu. At the same time, it constitutes a material asset. Hence, to talk about tea utensils is to talk about tea devotees and to also enumerate those individuals' lists of assets. In the majority of the works pertaining to chanoyu published during the Edo period, as well as during the Meiji era, the subject of tea utensils was taken up from the general standpoint that, as objects which represented a person's taste (*konomi*), they added the crowning touch to a tea devotee's name.

It was when tea utensils left the hands of their owners and became independent objects — cultural properties belonging to some common ownership — that chanoyu came to be discussed as a cultural theory, and tea utensils became the subject of study in the field of art history. Just as when Buddhist sculptures were removed from their temple environments and became the subject of artistic research, this phenomenon developed along with the development in Japan of the modern humanities — in particular, the development of philosophy-related fields of study — which had been introduced from the West. However, even though academic papers about tea utensils began to appear, it required a while longer for the tea utensils themselves to become the "common property"

Translated, by permission of the author, from "*Bijutsukan to Chadōgu*," sections 1 and 2, appearing in *Chadō Shūkin*, 6: *Kindai no Chanoyu* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1985), pp. 260–263.

of the general public. The reason for this was that a series of steps was required in order for the private storehouses which contained the tea utensils to be opened up to the public.

Two changes were effected when tea utensils came to be placed on public view. One was that these utensils, these embodiments of the owners' personal domain, were seen by the general viewer as formative or plastic arts. The other was that the individuals who had collected them were regarded as art collectors who condoned the objects' being placed on exhibit, as opposed to being regarded as *sukisha*, or people who actively pursued an aesthetic lifestyle founded upon chanoyu. The museums which began to appear symbolized these changes, and, unlike the tea devotees of previous times, the socially-oriented founders of these museums became the focus of public attention. Let us examine the process by which tea utensils thus underwent this change, turning from private items into articles of wider social significance.

The Release of Tea Utensils to the Public

As I said earlier, tea utensils are meant to be kept and used by tea practitioners. No matter how extraordinarily wonderful the utensil might be, it is still meant to be used within a tea gathering. The difference here — that between its existing within such circumstances or not — boils down to whether or not care is shown towards how frequently the item is used, and towards how the item is handled. Personal implements should not be exposed in front of the public. Tea utensils are, after all, tea utensils, and are to be shared with a limited number of guests by the host or sponsor, if you will, of a tea gathering. Hatakeyama Issei expressed the following thought: "A tea devotee will not reveal to others what kind of tea utensils he has in his private collection. At a tea gathering, an event based on the principle of *ichigo ichie* (the notion that everything that comes together at that one point in time can never be repeated), the element of suspense as to what utensils will be used is essential."¹ This describes the innermost feelings of tea devotees. As the reader may know, however, in the end Hatakeyama's collection of tea-related utensils was released to the public in the form of the Hatakeyama Memorial Museum.

Tea utensil collections were not opened up to the public in a single leap. The 'going public' of the places where these utensils were used, that is, the opening up of tea gatherings came first. One might think it some-

¹ Quoted in Tanaka Hisao, *Bijutsuhin Idō-shi* [History of the Transfer of Art Objects] (Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1983). Hatakeyama Issei (1881–1971) was an industrialist by profession, and a devotee of the arts.

what strange for this private activity, chanoyu, to become an open event. However, the fact could be that tea gatherings themselves, as they changed from occasions wherein companions with like sensibilities got together, and became broader in social scope, finally took on a different nature. It is difficult to present a sure theory here as to the origin of this phenomenon, but let us suppose that the formative period in the "transfiguration of *suki* (the pursuit of chanoyu)," as it has been described,² took place during the early years of the second decade of the Shōwa era, the years around 1940, and that the initial stage was set when tea gatherings started to be managed as "corporative organizations," that is, when for instance the Kōetsukai (incorporated in 1915) and the Daishikai (incorporated in 1922) came into being.³ It is probable that the massive tea gatherings conducted by the heads of the hereditary chanoyu families, though these were different in nature from the gatherings organized by such groups as the Kōetsukai and Daishikai, also gave impetus to the trend to open up tea gatherings to the public. Examples of such massive events include the Shōwa Kitano Grand Tea Gathering held in Shōwa 11 (1936), at which over two thousand people per day are said to have participated, and the Grand Tea Gathering for the 350th Memorial of Sen Rikyū (1940).

Tea utensils became the focus of these tea gatherings which no longer were private activities for the exchange of friendship. No, I should probably reword this and say that "art objects" became the center of attention. A typical example can be found in the representative *sukisha* of the day, Masuda Takashi (Donnō [Don'ō]; 1848–1938). During the early years of the Shōwa era, Masuda presented a series of exhibitions, named the "Hekiundai Exhibitions," at his private manor. In 1938, toward the end of his life, he also presented his famous "Shōkadō Seiseiō 300th Memorial" tea gathering at his country manor in Odawara, the Sōundai. Over sixty "tea utensils" were displayed at this gathering, and the catalogue is brimming with listings of Buddhist art from the Nara and Heian periods.⁴ The gathering was so filled with works of art that, if one were to give it a modern name, it might be called "An Appreciation of the Beauty of Ancient Ages." Similarly, the gatherings held by the Kōetsukai and Daishikai were forms of tea-utensil exhibitions.

It is not the purpose of this paper to evaluate the degree of influence which Masuda Takashi exerted on modern chanoyu history, but I wish to point out that tea utensils were transformed into art objects, and this was

² Kumakura Isao, *Kindai Chadō-shi no Kenkyū* [Research on the Modern History of the Way of Tea] (Japan Broadcast Publishing Co., Ltd., 1980).

³ These two organizations, whose members consisted of chanoyu and art devotees, most of whom were socially influential businessmen, regularly organized large gatherings for the enjoyment of chanoyu and art.—Tr.

⁴ *Dai Chajin Masuda Donnō* [Masuda Donnō, the Great Tea Devotee] (Gakugei Shoin, 1939).

effected by the use of the highest quality antique art objects and articles of virtue. The 'going public' of tea gatherings progressed alongside this trend.

Museums and the Opening of Collections

In terms of standard theory, whenever chanoyu assumes some new quality, original utensils will also be used in its practice. This refers to the birth of new tea utensils. In the case of the new form of tea of the early second decade of the Shōwa era, however, the use of widely varying tea-utensil combinations may have been a mode that was new, but, as for the utensils themselves, the trend was to go back in time and use antiques. The effect was that opportunities to come into contact with ancient art objects increased, and a common ground for the appreciation of tea utensils and ancient art objects was established. In the publishing world, the mammoth compendium on art objects entitled *Taishō Meiki Kan* [Taishō Era Catalogue of Famous Utensils], which was an extraordinary publication in those days, had already come out. There is no denying that the ground had been laid for tea utensils to be considered as objects to view rather than objects to use. I wish to point out, also, that the increase in publications related to tea utensils, such as books dealing with ceramic utensils, experienced its peak during the first and second decades of the Shōwa era, the years from 1926 to 1944. Let us now take a historical look at the disclosers of the art works and collections.

The establishment of museums in Japan arose as one facet of the Westernization policy that went along with Japan's development as a modern nation.⁵ The first full-fledged museum in Japan was the Ōkura Shūkōkan, established in the Akasaka district of Tokyo in 1917. Though the original structure, together with the artworks on exhibit at the time, was destroyed by fire when the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 occurred, the founder of this museum, Ōkura Kihachirō (Tsuruhiko; 1837–1928), was the first art collector to open his collection to the public. Reading his biography, the *Ōkura Tsuruhikoō*, published in 1936, one cannot discern whether or not he intended to open his collection to the public from the earliest stage of his collecting activities, but it is interesting to note that he held a critical view of chanoyu.

Art works and cultural assets were vanishing, and Ōkura can be regarded as the earliest collector to have recognized this by taking the

⁵ See Tanahashi Gentarō, *Hakubutsukan-Bijutsukan-shi* [History of Museums of Natural History and Art Museums] (n.p., 1957).

initiative to preserve his own collection and open it up to the public. The reason for saying this is that not all of the many noted collectors of the post-Meiji era chose to open up their collections; on the contrary, many chose to keep their collections closed. Though I realize that my next statement is rather blunt, it seems to me that what is important here is that those who were thoroughgoing in pursuing the path of *suki*, that is, in pursuing a life lived according to chanoyu ideals, were the ones most likely to chose not to disclose their collections.

There arises this counter argument: Then were the collectors who were involved in the developments described above not *sukisha*? This is where we come to the subject of the "transfiguration of *suki*." To pursue this, it becomes necessary to answer the perplexing question of just what *suki* is, and so I will not delve deeply into this matter here. I will stop short and propose that it could have been something related to those collectors' own temperament that motivated them to decide to open up their collections to the public.

Tracking down the museums established in order to house and display private collections of antique art objects, those which, according to the *Survey of the Development of Museums in Japan*,⁶ were opened to the public before the Second World War include the following:

- * Yûrinkan (presently renamed Fujii Saiseikai Yûrinkan.
Located in Kyoto; opened in 1926)
- * Kikusui Kōgeikan (Yamagata; founded in 1932)
- * Hakutsuru Museum (Hyōgo; opened in 1934)
- * Tokugawa Museum (Aichi; founded in 1930)
- * Nezu Institute of Fine Arts (Tokyo; founded in 1940)

My reason for specifying collections of "antique art objects" is that, as would follow from my previous statement regarding the broadened interpretation of tea utensils that had come about, these museums housed a variety of Japanese and Chinese arts and crafts, including calligraphic works and paintings. Considering the notion of "chanoyu collections" from this perspective, it might be more appropriate to replace the Hakutsuru Museum in the above list with the Osaka Municipal Museum (opened in 1936), with its collection of refined Chinese art.

Of the above museums, I would say that the Tokugawa Museum and the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts are the most significant in terms of their collection of tea utensils. The construction of the Tokugawa Museum prompted this remark from Masuda Donnō:⁷ "Hearing that the highest scientific techniques were brought together and a perfect treasure house

⁶ *Nihon Hakubutsukan Enkaku Yōran* (Noma Kyoiku Kenkyūsho, 1981).

⁷ Quoted in *Dai Chajin Masuda Donnō*.

has been made, I immediately built a similar storehouse at Sōundai.” Apparently, the construction of this museum triggered his decision to erect a storehouse of his own in which to preserve his art collection. What is curious is that, while the construction of the Tokugawa Museum was for the purpose of opening the collection of precious, hereditary treasures of the Oshū Tokugawa Family to the general public, and news of it motivated Masuda to build a storehouse of his own, Masuda showed no interest in opening his own collection to the public. One might say that this was because of the kind of person that Masuda was.

The founder of the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Nezu Kiichirō (Seizan; 1860–1940), chose in his will to donate his collection of art objects, together with his residence and gardens, and have them opened to the public. In addition to the fact that he himself never saw the completed museum, however, the building was destroyed by fire during the war, and the present structure was built in 1955. According to both Uno Kishin in his work, *Nezu Kiichirō* (1941), and the *Nezuō Den* (Association of Biography Editors, 1961), Nezu possessed a powerful desire to collect not only tea utensils but also old art works of all kinds, and, throughout the process by which he procured works that he liked, one cannot detect that he fostered any intention of exhibiting them to the public. From this standpoint, it can be said that he possessed the spirit of a *sukisha*. The trend for collectors to specify that their collections be opened to the public after their deaths had its start with Nezu, and he thus pioneered the post-war appearance of many museums.

Surveying the post-war period up to the year 1965, which is said to have been the “rush period” in the construction of museums, one can count eleven museums built to house and display antique art works:

- 1) Chidō Museum (Yamagata; opened in 1950)
- 2) Fujita Museum (Osaka; opened in 1954)
- 3) Kyūsei Atami Museum (presently called the MOA Museum. Shizuoka; opened in 1957)
- 4) Itsuō Museum (Osaka, opened in 1957)
- 5) Matsunaga Memorial Museum (Kanagawa; opened in 1959 and inaugurated in 1979)
- 6) Gotoh Museum (Tokyo; opened in 1960)
- 7) Yamato Bunkakan (Nara; opened in 1960)
- 8) Sen’oku Hakkokan (Kyoto; established in 1960)
- 9) Suntory Museum (Tokyo; opened in 1961)
- 10) Hatakeyama Memorial Museum (Tokyo; opened in 1964)
- 11) Tekisui Museum (Hyogo; opened in 1964)

The story behind each of these collections is a dramatic one, and I will leave their retelling to such works as the respective biographies of the

collectors and the *History of the Transfer of Art Objects* (see fn 1). There is one point which I would like to mention, however, in regard to the generations which the various modern-era *sukisha* belonged to and how these related to the opening up of their collections. The section entitled “The Appearance of Modern-age *Sukisha*” in the aforementioned *Research on the Modern History of the Way of Tea* (see fn 3) contains a breakdown, according to their years of birth, of thirty-six such *sukisha*. Eight individuals, including such people as Inoue Segai and Hirase Rokō, are given as belonging to the first generation; nine individuals, including Masuda Donnō, are given as belonging to the second generation; nine other individuals, such as Nezu Seizan whom I touched upon earlier, Dan Rizan, Takahashi Sōan, and Hara Sankei, are of the third generation; and the fourth generation includes ten individuals. When one matches these thirty-six *sukisha* with the collections which were opened to the public by the founding of museums, one finds six *sukisha* (six museums). Of these six, the individuals belonging to the fourth generation include Kobayashi Ichizō (1873–1957; Itsuō Museum), Matsunaga Yasuzaemon (a.k.a. Jian, 1875–1971; Matsunaga Memorial Museum), Hatakeyama Issei (a.k.a. Sokuō, 1881–1971; Hatakeyama Memorial Museum), Gotoh Keita (a.k.a. Kokyōrō, 1882–1959; Gotoh Museum), and Yamaguchi Kichirobee (1883–1951; Tekisui Museum) — five in all, and all of whom opened their museums during the decade from 1955 to 1965. If, as proposed in the *Research on the Modern History of the Way of Tea*, the “demise of *suki*” came with the last of these *sukisha* who belonged to the fourth generation, their construction of museums would seem to represent this demise. If we look, furthermore, at the collecting activities of those belonging to the fourth generation, we see that these individuals came along after the onset of the “transfiguration of *suki*,” when the collections of those involved in that development had become scattered, and that they gathered up these scattered works and put them on public display.

Leaving aside the question of which kind of *sukisha* was happier, I take the stand that the opening up of private collections to the public by way of the founding of museums was immeasurably valuable for the general appreciator of the arts, in that these museums have provided many sites for the viewing of works of art, and allowed people to acquire a concrete awareness of the culture of chanoyu. I take this stand fully aware that it involved a sacrifice — that of the demise of the way of *suki*.



Translated by Gretchen Mittwer

Kaō: Monogram Signatures in the World of Tea

Oda Eiichi, text / Hatakeyama Takashi, photography

花押 *Kaō*, ciphers or monogram signatures, have been known since the Tang dynasty in China (618–907 A.D.), and appeared in Japan surprisingly early. From the middle of the Heian period (794–1192) in Japan, we already see the development of *kaō*-like signs adapted from cursive style script, and by the end of the Heian period, the use of these on letters and other similar documents was becoming commonplace among the aristocracy. Entering the Kamakura period (1192–1336), the use of *kaō* spread to the warrior class, and certain rules for forming *kaō* became established.

