

CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 77

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The embossing on the cover is adapted from a gold embroidered fabric called *Hōun kinran*, favored by Sen Sōshitsu XV, fifteenth generation grand master of the Urasenke tradition of chanoyu. The motif is composed of a phoenix (*hō*) amid clouds (*un*), and is the graphic representation of his Buddhist name, Hōunsai.

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

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Chanoyu is a synthesis of arts that gives expression to many aspects of Japanese culture. From its beginnings in the fifteenth century down to the present, it has been both catalyst and medium in the development of distinctive art forms. Under the guidance of Grand Master Sen Sōshitsu XV, the Urasenke Foundation seeks to encourage the further development of these arts and to promote a worldwide understanding of the spirit of chanoyu.

Entering Dōshisha Junior High School

Sen Sōshitsu XV

In 1936, I finished elementary school and entered Dōshisha Junior High School. I personally wanted to go to one of the prefectural junior high schools, where my friends would be going, and I wondered why I should be made to go to a Christian school when my family, being a Tea family, belonged to the Zen sect, and when I would some day be undergoing training at Daitokuji. Though I initially voiced my objection to the idea of going to Dōshisha, my father sternly told me that Dōshisha was where he had studied, and where I should study after him. So it was decided.

The founder of Dōshisha was the distinguished Nijima Jō, whose wife studied chanoyu under my grandfather, Ennōsai. Professor and Mrs. Nijima participated in tea gatherings at Urasenke, and it was through this connection that my father entered Dōshisha. Those were the days when liberalism was at its height, and it seems that the biologist and dietman Yamamoto Senji (1889–1929), of the Japan Proletarian Party, who was assassinated, was a senior student at Dōshisha at the time my father attended the school.

During my five years at Dōshisha, there were chapel services, sermons, religious study classes, and classroom prayer periods on Saturday, when we students took turns reading passages from the bible. Thus I managed to absorb some of the Christian concepts, which later proved very beneficial for me. I have journeyed through many countries in order to spread the Way of Tea, and whenever I have met with great men of the clergy, we have been able to understand each other with no sense of discord whatsoever.

There were two people in particular who left a deep impression on me in junior high school: one was the school principal, Nomura Jinsaku-sensei,[†] and the other was my homeroom teacher in my third year, Takahashi Tsutomu-sensei. Nomura-sensei was a former naval captain, and also a devout Christian and great educator. His wife was a good friend of my mother's, and so our families socialized with each other. On the other

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

† The term "sensei" means "teacher" or "master," and constitutes a title of respect. —Tr.

hand, Takahashi-sensei was a mathematics teacher, and mathematics was my worst subject. I may sound like I am boasting, but my grades in other subjects, such as history, were on the good side. Taking note of this, Takahashi-sensei reprimanded me for my lack of will to study something because I disliked it, and he kindly invited me to come visit him at his house.

I would go to Takahashi-sensei's house together with two or three of my friends, and, although Takahashi-sensei did not live extravagantly, he would treat us to sukiyaki, and we would talk about this and that. Every once in awhile, he would touch upon things having to do with mathematical theory, trying to develop our interest in mathematics. Enjoying his personality, I continued to pay him visits, and, after a half year's time, I realized that I had developed an affinity toward mathematics. Thanks to this, mathematics and geometry became my best subjects. Takahashi-sensei taught me the importance of patience and love when teaching others. These attitudes are the same in the Way of Tea.

My junior high school years coincided with the era when Japan was beginning to tread the path of militarism. Just prior to my entrance into junior high, there occurred the February 26th Incident (Niniroku Jiken), and in July of the following year, the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–45 broke out, sparked by the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (Rokōkyō Jiken). Due to such circumstances in the world at large, and the fact that Dōshisha was a Christian school, the military kept the school under scrutiny, and the commissioned officers assigned to our school increased the severity of our military drills.

In 1935, Dōshisha had welcomed in Dr. Yuasa Hachirō as Chancellor. He had studied in the United States of America, was a liberalist, and opposed the fascist trends of the time. Although he placed importance on the spirit of building a better education for us all, he was forced to resign after only two years. Although I was still only in my second year at Dōshisha, I felt the impact of the changes which were taking place at the school. 

A History of Tatami

Satō Osamu

Tatami, which originated and developed in Japan, are a necessity of life peculiar to this country. As a flooring material and also as a type of matting, they have been inseparable from daily life since the ancient Heian period.

The first appearance of "tatami" in literature is in the middle volume of the *Koji Ki* (Record of Ancient Matters; 712 A.D.), in which *suga tatami*, or "sedge mat," is mentioned in the section on Emperor Jimmu.¹ Again, in the same work, in the section on Emperor Keikō,² there is mention of "many layers of sedge matting, many layers of leather matting, and many layers of coarse silk matting."³ From this we can see that in ancient times, wild plants were stacked in layers and used as matting. The term "tatami" also came to be used to indicate woven woolen rugs as well as matting used for sitting or sleeping. As these forms of matting increasingly became conventionalized, the term "tatami" came to denote items which could be folded over or layered. From this ability to be folded (*tatameru*) or layered, all such matting came to be known as tatami.

須賀多多美

菅畳

皮畳 施畳

In the oldest Chinese-Japanese dictionary, the *Wamyō Ruiju Shō*, or *Wamyōshō* (ca. 734), "tatami" is written "太太美" under the section on "sitting and sleeping equipment," and long, short, and layered tatami are mentioned. It seems that these corresponded to the thin mats (*usu-datami*) of today.

The traditional lifestyle of noble society in ancient times made use of beds at one period. The bed used by Emperor Shōmu, called *onshō*, is preserved at the Shōsōin Imperial Repository at Tōdaiji temple in Nara. It is the platform made of Japanese cypress, 237.5 cm long, 118.5 cm wide, and 38.5 cm high, described in the *Kokka Chinhō Chō* [Register of Rare Treasures of the Nation], a record of objects beloved of

御床

国家珍宝帳

¹ Purported to have reigned in the 6th century B.C.

² Purported to have reigned during the 2nd century A.D.

³ The character for "matting" in each case here is the same character used today to write tatami.

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from the essay "Tatami no Rekishi: Tatami kara Tatami e" in the October 1991 issue of *Nagomi* (Tankōsha Publishing Co.). Unless otherwise specified, footnotes are by the editor.



Matsuzaki Tenjin Engi Emaki [Picture Scroll of the Origin and History of Matsuzaki Tenjin Shrine]; section of the 5th volume depicting the private quarters of a Heian period government official. Original scroll dated to the early Kamakura period. Designated an Important Cultural Property of Yamaguchi Prefecture. Before rooms began to be covered wall-to-wall with tatami, thick tatami were layed around the



perimeters of wooden-floored rooms, as illustrated here. Note that the tatami on which the man and woman are seated have different Korean-style borders (*kōrai-beri*), and that the woman is reclining on an additional thin mat. Property of Hōfu Temmangu Shrine, Yamaguchi Prefecture. Photo courtesy of the Hiroshima Prefectural Museum of History.

真菰

Emperor Shōmu which were donated to Tōdaiji temple upon his death in 756. Two of these platforms were to be placed side by side and spread with tatami having a border of scarlet brocade. These were constructed of three long mats made of wild rice rush (*makomo*), stacked up and folded in half to make six layers. On the upper sides were attached mats of rush (*i*), and, on the undersides, white linen. They were bound on both long sides by strips of coarse white silk covered with brocade to make a border. On top of these tatami was laid a bed mat (*joku*) of brown brocade, and the coverlet was made of coarse, double-layered green silk.

藁

It is considered that tatami took on the form of a core of rice straw (*wara*), covered on top with a rush mat, during the Heian period. As the capital of the nation shifted from Heijō-kyō, in Nara, to Nagaoka-kyō and finally to Kyoto in 794, the *shinden-zukuri* architectural style preferred by the nobility for their residences was consummated, and thus arose its corresponding way of life. At that time, it was a life on wooden flooring, and tatami were used only as seating for the highest of the aristocratic class. As well, its use, thickness, and size were determined by the prestige of the user. A whole tatami was used as a bed, and a half-size one was used for seating.

The architectural style known as *shoin-zukuri* originated during the Kamakura period, as a style of dwelling for samurai and priests, and reached the peak of its development in the Muromachi period. At first, the lifestyle in this kind of dwelling involved wooden floors. Then gradually, beginning with small rooms, tatami came to be spread over whole rooms. In very large rooms, however, tatami were laid only around the perimeter.

座敷

When tatami came to be spread over the entire floors of rooms, various points of etiquette for their arrangement came into being. The practice of spreading tatami over whole rooms became established during the Muromachi period, and, with this development, rooms completely spread with tatami came to be known as *zashiki* (literally, 'spread for seating'), and the arrangement of the tatami came to be determined by rules of seating and etiquette. Auspicious (*kichi*) and inauspicious (*kyō*) arrangements came into being, and basic principles which became the standards of tatami use were established.

吉

凶

酌井記

In the latter part of the twenty-fourth fascicle, the "Section on Warrior Families," of the *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* [Sequel Series, Classified Collection of Japanese Classics], there is a document entitled *Shakuhei Ki* (1532–69) in which the following discussion of tatami arrangement is given.

Laying tatami in the *zashiki*: The correct way is to lay them around [the edges of the room] no matter how

many are to be laid. The tatami in front of the *toko* [alcove] is always to be laid sideways. It might be said that it will not do to lay four tatami in a row.⁴

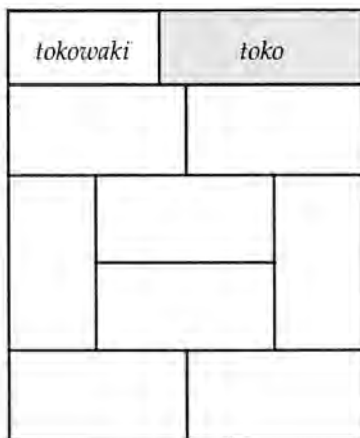
The same points are also mentioned later in the same work, in a document entitled *Chōban Ki*.

鳥板記

During the Edo period, there were distinct celebratory arrangements (*shūgi-shiki*; also described as ‘auspicious’ manner of spreading the tatami) and non-celebratory arrangements (*bushūgi-shiki*; also described as ‘inauspicious’ manner of spreading tatami), which were changed at times of weddings and funerals, respectively. The celebratory layout was the one now ordinarily used, wherein the tatami in front of the *toko* is laid with its long side parallel to the *toko*, as the basis for the other tatami in the room, which are arranged alternately so that their junctions form a T shape. If there is no *toko*, the tatami laid against the door becomes the basis for the others. In the non-celebratory layout, the corners of the tatami are brought together, forming a + shape.

祝儀敷き

不祝儀敷き



Auspicious tatami arrangement.



Inauspicious tatami arrangement.

The rustic, “thatched hut” (*sōan*) style tearoom developed concurrently with the transition from the Momoyama period to the Edo period. Also, influenced by such developments in the way of tea, the *shoin-zukuri* style of architecture became lighter in mood, giving rise to the *sukiya* style of *shoin* architecture. The best example of this style

⁴ “*Toko*” is the correct word to use when referring solely to the alcove of a Japanese room. “*Tokonoma*,” often used inaccurately for this purpose, correctly refers to a Japanese room with an alcove.—Author

is the Shingoten of the Katsura Detached Palace, located along the west bank of the Katsura River in the Nishikyō ward of the city of Kyoto. Here we find tatami spread throughout the rooms. Some have small-patterned Korean-style borders (*kōrai-beri*),⁵ some have light green silk borders, and some have dark blue cloth borders.

It was after the mid-Edo period that tatami finally passed down from tearoom architecture to urban homes and became part of the common people's lives. In rural areas the transition occurred even later, during the Meiji period.

Tatami and Chanoyu

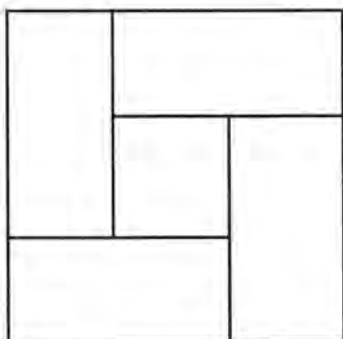
The basic tearoom size is considered to be the *yojōhan*, or room of four and a half tatami mats in floor space. The *shin*, or "formal," style four-and-a-half-mat tearoom format originated when Murata Jukō (also read Shukō; 1423–1502), in the Muromachi period, established the tea procedure known as *shoin-daisu*.⁶ Then, in the succeeding Momoyama period, the *gyō*, or "semi-formal," four-and-a-half-mat tearoom (*zashiki*) was used by Takeno Jōō (1502–55). This development culminated in the creation of the *sō*, or "informal," style four-and-a-half-mat tearoom by Sen Rikyū (1522–91).

Tearooms larger in area than four and a half mats are known as *hiroma*, or "spacious rooms," and smaller ones are referred to as *koma*, or "small rooms." The basic four-and-a-half-mat tearoom may be regarded as either a *hiroma* or a *koma*. There are eight basic types [or sizes] of *koma*, as follows:

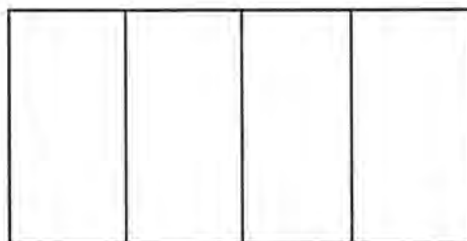
四畳半	<i>yojōhan</i>	(four-and-a-half-mat)
長四畳	<i>naga yojō</i>	(long four-mat)
平三畳台目	<i>hira sanjō-daime</i>	(wide three-and-three-quarter-mat)
深三畳台目	<i>fuka sanjō-daime</i>	(deep three-and-three-quarter-mat)
三畳	<i>sanjō</i>	(three-mat)
二畳台目	<i>nijō-daime</i>	(two-and-three-quarter-mat)
二畳	<i>nijō</i>	(two-mat)
一畳台目	<i>ichijō-daime</i>	(one-and-three-quarter-mat)

⁵ *Kōrai-beri*, or Korean-style border, traditionally refers to a kind of tatami border made of black-patterned white twill. Typical patterns are "clouds" or "chrysanthemum flowers." Later, *kōrai-beri* also came to be made by printing black patterns on white cloth treated with aleurone. Cf. *Kōjien*, "*kōrai-beri*."

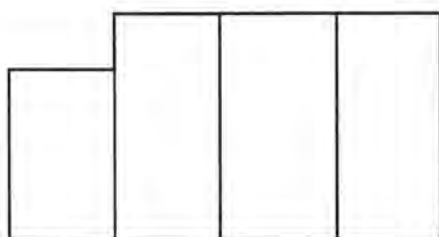
⁶ Procedure for using a formal utensil stand, called a *daisu*, in a *shoin-zukuri* room.



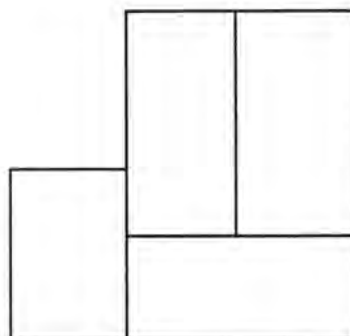
Yojōhan (four-and-a-half-mat) format.



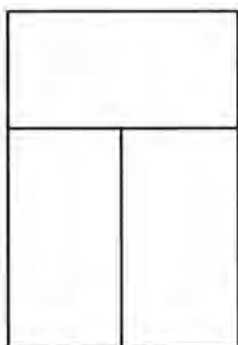
Naga yojō (long four-mat) format.



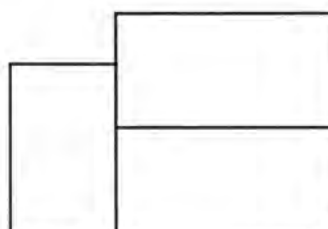
Hira sanjō-daime (wide three-and-three-quarter-mat) format.



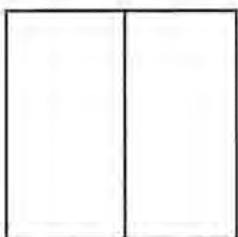
Fuka sanjō-daime (deep three-and-three-quarter-mat) format.



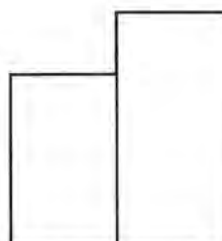
Sanjō (three-mat) format.



Nijō-daime (two-and-three-quarter-mat) format.



Nijō (two-mat) format.



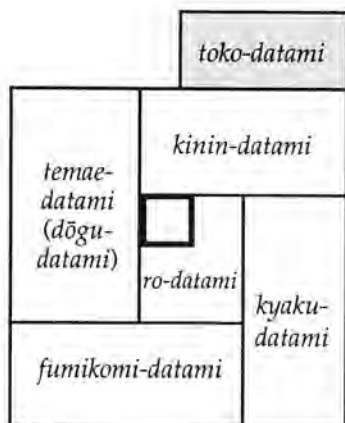
Ichijō-daime (one-and-three-quarter-mat) format.

Hiroma may be four-and-a-half mats, six mats, seven to eight mats, and even ten mats or as large as fifteen mats in floor space. Normally, however, the use of the term "*hiroma*" typically refers to a room of up to eight mats in floor space.

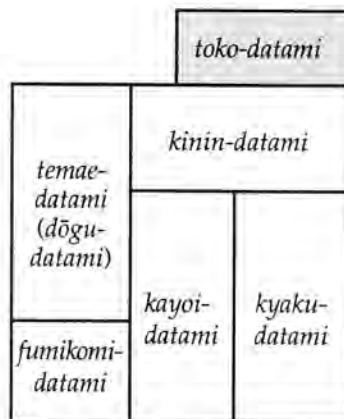
The arrangement of tatami in these tearooms depends upon the location of the sunken hearth (*ro*). As well, because every tatami in a tearoom has a name assigned to it according to its location, a prescribed layout for all the tatami naturally arises.

