

4. *WABI* AS AN AESTHETIC CONCEPT

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapters 2 and 3 in this study focused on *wabi* as a philosophical concept. In this chapter, *wabi* describing external features of objects such as utensils used in *chadô*, of the tea-house, or of the *roji* path are studied in order to provide a general overview: How are they defined in classical sources? The focus of the following discussions is mainly on concrete objects, deliberating on the sense of *wabi* in them and how it is expressed in the chosen citations from classical sources. In Section 4.2, the idea of the sense of *wabi* in tea utensils, the tea-house, and in the *roji* path is examined in general. The aim of the section is to give a clear picture of what is the sense of *wabi* in utensils, to show with concrete examples what kind of utensils are considered to be so-called '*wabi utensils*', and to deliberate on the sense and source of *wabi* in tea utensils. The sense of *wabi* is also studied through tea diaries of the Great Tea Masters. This discussion will be expanded in Chapter 6. Next, in Section 4.3, Tea Master Jô-ô's idea of the sense of *wabi* in *chadô* is introduced through tea utensils he owned or admired and studied further by examining tea gatherings he hosted. In Section 4.4, Rikyû's concept of the sense of *wabi* is examined, concentrating on the information from the tea records of those tea gatherings Rikyû hosted himself. Finally, in Section 4.5, Rikyû's concept of *wabi* is illustrated by introducing anecdotes about Rikyû as the Great Master of Tea.

4.2. THE SENSE OF *WABI* IN TEA UTENSILS, TEA-HOUSE, AND *ROJI* PATH THROUGH TEA-RELATED CLASSICAL LITERATURE: AN OVERVIEW

4.2.1. Tea Utensils

4.2.1.1. General

Wabi in tea utensils is basically understood as the opposite of the beauty in Chinese or famous utensils (*meibutsu*). It means that a person does not own any of them; that one is a poor person (*wabi hito*) who cannot afford masterpieces or a beautiful tea-house. *Wabi* style of Tea means a poor devotee of *chadô* who

practises Tea using whatever utensils and materials are available.⁴⁴⁰ The opening passage of the *Sôjinboku* clarifies this meaning of *wabi*:

一むかしハ、茶湯に上中下の三段をわけたり、上は其身世にすくれ、或ハ其身に財あれば、名物所持ある故に、是を上とす、中ハ財あれ共、名の道具に不足なるか、あるひは、道具あれ共、其身まとしければ、是を中とす、下ハ財も道具もまとしき故に下とす、これを侘といふ、⁴⁴¹

In old times, *chanoyu* was divided into three stages: the upper, the middle, and the lower. Being in the upper stage means that one is a superior person or wealthy person, and owns some famed utensils. The middle means either that one is wealthy but does not own any famed utensils, or that one owns famed utensils but is poor [in other ways]. The lower means that one is a poor person and does not own any utensils. This is called *wabi*.

Similarly the meaning of *wabi* is explained in the following examples from *Sôjinboku* and *Genryûchawa*:

…侘はたらひて道具不持なるをあはれミて也⁴⁴²

Wabi means no feelings of dissatisfaction even though one owns no utensils.

侘などはさのみ道具なし、いにしへは今焼位なれ共、水指にても、茶碗にても、それ一首(種)にして、別の道具なしとみえたるこそ、吟味して数奇者といひて、⁴⁴³

Wabi tea men do not own very good utensils (*dôgu*). [However] in olden times, even though one would have only a fresh-water container or a tea bowl of present-day ceramics, one handled this item as a precious piece without thinking that one did not have any other utensils. This kind of Tea practitioner was highly respected and he was called a man of Tea (*sukisha*)⁴⁴⁴.

…侘ハ何なく共…⁴⁴⁵

Wabi means not owning even a single thing...

Basically *wabi* means that one does not own even a single Chinese utensil and is unable to buy a famous Chinese utensil, indicating that one is a poor person. On

⁴⁴⁰ Chôandôki, p. 375.

⁴⁴¹ *Sôjinboku*, p. 145. For further information of the origins of the book, see Hisada 1956.

⁴⁴² *Sôjinboku*, p. 296.

⁴⁴³ *Sôjinboku*, p. 186.

⁴⁴⁴ *Sukisha*: in this context the word *sukisha* is used not only to indicate a man of Tea (*chanoyu-sha*), but particularly a man of the *wabi* style of *chanoyu* who has eye for good utensils. This story has a connection with the story before (*Sôjinboku*, pp. 179-180) concerning preparing thick tea (*koicha*) in which one should use famed utensils and other masterpieces.

⁴⁴⁵ *Genryûchawa*, p. 427. This citation is only a short part of an anecdote of Rikyû, which is quoted in Section 4.5. For further information about *Genryûchawa*, see CKZ 3, Bibliographical notes on pp. 490-497.

the other hand, *wabi* is also defined as an ability to handle ordinary, present day utensils as if they were precious pieces with the same respect and care as one would handle famous Chinese utensils. *Wabi* further suggests that one has no desire to own famous Chinese utensils, but rather is fully satisfied with one's life as it is (see Section 2.3.1). It is also understood from the citation above that every ordinary utensil does not possess the sense of *wabi*. It recommends a critical study of ordinary utensils to separate good pieces from inferior objects. Therefore, for a *wabi* Tea person, 'a skilled eye' (*mekiki*) for the advantages and disadvantages of the utensils is needed and this is gained through continuous practice (Section 3.1.3.2).

In spite of being poor, a *wabi* Tea person should pay attention to cleanliness. Concerning tea utensils, even if a poor *wabi* person has no money to buy expensive and rare tea utensils one should, at least, use new green bamboo in utensils, such as chopsticks or a lid-rest, and a new white cloth *chakin* (a cloth for wiping a tea bowl and kettle during *gosumi* [second setting of charcoal]). These utensils cost next to nothing during the times of Jô-ô and Rikyû, and therefore were required even for a *wabi* Tea practitioner. The following passages support the claim that cleanliness is emphasised in *wabi*:

佗人ハ、箸・楊子に念を入へしと古人云也⁴⁴⁶

According to old masters, a *wabi* [Tea] person should pay attention to the chopsticks and to the sweet-eating sticks...

This is explained more precisely in *Sugiki Fusai Densho*:

…青竹の箸も寄麗なる物也、佗などに用てよろし、⁴⁴⁷

...the green bamboo chopsticks are also fresh and beautiful; they are appreciated in *wabi* [style of Tea], too.

As stated above, for a *wabi* Tea practitioner it is enough to own at least a white cloth for wiping the tea bowl (*chakin*). *Chanoyu Ichieishû* addresses this as follows:

…いかなる佗者も、茶巾ハ新敷を用ゆへき事...⁴⁴⁸

Even an extremely poor person (*wabi mono*) should use a new *chakin*.

The examples given above give an impression of purity which is emphasised in *chadô*, and in addition, they show that one is truly devoted to the Way of Tea by

⁴⁴⁶ Hosokawa Chanoyu no Sho, p. 28.

⁴⁴⁷ Sugiki Fusai Densho, p. 180.

⁴⁴⁸ Chanoyu Ichieishû, p. 360. See also Genryûchawa, p. 427. There is a story about a *wabi* Tea person who gives Rikyû money to buy tea utensils for him. Instead of buying utensils Rikyû put all the money to buy a white cloth.

doing one's best even in straitened circumstances. Because the *wabi* style of Tea looks rough and materially poor, one should try even harder to make things look fresh and beautiful (this aspect will be studied in more detail later in this section; see also Section 3.1.3.3).

Parallel to the cleanliness of the *chakin* cloth or the freshness of the bamboo sticks used in Tea, it is also advised that the clothes of a poor *wabi* person should be at least clean, even if one cannot afford new clothes:

佗者ハ、草ノ草の格にて、布子・紙子ニても何は不相成といふ事なし、いつれも新しきを第一とし、至而の佗ニは、洗濯ものニても、垢付ぬを着すへき也⁴⁴⁹

A poor person (*wabimono*), who is the humblest of the humble, whether the clothes are cotton or paper, there is nothing that would be inappropriate to wear. Whatever one wears the most important is to wear new clothes. For an extremely poor person even if the clothes are old, they should be clean and have no dirt on them.

Modest materials are recommended for *wabi* persons, such as paper or cotton, but despite this suggestion, there exists no set rules concerning what one should wear. Above all, one should at least wear clean clothes, if one is not able to wear new clothing. In the *wabi* style of Tea, the modest style of life is admired with some ascetic nuances, such as the recommendation to wear paper or cotton clothes even though the winters are very cold in the Kansai area where Tea was flourishing during the time of the Great Tea Masters. *Hosokawa Chanoyu no Sho* defines in more detail an ascetic idea of *wabi*:

わびハけつとうをのべす共、料理あんはいと、又奇麗を専にすへし、⁴⁵⁰

In *wabi* [*chadō*] woollen blankets are not used. Besides that, the food should be suitable for the season and tasty. Furthermore, it is important to keep things clean and beautiful.

In the *wabi* style of Tea, woollen blankets are not used on the *tatami* to keep guests warm during the winter time. This is, supposedly, in keeping with the stoic idea of austere *wabi* – blankets are considered a luxury. Some regulations concerning the food served are also found in the classics, suggesting that a *wabi* person should not serve delicacies, but rather serve simple dishes suitable for the season.⁴⁵¹ The citation above also advises preparation of flavourful dishes suitable

⁴⁴⁹ Chanoyu Ichieishū, p. 340.

⁴⁵⁰ Hosokawa Chanoyu no Sho, p. 28.

⁴⁵¹ Chawashigetsushū, p. 205. This story tells about a poor and modest *wabi* tea-person whose house Rikyū visits on the way to Kyōto. Rikyū is impressed with the humble house and waits with great pleasure for what the host can put together to serve a light meal for an unexpected guest late in the winter evening. But Rikyū is disappointed when he is served

for the season. In general, keeping everything clean and displaying them as beautifully as possible is considered to be a vital ability for a *wabi* person. The word *kirei*, which means "clean" or "beautiful" is used in the passage cited above. It could be assumed that the choice of the word refers to the idea that a poor *wabi* person should keep everything extremely clean, while at the same time should try to make things look beautiful to avoid a shabby and miserable feeling in *chadô*.

The appreciation of contrasting ideas such as the combination of *wabi* and the beautiful is shown in the following citation from *Nanpôroku*:

道具ノ似合タルガヨキト、休、常ニノ玉ヘリ、休ハ大男ナルユエ、イ
カニモシヲラシク小形ナル物ガ似合タリ、大坊主ニ大道具ハ、フツ
ハカニテ数奇ノ心ニアラズ、老人ナドハ、ウルハシクウツクシキ道具
ヨシ、ワビ過テハサワヤハニナキモノ也⁴⁵²

Rikyû has always said that the tea utensils should be chosen so that they suit the user. Because Rikyû is a large man, therefore, meek and small utensils suit him. For a big priest the big utensils look unrefined and do not possess a *suki* heart. For an elderly person elegant and beautiful utensils are suitable; if the *wabi* feeling is too strong, the delight will be lost.

This passage points out the importance of contrast for the balance of the entire atmosphere. If a big man uses big utensils, it only looks unrefined and lacks taste. A big man should favour small objects, as Rikyû did; an old man would select elegant and beautiful utensils for the contrasts of the patina of age. If the feeling of *wabi*, in this context, rough, masculine, and meagre is stressed too much, all the freshness, delightfulness, and beauty will disappear. This passage contains an important message: the sense of *wabi* does not lie just in things poor, rough, frugal, or unrefined, but in the inner feelings such as modesty or tranquillity, and in the interaction between the utensils and the occasion as a whole. In a similar way, the word *kirei* was used in the previous citation from *Hosokawa Chanoyu no Sho*: for contrast to the poor and shabby *wabi* Tea person, or *wabichadô*, one should promote the sense of beauty in the utensils chosen.

A *wabi* Tea person's house, the materials used and utensils are modest and simple.⁴⁵³ To others, they might even look rough and rustic. However, poverty and roughness are only one side of the matter; more important than material goods is the state of mind that a person possesses in daily life. Spiritually this means that first and foremost *wabi* means possessing the *wabi* heart as described in *Chôan-dôki*.⁴⁵⁴ In Tea practice this means that a *wabi* Tea practitioner does everything by

rare delicacies instead of a simple and modest meal and leaves the house without eating. For more details, see Section 4.5.

⁴⁵² Nanpôroku, p. 284.

⁴⁵³ Genryûchawa, p. 474. This passage describes the humbleness of a *wabi* tea-person's tea-room.

himself and that he is always on time, and if possible, ahead of time.⁴⁵⁵ These examples show that it is not only the outer appearance but also the inner spirit that is needed to be a true *wabi* person and to practise the true *wabi* style of Tea.

4.2.1.2. *Wabi in tea utensils*

Concerning the tea utensils, such as tea bowls, flower vases, or fresh-water containers, *wabi* seems to refer, according to the classics, to things of Japanese origin. *Wabi* refers especially to the rough utensils having a strong sense of modesty and rusticity, types of utensils that were quite different from the old Chinese or other foreign utensils used in Tea during the time of the Great Tea Masters. The sense of *wabi* in tea utensils is examined in this study through examples from classical sources, mostly from *Genryûchawa*, which explains the difference between *wabi* utensils and Chinese or other famous utensils by describing how tea utensils were before and what kind of utensils the Great Tea Masters favoured. The first example concerns incense containers used in *chadô* and the sense of *wabi* they convey:

問、香箱ハ如何に候や、
 答、古へ香箱ハ、唐ものゝ堆朱・堆紅・堆烏・堆漆・沈金・青貝之品々、和物にハ時代切り金・梨地・高蒔絵・とぎ出しのたくひに候へとも、佗に不取合により、利休備前・しがらき・楽・志野焼之香箱をも被用候⁴⁵⁶

Question: What did the incense cases look like?

Answer: In the days of old, incense cases were Chinese such as *tsuishu*, *tsuikô*, *tsuiu*, *tsuishitsu*,⁴⁵⁷ lacquer work with gold, or various kinds of mother-of-pearl work. Or, they were Japanese cases, such as old metal ones, *nashiji*, *takamakie*, and works of *tokidashi*.⁴⁵⁸ Because the above-mentioned utensils were not used in the *wabi* style of Tea, Rikyû also used Japanese ceramic incense cases such as *Bizen*, *Shigaraki*, *Raku*, and *Shino*.

⁴⁵⁴ Chôandôki, p. 375. See details in Section 2.2.1.

⁴⁵⁵ Chanoyu Ichieishû, pp. 363, 394.

⁴⁵⁶ Genryûchawa, p. 415.

⁴⁵⁷ *Tsuishu*, *tsuikô*, *tsuiu*, *tsuishitsu*: all these are elaborately-coated lacquer ware with patterns in relief. *Tsuishu* is red lacquer with patterns in relief. *Tsuikô* are lacquer ware which first have elaborately-coated red lacquer and on the of that, several layers of black lacquer. When the patterns are carved, the lower layers of red become visible again and the result is red-and-black-coloured. *Tsuuiu* refers to the lacquer ware with a bird pattern in relief and *tsuishitsu* is just any other kind of lacquer ware with patterns in relief.

⁴⁵⁸ *Nashiji*, *takamakie*, and *tokidashi*: these are different kinds of Japanese *makie* lacquer work. *Makie* means lacquer work with gold and / or silver decorations. The technique varies in these different kinds of *makie* work.

Minutely decorated, carved lacquer Chinese objects (Plate 10b), as well as the Japanese *makie* style of lacquer pieces (Plate 11b), with rich colours and a shine of the dust of gold and silver, are masterpieces of art. Already, during these times, they were too expensive for a poor *wabi* Tea person. To evoke the feeling and the spirit of *wabi*, Rikyû started to use Japanese ceramics such as *Bizen*, *Shigaraki*, *Raku*, and *Shino*, which all are rough and have an unfinished or unaffected feeling. Their free form and unfinished style were considered to be expressive of the sense of naturalness which was greatly admired during the time of the Great Tea Masters. These utensils were, without a doubt, very different in spirit from those used in the *shoin* style of Tea. *Bizen*, *Shigaraki*, and *Shino* are named according to the location of kilns. The name *Raku* is a short form of *Juraku*, Hideyoshi's luxurious mansion in Kyôto.⁴⁵⁹

The fresh-water containers, *mizusashi*, are used in Tea to refill the kettle with fresh water if the water gets too hot and for rinsing the used tea bowls, but also for showing 'the preparedness of heart' (Section 2.3.1) by refilling the kettle after using it in order to set everything in readiness to welcome a guest who arrives suddenly. In *Genryûchawa*, fresh-water containers are described as follows:

問、水指ハいかゝに候や、
答、古へ水指ハ唐物金の類、南蛮抱桶或ハ眞ノ手桶のたくひにて候
を、珠光備前・しからきの風流なるを撰ひ用ひられ候へ共、なほまれ
なる故に、佗のたすけに、紹鷗、釣瓶の水指を好ミ出され、利休ハマ
け物、極佗は片口をもゆるされ候、⁴⁶⁰

Question: What were the fresh-water containers like?

Answer: In the days of old, the fresh-water containers were various metal ware from China, *Nanban dakioko*,⁴⁶¹ or the formal style of *teoko*.⁴⁶² Shukô started to use *Bizen*

⁴⁵⁹ Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, see s.v. *Ameya*, *Chôjirô*, *Raku*, *Sôkei*, and *Sômi*. *Raku* ceramics are said to have been created by Ameya who was Chôjirô's father. Chôjirô became the first generation of *Raku*; the present generation is the fourteenth. Ameya was supposedly of non-Japanese origin, from China or Korea. Another story about the origins of *Raku* ceramics is that it was named according to the golden seal with the carving of the Chinese character *raku* (楽, meaning "joy", "delight", "pleasure", "easy", "peaceful" among the others), which was given by Hideyoshi to Tanaka Sôkei who was a potter from the *Muromachi* period. Sometimes it is impossible to distinguish which was a work by Chôjirô, Sôkei, or Sômi (Sôkei's eldest son).

⁴⁶⁰ *Genryûchawa*, p. 416.

⁴⁶¹ Literally, *Nanban* means Southern barbarians. In Tea-related text the word is used to refer to the South-east Asian countries or southern parts of China. *Dakioko* is a sort of fresh-water container made of copper, though it can also be ceramic.

⁴⁶² *Teoko* is a sort of fresh-water container which was originally used to refill the fresh water container in the *mizuya* (literally: "water room", meaning the preparation room, it is also used for storage of utensils), to change water or clean the *tsukubai* (a stone water basin to rinse one's hands and mouth before entering the tea-room; symbolically one purifies one's heart, too), or to sprinkle water on the trees in the *roji* path. Tea masters started to use this as

and *Shigaraki*. In order to evoke even more the feeling of *wabi*, Jô-ô invented *tsurube*⁴⁶³ a fresh-water container and Rikyû the *magemono*.⁴⁶⁴ In the extreme *wabi* [*chadô*], *katakuchi*⁴⁶⁵ is accepted.

This is a typical example in which the development toward the *wabi* style of utensils is described as a historical process from the formal *shoin* style of Tea to the extreme *wabi* style of Tea, indicating the development of *chadô* from Shukô to Jô-ô and all the way to Rikyû. In the *shoin daisu* style of Tea, the formal style of Tea, the Chinese or foreign utensils were used and were usually mostly of old bronze or lacquer ware. Shukô invented *Bizen* ware, Jô-ô, the bare wooden *tsurube* (utility article for everyday use), and finally Rikyû, the wooden *magemono*. According to this example, not only certain Japanese ceramics such as *Bizen*, *Shigaraki*, and *Shino*, but also bare wooden articles are described as possessing the sense of *wabi* in their simplicity and naturalness. Besides the bare wooden articles which were adapted to be used in *chadô*, an additional new influence was the use of everyday utensils, such as *tsurube*, a wooden well bucket, that were adapted for the *wabi* style of Tea. Some of the foreign pieces from Korea or South-east Asia were everyday utensils not associated with tea in their home countries as were the Japanese items which were adapted to be used in *chadô* in spite of their original use.

In tea scoops (*chashaku*) bamboo (Plate 8b) displaced ivory in the *wabi* style:

問、茶杓はいかに候や、
答、古へ茶杓ハ象牙にて候得とも、佗道具に取あひ候ハぬゆえ、珠
光竹にて象牙の形にうつしものずかれ候、世に浅茅・芋茶杓といへ
る也⁴⁶⁶

Question: What were the tea scoops like?

Answer: In the days of old, tea scoops were ivory. But they were not suitable for use with the *wabi* utensils, and therefore, Shukô copied the shape of the ivory scoop and made it from bamboo. Now these tea scoops are known by the names of *Asaji* (cogon [grass]) and *Imo* ([sweet] potato).

a fresh-water container inside the tea-room. The formal style of *teoke* means that the container is lacquered, not bare wood.

⁴⁶³ *Tsurube*: this fresh water container was used by Jô-ô. *Tsurube* was originally used for drawing water from a well. Jô-ô favoured a bare wooden one, but lacquered and gold-copper alloy ones are also used.

⁴⁶⁴ *Magemono* is a wooden water container made from red cedar with a lid. This is used in making Tea with Chinese utensils (*karamono*), performing the *daitenmoku* style of serving tea with a *tenmoku* tea bowl and a special stand, or if doing the *bondate* style of serving tea (style of preparing tea when *karamono chaire*, or another item is received from a superior, is placed on the tray to show respect). Bare wood symbolises freshness and purity, therefore it is also used, for example, when a new tea-room has its first gathering.

⁴⁶⁵ *Katakuchi*: a shallow pot with a spout that was originally used as an oil, sake, or soy sauce container.

⁴⁶⁶ Genryûchawa, p. 416.

In this citation, the word *wabi* utensils, *wabidôgu*, shows indisputably that *wabi* is used in Tea-related classics to describe a special kind of rustic beauty in tea utensils.⁴⁶⁷ In the past, tea scoops (*chashaku*) were old Chinese medicine scoops made from ivory and adapted for Tea. They were rare and expensive, and they had a luxurious feeling because ivory has always been a rare material. Shukô did not find them consistent with the sense of *wabichadô* for this reason. Therefore, he copied the shape of the scoop and remade it from bamboo. Nowadays *chashakus* are made from other woods as well, such as cherry, and they can be lacquered and decorated, or made from silver, metal alloy (*sahari*), or they can even be ceramic. Usually tea scoops are bare bamboo and they may be given poetic names, such as 'Cogon Grass' or 'Sweet Potato' in the example above. Anderson also mentions the progress of *chashaku* toward the most informal style of Tea, which is called here the *wabi* Tea, but her focal point is in the placement of the node. The first tea scoops did not have a node similar to ivory tea scoops, and these are considered to be the most formal ones. In the semiformal style of the tea scoop, the node is at the end of the scoop and in the informal, or *wabi* style, the node is in the middle.⁴⁶⁸ The great change in tea scoops from formal to informal *wabi* style was first of all in the change of the material from ivory to bamboo (and other materials, too), and the use of the node and its place just gave a final distinctive touch to the *wabi* style.

Flowers are placed in the *tokonoma* during the second half of the gathering when thin tea is served. *Genryûchawa* describes the change in the styles of the flower vases as follows:

問、花生ハいかゝに候や、
答、いにしへ、花生ハ唐物金の類、蕪有り又ハ蕪なし式重蕪・そろり・経筒、或ハ青磁・きぬた・竹の子之たくひにて、佗ハ得かたきにより、紹鷗、籠又ハ伊賀・しがらきの風流なるを被用候、利休に到り、竹にて尺八一重切・式重切品々の花生を作意せられ候、⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁷ Suzuki claims in his study on *Zen and Japanese Culture* (see Introduction of this study) that the special kind of beauty in Tea is called *sabi* in the Tea-related classics. Suzuki is right in the sense that the spirit or style may be described as *sabi* (solitary) taste in Tea; however, the outer features of tea utensils are described with the word *wabi*.

⁴⁶⁸ Anderson 1991, p. 189. Anderson writes that "Jôô took the evolutionary process one step further, innovating a scoop with a node at the base of the handle... Rikyû ultimately decided to put the node in the middle of the *chashaku*..." This information is confirmed in Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *chashaku*. Concerning the theme, the following passage from the book called *Kaiki* (CKZ 5, p. 151) is found: 茶杓ニ節ナシト云モノアリ、象牙ニテモ、竹ニテモアルモノナリ、紹鷗マデノ茶杓ハ節ナシナリ利休初テ中節ヲ仕出ス、節ナシノ茶杓ハ、利休ヨリハ入ラヌモノト云事ニハ非ズ 'There are *chashakus* without the node. These can be made either from ivory or bamboo. Before Jô-ô, *chashaku* had no node; Rikyû was the first one to put the node in the middle of the *chashaku*. Yet *chashakus* without a node were also used after Rikyû.'

⁴⁶⁹ Genryûchawa, pp. 416-417.

Question: What were the flower vases like?

Answer: In the days of old, the flower vases were Chinese, various kinds of metal vases, such as *kabura-ari* and *kaburanashi*, or *nijūkabura*, *sorori*, *gyōzutsu* (the shape of a sutra container), and various kinds of celadon vases such as *kinuta* or *takenoko*.⁴⁷⁰ But since they were too precious for *wabi*, Jō-ō took into use a basket, *Iga*, and *Shigaraki* types of flower vases. Rikyū created *Shakuhachi*⁴⁷¹ and various kinds of bamboo flower vases with one or two cut-out sections.

In the old times, referring here to the time of Shukō or earlier, the flower vases were of metal, celadon, or blue-and-white Chinese porcelain, and they were used in the formal style of Tea. The Chinese porcelain flower vases were beautifully decorated and were rich in colours. The metal ones were also skillfully made with minute details. From the same era, various kinds of blue and white porcelain as well as celadon flower vases from the Song and Ming dynasties belong to the formal style of vases. All of these are placed, in the formal style of Tea, on a black lacquered board in the *tokomoma*. For *wabichadō*, Jō-ō introduced a basket flower vase which is placed into the *tokonoma* straight on the *tatami* or the wooden floor without a board, emphasising the informal feeling and the sense of modest *wabi* in Tea.

In the cited passage it does not say whether the baskets were Chinese or Japanese, nevertheless, they were more informal in feeling than the old Chinese metal or porcelain flower vases. One new Japanese style of ceramic, *Iga*, is also mentioned here as being Jō-ō's influence on *wabichadō* (until now Japanese ceramics like *Bizen*, *Raku*, *Shigaraki*, and *Shino*, are mentioned as possessing the spirit of *wabi* in tea utensils). All the Japanese ceramic ware is placed on the bare wooden board when displayed in the *tokonoma*. Rikyū favoured a bamboo flower container, which is even more informal in feeling than the Japanese ceramic or

⁴⁷⁰ Chinese flower vases: *kabura-ari*, *kaburanashi*, *nijūkabura*, *sorori*, *gyōzutsu* (the shape of a sutra container), and various kind of celadon vases such as *kinuta* or *takenoko*. *Kabura-ari*, *kaburanashi*, and *nijūkabura* are named for the globular shape of a turnip. The vase has quite a slender body and the mouth of the vase opens wide. It may have the globular (turnip) shape in the middle, at the bottom, or even both. These flower vases can be ancient copper or celadon. *Sorori* has a long slender neck and the body of the vase has a slight roundness. It has usually no ornaments and it is made of ancient copper or metal alloy. *Gyōzutsu* was originally a cylinder-shaped sutra container that is used as a flower container in *chadō*. It is made of copper, gold-copper, iron, or even ceramics.

⁴⁷¹ *Shakuhachi*: This flower vase, made by Rikyū, is classified in the *Ōmeibutsu*: 'the great famed utensils'. The name of the container probably refers to the bamboo flute, *shakuhachi*, or to the length of the vase. The container is a piece of bamboo cut so that the knot of bamboo is left just a little below mid-length. *Shakuhachi* has a little curved line. The bamboo container with one or two cuttings means that the bamboo is cut just below a knot that makes the bottom for the vase. Above this, in a good place, the stem of bamboo is cut in way reminiscent of a window, and on the top a ring of bamboo remains. A vase with one cut-off section is called *ichijūgiri* and with two cut-off sections, *nijūgiri*. For pictures, see Sen no Rikyū – The 400th Memorial, pp. 95-97.

basket containers. In *Yamanoue Sôjiki*⁴⁷² under the title "wabi flower vases" three types of flower vases are introduced: *Karamono* basket (owned by Jô-ô), Jô-ô's *Bizen tsutsu* (a tube-shaped flower vase), and Rikyû's *Bizen takenoko* (the shape of a bamboo shoot). In this example, Jô-ô's basket is said to be a Chinese (*karamono*) basket, which suggests the possibility that the basket flower vase mentioned in the citation of *Genryûchawa*, might be a Chinese piece, too.

One of the most famous flower vases invented is Rikyû's *Shakuhachi*, also mentioned in the citation from *Genryûchawa*. Rikyû made this vase in 1590 during the Odahara siege,⁴⁷³ and presented it to Hideyoshi. The name *Shakuhachi* comes from the poem by Ikkyû Sojun (1394-1481) who was a famous Zen master:

自從截斷兩頭來 尺八寸中通古今 吹起無生真一曲 三千里外絕知音 ⁴⁷⁴	It comes from both cut-off ends, through a <i>shaku</i> and eight <i>sun</i> , through past and present. Whistling a tone of true heart of transcendent reality, known three thousand leagues and beyond.
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This poem is about the traditional Japanese end-blown flute, *shakuhachi*, and is inscribed by Takuan Sôhō (1573-1645) on the inner box of the vase.⁴⁷⁵ An accompanying letter repeats the poem and explains that *shakuhachi* was named in accordance with the words of the Zen Master Ikkyû and states that Rikyû wanted to transcribe the poem and let the beauty of it be known three thousand leagues and beyond. Perhaps he wished to express metaphorically his wish that the bamboo flower vase would become one of the most commonly known and frequently used flower vases in *chadô*. The outer box bears the inscription of Kobori Enshû (1579-1647), who was one of Rikyû's disciples. In the citation from *Genryûchawa*, Rikyû's basket flower vases were not mentioned (see Section 4.4.2) but even today Rikyû's *Katsurakago*, a fisherman's basket, and *Nata no Saya*, a hatchet-case basket for flowers, exist and are generally recognised as being Rikyû's inventions in the *wabi* style of the Tea.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷² Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 89.

⁴⁷³ Sansom 1973, p. 412.

⁴⁷⁴ See Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, pp. 95, 297 for the original poem by Ikkyû and also Kobori Enshû's poem on *Shakuhachi* on the box. For details, see Kurasawa 1992b, p. 225. Translation is based on Hamamoto 1988, p. 53. Supposedly the name *Shakuhachi* refers both to the Japanese style of flute and to the length of the container which, according to the exhibition catalogue, is approximately 26.2 cm (one *shaku* is ca. 30.3 cm a *sun* is ca. 3.03; if eight *sun*s are subtracted from one *shaku*, we get 6.06 cm; if this is again subtracted from one *shaku*, the total is 24.24 cm).

⁴⁷⁵ Usually tea utensils are kept in wooden boxes to protect them and precious utensils may have two or three boxes inside one another like Russian dolls. The poetic name of the utensil and the type of the piece is inscribed on the box. Sometimes even poems describing the utensils are included.

⁴⁷⁶ For Rikyû's basket flower vases, see Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, pp. 98-99.

The waste-water containers, *kensui*, are needed in Tea for pouring the cleaning water of the tea bowls when rinsed inside the tea-room. *Genryûchawa* describes the sense of *wabi* in these objects as follows:

問、水こぼしハ如何に候や、

答、古へこぼしハ合子・骨吐・南蛮かめのふたのたぐひにて求めがたき故に、紹鷗、佗のたすけに面通をものすかれ候⁴⁷⁷

Question: What were the waste-water containers like?

Answer: In the times of old, waste-water containers such as *gôshi*, *honehaki*, *Nanban kamenofuta*⁴⁷⁸ were used. Besides these, to keep the spirit of *wabi*, Jô-ô took into use *mentsû*.⁴⁷⁹

The waste-water containers, *kensui*, were also foreign pieces made of metal (ancient bronze) or ceramics before the time of the Great Tea Masters. To evoke the sense of *wabi*, Jô-ô used the bare wooden piece called *mentsû*, which is a bent-round bamboo. According to *Genryûchawa*,⁴⁸⁰ the bare wooden *mentsû* was used only once. This was supposedly to maintain the sense of purity and freshness because the green colour of tea dyes the white wood green and causes a sense of impurity. *Mentsû* was originally not a tea utensil, but a pilgrim's eating bowl that Jô-ô found suitable to be used in *chadô*. This shows that during the *Momoyama* period new tea utensils, such as everyday utility pieces, were adapted from their original use into *chadô*. The old Chinese metal and ceramic utensils were also not made only for Tea but as daily utility utensils, such as *honehaki* or *kamenofuta*, which were nevertheless highly ranked because of their material and origin. These two are also rare examples because basically in Tea, unpleasant connotations such as bones referring to death are avoided.

In the following, different kinds of *mizutsugi*, a pot with a spout for refilling the fresh-water container (*mizusashi*) or the kettle (*kama*) with water, are defined as follows:

⁴⁷⁷ *Genryûchawa*, p. 418.