Paralleling these developments, with the import of Zen culture from China during the Kamakura period, it became fairly common to see *kaō* in the writings of Zen priests. Most of these exhibited a simple, abstract design following the style of their Zen antecedents in China. An excellent early example of the simple, individualized style of *kaō* used by Zen priests appears in a calligraphic work by the Chinese monk known in Japan as Mugaku Sogen (1226–86), who came to Japan and became the chief priest of Engakuji temple. [Photo on facing page, top.] Since most *chajin*, or chanoyu devotees, of later ages were followers of Zen, we can detect the heavy influence of such Zen priests in the style of their *kaō*. However, rather than an entirely abstract design, we often find that the *kaō* of *chajin* were created by selecting one character of their name and then changing that into an abbreviated form.

The People Who Write Kaō

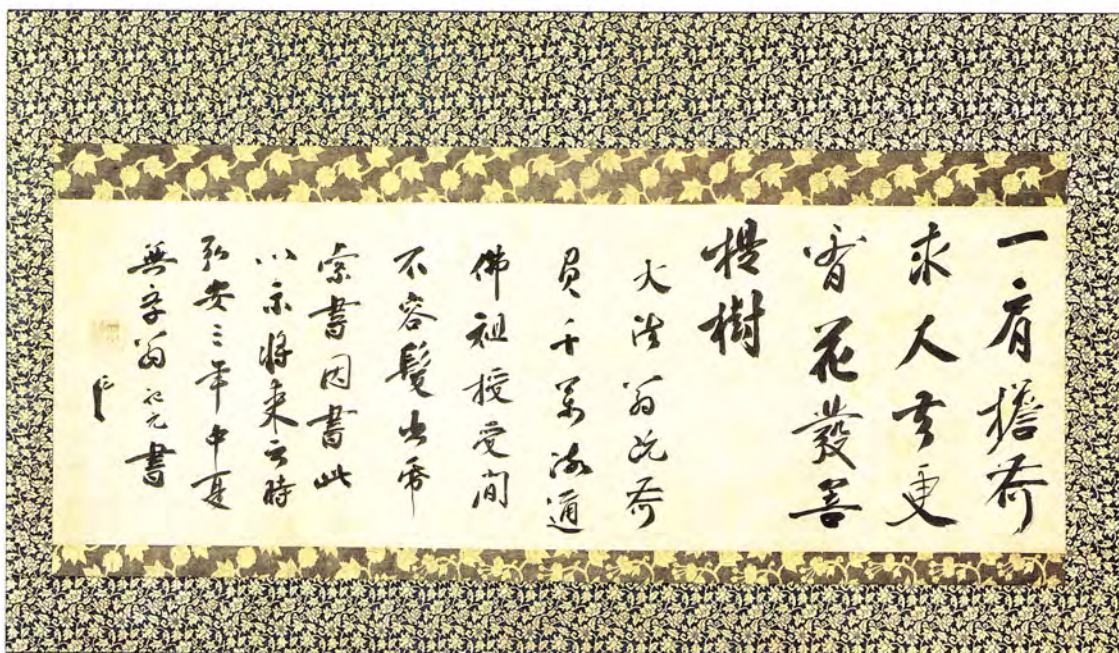
Kaō type and style depend greatly on the writer's position and occupation. Let us examine some of these trends and styles as they appear in the scrolls and tea utensils created and used by *chajin*.

Monastics

釈家

In the case of Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645), we have examples of *kaō* not only from letters but also from his inscriptions on paintings. Typical of the *kaō* of Zen priests, Takuan's *kaō* is simple in style, and yet it clearly expresses his tremendous character and inner power.

Translated and adapted, by permission, from *Tankō* 1993 Special Issue, pp. 5–31. The photos of objects owned by the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts and the Tekisui Art Museum were provided by these respective museums, and are not by Hatakeyama Takashi. Permission to publish the photos of objects in the collection of the Kōsetsu Museum of Art was graciously granted from the Kōsetsu Museum. Translation assistance, Elizabeth M. Hurley.

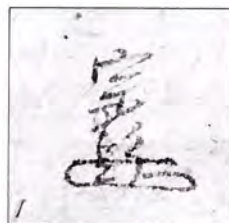


Above: Scroll by Mugaku Sogen 無学祖元. Collection of the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts.

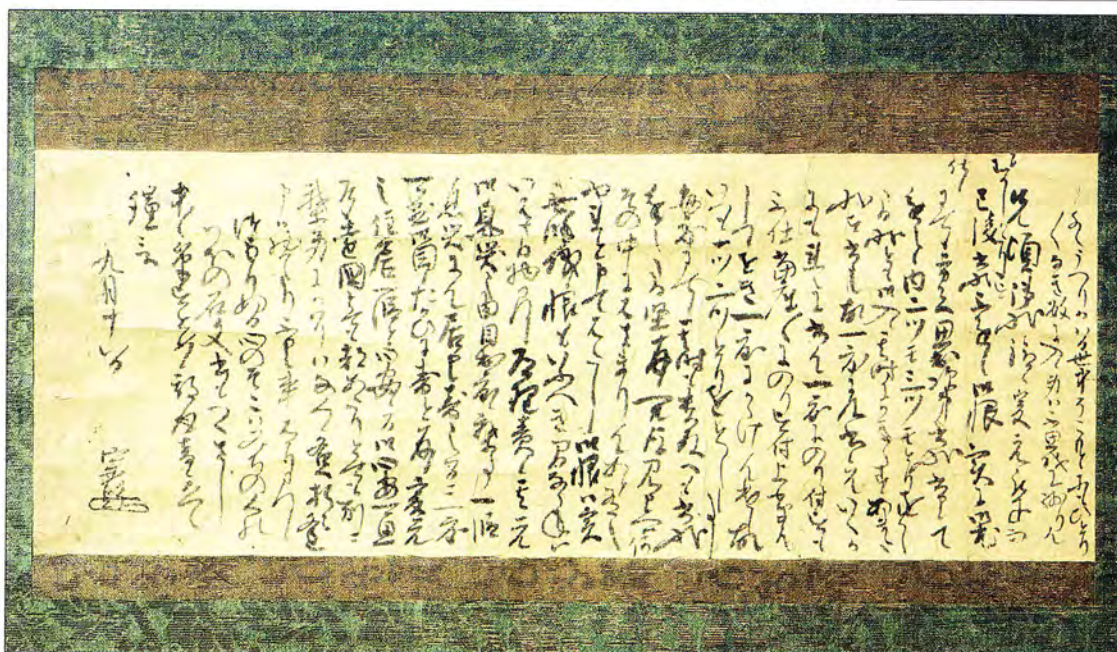


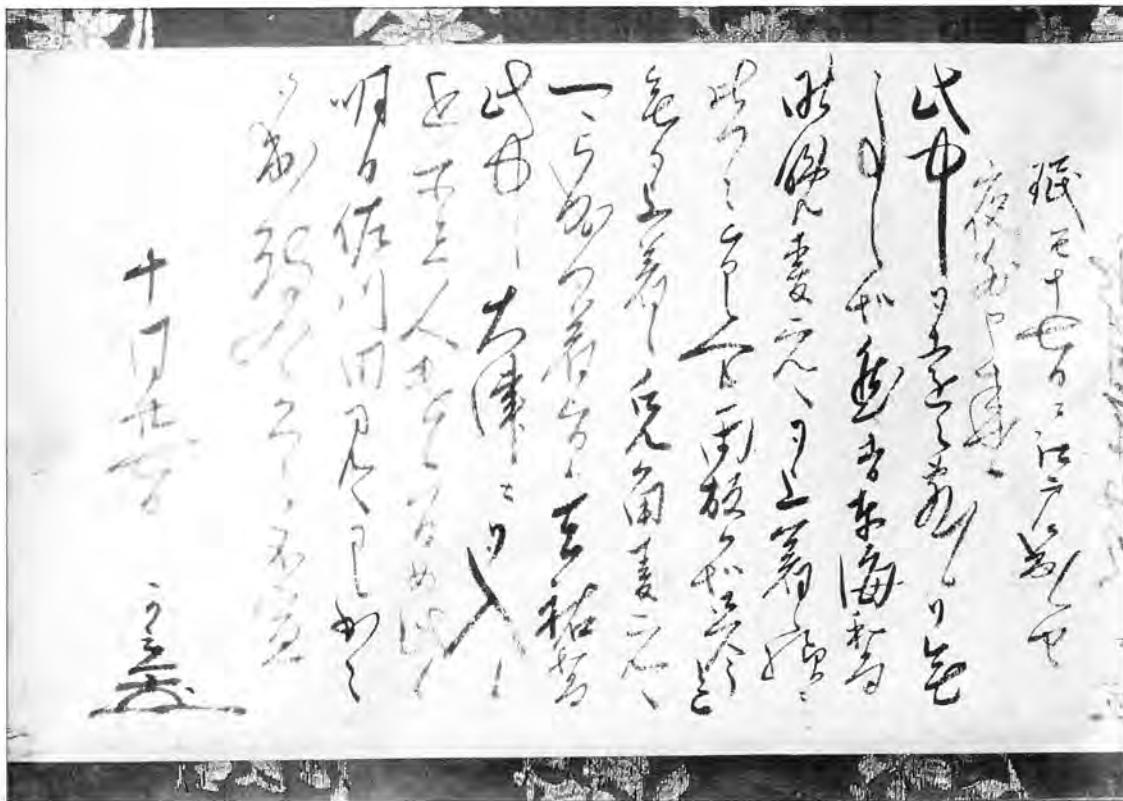
Left: Mugaku Sogen's kaō.

Right: Takuan Sōhō's kaō.



Below: Letter by Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭 dated the 18th day of the 9th month (no year given).





Above: Letter by Kōsetsu Sōryū 江雪宗立 dated the 27th day of the 10th month (no year given).



Kōsetsu Sōryū's kaō.

Kōsetsu Sōryū (1595–1666) was Kōgetsu Sōgan's successor to the subtemple Ryūkōin in Daitokuji, and in him we see a Zen priest who was very intimate with the world of tea. While his kaō resembles that of his master Kōgetsu, it therefore shows strong influences from tea as well.

Warriors

武将

Many of Rikyū's followers were from the warrior class. In fact, all seven of his leading disciples were samurai. By necessity, then, these men often had two styles of kaō, one for their public life and one for their tea life. To illustrate both styles, I have selected Katō Kiyomasa (1562–1611) and the Lord of Sagami, Tsuchiya (although the given name is listed as Hikonaō on the certificate attached to the object's box, it was probably actually Masanao [1641–1722]). Katō Kiyomasa's kaō shows the formal style of a samurai, adhering to the conventions of Ming-style script (*minchōtai*). This is the only known example of a teascoop by Kiyomasa, but we can see his aspiration clearly expressed in the name, "*Furō Fushi*" ("Ageless Immortality"). Though Tsuchiya also was a samurai, he used a kaō more typical of a *sukisha*, or tea connoisseur. In handcrafting a feather brush (*habōki*) and inscribing the box "personally crafted," he demonstrates an extraordinary poetic spirit, and this spirit is also revealed in his kaō.

Left: Teascoop named "Furō Fushi" 「不老不死」, with matching container, by Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正. "Furō Fushi" and Kiyomasa's signature appear above his kaō.

Center: Wild goose feather brush listed, in the certification on the box, as having been made by the "Lord of Sagami, Tsuchiya Hikono" 土屋相模守彦直.

Right: Tsuchiya's inscription "jisaku" 「自作」 ("personally crafted") and kaō on underside of the lid of the box for the wild goose feather brush.



Collection of the Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe.

Where We Find Kaō

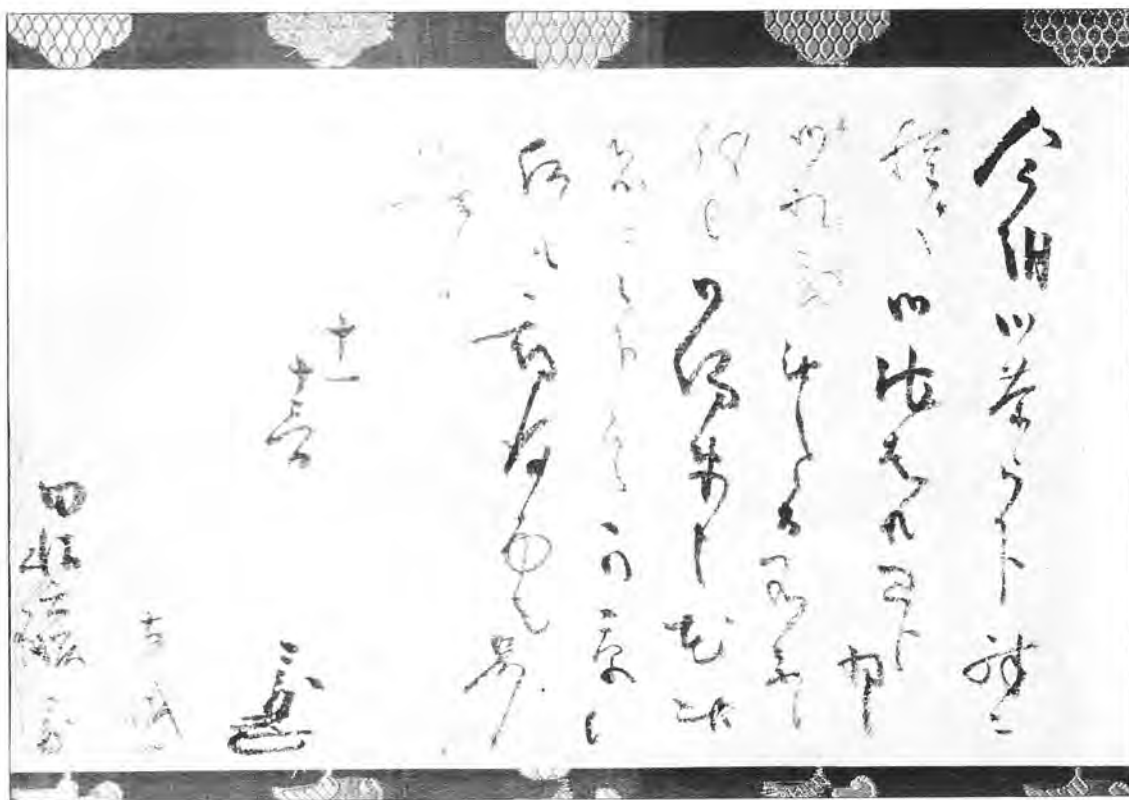
Kaō by Chajin on Tea Utensils

Scrolls

掛物

Most scrolls on which we find kaō consist of letters which have been mounted as scrolls. Here, the kaō achieve maximum effect. The writer's signing of his kaō on the letter serves as proof that he wrote the letter, and since the letters of chajin are nearly always correspondence of a personal nature, the kaō are in the cursive *sōsho* style. The result is a deeper feeling of intimacy with the person who wrote the letter.

In addition to letters, we find mounted *kiwamegaki* (a written statement certifying the authenticity of an object) as well as Japanese poetry written on traditional forms of poetry paper such as *tanzaku*, *shikishi*, and *kaishi*, on which kaō appear. On calligraphic works by monastics, occasionally kaō serve the role of a *rakkan* — that is, the “signing and sealing” of the work. This usage appears on death verses (*yuige*). Kaō are also found on paintings with inscriptions. Though not illustrated here, there is, for example, a scroll featuring a painting by Shōkadō Shōjō and inscriptions by both Takuan Sōhō and Kōgetsu Sōgan, and in place of Takuan's seal is his kaō.