The names assigned to the various tatami according to their location are as follows:

床畳	<i>toko-datami</i>	(mat in the toko)
貴人畳	<i>kinin-datami</i>	(mat in front of the toko; seating area for nobles)
客畳	<i>kyaku-datami</i>	(mat used for regular guests' seating)
踏込畳	<i>fumikomi-datami</i>	(mat by which the host enters)
点前畳	<i>temae-datami</i>	(mat where tea is prepared)
道具畳	(or <i>dōgu-datami</i>)	
炉畳	<i>ro-datami</i>	(mat containing the sunken hearth)
通い畳	<i>kayoi-datami</i>	(cross-through mat)



Tatami names in a standard four-and-a-half-mat tearoom, *ro*-season layout.



Tatami names in a standard four-and-a-half-mat tearoom, *furo*-season layout.

The relation between tatami and chanoyu goes even deeper, and is even more closely bound. For example, in the section headed "17: Matters of Placement" within the volume entitled "Host's Role, Volume One" of the *Chadō Benimōshō* [The Way of Tea at a Glance], written by Yamada Sōhen and dated 1680, we find,

... The tea caddy (*chaire*) is forward of the position of the waste-water receptacle (*kensui*). It is placed about 3 or 4 woven lines from the edge of the tatami. However, consideration must be given to the size of the tea caddy. ...

Again, in the section headed "Number 6: Matters Regarding Portable Utensil Shelves in a Four-and-a-half-mat Room" within the fourth volume of that same work, we find,

When using a *fukuro-dana* near the sunken hearth, bring it 8 *sun* forward of the hearth frame. The sides of the cabinet should be 4 woven lines from the tatami edge on the guests' side and 5 woven lines from the tatami edge on the preparation room side. ...⁷

The discussion of the woven lines of tatami shows that the etiquette of chanoyu is inseparably connected with tatami.

Tatami are also mentioned in the *Nampō Roku*, which is considered the classic work on tea practice.⁸ In the "Sumibiki" [Crossed Out with Ink] chapter of this work, the measurements of the large and small *daisu* (formal-style utensil shelf) are discussed in detail:

南方録

台子

9. Size of the large *daisu*
length: 2 *shaku* 9 *sun* 5 *bu*
width of board: 1 *shaku* 4 *sun*
height: from the surface of the tatami to the top of
the upper shelf, 2 *shaku* 2 *sun* 3–5 *bu*; 2 *shaku* 3 *sun*
also possible
size of supports: 1 *sun*; throughout, 1 *bu* planes
thickness of upper board: 6 *bu*
thickness of long board: 1 *sun* 5 *bu*

With regard to the large *daisu*, it states in [Takeno] Jōō's memorandum that [Ashikaga Yoshimasa of] the Higashiyama Villa had three Chinese *daisu*, but that only one of these was of width and length which accorded with the *kane*. In relation to the use of the *daisu* in various places, it

カネ

⁷ A *fukuro-dana* is a relatively large cabinet in or on which to place and display utensils on the tea-preparation mat in the tearoom. Metric equivalents of the traditional units of measure: 1 *shaku* = 30.3 cm; 1 *sun* = 3.03 cm; 1 *bu* = 3.03 mm.

⁸ The *Nampō Roku* constitutes a compendium of Sen Rikyū's way of tea as recorded by a close disciple and Zen monk, Nambō Sōkei. The oldest manuscript copy was discovered and appended by Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655–1708) shortly before the centennial memorial, in 1691, of Rikyū's death.

is said that in Japan the *kane* was suitably devised based upon Nōami's design. Accordingly, the dimensions are as above. The placement of the large *daisu* on the *daisu-datami* is 4 *sun* 5 *bu* on the far side, of which 1 *sun* is extra for the folding screen, and about 3 *sun* 5 *bu* on the visible side. To the right and left it reaches to the edges of a large *tatami*.⁹

10. Size of the small *daisu*
 length: 2 *shaku* 7 *sun* 5 *bu*
 width of board: 1 *shaku* 3 *sun*, or 1 *shaku* 3 *sun* 6 *bu*
 height: 2 *shaku* 2 *sun*; again, 1 *sun* 8 *bu*
 thickness of upper board: same as for large *daisu*
 thickness of long board: 1 *sun* 4 *bu*; rounded planing
 (*manjū men*), 3 *bu* 5 *rin*; sturdy for top of planing
 to be 4 *bu* from supports
 size of supports: 7 *bu* 5 *rin*

Placement of the small *daisu*, same as above for space on far side. When placing it on a large *tatami*, leave 2 woven lines on the left and right; in other words, 1 *sun* on each side. The correct style is to place a small *daisu* on a small, "country size" (*inakama*) *tatami*. It is the rule for the large *daisu* to be placed on a large, "Kyoto size" (*kyōma*) *tatami*.

This description provides corroborating evidence that, in this period, the terms "*kyōma-datami*" and "*inakama-datami*" were already in common usage.

The *tatami* names which appear in the *Nampō Roku* include the following:

道具畳	<i>dōgu-datami</i>	(mat where tea is prepared)
棚畳	<i>tana-datami</i>	(mat where utensil shelf is placed)
かぎ畳	<i>kagi-datami</i>	(mat into which the sunken hearth is cut)
台目畳	<i>daime-datami</i>	(a mat minus the size of the base of the <i>daisu</i> ; usually denotes a mat three-quarters the usual length)
大畳	<i>ō-datami</i>	(meaning <i>kyōma-datami</i> , of length 6 <i>shaku</i> 3 <i>sun</i> and width 3 <i>shaku</i> 1 <i>sun</i> 5 <i>bu</i>)
小畳	<i>ko-datami</i>	(meaning <i>inakama-datami</i> , of length 5 <i>shaku</i> 8 <i>sun</i> and width 2 <i>shaku</i> 9 <i>sun</i>)

⁹ *Kane* refers to a carpenter's square, or *kane shaku*, a carpentry tool used to calculate the dimensions of timbers. To "accord with the *kane*" means to be of apt proportion. Nōami (1397–1471) was a curator attached to the household of the Ashikaga shōgun.

Daisu, made by Seiami and favored by Rikyū. Property of Fushin'an. Photo reprinted from *Chadō Shūkin* vol. 3 (Tokyo: Shogakukan Inc., 1983), p.53.



on-kasane-datami

(in the text diagram, this is marked "When using the *daisu*, stack two imperial-style tatami here"; this denotes a stacked mat one level higher than the surrounding ones)

御かさね畳

daisu-datami
maru-datami

(mat where the *daisu* is placed)
(mat of ordinary size; here used to differentiate from *daime* size)

台子畳
丸畳

Tatami Measurements, Surfaces, and Borders

The sizes of tatami differ in the Kantō and Kansai areas of Japan; that is, in the east central region centering around Tokyo, and the west central region centering around Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe, respectively. In between these two sizes is the so-called *ainoma* (literally, "in-between" size) of the Nagoya area. The Kantō region treats 6 *shaku* as the unit of measurement, so the tatami there measure 5 *shaku* 8 *sun* (176 cm) in length and 2 *shaku* 9 *sun* (88 cm) in width, with a total area of 16.82 square *shaku* (1.54 m²). In contrast, the Kansai unit is 6 *shaku* 5 *sun*, thus the tatami measure 6 *shaku* 3 *sun* (191 cm) in length and 3 *shaku* 1 *sun* 5 *bu* (95 cm) in width, with an area of 19.85 square *shaku* (1.82 m²). The ratio of these two areas is one Kantō unit to 1.18 Kansai

間の間

units, or conversely, one Kansai unit to 0.85 Kantō units. The Kantō four-and-a-half-mat room corresponds to 3.8 Kansai mats; and conversely, the Kansai four-and-a-half-mat room corresponds to 5.3 Kantō mats. As a further comparison, the Nagoya *ainōma* measures 6 *shaku* (182 cm) in length and 3 *shaku* (91 cm) in width, with a total area of 18 square *shaku* (1.65 m²).



Kansai-size tatami in comparison to smaller Kantō-size tatami (gray). [Scale, 1:50]

We can see from this that the size of a room differs greatly depending on whether Kantō or Kansai mats are used. It is common to refer to the Kansai mat as *kyōma-datami*, and the Kantō mat as *inakama-datami* (also called *gohachima-datami* ["5-8 size mat"] or *edom-datami* ["Tokyo size mat"]). All three mat sizes — the *kyōma-datami*, *inakama-datami*, and *ainōma-datami* — are used in tearooms.

The coverings or top surfaces (*omote*) of tatami may be broadly divided into two types: *marui-omote*, or coverings made of candle rush (L., *Juncus effusus*; known in Japanese as *igusa* or *tōshinsō*); and *shichitōi-omote*, or coverings made of a variety of perennial umbrella sedge (L., *Cyperus microiria*; Jpn., *kayatsurigusa*) known as *shichitōi*. This variety of perennial umbrella sedge has a triangular cross-section, and is split in two when used. Coverings made of this reed are also known as *Bungo-omote*, *ao-omote*, and *Ryūkyū-omote*.

Tatami coverings are also given names according to where they are made. Names of feudal states which were established under the feudal government system became the names of tatami coverings by the addition of the word *-omote*. Hence in Hiroshima Prefecture, there is *Bingo-omote*; in Okayama Prefecture, *Bizen-omote* and *Bitchū-omote*; in Kumamoto Prefecture, *Higo-omote* and *Yatsushiro-omote*; in Fukuoka Prefecture, *Buzen-omote*, *Chikuzen-omote*, and *Chikugo-omote*; in Oita Prefecture, *Bungo-omote*; in Kochi Prefecture, *Tosa-omote*; and so on.

It may be said that the development of tatami took its cue from the desire to distinguish people's status and prestige by the type of border used for their seating. Rules for the use of borders by status appear in a 1420 work entitled *Ama no Mokuzu* [Sea Person's Seaweed]. According to those rules, *ungen-beri* (border made of reddish brocade with flowers or diamonds in contrasting colors in a striped pattern) was for emperors and cloistered emperors, and was also used for the half mats placed before the altars at shrines and temples. Large-patterned *kōrai-beri* was for princes and chief ministers, and small-patterned *kōrai-beri* was for other public officials. A purple border was for priests below first rank (*sōjō*), skilled courtiers (*yūsoku*) (such as scholars and experts in the courtly and military arts), variously employed courtiers (*hishiki* or *hikurōdo*), persons allowed access

丸蘭表
蘭草 灯心草
七島蘭表
蚊帳釣草 七島蘭

豊後表 青表 琉球表

海人藻芥
縹網緑



Tatami borders of the type most commonly used in tearooms. Left, Korean-style borders; right, unfigured, colored borders. Photo by Tabata Minao.

to the palace (*unkaku* or *tenjōbito*), and persons holding the fourth or fifth courtly ranks. A yellow border was for persons of the sixth rank, retainers, and the three levels of priests who managed temple affairs (*jisha no sangō*).

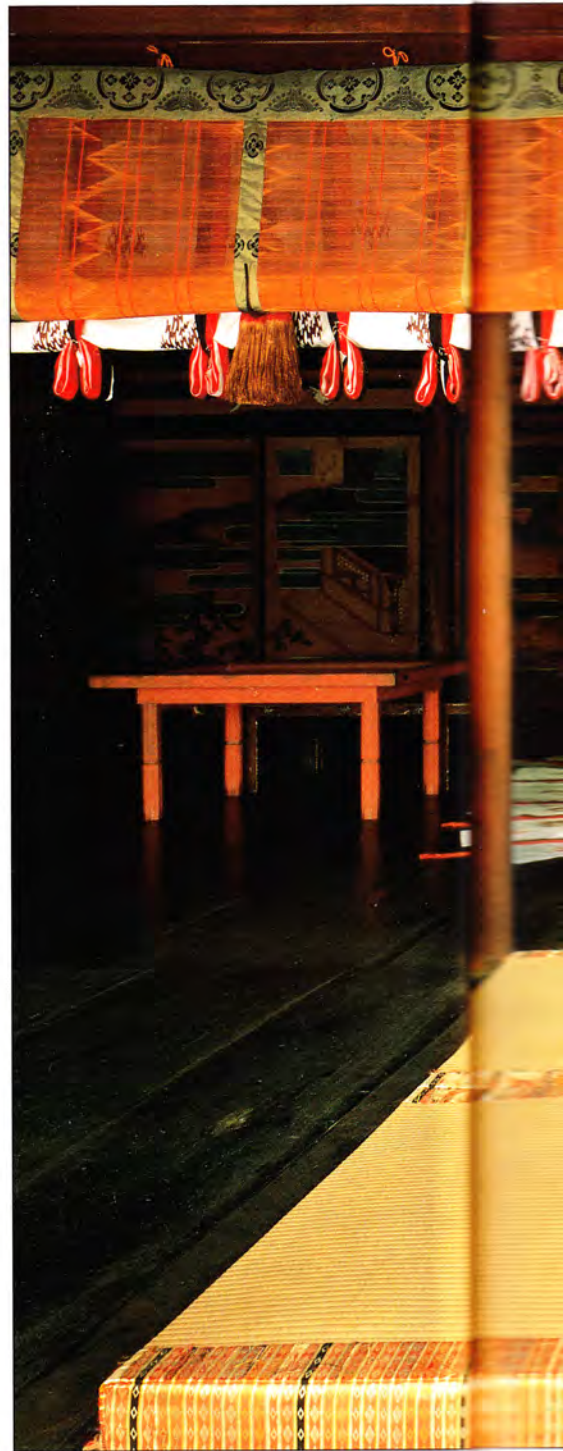
These kinds of rules soon broke down and could not be enforced; but one could say that vestiges of them exist even today, in the fact that, when determining the type of border to use in a drawing room, a living room, a storage room, and so forth, the choice depends upon whether the border type accords with the formal level of the room.

There are various materials from which tatami borders may be woven, including silk, linen, cotton, hemp, synthetic leather, and synthetic fibers. These materials may also be blended, and may be made into plain, unfigured borders (*muji-beri*) of almost any color, or fig-
 無地縁
 紋縁



Above: A reconstruction of the emperor's tatami dais based on an illustrated record, the *Shinshoku Hōkan*. Top to bottom: bordered cushion (*shitone*), 'dragon's side locks' (*ryūbin*), eight-layered tatami (*yae-datami*), thick tatami (*atsu-datami*). Photo by Miyano Masaki.

Right: The Seiryōden of the Kyoto Imperial Palace is one of the few extant examples of *shinden-zukuri* architecture, the domestic palace-style architecture employed in the residences of Heian-period aristocracy. Shown here is the wooden-floored interior of the Seiryōden as emperors may have inhabited it in past ages. Thick tatami with ornate brocade borders were used to sit and sleep on. The curtained chamber, now equipped with a chair, once served as the imperial bedroom.







Various figured, colored borders. *Ungen-beri* is at right-middle. Photo by Miyano Masaki.

高宮縁
松井田縁
加賀縁 光輝縁

Takamiya-beri,¹⁰ are among the traditional plain, unfigured types. Other common plain borders are *Matsuida-beri* (from Gumma Prefecture), and *Kaga-beri* (from Ishikawa Prefecture). The *kōki-beri* type of border, characterized by the use of glittery threads, was first created in Fukui Prefecture in 1908, and has thus been used since the Taishō period. Both plain and figured borders of this type are made, and today are so widespread that the word *kōki-beri* is regarded as synonymous with "tatami border."

As we have seen, tatami borders may be classified into plain types and figured types. The plain borders are of various colors, including dark blue, shades of brown such as red-brown and chestnut-brown, greenish brown, black, and so forth. The figured borders are mainly of the *kōrai-beri* type, but since the advent of *kōki-beri*, new designs,

¹⁰ Made from a kind of cloth produced in Takamiya, a district in Shiga Prefecture. The cloth may be dyed in various colors.

Tearooms and Tatami: Some Practical Pointers

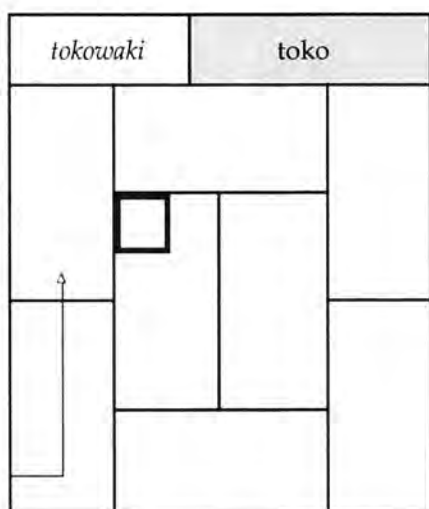
The basic size of a conventional tatami in Kyoto is 191cm x 95.5 cm, while tatami of the Kantō region (Tokyo and environs) measure 176 cm x 88 cm, and there are tatami of sizes other than these, as well. In terms of the thickness of the tatami, 5.5 cm is the norm for a Kyoto tatami (*kyōma-datami*), while that for a Kantō tatami (*kantōma-datami*) is 6.0 cm. Such variations in the sizes of tatami must be kept in mind when constructing a room and/or ordering tatami. It is well to note, also, that the “Kantō size” is the popular standard for architecture outside of chanoyu.

Tea equipment — for example, certain utensil stands and the boards on which utensils are placed, or screens placed behind the utensils (*furosaki byōbu*) — are customarily designed to be placed on *kyōma-datami*. Therefore, it is ideal to have a *temae-datami* that is the width of a conventional *kyōma-datami*. As an example of the problems which arise otherwise, if one were to place a standard *furosaki byōbu* on an “apartment-size” tatami (*danchima-datami*), it would protrude as much as 10.6 cm from the side of the tatami.

