

CHANOYU Quarterly
TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN
No. 79

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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.

Attaining Manhood

Sen Sōshitsu XV

At the prime of my youth, the age of fifteen, I observed the traditional *gempuku* rite to mark my attainment of manhood. Though I say “traditional *gempuku* rite,” however, it did not involve changing my hairstyle.¹ In our household, the rite is observed by presenting a ceremonial tea offering (*okencha*) at a shrine; that is, we mark a boy’s attainment of adulthood by having a ceremony to offer tea to the gods.

On December 1, 1938, I performed a *daisu temae*² at Kitano Shrine, with my father coaching me. A frigid winter wind was blowing through the shrine, I felt tense at having a public audience, and my body trembled. Once I began the *temae*, however, those things disappeared from my thoughts, and I remember that all that I was conscious of was the pounding of my heart. Fervently, I only prayed that I would be able to prepare the tea well, and, somehow I did manage to make good of the training that I had received over the previous year in preparation for this day.

As the person who would one day be the *iemoto*, I was made to learn many things from childhood, the foremost being my lessons in tea. When I got into junior high school, I was even made to take part in the summer training session held annually at Konnichian. Wearing a *kasuri kimono*³ and *hakama*, I would sit a distance away from my father’s seat and simply watch him teach the students. It would be hot, my legs would become numb, and I was at an age when I wanted to romp and play, so it was a terribly trying thing for me. Each February, there is a winter training session, too, but since I had school to attend, I luckily did not have to take part in that.

¹ Up until the Modern Period (1868–), the *gempuku* (lit., “basic clothing”) celebration was when a boy would assume adult clothing and name, as well as hairstyle. Generally, to assume adult hairstyle meant to have the front of the head shaved. With the advent of the Modern Period, when men stopped wearing topknots, this practice disappeared.

² A formal style of tea preparation incorporating a large utensil stand called *daisu*. It is the rule for *daisu temae* to be employed for ceremonial tea offerings presented at shrines or temples.

³ *Kasuri* refers to a kind of cloth typically having hazed white patterns against an indigo-blue ground. This kind of cloth is popularly used for young boys’ kimono.

⁴ Translated from the serial “*Watakushi no Rirekisho*” [My Personal History], *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, 1986–87. Footnotes are by the translator.

Of course, sitting in on the training session was one part of my own training. To get a peek at people learning things enabled me to assimilate those things myself. There is a didactic poem by Sen Rikyū that goes, “Learn the Way of Tea by watching; it is foolishness to speak of virtues and vices without having studied.” This is absolutely correct, and participating in the training session should not be something done reluctantly, through a feeling of obligation, but should be a matter of one’s own initiative. At that time in my life, however, the truth was that I thought it was better to go to school than to attend the training sessions.

Probably because of this attitude of mine, I was harshly scolded by my father on one occasion. It was when I was around in the third year of junior high school, and I enquired to him, “Am I not going to receive lessons from you?” The reason I asked this was that, up until then I had of course received lessons from my mother and also from my Sendai grandmother and the upper disciples, but my father had rarely said to me that he would give me a lesson.

However, my father immediately rebuffed: “In lessons, parent-child relationships have no bearing. If you truly want to receive lessons, why do you not come forth on your own, place your hands down in front of you, and say ‘Please give me lessons.’ The Way of Tea involves transmission from mind to mind (*ishin-denshin*), special transmission outside the orthodox teachings (*kyōge betsuden*), and independence from scriptures (*furyū monji*). You must comprehend with your body; it is no use if you are half-hearted about your lessons.”

I could not even utter back an “Urrr” to this, and from then on I actively requested to receive lessons. My father though he was, he was an extremely strict teacher when it was lesson time. Though I might say, “This is plenty for now,” he would demand that I go through the lesson again, and make me continue until it seemed as though my legs were no longer my own appendages. There is a long, tatami-floored hallway leading to the Onsodo altar room, and this is where, bare-footed even in mid winter, I would be made to practice walking with my feet sliding lightly on the tatami (*suriashi*).⁴ In later years, I also underwent religious training at Daitokuji temple, where I wore straw sandals on bare feet, and the cracks that I got on my feet then have now become hard lumps.

My junior high school days were filled not only with school studies, but also with sports and tea practice. From around the third year of junior high school, however, my friends began deciding what kind of lives they wanted to pursue, and they began studying toward these goals. There were those who wanted to become doctors, while others declared that they would enter the military academy.

⁴ The *suriashi* manner of walking is a fundamental etiquette when walking on tatami, and is one of the important skills to be mastered in chanoyu.

As for myself, my dream was to ride horses, and apparently, when I was small, I used to innocently say that I would become a mounted policeman and ride around the imperial palace. By the time I was of junior-high-school age, however, I realized that there was only one path open to me. Whenever I heard my friends talking about their plans, I thought to myself, "Ah, how enviable . . . all of them can go wherever they desire."



IMARI WARE

Early Styles
From Old Kutani to Kakiemon



Early Imari diamond-shaped blue-and-white dish with decoration of chrysanthemums and Hotei, dating to ca. 1630–40. Width, 16.5 x 13.0 cm; height, 3.5 cm; foot diameter, 5.7 cm. Shibata Collection. Kyushu Ceramic Museum, Saga.

This rather thickly crafted piece has a circular foot, which is an indication that it was initially thrown on a potter's wheel, then turned over and pressed with a diamond-shaped stamp and the edges trimmed — a technique common to Early Imari ware. The filling in of background spaces with dots, as seen around the chrysanthemums on this dish, was a popular decorative technique from around 1630 to 1640.



Old Kutani *aka-e* type color-decorated dish estimated to date to the late 1640s. Width, 16.4 x 13.0 cm; height, 3.2 cm; foot 11.0 x 8.7 cm. Shibata Collection. Kyushu Ceramic Museum, Saga.

This is a relatively thinly crafted piece, made by pressing a thin slab of clay onto a mold, trimming off the edges, and then wrapping the clay for the diamond-shaped foot around the mold and attaching it to the body — a technique popular from the 1650s to 1660s. The touches of color were applied over the finished blue-and-white dish — a decorative technique achieved by the first-generation Kakiemon. The design of separated clouds and criss-crossing lines was popular during the 1640s, and disappeared in the 1650s.



Ai Kutani type blue-and-white dish in shape of flowering quince, with ox and arabesque decoration, dating to ca. 1650–60. Width, 17.0 x 11.2 cm; height, 2.3 cm; foot, 12.8 x 7.0 cm. Shibata Collection. Kyushu Ceramic Museum, Saga.

This cobalt blue Old Kutani dish features most of the same characteristics found on polychrome Old Kutani ware — its shape, the combtooth marks decorating its underside, and the foot which is in the shape of an acute-angled inverted triangle.



Blue-and-white dish with intense indigo background and design of brushwood fence and snow, dating to ca. 1650–60. Diameter, 14.3 cm; height, 2.8 cm; diameter of foot, 8.4 cm. Shibata Collection. Kyushu Ceramic Museum, Saga.

This striking piece resembles Nabeshima ware; however, shards exactly matching this style of dish were unearthed at an Old Kutani kiln site, proving this to be an example of Old Kutani ware.

Fuyō-de type polychrome enameled shallow bowl with design of butterflies and peonies surrounded by linked hexagons. [Right, top view; below, bottom view] Early Edo period. Important Cultural Property. Diameter, 40.5 cm; height, 8.5 cm; diameter of foot, 20.9 cm. Umezawa Memorial Gallery, Tokyo.

This representative piece dates to the era when such large pieces were being produced for the European market, and is in the style known in Japan as *fuyō-de*, characterized by a border filled in with geometric designs. The abundant use of purple is another common feature of the Old Kutani ware of this era.







Kakiemon-style polychrome enameled dish with design of pair of birds and pine, bamboo, and flowering plums, dating to ca. 1680–90. Diameter, 24.1 cm; height, 4.0 cm; diameter of foot, 16.2 cm. Shibata Collection. Kyushu Ceramic Museum, Saga.

This is a classic example of Kakiemon-style polychrome ware. Such examples, whose polychrome designs were based upon designs developed for blue-and-white wares, were only produced during the short period from the Jōkyō era (1684–88) to the early Genroku era (1688–1704), and mostly comprise medium to small sized dishes and bowls.

Old Kutani Ware: A Product of the Imari Kilns

Yabe Yoshiaki

Old Kutani ware, with its brightly colored overglaze enamels thickly applied on a white porcelain ground, is very much like an oil painting. The visual impact is a powerful one, and many people would agree that Old Kutani represents some of the best of Japanese ceramics, . . . or even of all Japanese art. Yet, at the same time, this very intensity of Old Kutani ware seems incompatible with the aesthetics of Japanese traditional crafts.

古九谷

Interestingly enough, there is a theory that Old Kutani is not a product of its namesake, the Kutani kilns in Ishikawa Prefecture, but is actually a type of Imari ware produced in Arita, Saga Prefecture. This theory may seem radical, but it has been around for nearly two centuries.

伊万里

The district of Enuma in which the village of Kutani is located was, in the Edo period, a part of the Daishōji domain. In his *Bakkei Kibun*, written in 1803, the Enuma magistrate, Tsukatani Sawaemon, reports finding shards at the site of a Kutani kiln — shards which “one knowledgeable in such things declares to be different from what is known as Kutani ware.”

麦畑紀聞

塚谷沢右衛門

Tsukatani's finding was completely forgotten until 1938, when Kitahara Daisuke of the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum (the present-day Tokyo National Museum) came to the same conclusion after a dig at the site of a Kutani kiln. He too discovered that the shards were completely different from Old Kutani ware. This convinced Kitahara that Old Kutani was actually Imari ware, a theory that was also accepted by his successor at the Tokyo National Museum, Takasu Toyoji. Takasu was a native of Arita, and he took Kitahara's theory one step further by declaring that there was a strong probability that Old Kutani ware had been manufactured at the Yambeta kiln in Arita.

北原大輔

鷹巢豊治

山辺田窯

Translated and adapted, by permission, from the article “*Ko-Kutani wa Imari-yaki no Seihin de aru*” appearing in the July, 1993 issue of *Tankō* (Tankōsha Publishing Co, Kyoto).

By the mid-1950s, Soame Jenyns of the British Museum was asserting that what was known as Old Kutani included enameled porcelain Imari ware made for export to Europe in the 1660s. The most outspoken proponent of the Imari-ware theory in the next decade was an Osaka doctor named Yamashita Sakurō, who would later be one of the driving forces behind the archeological excavation of Imari kiln sites.

The issue is a simple one having nothing to do with theory or interpretation: Where was Old Kutani ware made? This question can and has been answered by excavating kiln sites and studying the shards. A lot of Old Kutani shards have been found at porcelain kiln sites in Arita, while none have been found at the Kutani kiln. Two additional findings clinch the argument. First, a formal excavation of the Yambeta kiln site in Arita, made over a four-year period beginning in 1972, came up with Old Kutani porcelains, both plain and decorated with overglaze enamels. Second, colored Old Kutani ware was found mixed in with a large number of Kakiemon-style pieces discovered within the former Kitajima estate, a family of porcelain painters of the Akae district in Arita.

The Source of Misunderstanding

For all intents and purposes, the issue of Old Kutani's origins is a mere question of fact that has long since been answered. Objective analysis can only conclude that there is no need for further debate. Yet the mistaken assumption that Old Kutani was made at Kutani persists, representing a classical and understandable case of sentiment overruling reason.

One factor that seems to support the Kutani kiln theory is the existence in Ishikawa Prefecture of an Old Kutani-style ware first produced by the Yoshidaya kiln, built in 1823 by a wealthy Daishōji merchant named Yoshidaya Den'emon (d. 1827). Yoshidaya adhered to the conventional theory that Old Kutani was a product of Ishikawa Prefecture, despite the assertions by Tsukatani and others that the factual evidence did not support this theory. He even went to the trouble of building his kiln right next to the site of the Kutani kiln. However, the inconvenient remoteness of the Kutani village made him later move the kiln to the more accessible Yamashiro Hot Springs district. The decline of the two leading styles of Imari ware — the Old Kutani style originating in the 1650s which Yoshidaya hoped to capitalize upon, and the Kakiemon style of the 1660s — appeared to reinforce Yoshidaya's belief that Old Kutani was a product of the Kutani kiln.

Old Kutani ware had enjoyed considerable domestic popularity, while the Kakiemon style made a conquest of Europe. Strangely enough, both styles generated imitations, Old Kutani copies being made in Ishikawa Prefecture, and Kakiemon clones being fired at Meissen in Germany and at other kilns throughout Europe.

Despite their being widely imitated, however, the originals declined in quality and quantity sometime between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Why? What brought about the demise of Old Kutani and Kakiemon-style ware when they had once been so popular in their respective markets of Japan and Europe? One convincing explanation is that they were supplanted by an elaborate gold-painted Imari porcelain ware known as *kinran-de*, which was very well received in both Japan and Europe. The finding at the aforementioned excavation of the former Kitajima estate in Arita of a thick layer of *kinran-de* shards atop layers of Old Kutani and Kakiemon-style pieces clearly testifies to this fact.

金欄手

The Yoshidaya kiln never did very well, and in 1831 it was sold to another merchant house, Miyamotoya. Under the direction of Iidaya Hachirōemon (d. 1849), Miyamotoya began producing colorful overglaze *kinran-de* ware which proved a hit and became the foundation of a successful business. Clearly, it had not been enough to simply imitate a style that had been popular in the past. Still, Yoshidaya's attempt to revive the Old Kutani style led to coexisting traditions within Ishikawa Prefecture of both Old Kutani and *kinran-de*-style wares, which continues to this day.

宮本屋

飯田屋八郎右衛門

What it boils down to is this: the idea that Old Kutani ware originated at the Kutani kiln was founded in the misperceptions of Yoshidaya Den'emon and other local people. Given that their misunderstanding had to have had its roots in an even older, conventional assumption, one can conclude that the Kutani-kiln theory has held strong in Ishikawa Prefecture, at least, for more than two centuries. It is not easy to give up a pet theory that has been adhered to for so long, even in the face of factual evidence to the contrary.

The Originality of the Old Kutani Style

The Old Kutani and Kakiemon styles of Imari ware are like siblings, Old Kutani being the elder of the two. It is presently believed that the Imari technique of overglaze enamel decoration on white porcelain was first developed sometime shortly before 1647. Records of the Sakaida family verify that the famous Sakaida Kakiemon (1596–1666)

酒井田柿右衛門

played a central part in the new technique's development at a time when the mass production of blue-and-white Early Imari ware had just gotten underway. The first Kakiemon finally succeeded in creating overglaze-enamel ware after careful study of Chinese overglaze techniques.

A further impetus to the development of Imari ware was the European market. Beginning in 1659, the Dutch East India Company purchased Imari ware in large lots to be imported to Europe. The Kakiemon-style overglaze enamel porcelains found in the West today date from this period. Imari porcelain attained a remarkable level of perfection in the roughly twelve years between 1847 and 1859. The question is, what happened to overglaze enamel ware during this same period. Shards of early overglaze enamel ware and of Early Imari blue-and-white ware with overglaze enamel decoration, and written records from the 1650s, point to the existence of a restrained red overglaze decoration in the Old Kutani style.

It is not surprising that the overglaze enamel style for the domestic market should have developed first, and the overglaze enamel style for overseas markets, second. From the beginning, the Old Kutani and Kakiemon styles were defined by their markets, each of the two types of Imari ware reflecting different responses to different demands and different historical developments.

Still, these two similar yet different styles trace their beginnings to the same source: the overglaze enamel porcelain ware of the unofficial kilns in Jingdezhen (Jp., Keitokuchin), China. The Jingdezhen porcelains imported into Europe in the 1650s have two distinct features of decorative composition and coloring. The first is a decorative style known as *mado-e*, in which pictures are painted within the framework of a geometric pattern. The other is a filling-in of all blank space with a geometric pattern. The Kakiemon and Old Kutani-style wares of the 1660s can be broadly divided into these two types, the *mado-e* style of ornamentation popularly referred to as *gosai-de*, and the other style, referred to as *ao-te*. Old Kutani-style ware attained full maturity only after 1659, when the Dutch demanded copies of Jingdezhen overglaze enamel porcelain.