⁴⁷⁸ *Gôshi* (pronounced also *gôsu*), *honehaki*, and *Nanban kamenofuta* are all non-Japanese waste-water containers used in *chadô*. *Gôshi* is originally a hot water container with a lid, but in *chadô* it is used as a waste-water container without a lid. The most famous one is called *sahari kôshi* (*sahari* means metal alloy). *Honehaki* was originally used in China as daily tableware for the bones from food. *Nanban kamenofuta* was originally a lid of an urn or jar. In *chadô* it is usually used as an ash-container, but as this example shows, also as a waste-water container. *Kamenofuta* is a shallow and wide container, usually made of ceramics.

⁴⁷⁹ *Mentsû* is also called *mage kensui*. This is Jô-ô's invention. *Magemono* was originally a pilgrim's eating bowl but Jô-ô got the idea of using it in the *mizuya* as a fresh-water container. Later Rikyû started using it inside the Tea-room. *Magemono* is usually made of red cedar. Plain wooden ones as well as lacquered ones are used.

⁴⁸⁰ *Genryûchawa*, p. 418.

問、かた口・小口はいかに候や、
 答、いにしへ、釜またハ水指へ水を次キ添候も、唐物或ハ南蛮物の水次にて候得とも紹鷗佗の為に片口を被用候、小口とは片口の小キを申候、…極佗にハ水指に片口をもゆるされ候…⁴⁸¹

Question: What were *katakuchi* and *kokuchi* like?

Answer: In the times of old, when water was added to the kettle or the fresh-water container, containers for refilling water (*mizutsugi*) were Chinese (*karamono*) or South-east Asian (*nanban mono*). For a *wabi* [style of Tea] Jō-ō took into use *katakuchi*;⁴⁸² the utensil called *kokuchi* is like *katakuchi* but is smaller... In making thin tea or in extreme *wabi* [style of Tea] *katakuchi* is also accepted for use as a fresh-water container.

Similar to earlier examples, *mizutsugis* were also originally old Chinese and South-east Asian items made of metal or ceramics. However, for the *wabi* style of Tea Jō-ō used *katakuchi*, which was originally Japanese tableware for soy sauce or *sake*. Even though *katakuchi* is not very large, in an extreme *wabi* (*kokuwabi*), meaning a truly poor person owning hardly anything and who practises an extremely austere style of *chadō*, a small *katakuchi* type of container can also be used as a fresh-water container. Nowadays, *mizutsugis* for refilling the fresh-water container or the kettle with fresh water are beautifully decorated white porcelain pieces or very modest-looking metal kettles resembling a Western style of coffee pot. An interesting notion in this passage is the division between the ordinary *wabi* style of Tea and the extreme *wabi*, which shows that there were also different levels and shades in the *wabi* style of Tea. This shows that one should be careful not to generalise about the *wabi* style of Tea as meaning only one type of rough and austere sense of beauty.

The charcoal scuttle, *sumitori*, is used when carrying the charcoal inside the tea-room for making the fire to boil the water. *Genryūchawa* describes different kinds of *sumitoris* as follows:

問、炭取はいかに候や、
 答、炭とり、いにしへハ唐物の薬籠にて候得とも、利休より風炉ハさ
 いろ（菜籠）、炉にハふくべ、佗ハさし炭取を風炉・炉にも通して
 ゆるされ候⁴⁸³

Question: What did the charcoal scuttles look like?

⁴⁸¹ Genryūchawa, p. 422-423.

⁴⁸² *Katakuchi* and *kokuchi*: a shallow pitcher with a spout. Originally it was used as an oil, *sake*, or soy sauce container. In *kaiseki*, pickled vegetables can also be served from *katakuchi*. In the cited passage of *Genryūchawa*, *katakuchi* is said to be used to refill fresh water in the little kettle or the fresh-water container, if the guests are either noble or elderly persons.

⁴⁸³ Genryūchawa, p. 422.

Answer: In olden times, the charcoal scuttles were Chinese medicine baskets. From Rikyū's time on, with *furo* vegetable baskets were used, and with *ro*, *fukube*⁴⁸⁴ was used. In the *wabi* style of Tea, a charcoal scuttle called *sashizumitori* was allowed to be used both with both *furo* and *ro*.

Originally, Chinese baskets for picking medicinal herbs were used as *sumitori*. Rikyū preferred Japanese vegetable baskets which were much easier to obtain and were also cheaper than the Chinese baskets. Usually larger baskets are used in the *ro* season (meaning winter season), when the fireplace is cut into the *tatami* mat like the *irori* fireplace in the old Japanese farmhouses. *Ro*, which is wide and open, warms the tea-room more effectively than *furo* which keeps the warmth inside and therefore is cooler to use during the hot summer season. In the summer time *furo*, a brazier (fire stand) made of metal alloy, iron or ceramics, is used to give the impression of coolness by being cold metal or light and small ceramic braziers. The size of the charcoal and charcoal scuttles varies because in the winter-time, bigger pieces of charcoal are needed in order to warm up the tea-room more effectively while in summer-time smaller pieces of charcoal are sufficient. However, a *wabi* Tea person, or in *wabichadō*, the *sashizumitori* basket could be used in both seasons. *Sashizumitori* is a simple basket for replenishing the charcoal in the fireplace without moving the kettle as is usually done when the setting of the fire is performed according to the set manners (called *sumitemae*) during the tea gathering. Literally *fukube* means a calabash, which were carved empty and the skin was dried. Originally, calabash containers were used as water or *sake* containers. Rikyū, however, adapted them to *chadō* to be used, for example, as *sumitori* and flower vases. These convey a very natural and modest feeling suitable for *wabichadō*.

The last question-answer example from *Genryūchawa* discusses the chains used in hanging a kettle from the ceiling.

問、くさり・自在竹ハいかゝに候や、
答、くさりハ南蛮物・唐物にて候、自在竹ハ佗のために物すかれ
候、⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁴ *Furo*, *ro*, and *fukube*. *Furo* and *ro* are names of fire places used in *chadō*. *Furo* is usually a metallic (Chinese copper alloy or iron) or ceramic brazier used inside the tea-room. It is always placed on a board; either wooden or ceramic depending on the *furo* used. Sometimes the *furo* is placed on a shelf, like the *daisu* or on a special table if *ryūrei* (Western style of tea-room where tea is prepared on a special table and the guests are sitting on chairs) is used. *Ro* is a square-shaped fire place which has a lacquered ring around 'the mouth' cut into the *tatami*. *Fukube* is a charcoal scuttle that has the shape of a calabash. From Rikyū's time on, these were used as charcoal scuttles but also as flower containers. Fresh calabashes are used on special occasions like *kuchikiri* (opening the new tea jar for the coming year) or in the first tea gathering when the *ro* is opened.

⁴⁸⁵ Genryūchawa, p. 423.

Question: What were the chains (*kusari*) and the bamboo adjusters (*jizaitake*)⁴⁸⁶ like?
 Answer: The chains were from South-east Asia (*Nanban mono*) or from China (*karamono*), but the bamboo adjuster (for hanging the kettle on the fireplace) was made for the *wabi* [style of Tea].

The custom of hanging a kettle from chains in a tea-room comes most probably from the old Japanese farmhouses where a cooking pot is hung above the *irori* hearth. During the winter, the whole family gathered around the *irori* hearth to eat and to keep themselves warm and for light when doing handicrafts. Having the *irori* hearth (in some classical sources the word *irori* is used but nowadays it is commonly known by the name *ro*⁴⁸⁷) and hanging kettle in the tea-room possesses the spirit of *wabi* in itself and this aspect is emphasised by using a bamboo adjuster instead of the Chinese or other foreign metal chains that were used for hanging a kettle from the ceiling in the formal style of Tea. In this citation, the *irori* hearth is not mentioned, but in the tea diaries the hanging kettle is mentioned mostly with an *irori* hearth, rather than with the brazier, even though the latter is possible. It does not say who created the bamboo adjuster, *jizai*, but in the tea diaries, including *Chadô Koten Zenshû*, no mention that *Jô-ô* used bamboo *jizai* is found. However, Rikyû's use of a bamboo adjuster, *jizai*, to hang the kettle is recorded in the classical sources.⁴⁸⁸

Concerning the tea bowls, those possessing the spirit of *wabi* are separated from the formal Chinese tea bowls. In *Yamanoue Sôjiki* the following passage explains:

井戸茶碗
 是天下一高麗茶碗、山上宗二見出テ名物ニナル、関白様ニ在リ、惣テ
 茶碗ハ唐茶碗スタリ、当世ハ高麗茶碗、瀬戸茶碗、今焼ノ茶碗迄ナ
 リ、形サヘ能候ヘハ数奇道具也、⁴⁸⁹

Ido tea bowl:

This is one of the greatest Korean tea bowls on earth. This Korean bowl is my discovery [Yamanoue Sôji] and it is classified under the famed utensils (*meibutsu*). Now it is owned by Hideyoshi. Concerning the tea bowls, nowadays [in *wabi* style of *chadô*] instead of using Chinese bowls, Korean bowls, *Seto* tea bowls, and other kinds of present day ceramics are used. If a bowl has a good shape it can be included in the *suki* utensils.

⁴⁸⁶ *Kusari* and *jizaitake*: The metal (sometimes beautifully decorated) chains for hanging a kettle from the ceiling of the tea-room over the fire place is called *kusari*. *Jizaitake* is made for the same purposes; it is an extension hook for hanging a kettle from the ceiling. It is made from bamboo and is freely adjustable. For *jizaitake*, see picture in Kadokawa Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *jizai*, and for *kusari* see picture in Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *kusari*.

⁴⁸⁷ For example, Sôkyû Takaiki in Matsuyakaiki (CKZ 7, pp. 260, 305). In the first example the word *irori* is used and in the second example the word *ro*.

⁴⁸⁸ See, for example, Sôkyû Takaiki, p. 144. There is a record of the gathering Rikyû hosted on the twelfth day of the eleventh month in 1568, and he used *jizai* for hanging the kettle.

⁴⁸⁹ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 64.

The first tea bowls were also old Chinese, mostly *tenmoku* style of tea bowls, but later, from the time of Jō-ō, Korean bowls, such as *Ido*, and Japanese bowls, such as *Seto* and *Shino*, also came to be used in Tea. As shown in the passage cited above, all the present-day style of ceramics are acceptable if the shape of the bowl is good. Korean ceramics used in *chadō* were mostly everyday ware such as rice or soup bowls. The Japanese ceramics of the time were specifically made as tea bowls. They were not everyday utensils such as the Korean bowls, though the other utensils, such as *tsurube* (Plate 20a) and *teoke* fresh-water containers, *magemono* waste-water containers, and *katakuchi* used for refilling the kettle with water or as a fresh-water container in the extreme *wabi* style of *chadō*, were all originally everyday utensils adapted to be used in Tea. However, Japanese tea bowls are an exception: they were made and used as tea bowls.

To conclude, utensils used by a *wabi* Tea person or in the *wabi* style of *chadō* are completely different from the old Chinese utensils or other foreign utensils, which were usually magnificent in colour and were skillfully decorated. Utensils suitable for *wabichadō* or used by a poor *wabi* person, i.e., utensils possessing the spirit of *wabi* were, according to these examples from classical texts, Japanese ceramics such as *Bizen*, *Iga*, *Raku*, *Shigaraki*, *Shino*, and *Seto*. They were often bare wooden utensils without lacquer, or were made of bamboo. Some of the utensils were everyday pieces adapted to *chadō* by the creative mind of the Great Tea Masters. These utensils, possessing modest, simple and natural general appearance, convey a sense of austerity or rusticity. Yet, on the other hand, they also express a kind of masculinity and strength that the delicate Chinese utensils do not possess.

4.2.1.3. Wabi utensils vs. suki utensils

In some passages, instead of the word *wabi* the word *suki*, and more precisely the word 'suki utensils', *sukidōgu*, is used in connection with the description of tea utensils. For present purposes it is essential also to examine those passages describing *suki* utensils in order to understand better the sense of *wabi* in tea utensils. I believe that in some cases the word *sukidōgu* is used as a synonym for the word *wabidōgu*, *wabi* utensil, and that in some cases these words could even be interchangeable. As already shown in the previous section, sometimes the word *suki* is used in the meaning of 'possessing a *suki* heart'. In this sense, similar to the word *wabi*, *suki* is used in tea classics explaining the philosophical aspects of the *wabi* mind(heart) vs. the sense (spirit) of *wabi* in objects.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁹⁰ See Section 4.2.1.1 and there the passage cited from *Nanpōroku* starting with 道具ノ似合タルガヨキト... 'Rikyū always said that, the tea utensils should be chosen so that they suit the user...'

First, I would like to address the meaning of the compound word *wabisuki*, which needs to be clarified. In *chadô* related classical texts *wabisuki* usually refers to the *wabi* Tea person or *wabi* style of Tea such as in the following examples from *Yamanoue Sôjiki*:

胸の覚悟いち、作分一、手柄一、此三箇条ノ調タルヲワビ数奇ト云々⁴⁹¹

...one who has devoted one's life to *chadô*, has creativity and has gained some merit, is called a *wabi* style of Tea person, *wabisukisha*.

古人ノ云、茶湯名人ニ成テ後ハ、道具一種サヘアレハ、佗数奇スルカ專一也⁴⁹²

An old Master says: After one has become a Master of Tea (*meijin*), if one owns even one utensil, first and foremost practising the *wabi* style of Tea (*wabisuki*) is the most important.

In the latter passage 'even one utensil' the term 'utensil' refers to the *karamono* (Chinese utensils) and *meibutsu* (famed utensils). After becoming a master of Tea, if one owns even one of these famed utensils, one should practise the *wabi* style of Tea. This passage also conveys the idea that when one has reached the state of owning good utensils one has come up to the level of these utensils. One has attained the level of the good tea utensils, and therefore one can obtain them. It can be assumed that the recommendation that the Tea masters owning even one famed utensils should practise the *wabi* style of Tea, refers to the fact that these

⁴⁹¹ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 53.

⁴⁹² Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 97; Kuwata 1958, p. 165. Kuwata interprets the cited passage differently as: 'if one owns just one utensil, one can only practise the *wabi* style of Tea.' Kuwata underlines that one should have at least one utensil even to do *wabi* style of Tea. The problem is how Kuwata translates the word *dôgu* (utensil). In this study it is understood to refer to the famed Chinese utensil as the word *karamono* (famed Chinese utensil) is used in this citation. Kuwata also uses the same citation to show that *dôgu* refers to the *wabisuki* for a *wabi* style of Tea when one owns no utensils. He interprets *wabi* meaning poverty in outer features, but richness in inner spirit. He explains *wabi* further with the term *kanmi* in another example from Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 56: 此御壺清香ニテ、松島、三日月、松花ト三ツ名物ニナル事、名誉也、御茶感(関)味ヲ名人衆モ驚也 'This jar [*Shôka*] is so-called "*seikô*"; *Matsushima*, *Mikkatsuki*, and *Shôka*, these three are famed utensils (*meibutsu*). They are prestigious and it is said that even tea masters have been surprised at the feeling of tranquillity the tea [inside them] possesses.

Here Kuwata proposes that the word *kanmi* (a synonym for *kanjaku* or *kansei*), which means "quiet", "tranquil", or "peaceful", is used in the sense that this utensil has a spirit of *wabi* in its appearance. If *wabi* should be understood as being something modest and tranquil conveyed by the feeling of the objects, Kuwata's interpretation is correct, but in spite of the similarities between the meaning of the words *wabi* and *kanmi*, is the word *kanmi* really used as a synonym for the word *wabi*, as the word *suki* is seemingly used in some passages of the Tea-related classics? Or, could it be understood rather as describing (in this context) the taste of the tea leaves inside the large tea jars, such as *Matsushima*, *Mikkatsuki*, and *Shôka*.

masters of Tea who owned famed utensils should be even more careful not to show them off and display them proudly as rare utensils, i.e., to practise Tea because of the utensils. Because of owning famous utensils, Tea masters should keep their *chadô* modest and simple, in other words, to practise the *wabi* style of Tea.

Yamanoue Sôjiki explains that the master of Tea is a person who has passed beyond the state of being a Tea person (*chanoyusha*), which means someone who has a skilled eye for utensils and leads one's life as a Tea teacher. And the *wabi* style of Tea person (*wabisukisha*) is explained as someone who has devoted one's life to *chadô*, has creativity, and has gained some merit. After mastering these states and owning famed utensils (*meibutsu*), one could be called a Master of Tea (*meijin*):

目利ニテ茶湯モ上手、数奇ノ師匠ヲシテ世ヲ渡ルハ茶湯者ト云、一物モ不持、胸ノ覚悟一、作分一、手柄一、此三箇条ノ調タルヲ佗数奇ト云々、唐物所持、目利モ茶湯モ上手、此三箇モ調ヒ、一道ニ志深キハ名人ト云也…茶湯者ノ数奇者ハ古今ノ名人ト云、珠光并引拙紹鷗也⁴⁹³

One who has a skilled eye for the advantages and disadvantages of utensils, is good in *chanoyu*, and leads the life of a Tea teacher is called a Tea practitioner, *chanoyusha*. One who does not own even one famed utensil, but has devoted one's life to *chadô*, has creativity, and has gained some merit, is called a *wabi* style of Tea practitioner, *wabisukisha*. One who owns Chinese utensils, has a skilled eye for utensils as well as being good in *chanoyu*, and also possesses three of the above-mentioned qualities, as well as profound aims and purposes in this Way is called a Master of Tea (*meijin*)... A person who has gained the status of a Tea practitioner and a *wabi* Tea practitioner is called the Master of Tea (*meijin*) in past and in present. Shukô, Insetu, and Jô-ô are called the Masters of Tea.

This citation from *Yamanoue Sôjiki* brings up the question: Why do the Masters of Tea have to own famous Chinese utensils? It seems to be against the essential meaning of Rikyû's *chadô*. For example, Rikyû simplified the course of *chanoyu* and its outer appearance from the tea-room to the utensils used and taught that in the *wabi* style of Tea it is even better if one does not have enough utensils. (See the conclusions in Section 4.4.2.1; see also sections 3.2.2 and 4.5.) Now, it must be remembered that everything in *Yamanoue Sôjiki* is not Rikyû's teachings: it contains teachings of Shukô and Insetu, which were rewritten by Jô-ô and again by Yamanoue Sôji. It might be possible that this rule, which is obviously against Rikyû's other teachings, was later written by one of his disciples. This is understood in the use of the word *meijin*, the Master of Tea which is used twice in the citation above: First it is used to mean that in Tea until Jô-ô, a Master of Tea must own some famed utensils. The second time *meijin* is used, it refers to the *chanoyusha* who are good in Tea and to the *wabisukisha* who do not own any famous utensils. This is how Rikyû apparently understood *wabisuki*, because his name is

⁴⁹³ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 52-53.

not included in the Masters of Tea, such as Shukô, Insetu and Jô-ô. In this later context the word is not used to describe the quality of the term, but describing certain Tea persons.

In the book called *This Island of Japan*, Rodrigues has already noted the existence of two different kinds of *suki*: genuine *suki* and *wabisuki*. According to him, genuine *suki* is usually practised by rulers or rich and landed nobles owning costly tea caddies in addition to some other foreign or Japanese items.⁴⁹⁴ *Wabisuki* means using inexpensive native items instead of the rare and expensive items.

当時ノ数奇ハ唐物ハイラヌ様ニ成タリ、浅間敷事也 雖レ然、初心、
又ハ詫タル輩 炭茶さへ難レ調故ニ、唐物無之詫数奇モ面白キ風 情ア
ルベシ⁴⁹⁵

Concerning the present-day Tea, there is a tendency to avoid the use of Chinese utensils. This is a very sad thing. For a *wabi* person preparing tea or charcoal, it is already difficult. However, the *wabi* style of Tea where no Chinese utensils are used can also be interesting.

For Rikyû, *wabisuki* meant not owning even one famous utensil but for Jô-ô it meant that one can own famed utensils. This is also supported by the passage cited above from *Bunrui Sôjinmoku*, which states that 'in the present-day *suki*, the famous Chinese utensils are not needed and the *wabisuki* style of Tea where Chinese utensils are not used is also interesting', conveying the idea that there exist two kinds of *suki*: one where Chinese utensils are used and the other where they are not used.

According to Hirota, *suki* implies the aesthetic taste or standard that forms the basis of *wabichadô*, and the style of *chanoyu* developed by Shukô, Jô-ô and Rikyû. It came to mean a special "taste for *chanoyu*", a kind of enthusiasm for Tea. Already before Rikyû *suki* has been used as a synonym for *chanoyu* in compound words, such as *sukisha* (a person of *suki*), one who is deeply involved with Tea, but does not practise it professionally; or *sukiya* (*suki* style of house) which refers to the architectural style associated with tea-rooms. Hirota states that *suki* does not mean just any kind of tea-drinking, but it has a deeper meaning: it incorporates religious aspiration and indicates devotion to refined sentiments towards art and a tasteful style of life. In the concept of *suki* the artistic and religious aspirations are one. Hirota cites Kamo no Chômei (ca. 1155-1216) in *Hosshinshû*, where *suki* is described as "the spirit of artistic dedication" when

⁴⁹⁴ Cooper 1973, p. 278. Kurasawa 1992a, p. 118. In more detail see Kurasawa 1992a., pp. 108-120. Kurasawa also mentions two different kinds of *suki*: *honsuki* meaning that one owns at least one famous utensil and *wabisuki* meaning that one need not own any famous utensils, not even one.

⁴⁹⁵ Bunrui Sôjinboku, pp. 25-26. This citation is also mentioned by Kurasawa 1992a, p. 113. See also Sen 1998, p. 159 where a slightly different translation is given.

"one is moved to deep compassion", and "one's heart and mind are lucid" in a way that "one seeks above all to remain unstained by worldly defilements".⁴⁹⁶

Hirota defines the word *suki* as further implying the ideal of a modest way of life, such as a hermit's life outside the mundane world, and aspiring toward the Buddhahood. In addition, he cites the words of João Rodrigues (1561-1633) in the book *This Island of Japan* explaining the spirit of *suki* in *chadô*:

[Tea Masters of Miyako and Sakai] continued to improve this way of *cha-no-yu* more and more, and partly changed the ancient method of Higashiyama Dono [Yoshimasa] by reducing some less essential things and then adding some others which they thought were opportune and in keeping with the purpose of the exercise. In this way, they established another way which is called *suki* and is in current use; its teachers are known as *sukisha*, the house where they entertain with *cha* as *sukiya*, and the items used therein as *sukidôgu*.⁴⁹⁷

Hirota⁴⁹⁸ gives another example from *Rikyû Ichimai Kishômon*, where it says that

但数寄と云ふことは我胸さへ綺麗に候へはよろづ其の内こもり候也⁴⁹⁹

However, *suki* means that when one just cleanses one's heart, all the other things shall become inherently existing.

Everything that is considered important concerning the knowledge of utensils and of manners lies in the purity of heart, which Hirota calls "the realisation of no-self", conveying the idea that "the selfless love of compassion is itself knowledge".⁵⁰⁰ In this sense, *suki* comes to mean a mastery of manners and trained appreciation of tea utensils as well as creative sensibility to life in general and sensitivity to traditional forms.

As shown above, there exist similarities and connections among *wabi*, *suki* and *chadô*.⁵⁰¹ *Wabi* and *suki* both can imply specific philosophical and aesthetic values in *chadô*, as well as describing a certain style of Tea. In addition, *suki* is used as a synonym for Tea, suggesting a humble style similar to the *wabi* style of Tea,⁵⁰² or in compound words describing a tea-house (*sukiya*) or tea utensils (*sukidôgu*). In the following, I would like to study the notion of *suki* in more detail to indicate that *suki* may be considered as a synonym for the *wabichadô*, and more

⁴⁹⁶ Hirota 1995, pp. 106-111, 245 (see also notes 114, 115, 219, and 220). For more in detail, see *ibid.*, pp. 106-116.

⁴⁹⁷ Cooper 1973, p. 272.

⁴⁹⁸ Hirota 1995, pp. 107-116.

⁴⁹⁹ Rikyû Ichimai Kishômon, p. 494.

⁵⁰⁰ Hirota 1995, p. 112.

⁵⁰¹ Similarities between the idea of *wabi* and *suki* in *chadô*, are recognised by other scholars too, such as Kumakura, Karaki, Kazue, and Hirota.

⁵⁰² Kurasawa 1991, p. 212. Kurasawa also considers the word *sukichanoyu* to be as a synonym to the later word *wabichanoyu*.

precisely as the concept of *wabi*, that refers to the special state of mind, the spirit, or the heart, such as described earlier as the *wabi* mind (Chapter 2).⁵⁰³ Moreover, I would like to raise the question: Can *wabi* utensils, in some context, be used as a synonym for *suki* utensils?

The *Zencharoku*⁵⁰⁴ explains that Tea persons started to use the Chinese character 好, which is pronounced *suki*, to indicate someone favouring or preferring (*konomi*) certain tea utensils. In Tea, however, the Chinese characters 数寄 [or 数奇],⁵⁰⁵ pronounced also *suki*, are used instead to describe a certain spirit or beauty in Tea. In other words, *suki* refers to utensils favoured by the Tea masters; the *suki* utensils (*sukidôgu*) are chosen by the skilled eye or the creativity (*mekiki*) of the tea masters, which can include Chinese utensils, famous utensils (*meibutsu*) and utensils of Japanese origin.

Besides this ordinary meaning of the term *suki*, it has a philosophical meaning which is explained in *Zencharoku* as follows:

凡ソ数奇の零余を奇といふ、偏にして物の相具らざる体なるべし、誠
に是レ茶の湯の本体なるべし、人として世に偶せず、俗に伴なはず、
調たるを不レ好、不如意をもつて楽ミとす、是レ奇の屋人、数奇者
と称す、⁵⁰⁶

Generally speaking, the character *ki* in *suki* means fraction [odd number], or remainder, and as a whole it refers to the incompatibility [or irregularity] of things, which truly is

⁵⁰³ In the passage cited from *Rikyû Ichimai Kishômon* earlier in this section, *suki* is used in a sense similar to the *wabi* mind(heart), which is equated to the immaculate pure world of the Buddha where no worldly desires exist. When one's heart is cleansed from worldly defilements, i.e., one attains freedom of the heart, the state of tranquil heart, all acts become natural. This is said to be the state where the spirit of the Buddhahood comes to exist naturally. Compare to the *Nanpôroku*, p. 264. This part of *Nanpôroku* is also cited in this study, Section 2.3.6.

⁵⁰⁴ *Zencharoku*: *Suki no Koto*, p. 300.

⁵⁰⁵ The word *suki* is written in some sources with the Chinese characters 数寄 as seen for example in the above cited passage of the *Rikyû Ichimai Kishômon*. According to the dictionary (Kangorin), *su* means literally "number", "reason", "truth", "method". And *ki* means literally "let one's heart go out to", "feel for something or somebody", "let come near", "leave things as they are", and "being dependent on" among others. The combination 数寄 refers to the appreciation of the elegant taste of arts, *chadô*, and favouring things (*konomu*). The combination 数奇, on the other hand, means "misfortune" or "ill luck"; literally *su* in this combination means "fate" and *ki* "discrepancy", "difference", "disparity", "rare", "odd", or "contrariety". 数寄 and 数奇 are phonetically equivalent and both can be seen as used referring to special taste for *chadô*, without discrimination of the differences in literal meaning of the words. Hirota seems to prefer the combination 数奇 while, for example, Kumakura (1987, p. 153) considers the combination 数寄 as being more logical. Agreeing with Hirota, I also consider the combination 数寄 better suits the meaning of the notion of *suki* in Tea. It emphasises the sense of one's personal and unique taste in selecting utensils, even without a name or apart from their original use to be used in *chadô*. It also emphasises the significance of combining utensils with taste.

⁵⁰⁶ *Zencharoku*: *Suki no Koto*, p. 301.

an essential factor in *chanoyu*. One who does not feel like conforming in this world, is not caught by desires, does not favour things well prepared or well-ordered, and can enjoy [life] despite the insufficiency of material goods; the person who leads a life like this, is called a *suki* person (*sukisha*).

This passage shows that descriptions of a *suki* person are quite similar to the concept of a *wabi* person mentioned earlier in *Zencharoku*; the one who has a lack of freedom; one whose life is not going in the way one wishes; one who lacks money and lives in insufficiency; one who has not attained freedom of heart by being free from the desires and temptations of the mundane world; one whose life in general is ill-prepared or ill-ordered, but despite all of these hardships is satisfied with one's life as it is (Section 2.3.1).

Further, concerning the tea utensils in *chadô*, *suki* means being irregular in form or being 'incompatible' with other utensils, here meaning being opposite or at least quite different from perfectly finished and minutely decorated Chinese utensils. Japanese ceramics (*Bizen*, *Iga*, *Raku*, *Shigaraki*, and *Shino*) and bare wood or bamboo utensils possessing irregular form, a free form, or having a feeling of roughness and a rustic nature are very different from the feeling of beautifully decorated utensils, such as Chinese and Japanese lacquer ware. These Japanese pieces, irregular ceramics or bare bamboo pieces, are included in *suki* taste (beauty), similar to the idea of the beauty of *wabi* as it is understood in most studies. This citation from *Zencharoku* explains the concept of *suki* further:

数奇とは、…物の隻[カタカタ]にして相具ざる意なれば、即上条の侘に等しく、清貧を楽み、食欲壅戒に幾、⁵⁰⁷

The idea of *suki*... when it means irregularity or incompatibility of objects, becomes equivalent to the idea of *wabi* described earlier, i.e., having attained a tranquil heart and enjoyment of life in poverty; it is like an admonition for controlling mundane desires or avaricious feelings.

According to these examples, it is clear that the idea of *suki* in *chadô* is more than just favouring or preferring some utensils. In the same way as the idea of *wabi*, *suki* also has a profound philosophical meaning and refers to the inner spirit of things: even if one is materially poor, one possesses the priceless jewel hidden in one's heart.⁵⁰⁸ The *suki* utensils may look unpretentious by being rough and irregular in form. At first their roughness and rural naturalness may seem incompatible with perfectly finished and beautifully decorated Chinese (and other foreign) and Japanese utensils, but these *suki* utensils possess the inner spirit of calm. They convey a modest and quiet sense of beauty. As already mentioned earlier in this study, Rodrigues suggests that *sukidôgu* is used as a synonym for tea utensils in

⁵⁰⁷ Zencharoku: Suki no Koto, p. 302.

⁵⁰⁸ See Section 2.3.5, Shôdôka, Chapter 3 *Gûshakushi* in Zen no Goroku, p. 45.

general. But in some cases, could *sukidôgu* also be understood as a synonym for *wabi* utensils, suggesting special kinds of utensils selected with the skillful eye of a Tea master, such as Jô-ô⁵⁰⁹ and Rikyû? The combination *wabisuki*, referring to the *wabi* style of *chadô*, contains aesthetic values as well (the beauty of poverty and the sense of modesty and roughness in things), and suggests the validity of this argument.

In the following, some examples of the use of the word *sukidôgu* found in the classics will be pointed out in order to show whether *sukidôgu* could be synonymous with *wabidôgu*, and whether these utensils could be called 'wabi utensils', and if so what kind of *wabi* beauty they represent. The following citation is found in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*:

尼崎台

右此台ハ黒台ナリ、朱ニテ台ノ内ニムカデノ印在リ、当世道具也、佗数奇ニ如何、口伝也、⁵¹⁰

Amagasaki stand.

This stand, on the right, is black lacquered. Inside the stand there is a mark (seal) of a centipede with dark red lacquer. This is today's (present time) utensil; would it not suit a *wabi* style of Tea (*wabisuki*), too?

The *Fushinan* and *Sonkeikaku* manuscripts of *Yamanoue Sôjiki* state that the *Amagasaki* stand is the great famed utensil (*ômeidôgu*) of the time.⁵¹¹ The ending *ikaga* or *ikan* (如何) can be translated in two ways: *ikaga* means a suggestive question and *ikan* means denial that something is not suitable for something. Tsutsui interprets the word as denial: The stand is not suitable for the *wabi* style of *chadô*. Yet in another place in the same source, where the word *ikaga* or *ikan* is used in the same way he interprets it as a suggestive question.⁵¹²

Tsutsui bases his argument on the passages of *Matsuyakaiki*,⁵¹³ in which it says that a *tenmoku*⁵¹⁴ tea bowl (originally a special kind of Chinese tea bowls) is

⁵⁰⁹ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 54. That text says that most of the utensils used in Tea today were selected by Jô-ô whose skillful eye distinguishes good utensils from bad.

⁵¹⁰ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 62. The word *sukidôgu* was used a total of eleven times in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, describing the spirit of the utensil.

⁵¹¹ *Fushinan* and *Sonkeikaku* manuscripts, p. 5.

⁵¹² Tsutsui 1987, pp. 110-114. See also *Fushinan Yamanoue Sôjiki*, p. 5. For example in the following citation, not included in CKZ version, Tsutsui interprets *ikaga* or *ikan* as a suggestive, perhaps a little doubtful, question but not as denial: 紅龍台ツイ朱、此外けいしやうの台、かいの台、色々。是も貴人御為ニハ可然歟。此類、天下ニ数多シ。数奇方ニハ如何。口伝在。Tsutsui interprets this in modern Japanese as ...ただわび数奇の茶にはどうであらうか。 Meaning that 'wouldn't they suit the *wabi* style of Tea also...'