Above: Letter from Furuta Oribe 古田織部 (1544–1615) to Tanaka Seiroku 田中清六. This is a letter of thanks from Oribe to Tanaka Seiroku for a morning tea. (After serving as a retainer to Tokugawa Ieyasu, and as a magistrate at Sado, Tanaka Seiroku worked as an exchange broker and was known by the name Zeniya Ryōki.)



Oribe's kaō

Teabowls

茶碗

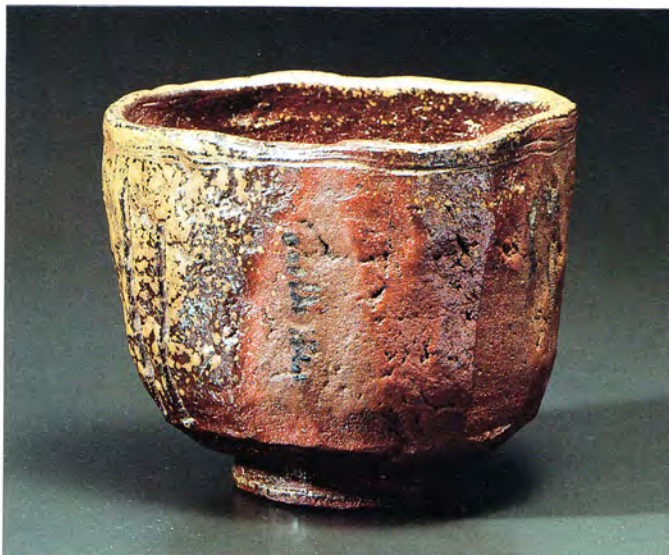
In teabowl box inscriptions we often find the *kaō* of some past owner or the person who named the bowl. There are also times when a *kaō* is written directly on a bowl. In these cases, most often the *kaō* has been inscribed not by the maker, but rather by the tea master who owned the bowl. If we go further back in time, we find teabowls which tea masters themselves made and which have their *kaō* etched directly on them.

In an unusual example, we see the “*Kōtō*” teabowl by Chōjirō (1516–89) with Rikyū’s personally inscribed “cricket mark” *kaō* (*kerahan*; named for its resemblance to a mole cricket). Rikyū had ordered the bowl and given instructions for its creation. In another instance, Sen Sōtan’s (1578–1658) *kaō* and the name “Rikyū” appear in red lacquer along the bottom of an Old Bizen-ware teabowl. There are two theories about Sōtan naming this bowl after Rikyū. According to one, it was because this teabowl was once owned by Rikyū himself. The other theory hinges on the teabowl’s resemblance to a cap made famous by Rikyū.



Left: Raku teabowl by Chōjirō named “*Kōtō*” [勾当] with Sen Rikyū’s 千利休 “cricket mark” *kaō*. Photo from the Tekisui Art Museum.

Below: Rikyū’s *kaō* in red lacquer.



Left: Old Bizen-ware teabowl named “Rikyū” [利休].

Below: Sen Sōtan’s 千宗旦 *kaō* and the name “Rikyū” in red lacquer along the side of the teabowl’s foot.



Fresh-water Containers

水指

We occasionally see kaō written directly on the bottom of water containers. The kaō might be that of the chajin who favored the piece, or there are cases where an owner has placed his kaō, and a name that he chose for the container, on the bottom because he particularly liked the piece. On the bottom of this Old Shigaraki *onioko*, or "devil's bucket," water container is Sen Sōtan's inscription "*Shitsu no Me*," or "Woman of Humble Birth," and kaō. The underside of the lid bears the kaō of Joshinsai Sōsa (1706–51), and on the box (not shown) there is an inscription by Ryōryōsai Sōsa (1775–1825). These inscriptions reveal that Sōtan especially cherished this container for his personal use, and that he even gave it its name.



Joshinsai's inscription and kaō on underside of lacquer lid.



Sōtan's inscription and kaō on bottom.



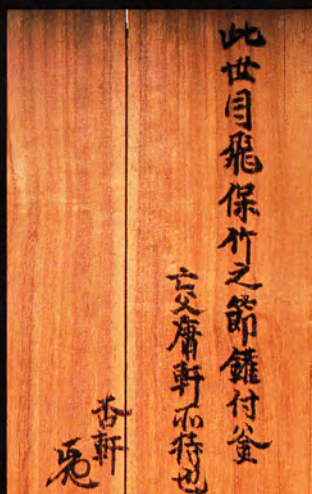
Collection of the
Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe.

Kettles

釜

Generally, kaō are not written directly on kettles, and even if the kettle is a favored piece (*konomimono*), the accompanying box will merely have a notation to this effect. Consequently, the most commonly seen kaō are those inscribed on the boxes by the owners or the people who wrote the *kiwamegaki*. Among the exceptions, occasionally we can see the kaō of one or another of the successive grand masters of the Sen family cast into the kettle itself.

This Old Temmyō *semehimo* or "cord" kettle was owned by Fujimura Yōken (1613–99), and the box inscription and kaō were written in his memory by his son Masakazu (1650–1733).



Fujimura Masakazu's 藤村正具
box inscription and kaō.





Fumai's kaō inside
natsume lid.

Behind: Natsume with
chrysanthemum motif
favored by Matsudaira
Fumai 松平不昧. Collec-
tion of the Kōsetsu Mu-
seum of Art, Kobe.

Foreground: Chrysan-
themum-shaped thin-
tea container favored
by Takatsukasa Suke-
nobi 鷹司輔信. Collec-
tion of the Kōsetsu
Museum of Art, Kobe.



Sukenobu's kaō inside
tea container lid.

Thin-tea Containers

茶器

Kaō play their most important role on thin-tea containers. Takeno Jōō (1502–55) was the first to brush his kaō in lacquer on a favored natsume, and later Rikyū placed his kaō on all types of natsume. After this, the successive generations of tea masters placed their kaō not only on natsume which they favored, but also on natsume which were connected with their school of tea. Kaō add to the value of the natsume, serving as proof that it was favored by a particular person. Kaō on natsume also play an important role in the creation of utensil arrangements.

Introduced here are three unusual examples in the collection of the Kōsetsu Museum of Art. The chrysanthemum-shaped tea container (foreground) was favored by Lord Takatsukasa Sukenobu (d. 1741), head of the Takatsukasa family who served as counselors to the emperor. Sukenobu was known as an enthusiastic follower of the Sōwa school of tea, and made many exceptional teabowls. The natsume with gold lacquer chrysanthemums was favored by Lord Matsudaira Fumai (1751–1818), and the black natsume with patrinia motif was favored by Yabunouchi Chikushin (1678–1745).

Each of these thin-tea containers bears a distinct type of kaō. Sukenobu's kaō has a chock-shaped border and looks like a combination of a kaō and a seal. Fumai's is shaped like the Chinese character for the number "one" with a ditto mark beneath it, and is referred to as his "ichi-ichi in" ("one-one seal"). On the bottom of

the natsume favored by Yabunouchi Chikushin, there is the kaō and rakkan of the artist who created the natsume, Kōami.



Natsume with patrinia motif *maki-e*, favored by Yabunouchi Chikushin 藪内竹心. Collection of the Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe.

Kōami's kaō and rakkan, on bottom.



Teaspoons

茶杓

While teaspoons have worth in themselves, their containers are also very important. This is mainly where we find *kaō*, and when the container is a matching one (*tomozutsu*) — that is, it was made especially for the teaspoon by the carver of that teaspoon — the *kaō* is particularly vital. In rare instances, *kaō* are inscribed where the lid fits onto the container (rather than on the body of the container itself).

These two examples are by Sen Sōtan and Kobori Enshū (1579–1647). Sōtan's teaspoon is made of ivory, and the container was carved for it later by Gengensai Sōshitsu (1810–77). The name "*Kichimu*" ("Auspicious Dream") expresses not only Gengensai's reminiscence of Sōtan, but also means "First Dream of the Year," suggesting that this teaspoon can be used for New Year's. On one side of the storage container for

Enshū's teaspoon is the teaspoon's name, "*Wakamidori*" ("Early Green"), and on the other side is the character for "sealed" and his *kaō*. Enshū made use of two *kaō*, one in his official capacity and one as a *chajin*. The latter had a fixed style, but varied slightly with each writing.



Left: Sen Sōtan's teaspoon, "*Kichimu*" 「吉夢」. Gengensai's *kaō* is where the lid fits onto the container; "*Kichimu*" is in the center; the word "*Fubō*," or "unforgettable," is at the bottom. Right: Kobori Enshū's teaspoon, "*Wakamidori*" 「わかみどり」. The character for "sealed" is where the lid fits onto the container; Enshū's *kaō* is at the bottom.



Reverse side of Rikyū's bamboo flower container, "Ko no Hana" 「コノ花」. "Ko no Hana" and Rikyū's kaō are written in red lacquer.



Front view of the "Ko no Hana" flower container. Collection of the Tekisui Art Museum.

Flower Containers

花入 Kaō are often found on flower containers hewn from bamboo, and sometimes on those made from baskets and gourds. The kaō is almost always that of the maker, but that of the person who wrote the *kiwamegaki*, or of a person other than the maker who gave the piece a name, can also be found. In the case of bamboo flower containers, since sumi cannot easily be applied to the outer surface of bamboo, kaō are usually written in lacquer. Occasionally we see instances where the outer surface of the bamboo is shaved off so the writing can be done in sumi, or where the characters are carved into the bamboo itself.

Many of Rikyū's bamboo flower containers still exist, but those with both names and kaō inscribed on them are rare. Among these is the "Ko no Hana" ("Tree Blossom"), highly prized for the fact that the name is written in Rikyū's own hand, and that it also bears his "cricket mark" kaō. Perhaps Rikyū believed that plum blossoms were best suited to this container, for the name "Tree Blossom" refers to the plum blossom.

Incense Containers

香合

Kaō appear most often on incense containers designed by or made to suit the taste of a tea master, who placed his kaō on it as a sign to that effect. There are also rare cases where the kaō of an owner or the maker can be seen. The incense containers on which we are most likely to find kaō are lacquer ones, but ceramic or wooden ones exist as well. On lacquer or ceramic incense containers, the kaō is written in lacquer. On wooden ones, it is the rule to write the kaō in sumi.

The “*Kaiya*” incense container (facing page, foreground) favored by Fujimura Yōken is made from a small gourd. The inside is coated with lacquer, and the outside is decorated with a painting of a gourd flower and vine executed by Tosa Mitsunari in powdered white shell and vertigris. On the underside is Mitsunari’s kaō. Inside the lid, Yōken has written “*Kaiya*” and his kaō in red lacquer, and on the box we also see Yōken’s lettering and kaō. These seem to express his love of this incense container. The word “*Kaiya*” comes from the Analects of Confucius and refers to Confucius’ most outstanding disciple, Yanhui (Jp., Kaiya), who possessed but one gourd to drink from and one rice basket to eat from.

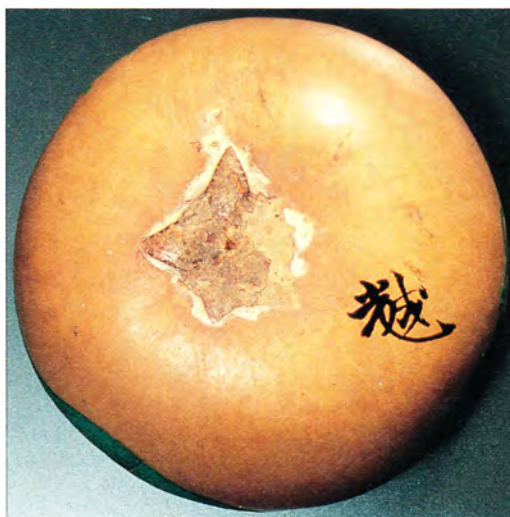
The flat *ichimonji*-type incense container done in negoro lacquer (facing page, top) is thought to have been made in the Muromachi period, and the kaō indicates that it was owned by Oda Uraku (1547–1622).



Oda Uraku’s kaō in red lacquer inside the lid of the black negoro *ichimonji*-type incense container.

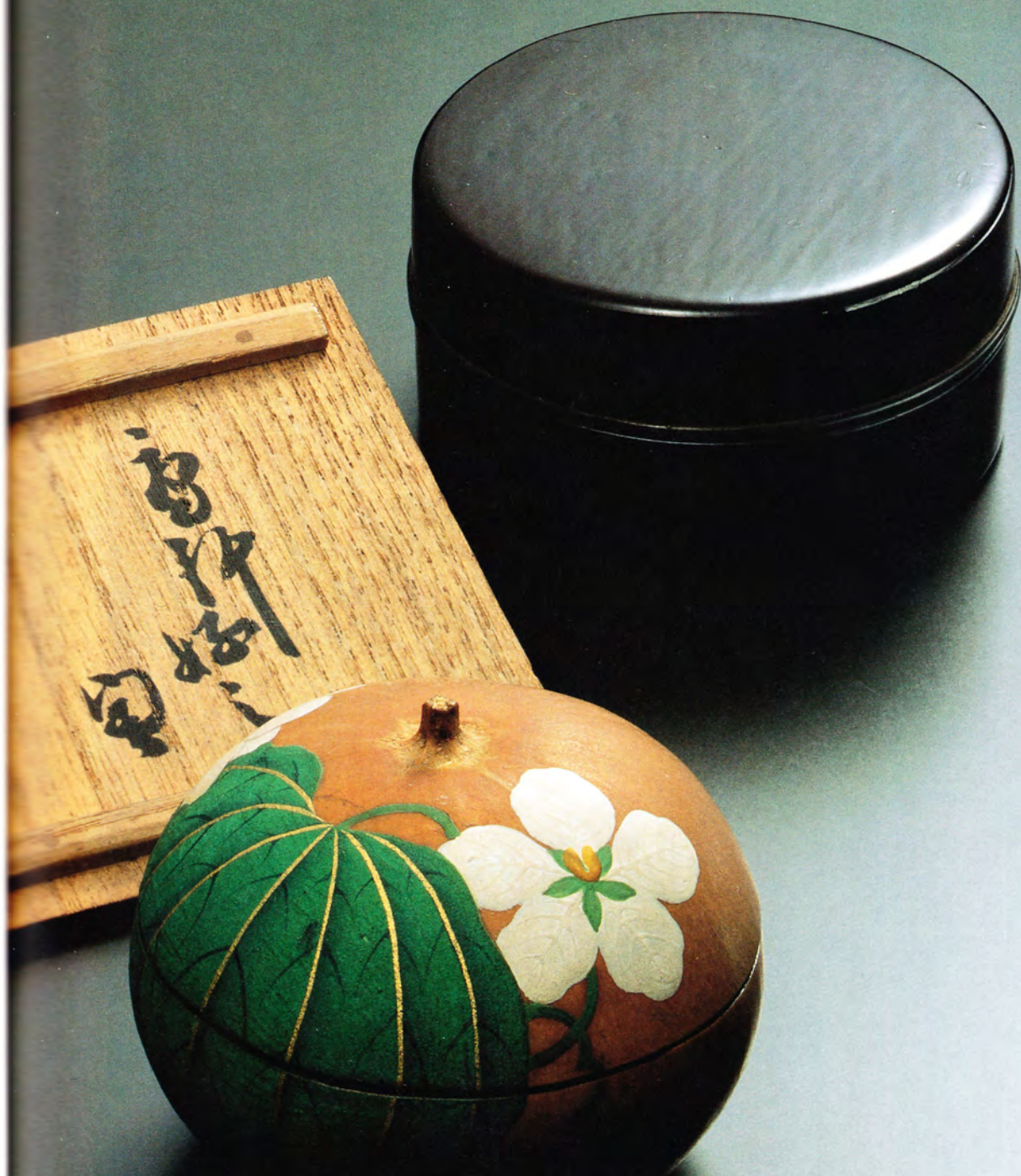


The name “*Kaiya*” and Fujimura Yōken’s kaō inside the lid of the gourd incense container.