This alone, however, is not enough to explain the creative vigor and boldness of Old Kutani decoration. What is important here is the degree to which Old Kutani elaborated upon its Chinese model. No one is so lacking in eye as to dismiss Old Kutani as a mere imitation of Jingdezhen ware. Old Kutani reflects the ambitious determination of the Imari potters to create a unique Japanese style of overglaze enamel decoration.

Of the reference items that I have at hand, there is a large *ao-te* bowl with a box inscribed "Hōei 1 (1704), twenty-fifth day of the fifth month.

景德鎮

窓絵

五彩手
青手

One large Kōchi bowl." So far, this is the oldest recorded date for this kind of ware that I have come across. The inscription also verifies that the Old Kutani ware of this period was also known by other names such as Kōchi ware. Another name for it was Nankin ware.

交趾焼 南京焼

In addition to the above-mentioned inscription, a number of other factors, such as the fact that a style of *ao-te* bowl known as a *kabuto-bachi*, resembling an upside down helmet, started to become popular at the end of the seventeenth century, have led me to conclude that Old Kutani-style ware ceased to be made soon after the first couple of decades of the eighteenth century. Counting from the 1650s, this means the ware was produced over a span of seventy years or so.

兜鉢

Finally, I would like to conclude with a number of indications that Old Kutani ware is increasingly being defined as a style of Imari ware within the context of Japanese ceramic history. Two years ago (1991), in April, the Tokyo National Museum, where I work, held a special exhibition entitled "Overglaze Enamel Porcelain in the Old Kutani Style of Imari Ware." Archeological evidence and a careful study of decorative style seemed more than sufficient evidence to support the conviction of my precursors that Old Kutani was a product of the Imari kilns. No one stepped forward to refute our claim, and the exhibit ended without incident.

Last year (1992), in November, the Nishi Nippon newspaper company put on a retrospective exhibit of Early Arita ware at Iwataya in the city of Kurume. Here, too, Old Kutani was given its proper place as a style of Imari ware. I have also heard that the Kyushu Ceramic Museum has classified its Old Kutani pieces as Old Kutani-style Imari ware.



Translated by Susan Murata

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF PORCELAIN STYLES IN CHINA AND JAPAN

WEST CHINA JAPAN		1600 Wanli 28 Keichō 5	1610 Wanli 38 Keichō 15	1620 Wanli 48 Genna 6	1630 Chongzhen 3 Kan'ei 7	1640 Chongzhen 13 Kan'ei 17	1650 Shunzhi 7 Keian 3	1660 Shunzhi 17 Manji 3
CHINA	SWATOW (GOSU)			Swatow ¹ blue-and-white			1653	1661
				Swatow aka-e ²			1653	
	JINGDEZHEN (KEITOKUCHIN)	1600	fuyo-de ³ blue-and-white				1653	
				1621 old blue-and-white ⁴	1636 Nanjing ⁵ blue-and-white	1648		transitional
				1621 Tenkei aka-e	1636 Nanjing aka-e	1648		transitional
					1634 Shonzui ⁸	1645 1648		
					1634 Shonzui iro-e ⁹	1645 1648		
JAPAN	EARLY IMARI		1616	Early Imari		1645		
	OLD KUTANI					1646	ai Kutani	
						1646	iro-e Kutani	
	EXPORT WARES					1646	1653 fuyo-de blue-and-white	
							late Ming aka-e copies	iro-e fuyo-de
	WHITE PORCELAIN				foundations for white porcelain production		1655 early white porcelain	1661
	KAKIEMON							
	OLD IMARI							
	NABE-SHIMA				mainly celadon	modified blue-and-white celadon		old Nabe-shima

	1670	1680	1690	1700	1710	1720	1730	1740	1750
hi 17 ji 3	Kangxi 9 Emperor 10	Kangxi 19 Empō 8	Kangxi 29 Genroku 3	Kangxi 39 Genroku 13	Kangxi 49 Hōei 7	Kangxi 59 Kyōhō 5	Yongzheng 8 Kyōhō 15	Qianlong 5 Gembun 5	Qianlong 15 Kan'en 3
1661									
ditional	1672								
ditional	1672	Early Qing <i>somenishiki-te</i> ⁷							
		1680		Kangxi official blue-and white		1723	Yongzheng	1736	Qianlong
		1680		Kangxi official <i>somenishiki</i> · <i>gosai-te</i>			<i>gosai</i> · <i>funsai</i> ¹⁰		
	1672								
	1670								
ue-and-w			1690	large ware for European market			1735		
ro-e fuyō	1672	export <i>gosai</i> -style	1690						
61		Southeast Asia and Middle East	1690	large blue-and-white and Western tableware for European market			1735		
e	1665	1672	unglazed white porcelain	1690	large white porcelain ware	1703			
	1672		1690	blue-and-white Kakiemon					
	<i>somenishiki</i> Kakiemon	1684	<i>iro-e</i> Kakiemon	1703	<i>somenishiki</i> Kakiemon				
				Akai-machi ¹¹ Kakiemon					
			1690	old Imari export ware					1757
				old Imari domestic ware					
	1672		1690	blue-and-white Imari					
old Nabesh	1675	circular <i>somenishiki</i>	1690	1700	maturation of Nabeshima ware				

Adapted from chart in *Rokushō* no. 1 (1990 Autumn), pp. 48–49.
Notes, on the reverse page, are by the editor.

CHART NOTES

¹ In Japan, the ware known in the West as Swatow ware is called *gosu* 呉須.

² *Aka-e*, literally meaning "red-decorated" ware, is a Japanese term referring generally to porcelain ware featuring polychrome, but predominantly red, overglaze enamel decoration. *Aka-e* Swatow ware features predominantly red sketched designs on the blue-and-white Swatow ware.

³ *Fuyō-de* 芙蓉手 is the Japanese name for a style of ware produced in the Jingdezhen area mostly during the Wanli (1573–1619) and Chongzhen (1628–44) eras, whose decoration consists of a central circular area surrounded by radiating panels divided into small panels, altogether resembling the petals of the *fuyō*, a kind of rose mallow. Wares of this description are more commonly known in Europe as kraak ware.

⁴ Old blue-and-white, or *ko sometsuke* in Japanese, is also known in Japan as Tenkei *sometsuke*. Tenkei is the Japanese pronunciation of the Tianqi era (1621–27) in the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644), when this ware was first produced.

⁵ Nanjing (Jp., Nankin) ware refers to the wares imported from China to Japan during the Edo period, when the city of Nanjing was major in the relations between the two countries.

⁶ In the Kangxi era (1662–1722), during the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), the Jingdezhen kilns were formally designated official kilns. The products of these official kilns during this era are called Kangxi (Jp., Kōki) ware, and are also referred to as Zang *yao* ware.

⁷ The ware referred to as *somenishiki* in Japan is characterized by its combining of underglaze blue motifs and polychrome enameled decoration. The suffix *-te* (*-de*) means "style" or "mode."

⁸ Shonzui ware takes its name from the Japanese reading of Xiangrui 祥瑞, the name of a Jingdezhen potter who was active from the mid Chongzhen era (1628–44) to the Shunzhi era (1644–61). Shonzui ware was basically produced for the Japanese market.

⁹ The Japanese term *iro-e* literally means "color-decorated" ware. Shonzui *iro-e* features decoration in overglaze colored enamels on the blue-and-white Shonzui ware.

¹⁰ *Gosai* (Ch., *wucai*; literally, "five-color" ware) is a general term referring to polychrome enameled ware. As opposed to *somenishiki*, *gosai* wares lack the outlines in underglaze blue. Qing-dynasty enameled wares are classified into two types: plain *gosai*, known in the West as *famille vert*, and *funsai* (Ch., *fencai*; literally, "powdered color" ware), known in the West as *famille rose*.

¹¹ In the Kambun era (1661–73), artisans specializing in overglaze enamel decoration of Kutani ware formed a closed community in the town of Akae-machi, in Arita, in order to protect the secrets of their techniques. The Kakiemon wares decorated there were renowned for their high quality.

¹² Matsugatani ware, closely resembling Nabeshima ware, was fired in the private kilns of the head of the Ogi clan.

[Sources: Seizō Hayashiya and Henry Trubner, *Chinese Ceramics from Japanese Collections: Tang through Ming Dynasties*; Masahiko Satō, *Chinese Ceramics: A Short History*.]

Imari Ware: Historical Transitions in Style

Ogi Ichirō

When presented with the terms Imari or Old Imari (*Ko-Imari*), no doubt 伊万里 古伊万里 more than a few people conjure up an image of plates with gaudy overglaze-enamel decoration, or of miscellaneous blue-and-white wares. Such rather graceless items, to be sure, make up one part of the line of Imari ware, but they are by no means representative of the level of artistry that Imari ware truly possesses. Because they were mainly produced during the late Edo period, great quantities survive to this day, however, and so in one respect it may only be inevitable that these kinds of pieces tend to be regarded as the principal output of the Imari kilns. When viewed within the full scope of the Imari-ware tradition, however, it is extremely regrettable that this should be the impression which most people have.

To understand the character of Imari porcelain ware, it is necessary to obtain an overall grasp of the tradition by tracing the stylistic changes which evolved during the course of its history. The purpose of this paper is to do just this — to examine the manner in which Imari porcelain ware developed, beginning from the time of its birth.

The Connection Between Imari Ware and China

Looking over the whole of the Imari porcelain tradition, the influence of China played such a powerful role in its development that it is impossible to theorize about the tradition without giving thought to the connection between Chinese porcelains and Imari ware. Although the

Translated, by permission, from the article "*Imari, Sono Yōshiki no Hensen*" appearing in *Kobijutsu Rokushō* no. 1 (1990), pp. 52–53.

birth of the Imari porcelain industry owed directly to conditions related to the world of ceramics in Yi-dynasty Korea (1392–1636), almost immediately after the first Imari kilns were established, the porcelain techniques of China began to exert a powerful influence over them.

天神森窯

Observing the products of the Tenjingamori kiln, which is believed to have closed down around the year 1637, there are numerous pieces featuring 'sprayed ink' (*fukisumi*) decoration, or which have patterns of fans or chrysanthemums, obviously replicating the porcelains of China. In the next stage, around the 1650s, the Chinese influence extended beyond decorative motifs and techniques, and the Imari kilns began producing large, thinly-crafted platters with wide foots — a style and shape directly based on Chinese models. It is this style of ware that is referred to as Ai Kutani, or Cobalt Kutani. Also around this time, wares decorated with polychrome enamels were produced; however, the decorations were imitations of Chinese designs, and did not reflect any originality on the part of either Korea or the Imari kilns.

藍九谷

Following the Ming Dynasty, China entered the Ching Dynasty. The 1670s, when the new dynasty was about one decade underway and Japan had entered the Empō era (1673–81), is when the Imari kilns gave rise to the Kakiemon style. Clearly, the creative mode characterizing this style was strongly influenced by Ching porcelains.

柿右衛門

The Transitions in Imari Style

If we consider that the history of Imari ware lasted from the Genna era (1615–24) to the end of the Edo period (–1868), it spanned approximately 250 years. During this time, even a rough view of the tradition brings to light three different styles through which it passed, as described hereunder.

Early Imari

The first of the three major styles was that which, of course, is known today as Early Imari (*shoki Imari*). The Imari-ware plates and such of this period had narrow foots, were thickly crafted, and were not biscuit-fired before the glaze was applied. In terms of shape, Early Imari ware takes after Korean wares of this period. The decorative motifs, however, reveal a strong Chinese influence.



Early Imari dish; top and underside. Ai Kutani dish; top and underside. Old Kutani dish; top and underside.

Old Kutani Style

The second stage of development dates to the 1650s, when the Danbagiri kiln and other kilns reveal that wide-footed, thinly-crafted plates and such were being produced. There are some pieces having scalloped rims and/or rust-red rims. Furthermore, dishes and such with foots wrought onto them — that is, which were made of a thin slab of clay that was pressed into shape and then had the foot attached — were also produced. These forms of wares were much different from Early Imari, so there is a clear distinction between the earliest Imari wares and those of the Old Kutani style.

ダンバギリ窯

Among the pieces which fall under the rubric of Old Kutani, there are two main types: the high quality blue-and-white pieces referred to as Ai Kutani, and the pieces decorated with polychrome enamels, which are called Old Kutani.

This group of wares not only differs immensely from the style seen in Early Imari, but also from that characterizing Kakiemon ware, Nabeshima ware, and other such Imari products. Because of this, it was formerly believed that they could not have been produced by the Imari kilns, and that they were, rather, products of the Kutani kilns in Kaga, present-day Ishikawa Prefecture. In other words, the stylistic difference was so dramatic that it was thought that these pieces were the products of a different locale.

The progress from Early Imari ware to Ai Kutani and the polychrome Old Kutani style resulted from the Imari craftsmen's aspiration towards the late Ming porcelains of China, their intensified efforts to imitate the style, and their eventual attainment of that goal. Close examination of the foots, the circular underglaze-blue lines, the glaze, the makers' seals, the decorative designs, and other elements shows that the wares are extremely similar to late Ming wares. It is quite apparent that the Old Kutani style pieces were created by carefully imitating the late Ming porcelain ware techniques.

Kakiemon Style

The transition in style which represents the third stage of Imari development occurred around the Empō era. Close examination of shards excavated from the Kakiemon B kiln site reveals some fascinating evidence. This kiln is believed to have been established during the Kambun era (1661–73), and to have closed down sometime before the Genroku era (1688–). The lower stratum of shards includes pieces comparable to extant examples of the wares referred to as Ai Kutani. Tsuchioka Kyūkei [Hidetarō], in his work on Ai Kutani ware,* gives a medium-size plate featuring a bird motif as a prime example of this ware. Shards of the same type were unearthed from the bottom layer at the Kakiemon B kiln site.

Gradually, from the middle to the upper strata, however, shards of Ai Kutani style blue-and-white ware diminish, and instead, there are shards of blue-and-white ware of the so-called Kakiemon style. One finds examples of shards featuring motifs of horsetails, sweetfish, quails, deers and red maples, and so on — motifs which today are considered representative of the Kakiemon style.

The excavation at the Kakiemon B kiln site provides conclusive evidence that Ai Kutani style wares witnessed their decline between the late Kambun era and the start of the Genroku era. In their place,

* *Teitōri Ko-Kutani Zutsu* (Tokyo: Sansaisha, n.d.).

Kakiemon style wares came into existence. Viewing the shards unearthed at the Kakiemon B kiln site from the bottom-most stratum and gradually on up, one can distinctly recognize the fact that, following the Ai Kutani style of Imari ware, the Kakiemon style, strongly reflecting the influence of Ching porcelain, was produced.

To recapitulate, the Imari porcelain ware tradition began with Early Imari wares — that is, the wares produced from the time of the kiln's establishment. Then, around the 1650s, wares resembling late Ming porcelains in form — thinly-crafted pieces with wide foots, rich in elegance — began to be produced. Among these, the high quality blue-and-white pieces are now labeled Ai Kutani. Reaching the Empō era, Imari progressed from Ai Kutani to the Kakiemon style.

As for Imari porcelains decorated in polychrome enamels, it is possible to trace a parallel course of development. In the period following Early Imari, in other words the period when Ai Kutani production began, there also arose the production of porcelain ware decorated in polychrome enamels. Following this, around the early Kambun era, there began the production of the widely-known wares representing the early export pieces of polychrome Imari.

Though the technique employed for these was in the style of Old Kutani, and hence this class of wares retained qualities faithful to its namesake, the hues were deep, the use of red was abundant, and the pieces revealed a nearly translucent white quality of clay resembling Kakiemon ware, which arose later. This is to say that this class of wares crossed between Old Kutani polychrome ware and Kakiemon ware. After this, reaching the Empō era, the development of the representative style of Kakiemon was accomplished.

Old Kutani: The Early Polychrome Enamel Imari Ware

Material evidence exists today, confirming that it was the Imari kilns that were the producers of Old Kutani polychrome porcelain ware. For example, large quantities of comparable shards have been unearthed at the Yambeta kiln site and other Imari kiln sites, and scientific analysis of the clay has proven that extant Old Kutani wares are composed of Imari clay. Furthermore, it seems conclusive, from the excavation of the Yambeta kiln site, that overglaze polychrome Old Kutani began to be produced from between the end of the Kan'ei era (1624–44) to the Shōhō era (1644–48).