⁵¹³ See Hisamasa Kaiki, p. 3. The tea gathering is dated as *Tebun* eighth year (1539) the eighth day of the new year (first month). In the notes for this tea gathering, the *Amagasaki* stand is included in the group of *kazunodai* stands in the same way as in *Sôjinboku*, p. 248.

placed on the *kazunodai* stand. In *Tennōjiyakaiki*,⁵¹⁵ the *Amagasaki* stand is described as being a beautiful, new stand. Tsutsui sees here a contrast between a *kazunodai* stand and an *Amagasaki* stand; according to these examples, he sees that *Amagasaki* stands were not included in the group of famous Chinese stands, called *kazunodai* as explained in *Sōjinboku*.⁵¹⁶ According to Tsutsui, *kazunodai* most probably refers to those ten Chinese stands that belonged to the *Kenninji* temple in Kyōto. Through the ages, three of them were lost and the remaining seven were found by Nōami and became famous utensils. Tsutsui considers this to be the reason for the different use of the words *Amagasaki* and *kazunodai* stands in the classics, but concludes that both of these were old famous utensils and were therefore highly valued. However, this discussion does not propose to answer whether the *Amagasaki* stands can be considered to be *suki* utensils or not.

At the time *Yamanoue Sōjiki* was written, 'present day' or 'new' utensils were usually utensils of Japanese origin: ceramics such as *Bizen* and *Shigaraki*, or bamboo pieces. They refer to so-called *wabi* utensils as opposed to the Chinese and other foreign utensils (as described above with examples from *Genryūchawa*). According to *Sōjinboku*,⁵¹⁷ *Tennōjiya Sōhaku* (father of *Sōtatsu* who lived in the early *Edo* period) had an *Amagasaki* stand made in China and it was shipped to the *Amagasaki* harbour (present *Hyōgo* prefecture) and named for that harbour. The *Amagasaki* stand seems to be one of those tea utensils ordered from China to be used in *chadō* and also to suit the taste of the Japanese Tea practitioners. Based on these facts, it is possible that *Yamanoue Sōjiki* suggests the *Amagasaki* stand should be included in the classification of *suki* utensils, also to be used in *wabi-chadō*. If we look at the picture of this stand,⁵¹⁸ it has a blackish lacquer without any striking decorations, unlike much of the old Chinese lacquer ware of that time, conveying well the idea of *wabi* in its simplicity and calmness (Section 6.2.3).

⁵¹⁴ Sullivan 1984, pp. 175-176. *Tenmoku*: Chinese *T'ien-mu* tea bowl. Named for the mountain *T'ien-mu* near Hangchow from where these bowls were shipped to Japan. The glaze is usually dark brown, verging on black and thick and oily glaze runs to big drops at the foot. The glaze is often streaked with blue or steel grey, producing marks known as 'hare's fur', or bluish 'oil spots'. Other variations in the colour of the glaze are possible. *Tenmoku* tea bowls were made as early as the 10th century.

⁵¹⁵ See *Sōtatsu Chanoyu Nikki* (Takaiki) in *Tennōjiyakaiki* (CKZ 7), p. 63: tea gathering is dated in *Kōji* fourth year (1558) twenty-sixth day of the tenth month. See also *Tennōjiyakaiki*, pp. 131-132: tea gathering dated in *Eiroku* tenth year (1567) ninth day of the tenth month. The CKZ version of *Tennōjiyakaiki* used in this study does not contain the passage Tsutsui cites in his book. Because the other manuscripts of the *Tennōjiyakaiki* are not available for this study, Tsutsui's citation of the passage cannot be confirmed. The CKZ manuscript says only that the *Amagasaki* stand was used, giving no other descriptions.

⁵¹⁶ *Sōjinboku*, p. 248.

⁵¹⁷ *Sōjinboku*, p. 248 (see note 3).

⁵¹⁸ *Yamanoue Sōjiki*: Exhibition catalogue, p. 52.

The following example is also found in *Yamanoue Sōjiki* concerning waste-water containers that can be included in the *suki* utensils:

紹鷗備前物ノ面桶、萬代屋備前物甕ノ蓋、宗易タコツホ、宗及備前ノ合子、ミキタヤ棒先、此五ツ何レモ数奇道具也⁵¹⁹

Jō-ō's *Bizen mentsū*, Mozuya's⁵²⁰ *Bizen kamenofuta*, Sōeki's *takotsubo*,⁵²¹ Sōkyū's *Bizen gōshi*, and Mikitaya's *bōnosaki*⁵²² – these five [waste-water containers] are all *suki* utensils.

The above-mentioned five types of waste-water containers, *kensui*, are called *suki-dōgu*, favoured and selected for use as tea utensils by the tea masters mentioned. It is unlikely that the word *sukidōgu* is used to mean tea utensil in this context because it is obvious that they are all tea utensils. Therefore, I believe rather that *sukidōgu* refers in this passage to a certain quality of the items as being acceptably included in the group of *wabi* utensils, *wabidōgu*. It is shown in Section 4.2.1.2, through examples from *Genryūchawa*, that *Bizen* is one type of Japanese ceramics that possesses the *wabi* spirit. Three of those mentioned are *Bizen* ceramics. There is no information on the material used for Rikyū's *kensui* called *takotsubo*, but it is presumably of unglazed ceramics and conveys well Rikyū's ascetic and austere idea of *wabi* in utensils having no glaze or other decorations. The *bōnosaki*-type of waste-water containers are usually of old bronze or some other metal, and therefore, considered as a formal type of *kensui* (see also examples from *Genryūchawa* cited above where all the metal utensils were usually of Chinese origin and were given as being opposite to the *wabi* style of utensils). Even though utensils of old bronze were in most cases used in the formal style of Tea (*shoin*), this citation proves that some of them can possess the spirit of *wabi* in their simplicity, modesty and calmness, and therefore, they could be considered to be *wabi* utensils.⁵²³

⁵¹⁹ Yamanoue Sōjiki, p. 67.

⁵²⁰ Mozuya Sōan was a merchant from Sakai city and Rikyū's son-in-law.

⁵²¹ Sōeki is another name for Rikyū and *takotsubo* is his favoured waste-water container. It looks like an octopus trap.

⁵²² Presumably referring to the person called Mikitaya who owned a special *bōnosaki* waste-water container. The waste-water container is named after the golden pole of the palanquin, because the shape of the container is similar to it. *Bōnosaki* has the shape of a truncated cone with the sides slightly rounded at the bottom. This is one of the seven (basic) shapes of waste-water containers used in *chadō*. One of the most famous ones is *Sahari bōnosaki* which is made of a metal alloy. Originally a metal combination (alloy) called *sahari* was used in China, Korea, and South-east Asia. Presumably this *bōnosaki* is metal, too. For a picture, see Chanoyu no Utsuwa, p. 33.

⁵²³ See above in this section also the citation from *Zencharoku* describing *suki* expressing the tranquil heart and modesty in Tea.

In the next citation, the old bronze flower vase called Hanging Boat is included in the category of *wabi* utensils, too.

釣舟

釣舟数多在リ、当世主遠キモノ也、但、此釣舟ハ宗易褒美ス、数奇道具なり、⁵²⁴

Tsurifune:⁵²⁵ *Tsurifune* (Hanging Boat) flower vases are many. In the present time they are not used so much. Yet this *tsurifune* is admired (appreciated) by Rikyū and is included with the *suki* utensils.

Tsurifune, a hanging boat-shaped flower vase, was originally made of metal. In modern times, however, several kinds exist, including some made of bamboo or ceramics. Metal pieces are usually used in the formal style of *chadō*, but Rikyū liked this special piece, and therefore it is included in the group of *sukidōgu*. Here *sukidōgu* refers to the utensils favoured by Rikyū and it also means that this utensil is suitable for *wabichadō*, and further, as being also suitable to be included in the category of *wabi* utensils. This spirit of *wabi* they possess arises from the peaceful and quiet feeling that these simple metal items without any decorations evoke (see Section 6.2.3).

In *Fushinan* and *Sōnkeikaku*⁵²⁶ this citation is combined with the explanation of the famous hanging-boat shape flower vase called *katēki*. The vase was named for the shipmaker called *Katēki* (貸狄), who is said to have made the first boat in ancient China during the regime of the legendary emperor *Kōtei* (黄帝). This vase is classified as a *meibutsu* (famed utensil) and it is one of the oldest hanging flower vases.⁵²⁷ Another explanation concerning the flower vase called *katēki* (Hanging Boat) is found in the CKZ manuscript of *Yamanoue Sōjiki* in its own separate paragraph. It says that *Katēki* was owned by a Tea practitioner called *Takekuraya Jōteki* (who lived during the *Sengoku* period and is said to be a disciple of *Shukō*), who was a famous master of flowers. There are special ways of putting flowers into the vase which were passed on orally, and there is also a secret teaching concerning the vase. The special way of putting flowers into it and the secret teaching may be the reasons why this flower vase is not used so much at the present time. The *katēkifune* flower vase was originally a piece of kitchenware from South-east Asia and it belongs to the group of tea utensils adapted to *chadō*

⁵²⁴ Yamanoue Sōjiki, p. 80.

⁵²⁵ *Tsurifune* is a hanging flower vase which has the shape of a boat. In the note 6 of the original text, this *tsurifune* is said to be metal and it is hung from the ceiling with chains. Other hanging flower vases can also be made from metal alloy, ceramics, or bamboo. They can have the shape of a boat, moon, crocodile's mouth, or the shape of *santoku* which was favoured by Gengen'ai, eleventh Grand Tea Master of *Urasenke* who lived 1810-1877.

⁵²⁶ *Fushinan* and *Sōnkeikaku* unpublished manuscripts, p. 14.

⁵²⁷ For the explanation of the name *Katēki*, see Yamanoue Sōjiki, p. 80, note 6.

outside their original use (see Appendix, List of Jô-ô's Tea Utensils: flower vases). It may be presumed that the hanging flower vase admired by Rikyû was this *katekifune*. Today this flower vase is included in the Sen family collection of famous utensils.⁵²⁸

In the following, the spirit of *wabi* in ceramic tea-caddies for thick tea, *chaire*, can be examined:

円座肩衝

本ハ下間兵庫所持ス、袋龍爪段子也、目明一種ナレハ、一段数奇道具也、床置、形リカッコウ面白壺也⁵²⁹

Enza katasuki (tea-caddy for thick tea): Originally it was owned by Shimotsuma Hyôgo. It has a case (of brocade) called *Tsuma donsû*. The container was chosen by a skilled eye and creative mind (*meaki*) [of Shimotsuma Hyôgo], it is considered to be a *suki* utensil. It is to be placed in the *tokonoma*. The shape of the tea-caddy (*tsubo*) is splendid and fascinating.

モツヤ肩衝面白数奇道具也、加賀金沢前田殿⁵³⁰

Mozuya katatsuki: Interesting piece of *sukidôgu*. Owned by the Lord Maeda from Kaga-kuni, Kanazawa.

The above examples show that Chinese items, as these thick-tea containers most probably were, could also be included in the group of *suki* utensils. This means that they were favoured by a Tea practitioner and chosen to be used in Tea for other reasons, not just because they were famous Chinese items. If the word *suki* is used in some texts as a synonym for *wabi*, this leads us to question whether these Chinese items could also be considered to possess the *wabi* spirit.

Tsutsui's⁵³¹ interpretation of *Mozuya katatsuki* differs from the one given above: "*Mozuya katatsuki* as a *wabidôgu*, this is a very interesting piece of *sukidôgu*." He interprets *sukidôgu*, as referring to the *wabidôgu* and uses this word in his interpretation even though it is not mentioned in the original text. According to Tsutsui, there exists a difference between the interpretation of *wabidôgu* and *sukidôgu*: in general *wabidôgu* belongs to the larger group of *sukidôgu* which also contains other kinds of utensils, not only *wabi* utensils. The word *sukidôgu* also refers strongly to the idea that someone favours the utensil, which is also one characteristic of *wabidôgu*, but in this context, it seems to refer to a tea utensil.

⁵²⁸ Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 44.

⁵²⁹ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 81. See Fushinan (or Sonkeikaku) unpublished manuscript, p. 14. In the *Fushinan* manuscript it says at this time (moment) this *chaire* is owned by Rikyû.

⁵³⁰ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 81. The name *Mozuya katatsuki* refers to the family named Mozuya. This piece of *katatsuki chaire* (a tea-caddy with shoulders for thick tea) belonged originally to someone of the Mozuya family, such as Sôan (d. 1594) who was Rikyû's son-in-law, his father, Ryôji, or even his grand-father Yazô, or Dôan (a Tea practitioner from Sakai who lived in the *Sengoku* period). Kaga-kuni is in the present Ishikawa prefecture.

⁵³¹ Tsutsui 1987, p. 227.

everyday utensils in *chadô*, such as a well bucket (*tsurube*), as a fresh-water container. According to the classics, some of the famous Chinese utensils, such as Chinese baskets, were also said to convey the sense of *wabi* which is the combination of the outer feature and an inner spirit the object evokes, such as tranquillity and modesty. This entire second group of things are simple in form and in decoration.

4.2.2. Tea-house

In the Tea-related classical literature used for this study, the word *wabi* is found in various combinations when describing the tea-room. In *Nanpôroku*, combinations such as *wabi zashiki* (a *wabi* tea-room), *wabi kozashiki* (a little *wabi* tea-room), *sôan (no) wabi* (*wabi* of the thatched hut), or *sôan wabi zashiki* (*wabi* of the thatched-hut tea-room) can be found. Furthermore, in *Sôjinboku* the combination of *wabi no sôoku* (*wabi* of the thatched room) is used, and in *Genryûchawa* the word *wabi* is used to describe the feeling or appearance of the thatched hut with the structure: *bôoku sukiya no wabitaru keiki* (the sense of *wabi* of the thatched-hut tea-room).⁵³⁴

These examples show that the *wabi* style of tea-house has a thatched roof and the room itself is small. A small room usually means a tea-room smaller than four-and-a-half-mats (a ten foot square) that is considered to be the standard size of the tea-room determined in the *Sutra of Vikramâditya*. This sutra contains a story of *Vikramâditya*, who welcomes Boddhisattva Mañjusrî and eighty-four thousand disciples of Buddha in a room of this size. Okakura explains that this story is "an allegory based on the theory of the non-existence of space to the truly enlightened",⁵³⁵ which is true. The story teaches that space and time are unlimited for those who have attained the ultimate state of absolute freedom of the mind, the Buddha-mind (see Section 2.3.5).

Japanese tea-rooms are not ostentatious in appearance; they may seem to have no decorations, yet the most minute detail has been carefully considered. Even though they are poor men's humble huts, they are costly to build (Plate 1). Okakura writes about the tea-room in *The Book of Tea* as follows:

The tea-room is unimpressive in appearance. It is smaller than the smallest of Japanese houses, while the materials used in its construction are intended to give the suggestion of refined poverty. Yet we must remember that all this is the result of profound artistic forethought, and that the details have been worked out with care perhaps even greater than that expended on the building of the richest palaces and temples. A good tea-room

⁵³⁴ Nanpôroku, pp. 6, 353; with particle *no*, p. 412; without a particle *no*, p. 422, and *Sôjinboku*, p. 219, and *Genryûchawa*, p. 406.

⁵³⁵ Okakura 1989, p. 80.

⁵³² Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 86.

⁵³³ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 101: 藁屋ニ名馬繫たるかよしと。

is more costly than an ordinary mansion, for the selection of its materials, as well as its workmanship, requires immense care and precision. Indeed the carpenters employed by the tea-masters form a district and highly honoured class among artisans, their work being no less delicate than that of the makers of lacquer cabinets.⁵³⁶

Okakura describes tea-rooms as being "the Abode of Vacancy" (devoid of ornamentation) or "the Abode of the Unsymmetrical" (because it worships the imperfect) and stated that they are built with a poetic impulse. He says that in tea-rooms, something is always left unfinished for the imagination to complete.⁵³⁷

I agree with Okakura on the nature of the tea-room: they truly are abodes of vacancy since they should be places outside this secular world, places for one's true nature, to allow the Buddha nature to emerge (Section 2.3.6). This is also true in the exterior features of the tea-room, which are plain and simple in construction but not yet, perhaps 'an abode of the asymmetrical' since the construction is balanced and its harmony is based on the size of a *tatami*. Or, perhaps Okakura refers with this term to the use of contrasting elements in tea-room construction, which brings out the vitality and sense of energy to balance the spirit of tranquillity that is present in the tea-room.

Chawashigetsushû describes the sense of roughness and modesty in *wabi* tea-houses as following:

…数奇屋は草葺柴ノ戸のをろそかなる山家をうつし、侘たるこゝろを主として、床にハ法語絵替の類、筒にうつろハぬ花さし入レ⁵³⁸

...A tea-house (*sukiya*)⁵³⁹ is similar to a mountain cottage with a straw thatched roof and a brushwood door. One should emphasise the *wabi* mind(heart), [the *wabi* spirit in Tea] and choose a Zen saying for a hanging scroll instead of a picture and put some long-lasting flowers into a tube-shaped flower vase.

The word *sukiya*, translated here as a tea-house, is described as being subdued and unostentatious in architecture, yet consisting of many details and elements from the *Tale of Genji*. In Tea-related literature, *sukiya* is used as a synonym in general for the word tea-room or tea-house. *Sukiya* includes a variety of tea-rooms from the most humble *wabi* style to the formal *shoin* style.⁵⁴⁰ The tea-house is similar

⁵³⁶ Okakura 1989, pp. 77-78.

⁵³⁷ Okakura 1989, pp. 75-76.

⁵³⁸ *Chawashigetsushû*, p. 209.

⁵³⁹ *Sukiya*: See Mason 1993, p. 216 and Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *sukiya*. According to the Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, the word *sukiya* was combined with the idea of tea-room for the first time in *Bunrui Sôjinboku*, which was written in 1564, where the combination *sukizashiki* can be found (*Bunrui Sôjinboku*, p. 50.). It is said that Rikyû started calling tea-rooms by the name *sukiya*. In some cases the word *sukiya* is used as a synonym for the word 'a little tea-room' (*kozashiki*); yet there is also an example in the tea classics called *Chafu* (written in the late *Edo* period), where it says that, in the Rikyû style of *chadô* the word *sukiya* is not used for the small tea-room, *kozashiki*.

to a mountain hut having a thatched roof and earthen walls, which make them look like very modest dwellings. Tea-houses are also hidden deep in the *roji* path, similar to the mountain huts. Here *wabi* refers to a special state of mind of a Tea person (Chapter 2): the *wabi* mind. Modest surroundings indicate natural and simple beauty and one's humble attitude to life as an unsophisticated behaviour.

The following paragraph from *Sekishū Sanbyakukajō* describes the idea of naturalness and the use of contrasting elements appreciated in Tea, as well as their necessity in the idea of *wabi* in architecture.

九十六 茶湯さひたるハよし、さはしたるハあしき事
 茶湯ハ根本わひのていにて、数寄屋も草庵なり、然れ共、その本意を
 うしなはず、路次の木石に至るまで侘たる草木取ませ、ふミ石迄も野
 石のよからぬとりませ、料理もわひたる野采を用ひたる、新古善悪と
 りませてわひの本意をうしなはぬをさひたるといふ也、草庵の内に
 錦をなんきんよき道具をそろへ、会席結構をつくし、庭にハよき木能
 石をうへすへて、わひの本意にそむくをさハしたるといふなり、さひ
 たるは自然の道理也、さハしたるハ拵へものなり、ことたらぬをさひ
 たると云こゝろに、万事七八分にする事肝要也、⁵⁴¹

Chapter 96: In *chanoyu*, having serenity [naturally] is good, but making things serene [artificially] is bad.

The foundation of *chanoyu* lies in the sense of *wabi* in appearance, and for this reason the tea-room (*sukiya*) should be a thatched hut (*sōan*). However, so that this essence [of *chanoyu*, i.e., *wabi* spirit] is not lost, one should pay attention even to the trees and stones in the *roji* path: to put together modest plants and trees, and to choose stepping stones from the field that are not the best ones. The ingredients for the meal should also be modest. If new and old, as well as good and bad are combined, the true meaning of *wabi* will not be lost, and this is called [natural] serenity (*sabitaru*). In this modest *sōan* tea-room, if fine clothes are worn⁵⁴² and many kinds of excellent utensils are put together, if the *kaiseki*-meal is full of delicacies, and if there are carefully selected good trees and stones planted in the *roji* path, this all is against the true meaning of *wabi* and causes the feeling of artificial serenity (*sabashitaru*). *Sabitaru* means doing things

⁵⁴⁰ Engel 1964, p. 369. *Shoin* style refers to the warrior's residence with large rooms. The idea of *tokonoma* seems to have its origins here, too, since one part of the main hall (called *jōdan*) was elevated one step with a shallow recess for the hanging scrolls, shelving recess, and a study place. On the other hand, a Zen priest's study room is also called *shoin*. In the Zen Buddhist hall, *tokonoma*, had the role of being a place of art and meditation and presumably from this connection, *tokonoma* obtained its additional meaning as being an honored guest's place (this will be studied later in this section). In Tea, *tokonoma* is the most honored place in the tea-room, mainly for hanging a scroll, flowers, or displaying rare utensils.

⁵⁴¹ Sekishū Sanbyakukajō, p. 232.

⁵⁴² *Nankin*: See Genshoku Chadō Daijiten, s.v. *nankin*. Here *nankin* is explained to be Chinese early *Qing* dynasty celadon porcelain. It is enameled porcelain on whose white base are drawings of landscapes, human beings, birds, and flowers in mostly a dark red colour, but also other colours are used. *Nankin* porcelain is highly valued in *chadō*. Another explanation, which is used in this study, is that *nankin* is used in the sense "to wear" being a compound from the emphasiser *nan* used in classical literature and a verb *kiru*, to wear. Interpreted like this, the meaning of the sentence changes to mean to wear Japanese brocade (*nishiki*) or other fine cloths.

naturally and *sabashitaru* means doing things artificially. Insufficiency is part of serenity (*sabitaru*), and according to this state of mind, it is vital to do things so that the result covers seven or eight out of the total.

The idea of naturalness, natural serenity (see also sections 3.1.3.3 and 3.2.3), and the balance between two contrasting ideas is emphasised in the architectural appearance of the tea-house and the *roji* path. The idea of natural serenity contains the balance between old and new, good and bad. Using only precious ingredients or rare and famous utensils in the thatched-hut tea-house disturbs the sense of serenity; one becomes aware of the place and the utensils and this causes formality and excess attentiveness to the occasion. On the other hand, the lack of objects, the insufficiency, is appropriate as well as leaving space for the imperfect. Leaving things unfinished with taste is more fascinating. One does not have to attempt to make things absolutely perfect. In this context, perfection contains the idea of the artificial and imperfect, as well as the idea of leaving things unfinished, the idea of the natural.⁵⁴³ One should not choose the best ingredients available, but those available in nature.

During the time of Shukō, tea-rooms were large, usually six-mats or even more, and were in the *shoin* style, a formal style of tea-rooms, where the *daisu* shelf with several Chinese hanging scrolls with pictures, and an arrangement of three tables in front of these for flowers and incense were displayed.⁵⁴⁴ Even though tea-rooms are quite simple, at least to Western eyes, they still have beautiful details and decorations, such as different styles of the ceilings used in the same room, the front pillar of the *tokonoma*, or the *shōji*-windows with skillfully arranged splits of bamboo components, which promote the formal or even noble feeling. The transformation from the large tea-room toward a small tea-room proceeded gradually from the time of Shukō until Rikyū who created a tea-room in the size of one-and-half-*tatami* mats. *Sekishū Sanbyakujō* describes this transformation as follows:

数奇屋ハ東山殿時分ハ八畳をも用ゆ、珠光ハ六畳敷、紹鷗ハ四畳半を用ゆ、利休ハ一畳半といへ共客の居所ハ客畳一畳ならてハ不入候て⁵⁴⁵

During the time of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, tea-rooms were eight-mat rooms. Shukō used a six-mat room and Jō-ō a four-and-a-half-mat room. Rikyū used a one-and-a-half-mat room where the size of the guests' place was no more than a one-*tatami* mat.

一畳半に秘して口伝する事…然れハ一畳半ハ佗の至極にて、…⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴³ The same idea is found in Kenkō's *Tsurezuregusa*, pp. 143-144 (Chapter no. 82), as well as pp. 231-235 (Chapter no. 137).

⁵⁴⁴ Kazue 1985, p. 16. For details, see Kazue 1985, pp. 16-18.

⁵⁴⁵ *Sekishū Sanbyakujō*, p. 314.

⁵⁴⁶ *Sekishū Sanbyakujō*, p. 341. See also Genryūchawa, p. 404. In this source the development of the tea-rooms is explained in a way similar to a way that Yoshimasa preferred: eight-*tatami* rooms with a formal *daisu* shelf and a picture of Gyokukan (玉石間) in the

There is a secret oral transmission concerning the one-and-a-half-mat room... Nevertheless, a one-and-a-half-mat room expresses the extreme *wabi*...

Nowadays, a small tea-room means a tea-room smaller than four-and-half-mats: tea-rooms in size of three or two-mats, or even one-mat-and-*daime* size tea-rooms. A four-and-half-mat room is the orthodox size, and six-*tatami* mats or even more are called large tea-rooms. However, in the classics the word *kozashiki*, a small tea-room, is sometimes also used as a common word for tea-rooms in general⁵⁴⁷ in the same way as the word *sukiya* is used. Yet information concerning the small tea-room seems to be quite inconsistent in the sources. To cite an example, according to the following passage, Shukô enjoyed the four-and-half-mat room:

むかしハ長押に張付したる四畳半に台子を飾り茶湯仕候を、宗易、数奇道の本意侘たるにありと覚悟いたし、竹タルキ・サビカベやうの栖居にしつらひ替候ゆえ、かやうの小座敷には台子取合申さす候⁵⁴⁸

...In the times of old, [Shuko's] the tea-room had a frieze rail (*nageshi*) and wallpaper. It was a four-and-half mat room and the *daisu* shelf was used. But Rikyû teaches that the essence of Tea lies in the sense of *wabi*, and according to this resolution, he replaced the wallpaper with the rust-tarnish walls (*sabikabe*)⁵⁴⁹ and put in a bamboo ceiling. In this kind of small tea-room the *daisu* shelf was not used.

This four-and-a-half-mat room refers to Shukô's genuine, formal style of tea-room and it can be considered to be a small tea-room compared to the other tea-rooms used during Shukô's time. The citation shows that a four-and-half-mat room is the orthodox size and it could be used for the formal style of serving tea with *daisu* shelf. Within the same size of tea-rooms there are differences in style and in appearance: they can be built in the formal style using wall paper and a frieze rail, or they can have earthen walls and a bamboo ceiling and be very informal in appearance and structure, such as Rikyû's four-and-a-half-mat tea-room.⁵⁵⁰ The for-

tokonoma. Jô-ô used four-and-a-half-mat rooms, and Rikyû liked three-*tatami* or two-*tatami* rooms and a *daimé* style, or even one-mat-and-a-*daimé* style of tea-room. Every room had its own occasion to be used in a most proper way.

⁵⁴⁷ Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *kozashiki*.

⁵⁴⁸ Chawashigetsumû, pp. 209-210.

⁵⁴⁹ *Sabikabe*: means an earth wall that is painted with a special mixture of iron content or scrap iron that is kept in soy sauce for purification. The rusty red of the iron will cause speckles on the wall and this is considered to indicate classical elegance in the architecture. The result is dark reddish brown and extremely humble.

⁵⁵⁰ Nanpôroku, p. 409. In the reference books to *Nanpôroku* a similar passage can be found and similarities in these passages prove that the four-and-a-half-mat tea-room described in *Chawashigetsumû* can be considered to be Shukô's tea-room. The following passage is more detailed than the passage from *Chawashigetsumû*. The idea of formality and informality of these two tea-rooms was brought out already in this passage, but instead of Rikyû, Jô-ô is mentioned here as the one who made changes to Shukô's formal tea-room.

珠光眞の座敷は、四畳半にて、小板葺・宝形作り、鏡天井・鳥の子の白張つけ、一間床なり、台子をも飾り、長板・中板にて、茶を点らる、後に

mality of the four-and-a-half-mat tea-room is emphasised in the following passage, in which it says that if one owns even one Chinese utensil, a four-and-a-half-mat room should be used. This points out the formal feeling of an orthodox size tea-room compared to those of smaller tea-rooms.

三畳敷ハ紹鷗ノ代マテ道具無佗数奇專一ニス、一種ニても唐物所持ノ
人ハ四畳半ニ作ル⁵⁵¹

A three-mat room was used commonly, until Jō-ō's times, by the *wabi* Tea persons who owned no [famed utensils or Chinese] utensils. A person who owns even one Chinese utensil, should use a four-and-a-half-mat room.

A three-mat room is, without a doubt, a small tea-room and in the above citation it is used by a *wabi* Tea practitioner who owns no valuable utensils. If one owns even one Chinese or famous utensil, the four-and-a-half-mat room should be used. It seems, according to these examples, that the size of the room and the utensils used have a connection. On the other hand, during Shukō's time a four-and-a-half-

一尺六寸の炉をきりて、半蜘蛛の釜をかけ、及台子をかざり合て点茶す、紹鷗この古規をもて、四畳半を造り、処々略して、張付を土壁にし、木格子も竹にしたり、世人、珠光眞の座敷に対して、紹鷗の草の座敷といへり 'Shukō's genuine (formal) tea-room has four-and-a-half-mats, a slat thatch roof, and it is built with the best manner and materials. The ceiling is so-called *kagami tenjō* (the wooden slats are set flat side by side like a mirror). The walls are covered with white paper with drawings of little birds. *Tokonoma* is the size of a one-*tatami* mat (*ikkantoko*). In this tea-room *daisu*, *nagaita*, or *nakaita* can be used for preparing tea. And further, there is a hearth (*ro*), in the size of *shaku rokusun* (about 48.5 cm per side), where the *hankumo* type of kettle can be hung, and a *kyūdaisu* shelf can be used for preparing tea. Jō-ō followed basically these old rules, he made a tea-room four-and-a-half-mats but he made some omissions such as, changing the wall paper to earthen walls, and also changing the wooden lattice at the window to bamboo lattice. People say that compared to Shukō's formal style of tea-room, Jō-ō's tea-room is informal in style.'

Explanations of *Daisu*, *kyūdaisu*, *nagaita*, and *nakaita*: See Genshoku Chadō Daijiten, s.v. *daisu*, *nagaita*, or *nakaita*. *Daisu* is usually a black lacquered shelf, about a quarter of the size of a *tatami* used in the formal style of Tea in the large tea-room. The *furo* (brazier), fresh-water container, the ladle-stand (*hishakutate*) with a ladle (*hishaku*) and chopsticks for charcoal (*hibashi*) inside, a waste-water container (*kensui*) with the lid-rest (*futaoki*) inside, are placed on the lower board of the shelf. A tea-caddy (*natsume*) is put on top of the *daisu* shelf. The origins of the *daisu*-shelf are Chinese and it was originally used in Zen temples. There are different variations of it, such as *kyūdaisu*. *Kyūdaisu* can be lacquered (Rikyū's favoured) or wooden. The distinctive feature of this *daisu* is in two pillars between the upper and lower boards, which broadens at the ends to the shape of a cloud. The origins of *kyūdaisu* are in the Song dynasty China, where those who passed the civil-service exam passed through a special gate. The image of the shape of the gate was adapted and made into the *kyūdaisu*. *Nagaita* is the shape of the upper board of *daisu* and its size varies a little between summer time and winter time. The arrangement of utensils is the same as with *daisu* above. This can be lacquered or plain wood. *Nakaita* is a wooden *tatami* (board) between the host *tatami* and guests *tatami*. The width of *nakaita* is *shaku yonsun* (about 42,40 cm) and if the hearth is used, it is cut to the wooden board. *Hankumo* kettle: 'a half spider-shape of kettle'. For picture, see Genshoku Chadō Daijiten, s.v. *kama*.

⁵⁵¹ Yamanoue Sōjiki, pp. 100-101.

mat room was a small room compared to the large tea-rooms popular during that time, and being of the orthodox size of a tea-room, it could also be used for the formal style of Tea.

Further, in the following example, the two-and-a-half-mat room is described as being a *wabi* style of tea-room (a tea-room used in *wabichadô*).

此二畳半ハ、紹鷗ノ時、天下ニ一ツ、山本助五郎ト云シ人、紹鷗ノ弟子也 其人ノタメニ好テ茶湯ヲサセラレシニ佗敷数奇也… 二畳敷ノ座、是ハ貴人欠、又一物モ無佗敷数奇與、此外ハ無用、⁵⁵²

In Jô-ô's times, there existed only one two-and-a-half-mat room. Yamamoto Sukegorô, who was a disciple of Jô-ô owned it. Jô-ô also liked this tea-room because of Sukegorô and once when Sukegorô served tea [in this room] to Jô-ô, it was really a *wabi* style of *suki* tea gathering... The two-mat room was used only by a noble, or by a poor *wabi* Tea person owning no utensils.

According to these citations, it is clear that tea-rooms smaller than a four-and-a-half-mats were used only by *wabi* Tea persons owning no Chinese or famous utensils. Even though in *chadô*, *wabi* contains the meaning of a poor person owning no utensils, or it refers to the *wabi* style of Tea, practising Tea in a modest tea-room with a humble attitude, in these passages above the idea of poverty is not emphasised. An interesting detail is that a two-mat room is also recommended to be used if the person is a noble, even though earlier noble persons were practising Tea in large tea-rooms. This suggests the idea that for noble persons there are no set rules, and therefore, they can practise whatever style of Tea they prefer. The idea of poverty arises in this context again and it is vital to consider what is meant by the word poor: does it mean only the reality of being truly a poor person, or does it describe the outer features of a humble tea-room? Or is it an affirmative concept possessing philosophical values rather than being a fact of reality?

