

CHANDYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 15



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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TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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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.

Discharge from Military Service

Sen Sōshitsu XV

Having seen the war's end while stationed at Matsuyama as a naval first lieutenant, I found myself crossing over to Himeji on a chug boat and from there making my way to the army administration office at Hotarugaike in Itami. This was because I had been ordered to serve as a carrier plane flight captain and transport soldiers encamped in the south back to Japan. When I reported to the people at Hotarugaike, however, I was told that they knew of no such order, and that they themselves were in the midst of withdrawing so they had no leeway for such concerns. Left stranded, I asked what I should do, and was told by an upper-ranking officer to just "go home." So with that, in October of 1945, after having been gone for two years, I returned to my home on Ogawa street in Kyoto.

Reaching the house, I stood in front of the gate for awhile, gazing at it vacantly, and as I looked at that familiar old 'helmet gate,' a feeling surged through me from head to toe: 'How fortunate I am!' Only then did it really hit home that I had made it back alive.

My mother, seeing my figure there before her, nearly crumbled to her knees. My brothers, too, welcomed me home with tremendous elation. It seems that my mother at first thought it was my ghost that had returned. This was understandable, since, for over a month after the war's end, my whereabouts were kept secret by the military, and my family was not certain whether I was dead or alive.

My younger brother closest to me in age, Yoshiharu, was a probationary officer of special operations in the army, and was discharged soon after the 20th of August. When he reached home, he noticed the smell of stick incense burning and thought, 'This is awful — probably my big brother went and died in the war. I'll have to take over as head of the house.' He says that he was seized by a dreadful feeling of uneasiness. This was all the more reason why the entire family expressed jubilation at my discharge and safe return.

Once I was back home, however, I became despondent. Having suddenly been released from the schism between thoughts over living and dying that had filled my life till the previous day, I did not know what to do

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

with myself. Endeavoring to get me back on my feet, my mother commanded me and my brother to tear down the bomb shelter that had been built in the garden. Confronting the job on an empty stomach, it took severe labor, but, as I immersed myself in the task, my feelings of despondency gradually calmed down.

Something that both startled and irritated me once I got home after the war was the presence of the Occupation Forces. Probably they wanted to see something authentically Japanese, and approached our house as though they were visiting a museum. They drove up to Konnichian in jeeps and asked for tea to be prepared for them to drink. Since I had been a part of the Special Attack Unit, the intrusion of these men into our house was unbearably discomforting. I even disdained to see their faces. Still, I was curious about how the situation was progressing, so I slyly took a peep.

It was manifest in the way my father was carrying himself that he would not refuse anyone who came to visit, and thus he was calmly acting as host to these men. In the fluent English he had learned at Dōshisha, he explained to them that, according to the Japanese way of conduct, the first order of business was to express greetings by making a bow. So saying, he had them sit properly on the tatami floor. The American soldiers had come up into the house as curiosity seekers, but now they followed my father's instructions and were sitting respectfully. Among these American soldiers, there were rude ones who plopped themselves down sideways on the floor and tried to use the tokonoma as a pillow. My father unhesitatingly commanded them to "Get away!" and then he had them take their leave. These young soldiers were taken aback by my father's dignified manner, and scrambled away.

Seeing this, I felt impressed by my father's courage and, at the same time, realized, 'This is it! This is the very thing that I have to do.' There was my father, relating to the visitors not as a citizen of a country that had lost the war versus personnel from the Occupation Forces, or as 'Japanese' versus 'American,' but as a person teaching them about the Way of Tea. It was my duty to take the Way of Tea and somehow, through it, implant the spirit of Japan within the hearts of people around the world. Having survived the war, this was my mission. . . . As soon as this thought came to me, my discomfort with the American soldiers disappeared, and I realized how foolish it was to bear hatred toward people.

This was the point of departure for me after the war.



Chanoyu and the Tsuchiya Daimyō Family

Kizuka Kuniko

Introduction

The terms *Tsuchiya kurachō* (Tsuchiya storehouse register) and *Tsuchiya meibutsu* (famed Tsuchiya tea utensils) relate to the body of tea utensils collected by the Tsuchiya family, one of the *fudai-daimyō*, or “hereditary” daimyō houses under the Tokugawa shōgunate.¹ The collection, once consisting of over 350 pieces, including many famed works, gradually changed ownership by either being given as gifts to the shōgun or passed on or sold to others. Especially during the Kansei era (1789–1801), a large part of the collection was acquired by Matsudaira Fumai and other daimyō. Next there ensued the Meiji Restoration, after which the collection became completely scattered.

土屋蔵帳
土屋名物
譜代大名

松平不昧

For the samurai class, chanoyu was an essential social accomplishment, being a vital part of the ceremonies extended to the shōgun when he made visits to daimyō, as well as an important medium in the relationships between samurai families. For the heads of the Tsuchiya family, however, it was more than a mere social accomplishment. They enthusiastically enjoyed this art and collected utensils of outstanding quality. This, however, is known today only through the fact that there exist the above-mentioned terms, *Tsuchiya kurachō* and *Tsuchiya meibutsu*.

What kind of an understanding did the Tsuchiya family actually have of chanoyu? The study of this family and the Tsuchiura clan as a whole, including a look into their chanoyu practice, has only begun. Even in regard to their role as lords of the Tsuchiura clan, the heads of the house have been assessed on the basis of vague criteria, as indicated by the simplistic depiction, “He was a benevolent lord,” typical

土浦藩

¹ *Fudai-daimyō* were daimyō who had served as vassals of the Tokugawa from before their victory in the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, and were raised to daimyō rank following that event.—Tr

Translated, by permission, from “*Tsuchiya-ke no Chanoyu: Daimyō no Chadō-shi Kenkyū no Kiso Sagyō*” in Nomura Art Museum Curatorial Department, ed., *Nomura Bijutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō* [Nomura Art Museum Research Bulletin] vol. 3, 1994 (Kyoto: Nomura Bunka Zaidan).

of the commentaries existing at present. Evaluations reflecting research conducted prior to the second world war, when the dominant focus was on political history, still linger concerning the Tsuchiyas. As for recent social and economic studies of the Tsuchiura clan, these fail to consider the matters within the larger context of political and cultural history.²

Tanihata Akio has pointed out that any study of the relation between daimyō houses and chanoyu should strive to place the “daimyō-cum-tea devotee” properly within chanoyu history.³ At the same time, the two main concerns of any study of daimyō should be to assess the political and cultural implications of the daimyō structure within history. By examining the connections between the clan heads’ chanoyu and clan finances and politics, we have access to a junction point useful in assessing these.

For instance, we know that the chanoyu avocation of clan lords was rationalized — as if these men needed justification for engaging in chanoyu — by statements to the effect that “Tea utensils can save the financial stability of the clan in dire circumstances.” What we should examine here is whether the tea utensils were considered to belong to the clan, that is to say, to be the common property of a community with a lord at its summit, or whether they were the private possessions of the lord himself. Who would have benefited if the utensils were sold, the clan or the lord? In order to assess the economics of a clan, such questions should be addressed. Up to now, the study of Edo-period daimyō and clans has largely been restricted to historical analyses of the social economy and political circumstances of the period. I propose that by examining how chanoyu was treated in a daimyō family, and thereby closely examining daimyō culture during the Edo period, a new perspective will be opened on the study of daimyō and clans.

Several years ago we organized an exhibition entitled *Tsuchiya-ke no Chanoyu* [The Tsuchiya Family’s Chanoyu], which ran from November 1 to December 13, 1992, at the Tsuchiura City Museum. The building is on the site of the old Tsuchiura Castle, the home base for the Tsuchiya family. The so-called *Tsuchiya meibutsu*, or “famed Tsuchiya tea utensils,” are no longer owned by their descendants, nor are they kept in Tsuchiura City. Therefore, this exhibition owed much to the cooperation of many museums throughout the country and to private collec-

² *Tsuchiura-shi Shi* [History of Tsuchiura City] (Compilation Committee of the History of Tsuchiura, ed., 1975) discusses the Tsuchiya family’s domination mainly from the perspective of social economy, and makes almost no mention of any cultural dimensions. Only in *Ibaraki-ken Shi: Kinsei-hen* [History of Ibaraki: Modern Period] (Compilation Committee of the History of Ibaraki Prefecture, ed., 1985), is Tsuchiya Masanao (1641–1722) introduced as a lord who loved to learn new things.

³ Tanihata Akio, *Kinsei Chadō-shi* [History of the Way of Tea in the Modern Ages] (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1985).

tors who loaned articles from their collections. Before the exhibition, we made as thorough an investigation as we could of records and documents related to the family's chanoyu, and tried to clarify just what the chanoyu of the Tsuchiya family was like.

In this article, I will report about the principal documents found during the preparation of the exhibition. By introducing them here for the first time, I hope this paper will help form the groundwork for further study of the nature of the chanoyu practiced by daimyō families, as well as for the study of the daimyō families themselves.

Origin of the Tsuchiyas and their Establishment as a Daimyō Family

Let me briefly explain the background of the Tsuchiya family. Its history can be traced back to Tsuchiya Masatsugu, a vassal of the Takeda family in Shinshū, central Japan. With the fall of the Takeda family, Tsuchiya Masatsugu shared in its bad fortune. However, in Tenshō 17 (1589), the plight of the family was relieved when Masatsugu's son was appointed by Tokugawa Ieyasu as factotum (*koshō*) for Ieyasu's own son, Hidetada, who was about the same age as the boy. This son of Masatsugu's was Tsuchiya Tadanao (1585–1612). He was later given a fief yielding 20,000 *koku* of rice⁴ in Kururi, Kazusa Province (present-day Chiba Prefecture). Through this, he became a *fudai-daimyō* and the lord of the Kururi clan.

土屋昌次

小姓

土屋忠直

久留里 上総国

Tadanao had three sons: Toshinao, Kazunao, and Korenao. The oldest son, Toshinao, succeeded to the lordship. The second son, Kazunao, who was born in Keichō 13 (1608), was given the title of Tajima-no-kami, or Governor of Tajima. At first he was among the direct vassals of the shōgun (*hatamoto*) and worked as Tokugawa Iemitsu's factotum. Held in high regard by Iemitsu, he was gradually promoted to the post of Head of Factotums (*koshō-bantō*) and then Junior Councillor (*waka-doshiyori*), and eventually, in 1665, was appointed as a member of the Shōgun's Council of Elders, a post referred to as *rōjū*. In 1669, he was given a 45,000 *koku* fief in Tsuchiura, Hitachi Province (present-day Ibaraki Prefecture). This was the beginning of the Tsuchiya

利直 数直 之直

但馬守

旗本 徳川家光

小姓番頭

若年寄

老中

常陸国

⁴ A *koku* is a measure of volume or capacity. In the Edo period, one *koku* equaled about 180 liters or 5 US bushels — theoretically enough rice to feed one person for a year. The revenues of daimyō and salaries of officials were estimated in *koku* of rice. A revenue of minimum 10,000 *koku* was necessary to entitle one to the rank of daimyō.—Tr (cf. Kōdansha Encyclopedia of Japan and E. Papinot in *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan*)



Illustration of garden at estate in Honjo. Colors on paper. Edo period. This work is among the Tsuchiya family documents preserved at the National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tokyo. The year after Tsuchiya Masanao's appointment as a member of the Shōgun's Council of Elders (*rōjū*), he received from the shōgunate an estate covering 7 thousand *tsubo*, or approximately 23,100 square meters, in the Honjo district of Edo. This illustration reveals that in the garden there were two *ochaya*, or buildings for tea enjoyment: one jutting out over a pond, and the other labeled "Autumn Field *Ochaya*." At the lower left in the illustration, there is a structure labeled "*shoin*" (formal study). Photo courtesy of the Tsuchiura City Museum, Ibaraki Prefecture.

family's residency in Tsuchiura. Tsuchiura Castle had been the residence of the local *fudai-daimyō* for many generations before him. Kazunao was in the post of *rōjū* for 14 years, until he died at the age of seventy-two on the 2nd day of the 4th month, Empō 7 (1679).

Kazunao's oldest son, Masanao, had the title of Sagami-no-kami, or Governor of Sagami. He was born in Kan'ei 18 (1641), and, after succeeding to the head of the family in Empō 8 (1680), was promoted to the post of Keeper of Osaka Castle (*Ōsaka-jō-dai*) and then Kyoto Deputy (*Kyōto shoshidai*) before being appointed *rōjū* in 1687. He held the *rōjū* post for about 31 years, until his retirement in Kyōhō 3 (1718), making his one of the longest terms of service in this office.⁵

政直
相模守

大阪城代
京都所司代

The total length of time that Kazunao and his son Masanao served as *rōjū* was 45 years. If we include the ten years of Masanao's appointments in Osaka and Kyoto, regarding them as steps towards the *rōjū* post, we can see that the Tsuchiya family in two generations served in the major posts of the shōgunal administration for over a half century.

Masanao received a raise in his stipend on such occasions as being appointed Keeper of Osaka Castle. When he became a *rōjū*, he was granted 10,000 additional *koku*. His original fief, 45,000 *koku* inherited from his father, had now become 95,000 *koku*, more than two times larger. It consisted of the 65,000 *koku* domain in the Kantō area around Tsuchiura, with the rest on detached estates in Ōmi (present-day Shiga Prefecture), Izumi (present-day Wakayama Prefecture), and Mimasaka (present-day Okayama Prefecture). Although daimyō with a stipend of 20,000 to 40,000 *koku* had hitherto been appointed lords of the Tsuchiura clan and resided in Tsuchiura Castle, during the time of Masanao the size of the fief more than doubled. Until the Meiji Restoration, the Tsuchiura clan retained its fief, which was the second largest in Hitachi Province, being smaller only than that of the Mito clan (one of the three branch families of the Tokugawa), which yielded 350,000 *koku*.

近江国
和泉国 美作国

Let us consider what kind of *rōjū* Masanao was while he held the post for thirty-one years. According to the *Tsuchiura-shi Shi* [History of Tsuchiura City] and other writings, he was an "able" *rōjū*, serving the four shōguns from Tsunayoshi to Yoshimune. He was particularly known for having given an understanding decision on the case of the Akō Incident (a.k.a. the Forty-seven Rōnin Incident) in 1703. The period from the Jōkyō (1684–88) to the Kyōhō (1716–36) eras, while Masanao was in office, was a stable time for the shōgunate. Unlike in the early Edo period, when the political skills of the shōgun and his

土浦市史

⁵ Among the 188 people who were members of the Shōgun's Council of Elders (*rōjū*) or who held the post of Senior Minister in the Tokugawa government (*tairō*), five served for more than 30 years, including Tsuchiya Sagami-no-kami Masanao. During his term in office, 21 others also held the same post. The average tenure was about 8 years.

senior councils had a great influence on politics, no intense political activities were asked for from the *rōjū*. Therefore, materials which can be used to evaluate Masanao's abilities are scarce. The only certain fact is that he was in the post for a long time without being dismissed.

Presumably, Kazunao and his son Masanao were the ones who collected the utensils listed in the various *Tsuchiya kurachō*, and who enjoyed chanoyu. It is very feasible that, when collecting tea items, their authority as *rōjū* worked to their advantage.

After Kazunao and Masanao died at the ages of 72 and 82 respectively, the successive heads of the family had rather short life spans, some dying in their teens, and others in their twenties. The third generation, Nobunao, died at the age of 40; the fourth generation, Atsunao, at 45; the fifth, Suminao, at 17; the 6th, Yasunao, at 23; the 7th, Hidenao, at 35; and the 8th, Hironao, at 18. Even though the Tsuchiya family had a deep relationship with the Tokugawa family and held high status in the government, Masanao's descendants all passed away before being able to attain the summit of the feudal cabinet, the post of *rōjū*. From the viewpoint of chanoyu culture, where one could spend one's whole life cultivating and fostering its spirit, the lords of the Tsuchiura clan after Masanao all passed on before being able to fully enjoy chanoyu.