山辺田窯

In reflection, it seems possible to say that the wares referred to as Old Kutani represent a class of ceramic ware that enjoyed a rare fate. Today, as far as material evidence is concerned, the fact that this ware was a product of Imari, and that its production began following the Early Imari stage, seems irrefutable. Nonetheless, because this ware was long believed to be a product of the Kutani kiln in Kaga, it received the name Kutani, and was not included in the sphere of Imari ware.

Because of this, the chronology of the Imari porcelain tradition is acutely warped. It is generally considered that the earliest overglaze polychrome enamel wares were the export Imari wares featuring this kind of decoration, dating to the early Kambun era. These export wares are regarded as having predated the Old Kutani colored wares. Furthermore, regardless of the fact that there existed Ai Kutani, representing a special style of blue-and-white ware, it was considered that a colored ware of comparable quality did not exist. A great many such inconsistencies have circulated.

Owing to recent developments in the investigation of Old Kutani ware, however, the fact that Old Kutani polychrome enamel wares were produced at the Imari kilns has begun to be recognized, and so it has at last become possible to formulate an accurate chronology of the Imari porcelain tradition.



Translated by Gretchen Mittwer

Frank Lloyd Wright and Okakura Tenshin: On the Social and Aesthetic 'Ideals of the East'

Kevin Nute

The leading American architect Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959), who spent several years in Japan during the early part of this century, was well known as an enthusiastic admirer of Japanese art, and particularly woodblock prints, of which he became an important collector (Figure 1).¹ While Wright always insisted that Japanese buildings had no direct influence on his own designs, he openly acknowledged the general aesthetic lessons of Japanese art and architecture. Yet, despite Wright's repeated attempts to explain the philosophical link between his own work and Japanese aesthetic ideals, this relationship has remained far from well understood — a situation which this paper is intended to go some way toward rectifying.

Wright's most explicit acknowledgment of a link between his work and Far Eastern thought actually centered on the celebrated Chinese philosopher, Lao-tzu (Laotse), and in particular his famous statement that the essence of a house lay in the void which it enclosed rather than in its material form. Towards the end of his career, for example, Wright explained:

Many people have wondered about an Oriental quality they see in my work. I suppose it is true that when we speak of organic architecture, we are speaking of something that is more Oriental than Western. The answer is: my work is, in that deeper philosophical sense, Oriental. These ideals have not been common to the whole people of the Orient; but there was Laotse, for instance. Our society has never known the deeper Taoist mind. The Orientals must

¹ On Wright's appreciation of the woodblock print, see his own book, Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Japanese Print: An Interpretation* (Chicago: The Ralph Fletcher Seymour Press, 1912). For my own views on the subject, see Kevin Nute, "Frank Lloyd Wright and the Woodblock Print: The Geometric Abstraction of Natural, Manmade and Social Forms." *Andon: Bulletin of the Society for Japanese Arts*, no. 45 (1993), pp. 3-14.

have had a sense of it, whatever may have been their consideration for it, and they instinctively built that way. Their instinct was right. So this gospel of organic architecture still has more in sympathy and in common with Oriental thought than it has with any other thing the West has ever confessed.

... The civilizations of India, Persia, China and Japan are all based on the same central source of cultural inspiration, chiefly Buddhist. ... But it is not so much the principles of this faith which underlie organic architecture, as the faith of Laotse — the Chinese philosopher — his annals preserved in Tibet. But I became conscious of these only after I had found and built it for myself. ...

... Although Laotse, as far as we know, first enunciated the philosophy, it probably preceded him but was never built by him or any Oriental. The idea of organic architecture that the reality of the building lies in the space within to be lived in, the feeling that we must not enclose ourselves in an envelope which is the building, is not alone Oriental. Democracy, proclaiming the integrity of the individual *per se*, had the feeling if not the words.²

However, although he freely acknowledged the precedent, Wright was careful to make the point that he had developed his own *spatial* concept of architecture long before first learning of Lao-tzu's comments on the subject — via Okakura Tenshin's (Kakuzō) influential work, *The Book of Tea* (1906), sometime during the 1920s. As he later explained:

For a long time, I thought I had 'discovered' it, only to find after all that this idea of the interior space being the reality of the building was ancient and Oriental. It came to me quite naturally from my Unitarian ancestry and the Froebelian kindergarten training in the deeper primal sense of the form of the interior or heart of the appearance of 'things'. ...

When pretty well puffed up by this I received a little book by Okakura Kakuzō, entitled *The Book of Tea*, sent to me by the ambassador from Japan to the United States. Reading it, I came across this sentence: 'The reality of a room was to be found in the space enclosed by the roof and walls, not in the roof and walls themselves.'³

² Wright, "The Philosophy and the Deed," *The Natural House* (1954), reprinted ed. (London: Pitman and Sons, 1971), pp. 218-220.

³ Wright, *The Natural House* (1971 ed.), p. 220. Wright was paraphrasing Okakura's interpretation of Lao-tzu in *The Book of Tea*, where he had explained: "He [Lao-tzu] claimed that only in vacuum lay the truly essential. The reality of a room, for instance, was to be found in the vacant space enclosed by the roof and walls, not in the roof and walls themselves." Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1906), reprinted ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), p. 24.



Fig. 1: The Imperial Hotel team, Tokyo, ca. 1920. Of the seated figures, Wright is fifth from the right. (Courtesy of the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation)

Through his personal link with Okakura Tenshin's former teacher at the Imperial University of Tokyo, the leading turn-of-the-century American advocate of Japanese art, Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), Wright would probably have been aware of Okakura earlier than most Americans.⁴ It seems likely, then, that Wright would have taken an interest in Okakura's two popular books on Far Eastern aesthetics, *The Ideals of the East* (1903) and *The Book of Tea*, which were written in English specifically for a Western readership.⁵ In fact, not long after their publication both of these titles were enthusiastically reviewed by Wright's close friend and fellow Japanese art collector from Chicago, Frederick W. Gookin (1853–1936).⁶ However, Wright later gave the impression that he knew nothing of Okakura's famous *Book of Tea* until some fifteen years after its initial appearance, having explained during one of his subsequent talks to his apprentices:

⁴ Wright's first employer in Chicago, the Shingle-Style architect Joseph Lyman Silsbee, was Ernest Fenollosa's cousin. For more on this relationship and its implications for Wright's interpretation of Japanese art, see Kevin Nute, "Frank Lloyd Wright and Japanese Art: Ernest Fenollosa, the Missing Link," *Architectural History: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, no. 34 (1991), pp. 224–230.

⁵ In July 1903 Okakura published his first book in English, *The Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (London: John Murray, 1903). The following April he took up the post of adviser on Chinese and Japanese art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and in November of that year his second book appeared: *The Awakening of Japan* (New York: The Century Company, 1904). Two years later he produced his most famous work, *The Book of Tea* (1906), which, despite its name, set out the fundamental aesthetic ideals underlying Japanese art in general.

⁶ Frederick W. Gookin, "The Ideals of the East," *The Dial* (Chicago) 38, no. 446 (16 January 1905): pp. 39–41. *Idem*, "The Cult of the Cha-jin," *The Dial* (Chicago) 41, no. 485 (1 September 1906): pp. 105–106.

Later on I hit it. By way of a little book sent to me by the Japanese ambassador to America by Okakura Kakuzō — a little 'Book of Tea.' This was about nineteen . . . oh, Taliesin was well along — it must have been nineteen twenty . . . something. And in that little Book of Tea I found Laotze — strange to say, I knew nothing about Laotze when I was in Japan. But now, I found this dictum of that great philosopher . . . in which he declared the reality of the building was not the roof and walls but was the space within to be lived in — and I'd been building it — without knowing anything . . . of the existence of this philosophy, at all. It was my aim — you could see it in Unity Temple, it began in the Larkin Building.⁷

Yet if, as Wright suggested, he developed the concept of architecture as essentially *spatial* independently of any awareness of Lao-tzu, his admitted sensitivity on the subject of *The Book of Tea* would seem to have been unnecessarily defensive. During a lecture in 1954, for example, he recalled:

In it [*The Book of Tea*] I read this — the reality of the building does not consist of the four walls and the roof but in the space to be lived in! . . . I came down like a sail coming down. . . . Why . . . after all . . . 500 years before Jesus — Lao-tse! What to do now? Where to go from here? I couldn't destroy the book. . . . I mean . . . I knew I couldn't hide! I knew the damned thing had to come out!⁸

Indeed, but by implying that he first read Lao-tzu's comments on the subject only after he had already completed several buildings expressing the concept, Wright could of course still claim to have developed it independently. This was supported by his suggestion that he knew nothing of Laotze during his time in Japan, i.e. before his final departure from there in 1922. Yet this appears to have been in direct contradiction of his earlier statement that "Japan was the gateway to that great East of which I had been dreaming since I had seen my first Japanese prints — and read my first Laotze,"⁹ apparently implying that he was familiar with Lao-tzu well before his first visit to Japan in 1905. Since we know that he had seen his first woodblock prints by the mid-1890s at the latest, this would seem to suggest that he was aware of Lao-tzu from a similarly early stage, and hence probably even before the appearance of Okakura's *Book of Tea* in May 1906.

7 Wright, "Japanese Culture," tape transcript, Taliesin, 5 February 1956. © The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation.

8 Wright in a lecture at the University of Oklahoma in 1954, as reprinted in Patrick J. Meehan, ed., *The Master Architect: Conversations with Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1984), p. 178.

9 Wright, *An Autobiography* (London: Faber and Faber and Hyperion Press, 1945), p. 191.

There were actually a number of places where Wright could have learned of Lao-tzu before this date. Okakura himself had discussed Taoist philosophy in general terms in his earlier book, *The Ideals of the East*, and in a subsequently published speech at the 1904 St. Louis Universal Exposition he specifically referred to Lao-tzu's concept of the house as essentially a 'useful void,' having declared: "Laotse, in his supreme adoration of the Unspeakable, has pointed out that the reality of a house is not in the roof nor the walls, but in the spaces which it creates."¹⁰

There were also several translations of Lao-tzu's *Tao Te Ching* available in America at this time, and although, according to Okakura at least, most of these failed to do justice to the original, the one which he singled out for praise in *The Book of Tea* was actually written in Chicago, Paul Carus's *Tao Teh King* having appeared in serial form as early as 1896 in his Chicago-based journal, the *Open Court*.¹¹ Indeed, if, as Wright suggested, he first became aware of Lao-tzu via Okakura's *Book of Tea*, one would have expected him to have used Okakura's spelling of his name, "Laotse." Yet in his earliest references to the old philosopher, Wright used the spelling "Laotze" — as it had appeared in Paul Carus's 1898 translation.¹²

More importantly, Carus had anticipated Okakura's spatial interpretation of Lao-tzu's concept of void,¹³ and indeed might even have influenced it, having translated Lao-tzu's famous principle of 'non-being' thus:

THE FUNCTION OF THE NON-EXISTENT

Thirty spokes unite in one nave and on that which is non-existent (on the hole in the nave) depends the wheel's utility. Clay is moulded into a vessel and on that which is non-existent (on its hollowness) depends the vessel's utility. By cutting out doors and windows we build a house and on that which is non-existent (on the empty space) depends the house's utility.¹⁴

¹⁰ Kakuzo Okakura, "Modern Problems in Painting," address delivered at the 1904 St. Louis Universal Exposition, recorded in Howard J. Rogers, ed., *Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904*, vol. 3. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1906), as reprinted in *Okakura Kakuzo: Collected English Writings*, ed. Sunao Nakamura, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha Ltd., 1984), vol. 2, p. 65.

¹¹ Okakura commented: "We should like to call attention to Dr. Paul Carus's admirable translation of 'Tao-te Ching.' The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1898." *The Book of Tea* (1906 ed.), p. 48, footnote. The work in question was Paul Carus, *Lao-Tze's Tao Teh King* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1898).

¹² In his autobiography, for example, Wright explained: "... coming home from the land of Lao-tze and Tao, Zen and Bushido, I went to work for the Christians in Hollywood for a time." *An Autobiography* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938), p. 225.

¹³ For Okakura's spatial interpretation of Lao-tzu's void, see note 3 above.

¹⁴ Paul Carus, *Lao-Tze's Tao Teh King*, pp. 101-102. The interpretations in parentheses appear in Carus's original translation in square brackets.

Carus's phrase "the hole in the nave" may be significant, since it also has architectural connotations of course, and these would probably not have been lost on someone as imaginative as Wright. Indeed, Wright described the Larkin Building and Unity Temple as having been deliberate expressions of the concept of 'space as reality,'¹⁵ later even acknowledging the fact on a rendering of the interior of Unity Temple.¹⁶ And having both been planned around central nave-like spaces with open ceilings, architecturally these forms would seem to have encapsulated the idea of the hole in the nave (Figures 2 and 3).

Whether Wright derived it from Carus or from Okakura, who, as we have seen, both translated Lao-tzu's concept of void in terms of empty, or vacant space, as Arata Isozaki has pointed out, Wright himself interpreted Lao-tzu's void as implying the positive entity *space*, as opposed to the negation, or non-being, which it is traditionally taken to mean. And while it was perfectly valid for Wright, as an artist, to have interpreted Lao-tzu in his own terms, this actually serves to highlight a fundamental difference between Wright's work and

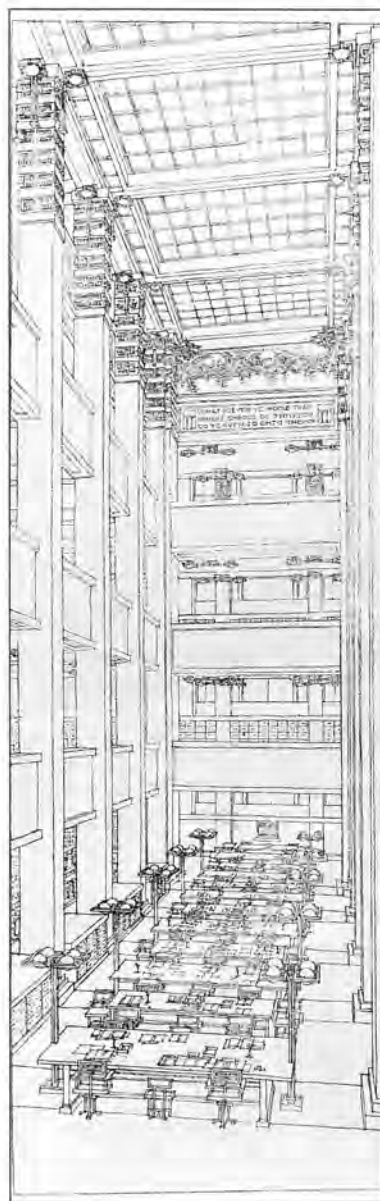


Fig. 2: The 'hole in the nave' of Wright's Larkin Building, Buffalo, New York, 1904.

¹⁵ Wright suggested: "The first conscious expression of which I know in modern architecture of this *new reality* — the 'space within to be lived in' — was Unity Temple . . ." Wright, *A Testament* (New York: Horizon Press, 1957), p. 224. For Wright's comments on the Larkin Building, see for example the tape transcript passage which I have quoted at the top of p. 10 above.

¹⁶ However, as Neil Levine has pointed out, Wright's annotation on the Unity Temple rendering was added well after the building was complete. See "Frank Lloyd Wright's Own Houses and His Changing Concept of Representation," *The Nature of Frank Lloyd Wright*, eds. Bolon, Nelson, and Seidel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 66, note 42. And as Jack Quinan has shown, there were several direct architectural precedents for the atrium form of the Larkin Building. See Jack Quinan, *Frank Lloyd Wright's Larkin Building: Myth and Fact* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), pp. 33-40.