Engel interprets the sense of *wabi*, in tea-rooms and in *chadô* in general, as being an expression of an affirmation of poverty; for him *wabi* expresses "noble poverty". He believes that the idea of *wabi* was more "a fashionable entertainment and amusing pastime than a deep awareness of the tragic beauty of poverty". Therefore, for him, the true meaning of *wabi* was a continual fight against poverty.⁵⁵³ Engel's ideas about *wabi* are interesting. But, I think that he adapts the meaning of *wabi* in poetry as the same as its meanings in *chadô*. Is the meaning of *wabi* in Tea really constantly fighting against poverty, or is it rather accepting insufficiency of material goods through attaining an absolute freedom of the heart

⁵⁵² Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 101. The first part of the citation refers to the drawing of the tea-room described in the citation on p. 101, and the second part to the picture on p. 102. For more detailed drawings on the tea-rooms, see Chakimeibutsushû, p. 496. The best drawings can be found in the book called *Cha no Bi* published by Tôkyô National Museum. Unfortunately, this book was not available for this study.

⁵⁵³ Engel 1964, pp. 282-283.

as explained in Chapter 2 of this study? In other words, one does not fight against insufficiency but accepts the state of things and circumstances as they are because one is no longer affected by the affairs of the mundane world. For this reason, there are also no elements of "tragic beauty" in the idea of *wabi* because one is satisfied with life as it is; one does not feel a failure in one's life or dissatisfaction with what one possesses. Also the statement that *wabi* style of Tea was "a fashionable entertainment and amusing pastime" stands against the information on *wabi* as a philosophical concept (chapters 2 and 3) since it has been shown in earlier chapters of this study that to understand the true meaning of *wabi* in *chadô*, one must first of all possess the *wabi* mind, i.e., to find once again the essential nature of the self, the Buddha nature.

It seems that Engel probably suggests with this argument the tea parties with lavish servings and entertainment which took place during the 14th century (*chayoriai*, see Introduction). But in *chadô*, according to the Great Tea Masters, the meaning of *wabi* is different; it indicates the state of mind where one is satisfied with the insufficiency of things; one accepts that things do not always go as one wishes, and one accepts things as they are. This state of mind is called the absolute freedom of the mind. *Wabi* is not "noble poverty", nor is it an admiration of poverty. *Wabi* is an impression of beauty beyond the idea of poverty where the duality of poverty and non-poverty does not exist. The idea of poverty in *wabi* style of Tea or in tea-rooms is not the value nor the aim as such. It is more about living a quiet and modest life in solitude; it is an unfeigned beauty in its desire for naturalness and modesty in all acts and on every occasion. If *wabi* contains these philosophical values, it is unlikely that the *wabi* style of Tea could be called a fashionable entertainment and amusing pastime, at least it did not appear to be like that during the time of the Great Tea Masters Shukô, Jô-ô and Rikyû.

Next, some distinctive features of *wabi* in tea-rooms will be discussed in more detail. Tea-rooms are unimpressive in appearance even though they are carefully designed and every minute detail is considered with great care. The following passage from *Genryûchawa* considers the ceiling of the tea-room as follows:

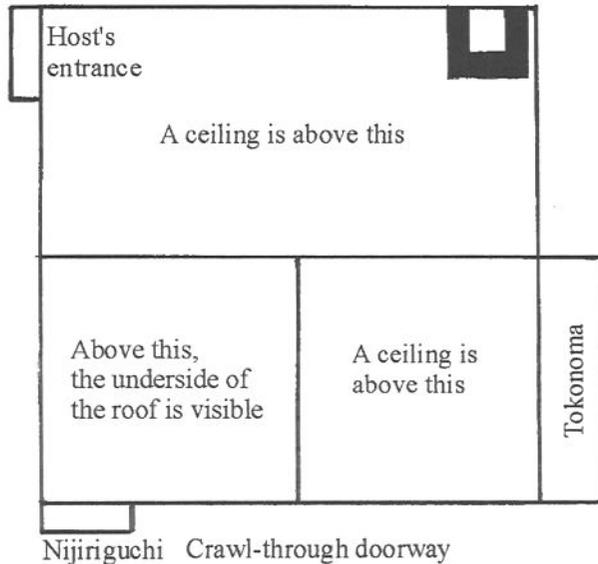
問、ある茶家のすきや、炉、道具疊のうへ、屋ね裏にて候、くるしからさる事二候や、
答、勿論、茶席に天井はり候は、床のうへ・上座の上・道具疊の上をおほひて、不浄を禁し候、佗てやねうらなど見候は、下座又ハ勝手のかたにて候⁵⁵⁴

Question: In the tea-houses, where the underside of the roof is visible over the *ro*-fireplace and utensil *tatami*, doesn't it look somber?

Answer: Of course, in the tea-room the ceiling should be placed over the *tokonoma*, over the upper (honoured) *tatami* of the room, and over the utensil *tatami*, in order to

⁵⁵⁴ Genryûchawa, p. 436.

avoid the feeling of impurity, which is prohibited. The underside of the roof, consistent with the feeling of *wabi*, can be left visible in the lower part of the room and also in the preparation room (*katte*)⁵⁵⁵.



Here the word *wabite* refers to the outer appearance of the underside of the roof without the ceiling; the sense of roughness and naturalness in its unfinished state are expressions of the sense of *wabi*. Japanese tea-rooms are divided into two parts: the upper or the honoured part and the lower or the host area. The ceiling should be placed over the honoured seats, but the underside of the roof can be left visible from the lower parts of the room and from the *mizuya* ('kitchen' or preparation room). Humility and modesty are also respected virtues in Japanese culture, and according to tea etiquette as well, one should lower oneself in front of others. This is one way of showing respect and being polite. One is offering the best one can for the guests, but is satisfied with less for oneself. This state of mind truly contains the idea of absolute freedom of the mind as was explained in Chapter 2.

The wooden *tokonoma*, meaning *tokonoma* with wooden flooring instead of a *tatami* mat, is considered to have the sense of *wabi* because it refers to the idea of minimalising the number of utensils used and to the effective use of space in the small tea-room. *Sekishū Sanbyakujō* describes a wooden *tokonoma* as follows:

九 板床の事
 … 数寄屋の板床ハ佗の体なり、板床に道具置候事、⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ *Katte*: Here *katte* means a preparation room, referring to the *mizuya* of the tea-room.

⁵⁵⁶ *Sekishū Sanbyakujō*, p. 150.

Chapter 9: The wooden *tokonoma*

The wooden *tokonoma* in the tea-house possesses the sense of *wabi* and tea utensils can be placed there.

Minimalising the number of the utensils used means that a tray beneath the flower vase is not needed in the wooden *tokonoma*, making the feeling more informal. In *chadō* all the utensils, and things in general, are divided into three classes: formal, semi-formal, and informal (so-called *shin-kyō-sō*-system). For example, if the floor of the *tokonoma* is *tatami* matting, beneath the formal and semi-formal flower vases, formal and semi-formal boards are required. Yet the informal vases are placed directly on the *tatami* mat. But when a wooden *tokonoma* is used, all the vases, despite their degree of formality, are placed in the *tokonoma* without a tray. In other words, all the utensils are treated equally and enjoy the same prestige.

Moreover, the wooden *tokonoma* expresses the effective use of space. This suggests an old custom, where the guests who arrive the last are shown a place in the *tokonoma* that will serve as an ascetic sitting place. This happens if the tea-room is a small tea-room, smaller than a four-and-a-half-mat room,⁵⁵⁷ and if more guests arrive for the gathering than can be seated comfortably in the tea-room. A thin matting may be used, but no matting is used during the summer and if the guests are young (see 4.2.1.1; in *wabi* style of Tea no woollen blankets are used...). A wooden *tokonoma* is certainly not a pleasant place to sit; it is dark, in winter it is cold, in summer it is hot, and it is hard to sit straight on one's heel's (*seiza*) several hours on the wooden floor. This reflects the ascetic form of life of the *wabi* Tea person.

In the following citation it is claimed that a distorted middle pillar in the tea-room possesses no sense of *wabi* but is rather placed there for practical reasons.

問、大目にゆがミ柱を被立候ハ、茅屋・数寄屋の佗たる景氣にて候や、

答、すきやにゆがミ柱被立候ハ、佗たる風情をしつらへれたるにはあらず、道具畳ハ（大目畳とも云）、貴人のきこしめさるゝ茶具をも、直にかさりあつかひ候へは、清浄を専といたし候故、人々道具畳ハ踏

⁵⁵⁷ Sugiki Fusai Densho, p. 178. This is explained in the following passage of the mentioned book: 二畳敷などの小さしきは、板床よく候、客ハ三人までよきなれとも、五人もありとて、追々の客来かへすもいかゝ、板床のうすへりなどしきて座したるもさひし、夏などハ客により、わかき人などハ板にそのまゝ座してよく候、'In the two-mat little tea-room wooden *tokomona* is appropriate. A suitable number of guests is no more than three persons, but there are cases where five guests have arrived. Since it is not suitable to send back guests who arrive last [those guests more than three for whom there is actually no place to sit], a thin matting can be placed on the wooden *tokonoma* and this will serve as a humble sitting place. During the summer, depending on the line-up of the guests, the youngest guests should sit on the wooden *tokonoma* without matting.'

通ひ候ハぬ様にしつらハれたる柱にて、中はしらと被申候、皮付のゆがミたるを被用候により、ゆがミ柱とも申ならハシ候、⁵⁵⁸

Question: If a distorted pillar is chosen for the *daime tatami*⁵⁵⁹ tea-room, does it strengthen the sense of *wabi* of a thatched-hut tea-room?

Answer: A distorted pillar in the tea-room is not chosen to promote the sense of *wabi*. The *tatami* for utensils is called *daime tatami*. If the utensils, from which the noble persons are going to have their tea, are placed directly on the *tatami*, the purity will vanish. The pillar is also set there to keep guests from stepping on the utensil *tatami* [*daime tatami*]. This is called the middle pillar. Using a distorted pillar with bark on, or even just a distorted pillar, is not necessary.

According to this passage, a middle pillar is set into the tea-room for practical reasons (Plate 13); to promote the feeling of purity of the utensils in use and also to prevent guests from stepping on the utensil *tatami*. The sense of purity is promoted because the middle pillar separates the host place from the guests, giving an impression that it is not just an ordinary place to prepare tea. It is a special and purified place just for this occasion. On the other hand, in the small tea-room the middle pillar is also used for protecting the utensils when guests are moving inside the tea-room. Placing a middle pillar in the small tea-room for practical reasons is understandable, but if it does not make any difference whether a distorted pillar or just a straight and polished pillar is used, then why go to all the trouble to choose an interesting looking distorted pillar and not just an ordinal straight and polished pillar?

According to the cited text, both straight and distorted pillars are used in tea-rooms. However, a tea-room with *daime tatami* usually suggests a small tea-room, such as in the passage above. Therefore, it could be assumed that if the distorted pillar is used, it is because it strengthens the feeling of *wabi* of the small thatched-hut tea-room. This is in accord with a quite rural and informal feeling of these tea-rooms, compared to the formal style of large tea-rooms. The distorted pillars, especially with the bark still on, possess the sense of *wabi* in their roughness and undisturbed naturalness that might sometimes even seem grotesque. Distorted pillars convey the sense of strength, vitality, and masculinity which all belong to the distinctive features of *wabi* as beauty. Straight and polished pillars may look solid but they do not have the vitality (movement), masculinity, nor roughness and

⁵⁵⁸ Genryūchawa, p. 406.

⁵⁵⁹ *Daime tatami*: See Genshoku Chadō Daijiten, s.v. *daime tatami*, and Sadler 1962, pp. 11-12. The utensil *tatami* is called *daime tatami* and it is about one quarter smaller than the usual size of the *tatami*. This size is the same as the size of the *daisu* shelf used in the formal style of Tea. Therefore, the word *daime* is said to come from the size of the *daisu*. Another explanation for the origin of the word is that it was used at Sakai by druggists for three-quarters of a pound of drugs: the greater part. *Daime* is usually attached to two- or three-*tatami* rooms and so the *daime* cut of the *tatami* was developed when the hearth came to be used instead of the *daisu* shelf. With *daime tatami*, the middle pillar is erected by the hearth of the *daime*.

the sense of freedom that distorted pillars possess. The straight and polished pillars convey a formal feeling because their shape is controlled and polished. For these reasons, against the information given in this passage, I believe that it does matter what kind of pillar is chosen for a little tea-room. A distorted pillar, whether a middle pillar or the *tokonoma* pillar, suits a *wabi* style small tea-room, whereas straight and polished pillars are better suited to large and formal style tea-rooms.

The lattice outside the window is discussed in the following examples from *Chanoyu Ichieishû* and *Chawashigetsushû*. These two citations indicate what to do when the lattice outside the window grows old: should every piece be renewed, or only some of them?

窓の連子・同障子のほう立・棚の釣竹、いつれも青竹ニ改むへし、佗ニハ、ことごとく取かゆるニ不及、たとへハ連子十本のうち、二三本はかり改めてよし、棚の釣竹ハ必ず改る事也⁵⁶⁰

The bamboo lattice outside the window (*renji mado*), the wooden frames of the paper sliding screens (*shôji*), and the bamboo of the hanging shelf, all these should be changed to green bamboo. In the *wabi* style of Tea, it is not necessary to renew them all. For example, concerning the bamboo lattice of the window, renewing two or three pieces of bamboo out of ten is enough. Yet the bamboo of the hanging shelf must always be renewed.

The passage above says that in the *wabi* style of Tea it is enough if only parts (two, three pieces out of ten) of the bamboo lattice outside the window are renewed, yet the bamboo of the hanging shelf should always be changed. However, the following passage contains an opposite opinion.

又ある人、連子窓の竹、処々打替たるを、少庵、あれみよ、新古取ませて人をおもしろからすること、スヘテかやうの類、数奇道にきらふ也、タトへハ連子竹損したらは、皆打かへてよし、さもなくハ、其ママ置へし、されと貴人を申請るにハ、いつとても取かゆるかよきなり、⁵⁶¹

One Tea person had renewed the bamboo lattice of the window only here and there. Rikyû saw this and pointed to Shôan⁵⁶² saying: "Look at that! He has combined old and new just to make it look interesting. These kinds of acts are not appropriate in *wabi* style of Tea. For example, either all of the bamboo of the latticed window should be renewed, or none at all. If a noble person visits you, it is good to renew all the bamboo [lattice of the window]."

⁵⁶⁰ Chanoyu Ichieishû, p. 353.

⁵⁶¹ Chawashigetsushû, pp. 218-219.

⁵⁶² Shôan: Sen no Shôan who lived on 1546-1614, is the second generation of Sen family Grand Tea Masters. Shôan was Rikyû's adapted heir. For further information see Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *Sen Shôan*.

In this example, Rikyû teaches his grandson Shôan that renewing the bamboo lattice outside the window only here and there is not appropriate in the *wabi* style of Tea. This is to arouse people's interest. If the lattice is changed, every piece should be changed, or let them remain as they are. Since the latter source is older and based on Sôtan's (Rikyû's grandson) notes, one may think that the information it gives is more correct. But, on the other hand, *Chanoyu Ichieishû* is, along with *Nanpôroku* and *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, one of the most respected books of Tea, and speaks for the validity of the first citation but it also represents Ii Naosuke's view on Tea. Both passages have their points about the sense of *wabi*: renewing only a part strengthens the feeling of humble *wabi*, but also promotes a striking contrast. Renewing all at one time does not spare the cost, which is not in accordance with the idea of *wabi* in Tea, but the result conveys more tranquillity than renewing only some of the bamboo lattice. In this case, the idea of contrasting elements is carried out in a wider sense having, new lattice at the window in an old earthen wall. Renewing the bamboo lattice depends on the occasion and should be considered carefully each time.

The renewing of the old not only concerns the bamboo lattice of the window, but also the *tatami* matting of the tea-room. The following passage in *Chanoyu Ichieishû* suggests renewing only some of the *tatami* mats, not all of them.

… 侘ニハ、床畳と道具畳をかへ、又、道具畳はかりかゆるも、極侘の
一格なり⁵⁶³

...In the *wabi* style of *chadô*, the *tokonoma tatami* and utensil *tatami* shall be renewed.
And further, in the extreme *wabi* style, only the utensil *tatami* shall be renewed.

The idea of renewing only parts but not all is fascinating and it is acceptable if only parts of the *tatami* matting are suddenly spoilt. But if *tatami* mats have become old and worn out, it may be better, even in the *wabi* style, to renew them all at the same time rather than renewing only one or two *tatami* mats. Changing only parts of the *tatami* matting makes the contrast between the new and old quite striking, even though the idea of having a contrast is appreciated in *chadô*, such as in Shukô's in *Kokoro no Fumi*,⁵⁶⁴ in which the idea of combining old with new is explained through the combination of Chinese and Japanese utensils in Tea. During this time, Chinese utensils were those of old, and Japanese utensils were new and modern. This is an important factor in Tea, but one should avoid the feeling of artificiality.

The Great Tea Master, Rikyû, also emphasised the importance of contrasting ideas by saying that Tea is like combining mustard with chestnuts, that an old man should use new and beautiful items and a young man may use rough and modest

⁵⁶³ Chanoyu Ichieishû, p. 353.

⁵⁶⁴ Shukô Furuichi Harima Hôshi Ate Isshi, p. 3.

ones (sections 4.2.1.1 and 4.5). Rikyû also emphasised the idea of mind in contrasting ideas by saying that one should stand against one's teacher and forget the rules, set oneself free from the boundaries of rules and regulations in order to attain the absolute freedom, through which it becomes possible to create something interesting (Section 3.2.4).

So, in Tea the contrast of opposite elements is favoured, and therefore, it would be natural to think that renewing only parts of an aged bamboo lattice or *tatami* matting that really need to be changed, would be in accordance with the sense of *wabi*. There is no need to renew all if the matting is basically in good condition, except, for example, if the host drops coals on his mats while preparing the fire, or a guest pushes over the tea-caddy while admiring its beauty and the powdered tea spreads all over the *tatami*.

Changing the *tatami* mats depends on the occasion and should be considered carefully each time, but concerning the bamboo lattice outside the window, it would be better to renew them all or let them be as they are. This is because there is already enough contrast between the aged earthen walls and the white window screen paper, or between the thatched roof and the fresh green bamboo lattice of the window. It is not likely that one could harm or damage only parts of the lattice of the window such as explained with the *tatami* matting, and therefore, renewing it all is considered as expressing the sense of *wabi* in this matter. The contrast between new green bamboo and old bamboo is also quite striking, but the host should use his own discretion in each situation. Any sense of artificiality should be avoided.

Contrasting ideas play an essential role in Tea, concerning not only tea utensils or tea-rooms, but also the changes of light inside the tea-room. Even during the daytime, the light in the tea-room is subdued. The earthen walls and small windows with bamboo lattice outside strengthen the feeling of dimness or subtle darkness. *Chanoyu Ichieishû* describes the changes of light as follows:

都而、初座ハ陰、後座ハ陽也、しかれハ、初座ハこと々くすたれを
かけ、席中の明りかけん、当日晴れくもり、又時刻ニよりにて考へ、工夫
あるへき事也、後座ハ陽にして、すたれをはつし、時宜ニよりにてハ障
子もすかし置き、晴々としたる模様よろしき也⁵⁶⁵

As a rule, the first half of the gathering (*shoza*) is dark (*yin*) and the latter half (*goza*)⁵⁶⁶ is light (*yang*). This means that during the first half all windows are covered with a bamboo [rattan] blind (*sudare*). The light of the tea-room should be adjusted according to the weather; if it is sunny or cloudy, and also according to the time of the gathering. During the latter half of the gathering, the feeling of light is emphasised: The bamboo [rattan] blinds (*sudare*) are taken away and depending on the time, the paper sliding screens (*shoji*) can be opened a little. The sense of brightness is appropriate.

⁵⁶⁵ Chanoyu Ichieishu, p. 352.

⁵⁶⁶ See Section 1.6 on details of the course of the gathering.

According to the passage above, the light of the first half (*shoza*) should be subdued, but the latter half (*goza*) should be bright. During the first half, the *kaiseki* meal is served and a hanging scroll with Zen proverbs is placed in the *tokonoma*. The subtle darkness of the room emphasises calm and a profound feeling in the room, and therefore, it reminds the guests about the philosophical meaning of *wabi* in *chadō*.⁵⁶⁷ The latter half (*goza*) is bright and livelier. Some conversation concerning the meal and utensils used in the gathering, as well as on Tea in general, is encouraged. This symbolises the aesthetic values and also the social aspects of Tea. This is Tea as an entertainment in a positive sense. People who gather together share a common interest in works of art, such as the calligraphy on the hanging scroll, ceramics (e.g., tea bowls and tea-caddies for thick tea), as well as bamboo work (e.g., tea scoops or flower vases), lacquer work (tea-caddies for thin tea or trays) and metal work (e.g., lid-rests or kettles), and setting of flowers in the *tokonoma*.

In midnight gatherings the best light is the full moon, but if it is not enough, lamps are needed. These special lamps for tea-rooms are described in *Genryūchawa* as follows:

問、短檠・竹ケイ・掛燈台はいかに候や、
 答、短檠・竹ケイ・掛燈台、ともに夜会に用ゆ、いにしへ短檠は唐物にて候得とも、…侘の為に竹にて物すかれ候を竹ケイと申候、…今用ゆる短檠は利休好ミニ候、掛燈台は極侘数奇、或ハ老量大・式量敷などの小座敷、短檠の置所なき時に用…⁵⁶⁸

Question: What were tea-room lamps, such as *tankei*, *chikkei*, and *kaketōdai*?⁵⁶⁹ like?

⁵⁶⁷ Tanizaki 1975, pp. 24-30. In the book called *In'ei Raisan (In Praise of Shadows)*, translated by Seidensticker, Tanizaki writes about the beauty of shadows in Japanese style houses whose roof is like an umbrella (in Western houses it is like a hat) covering it well from wind and rain, but hardly any sunshine is let inside. According to Tanizaki, the beauty of Japanese houses is in the shadows, dark earthen walls and in the shine of the wooden floor in dim corridors.

⁵⁶⁸ Genryūchawa, p. 425.

⁵⁶⁹ *Tankei*, *chikkei*, and *kaketōdai*: See Sadler 1962, pp. 11-12; Genshoku Chadō Daijiten, s.v. *tankei*, *chikkei*, and *kaketōdai*. *Tankei* lamps used in the tea-room are simple; there is a stand, either wood or bamboo, to which a horizontal wooden pillar is attached. On top of the pillar is a round hole, and little below the hole, a metal ring is attached. A *Raku* ceramic saucer is placed on this ring. The same kind of saucer, but a little, saucer is placed on the stand. The wick thread goes from the oil saucer, through the hole, all the way behind the pillar to the stand. Vegetable oil is used. The most common one is called *tankei* and has several variations. *Chikkei* is a simplified model of *tankei*. It is a cut piece of bamboo. *Kaketōdai* is a hanging lamp, originally used in the preparation room (*mizuya*) or in the corridor. This is made of wood or bamboo. The wooden one has a long slender back pillar to which a lattice holder (*kumote* meaning 'a spider's hand', a crisscross netting) made of wood is attached. A hanging lamp of bamboo is just a piece of bamboo cut in such a way that the knot part makes the bottom.

Answer: *Tankei*, *chikkei*, and *kaketôdai* are used in evening gatherings. In the times of old, *tankei* lamps were Chinese... For the *wabi* style of Tea, the lamps were made of bamboo and these are called *chikkei*... Rikyû favoured the type of *tankei* that is used today. *Kaketôdai* is used in the extreme *wabi* style of Tea, or in the little tea-rooms such as a one-*tatami* mat with *dai*me or in the two-*tatami* room, where there is no place to put the *tankei* style of lamp.

As with all other utensils, lamps were also originally Chinese. Then, to promote the feeling of *wabi* in *chadô*, Japanese Tea masters started to make simple lamps from bamboo that were elegant in an unpretentious way. In the extreme *wabi*, referring here to the *wabi* Tea of the small thatched hut practised by a really poor person, a hanging *mizuya* lamp could be used. This was for purely practical reasons: in a small tea-room there is no space for the standing lamp, and on the other hand, a poor *wabi* Tea person might not have money to get two different kinds of lamps: one for the tea-room and one for the *mizuya*. The *mizuya* lamp is definitely needed and therefore this can be used in a tea-room.

As mentioned earlier in this section, even though a *wabi* Tea person is poor, one should always pay attention that clothes should at least be clean, if not new, and that one should always use new green bamboo and fresh wood. Cleanliness and purity are emphasised in *wabichadô*. Similarly, the cleaning of the tea-room is very important in the Tea studies. Okakura writes in *The Book of Tea* that the tea-room is so clean that even a touch of dust cannot be found in the darkest corner, and if any exist the host is not a master of Tea.⁵⁷⁰ According to the *Chanoyu Ichi-ishû*, the cleaning of the tea-room is the first thing that a Tea practitioner has to learn properly.

掃除は数奇者の常行にして、怠るへからず、…先第一二、掃除の致様を教られしとなり、扱、茶の湯の約定あらハ、猶更隅々まで心を配りて、はき清むへき事、⁵⁷¹

Cleaning is an everyday act for a Tea practitioner and should not be neglected... First of all, the methods of cleaning are taught, and then, if one is willing to devote oneself to the Way of Tea, one should, with great care and wholeheartedly clean and purify every last corner of the room.

The citation continues with detailed instructions of how and in what order the cleaning should be done. This is reminiscent of Dôgen's instructions for Zen monks regulating acts of everyday life in Dôgen's *Shobôgenzô Zuimonki*. Tea-houses resemble the Zen temples in their simple architecture and humble appearance. A Tea practitioners life has similarities to a Zen monk's life in the following of the precepts of everyday activities and in an understanding of poverty. For Dôgen, following the precepts and daily practices is like concentrated *zazen*.⁵⁷²

⁵⁷⁰ Okakura 1989, p. 83.

⁵⁷¹ Chanoyu Icheishû, pp. 341-342.

Similarly, Tea should be practised with a concentrated mind, calmly and naturally. In other words, the origins of the idea of *wabi* in utensils and in tea-houses lies in Zen, too, as mentioned in Okakura's *The Book of Tea*:

The simplicity of the tea-room and its freedom from vulgarity make it truly a sanctuary from the vexations of the outer world. There and there alone can one concentrate oneself on undisturbed adoration of the beautiful.⁵⁷³

In the above, the tea-room is described as a place of sanctuary outside the mundane world where one can concentrate on the adoration of the beautiful, meaning that true beauty can be understood only in this absolute or higher state of mind that occurs outside the mundane world (Chapter 2). A tea-room is not, however, a holy place in any religious sense, that is to say a sacred place, such as a temple or a church, because it is not the tea-room physically, but within one's mind and in one's attitude, that the tea-room becomes place outside of the secular world.

To conclude, the sense of *wabi* in tea-rooms emerges from the small thatched-hut tea-house with earthen walls and bamboo lattice outside the windows. Inside the rooms, the feeling of *wabi* can be strengthened by using a distorted middle pillar, a wooden *tokonoma*, or by leaving the underside of the roof visible above the host *tatami* and in the *mizuya*. Further, in renewing the bamboo or *tatami* of the tea-room, one should use one's own discretion whether to renew all or only a portion. However, renewing all of it is recommended in this study, even though, in some cases it might be even better to renew only parts of the *tatami* matting instead of renewing them all. The subdued light of the *shoza* (first half of the gathering) and the tranquil feeling in it refers to the philosophical values of *wabi-chadō*. Opposing this, the brightness of the *goza* (the latter half) refers to the aesthetic and social aspects of Tea, in other words, Tea as an Art.

4.2.3. *Roji* Path

In this study, *roji* is not considered to be just any kind of garden-like path leading to the tea-room, nor to symbolise strictly religious practices toward religious goals. I believe that *roji* symbolises a 'path outside of this world' that indicates attainment of the ultimate state of mind, where all acts become natural in the way

⁵⁷² Masunaga 1971, pp. 6-8, 78-79. Dōgen writes: "In studying the Way, the first thing you must do is to understand poverty. If you cast aside fame and profit, curry favour with no one, and discard all things, you will certainly become a good monk." About concentrated *zazen* Dōgen writes as follows: "For a Zen monk the primary prerequisite for improvement is the practice of concentrated *zazen*. Without arguing about who is clever and who inept, who is wise and who foolish, just do *zazen*. You will then naturally improve."

⁵⁷³ Okakura 1989, p. 91.

they are in the pure world of the Buddha. In *roji*, one comes together with nature, and through it with the entire universe and universal mind.

Roji is not considered to be a path to religion, because *chadô* is not considered to be a religion, and therefore, religious realisation is not the aim of passing through the *roji*. Rather, the journey is to the absolute state of mind, the absolute freedom of the mind, similar to the Buddha mind. This is a state of mind one searches for inside oneself, not an external 'outside power' which would lead one to salvation. Here one must set apart the idea of Buddhist enlightenment, even though the final, absolute state of mind seems to be identical to enlightenment. Hence, in *chadô*, Zen and other Buddhist ideas are used to describe the central ideas of Tea: they are used metaphorically, not in a literal sense. In Buddhism concepts already existed to describe the principal themes, and these themes were adapted into *chadô*. In Tea, they were expected to be used as guidelines for one's practices, not as the final truth. The ultimate state of absolute freedom of the heart is not parallel with the Buddhist *satori* as such, because these practices were not established to understand the essence of Buddhism, but to understand the essence of *chadô*.

In previous studies, *roji* has been examined either in a concrete way (Furuta and Yoshimura)⁵⁷⁴ or by focusing on philosophical values (Hisamatsu). To give some examples, Furuta writes about the *roji* in an essayist's style, using only a few citations from the classics. From the *Zencharoku*'s chapter called *Roji* he finds two definitions of *roji*: *roji* as an alternative name for the tea-room and *roji* as a place for spiritual practices (*dôjô*). Furuta does not further describe *roji* in any specific terms, but tries to explain it through feelings and subjective ideas.⁵⁷⁵

On the other hand, Yoshimura mentions the spiritual meaning of *roji* signifying, as he says, a path to religion and courtesy in behaviour, yet it does not always have to be a trial of spiritual tribulation.⁵⁷⁶ Yoshimura does not emphasise the philosophical meaning of the *roji*, but admits that it cannot be overlooked.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁴ See also Sadler 1962, pp. 19-25; Engel 1964, pp. 292, 297. Sadler introduces the question of *roji* at a concrete and general level describing what *roji* consists of, and how it is constructed with several illustrative drawings without discussing what is the sense of *wabi* in *roji* in detail. Engel introduces *roji* in mostly a concrete meaning as being "the first act in this drama". From there on, he introduces *roji* as seen with guest's eyes when they pass through *roji* into the tea-room. Regarding the philosophical meaning of the *roji*, Engel states its being an atmosphere through which Tea seeks the spiritual elevation of man. Further, *roji* is a preparatory step both psychologically and physically, for the pure experience of art and beauty.

⁵⁷⁵ Furuta 1967, pp. 31-41.

⁵⁷⁶ Yoshimura 1984, pp. 133-150.

⁵⁷⁷ He explores this question through *Nanpôroku*'s section called *Roji* that is included in the reference books. This text is not used in this study of *roji* as a primary source because it is from reference books that did not belong to the original version of the *Nanpôroku*, and moreover because similar and reliable information is available in *Zencharoku*.

He points out the customs, how to behave and the historical development of *roji*, and sees *roji* as an ordinary garden path. Therefore, he gives examples for describing *roji*, e.g., *Saihôji*, a famous moss temple in Kyoto, and *Katsura Rikyû* Imperial Villa, whose gardens are among the most beautiful in Japan.

However, can these gardens really be considered to be the most representative examples describing the sense of *wabi* in *roji*? The gardens of *Saihôji* and *Katsura Rikyû* are quite large and the *roji* is usually small and narrow. On the other hand, *Saihôji* and *Katsura Rikyû* represent the *shoin* style of architecture, not the *wabi* style of architecture, even though *wabi* is a central theme of Yoshimura's book. The difference between these two is that *shoin* style means a formal style where the garden is made so that it looks best when seen from a certain point (usually) inside the house, but *wabi* style tea gardens are at their best when one enters the garden path physically and enjoys the beauty of it by looking, smelling, and hearing.

Hisamatsu's approach to the *roji* path is different from other studies in that it is philosophical. He approaches the question through the word *roji* and its meaning as an absolute state indicating Buddhist *nirvâna*, the perfect *satori*, or the pure world of the Buddha, where there exist no earthly passions nor depravity of the heart. Hisamatsu, unlike Furuta, emphasises that *roji* is not made just to be observed from 'outside' as the gardens in *shoin* architecture (gardens were admired from the houses or veranda, one did not enter them), but to feel them 'inside' with all the six senses when one passes through it. This recalls the idea of the eight consciousnesses in Buddhism: the six consciousnesses consisting sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and the conscious mind plus the two consciousnesses of "*manas*-consciousness" and the "*store*-consciousness".⁵⁷⁸ Hisamatsu also discusses *roji* and the sense of *wabi* it expresses stating that: *wabi* in *roji* is not using the insufficiency of things as they are, but rather in making insufficiency sufficient (2.3.1).