The Tsuchiya family controlled Tsuchiura and its neighboring areas for about two hundred years, until the Meiji Restoration. After 1868, their utensils and documents were gradually sold and became dispersed throughout the country.⁶ Regarding the documentation of the family itself, about three thousand records under the title *Hitachi-no-kuni Tsuchiura Tsuchiya-ke Monjo* [Documents of the Tsuchiya Family in Tsuchiura, Hitachi Province] are stored at the National Institute of Japanese Literature, and about one hundred entitled *Tsuchiya-ke Monjo* [Documents of the Tsuchiya Family] are stored in the Tsuchiura Municipal Library (transferred from the Tsuchiura City Museum).

Records Relating to the Family's Chanoyu

This chapter describes the contents of the major documents mentioning the family's involvement with chanoyu. Almost none of them has ever been the subject of a historical study.

⁶ In 1925, there was a sale at the Tokyo Bijutsu Club where about 300 pieces in the catalogue were listed as having the design of the Tsuchiya family's crest (three paving stones). The catalogue includes such articles as a painting of "Waterside Grass" by Mokkei which is classified as a *Higashiyama gomotsu* (also read *gyobutsu*) (i.e., an art work in the former collection of Ashikaga Yoshimasa), and a Bizen-ware tea caddy named "*Karagoto*" (Chinese Harp).

Storehouse Register

What is known as the *Tsuchiya kurachō*, or “Tsuchiya storehouse register,” is a catalogue of the tea utensils once owned by the Tsuchiya family. At present, there are ten verified copies of the work located around the country. The Tsuchiya Meihōkan, a display and storage facility that existed in Komatsu, Tsuchiura City, until around 1945, had its holdings catalogued in a work entitled *Tsuchiya-ke Hihō Mokuroku* [Tsuchiya Family’s Hidden Treasures]. In it, there is the entry “Tsuchiya storehouse register ledger, 7 volumes in total” (*Tsuchiya kurachō-daichō zen 7 satsu*). Those could have been the original registers of the Tsuchiya family’s tea utensil collection; unfortunately however, their whereabouts are now unknown.

In the Edo period and onward, copies of famous storehouse registers (*kurachō*) from various families were frequently made, though the accuracy of the descriptions depended very much upon the individual copyist. There were also copies called *kozō-bon* (errand boy versions) made by apprentices of utensil dealers for the purpose of learning how to remember the names of articles and to practice writing. In some cases, dealers added new articles to their lists with the intention of raising the value of those articles. Therefore, some care is required when looking at a storehouse register.

The copy popularly recognized as the *Tsuchiya kurachō* is the *Tsuchiya-ke Zōki Mokuroku, Zen* [Complete Catalogue of the Collection of the Tsuchiya Family’s Utensils] owned by the Mushanokōji branch of the Sen family, Kankyūan.⁷ Over 350 pieces are itemized under the categories of bowls, calligraphic writings, and so forth. Each item’s name, manufacturer, and certification are described along with the accompanying accessories, such as a box or a bag. The list includes 65 tea caddies, 43 sets of paired scrolls, 30 teabowls, 20 incense containers, and 20 calligraphic writings.

When comparing Kankyūan’s copy with other copies, a significant difference becomes apparent. In the case of the *Tsuchiya-kō Dōgu Oboechō* [Memorandum of Lord Tsuchiya’s Utensils] owned by Keiō University’s Sōan Bunko library, which is considered to be one of the better quality copies, we find a list that begins with calligraphic writings, then goes on to scrolls featuring poetry (*utamono*), sets of three hanging scrolls, sets of two hanging scrolls, single hanging scrolls, poetry

土屋家蔵器目録 全

官休庵

土屋侯道具覚帳

箒庵文庫

⁷ Kankyūan’s copy is introduced in Oda Eisaku, ed., *Chadō Kobijutsu Kurachō Shūsei* [Collection of Storehouse Registers of Antique Chanoyu Art] (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1977) and in *Chadō: Utsuwamono-hen (1) Kan 6* [The Way of Tea: Vessels (1), vol. 6] (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1936). Also, a modern typeset copy is introduced in the catalogue *Tsuchiya-ke no Chanoyu* [The Tsuchiya Family’s Chanoyu], published for the 10th special exhibition of the Tsuchiura City Museum.

books (*kasho*), single scrolls, tea caddies, teabowls, incense containers, teascoops, bamboo flower containers, tea-caddy trays, feather brooms, tea boxes, ink slabs, brush tubes, brush holders, inks, ceramic incense burners, incense burner trays, food containers, food-container trays, jars, and loose (i.e., un-mounted) calligraphic or pictorial works (*byōbu-makuri*). Then there continue sections of additional tea caddies, teascoops, incense containers, cold-water containers, and so forth. Sections listing tea caddies appear most frequently: four times, for a total of 50 pieces. Why was it written in this way? Judging from the overall layout of the inventory record, the items do not seem to be grouped according to whether they are *meibutsu* or not, the usual classes of value used for tea utensils. The groupings may reflect that the items were acquired at different times, or may be according to their storage locations. This is still a matter of conjecture.

In the version of the *Tsuchiya kurachō* owned by Kankyūan, all the articles of the same type are grouped together. It may be that the person who made the copy consolidated the multiple sections.

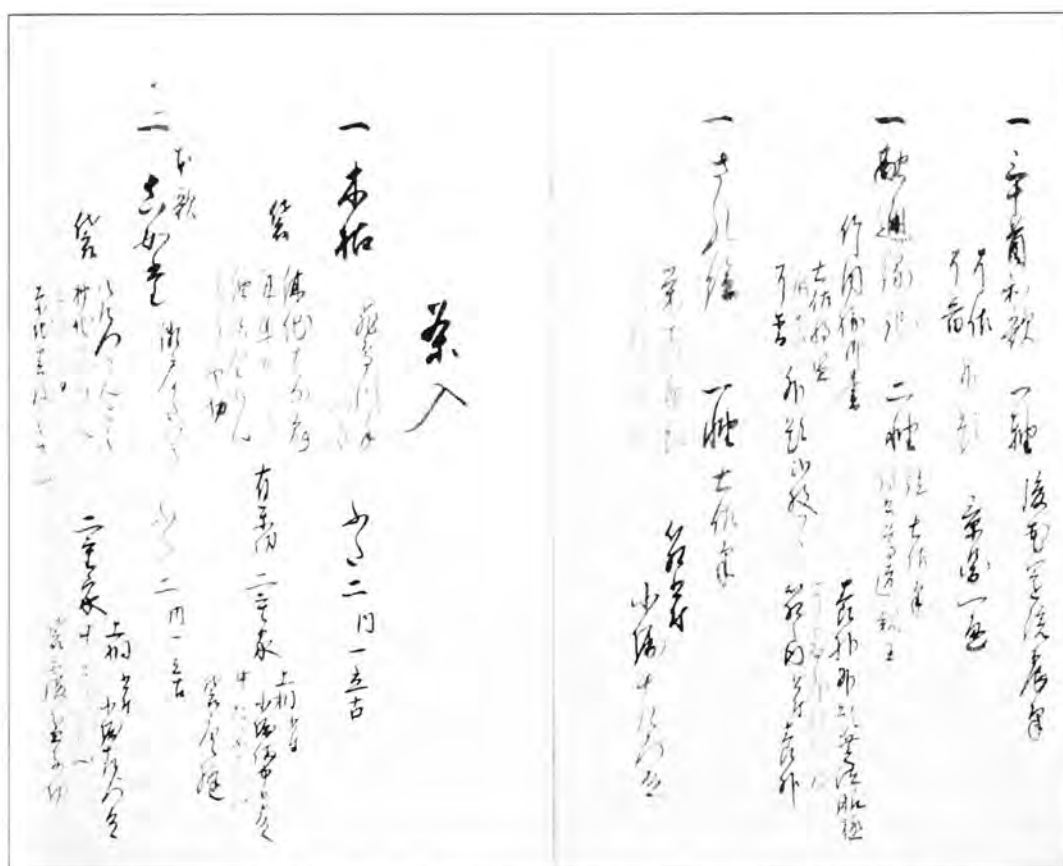
In the Keiō University copy, words written in red are found near the names of some articles. Probably these were written by the previous owner of the record, Takahashi Sōan. For instance, next to the article called *Teika-kyō-hitsu Keigabun* [Letter of congratulation from the poet Teika] is written in red, "At the end of Kansei 4, year of the mouse, delivered to the Lord of Unshū," indicating when and to whom this piece was transferred. Some of the notes only say where or to whom the article went, such as "Sasshū" (present-day Kagoshima Prefecture) or "Lord of Iga," and there are some which merely state "gone." On the back cover are words which read: "The red writings are based on the *Tsuchiya kurachō* version owned by Yamamoto Makei." At present, we do not know where the *Tsuchiya kurachō* owned by Yamamoto Makei is, but if we can believe what is written in red in the Keiō University copy, 104 pieces left the Tsuchiya family around Kansei 4 (1792). There are a variety of reasons why utensils might have changed ownership; for instance, they could have been given to someone, used as a gift to a superior, or sold. However, in the case of this large transference of Kansei 4, the red writings by Takahashi Sōan make it clear that the articles were all sold through dealers in Kyoto and Osaka. The items included many *meibutsu* pieces, such as a *chūkō-meibutsu* Seto *machūko* tea caddy⁸ named "*Someiro*" (Dyed Color). If the red words are accurate, we can imagine a rather large amount of money coming into the Tsuchiya family during the Kansei era.

⁸ *Chūkō-meibutsu* generally refers to tea utensils which the tea master Kobori Enshū (1579–1647) selected as worthy of *meibutsu* status; *machūko*, or "semi-old," refers to Seto-ware works produced during the Bun'ei era (1264–75), as distinguished from *ko-Seto*, or "Old Seto," produced before this.—E

高橋箒庵
定家卿筆慶賀文

山本麻溪

中興名物 真中古
染色



Tsuchiya-kō Dōgu Oboe-chō [Memorandum of Lord Tsuchiya's Utensils] in the Sōan Bunko archives at Keiō University, Tokyo. One of the ten known versions of the so-called *Tsuchiya kurachō*, or "Tsuchiya storehouse register." Edo period. Ink on paper. The Sōan Bunko houses the chanoyu-related documents collected by Takahashi Sōan (1861–1937), editor of the *Taishō Meiki Kan* [Taishō Catalogue of Famous Tea Utensils]. Photo courtesy of the Tsuchiura City Museum, Ibaraki Prefecture.

What kind of period was this Kansei era (1789–1801) for the Tsuchiya family and the Tsuchiura clan? There are no direct records telling us about the clan's financial conditions. However, it is known that cold and rainy weather continued from the spring to summer of Temmei 2 (1782). In the following year, due to the same kind of unseasonable weather plus ashes falling from an eruption of Mount Asama, the Kantō area suffered poor harvests for two years in a row. In Temmei 5 (1785), large floods occurred from the Kinki to the Tōkai regions, and the following year, floods also hit the Kantō area. This caused an increase in the price of rice and other foods, and became known in history as the "Temmei Famine." Of course, the villages in the domains of the Tsuchiura clan could not have avoided crop losses. In Temmei 6 (1786), the year of one devastating flood, in Komatsu village, where the official tax exemption for rice fields had been 202 *koku*, an additional 185 *koku* was allowed, and in Okishuku village, where the official exemption had been 332 *koku*, an additional 292 *koku* was allowed. These numbers reveal the seriousness of the damage and the subsequent blow to the income of the clan. To make matters worse, in Kansei 2 (1790), soon after Hidenao succeeded to the lordship from his elder brother Yasunao (who died at the age of 23), 20,000 *koku* of the clan's detached domains located in Izumi, Ōmi, and Mimasaka were confiscated by the government, and in their stead, Hidenao was given another 20,000 *koku* in Mutsu and Dewa provinces, in northern Japan. Though the number of *koku* was the same, the productivity in the former domains located in western Japan was much higher. This, too, led to a tremendous decrease in income from land taxes. To revitalize the villages after the famine, the Tsuchiura clan took such measures as supplying them with rice and reducing the local deputies' budgets. However, because the clan did not have any other revenue source except the land tax from those villages, it is easily imagined that their financial condition could scarcely have improved.

Among the clansmen's correspondence during the Kansei era is one letter which mentions the Tsuchiya family selling some utensils. It is a letter from an accountant in the Edo residence of the clan to another person in the same occupation. After he explains about their difficult financial conditions, he says, "Handing down utensils through the generations becomes a vain exercise."⁹ The expression "becomes a vain exercise" must mean that by selling off utensils, they were losing articles which had been carefully collected by their ancestors. In the next line, however, he states to the effect that "if this will aid our finances, it

⁹ Terashima Seisai, ed., *Tsuchiura-shi Bikō: Zaisei Kaiko Shiryō-shū* 2 [Explanatory Notes on the History of Tsuchiura: Gleanings from the Retrospective Record of Finance, 2]. Unpublished manuscript.

will suit our ancestors' wishes, too." This is quite significant when considering the value of tea utensils for the clan. Judging from the aforementioned weather-related events and these words from the letter, it is obvious that the Tsuchiya clan had financial difficulties. Therefore, they may certainly have sold a large number of ancestral tea utensils around Kansei 4, as noted in the *Tsuchiya kurachō* owned by the Keiō University Sōan Bunko library.

Unfortunately, from the remaining records of the clan we can not learn how much money they got from the sale of utensils or whether the income was used to reconstruct the clan's economy or not. Was the money utilized to repay the deficits of the clan, or to cover shortages caused by the difficult economy for expenses involving the family's observance of social formalities and ceremonies? It is important to know how it was used.

Let us go back to the copies of the *Tsuchiya kurachō*. These copies can be placed into two major categories according to the numbers of articles listed: on the one hand, the category of copies which list about 350 pieces; on the other, those which list about 270. The copies in the latter category list significantly fewer articles because the above-mentioned utensils which are believed to have changed ownership around the Kansei era, as well as articles which were not related to chanoyu, such as swords, were struck off the list. Not every item owned by the Tsuchiya family was listed. Those in the various versions of the record were selected following some criteria of which we are not yet aware. For instance, the extremely famed (*ōmeibutsu*) Chinese tea caddy named "*Sōgo nasu*" (Sōgo's eggplant-shaped tea caddy) was given by Tokugawa Tsunayoshi to the Tsuchiya family on the occasion of his visit in Genroku 7 (1694), (which will be mentioned again later in this paper). Even though it is certain that this piece was given to the family and presumably was owned by them throughout the subsequent Edo years, it is not listed in the inventory records.

宗吾茄子
徳川綱吉

Examining the source of each article, an overwhelming number came either from the Kobori family or from Kobori Enshū himself.¹⁰ Among the 102 pieces which are confirmed today as old Tsuchiya family utensils, 32 were directly brought to the family by Kobori Enshū or a Kobori family member. If we include the 8 pieces which passed from the Kobori family to some other owner before coming into the Tsuchiya family, it amounts to 40 pieces. About 40 percent of the utensils had a connection with Enshū or the Kobori family. Of these 102 pieces, 17, the largest single number, were sold to the lord of Izumo, Matsudaira

小堀遠州

¹⁰ A table of the Tsuchiura family's utensils which are currently recognized as authentic is included in the catalogue *Tsuchiya-ke no Chanoyu*. It gives the history of the utensils' ownership.



Meibutsu Zukai [Illustrated Book of Famed Tea Utensils] in the collection of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tokyo. Dated Kyōhō 19 (1734). Ink on paper, with colors on certain portions. This apparently is a copy, with additions, of a record made by Tsuchiya Masanao of famed tea utensils which he had seen. Photo courtesy of the Tsuchiura City Museum, Ibaraki Prefecture.

Fumai, in Kansei 4 (1792). Besides him, such names as “Kinoshita, Governor of Yamato” and “Matsudaira, Governor of Iga” are seen. Probably these daimyō bought the articles through dealers.

Record of *Meibutsu* Utensils

名物図解

Among the Tsuchiya family’s historical documents owned by the National Institute of Japanese Literature, there is a copy of a two-volume set of books called *Meibutsu Zukai* [Illustrated Book of Famed Tea Utensils].¹¹ It is an illustrated record written by Tsuchiya Masanao himself

¹¹ A copy of the same book is preserved in the Tokyo Maeda Sonkeikaku Bunko library.

when he had opportunities to see important utensils. It describes the items' generic names, specific names, owner, dimensions, any accessories, and the date he saw them. Tea caddies appear most frequently. At the end of the two volumes is a statement which says, "This is a copy of the book made by Tsuchiya Sōshū, Kyōhō 19 (1734), Summer, the end of the 6th month, Koyūtei owner Jōzan Motosato." Masanao died in Kyōhō 7 (1722), but this copy contains some items observed in Gembun 4 (1739). This means the original was written by Masanao and additions were incorporated by someone later. Nevertheless, it is important as a mid-Edo period record of *meibutsu* tea utensils.