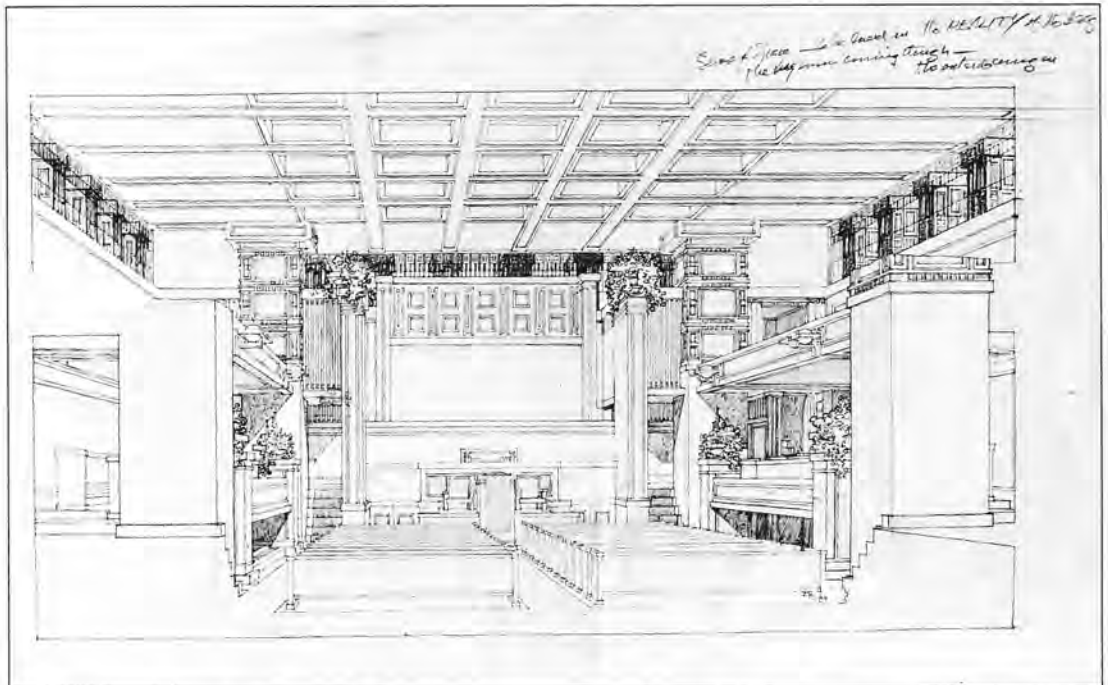


Fig. 3: Wright's acknowledgement of Lao-tzu's concept of void on his rendering of the Unity Temple interior. The inscription reads: "Sense of Space — to be lived in, the REALITY of the bldg. The big room coming through — the outside coming in." (© 1962 The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation)

traditional Japanese architecture, there having been no real notion of space as a definite object in the latter.¹⁷

As a student of Ernest Fenollosa, the young Okakura had absorbed his teacher's enthusiasm for German idealism, and for that of Hegel in particular. And this seems to have affected not just his view of Western philosophy but also his interpretation of Far Eastern thought. In *The Book of Tea*, for example, Okakura described Lao-tzu's 'Tao' in terms of an apparently Hegelian transcendent spirit manifesting itself in ever-changing material forms, having declared: "It is the spirit of Cosmic Change —

¹⁷ For more on this topic, see David B. Stewart, *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to the Present* (New York: Kodansha International, 1987), pp. 237-39, especially p. 237, where the author discusses Arata Isozaki's suggestion that "Wright, however, did not understand this metaphor, but went about making space his object, trying to physically come to grips with it." Arata Isozaki, "Frank Lloyd Wright's View of Space," in Yukio Futagawa, editor and photographer, and Arata Isozaki, text, *GA 1: Frank Lloyd Wright: Johnson and Son, Administration Building and Research Tower, Racine, Wisconsin. 1936-9* (Tokyo: A.D.A. EDITA, 1970), p. 3. On the same topic, see Neil Levine, "Frank Lloyd Wright's Own Houses and His Changing Concept of Representation," *The Nature of Frank Lloyd Wright*, eds. Bolon, Nelson, and Seidel, p. 66, note 42.

the eternal growth which returns upon itself to produce new forms. . . . It folds and unfolds as do the clouds."¹⁸ Interestingly, Wright appears to have interpreted Lao-tzu's philosophy in terms of a similar 'unfolding spirit,' having explained:

This new sense-of-the-within naturally unfolding, taking form by the culture of art, architecture, philosophy, and religion, natural; all being content to look *within* to the Spirit for the solution of every human problem and, by expanding the means so found, enlarging and achieving new, varied expressions of life on earth—this would be old wisdom, ancient as Lao-tze at least; yet modern.¹⁹

In *The Book of Tea* Okakura described the practice of tea and its architectural container, the *sukiya*, as representing the quintessence of Taoist social and aesthetic ideals, having declared: "A subtle philosophy lay behind it all. Teatism was Taoism in disguise."²⁰ However, the sense of vacancy and the apparently temporary nature of the tearoom were also interpreted as expressing the Buddhist belief that reality lay in the transcendent spirit rather than in its transient material forms; as Okakura explained:

Zennism, with the Buddhist theory of evanescence and its demands for the mastery of spirit over matter, recognised the house only as a temporary refuge for the body. The body itself was but as a hut in the wilderness. . . . In the tea-room fugitiveness is suggested in the thatched roof, frailty in the slender pillars, lightness in the bamboo support, apparent carelessness in the use of commonplace materials. The eternal is to be found only in the spirit which, embodied in these simple surroundings, beautifies them with the subtle light of its refinement.²¹

¹⁸ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 20. Hegel himself was familiar with Lao-tzu's concept of Tao and must have been aware of the parallels with his own Idea, having suggested: "We still have his [Lao Tzu's] principal writings; they are available in Vienna and I have seen them myself. One special passage is frequently quoted from them: 'The nameless *Tao* is the beginning of Heaven and Earth; with a name *Tao* is the Mother of the Universe (All Things). . . . To the Chinese what is highest, the origin of things, is nothingness, emptiness, the altogether undetermined, the abstract universal, and this is also called *Tao*. . . .'" Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, ed. and trans. Elizabeth S. Haldane and Frances Simson, 3 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1892-96), vol. 1, p. 125, as quoted in Chang Chung-yuan, *Creativity and Taoism* (1963), reprinted ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 4. Chang's interpolation in square brackets.

¹⁹ Wright, *The Living City* (1958), reprinted ed. (New York: Mentor, 1963), p. 29.

²⁰ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 18.

²¹ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), pp. 37-38.

It seems that Wright may have combined this metaphysical explanation of the vacancy of the tearoom with Okakura's *spatial* interpretation of Lao-tzu's concept of void, to equate space with spirit, apparently leading him to regard his own 'organic' architectural forms as partial realizations of an unfolding Hegelian spirit, and the space within and around them as the unmanifested component of the same transcendent 'Idea.'

However, despite his acknowledged familiarity with Okakura's explanation of the subject, Wright described chanoyu as an expression of Shinto ethics. Yet in *The Book of Tea* Okakura had clearly explained how the aesthetic principles underlying teaism originally derived from *Taoist* ideals — only mentioning Shinto in relation to the Japanese custom of rebuilding structures at regular intervals.²² More importantly, Okakura had described how, via the design of the *sukiya* and the influence of the revered tea master Sen no Rikyū in particular, Taoist ideals had provided the philosophical basis for the restrained aesthetic of the modern Japanese domestic interior, having explained: "The ideals of Teaism have since the sixteenth century influenced our architecture to such a degree that the ordinary Japanese interior of the present day, on account of the extreme simplicity and chasteness of its scheme of decoration, appears to foreigners almost barren" (Figures 4 and 5).²³ In fact, Wright himself was clearly conscious of this direct link between the aesthetic ideals surrounding chanoyu and the ordinary Japanese domestic interior, and even mentioned Rikyū by name. Yet for some reason he chose to describe these ideals as 'Shinto' rather than Taoist-inspired, having explained in his autobiography:²⁴

'The simplest way with no waste.' That is daily Shinto ceremonial in Japan. . . . You may see this in the most dignified and valued of all Japanese ceremonials — their tea ceremony. All cultured Japanese women, rich or poor, must learn to properly perform the tea ceremony according to cultural rules laid down by the celebrated master-esthete, Rikkyū. . . . In this ceremony the very sense of 'be

²² Okakura's only references to Shinto in *The Book of Tea* were in connection with the tradition of abandoning houses on the death of the head of the family, and the regular rebuilding of religious structures such as the shrine at Ise. See *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 37. He did, however, describe the hygiene emphasized in chanoyu as an expression of wider philosophical principles, having explained: "The Philosophy of Tea is not mere aestheticism in the ordinary acceptance of the term, for it expresses conjointly with ethics and religion our whole point of view about man and nature. It is hygiene, for it enforces cleanliness; it is economics, for it shows comfort in simplicity rather than in the complex and costly; it is moral geometry, inasmuch as it defines our sense of proportion to the universe." *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁴ In fact, Wright was at least partially correct in linking Shinto and the Japanese house. However, it is generally thought that certain forms of Shinto shrine developed from the primitive dwelling rather than *vice versa*, the shrine having been treated as the house of a spirit.

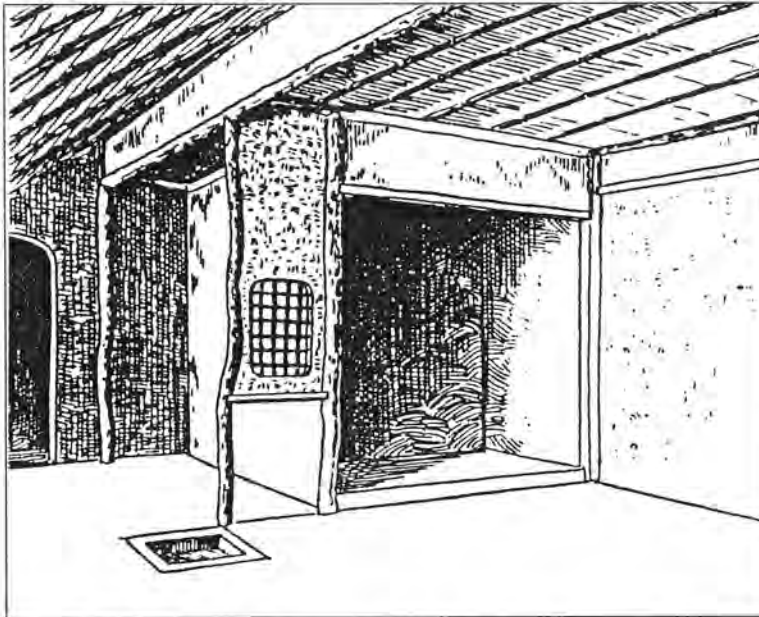


Fig. 4: The 'rustic incompleteness' of the tearoom as it was illustrated by Edward Morse in *Japanese Homes*, 1886.

clean' becomes the spiritual attitude that not only abhors waste as matter out of place — therefore dirt — but places disorder of any sort in the same category.

That attitude prolonged, the West finds unbearable. This practical direct application of their ancient Shinto religion would see most of our domestic arrangements tumbled out of the windows into the street, a rich harvest for some junk man.²⁵

The Shinto religion finally made the Japanese dwelling the cleanest of all clean human things because it is no less *clean* a thing of the spirit. . . . As the centuries went by, every Japanese home whether of the coolie or of the aristocrat has been gradually worked out in this 'be clean' spirit. It is a temple.²⁶

In the light of Okakura's unequivocal statement that "Teaism was Taoism in disguise," it seems that Wright could hardly have made such a significant change unwittingly. Yet by describing chanoyu, and thence by implication the domestic aesthetic which it inspired, as an expression of the native Japanese religion of Shinto, he could, however, dismiss the

²⁵ Wright, *An Autobiography* (New York: Horizon Press, 1977), pp. 221-222.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

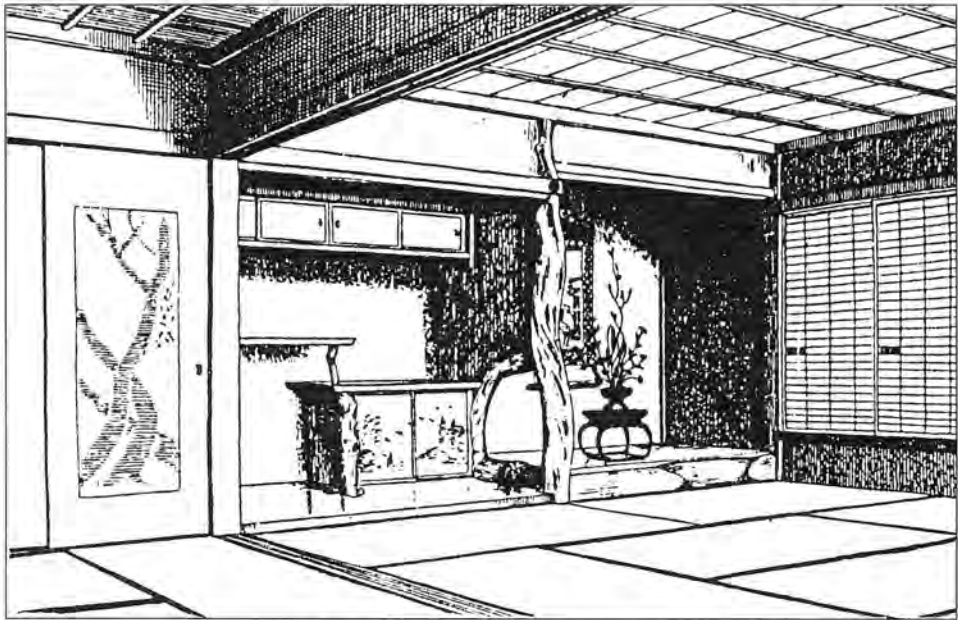


Fig. 5: The domestic style which developed from the aesthetics of the tearoom, as illustrated by Edward Morse in *Japanese Homes*, 1886.

Japanese house as a potential influence on his own work — on the grounds that it was too ‘ethnically eccentric’ to be of any practical value beyond Japan. As he suggested in his autobiography:

We of the West couldn’t live in Japanese houses and shouldn’t. But we *could* live in houses disciplined by an ideal at least as high and fine as this one of theirs — if we went about it for a half century or so. I am sure the West needs this source of inspiration. For once, it can’t very well copy. The ethnic eccentricity is too great. The West can copy nearly everything easier than it can copy the Japanese house. . . .²⁷

Having thus effectively dissociated Taoist ideals from the aesthetics underlying the Japanese domestic interior, Wright could freely acknowledge Lao-tzu and yet still maintain that his own work had no direct connection with Japanese architecture. Indeed, in all his references to the Japanese house and to Lao-tzu’s concept of void, Wright never linked the two, and he even suggested that the latter had never before been

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

deliberately expressed in built form, having recalled his reaction on first learning of the idea as: "After all, who built it? Who put that thought into buildings? [neither] Lao-tse nor anyone had consciously *built* it."²⁸ Yet, as Wright would have known from *The Book of Tea*, as early as the sixteenth century the tea master Rikyū had quite consciously encapsulated Lao-tzu's concept of non-being in the aesthetics of the *sukiya*, Okakura having described the tearoom as "The Abode of Vacancy" — the very quintessence of Lao-tzu's void.²⁹ However, while Wright's suggestion that he was the first to deliberately express Lao-tzu's philosophy architecturally may be questionable, his claim that Unity Temple was the first conscious expression of the concept of 'space as a reality' is certainly more sustainable,³⁰ since, as we have seen, this particular interpretation was based on an essentially *Western* notion of space — as a positive entity.

For Okakura, the social and aesthetic implications of Lao-tzu's philosophy were inextricably linked. Indeed, he described Taoism as "the art of being in the world," and even suggested that its chief contribution to Far Eastern culture had been in the realm of aesthetics,³¹ where, he explained, it had provided the philosophical basis for the aesthetic of 'incompleteness' which had come to characterize Japanese art in particular:

The absence of symmetry in Japanese art objects has been often commented on by Western critics. This, also, is a result of a working out through Zennism of Taoist ideals. . . . The dynamic nature of their philosophy laid more stress upon the process through which perfection was sought than upon perfection itself. True beauty could be discovered only by one who mentally completed the incomplete. The virility of life and art lay in its possibilities for growth.³²

²⁸ Wright, *The Natural House* (1971 ed.), p. 221. In similar vein, Wright suggested: "Well after all who built it? Nobody built it. I was building it! And the buildings were there to prove it. And where were the other buildings to prove it — not the Japanese buildings, even." "Japanese Culture," tape transcript, Taliesin, 5 February 1956. © The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation.