Hisamatsu's discussion on the white *roji* (*byaku roji*) goes even deeper in its philosophy; he compares the idea of the white *roji*, the word used in the *Nanpô-roku* and the *Zencharoku* as well, to the word 'white ox' (*byakugo*) used in the *Lotus Sutra* where the word *roji* has its roots. According to Hisamatsu, white *roji* indicates the pure world of the Buddha and the white ox of the Buddha who lives in that world. In other words, they are one and the same thing indicating the state of mind, the heart's *satori*, where one feels freedom from all anxieties, which becomes possible in the state where 'not a single thing exists'.⁵⁷⁹ Hisamatsu apparent-

⁵⁷⁸ Miyasaka, Schiffer and Gillman 1971, p. 11. *Manas*-consciousness means, in short, the mind behind the scenes; it is a mental world whose existence we cannot perceive. The *store*-consciousness refers to the universal will that has the root of existence of all things in the universe. For further information, see Miyasaka, Schiffer and Gillman 1971, pp. 11-17.

⁵⁷⁹ Hisamatsu 1973, pp. 129-134, 250-252.

ly expresses it as the site where 'not a single thing exists', signifying the absolute state of the mind, similar to the meanings used in this study.

I would now like to study in more detail the idea of *roji* as a path leading to the tea-room. The word *roji* (露地) indicating a garden related to the tea-house, consists of two Chinese characters: *ro* meaning *tsuyu*, "dew", and *ji* meaning "ground" or "a place". Another meaning for *ro* is "frank" or "open" (state of mind). *Roji* is not actually a garden in the Western sense but a path with stepping stones⁵⁸⁰ leading to the tea-house and it consists of a middle gate, a waiting arbour (*koshikake machiai*), where guests relax before the host comes to welcome them and again after the first half of the gathering, guests have a brief interlude there. It also has a stone water basin (*tsukubai*; see Plate 3) where the guests rinse their mouth and hands before entering the tea-room.⁵⁸¹

The word *roji* has not always been written with the above mentioned Chinese characters. Of the sources available at the moment, *Nanpôroku* is the oldest where the characters 露地 were used. However, in other sources, like *Yamanoue Sôjiki* and *Sôjinboku*, *roji* is written with the Chinese characters 路地,⁵⁸² in *Chôandôki* and *Sekishû Sanbyakujô* with the Chinese characters 路次,⁵⁸³ and in *Kôshingegaki*⁵⁸⁴ *roji* is written with the Chinese characters 路治.⁵⁸⁵ In *Sugiki Fusai Densho*, the Chinese characters 櫛地⁵⁸⁶ are used for *roji*. Even though different

⁵⁸⁰ Stepping stones have been used in *roji* since Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435-1490) to lead the guest to the tea-house and to protect a guest's feet from dirt. In more detail, see Chôandôki, p. 362. See also Engel 1964, p. 292. According to Engel, stepping stones are placed for the leisurely walk. Their rather small size demands direct attention to the ground rather than to the *roji* as a whole. Some larger stones invite a person to slow his walk and have an overall look around the garden. Engel writes that *roji* guides a guest's mind to be liberated from the entanglements of everyday life, such as in "a captivating theater play". Engel's choice of words emphasises his idea of *roji* being an act in the play of Tea rather than the profound philosophical meanings that it has for the true realization of the essence of *chadô* and the spirit of *wabi*, too.

⁵⁸¹ Nowadays *roji* is divided into the outer *roji* and inner *roji*, such as in *Zencharoku* (*Zencharoku: Roji no Koto*, p. 304). However, originally this division into two did not exist. See *Sekishû Sanbyakujô*, p. 236. Chapter 6 is titled as "In the times of old, there was no outer *roji*". In this chapter it is explained that Rikyû made this division, apparently without any specific reason, when he served tea to the Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632). See also *Sugiki Fusai Densho*, p. 156. Here it says that in Rikyû's style of Tea 'the single *roji*' is used. It is assumed here that a 'single *roji*' means *roji* that is not divided into inner and outer *roji*.

⁵⁸² For example, in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, p. 93, and in *Sôjinboku*, p. 154.

⁵⁸³ For example, in *Chôandôki*, p. 362, and in *Sekishû Sanbyakujô*, p. 147.

⁵⁸⁴ *Kôshingegaki* in CKZ 10. This book was known originally by the name *Hôgensai Gegaki* (*Hôgensai Kôshinsôsa*, 1613-1671). It contains two chapters which transmit Sôtan's writings on Rikyû's teachings. The original book is in *Omotesenke*. The book is dated 1662.

⁵⁸⁵ For example, in *Kôshingegaki*, p. 94.

⁵⁸⁶ For example, in *Sugiki Fusai Densho*, p. 163. The first Chinese character is without the "tree" (木) radical but this character was not available to me.

styles of writing *roji* exist, they all mean the same: a path-like garden leading into the tea-house.

It can be argued that because the Chinese characters 露地 (*roji*) were chosen instead of the many other choices, they must contain some special meaning. In the reference book of *Nanpôroku*, the word *roji* is said to come from the *Lotus Sutra* where these Chinese characters are used meaning "dewy ground"⁵⁸⁷ which is true according to its dictionary meaning.⁵⁸⁸ Hisamatsu does not agree with the simple answer that the Chinese character for *ro* refers to dew (*tsuyu*), but emphasises a deeper philosophical meaning of the *roji* path. Hisamatsu defines the word *roji* in a sense that makes it comparable to the idea of the Buddhist *nirvâna*, complete extinction (*parinirvâna*), or even the pure world of the Buddha (*jôdo*). In other words, it refers to the state when a person has exceeded the ultimate state of the mind. The meaning of *roji* in *chadô* is purely Zen-related and it comes to mean the essential, true state of mind of the human being. According to Hisamatsu, in this essential state of mind, no earthly desires or delusions exist.⁵⁸⁹ Hisamatsu's explanations make sense. As has been shown earlier in this study (Chapter 2), the essential nature of the self means the same as the Buddha-mind, which is similar to the *wabi* mind in Tea. *Roji* and tea-room⁵⁹⁰ come to mean a place where the mind becomes frank and open, a place where the Buddha-mind, i.e., the essential nature of the self, which is in this study called the *wabi* mind, exists.

I found five qualities describing *roji* in *Zencharoku*⁵⁹¹: *Roji* as an alternative name for the tea-house, *roji* indicating barren soil, *roji* symbolising the idea of the Four Noble Truths, *roji* as a site of enlightenment, and finally, *roji* in the meaning of 'another world'. The discussion of the philosophical aspects of the *roji* path is based on these five characteristics of *roji* mentioned in the *Zencharoku*, which show that the meaning of *roji* is more philosophical than just referring to a place where early dew glitters on the green, although this also suggests the idea of impermanence and purity.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁷ Nanpôroku, p. 414. See also Sadler (1962, p. 19) who cites the passage from the *Lotus Sutra*: "Escaping from the fire-stricken habitations of the Three Phenomenal Worlds, they take their seats on dewy ground". This is mentioned also by Furuta 1967, pp. 34-35.

⁵⁸⁸ The meaning "farming fields" found in the Modern Reader's Japanese-English Character Dictionary 1988, s.v. *roji*, is not so clear. Andrew Nelson apparently takes the literal meaning 'dewy ground' as a metaphor for watered land, which, in Japan, may refer to farming fields. This is a quite extraordinary choice for the only meaning given for *roji* in the dictionary, since more common connotations for the word would be a 'path-like garden leading to a tea-house' or a 'narrow street'.

⁵⁸⁹ Hisamatsu 1973, p. 130.

⁵⁹⁰ Nanpôroku, p. 264: サテ又佗ノ本意ハ、… 'And furthermore the essence of *wabi*...' See section 2.3.2 in this study.

⁵⁹¹ *Zencharoku: Roji no Koto*, pp. 304-305. For a translation of the whole text, see Hirota 1995, pp. 281-283, or Ikeda 1988, pp. 55-57.

First of all, *Zencharoku*⁵⁹³ explains that *ro* means frank or open (*arawaru*)⁵⁹⁴ and *ji* means heart or mind (*kokoro*). Therefore, the word *roji* actually refers to the true nature of the self, it means refining and purifying one's heart from earthly desires or passions. As a result of this, the true nature of the self, the true form, the Buddha nature of all things, shall appear. *Zencharoku* defines this further, that *roji* is an alternative name for a tea-room:

露地は、茶室の一名也⁵⁹⁵

Roji is another name for the tea-room

Before this statement, *Zencharoku* explains *roji* as indicating the true nature, the Buddha nature, which is pure from all worldly desires and passions. It also says that *roji* could be written as a 'white *roji*' where the word 'white' signifies purity.⁵⁹⁶ Therefore, when *roji* is said to be another name for a tea-room, tea-room also comes to mean a place manifesting one's true nature, the Buddha nature that appears in the pure and immaculate world of the Buddha. From this world of the Buddha emerges the Buddha mind (Buddha spirit) which can also be called the true nature of the self, and moreover the *wabi* mind. Just as the world of the Buddha and the true nature of the self are ultimate states, in the meaning of attaining the state of mind existing beyond this world and referring to the idea of being pure from all desires and blind passions, the tea-room and the *roji* also become ultimate places. In other words, in this *roji* path that leads to the *sōan* style of tea-house, one should cleanse 'worldly dust' from one's mind.

The idea of *roji* being another name for the tea-room comes close to the idea of the *roji* indicating 'the other world' which is explained in *Zencharoku* as follows:

⁵⁹² Nanporoku, p. 5; Chanoyu Ichieishū, p. 350. These two sources contain passages describing the *roji* being sprinkled with water three times during the gathering: once before the guests arrive, once during the brief interlude (*nakadachi*) between the first half and the second half of the gathering, and the last time when the guests are leaving. This act has no connection with the meaning of *roji* as a word; it rather symbolises the balance between fire and water. During the tea gathering, fire is made three times, and water is sprinkled three times on the *roji*. Sprinkling the water on the *roji* symbolises to the renewing of *roji* during the gathering.

⁵⁹³ *Zencharoku: Roji no Koto*, p. 304.

⁵⁹⁴ The Chinese character *ro* possesses also a Japanese reading *arawaru*. Since this word is written with *hiragana* characters, it is supposed here that it refers to the Chinese character *ro*, given in the text, having a Japanese reading of *arawa(re)ru* meaning something that is "frank", "open", or even "candid" but also something which is "public" or "plain". See also Hirota 1995, p. 281.

⁵⁹⁵ *Zencharoku: Roji no Koto*, p. 304.

⁵⁹⁶ *Zencharoku: Roji no Koto*, p. 304: …眞如実相の本性を露す故に、露地といふ、又、白露地と云も同、白は清浄なるを云り…

又、茶室を別世界など云フ、是も自心を比したり、語に、世界非(=)世界(一)、是を世界と云、応無所住而生其心なるべし、⁵⁹⁷

And furthermore, the tea-room is called 'another world' which is also a metaphor for the essential nature of the self⁵⁹⁸ [the Buddha nature of the self]. In the *Diamond Sutra* it says: "The world is no-world, and therefore it is called the world." One should "truly avoid attachment, but maintain the spirit of the essential heart."

As already indicated above, *roji* is another name for the tea-room, and therefore, they both refer to the idea of 'the other world'. The other world again suggests the true nature of the self which can be called the Buddha nature, and as has been shown earlier, the Buddha nature is a synonym for the idea of the *wabi* mind in Tea. 'The other world' is explained with the words of the *Diamond Sutra*, which uses negation, and the affirmation following the negation, in pointing out a higher state of mind.⁵⁹⁹ Therefore, the affirmation can indicate the complete (absolute) affirmation. In *Zencharoku's* passage, too, both the 'world' and the 'non-world' (A and -A) are needed to attain the ultimate world, and in this ultimate world the true nature of the self will be revealed, i.e., the Buddha nature, which is "neither A nor non-A" (see Section 2.3.1). Further, to attain the ultimate state, one should attain freedom of the heart from the attachment without losing the essential self. Earlier in this study (Section 2.3.1), this was called the 'absolute freedom of the heart', meaning that the essential mind should be like water: when it is poured into the round container it adopts the round form. If it is poured into the square container it takes the square form without losing its essential property of still being water (see also Section 2.3.6).⁶⁰⁰

In *Nanpōroku*, a poem by Rikyū also illustrates the idea of *roji* as being a place in the other world:

露地ハ只	Since <i>roji</i> is only
ウキ世ノ外ノ	a path that lies
道ナルニ	outside the mundane world.
心ノ塵ヲ	Then why scatter
何チラスラン ⁶⁰¹	dust of the heart there?

⁵⁹⁷ Zencharoku: *Roji no Koto*, p. 305.

⁵⁹⁸ *Jishin*: Zencharoku: *Roji no Koto*, p. 306, note 6. The word is explained by suggesting the idea of the absolute mind(heart), or the state of *satori*. It does not refer to the idea of the mind(heart) in its simple sense, but rather to the idea of the Buddha nature.

⁵⁹⁹ See also Hirota 1988, p. 37. Hirota explains "the world is not the world" referring to all objects as essentially empty or nonexistent. Therefore the world arises from the world of impermanence and passions, yet it is penetrated by its own negation. Hirota sees, too, that 'the world' has two meanings: referring to *nirvāna* and to the realm of the idea of *wabi*.

⁶⁰⁰ Bukkyōjiten, s.v. *ōmushōjūnishōgoshin*.

The poem criticises those who scatter the dust of the heart (earthly passions and desires) on the *roji* because it is a place outside this world, and therefore one should approach it already with a clean heart (mind). This is similar to the first lines of *Nanpōroku's Oboegaki*,⁶⁰² where it says that 'chanoyu is first of all following the teachings of the Buddha, devoting oneself to ascetic training in order to attain the Way' (Section 2.3.6). This conveys the meaning that one should cleanse one's mind from worldly affairs and maintain spiritual training in order to attain the absolute state of the heart, which in Tea refers to the true mastery and in Buddhism to the site of enlightenment. Therefore, it is reasonable to ask why one scatters the dust of the mind on the *roji* path when the mind should already be cleansed before entering the *roji* path or tea-room. This spiritual training in Tea means living one's life by keeping the teachings of the Buddha in one's mind and leading a simple and modest life where every act becomes part of the Tea practice.

Another interpretation is that the *roji* is the place where, at last, one should cleanse one's mind before entering the tea-room, the path from the secular world to the other world. In the passage of *Metsugo* in *Nanpōroku*⁶⁰³ it says that the essence of *wabi* lies in a crystal clear (immaculate), pure world of the Buddha, and therefore, when one enters the *roji* path and little tea-room, one should sweep the earthly dust away. This passage shows that *roji*, which leads all the way to the tea-room, is the place to clean one's mind(heart). This suggests the idea that *roji* is a path to the other world consisting of an outer *roji* that exists in this mundane world and the an inner *roji* that exists in the other world, and these two worlds are separated by the middle-gate (this is a typical construction of the *roji* path). However, this latter explanation seems to better suit the idea of Tea as a Way. This theme is examined more closely below when the idea of the Four Noble Truths is introduced.

Another definition of the *roji* is 'barren soil' which can be explained by referring to the plants in the *roji* path as well as by the *roji* being a place of the 'not a single thing' (*mu ichi motsu*). The *Zencharoku* describes this

不毛の赤地の広漠にして潔淨なるをも、露地と号す、⁶⁰⁴

The pure and immaculate barren soil of the vast land is called the *roji*.

Usually green plants bearing no fruit and no strong-smelling flowers⁶⁰⁵ are used in the *roji*. The green plants calm one's mind and senses rather than stimulating

⁶⁰¹ *Nanpōroku*, p. 319. Different variations of the translation of this poem can be found in the following sources: Suzuki 1988, p. 282; Sadler 1962, p. 106; Tsutsui 1980, p. 39; Hisamatsu 1993, p. 20.

⁶⁰² *Nanpōroku*, p. 3.

⁶⁰³ *Nanpōroku*, p. 264.

⁶⁰⁴ *Zencharoku*: *Roji no Koto*, p. 304.

them, as flowers and various exciting scents would do, and therefore, the expression 'barren soil' can be explained as a metaphor for the 'barren flora' of the *roji*. According to *Chawashigetsushū*, Rikyū describes the sense of the *roji* to Kuwamura Sakin (a Tea practitioner) with this poem by Jien (1155-1225):

榿の葉の	The leaves of the oak
もみちぬからに	with no turning to autumn colours
ちりつもる	drift away into high piles.
奥山寺の	On this lonely road
道のさひしさ ⁶⁰⁶	to a distant mountain temple.

The poem well illustrates the feeling in *roji*, a tea-house existing in a lonely and distant place, hidden deep at the end of the *roji*, and it is given as an example in several studies. In this study, the poem is not only used to illustrate the sense of *roji* in general, but more specifically, to illustrate the metaphor of 'barren soil' used in the *Zencharoku*. The feeling of 'barren soil' is emphasised with leaves of the oak tree that scatter without turning to the autumn colours, i.e., the soil being so 'barren' that it cannot even bear the beautiful colours of the autumn and causes leaves simply to become withered and drop. A distant mountain temple is a metaphor for the tea-house that is usually located in a hidden place, even if built inside the city. The word 'lonely' (*sabishii*) refers here to the feelings that grow from the general atmosphere of the scene as a whole. Earlier in this section, *roji* is shown as being another name for the tea-house, which is described in Jien's poem above with the image of a 'distant mountain temple'. Another definition for the *roji* was,

⁶⁰⁵ Sugiki Fusai Densho, p. 163. In this source, trees suitable to *roji* are: a pine tree, a maple, a species of oak (such as white oak), an oleaster, a Japanese persimmon and chestnut trees, a gardenia, a Japanese laurel, a winged spindle tree, a wax tree, and a bamboo. One should avoid using trees that makes fruit or trees that have a strong smell, and rare plants in general. See also Genryūchawa, p. 476. In this source it says that Rikyū favoured the paulownia tree the most and had it planted on his *roji* path. There is also a poem connected to this statement: 'Leaves of paulownia / hard to find a way through them / have already fallen thick. / Even though I am not / waiting for anyone to visit me.' 桐の葉もふみわけかたく成にケリかならず人を待となけれと。(Note: In this poem the ending *keri* is written with *katakana* even though it is written with a Chinese character in the source used. Unfortunately, this character was not available to me. See, for example, Kangorin, character no. 9130. The ending *keri* is written with *katakana* also in some other sources, such as Chadō Taikan: Jōkan 1933, p. 87.) Thinking about Tea, not the original meaning of the poem, this poem suggests in metaphors that a tea-house is in a lonely place, hidden far from this world and therefore it is difficult to find. Yet there is a positive hope that perhaps someday, after all, someone will find one's way there. A host should always be prepared to welcome guests. The poem emphasises simplicity, quietness, and naturalness about the *roji* itself; even the fallen leaves are left as they are on the ground.

⁶⁰⁶ Chawashigetsushū, p. 208. In the note to the book it says that this poem is originally in *Sankashū* and was written by Saigyō (1118-1190). This information is incorrect and this is also noted by other scholars. The poem above was written by Jien (1155-1225) and is found in *Shūgyokushū* (1346). For another translation of the poem, see Suzuki 1988, p. 322.

on the other hand, its signifying the ultimate state, i.e., the other world or the pure world of the Buddha. Therefore, this poem illustrates the spirit of *roji* in that it signifies the other world beyond the secular world with its earthly affairs and worries.

This ultimate state can also be explained using the saying, 'not a single thing' (*mu ichi motsu*), describing a state where the essential, true nature of the self emerges as described in Teika's poem (see Section 2.3.6).

見渡せば	When I look around
花も紅葉も	there are no flowers
なかりけり	and no crimson leaves;
浦のとまやの	Only a thatched hut at the seashore
秋の夕暮 ⁶⁰⁷	in the dusk of autumn evening.

To repeat the explanation for the poem found in *Nanpôroku*,⁶⁰⁸ a 'thatched hut at the seashore' (*ura no tomaya*) points to a solitary dwelling and this evokes the ultimate state where 'not a single thing' exists. Even though this poem by Teika has been cited frequently in previous studies to illustrate the sense of *wabi* in *chadô*, I would like to reconsider its meaning and how it describes the spirit of the *roji*.

Reconsidering Teika's poem above and what its metaphors might reveal about the *roji*; many of the distinctive features connected with *roji* can be read in the poem. First of all, the idea of a 'barren soil' can be read in the lines 'there are no flowers and no crimson leaves'. In the *roji*, too, there are no blooming flowers and no maple trees, at least not in large numbers (a few can be planted in such a way that they do not disturb the feeling of calmness that *roji* is supposed to convey). Earlier in Jien's poem the idea of barren soil was expressed in a similar way, using the words that 'the withered leaves of the oak scatter away without turning to autumn colours'. In Teika's poem a 'thatched hut at the seashore', and a 'distant mountain temple' in Jien's poem, both refer to the ultimate state of 'not a single thing' which can be understood as a metaphor referring to another world. 'Not a single thing' also suggests a solitary, barren place where plants and trees bear no flowers or berries. In Teika's poem the feeling of this kind of chill (*hie*) solitude is expressed with 'the dusk of the autumn evening', and similarly in Jien's poem with the image of a lonely road leading to a distant mountain temple, having hardly any visitors, only the leaves of oak piling high without turning into the bright autumn colours. The main structure of both poems is similar and by combining these ideas, another definition of the *roji* as 'a barren land', the ultimate state of the 'not a single thing' can be found.

⁶⁰⁷ Nanpôroku, p. 16.

⁶⁰⁸ Nanpôroku, pp. 16-17.

The idea of 'not a single thing' that exists in 'the other world' from which the essential nature of the true self emerges are related to the following description of *roji*, the idea of the Four Noble Truths, that is introduced in *Zencharoku*:

是レ亦、本性に況へたるなり、法華の注に、四く道中ハタトフル四諦ニ也、⁶⁰⁹

Furthermore, when this is compared and combined with the idea of the essential nature of the self, in the commentary of the *Lotus Sutra* it says: the four roads crossing is a metaphor for the Four Noble Truths.

In *Zencharoku*, *roji* is described as being a path to enlightenment by maintaining the Four Noble Truths.⁶¹⁰ Therefore, passing through the *roji* one should understand the cause of all suffering and change one's attitude toward these Four Noble Truths by having the right view of one's daily life, which means living in harmony with all the circumstances that life might bring, even with the suffering and insufficiency of everyday life. Rikyû's poem, "since *roji* is only..." could also be interpreted to mean that since *roji* is a path to the enlightenment, one should not scatter the dust of the heart (earthly desires) along the path. One should rather cleanse one's mind, not by extinguishing all the 'dust of the heart', but rather by keeping in one's mind the Eightfold Path of the right way and living in harmony with the 'dust of the heart'. By preserving these precepts in one's daily life it becomes possible to attain the Buddha-mind, i.e., the absolute state of mind, which in *chadô* is also called the *wabi* mind.

As understood from the explanation above, the Four Noble Truths lead to the site of enlightenment that is also the last definition of the *roji* found in *Zencharoku*:

⁶⁰⁹ Zencharoku: *Roji no Koto*, p. 304. In the original text this passage follows the passage: 不毛の赤地の広漠にして潔浄なるをも、露地と号す 'The pure and immaculate barren soil of the vast land is called the *roji*.' I interpret this passage in the sense that something which is pure and immaculate is an image of the true nature of the self, which again can be explained with the cited passage of the *Lotus Sutra*. Unfortunately, it was impossible to reproduce the Chinese character *ku* meaning a "crossroads" in the combination of *shiku*, 'four roads crossing' for typographical reasons, as well as the Chinese character *tatoeru*, meaning "to use someone's words/things for explaining something", "to use a metaphor", "to compare." This character also has a reading of *tatoe* meaning "to understand", "to attain *satori*", or "a metaphor".

⁶¹⁰ On the Four noble Truths and the Eightfold Path, see Miyasaka, Schiffer and Gillman 1971, pp. 183-194; Matsunaga and Matsunaga 1974, p. 42. The Four Noble truths are mentioned in the *Lotus Sutra* and they are as follows: the Truth of Suffering (*kutai*), the Truth of Cause (*jittai*), the Truth of Extinction (*mettai*), and the Truth of the Path (*dôtai*). The Eightfold Path means the right view, right thinking, right speech, right action, right living, right endeavor, right memory, and right meditation.

道場と云るも、露地と同義也⁶¹¹

The site for enlightenment also becomes a synonym for the word *roji*.

'The site for enlightenment' means a place for spiritual training, a place for cultivating one's self in order to attain the state of enlightenment in Buddhism, or true mastery in traditional arts like *Nô* or *chadô*, or in martial arts such as *kendô*. This is a natural conclusion for the rationale presented to this point: that *roji* means another world, the state of 'not a single thing', or *roji* expressing the true nature of the essential self emerging by maintaining the Four Noble Truths whose aims are spiritual awakening, i.e., the state of enlightenment. On the other hand, the state of 'not a single thing' or the other world, a state from which the true nature of the essential self emerges, are all descriptions of the place for spiritual training. The word *dôjô* literally means a place where the Buddha attained enlightenment. In a broad sense, it is used to signify a place where one practises ascetic (containing also spiritual) training to attain enlightenment. When combined with the idea of *roji*, both of these meanings are included: passing through *roji* means spiritual training in order to attain *satori* (see sections 2.3.5-2.3.7). Spiritually *roji* refers to the idea of leaving this world, just as monks leave their homes in order to enter a monastery. Furthermore, it means throwing away one's old mind, way of thinking and valuing things, in order to attain the essential true self.

*Nanpôroku*⁶¹² illustrates the same idea with the passage in which the essence of *wabi* emerges from the crystal clear (immaculate), pure world of the Buddha. When one enters the *roji* path leading into a little tea-room (*sôan*), one should sweep all the earthly dust away, meaning that *roji* and Tea practices as such are the place for spiritual training, and therefore, in *chadô* as well as in one's daily life, one should preserve the teachings of the Buddha and maintain the Eightfold Path of the Right Way of the living.

In the poems of "*miwataseba...*" and "*kashinohano...*" introduced earlier in this section to illustrate the sense of the *roji*, the site of enlightenment is suggested in the metaphors, 'distant mountain temple' and a 'a thatched hut at the seashore.' According to *Nanpôroku*, 'a thatched hut at the seashore' refers to the state of 'not a single thing', and therefore, it can be argued that similarly a 'distant mountain temple' can be interpreted in the same way, describing the site of enlightenment, i.e., the Buddha-mind that in *chadô* is called the *wabi* mind. The feeling of solitude that is expressed in Jien's poem ("*kashinohano*"), which is usually given in most of studies as an example of the sense of *roji*, also conveys the idea of solitude in this Way, which extends to the awareness that the Truth of Suffering

⁶¹¹ Zencharoku: *Roji no Koto*, p. 304. The word *dôjô* is interpreted quite freely above, but it also holds a meaning "the Way of the Buddha" (*Bukkyôjiten*, s.v. *dôjô*). However, the original Sanskrit word *bodhi-manda* means literally the essence of enlightenment, *satori*.

⁶¹² *Nanpôroku*, p. 264.

cannot be ignored, but one should rather try to accept it as such, free oneself from the roots of suffering, and live in harmony with them.

The Chinese characters used for writing *roji* (露地) show that *roji* is not only a kind of garden but that it possesses philosophical values indicated by the selected Chinese characters in the word *roji*. From this philosophical meaning of the *roji*, referring in the end to the place for spiritual training from which the Buddhahood, i.e., the *wabi* mind or the true nature of the self emerges, I continue to examine the sense of *wabi* in *roji* on a more concrete level by describing some characteristics of *wabi* in the *roji* path.

As mentioned earlier in this section, *roji* has primarily green plants and trees and the general appearance is calm and natural without any stimulating multi-coloured flowers, whose tempting scents demand one's attention. Naturalness emerges from the selected trees, plants and stones which have their natural form as they would have in nature, without someone re-forming their shape to please one's own taste. Actually these two terms, naturalness and calmness, are closely related to each other – for one to become true the other is also needed. According to *Sekishû Sanbyakukajô*,⁶¹³ in the *roji* the trees, plants and stones should be arranged as they would be found in their natural surroundings. The selected materials do not have to be the best available, but rather one should be concerned that the general appearance is modest. Artificiality has no place in the *roji* path. The sense of naturalness gives rise to the feeling of calmness and tranquillity. Insufficiency is part of serenity, meaning that one is in harmony with the idea of insufficiency in life. A natural effect without a human effort is not possible in Tea and artificiality is one side of the idea of beauty in *chadô* as explained in *Sekishû Sanbyakukajô* (Section 4.2.2) that 70-80% out of the total should be natural. These proportions suggest the fact that the remainder (approximately 20-30%) allows for human effort. In *roji* it is also essential that the construction as well as the plants and trees used suit one's purposes. A *wabi* Tea practitioner's *roji* should be humble and modest, and though it may seem insufficient to others, one should be satisfied with it as such and try not to make things look artificially better or finer than they actually are, because artificiality breaks the feeling of serenity, harmony, and naturalness.

In the construction of *roji*, contrasts are desirable. From the combinations of old and new, having something fine and something modest, emerges the sense of *wabi* in *roji*. This means that the general appearance should be naturally serene, i.e., the construction and the feeling in *roji* should create an image of nature itself in its calmness and harmony. In *roji*, there are no blooming flowers, consistent with the idea of insufficiency in Tea. The minimalist way of putting flowers into

⁶¹³ *Sekishû Sanbyakukajô*, p. 232. See the citation and the translation in Section 4.2.2 of this study where this it was cited to explain the tea-room.

the *tokonoma* of the tea-room compels the observer to look and to appreciate the beauty of a single flower. Having no flowers in *roji* also promotes the feeling of calm and tranquillity; having numerous beautiful flowers in different colours and in different scents stimulates one's senses and in a way that opposes the idea of *wabi* in *roji*. Rather, *roji* should give the impression of a lonely road to a distant mountain temple, not a garden full of beautiful flowers. When one enters the *roji* one should not feel that one enters a garden, but that one is entering the Way, as it exists in all of nature.

The idea of calmness and harmony with regard to using things suitable for one's own style of Tea is expressed in the following passage of the *Genryūchawa* which deals with the middle gate of the *roji*.

利休ハ一向珠光之意により、茶湯之風情ハ侘たるにありと覚悟し、茶室之しつらひ、露地のかまへもひとへに幽閑を趣とし、中露地の扉も猿とをつられ候、古織・遠州も利休の風を仰かれ候へども、共にそこばくの領主なれば、古織ハ中くゞり、遠州ハ中門をかまへられたり、又、千ノ宗旦ハ侘なれば、す戸或は関竹を置て、只おの々境界のまゝにふるまはれ候、しかるに不案内之人ハ、織部流ハ中くゞり、遠州流ハ中門、宗旦流ハす戸・猿戸などいひて、流によりかハリ有様に心へられ、富る人も、宗旦流とて侘の風情し、侘人も遠州のなかれとて、うるハしくあしらはれ候事、皆ナ茶道にくハしからさる故にて候、⁶¹⁴

Rikyū followed wholly Shukō's idea of Tea and understood that the appearance of *chanoyu* is based on the spirit of *wabi*. The arrangements of the tea-room and the construction of the *roji* path earnestly express the profound meaning of tranquillity [calmness], and therefore, he used the *sarudo*-gate as a middle gate in the *roji*. Oribe and Enshū⁶¹⁵ also respected Rikyū's style, but as they both were *daimyōs*, Oribe chose the *nakaguguri*-gate and Enshū the *chūmon* style of gate. Further, Sen Sōtan was a *wabi* Tea practitioner and he used a *sudo* gate or *sekichiku* style of fence; each of these men used the gates that naturally fit their own worlds. However, an inexperienced person could say that in the Oribe style of Tea a *nakakuguri* gate is used, in the Enshū style of Tea

⁶¹⁴ Genryūchawa, p. 401.

⁶¹⁵ Oribe and Enshū: Genshoku Chadō Daijiten, s.v. *Furuta Oribe* and *Kobori Enshū*. Oribe and Enshū are said to be two Great Tea Masters after Rikyū. Furuta Oribe (1544-1615) was a Tea master, a poet, and *daimyō*. Oribe was born in the Mino prefecture and one style of *Mino* ceramics carries his name (*Oribeyaki*). He is said to be one of the seven disciples of Rikyū. Kobori Enshū (1579-1647) was born in the Ōmi prefecture (now the Shiga prefecture) and he was a *daimyō* and well-educated man. Enshū was also a Great Tea Master knowing poetry, Zen and calligraphy. He had a sense of architecture and the art of design. Enshū was especially famous for giving poetic names for tea utensils, and was gifted in ceramics. His kiln is one of the seven famous kilns in Japan. He was fond of painting, especially the *Kanō* school of painting (originally warrior-class painters from the *Momoyama* period) and he used pictures in the *tokonoma* even though Zen scrolls were more common in tea-rooms. The Enshū style is quite aristocratic and his Tea is called "beautiful *sabi*" (*kirei sabi*) which is a combination of the idea of *yūgen* from the *Ōchō*-period (refers to the *Nara* and *Heian* periods, but sometimes only to the *Heian* period) and the idea of *wabi* from the Japanese middle ages (*Kamakura-Muromachi* period). For further information, see Sadler 1962, pp. 77-79; Ikeda 1988, p. 21.

the *chûmon* and in the Sôtan style of Tea the *sudo* or *sarudo*⁶¹⁶ are used. One should understand that there are differences in different styles of Tea; yet a wealthy person should not practise Tea in the Sôtan style by emphasising the spirit of *wabi*, and a *wabi* person should not practise a graceful style of Tea in Enshû's style. Both of these show that one has no true understanding of Tea (*chadô*).