土屋相州
呼友亭 常山元卿

Tea-gathering Records

There are no remaining works devoted to tea gatherings held by Tsuchiya Masanao himself. However, in two of the seven notebooks entitled "*Oboegaki*" [Memoranda] stored in the Sōan Bunko library at Keiō University, one can find eight records of tea gatherings held by Masanao between Shōtoku 2 (1712) and Kyōhō 6 (1721), when he was in his late years.¹²

覚書

It has been pointed out that Masanao's chanoyu strongly reflected the influence of Kobori Enshū, the chanoyu instructor of the third Tokugawa shōgun, Iemitsu. When Enshū died at the age of 69 in Shōhō 4 (1647), Masanao, born in Kan'ei 18 (1641), was in his seventh calendar year. He might not have received direct guidance from Enshū, but Kumakura Isao has written: "Masanao succeeded to Enshū's style of chanoyu in every aspect, from his respect for Enshū's utensils to his manner of making tea (*temae*) and his style of displaying objects and decorating the room interiors (*kazari*)."¹³ One reason for this observation by Kumakura is that many utensils listed in the Tsuchiya storehouse registers either came from the Kobori family or were items given value as tea utensils by Enshū — items which later came to be called *chūkō-meibutsu* (see footnote 8). Judging from the tea-gathering records mentioned above, we can see that Masanao not only collected but also used many utensils once owned or made by Enshū. He of course performed the style of chanoyu observed by daimyō, as established by Enshū, in which three rooms — a small tearoom (*koma*), linking room (*kusari-no-ma*), and formal study (*shoin*) — are used, and Kumakura points out that Masanao also adapted Enshū's unique way of tea in the style he followed.

小間
鎖の間 書院

¹² A modern typeset copy is reproduced in the catalogue *Tsuchiya-ke no Chanoyu*.

¹³ Kumakura Isao, "*Tsuchiya Kurachō no Sekai*" [The World of the Tsuchiya Storehouse Register], introductory article of the *Tsuchiya-ke no Chanoyu* exhibition catalogue.



Seto Kinkazan-ware tea caddy named "Hirosawa." Classified as a *chūkō-meibutsu*. Muromachi period. Height, 7.6 cm; diameter of mouth, 3.0 cm; diameter of base, 4.5 cm. Kobori Enshū is credited with having discovered this work and given it its name, taken after a classical poem mentioning Hirosawa Pond. After Enshū it was owned by the daimyō Matsudaira who was Governor of Bizen, and then by Tsuchiya Masanao. It is listed in the *Tsuchiya kurachō*, and, according to records of tea gatherings hosted by Masanao, was used by him at a gathering held in 1713. Photo from the Kitamura Museum, Kyoto.



Celadon water jar with demon-mask ears. Ming Dynasty. Height, 14.2 cm; diameter of mouth, 19.2 cm; diameter of foot, 11.2 cm. Product of the Longquan kiln, which, in the 16th – early 17th centuries, manufactured many works ordered from Japan. According to the inscription on the underside of the lid, the Tsuchiya family presented this to the Sakai family in 1871. The Sakai family for generations served as the head of a village within the Tsuchiura clan's domain. Photo courtesy of the Tsuchiura City Museum, Ibaraki Prefecture.



Lacquered inkstone box with *maki-e* design on theme of "salt mound" (*enzan*). Muromachi period. Length, 25.7 cm; width, 24.0 cm; height, 5.3 cm. Designated an Important Cultural Property. The "salt mound" theme takes from a classical poem included in the *Kokin Shū* imperial anthology. This inkstone box is listed in the *Tsuchiya kurachō*, and mention of it in the *Senke Chūkō-meibutsu-ki* [Sen Family Record of *Chūkō-meibutsu*] also reveals that it was once owned by the Tsuchiya family. A record of a tea gathering hosted by Tsuchiya Masanao shows that he displayed this inkstone box on the shelf of the *shoin* tearoom. Photo from the Kyoto National Museum.

Onari Diary

Onari, a custom which started in the Muromachi period (1336–1573), 御成 was where a shōgun would visit his vassals' mansions and be entertained with food, drink, music, and other enjoyments. It was a strategy used by the shōgun to enforce his power.

The fifth Tokugawa shōgun, Tsunayoshi, is known for having conducted *onari* frequently: in total 186 times during his twenty-two years as shōgun. Before his time, when the Tokugawa political system was still being established, *onari* were formal events carried out for the purpose of displaying the shōgun's authority. In the case of Tsunayoshi's *onari*, however, it seems that they were highly recreational in nature.¹⁴

From Genroku 7 to 8 (1694–95), he made several visits to the houses of his immediate attendants (*sobayōnin*; the position next to *rōjū*) and 側用人 *rōjū*. He visited the house of Tsuchiya Masanao twice: once in the 4th month of Genroku 7, and again in the 9th month of Genroku 8.

Tsunayoshi's first grand visit to the Tsuchiya's house located in Wadakuramon, Edo, was on the 10th day of the 4th month, 1694, when 和田倉門 Masanao was 53 years old. It was the seventh year after Masanao had taken up his post as *rōjū*. We can get the following facts from the genealogical record of the Tsuchiya family.¹⁵

On that day, when Tsunayoshi arrived at the house, being received by the whole family, he bestowed upon them 30 sets of clothing. In return, Masanao presented him with a long sword, a horse, cotton, and other gifts. Following Masanao, his son Sadanao also presented the shōgun with a long sword and a horse, then Masanao's married daughters, who came back for this occasion, presented the shōgun with colored silk cloths. The gift exchanging took place not once but many times. In fact, the shōgunal visit started with repeated gift exchanges and, between programs, the giving and taking continued. After the welcoming celebration, "The Great Learning," "The Doctrine of the Mean," and "The Analects of Confucius" were read by Tsunayoshi, Masanao, and a vassal of the family, respectively. Then, after chanoyu, a noh play was performed. Tsunayoshi was in a good mood all day, and the shōgunal visit closed with Tsunayoshi's giving the tea caddy mentioned earlier, the *ōmeibutsu karamono* "Sōgo nasu," to Masanao. 定直

Among the Tsuchiya family's documents is the *Onari Nikki* [Shōgunal Visit Diary], which lists the utensils, gifts, and costs required for the shōgun's visit of the 10th day of the 4th month, Genroku 7. It originally consisted of eleven volumes. Unfortunately, the first three vol- 御成日記

¹⁴ Satō Toyozō, *Shōgun-ke "Onari" ni tsuite* (8) [About the Grand Visits of the Shōgunal Family (8)], in *Kinkosōsho* 9 (1982) (Tokyo: Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation).

¹⁵ *Keifu* [Tsuchiya Family Genealogy] preserved in the Tsuchiura Municipal Library.

umes, the first half of the sixth, and the second half of the eighth volume, where a detailed description of how Tsunayoshi was received, are missing. The diary still tells us about many important things, such as the family receiving a large number of congratulatory gifts (*shūgi*) from other daimyō and samurai retainers of the shōgunate (*hatamoto*), building a new mansion, preparing a great number of utensils, and summoning people from Tsuchiura, to coach them in the different roles to be played on that day. After the shōgunal visit was over, they gave rewards to the staff members and sent return gifts to the daimyō and *hatamoto*. The diary reveals the economic aspect of a shōgunal visit, the vast amount of money spent to carry one out.

金銀御入用積之部

徳川実記

From the eleventh volume, entitled *Kin-gin goiriyō tsumori-no-bu* [Estimate of the necessary expenditures of gold and silver], we learn the cost of the shōgunal visit. According to the *Tokugawa Jikki* [True Chronicle of the Tokugawa], a loan of ten thousand gold *ryō*¹⁶ was made by the shōgunate to four daimyō who received visits from Tsunayoshi (Ōkubo Tadatomo, Abe Masatake, Toda Tadamasa, and Tsuchiya Masanao) in Genroku 7.¹⁷ What then was the actual expense of one visit? In the case of the Tsuchiya family, the most costly item was the "Expenses for erecting a new mansion," which came to just over 20,496 gold *ryō*. The next highest was 1,519 *ryō* for the "Gifts with *hatsuo*,"¹⁸ then 1,389 *ryō* for "Kitchen needs." In total, the expenses amounted to over 25,736 *ryō*. There is no actual record of the Tsuchiura clan's revenues and expenditures; however, we can calculate their income from the land tax on the 65,000 *koku* fief they had at that time. Using a simple ratio of "four for the government to six for the people" (40% taxation), and assuming that all the rice was sold, the annual income of the Tsuchiura clan turns out to be about 21,580 *ryō* according to the market price of rice in Edo in those days. The shōgunal visit which took place in Genroku 7 was in fact a large ceremony requiring 1.2 times more than the family's annual gross revenue.

Orders for *Gohon* Teabowls

During the late Muromachi period, when wabi style chanoyu became popular, Chinese teabowls lost their popularity, to be replaced by Ko-

¹⁶ Unit of currency adopted in the late 16th c. The standard gold coin of the Tokugawa shōgunate, the *koban*, was equivalent to 1 *ryō*.—Tr (cf. *Kōdansha Encyclopedia of Japan*)

¹⁷ *Tokugawa Jikki* [True Chronicle of the Tokugawa], article for the 4th day of the 12th month, Genroku 6 (1693).

¹⁸ *Hatsuo*, literally "first ears of rice," is a reference to a congratulatory gift or a return gift.—Tr

rean teabowls. Entering the Edo period, besides the use of original Korean bowls which had been imported to Japan, people started to send samples to Pusan to have bowls order-made there. These bowls which were created based on samples sent from Japan are known as *gohon*. According to a record entitled “Copy of orders made from Genroku 14 to Hōei 2,” in the five-year period from Genroku 16 (1703) to Hōei 4 (1707), Masanao placed six orders for 79 utensils related to chanoyu.¹⁹ Ten different kinds of items were requested, including *katade* and *kinkai* type teabowls, cold-water containers, receptacles for discarded water, vessels for brewed roasted rice, pitchers, large bowls for ash, earthenware pans, plates, flower vases, and vase stands.

御本

堅手 金海

While Masanao was strongly influenced by Enshū and was an enthusiastic collector of Enshū's utensils, he also appears to have pursued his own tastes in tea items.

Masanao's Chanoyu and the Cultural Climate in Tsuchiura

What manner of involvement did this man Masanao — a central figure in the government of that time — have with chanoyu? Here, I want to draw information from the references I have introduced above.

The utensils described in the *Tsuchiya kurachō* seem to have been collected by the first and second generations of the Tsuchiya family in Tsuchiura, Kazunao and Masanao. Probably these articles came to the family through purchases, as bestowals from the shōgun, and also as gifts from their vassals, who knew the two *rōjū* to be chanoyu enthusiasts. From the few extant records of Masanao's tea gatherings and the *meibutsu* record written by him, we can see that he did not merely collect tea utensils but also used them at actual tea gatherings. The image emerges of Masanao seriously trying to understand chanoyu, and of him actively enjoying it.

How can Masanao be evaluated as a devotee of tea? I can only point out the facts that his chanoyu, the majority of his utensils, and his way of making tea (*temae*) were largely based on the style of Kobori Enshū, who established the chanoyu style followed by daimyō (*daimyō-cha*), while he also pursued his own taste in tea utensils, as seen in his orders for teabowls from the Pusan kiln. For further study, I want to point out the necessity of carefully examining the contents of his orders for tea utensils.

¹⁹ *Kōrai-jawan: Gohon to Sono Shūhen* [Korean Teabowls: *Gohon* and Their Circumstances], (Kyoto: Chadō Research Center, 1992).

Both Kazunao and Masanao worked as *rōjū* until their late years, and rarely went back to their fief, Tsuchiura. As for the succeeding lords of the Tsuchiura clan, they maintained high posts in the shōgun-ate, such as that of Master of Shōgunal Ceremony (*sōshaban*), which kept them in close attendance on the shōgun. Hence they were exempt from the system which required most daimyō to reside in Edo in alternate years to attend on the shōgun (*sankin-kōtai*), and they stayed in Tsuchiura Castle only about three months a year, from the 9th month into the 11th. The place where Kazunao and Masanao enjoyed chanoyu must mostly have been in their residence in Edo.

What influence did a feudal lord's interest in chanoyu have on the town surrounding his castle? I want to introduce one tea gathering record which remains in Tsuchiura.²⁰ This record, dating to the early Meiji era, is for a tea gathering in which four guests participated: Sugaya Bunsuke, Numajiri Shinjirō, Iioka Yasusada, and Okano San'eki. The combination of utensils used included a scroll with one-line calligraphic writing by Uesugi Kenzan, a *kinkai* teabowl, a yellow-glazed Seto-ware tea caddy, and a Shigaraki-ware water container favored by Katagiri Sekishū. Among the participants, Sugaya Bunsuke and Numajiri Shinjirō were influential townsmen (*chōnin*) of Tsuchiura. Nothing is known about Iioka Yasusada. Three generations of the Okano family served as chief of tea matters (*chatō, sadō*) for the Tsuchiura clan, from the Kan'en era (1748–51) until the end of the Edo period,²¹ and their names are found among lists of affiliates of the Sekishū school of chanoyu.²²

I think the fact that this tea gathering was held, with the chief of tea matters of the old clan participating, is evidence of the clan lord's chanoyu having spread to members of the samurai class, who attended on the lord, and subsequently having been transmitted to the wealthy townsmen with whom the samurai mingled. To avoid drawing an easy conclusion concerning the cultural influence of the lord on the people in his castle town, I just want to point to this as one aspect of the cultural life of the town of Tsuchiura.

There are families descended from influential farmers who headed villages in the old domain of the Tsuchiura clan, who own tea utensils which are said to have been awarded their ancestors by the Tsuchiya family. I think it is necessary to make a study of such articles and focus attention on the role that tea utensils played as objects used as awards.

²⁰ Documents handed down in the family of Homma Takao, Tsuchiura City.

²¹ *Hitachi Tsuchiura Tsuchiya-ke Monjo* [The Documents of the Tsuchiya Family, Tsuchiura, Hitachi Province] from the *Shoshi Nempu* [Lineage of Various Families] owned by the National Institute of Japanese Literature.

²² Suemune Hiroshi, ed., *Chajin Keifu* [Lineage of Tea Personages] (Kyoto: Kawahara Shoten, 1985), p. 333.

Afterword

While suggesting that further studies concerning the chanoyu and overall cultural activities of daimyō families will provide a new understanding of the Edo-period daimyō and their clans, this paper could only deal briefly with the Tsuchiya family, without fully providing all the historical references or giving enough attribution to them. Regarding some assumptions which I have drawn here, I will continue my studies and I hope to further elucidate their significance. Due to my lack of knowledge concerning the chanoyu of samurai families, there may be some misunderstandings herein. I will be deeply grateful for any comments concerning errors and omissions in this paper. ☂

Translated by Kimiko Steiner

Humanity in a Tea-cup: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Okakura Kakuzō

Rebecca G. Breslow

"Strangely enough," claimed Okakura Kakuzō in his *Book of Tea*, "humanity has so far met in the tea-cup."¹ The book, which was published in America in 1906, is perhaps his most poetic promotion of the universalism he had espoused since his student days with Professor Ernest Fenollosa at the Imperial University in Tokyo. Yet by 1906, this statement had become a literal one for Okakura. His deeply intimate friendship with Isabella Stewart Gardner, Boston's renowned doyen and one of the foremost art collectors of her day, had evolved with tea as a prominent motif. She had poured tea at the exhibition of Japanese paintings he had organized in Boston. He had presented a tea gathering at her home, and then had given her a set of tea utensils he had been collecting for years. Okakura, with his conservative position in regard to Japanese art and culture, and Mrs. Jack,² who had spent her life collecting and preserving the art of the grand European tradition, had bridged the gap between East and West with their friendship. It seems, on some level, that tea had made this possible.