Tosa Mitsunari’s 土佐光成 kaō on the bottom of the “*Kaiya*” incense container.

Black negoro *ichimonji*-type incense container with Oda Uraku's
織田有楽 kaō inside the lid. Collection of the
Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe.



"Kaiya" 「回也」 incense
container favored by Fujimura Yōken.
Collection of the Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe.

Bamboo flower container by Yabunouchi Kenchū 藪内剣仲 (1563-1627). Collection of the Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe.



Lid of inner box with inscription and kaō by Kyūkyūsai.



Kaō: Proof of Past Ages

The value of tea utensils is largely determined by the boxes and box inscriptions (*hakogaki*) that accompany them. However, this is not to say that the value of a utensil derives from the number of boxes and accoutrements (for example, silk bags, accompanying scrolls, or accompanying trays) that come with it, but rather that, because it is an excellent piece, it comes to accrue boxes and other items.

On the boxes themselves are written the contents, and in instances where there are both inner and outer boxes, the name of the person who wrote the inner-box inscription is written on the outer box along with the signature and kaō of the writer of the outer box. In cases where a particular utensil has many boxes, this is often because many generations of the same school of tea masters successively added boxes as well as their individual kaō to that utensil.



Scroll by Kyūkyūsai Jōchi 休々斎紹智 (1840–1917) accompanying Yabunouchi Kenchū's bamboo flower container.

Lid of outer box with inscription and kaō by Chikusō Jōchi 竹窓紹智 (1864–1942).



Below: Teascoop with matching container, by Rikyū.

Top right: Outer box by Ittō Sōshitsu 一燈宗室 (1719–71).

Middle right: Middle box by Joshinsai Sōsa 如心齊宗左 (1705–51).

Bottom: Inner box by Zuiryūsai Sōsa 随流齋宗左 (1650–91).



The Styles and Roles of *Kaō* in Tea

Oda Eiichi

Kaō 花押, also called *shohan* 書判 (written seal) or *hangyō* 判形 (seal shape), are written by hand rather than stamped or printed, and constitute a stylized type of signature. They can be written along with one's name, or they, in themselves, can serve as one's signature.

The Chinese character for “*ka*” in the compound “*kaō*” means flower, suggesting that one's signature is written in a form as beautiful as a flower. The words *kashō* 花書 (flower inscription), *kagyō* 花形 (flower shape), and *kahan* 花判 (flower seal) also refer to *kaō*.

The History of *Kaō*

If we look into when and where *kaō* first appeared, we come across the words *ōhō* 押縫 and *ōbi* 押尾 in Chinese texts of the third and fourth centuries. (The character for “*ō*” in these two compounds means “stamp” or “seal,” and is the same as the second character in the word “*kaō*.” “*Hō*” in the first compound means “sew” or “stitch,” and “*bi*” in the second compound means “tail”). While it is not exactly clear what form these “stamps” or “seals” took, we can consider them as precursors of *kaō*. The first definite *kaō* appears in the reign of Jui Tsung during the Tang dynasty in China (684–705 A.D.), where we have evidence of the use, by a person named Ichoku, of a flower-petal shaped *kaō* referred to as “*goda untai*” (literally, “five branch cloud form”).

By the Song dynasty we occasionally see *kaō* used by priests of the Zen sect. An excellent example is the *kaō* of Busshō in a work which found

Translated and adapted from *Tankō* 1993 Special Issue, pp. 33–37. Translation assistance, Elizabeth M. Hurley. Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.

its way to Japan and became known as the “*Kane Watashi no Bokuseki*.” The text is a Buddhist teaching written by the priest Zhuoan Deguang (Jp., Settan Tokukō; also known as Busshō; 1121–1203) for his disciple Shoei, and believed to have later been given to Taira no Shigemori in thanks for his gift of money to the Song dynasty emperor.

The first recorded appearance of kaō in Japan occurs in the “Ceremonies” section of the Tōji Documents written during the reign of Emperor Nimmyō (r. 833–850). A kaō appears along with the signature of a cultural affairs official named Daiten Kibo in the 12th year of the Shōwa Era (845). Another theory would place this at the 2nd year of the Wado Era (705).

Kaō Forms

What follows is a brief description of the five major types of kaō, including the historical period during which each developed, and the strata of society with which each was most closely associated.



Emperor Ninkō's
(r. 1181–46) kaō.

Sōmyōtai — kaō formed from two characters of a person's signature written in cursive *sōsho* style. Considered the first stage in the development of kaō, this style became popular in the late Heian period (late 8th–late 12th c.), and was widely used by the aristocracy of the Kamakura period (13th–mid 14th c.). Eventually it found adoption throughout society. (Left: Emperor Ninkō's kaō is based on his name, Ayahito 恵仁.)



Minamoto no Yoritomo's
(1182–1204) kaō.

Nigōtai — kaō formed by combining the right and left parts, and/or tops and bottoms of two characters in a person's signature. Along with *sōmyōtai*, *nigōtai* style kaō developed extremely early, and, from the Kamakura period to the Muromachi period (late 14th–mid 16th c.), were used by the aristocracy and warriors alike. (Left: Minamoto no Yoritomo's kaō is a combination of the right half of the first and left half of the second characters in his name Yoritomo 頼朝.)



Toyotomi Hideyoshi's
(1536–98) kaō (悉).

Ichijitai — kaō formed either from one character of a person's name selected for its auspicious associations, or from an entirely different character that is somehow associated with the person's name. Although primarily used among the aristocracy, this style was also adopted by members of the warrior class with aristocratic aspirations during the Ashikaga period (mid 14th–late 15th c.), including several shōgun.



Miyoshi Masayasu's
(d. 1570) bird-shaped kaō.

Betsuyōtai — kaō formed using a character entirely unrelated to one's name or a unique symbol, e.g., a combination of roman letters or sketch of an animal. This style arose during the late Heian period among the illiterate, who were unable to write *sōmyōtai* and *nigōtai* style kaō. By the Muromachi period, however, *betsuyōtai* kaō became popular with members of the elite, high-ranking generals, and daimyō. From the Sengoku (Warring States) through the Momoyama periods (16th c.), such kaō were also used by military lords.



Tokugawa Ieyasu's
(1542–1616) kaō.

Minchōtai — kaō written according to conventions established during the Ming period in China. This style predominated during the Tokugawa period (17th–late 19th c.) in Japan. Like *ichijitai*, this style involved a single character selected from a person's name. In the case of *minchōtai* style kaō, this character was then altered to express the “five characteristics” and “seven principles” of the individual concerned. (See diagram below.)



1. Destiny Stroke (*Meiun-ten*)
2. Kinship Stroke (*Kenzoku-ten*)
3. Wisdom Stroke (*Chiē-ten*)
4. Respect & Affection Stroke (*Keiai-ten*)
5. Prosperity Stroke (*Fukutoku-ten*)
6. Dwelling Stroke (*Jūkyō-ten*)
7. Demon Quelling Stroke (*Kōma-ten*)

If we look at the trends surrounding these different kaō styles, we see that the *sōmyōtai*, *nigōtai*, and *ichijitai* styles were most popular with court nobles, while the *betsuyōtai* and *minchōtai* were most often used by the samurai class. However, we also find some samurai using the *nigōtai*, and some wealthy merchants and monastics using *minchōtai* style kaō.

Sōmyōtai, *nigōtai*, and *ichijitai* kaō were usually connected to a person's true name, and we find members of the same family lineage using similar style kaō. However, since *betsuyōtai* and *minchōtai* style kaō are usually unrelated to a person's true name, there would be no similarity in the kaō of members of the same family who used these kaō styles. However, samurai tended to imitate the kaō style of the founder of their household or leader, a custom not evident with monastics, tea masters, or poets. There were also people who used several kaō with completely different styles, such as samurai who were also chajin.

The Role of Kaō

The main purpose of kaō is to prove the authenticity of the writer. Particularly in military affairs where it was critical to ascertain the validity of secret documents, kaō served an important function. Samurai went to great lengths to provide for the detection of forgeries of their kaō, using tricks such as inserting pinholes into the kaō or laying down one or two hairs where the kaō was to be placed, or ending a brush stroke in the kaō in a special way that only the initiated would recognize.

Kaō played an important role in the maintenance of domains by court nobles. They would normally be written together with the official signatures on orders and appointments, and this would better serve to authenticate the document than the signature alone, or the use of a stamp. This is because texts and signatures were often written by scribes and stamped by a representative acting on the noble's behalf. In place of writing one's kaō, other methods of authenticating documents included finger outlines, fingerprints, handprints, and even fingerprints stamped in blood.

Kaō were also used to enhance aesthetic value, as is the case with most kaō by chajin. Of course, chajin also used kaō to certify their identity, but on tea utensils and scrolls, kaō mostly served to add an artistic touch, or *fūryū*. If we take the container for Rikyū's teascoop on page 30 as an example, we see that Rikyū has written his cricket kaō on it in sumi. This serves not only to establish that Rikyū himself made the teascoop, but, as with adding a name, also invests it with a certain ambiance, creating a unique artistic effect.

Chajin and Kaō

Let us look at the relationship between chajin and kaō. As noted above, a kaō on a tea utensil serves to verify the signature of the writer as well as to add aesthetic value to the utensil.

In the case of scrolls, we see kaō on calligraphic works by monastics (*bokuseki*), letters, and picture inscriptions, though most often on letters. On calligraphic works by monastics, the act of “signing and sealing” (*rak-kan*) the work was almost always done by means of an actual signature and a stamp. Kaō would be used when the writer did not have his stamp at hand, or when he wished to convey a feeling of intimacy. In Japan, we often see kaō on one-line phrases (*ichigyō-mono*) and letters written by Buddhist priests.

Particularly notable are kaō on death verses (*yuige*). The kaō on Seisetsu Shōchō’s (1274–1339) famous “*Kanwari no Bokuseki*” (“Coffin Hinge Calligraphy”) shows an intense force of spirit. The death verse of Dai-tokuji’s first abbot, Tetsutō Gikō (1295–1369), also displays a similarly powerful kaō.

Next, let us consider why kaō on letters are considered so important. If we think about the reasons for displaying the letters of chajin in the tokonoma, we see that their value lies more in the sense of love and respect for the author that they convey, rather than in the content of the text itself. The kaō is vibrant with the personality of the author, adding a very special meaning to the scroll.

It is important to add that a person’s kaō naturally expresses that person’s character and personality, particularly in the case of the *ichijitai* and *betsuyōtai* style kaō used by chajin. In general, the more simple the kaō, the more the person’s personality flows through it.

Letters by chajin that have been prized and displayed in tearooms almost invariably include their authors’ kaō. In addition to Rikyū himself, the daimyō surrounding Rikyū, such as Furuta Oribe, Oda Uraku, Hosokawa Sansai, and Daté Masamune, and also Rikyū’s direct descendents (i.e. Shōan, Dōan, Sōtan, and succeeding heads of the three Sen families) all left writings with their kaō inscribed on them. We can also find writings by Hon’ami Koetsu, Kōbori Enshū, Kanamori Sōwa, Katagiri Sekishū, Fujimura Yōken, and Sugiki Fusai from the Kanei era, and even later, by Kawakami Fuhaku and Matsudaira Fumai, many of which bear these individuals’ kaō.

Even for the same person, kaō style could change from letter to letter, depending on mood, age, or the content of the text. A prime example is Kōbori Enshū, whose kaō are always slightly different, indicating that he probably deliberately changed his style each time he wrote his kaō. As a consequence, since it is possible to determine the age of the author from

his kaō style, kaō have historical significance in helping to date written materials.

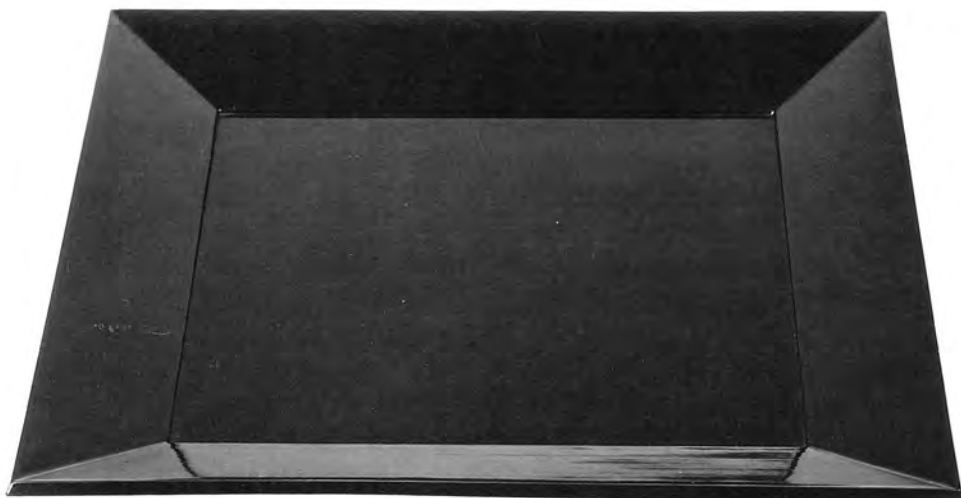
Occasionally, kaō appear on picture inscriptions, such as Takuan's kaō on Shōkadō Shōjō's "Hotei" painting or Karasumaru Mitsuhiro's kaō on Sōtatsu's "*Shungyū*" ("Clever Ox"). Sammyakuin (Konoe Nobutada) always used a kaō to sign and seal his famous sumi portraits of Tenjin. If we go even further back, some celebrated works that have been used as tea scrolls include Chiyono's *Kana Hōgō* ("Sermon in Kana"), letters by Sari, and works both painted and inscribed by Sesshū. All of these exhibit unique, individualized kaō. While kaō are commonly seen on works of this early period, very few are appropriate for use as tea scrolls, making those just mentioned extremely valuable.

Kaō are also inscribed on nearly all other types of tea utensils, where they each play their own particular role. Kaō are most meaningful when written directly on thin-tea containers (mostly natsume) and the protective tubes for teascoops. Kaō are also written directly on flower containers (mainly bamboo ones), incense containers (mainly lacquered ones), water containers, thick-tea containers, teabowls, lid rests (mainly bamboo ones), containers for sweets, charcoal-laying utensils, hearth frames, screens for use behind the area where the brazier and utensils are placed, and utensil stands. Kaō are also important in inscriptions written on storage boxes for utensils (*hakogaki*), and in letters of certification (*kiwamegaki*).

With regard to natsume, the practice of inscribing kaō had already begun with Jōō (1502–55). Of course, not many examples of natsume which bear Jōō's kaō exist — in fact, only one or two are known at present. These are the only utensils [of this period] other than bamboo flower containers that have kaō written directly on them, and are extremely important in that they provide us with concrete examples of the kind of thin-tea containers that chajin favored.