First of all, the concrete meaning of the *roji* path is to deepen one's heart and to convey profound calm and tranquil feelings. The sense of tranquillity also contains the idea of harmony, meaning that each person should make the best of what they have and use things that naturally fit into their world. It is not a rule that different schools of Tea should only prefer the kind of gates used in their style of Tea. However, a poor *wabi* Tea practitioner should not try to practise the costly and beautiful Enshû style of Tea because he cannot afford it, and therefore the result will look artificial as well as cheap. Also, those having money should not try to practise the *wabi* style on purpose because it is not natural for them and the result is shabby and 'just poor' being far away from the original meaning of *wabi*. Every style of Tea has its own beauty and one should try to practise Tea so that this beauty is successfully conveyed. It is most important to practise Tea in a manner that fits one's world naturally.

The spirit of *wabi* concerns not only the style of the gate, but also how the old gates are renewed. The following passage from *Chanoyu Ichieishû* deals with renewing the bamboo of the *sudo* style of gate, which in the passage above was noted as possessing the sense of *wabi*.

竹すど・竹垣、青竹ニ改むへし、佗ニハ、古竹垣ニ所々青竹さし込、
押竹など改めたるも、却而見所あるもの也、柴垣も同様、押竹改むへ
し、⁶¹⁷

The bamboo of the *sudo* style of gate and the fence (around the tea-house and garden) should be renewed with new green bamboo. In the *wabi* style of Tea, the old bamboo of the fence can be renewed here and there with new green bamboo, and further, renewing also the supporting pillars of bamboo becomes an interesting detail to view. In the brushwood fence, the supporting pillars of bamboo are also renewed.

⁶¹⁶ Gates: see Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *nakakuguri*, *chûmon*, *sarudo*, *sudo*. *Nakakuguri* (see picture in the book) is a wall-like middle gate that resembles the earthen wall of the tea-house with a crawl-in entrance (*nijiriguchi*). This style of gate has a roof. The Enshû style of *chûmon* is a simplified version of Oribe's gate. It is a wooden gate with a roof, yet the entrance is a normal doorway, not a crawl-in entrance. *Sarudo* is a wooden gate where within two pillars a door is hung. The door is built so that it has a supporting paling or only vertical supporting pillars of bamboo, to which the door panel is attached. *Sudo* is the simplest kind of gate that resembles a wicket. It is made of bamboo and it has two quite low and light pillars within which the bamboo fence-like door is hung. This gate does not obstruct the view to the other side of the garden, as do the three others (for picture, see Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, pp. 416, 422). No further information is available on the *sekichiku* kind of fence which is supposedly a simple bamboo fence. See pictures of different kinds of gates in Sen, Murata and Kitamura 1959, pp. 32-35.

⁶¹⁷ Chanoyu Ichieishu, p. 343.

In general, the author of *Chanoyu Ichieishū*, Ii Naosuke (1815-1860), seems to like the style in which only parts of the bamboo of the gate are renewed. Earlier in this study, a similar passage concerning the bamboo lattice of the window and *tatami* mats was discussed (Section 4.2.2), and, concerning the tea-room, it was suggested that each occasion should be considered carefully to be appropriate for the circumstances. Here again, it is difficult to say if this combination of old and new possesses the sense of *wabi*. If only parts of the bamboo lattice of the tea-room or the bamboo of the *sudo* gate are renewed, the contrast of old and new might be too striking. They may lose the feeling of naturalness and become artificial and even further, they will seem to have been purposely made to look interesting to possess the sense of *wabi*. Following the same reasoning, all the bamboo of the *sudo* gate or the brushwood fence should be renewed at the same time.

The following passage contains Rikyū's criticism of those who create the sense of *wabi* in a forced and artificial way. Everything that looks old and modest does not automatically possess the spirit of *wabi*. *Wabi* is an inborn spirit in an object, some have it naturally and some will never possess it. Similar to the idea that a person may possess a *wabi* mind(heart), an object may also possess the *wabi* spirit.

口切の時分、宗易、さる佗のかたへ、モズ屋⁶¹⁸の宗安をともなひまいられたれハ、露地の中垣にふるき狐戸を釣りたり、宗安さびておもしろく候とあれば、易、われらハさひたりと存せず、却て結構成ル釣戸とこそ存れ、いかんとなれば、さためてとをき山寺より所望し来るにそあらん、その人足等の雑用思ひはかるへし、たとへハ佗の心ならハ、自身戸屋へゆき、いかにも粗相なる猿戸かほしむといはんに、戸屋、さやうならハ、松杉の板くづ継合せいたしまいらせんといひて出来たるを、そのまゝ釣りてこそさびて面白しと申へけれ、かやうのことにて、其人の茶湯はみえ侍る⁶¹⁹

At the time of *kuchikiri*, Rikyū visited one *wabi* Tea person with Mozuya no Sōan. In the *roji* there was an old *sarudo* style of gate as a middle gate. Sōan said that the old, aged gate looked very interesting, to which Rikyū replied: "I do not believe that is an old, aged gate. I rather believe that it is a very fine gate. And why do I think so? It was surely ordered somewhere from a distant mountain temple and has been brought here. One should now consider all the trouble and expense this causes; for instance, a person possessing a *wabi* mind(heart) would go straight to the door-makers shop and ask for a very modest *sarudo*-gate. To which the door-shop keeper would answer: I shall put it together using the waste pieces of pine and [Japanese] cedar and make a gate. This gate should be hung just as it is and it will truly have the aged, tarnished feeling within it. Doing it this way, illustrates a person's sense of *chanoyu*."

⁶¹⁸ Mozuya: The old Chinese character for *mozu*, "a shrike", was not available to me, therefore *katakana* syllables are used instead. See, for example, Kangorin, character no. 9172.

⁶¹⁹ Chawashigetsushū, pp. 227-228. The same story explained in slightly different words can also be found in Genryūchawa, p. 428.

Objects possessing the sense of *wabi* possess it naturally as they are. These objects are not made to look aged and modest skillfully with great effort and cost. A Tea person who does this is not a true *wabi* Tea person and his gate does not possess the true *wabi* spirit. True *wabi* objects are made skillfully at low cost, and therefore they possess the spirit of *wabi* naturally – not artificially. Here the spirit of *wabi* is opposite to that which is fine, carefully finished to the last detail, and made from the best material available without worrying about the cost. *Wabi* means using whatever material is available, even waste pieces, and making the best out of it at low cost. To be able to do this, a skillful eye is needed to recognise the advantages and disadvantages of the objects and the beauty beyond them. Of course, it is easier to have good taste if one has a lot of money and everything is possible. However, without money one needs creativity and good taste to create something interesting and modestly elegant out of nothing.

At the tea gatherings held in the late evenings or even at midnight, lamps are needed in the *roji* for the guests to find their way through the *roji* into the tea-house. The following passage from the *Genryûchawa* discusses the sense of *wabi* that the lamps used in the *roji* possess.

問、遠州流とて、夜会・夜込ともに手燭にて客人迎ニ出られ候、いか
 くに候や、
 答、紹鷗時分迄ハ、手燭を被用候へとも、夜込ハ勿論、夜会之景気も
 幽閑にして、物ふかきを趣といたし候ニ、露地之景色、燭影にけうと
 く、其上、佗の風情にかなハす候ニより、利休ハ手どうろうを被用
 候、乍去、遠州ハ富貴の境界なれハ、御もてなしのかハリも可有事ニ
 候へとも、風雨・雪中にハいかくに候や、流義とて、手燭を被用候
 ハ、不案内の故に而可有之候⁶²⁰

Question: In the Enshû school of Tea, in the evening and midnight tea-gatherings, the host shall come out to welcome the guests in the *roji* carrying the portable candlestick (*teshoku*)⁶²¹. What should we think about this custom?

Answer: Until the times of Jô-ô, the portable candlestick was used. The atmosphere of the evening and midnight tea-gatherings of Tea should be calm and express profound feelings, but the portable candlestick gives a frightening feeling and it does not fit into the *sense of wabi*. Therefore, Rikyû started to use the *tedôrô*⁶²² instead of the portable candlestick (*teshoku*). However, Enshû, who was a wealthy person and had prestige, thought it was important to have changes in different kinds of tea-gatherings; one

⁶²⁰ Genryûchawa, pp. 433-434; see also p. 426. The passage explains that in the *roji* path paper-enclosed oil lamps (*andon*) can be used in the evening and midnight gatherings. The so-called *kakiwasenuri* (the colour is blackish or red-ochre rouge lacquer on top of puckered persimmon-coloured lacquer) is said to contain the sense of *wabi* in this kind of lamp. The *andon*-style of lamp can be used inside the tea-room, as well as in the *roji* path.

⁶²¹ Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *teshoku*. A portable candle stand made of metal. It contains a little metal saucer which has a spike to hold a candle. Below the saucer there are two feet and the handle also serves as a foot to balance the candle stand if it is placed on the ground.

⁶²² *Tedôrô* means a portable lantern where the candle is protected against wind and rain. These can be made from bamboo, wood, or metal. No description of this object has been preserved.

should consider carefully what kind of lamp to use if the wind is strong, or if it is raining or snowing. An inexperienced person should, however, use a portable candlestick.

In the passage above we read that portable candlesticks do not possess the sense of *wabi* because they cause frightening shadows which disturb the peaceful and calm feeling of the *roji*. Therefore, Rikyû invented the *tedôrô* style of covered portable lantern that softened shadows and was proof against wind and snow. In this passage of *Genryûchawa*, as discussed earlier in this study concerning the middle pillar of the tea-room, it can be claimed that the *tedôrô* is favoured more for practical reasons. If only the sense of *wabi* is emphasised, a simple portable candlestick in its simplicity and humbleness would be a natural choice as a *wabi* item. There is usually a standing stone lantern giving light to the *roji* path, and portable candlesticks are used to give some extra light if needed. During the evening and midnight gatherings these lamps in the *roji* possess an aesthetic value, referring to the idea of contrasting of dark and light (*yin/yang*) appreciated in *chadô*.

Again, similar to the tea-rooms, the cleaning of the *roji*, and especially cleaning of the toilet (*setchin*) in the waiting arbour, plays an important role in the general feeling. The following passage from *Chanoyu Ichieishû* emphasises the spiritual meaning behind the cleaning, which is considered to be an indicator of the host's state of mind. It shows how sincerely the host is devoted to the Way of Tea.

雪隠ハ、新しく設くへき筈のことにて、佗ニても、成丈あらため、清浄ニいたす事古実也、…依之、主客とも雪隠の内を改め見る事、修行の心持専一なり、佗数奇ハ猶更心を付、改め可申事と古老も云⁶²³

The toilet should be new and fresh. Even in the *wabi* style of Tea, it should be as new and as pure as possible; this is an old custom... According to this, a host and the guests shall, first of all, look inside the toilet, in order to understand the state of the mind of spiritual training [of the host]. An ancient master says: "*Wabisuki* means putting one's whole heart to cleaning and repeating it several times."

Looking at the toilet reveals the state of mind in which spiritual training has been carried out. Further, in a *wabi* style of Tea one should pay special attention to the careful cleaning of the toilet. Here the word *shugyô*, ascetic or spiritual training, is used to emphasise the spiritual meaning of the cleaning. There is also a passage in *Nanpôroku*⁶²⁴ in which the cleaning of the toilet is described as having an endless

⁶²³ Chanoyu Ichieishû, p. 346. See also Sugiki Fusai Densho, p. 163. There is also a passage that deals with the importance of cleaning the *roji* path. The passage says that Rikyû's style of Tea emphasises the *roji* path and further, especially *wabi* Tea persons should keep the *roji* path clean as everything else. Yet the result of excessive cleaning lacks artistic effect and is no longer interesting. Note that the word *hie* (chill) is not used here with aesthetic values similar to those used in poetry or in *chadô*, but in the meaning of *susamashii*, meaning "lacking artistic taste" or "sadness because of insufficiency".

⁶²⁴ Nanpôroku, p. 279; see also pp. 281-282. This passage explains how white sand should be used in the *setchin* and how it indicates purity.

number of rules similar to the many rules concerning to the cleaning in Zen monasteries. The passage continues to explain that even if the sense of *wabi* is strongly emphasised with the selected materials in the *roji* path, such as old pillars and old bamboo, everything concerning the toilet has to be extremely clean. However, even though the cleaning of the toilet is strongly emphasised in the classics, the toilet in the *roji*, the *setchin*, is actually not even used. Cleaning symbolises a host's state of mind, how the ascetic (spiritual) training is carried out and the guests should regard the *setchin* with the same spirit, meaning keeping in mind the heart of the spiritual training.⁶²⁵ There is another toilet in *roji* called *shitabarasetchin* ('abdomen toilet')⁶²⁶ for guests' natural use.

The cleaning of the *roji* and how it is done has an important effect on the general feeling of the *roji*. The cleaning is not only spiritual training but also an expression of art. The following story from *Chawashigetsushū* is about Rikyū, who was invited to a morning tea gathering.

さる方の朝茶湯に、利休その外まいられたるか、朝嵐に棕の落葉ちりつもりて、露路の面さなから山林の心ちす、休あとをかへりミ、何もおもしろく候、されと亭主無功なれば、はき捨るにてそあらんといふ、あんのことく、後の入りに一葉もなし、その時、休、惣して露路の掃除ハ、朝の客ならハ、夜にはかせ、昼ならハ朝、その後ハおち葉のつもるもそのまゝ掃ぬか巧者也といへり、⁶²⁷

One morning, Rikyū arrived at the morning gathering with a companion. On that very morning a storm occurred, and scattered leaves piled up on the *roji*. The scene of the *roji*, gave a feeling of a mountain forest. Rikyū looked at the *roji* once again and said: "The feeling of the whole *roji* is very fascinating. However, since the host is not a gifted Tea man, he will certainly clean all the leaves away." Just as expected when they were leaving there was not a single leaf left. Seeing this, Rikyū said: "The cleaning of the *roji* should be done so that, if the guests arrive in the morning, the *roji* is cleaned the evening before. If they arrive at noon the cleaning should be finished the same morning. The leaves scattering after cleaning should be left as they are. This is an act of a gifted Tea person."

The passage shows the importance of naturalness, which in *chadō* means letting things be and accepting them as they are. Too much human effort breaks the feeling of naturalness and the result is artificial. However, naturalness without human effort is not preferred either. As shown above, a gifted Tea practitioner will clean the *roji* path very carefully, but will not overdo it, and this should be done the

⁶²⁵ Nanpōroku, p. 279.

⁶²⁶ *Shitabarasetchin*: Chanoyu Ichieishū, p. 347.

⁶²⁷ *Chawashigetsushū*, p. 204. In the original text used for this study the words 'evening' and 'noon' were written with the old characters, which were not available to me. The same passage can be also found in *Genryūchawa* with a few variations, such as the tree, which is not identified in the passage above, is said to be an oak, and in *Genryūchawa*, the oak leaves were scattered on the stepping stones. For details, see *Genryūchawa*, p. 465.

evening or morning before the gathering. If some leaves scatter after that, they should be left as they are, thus conveying the idea of creative impulse. The idea of tranquillity (serenity) is also part of the concept of naturalness. Concerning the *roji*, this is emphasised by making it resemble an image of a peaceful mountain path deep in the forest, an image which was disturbed in the passage cited above when the host cleaned the *roji* during the gathering.

Okakura calls the knowledge of how to clean, sweep, dust, and wash as "the art of cleaning". He illustrates his statement with the story about Rikyû, in which Rikyû was watching his son Sôan cleaning the *roji*, and no matter how carefully Sôan cleaned, Rikyû was not satisfied. Finally, Sôan got desperate and asked what was wrong; he had already cleaned every corner of the whole *roji* several times and he himself could not find anything more that could be done. Rikyû scolded Sôan for being such a fool and for not understanding that the true meaning behind the cleaning lies not in how the *roji* should be swept, but that it should be done with the heart so the result is beautiful and natural. Thereupon, Rikyû shook the trees and let the golden autumn leaves scatter all around the *roji*.⁶²⁸

Hisamatsu comments on the idea of naturalness, stating that an intent or a motif for doing something (*sakui*)⁶²⁹ exists in every act and cannot be avoided. This becomes the same as the idea of creativity which he calls being "self-consciously creative".⁶³⁰ In other words, in naturalness 'artificiality' always exists, which comes to mean creativity in the realisation of the self. One example of the creative impulse in naturalness is the story in *Chanoyu Ichieishû*⁶³¹ that illustrates the beauty of the pine needles and their use in decorating *roji*. Only the best needles are selected, and they are washed and scattered on the ground just as they would scatter there naturally. It could be said that one polishes or completes the beauty of nature that nature could not finish by itself, which is called creativity in naturalness.

The significance of this discussion about the idea of *roji* is twofold: first *roji* is approached through its philosophical meaning and then in its concrete appearance. These examples illustrate the feeling of naturalness in *roji*, and possess the idea of letting things be just as they would be in nature, creating the feeling of natural calmness. As shown in the examples, the idea of naturalness without human effort is impossible in Japanese philosophy and this effort is called creativity, or a creative impulse.

⁶²⁸ Okakura 1989, p. 84.

⁶²⁹ This *sakui* is written with the two characters 作意, meaning literally "to create a heart or taste" and its dictionary meaning is "a central theme", "a motif", "a creative impulse"; in contrast the other *sakui* of 作為, which is a compound of two characters of "for the sake of making something", i.e., artificiality.

⁶³⁰ Hisamatsu 1973, p. 356.

⁶³¹ Chanoyu Ichieishû, p. 342.

4.3. JÔ-Ô'S SENSE OF *WABI* IN *CHADÔ* THROUGH DIARIES OF TEA GATHERINGS

In this section, I shall focus discussion on Jô-ô's and Rikyû's sense of *wabi* reflected in the tea-diaries (*chakaiki*), such as *Matsuyakaiki* and *Tennôjiyakaiki*. For the purposes of this study the emphasis is on the sense of *wabi* in the outer appearance of the tea gatherings in general: the utensils used, tea-rooms, or in the style of the *roji* connected to the tea-rooms. The content of the tea-diaries varies a great deal. Sometimes only a few items used are mentioned, but sometimes they contain more information on the meal served, naming even ingredients used for the meal, or discussion carried out during the gathering in the tea-room. It is also understood from the sources that *shoza*, the first half and *goza*, the second half existed then as they do today.

Jô-ô's tea gatherings (*chakai*) that are known today were recorded between the years 1542-1555. Altogether, 13 gatherings that Jô-ô hosted himself or to which he was invited as a guest could be found in the classics used for this study. In this section, Jô-ô's sense of *wabi* is approached through tea gatherings by comparing his first and last tea gatherings. This illustrates how Jô-ô's tea changed from the luxurious (*hanakôyô*) toward the cold, lean, and withered (*karekashikete samukare*) that was the ultimate goal of Jô-ô's sense of *wabi*. A detailed list of the tea utensils known to be owned, used, or appreciated by Jô-ô, according to the classical sources used, is included as an appendix to this study, supporting the information and discussion based on Jô-ô's tea gatherings. In this section, tea utensils are not discussed from the historical/archaeological point of view with detailed information concerning the origins of the utensils. Rather, this approach focuses on introducing Jô-ô's sense of *wabi* in tea gatherings by examining what type of tea utensils he used, owned, and admired. Based on this information, conclusions concerning Jô-ô's taste of *wabi* in *chadô* are set forth and examined.

4.3.1. The Master's Reflection on His Choice of Tea Utensils

As shown earlier in this study, Jô-ô's philosophical ideas about the *wabi* style of Tea were strongly influenced by *Eigataigai*. From this source he adapted and revised certain ideas of poetry suitable for *chadô* (see sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2). Jô-ô also used Shinkei's expression to illustrate his ultimate goal of Tea: that it should contain the sense of the cold, lean, and withered (*karekashikete samukare*) in style and in the appearance of *chadô*.⁶³² For Jô-ô, the basis of understanding

⁶³² Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 97: 心敬法師連歌ノ語曰、連歌ハ枯カシケテ寒カレト云、茶湯ノ果モ其如ク成タキト紹鷗常ニ云ト 'Renga master Shinkei says, renga poetry

beauty seems to be in the 'old style'⁶³³ – what he calls a proper style (*shôfûtei*)⁶³⁴. Jô-ô emphasises that before one is able to create something new and use one's creativity in selecting new tea utensils, or even making them oneself, one needs to study the proper style thoroughly to understand their beauty. In *chadô*, this means studying old tea utensils that were mostly Chinese (*karamono*) masterpieces or old famed utensils. After mastering this, it becomes possible to move toward the *wabi* style of Tea and create something new and original. The proper style, *shôfûtei*, represented something luxurious for Jô-ô, but in contrast *shôfûtei*, the creative *wabi* style should give an impression of modesty in feeling and appearance⁶³⁵ (see Section 3.1).

In *Yamanoue Sôjiki* it says that Jô-ô died at the age of fifty-four when the practice of the 'proper style' (*shôfûtei*) was flourishing in his *chadô*:

紹鷗ハ五十四ニテ遠行、茶湯ハ正風体盛りニ死去也、物ニタトヘハ、
吉野ノ花盛ヲ過テ、夏モ過、秋ノ月、紅葉ニ似リ、⁶³⁶

Jô-ô passed away at the age of fifty-four when the proper style (*shôfûtei*) was flourishing in his *chanoyu*. To illustrate his [*shôfûtei*] in concrete examples; it is like the time when the full bloom of the cherry blossoms in Yoshino is over, when the summer has passed; it is like the image of the autumn moon and crimson leaves.

This passage shows that Jô-ô's proper style did not mean something vigorously luxurious such as the image of the cherry blossoms in full bloom in the beautifully glittering spring sunshine, nor the beauty of the summer when nature itself is in full bloom and the energy and vitality of the summer can be sensed everywhere. Even though the crimson leaves are rich in colours they convey the idea of

should be cold and withered; in the same way Jô-ô has always said that *chanoyu* should become like this in the end.'

⁶³³ Eikataigai, p. 493: 情は新しきを以て先となし、詞は旧きを以て用ゆべし。風体は堪能の先達の秀歌に効ふべし。'Let your mind accept the new but use words of old. General appearance, learn from the superior songs of the old great masters.'

⁶³⁴ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 93. See also another version of this in Jô-ô Ibun: Mata Jittei no Koto, pp. 28-29: 正風体ナルハ日々幾度モ可然 'The correct way of doing this is appropriate every day and all the time.'

⁶³⁵ Jô-ô Ibun: Mata Jittei no Koto, p. 27: 目聞 茶湯道具の事は不及申、目にて見る程の物の善悪を見分、人の調る程の物をしほらしく数寄に入て好事、専 'Connoisseurship / It does not concern only tea utensils. It is an ability to distinguish [to know] what is good or bad in all kinds of things that might come to our eye, as well as meekly [unassumingly] using things others have presented as favoured utensils and enjoying them. These qualities are essential. See also Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 93: 珍シキ方術ハ十度ニ一度カ二度カ、名物持ニテ若キ出仕ノ衆ハ三度モ四度モ珍敷方術イタス也、物ヲ入テ 籠相、ニ見エルヤウニスルカ専一也 'One should not display rare things more than two or three times out of ten. A young host who owns famed utensils can increase the number of gatherings to three or four where rare utensils are used. It is most important to arrange objects so that they look very modest.'

⁶³⁶ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 99.

withering away and scattering, and therefore, they lack the vitality and energy which the image of spring contains. The feeling in autumn is more stable and calm. Moreover, in the light of the dim autumn moon, colours of the crimson leaves lose their power and they look soft and convey calm and even a modest feeling. This kind of image describing Jô-ô's sense of beauty is similar to the idea of *yûgen* of his time: the profound beauty of luxury, charm, and elegance containing something mysterious that arises from a calm dimness. It could be called the beauty of subtle darkness. The word *yûgen* is explained in various ways⁶³⁷ and its meaning has changed over the ages, but according to Hisamatsu, in *chadô* and Zen aesthetics, it means a "subtle profundity" or "deep reserve", or "calm darkness."⁶³⁸ Jô-ô's proper style comes to mean the luxury and grace steeped in the calm darkness that also conveys the feeling of loneliness such as in Teika's poem "*miwata-seba...*", which is given in *Nanpôroku* to illustrate Jô-ô's sense of *wabi* in *chadô*.⁶³⁹

Jô-ô emphasised the significance of understanding the beauty of the 'proper style' in *chadô*, meaning that understanding the beauty of the old Chinese utensils is essential, and therefore, he also owned many of these tea utensils. In *Yamanoue Sôjiki* we read:

堺武野紹鷗名人也、名物ノ道具六十種所持ス、⁶⁴⁰

Takeno Jô-ô became a great master of Tea. He owned more than sixty famed tea utensils.

Even though Jô-ô was gifted in *chadô* as being a master of Tea with the skilled eye for distinguishing good items from bad, he was also blessed by a wealthy family. Both of these qualities made it possible for him to be able to buy rare or famed tea utensils. Despite this, the old masters, such as Jô-ô and Rikyû, have emphasised the idea of modesty and simplicity in Tea as follows:

⁶³⁷ Ramirez-Christensen 1994, pp. 51, 168, 216, 248, 266. Ramirez-Christensen calls *yûgen* in poetic tradition an aura of feelings, aesthetic beauty, ineffable depth of feeling, thought beyond the realm of both art and thought. She also finds aspects of a romantic mood and being steeped in charm and grace. In *yûgen* there is something mysterious and it has a connection to the feeling of *sabi* (austere loneliness). For the beauty of *yûgen*, see Izutsu and Izutsu 1981, p. 28: "The beauty of *yûgen* is faint, delicate, suggestive because it is based on the awareness of insubstantiality and delimitation of the human existential field. It is a beauty of spiritual aspiration and yearning motivated by the desire to have sensuous images of the non-articulated, non-sensuous reality of eternal silence and enigma in the midst of the phenomenal world."

⁶³⁸ Hisamatsu 1971, pp. 33-34.

⁶³⁹ Nanpôroku, p. 16.

⁶⁴⁰ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 97. In this paragraph the famed utensils Jô-ô owned are not identified. For more details, see the list of Jô-ô's utensils in the Appendix of this study which covers all the classical sources used.

古人ノ云、茶湯名人ニ成テ後ハ、道具一種サエアレハ、佗数奇スルカ
専一也、⁶⁴¹

An old master says: After one has become a master of Tea (*meijin*), if one owns even one utensil, first and foremost doing *wabi* style of Tea (*wabisuki*) is the most important.

'An old master' refers to Rikyû, whose disciple Sôji was, or to Jô-ô who was a teacher of Rikyû, or even to Shukô.⁶⁴² This passage coheres with Jô-ô's idea of Tea where famed utensils as a base for understanding *wabi* beauty is emphasised. Jô-ô also saw that it was essential to attain freedom from the desire of owning more and more famous tea utensils. The passage above could also refer to Rikyû, who admired the austere style of Tea, or to Shukô who is known by the saying that 'it is appropriate to tie a praised horse to a thatched hut'. Therefore, in order to keep things modest, even if one owns one famed utensil one should engage in the *wabi* style of Tea. As mentioned above, Jô-ô admonished against a lack of care in judging tea utensils for their fame or name.

A similar idea of modesty in judging tea utensils is included in the following passage of *Yamanoue Sôjiki*:

唐物代物ノ高下ニヨラス、御床ニ飾る御道具ヲ名物ト云、…当代千萬
ノ道具ハ皆紹鷗ノ目明ヲ以テ被召出ル也、⁶⁴³

The old Chinese utensils (*karamono*) should not be judged by their high or low price; all the utensils that are placed in the *tokonoma* can be called famed utensils... Most utensils of the present time are chosen by Jô-ô, who had a skilled eye for art (who was a connoisseur of art).⁶⁴⁴

Most of the Chinese utensils (*karamono*) were so-called 'famed utensils' (*meibutsu*) or 'the great famed utensils' (*ômeibutsu*). However, according to this passage, all utensils that were placed in the *tokonoma* should be considered to be 'famed utensils' despite their cost or origin. The passage also suggests the idea that Jô-ô, who had a skilled eye for art pieces, chose a lot of new utensils to be used in Tea. The utensils Jô-ô owned or admired were of various kinds: Chinese, *Nanban* and Japanese, as the list of Jô-ô's utensils in the Appendix shows.

⁶⁴¹ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 97.

⁶⁴² Sen 1998, p. 152. According to Sen, 'old master' refers in this context specifically to Jô-ô.

⁶⁴³ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 54.

⁶⁴⁴ Concerning the last sentence saying that most utensils of the present time are the ones that Jô-ô chose with his 'skilled eye' as the utensils to be used in *chadô*, see the unpublished manuscripts: Fushinan Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 2, and Sonkeikaku Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 2. In both of these sources this passage is given in a different part of the text. It is almost the same: 'most of the utensils of the present day, even the tiniest utensils, are the ones that Jô-ô chose with his skilled eye and they became favoured utensils.'

4.3.2. Comparison of Two Tea Gatherings Hosted by Jô-ô

In the records of the tea gatherings, six gatherings that Jô-ô hosted himself can be found, and within these the first and the last recorded gatherings will be examined here. According to the records of tea gatherings used for this study, Jô-ô held his first tea gathering at the age of forty-one (we can presume that he had had tea gatherings before that, too, but they were either not recorded or not found) and the last at the age of fifty-four, just twenty-seven days before his death. In this section, these two tea gatherings of Jô-ô are discussed in order to explain the change in his Tea and utensils used. In the *comments* at the end of this section, I will discuss in more detail the general atmosphere and the nature of Jô-ô's *wabi chadô* based on the information in the list of Jô-ô's tea utensils found in the Appendix of this study. The first recorded tea gathering (*chakai*) of Jô-ô is found in *Hisamasa Chakaiki* which is included in *Matsuyakaiki*.

(天文十一年)
 壬寅卯月三日
 一 界紹鷗へ ハチヤ又五郎 久政 少清三人
 波ノ画
 眞釜 占切水指 ホウノサキ 台天目
 円座肩衝、方盆ニ、
 御茶過テ、松島⁶⁴⁵

(On *Tenbun* eleventh year, 1542)

Fourth month third day

[Hosted by] Jô-ô from Sakai [Guests] Hachiya Gorô, Hisamasa, and Shôsei *Nami no e* [hanging scroll: "Picture of Waves" by Gyokukan (玉石間)⁶⁴⁶ who lived during the Southern Song dynasty].

Shinnari kettle, *Shimekiri* fresh-water container, *Bônosaki* [waste-water container] *Tenmoku* tea bowl with a stand⁶⁴⁷

Enza katatsuki [tea-caddy for thick tea (*chaire*): 'shouldered' style of ceramic called *Enza*, Round Seat.]⁶⁴⁸ Placed on the square tray.

After tea was served: *Matsushima tsubo* [a large tea jar was set out.]⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁵ Hisamasa Chakaiki in *Matsuyakaiki*, p. 4. The record of the gathering contains detailed information about the size of the utensils, the clay, the glaze, brocade bags of the *chaire* and *tsubo*, as well as food and sweets served on that day. This information has been left out of the citation because it is not considered relevant to the result illustrated with this citation.

⁶⁴⁶ 玉石間 (Gyokukan). The latter Chinese character has *ishi* (石) as a radical, but this character was not available to me.

⁶⁴⁷ *Shinnari* style of kettle: see picture in *Genshoku Chadô Daijiten*, p. 219. The *shimekiri* style of fresh-water container has a bag shape with a tightened mouth. Usually this style of container is *Nanban* ware used for either cold water or waste-water containers. *Bônosaki*: usually metal, waste-water container; see picture in *Chanoyu no Utsuwa*, p. 33. *Tenmoku* tea bowl and a stand: originally Chinese tea bowls with a stand used in the most formal styles of serving tea. See picture "*Inaba Tenmoku*" in *Genshoku Chadô Daijiten*, p. 74.

At the end of the record there is a note that on the previous evening, Jô-ô's servant visited the guest's houses. The guests wished to see either the Picture of Waves or the famous large jar for tea leaves, called *matsushima*. Since the guests could not agree which one they would prefer to see most, they asked would it be possible to see them both. Jô-ô was delighted and highly pleased to set both out to see.⁶⁴⁹

This gathering has a formal feeling and is representative of Jô-ô's proper style, *shôfûtei*. The hanging scroll is a famous Chinese piece, the kettle is also a formal style of kettle, as is the *tenmoku* tea bowl with a stand. The *Enza katatsuki* tea-caddy for thick tea is placed on the tray, not straight on the *tatami*, emphasising the formal feeling of the gathering. After the tea was served, Jô-ô displayed the famous large jar called *Matsushima*. Usually, large jars are displayed in formal gatherings and above all, in the *kuchikiri chakai*, 'opening of the mouth' of the tea jar, the first gathering in the new year when the fresh tea leaves are used for the first time. This gathering is, without a doubt, very formal in feeling and in style. Six out of seven utensils were of Chinese origin or famed utensils. Only the *shimekiri* fresh-water container, which is a *Nanban* ware from South-east Asia, is a *wabi* style of utensil adapted to be used in Tea outside of its original use. However, the waste-water container, *bônosaki*, could be Chinese, Korean or even South-east Asian and because of its calm and modest spirit it could be included among the *wabi* utensils. In the formal style of Tea, the fresh-water container, waste-water container and a stand for *shashaku* (water scoop) and *hibashi* (metal chopsticks for handling charcoal) were originally Chinese bronze,⁶⁵⁰ and therefore, utensils of metal or old bronze, are considered to be more formal in nature than ceramic ones, even if they are not of Chinese origin. Though, the *bônosaki* might be Chinese and old bronze, which is usually considered to be formal, it is also quite simple in form and is quiet and modest in feeling, all of which is consistent with descriptions of the sense of *wabi* in utensils (see Chapter 6).