²⁹ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 30. Although certainly not the most common, one of the several interpretations of the word *sukiya* is 'place of emptiness' — from the word *suku* meaning empty or void. For a good explanation of *suku* and of the spatial aspects of the tearoom, see "Spatial Awareness and Creative Subjectivity in the Art of Tea," in Toshihiko and Toyo Izutsu, *The Theory of Beauty in the Classical Aesthetics of Japan* (The Hague, Boston, and London: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 55-61. On the relationship between Lao-tzu's Tao and the 'void-space' of the *sukiya*, see Ching-Yu Chang, "Japanese Spatial Conception—3," *Japan Architect*, no. 326 (June 1984): pp. 65-66, and *idem*, "Japanese Spatial Conception—11," *Japan Architect*, no. 335 (March 1985): pp. 63-67.

³⁰ For an example of Wright's claims on this idea, see note 15 above.

³¹ Okakura suggested: "... the chief contribution of Taoism to Asiatic life has been in the realm of aesthetics. Chinese historians have always spoken of Taoism as the 'art of being in the world'..." *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), pp. 23-24.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

Since Zennism has become the prevailing mode of thought, the art of the extreme Orient has purposely avoided the symmetrical as expressing not only completion, but repetition. Uniformity of design was considered as fatal to the freshness of imagination.³³

The tearoom, then, was presented by Okakura as the quintessential expression of the Taoist conception of life as a never-ending process of 'becoming.' It was, he suggested, "An Abode of the Unsymmetrical inasmuch as it is consecrated to the worship of the Imperfect, purposely leaving something unfinished for the play of the imagination to complete."³⁴ This may have been the source of Wright's similar belief that "the Gods will allow no creative effort of man's to go untested. The Japanese themselves believe them jealous, purposely leaving some glaring fault in a conspicuous place to placate them."³⁵ More importantly, Okakura had directly contrasted the restrained aesthetic of the tearoom with the average Western home of the time, having observed:

The system of decoration in our tea-rooms is opposed to that which obtains in the West, where the interior of a house is often converted into a museum. To a Japanese, accustomed to simplicity of ornamentation and frequent change of decorative method, a Western interior permanently filled with a vast array of pictures, statuary, and bric-a-brac gives the impression of mere vulgar display of riches.³⁶

Since Wright would have known from *The Book of Tea* that the tearoom had provided the aesthetic basis for the ordinary Japanese domestic interior, this characterization of its aesthetic in terms of chaste simplicity would, one suspects, have confirmed if not inspired his view that the Japanese house exemplified the principle of 'the elimination of the insignificant.' Indeed, Okakura's direct contrasting of the *sukiya* aesthetic of rustic incompleteness with the over-elaboration of the typical Western interior might well have served to encourage the similar use of unadorned natural materials and asymmetric compositions which came to characterize Wright's mature domestic work (Figure 6). Moreover, from his many direct experiences of chanoyu in Japan itself, it seems likely that Wright would have been familiar with its underlying aesthetic ideals of *wabi* and *sabi*, and interestingly two of his own central design principles — 'the elimination of the insignificant' and building according to

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

³⁵ Wright, *An Autobiography* (1977 ed.), p. 273.

³⁶ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 39.



Fig. 6: The rustic asymmetry of the main living room at Taliesin, Spring Green, Wisconsin, 1925.

'the nature of materials' — would appear to have reflected similar aesthetic ends.³⁷

Okakura described Lao-tzu's Tao as the "Great Transition,"³⁸ by which he meant the constant state of change which characterized life. This was apparently the origin of Wright's similar phrase, "the great In-between,"³⁹ and it seems to have provided him with a philosophical interpretation for the transitional spaces produced by the interlocking forms which became a characteristic feature of his mature work (Figures 7 and 8). In these 'in-between' zones there is a sense of inhabiting two spaces at one and the same time, and for Wright at least, they seem to

³⁷ For a good discussion of *wabi* in relation to the *sukiya*, see the section "Metaphysics of Wabi" in Toshihiko and Toyo Izutsu, *The Theory of Beauty in the Classical Aesthetics of Japan*, pp. 48-55.

³⁸ Okakura suggested: "Tao might be spoken of as the Great Transition. . . . Its Absolute is the Relative." *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 20.

³⁹ Wright commented: ". . . Lao-tze, preached a sense of Individuality as the reflex of achieved organic unity: the source of power, the all-pervasive 'in between!'" Similarly, he suggested: ". . . the book [*When Democracy Builds*] is all for the Man of the great 'In-between.' The Citizen." *When Democracy Builds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 21, 131.

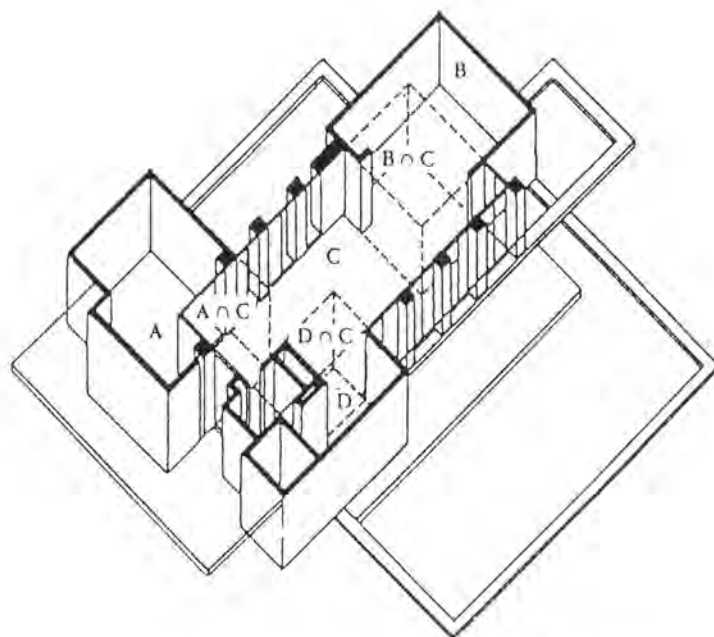


Fig. 7: Transitional spaces in the *Life* house project, 1938.

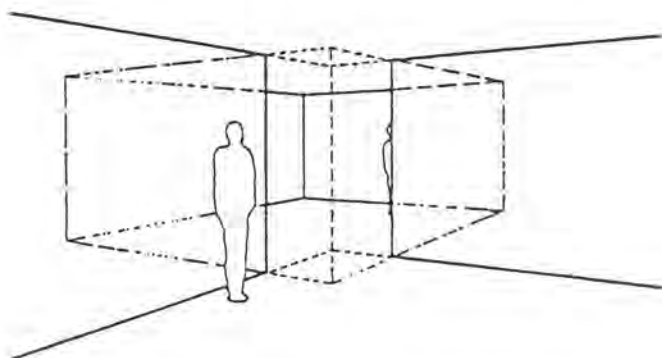


Fig. 8: A transitional space formed by the apparent interpenetration of two incomplete forms.

have encapsulated the Taoist view of life as a perpetual 'state of transition' from one form to another.

Wright's work has been characterized by the architectural writer, Norris Smith, as reflecting a continuous struggle to reconcile two opposing ideals: on the one hand, man as a responsible member of a social group, and on the other, as a free individual in harmony with nature, attitudes which were perceived as being essentially 'Greek and Hebrew' respectively.⁴⁰ The conflict between social responsibility and personal freedom is of course one with which we are all familiar to some extent, but in Wright's case it was especially marked.⁴¹ Eventually Wright found himself torn between expression of his natural self, and a sense of responsibility towards fulfilling middle-class society's more conventional expectations. Yet it was not until he was already married and had a large family that this tension finally manifested itself. And it seems that at least part of the catalyst for this change may have come in the form of a book in which the position of the artist in the perpetual struggle between personal freedom and social responsibility had been clearly set out. However, the field of conflict was not Western, but Oriental, the opposing modes of thought not Greek and Hebrew, but Confucian and Taoist.

In *The Ideals of the East*, Okakura had explained how Chinese and thence Japanese social and aesthetic ideals had derived from a continuous struggle between a Confucian 'socialism' and Taoist individualism, which he described as "the mutual polarities of Asiatic thought."⁴² While the basis of Confucian social harmony was seen as the "self-sacrifice of the individual to the community,"⁴³ Taoism was characterized as an "emphatic disregard of the existing social forms"⁴⁴ stemming from a love of individual freedom and spontaneity. As Okakura explained: "In ethics the Taoists railed at the laws and the moral codes of society, for to them right and wrong were but relative terms."⁴⁵

Okakura, who was ambivalent concerning the benefits of Confucianism to Chinese culture — having described it as a source of both strength and weakness — was generous in his praise for Taoism, and in particular for its contribution to Far Eastern aesthetics. However, he explained that each of these modes of thought actually had its own merits

⁴⁰ See the section "Hebraism and Hellenism" in Norris Kelly Smith, *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Study in Architectural Content* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 36-44.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

⁴² Okakura, *The Ideals of the East* (1903), reprinted ed. (Rutland, VT, and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1970), pp. 43, 46-47.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴⁴ Okakura, "The Confucian Age and the Taoist Age," unpublished manuscript [n.d. ca. 1899], as reprinted in *Okakura Kakuzo: Collected English Writings*, ed. Sunao Nakamura, vol. 2, p. 209. This essay appears to have provided the basis of Okakura's account of Taoist and Confucian thought in *The Ideals of the East*.

⁴⁵ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 22.

depending on the situation,⁴⁶ and in Chinese society, rather than one or the other being rejected, they existed side by side, even indeed within the individual. Most significantly for Wright, however, in the case of the artist, Okakura was quite unequivocal in rejecting social conformity, which he saw as fundamentally incompatible with the personal freedom essential to creativity, having explained:

Sociological conditions have not, however, always been favorable to the free development of art and have often threatened to crush its existence, and sometimes succeeded in doing so. It is owing to this that the great masters are so rare. Indeed, it is a tribute to the virility of the art-instinct that we should have even the few. Their lives both in the East and West have shown remarkable instances of struggle and victory over circumstances. Hosts have suffered and have succumbed to social tyranny. Hosts are suffering and succumbing to their destiny. Nothing touches us more than the weary lines on a great painter's face, for they are traces, not of his contest with his art but with the world. One is a joy and a solace, the other is an eternal torment. The antagonism between the two lies in the laws of their existence. Art is the sphere of freedom, society that of conventions. The vulgar ever resents the ideal. Society is somehow always afraid of the living artist.⁴⁷

Coming as it did from such a notable source, this clear identification of the inherent conflict between the artist and social convention would, one suspects, have struck a sympathetic chord with Wright, whose self-image often seems to have been that of the creative individual ahead of his time persecuted by an innately conservative society. Indeed, he appears to have identified personally with Okakura's analysis, having suggested in like tone:

The absorbed idealist, egocentric inventor in the realm of the thought-built, has had a hard time with us socially, financially and, with peculiar force, morally. In addition to the instinctive fear for the safety of the tribe, in our form of social contract the man with an idea seems to have become an invidious reflection upon his many fellows who have none.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Okakura commented: "It will be noticed that in this Eastern struggle between the two forces of communism and individual reaction, the ground of contest is not economic but intellectual and imaginative. None would have been more desirous of protecting the great moral advantage won by Confucius for the common good than Laotse, who was a rival thinker." *The Ideals of the East* (1970 ed.), p. 47.

⁴⁷ Okakura, "Modern Problems in Painting," address delivered at the 1904 St. Louis Universal Exposition, as reprinted in *Okakura Kakuzo: Collected English Writings*, ed. Sunao Nakamura, vol. 2, pp. 67-68.

⁴⁸ Wright, *The Future of Architecture* (1953), reprinted ed. (New York: Meridian, 1970), p. 202.

The Chinese Taoists are probably best known for their rejection of organized social life in favour of individual communion with nature, their withdrawal from the city having been motivated by both a desire to live closer to nature and a wish to demonstrate their disapproval of what they considered to be the 'unnatural' social structure of feudal China.⁴⁹ While Wright himself had several very practical reasons for his own retreat from Chicago to rural Wisconsin in 1911, interestingly he appears to have been well aware of the Taoist precedent, having described the 'feudal city' as anathema to the innate democrat that was the rural nomad.⁵⁰ And whether consciously or otherwise, by the late 1920s he had effectively reconciled the Confucian and Taoist domains — the city and the wilderness — in a single integrated whole.

The concept of the Garden City was not of course new, but Wright's Broadacre City plan, integrated as it was with his concept of an ideal 'organic democracy,' was perhaps one of the boldest versions of the idea, intended to place man simultaneously in harmony with both nature and his fellow man. In its emphasis on mutual communion with nature and between individuals, as far as possible to the exclusion of government, Broadacre City came close to the Taoists' social ideal of "an undifferentiated agrarian collectivism,"⁵¹ and significantly Wright himself was clearly conscious of this parallel, having explained:

Some five hundred years before the life of Jesus, the Chinese philosopher, Lao-tze preached the sense of Individuality as a reflex of the organic unity of the Cosmos: the true source of human power, the all pervasive 'state-of-becoming'! Our own democratic ideal of the social state seems originally conceived as some such unity. That is to say, Democracy was conceived as the free growth of humane individuality, mankind free to function together in unity of spirit . . . ; by nature thus averse to formalism and so to institution-alizing. Institution seemed a form of death. This ideal of Nature lies at the core of organic democracy, and architecture organic.⁵²

⁴⁹ For example, Joseph Needham writes: "The Taoists 'walked outside society' But if they did so, it was not only because they wished to observe Nature free from the encumbrances and trivialities of social life, it was also because they were in complete opposition to the very structure of feudal society, and their withdrawal was part of their protest." "The 'Tao Chia' and Taoism," *Science and Civilization in China*, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954-75) vol. 2, Chapter 10, p. 86.

⁵⁰ Wright directly contrasted the 'democratic nomad' with the 'feudal city dweller,' having suggested: "The nomad? Is he thus prototype of the democrat?" Later he commented: "Agronomy, source of the ancient wandering tribe. The adventurer down the ages reappears, his instinct still mingling with the static of the cave-dweller. Call the survival of the ancient feudal city due to survival of the ancient cave-dweller instinct." *The Living City* (1963 ed.), pp. 25, 64.

⁵¹ According to Joseph Needham: ". . . the Taoists were the spokesmen of some kind of primitive agrarian collectivism, and were opposed to the feudal nobility and to the merchants alike." *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2, p. 100.

⁵² Wright, *The Living City* (1963 ed.), p. 48.



Fig. 9: The main facade of Wright's own house on Forest Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois, 1889. (Courtesy of the Frank Lloyd Wright Home and Studio Foundation)

In fact, several of Wright's statements concerning nature and society seem distinctly Taoist in tone, although whether he actually *derived* any of these ideas from this source is difficult to judge. He had been reading the New England poets from an early stage, and it is widely believed that they themselves were strongly influenced by Far Eastern thought.⁵³ Indeed, some of the metaphysically-inclined homages to nature penned by Emerson and Whitman could almost be taken for Taoist poetry, and likewise, Thoreau's solitary retreat in the woods near Walden Pond might have been that of a classic Taoist hermit.⁵⁴

⁵³ On the parallels between New England transcendentalism and Far Eastern philosophy, see for example Arthur Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism: A Study in Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). Also see David Chen's essay, "Thoreau and Taoism," in *Asian Response to American Literature*, ed. C. D. Narasimhaiah (New York: Vikas Publications, 1972), pp. 406-415, and Lin Yu Tang, *The Wisdom of Lao-tse* (New York: The Modern Library, 1948), p. 13.

⁵⁴ In this connection, it is interesting to compare Thoreau's *Walden* with a classic Japanese text by Kamo no Chōmei (1153–1216), the *Hōjōki*, or Ten Foot Square Hut, which recounts the similar philosophical reflections of a recluse living in the mountains near Kyoto. See Arthur L. Sadler, trans., *The Ten Foot Square Hut and Tales of the Heike: Being Two Thirteenth Century Japanese Classics the 'Hojoki' and Selections from 'The Heike Monogatari'* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1928). Arthur Sadler's translation of the *Hōjōki* has since been reprinted separately as *Kamo no Chomei, The Ten Foot Square Hut (The Hojoki)*, trans. A. L. Sadler (Rutland, VT, and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1972).