An examination of Mrs. Jack's own interest in Japan is necessary in order to understand her initial attraction to Okakura when she met him in March of 1904. Thus, I will first address the trip she took with her husband, John Lowell Gardner, in 1883, and, specifically, the time they spent in Japan. I will then show how the conservative message Okakura presented to the West, while unpopular in his own country, closely paralleled the interests and sentiments of Mrs. Jack and her circle. Finally, I will turn my discussion to tea: I will explore how Mrs. Jack and Okakura expressed their friendship through tea ritual and through the exchange of tea objects. In doing so, I hope to suggest a context for Okakura's *Book of Tea*, which will perhaps explain why tea was an appropriate metaphor for the fusion of East and West. In sum, then, I am proposing that the use of tea as a motif in the relationship between Mrs. Jack and Okakura reinforced her role as one of the foremost cultural arbiters in Boston, while promoting his message of universalism.

¹ *The Book of Tea*, p. 11.

² Mrs. Gardner was commonly referred to as Mrs. Jack, and I will use this nickname in my own discussion.



Isabella Stewart Gardner (top) and Okakura in Gloucester, Massachusetts, October 6, 1910. Courtesy of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

The Seeds of Interest: Mrs. Jack's Trip to Japan

Isabella Stewart Gardner first became interested in Japan in February and March of 1882, when she invited Professor Edward Sylvester Morse to deliver a series of twelve lectures on Japan at her house on Beacon Street in Boston.³ Morse, a zoologist from Salem, had given the same lecture series several months earlier at the Lowell Institute in Boston after spending several years in Japan as Professor of Zoology at the Imperial University in Tokyo. The series had generated the following response, described in a local newspaper:

. . . no other of several winter courses have been so thronged and no other has given such delight. The Audiences have surged up to the very platform steps. . . following this course with the help of the blackboard has been like making a tour of the insular empire. . . .⁴

Certainly, such an enthusiastic reception testifies to Japan's growing popularity in Boston at this time. Events such as the Russo-Japanese War had stimulated an American interest in Japan, and World's Fairs and International Expositions perpetuated the resulting Japanese craze. The popularity of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow's collection of bronze and lacquer-ware objects from Japan, which he had purchased in France during the late 1870s and which he exhibited at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1879, also affirms the public's growing familiarity with Japanese cultural products.⁵ Bigelow himself, along with the astronomer Percival Lowell, was inspired to travel to Japan after hearing Morse's lectures at the Lowell Institute. The lectures had a similar effect on Mrs. Jack; she and her husband, John Lowell Gardner, made Japan the first stop on their trip around the world in 1883.

That the Gardners chose Japan as their first stop seems yet another factor pointing to Japan's fashionability in Boston, for, indeed, the Gardners, and particularly Mrs. Jack, were among the most conspicuous members of Bostonian society. In 1875, an anonymous newspaper reporter wrote of her:

Mrs. Jack Gardner is one of the Seven Wonders of Boston. There is nobody like her in any city of this country. She is a millionaire Bohemienne. She is eccentric and she has the courage of eccentricity. She is the leader of a smart set, but she often leads where none dare follow. She is 35, plain and

³ Weston, p. 6.

⁴ Newspaper quote reprinted in Hickman, pp. 30–31.

⁵ Hickman, p. 31.

wide-mouthed, but has the handsomest neck, shoulders and arms in all Boston. She imitates nobody; everything she does is novel and original. She is as brilliant as her own diamonds and is as attractive. All Boston is divided into two parts, of which one follows science and the other Mrs. Jack Gardner.⁶

This account is somewhat exaggerated; for instance, Mrs. Jack's interest in the Orient was not of her own devising, but rather followed on the lead of people such as Morse, Bigelow, and Lowell. Yet, it is representative of the things people wrote and thought of her. A casual acquaintance once remarked, "... everyone who has ever talked with her declares that she is the most brilliant, charming and attractive woman on earth."⁷ Another friend wrote to her in a letter, dated January, 1892:

I have just received a clipping from a newspaper describing you, your charms, your court, your adorers, and it is with awe that I take up the pen to write to such a person. You certainly deserve this praise and Boston owes you a debt of gratitude for living.⁸

As illustrated by these laudatory quotes, which are only representative examples of the numerous existing accounts of this nature, Mrs. Jack had become a prominent cultural arbiter by the late nineteenth century.

The Gardners spent much of their time during their visit to Japan with Bigelow, Lowell, and the American political scientist Ernest Fenollosa, which seems also to suggest the high regard in which Mrs. Jack and her husband were held by these intellectuals.⁹ Susan Sinclair, the Archivist and Librarian at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, has suggested to me that the reason Mrs. Jack did not keep a diary during her stay in Japan, as she did while visiting other countries, was because she had too many social engagements.¹⁰ Bigelow, in particular, seems to have been a constant escort, accompanying the Gardners to shops, gardens, temples, and tea houses all over the country.¹¹ In the three months the Gardners spent in Japan, they traveled to

⁶ Reprinted in Hadley, pp. xviii-xix.

⁷ Statement of an unnamed acquaintance, reprinted in Carter, p. 33.

⁸ Letter from an unnamed friend, reprinted in Carter, p. 122.

⁹ Based on engagements recorded by John Lowell Gardner in his Japan travel diary, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

¹⁰ Personal interview, 27 April 1996.

¹¹ This is evident from John Lowell Gardner's Japan travel diary, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Also from a letter written by Mrs. Jack from Yokohama, dated 30 June 1883: "Sturgis Bigelow . . . never seems to have us off his mind for one moment and is constantly turning up here for tiffin or dinner, or else telegraphing to us that we must go up to Tokio for this or that or the other, and consequently we have tiffined and dined together in every conceivable place and style. . . ." (Reprinted in Carter, pp. 59-60).

Yokohama, Tokyo, Nikko, Kamakura, Kanazawa, Kobe, Osaka, Kyoto, Uji, Nara, and Nagasaki.¹² Mrs. Jack's Japanese scrapbook, which includes commercial photographs, pressed foliage, and quotations about Japan, reveals that her primary concern during this visit was architecture; photographs of temples, villas, and other architectural structures far outnumber the pictures of other subjects. Although it was not a major interest, the Gardners were also exposed to tea. According to Jack Gardner's travel journal, they visited tea houses or were involved in tea events at least seven times during their stay.¹³

The Gardners left Japan for Shanghai on September 9, 1883.¹⁴ Mrs. Jack would not return to the Orient after her trip around the world, and yet, her vivid impressions during her visit stayed with her for the rest of her life. In one of the few letters she wrote while in Japan, she said:

We are still here, dear friend, and it is so fascinating that I well understand Sturgis Bigelow who cannot tear himself away. It is a bewitching life and I am wild with excitement. We make use of the comforts of this charming hotel [in Yokohama], but almost daily we run up to Tokio, which is of course much more delightful being so much more Japanese.¹⁵

It is interesting to note that, for Mrs. Jack, the more authentically Oriental the place, the more interesting it became. Thus, it is not surprising that Tokyo held more allure for her than Yokohama, which was the port city where European visitors to Japan arrived and where many who were staying for long periods of time took up residence.

In the same letter, Mrs. Jack went on to say:

... we have drunk gallons of the canary-colored tea out of their dear little cups and have eaten pounds of sweets, as we three [Mrs. Jack, Jack Gardner, and Bigelow] have sprawled about on the soft, clean mats, in the funny little shops, looking at curios. If the Japanese were only handsomer, they would be perfect. Such charming manners, so gentle, tempers never change whether you buy all they have or don't take a thing. ...¹⁶

¹² Deduced from Mrs. Jack's Japan scrapbook, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

¹³ John Lowell Gardner's Japan travel diary, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

¹⁴ John Lowell Gardner's Japan travel diary, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

¹⁵ Letter to an unnamed friend, dated 30 June 1883 from Yokohama, reprinted in Carter, pp. 59–60. I have only come across two letters written by Mrs. Jack while she was in Japan, probably because, as with a diary, she did not have time for correspondence. Both of these letters are reprinted in Carter, pp. 59–60.

¹⁶ Letter to an unnamed friend from Yokohama, dated 30 June 1883, reprinted in Carter, p. 60.

The following passage illustrates the profound impact the Orient had on Mrs. Jack, described by Morris Carter, the first director of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum after her death, in his biography of her:

The liberalizing, tranquilizing effect upon Mrs. Gardner of her experiences in the East cannot be estimated. She was an ardent believer in the maintenance of native customs, native costumes, native ceremonies, and native religions. Oriental religious rites she found picturesque and fascinating; many of the elements of Oriental faiths, extolling peace, contemplation, the negation of desire, revealed to her ideas which her restless spirit had not previously conceived, and she had seen people whose lives, directed and controlled by these faiths, were beautiful.¹⁷

It is clear that Mrs. Jack's experiences in the Orient instilled in her the conviction that native Asiatic traditions needed to be preserved. Indeed, she is known to have insisted that her Japanese friends wear their native attire in her presence, once even refusing to receive a prominent Japanese guest at her house when he arrived in Western garments.¹⁸

Mrs. Jack's trip to the Orient also inspired her in more material ways. She began collecting Oriental art objects in earnest when she returned to Boston. She would later build a tea house and a Japanese garden at Green Hill, her summer home in Brookline, based on those she had seen at Shūgakuin Rikyū, a villa in Kyoto.¹⁹ She would even wax nostalgic about Japan twenty-four years after her visit in a letter she wrote to Morse in 1917 after reading *Japan Day by Day*, his two-volume account of his experiences in Japan:

I have this moment finished reading that most delightful book of yours. It has given me so much pleasure that I am bothering you by writing to thank you for writing it. It recalls very long ago days in Japan and also reminds me of very many times when you have talked to me about Japan and drawn your delightful sketches.²⁰

Thus, it is possible to see why Mrs. Jack was drawn to Okakura Kakuzō, who, as one who aimed to preserve and uphold traditional Japanese culture, must have seemed the living embodiment of the country she remembered so fondly.

¹⁷ Carter, p. 89.

¹⁸ Carter, p. 89.

¹⁹ Thrasher, p. 12.

²⁰ Reprinted in Hickman, p. 3.



Scrapbook of the Gardners' 1883 trip to Japan, open to page showing photograph of "Shu-gaku-In no Ri-kui" (Shūgakuin Rikyū) Imperial Villa in Kyoto, "Tea House and pleasure grounds of Mikado, Kyoto." Courtesy of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.



pleasure grounds of Mikado. Kyoto.
August 24 -



Photograph from Isabella Stewart Gardner's travel scrapbook of Japan, 1883. Shows men sifting tea leaves and pouring them into an earthenware urn. Courtesy of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

A Plea for Universalism: Okakura Kakuzō in America

In March of 1904, Okakura Kakuzō, the head of the dissident Nihon Bijutsu-in art school in Japan, arrived in New York City with the painters Yokoyama Taikan, Hishida Shunsō, and Rokkaku Shisui.²¹ Their purpose was to raise money for the Bijutsu-in by exhibiting and selling works of art in America, where they hoped to find a better reception for their conservative approach to artistic production than they had in Japan. In their native country, many Japanese painters had adopted the artistic conventions of the West, a practice that received the full support of the Japanese government. This Europeanization of Japanese culture was occurring because, according to Okakura:

... our wholesale adoption of your methods of life and culture was not purely a matter of choice, but of necessity. The word "modernization" means the occidentalization of the world. . . . To the advocates of the wholesale westernization of Japan, Eastern civilization seems a lower development compared to the Western. The more we assimilate the foreign methods the higher we mount in the scale of humanity.²²

Under the influence of Earnest Fenollosa, who had devoted much study to the tradition of Japanese aesthetics and who had been Okakura's mentor at the Tokyo Imperial University, Okakura had developed a different view of the future of Japanese art: he was an advocate of the preservation of the native tradition. Along with Morse, Bigelow, and the artist Kanō Hōgai, Fenollosa and Okakura organized the Kanga-kai, a group which promoted the conservation of traditional Japanese painting styles.²³ In 1887, Okakura wrote in a letter to his American friend, Mrs. Richard W. Gilder, of the task of the Kanga-kai:

Our peculiar position in the East, — our duty to Asia must be in the preservation of our national character in literature, in art and in everything which constitutes Yamato. Alas, every tidings from home brings me the news of the Advance of Western thoughts and fashion, — the utter destruction of our past Ideals.²⁴

²¹ Grilli, "Okakura Kakuzō: A Biographical Sketch," from *The Book of Tea*, p. 124.

²² Excerpted from "Modern Problems in Painting," delivered at the World's Fair in St. Louis in September of 1904, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. II, pp. 76-77.

²³ Grilli, "Okakura Kakuzō: A Biographical Sketch," from *The Book of Tea*, p. 121.

²⁴ Letter to Mrs. Richard W. Gilder from Vienna, dated 23 March 1887, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol III, pp. 30-31. Mrs. Gilder was the wife of Richard Gilder, the poet and Editor-in-Chief of *Century* magazine. The magazine was owned by Century Co., the publishing company that would publish Okakura's *Awakening of Japan* in 1904, probably because of his association with Gilder.

As Okakura acknowledged in this letter, the artists and academics who had adopted a progressive stance were becoming more influential in Japan as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

Fenollosa's fall from grace in the late 1880s must have also been a blow to the conservatives. Fewer and fewer Japanese artists were familiar with the English language, and thus, many could not understand Fenollosa's lectures or absorb his teachings.²⁵ He ultimately left Japan in 1890 after a marked cooling of relations with Okakura, while Okakura continued to champion their cause as the principal of the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, which was the Japanese national art school. However, by 1898, Okakura, too, had fallen out of favor, and in that year he resigned from the national school to found the Nihon Bijutsu-in. It was difficult for this new school to survive in the face of opposition from the government-supported Europeanizing faction, and, as I mentioned earlier, Okakura was forced to go overseas for financial support.

Okakura's message had become unpopular in Japan, but it seems he had reason to believe his views would be received with more enthusiasm in America. His statement in his lecture entitled "Modern Problems in Painting," which he delivered at the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904, expresses his awareness of his supporters. He said, "... I am aware that sincere lovers of art in the West have always emphatically urged us to the preservation of our national style. I have heard many wonder why we should have tried to imitate you in painting, as in everything else."²⁶ Indeed, the Japanese exhibitions in New York and Boston had been extremely successful.²⁷ Mrs. Jack had endorsed Okakura as a speaker at the World's Fair in St. Louis after meeting him only briefly earlier that year. In addition, prominent intellectuals such as Professor Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard were expressing sentiments similar to his own. Norton had written to a Japanese friend in February of 1904, just one month before Okakura's arrival in America:

... it is vain to hope that any nation can maintain the isolation requisite for the preservation in their purity of those national and racial distinctions which have existed during the past centuries, [yet] I have no such liking for our Occidental civilisation as to desire to see it extended over the East. We have as much to learn from the East as you of the East have to learn from the West, and I am not sure but that the lesson the East has to teach is the more important.²⁸

²⁵ The information from this paragraph derives from Grilli's discussion in "Okakura Kakuzō: A Biographical Sketch," from *The Book of Tea*, p. 123.