The last recorded tea gathering, *chakai*, of Jô-ô is found in *Imai Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*.⁶⁵¹ It is dated just few weeks before Jô-ô's death.

⁶⁴⁸ *Enza katatsuki* tea-caddy for thick tea; See Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 82. According to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, one *Enza katatsuki* style of *chaire* was owned by Jô-ô. Unfortunately, it does not exist anymore, but for an illustration of the shape of the *chaire*, see Rikyû's *Enza katatsuki chaire* from the Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 105.

⁶⁴⁹ Hisamasa Chakaiki, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁰ See picture in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 124.

⁶⁵¹ Imai Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki in CKZ 10.

同⁶⁵²十月二日 紹鷗老御会 宗久 宗二
 一イロリ 細クサリ 小アラレ⁶⁵³釜、水二升余入、ツリテ、
 一床 定家色紙、天の原、下絵二月ヲ絵ク（画）、手水ノ間ニ巻テ
 一槌ノ花入 紫銅無紋、四方盆ニ、水仙生テ、
 一円座カタツキ 水サシ イモカシラ
 一シノ（信野）茶ワン 備前メンツウ⁶⁵⁴

Same year [1555], the second day of the tenth month Hosted by aged Jô-ô and the guests were Sôkyû [Imai Sôkyû] and Sôji [Yamanoue Sôji].

- *irori*⁶⁵⁵ [a sunken hearth], thin chains, *koarare* kettle ['little hail' type of the kettle] contains about two *masu* [containers] of water, [the kettle is] hung over the hearth [with thin chains].
- in the *tokonoma* Teika's *shikishi* called *Amanohara*, the picture below is a moon. The scroll is taken away during the middle interlude.
- *Tsuchi*⁶⁵⁶ style of flower vase old bronze, no decorations on a square tray, holds narcissus.
- *Enza katatsuki chaire* [ceramic tea-caddy for thick tea explained in the previous tea gathering; there is a drawing in the diary], *Imogashira*⁶⁵⁷ fresh-water container
- *Shino* tea bowl | *Bizen mentsû* [waste-water container].⁶⁵⁸

In this last recorded tea gathering of Jô-ô, the general atmosphere is more informal than in the first recorded gathering, and it is exemplary of Jô-ô's preference for the

⁶⁵² *Onaji* refers to the *Tenbun* twenty-fourth year mentioned earlier, that is the year 1555. This can also be called the beginning of the *Kôji* era that changed in the same year and in the tenth month, too.

⁶⁵³ The Chinese character for the word *arare*, which means "hail", was not available to me. *Koarare* kettle: See *Genshoku Chadô Daijiten*, p. 35, which has a picture of a regular size of the *arare* style of the kettle. The one mentioned in the diary text is a similar kind but smaller.

⁶⁵⁴ Imai Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki, p. 6.

⁶⁵⁵ *Irori*: A sunken hearth used in old farm houses was a model for the *ro* style of hearth. In Jô-ô's tea gatherings the name *ro* was not yet used.

⁶⁵⁶ Imai Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki, p. 6. See drawing of the flower vase and the *chaire*. The record contains information on the size of the *chaire* which has been omitted because it is considered irrelevant.

⁶⁵⁷ *Imogashira*: See picture in Chanoyu no Utsuwa, p. 65. See also *Genshoku Chadô Daijiten*, s.v. *imogashira*. A 'potato head' shape of container, which can be either a fresh-water container as in this case, or is also used for a *chaire* (tea-caddy for thick tea). *Nanban imogashira* is one of the famed utensils (*meibutsu*) and the most famous one. Yet the shape is also used for a blue-and-white China porcelain (*sometsuke*) fresh-water container, often having landscape drawing as decoration (*sansui*), and for a *Seto* ceramic *chaire*.

⁶⁵⁸ *Shino* tea bowl: *Genshoku Chadô Daijiten*, s.v. *Shino chawan* and *Shino yaki*. *Shino chawan*: originally a Chinese tea bowl that appears in the tea diaries during the years 1532-1592. It is named according for a person called *Shino* and the bowl was presumably white or blue celadon. The shape of the bowl is not known for sure but it is supposed to have been a *tenmoku* style of bowl. Nowadays, if a *Shino* bowl is mentioned, it refers to the Japanese *Shino*, the rough and simple style of ceramics that had been influenced by *Oribe* ceramics. The origins of the Japanese *Shino* are in the *Mino* prefecture and it has been made since Rikyû's times. The glaze is basically whitish but it has shades of pink, grey, black, or brown. Glaze is quite thick and this type of item may be with or without decorations (drawings). It is uncertain which *Shino* is mentioned here in the text.

style of chill, lean, and withered in his Tea. First of all, the fireplace is the so-called *irori* hearth which has a rustic feeling. The kettle is small, conveying more the spirit of *wabi* than large and massive kettles used in the large tea-room containing enough water for many guests, and it is hung over the fireplace on chains as the kettles in the old Japanese farmhouses, strengthening the sense of rural austerity. In the *tokonoma* there is a Japanese scroll instead of a famed Chinese one, having a poem by Abe no Nakamaro known by the name *Amanohara*, Fields of Heaven (the real name of the poem is 'looking at the moon in China and composing a poem...'), and it was inscribed on the *shikishi* by the poet Fujiwara Teika with a drawing of the moon. The fresh-water container is potato-shaped, *imogashira* (Plate 20c), and supposedly a *Nanban* ware which is the most famous of this type of fresh-water container. The waste-water container is Japanese *Bizen mentsû*, which transmits the spirit of *wabi* in every sense by being a rough Japanese style of ceramics. The shape of the utensil is adapted from a pilgrim's eating bowl. As this shows, objects possessing the austere sense of *wabi* have notably increased in his later years compared with the first tea gathering cited above.

Utensils belonging to the group of Chinese pieces or famed utensils include a *tsuchi* flower vase of old bronze, *Enza katatsuki* tea-caddy for thick tea, which was used in the previously cited gathering, too, and a *shino* tea bowl, which is most probably a Chinese celadon type of bowl similar to Shukô's celadon. However, each of these utensils do not represent the Chinese or famed utensils in the traditional sense. The *tsuchi* flower vase, even though it is old bronze and placed on the tray, did not have any decorations (according to the drawing⁶⁵⁹ of the flower vase included in the record of this gathering), and therefore, it has a calm and modest feeling (see Section 6.2.3). An interesting notion is that the *Enza katatsuki* tea-caddy for thick tea, even though it is a Chinese piece, is used this time without a tray, placing it straight on the *tatami*, making its use more informal compared to Jô-ô's first cited gathering. The tea bowl called *shino*, whose origins are uncertain, is assumed to be a white or blue celadon type of bowl with the shape of a *tenmoku* bowl. Perhaps it looked quite similar to Shukô's celadon bowls. This study considers this explanation to be closer to the truth than other claims, such as those made by Narukawa, Kazue (see Appendix: *shino* tea bowl utensil no. 52), and Kuwata,⁶⁶⁰ that the *shino* tea bowl would be a Japanese *Mino* type of bowl, but I do not deny the possibility of this explanation either. If this *shino* bowl is a Chinese item similar to a *tenmoku* bowl, it is used in Jô-ô's gathering cited above in a very informal way – without a stand. This leads to the conclusion that two out of the three Chinese pieces used in this gathering were used in an informal way

⁶⁵⁹ Imai Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki, p. 6.

⁶⁶⁰ Kuwata 1987, p. 77.

and one of them, the *tsuchi* flower vase, was used in the formal style with a tray, even though the piece itself possessed a calm and modest spirit of *wabi*.

A *shino* tea bowl is also mentioned in *Sôtatsu Takaiki* in *Tennôjiyakaiki*⁶⁶¹ where descriptions of Jô-ô's tea gathering in 1553, twelfth month ninth day, can be found. Jô-ô used *daitenmoku* (*tenmoku* tea bowl with a stand) and at the end of the diary text it says that the tea bowl was *shino* and the *chasen* (tea whisk) and the *chashaku* (tea scoop) were placed inside the bowl. It can be understood from the record that during the first half of the gathering (so-called *shoza* when the *kaiseki* meal is served) the thick-tea container called *nasubitsubo* was displayed on the tray in the *tokonoma*. This suggests that the *chaire* is a very precious and rare piece. During the second half, two separate bowls were used: a *shino* type of bowl and a *daitenmoku*, meaning that both thick tea and thin tea were served. In the notes for the diary, it is explained that the *shino* bowl was a bowl that belonged to the Shino family, and more precisely to Shino Sôshin who was the founder of the *Shino* school of incense appreciation (*kôdô*: literally 'The Way of Incense'). It is said that Sôshin was an acquaintance of Shukô and that he owned many famed utensils. Therefore, this *shino* tea bowl can be whatever: it may be either Japanese or a Chinese *tenmoku* type of celadon *shino*, or another kind of Japanese or Chinese bowl owned by Sôshin. It seems, however, that the *shino* bowl was considered more informal than the one used in *daitenmoku*, which suggests that *shino* may possess the same sense of informality as Shukô's celadon or Jô-ô's white *tenmoku* (Plate 24a) do in having, for example, cracks in the glaze just as is characteristic of some *Raku* bowls. Or, it could be a type of Japanese bowl made in rural kilns, and therefore ranked lower than Chinese tea bowls during Jô-ô's times.

The most interesting item used in this gathering is Teika's *shikishi* (a square type of Japanese paper attached to the scroll, which is also called *ôgura shikishi* in the records) containing the following poem:

あまの原	When one turns to
ふりさけみれば	the distant fields of the sky;
春日なる	Is this the moon
みかさの山に	that has risen beyond
いでし月かも ⁶⁶²	the Mikasa mountains in Kasuga?

The use of the *Amanohara* scroll holds great importance. In this tea gathering, for the first time, Jô-ô used a scroll other than Chinese. Toda has studied Sanetaka's diaries and found that in 1530 in the twelfth month eighth day, Jô-ô visited Sane-

⁶⁶¹ Sôtatsu Takaiki, p. 37. See also Kuwata 1958, pp. 122-123. Kuwata has probably mistaken the source and refers to *Tsuda Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki*, not to *Sôtatsu Takaiki*.

⁶⁶² *Kokinwakashû* 1981, p. 110 (Poem no. 406 in scroll no. 9).

taka's house and was shown Teika's *shikishi* with a skillfully painted picture.⁶⁶³ It remains uncertain when Jô-ô received this *shikishi* from Sanetaka and whether it was the same scroll, *Amanohara*, used in the gathering cited above. By hanging Teika's *shikishi* in the *tokonoma* of the tea-room, Jô-ô started a new trend among the Tea practitioners:⁶⁶⁴ during the thirty years from 1557-1587 different kinds of Teika's *shikishis* were used numerous times in tea gatherings.⁶⁶⁵ Most of them contain only a poem without a picture, but the one Jô-ô used is different because it also had a skillful drawing of the moon at the bottom.

Scholars have tried to solve the puzzle: What was the reason for this extraordinary choice of a poem for a scroll used in what was Jô-ô's last recorded tea gathering? (See Section 4.2.2: usually only a Zen monk's calligraphy is used, with the exception of poets' writings on the Way.) Toda suggests that the *shikishi* Sanetaka showed to Jô-ô in 1530 and the one Jô-ô used in his gathering in 1555 are the same. He argues further that even though Jô-ô's Tea looked so elegant, he had overcome a lot of adversities in his life, and therefore, the period in his youth when Jô-ô studied poetry under Sanetaka came perhaps to symbolise the fulfilment of his dreams and his ideals. Jô-ô never abandoned what he learnt under Sanetaka, whose influence over him seemed to be strong. Toda indicates that Jô-ô not only greatly admired Teika, but also respected him, and his use of Teika's *shikishi* was a starting point for valuing Teika and his ideas on Tea.⁶⁶⁶

Kazue⁶⁶⁷ considers the use of Teika's *shikishi* signifying Jô-ô's sense of *wabi* Tea. For Narukawa,⁶⁶⁸ this act proves that Jô-ô's idea of beauty is based on classical poetry, and by using Teika in the tea-room he combined this idea of beauty with Tea. This combination (poetry and Tea) signifies the start of the "Japanization" in Tea after the long use of famous Chinese utensils.

However, if Jô-ô used Teika's *shikishi* just to show the "Japanization" of Tea and also the movement toward the *wabi* style of Tea, he could also show this by using Japanese tea utensils such as *Bizen*, *Shigaraki*, *Iga*, and *Seto*, among others. Shukô had already used Zen-related proverbs in the *tokonoma* instead of Chinese

⁶⁶³ Toda 1969, pp. 40, 81.

⁶⁶⁴ Sekishû Sanbyakujô, p. 157. Here it says that after Jô-ô used Teika's *shikishi* the other devotees of Tea started to use them to a great extent.

⁶⁶⁵ For more detailed studies, see, for example, records of *Tennôjiya Kaiki: Sôtatsu Chanoyu Nikki Takaiki* in 1559, 1560, 1563; *Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Takaiki* in 1566, 1569, 1572, 1574, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583; *Sôtatsu Chanoyu Nikki Jikaiki* in 1557; *Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Jikaiki* in 1572, 1578, 1582, 1587; *Matsuya Kaiki: Hisamasa Kaiki* in 1586; *Hisayoshi Chakaiki* in 1618; *Hisashige Chakaiki* on 1632; *Imai Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki* in 1579 and in 1555. See also Tsutsui 1992, p. 193.

⁶⁶⁶ Toda 1969, pp. 81, 87.

⁶⁶⁷ Kazue 1985, pp. 121-122.

⁶⁶⁸ Narukawa 1983, pp. 61-62. See Kuwata 1987, pp. 76-77. Kuwata sees this also as a sign of Japanization of Tea. For more details, see Kuwata 1958, pp. 141-143.

picture scrolls. The Zen related proverbs emphasise the philosophical values behind Tea. Jô-ô could have followed these tracts further, but he chose a poem by Teika. This kind of scroll had not been used in Tea earlier, because Tea was strongly influenced by Zen, and therefore, poems presented worldly affairs that one was supposed to leave behind in order to attain absolute freedom of the mind.

This study agrees with Toda in his opinion that Jô-ô admired and respected Teika (see Section 3.1.1), and the period he studied poetry under Sanetaka came to signify, in his later years, a kind of golden youth when everything was simple and he had dreams to look forward to. Even though this is all speculation, using Teika's *shikishi* could also signify a new start. In this sense, it could symbolise the end of preparatory studies, i.e., the end of practising the proper style, using mainly the famed Chinese utensils in Tea, and a new start for the cold, lean and withered, the style of Tea he wished to achieve.

Since it is known that Jô-ô had studied Zen,⁶⁶⁹ the use of Teika's *shikishi* might suggest the idea of the circle used in Zen teachings. The circle is used to show that beginning and end are the same, or that things before *satori* (enlightenment) and after *satori* are the same.⁶⁷⁰ In Jô-ô's Tea this comes to mean an end of the old style and a beginning of the new: in everyday practice everything remains the same even though the content is not the same any more. One's heart (*kokoro*) has changed.⁶⁷¹ And, moreover, in the end it becomes essential to reflect on one's teacher's teachings to understand that 'the water of the container is reflecting in that container', which is, according to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, a secret teaching of Jô-ô.⁶⁷² In Zen, this is explained similarly by saying "returning to the root, we get the essence".⁶⁷³ Perhaps Jô-ô returned to his sources by using Teika's *shikishi*, and mirrored what he had learnt during these years through Teika's teachings again. This act was not just from respect for Teika, but also was a vital step in order to move toward the true mastery of Tea and the style of chill, lean, and withered. The content of the poem also signifies changing, in a way that the moon is the same but one's life and the circumstances are not the same any more. It also suggests that because of passing of time, even the moon is not the same any more (the idea of impermanence); just as the picture of the moon signifies reflecting, so Jô-ô reflected his teacher's teachings in his Tea.

Jô-ô's use of Teika's *shikishi* might also have shown respect for his teacher and for highly valuing things of Japanese origins on par with the famed Chinese

⁶⁶⁹ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 95.

⁶⁷⁰ Zengoiten, p. 122.

⁶⁷¹ Legge 1960, p. 318 (17.2): 子曰、性相近也、習相遠也 "Master said, 'By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart.'"

⁶⁷² Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 95: 一器ノ水一器ニ移ス.

⁶⁷³ Blyth 1960, p. 69.

utensils (which were praised earlier), not only in respect for Teika as Toda suggests. This statement is supported by the sentence in *Chaji Shûran*, Chapter 3:

小倉色紙数奇に掛るハ、天の原ただ一幅なり、これ天下一なり、日本の唐ものとは、此ことなりしと紹鷗いへり、利休ハ八重葎を天下一といへり⁶⁷⁴

Teika's *ôgura shikishis* can be used in *sukichadô*. There exists only one scroll (*shikishi*) called *Amanohara* and this piece is the most gracious under the heaven. It could be called "a Japanese *karamono*" [masterpiece or famed utensil], says Jô-ô. Rikyû preferred Teika's [*shikishi* called] *Yaemugura*⁶⁷⁵ being the one and gracious under heaven.

The word *sukichadô* is used here as a synonym for *wabichadô*, meaning that in the *wabi* style of Tea *ôgura shikishis* can be used. Saying that Teika's *Amanohara shikishi* is *tenka ichi*, 'best under the heaven', shows that Jô-ô truly respected this piece and valued it highly. For him it was the only one that could be used in the *wabi* style of the little tea-room and still provoke no contradiction with the atmosphere of the room. There could also be an attempt to create a new group of famed Japanese utensils that did not exist before Jô-ô. Before this, the famed utensils were only Chinese masterpieces, while the other foreign and Japanese utensils were included in the group of *suki* utensils, one's favoured utensils, containing a special kind of aesthetic value such as *wabi* beauty. Like the old Chinese famed utensils made by the Great Old Masters, Jô-ô praised Teika's *shikishi* as being one of the Japanese famed utensils made by the Great Old Master – Teika.⁶⁷⁶ Respecting the old and learning from the Great Masters is one of the main themes in Jô-ô's philosophy behind *chadô*. In Jô-ô's estimation, Teika was considered to be the Great Old Master. Jô-ô was originally a *renga* teacher, had studied under Sanetaka, and finally understood the deep meaning of Tea because of *Eigataigai*. Therefore, Teika's works could be considered as masterpieces or so-called "Japanese *karamono*".

This study holds that the use of Teika's *shikishi* has a more profound meaning than showing the new movement toward the use of Japanese utensils in Tea. It signifies the conclusion of Jô-ô's extensive studies in Tea and poetry, coming to one end of the studies in order to move to a higher state of learning, and finally becoming the true Master of Tea, and through this, attaining the desired ultimate state of cold, lean, and withered (see Section 3.1.2). More importantly, he created

⁶⁷⁴ Chaji Shûran 1996, p. 74. This is also noted by Tsutsui 1992, p. 192.

⁶⁷⁵ *Yaemugura*: See Rikyû Koji Densho, p. 6. Teika's *shikishi Yaemugura* is mentioned here. Rikyû says that within Teika's different *shikishis*, this is the one that could be used in (*wabi* style of) Tea.

⁶⁷⁶ *Eikataigai*, p. 493; *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, p. 94. This statement is based on the information in *Eigataigai* and *Yamanoue Sôjiki* (see Section 3.1.1) which advise the 'use the words of old' and 'learn the general appearance from the Old Great Masters'.

a new group of "Japanese *karamono*" that was like a conclusion and reflection of the one who inspired his poetry and Tea: Fujiwara Teika.

4.3.2.1. Comments

A clear tendency from luxurious Tea (*shōfūtei*) toward the rustic chill, lean and withered style of Tea is seen in Jō-ō's Tea, even though the general atmosphere is rather formal. The list of Jō-ō's tea utensils (see Appendix) that he owned or admired and the information based on those tea gatherings he hosted⁶⁷⁷ shows that more than half of the utensils Jō-ō used or admired were of Chinese origin or used in the formal style of the Tea, while the other half were still Japanese or the so-called *wabi* style of utensils used in the informal style of Tea. One reason for the sense of luxury in Jō-ō's Tea might be that the greater number of the most visible objects, such as those utensils placed into the *tokonoma*, that he used in his Tea were Chinese or famed utensils. The *tokonoma* is like the heart of the tea-room, and objects placed there, such as hanging scrolls and flower vases, are set out to be examined carefully and to be admired for their beauty. According to tea diaries where scrolls are mentioned, Jō-ō used three times out of four a Chinese scroll and only once used a Japanese *shikishi*. The *shikishi* was inscribed with a poem by Fujiwara Teika.

Flower vases are also placed in the *tokonoma*. Those Jō-ō used in his tea gatherings were all Chinese, as were a majority of the flower vases he owned. According to the list of Jō-ō's tea utensils in the Appendix, he seems to prefer Chinese old bronze or celadon vases. This is also shown in the records of the tea gatherings he hosted: in four gatherings out of six he used an old bronze flower vase and in one gathering a celadon vase. Besides these formal flower vases, he

⁶⁷⁷ According to information remaining today, there were six gatherings hosted by Jō-ō, five where he was the first guest and one where he was invited as an accompanied guest. The information on those tea gatherings Jō-ō himself hosted are more relevant for this study than the others even though nowadays utensils used in Tea are selected and arranged first of all to please the first guest and then the other guests. However, the true meaning of Tea was not to please on purpose but to attain the state of mind where host and guests have a mutual understanding naturally without any force such that 'a heart is not aware of its being a heart' (Jō-ō Wabi no Fumi, p. 17). See also Nanpōroku, p. 5. On the other hand, there is no detailed information remaining about the whole course of tea events at that time. The tea gatherings used for this study are as follows: 1) Hisamasa Chakaiki in Matsuyakaiki, p. 4. *Tenbun* eleventh year (1542) fourth month third day. 2) Sōtatsu Chanoyu Nikki: Takaiki in Tennōjyakaiki, p. 6. *Tenbun* eighteenth year (1550) second month thirteenth day. 3) In Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki, p. 3. *Tenbun* twenty-third year (1554) first month twenty-eighth day. 4) In Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki, p. 6. *Tenbun* twenty-fourth year (1555) tenth month second day. 5) Sōtatsu Chanoyu Nikki: Jikaiki in Tennōjyakaiki, p. 29. *Tenbun* twenty-second year (1553) twelfth month seventeenth day. 6) Sōtatsu Chanoyu Nikki: Takaiki in Tennōjyakaiki, p. 37. *Tenbun* twenty-second year (1553) twelfth month ninth day.

owned informal flower holders, such as baskets, *Bizen*, *Iga*, and *Shigaragi*, but it is not known how and when he used them. One exception is the flower vase called *katekifune*, a hanging boat shape of flower vase, which was made of bronze but was originally an object of kitchen ware from South-east Asia, which illustrates the fact that Jô-ô was very skillful in adopting new utensils to be used in *chadô* (Section 4.3.1).

Another important utensil used during the tea gathering is the tea-caddy for thick tea, *chaire*. In all tea gatherings Jô-ô hosted, he used Chinese tea-caddies even though he owned Japanese items, too. He used a little round-shaped container at four out of six tea gatherings he hosted (*bunrin chaire* [apple shape] once, and *nasu chaire* [eggplant shape] three times). *Enza chaire*, which is noticeably bigger than the *nasu* type of *chaire*, was used twice in his gatherings. The *Enza chaire* also has also a round shape similar to the *nasu* type, but it differs from the *nasu* in having strong shoulders (*katatsuki*) and being more masculine in appearance. The list shows that Jô-ô preferred Chinese waste-water containers (*kensui*), even though he used Japanese *Bizen* and *mentsû* in two of his six tea gatherings. He used a *bônosaki* waste-water container twice, which was supposedly made of a famous metal alloy (*saharî*). *Bônosaki* is classified as a famed utensil (*meibutsu*). But, according to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*,⁶⁷⁸ there also exists the so-called *Mikitaya bônosaki* that is included in the *sukidôgu* (favoured utensils), which has been shown to be synonymous with the utensils possessing the spirit of *wabi* (*wabi-dôgu*). Concerning tea bowls, Jô-ô seemed to favour the *tenmoku* type of tea bowls: in four gatherings out of six he chose *tenmoku* and in two the *Shino* type of tea bowl (whose origin is uncertain). Based on the other information about Jô-ô's tea bowls, it is also possible that the *Shino* tea bowl he used might have been a white Chinese celadon type of bowl. According to the list of bowls, Jô-ô mainly used two types of bowls: *tenmoku* or Korean bowls. *Shino* is the only exception, and the possibility of its being Japanese *Shino* (*Mino* ceramics) cannot be ignored.

There is not much information remaining on what kind of shelves Jô-ô used. In the tea diaries, only one mention of the use of a shelf can be found and at that time Jô-ô used a formal style of *daisu* shelf. The other records show that Jô-ô invented a type of shelf called *fukurotana* (closed shelf)⁶⁷⁹ that is more informal than *daisu* and one step closer to the *wabi* style of Tea. Another important utensil is the tea scoop, *chashaku*. In three out of six gatherings, Jô-ô chose *Shutoku*, a famous ivory tea scoop. He had tea scoops of bamboo which were formal in style, without a knot, resembling the ivory the scoops. The fresh-water containers, *mizushashi*, were clear exceptions in Jô-ô's choice of utensils; all of the pieces

⁶⁷⁸ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 67.

⁶⁷⁹ Nanpôroku, p. 438. It says there that originally *fukurotana* were not lacquered. Nowadays lacquered *fukurotanans* are also used.

Jô-ô owned or used in his tea gatherings (five out of six that were recorded) were Japanese, such as *Shigaraki* and *teoke*, or *Nanban* ware, such as *imogashira* and *shimekiri* and were so-called *sukidôgu* (in this context read as a synonym to *wabi-dôgu*).

The records contain no information on the size of the tea-rooms used in the tea gatherings. The choice of some utensils, such as the *daisu* shelf, suggests a large, formal type of tea-room (four-and-a-half mats or larger). It is recorded that Jô-ô used a *daisu* type of shelf once in a quite formal style of gathering. On the other hand, the records show that in four out of six gatherings Jô-ô used the *irori* type of hearth that is cut into the *tatami* conveying a rustic feeling which conforms to the idea of a rough *wabi* style of Tea better than either an old bronze combination of kettle and fireplace used with the *daisu* shelf, or using a wooden and lacquered board. The diaries of the tea gatherings show that in five out of six gatherings, Jô-ô used a kettle hung over the fireplace. At four gatherings this fireplace was *irori* and at one there is no mention of the fireplace, but it can be argued that the fireplace was on this occasion *irori*, too, because the hanging kettle is mentioned. This leads to the conclusion that, except in one formal gathering with a *daisu* shelf, Jô-ô might have been using a four-and-a-half-mat tea-room, or even smaller rooms such as three or two-and-a-half-*tatami* mats⁶⁸⁰ in these recorded tea gatherings.

To conclude, even though the tea utensils Jô-ô used or admired were mostly famed Chinese pieces, still they were not luxurious in the sense of being rich in decoration and colours. They seem to be of one colour and without decorations. Obvious examples can be noted in many utensils of celadon and old bronze that Jô-ô favoured which conveyed a strong sense of chill calmness (Section 6.2.3), typical characteristics of Jô-ô's Tea in general. The hanging scrolls were also supposedly simple and calm in design and they were not very large in size. Jô-ô preferred a small round apple or eggplant shape of *chaire* for thick tea, which is more modest in feeling compared to the larger thick tea-caddies (*nasu* is usually 5-6 cm high whereas the most often used *katatsuki* type of *chaire* is about 8-10 cm high). However, Jô-ô's *Enza katatsuki* tea-caddy for thick tea is only about 6.6 cm,⁶⁸¹ which is notably smaller than, for example, Rikyû's *enza* which is about 8.5 cm.⁶⁸² Jô-ô used a square tray under the *chaire* in two out of six gatherings which

⁶⁸⁰ For further information, see Section 4.2.2.

⁶⁸¹ Imai Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki, p. 6. The original book has not been found and the author of the copy which exists today is uncertain. The last gathering in the diary is dated on the *Tenshō* sixteenth year (1589) on the morning of the seventh day of the fifth month. Yet the copy has three different dates with three different authors and is dated between the years 1820-1847. We know that Sôkyû's Tea was influenced by Jô-ô's Tea. For further information, see Nagashima 1956a. It is noted that this work is not entirely reliable as a historical source.

made the atmosphere more formal than gatherings without a tray. A significant change toward the informal style of Tea was Jō-ō's invention of an unlacquered enclosed shelf, *fukurotana*, that he used instead of a formal *daisu* shelf. Another characteristic of Jō-ō's sense of *wabi* was his ability to adapt new items to be used in Tea outside of their original use. This ability, in addition to his use of rough Japanese ceramics (*Bizen*, *Iga*, *Shigaraki*) proves that he had a skilled eye to distinguish good utensils from bad. This group of adapted utensils includes fresh-water containers such as *tsurube* (well-bucket), *teoke* (water-bucket), rustic *Nanban* ware with a straw lid, rough Japanese *Shigaraki*, or the waste-water container called *mentsū*, which was originally a pilgrim's eating bowl, and Korean tea bowls⁶⁸³ with a sense of roughness that is appropriate for everyday utensils originally made for rice but used as tea bowls in Tea.

Two main types of utensils are found: first, calm and luxurious utensils such as old bronze, celadon flower vases or white *tenmoku* tea bowls, then rough and austere utensils such as those of daily use adapted to Tea, or Japanese-style ceramics. The same conclusion can be made about the tea-rooms: Jō-ō used large tea-rooms for formal serving of Tea with a *daisu* shelf, and in contrast to that style he used small tea-rooms with an *irori* hearth and a suspended kettle promoting a rustic feeling. However, Jō-ō seems not to have concentrated only on one style of Tea at a time, but he combined them, always having something rough and humble and something luxurious in his tea gatherings.

4.4. RIKYŪ'S SENSE OF WABI IN CHADŌ THROUGH DIARIES OF TEA GATHERINGS

4.4.1. On Rikyū's Tea Gatherings and the Sources Used

In this section Rikyū's tea gatherings (*chakai*) found in *Chadō Koten Zenshū* are studied in a way similar to that used to examine Jō-ō's Tea in order to explain the sense of *wabi* in Rikyū's Tea. Only the sources that indicate the exact years of the gatherings are studied, and therefore I have restricted myself to the use of tea diaries included in *Matsuyakaiki*, *Tennōjiyakaiki*, *Sōtatsu Nikki*, *Kitano Daichayū no Ki*, and *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyū Nikki Nukigaki*. *Rikyū Hyakukaiki* and *Nanpō-*

⁶⁸² Sen no Rikyū – The 400th Memorial, p. 105.

⁶⁸³ See Yanagi 1989, pp. 190-196. Yanagi praises the beauty and superiority of Korean bowls in general and especially the bowl called *Kizaemon* with extravagant phrases and adjectives, such as "No Tea-bowl exceeds the *Ido* bowl in beauty" or "The Tea masters assert that Korean bowls are the best". However, it should be kept in mind that Yanagi examines beauty from the craftsmanship point of view, which is different from the concept of beauty in Tea studied here.

roku's chapter *Kai* have been omitted.⁶⁸⁴ Tea utensils used in the gatherings having an exact date are examined in order to give a general understanding of what kind of utensils Rikyû seemed to use most frequently in his gatherings, as well as to show the change in Rikyû's Tea toward the *wabi* style of Tea. The other sources, such as *Rikyû Hyakukaiki* and *Nanpôroku's* chapter *Kai* are used in order to clarify the information and emphasise results of these gatherings.

Other important sources used in this section are Kuwata's book *Sen no Rikyû* (1943) and Horikuchi's book *Rikyû no Cha* (1951). Kuwata examines Rikyû from a historical perspective and uses tea gatherings to illustrate the course of the Tea master's life. He makes general comments on the content of the gatherings, concentrating more on the historical events surrounding them. The idea of introducing one gathering from every decade in Rikyû's life occurred to me while examining Kuwata's study, in spite of the fact that Kuwata's approach is different and the material is more extensive. Kuwata introduces Rikyû's tea gatherings in chronological order from the very first until the last to explain some of the historical events behind them. He seems to be unconcerned with the aesthetic values these gatherings represent, which are the concerns of this study.

Horikuchi's emphasis is not on the tea gatherings. He cites only three gatherings Rikyû held and one of the sources he uses is an unpublished document that was not available for this study. This gives me valuable new information on Rikyû's tea gatherings, but it also confirms my point of view on the nature of Rikyû's tea gatherings. Another of these three tea gatherings which Horikuchi cites in his study is from *Rikyû Hyakukaiki*, though it is not cited here as a primary source because the year of the gathering is uncertain. Horikuchi concentrates on discussing Rikyû's choice of utensils such as Rikyû's tea scoops (*chashaku*) his way of preparing charcoal and the utensils needed for it rather than illustrating the general sense of Rikyû's tea gatherings, his taste and the sense of *wabi* in the tea utensils chosen.