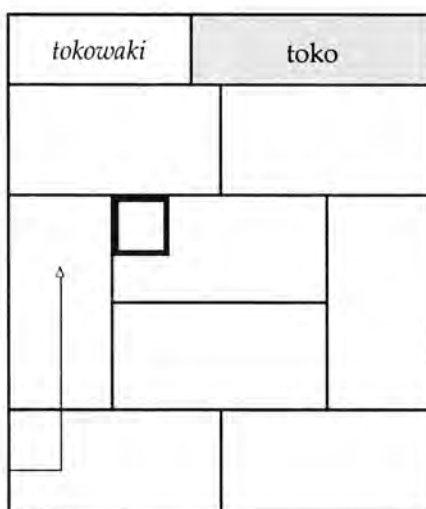
Tatami of inferior quality tend to lose their resiliency very quickly; on the other hand, tatami that are too hard are not comfortable to sit on. Surface coverings (*omote*) of inferior quality tend to be rough, and are often made of rush which is thick and has a poor coloration, creating an unpleasant appearance. Tatami of good quality generally have at least 64 rows of weave across their width. It is especially wise to select tatami which have good quality bases (*tatami-doko*), for then one need only periodically change the top covering, and the tatami will be useable for many years.

For tearooms, regular tatami have borders made of black cotton fabric, while higher-quality tatami have borders made of dark blue linen (*asa*). By convention, in a small tearoom the border on the tatami in the toko is of the same material as that of the tatami covering the floor of the room itself. Colored borders are also used on toko tatami, but not on the tatami in the room itself. In a large tearoom, patterned border materials are used for the toko tatami, the choice of pattern and width of the border — generally from 2.7 cm to 3.3 cm — depending upon the size of the toko.

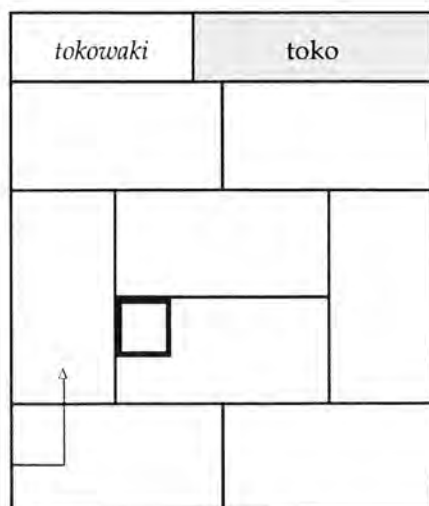
As for the arrangement of tatami in general, there are ‘auspicious’ formats and ‘inauspicious’ formats. The fundamental difference is that the former avoids four-cornered intersections. In



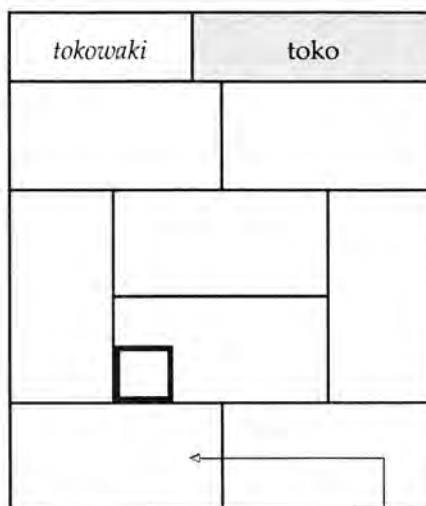
Eight-mat tearoom *toko-zashi* layout.



Eight-mat normal (auspicious) layout with sunken hearth in position creating problematic '*harakiri-datami*.'



Eight-mat normal (auspicious) layout with sunken hearth at *yojōhan-giri* position.



Eight-mat normal (auspicious) layout with sunken hearth situated in position creating a *magari geza-doko*.

rooms designed to be used as tearooms, the placement of the *ro*, or sunken hearth, is a prime consideration; the *tatami* must be arranged so as not to create a so-called *harakiri-datami* (i.e., a situation wherein the host's seat falls at the end of the *temae-datami*, and the space where the utensils are placed falls on the abutting *tatami*). In an eight-mat tearoom, these considerations tend to dictate an arrangement wherein the end of one of the *kyaku-datami* abuts the *toko* (this is referred to as "*toko-zashi*"), which, according to the normal rules of Japanese architecture, is considered taboo. Readers acquainted with the *kagetsu temae* will be familiar with the fact that in *chanoyu*, however, the *toko-zashi* arrangement is not taboo, and rather, is commonly utilized.

If the *toko-zashi* arrangement is not utilized and the *tatami* are arranged according to the normal (auspicious) eight-mat format, the above-mentioned considerations, as well as the position of the host's entrance (*sadōguchi*), the guests' entrance (*kyakuguchi*), and other such factors, will usually dictate the use of either the *yojōhangiri* position for the *ro* (i.e., the position where the *ro* would normally be situated, in terms of its relation to the host's entrance, in a four-and-a-half-mat tearoom), or a position for the *ro* which creates a *magari geza-doko* situation (i.e., a situation wherein the *toko* falls to the host's rear once the host turns to face the *dōgu-datami*). Neither of these solutions is ideal, because they make it difficult to use the eight-mat room according to the normal conventions for tea in a spacious tearoom.

Unique to four-and-a-half-mat tearooms is the fact that the *tatami* are rearranged for *ro*-season use and *furo*-season use. For the *furo* season, the half-mat with the *ro* cut into it is removed, a plain half-size mat is set in the *fumikomi-datami* position, and the full-size *fumikomi-datami* used during the *ro* season is used to fill the remaining space.

The first thing to consider when designing a tearoom is the arrangement of the *tatami*, which naturally involves deciding the position for the sunken hearth, giving due regard to the host's as well as the guests' seats and paths of movement.

(Cf., Nakamura Yoshiaki, *Tanko Special Issue* no. 6 [March 1993], p. 64, and Negishi Teruhiko, *Jimari Dekiru Chashitsu o Tsukuru Tame ni* [Tankōsha, 1986], pp. 124-25, 129-30, 143-48.)

including *shippō-gara* (overlapping, square-holed coin design), *tachiwaki-gara* (raised relief design), *kikkō-gara* (tortoise shell design), *hishi-gara* (diamond design), and *ume-gara* (plum blossom design), and other artistic weaves, are to be seen. These figured borders have their origin in the *ungen nishiki* brocade which was one of the decorative weaves brought to Japan from Korea at the same time that Buddhism was brought here, and which was appropriated for use on the seating mats of the Imperial Palace.

For tearooms, tatami with plain dark blue borders are used. These appear black because the blue is extremely dark. The tatami used in a toko will usually have a figured border (*kōrai-beri*), and whether a large pattern, a medium pattern, or a small pattern is chosen will depend upon the size of both the room and the toko. It should be noted, however, that for small tearooms (*koma*), a plain dark blue border is used in the toko.

床 It is considered that the width of the border is normally half the thickness of the tatami base (*toko*). This thickness, for regular tatami, is 2 *sun* (6 cm) in the Kantō area, and 1 *sun* 8 *bu* (5.5 cm) in the Kansai area. Tatami of superior quality may be as much as 2 *sun* 5 *bu* (7.6 cm) thick, and inferior kinds as little as 1 *sun* 4 *bu* (4.2 cm) thick. Therefore, the width of the border ranges from 9 *bu* (2.7 cm) to 1 *sun* (3 cm).

目配 The average width (*nami haba* or *futsū haba*) of the surface covering of a tatami is 3 *shaku* 1 *sun* 5 *bu* (95 cm), and the number of woven lines (*me*; also called *hai*) is 67. If the number of woven lines is six more than this basic number, it is called *muhaï-omote* (also pronounced *roku-hai-omote*); if it is four more, it is called *yohai-omote*; if it is two more, it is called *nihai-omote*. It is considered that the more the number of the woven lines, the better the quality of the covering.

As the width of one woven line is normally 4 *bu* 7 *rin* (1.4 cm), border measurements are often matched with this standard. The border may be of a width equivalent to one and a half lines of weave, two lines, two and a half lines, three lines, or three and a half lines, in which cases they would measure as follows:

1.5 lines	= 7 <i>bu</i> 5 <i>rin</i> (2.1 cm)
2 lines	= 9 <i>bu</i> 4 <i>rin</i> (2.85 cm)
2.5 lines	= 1 <i>sun</i> 1 <i>bu</i> 7 <i>rin</i> 5 <i>mō</i> (3.6 cm)
3 lines	= 1 <i>sun</i> 4 <i>bu</i> 1 <i>rin</i> (4.3 cm)
3.5 lines	= 1 <i>sun</i> 6 <i>bu</i> 4 <i>rin</i> 5 <i>mō</i> (5 cm)

The commonly used measurement is two lines, or 9 *bu* 4 *rin* (2.85 cm). Furthermore, the sizes of the patterns on figured borders are based on this same standard, with small-patterned borders being two lines,

large-patterned borders being three and a half lines, and borders with medium-size patterns being between these — that is, either two and a half or three lines in width.

Conclusion

In this way, tatami — consisting of a base, a covering, and borders — were born in the romantic days of Japan's ancient past, then flourished as a symbol of power and prestige, and at last became a basic furnishing in the lives of the people.

Needless to say, tatami constitute an architectural material and a living tool well suited to the Japanese climate and topography. But, in spite of being an intimate feature of the daily lives of the Japanese people, tatami have tended to receive little attention up to now. We Japanese must make a fresh effort to appreciate the merits of tatami, and to continue to preserve and pass down these traditional adjuncts to Japanese architecture. 

Translated by Rebecca Otowa

Weaving the Fields

❖ How Tatami are Made ❖

Candle rush stalks with sheaths.



Candle rush (*L. Juncus effusus*), or *igusa* in Japanese, is ready for reaping when its tips begin to turn brown. After minimal processing, the harvested rush is woven into thin mats which are stitched over thicker, rice-straw bases to become the tatami mats associated with the floors of traditional Japanese homes.

Throughout the world, there are eight genera of rush including over 300 species. Believed to have originated in India, rush thrives in both temperate and cold climates — wherever there is sufficient water. Candle rush is raised in China, Korea, and Southeast Asia. The species grown in Japan is a resilient perennial with a



A bundle of candle rush shoots, cut and sorted for transplanting.

network of rhizomes underground, and clusters of five to fifteen cylindrical stalks growing 1 to 1.5 meters above the surface. Stalks measure about 2.5 mm in diameter, and have a hard outer surface surrounding a pliant, sponge-like pith. Fine hollow capillaries in the pith cool the plant, while both absorbing and releasing moisture. These are the qualities which make tatami mats cool to the touch in summer, yet warm in winter. This unique capillary action also led to *igusa*'s early adoption as wicks for lanterns and oil lamps, hence its other Japanese name, *tōshingusa*, or 'lamp-wick grass.'





Transplanting Young Shoots

Candle rush shoots are separated and transplanted in wet paddies in the same way as are rice seedlings. The only difference is the season — from late November to late December for candle rush, as opposed to spring for rice. Thin ice and cold temperatures make for difficult working conditions.

Trimming

To help prevent the stalks from falling over under their own weight once they have achieved basic growth, and to remove flowers, the plants are trimmed to a height of 45 cm in mid-May. In June, nets are erected like fences to help support the second stage of growth.



Reaping

In mid-July, when the rainy season has ended, the mature candle rush is reaped. Because direct sunlight is detrimental to the color and luster of rush after cutting, reaping continues at a rapid pace from dawn to dusk.



Sun Drying

Immediately after it has been cut, the rush is dipped in a clay-and-water solution to coat each stalk with a protective film which strengthens it and seals in its fragrance and color. The rush is then spread out to dry in the sun for two days. Nearly every stage in the processing of rush for tatami is now mechanized. Only rush for the highest quality tatami is still processed by hand.



Weaving Tatami Coverings

There are two major methods of weaving tatami coverings (*tatami-omote*). The method shown here uses long single strands of candle rush for the weft; the other utilizes two shorter strands, which meet in the middle. The width of the woven rows is determined by the spacing of the warp threads, in this case made of hemp.

Forming Tatami Bases

Pictured here is the first step in the production of tatami bases (*tatami-doko*). After being cut and left to dry for more than a year, rice straw is stacked in many layers running both horizontally and vertically, and then bound tightly.

Finishing Tatami Bases

Heaped up to a thickness of about 40 cm, these layers are then pressed and beaten to a uniform thickness of 5 cm. Compressed in this way, a single finished tatami base will weigh as much as 40 kg.

Automation and Changing Materials

Traditionally, tatami mats are ecologically produced from 100% natural materials — rush on the surface, rice straw underneath. However, the grueling, time-consuming labor involved has led to mechanized and automated manufacturing methods. Materials, too, are changing, and in recent years rice straw tatami bases have begun to be replaced by styrofoam.





Tatami-shoku no Zu [Pictorial Description of the Tatami Profession]. Ukiyoe by Utagawa Kunimitsu. Mid-Meiji era. As part of a primer book for children, this picture illustrates various facets of the tatami-making process. Private collection. Photo courtesy of the Hiroshima Prefectural Museum of History.

Tools of the trade



The Early Kanamori Family and Tea

Elizabeth Lillehoj

The Kanamori clan came into existence in the midst of severe upheavals that were rocking Japan between about 1550 and 1650, during the transition between the medieval and early modern eras. This phase, a period in which war and confusion gradually gave way to peace and order, spanned the first generations of the Kanamori family: Nagachika (1524–1608), Yoshishige (also read Arishige; 1558–1615), and Shigechika (also known as Sōwa; 1584 or 1589–1656).¹ These three generations of the Kanamori clan participated not only in military and political struggles for national unification, but also in the development of a new culture, particularly as devotees of chanoyu.

金森

長近

可重

重近 宗和

Nagachika, founder of the Kanamori clan, was one of many ambitious young warriors who rose to prominence in the middle of the sixteenth century. Like a number of “upstart” warriors, Nagachika began his career as a minor vassal, but, owing to his toughness and prudence as well as his shrewd insight, he allied himself with the three regional barons who managed to triumph in the treacherous struggle for power that engulfed Japan: Oda Nobunaga (1534–82), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). The Kanamori clan profited enormously from Nagachika’s affiliations with these three warlords, and, in return for loyal service, they gained considerable political power and a sizable domain.

織田信長

豊臣秀吉 徳川家康

Leaders of the Kanamori clan were like other warriors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; they endorsed both rigorous martial training and aesthetic pursuits, most notable of which was chanoyu, an important form of social and artistic engagement in their society. Nagachika set a precedent for martial and aesthetic accomplishment that was followed by his successor, Yoshishige, and by subsequent generations of the Kanamori family. Yoshishige’s son, Sōwa, was less committed to the warrior ethic, refused to fight in battle, and was disinherited as a result. Sōwa dedicated himself instead to the culture of tea.

¹ Most sources give Sōwa’s date of birth as 1584, but recently, an alternate date of 1589 was suggested. Oka Yoshiko, “Kanamori Sōwa — Omuro Kaiyō Izen o Chūshin ni” [Kanamori Sōwa — Focusing on the Period before the Opening of the Omuro Kiln], *Geinōshi Kenkyū* [Research on the Arts], no. 114 (July 1991), p. 41.

The Kanamori family was not the most prominent clan of the times, but in many ways it was representative of military families during this dramatic phase in Japanese history. Unique contributions were made by the Kanamoris, especially Sōwa, who, after deciding to leave the life of the sword behind, established himself as a leading tea celebrity of Kyoto. Sōwa's decision reflects an attitude that was soon to become pervasive within warrior circles. Experiencing fewer demands for military service, these men became more interested in studying traditional culture and cultivating skills in civilian arts. The complexities of this transitional phase — from the medieval to the early modern era — are, in many respects, well illustrated by the lives of Kanamori Nagachika, Yoshishige, and Sōwa.

Nagachika

Nagachika was born in Daihata in eastern Mino and was given the name Gorōhachi Yoshichika. His parents were both from warrior families of Mino Province (in present-day Gifu Prefecture). His father was Daihata Sadachika, who originally belonged to the Ōkuwa, an illegitimate branch of the powerful Toki clan, and his mother was from the Satō clan.² Mino was troubled by widespread unrest in the early sixteenth century, and it seems that shortly after the birth of his son, Sadachika came to recognize his clan's inability to protect itself and, therefore, he decided to move. After relocating his family to the town of Kanegamori in Ōmi Province (in present-day Shiga Prefecture), Sadachika took the name Kanamori, following the custom of borrowing the name of a family's new home.

Much of Nagachika's youth was spent in Kanegamori, but in 1541, at age eighteen, he left Ōmi for Owari Province (in present-day Aichi Prefecture), where he entered the service of Oda Nobuhide (1510–51), lord of Owari. Nagachika was put to work training Nobuhide's unruly son Nobunaga, then eight years old. Fifteen years later, the young Nobunaga took his first step in what would be a protracted

² The Ōkuwa clan was started by Sadachika's father, Toki Sadayori, brother of Nariyori, a leader of the Toki clan. Sadayori was raised in the town of Ōkuwa, but he later moved his family to Daihata in Mino.

It was actually Nagachika's father who adopted the name Kanamori, but the majority of recorded lineages, including the frequently cited *Kansei Chōshū Shokafu* [A Compiled Genealogy of the Various Clans of the Kansei Period, 1789–1801], place Nagachika at the beginning of the Kanamori line. The *Kansei Chōshū Shokafu*, which lists lineages of important daimyō and retainers, is a primary source for biographical information contained in this article. *Kansei Chōshū Shokafu*, vol. 6 (Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1964–67), pp. 251–53.



Kanamori Nagachika. Property of Sogenji temple, Takayama. Photo courtesy of the Takayama Museum of Local History.

struggle to unify Japan; in this first step, he disposed of a competing branch of the Oda family. Nagachika served faithfully at Nobunaga's side, earning Nobunaga's respect, a high rank in his army, as well as a series of gifts, which were to elevate the status of his family tremendously.