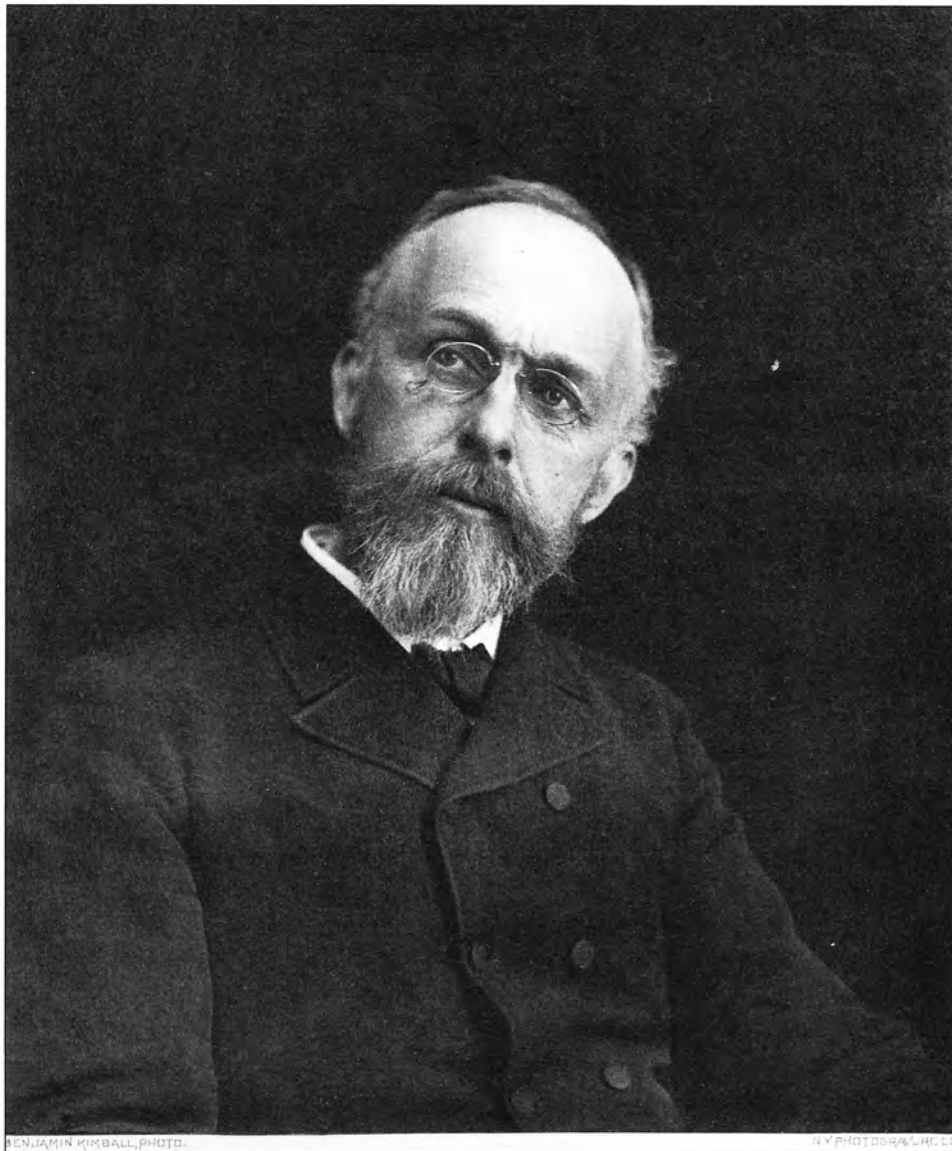
²⁶ "Modern Problems in Painting," reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. II, pp. 76-77.

²⁷ Grilli, "Okakura Kakuzō: A Biographical Sketch," from *The Book of Tea*, p. 128.

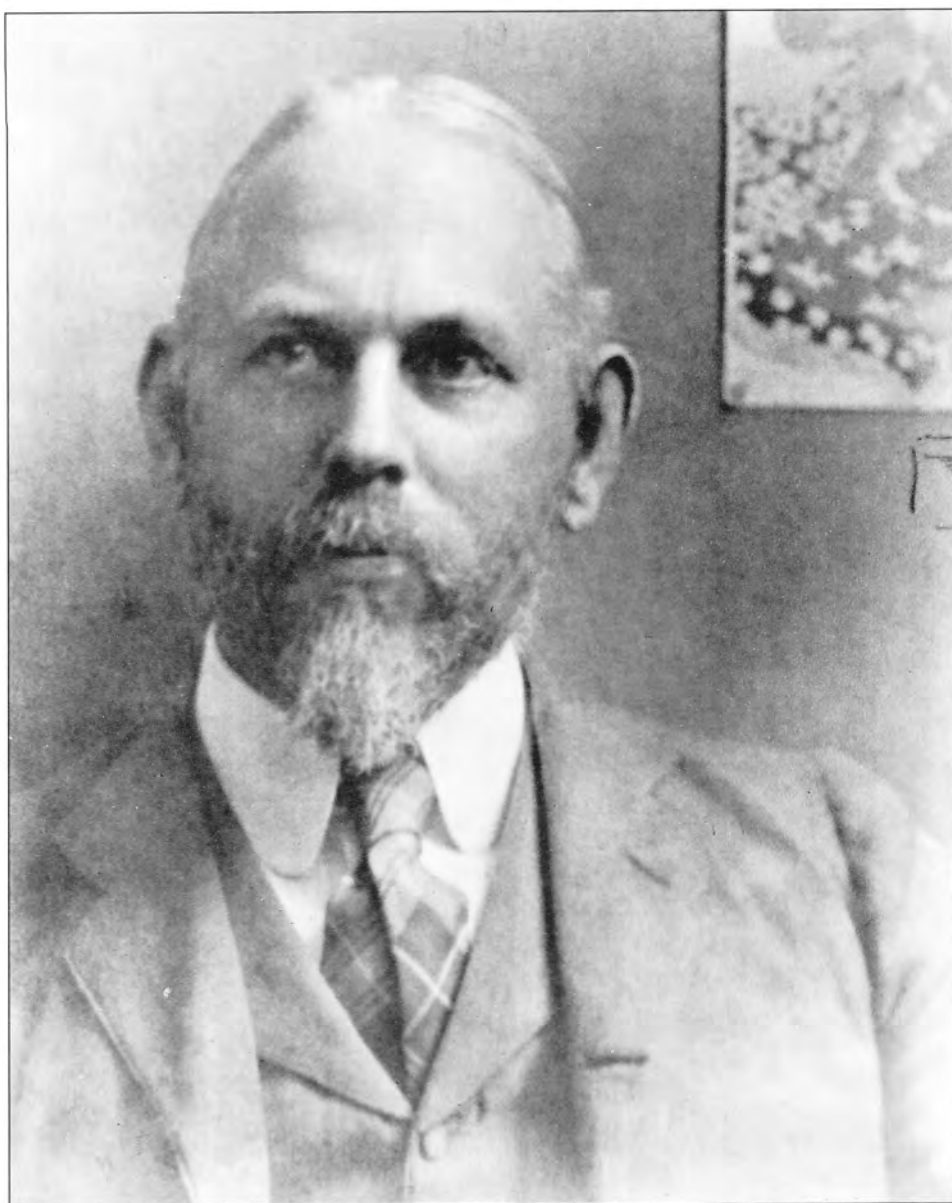
²⁸ Letter dated 10 February 1904, reprinted in Norton, vol. II, pp. 337-38.



Okakura Kakuzō. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Edward Sylvester Morse. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Ernest Francisco Fenollosa. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



William Sturgis Bigelow. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

In his lectures and writings, Okakura called attention to the value of traditional Asiatic culture and the need for its preservation. In "Modern Problems in Painting," he described himself as "belong[ing] to the humble ranks of the conservatives."²⁹ He also presented this conservative position:

The conservatives . . . assert that Asiatic civilization is not to be despised; that its conception of the harmony of life is precious to the scientific spirit and the organizing ability of the West. . . . they believe in the homogeneity of civilization, but that true homogeneity must be the result of a realization from within, not by accumulation of outside matter. . . .³⁰

Okakura felt that "[we] can only become more human by becoming more universal," and, for him, the way to achieve this universalism was to "begin to work for the true adjustment of society to art."³¹ In his letter to Mrs. Gilder, he elaborated on this concept. He wrote:

. . . the tendency in Modern Art both in the West and the East is toward too narrow confinement in their own aims. European Art crystallizes itself in concrete nature while we float in the abstraction of form. One is like the rocks and the mountains, — the other wanders like the wind and the waters. . . . The future Oriental Art must descend more into matter in order to realize its greatness. Knowledge of things must supplement and guide freedom of the spirit. Must not European Art on its side seek for something higher than Nature? Nature is beautiful because there is Art in Man. The face always reflects the shadows of the human Soul. We speak of the Old Masters, why not make new ones? Is not the present conception of art as one-sided as to make it an impossibility?³²

Thus, for Okakura, the ideal art was that which *combined* the best of East and West. Although he urged for the preservation of the Asiatic artistic tradition, he seems also to have conceded that ignoring the value of Western art was narrow-minded. Instead, Okakura's lectures and his books in English, which include *The Ideals of the East* (1903), *The Awakening of Japan* (1904), and *The Book of Tea* (1906), are a call for universalism as a way to reconcile the debate over Oriental Art. It is understandable, then, why Okakura would have appreciated the support of an individual like Mrs. Jack, a woman

²⁹ "Modern Problems in Painting," reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol II, p. 79.

³⁰ "Modern Problems in Painting," reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol II, pp. 77–78.

³¹ "Modern Problems in Painting," reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. II, pp. 79–81.

³² Letter to Mrs. Richard W. Gilder, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. III, pp. 30–31.

whose art collecting made her one of the foremost preservers of Western culture, but whose publicly proclaimed respect for Asiatic culture also made her a valuable ally for the East.

Tea Pouring: The Nippon Exhibition and the Tea Gathering at Fenway Court

In her book, entitled *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830–1930*, Kathleen McCarthy discusses the paranoia associated with the suspected feminization of American culture in the decades after the Civil War.³³ According to McCarthy, women were becoming more literate and cultured at this time, and thus, anti-intellectualism became the mark of masculinity. Men were urged to draw closer to nature, often directing their enthusiasm toward sports, where their supremacy remained unchallenged. Consequently, cultural pursuits became the province of women.

However, McCarthy argues that this phenomenon existed only in theory, citing examples of major research universities and museums that were under male control; for McCarthy, this assigning of women to the cultural sphere reflects a popular paranoia about changing gender roles, and was not rooted in fact.³⁴ She points to aggressive and visible women such as Mrs. Jack as the perpetuators of these beliefs, and, if this was the case, it is likely that Okakura would have known the value of an alliance with Mrs. Jack. His own mentor, Fenollosa, had employed the same tactics when promoting a similar message in Boston during the early 1890s. According to Lawrence Chisolm, one of Fenollosa's biographers, Fenollosa had regularly appealed to women's clubs.³⁵

Perhaps Okakura had this in mind when a mutual friend, the painter John LaFarge, offered to introduce him to Mrs. Jack. Okakura had arrived in Boston in March of 1904 to prepare for the upcoming Nippon Exhibition, which would feature the paintings of Taikan, Shunsō, Shisui, and Shimomura Kanzan, and to assume his position as Advisor to the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.³⁶ LaFarge wrote him the following letter of introduction, dated March 22, 1904, which Okakura took with him when he went to Fenway Court to meet Mrs. Jack:

I should like to add to any knowledge you may have of
[Okakura] my statement that he is the most intelligent critic

³³ The following discussion is paraphrased from the chapter on Mrs. Jack in McCarthy's book, pp. 150–53.

³⁴ McCarthy, p. 153.

³⁵ Chisolm, p. 90.

³⁶ Weston, p. 19.

of art, and I might also say of everything that I know of. His very great learning in certain ways is balanced by his perception of the uselessness of much that he knows. I think he is one of the very few persons whom you should not miss enjoying.³⁷

Mrs. Jack consulted Okakura about several of her Chinese hanging scrolls after this meeting, but, according to Victoria Weston, author of the catalogue for the 1992–3 exhibition “Exploring Treasures in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum,” this is the only time Okakura functioned as an artistic advisor to Mrs. Jack.³⁸ Instead, the two began to develop a deeply intimate friendship.

In discussing their friendship, I must emphasize that, first and foremost, it was based on a strong mutual affinity. After their initial meeting, Okakura visited Fenway Court on a monthly basis until his return to Japan in 1905.³⁹ By October of 1905, he began spending half his time in Boston and half in Japan, and, while in Boston, he was often in the company of Mrs. Jack. His absences were painful to her, as expressed in a letter she wrote to Bernard Berenson, the agent through whom she acquired the bulk of her art collection, dated August 5, 1911: “Okakura goes to Japan tomorrow and I shall be in the dumps. It will be ‘truly’ a great loss.”⁴⁰ Another letter to Berenson, dated August 2, 1904, also illustrates her great affection for Okakura. She wrote:

Okakura plus his two friends constantly come up my green hill “aoyama” as they call it. And we sit under the trees, one of them sketches (not in our manner), and one arranges flowers as only they can, and through it all we become far away and hear only Okakura’s voice as he tells those wonderful poems and tales of the East. . . . It has really made this summer different.⁴¹

In their time spent apart from one another, Okakura and Mrs. Jack exchanged numerous letters. Mrs. Jack’s side of the correspondence does not survive, but Okakura’s letters and poems to her are preserved in his *Collected English Writings*. His high regard for Mrs. Jack is prevalent in all of them. For example in a letter dated January 13, 1909, from Idzura, Japan, he wrote:

³⁷ Thrasher, p. 16.

³⁸ Weston, pp. 19–20.

³⁹ Weston, pp. 20–22. Weston makes this statement based on an examination of Mrs. Jack’s guestbooks.

⁴⁰ Letter to Bernard Berenson, dated 5 August 1911, reprinted in Hadley (ed.), p. 491.

⁴¹ Letter to Bernard Berenson from Maine, dated 2 August 1904, reprinted in Hadley (ed.), p. 342.

The Year has gone — the Year has come, but time has done nothing except deepen my gratitude to you. It is snowing today and my thoughts were among the trees of your Blue Hill when your delightful gift of Omar Khayyam surprised me into an almost painful sense of the vast distance between us. Indeed, I wish I were this moment in your presence and regret that some time must pass before I see myself in Boston again. . . .⁴²

At the end of 1910, he no longer addressed her as "Mrs. Gardner" in his letters, but, instead, referred to her as "The Presence, Court of Fenway." These letters are even more intimate in tone; a letter of January 11, 1911, says only: "I am sorry the Rocks are moving slowly today. The Ocean has been spilled by mistake and they had to gather the waters from the Unknown again."⁴³ Their affection for one another was not limited to letters; she gave him a kitten as a token of their friendship, he wrote poems for her and dedicated "The White Fox," the only drama he ever wrote, in her honor.⁴⁴ Yet, as I suggested earlier, their friendship was also fueled by ulterior motivations.

⁴² Letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner from Idzura, Japan, dated 3 January 1909, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. III, p. 102.

⁴³ Letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner, dated 11 January 1911, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. III, p. 125.

⁴⁴ After receiving the kitten from Mrs. Jack, Okakura wrote the following letter, dated 22 November 1910:

Our name is Kowun, which means the 'Lonesome Cloud.' It also signifies 'The Gift by Favor,' and again the 'Messenger of Bliss' — All these we hope are appropriate titles symbolic of our quality and high descent. We have discarded names like 'Haima' which suggests the snowy realm of India, 'Mishio,' the crested foam, 'Sogettse' the frosty morn, because our coat at present is far from being immaculate white.

Kowun (they may call us Kotan in moments of tenderness or even Kochan if they are silly) may have reference to the Ode by Tao-Ying (Yuan) Ming which begins:

'All Things
on Things are supported;
I, the lone-some cloud,
Resteth on none but myself.'

We delight in the name for we are not lonesome. We, like a cloudlet in the sky, curl, unfurl, and swirl in immense glee. We sleep beautifully. Our only lament was over some hairs singed in snuffing a candle with our tail.

With homage and humble greetings to the seat of the Honored One.

We remain your most obedient

Kowun and Okakura

The dedication attached to Okakura's "The White Fox," dated 2 March 1913, reads:

To the Presence,
Fenway Court,
Without whose suggestion
this foolish attempt
would never have been made
I dedicate the humble result.

In proposing an agenda behind their friendship, I do not wish to undermine their mutual regard. However, the type of relationship that developed between them was typical of Mrs. Jack, who was known to surround herself with male friends and acquaintances who could serve some purpose for her. This practice is described rather disparagingly by Berenson's wife, Mary, who wrote in a diary entry of September 19, 1906: "Mrs. Gardner . . . besides being a Sorceress is a Vampire. She preserves her marvelous youth by preying upon young men."⁴⁵ Thus, Mrs. Jack can be placed in the tradition of women such as Sarah Worthington King Peter and Candace Wheeler, described by McCarthy, who used their male contacts to legitimize their own authority.⁴⁶ McCarthy terms this practice as a policy of "symbiotic returns," and she describes it in reference to Mrs. Jack's relationships with individuals such as LaFarge, Berenson, and the painters John Singer Sargent and Anders Zorn. I believe that McCarthy's theory can also be applied to Mrs. Jack's relationship with Okakura, and, by suggesting this, I hope to shed light on why tea was such an important component of their friendship.