Whatever the case concerning specific ideas, Emerson and the other transcendentalists seem to have made Wright more than usually receptive to Taoist sentiments, and in particular to a view of Lao-tzu as a spokesman for a kind of democratic-agrarian ideal. Like Fenollosa and Okakura before him, Wright appears to have felt a personal empathy with the Taoist viewpoint, and the fact that his own shift away from social responsibilities towards personal freedom occurred shortly after the appearance of Okakura's books advocating this as the natural course for the artist may not have been entirely coincidental.⁵⁵ The seeds of Wright's dissatisfaction with conventional family life had almost certainly been present from an early stage, and his relationship with the wife of a former client was the primary factor in bringing this discontent to the surface. However, Okakura's insistence on the direct link between creativity and individual freedom may also have played its part in encouraging Wright to make his dramatic break with social convention in 1909.⁵⁶

Ironically, Wright's initial concept of the family appears to have been a distinctly conservative one, which expressed itself in his early houses in the form of closed, often symmetrical, plans in which the individual elements were generally subordinated to an overall scheme. This hierarchical model of the family was exemplified in Wright's own house in Oak Park, where the patriarch's studio dominated the main facade (Figure 9) — at least until the children displaced him in 1895 — an event which encapsulated the conflict between family and work which would eventually lead Wright to feel obliged to choose between the two.

Following the break-up of his own family in 1909, Wright was forced to re-examine both his personal and professional attitudes to this institution. The old ideal of the patriarchy was clearly no longer adequate. A new model was needed, one which would somehow accommodate the needs of the group without threatening the freedom of the individual. This was of course the essence of democracy, the grand compromise between the freedom of the one and the good of the many. Yet the only architectural forms associated with democracy at this time were Greek, and classicism represented the very antithesis of the freedom from external con-

⁵⁵ Although clearly not especially Taoist, there were distinct similarities between Fenollosa and Wright in their ambivalent attitude to social convention. Each brought down the wrath of conservative society on themselves, when, in their early forties, they left their wives for other women, leading one to retreat from Boston to rural Alabama and the other from Chicago to Wisconsin — in both cases to an independent life away from established institutions. Although I do not suggest that it explains this admittedly not uncommon pattern, it is interesting to note that both men were also the sons of down-to-earth Unitarian mothers and romantically inclined music-teacher fathers.

⁵⁶ In September 1909 Wright turned his back on conventional family life and eloped to Europe with Mamah Borthwick Cheney. Chicago's polite society was predictably outraged and Wright's public reputation effectively changed overnight from that of a respected professional to one of a notorious maverick, an image which he seems to have both regretted and at the same time cultivated as a form of self-defence.

ventions which Wright was seeking to express in his own life and work.

There was, however, another strain of democracy, the *Eastern* one described by Okakura in *The Book of Tea*. Teatism, or 'Taoism in disguise,' embodied just such a democratic sense of the individual, as Okakura had made clear when he explained: "It represents the true spirit of Eastern democracy by making all its votaries aristocrats in taste."⁵⁷ Indeed, chanoyu and its domain were characterized by Okakura as a triumph of Taoist individualism over the conformity of an otherwise strictly Confucian society. Within the confines of the tearoom, all were equal. Commoner and nobleman alike were expected to leave their status at the entrance, the *sukiya* having been seen as a haven of individual taste which recognized no external codes, either social or aesthetic.⁵⁸ Such an overtly egalitarian interpretation of Taoist ideals might well have served to reinforce Wright's perception of Lao-tzu's concept of Tao as a kind of unfolding democratic spirit. Moreover, the built expression of this particular mode of democracy took the form of the rustic incompleteness of the *sukiya* aesthetic, in marked contrast to the Greek, and it seems clear which Wright would have preferred as a model for his own expressly 'democratic' architecture.⁵⁹

After the rift of 1909, in his private life at least Wright became an unashamed individualist, although in his art he appears to have settled for the compromise of democracy. Indeed, in several respects the development of Wright's personal attitude to the group would seem to have mirrored Okakura's description of the struggle between conformism and individualism in the collective Chinese psyche: initial conservatism, and with it an unquestioning faith in the family as the bedrock of society, followed by gradual stagnation through lack of freedom to evolve, leading eventually to a revolt against convention and thereafter a continuing struggle between the conflicting forces of personal freedom and group responsibility.

The marked contrast between Wright's domestic and public buildings has been highlighted by a number of writers.⁶⁰ While Wright's early houses generally consisted of a sheltering roof centered around a free-

⁵⁷ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 1.

⁵⁸ Although its effects eventually percolated throughout Japanese society, at its height during the Momoyama period the aestheticism associated with the art of teatism was actually something of an elitist pursuit restricted mainly to the upper echelons.

⁵⁹ Wright treated the terms 'organic' and 'democratic' as virtually synonymous, as indicated by some of his book titles for example: *An Organic Architecture: The Architecture of Democracy* (London: Lund Humphries and Co., 1939), and *When Democracy Builds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945).

⁶⁰ See Norris Kelly Smith, *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Study in Architectural Content*, pp. 137-38, where the author discusses this contrast as it was exemplified in Fallingwater and the Johnsons' Administration Building in particular. Also see Kenneth Frampton's introduction to Jonathan Lipman, *Frank Lloyd Wright and the Johnson Wax Buildings* (New York: Rizzoli International; and London: The Architectural Press, 1986), p. xi.

standing chimney mass, and were largely open to their surroundings (Figure 10), public structures such as the Larkin Building and Unity Temple, for example, were the precise opposite: inward-looking towards a central space, but essentially open to the sky (Figure 11).⁶¹ Another of the more obvious differences is the consistent bilateral symmetry of Wright's public designs compared to the general asymmetry of his mature domestic work. Interestingly, in *The Book of Tea* Okakura had described a similar contrast between Japan's *sukiya*-influenced residential architecture and its classical buildings, having declared: "The tea-room is not only different from any production of Western architecture, but also contrasts strongly with the classical architecture of Japan itself."⁶² And he attributed this difference to philosophical origins, having explained:

Confucianism, with its deep-seated idea of dualism, and Northern Buddhism with its worship of a trinity, were in no way opposed to the expression of symmetry. . . . The decoration of our classical interiors was decidedly regular in its arrangement.⁶³

The Confucian ideal, with its symmetry born of dualism, and its repose, the result of the instinctive subordination of the part to the whole, was necessarily restrictive of the freedom of art.⁶⁴

Manifold indeed have been the contributions of the tea-masters to art. They completely revolutionised the classical architecture and interior decorations and established the new style which we have described in the chapter on the tea-room, a style to whose influence even the palaces and monasteries built after the sixteenth century have all been subject.⁶⁵

Like his early image of the family, Wright's concept of public institutions would appear to have been essentially hierarchical, and again this generally manifested itself in bilaterally symmetrical forms in which individual elements were subordinated to an overall composition. In-

⁶¹ These contrasting features would seem to conform quite closely to the characteristics of the tree and the cave which Wright identified as two archetypal forms of dwelling. On this topic, see Neil Levine, "Frank Lloyd Wright's Own Houses and His Changing Concept of Representation," *The Nature of Frank Lloyd Wright*, eds. Bolon, Nelson, and Seidel, pp. 63-64, note 39, where the author discusses Wright's account of these archetypes in Baker Brownell and Frank Lloyd Wright, *Architecture and Modern Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), pp. 23-24.

⁶² Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 32.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40. Okakura mentioned the Hō'ōdō at Uji and the Tokugawa mausoleums at Nikko as examples of Japan's classical architectural tradition. See *ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁴ Okakura, *The Ideals of the East* (1970 ed.), p. 40.

⁶⁵ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 61. Okakura mentioned Katsura Rikyu as a prime example of this tea-inspired informal residential style. See *ibid.*, pp. 61-62. The term '*sukiya* style,' which is often used today to describe this restrained aesthetic, was not in common usage during Wright's time in Japan, and I have therefore avoided it in the discussion here.

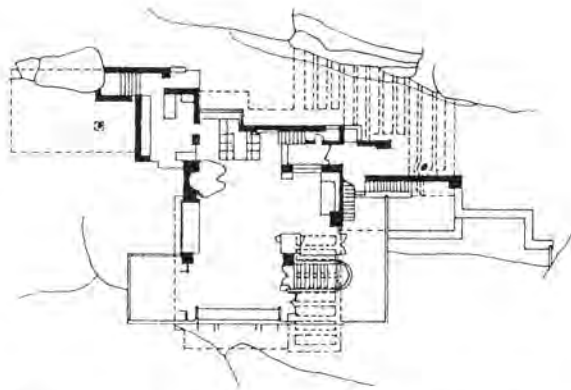


Fig. 10: The generic configuration of Wright's domestic designs exemplified in Fallingwater, Ohiopyle, Pennsylvania, 1936.

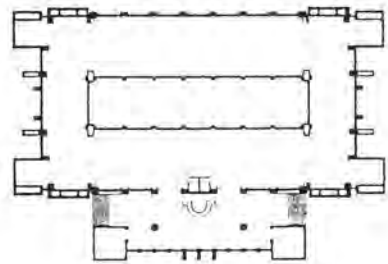


Fig. 11: The generic configuration of Wright's public buildings epitomized in the Larkin Building, 1904.

deed, Wright would seem to have regarded such enterprises as the Larkin and Johnsons companies as rather like large families, which might well explain why he generally employed symmetrical forms — expressing unity and subordination of the individual to the group — to accommodate these 'extended patriarchies.'⁶⁶

Like Fenollosa, Okakura had definite views on the role of tradition in art, and in particular on the stagnation into which an over-reverent attitude to historical styles had led much of Western architecture by the end of the nineteenth century, as he explained in *The Book of Tea*:

It is not that we should disregard the creations of the past, but that we should try to assimilate them into our consciousness. Slavish conformity to traditions and formulas fetters the expression of individuality in architecture. We can but weep over those senseless imitations of European buildings which one beholds in modern Japan. We marvel why, among the most progressive Western nations, architecture should be so devoid of originality, so replete with repetitions of obsolete styles.⁶⁷

We know that Wright agreed with this approach to architectural history, since on at least one occasion he actually quoted it,⁶⁸ and given their

⁶⁶ In fact, several of Wright's public buildings appear to have been based directly on Japanese models, notably the *gongen* and *Hō'ōdō* types of temple plan form. On this topic, see Kevin Nute, "Frank Lloyd Wright in Japan: Giving and Receiving in 'Yedo,'" *Scroope: The Cambridge Architecture Journal*, no. 5 (1993), pp. 64-71.

⁶⁷ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 38.

⁶⁸ Wright quoted this passage from a 1925 edition of Okakura's *Book of Tea* at the start of one of the special issues of the *Architectural Forum* devoted to his work. See "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Architectural Forum* 88, no. 1 (January 1948): inside p. 65.

mutual connection with Fenollosa, it is tempting to wonder whether Okakura may not have had Wright in mind when he declared in 1906: "Perhaps we are now passing through an age of democratization in art, while awaiting the rise of some princely master who shall establish a new dynasty."⁶⁹

The reign of that master having ended in 1959, we are, it seems, passing through another such period of democratization in architecture, which may explain why there has been no single identifiable heir to the 'organic' line, but rather a popular dissemination of its ideals, several of which, as Wright himself clearly recognized, had direct precedents in Taoist thought.

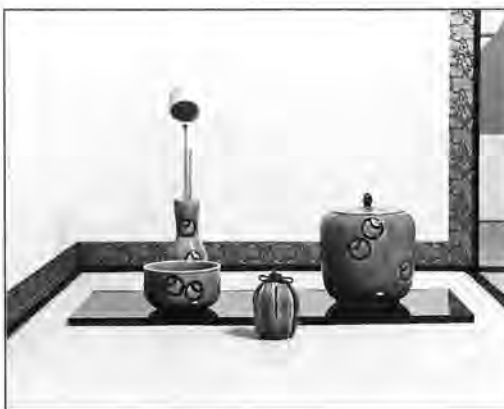


⁶⁹ Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1964 ed.), p. 38. Even if Okakura did not have Wright in mind, it seems that Wright himself may have felt that Okakura's description applied to his own career, since he also quoted this passage. See *Architectural Forum* 88, no. 1 (January 1948): inside p. 65.

Temae — Tea Procedure

Ro Nagaita

Sō Kazari, Koicha



For the ro season, the smaller of the two sizes of nagaita is used. This ro-use nagaita measures 72.7 x 30.3 x 1.2 cm — more than 12 cm shorter on the sides, 6 cm narrower in depth, and 0.5 cm thinner than the furo-use nagaita.

As usual when placing any kind of portable shelving or board on the utensil mat, the nagaita in this case, as well, is positioned 16 lines of tatami weave from the imaginary front line of that half-mat. The utensils to be displayed on the nagaita for a *sō kazari* (full display) ro temae are as follows: toward the right, a mizusashi filled nine-tenths full with water; toward the left rear, a shakutate with *sashitōshi* type hishaku standing in it toward the front and a pair of display-type hibashi standing in it toward the back; and, in front of the shakutate, a kensui with futaoki in it. Often, a matching set is used, which includes the mizusashi, shakutate, kensui, and futaoki. Such sets are called *kaigu*. For koicha, the chaire, filled with the right amount of tea for the number of guests, and clothed in its shifuku, is centered in front of the nagaita (see photo). The other preparations for a nagaita ro koicha temae are exactly as for a standard ro koicha temae. Note, however, that a *katakuchi* mizutsugi, as opposed to a *koshiguro*, is used for nagaita temae.

As for the temae itself, the fundamental procedures — the actual blending of the koicha and so forth — are no different from standard ro koicha. This guide presumes the reader's knowledge of these standard procedures.

Koicha is usually presented within the context of a *chaji* — a full, formal tea gathering consisting of two parts. During the first, a meal and then moist sweets are served. The guests then leave the room while the host prepares it for the tea, which will include koicha and then usucha. After the guests are called back in for the second part and have taken their seats again, the koicha temae begins. The host sits just outside the closed *sadōguchi*, with the chawan — complete with chakin, chasen, and chashaku — before the knees, and listens for the guests to get settled in their places.



(1)

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



(2)

Sit before the *sadōguchi*, place chawan in front of knees, and close the door (2).



(3)

Carry chawan to temae tatami, sit squarely in front of the nagaita, behold front-left of chawan with left hand (hereafter, L), and place chawan to the left (3).



(4)

With right hand (hereafter, R), resituate chaire slightly to the right (4). Then pick up chawan with L, hold it with R, regrasp it at left side with L, and place it to the left of the chaire.



(5)

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



(6)

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



(7)

Bring hibashi parallel to knees and, supporting them near the center with L, move R toward finials while swivelling the hibashi so they point forward (7). Rehold with R, beyond L, and adjust L grip to hold the hibashi overhand so thumb is on right and fingers are around left.



(8)

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



(9)

Take futaoki from kensui with R, set it on L palm, and steady it with R. Shift sitting position to face *imae* (the tea-making position; for a nagaita ro temae, the position wherein the body aims toward the outer left-hand corner of the ro frame). Place futaoki in standard position in corner of the adjacent, ro tatami (9).



(10)

Bow together with the guests, to officially commence the temae (10).



(11)

Move kensui further up toward your side (11). Make sure you are seated properly, place hands on lap, and pause for concentration.



(12)

Pick up chawan with L, regrasp it with R, and place it in front of knees, leaving space for the chaire (12).



(13)

Pick up chaire with R, and set it between chawan and knees. Undo shifuku cord in the standard manner (13).



(14)

Pick up the clothed chaire, set it on L palm, and remove shifuku in the standard manner. Place chaire between chawan and knees (14).



(15)

Smooth out the shifuku gathers and even out the ends of the cord. Flip shifuku over onto R palm so cord knot is on the side toward the guests (15).



(16)

Grasp base portion of shifuku with L, and place shifuku to the left front of the naga-ita (16).



(17)

Take fukusa from obi, and conduct *yohō-sabaki* (inspection of the four sides) as usual (17).