The first large gift that Nagachika received from Nobunaga was a fief in the southern part of Mino. This was granted in 1549, after the two warriors emerged victorious from a major campaign in that province. Next came the gift of a new name — Nagachika — in 1560. Nobunaga took the Chinese character "naga" from his own given name and added the character "chika" from Nagachika's original name, Yoshichika, and bestowed this name on his retainer after they delivered the death blow to Imagawa Yoshimoto (1519–60), who was passing through Owari in his march on Kyoto.

In 1575, when the congregations of the Jōdo Shin sect (also known as the Ikkō sect) revolted against the external control of Echizen Province (in present-day Fukui Prefecture), Nobunaga called upon Nagachika to quell the uprising. Nagachika was successful, and as compensation, Nobunaga awarded him two-thirds of the district of Ōno in eastern Echizen. Nagachika immediately commenced building his stronghold, Kameyama Castle, at the present site of Ōno City.

Nobunaga, who had managed to dominate more than one-third of Japan, was murdered in 1582, an event that caused difficulties for the Kanamori clan. Nagachika lost not only his lord and master, but also his eldest son, Naganori (1564–82). Naganori died alongside Nobunaga's son, Nobutada (1557–82).³ In grief, Nagachika took the tonsure, adopted the Buddhist name Hyōbukyō, and dedicated himself to religious pursuits. Soon, however, Nagachika seems to have had a change of heart, and joined forces with Toyotomi Hideyoshi — perhaps, as some have written, to avenge the deaths of Nobunaga, Naganori, and others. Emerging victorious from the struggle that ensued, Hideyoshi stepped into Nobunaga's shoes, had himself named Regent (Taikō), and resumed Nobunaga's quest to unify Japan. Nagachika remained at Hideyoshi's side for the next eighteen years.

In 1584, the Miki clan of Hida Province (in present-day Gifu Prefecture) allied themselves with the Sasa clan of Etchū Province (in present-day Toyama Prefecture) in an attempt to topple Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi ordered Nagachika and the son Nagachika had recently adopted, Yoshishige, to march on Hida. Following a series of fierce battles, Nagachika and Yoshishige overcame the Miki and Sasa, and

³ Naganori was serving Nobutada at the time of Nobunaga's death. After Akechi Mitsuhide (1526–82) attacked Nobunaga at Honnōji temple in Kyoto, he turned on Nobutada at Nijō Castle. Rather than allow themselves to be captured, Nobutada and Naganori took their own lives.

in 1586, as a reward for its victories, the Kanamori family was granted a domain of 38,700 *koku* (a *koku* is a measure for rice or for the amount of land necessary to produce about 0.18 cubic meter of rice annually; theoretically enough to feed one person for a year) in Hida, in the area now known as the Japan Alps. With this, Nagachika transferred his seat of power from Ōno to Hida and soon settled at Takayama, where he built a town patterned after the capital. Although Nagachika's fortified residence at Takayama is said to have been one of the five great castles of the early Edo period, he was too busy advising Hideyoshi and assisting in the Regent's military campaigns to spend much time there.

石
飛騨
高山

With the death of Hideyoshi in 1598, Nagachika's loyalties shifted to an old friend, Tokugawa Ieyasu, the strongest and wealthiest of the surviving lords.⁴ Two years later, Nagachika supported Ieyasu in the battle at Sekigahara. After his decisive victory, Ieyasu granted him his one request: the lands of his mother's family, the Satō, in the provinces of Mino and Kawachi (parts of present-day Osaka Prefecture). Bequeathing his Hida estate to his heir, Yoshishige, Nagachika relocated once again, this time to Kōzuchi, at the center of the former Satō domain in Mino. Here he built his final stronghold, Ogura Castle.

上有知
小倉城

Nagachika was an outstanding figure not only on the battlefield, but in other settings, as well. An important sponsor of religious orders, he saw to the construction of temples and shrines in his castle towns at Ōno, Takayama, and Kōzuchi.⁵ The temples that Nagachika sponsored were affiliated with many different sects; however, Nagachika asked to be entombed at Daitokuji, a Zen temple, suggesting that it was Zen which he found most compelling.

Even though Nagachika had been practicing Zen before 1582, in that year, after the tragic loss of his son, he began devoting himself to spiritual concerns. He shaved his head and commenced religious training under the renowned priest Shun'oku Sōen (1529–1612).⁶ It is not clear whether Nagachika studied with Shun'oku at Daitokuji in Kyoto or at Nanshūji in Sakai. Whichever the case, he developed religious ties with Daitokuji, and these ties were strengthened by his involvement in tea circles affiliated with the temple.

春屋宗園
大徳寺
南宗寺

⁴ Nagachika's bond with Ieyasu was apparently cemented in 1581, when Nobunaga joined forces with Ieyasu, then lord of Mikawa Province (in present-day Aichi Prefecture), to defeat the army of Takeda Katsuyori (1546–82). From this point forward, Nagachika shared close ties with Ieyasu. Committee in Honor of Lord Kanamori, ed., *Kanamori Nagachika-kō Ryakuden* [Abbreviated Biography of Kanamori Nagachika], (n. p., 1985), p. 6.

⁵ The two main religious institutions supported by Nagachika were the Jōdo Shin sect temple of Shōrenji in Hida and the Zen temple of Seitaiji in Kōzuchi. The latter, like many Zen temples in Mino, was a subtemple of Myōshinji in Kyoto.

⁶ Shun'oku had been named 111th abbot of Daitokuji in 1569. After leaving that position, he resided for a period at Nanshūji, a temple in Sakai affiliated with Daitokuji. He returned to Daitokuji periodically to found subtemples for a number of celebrated individuals.

金龍院
松嶽紹長
半井

Nagachika decided to construct a subtemple at Daitokuji, the Kinryūin, and called on Shōgaku Jōchō to be its founder.⁷ Jōchō, 117th abbot of Daitokuji, was from the Nakarai family of Kyoto, which had originated in Sakai and which produced several generations of esteemed Chinese-style doctors, including the physician who served Emperor Ōgimachi (r. 1557–86).⁸ Members of the Nakarai family were important patrons of another subtemple of Daitokuji, the Shinjuan; and they were on close terms with masters of chanoyu, including those from the Tsuda clan, prominent members of Sakai's merchant class.

正親町
真珠庵

津田

While committed to spiritual matters, Nagachika also enjoyed a variety of sports and artistic activities. He was fond of hawking and *kemari* (a form of football), but his great love was chanoyu. Nagachika's accomplishments in chanoyu, along with his long-standing loyalty to Hideyoshi, secured him a place in the Regent's retinue of *otogishū* ("story-tellers"), high ranking advisors on military, political, and cultural matters, including chanoyu.

御伽衆

千利休

幽宅

Nagachika seems to have studied tea with two masters: Sen Rikyū (1522–91), the preeminent man of tea of the early Momoyama era, as well as Yūtaku (dates unknown), a little-known rustic. The relationship between Nagachika and Rikyū is uncertain, but historical sources suggest that Nagachika was on close terms with Rikyū, perhaps as his student. An entry from the eleventh month of 1590 in the *Rikyū Hyakkai Ki* [Record of One Hundred of Rikyū's Tea Gatherings], for example, tells of Rikyū inviting Nagachika to an *atomi* tea gathering (an informal gathering following a formal gathering of different guests, to inspect the tea utensils and drink tea).⁹ After Rikyū was ordered to commit suicide, Rikyū's eldest son, Sen Dōan (1546–1607), sought refuge with Nagachika at Takayama Castle, as is recorded in the *Sen Rikyū Yuishogaki* [Notes on the History of Sen Rikyū].¹⁰

利休百会記

千道安

千利休由緒書

岐路弁疑

Based on another Edo-period document, the *Kirobengi*, we can guess that Nagachika had contact with a second tea master, a fairly

⁷ It is unclear exactly when the Kinryūin was built; the authors of *Hida Kanamori Shi* [History of the Kanamori of Hida] relate that it was constructed in 1592; the *Kinryūin Shōki* [Detailed Account of the Kinryūin] maintains that the temple was opened in 1597; and both the *Kanamori Kafu* [Genealogy of the Kanamori Family] and the *Kanamori Keifu* [Lineage of the Kanamori Family] contend that the first building here was constructed in 1598. Committee in Honor of Lord Kanamori, ed., *Hida Kanamori Shi* (Hida Chūō Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha, 1986), pp. 70 and 175.

In the early Meiji era (1867–1911), the structures of the Kinryūin were incorporated into another Daitokuji subtemple, the Ryūgen'in.

⁸ For the Nakarai family lineage, see Osaka City Museum Curatorial Staff, ed., *Tambō-Sakai: Sono Bunka to Nakarai-ke* [Tambō-Sakai: Its Culture and the Nakarai Family] (Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, 1980).

⁹ *Rikyū Hyakkai Ki* in Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Chadō Koten Zenshū (CKZ)* [Complete Collection of Classics on the Way of Tea], vol. 6 (Tankōsha, 1956–62), p. 423.

¹⁰ *Sen Rikyū Yuishogaki*. Sen Sōsa, ed., *Omotesenke* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1965).

obscure figure named Yūtakū. The *Kirobengi* was written in 1704 as supplementary notes to the *Nampō Roku*, an important source book on Momoyama tea attributed to a disciple of Rikyū, the monk Nambō Sōkei (dates unknown).¹¹ Tachibana Jitsuzan, who is said to have compiled the *Nampō Roku*, is also credited with writing the *Kirobengi*.¹²

南方録
南坊宗啓
立花実山

According to the *Kirobengi*, Rikyū introduced Yūtakū to “Kanamori Izumo no kami,” lord of Ōno in Echizen. “Izumo no kami” (Lord of Izumo) is a title by which Nagachika’s adopted son, Yoshishige, was widely known, but because Nagachika was then the lord of Ōno, this seems to be a mistake and probably, in fact, refers to Nagachika. The *Kirobengi* tells of a chance meeting between Sen Rikyū and Yūtakū at a tearoom in the countryside of Yamashina. Rikyū, impressed by Yūtakū’s refinement in this simple, rural setting, requested that he join him in the capital, but because Yūtakū preferred rural life, Rikyū asked the Kanamori family to take him in at Ōno.

出雲守

A number of records on tea gatherings mention Nagachika and indicate his advanced standing as a *chajin* (a man of tea). One record dated to 1578 tells of Nobunaga honoring a group of his retainers, including Nagachika, by serving them tea.¹³ Later, when Nagachika joined the Toyotomi ranks, he was frequently the guest of Hideyoshi in the tearooms of Fushimi Castle, just outside Kyoto. In addition, Nagachika invited Hideyoshi to tea at his own residence in Fushimi, which included a *shoin* (“a study” or room used for large tea gatherings) and a *chatei* (a small tearoom). This *shoin* and *chatei* were later moved to the Kinryūin of Daitokuji.¹⁴ After the death of Hideyoshi, Nagachika and Ieyasu became tea companions at Fushimi. According to records documenting his activities at Fushimi in 1605, Nagachika prepared tea for both Ieyasu, by now retired from the office of Shōgun, and his successor, Hidetada (1579–1632).¹⁵

茶人

書院
茶亭

秀忠

Records indicate that Nagachika was on close terms with the chanoyu master Furuta Oribe (1543–1615), who is credited with succeed-

古田織部

¹¹ The *Nampō Roku* is based on a group of secret books that were brought to light by Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655–1708) and compiled for the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of Rikyū’s death. This text focuses on Rikyū’s tea aesthetics and ideals, and has been called the “Bible” of chanoyu. The suggestion that Rikyū certified the first six chapters is based on the fact that a seal impression, closely resembling that of Rikyū, is found on the earliest copies of these sections. Because this text was not brought to public attention until almost one hundred years after Rikyū’s death, doubts concerning its content have been raised. Nonetheless, much of what is recorded in the *Nampō Roku* is widely considered to be authentic.

¹² *Kirobengi*, in CKZ, vol. 4, pp. 426–435. It is important to note that the *Kirobengi* is the only source that mentions a man named Yūtakū, and therefore, the reliability of this information remains uncertain.

¹³ Tanaka Kōtarō, ed., *Hidanokuni Ōno Gunshi* [History of the District of Ōno in Hida Province] (Taishū Shobō, 1970), p. 476.

¹⁴ It was apparently Sōwa who had the tearooms of Nagachika’s Fushimi residence moved to the Kinryūin. *Kinsei Gifu Kenshi* [The History of Gifu Prefecture in the Early Modern Period] (Taiyōsha, 1968), p. 535.

¹⁵ *Hidanokuni Ōno Gunshi*, p. 676.

ing Rikyū and steering chanoyu in a new direction in the first years of the seventeenth century.¹⁶ Like Rikyū, Oribe emphasized wabi in his tea aesthetic, but he became renowned for his independence of spirit which, at times, bordered on the unorthodox, causing some to condemn him, particularly as a defiler of artistic treasures. Nagachika and Oribe had much in common. Both were daimyō native to Mino, both were descendants of the Toki clan, and both fought for the three warlords — Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu — allowing ample opportunity to solidify their friendship. Like Nagachika, Oribe studied Zen under Shun'oku Sōen and practiced tea under Rikyū.

It is possible that Oribe was also associated with tea masters of Ōno, Echizen, who were apparently supported by Nagachika. According to the *Kirobengi*, Oribe studied under the tea masters of Ōno, Yūtaku and his disciple Dōka (dates unknown). This supposedly occurred after the death of Rikyū, when Oribe was appointed instructor to Tokugawa Hidetada. The *Kirobengi* indicates that both Yūtaku and Dōka were living in Ōno under the patronage of Nagachika and Yoshishige, and that the person who introduced Oribe to Yūtaku and Dōka was Tsuchiya Kinzaemon (also known as Sōshun; dates unknown).¹⁷ The *Kirobengi* records that Sōshun, also a disciple of Yūtaku, was related to Oribe and was living in Oribe's home at this time.

Nagachika died at Fushimi in 1608, at the age of eighty-four. His tomb was located at the Kinryūin, and he is known posthumously as Kinryūin Densaki no Hyōbu Shōsho Hōin Yōchū Sogen Daikōji.

Yoshishige

After the loss of his biological son Naganori, Nagachika decided to adopt a son of the Nagaya family from Mino, named Kageshige, who had been appointed Shōgen, or magistrate of the office of imperial guards. This young man, who had been serving Nagachika since the age of eight, came to be known as Yoshishige.

Yoshishige followed in his adopted father's footsteps, adhering to the ideals for ruling lords; he proved himself a valiant warrior, an able administrator, and an accomplished man of culture. In 1585, the title "Izumo no kami" was bestowed upon him, and many records refer to him by this title. The records relate that he fought beside his adoptive

¹⁶ For information on Oribe, see Kuwata Tadachika, *Furuta Oribe* (Tokuma Shoten, 1968).

¹⁷ Sōshun was from a warrior family of Kaga Province (in present-day Ishikawa Prefecture). According to the *Kirobengi*, Sōshun moved to Ōno and studied tea under Yūtaku and Dōka. CKZ, vol. 4, pp. 433–435.

The *Kirobengi* is the only known source stating that Oribe studied with Yūtaku and Dōka. These claims have not been verified.



Kanamori Yoshishige. Property of Ryūgen'in temple, Kyoto. Photo courtesy of the Takayama Museum of Local History.

father through the late sixteenth century and into the early seventeenth century, and that, like Nagachika, he was an avid practitioner of tea. He was praised as “a creditable connoisseur” (*mekiki no kōsha*).¹⁸ Legend has it that even in battle, Nagachika and Yoshishige sipped tea together. Yoshishige studied the art of tea under Sen Dōan while Nagachika was harboring Dōan at Takayama Castle. Based on the *Kirobengi*, we can guess that Yoshishige also studied under Yūtakū and Dōka. When Nagachika died in 1608, Ieyasu granted Yoshishige the Kanamori lands in Hida, making him lord of Takayama Castle.

Yoshishige developed intimate ties with many important men of his day. He was closely acquainted with the renowned warrior from Ōmi, Tōdō Takatora (1556–1630), as well as a number of esteemed men of tea, including Furuta Oribe, Yamanoue Sōji (1554–90), Kubo Gondayū (1571–1640), and Kobori Enshū (1579–1647). Enshū, who is credited with introducing a flavor of “elegant wabi” into the tea practice of the early seventeenth century, instructed Hideyoshi and the first three Tokugawa shōguns in the intricacies of chanoyu. Enshū was from a warrior family, a disciple of Shun’oku in Zen, and a student of Oribe in tea, so he shared many acquaintances with Nagachika and Yoshishige.¹⁹ In 1599, Yoshishige accompanied Oribe, Enshū, and twenty some tea aficionados on an expedition to view cherry blossoms at Yoshino, a mountainous site famous for its cherry blossoms.²⁰

Yoshishige assisted with numerous tea gatherings held by Tokugawa Hidetada. According to the *Kirobengi*, Ieyasu had hoped that Yoshishige would instruct Hidetada in tea, but, as lord of Takayama Castle, Yoshishige was unable to devote his energies to Hidetada, and so Oribe, who was available, came to serve as Hidetada’s teacher.

In 1615, Yoshishige died and was buried alongside Nagachika at Kinryūin within Daitokuji. His posthumous name is Tokūō Inden Umpō Kankō Daikōji.

Sōwa

The eldest of Yoshishige’s seven children was Shigechika, or Sōwa. Shigechika’s mother was Muromachi-dono, from the Endō family of

¹⁸ Haga Kōshirō, *Wabicha no Kenkyū* [Research on Wabi Tea] (Tankōsha, 1978), p. 98.

¹⁹ Itoh Teiji, “Kobori Enshū: Architectural Genius and Chanoyu Master,” *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 44 (1985), pp. 7–37.

²⁰ This entourage, which included a number of other tea enthusiasts from Kyoto and Sakai, stopped along its way at Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji temples in Nara, both important centers of chanoyu activities during the Momoyama period. This outing may have been held in memory of Rikyū, who was forced to commit suicide eight years earlier. Murai Yasuhiko, “Furuta Oribe,” *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 42 (1985), p. 24.