On November 7, 1904, just before the Nippon Exhibition opened in Boston, Okakura wrote to Mrs. Jack:

The boys are going to have their exhibition at Cambridge for twelve days beginning Thursday the 17th. Will you pour tea for them some afternoon? It will be a great attraction for the Exhibition and as it is the first Japanese exhibition I wish to make it a success. If you will kindly consent I shall prepare the tea, have salt-plums, sea weeds and everything atrocious on the occasion. Am I not terrible in asking this of you?⁴⁷

He reiterated his request four days later in another letter:

Will you kindly come to pour tea for us on the 17th? It is the day when the Exhibition opens. If the date is inconvenient to you please come on the 20th, or the 23rd or the 28th. But we shall be very much honoured if you will open the exhibition with your presence.

P.S. The Tea begins at four in the afternoon. If you think of any lady whom you will like to assist you, will you not take her with you?⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Diary entry while in Milan, dated 19 September 1906, reprinted in Strachey and Samuels (eds.), p. 134.

⁴⁶ McCarthy, p. 163.

⁴⁷ Letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner, dated 7 November 1904, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. III, p. 53–54.

⁴⁸ Letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner, dated 11 November 1904, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. III, p. 54.

Mrs. Jack agreed to serve tea, and, indeed, recruited some of her friends to help, as shown by the invitation to the exhibition, which featured the following note at the bottom:

TEA WILL BE SERVED FROM 3 TO 5 O'CLOCK
ON NOVEMBER 17, 20, 23, AND 27
WITH THE KIND ASSISTANCE OF

Mrs. Thomas Perry	Mrs. James Curtis
Mrs. Fenollosa	Mrs. John L. Gardner
Miss Cecilia Beaux	Mrs. Joseph G. Thorp
Mrs. T.J. Bowlker	Miss Emma Thursby
Mrs. Ole Bull ⁴⁹	

It seems to me that, for Mrs. Jack, Okakura's personal invitation to pour tea was an affirmation of their growing intimacy, and thus, it symbolized the strength of her position in the circle of Bostonian intellectuals who admired Asiatic culture. In establishing herself at the forefront of those who were interested in the Orient, Mrs. Jack was flouting the traditional roles allotted to women and asserting herself in a male-dominated sphere. She had already done so with her aggressive collecting of European art objects and the building of Fenway Court to house her collections. She had also become a prominent patron of artists such as Sargent, Zorn, LaFarge, and Dennis Bunker, and intellectuals such as Berenson, who had been an aspiring writer before he became her agent. In addition, her biographers describe occasions on which she swilled beer, staged prize fights, and publicly endorsed and cheered for her local baseball team.⁵⁰

Now, the attention she was receiving from Okakura placed her squarely in the midst of male intellectuals who regarded Okakura as, in the words of Bigelow and John Ellerton Lodge, "... the greatest scholar and most original writer of modern times on Oriental art."⁵¹ A letter from Berenson, dated August 13, 1904, seems to confirm this claim. Berenson wrote: "I envy you your seeing so much of [Okakura] and his Japanese friends, and hearing so much of their poetry, and getting their point of view. Few things are of greater interest to me."⁵² In effect, with this invitation, Mrs. Jack seems to have achieved what she had set out to do years earlier when she had invited Morse to give his lectures on Japan at her home on Beacon Street: she had thrust herself into the ranks of the serious lovers of Asiatic art and culture.

⁴⁹ Invitation to the Nippon Exhibition, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. II, p. 439.

⁵⁰ McCarthy, p. 161; Tharp, pp. 125-26, 289-96.

⁵¹ Obituary by William Sturgis Bigelow and John Ellerton Lodge, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. III, p. 231.

⁵² Letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner, dated 13 August 1904, reprinted in Hadley (ed.), p. 344.

Perhaps Mrs. Jack's willingness to pour tea at the Nippon Exhibition was equally significant for Okakura. By appealing to Mrs. Jack and any of the other women she could recommend to pour tea, Okakura seems to have been trying to gain female allies. This was in keeping with the established practices of art missionaries in America, as noted earlier in my discussion. However, it seems that this invitation to Mrs. Jack had an added importance in promoting Okakura's message of universalism. In *The Book of Tea*, Okakura wrote of the beverage:

It is the only Asiatic ceremonial which commands universal esteem. The white man has scoffed at our religion and our morals, but has accepted the brown beverage without hesitation. The afternoon tea is now an important function in Western society. In the delicate clatter of trays and saucers, in the soft rustle of feminine hospitality, in the common catechism about cream and sugar, we know that the Worship of Tea is established beyond question. The philosophic resignation of the guest to the fate awaiting him in the dubious decoction proclaims that in this single instance the Oriental spirit reigns supreme.⁵³

If, for Okakura, tea was "the single instance the Oriental spirit reigns supreme," then it seems significant that he asked the "Queen of Boston," as Mrs. Jack was commonly called, to pour it at the Nippon Exhibition. Perhaps Okakura viewed this as, on some level, a symbolic merging of Eastern and Western excellence. By consenting to serve tea, Mrs. Jack, one of the foremost collectors and preservers of Western culture, seems to have been sanctioning the preservation and acceptance of Eastern culture as well. It seems likely, then, that Okakura issued this invitation to Mrs. Jack *both* because of his regard for her and because of his awareness of the symbolic implications. He acknowledged this when he wrote that Mrs. Jack's participation would "be a great attraction for the Exhibition."

Several months after Mrs. Jack poured tea for Okakura, he returned the favor by presenting a tea gathering at Fenway Court for Mrs. Jack and several guests. Mrs. Jack described it to Berenson and his wife in a letter, dated January 22, 1905: "I am still full of the sentiment and flower of the great Tea Ceremony, the 'Chano-yu,' which was performed here yesterday at 5 PM (candlelight) by Okakura. If you two could only have been of the five guests."⁵⁴ Once again, tea seems to have functioned as an affirmation of the

⁵³ *The Book of Tea*, p. 11.

⁵⁴ Letter to Bernard Berenson, dated 22 July 1905, reprinted in Hadley (ed.), p. 360.

intimacy between Okakura and Mrs. Jack. It also seems that the tea gathering was a way for Okakura to further indoctrinate Mrs. Jack into the traditions of Eastern culture. This knowledge would better equip her as an advocate for his cause.

The tea gathering would have been particularly appealing for Mrs. Jack, who had spent years in Boston, a city that, at that time, exhibited a general interest in the transcendental. According to Chisolm, one of the reasons Fenollosa had great success as a speaker in Boston during the 1890s was because, in speaking of the future fusion of all the civilizations of the world, he was viewed by his audiences as a prophet.⁵⁵ The insular society of Boston had been receptive to this approach, just as it had received the Hindu mystic, Swami Vivekananda, with great enthusiasm when he toured the United States in 1892 after the Chicago World's Fair.⁵⁶ Many of the city's leading intellectuals, such as Lowell, Bigelow, Josiah Royce, William James, and George Cabot Lodge, had also devoted much time to the study of Buddhism, and Chisolm suggests that this pursuit was a reaction to the drab Puritanism that had flourished in Boston since the city's founding.⁵⁷

Thus, it is no wonder that Mrs. Jack was interested in the ritual of the Way of Tea;⁵⁸ she, herself, was president of the Altar guild at the High Anglican Church of the Advent, while most Boston Brahmins attended the traditionally Protestant Trinity Church. According to Sinclair, Mrs. Jack often advertised her interest in ritual and spirituality, even dressing in blue habit during Lent and washing the steps of the altar with water and vinegar after reading about this medieval custom.⁵⁹ Sinclair has stressed to me that incidents such as this one were significant to Mrs. Jack more for their ritual value than for the actual meanings behind the ritual. It seems, then, that the ritual of the Way of Tea, with its lack of overtly religious significance, would have been well suited to Mrs. Jack's tastes.

Chisolm suggests that Mrs. Jack's interest in spiritualism made it all the more fashionable.⁶⁰ This would have been useful to Okakura's goal of forwarding the preservation and promotion of traditional Japanese culture in Boston among the city's foremost cultural commentators. At the same time, he was providing Mrs. Jack with information that would, again, insure her a prominent place among the cultural elite. In light of this phenomenon, a material expression of Okakura and Mrs. Jack's "symbiotic returns" seems the logical next step, particularly in the climate of Boston, where material possessions occupied a significant role in the realm of culture.

⁵⁵ Chisolm, pp. 94–95.

⁵⁶ Chisolm, p. 103.

⁵⁷ Chisolm, pp. 109–10.

⁵⁸ I use this term to describe the Japanese tea ceremony and the ritual that surrounds it.

⁵⁹ Personal interview, 27 April 1996.

⁶⁰ Chisolm, pp. 103–4.

Tea Objects: Mrs. Jack's Tea Set

On September 11, 1905, Okakura wrote to Mrs. Jack from Japan to tell her of a gift he was sending to her:

I am sending you by parcel post a complete set of the 'stirred tea' service. Will you please keep them in remembrance of me? Some of the things were with me for many years.

The set comprises:

1. iron tea-kettle
2. bronze brazier
3. old ashes and utensils for arranging the ashes
4. charcoal basket and some charcoal
5. lacquered dais for the brazier
6. blue & white square water-pot
7. a tea-cup (summer cup) made by Kenzan
8. another tea-cup (a winter cup) made by Raku Sei Sai
9. 1 incense case and incense
10. 1 ivory tea scoop
11. 1 bamboo tea scoop
12. 1 porcelain tea-jar
13. bamboo ladle & ladle stand (bronze) with a tripod for the ladle
14. tea-linen & bronze bowl for washing the linen
15. feather brush
16. tea handkerchief
17. a package of freshly powdered tea, etc.⁶¹

Because tea objects acquire their histories, and, thus, their value, from their previous owners, Okakura was paying the highest tribute to his friendship with Mrs. Jack by entrusting his tea set to her. Many of the objects had been with him for years, and, by giving them to Mrs. Jack, Okakura was also giving her a piece of himself and his own personal history. Yet, again, I will suggest that Okakura's gift expressed more than simple regard.

According to William Thrasher, a scholar of the Japanese Way of Tea and the author of an article on Mrs. Jack's tea set, these objects were the first of their kind ever to arrive in America. Thrasher also claims that Okakura sent only those items he felt would appeal to Mrs. Jack, a practice that seems similar to me to the careful selection of utensils by the host in honor of a principal guest that occurs in an actual tea gathering. The tea set includes

⁶¹ Letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. III, p. 62.

representative wares from China, Japan, and Southeast Asia, and the items date from a variety of epochs in the history of tea.⁶²

It is interesting to note, as Thrasher rightly points out in his article, that Okakura explained nothing about these items in his letters to Mrs. Jack.⁶³ This fact seems to indicate that Mrs. Jack already knew their significance, a possibility which further suggests her indoctrination into the Way of Tea. Thus, this gift again grants Mrs. Jack a certain status among the Bostonian lovers of Asiatic culture for the very reasons expressed by Mary Berenson's brother, Logan Pearsall Smith, who, writing of "Culture" in turn-of-the-century Boston society, said:

I became vaguely aware of Culture, not indeed as a thing of value in itself, but as bestowing a kind of distinction upon its possessors, a distinction superior in some mysterious way to that of the big-game killer which had hitherto been my ambition and my dream.⁶⁴

Thus, it seems that in possessing Okakura's tea set, a *material* symbol of traditional Japanese culture, Mrs. Jack had cemented her position at the forefront of those interested in the Orient. Such was the power of objects in contemporary Boston society.

Perhaps Okakura himself realized the symbolic significance of this gift to his cause, as well. In December of 1905, two months after he sent the tea set to Mrs. Jack, he addressed the Ladies' Committee of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, issuing the following appeal:

Permit me to lay before you the nature of our request. Your Museum possesses the largest single collection of Oriental Art objects in the world. . . . Ladies, one of the treasures will be entrusted to each one of you and we hope that it may be your pleasure to come here once every week or fortnightly and continue to make their coverlets. While you are working you will have the rare opportunity of becoming intimate with the object under your care. My friends here [Mr. Rokkaku and Mr. Okabe] and myself will be much honored if we can in any way assist you in introducing you to the meaning of these objects.⁶⁵

⁶² For details of the objects in the tea set, see Thrasher and Graboyes, "The Beginnings of Chanoyu in America," *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 40 (1984).

⁶³ Thrasher, p. 25.

⁶⁴ From his memoirs, *Unforgotten Years*, reprinted in Saisselin, p. 88.

⁶⁵ "Talk Given to Ladies who assisted in the Work of the Chinese and Japanese Department of Boston Museum," delivered 18 December 1905 at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. II, pp. 88-91.

He went on to say:

I have a secret hope that such gatherings as these may be the beginning of the resurrection of the worship of art, so long neglected through the rush of modern social life. . . . I fervently hope that the matter will not end here but that you shall carry the message among your sisters and friends and make this world of woes and worries something more humane.⁶⁶

This appeal urges the kind of tactile contact between humans and objects that occurs in chanoyu, in which touch is an integral part of the aesthetic of the utensils. Thus, it seems also to symbolically represent the universalism Okakura so passionately espoused; the nurturing and preservation of Eastern art objects by Western women not only established an intimacy between humans and objects, but also between East and West. Okakura admitted to aiming for a "resurrection of the worship of art," which, as we have seen, meant a fusion of Eastern and Western ideals. If, indeed, this was the message behind Okakura's appeal to the Ladies' Committee, it seems likely, then, that the tea set was given to Mrs. Jack in the same spirit. The gift demanded the same kind of intimacy between objects and people, East and West, and, thus, perhaps functioned as another promotion of universalism and the preservation of Oriental culture. Certainly, it set the stage for Okakura's most overt expression of the importance of tea to his cause: his *Book of Tea*.

Conclusion: Humanity in a Tea-cup

The origins of Okakura's *Book of Tea* are disputed. Some scholars believe it was conceived at Okakura's summer home in Japan in 1905.⁶⁷ Others believe it grew out of a set of discarded notes from a lecture series delivered to a group of women at Fenway Court.⁶⁸ Whatever its genesis, the book has

⁶⁶ "Talk Given to Ladies . . .," reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. II, pp. 88–91.

⁶⁷ Thrasher, p. 20. According to Thrasher, Okakura formulated his ideas for *The Book of Tea* while at his seaside summer home in Itsuura, Ibaragi Prefecture, in 1905. Thrasher dates the conception of *The Book of Tea* to the same time as Okakura's letter to Mrs. Jack describing the tea set: September of 1905.

⁶⁸ According to Susan Sinclair and Kumamoto Kenjiro, in his article "Confluence of East and West: Okakura Kakuzō and Tea," from *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 12, the first manuscript of *The Book of Tea* came from a lecture series given at Fenway Court to a group of Bostonian women. Sinclair says Okakura would toss his notes in the trash after each lecture, but his assistant, Denman Ross, salvaged them and then urged him to compile them into a book. Okakura consented and then reworked his manuscript at the New York estate of Richard Gilder.

become Okakura's best known and most beloved work. As one commentator wrote in January of 1960:

This book, once it was published, seems to have enveloped the whole of the United States. It has even been used as a textbook for secondary school students and several other publishers have printed it. It also crossed the Atlantic and has been translated into French and German, thereby spreading throughout that continent to the point where Okakura has become known as Okakura of 'The Book of Tea' throughout the entire world.⁶⁹

The Book of Tea provides valuable, literal information about chanoyu; chapters are devoted to the various Schools of Tea, the adoption of Taoist and Zennist principles in tea, the layout of the tearoom, the appreciation of Oriental Art in the context of tea, flower arrangement, and a chronology of the major tea masters. As illustrated by the diversity of topics it investigates, *The Book of Tea* gives a general sense of Japanese life through its descriptions of tea. Yet, in characteristic fashion, Okakura seems to have constructed the book as a metaphorical expression of the importance of universalism. For Okakura, "humanity has so far met in the tea-cup,"⁷⁰ and, thus, in the tea-cup, one finds a united East and West. This is well expressed in a passage at the end of the first chapter, "The Cup of Humanity":

The East and West, like two dragons tossed in a sea of ferment, in vain strive to regain the jewel of life. We need a Niuka again to repair the grand devastation; we await the great Avatar. Meanwhile, let us have a sip of tea. The afternoon glow is brightening the bamboos, the fountains are bubbling with delight, the sighing of the pines is heard in our kettle. Let us dream of evanescence, and linger in the beautiful foolishness of things.⁷¹

In light of this pervasive theme of the fusion of East and West, Boston at the turn of the century seems to have had the appropriate cultural climate as a context for *The Book of Tea*. Fenway Court was, indeed, the actual context in which the book was read; Sinclair informs me that Okakura presented drafts in Mrs. Jack's parlor.⁷²

⁶⁹ Quote by Ryūzō Saitō from "Okakura Tenshin," in Yoshikawa Kōbunkan's *A Collection of Forty Biographies* (1960), reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. I, p. 437.