Arriving at Rikyū, there are probably around twenty or thirty natsume on which his kaō appear. Rikyū's kaō appear not only on natsume, but also on *kinrinji* and bamboo *nakatsugi*-type thin-tea containers. With thin-tea containers, the kaō is placed on the utensil with the same feeling — the same sense of responsibility for the piece — as if the writer had crafted the piece with his or her own hands, like a personally handcrafted bamboo flower container or teascoop. Thus the addition of a kaō to a thin-tea container has an added degree of import.

Placing a kaō and the character for "*konomi*" ("favored") on a prized natsume has become a tradition with the successive generations of the Sen family grand masters. However, where a natsume is not the shape or style favored by a master, but is an authentic copy of the original shape, the rule is to inscribe the first character of the name of the person who originally favored the natsume, followed by the character for "*utsushi*" ("replica"). This serves to distinguish which natsume were favored by which grand



Black-lacquered square tray favored by Sen Rikyū. Sen Sōtan's inscription on the bottom indicates that this tray was made as a replica (*utsushi*) of Rikyū's original. Sides, 24.1 x 24.1 cm; height, 2.2 cm.



View of bottom showing Sōtan's inscription, "Rikyū replica" 利休写, and his signature "Totsusai" and kaō.



Underside of lid of protective box. Inscribed by Ittō Sōshitsu (Urasenke, 8th generation), "Replica of Rikyū's square tray; bears inscription by Sōtan." Ittō's kaō is inscribed in bottom left corner.

利休写四方盆
宗旦書付在

masters. Various tea schools also use this system of placing kaō on favored natsume, but there are other cases where kaō have been used merely to indicate that a person owned a certain natsume. In these cases, extra inscriptions are added along with the kaō, in order to make the distinction.

On natsume, the kaō are always written in lacquer, and occasionally we see them done in gold lacquer. Generally, the kaō are placed on the underside of the tea container lid, but there are also cases where they appear on the bottom of the container body. There is a famous natsume by Rikyū which displays two different kaō, one on the lid and one on the bottom. It is unclear to this day why Rikyū chose to place both kaō on this natsume.

Next, there is the role of kaō on teascoops. Here, kaō serve to bring the character of the maker into even greater relief than they do on natsume. Kaō are nearly always written on the teascoop's protective tube, thus a teascoop with a kaō written on a tube that was carved along with it (such 'matching tubes' are referred to as *tomozutsu*) has the greatest value. Failing this, kaō written by someone close in age and intimate with the teascoop maker are the most highly appreciated. Of course there are teascoops which show only the signature and not the kaō of the maker, but kaō used instead of signatures are also quite common. Particularly with older teascoops, a kaō may appear by itself, with no inscription of a name for the teascoop, giving the kaō even greater significance.

Kaō written in sumi are preferable, as this conveys the special sensibility of the maker more clearly than kaō written in lacquer. There are rare cases where we find the kaō written directly onto the teascoop itself, but a teascoop with the kaō written on the matching protective tube is considered more desirable.

In the case of bamboo flower containers, from Rikyū's time onward, it became the general rule for these to bear the kaō of the maker. The effect is essentially the same as that achieved with kaō on natsume and teascoops. Because it is impossible to write in ink on the outer surface of bamboo, part of the outer layer must be removed. Also, unlike teascoops, flower containers get wet. Hence, it is preferable to write the kaō in lacquer.

Naturally, kaō on ceramic pieces are generally written in lacquer, but the rare case of a kaō written in sumi can also be found. In this case the kaō can only be written where there is no glaze. For hardwood utensils, names and kaō are sometimes carved into the utensil itself.

While it goes without saying that art objects have intrinsic value, in the case of tea utensils, past ownership and box inscriptions naturally add even more to their value. What is critical to understand is that a utensil is not superior because it has a rich history of past ownership and box inscriptions, but that, since the utensil in itself is wonderful, it has naturally acquired a lofty history of past ownership and numerous boxes and box inscriptions. Several utensils which have many box inscriptions are intro-

duced in the photographs, and if you look at them carefully you can appreciate why they are so treasured.

There is also a very close relationship between box inscriptions and kaō. Or conversely, because the kaō of chajin appear in box inscriptions, it would not be an overstatement to say that here is where kaō find their richest expression.

To summarize what characterizes the kaō of chajin, first, most are a unique *ichijitai* or *betsuyōtai* style. Most frequently, the basic character is taken from the chajin's name, but there are also kaō where this is not the case. Either way, the character is extremely abbreviated, and here, we see a strong wabi spirit. We also find many daimyō and samurai among chajin, and there is a tendency for those in military capacities to use two different kaō, one for their public life and one for their tea life, with the kaō used for tea being more wabi in style. No matter which style kaō a chajin uses, the strongest influence is from Zen, and beyond that there is a strong tendency for individuality.

Lastly, I should like to state that, different from kaō that appear on documents and other items outside the world of tea, kaō written by chajin serve a very special purpose in preserving the traditions of the tea world.



Key to *Kaō* Styles — An Aid to Uncovering the Identities behind Monogram Signatures

The role played by *kaō* has various dimensions. In the world of *chanoyu*, they become a key to identifying who created a utensil, or who favored it, or who once owned it, or who the tea master was that certified the verity of the utensil in writing. Thus, *kaō* play an important part in the assessment of works, and, in this respect, every *kaō* serves a valuable function.

As important as this role played by *kaō* is, the problem that occurs is how to track down just who a given *kaō* belongs to. Ordinarily, when a person's name is known, it is simply a matter of going to an encyclopedia or other such reference work to find that person's *kaō*. In the opposite situation, however, when confronted with the *kaō* of an anonymous individual, it is an extremely difficult task to discover whose *kaō* it is, and I have yet to come across a reference book that is of any help in such cases.

For this reason, I have devised the following Key to *Kaō* Styles as one means of identifying *kaō*. In this list, I have sorted a large number of *kaō* into several different style groups, and have provided a general description of the type of people (*chajin*, warrior, etc.) who used the style. In the course of delineating the various style groups, I became aware of many correlations between the groups, and so I was able to reap some unexpected returns from the project.

What follows are the seventeen style groups which comprise the reference list:

1. **Ming Style** (*Minchō-tai*)
2. **Abbreviated Ming Style** (*Minchō-tai Shōryaku-tai*)
3. **Ladder Style** (*Teikei-tai*)
4. **Ashikaga Style** (*Ashikaga-tai*)
5. **Single-character Style** (*Ichiji-tai*)
6. **Two-character Alloy Style** (*Nigō-tai*)
7. **Character "One" Style** (*Ichimonji-tai*)
8. **Character "Two" Style** (*Nimonji-tai*)
9. **Square Style** (*Yohō-tai*)
10. **Rectangular Style** (*Nagayohō-tai*)
11. **Hooking Curve Style** (*Wankyoku-tai*)
12. **Pouch Style** (*Fukuro-tai*)
13. **Circular Style** (*Enkei-tai*)
14. **Horizontal Style** (*Yokoban-tai*)
15. **Vertical Style** (*Tateban-tai*)
16. **Plant & Animal Style** (*Dōshokubutsu-tai*)
17. **Grass Style** (*Sō-tai*)

If one becomes familiar with these style groups, when confronted by an unfamiliar *kaō*, this Key will be surprisingly effective in indicating what type of *kaō* it is, as well as to what social group its user belonged. If one is uncertain as to which category the *kaō* belongs, I recommend looking through the two or three style types which seem pertinent.

This appendix originally appeared as chapter 3, "*Kaō no Kensaku*," in Oda Eiichi, *Chajin no Kaō* (Kyoto: Kawara Shoten, 1991). Here translated and adapted by permission of the author.

Ming Style

Collected here are examples of Ming Style kaō, the most fundamental type of kaō. Basically, a Ming Style kaō consists of two parallel horizontal strokes, between which slanting and curved lines corresponding to certain fixed principles are arranged. (See diagram on page 33, bottom.) Ordinarily, these kaō were created by specialists. The physiognomy of one's kaō was even thought to influence one's destiny. From the Momoyama through the Edo periods, most shōgun and daimyō had Ming Style kaō, which they typically used on official documents. A number of daimyō chajin, such as Kobori Enshū, used Ming Style kaō on formal documents, while employing simple Grass Style kaō in situations concerning tea utensils, and on letters to friends.

- | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| (1)  | (6)  | (11)  | 1. 織田信長
Oda Nobunaga |
| (2)  | (7)  | (12)  | 2. 徳川家康
Tokugawa Ieyasu |
| (3)  | (8)  | (13)  | 3. 上杉謙信
Uesugi Kenshin |
| (4)  | (9)  | (14)  | 4. 加藤嘉明
Katō Yoshimasa |
| (5)  | (10)  | | 5. 小堀玄州
Kobori Enshū |
| | | | 6. 小堀宗慶
Kobori Sōkei
(Enshū, 2nd gen.) |
| | | | 7. 板倉重宗
Itakura Jūsō |
| | | | 8. 永井信斎
Nagai Shinsai |
| | | | 9. 堀田正俊
Horita Masatoshi |
| | | | 10. 京極高広
Kyōgoku Takahiro |
| | | | 11. 小堀宗実
Kobori Sōjitsu
(Enshū, 3rd gen.) |
| | | | 12. 小堀宗中
Kobori Sōchū
(Enshū, 8th gen.) |
| | | | 13. 稲葉正勝
Inaba Masakatsu |
| | | | 14. 稲葉正則
Inaba Masanori |

Abbreviated Ming Style

Kaō of this style are slightly altered or simplified versions of Ming Style kaō. The manners in which the basic Ming Style kaō have been modified are varied; nonetheless, one should refer to this style group when confronted with a kaō that differs from but seems to closely resemble the Ming Style. Like the true Ming Style kaō, these were widely used by chajin of the warrior class. Also, some court nobles, Buddhist priests, tea masters, and sukisha came to use this style.



1. 瀬田勘部
Seta Kamon
2. 近衛前久
Konoe Maehisa
3. 烏丸光広
Karasumaru Mitsuhiro
4. 江月宗玩
Kôgetsu Sôgan
5. " "
6. 織田有楽
Oda Uraku
7. 織田貞置
Oda Sadaoki
8. 前田利常
Maeda Toshitsune
9. 小堀宗中
Kobori Sôchû
(Enshû, 8th gen.)
10. 小堀宗本
Kobori Sôhon
(Enshû, 9th gen.)
11. 小堀宗明
Kobori Sômei
(Enshû, 11th gen.)
12. 小堀宗慶
Kobori Sôkei
(Enshû, 12th gen.)
13. " "
14. 徳川治宝
Tokugawa Jihô
15. 堀内仙鶴
Horinouchi Senkaku
(Horinouchi, founder)
16. 俵屋宗達
Tawaraya Sôtatsu
17. 益田鈍翁
Masuda Don'ô
18. 高谷宗範
Takaya Sôhan
19. 根津青山
Nezu Seizan
20. 村田珠光
Murata Shukô
21. 村田宗珠
Murata Sôju
22. 菊宗守
Ichio Sôshu
(Mushanokôjisenke, founder)
23. 藏内劍仲
Yabunouchi Kenchû
(Yabunouchi, founder)
24. 竹露紹智
Chikuro Jôchi
(Yabunouchi, 9th gen.)

Ladder Style

Like the Abbreviated Ming Style, this style constitutes one subgroup of Ming Style kaô. Overall, kaô of this style have the appearance of a ladder or staircase (lying horizontally). Many of the successive head masters of the various tea lineages used this style.

(1)

(2)

(3)

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(6)

(7)

(8)

(9)

(10)

1. 江岑宗左
Kôshin Sôsa
(Omotesenke, 4th gen.)
2. 覺々斎宗左
Kakukakusai Sôsa
(Omotesenke, 6th gen.)
3. 吸江斎宗左
Kyûkôsai Sôsa
(Omotesenke, 10th gen.)
4. " "
5. 豫々斎宗左
Rokurokusai Sôsa
(Omotesenke, 11th gen.)
6. 柳斎宗左
Seisai Sôsa
(Omotesenke, 12th gen.)
7. 有隣斎宗守
Urinsai Sôshu
(Mushanokôjisenke, 10th gen.)
8. 真翁紹智
Shin'ô Jôchi
(Yabunouchi, 2nd gen.)
9. 皓々斎宗也
Kôkôsai Sôya
(Hisada, 7th gen.)
10. 尾伊織
Ichio Iori

Ashikaga Style

Collected here are a number of kaō in the shape of the character 瓦 (*kawara*, tile). The kaō of the successive generations of the Ashikaga clan of military leaders are representative of this shape. Many military leaders of the Warring States period (1467–1568) used this style of kaō, and it is interesting to note that the kaō of the influential merchant, Imai Sōkyū, also fits in this category.

1. 足利義満 Ashikaga Yoshimitsu	(1)	(7)	(13)
2. 足利義教 Ashikaga Yoshinori	(2)	(8)	(14)
3. 足利義政 Ashikaga Yoshimasa	(3)	(9)	(15)
4. " "			
5. 松永久秀 Matsunaga Hisahide	(4)	(10)	(16)
6. 武田信玄 Takeda Shingen	(5)	(11)	(17)
7. 柴田勝家 Shibata Katsuie	(6)	(12)	(18)
8. 明智光秀 Akechi Mitsuhide			
9. 今井宗久 Imai Sōkyū			
10. 瀬田掃部 Seta Kamon			
11. " "			
12. " "			
13. 蒲生氏郷 Gamō Ujisato			
14. 小早川隆景 Kobayakawa Takakage			
15. " "			
16. " "			
17. 佐久間不干斎 Sakuma Fukansai			
18. 木下長嘯子 Kinoshita Chōshōshi			

Single-character Style

This style of kaō is comprised of a stylized rendering of a single Chinese character which is somehow related to the person. Tea masters figure large in this group, although occasionally court nobles and daimyō also appear.

1. 下利休
Sen Rikyū
2. " "
3. 近衛信尹 (三親院)
Konoe Nobutada (Sammyakuin)
4. 近衛信尋
Konoe Nobuhiro
5. 近衛家熙 (予楽院)
Konoe Iehiro (Yorakuin)
6. 近衛基熙
Konoe Motohiro
7. 堀内宗完
Horinouchi Sōkan
(Horinouchi, 12th gen.)
8. 如心斎宗左
Joshinsai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 7th gen.)
9. 一燈宗室
Ittō Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 8th gen.)
10. 玄々斎宗室
Gengensai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 11th gen.)
11. " "
12. " "
13. 淡々斎宗室
Tantansai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 14th gen.)
14. 愈好斎宗守
Yūkōsai Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 9th gen.)
15. 藪内劍仲
Yabunouchi Kenchū
(Yabunouchi, founder)
16. 片桐石州
Katagiri Sekishū
17. 尾形乾山
Ogata Kenzan
18. 島津溪山
Shimazu Keizan
19. 柳沢菴山
Yanagisawa Gyōzan
20. 松平乘邑
Matsudaira Norimura
21. 谷 普門
Tani Fumon



(continued)



(22)



(23)



(24)



(25)



(26)



(27)



(28)



(29)

22. 山田宗編
Yamada Sōhen
23. 三井高保
Mitsui Takayasu
24. 大谷尊山
Ōtani Son'yū
25. 松永耳庵
Matsunaga Jian
26. 大心義統
Daishin Gītō
27. 百拙元養
Hyakusetsu Gen'yō
28. 三井泰山
Mitsui Taizan
29. 和田臨陽軒
Wada Rin'yōken

Two-character Alloy Style

The figures in this group used kaō created by melding portions of two different characters related to one of their names, be it their name at birth, or a religious or artistic name. This type of kaō appeared as early as the time of Minamoto no Yoritomo (1182–1204; see p. 32, bottom). The figures whose kaō are shown here, however, have been selected for their connection to chanoyu. Nei Issan's kaō is a graphic representation of the two characters 一山, and both versions of Rikyū's kaō are derived from his Buddhist appellation, Sōeki 宗易. Kusumi Soan's kaō combines portions of the characters in his given name 疎安, and Hōunsai's kaō is a combination of the two characters "ten" and "five" 十五, a reference to his position as the fifteenth generation head of the Urasenke tradition of tea. Matsudaira Fumai's distinctive kaō, known as his 'one-one seal,' is a simple representation of the "one-one" of one of his many names, 一々斎.