Mino, with which Nagachika had been closely allied. She married Yoshishige in 1590, but divorced him about four years later.²¹ When Yoshishige succeeded Nagachika and became lord of Takayama Castle, Sōwa moved into one of the satellite castles in Hida. Sōwa is said to have married a woman from the Endō clan, his mother's family, and to have had two children by her.²²

In 1614, when Ieyasu ordered Yoshishige and his sons to join in the Winter Campaign to lay siege on Osaka Castle, Sōwa disobeyed and left for Kyoto. There is speculation that Sōwa refused to join in the siege because he sympathized with the Toyotomi cause and because he had already been disinherited by 1614.²³ Whatever the case, Sōwa forfeited his right to succeed as head of the Kanamori clan, and Kanamori Shigeyori, Yoshishige's son by a woman other than Muromachidono, was named heir and appointed lord of Takayama Castle.

In Kyoto, Sōwa took the tonsure and practiced Zen under Densō Shōin (?–1627), 150th abbot of Daitokuji. Presumably it was Shōin, a priest of Kinryūin, the temple founded by Nagachika, who gave Shigechika the name Sōwa. He was using the name Sōwa in 1617, as an entry in the *Rokuon Nichiroku* ["Deer Park" Journals] indicates.²⁴ Based on the *Kamishimogyō Rōnin On'aratame Chō* [Amended Register of Masterless Samurai in Upper and Lower Kyoto; 1643], Sōwa lived at Karasuma-Imadegawa, Gosho Hachi Jōhanchō, near Shōgoin.²⁵ Sōwa soon began receiving praise for his expertise at tea, and within ten years of his arrival in Kyoto, he was associating with several of the preeminent *chajin* of the city.

Sōwa must have been devoted to tea from an early age. It is possible that as a child, he received personal instruction in tea from Sen Dōan while Dōan was living at Takayama Castle. While Sōwa was a young monk in Kyoto, he came into contact with Oribe and Enshū, as well as with a third warrior aesthete, Katagiri Sekishū (1605–73), lord of Koizumi Castle in Yamato (present-day Nara Prefecture).²⁶ What is

²¹ Satō Torao, "Kanamori Sōwa," in Kumazawa Isoroku, *Owari no Chadō* [The Way of Tea in Owari] (Kawahara Shoten, 1942), p. 116.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 116. Oka Yoshiko conjectures that Sōwa married his aunt, the daughter of Nagachika; she explains that there would have been no prohibition against this marriage, since Sōwa's father had been adopted by Nagachika and, therefore, Sōwa had no blood ties with this woman. According to Oka, Nagachika may have arranged the marriage in order to provide protection for both Sōwa and his mother after her divorce from Yoshishige. Oka, "Kanamori Sōwa," p. 42.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 40 and 42.

²⁴ An entry from the 14th day of the 5th month of 1617 in the *Rokuon Nichiroku*, a diary by successive abbots of Rokuonji (Kinkakuji) written between 1487 and 1651, relates that Sōwa visited Rokuonji on that day. Tsuji Zennosuke, ed., *Rokuon Nichiroku*, vol. 5 (Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1961), p. 179.

²⁵ Kumakura Isao, *Kan'ei Bunka no Kenkyū* [Research on Kan'ei Culture] (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988), p. 308.

²⁶ Sekishū studied tea under Kuwayama Sadaharu (1560–1632), a disciple of Dōan. Nakamura Shōsei, "Katagiri Sekishū and Kōrin-an," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 23 (1980), pp. 25–35.

perhaps the earliest documented link between Sōwa and Enshū is found in a letter written by Shōkadō Shōjō (1584–1639), a leading figure in Kyoto culture. This letter, which was sent to Sōwa, is thought to date sometime before 1627, perhaps as early as 1624.²⁷ In his tea records, the *Enshū Dōgu Okiwase* [Arrangement of Enshū's Tea Utensils], Enshū mentions that Sōwa attended a morning tea gathering at his place on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of 1626.²⁸ So, sometime before his early 40s, Sōwa had made his way into the leading tea circles of Kyoto.

松花堂昭乗

遠州道具置合

Sōwa's early interpretation of chanoyu reflected the warrior ethos, like Dōan's tea, but gradually his tastes became refined — so much so, in fact, that he was called *hime* or “princess” Sōwa. Presumably, Sōwa's reputation owed greatly to his sense of elegance and a gentle temperament. This may have been one reason why Sōwa, although born into a warrior family, managed to bridge social barriers and befriend individuals from different walks of life. The uniqueness of Sōwa's tea aesthetic is suggested by the *kyōka* (comic verse), written at an indeterminate date, which reads:

<i>Ori rikutsu</i>	Oribe is disputatious,
<i>Kirei kippa wa</i>	Enshū has refined beauty
<i>Tōtōmi</i>	And a cutting blade.
<i>Ohime Sōwa ni</i>	Sōwa is princess-like
<i>Musashi Sōtan.</i>	And Sōtan squalid. ²⁹

Sōwa's close connection with aristocratic society, which has been the focus of much research, allowed him access to traditional court culture. In the early years of chanoyu, few members of the court embraced the tea ceremony, but from about the sixteenth century on, nobles gradually became more and more interested in tea practice.³⁰ In

²⁷ Shōjō's letter, now in the Yōmei Bunko, is addressed to Yokota Shige'emon, administrator in the service of the Konoe family, and is signed “Shikibukyō,” a name used by Shōjō for a period until 1627. In a postscript to the letter, Shōjō asks that it be sent to Sōwa. *Kōetsu no Sho — Keichō-Genna-Kan'ei no Meihitsu* [The Calligraphy of Kōetsu — Famous Works from the Keichō, Genna, and Kan'ei Periods] (Catalogue from the Osaka City Museum, 1990).

Oka Yoshiko has proposed that the letter was probably written in 1624, because in it, Shōjō mentions having visited the Hachiman Shrine with Enshū as well as the *machi bugyō* (town magistrates) of Sakai and Osaka. Enshū became magistrate of Fushimi in 1623; so, as one of the *bugyō*, Enshū probably would have joined in the shrine visit. Oka, “Kanamori Sōwa,” p. 49.

²⁸ *Enshū Dōgu Okiwase*. From the collection of the National Diet Library.

²⁹ Quoted here from Kumakura Isao, “Kan'ei Culture and Chanoyu,” in Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao, ed., *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu* (University of Honolulu Press, 1989), pp. 142–143. The last line of the *kyōka* refers to Sen Sōtan (1578–1658), who was Rikyū's grandson and was another important *chajin* of the seventeenth century.

³⁰ For a discussion of interest in the tea ceremony at court in the seventeenth century, see Tanihata Akio, “Chanoyu and the Imperial Court,” *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 71 (1992), pp. 45–50.

宗和流 the seventeenth century, the *Sōwa-ryū* (Sōwa school) was the one form of tea admired most by courtiers. The courtiers appreciated Sōwa's tea aesthetic and admired his talents in making bamboo flower vases, many of which were displayed at tea gatherings held by aristocrats.³¹

後水尾 東福門院 明正 後光明 後西 烏丸光広 Sōwa purportedly was called to the Imperial Palace, where he instructed Emperor Gomizuno'o (r. 1611–29), Gomizuno'o's consort Tōfukumon'in (1607–78), and their children Meishō (r. 1629–43), Gokōmyō (r. 1643–54), and Gosai (r. 1656–63) in the rituals of tea.³² Sōwa is also said to have been on friendly terms with Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579–1638), a court noble deeply interested in classical literature.

一条昭良 惠観 兼選 近衛信尋 応山 隔篋記 鳳林承章 鹿苑寺 Sōwa's closest followers from the nobility, however, were two brothers of Gomizuno'o: Ichijō Akiyoshi (Ekan or Kanetō; 1605–72) and Konoe Nobuhiro (also known as Ōzan; 1599–1649).³³ Many anecdotes about Sōwa, Akiyoshi, and Nobuhiro survive in tea records. For example, an entry from 1637 in the *Kakumei Ki* [Annals], the diary kept by Hōrin Shōshō (1592–1668) between 1635 and 1668, mentions that Sōwa, Nobuhiro, and another individual had visited Hōrin at Rokuonji.³⁴ Hōrin served as abbot of Rokuonji and had many aristocratic connections. Among those he counted as his closest acquaintances was Sōwa. Hōrin was an avid sponsor of cultural events at Rokuonji, including poetry gatherings and lectures on classical culture, many of which Sōwa attended.

槐記 近衛家熙 予楽院 There are also references to the association between Sōwa, Akiyoshi, and Nobuhiro in the *Kai Ki* ["Pagoda Tree" Record], which mainly concerns the renowned tea master and connoisseur, Konoe Iehiro (Yorakuin; 1667–1736).³⁵ The *Kai Ki* tells of Akiyoshi asking Sōwa to perform *daisu temae*, a form of tea preparation using a formal stand on which to display the utensils. Sōwa agreed, but after taking the *hishaku* (water ladle) into his hand, he suddenly stood up and left the room. When he returned, the stem on the *hishaku* was about a half inch shorter. Akiyoshi was impressed, sensing Sōwa's great sensitivity to the handle being slightly too long.³⁶

池坊専好 Another entry from the *Kai Ki* tells of Nobuhiro inviting Sōwa to tea. Unbeknown to Sōwa, Ikenobō Senkō (act. ca. 1568–1644), leader

³¹ Kumakura Isao, *Gomizuno'o-in* (Iwanami Shoten, 1994), p. 268.

³² Haga, *Wabicha no Kenkyū*, pp. 98–99.

³³ Nobuhiro was adopted by Konoe Nobutada (1565–1614).

³⁴ This entry in the *Kakumei Ki* is dated the 15th day of the 9th month, 1637, the first year in which Hōrin mentions Sōwa's name. Akamatsu Toshihide, *Kakumei Ki*, vol. 1 (Rokuonji, 1958), p. 76.

³⁵ The *Kai Ki*, which was written by a servant of Iehiro between 1724 and 1735, contains eleven sections related to tea, flower arranging, and incense. Iehiro, better known as Yorakuin, the name he assumed upon taking the tonsure in 1734, studied tea under the Imperial Prince Shōshūin, who had been a student of Sōwa.

³⁶ This incident is recounted in an entry in the *Kai Ki* from the 9th month of 1733. *Kai Ki*, in CKZ, vol. 5, pp. 412–413.

of a school of flower arrangement, had just departed, after preparing flowers for Nobuhiro's tokonoma. On entering Nobuhiro's tearoom, Sōwa asked when Senkō had visited. Nobuhiro was amazed at Sōwa's ability to identify the flower arrangement as one by Senkō. Sōwa explained that Senkō's manner of arranging flowers was distinctive, and was unlike Nobuhiro's style.³⁷

The retired emperor Gomizuno'ō also came to hear of Sōwa's talents as a tea aesthete, thanks perhaps to his brother, Nobuhiro. Letters exchanged between Nobuhiro and Gomizuno'ō reveal that Gomizuno'ō was aware of Sōwa. One letter, written by Nobuhiro and preserved in the collection of the Yōmei Bunko, states that the retired emperor had asked him to take tea and mushrooms to Sōwa.³⁸ On another occasion, Nobuhiro mentioned to Gomizuno'ō the name of a gardener with a special talent for growing camellias, whom Sōwa had sent to him.³⁹ Yet another letter, written by Gomizuno'ō and also preserved in the Yōmei Bunko, refers to Sōwa as an excellent collector of ancient calligraphy, and in this letter the retired emperor expresses his desire to see Sōwa's collection.⁴⁰

In addition to his close relations with individuals from the aristocracy, Sōwa had numerous acquaintances and followers from other classes of society, including Haiya Shōeki (1607–91), a member of Kyoto's merchant community; Junnyo (1577–1630) and Ryōnyo (mid 17th century), religious leaders of Honganji temple; tea masters of Uji; and Anrakuan Sakuden (1554–1642), who may have been the younger brother of Nagachika and who achieved renown as a preacher and a poet. In some cases, people of different backgrounds gathered together in Sōwa's tearoom, where otherwise rigid social barriers were temporarily set aside. At one such gathering, two representatives of the Edo government, Tsumaki Shigenao and Ishikawa Tsuranari, sat down with members of Kyoto's merchant and cultural communities for tea.⁴¹ That gathering was held by Sōwa on the ninth day of the fifth month of 1655.

灰屋紹益

淮如 良如

安楽菴策伝

Of the many social circles in which Sōwa traveled, the ones that contributed most to his prosperity were those of the warrior class. He established ties with many prominent figures from military society, and a number of these ties were probably mediated by other members of the Kanamori family. Despite his having been disinherited, Sōwa maintained contact with his family and acquaintances in Takayama.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁸ Nakamura Naokatsu *Hakase Shūshū Komonjo* [A Collection of Documents of Professor Nakamura Naokatsu], (1960). See Oka, "Kanamori Sōwa," p. 50.

³⁹ Chiga Shirō, ed., *Chadō Shūkin*, vol. 4, Oribe, *Eushū, Sōtan* (Shōgakukan, 1983), p. 119.

⁴⁰ Kumakura, *Gomizuno'ō-in*, p. 268.

⁴¹ *Sōwa Kondate* [Arrangements Made by Sōwa]. See Oka, "Kanamori Sōwa," p. 39.

Even after leaving for Kyoto, Sōwa encouraged cultural development in his home province of Hida. Perhaps inspired by the warrior lords of his day who became local patrons of art, he called upon potters from the old Seto kilns to move to Takayama and establish a center for producing tea wares. With the support of Sōwa, as well as other leaders of the Kanamori clan, Takayama witnessed a great vitality in the arts, especially those related to tea.

Sōwa reputedly served tea to many famous warriors, including Katō Kiyomasa (1562–1611), Maeda Toshitsune (1593–1658), and Asano Mitsuakira (1617–93).⁴² Sōwa's connection with the Maeda family of Kaga Province is documented in surviving letters, which date as early as 1649. A year earlier, in 1648, and again in 1650, Sōwa traveled to Kaga and served tea to Toshitsune at Komatsu Castle. Members of the Maeda family requested Sōwa to authenticate pieces from their collection of tea utensils.⁴³ Sōwa was also close to Asano Mitsuakira, lord of Aki (in present-day Hiroshima Prefecture). Surviving correspondence written by Sōwa reveals that Mitsuakira asked Sōwa to evaluate tea utensils in his possession, and that he presented Sōwa with gifts.⁴⁴

The most important of Sōwa's warrior contacts were with the lords of the ruling Tokugawa family. It seems that by his early 40s, Sōwa was on close terms with Hidetada, who, in 1623, had stepped down as shōgun in favor of his son Iemitsu (1604–51). An entry from 1628 in the *Gokaiki* [Record of Meetings], a text by Fushimiya Sōshin that recounts tea gatherings attended by Hidetada in the years following his retirement, gives the details of a tea gathering to which Sōwa brought the utensils, suggesting that Sōwa was highly esteemed by Hidetada.⁴⁵

Records indicate that Sōwa was respected as both a connoisseur and a designer of tea wares. A number of the fifty or so entries in the *Kakumei Ki* that concern Sōwa tell of requests for Sōwa to authenticate and establish the value of tea items. A number of the tea wares made

⁴² An entry from the 10th month of 1727 in the *Kai Ki* tells of Kiyomasa, a warrior and tea connoisseur, attending a tea gathering given by Sōwa. After the gathering was completed, Kiyomasa told Sōwa that he had not attended the gathering in order to appreciate Sōwa's technique, but rather, to judge how much spirit Sōwa put into his tea. Kiyomasa was watching to see if Sōwa's attention would wane, such that Kiyomasa could aim a spear at him, but this did not happen. The same story is told about other tea masters, including Sen Rikyū, so this may be apocryphal, especially considering that Kiyomasa died in 1611, when Sōwa would have been only twenty-two, or perhaps twenty-seven, years old. *Kai Ki*, in CKZ, vol. 5, pp. 148–149.

⁴³ "Shin Yamadahan Sho" [Writings on the New Yamada Clan] in the Kanazawa City Museum and Nakada Rokuroe'emon ate Sōwa Shojō [Letters by Sōwa Addressed to Nakada Rokuroe'emon] in the Tōshin Bunko. Oka, "Kanamori Sōwa," p. 39.

⁴⁴ This correspondence, addressed to Teranishi Nobuyuki, is mentioned in Oka Yoshiko, "Sōwa no Shojō o megutte" [About Sōwa's Letters], *Shisō*, no. 41 (1984), pp. 65–67.

⁴⁵ The *Gokaiki* covers the period from 1623 to 1632, and includes 43 tea gatherings. *Gokaiki*, collection of the Keio University Library.

by or designed by Sōwa are mentioned in the *Kakumei Ki*, the *Kai Ki*, and other tea journals. An entry in the *Kakumei Ki*, dated the fourth day of the third month of 1638, records Hōrin's order of a kettle to be designed by Sōwa.⁴⁶ The author of the *Kai Ki* relates that Sōwa gave a flower vase to Terada Muzen (1570–1691), a retainer of the Konoe family, and that Konoe Nobuhiro, who was thoroughly versed in the style of Sōwa's wares, immediately recognized this as a hand-made piece by Sōwa. Nobuhiro treasured the vase and named it "*Hōshi*" ("Buddhist Priest").⁴⁷

寺田無禪

法師

Despite the fact that Sōwa crafted many tea utensils with his own hands, it is the ceramic ware from the Omuro kiln made by Nonomura Ninsei (?–ca. 1694) that is most commonly associated with the elegant nature of Sōwa's chanoyu. The Omuro kiln was located in front of Ninnaji temple in northwestern Kyoto, where Prince Kakushin (1588–1648), the eldest son of Goyōzei (r. 1586–1611) and brother of Gomizuno'o, had recently retired. The Omuro kiln operated from about 1646 until about 1704. The products of this kiln — called Omuro ware, Ninnaji ware, or Ninsei ware — became famous across the country as a distinctive type of overglaze-enamel ware with gorgeous and elegant designs, reflective of the classical, courtly aesthetics of Kyoto. Sōwa instructed Ninsei in tea and was extremely important to the artist.⁴⁸ In addition, Sōwa seems to have played a leading role in the artistic, as well as the economic, development of Omuro ware; in fact, Sōwa was probably involved in the opening of the Omuro kiln.⁴⁹ No longer satisfied with ordering ceramics one at a time from existing kilns, such as the Awataguchi and Shigaraki kilns, Sōwa apparently decided to work with Ninsei in opening a kiln.⁵⁰ Although Sōwa was a key figure in its foundation, the Omuro kiln did not cater merely to the small, exclusive group of aristocrats associated with the tea master. Rather, it provided wares for a large clientele: the newly affluent townspeople and high-ranking warriors, who appreciated the association Ninnaji had with ancient courtly culture and who themselves hoped for some connection with refined, classical society.