⁷⁰ *The Book of Tea*, p. 11.

⁷¹ *The Book of Tea*, p. 17.

⁷² Personal interview, 27 April 1996.

In sipping tea together, literally and metaphorically, Mrs. Jack and Okakura seem very much to have "lingered in the beautiful foolishness of things." He had shown her how to bridge the gap between art and life and between East and West. In return, she had been a valuable advocate of the messages he had imparted to her. This is the common bond they shared, and, for Mrs. Jack, the time spent with Okakura would be life-altering. Mary Berenson recounted in a letter to her family, dated January 10, 1914:

B.B. [Bernard Berenson] said to her [Mrs. Jack] the last day that although he had found her fascinating and wonderful before, he had never loved her until this time, for she had never been lovable. She wept at this and said it was true, and perhaps she would have gone to her grave with her hard heart and selfish character if it had not been for a Japanese mystic named Okakura, who was attached to the Boston Museum as expert. He was the first person, she said, who showed her how hateful she was, and from him she learnt her first lesson of seeking to love, instead of to be loved. She admitted that many of her bad habits remained, but said that the core of herself was quite different, and she wanted to get rid of old evils. It was really touching. She is truly one of the most astonishing personalities we have ever known, and at last we can really care for her as a human being.⁷³

Even for Mary Berenson, a woman who was often unflattering in her descriptions of Mrs. Jack, Okakura had succeeded in humanizing her. Perhaps, then, Mrs. Jack was a living testament to his claim that "we can only be more human by becoming more universal."⁷⁴ 

⁷³ Letter to her family from Montreal, dated 10 January 1914, reprinted in Strachey and Samuels (eds.), p. 194.

⁷⁴ "Modern Problems in Painting," reprinted in *Collected English Writings*, vol. II, p. 79.

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Temae — Tea Procedure

Shaza no Shiki— Part 1

Shaza no shiki — commonly referred to simply as *shaza* — is among the original set of seven “group exercises” known as *shichiji-shiki*. The *shichiji-shiki* were developed by the Urasenke eighth generation grand master, Yūgensai Ittō Sōshitsu (1719–71), along with his brother, Omotesenke grand master Joshinsai, his Zen master, Mugaku Sōen, and other persons of tea. *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 48 discussed the history of these exercises and gave an overview of each of the seven. *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 49 presented *kagetsu no shiki*, usually the first exercise to be learned. *Shaza* may be considered a good second step in learning *shichiji-shiki*.

The name *shaza* derives from the phrase *shaza kissa* 且座喫茶 taken from a passage in the Zen text *Rinzai Roku*, and may be translated as “sit a while and have some tea.” The exercise encompasses the essential elements of a tea gathering: placing flowers in the toko, building the charcoal fire to boil water, purifying the room with incense, sharing a bowl of thick tea, and partaking of thin tea. Each of the five participants is responsible for one of these.

Mugaku Sōen characterized the essence of *shaza* with the phrase “each abiding in its suchness” (*kono hō hōi ni jūsu*). Accordingly, the participants decide their respective roles before entering the tearoom, and these do not change during the course of the exercise. The deciding may be done through mutual consent, or by drawing lots, using the same kind of *fuda* and *orisue* set employed in the *kagetsu no shiki*. If lots are drawn, the first-called *fuda*, “*tsuki*” (moon), becomes host, the one to prepare the koicha; “*hana*” (flower) becomes hantō, who assists throughout and prepares the usucha, which the host will drink; and “*ichi*” “*ni*” “*san*” (one, two, three) sit in order as guests. The first guest will be responsible for doing the incense; the second guest, for doing the flowers; and the third guest, for doing the charcoal. Once the roles have been decided, the host and hantō put on their *fukusa*.

The exercise takes place in an eight-mat room/area. The participants do not move forward to sit in a four-and-one-half-mat area as they do in *kagetsu no shiki*. Consequently, the footwork is governed by the standard rules for the movement of guests in a tearoom.

The following guide focuses on *shaza* as conducted in the furo season. The main differences for *shaza* in the ro season are described at the end of each of the three parts of the guide. It is assumed that the reader is familiar

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto. Project assistance, Urasenke San Francisco Branch.

with the general principles of movement in the tearoom for *shichiji-shiki*, and with the *shozumi*, *koicha*, and *usucha* *temae*. Previous *temae* articles (see complete list on p. 79) may be reviewed to settle any uncertainties. Besides the normal *koicha* utensils, the preparations for *shaza* are as follows.



(A)
A scroll is hung in the toko. A vase filled to eighty percent with water is placed on a board (*usu-ita*) on the toko floor, or hung on the toko post (*toko-bashira*).



(B) The *temae* tatami is prepared in the standard manner. The *furo*, with three lighted charcoal (*shita-bi*) in it, is ready for the *sumi* procedure. *Shaza* requires the use of a *tana*. Note the placement of the *natsume* and *chaire* on the two-shelved *kōkō-dana* shown here. When a one-shelved *tana* is used, the *natsume* and *chaire* are placed on the shelf side by side, *natsume* to the left or 'lower side' (*geza*), and *chaire* to the right or 'higher side' (*kamiza*).



(C) A *kadai*, or table-like tray for flowers, is used to carry the flowers and *chabana* tools into the tearoom. It is thoroughly dampened with water. An assortment of seasonal flowers is dipped in water, then laid on it, toward the left side. A small knife (*kogatana*) is placed at the center, its blade to the left and handle resting on the tray's rim. At the upper right is placed a small water ewer (*hana mizutsugi*) with a folded *chakin* on it and its spout pointing at about the 11 o'clock position.



(D) A sumitori is prepared in the standard manner for shozumi, except the *kōgō* is omitted. (E) As usual, the other items needed for the sumi procedure are a *haiki*, *haisaji*, and *kamashiki*.

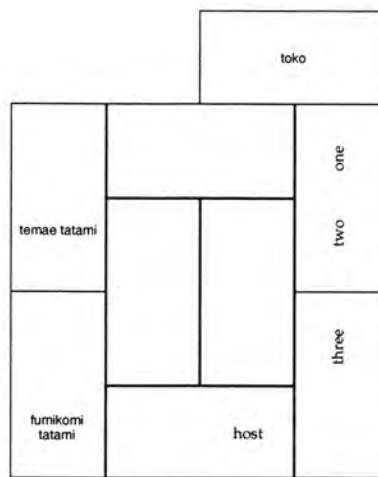


(F) A *kōbon*, or incense tray, is prepared for the incense procedure. On the right of the tray is a layered incense case (*jū-kōgō*); in the center, silver tongs (*kōbasami*) under wooden chopsticks (*kōbashi*); and, on the left, an incense burner (*kōro*) with a small burning charcoal buried just under the ash surface.

The incense case is composed of the following (left to right): a tin-lined bottom section into which burned incense may be placed; a middle section, which holds a mica chip (*ginyō*) used to protect the incense from direct contact with the ash; a top section, which holds a sliver of incense contained in a paper or fabric envelop (*kōtsutsumi*); the lid.



(G) Finally, preparations for *shaza* include a *kazari-gashi*, or sweet for display. A whole seasonal fruit is placed on a tray, to be used in place of *higashi* during the *usucha* portion of the exercise.



(1)

Before entering the tearoom, each guest sits outside the sadōguchi and bows (1). The guests walk to their seats in the same manner as the first three guests in standard *kagetsu*.



(2)

The host enters the fumikomi tatami, faces the guests at an angle, sits, and bows with all the guests (2). Standing on the right foot, the host then walks over to sit in the host's position.



(3)

The hantō carries the tray of flowers to the toko (3).



(4)

Sitting in front of the vase, the hantō places the tray of flowers on the left or 'lower side.' Turning slightly toward the guests, the hantō then stands on the left and returns to the mizuya (4).



(5)

The host invites the second guest to do the chabana. The hantō brings the sumitori to the sadōguchi and sits there throughout the chabana procedure (5).



(6)

The second guest proceeds to sit in front of the vase in the toko (6), and pauses to view it.



(7)

The guest selects the desired flowers (7) and places them in the vase. [Note that once this has been done, the selection and placement should not be altered.] The guest lightly places his or her hands on the tatami and views the flowers in the vase.



(8)

The host asks the guest to add water to the vase, which indicates the completion of the chabana. After doing so (8), the guest straightens the remaining flowers on the tray, turns the cutting edge of the knife away from the flowers, and returns to his or her seat.



(9)

The hantō carries in the sumitori and sets it in front of the tana (9).



(10)

Proceeding through the fumikomi tatami, the hantō walks to the toko, sits in front of the chabana, views it briefly (10), and then carries the flower tray back to the mizuya. In the mizuya, the hantō tucks the kamashiki into his or her 'bosom pocket,' then carries the haiki into the tearoom.



(11)

The hantō sits at the far end of the fumikomi tatami, places the haiki down with the left hand, places the kamashiki next to the haiki with the right hand, then folds his or her fukusa (11) and places it on top of the kamashiki. The hantō returns to sit outside the sadōguchi during the sumi temae.



(12)

The host invites the third guest to place the charcoal in the furo (12). The guest stands on the right, and proceeds to the fumikomi tatami, entering it with the left.



(13)

Sitting where the hantō placed the haiki and other items, the guest puts the fukusa on, then picks up the kamashiki (13) and tucks it into the bosom pocket.



(14)

The guest picks up the haiki with the left hand, reholds it with the right, then stands on the right (14) and proceeds to the temae position.



(15)

The guest places the haiki in its designated spot, turns to face the furo, and begins the sumi procedure (15). [For details of the shozumi temae, consult *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 69.]



(16)

The guest lifts the kettle from the furo, moves it to the designated position, and places the kettle rings to the side of the kettle (16).



(17)

The guest adds the charcoal to the *shitabi* in the standard manner (17).



(18)

The guest replaces the kettle on the furo and dusts the lid with the feather (18), then sets the kettle lid ajar.



(19)

The guest picks up the haiki, proceeds into the fumikomi tatami, turns to face the temae tatami (19), and sits.



(20)

The guest returns the haiki, kamashiki, and fukusa to their original positions (20).



(21)

The guest stands on the right, backs up three steps (21), crosses out of the fumikomi tatami with the right foot, and returns to his or her seat, crossing into that tatami with the left.



(22)

The hantō enters the tearoom, sits at the far end of the fumikomi tatami, and puts the fukusa on. The hantō returns the kamashiki and haiki to the mizuya (22).



(23)

The hantō returns to the temae tatami to retrieve the sumitori and return it to the mizuya (23). The hantō then sits outside the sadōguchi with the incense tray in front of his or her knees.



(24)

The first and second guests go, one by one, to view the furo after the sumi temae. Thus, the first guest excuses himself or herself for going first (24).



(25)

The first guest walks to the fumikomi tatami (25), enters it with the left foot, and crosses onto the temae tatami with the right (25).



(26)

Sitting in front of the furo, the guest views it (26). The guest returns to his or her seat.



(27)

In the same manner, the second guest views the furo (27). [Note that the third guest, who placed the sumi, and the host, who prepared the ash, do not go to view the furo.]



(28)

When the two guests have returned to their seats, the hantō outside the sadōguchi turns the incense tray on the floor (28) two quarter turns clockwise so that the front edge comes to his or her far side, and carries it to the first guest.



(29)

Turning slightly away and standing on the left (29), the hantō walks through the fumi-komi tatami, proceeds to the temae tatami, and sits in front of the tana.



(30)

The hantō places the chaire on the floor in front of the tana, in preparation for the koicha portion of *shaza* (30). Then the hantō leaves the room and sits outside the sadōguchi.



(31)

The host invites the first guest to begin preparing the incense (31).



(32)

The guest first stretches out the right hand to check the condition of the fire in the kōro (32).

THE RO VARIATION FOR THE SUMI TEMAE

In the ro season, because all the guests and the host gather around the hearth while the charcoal is being placed in it, there is no individual viewing of the hearth by the guests after the sumi temae. Thus the transition from the sumi to the incense portions of the exercise changes slightly, as discussed below. The first difference is that, after removing the flower tray from the tearoom, the hantō sits outside the sadōguchi with the incense tray in front of his or her knees throughout the sumi temae.



(i)

After the third guest has finished the sumi temae, returned the haiki, kamashiki, and fukusa to their original positions, and returned to his or her seat, the hantō turns the incense tray on the floor outside the sadōguchi (i), so that its front is to the far side.



(ii)

The hantō carries the incense tray to the first guest (ii).



(iii)

The hantō turns away, stands on the left (iii), and proceeds to sit at the far end of the fumikomi tatami, where the haiki and other items have been left (iii).



(iv)

The hantō puts on the fukusa (iv).



(v)

The hantō removes the haiki and kama-shiki from the room (v).



(vi)

The hantō returns to sit in front of the tana and place the chaire on the floor, in preparation for the koicha temae (vi).



(vii)

The hantō shifts position to sit squarely centered with the outer edge of the hearth frame, and carries the sumitori from the room (vii). The hantō sits outside the sadōguchi during the preparation of incense.



(viii)

The host invites the first guest to begin preparing the incense (viii).

Continuation to follow in issue nos. 86 and 87.

Book Reviews

Kindred Spirits: The Eloquence of Function in American Shaker and Japanese Arts of Daily Life. *Prologue by June Sprigg. Foreword by Martha W. Longenecker. Commentary by William Thrasher.* San Diego: Mingei International Museum of World Folk Art, 1995. 168 pp., with 111 color plates. US\$40.00, cloth.

This catalogue documents an exhibition of two hundred objects, half American Shaker and half Japanese, that traveled to three museums in the United States between April 1995 and September 1996. Dating from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the illustrated works demonstrate that the two unrelated cultures have similar attitudes toward household utensils, storage containers, garments, furniture, and other items of daily life. Although the catalogue includes pieces by known artists made as recently as 1995, its emphasis is on anonymous objects that were crafted at a time when impersonal, mass-produced goods began to displace them. Contending that American Shaker and Japanese arts of daily life share common traits, *Kindred Spirits* compares the creative forces that inspired them, rather than simply equating their physical similarities.

Unlike many exhibition catalogues that are thick with dense, academic text, *Kindred Spirits* emphasizes the illustrated image over the written word. This apparently parallels the attitude toward didactic information given in the exhibition itself. Its guest curator, William Thrasher, states, "I have often envisioned this exhibition without a single word of commentary: objects alone, with no dates, no provenance, no information other than what the objects alone provide." Appropriately, the photographs by Paul Rocheleau and Lynton Gardiner depict objects before a neutral background, illustrating them in isolated splendor. In acquiescence to the needs of most readers, however, the catalogue offers insightful comments about the design or purpose of an object in its succinctly written entries.

In her prologue entitled "The Fifteenth Rock: On Shaker Design," June Sprigg makes reference to the Zen garden at Ryōanji and a person's inability to see its fifteen rocks simultaneously unless freed from "the bonds of this world and the limitations of space and time." Sprigg, the co-curator for the first major exhibition of Shaker design held in Japan at the Sezon Museum of Art in 1992, explains that the Shakers, or the United Society of Believers in the First and Second Appearance of Christ, freed themselves from nonessential, material possessions and eliminated superfluous ornamentation on things they used. The Society, in existence for a little over two hundred years, has probably had no more than ten thousand members in its entire history. Seen as the revelation of spiritual values from God, Shaker objects are distinguished by their usefulness, simplicity, cleanliness, and

order. By implication, they must be regarded from a heightened perspective, like the rocks at Ryōanji.