(18)

In standard manner, purify chaire with fukusa (18). Place chaire slightly left of center in front of the nagaita.



(19)

Refold fukusa, purify chashaku (19), and place chashaku across right-hand side of chaire lid. Take chasen from chawan and stand it to right of chaire. (If mizusashi lid is a lacquered one, now hold fukusa with R, tuck left-hand side under with L, dust front half of the lid in two horizontal strokes, and rehold fukusa as is with L.)



(20)

With R, move chawan closer to knees. Then take chakin from chawan and place it on mizusashi lid (20). (If, as governed by the usual rules, the fukusa is *not* to be used for handling the kama lid, now return it to obi. If it *is* to be used, now hold it by the upper of the two right-hand folds with R.)



(21)

Remove kama lid and rest it on futaoki (21). (Fukusa users, now place fukusa to front-right of right knee.)



(22)

Shift sitting position to directly face the nagaita. Place fingertips on tatami and, with R, lift hishaku out from the right-hand side of the shakutate (22). Keeping the hishaku vertical, bring it out to the front of the nagaita. Transfer hishaku to L, hold it as in the 'mirror pose,' and shift sitting position to *imae*.



(23)

Rehold hishaku for use, scoop hot water from kama, and pour it into chawan (23).



(24)

Hold hishaku as in 'mirror pose,' and shift sitting position to face the nagaita. Placing L fingertips on tatami, return hishaku to shakutate (24).



(25)

Shift sitting position to *imae*. Take kama lid from futaoki and put it fully on the kama (25). (Fukusa users: return fukusa to front-right of right knee after use.)



(26)

Pick up chasen with R, and conduct *chasen-tōshi* as usual (26). Return chasen to its place on tatami with R.



(27)

As usual, pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, and discard chawan water into kensui. Wipe chawan with chakin (27), return chawan to tatami, and return chakin to mizusashi lid.



(28)

In standard manner for *koicha*, take chashaku with R and chaire with L. Remove chaire lid and place it to right of chawan. Place three scoops of tea into chawan, rest chashaku on chawan, and revolve chaire to empty the tea into the chawan (28). Wipe lip of chaire with R fingertips, wipe fingertips on kaishi in kimono, replace lid onto chaire, and return chaire to former position with L.



(29)

Use chashaku to smooth the tea powder (29), tap it on chawan rim to dislodge adhering tea, and replace it on chaire.



(30)

Remove kama lid and rest it on futaoki (30). (Fukusa users: now place fukusa on L palm.) Shift sitting position to face the nagaita. (Those holding fukusa: now, with R, set it to the side of left knee and toward upper right of the kensui, so it is parallel with the nagaita.) As before, take hishaku from shakutate and shift to *imae*.



(31)

In standard manner for koicha, scoop hot water, pour small amount into chawan, return remainder to kama, and rest hishaku on kama. Take chasen, blend the tea, and rest chasen in left side of chawan. Scoop hot water, lift chasen up with L, and pour appropriate amount of hot water into chawan (31). Again rest chasen in chawan, return remaining hot water to kama, and rest hishaku on kama. Finish blending the koicha. Return chasen to its place on tatami.



(32)

Pick up chawan, turn it to face the guests, and place it on the adjacent tatami (32). If the chawan is other than Raku ware, take kobukusa from your kimono, and, turning it so the center fold faces the guests' right, place it out on the 'lower' side of the chawan.



(33)

After the main guest takes one sip of the tea, ask how it is ("*Ofukukagen wa?*") (33). Having been assured the tea is fine, do *nakajimai* (intermediate clearing of *temae* area) as explained below, through step 36.



(34)

Take *hishaku* from *kama* with R, hold it as in the 'mirror pose,' shift sitting position to face the *nagaita*, and return *hishaku* to *shakutate* with R (34).



(35)

Shift to *imae*. With bare fingers of R, take *kama* lid from *futaoki* and place it slightly ajar on the *kama* (35).



(36)

Set *futaoki* on L palm, secure it with R, and shift sitting position to face the *nagaita*. With R, place *futaoki* in front of *shakutate* on the *nagaita*, as though it were in its original position within the *kensui* (36).



(37)

Shift to face the guests. Answer the main guest's questions about the name of the tea, its producer, the sweet, and so forth (37). At the last guest's final sip of tea, return the futaoiki and hishaku to their former positions, as explained below, through step 39.



(38)

Shift to face nagaita, set futaoiki on L palm, secure it with R, and shift to *imae*. Place futaoiki in former position on tatami (38). (Fukusa users: now pick up fukusa with R.) Remove kama lid and place it on futaoiki. (Fukusa users: now place fukusa on L palm.)



(39)

Shift to face nagaita. (Fukusa users: now return fukusa to its former position to your left.) Take hishaku from shakutate, hold it as in 'mirror pose,' and shift to *imae*. Rest hishaku on kama (39).



(40)

Take chakin from mizusashi lid with R, and place it on kama lid (40).



(41)

Remove mizusashi lid with R, hold it with L, regrasp it with R, and lean it against left-hand side of mizusashi (41). Pick up hishaku, regrasp it for use, scoop ladleful of cold water from mizusashi, and pour it into kama. Rest hishaku on kama. (Fukusa users: now pick up fukusa with R, and return it to your obi.)



(42)

When chawan is returned, place it briefly on L palm, and, with R, set it in front of knees. (If kobukusa was provided, first return kobukusa to kimono.) Bow together with the guests (42).



(43)

Scoop hot water from kama, pour it into chawan, and return hishaku to kama. Discard chawan water into kensui (43). Replace chawan in front of knees.



(44)

Bow and tell the guests you will finish the temae ("*Oshimai itashimasu*") (44).



(45)

Take hishaku from kama, rehold it for use, scoop cold water from mizusashi (45), and pour it into chawan. Return hishaku to kama.



(46)

Conduct *chasen-tōshi* as usual for finishing temae (46). Return chasen to its place.



(47)

Discard chawan water into kensui, place chakin in chawan (47), and return chawan to front of knees. Place chasen in chawan.



(48)

Take chashaku with R, and then move kensui back with L (48).



(49)

Take fukusa from obi and fold it for wiping chashaku. Wipe chashaku (49), and set it on chawan. Dust fukusa off over ken-sui, and return it to obi.



(50)

With R, resituate chaire slightly to the right, as in step 4. Pick up chawan with R, transfer it to L, and place it to left of chaire (50).



(51)

Pick up hishaku, rehold for use, and pour ladleful of cold water from mizusashi into kama. Scoop ladleful of hot water from kama and pour it back into kama (51).



(52)

Hold hishaku as in 'mirror pose,' and shift to face the nagaita. Return hishaku to shakutate with R (52).



(53)

Shift to *imae*. Place kama lid slightly ajar on kama with bare fingers of R (53).



(54)

Pick up mizusashi lid with R, transfer it to L, and replace it on mizusashi with R (54). At this point, the main guest asks to inspect the chaire, chashaku, and shifuku. Bow in acknowledgement.



(55)

Set futaoki on L palm, and shift sitting position to face the nagaita. Place futaoki in front of shakutate on the nagaita, as before (55).



(56)

Pick up hibashi with L and, keeping them pointing forward, bring them in front of body. Transfer them to R, and regrab them above R with L. While bringing them parallel to knees, slide R back around finials to rehold them as a pencil. Release L, bring the hibashi vertical, place L fingertips on tatami, and return hibashi to shakutate with R, in the reverse course as when they were removed (56).



(57)

Place chawan to the far left with R (57). Then set chaire on L palm, and shift to face the guests.



(58)

Place chaire in front of knees, take fukusa from obi, and fold it for wiping chaire. Wipe chaire in the standard manner (58). Turn chaire so front faces the guests, and place it out on the adjacent tatami. Return fukusa to obi.



(59)

Shift to face the nagaita. Pick up chashaku with R, transfer it to L, and then shift to *imae*. Regrasp chashaku so the handle end faces the guests, and place it to the 'lower' side of the chaire (59).



(60)

Without shifting sitting position, pick up shifuku with L. Transfer it to R, set it on L palm, and now shift sitting position to face the guests. Place shifuku to 'lower' side of chashaku, so the base is toward the guests (60).



(61)

Shift sitting position to face the nagaita. Pick up kensui with L (61), go to the *sadōguchi*, sit and place kensui before knees, open the door, again pick up kensui with L, and take it to the mizuya. Return to temae tatami, sit squarely in front of nagaita, pick up chawan, and return it to the mizuya.



(62)

Return to temae tatami with the mizutsugi, sit in front of the mizusashi, and place mizutsugi down so that it is at center of tatami and is parallel to front edge of the nagaita. Remove mizusashi lid with R, and lean it against left-hand side of mizusashi with L (62).



(63)

In the standard manner, add water to the mizusashi (63). Return mizutsugi to the mizuya.



(64)

Return to temae tatami with rinsed and dried kensui in L. Sit squarely in front of nagaita, and place kensui before knees with both hands. Set futaoki briefly on L palm, and place it in kensui with R. With both hands, place kensui in front of shakutate on nagaita (64). Exit the tearoom, sit outside the *sadōguchi*, and close the door.



(65)

When the inspected items have been returned, enter tearoom and go sit directly facing them. Answer the main guest's inquiries about them (65), and make a formal *shin* bow.



(66)

Pick up the items in the standard manner (66), and exit the tearoom.



(67)

Just outside the *sadōguchi*, sit down, place the utensils to the side, bow together with the guests (67), and close the door.



Book Reviews

Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society, and Language. Edited by Jane M. Bachnik and Charles J. Quinn, Jr. NJ and Chichester, West Sussex: Princeton University Press, 1994. xix + 309 pp. US\$49.50, £50.00, hardcover; US\$16.95, £16.50, paperback.

This edited volume is the result of the shared “insight—that ‘inside/outside’ coordinates are fundamental to Japanese self, society, and language — and that these coordinates have to be grasped and used in experience” (xiii). The authors — three linguists, three anthropologists, one sociologist, and (the odd man out, or is it in?) one graduate student in Japanese literature — attempt “to portray the centrality of *uchi/soto* issues to Japanese social participants in their everyday lives” (xiii). Not included here are discussions of the “ins and outs” of such fields of Japanese culture as the performing arts or religion. However, if there is anyone interested in Japanese culture, society, or language who is not already convinced of the importance of the notions of *uchi* (inside/group) and *soto* (outside/group), then this book should certainly dispel any reservations.

The book is organized into three parts of uneven length. Part I, “Indexing Self and Social Contest,” contains six chapters; Part II includes four chapters on the “Failure to Index: Boundary Disintegration and Social Breakdown”; and Part III, composed of only one chapter, examines “Language as a Form of Life: Clines of Knowledge as Clines of Person.” Each chapter is prefaced by situating remarks by the editors, and five of the eleven chapters were written by one or the other of the two editors, Bachnik and Quinn.

There are two primary explanatory or interpretive sets of ideas that guide the discussions in most of the chapters. First is the notion that meanings are reflected (“indexed”) and constructed through the use of various kinds of signs from particular positions and relative to certain other positions and meanings. The two most basic positions from which one speaks or acts in Japan are, of course, inside or outside. Whether, and how, one is either “inside” or “outside” is indicated through the use of various words, actions, and so forth. The second conceptual basis of the book relies on the notion that contexts of interaction are doubly constructed. On the one hand, interactional situations are produced by participants whose actions (and words) are themselves “situated” within those contexts. On the other hand, people as “agents” construct their actions (and selves) in a kind of mutual feedback interrelation with the “structure” of Japanese culture — al-

though the emphasis here is on how structure is (re)produced ("indexed") by the actions taking place in particular situations.

These and other conceptual issues are addressed by Jane Bachnik in her introductory essay in Chapter One. She argues that approaching the organization of self and society in Japan as "indexical" or "situated meaning" links such outstanding issues in Japan studies as the "relational" nature of the self and the "situational" character of Japanese social order to broader issues in the social sciences related to the "interdependent" nature of the self in various cultures; the centrality of "context" as an organizational focus of social life; and the mutually constitutive interrelationship between self and society (pp. 3–4). Bachnik criticizes previous work by scholars such as Doi Takeo, Nakane Chie, and Takie Lebra, whose discussions of the "relational" self, "situated" social order, "vertical principle," embedded "points of view," and "shifting" are all found lacking for ostensibly not escaping a self-contradicting circularity between the particulars of situatedness and the generalities of structural "principles" (p. 10).

Charles Quinn, Patricia Wetzel, and Robert Suple present a variety of linguistic data and argue, often in terms that only a linguist could love, that *uchi/soto* based distinctions are embedded in the Japanese language and its use. In Chapter Two, Quinn provides a series of catalogues of the historical uses of *uchi/soto* terms in spatial-temporal, social, and psychological domains. He suggests that a variety of related distinctions (us/them, domestic/nondomestic, and so forth) are associated with *uchi/soto* orientations, which thus constitute a historically established "metapattern" for Japanese culture. Wetzel argues in Chapter Three that person (as in first- or second-person) in the Japanese language is manifest more in (the use of) verbs of giving and receiving and in various forms of politeness than in personal pronouns. Suple, in Chapter Five, extends this sociolinguistic *uchi/soto* distinction to an investigation of the use of "directives" such as requests or commands inside or outside the home. Switches in or consistency of speech styles also "mark" particular contexts, relationships, or interactions as more or less *uchi* or *soto*.

In the concluding chapter of the book, Quinn argues that a variety of features of the Japanese language beyond/within the level of the word are interrelated to an *uchi/soto* based set of distinctions — in degrees of control or agency, the familiarity of the speaker with the information being conveyed, evidential detail, and so forth. He proposes that we think of the notions of person and self in terms of a cline, a gradient range or field, extending out from a situationally defined *uchi* — minimally the individual for Quinn, though Wetzel argues otherwise.

The ethnographically oriented chapters attempt to demonstrate the ubiquitousness of *uchi/soto* based distinctions in Japanese social life. The chapters by Dorinne Kondo (Chapter Seven) and Matthews Hamabata (Chapter Eight) reprise discussions to be found in their other, earlier publications. In both of these chapters we find that *uchi/soto* distinctions in social relationships (between the owner of a small company and the people employed there in Kondo's chapter; between family members among the owners of a set of interrelated companies,

dōzoku-gaisha, in Hamabata's discussion) are not unproblematically accepted or followed but are open to question, resistance, and manipulation. Here, *uchi/soto* distinctions are manifest in hierarchical relationships of solidarity and power, intimacy, and authority. Nancy Rosenberger (Chapter Four) argues that *uchi/soto* distinctions are manifest in gender relations in the hierarchical differences of power that exist between men and women, and between women and their children. Bachnik's ethnographic contribution (Chapter Six) makes use of a series of vignettes to demonstrate the shifting of *uchi/soto* reference points within which people as "selves" locate themselves in a "situated" social order. In Chapter Nine, Michael Molasky's literary contribution analyzes Shiga Naoya's short story "The Razor," deconstructing the dilemma and dissolution of the protagonist in terms of *uchi/soto* socio-spatial and psychological distinctions.

Overall, these essays emphasize the notions that how people talk and (inter)act depends on where and with whom they are doing so, defined according to inside/outside coordinates, and that social order and the self in Japan are similarly and simultaneously constructed through such discourse and behavior. Although Donald Brenneis contends that "This remarkable volume adds a new dimension . . . to our understanding of Japan" (ix), I myself have doubts about just how remarkable the essays collected here actually are and about how new their contributions to the understanding of Japan really are. Interesting, perhaps; remarkably new, certainly not. My primary concern is that, individually or collectively, these essays are rather reductionistic. Notions such as *omote/ura*, *ue/shita*, *tatemaeh/honne*, and so forth are either not employed, are subordinated to, or are merely seen as manifestations of *uchi/soto* distinctions, often in cases where using these other terms would be more relevant and insightful. It makes no sense to me, for instance, to force the notions of *amaeru/amayakasu* into an *uchi/soto* frame of power as Rosenberger does. Also, while it is important to emphasize the roles of people as active participants in the construction of action and the negotiation of meanings, I believe that Bachnik (in Chapter One and Chapter Ten) exaggerates both the distinctiveness of the contributions here and the failings of previous writers such as Doi, Nakane, and Lebra. Nobody should doubt the importance of *uchi/soto* distinctions in Japanese self, society, and language — this volume is useful in providing case studies of how people make such distinctions in particular situations. However, we must not forget the irreducible significance of other important dimensions of self, society, and language in Japan.