御室

野々村仁清

仁和寺

覚深 後陽成

⁴⁶ *Kakumei Ki*, vol. 1, p. 98.

⁴⁷ This account is based on a record written by Terada Muzen. See the entry from the first month of 1725 in the *Kai Ki*. *Kai Ki*, in CKZ, vol. 5, p. 347.

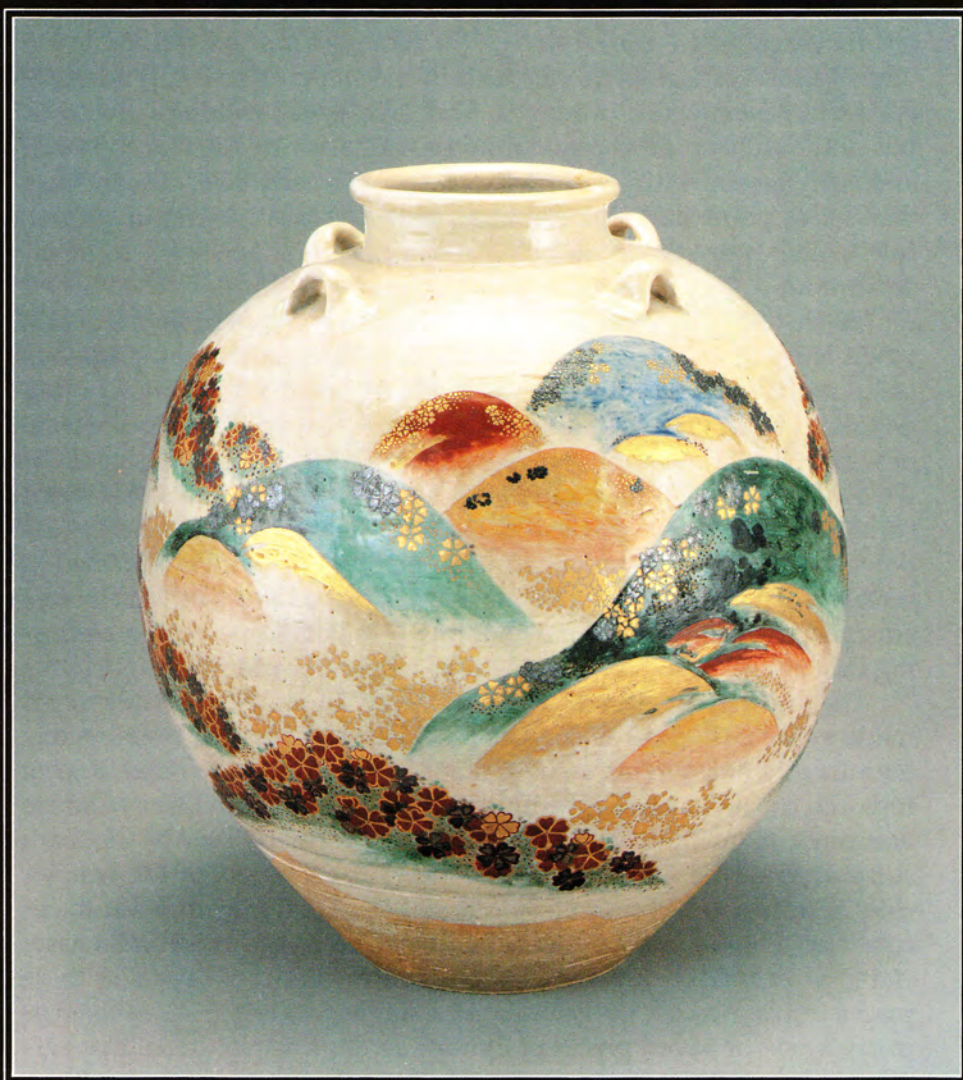
⁴⁸ It has been postulated that, after Sōwa's death, the potter entered the priesthood and took "Ninsei" as his religious name, borrowing the "nin" from Ninnaji and the "sei" from the name he had used earlier, Seiemon.

⁴⁹ The impetus to locate the new kiln at Ninnaji may have originated with Sōwa, not with the administrative office of the temple or merchants in that area, as some have assumed. Oka Yoshiko argues persuasively that Sōwa, through connections with government officials and aristocrats close to Ninnaji, paved the way for the kiln to be opened there. Oka, "*Kanamori Sōwa*," p. 57.

⁵⁰ An entry from the 8th day of the 11th month of 1640 in the *Kakumei Ki*, for example, tells of Sōwa ordering a *chaire* of his own design from the Awataguchi kiln. *Kakumei Ki*, vol. 1, p. 266.



Teabowl with design of waves and crescent moon in overglaze enamels, by Nonomura Ninsei. 17th c. Height, 9.4 cm; diameter of mouth, 11.6-12.5 cm; diameter of foot, 4.7 cm. Collection of the Tokyo National Museum.



Leaf-tea storage jar with design of Mount Yoshino in overglaze enamels, by Nonomura Ninsei. 17th c. Designated an Important Cultural Property. Height, 35.7 cm; diameter of mouth, 12.2 cm; diameter of base, 12.9 cm. Collection of the Fukuoka Art Museum.

Ninsei is known to have created two basic types of ceramics — one an earlier type and the other a later type — and both were presumably influenced by the aesthetic preferences of Sōwa. As Ninsei's student, the multi-talented artist Ogata Kenzan (1663–1743) commented in his 1737 text on ceramic technique, the *Tōji Seihō* [Methods of Manufacturing Ceramics], "... for the most part Ninsei made tea utensils in accordance with the taste of the elderly Kanamori Sōwa."⁵¹ Ninsei's earlier wares, produced while Sōwa was still living, tend to reveal the wabi spirit so popular in tea wares during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While these early Ninsei wares are distinctive compared, for example, with the wabi wares made for Rikyū, they are similar in being restrained in shape with minimal decoration.

On the other hand, the Omuro ceramics made after Sōwa's death, when Ninsei's fame reached its peak, are characterized by gorgeous decoration with colorful and meticulously applied enamels, often enhanced by additions of gold and silver. These appealed to the taste of wealthy warriors and townspeople, revealing another aspect of Sōwa's influence. Such pieces of Omuro ware included *mizusashi* (water containers), *chatsubo* (leaf-tea jars), *chaire* (tea caddies), *chawan* (tea-bowls), and *kōgō* (incense containers), many of which were formed in novel shapes, such as that of a pheasant, a toy, or a fan, or which were adorned with delicate enamel painting — a landscape with blossoming flowers, or a crescent moon above waves, for example.

The fact that Ninsei's wares were appreciated by the aristocracy is made evident by records such as the *Kakumei Ki*, which contains numerous references to tea utensils made at Ninsei's workshop.⁵² Recent research has revealed, however, that Sōwa promoted Ninsei's Omuro wares not so much to aristocrats, who were formerly seen as the main supporters of the Omuro kiln, but rather to members of the warrior class residing in Kyoto under orders of the Tokugawa bakufu to reconstruct Ninnaji, as well as to the wealthy Kyoto merchants associated with them.⁵³ Sōwa promoted Omuro ceramics by using these pieces in his own tea gatherings. At a single gathering, Sōwa used as many as six or seven pieces of Omuro ceramic as tea utensils or service for *kaiseki* (the meal in chanoyu). Records also indicate that Sōwa served as an intermediary in the sale of Omuro wares and, at least in

⁵¹ Nakanodo Kazunobu, "Kanamori Sōwa to Omuroyaki" [Kanamori Sōwa and Omuro Ceramics], *Chanoyu — Kenkyū to Shiryō* [Research and Historical Information on Tea], no. 12 (1976), p.1.

⁵² Scholars have tended to identify Omuro ware with the court. For example, Nakanodo advances Omuro ceramics as an imperial, sponsored ware. Nakanodo, "Kanamori Sōwa to Omuroyaki," p. 5.

⁵³ Oka, "Omuro-gama — Bunken Shiryō o chūshin ni" [The Omuro Kiln: Examination of Some Historical Records], *Tōyō Tōji* [Oriental Ceramics], no. 18 (1988–90), pp. 5–46.

part, his reputation as a tea master was based on his activity as mediator for Omuro ceramics.⁵⁴

In addition to designing and promoting the sales of tea utensils, Sōwa selected mountings for fine specimens of calligraphy, fashioned small sculptures, and designed tearooms and gardens. Sōwa is credited with making the portrait statue of Sen Rikyū preserved at the Kyoto temple of Tenneiji (location of Sōwa's tomb), as well as an incense burner in the shape of Monju Bostasu (the Bodhisattva Manjusri; in the collection of the Kyoto temple, Dairyūji).⁵⁵

天寧寺

Probably the most famous tearoom designed by Sōwa is the Teigyokuken of Shinjuan, erected in 1638. The Teigyokuken, a two-and-three-quarter-mat *sukiya sōan*, or 'elegant grass-thatched hut,' reflects the rustic, austere spirit of Rikyū's tea aesthetic. It was constructed from wood originally belonging to a wing of the Muromachi Imperial Palace: the empress' quarters, which dated back to the fifteenth century. After this wing of the palace was dismantled, Emperor Ōgimachi gave the wood to his personal physician, from the Nakarai family.⁵⁶ The Nakarais, who had a close connection with Shinjuan, decided to donate the wood to the temple. It was then used to construct the Tsūsen'in of Shinjuan, the section of the temple that leads from the main hall to the Teigyokuken, as well as the Teigyokuken, itself. The simple beauty of the Teigyokuken is described by Jon Carter Covell:

庭玉軒

数寄屋草庵

In this tiny room one perceives the subtle shadings in the centuries-old posts of red pine and chestnut and in the mud walls with their straw binder. The only "color" lies in the varied textures of the woven ceiling patterns. The special quality that time adds to natural objects contributes *sabi* to the room and the beauty of the unpretentious gives it *wabi*. The room is most *fūryū* when a gentle patter of rain rustles the bulrushes and cattails which form the ceiling or wind sways the branches outside and they brush against the mud walls.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ There are, for example, records indicating Sōwa's involvement in setting the price for Ninsei's wares, as discussed by Kawashima Masao, "Kanamori Sōwa Oboegaki" [Memoranda of Kanamori Sōwa], *Chanoyu — Kenkyū to Shiryō* [Research and Historical Information on Tea], no. 7 (1974), p. 38.

⁵⁵ For illustrations, see *Hida Kanamori Shi*, pp. 88 and 115.

⁵⁶ The widespread legend that the Teigyokuken once served as Sōwa's tearoom at Kinryūin and was moved to Shinjuan is inaccurate. Okada Takao, *Miyako no Chashitsu: Nishiyama-Kitayama* [Tearooms of the Capital: Nishiyama-Kitayama] (Gakugei Shuppansha, 1989), pp. 148–149.

⁵⁷ Jon Carter Covell, "Kanamori Sōwa and the Teigyokuken," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 16 (1976), pp. 7–16.

While Covell's description of the austerity of the Teigyokuken is well founded, her apparent conclusion that Sōwa's taste was universally austere is inaccurate. Covell writes that,



Teigyokuken tearoom, designed by Kanamori Sōwa; view of the three-quarter-mat tea-preparation area. Located on the grounds of the Shinjuan subtemple within the compounds of Daitokuji temple, Kyoto. Photo by Tabata Minao.

Among the other tearooms said to have been designed by Sōwa are the Sekkatei of the Kyoto temple of Kinkakuji and the Rokusōan, currently located on the grounds of the Tokyo National Museum.⁵⁸

夕佳亭 六窓庵

The tearoom complex of the Ekan Sansō villa of Ichijō Akiyoshi, the devoted follower of Sōwa, is said to have been built following Sōwa's taste in tea. This structure, originally located at Akiyoshi's villa in the Nishigamo hills of Kyoto, was moved to Kamakura in 1959, and is regarded as a representative example of tearoom architecture in the taste of the aristocrats of the early Edo period. In addition, Sōwa is credited with creating garden designs for Sanzen'in in Kyoto (the Shūheki garden), the Hida temple of Zenshōji, and the Mino temple of Seitaiji.

恵観山莊

三千院

聚碧園

Sōwa died in 1656 at age seventy-three and was buried at Tenneiji in Kyoto, located east of Kinryūin, where Nagachika and Yoshishige had been buried earlier.

Conclusion

The shift in worldly concern from fighting in battle to artistic engagement that one sees in the first three generations of the Kanamori family reflects a significant reality of the changing culture in which they lived. As warfare subsided and warriors were occupied less and less with the necessities of military service, they turned instead to composing poetry, appreciating rare antiquities, practicing tea, and other such peaceful arts. Chanoyu emerged as a flourishing cultural institution in the early modern period, and the Kanamori clan played a significant role in its development.



"Kanamori Sōwa veered away from this aristocratic taste [of Prince Toshihito, founder of Katsura Villa, and of Enshū] which predominated the Tokugawa shōgunate and Kyoto tea circles and tried to return to simpler principles that were part of Rikyū's aesthetics as he understood them." (Covell, p. 14) Covell does not take into account, however, Sōwa's activities as sponsor of Ninsei's Omuro ceramics, which were colorful and elegant, in step with the new gorgeous aesthetic that warriors and townspeople admired and associated with traditional court culture.

⁵⁸ For further description of the Teigyokuken and the Sekkatei, see Iguchi Kaisen, ed., *Chashitsu no Annai: Chanoyu Raiburari* [Guide for Tearooms: Tea Library], vol. 4 (Tankōsha, 1968), pp. 91–103 and 152.

Temae — Tea Procedure

Furo Nagaita Sō Kazari, Shozumi



A nagaita can be said to be an extremely simplified version of a daisu; in fact, though a nagaita is a single board (“*nagaita*” literally means “long board”) which is placed flat on the tatami, the inspiration for its design was the bottom board of the daisu, and it is considered to belong to the daisu category of utensil display stands.

This close relationship between the nagaita and daisu is witnessed in the many direct similarities in their usage, particularly when the nagaita temae is done using the *sō kazari*, or “full display,” scheme for displaying the utensils. A nagaita *sō kazari* temae, like the standard daisu temae, features the display of not only a mizusashi, but also of a display-type hishaku and pair of display-type hibashi, which are placed in a container called shakutate (literally, “ladle stand”), as well as the display of a kensui and futaoki. When this *sō kazari* scheme is used, only minor differences occur between the nagaita temae and the standard daisu temae described in recent issues of the *Chanoyu Quarterly*. These differences arise from the physical differences between the nagaita and the daisu. In the case of the nagaita shozumi temae taken up in the following guide, for example, because, unlike a daisu, there is no upper shelf on which to display the kōgō and habōki, these two items are brought into the tearoom together with the other sumi equipment, in the sumitori.

The preparation of the sumitori, then, is almost exactly as for a plain shozumi temae, differing from it only in that the hibashi are absent, and therefore the kan (kettle rings) cannot be hung on them. Hence the kan are set inside the front of the sumitori, leaning against the *dō-zumi*, with their open ends together and facing down (the same as for a standard gozumi temae). With this exception alone, the sumitori, haiki, and kami kamashiki are prepared exactly as for a standard shozumi temae. The preparation of the dogu tatami is exactly as for a furo nagaita *sō kazari* usucha temae. The following guide presumes the reader’s thorough familiarity with the standard furo shozumi temae (see *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 13) as well as the furo nagaita *sō kazari* usucha temae (see *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 75).

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.

In the context of a complete chaji, a kaiseki meal precedes this temae. At the end of the kaiseki meal, the sadōguchi door is closed. To begin the shozumi temae, the host sits just outside the sadōguchi with the prepared sumitori placed to the side away from the guests.



(1)

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



(2)

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



(3)

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



(4)

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



(5)

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



(6)

Place fingertips of both hands on tatami. With L remaining in this position, remove hibashi from shakutate with R, pass them around left-hand side of kensui (6), and bring them out to the front of the nagaita.



(7)

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



(8)

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



(9)

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



(10)

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



(11)

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



(12)

Lift kama off of the furo and set it on the kamashiki (12). Temporarily lean kan on kama shoulders.



(13)

Shift sitting position to face kama. Drag kama together with kamashiki so they rest on the halfway point of the temaeza half-mat (13).



(14)

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



(15)

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



(16)

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



(17)

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



(18)

Rearrange the front “pilot charcoal” in the *furo* (i.e., place the front piece behind the two rear pieces) (18).



(19)

Continue to lay the fresh charcoal — first the *dō-zumi*, then *maru-gitchō*, then *wari-gitchō*, then *maru-kudazumi*, then *eda-zumi*, and finally the *ten-zumi* (19). Rehold *hibashi* in the reverse of the manner described in step 17, and return them to the *sumitori*.



(20)

Pick up habōki with R, conduct second dusting (*nakabaki*) of the furo in the standard, prescribed manner (20), then return habōki to its place on the tatami.



(21)

Shift sitting position to face diagonally toward left, hold haiki with L, transfer it to R, and shift sitting position to again face furo. Place haiki in front of knees (21).