(1)



(2)



(4)



(5)



(6)

1. 一山 寧 (寧一山)
Issan Ichinei (Nei Issan)
2. 千 利休
Sen Rikyū
3. " " "
" " "
4. 久須美疎安
Kusumi Soan
5. 鵬雲清宗室
Hōunsai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 15th gen.)
6. 松平不昧
Matsudaira Fumai

Character "One" Style

Gathered together in this group are kaō which have a horizontal stroke resembling the Chinese character for the number "one" as their fundamental element. Head masters of the various tea lineages are prominent in this group, but examples by daimyō chajin and Zen priests also appear.

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(8) 

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(10) 

(11) 

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(16) 

(17) 

(18) 

(19) 

(20) 

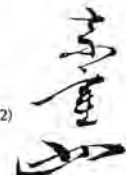
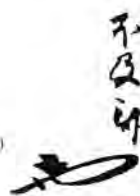
(21) 

(22) 

1. 下利休
Sen Rikyū
2. 如心齋宗左
Joshinsai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 7th gen.)
3. 吸江齋宗左
Kyūkōsai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 10th gen.)
4. 樂々齋宗左
Rokurokusai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 11th gen.)
5. 常要宗室
Jōsō Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 5th gen.)
6. 竹叟宗室
Chikusō Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 7th gen.)
7. 認得齋宗室
Nintokusai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 10th gen.)
8. 玄々齋宗室
Gengensai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 11th gen.)
9. 又妙齋宗室
Yūmyōsai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 12th gen.)
10. 圓能齋宗室
Ennōsai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 13th gen.)
11. 翁宗守
Ichio Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, founder)
12. 愈好齋宗守
Yūkōsai Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 9th gen.)
13. 川上不自
Kawakami Fuhaku (1st gen.)
14. " " (2nd gen.)
15. 武野紹鷗
Takeno Jōō
16. 伊木三猿齋
Iki San'ensai
17. 前田利常
Maeda Toshitsune
18. 酒井宗雅
Sakai Sōga
19. 青木宗鳳
Aoki Sōhō (3rd gen.)
20. 絳文守
Isshi Bunshu
21. 清嚴宗習
Seigan Sōi
22. 大徹宗牛
Daitetsu Sōto

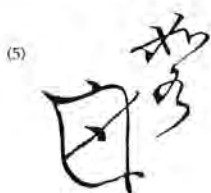
Character "Two" Style

This group of kaō have in common as their fundamental element two parallel, horizontal strokes resembling the Chinese character for the number "two." Ming Style kaō also have such parallel, horizontal strokes; however, the kaō collected here have only a narrow space between the parallel upper and lower strokes. This style of kaō was used almost exclusively by tea masters.

- | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| (1)  | (10)  | (16)  | 1. 元伯宗旦
Gempaku Sōtan |
| (2)  | (11)  | (17)  | 2. " " |
| (3)  | (12)  | (18)  | 3. 江岑宗左
Kōshin Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 4th gen.) |
| (4)  | (13)  | (19)  | 4. 如心齋宗左
Jōshinsai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 7th gen.) |
| (5)  | (14)  | (20)  | 5. " " |
| (6)  | (15)  | (21)  | 6. 峰喙齋宗左
Sottakusai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 8th gen.) |
| (7)  | (16)  | (22)  | 7. " " |
| (8)  | (17)  | (23)  | 8. 了々齋宗左
Ryōryōsai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 9th gen.) |
| (9)  | (18)  | | 9. 樂々齋宗左
Rokurokusai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 11th gen.) |
| | (19)  | | 10. 仙叟宗室
Sensō Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 4th gen.) |
| | (20)  | | 11. 石翁宗室
Sekiō Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 9th gen.) |
| | (21)  | | 12. 圓能齋宗室
Ennōsai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 13th gen.) |
| | (22)  | | 13. 一翁宗守
Ichio Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, founder) |
| | (23)  | | 14. 文叔宗守
Bunshuku Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 2nd gen.) |
| | | | 15. 真伯宗守
Shimpaku Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 3rd gen.) |
| | | | 16. 劍仲紹智
Kenchū Jōchi
(Yabunouchi, founder) |
| | | | 17. 劍翁紹智
Ken'ō Jōchi
(Yabunouchi, 3rd gen.) |
| | | | 18. 友流齋宗巴
Yūryūsai Sōha |
| | | | 19. " " |
| | | | 20. " " |
| | | | 21. 不及齋宗也
Fukyūsai Sōya
(Hisada, 4th gen.) |
| | | | 22. 不識齋宗定
Fushikisai Sōkan
(Horinouchi, 5th gen.) |
| | | | 23. 住山楊甫
Sumiyama Yōho |

Square Style

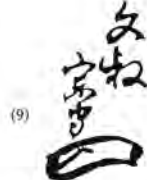
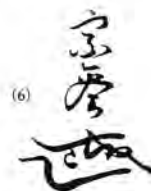
The kaō in this group have a form close to a true square. Although the overall number of such kaō is small, the people who used kaō of this type included tea masters, sukisha, and daimyō.



1. 今井宗藩
Imai Sōkun
2. 嵯峨宗左
Sottakusai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 8th gen.)
3. " "
4. 坂本周斎
Sakamoto Shūsai
5. 黒田如水
Kuroda Josui

Rectangular Style

The kaō in this group resemble rectangles that are wider than they are tall. Good examples of this style include kaō used by sukisha, tea masters, and Zen priests.



- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. 上岐二三
Toki Jisan | 7. 翁宗宇
Ichio Sōshu |
| 2. 玉舟宗播
Gyokushū Sōban | 8. " " |
| 3. 安楽庵策伝
Anrakuan Sakuden | 9. 文叔宗守
Bunshuku Sōshu |
| 4. 宙宝宗宇
Chūhō Sōu | 10. " " |
| 5. 大綱宗彦
Daikō Sōgen | 11. 世華寂忍
Yotsugi Jakusō |
| 6. 関斎宗参
Kansai Sōsan | 12. 寥々庵観山
Ryōryōan Kanzan |

Hooking Curve Style

The primary element shared by the kaō in this group is a hooking, right-hand curve — a stroke resembling the curve in the lower half of the Chinese character for “horse” 馬. This stroke also appears in Ming Style kaō, and the kaō style treated here might therefore be understood as an offshoot of the Ming Style. The majority of individuals found in this group are tea masters, and it can probably be said that they favored this style.

(1)

(2)

(3)

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(7)

(8)

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(10)

(11)

(12)

(13)

(14)

1. 樹斎宗左
Seisai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 12th gen.)
2. 即中齋宗左
Sokuchūsai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 13th gen.)
3. 石翁宗室
Sekio Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 9th gen.)
4. 圓能齋宗室
Ennōsai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 13th gen.)
5. 淡々齋宗室
Tantansai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 14th gen.)
6. “ “
7. 愈好齋宗守
Yukōsai Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 9th gen.)
8. 尋牛齋宗也
Jingyūsai Sōya
(Hisada, 12th gen.)
9. 藤村庸軒
Fujimura Yōken
10. 杉本普齋
Sugiki Fusai
11. 上方蓬雨
Hijikata Hōu
12. 竹風紹智
Chikufū Jōchi
(Yabunouchi, 12th gen.)
13. 翠月允武
Mochizuki Imbu
14. 井伊直弼
Ii Naosuke

Pouch Style

1. 武野紹圃
Takeno Jōō
2. " "
3. 細川三斎
Hosokawa Sansai
4. 芝山監物
Shibayama Kemmotsu
5. 南坊宗啓
Nambō Sōkei
6. " "
7. 稲葉正通
Inaba Masamichi
8. 織田道八
Oda Dōhachi
9. 古田織部
Furuta Oribe
10. 木下長嘯子
Kinoshita Chōshōshi
11. 備前屋
Kishuso
12. 石川丈山
Ishikawa Jōzan
13. 本多菊蘭
Honda Kiran
14. 小堀遠州
Kobori Enshū
15. " "
16. " "
17. 本阿弥光悦
Hon'ami Kōetsu
18. 尾形乾山
Ogata Kenzan
19. 本阿弥光甫 (空中)
Hon'ami Kōhō (Kūchū)
20. 酒井抱一
Sakai Hōitsu
21. 千 道安
Sen Dōan
22. 千 少庵
Sen Shōan
23. 寛々斎宗左
Kakukakusai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 6th gen.)
24. 六閑斎宗室
Rikkansai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 6th gen.)
25. 一燈斎
Ittō Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 8th gen.)
26. 又鈔斎宗室
Yūmyōsai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 12th gen.)
27. 直齋宗守
Jikisai Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 4th gen.)

The dominant element in this group is a dipping, pouch-like stroke, and more than a few chajin used *kaō* of this style. The figures in this group constitute a veritable who's who of extremely talented men — not only tea masters and *sukisha*, but also *daimyō* chajin who were devoted to the pursuit of the arts.



(continued)

Circular Style

The kaō in this group are characterized by their pronounced circular shape. It is noteworthy that all such kaō are those of tea masters.



1. 津田宗及
Tsuda Sōgyū
2. " "
3. 金森宗和
Kanamori Sōwa
4. 随流斎宗佐
Zuiryūsai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 5th gen.)
5. 碌々斎宗左
Rokurokusai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 11th gen.)
6. 認得斎宗室
Nintokusai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 10th gen.)
7. 圓能斎宗室
Ennōsai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 13th gen.)
8. 一指斎宗守
Isshisai Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 8th gen.)
9. 徳登斎宗全
Tokuyōsai Sōzen
(Hisada, 3rd gen.)
10. 玄乗斎宗悦
Genjōsai Sōetsu
(Hisada, 10th gen.)
11. 珍牛斎竹尹
Chīngyūsai Chikui
12. 川路善八
Kawaji Zempachi

Horizontal Style

The kaō in this group are those which extend horizontally and yet do not fit into the previously mentioned Character "One" Style, Character "Two" Style, or Rectangular Style groups. Tea masters dominate this group, with Rikyū, whose horizontal style kaō is particularly well known, heading the list. Among this group, however, one can also find the kaō of Zen priests and daimyō chajin.

- | | | | |
|-----|------|------|---|
| (1) | (7) | (14) | 1. 千利休
Sen Rikyū |
| (2) | (8) | (15) | 2. " " |
| (3) | (9) | (16) | 3. 針屋宗春
Hariya Sōshun |
| (4) | (10) | (17) | 4. 佐川田昌俊
Sagawada Masatoshi |
| (5) | (11) | (18) | 5. 玉室宗珀
Gyokushitsu Sōhaku |
| (6) | (12) | (19) | 6. 重宗甫
Jū Sōho |
| | | | 7. 一休宗純
Ikkyū Sōjun |
| | | | 8. 澤庵宗彭
Takuan Sōhō |
| | | | 9. 天室宗竺
Tenshitsu Sōjiku |
| | | | 10. 今井宗久
Imai Sōkyū |
| | | | 11. 關絢宗拙
Kan'ō Sōsetsu |
| | | | 12. 竹陰紹智
Chikuin Jōchi
(Yabunouchi, 6th gen.) |
| | | | 13. 金森得水
Kanamori Tokusui |
| | | | 14. 松平玉映
Matsudaira Gyokuei |
| | | | 15. 平瀬露香
Hirase Rokō |
| | | | 16. 岡田雪臺
Okada Settai |
| | | | 17. 六閑齋宗室
Rikkansai Sōshitsu
(Urasenke, 6th gen.) |
| | | | 18. 直齋宗守
Jikisai Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 4th gen.) |
| | | | 19. 以心齋宗守
Ishinsai Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 7th gen.) |

Vertical Style

There are relatively few actual examples of this *kaō* style, and this may be due to the fact that, as a rule, *kaō* were written below a person's ordinary [vertical] signature, and so horizontally oriented *kaō* created a more pleasing balance. It could be said that Rikyū's 'cricket mark *kaō*' (*kerahan*) and Zuiryūsai's vertical *kaō* are the most representative examples of this style.

1. 千利休
Sen Rikyū
2. 随流斎宗佐
Zuiryūsai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 5th gen.)
3. 片桐石州
Katagiri Sekishū
4. 三宅亡羊
Miyake Bōyō



Plant & Animal Style

Kaō which fall into this group take their form from a plant or animal. Daté Masamune's "wagtail seal" is very well known.



1. 三好政康
Miyoshi Masayasu
2. 竺仙梵庵
Jikusen Bonsen
3. 伊達政宗
Daté Masamune
4. 本阿弥光甫
Hon'ami Kōho
5. 里村紹巴
Satomura Jōha
6. 天満屋曲全
Temmaya Kyokuzen
7. " "

1. 榮西明庵
Eisai Myōan
2. 道元希玄
Dōgen Kigen
3. 兀庵普寧
Gottan Funei
4. 円爾弁円 (聖一国師)
Enni Ben'en (Shōichi Kokushi)
5. 無学祖元
Mugaku Sogen
6. 宗峰妙超 (大灯国師)
Sōhō Myōchō (Daitō Kokushi)
7. 徹翁義享
Tetsutō Gikō
8. 武野紹鷗
Takeno Jōō
9. 松本宗悟
Matsumoto Sōgo
10. 北向道陳
Kitamuki Dōchin
11. " "
12. 豊臣秀次
Toyotomi Hidetsugu
13. 船越伊予守
Funakoshi Iyonokami
14. 小堀宗慶
Kobori Sōkei
(Enshū, 2nd gen.)
15. 小堀宗実
Kobori Sōjitsu
(Enshū, 3rd gen.)
16. 桶狭正高
Inaba Masataka
17. 徳川斉修
Tokugawa Narinaga
18. 芳村親阿
Yoshimura Kan'a
19. 三宅亡羊
Miyake Bōyō
20. 覺々斎宗左
Kakukakusai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 6th gen.)
21. 啖啄斎宗左
Sottakusai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 8th gen.)
22. 了々斎宗左
Ryōryōsai Sōsa
(Omotesenke, 9th gen.)
23. 文叔宗守
Bunshuku Sōshu
(Mushanokōjisenke, 2nd gen.)
24. " "
25. 長生庵仙鶴
Chōseian Senkaku
(Horinouchi, founder)
26. 剣翁紹智
Ken'ō Jōchi
(Yabunouchi, 3rd gen.)

Grass Style

Gathered here are kaō of an elegant or artistic style which defy classification in any of the other style groups. For this reason, they range over a tremendous variety of styles and variations, and were used by an equally diverse group of individuals, including tea masters, Zen priests, sukisha, daimyō, and others. Consult this style group when confronted with a kaō that does not seem to fit within any of the other groups as I have described them.