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Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle. By Christine M.E. Guth. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993. xvi + 231 pp., including index. US\$29.95.

The formation of great collections, the persona, motivations, and circumstances behind them, have long fascinated art historians. Among American collectors, names such as J.P. Morgan, Charles Lang Freer, or John D. Rockefeller come to mind. In Japan, Nezu Kaichirō, Gotoh Keita, and Hatakeyama Issei are among the best known, primarily because of the museums established to house their collections. What is perhaps not as well known, either to Japanese or American museum-goers, is that many of the great masterpieces of Japanese and Chinese art in both American and Japanese museums and private collections once belonged to Masuda Takashi (1848–1938), also known by his tea name, Don'ō.

Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle focuses on the life of this great collector to reflect the wider cultural, social, and economic milieu of Meiji and Taishō era Japan. In addition, this book dispels the view often found in Western literature on the subject, that only Western collectors such as Ernest Fenollosa and Charles Lang Freer were aware of Japan's rich cultural traditions in the midst of the country's efforts to modernize and industrialize.

Masuda began collecting in the 1880s, around the same time as did J.P. Morgan and Charles Lang Freer, and all three shared traits essential for a successful collector: an eye for art, a passion for the pursuit, the opportunity to acquire, as well as an ample source of income. Christine Guth traces these elements in her eminently readable account of Masuda Takashi's involvement with art, tea, and industry.

Masuda was a child of his age, born as the country itself was on the threshold of political, social, and economic upheaval. His early experiences were unusually cosmopolitan, though he was also to retain strong roots in traditional Japanese culture. When Commodore Perry's ships landed at Hakodate in 1854, Masuda's father was posted there as an administrator, and realized that the future lay with commercial dealings with the West. He saw to it that his son's training included not only the traditional program of Confucian classics and calligraphy, but also the use of the abacus and English. Young Masuda's exposure to the West continued after the family's return to Edo, during his service in the office of the first American consul, Townsend Harris. In 1864, Masuda accompanied his father to Paris with a shogunal treaty delegation. After the resignation of the last shogun and the formation of the Meiji government, Masuda worked with an American company in Yokohama. He was subsequently hired by the influential government official and businessman, Inoue Kaoru, to work for Inoue's new trading company, which merged with Mitsui dry goods and became the Mitsui Trading Company in 1876. Masuda helped organize the display that Mitsui sent to the international exposition in Paris in 1878. Later that year, he was to make his first "prophetic

purchase" of a lacquer writing box — the event which gives the first chapter of Guth's book its title: "The Lacquer Writing Box." Interestingly, as Guth points out, exposure to the West helped young businessmen such as Masuda to heighten their sensitivity to their own culture, and it also provided the economic means to collect Japanese art.

Like many great collectors, Masuda was not only astute, but was also fortunate in his advisors and mentors in art. In these early years, he formed some of the lasting relationships which he kept with art dealers and connoisseurs. Two such individuals were Wakai Kenzaburō and Kashiwagi Ken'ichirō. Kashiwagi held gatherings at his home, where Masuda and other collectors, including Edward Sylvester Morse, were able to examine and handle important art works. Kashiwagi would later sell Masuda outstanding pieces, including a section of the twelfth-century illustrated scroll of *The Tale of Genji*.

Guth explains how chanoyu became the focus of Masuda's art collecting, and how it provided him with a creative link to the great connoisseurs of the past. This is the central theme of the second chapter, entitled "Art Collecting and Chanoyu," in which Guth provides a fine summary of the history and aesthetics of chanoyu and how they influenced the Meiji men of tea. The subheadings in this chapter — "The Artistic Requirements of Chanoyu," "The Taste for *Karamono*," "Wabi Taste," "Courtly Taste," "Tori Awase," and "Grand Tea Gatherings" — give an idea of the wealth of information covered.

Political leaders of past ages, such as the Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimasa, in the fifteenth century, wealthy merchants such as Kamiya Sōtan in the next century, and powerful daimyo such as Kobori Enshū in the seventeenth century, imbued chanoyu with an aura of historic and cultural legitimacy with which Masuda and his contemporaries would strongly identify.

With the end of the shogunate and the decline of daimyo patronage, however, chanoyu had fallen out of favor. Here Guth moves into the third chapter, "A Taste for Tea," which includes as its first subheading, "Chanoyu in the Early Meiji Era." In this chapter, Guth provides the reader with much insight into this most interesting period of chanoyu history. Among other things, she explains how Masuda's mentor in business and fellow collector, Inoue Kaoru, was a pioneer in restoring the fortunes of tea. In the spring of 1887, Inoue held a lavish three day gathering to which the emperor and empress were invited, and which included kabuki performances as well as chanoyu. Inoue thus helped reestablish the practice of tea as "politically correct."

The fourth and last subheading in Chapter 3 is "Masuda and the Enshū Tradition." Of collectors of tea utensils of the past, it was to Kobori Enshū that Masuda looked for his chief inspiration. It was Enshū who had set the standards of taste among the daimyo, and who had made tea an integral part of the cultural and political arena of his time. Just as Enshū equated chanoyu with Confucian ethics and the ruling class, so Masuda and his associates would attempt to equate the practice of tea with traditional culture and the newly prominent entrepreneurial class, particularly the executives of the Mitsui firm. In fact, Guth dubs Masuda and his wealthy industrialist and political contemporaries "The New Daimyo."

Daimyo collectors of earlier generations, such as Matsudaira Fumai (1751–1818), compiled comprehensive catalogues of the tea wares collected by their contemporaries as well as of their own holdings. Masuda followed their example with his own compilation of photographic reproductions of 210 works that came from Kobori Enshū's collection, 75 of which belonged to Masuda himself.

As Guth describes in Chapter 4, "From Temple to Tearoom," Masuda's spirited collecting encompassed more than the traditionally sanctioned tea utensils, however. He forged new fields of pursuit when he started acquiring Buddhist objects not associated with the Zen sects for use in the tearoom. Here, too, Masuda showed not only his aesthetic but also his business acumen. Buddhism was another victim of the changes brought on by the downfall of the shogunate. When the Meiji government decreed that Shinto was to be the officially recognized religion of the state, the Buddhist temples lost their major source of support and were forced to sell Buddhist art works to survive. Western collectors such as Ernest Fenollosa and Freer, as well as Japanese collectors such as Inoue and Masuda, were able to purchase some of the finest Buddhist paintings and sculptures during this period.

Masuda became legendary for his creative use of Buddhist art and artifacts for chanoyu. In 1896, he launched his first large-scale tea gathering, the *Daishi kai*, named in honor of Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai, 774–835), in celebration of the purchase of a Kōbō Daishi calligraphy fragment. At the gathering, he showed the calligraphy and other works, such as iconographic drawings, that had never before been considered appropriate for display in a tearoom. The *Daishi kai* gatherings in fact were less about tea than about art collecting, since the invited collectors, dealers, and connoisseurs were encouraged to bring their best new acquisitions along for display. This is the focus of Chapter 5, "The New Daimyo." As a result of the *Daishi kai* gatherings, art works often changed hands, and the best works stayed within the collectors' group led by Masuda.

The documentation of the transmission of art works and records of tea utensils used during tea gatherings became an integral part of the art scene during this period. The most distinguished writer in Masuda's circle was Takahashi Yoshio (1861–1937), whose diaries and newspaper articles did much to bring chanoyu and tea collecting into the public arena, and to gain acceptance and prestige for the industrialist collectors.

By 1901, Masuda was the head of the entire Mitsui conglomerate, and was one of the wealthiest men in Japan. Yet, according to Guth, despite Masuda's success in business and the attendant wealth it brought him, he was still painfully aware of the old Confucian prejudice that money alone was vulgar; it must be accompanied by something socially and culturally acceptable, such as the practice of tea. As the commanding actor on the Mitsui corporate stage, Masuda made chanoyu the civilizing element for his employees, which would bind them together in a web of mutual obligations and alliances. The practice of tea and connoisseurship of art would become Masuda's test for corporate

loyalty and competence. His charismatic leadership inspired the younger generation of aspiring business magnates, such as Hara Tomitaro and Nezu Kaichiro. Masuda's Daishi kai served as a vehicle for the display of his own taste and wealth, but in a period before public museums, it also served as a kind of salon where his contemporaries could gather to study and handle fine works of art.

As Guth relates in her final chapter, in the changing political and economic climate of the Taishō and early Shōwa eras, the wealthy industrialist collectors came under public criticism for the exorbitant prices paid for art works and the extravagance of some of the tea gatherings. This brought about a shift in emphasis among the prominent collectors, who claimed that they were in fact preserving Japan's cultural heritage and preventing it from being removed by foreign predators.

Yet when the government did propose the registering of National Treasures in private hands, Masuda's strong opposition to the idea revealed the uncompromising and self-indulgent passion of a collector of a particular temperament, who was the product of a particular society and age that Guth calls the "golden age of collecting," which closed with Masuda's death in 1938. The end of one of the most active eras in the transfer of ownership of great tea wares was due not only to Masuda's death, but also to the fact that many of the collections of his contemporaries, such as Nezu and Gotoh, were taken out of circulation to be housed in the private museums bearing their names.

Having survived the war intact despite the lack of interest of his heir, Masuda's own art collection suffered an ironic fate. It was dispersed as part of the break-up of the Mitsui conglomerate and the purging of the business leaders associated with it. The sale of Masuda's art treasures in the early postwar decades ensured that works such as the *Deer Scroll* by Hon'ami Kōetsu and Tawaraya Sōtatsu can now be seen at the Seattle Art Museum, or the sixteenth-century Iga ware flower container is now in the Gotoh Museum.

The two above-mentioned works are among the numerous illustrations of works once owned by Masuda that accompany Guth's text. The list of illustrations itself provides an excellent overview of the fate of over forty of the objects from Masuda's collection. The volume also includes a useful appendix listing the major collectors of the early twentieth century. Christine Guth has done an admirable job in her study of an era when traditional culture struggled to survive and accommodate rapid social and economic changes, and in her portrait of a complex man and the world of tea and collecting which he so dominated.

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Religion and Society in Modern Japan: Selected Readings. Edited by Mark R. Mullins, Shimazono Susumu, and Paul L. Swanson. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1993. x + 310 pp., including cumulative bibliography. US\$50.00, ¥6,000, clothbound; US\$22.00, ¥2,500, paperback.

Sometimes it is possible to like a book very much but to find in it a fault on which you need to focus, even though others might view it as a nit that scarcely needs picking. *Religion and Society in Modern Japan* is, at least for me, such a book. My review of it, therefore, will concentrate on the reason I like the chapters of this book but feel uncomfortable about something the book as a whole seems to be suggesting. Both this book and the question I raise about it are, I hope, worth consideration by persons interested in understanding religion in Japan.

"Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion," the initial essay, by the late Kuroda Toshio, appeared in 1981 but retains a freshness because its main point is so provocative and so contrary to what most people — including most non-Japanese — have been told about Shinto. Kuroda analyzed uses of the word "*shintō*" over many centuries and found that down through time it hardly ever referred to a religion with its own clear identity. During the long medieval period, in fact, many of the beliefs and activities we today identify with "Shinto" were simply taken to be one part of Buddhism. The notion of Shinto as a kind of stable, bedrock feature of Japanese life gets dissolved in Kuroda's analysis. That notion itself, he holds, is nothing more than a modern concoction. Expectably, Kuroda's perspective ruffled feathers. It needs saying that it also has not met quite the degree of acceptance that this book's editors suggest it did. But as an interesting challenge to common views of Shinto as a solid constant in Japan, Kuroda's piece remains important.

Jan Swyngedouw of Nanzan University, whose mastery and use of statistics always gives his arguments a sturdy backing, provides the details of a theory as to how the different religious traditions of Japan constitute what he calls *bun* — that is, non-interfering "compartments" within the whole. Swyngedouw drops hints that Christianity in Japan ought simply to find its own *bun* where it need not really compete with the others. Priests, he writes, "should be ready to offer the specific help at Christmas time and . . . for nuptial blessings."

A valuable set of translations of modern documents, mostly political, begins this volume's mid-section, dealing with religion and the state. It is clear from the essays in this section that old problems have not gone away. Yasukuni Shrine and the participation in its rites by members of the government, discussed intelligently in essays by both K. Peter Takayama and Klaus Antoni, seem to pose an ongoing encroachments problem (state-on-church or maybe Shinto-on-others) that does not fit too well into Swyngedouw's concept of harmonized compartments. Takayama's essay also includes a view of Shinto which, curiously, is precisely the one attacked by Kuroda in this book's opening piece.

The remaining essays are specific studies of concrete religious practices — some traditional and some belonging to “new religions.” Hoshino Eiki and Takeda Dōshō provide a considerably updated version of an earlier essay they did in the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* on *mizuko* rites and abortion. Their study presents valuable statistics and passes no judgement, either positive or negative, on these practices. Fleur Wöss, in what is my favorite piece in this book, provides a fascinating account of how many of Japan’s elderly, dreading the bodily and social consequences of protracted dying, go to certain temples to pray for neat, sudden (*pokkuri*) deaths. This essay communicates the human dilemma with clarity and sensitivity. Paula K. R. Arai’s account of the life of Sōtō Zen nuns in modern Japan is also compellingly concrete and “intimate” in the best sense. She gives the reader a fine sense of exactly why a woman might choose such a life.

What, then, could I possibly dislike in such an obviously likable book? It is, put simply, a word that I think is inappropriate and misleading — the word “religiosity.” The fact is that once you read past the title in *Religion and Society in Modern Japan*, you realize that all of Part I is devoted to a discussion of what is dubbed “Japanese Religiosity.” In his Introduction, Paul L. Swanson says that the editors chose “religiosity” over “folk religion,” but he fails to say why. What, I wonder, is the feature of religion in Japan that compels the need to talk about it as “religiosity” rather than “religion,” the usual word and one that in the dictionaries is less pejorative? My hunch is that this is something that comes out of theology or, more precisely, a mission-oriented approach to explaining the non-Christian religions of Japan.

Nitpicking always needs justification. Mine is that the picking of nits was once a valued activity — the removal of undesirable little lice from hair or clothing. “Japanese religiosity,” I suggest, is an intellectual parasite that needs removal from the vocabulary of people discussing religion in Japan. It is a term that suggests that what you have in Japan is a rich but still somewhat motley and *form-less* panoply of religious impulses, energies, and phenomena. Japan provides a “feast,” but, in this view, a highly disorganized one; Swanson calls it a “colossal smorgasbord.”

Why is it that Japan is described in this book in terms of “religiosity”? What is different in Japan from what will be found in Ireland, Italy, and even the Philippines — places where piety and its expressions tend to be referred to, and rightly so, as “religion”? The difference in terms, I suggest, springs from a viewpoint derived from Thomas Aquinas, who in turn was indebted to Aristotle for his notion of “form.” It comes out of the assumption that by being Christianized a society will have articulate “form” brought to what till then had been merely random and unstructured spiritual impulses, practices, and ideas. The Church, in this view, turns a people’s religiosity into religion. It would turn their pick-and-choose smorgasbord into a neatly sequenced meal, one that is “formal” in the sense of embodying Form itself. Although this book’s editors possibly had no deliberate missionizing intent, the religion/religiosity distinction hanging on here still smacks of one. In spite of being minuscule, this is a parasite needing to be spotted and then picked off.

Most of the individual essays in this book have, as its opening paragraph states, a "social science orientation." Opinion-research, statistics about the ups and downs of sects, and behavioral trends are, therefore, the things it describes and charts well. Fleur Wöss and Paula Arai, however, wriggle free of the coldness to which a stress on quantitative analysis frequently leads. As long as a reader is aware that its notion of "Japanese religiosity" will tend to skew matters in what, to my mind, is a questionable direction, this book contains a good deal of excellent, fairly up-to-date research. It has, in addition, many interesting things to say.

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Japanese Historical Periods

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Nara period, 710–794
Heian period, 794–1192
Kamakura period, 1192–1336
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