(22)

Take haisaji with R, hold it near center of handle with L, and regasp it nearer center with R. With L steadying R wrist, use haisaji to remove a crescent of ash from the front of the ash form in the furo (22). Resting L on lap, deposit the removed ash onto the far side of the ash form. Then return haisaji to haiki.



(23)

Pick up haiki with R, shift sitting position, transfer haiki to L, and return it to its original position in rear corner of the tatami (23). Again shift sitting position to face the furo.



(24)

Pick up habōki and conduct final dusting (*gobaki*) of the furo in the standard, prescribed manner (24). Place habōki on sumitori.



(25)

Pick up kōgō with R, place it on L palm, remove lid, and place lid in front of right knee. Take hibashi from sumitori with R and, with the aid of L (25), rehold them for use.



(26)

Place some incense in the furo (26). Then, again with the aid of L, regrasp the hibashi overhand near handle ends with R, and return them to sumitori.



(27)

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



(28)

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



(29)

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



(30)

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



(31)

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



(32)

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



(33)

Shift sitting position a knee's breadth backward (left knee first, then right knee aligned with it) (33).



(34)

Pick up habōki with R, and dust kama lid as usual (34). Place habōki on sumitori.



(35)

Take hibashi with R, and grasp them underhand near handle ends with L. Pick up habōki with R, and dust off upper sides of the hibashi in two strokes (35). Turn L palm down to turn hibashi over, and dust off this side of the hibashi in one stroke. Place habōki on sumitori.



(36)

Hold hibashi near handle ends with R and, supporting them underhand near center with L, swivel them so they are parallel with knees, and regrasp them underhand near handle ends with R. Placing L fingertips on tatami, return hibashi to shakutate with R, following same path as when they were removed from the shakutate (36).



(37)

Set kama lid ajar (37). (As before, if fukusa is used to handle the kama lid, return it to obi directly after use.)



(38)

Shift sitting position to face diagonally left, pick up haiki with L, and hold it with R. Stand up (38) and take haiki to the mizuya. (The main guest goes to get the kōgō at this time.)



(39)

Remove kamashiki from kimono and leave it in mizuya. Then reenter tearoom, sit directly facing sumitori, and carry sumitori back to the mizuya (39). (The guests now start examining the kōgō.)



(40)

When the kōgō has been returned, go to the temae tatami, sit facing the kōgō, and answer the main guest's questions about it (40).



(41)

Pick up kōgō with R, place it on L palm, steady it with R, and go sit just outside the sadōguchi. Place kōgō to the side away from the guests with R, bow together with the guests to end the temae (41), and close the sadōguchi door.



Book Reviews

Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945. *Edited with an Introduction by Gail Lee Bernstein.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. xi + 340 pp., including glossary and index. US\$40.00, clothbound; US\$14.95, paperback.

This weighty book is a great inspiration and a brilliant model for scholars feeling an acute need to incorporate the perspectives and techniques of gender study into their research and teaching. Unlike most academic source books, this volume provides fun reading and enjoyable surprises for anyone interested in understanding not only women's issues but also the dynamics of cultural relationships between the sexes, family, and the state. Bernstein's substantial Introduction is quite comprehensive and insightful in presenting the gist and significance of each of the thirteen chapters contributed by fourteen Japanologists: ten historians, a sociologist, an art historian, an anthropologist, and a literature specialist. Rather than engaging in abstract theorizing, the chapters tend more to address issues of concern today. Most of the chapter titles helpfully describe the specific issues taken up in the particular chapter.

The goal of the contributors is "to understand continuity and change in Japanese ideals of femininity, in the processes by which women were trained to approximate these ideals, and in the ways their actual roles diverged from these ideals" (p. 2). Not only have they fulfilled the stated promise, but some of them have even succeeded in shedding light that can clear up nagging questions or popular misconceptions in other fields.

Chapter 1, "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor," by Kathleen S. Uno, shows that in the preindustrial Tokugawa period (1600–1868), *ie* ("the stem-family household") was conceived as "a corporate entity" in which residence doubled as workplace, working at the family trade doubled as education for young children, and men routinely participated in child rearing and household chores. With the advent of compulsory education and new social organizations such as modern government, factories, and companies, the separation of workplace and home proved disadvantageous to men. Uno notes an ironic impact of modernization: "if Japanese women became trapped in the home, Japanese men became locked out of the home" (p. 41).

Chapter 2, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan," by Anne Walthall, reports that economic class and social status dictated women's successive roles at various stages throughout the course of life, and that diversity of local practices was not conducive to formulating any typical role for women.

Chapter 3, "The Deaths of Old Women: Folklore and Differential Mortality in Nineteenth-Century Japan," by Laurel L. Cornell, however, offers a shocking and

edifying fact uncovered by Cornell's study of the population registers from the mid-1600s through 1870. Despite the prevalence of *ubasute* ("abandoning old women"; female geronticide) folklore in Japan, a woman's longevity was dependent upon living with a young daughter-in-law and small grandchildren, the older woman's life expectancy increasing at a rate of nine percent per year of the age difference between her and her daughter-in-law. It would be interesting to see a similar study done on contemporary Japanese women, whose projected life span has been dramatically increasing in recent years, while the number of co-resident in-laws is steadily declining.

Chapter 4, "The Shingaku Woman: Straight from the Heart," by Jennifer Robertson, traces the career of an unmarried woman scholar in late-feudal Japan whose life and career defied the very teachings she propagated — those of the Shingaku (Heart Learning) School, emphasizing an idealized wifedom and proscribing feminine social etiquette and deportment.

Chapter 5, "Female *Bunjin*: The Life of Poet-Painter Ema Saikō," by Patricia Fister, similarly follows the growth of a woman *bunjin* (practitioner of Chinese arts and letters) largely through a "correspondence-school" style contact with the prominent poet-scholar Rai Sanyo and his literary salon. This is an interesting source of information for the comparative study of the careers of modern female artists and writers.

Chapter 6, "Women in an All-Male Industry: The Case of Sake Brewer Tatsu'uma Kiyo," by Joyce Chapman Lebra, is a rare case study which researchers of Japanese business fiction should find invaluable. This biographical study of a woman entrepreneur is rich in fascinating accounts of the diversification and technological innovations (including money-lending, currency exchange services, real estate ventures, shipping, and a wholesale system) that she put into practice in the 1800s to modernize her family business, well ahead of others, until it became Japan's most prosperous sake brewery.

Chapter 7, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890–1910," by Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, places women's issues in a broader perspective, showing how gender constructions crystallized into the Good Wife and Wise Mother images related to the "cult of productivity" that turned the home into a "public place" and equated women's household duties with civil service.

Chapter 8, "Yosano Akiko and the Taishō Debate over the 'New Woman'," by Laurel Rasplica Rodd, reevaluates the ideology of the proper female role through an examination of the epoch-making debate on state protection of motherhood versus equality of opportunity that shook Japan's intellectual world in the 1910s. This issue is still acutely pertinent today. Lay readers as well as students of other fields can enjoy and benefit from Rodd's illuminating analysis of the fierce exchange of opinions, criticisms, and counterattacks spread over national newspaper and magazine columns that crisscrossed among poet and social critic Akiko, feminist Hiratsuka Raicho, socialist Yamakawa Kikue, and prostitute-turned-feminist Yamada Waka.

Chapter 9, "Middle-Class Working Women During the Interwar Years," by Margit Nagy, examines the discourse on the term "working woman" in the 1910s and 1920s, when it was still new. She finds that the times encouraged women to seek economic independence and self-fulfillment, while "both private and public

employers actively recruited women for white-collar jobs as a cheap source of competent labor" (p. 209). As the social situation of the day parallels that of today in many ways, so does the common form of venting anxiety, typified, for example, by the sexual harassment that "stemmed from the view that employed women represented a deviation from women's basic calling as wife and mother" (p. 211). It seems that Japanese women have not come a long way after all.

Chapter 10, "Activism Among Women in the Taishō Cotton Textile Industry," by Barbara Molony, illuminates the conditions of blue-collar women workers as well as the labor market as a whole that provided the setting and the platform for proletarian literature. Particularly helpful in studying women writers, whose works have been coming out in English translation at an accelerated pace in recent years, are poignant observations such as that Japanese women's activism was not limited to formal political or union actions but included aggressive actions as well, in the form of strikes and even physical fights with bamboo spears, and that protests organized by women often succeeded in improving labor conditions.

Chapter 11, "The Modern Girl as Militant," by Miriam Silverberg, helps clarify the image of the "modern girl" (commonly known as *moga*) created by Japanese media in the 1920s. Most of us have been under the vague impression that the "modern girl" was equivalent to the flapper of the contemporary West — pleasure-seeking, irresponsible, willful, and socially useless — as personified by the heroine of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's novella *Naomi*. Actually, her image as pure consumer is a later variation, and the original "modern girl" turns out to have been a working woman — productive, autonomous, liberated, and independent from family dictates or conventions by virtue of her income-producing ability. It is edifying to note that, except for the suspicion of moral decadence associated with her supposedly free-thinking and free-living lifestyle, the "modern girl" was not far from today's career women. In summing up the images of the modern girl defined by chapters 10 and 11, the editor, Bernstein, finds it interesting that the modern girl can be seen as "a female symbol portraying all the contradictory values that were pulling Japanese society apart in this interwar period" (p. 11). Bernstein's observation can apply just as well to today's young working women who tend to get blamed for much that is not right in society and family, if not in the world.

Chapter 12, "Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work Under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s," by Yoshiko Miyake, looks into the process, reasoning, and results of the legalization of state protection of motherhood, which was given to women only to turn them and their families into a public institution that could be mobilized as state apparatus in times of national need.

Chapter 13, "Women and War: The Japanese Film Image," by William B. Hauser, further illustrates how women's roles in feature films were used as propaganda: as sisters in arms or producers of soldiers during the wartime, and as naive idealists standing for decency, modernity, and humanitarian traditions in the postwar movies of quality. In addition to such acclaimed staples as *Twenty-four Eyes*, *No Regrets from Our Youth*, and *The Human Condition*, this chapter discusses some of the wartime films that are so numerous but are rarely described.

The Afterword, by Jane Caplan, is informed by insights gained from the vantage point of a historian specializing in European women's history, whose comparative reading has yielded an observation that Japan "lacked the crucial distinctions between state and society, between public and private, on which the institutions of the pluralist bourgeois political order developed in the West; hence, the notion of politics as the sphere in which legitimate collective interest might be pursued was also absent" (p. 318). Caplan's view seems persuasive to Japanologists, but might trigger a debate among scholars in Japan.

As editor Bernstein points out in the Introduction, "Japan may be unique in having waged such a conscious discourse on women for such a long period of time, for since the early days of the Tokugawa rulers the 'woman question' has engaged political leaders and the intellectual and moral elite alike" (p. 13).

Recreating Japanese Women is a most timely and much needed contribution that can enlighten many types of readers in various ways.

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Shisendo: Hall of the Poetry Immortals. By J. Thomas Rimer, Jonathan Chaves, Stephen Addiss, and Hiroyuki Suzuki. New York: Weatherhill Inc. and Tokyo: Tanko-Weatherhill, Inc., 1991. viii + 215 pp. US\$29.95; ¥3,000 (including tax).

The day after a good snow, I got off the train at Ichijō station, in the northeastern part of Kyoto, and walked straight towards Mount Hiei. Just as the narrow road was becoming steep, I came to a small brushwood gateway on the right side of the road. At the left side was a stone marker inscribed with characters reading "Shisendō." Going through the gateway, I walked up the bamboo enshrouded path towards the house, which was nearly obscured from view. I knew I was about to enter a place where past and present, and time and space meet.

The Shisendō was built in 1641 by Ishikawa Jōzan (1583–1672). Although Japanese, he was a Confucian and wrote some fine poems in Chinese. At the age of fifty-eight, he retired from office, and made a small world for himself — the Shisendō. Today it consists of several buildings and a garden.

It had been a long time since I visited the Shisendō, but my memories of it were extremely clear. When I last visited this place, I was living alone in an old cabin in the Abukuma hills northeast of Tokyo. Having recently started studying Chinese poetry, I was entranced by the atmosphere many Tang period poems evoke. Perhaps these things had something to do with the deep impression the buildings and garden of the Shisendō made on me at that time, because along the walls up near the ceiling of one room are portraits of thirty-six Chinese poets, with a poem by each of them. This room is, in fact, the "Hall of the Poetry Immortals," the "Shisendō" — the name by which the whole complex is referred to

today. (Technically, the name for the entire group of buildings and the garden is Ōtotsuka, which means "uneven nest.") On this visit, my memories were augmented by a reading of *Shisendō: Hall of the Poetry Immortals*. Walking down the hill afterwards, I was extremely grateful for both.

The Shisendō makes an unforgettably vivid impression on many people. This book is a tribute to that fact; it consists of five essays covering one hundred and thirty pages, including seventy pages of photographs. Each of the essays approaches the Shisendō from a different perspective. The essays both overlap and supplement each other, and, taken together with the photographs, form a beautiful and meaningful whole. The essays are Thomas Rimer's "Ishikawa Jōzan," Jonathan Chaves' "Jōzan and Poetry," Stephen Addiss' "The Calligraphy of Ishikawa Jōzan," Hiroyuki Suzuki's "The Garden of the Shisendō: Its *Genius Loci*," and Shūichi Katō's "The Hall of the Poetry Immortals." The photographs, which are excellent, have been drawn from those in a book in Japanese, *Shisendō*, edited by Ishikawa Takudo.

Thomas Rimer's essay puts Jōzan's life in the context of his times, and explores Jōzan's interest in poetry. The son and grandson of brave samurai, Jōzan showed his own bravery during the time of Tokugawa Ieyasu's unification of the country under his rule. Jōzan once tried to leave the service of Ieyasu and retire to Myōshinji temple, but was not immediately given permission to do so. When he was finally able to, he began studying with the great early-Edo-period Confucian scholar, Fujiwara no Seika. Forced after just a year to return to society, he became a minor retainer of the Asano clan, a post he kept for twelve years. Upon his mother's death, Jōzan returned to Kyoto and began studying at Shōkokuji temple. At the age of fifty-eight, in 1641, he decided to build the Shisendō, where he lived until his death thirty years later.

As a Japanese literary scholar retiring from the world, Jōzan is in the tradition of Kamo no Chōmei and Yoshida Kenkō. The great difference is that Jōzan was writing in Chinese from the perspective of Chinese philosophy and poetry. He was thus able to draw on two traditions. Jōzan's poetry is more Chinese than Japanese in flavor, but the following poem seems to me to combine the poetic sensitivities of both cultures:

From a Boat at Night, Gazing at the Kannon Hall

Below the cliff, riding in a boat,
I think of climbing up —
the mountain is silent it seems
to have no monks.
A falling star — a single dot —
plunges into the waves:
it is a beam of lamplight
from the Kannon Hall above.

(p. 36)

All this must have something to do with the development of the aesthetics of *fūryū*. Rimer explains, "Jōzan fascinates many Japanese because he was one of the

first figures in the Tokugawa period to exhibit in his work and life the aesthetic virtue that came to be known as *fūryū*, a term later used in the work of Bashō, who, rather like Jōzan, partially retired from society to become a wanderer searching for aesthetic truth" (p. 22).

Jonathan Chaves' essay, "Jōzan and Poetry," consists primarily of translations of a selection of Jōzan's poems followed by translations of the thirty-six Chinese poems which Jōzan selected for the Shisendō. Chaves' introduction to the Japanese tradition of writing poetry in Chinese seems unfortunately brief and weak. To jump from the *Kaifusō* (751 A.D., the first anthology of Chinese poetry written by Japanese) to Jōzan in eight lines is to totally ignore eight hundred years of Chinese poetry written by Japanese, and Jōzan's place in that tradition.

What Chaves chooses to do, rather, is to emphasize the affinity Jōzan felt for a thousand years of Chinese poetry, and Jōzan's identification with the tradition of Chinese poet-recluses who remained socially active as poets. As a result, this is good preparation for reading the translations of seventy of Jōzan's poems which follow. Chaves' translations are fine, and it is possible to really hear Jōzan's voice through the English, as the above example shows.

Chaves then turns his attention to the thirty-six Chinese poets and the poems chosen to represent them. Most of the poets are quite famous: twenty-eight of the thirty-six are included in *Sunflower Splendor* (Anchor, 1975), a standard anthology of English translations of Chinese poetry. Jōzan arranged the poets in eighteen pairs (left and right) and placed them in chronological order. Chaves lists the poets in this order and follows it in his translations, with the exception of poems 8-right, and 9-left, which are inexplicably reversed.

In regard to the translations, I have two comments to make. The first is that, while in the case of the poem by Ch'en Tzu-ang (3-right) Chaves correctly indicates that only the first four lines are inscribed on the painting, he neglects to mention that only the first eight lines of the very next poem, by Li Po (4-left), are included, or that the last two lines of the poem by Liu Tsung-yuan (9-right) are not included with the painting.

Secondly, looking at the paintings of the poets lined up on the four walls of the Shisendō, one is struck both by the beauty of the paintings and by the often creative way that the poems are presented. It seems to me that it would sometimes be impossible to translate the poems in the manner that they are presented in the paintings, and Chaves has not tried; in fact, this aspect of the poems is not even mentioned. But, for those who can read Chinese, it is fascinating to see where Jōzan decided to begin new lines in his presentation of the poems. For example, although there are eight five-character lines in the customary Chinese arrangement of Huang T'ing-chien's poem (17-right, second from the right on the south wall, pictured in the photograph on page 153), in doing the calligraphy Jōzan chose to present the poem in alternate lines of five characters and two characters. The result is that special emphasis is given to the two-character lines, which in Chaves' translation are "feet weak," "no water," "I resent," "escaped . . . world" and "go off . . . seagull." While the meaning of the poem is not changed, the visual presentation does add a very interesting dimension, and changes the impact: the emphasized portions are in effect the distilled essence of the poem, significant when one considers that Jōzan himself was not able to retire from

worldly entanglements until he had reached "old age." Here is Chaves' translation of the poem (*italics added*):

In old age, I'm made prefect of T'ung-an:
my *feet* so *weak*, truly a convenient post!
But in my breast there is *no "water mirror"*:
dare I accept appointment to the Ministry of Personnel?
I resent the existence of my empty frame—
still not *escaped* from *worldly* entanglements!
I dream I go off as a white *seagull*
over Chiang-nan where water looks like sky.