27. 竹崎紹智
Chikui Jōchi
(Yabunouchi, 8th gen.)
28. 松浦 詮
Matsuura Akira
29. 稲垣休曼
Inagaki Kyūsō
30. 高橋恭庵
Takahashi Sōan
31. 野村得庵
Nomura Tokuan



Temae — Tea Procedure

Furo Nagaita *Sō Kazari, Koicha*



As mentioned in the guide to the nagaita usucha temae presented in the previous *Chanoyu Quarterly* issue (no. 75), a popular form of displaying tea utensils on the *dōgu tatami* (utensil mat) in a room four-and-a-half mats or larger in size is to place them on a nagaita.* There are two sizes of such “long boards”: one, approximately 84.8 x 36.4 x 1.8 cm in dimension, for furo use; the other, approximately 72.7 x 30.3 x 1.2 cm, for ro use.

For a nagaita *sō kazari koicha* temae in the furo season, the *dōgu tatami* is prepared in the following manner, as seen in the above photograph. A furo-use nagaita is placed 16 lines of tatami weave from the imaginary front line of the half-mat constituting the *dōgu tatami*; the furo-kama is placed on the left half of the nagaita, and the kama lid is set slightly ajar; the mizusashi, filled nine-tenths with fresh water, is placed at the center of the right half; a shakutate is placed toward the rear centered between the furo-kama and mizusashi, with sashitōshi hishaku leaning to the front and kazari hibashi leaning to the back; a kensui, with futaoki in it, is placed in front of the shakutate; and finally, a chaire, filled with the right amount of tea for the number of guests (approximately three rounded chashaku-scoops of tea powder, or 3.75 grams, per person), and clothed in its shifuku, is placed on the tatami, directly in front of the mizusashi. This display scheme, as well as the temae itself, is almost identical to that for daisu koicha; it is simply as if the top shelf of the daisu has been removed. In the mizuya, the other utensils for the temae — the chawan with chakin, chasen, and chashaku, and the mizutsugi — are readied just as for a standard koicha temae.

Within the context of a full, formal tea gathering, the guests will have already partaken of a sweet during the preceding portion of the gathering. When they enter the tearoom for the koicha temae, they find the *dōgu tatami* readied as described above, and the sadōguchi door closed. The guests take their seats, and the host sits just outside the sadōguchi with the prepared chawan in front of the knees.

* As with daisu, the use of nagaita is not appropriate in rooms of less than four-and-a-half mats, or where the tea-preparation space is of less than four-and-a-half mats.

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto



(1)

Open the sadōguchi door (1), pick up the chawan, and enter the tearoom.



(2)

Before proceeding to the temaeza, sit before the sadōguchi, place chawan in front of knees, and close the door (2).



(3)

Holding the chawan, go sit squarely in front of the nagaita. Rehold front-left of chawan with the left hand (hereafter, L), and place chawan to the left (3).



(4)

Resituate chaire slightly to the right in front of mizusashi. Then pick up chawan with L, hold it with the right hand (hereafter, R), regrasp it with L, and place it to the left of the chaire (4).



(5)

With both hands, take kensui from nagaita (5). Set it to your left side with L.



(6)

Place fingertips of both hands on tatami. With L remaining in this position, lift hibashi out from back of shakutate with R (6). Keeping hibashi vertical, pass them around right-hand side of shakutate and then left-hand side of space where kensui formerly stood, and bring them out to the front of the nagaita.



(7)

Bring hibashi parallel to your knees and, supporting them near the center with L, swivel them so tips point away from your body. Rehold with R, beyond L, and adjust L grip so thumb is on right and fingers are around left (7).



(8)

Place fingertips of R on tatami and lay hibashi to left of nagaita with L, placing them as far in as hand will comfortably allow (8).



(9)

Remove futaoki from kensui with R, rest it on L palm, regrasp it with R, and place it in front of shakutate on nagaita, slightly closer to front of nagaita than it was when in the kensui (9).



(10)

Bow together with the guests to officially commence the temae (10). Then move kensui slightly forward with L, straighten kimono, and, placing hands on lap, pause for concentration.



(11)

Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, regrasp it with R, and place it in front of knees, leaving space for the chaire (11).



(12)

Pick up chaire with R, place it between chawan and knees, and undo the shifuku cord in the standard manner (12).



(13)

Remove chaire from shifuku in the standard manner (13). Place chaire between chawan and knees with R.



(14)

Smooth out the shifuku gathers, and even out the protruding ends of the cord. Flip shifuku over onto L palm so cord knot is on the side toward the guests. Rehold shifuku with R, grasp the base portion with L, and place shifuku toward the left (14).



(15)

Take fukusa from obi, conduct *yohōsabaki* (inspection of the four sides) as usual, and, in standard manner, purify chaire with fukusa (15). Place chaire to left-hand front of mizusashi.



(16)

Refold fukusa, purify chashaku (16), and place chashaku on chaire. Take chasen from chawan and stand it to right of chaire. (If the mizusashi lid is a lacquered one, now hold fukusa with R, tuck left-hand side under with L, dust the front half of the lid in two horizontal strokes, and rehold fukusa with L.) With R, move chawan closer to knees, then take chakin from chawan and place it on mizusashi lid.



(17)

If, as governed by the usual rules, the fukusa is not to be used for handling the kama lid, return it to obi. If it is to be used, hold it with R. Then, with bare fingers or using fukusa, remove kama lid and rest it on futaoki (17). (If fukusa was used, now set it in back of kensui with R.)



(18)

Place fingertips on tatami and, with R, lift hishaku out of shakutate from right-hand side (18). Passing handle around right-hand side of futaoki, bring hishaku out to front of nagaita.



(19)

Rehold hishaku for use, scoop hot water from kama, and pour it into chawan (19). Rest hishaku on kettle (*okibishaku*).



(20)

Conduct *chasen-tōshi* as usual (20), then return chasen to its place on tatami. Discard chawan water into kensui, wipe chawan with chakin, and return chawan to tatami.



(21)

This time place chakin on kama lid (21).



(22)

In standard manner for koicha, take chashaku with R and chaire with L. Remove chaire lid and place it to right of chawan. Place three scoops of tea into chawan, rest chashaku on chawan, and revolve chaire to empty the tea into the chawan (22). Wipe lip of chaire with R fingertips, wipe fingertips on kaishi in kimono, replace lid onto chaire, and return chaire to former position with L.



(23)

Hold chashaku with R, smooth the tea powder with it (23), lightly tap chashaku on chawan rim to dislodge adhering tea, and replace chashaku on chaire.



(24)

Remove mizusashi lid with R, hold it vertically with L, regrasp it vertically with R, and lean it against left-hand side of mizusashi (24).



(25)

Hold hishaku handle overhand, rehold hishaku for use, and scoop ladleful of cold water (25).



(26)

Pour the cold water into the kama and immediately scoop ladleful of hot water (26). Pour small amount into chawan, return remainder to kama, and rest hishaku on kama (*okibishaku*).



(27)

Take chasen, blend the tea, and rest chasen in chawan. Scoop another ladleful of hot water, lift chasen up with L, and pour appropriate amount of hot water into chawan (27). Again rest chasen in chawan, return remaining hot water to kama, and rest hishaku on kama (*okibishaku*). Finish blending the koicha.



(28)

Pick up chawan, turn it to face the guests, and place it on the adjacent tatami (28).



(29)

If the chawan is other than Raku ware, take kobukusa from your kimono, and, turning it so the center fold faces the guest's right (29), place it out to right-hand side of chawan.



(30)

After the first guest takes one sip of the tea, ask how it is ("*Ofukukagen wa?*") (30).



(31)

Having been assured the tea is fine, shift sitting position to diagonally face guests. After the second guest starts drinking, the first guest asks the name and grower of the tea, etc. Answer the questions (31).



(32)

When the last guest takes his final sip, shift sitting position to directly face nagaita, pour ladleful of cold water into kama, and again rest hishaku on kama (*hikibishaku*) (32). (If fukusa is lying below kensui, now return it to obi.)



(33)

When chawan is returned, place it in front of knees. (If kobukusa was provided, first return kobukusa to kimono.) Bow together with guests (33).



(34)

Scoop ladleful of hot water, pour it into chawan (34), return hishaku to kama (*oki-bishaku*), and discard the chawan water into kensui. Replace chawan in front of knees.



(35)

Bow and tell the guests you will finish the temae ("*Oshimai itashimasu.*") (35).



(36)

Take hishaku from kama, rehold it for use, scoop cold water, and pour water into chawan. Return hishaku to kama (*kiribishaku*). Conduct *chasen-tōshi* as usual for finishing temae (36). Return chasen to its place.



(37)

Discard chawan water into kensui, place chakin in chawan (37), place chawan in front of knees, and place chasen in chawan.



(38)

Take chashaku with R, move kensui back with L, then take fukusa from obi and fold it for wiping chashaku. Wipe chashaku (38), and set it on chawan. Dust fukusa off over kensui, and return it to obi.



(39)

With R, move chaire to front right of mizusashi. Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, rehold it with R, and set it to left of chaire (39). [This arrangement is referred to as *honjima*.]



(40)

Take hishaku from kama, rehold it for use, and pour ladleful of cold water into kama. Do *yugaeshi* (scoop up hot water and immediately pour it back into kama) (40).



(41)

Bringing hishaku upright, grasp handle near the center with L, regrasp it below L with R, and, L fingertips on tatami, return hishaku to shakutate (41).



(42)

Place kama lid ajar on kama with bare fingers of R (42).



(43)

Immediately pick up mizusashi lid with R and, in the reverse of the manner it was removed from the mizusashi, replace it on the mizusashi (43).



(44)

At this point, the main guest asks to inspect the chaire, chashaku, and shifuku. Bow in acknowledgement (44).



(45)

Pick up futaoki with R, rest it on L palm, regrasp it with R, and set it further back on the nagaita, at position where it originally rested in the kensui (45).



(46)

Pick up hibashi with L (46).



(47)

Hold hibashi with R and then L, slide R back toward finials, bring hibashi parallel to your knees, and adjust R grasp to hold them like a pencil (47).



(48)

Place L fingertips on tatami while bringing hibashi into vertical position with R, and return hibashi to shakutate (48).



(49)

Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, rehold it with R, and set it down to the far left. Then pick up chaire with R, rest it on L palm, shift sitting position to diagonally face guests, and, in standard manner, purify chaire with fukusa. Turn chaire to face the guests (49), place it out on adjacent tatami, and return fukusa to obi.



(50)

Shift sitting position to face nagaita, take chashaku from chawan with R, hold it with L, again shift to diagonally face guests, and place chashaku to right of chaire so handle faces the guests. Shift once again to face nagaita, place shifuku on L palm, shift again to diagonal position, and place shifuku to right of chashaku, so that its base faces the guests (50).



(51)

Shift sitting position to direction diagonally facing away from guests, pick up kensui with L (51), stand up, and proceed to sadōguchi. Sitting before the closed door, place kensui down in front of knees, open the door, again pick up kensui with L, and take kensui to mizuya.



(52)

Return to temaeza, sit squarely in front of nagaita, pick up chawan (52), and return it to mizuya.



(53)

Return to temaeza with mizutsugi, sit in front of mizusashi, and place mizutsugi down so that it is at center of tatami and is parallel to front edge of the nagaita. In standard manner, add water to mizusashi (53). Return mizutsugi to mizuya.



(54)

Return to temaeza with cleansed kensui in L. Sit squarely before nagaita, and place kensui before knees with both hands. Pick up futaoki with R, rest it on L palm, rehold it with R, and place it in kensui. Pick up kensui with both hands, and return it to its original position on nagaita (54).



(55)

Exit the tearoom, sit outside the sadōguchi, and close the door (55).



(56)

When the inspected items have been returned, enter tearoom and go sit directly facing them. Answer the main guest's inquiries about them (56), and make a formal *shin* bow.



(57)

Pick up shifuku with R and rest it on L palm. Pick up chashaku with R, set it diagonally on L shifuku, and secure it with L thumb. Hold chaire with R (57), stand up, and exit the tearoom.



(58)

Just outside sadōguchi, sit down, place the utensils to side away from the guests, bow together with the guests, ending the temae (58), and close sadōguchi door. ☞

Book Reviews

Myōe the Dreamkeeper: Fantasy and Knowledge in Early Kamakura Buddhism. By George J. Tanabe, Jr. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University (distributed by Harvard University Press), 1992. xi + 291 pp., including index. US\$35.00.

Myōe Shōnin (1173–1232), also known as Kōben, was a remarkable man, about whom George Tanabe has written a remarkable book. The book consists of an introduction explaining the method and focus of Tanabe's study, a biography of his subject, and a translation of Myōe's *Dream Diary*. A more difficult task than the last of these, or one requiring more devotion, is hard to imagine, since Tanabe had first to assemble a text, then to contend with uncertain readings, and, most important, to refrain from trying to impose narrative logic on the dreams. Making explicit in this regard the restraint in interpretation that characterizes his approach throughout the book, and which is one of the book's most admirable qualities, Tanabe comments: "It is always a temptation for the translator to force the text to make sense; but the rule followed here is to let the ambiguities, if indeed that is what they really are, stand" (p. 160).

Myōe lost both father (a casualty of the Gempei wars) and mother in his eighth year, began keeping his dream diary in his thirteenth year, and was ordained in his sixteenth with the name of Jōben. In his nineteenth year (the same year that the Zen patriarch Eisai returned from Song China), he received the Esoteric initiation. At some point presumably in his twenties (the date is not given), he cut off his right ear and laid it on the altar of Butsugen Butsumo, the "mother of all buddhas," whom he worshiped as his own mother. Regarding Shakyamuni as his father, in his thirties he planned a journey to India; dissuaded from the physical journey by an oracle from the Kasuga deity, he traveled there in his mind. The controlling theme of Myōe's life was the search for immediacy of experience, for the presence of this "father" and "mother," and the place of his search was within himself.

Tanabe is careful not to label Myōe with the easy rubric "mystic." Similarly, he is careful not to impose alien (especially Freudian) interpretations on the dreams, going so far as to caution the reader not to assume that a particular dream-event inspired a particular emotion unless Myōe himself said so. (Blessedly, neither Freud nor Jung appears anywhere in the index.) At the same time, he has been as careful as possible to keep the historical Myōe separate from the Myōe who is the hero of legends. The result of Tanabe's fastidiousness is a book in which readers are from time to time granted the

feeling of contact with the inner life of a man almost eight centuries distant — an extraordinary achievement.

One of the results of Tanabe's work is, obviously, to increase our awareness of the actual multiplicity of Kamakura Buddhism, as opposed to the simplistic outlines of Kamakura religion which most of us were taught in school and which Robert E. Morrell has also challenged. Myōe, from childhood on an independent thinker who eludes convenient categorization, might be said to embody in himself some of the diversity of the era. He was a Shin-gon monk who immersed himself in the Keron (Ch., Hua-yen) sutra and was active in the *ritsu* (vinaya) revival. He was also a poet — one who went out of his way to ignore the usual rules and proscriptions of poetic diction, and, it might be added, one who felt none of the guilt we hear of elsewhere at writing poetry — a practical man not devoid of political skills, a teacher, and, as Tanabe emphasizes, a scholastic as well as a meditator. He lived both as the founder of a flourishing monastery and a recluse. What brought the varying strands of his "study and practice" together was a "naive literalism . . . that produced an intense, personal religiosity" (p. 55). If his stance is to be defined at all, it would be that of an impassioned conservative and reformer.