The catalogue's forward [*sic*] by Martha W. Longenecker, director of the Mingei International Museum of World Folk Art, quotes extensively from *Tansu* by Ty and Kiyoko Heineken and the words of Yanagi Soetsu. Inspired by Yanagi, Longenecker states that the mission of her museum is "to further the understanding of arts of the people (*mingei*) from all cultures of the world." She acknowledges that the similarity between American Shaker and Japanese arts of daily life has often been observed and noted. It is to her credit that this catalogue manifests these earlier observations so effectively.

In recognition of its visual achievements, *Kindred Spirits* won the 1996 American Association of Museums Publications Design Competition, taking first prize for an exhibition catalogue produced by an institution with an annual budget below US\$500,000. Bentwood boxes from Okinawa and New Lebanon, New York, are illustrated on its jacket and the facing plates following its title page. They immediately convey the exhibition's thesis and introduce a logically arranged sequence of American Shaker and Japanese images in a lavish series of color reproductions. Although brief paragraphs introduce sections on "Shaker Furniture" and "Shaker Textile Tools and Equipment," the objects are otherwise organized without geographic headings, group classifications, or catalogue numbers. An object's size, media, and place and period of manufacture are given as well as the name of its maker, when known, but without the artist's dates.

The catalogue proper begins with American Shaker objects, predominantly from the Hancock Shaker Village in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Except for a case of drawers from Ohio, they are limited to the Northeastern United States. In contrast, the Japanese material encompasses textiles from Okinawa to Hokkaidō and diverse articles of daily life from Honshū, Kyūshū, and Shikoku, including objects for chanoyu. Coming full circle, the photographs of Japanese items conclude with a cypress and teakwood table crafted by George Nakashima (1905–90), an American of Japanese ancestry who worked in New Hope, Pennsylvania.

Although it avoids making direct comparisons between objects by American Shakers and Japanese, the catalogue infers their association by representing furniture, baskets, and textiles from both societies. However, when a group of Japanese ceramics has no American counterpart, the text offers no explanation whether ceramics were a non-existent category in Shaker households or simply excluded from the exhibition. It seems that early Shakers made clay pipes and pipestems, but not kitchen pottery or ceramic tableware, purchasing them instead from outside sources.

Although elegantly designed, *Kindred Spirits* has minor problems in its text that simple editorial scrutiny would have eliminated. A Holder of Important Intangible Cultural Properties, popularly known in Japan as *Ningen Kokuho*, is referred to as a Living National Treasurer, not a Living National Treasure (p. 16). The spelling of the Heian period as "Hian" in a chronology of Japan (p. 25) and "Kideyoshi" for "Hideyoshi" as the Japanese who led invasions of Korea (p. 152) are more serious offenses. A *shakuhachi*, described as a "mallow bamboo flute," is

presumably a "mellow" sounding musical instrument, not one made from a botanical hybrid (p. 128). For romanization of Japanese, the authors use double vowels (e.g., Taishoo for Taishō and Toohoku for Tōhoku); however, this system is applied inconsistently (pp. 125 and 158).

Kindred Spirits is not a theoretical evaluation of American Shaker and Japanese arts of daily life. It does not question the originality or validity of Yanagi Soetsu's philosophy regarding the work of unknown craftsmen. Instead, it makes its statement as a publication to be enjoyed for its visual qualities. It will perhaps introduce American Shaker art to admirers of Japanese *mingei*; and conversely, Japanese arts of daily life to those who know about the Shakers. For those unfamiliar with both traditions, *Kindred Spirits* offers a doubly rewarding experience. It has a value that extends beyond the duration of the exhibition it served and assumes a deserved life of its own.

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Teaching and Learning in Japan. Edited by Thomas Rohlen and Gerald LeTendre. Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996. ISBN 0-521-49587-3 Hardback. vii + 399 pp. £35.00, US\$49.95

This book contains an essay by Tom Hare on the pedagogy of training artists who practice noh performances, in which he notes that "Training is a recursive, iterative process, experientially based. The body learns the art first, and in mastering its kinetic structures enables the 'spirit' or the 'heart' to come to an understanding. Getting the outward behavioral form correct may eventually lead to cognitive understanding, but a comprehensive, intellectually based understanding of the art is considered neither necessary nor desirable." Because this observation applies to how practitioners approach the teaching of other traditional arts of Japan, including readers of this journal engaged in chanoyu, my discussion centers on only one of several themes underlying *Teaching and Learning in Japan*. Although the volume contains many other interesting articles by its contributors, only some of the essays are discussed here.

In the essay by G. Victor Sōgen Hori, on "Teaching and Learning in the Rinzai Zen Monastery," Hori makes an observation similar to Hare's experience with learning noh. Hori notes that in learning Buddhist meditation the student undergoes numerous rituals that involve rote and repetition, "... with little attempt made to understand why or how one is to do them."

In Japanese teaching of more contemporary and Western forms, there are hints of this same educational method of rote and ritual without verbal explana-

tions of why the practices must be learned. In the Suzuki Method of violin playing, as discussed by Lois Peak, another contributor to *Teaching and Learning in Japan*, children first learn to play the violin or piano by ear through practice and listening, with little or no explanations. There are also no immediate attempts to teach children to read music. Reading music seems to be regarded as a secondary, more intellectual process that interferes with experiencing music directly, just as verbal explanations of why a ritual is important or why a particular practice must be learned by rote are considered unnecessary and even obstacles to direct learning of a kinesthetic process. This "direct" approach to learning music without the mediation of decoding writing is reminiscent of Rousseau, who argued in his famous treatise on education, *The Emile*, that experiential learning should come first, with reading taught at a very late stage in the life of the child. Very few educators in America, with the possible exception of teachers in Rudolph Steiner's Waldorf School, would endorse the long postponement of reading.

The cultural differences are apparent when the Suzuki method is adapted to the U.S. environment. Peak notes that the reading of music is introduced earlier in the lessons taught in America than in Japan by many of the American teachers of the Suzuki Method. Americans regard learning to read music something that is important in the teaching of instrumental music to children. Americans also need explanations before they will agree to engage in a practice, and part of the job of the teacher is to persuade the student through verbal explanations as to why certain lessons must be learned. All this is less prevalent in the teaching of Japanese traditional arts, which did not inherit the rhetorical tradition found in the history of Western education.

The study of the pedagogy of traditional arts in Japan provides an opportunity for contemporary Western educators to gain a profound and important insight. Contemporary Western approaches to teaching and learning contain hidden, positivistic and utilitarian assumptions that are so deeply taken for granted that they are considered universally valid. The study of traditional methods of learning and teaching discloses how cultural biases that evolved with the scientific revolution have crept into presumed scientific approaches to pedagogy — approaches which overlook the fact that, in all systematic learning of *something*, there is a deep learning (or a reinforcement) of a *context* for that "something," and the context may vary from one subculture to another. These contexts may be described as metaphors that form the basis of a culture (or subculture) and are implicitly taught, since teaching and learning always occur in some sort of cultural context. Thus, positivistic utilitarian approaches to learning specific tasks or behavior commonly accepted in contemporary American society contain in themselves the teaching of the pragmatic metaphor. It is therefore difficult to even accept the validity of approaches that presume an alternative metaphor, especially when they are antithetical to the pragmatic. The anthropologist Gregory Bateson has pointed out how educational psychology itself has cultural biases. Behaviorism, which is related to the pragmatic approach, for example, is considered a pedagogically more acceptable substitute for rote in America; however, in fact, the two, rote and behavioristic approaches, may actually be two separate mediums

for the teaching of two different cultural contexts. Ideally, a child would be able to learn both approaches, and to know which is appropriate, depending upon the situation at hand.

Let me then discuss briefly what the hidden assumptions are, as I have come to understand them, in much of the pedagogy that underlies the traditional arts in Japan. Indeed, many of the same assumptions are found in teachings in preliterate cultures, cultures that are primarily oral and have no means of writing experiences into words and sentences. These assumptions are also reinforced by Buddhist and Shinto and even Confucian traditions in Japan. The "assumptions" (I put the word in quotation marks since they aren't perceived as assumptions) have to do with the primacy of the aesthetic response in life. As Gregory Bateson has noted, the aesthetic response is one "with recognition and empathy" to "the pattern which connects." It involves an awareness of presence (or perhaps "presence" itself); an awareness that all is ephemeral — we are situated in a specific time and place; and an awareness that life is interconnected in the sense that pattern and relationships and process are the "stuff" of life, rather than things and substances. The body is always present in a situation, and thus, acts of the body are primary; the intellect only comments on the body and on the situation, and is itself not necessarily situated, since the intellect can deny being *in* and *of* the body. The denial, on reflection, seems curious, but contemporary Western approaches seem to avoid this primordial existential fact that the mind is in the body. Once the fact that one's body is in a particular time and a specific place is fully acknowledged, such processes such as communion and dialogue (ala Martin Buber's I-Thou relationship) gain the forefront of the experiential domain. The "spiritual" — indeed, *relationships* rather than substance or concreteness — informs the context in which ritual and rote occur. We are always part of a larger pattern of relationships — with others, with society, with nature.

From a contemporary positivistic point of view, these notions can be regarded as "mystical," but only so when we regard presence and practice from an intellectual perspective alone, as we do when we read and think even these lines written in prose in this journal. Prose itself creates a distancing between the observer and the observed. Perhaps what best suits the aesthetic approach to learning and teaching is non-prose, namely poetry. Prose is discursive and already bears within it the seeds of distancing from presence. Hence, as a tool for discussing the pedagogy of the aesthetic, prose is always in some way not congruent with what is being discussed. Furthermore, perhaps all that poetry does is to create an analogue to what is being taught in the world of chanoyu or noh or calligraphy or any of the traditional forms of art in Japan. And that is why Martin Buber, in writing his famous treatise, *I and Thou*, lapsed into poetry.

My discussion thus indicates that what is found in the teaching of many of the traditional arts is not unique to Japan. It is found in the styles of teaching in almost all cultures that are oral and do not have a writing system. It is also found in older forms of Catholicism, and before the age of Descartes and of Newton and of Bacon. One can see the concern about the split in thought and its removal from the domain of the here and now and of ritual in the works of Blaise Pascal, and in that

of Blake. Wordsworth and Whitman also clearly express the sense of the aesthetic in their poetry.

What to me is interesting in this book is that it helps confirm that, by taking the pedagogy involved in such areas as Zen meditation or noh drama seriously, we can be provided with an antidote to the mind-body split that is validated by much of contemporary society. We may then begin to understand the primacy of the body in the here and the now, in the context of the past and the future, and in our relationship to the larger ecosystem that is nature.

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Re-Imaging Japanese Women. *Edited with an Introduction by Anne E. Imamura.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1996. xii + 358 pp. US\$50.00, cloth; US\$18.00, paper.

Anyone with Japanese women friends is aware of how few of them fit the stereotypical image of the submissive housewife wholly consumed with family matters. Yet relatively little has been written in English to dispel the myth that there is but one feminine ideal and every woman in Japan strives to obtain it.

Re-Imaging Japanese Women is the result of two panel discussions at the Association for Asian Studies meeting in Los Angeles in 1993. It covers a broad range of topics, held together through the excellent editing of Anne Imamura. Considering the inevitable time lag between field work and final inclusion in this volume, the book is remarkably current.

A total of thirteen essays are presented. These range from Patricia G. Steinhoff's "Three Women Who Loved the Left," which deals with women who were leaders in the Japanese Red Army movement, through John Mock's "Mother or Mama," an insightful look into the lives of bar hostesses in Sapporo. This is not to imply that the book deals only with fringe elements of Japanese society, interesting though they might be. *Re-Imaging Japanese Women* casts its net widely, catching contemporary women in a variety of circumstances.

"Centering the Household," by Margaret Lock, is an outstanding discussion of the concept of *kōnenki*. Although *kōnenki* is translated into English as menopause, Lock explains the cultural differences between the two concepts. Her work in this area has won many awards.

One of the problems which face women in their middle years is the care of the elderly, and this is addressed by Susan Orpett Long in "Nurturing and Femininity." This issue has been in the forefront of the Japanese media for a number of years, and is sure to remain there as the population ages. Susan Long ties the issue to the idealized perception of the role of the Japanese woman as nurturer.

Robert J. Marra's "Social Relations as Capital" is a straightforward account of the life of Yuriko, an older woman in a fishing village. Born in 1924, her life reflects some of the changes seen in all aspects of Japanese life, while giving us a picture of the harsh realities of the pre- and immediate post-war period particularly in rural parts of the country.

In Anne Allison's essay, "Producing Mothers," we learn of Allison's experience with a Japanese nursery school, and the tendency that exists in Japan to define mothers of school age children as either "education mothers" or as negligent.

A few of the essays deal with how images are communicated. "Popular Reading," by Nobuko Awaya and David P. Phillips, deals with such novelists as Yoshimoto Banana and Hayashi Mariko and the role their work plays in the lives of young working women. Andrew A. Painter takes a rather pessimistic view of the future of women in the television industry. His essay, "The Telepresentation of Gender in Japan," concludes that there are conservative males allowing very few females into the decision-making process. The result is a one-dimensional view of women on television. In "Fragile Resistance, Signs of Status," Nancy R. Rosenberger is somewhat more optimistic in noting that some of the changes in the attitudes of young women will survive despite a slackening in their job opportunities brought on by the long recession. Her balanced presentation points to the diversity among these women.

The working environment is the topic of Millie R. Creighton's "Marriage, Motherhood, and Career Management in a Japanese 'Counter Culture'." This essay about women employed in department stores can be contrasted with "Careers and Commitment," by Glenda S. Roberts, which deals with the lives of blue-collar working women. Creighton's discussion of the effects of Japan's Equal Employment Opportunity Law is particularly interesting because it highlights the failure to legalize equality and opportunity in the workplace. The concerns of Roberts' blue-collar workers can be used as a mirror for the concerns of all married working women, especially those with children.

"Women Legislators in the Postwar Diet," by Sally Ann Hastings, is an analysis of the role of women in politics. Japanese politics can be rather confusing, especially with the recent dissolution and reformation of parties. Here we are given a succinct look into the postwar history of women on the political stage. Hastings notes that while the number of women in the Diet has increased, the progression has not been linear and such women as Doi Takako and Tanaka Makiko, with high profile positions and access to policy-making power, are still found largely in opposition parties.

The attitude of Japanese society towards the pursuit of the traditional arts is a subject of particular interest to me. Shortly after my arrival in Japan, I began to study calligraphy. The support of my neighbors, which included baby-sitting services at no cost, were essential in enabling me to pursue my goals. When I decided to also take up *chadō*, the Way of Tea, these neighbors stated that they understood that I was doing all this for my family, and continued to lend their enthusiastic help. Eventually I became a full-time apprentice to my porcelain-painting teacher, which demanded that I be out of the house six days a week. The support only

increased. I was aware that if I had been playing tennis or golf, that support might well have evaporated, but the value placed on the study of traditional arts is very extensive and intricately woven into the fabric of Japanese society.

Barbara Lynne Rowland Mori uses the world of *chadō* as her frame of reference in "The Traditional Arts as Leisure Activities for Contemporary Japanese Women," but her observations could very well be applied to ikebana, calligraphy, or traditional dance, to name just the most obvious examples. Mori's thesis is that the appeal of *chadō* is as an interactive, accessible artistic endeavor which also reinforces important social values. I agree with her, but I think the scale is heavily weighted in favor of its appeal as an artistic pursuit, and it is this aspect of the place of traditional arts in Japanese society that is so intriguing. Mori introduces us to teacher as well as student, and it would be interesting if she could expand her study further and include the observations of people looking at the world of *chadō* from outside the narrow confines of the tearoom.

Re-Imaging Japanese Women is a finely produced work which makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the diverse roles of women in Japanese society.

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Chanoyu Quarterly Temae Guides

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Corrigendum

Issue no. 84, p. 52.

The first character of the parenthesized kanji appearing in line 2, for the book title *Yume wa Karenô*, should be 夢 and *not* 旅.

The editor expresses humble apologies to the author for the error.

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Hakuhō period, 645–710

Nara period, 710–794

Heian period, 794–1192

Kamakura period, 1192–1336

Muromachi period, 1336–1568

Momoyama period, 1568–1603

Edo period, 1603–1868

Modern period, 1868–

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