(p. 74)

Stephen Addiss' essay, "The Calligraphy of Ishikawa Jōzan," explains that Jōzan favored clerical script (Jp., *reisho*) and was one of the first calligraphers in the Edo period to use it. Jōzan's selection of this script helps us to better understand both his personality and his intentions. Addiss explains that, through his calligraphy, Jōzan "was making a deliberate point of creating a new calligraphic idiom with an antique flavor" (p. 83) and giving "himself a unique artistic identity, just as he did through the creation of the Shisendō" (p. 85).

Hiroiyuki Suzuki's "The Garden of the Shisendō: Its *Genius Loci*" presents readers with yet another perspective on Jōzan by explaining to us the structure and symbolism of the garden. Suzuki notes that a high value was placed "on phenomena that are a fusion of time and space. The element of time is always incorporated into space in the design process. The significance of space is affected by temporal changes . . ." (p. 106). The essay is written in such a way that it enables readers who have not actually seen the garden to visualize it, and this picture is wonderfully enhanced by the many photographs which follow. I only wish the essay had contained some references to specific illustrations. As it is, one must flip back to the list of captions at the end of the book to find both the parts of the house and the portions of the garden referred to, and then find the relative illustration (hoping that by that time one has not forgotten the point Suzuki is making).

The final essay, "The Hall of the Poetry Immortals," is a record of a visit made by the literary critic Shūichi Katō to the Shisendō. After walking through the house and the garden, Katō returns to the main building, sits down on the verandah, leans back, closes his eyes, and lets his mind wander back to Jōzan. After a few minutes he opens his eyes to discover an old man sitting next to him. A conversation follows which does much to bring the figure Jōzan to life. Katō not only demonstrates his deep understanding of the historical facts of Jōzan's life and of his works, he also shows us what these things may say about Jōzan as a warm, thinking, feeling individual. The result is an extremely sensitive, perceptive, and most enjoyable essay. With its emphasis on this type of personal approach to Jōzan and the Shisendō, the essay is similar to Thomas Rimer's, and thus at the end of the book we feel we have come full circle.

Donald Keene is absolutely correct to comment, as he does on the back of the book, "I know of no study of a single artistic creation — the lovely Shisendo —

that treats it from so many angles and with such perceptivity." I recommend this book not only to anyone who loves the Shisendō, but also to anyone who wants to get a more holistic view of Japanese culture.

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Japanese Social Organization. *Edited by Takie Sugiyama Lebra.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992. ix + 226 pp., including index. US\$34.00, clothbound; \$14.95, paperback.

In his Foreword to this collection, Robert Smith casually refers to this work as a "collection of extraordinary papers." Individually, they are extraordinary. As a group, they are stunning and not a little bewildering. Unfortunately, they are also quite difficult to review adequately. Even the selection of a useful approach to reviewing such a work proves difficult. However, when in doubt, somewhat as Alice (or was it the Mad Hatter) said, "start from the beginning, go through to the end, then stop."

Professor Lebra introduces the chapters in this work by focusing on various aspects of social organization, particularly space and time. She presents a very nice essay on some of the dichotomies of theoretical perspective that currently invest anthropology, then moves to a presentation of the various chapters. Specifically, she is interested in looking at what has been called Japanese human capital as social capital, examining how social organizations are "constructed, reproduced, managed, disrupted, or transformed."

The heart of the work consists of seven chapters, each dealing with spatial and temporal aspects of social organization in a wide range of situations. Individually, these are exceptional essays dealing with each writer's area of expertise in Japanese society. Collectively, as I said earlier, they form a stunning collection. Four of the chapters deal with spatial aspects of social organization. In the lead chapter, Theodore Bester analyzes a conflict over the festival in a Tokyo neighborhood. As usual, he uses humor both to avoid the academic trap of excessive stuffiness and to more fully educate his readers. Diana Bethel makes a charming analysis of a marginal population (the elderly), in a marginal institution (an institution for the elderly) in a marginal area of Japan (Hokkaido). Moving to spatial concerns on a global level, Tomoko Hamada looks at the impact, sometimes fatal, of distance on Japanese managers sent overseas. Takie Lebra does her usual brilliant job of analysis, this time with a rarely discussed population, the old aristocracy. Her analysis is of the actual physical layout of residence and of the physical manifestation of social status in the group.

Also looking at both time and space, Patricia Steinhoff dramatically analyzes elements of the social organization at work in an explosive radical left tragedy. Primarily interested in time, Mary Brinton contrasts the stability of women's life course in Japan with the instability and unpredictability of women's life course in

the United States. Moving to a somewhat different realm, Jennifer Robertson's chapter on gender and sex investigates the all-female theater troupe known as the Takarazuka Revue, revealing an extension of the "pre-adult" age for women. Robertson shows how attempts to limit role choice and to rigidly control sexuality in this all-female group actually allowed the development of alternative behavior choices in that highly restricted society. While Robertson relies heavily on post-modernist rhetoric to present her thinking, the analysis is brilliant and the topic particularly important in the Japanese context.

In all of these, either time or space, or both, are used as a means of showing how social organization works in various aspects of Japanese society. While all of the chapters are historically rooted, they demonstrate the enormous complexity of modern Japanese society. The range of subjects — from a Tokyo neighborhood to a Hokkaido institution for the elderly, from the prewar lives of the Japanese aristocracy to an all-female theater troupe and the self-destruction of a faction of the Japanese Red Army is astounding in its breadth. In addition to extremely edifying scholarship, most of the work has a very captivating quality, something often missing from academic research.

All this notwithstanding, the part of this work which I found most interesting, and most useful, was Professor Lebra's Introduction. In it she discusses cultural symbols and social relations, stating that, "It is my wish to restore a sociological perspective that has been abandoned by symbolic purists, without being trapped in a functionalist model." She is successful, and her success is extremely important. Anthropology and sociology seem to be hooked on the two horns of this dichotomy, one which from my perspective is becoming increasingly unproductive and, possibly even worse, stifling. I am delighted that Professor Lebra has been able to circumvent the Scylla and Charibdis of modern theoretical constraints and edit a wonderful book.

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Kimono: Fashioning Culture. By Liza Carihfield Dalby. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993. xi + 384 pp., including index and glossary. US\$30.00, clothbound.

Liza Dalby's newest book, *Kimono*, is a welcome addition to the growing number of exhibition catalogues and books in English on Japanese costume. Most of these books have treated the subject in a straightforward, art historical manner linking socio-political trends with technical and aesthetic innovations in kimono fashion. Dalby sees the kimono as an expression of Japanese sensibilities and, furthermore, says that "in its folds is layered the soul of Japan." In the quest to find the soul of the kimono, the book goes beyond an art historical chronology, and interprets the evolution of kimono in cultural and sociological terms. Liza Dalby is

an anthropologist whose field work includes a year as a geisha in Kyoto's Pontocho district. *Geisha*, published in 1983, is her highly acclaimed book on this subject, and since that time she began to think systematically about Japanese clothing. In a lively and personal style, Dalby guides the reader through such diverse topics as political hierarchy, the aesthetics of color, the sociology of gender, and the logic of formal systems. When reading *Kimono* we learn not only about the history of kimono as textile art, but also about the women who inspired them.

Clothing is viewed as an intricate and evolving cultural system. "Kimono are coded for messages regarding age, gender, season, formality, and occasion, not to mention wealth and taste." The meanings, rather than the fibers, are Dalby's main concerns. The first part of the book tries to decode clothing in association with culture by giving the reader a succinct history of Japanese clothing, including Chinese prototypes, Heian forms, evolution of the *kosode* ('small sleeve' garment), and the sumptuary regulations that dictated changes in fashion. One of the most interesting sections of the first part of the book is her detailed chapter on the modern kimono beginning with the impact of Western civilization in the late 19th century. The "cultural cross-dressing" of the Meiji period is a fascinating story well told. In the late 1890s, when upper class women were seen at fashionable restaurants and public places, the gas lamps and seating in Western chairs necessitated a change in fashion to brighter colors, with patterns moving from the hem to the shoulders and bosom. "Kimono Self-consciousness," "Political Haberdashery," and "The Unraveling Thread" are subheadings which describe some of the subjects of the Meiji section. Dalby, who designed the book, has sprinkled it with an average of two illustrations per page. The illustrations are so plentiful that they become a bit confusing at times, particularly when an illustration and its description are not in proximity. In this chapter, however, the illustrations are lively additions to her thesis, and they consist of clippings from Meiji magazines, newspapers, and pattern books, and photographs of women from such publications as *Coed World* of 1909.

The middle section of the book, entitled "Kimono in the Modern World," begins with the provocative chapter heading "Women Who Cross Their Legs." In this section, Dalby skillfully steers us through the Taishō period, war years, and modern times. She has some intriguing thoughts on the Kimono Academies and the feminist side of the kimono issue. Dalby's opinions are particularly subjective in her section on *mingei* (Japanese folk art) and rural clothing traditions. She feels that rural traditions have been lost in the politics of clothing, and that, instead of kimono, these forms could equally claim to be the traditional dress of the Japanese. Perhaps she overstates the case in the context of this book, as it need not be a contest between the humble and the powerful. With her interest in and understanding of *mingei* clothing, perhaps she will treat this subject in another book.

In this section on kimono in the modern world, we learn to read the kimono vocabulary of fabric, color, pattern, and form which acts to indicate the age, taste, class, and formality of the occasion of the modern woman. The length of the kimono sleeve, exposure of the neck from the set of the collar, height at which the obi is worn, and many other fine points are described in detail and mapped out visually with several charts and drawings. Seasonal expression is discussed as well, with particulars of material, lining, color, pattern, motifs, and accessories,

and how to coordinate these elements. Seasonal anticipation is preferred, and thus in May, before summer officially starts, lighter colors, and iris and water motifs can be worn on an unlined kimono. "By the time a flower has actually come into bloom, it is too late to wear it on a kimono." However, most modern women can only afford a few kimono, and these refined distinctions remain for only a small elite group.

The last section of the book, "Kimono Contexts," explores in depth two major influences in Japanese kimono history. The first is the Heian ladies' sophisticated sense of color. References to the *Tale of Genji*, poetry anthologies, and other literary works of the Heian period arouse our curiosity about the refined color sensibilities of the courtly elite. Dalby has done some exciting research in this area, and demystifies the aesthetics of multi-layered robes. The only color section of the book are the pages of color codes showing the combinations in five-layer clusters which evoked specific seasonal allusions in Heian culture. Distinctions between the evocations of the young sweetflag and mature sweetflag are created in the layering of various hues. This chapter is focused around "Colors for a Court Lady's Dress," written by a court official in the late 12th century for the Senior Grand Empress Tashi. This fascinating document on Heian aesthetic sensibilities is divided into ten sections related to the time of year and types of robes appropriate to each. This official book of etiquette is annotated by Dalby and sprinkled with comments attributed to Tashi.

In contrast to color, which is the aesthetic focus of Heian robes, the next part of this section discusses the patterns of *kosode* kimono in the Genroku era. This section highlights a *hinagata-bon* — a kind of kimono pattern booklet — by Hishikawa Moronobu entitled "The Kosode Full-length Mirror" (*Kosode no Sugatami*). The text is reproduced with illustrations, and Dalby provides a translation of Moronobu's text. This text of his gives precise instructions on color and techniques for his patterns. Dalby has some enticing insights on the mixing of male and female kimono aesthetics amongst the wealthy demimonde of this period. In addition to Moronobu's *hinagata-bon* and some other interesting references, a more systematic look at the class structure and fashions of the Genroku era would have been helpful. The allusions to similarities in male and female fashions are provocative, and one wishes to see this more fully discussed. This final section of the book concludes with a chapter on geisha and kimono. Dalby feels that the kimono academies advocate a stiff, cylindrical perfection not as alluring as earlier modes of kimono dressing. Geisha wear kimono with distinctive flair not seen among middle class ladies who wear traditional dress once or twice a year. Geisha are the "curators of the kimono tradition." Others in modern Japan who wear kimono often, and wear it with elegance and ease, such as men and women who seriously pursue traditional arts like chanoyu, are not given consideration in this argument.

Although more rigorous editing would have greatly enhanced this book, it is a fine study which breaks some new ground in Japanese clothing studies. The bibliography, illustration sources, and index are all thorough and extensive. The index combines within it a glossary of important Japanese terms with simple definitions. The framework of social and cultural milieu necessary to describe kimono fashion is challenging, and it is a perspective that Dalby, as an anthro-

pologist and former geisha, is uniquely qualified to describe. Dalby sees the kimono as a lense through which to view basic elements of Japanese society — gender roles, concepts of the individual, and group identity, to name a few. Her insights into the development of the modern kimono aesthetic, and her study of Heian color sensibilities are especially valuable.

Twentieth century Japan is a volatile mix of old and new, and the aesthetic sensibilities appropriate to the Japanese kimono tradition are still very much alive in many forms. "As kimono's social sphere is contracted, its symbolic importance has intensified. In its fabric is expressed the Japanese aesthetic sensitivity to season and color; in its folds is layered the soul of Japan." Liza Dalby is a passionate observer of Japanese clothing traditions, and she succeeds in describing the intricacies of the kimono aesthetic and giving us a glimpse of the spirit of the people who created and wore them.

Margot Paul Ernst
Japanese Art Consultant
New York

Japanese Historical Periods

Asuka period, 538–645

Hakuhō period, 645–710

Nara period, 710–794

Heian period, 794–1192

Kamakura period, 1192–1336

Muromachi period, 1336–1568

Momoyama period, 1568–1603

Edo period, 1603–1868

Modern period, 1868–

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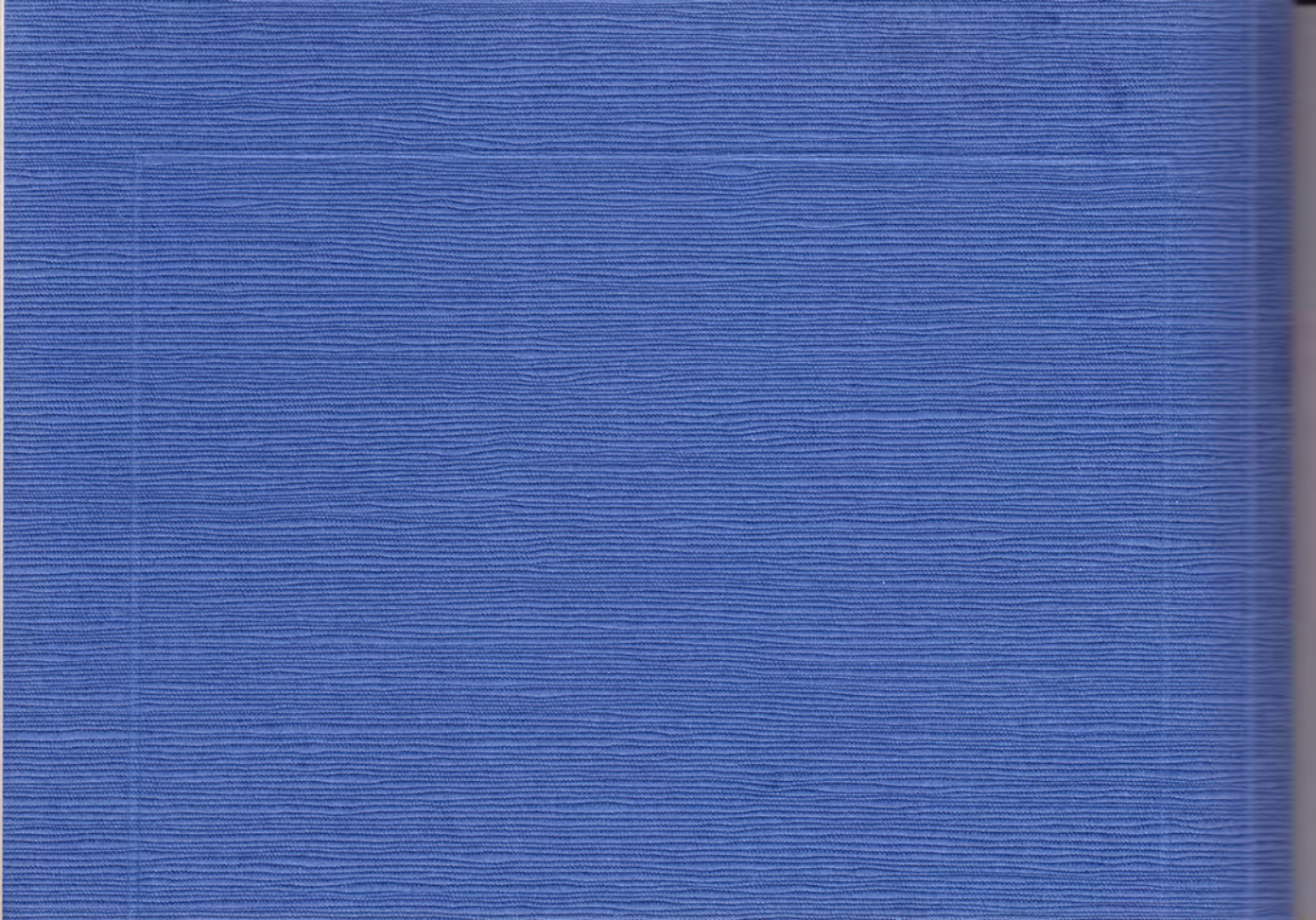
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