Tanabe's focus is on the inner experience, the experience of dreams and visions, both Myōe's and, more broadly, of the sutra and Buddhism as a whole. He argues, if I understand him correctly, that visions, in which the mind perceives things of its own making (as opposed to external reality), are primary in Buddhism, but, because of their generally inchoate nature, scholarship has ignored them in favor of investigating the discourses they have generated, those discourses being secondary but more amenable to discussion. In a fascinating chapter titled "Definitions," he glosses "fantasy," of the book's title and in the book's usage, as the power to translate internally created images into an inner understanding "accepted as true" (p. 6), as distinguished from (yet not dissimilar to) "imagination," which does the same with external images. (The difference between dreams, which also deal with internally created images, and visions is that "visions think, dreams feel" [p. 9].) Of particular interest is his use of the concept of fantasy as an analytical tool to explain the attraction for Myōe of Hua-yen teachings, "a formidable legacy of profound visions and profuse explanations" (p. 31). Also of great interest is Tanabe's discussion of Myōe's attack on Hōnen (1133–1212), which is illuminating in regard to both men. It was not that Myōe was uninfluenced by the nembutsu but that he was angered by Hōnen's assumption that Shakyamuni, having died, could no longer be experienced as a presence. This assumption denied what was most fundamental to Myōe's religious practice.

A study so rich as Tanabe's and, I suspect, so original is apt to make the reviewer reflect on his or her own intellectual roots. I write as a former would-be Buddhologist: former because at a point some years ago I came to realize that I was unlikely ever to acquire the wide scholarly background that most Buddhist subjects require. My praise, therefore, cannot be that of a specialist. But as a scholar involved with the study of literature, I find the book suggestive and stimulating even in ways that are only tangential to Myōe himself.

For instance, what Tanabe says about visions and fantasy in religion might well be pertinent to certain kinds of folklore; it seems, at the very least, aesthetically more satisfying to assume that a particular legend of the supernatural arose through visions than that it developed from reports of some actual happening that were corrupted in transmission. But even more important, Tanabe's insistence on treating his material throughout in terms of the greatest authenticity, and the rewards of that insistence, should set an example for scholars in many fields.

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Six Circles, One Dewdrop: The Religio-Aesthetic World of Komparu Zenchiku. By Arthur Thornhill III. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993. xiv + 232 pp., including appendix, glossary, bibliography, and index. US\$39.95.

This book is, and will remain for some time, the most thorough and definitive study of the writings of the fifteenth-century noh dramatist Komparu Zenchiku, whose work is a further elaboration on and extension of the dramatic work of his more famous father-in-law, Zeami Motokiyo (1363–1443). In a book that is a model of the genre called “scholarly monograph,” Thornhill provides a complete translation of one of Zenchiku's key works (*Rokurin Ichiro no Ki*, or “A Record of the Six Circles and One Dewdrop”), and a thorough and exhaustive explication of possible meanings — both in regard to artistic/aesthetic principles and practices (in noh especially), and to religious beliefs.

While Zenchiku and his theoretical formulations concerning artistic production and aesthetic principles in noh certainly belong to a modern Western notion of the performing arts (as the Library of Congress “PN”-designated number for this book implies), that work and this book actually seem more interested in the religious “theories” that are both implicit and explicit in Zenchiku and his religio-cultural context. In short, Thornhill has written a book that is more concerned with Japanese medieval religious history than with the artistic/aesthetic principles and practices of noh, and potential readers or users of the book should know that.

This is not a criticism but simply a statement of fact. Since, as the author suggests, Zenchiku's work is an “artifact of medieval (religious) syncretism” (p. 178) representing the “unity of the three (Buddhism, Shinto, Confucianism) creeds” (p. 181), it is no wonder that time and energy are extended in that direction; to wit, fully four of the five lengthy and detailed chapters dedicated to explication and interpretation are focused on the religious world(s) implied in Zenchiku's work itself, and in the religio-scholarly commentaries (by certain of his contemporaries) that accompany that work. The result is a dense

and closely argued book which continually points out the fluid meanings of Zenchiku's symbolic apparatus while it makes reference to the multiple layers and/or meanings reflective of medieval Buddhism, Shinto, and Confucianism, like a blended dance of syncretism and eclecticism.

There is a price to pay for this book's excellence. The author implies it when he says that readers might wish, in order to "avoid further tedious explication," to draw some of their own comparisons out of his data (p. 172). The wealth of information and background on Japanese religious history is exhausting even as it is exhaustive, and one must be prepared to work through this book with a fine-tooth comb in order to fully mine its rich ore.

To do that work is certainly worth the effort. The sheer quantity of primary and secondary sources consulted and referred to is impressive, and the detail and care with which the analysis is carried out is — while complex and sometimes confusing — excellent. While one might argue with this or that interpretation or translation (for example, on the latter point, "longevity" for the *ju* of the first circle, *jurin*), this book performs a wonderful service in showing and underlining the rich tapestry against whose backdrop Zenchiku's treatises can be better understood.

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Eloquent Zen: Daitō and Early Japanese Zen. By Kenneth Kraft. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992. vii + 268 pp., including glossary and index. US\$34.00, clothbound.

Shūhō Myōchō (1282–1337), commonly known as Daitō Kokushū, was an initiator of the lineage that now dominates Rinzai Zen. He was founder of the famous Kyoto monastery, Daitokuji, and teacher of two emperors. Despite the intermittent renewal of his reputation and legend by such eminent Zen masters as Ikkyū Sōjun (1394–1481), Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645), and Hakuin Ekaku (1686–1769), however, the latter are better known to scholarship than Daitō himself. This book is an attempt to remedy that deficiency.

Interspersed between the chapters outlining Daitō's career and the historical background are chapters on a number of major themes: the transformation of Chinese Ch'an into Japanese Zen, the question of Zen's authenticity or legitimacy, and the paradox of a Zen language about the ineffable experience of enlightenment.

Daitō was from an elite warrior family; his maternal uncle Akamatsu Norimura was an important general. This connection, plus his religious authority established via spiritual genealogy and charisma, gained Daitō the patronage of two emperors, Hanazono (r. 1308–18) and Go-Daigo (r. 1318–39),

and this patronage supplied Daitō with the means to found Daitokuji, and with religious titles.

The Japanese elite of the day were engaged in a contest for legitimacy. Externally, they struggled for self-assertion against Chinese cultural and political might; internally, for political and spiritual hegemony over the country. These contests overflowed into and prompted the concern with creating a legitimate Japanese Zen.

The Japanese had repulsed the last of the attempted Mongol invasions the year before Daitō's birth, and, during his lifetime, the Kamakura shogunate was replaced by the Ashikaga, and the reassertion of imperial power by Emperor Go-Daigo failed. As the fall of the Chinese Tang dynasty had signalled the rise of a native Heian cultural florescence, so the fall of the Song dynasty and the repulse of the Mongol invasion signalled the rise of a new Japanese self-confidence. Thus Daitō's teachers were Japanese, not Chinese, though one had been to China and the other had studied under Chinese masters in Japan. The Japanese, Daitō among them, soon stopped seeking Ch'an in China.

However, for a Buddhist order that had normatively maintained a lineage of "mind-transmission" to authenticate the enlightenment of its leaders and so legitimate Zen as the True Dharma, a complete dissociation from China was not sustainable. Zen had to legitimate itself, being in a political climate where legitimacy was an obsession. For this, a lineage connection had to be made with China.

Dōgen (1200–53) had already ruined the Zen of Nōnin (d. 1196) through accusations that Nōnin, who had not been in a lineage from a Chinese teacher, had experienced a delusion of enlightenment. At the very least, Nōnin lacked adequate verification of his enlightenment. The minimum guarantees of authenticity of enlightenment, and so the ability to transmit the lamp of Zen, were a master's recognition, usually symbolized by certificates, poems, or portraits, plus adherence to monastic precepts. Even though Dōgen had questioned the relevance of some of these guarantees due to their proliferation and devaluation, Daitō emphasized the ultimacy of enlightenment, which is corroborated at a secondary level of legitimacy by evidence such as portraits and poems, and backed up by monastic discipline. Institutionalization of these were, therefore, his reasons for founding a monastery.

As an alternative means of access to Chinese Ch'an, Daitō copied and studied Chinese texts such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (Jp., *Keitoku Dentō Roku*), which encapsulated masters' verbal authentications of awakening, and the legitimation of lineages. These studies also covered public case (Ch., *kung-an*; Jp., *kōan*) texts such as the *Pi-yen lu* (Jp., *Hekigan Roku*; Blue Cliff Record), which distilled enlightenment episodes into short illustrations. Daitō's pioneering of "capping phrases" (*agyo*, *ago*) in Japanese *kōan* practice demonstrates his failure to completely shed the Chinese hegemony. This can be illustrated by Daitō's own enlightenment confirmation. Having verbally presented his enlightenment solution to the *kōan* of Yünmen's "Barrier," Daitō was told by his teacher Nampo, "You must be a second Yünmen!" Thereafter, Daitō consciously imitated Yünmen as his personal exemplar. Not

only was the kōan from China and the exemplar Chinese, but even the record of the event itself was recorded in Chinese.

The language conundrum has several levels. Firstly, there were the practical problems for kōan Zen or "literary Zen" of being forced to rely on Chinese texts for most of their examples. The importance of Ch'an texts, and the elites' continuing dependence on classical Chinese (Jp., *kambun*) in male education to preserve its privileged status, trapped Zen in attachment to *kambun*. If the texts were difficult for native Chinese speakers, the kōan texts favored and commented on by Daitō in *kambun* were even more daunting for Japanese.

Yet crucially, Daitō was surely convinced that the enlightenment behind the text could be fathomed by an enlightened master. Thus, by means of the skillful use of language, he interpreted Chinese records of enlightenment dialogues and kōans through his capping-phrases, which was an aid to or provocation of enlightenment. He adopted the unsettling language of paradox and non-rationality to counter the habituation caused by attachment to language. Tradition called this the "live language," the soteriological words of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and Zen masters.

The all-too-brief history of the capping-phrase provided by Kraft shows that Daitō borrowed mostly from the *Hsüeh-tou lu* (Jp., *Setchō Roku*) and its successor, the *Pi-yen lu*. Although Daitō may have sensed the enlightenment in the kōans and phrases, most Zen students could not, and needed exegetical commentaries. Kraft describes some modern commentaries as "reductive and unsatisfactory" (p. 133); they subverted the perplexity the capping-phrases initially attempted to induce in order to halt discursive thinking and provoke enlightenment. However, Kraft proceeds to comment even more discursively, removing the phrases from overall context and drawing "upon certain conventional modes" of explanation. Are these modes those of the Rinzai tradition itself, or are they the author's own understanding? This is not clear, but they appear to be related to conventions surrounding the dialogues of masters and pupils.

Removing the capping-phrases and kōans from context is problematic, for the kōan exchanges were supposedly always placed in context in the discourse record (Jp., *goroku*) of Daitō, whether in the oral commentary of dialogue with students or in written commentaries on other texts such as the *Hsüeh-tou lu*. Kraft justifies this removal from context by claiming that the phrases were a way of overcoming the constraints of the contexts of the *goroku* genre; the ritual procedures of monastic life, the seasonal topics mandated by poetry, and the required use of *kambun*. The capping-phrase supposedly avoided the reduction found in discursive commentary by providing a flexible means of deconstructing sanctified discourses. The phrases were short, so the *kambun* could be more easily memorized and understood.

The fragmentary nature of the quotes and capping-phrases translated in the book heightens the absence of textual context, making it difficult for the reader to comprehend the structure of the works attributed to Daitō and ascertain the extent of derivation from earlier sources. While Kraft recognizes

the intertextuality (p. 95), the fragmentariness tends to undermine that intertextuality. Yet parts of Daitō's work appear to be a pastiche of quotes and phrases from earlier texts.

For example, Daitō's four-line death poem, praised by Kraft as a "provocative artifact of Daitō's eloquent Zen" (p. 170), contains many references to past texts. In Kraft's translation, the poem reads:

I cut aside all buddhas and patriarchs,
my Mind-sword honed to a razor edge.
Activity's wheel begins to turn —
emptiness gnashes its teeth.

(p. 169)

The translation is free, and has nearly a page of explanation. Kraft's comments indicate that the second line refers to the last line of Lin-chi's (d. 867) death poem: "After the Blown-hair (sword) is used, hurry and hone it." Yet many of the other nuances and references are missing. The first line was probably modelled on Lin-chi's "If you meet the Buddha, kill the Buddha; if you meet the patriarch, kill the patriarch," and the words "cut off" may be derived from the *Pi-yen lu* line about a sword cutting off the legs (T. 48, 148b 24ff). The second line literally reads, "The Blown-hair (sword) is constantly honed," and so refers to the need to continually reenforce awareness after the first enlightenment. Moreover, this very sword is the topic of the last of the one hundred cases in the *Hsieh-tou lu* and the *Pi-yen lu*. Perhaps it was appropriate for Daitō's last poem. The third line, "Where the wheel of opportunity turns," is all from Wan-sung Hsing-hsiu's (Jp., Banshō Gyōshū; 1166–1246) *Ts'ung-jung lu* (Jp., *Shōyō Roku*) (T. 48, 276 a6), and the fourth, "Emptiness gnashes its teeth" may allude to a remark Daitō made earlier in his life, "My teeth are clenched" (p. 139). Dense referencing to authoritative texts is a feature of kōan Zen, but is it "eloquent Zen"?

Kraft characterizes "eloquent Zen" as the skillful use of language (p. 151). "Eloquent Zen" seems to be Kraft's coinage, created to avoid the negative connotations of "literary Zen" (Jp., *moji zen*), yet he claims that Daitō was praised as a "master of eloquent Zen" and not a "master of literary Zen." However, we are not informed of the words that were the equivalent of "eloquent Zen" in these phrases. (Nor is there evidence that the language of literary Zen was any less skillful, even in Zen terms.)

Daitō's "eloquent Zen" — his capping-phrases, commentaries, and poetry — raises a hermeneutical issue brought from China of how, and even whether, to interpret the textual tradition of sutras and kōans. Some of Daitō's contemporaries inclined towards literary Zen, using sutras, poetry, and the earlier Ch'an literature. Daitō, in Kraft's estimation, "transcended" literary Zen by stressing that authentic enlightenment surpassed textually-based understanding while inspiring that enlightenment through an eloquent poetry and commentary.

Although Kraft does mention some of the sources, such as Nāgārjuna, for the Zen attitude toward language, further elaboration would seem appropriate in a book on eloquent Zen. The idea that words are not to be clung to, the meaning alone being what counts, and that enlightened teachers were skillful in the use of language is as old as the Mahayana concept of the bodhisattva. The *Ta chih-tu lun* (Jp., *Daichido Ron*) asserts that by non-attachment to words, the bodhisattva's language can be enlightening, and the *Lankāvatāra Sutra*, one of the oldest authorities for Ch'an, compares words to a lamp that illuminates the path to enlightenment.

The test then was one of degree. An excessive love of texts and language was a sign of the maligned literary Zen and attachment; a lack of literary ability signified the non-attainment of the skillful means of the enlightened teacher. Tradition and Kraft assert that Daitō attained that skill, mastering the paradox wherein the bonds of language are cut by language itself.

Kraft's book is excellent on the life and times of Daitō, filling a much neglected void in writings on early Japanese Zen. The translations are fine, although a little free, and they whet the appetite for more extended excerpts from Daitō's corpus. The hermeneutical issues mentioned are likewise tantalizing, and demand further elucidation, but perhaps they require another book, being too discursive for a book on Daitō.

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Nara period, 710–794

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