The total number of all the gatherings, found in *Chadô Koten Zenshû* and studied here, which Rikyû hosted or participated as a guest is 193: in sixty of them he acted as host and in 133 he participated as a guest. These sixty tea gatherings that Rikyû hosted are arranged in chronological order to illustrate how his sense of Tea changed in every decade of his life. The majority of the tea gatherings, altogether twenty-three gatherings, found in these sources Rikyû hosted in his forties.

⁶⁸⁴ For more details, see Sue and Nagashima 1956, p. 471. *Rikyû Hyakukaiki* is not included in the list of the tea gatherings to be used as a primary source, because the year when those gatherings occurred is uncertain. In the copy used for this study, *Tenshō* 18th year (1590) is given in parenthesis as a possible year, but this is speculation. In some other copies of the book, such as *Rikyûryû Chanoyu Furimai*, no mention of the year can be found. *Nanpôroku's* chapter *Kai* is also not studied as a primary source because the exact year when these gatherings occurred is not recorded in this source.

In his sixties, he hosted fifteen gatherings, in his fifties thirteen, in his thirties seven, in his twenties one. Rikyū was sixteen when he hosted his first gathering. Utensils Rikyū owned or admired are not listed as Jō-ō's utensils are in the Appendix, because there exists sufficient material on tea-gatherings in order to explain Rikyū's sense of *wabi* in his Tea.

4.4.2. Selected Tea Gatherings of Rikyū

The first record of Rikyū's tea gatherings can be found in *Hisamasa Chakaiki in Matsuyakaiki*, in *Tenbun* sixth year (1537) ninth month thirteenth day when he was at the age of sixteen, and the last record is dated in *Tenshō* eighteenth year (1590) tenth month twentieth day in *Sōtan Nikki* at the age of sixty-nine only four months before he committed traditional suicide upon orders from Hideyoshi. Next, altogether sixty gatherings hosted by Rikyū during these fifty-four years are introduced and discussed in order to show how Rikyū's Tea moved toward the *wabi* style of Tea. From every decade of his life one gathering is cited, based on my judgement as to which would be the most representative gathering during this decade. All the information not concerning utensils is omitted from the citations because it was not considered essential to an explanation of the subject. Then, information on the tea gatherings is compared to the list of utensils Rikyū used in the gathering recorded in *Rikyū Hyakukaiki* and *Nanpōroku's* chapter *Kai*, which I compiled during this study.

The record of Rikyū's first gathering is as follows:

十三日朝

一京都与四郎殿へ、（宗易事也[千利休]）久政
大釜一 天目 ホソロニ花、鶴ノハシニテ、⁶⁸⁵

[*Tenbun* sixth year (1537) ninth month] thirteenth day, morning.

– [Gathering hosted by] Yoshirō from Kyōto (meaning Sōeki who is later known as Sen no Rikyū). The guest was Hisamasa.

Large kettle, *tenmoku* [tea bowl], flowers in a long and slender necked vase (called *tsunohashi*)

(Text continues with the description of the meal served)

Rikyū was only sixteen when he hosted his first tea gathering, which is the only gathering recorded in his teens. Rikyū is mentioned here by his birthname, Yoshirō (later on he is known by the names Sōeki and Rikyū, see Introduction). In *Nanpōroku*⁶⁸⁶ it is said that Rikyū started serious studies in Tea at the age of seventeen. According to this citation, young Rikyū used a large kettle even though

⁶⁸⁵ Hisamasa Chakaiki, p. 2.

⁶⁸⁶ Nanpōroku, p. 4.

he had only one guest, Matsuya Hisamasa (d. 1598), a famous Tea practitioner from Nara whose family specialised in lacquer work. The sense of his Tea was formal and almost festive: a large kettle, a *tenmoku* tea bowl and old bronze *tsurukubi* flower vase were used.

Using a large kettle for a one guest gives the impression of a formal gathering and also shows Rikyû's respect for Hisamasa. The feeling of formality is expressed by using a *tenmoku* tea bowl with the flower vase of old bronze called *tsunohashi*, which is an earlier name for a famous flower vase called *tsurukubi* (Crane's Neck).⁶⁸⁷ The *tsurukubi* flower vase is not found in *Rikyû Hyakukaiki*, but in *Nanpôroku's* chapter *Kai*⁶⁸⁸ it is mentioned once by name (the flower vase, *hosokuchi* is mentioned five times and usually refers to the *tsurukubi* or *sorori* type of flower vase).⁶⁸⁹ The use of *tenmoku* bowls is seen in both of these two other sources (in RH sixteen times and in NK seven times).

The next gathering introduced here Rikyû held at the age of twenty-two and it is found in *Hisamasa Chakaiki*. These two gatherings, the one he held at the age of sixteen and the gathering described below, are the only ones from the time when Rikyû was under age thirty to be found in the sources used.

廿七日

一堺宗易へ

エシユン 久政二人

釣物一 手水の間ニ、床ニ四方盆ニ善幸香炉、袋ニ入テ、
板 ツルへ 珠光茶碗⁶⁹⁰

[*Tenbun* thirteenth year (1544) second month] twenty-seventh day

– [Gathering hosted by] Sen Sôeki from Sakai. Guests were priest Ejun and Hisamasa.
Hanging kettle During the middle interlude the incense burner called *Zenkô* is placed
in the *tokonoma* in its bag. Wooden board *Tsurube* [fresh-water container]
Shukô's tea bowl.

(Text in the diary continues with the description of the meal served)

The text continues to explain in detail distinctive features of the incense burner called *Zenkô*, describing the clay as quite thick, that it is a shade of purple, and the glaze is blue and has cracks. This incense burner is classified as a 'famed utensil' (*meibutsu*).⁶⁹¹ Being a 'famed utensil' also suggests that it is a Chinese piece. The

⁶⁸⁷ Kadokawa Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *tsurunohashi*.

⁶⁸⁸ Henceforth in this section, *Rikyû Hyakukaiki* is marked as RH and *Nanpôroku's* chapter *Kai* as NK.

⁶⁸⁹ Kadokawa Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *hosokuchi*.

⁶⁹⁰ Hisamasa Chakaiki, pp. 9-10. The priest Ejun lived during the late *Muromachi* period and he was a priest of *Jôdô* school of Zen from *Shômyôji* temple from Nara, the same temple where Shukô studied Zen.

⁶⁹¹ Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *Ôtomi Zenkô*. This incense burner is known to have been owned by Ôtomi Zenkô who was Shukô's disciple. He owned a tea bowl and incense burner that are classified as famed utensils.

board probably refers to the formal 'long board', *nagaita* (used similar to a *daisu* shelf), but in this gathering Rikyū uses it with a plain wooden *tsurube* type of fresh-water container, which gives a more informal feeling (in NK *tsurube* is recorded five times). The tea bowl is Shukō's celadon, *Shukō seiji*, that is also more informal in feeling than items of celadon in general or the Chinese *tenmoku* type of tea bowl used in his first gathering.

Shukō's tea bowl is made in a southern country, perhaps in southern China (in *Chakimeibutsushū*⁶⁹² it is said be *karamono*, a Chinese item) or in Thailand, and it is not as perfect in its beauty as the other celadon utensils usually used at that time. It is rather rough and modest in feeling, which comes from the colour that is more greyish-green and duller than other pieces of green celadon. The layers of glaze are uneven, and it has dark dots both outside and in. Perhaps Rikyū chose this piece for the priest Ejun, who was from the same temple where Shukō had studied Zen. The *Zenkō* incense burner is used in a formal way: it is displayed in the *tokonoma* on the tray with its brocade bag. The hanging kettle suggests the use of a *ro* hearth (sometimes also called *irori*) that is used during the winter time.

The gathering cited above shows that Rikyū's tea gatherings held when he was twenty-two already had the first half (nowadays the meal is served here) and the second half (tea is served), and between them there was an interlude (the hanging scroll in *tokonoma* is replaced by flowers). It is impossible to infer from the cited record of the tea gathering in which order this gathering was performed. Rikyū's style of combining contrasting elements can already be seen in this early tea gathering. He combined a formal *nagaita* board with the hanging kettle and *tsurube* fresh-water container, but uses a famed incense burner in the correct way. Shukō's *seiji* tea bowl comes between these two: even though it is a Chinese piece it is also very modest and in a way it lacks the idea of perfection, compared to other celadon items of the era.

In his twenties, Rikyū took a step toward the sense of *wabi* by using the hanging kettle, which he continued to use his tea gatherings until he was in his sixties, a wooden well bucket called *tsurube* as a fresh-water container, and Shukō's tea bowl, an imperfect and modest-looking Chinese celadon tea bowl (Shukō's bowl was also used frequently until Rikyū's sixties). According to the sources used, *tsurube* becomes the first *sukidōgu* (meaning here those utensils Rikyū favoured and used in Tea outside of their original use as everyday utensils).

The third tea gathering examined here can also be found in *Hisamasa Chakaiki*. It is dated 1559, when Rikyū was thirty-eight years old. He invited two guests.

⁶⁹² Chakimeibutsushū, p. 486. Shukō's celadon tea bowl (*Shukō seiji*), see picture in Momoyama no Suki: Chanoyu no Meiwan, p. 10.

永禄二年二月廿三日朝 宗易会 紹佐久政貳人
 左カマへ四畳半、南向、トヒン（釜）五徳
 床ニ、方盆ニ善光（幸）手炉、香ハタカス、
 カッテヨリ珠光茶碗⁶⁹³

Eiroku second year [1559] second month twenty-third day, morning
 Sôeki's gathering [guests were] (Hachiya) Jôsa and Hisamasa together.
Gyakugatte style of four-and-a-half-mat tea-room facing to the south, *tobin* kettle
gotoku [stand]
Zenkô incense burner at the *tokonoma*, incense is burnt.
Shukô tea bowl is handed out from the kitchen shutter (hatch).
 (Text continues with the description of the meal served)

For the first time, the size and even the type of tea-room is mentioned. Rikyû used the orthodox size of the tea-room that is facing south, meaning probably that the windows are facing south (another explanation is that the *tokonoma* faces south). *Gyakugatte* means that when the host sits on the *tatami* where tea is prepared (*temae tatami*) the guests are on his left side (the opposite of this is *hongatte*, guests on the host's right side, which is the usual way of preparing tea). In *Yamanoue Sôjiki*⁶⁹⁴ it is also mentioned that Rikyû favoured the *gyakugatte* style of tea-room facing south, contrary to Jô-ô who liked the *gyakugatte* tea-room facing north, and therefore, being darker. Yamanoue Sôji explains further that in those days *hongatte* was not used and that according to Rikyû, a Tea practitioner owning even one *karamono*, a Chinese item, should use a four-and-a-half-mat tea-room. In RH the four-and-a-half-mat tea-room is mentioned sixty-eight times and it seems to be one of Rikyû's favourite sizes for a tea-room. This is confirmed by the information in NK where a four-and-a-half-mat room is mentioned fourteen times.

A *Tobin* kettle refers to a round ceramic pitcher. This is a typical kitchen utensil having rings for detachable handles on the shoulders and through which, for example, a wooden handle can be set. If this item is used in *chadô* instead of the iron kettle, the impression given is very humble and rustic. The use of a *Zenkô* incense burner is recorded here, too, and *Shukô*'s tea bowl that was one of Rikyû's favourites during his thirties (used in four out of a total of seven gatherings). One special quality of this gathering is that the tea bowl is handed through the kitchen hatch into the tea-room, which also makes the atmosphere in the tea-room less formal.

In general, Rikyû used an *irori* quite often (recorded four times out of a total of six [or seven])⁶⁹⁵ in gatherings found and dated in Rikyû's thirties, and over it a

⁶⁹³ Hisamasa Chakaiki, p. 37. Hachiya Jôsa was a Tea practitioner from Nara.

⁶⁹⁴ Yamanoue Sôjiki, pp. 100-101.

⁶⁹⁵ The notation "six [seven]" refers to the fact that a gathering held on *Eiroku* third year (1560) twelfth month sixth day can be found in *Imai Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki* and in *Sôtatsu*

hanging kettle (four out of seven). Innovations include the use of Korean tea bowls, as well as a lid-rest made of fresh-cut bamboo which later became one of the symbols of *wabi* style of Tea. The *tenmoku* tea bowl called *Kensan* can be found in the records during this period. According to *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*, in *Tenbun* twenty-fourth year (1555) fourth month first day, in the morning, for the first time a famed utensil, the Chinese scroll by Mokkei (牧溪) was used. In the same record, in *Eiroku* in the third year (1560) twelfth month sixth day⁶⁹⁶ a scroll called *Engo* by Engo Kokugon (1063-1135), a *Rinzai* Zen monk, was also used for the first time in his gatherings. Shukō was the first one to use *Engo*, which he had received from Ikkyū, in the tea-room. Rikyū used these more often in tea gatherings during later years.

This gathering and another gathering, dated *Eiroku* third year (1560) twelfth month sixth day, in the morning (also found in *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki*), introduces utensils not found in other diaries during Rikyū's thirties. The following were used: a kettle called *unryū* (Clouds and Dragon), the *Hotei*⁶⁹⁷ incense burner, *kinrinji* tea-caddy⁶⁹⁸ or the *chaire* (tea-caddy for thick tea) called *motsusō*⁶⁹⁹, a *Shigaraki* fresh-water container, and a *mentsū* or *gōsu* waste-water container. The *hosokuchi* type of flower vase (*tsurukubi*) Rikyū used in his first gathering is mentioned twice. A limited number of recorded gatherings suggests that the total number of different kinds of utensils used is rather low: twenty items.

In summary, until his thirties, Rikyū's Tea is quite *karamono*-centred, i.e., focused on Chinese pieces. However, here and there some utensils of Japanese origin, such as the *tsurube* fresh-water container and *tobin* kettle are introduced. Significant in Rikyū's thirties is his use of the *irori* hearth and a hanging kettle lending an austere and informal general feeling, as well as the use of Shukō's tea bowl, which differs from the other Chinese celadon pieces in being quite humble, even rough in feeling and appearance. According to the records of the tea gatherings, it seems obvious that, besides using the same utensils he used from the beginning, Rikyū seems to introduce some new items every decade of his life,

Takaiki. *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki* contains more information about the utensils used.

⁶⁹⁶ Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki, p. 10. See picture in Yamanoue Sōjiki exhibition catalogue, pp. 58-59.

⁶⁹⁷ Chakimeibutsushū, p. 477; Yamanoue Sōjiki, p. 65. Some of the *Hotei* incense burners are classified as famed utensils. However, it is uncertain whether the item mentioned in *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki* is one of the famed *Hotei* incense burners.

⁶⁹⁸ See picture in Sen no Rikyū – The 400th Memorial, p. 113. Unlike the other tea-caddies for thick tea, *kinrinji* is a wooden *natsume* type of container, not ceramic, and therefore it is considered more informal by nature.

⁶⁹⁹ See picture in Sen no Rikyū – The 400th Memorial, p. 106. The picture there is Rikyū's *motsusō chaire*.

which were called *sukidôgu*. In this context *sukidôgu* means utensils that were not made to be used as tea utensils, such as the *tobin* kettle that was originally kitchenware, or *mentsû*, a waste-water container that was originally a pilgrim's eating bowl, or Korean tea bowls that were originally for rice or soup. Four-and-a-half-*tatami* tea-rooms were mentioned for the first time, as well as the first famed utensils and the bamboo lid-rest. Rikyû has not relinquished all the elements of formal gatherings, such as using old bronze flower vases like *tsurukubi*, or Chinese tea bowls like *kensan tenmoku*.

The majority of Rikyû's tea gatherings (twenty-three gatherings) in the sources used for this study were held during his forties. The following gathering Rikyû took place at his home in Sakai City when he was forty-six:

十二月廿六日朝、今市
 一堺千宗易へ 鉢屋紹佐〔大和屋〕正通 久政三人
 メシ過テ、床ニ鶴ノハシ、ヌリ板ニ、花不入ニ水斗（ばかり）
 イロリ 平釜 ホソクサリ 手桶 ケンサン 台 ヤラウ（茶器）
 コトク ヒセンハウノサキ
 薄茶 高ライ茶ワン⁷⁰⁰

[*Eiroku* tenth year (1567)] twelfth month twenty-sixth day, morning at Imaichi. Sen Sôeki's gathering from Sakai city. Three guests: Hachiya Jôsa, Yamatoya Shôtsû and Hisamasa.

After the meal, the *tsurunohashi* [flower vase is set] in the *tokonoma* on the lacquered board but without any flowers, only containing water.

Irori, *hirakama* [(wide kettle) hanging from], thin chains, *teoke* [fresh-water container], *Kensan tenmoku* [tea bowl] with a stand, *yarô* tea-caddy.

Gotoku [stand], *Bizen bônosaki* [waste-water container].

Thin tea [*usucha* is served from the] Korean tea bowl.

(The record continues describing the meal and sweets served)

Rikyû invited three guests to his house in Imaichi that morning. The passage cited shows that the meal was served first, as it is nowadays, and during the middle interlude flowers were set in the *tokonoma*. The distinctive feature of this gathering is that the flower vase, *tsurukubi*, is set out without flowers. This may mean that Rikyû appreciated the beauty of the *tsurukubi* flower vase, holding it in such high esteem that he did not want flowers to diminish its beauty. This idea is emphasised by another tea gathering Rikyû held during his forties found in *Sôkyû Takaiki*⁷⁰¹ where the only record of one gathering is the mention of *tsurukubi* and a description of its beauty. The use of the *tsurukubi* flower vase without any flowers is found only in the diaries concerning Rikyû's gatherings during his forties.

⁷⁰⁰ Hisamasa Chakaiki, p. 63.

⁷⁰¹ *Sôkyû Takaiki*, pp. 232-233. Rikyû's tea gathering in *Eiroku* thirteenth year (1570) eleventh month third day.

Two new items are introduced during this period: a *teoke* fresh-water container and *Bizen* ware. The fresh-water container called *teoke* (hand bucket for water) is the most frequently used fresh-water container during this period (recorded altogether thirteen times out of the total of twenty-three gatherings). This is one of those everyday utensils already adapted to Tea by Jô-ô. Rikyû preferred the lacquered *teoke* fresh-water containers.⁷⁰² The *kensan tenmoku* tea bowl that Rikyû used in his teens became popular during his forties (mentioned six times and other *tenmoku* bowls five times, altogether eleven times out of twenty-three). For thin tea (*usucha*) he often used a Korean tea bowl during this period (six out of twenty-three gatherings). Rikyû used Korean tea bowls regularly during his later years as the RH (seven times) and NK (fourteen times) confirm. Japanese *Bizen* ware was introduced for the first time (five out of twenty-three) and Rikyû used it for waste-water and fresh-water containers as well as for a flower vase.⁷⁰³ But compared to RH, *Bizen* is mentioned twenty-eight times and in NK eleven times, evidence that Rikyû's affection for the *Bizen* ware gradually increased during his later years. According to the citation above, during the first half of the gathering, the meal was served and there was a scroll in the *tokonoma*. During the middle interlude the scroll was taken away and replaced by flowers and after that, during the second half, thick tea and thin tea were served as they are today. He also made a clear distinction between the type of tea bowls used: For *koicha*, thick tea, which is more formal than *usucha*, high-ranked *tenmoku* were mostly used. For serving *usucha*, thin tea, less formal tea bowls, such as Korean bowls, were used instead.

Representative of Rikyû's forties was the mixed use of formal Chinese items, such as a *kensan tenmoku* and a *tsurukubi* flower vase. Also during this period, he preferred the *irori* hearth (recorded eleven times out of twenty-three) with a wide kettle called *hirakama* (seven times). The fresh-water containers were still mostly *teoke* ('hand bucket'), and Rikyû continued to use *tsurukubi* as a flower vase (seven times). The use of Zen proverbs in the scrolls had already been introduced during his thirties, but during his forties their use increased markedly (recorded seven times). In RH they are even mentioned twenty-eight times and in NK as many as forty times, showing indisputably that Rikyû used them more as he grew older. This is in accordance with the information in *Nanpôroku*, where it states that the most important item in Tea is a hanging scroll and the most suitable ones for Tea are made by Zen monks (see below the discussion of Rikyû's sixties).

⁷⁰² Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 136 contains a picture of Rikyû's lacquered *teoke* and some explanation of its origins.

⁷⁰³ Rikyû's use of a *bônosaki* waste-water container is mostly recorded as *Bizen bônosaki*, but once there is just a mention of *bônosaki*. Since the others were *Bizen* it could be supposed that this was also *Bizen*.

During his forties, significant new tea items included the use of *takatsuki*, a set of little lacquered boxes piled up one on the top of the other with lid in the top of the upper box. These boxes are used for serving sweets before the *koicha* is served. One box with the sweet is prepared for each guest. An interesting notion is also that during this period, for the first time, the bamboo *chashaku*, the tea scoop, is mentioned in the records. In RH, the tea scoop called *oritame*, meaning bamboo tea scoop, is mentioned thirty-eight times whereas ivory tea scoops are mentioned only five times, showing how keen Rikyû was to use the bamboo tea scoop instead of the formal and rare ivory ones.

Another interesting detail is the mention of the use of the *tenmoku* bowl without a stand, perhaps in order to emphasise an informal feeling in the style of serving tea. Typical of Rikyû's gatherings until now, fewer famed utensils (*meibutsu*) or the great famed utensils (*ômeibutsu*) seem to be used. From the beginning, Rikyû had favoured *tenmoku* tea bowls and the *tsurukubi* flower vase which he is still used in his forties. However, during this period no mention of the use of Shukô's tea bowl is found, even though Rikyû used it quite often in his thirties. Rikyû introduced some new *sukidôgu*, such the *yarô* tea-caddy that was supposedly a little medicine container or a sutra container placed in the *tokonoma* (the records used contain no mention of its use).

During Rikyû's forties there seems to occur a kind of turning point in Rikyû's Tea, a time when it seemed Rikyû was searching for his own way in Tea. He introduced many new utensils (thirty-one items) and many of these are used only once or twice. Some of them are used in an unusual way, such as a *tenmoku* tea bowl without a stand or a flower vase without flowers. With these acts Rikyû seems to set himself at a distance from earlier masters in order to create something original of his own. This was his way of 'claiming east to be west' (Section 2.3.6) in Tea.

To illustrate the nature and the development of Rikyû's tea gatherings during his fifties, the following gathering is described in *Sôkyû Takaiki*:

同十二月五日朝 宗易会 [佳吉屋] 宗無 宗及
 一炉ニあられ釜 手桶、
 一床 大壺、アミヲカケテ、伊勢天目、黒台
 薄茶 カウライ茶碗 ひせん物水下⁷⁰⁴

[*Tenshō* fourth year (1576)] twelfth month fifth day, morning. Gathering hosted by Sôeki. Guests were (Sumiyoshiya)⁷⁰⁵ Sômu and [Tsuda] Sôkyû.

— *Ro* hearth, *arare* kettle, *teoke* [fresh-water container].

— In the *tokonoma* a large jar [for tea leaves] in a net, *Ise tenmoku* with black stand. Thin tea (*usucha*) Korean tea bowl *Bizen* waste-water container.

⁷⁰⁴ Sôkyû Takaiki, p. 251.

⁷⁰⁵ Sumiyoshiya Sômu died in 1595 and he was one of the eighth Sakai Tea masters appointed by Hidoyoshi. He studied Tea under Rikyû's guidance.

At the time of the gathering, Rikyū was fifty-four years old and he hosted two well-known Tea practitioners. This is considered to represent Rikyū's sense of Tea in his fifties: He uses a *ro* hearth (recorded six times out of the total of thirteen gatherings) and an *arare*⁷⁰⁶ type of kettle that he favoured during this period (four times; according to RH the *arare* kettle can be considered one of the favoured utensils, recorded twelve times, and in NK also nine times). In the *tokonoma*, a large jar for one year's supply of tea leaves is displayed in a net⁷⁰⁷ (five times, compared with RH where he used large jars as often as a total of fifty-eight, confirming quite extensive use of them, however, in NK the large tea jars are mentioned only once).

The first record of Rikyū's use of a large tea jar in his tea gatherings is dated 1563 (first day of twelfth month) when he was aged forty-two, and recorded in *Sôtatsu Takaiki*. In his fifties, a large tea jar is mentioned five times in the year-ending gatherings. In his gatherings in general, his use of a large tea jar is obviously connected to the year ending and the celebration of new tea leaves, whereas Jô-ô just displayed a rare utensil in his gathering. In this gathering, the Japanese *Ise tenmoku* was used instead of the Chinese *tenmoku*, emphasising the sense of informality, along with the Korean bowl for thin tea. *Ise tenmoku* is recorded three times during his fifties, but no other mention of the use of this item is found in the sources used nor in RH or NK. Without exception, Rikyū still uses *tenmoku* tea bowls (recorded eight times) for *koicha*, thick tea, and Korean tea bowls for *usucha*, thin tea (four times). The records also show that the use of *Bizen* ware during his fifties was limited to only waste-water containers. The fresh-water container was the same as that which he used during his forties, *teoke*, but its use is not as frequent as before. The use of the old bronze flower vase, *tsurukubi*, what Rikyū much favoured much earlier, has decreased.

Rikyū's choice of utensils during this period is modest and plain as his sense of *wabi* in Tea tries to find its form. On *Tenshō* sixth year (1578) sixth month seventh day, *kozashiki*, the little tea-room, is found in the records⁷⁰⁸ referring here to a tea-room smaller than four-and-a-half-mats, which is one of the major characteristics of the *wabi* style of Tea (in RH, *kozashiki* is mentioned twenty-six times and in NK thirty-seven times confirming the information that Rikyū

⁷⁰⁶ See picture in Genshoku Chadō Daijiten, s.v. *ararekama*, or in Sen no Rikyū – The 400th Memorial, p. 219. These sources describe two different kinds of *arare* kettles.

⁷⁰⁷ It can be argued that the jar Rikyū used here was of Chinese origin and called *hashidate* and was one of Rikyū's favourite utensils. This is supported by Sôtan Nikki, p. 175. In the tea gatherings in Rikyū's fifties, *hashidate* is mentioned by name only once, in Imai Sōkyū Chanoyū Nikki Nigigaki, p. 29. Further, this information is supported by Rikyū Hyakukaiki, in which *hashidate* is mentioned twenty-three times. See picture of *hashidate* in the Yamano Sōjiki exhibition catalogue, pp. 42-43.

⁷⁰⁸ Sōkyū Takaiki, p. 283.

favoured this size of the room besides the four-and-a-half-mat room). Rikyū continued using the *irori* hearth, but this time with *arare* or *jōbari* kettles. One of his favourite tea-caddies for thick tea, *shirifukura chaire* (Broad Bottom)⁷⁰⁹ is mentioned here for the first time, as is the use of a wooden *natsume* for thin tea. In his fifties, Rikyū introduced another new *sukidōgu*, a waste-water container from South-east Asia (*Nanban*) called *kamenofuta*⁷¹⁰ that was adapted for use in Tea from outside its original use.

The use of famed utensils is infrequent, but the number of utensils that were used only once or twice is even higher than in his forties: the total number of the entries is thirty-six. In his forties, Rikyū used Zen proverbs in scrolls many times, but in his fifties only once. Mention of Teika's *shikishi* is found in the gatherings during his fifties suggesting that as Rikyū aged, he enjoyed a little lighter feeling in the tea-room instead of the Zen proverbs with their often deep and heavy message. The sudden use of large jars is notable, especially in small tea-rooms, as can be understood from the gatherings recorded in RH. During this period, for the first time shelves are mentioned, such as the use of the *daisu* shelf or *yoshitana*.⁷¹¹ The line between his favoured utensils and other utensils seemed to be fading away gradually and the number of different utensils he used increased step by step. After an active and creative period in his forties, tea gatherings during Rikyū's fifties seemed to be like a breathing space before his sixties that can be said to be another turning point in his Tea.

The last recorded tea gathering in the sources used for this study is found in *Sōtan Nikki*:

廿日昼
 一利休老 御会 集楽ニテ 宗湛一人
 二畳敷 囲炉裏 雲龍釜、中次
 黒茶碗、道具入テ、土水指 セト水下 引切 手水ノ間ニ、床ニハシタ
 テノ大壺置テ、⁷¹²

[*Tenshō* eighteenth year tenth month] twentieth day, noon.

– Gathering hosted by the aged Rikyū in *Jurakutei*. [Kamiya] *Sōtan* alone.

Two-*tatami* tea-room *irori* [hearth] *unryū* kettle *nakatsugi* tea-caddy.

⁷⁰⁹ See picture in Sen no Rikyū – The 400th Memorial, p. 107. This is said to be one of the most favoured utensils of Rikyū.

⁷¹⁰ *Kamenofuta*: See picture in Genshoku Chadō Daijiten, s.v. *kamenofuta*. Can be used as an ash-container as well.

⁷¹¹ The form of the shelf was taken from the *Kōdaiji* temple tea-room in Kyōto that is the size of two *tatamis* and has a beautiful round window. The shape of the window is fitted into the base of the shelf. For more details, see, for example, Kadokawa Chadō Daijiten, s.v. *Yoshitana*.

⁷¹² *Sōtan Nikki*, pp. 258-259. *Sōtan Nikki* is a diary by Kamiya *Sōtan* (1551-1635), a Tea practitioner from Kyūshū, Hakata. He was closely related to Hideyoshi, Sōkyū and Rikyū.

Black tea bowl, inside the tea bowl the necessary utensils, ceramic fresh-water container, *Seto* waste-water container, fresh cut of bamboo lid-rest, during the middle interlude, a large jar called *hashidate* [a storage-jar for one year's tea leaves] is placed in the *tokonoma*.

This gathering took place four months before Rikyū was ordered to commit suicide by Hideyoshi. Therefore, it is an interesting detail that it occurred in Hideyoshi's elegant mansion in Kyōto called *Jurakutei*, built in 1587, where he entertained the emperor and had elaborate tea parties.⁷¹³ This gathering was held for only one guest. The general atmosphere of this gathering represented Rikyū's sense of *wabi* in *chadō* very well: the size of the room was small, only two *tatami* mats and it had the *irori* hearth cut into the *tatami*, which represented Rikyū's minimalist idea of the austere sense of *wabi*. In a small tea-room, a small kettle,⁷¹⁴ suitable for one guest (unlike the kettle used in his first gathering), also suggests Rikyū's minimalist choice of utensils. The tea bowl is black and probably a *Raku* type of bowl. Scholars do not know for sure whether the tea bowls recorded as a 'black bowl' were *Raku* or *Seto* type of bowls, but the fact that the waste-water container is mentioned to have been a *Seto* suggests that the bowl would have been something different.⁷¹⁵ Inside the bowl was supposedly a piece of linen or cotton (*chakin*), a tea whisk (*chasen*) and a tea scoop (*chashaku*). The fresh-water container is said to have been ceramic and the text continues, explaining that it is a Chinese item with a blue glaze and some decorations. It seems to have been a kind of piece that would usually need a shelf, but here Rikyū apparently placed it straight on the *tatami*, emphasising the informal feeling of the gathering.

The text explains further that the *nakatsugi* tea-caddy for thin tea, which is usually lacquered wood, of a round shape, with straight sides, and flat on the top, was used here like a *chaire*, tea-caddy for thick tea: it was placed inside a bronze container which was again inside a brocade bag and placed into a tea bowl (as a *chaire* usually is). This is an informal way of serving thick tea, usually for those who do not own a *chaire* (the ceramic thick tea container) but for Rikyū this was a stylistic matter. However, placing a wooden tea container inside a bronze container shows a sense of formality as well as respect. One exception to this dark-coloured combination of utensils, besides the fresh-water container, is a bright

⁷¹³ Mason 1993, p. 211. See also Introduction to this study.

⁷¹⁴ *Unryū* kettle. See picture in *Genshoku Chadō Daijiten*, s.v. *unryūkama*. It has a cylindrical shape with decorations of clouds and a dragon.

⁷¹⁵ *Genshoku Chadō Daijiten*, s.v. *jurakuyaki* and *rakuyaki*. For technical reasons, the modern version of the character *ju* is used in the present text. It is claimed that *Raku* ceramics got its name from the name *juraku* and, therefore, in its early days *Raku* was called *Juraku* ceramics (*jurakuyaki*). It is also supposed that Chōjirō used the red clay from *Jūraku* for his tea bowls. Nowadays *Raku* is also used as a family name for Chōjirō's descendants making *Raku* ceramics. The present generation is the fourteenth and called *Raku Kichizaemon*. For further information, see Introduction and Section 4.2.1.2.

green fresh piece of bamboo as a lid-rest. At the end of the gathering, a famous utensil, a large jar for tea leaves called *hashidate* is shown. Even though these jars are not usually displayed in such a small room, Rikyû seems to like the contrast of the large utensils for one year's supply of Tea in a small room. For example, in RH large tea jars are displayed, usually in four-and-a-half-mat rooms (thirty-nine times) but quite often also in small tea-rooms such as two-mat rooms (fifteen times). In NK, there is only one mention of the use of a large tea-room (six-mat room) but in this gathering no large jar was used.⁷¹⁶ However, in *Rikyû Hyakukaiki* there is no mention of the use of a large tea-room. In his later years, in his fifties and sixties, Rikyû quite often displayed large tea jars in his tea gatherings. These are connected to the year-ending gatherings and to the formal style of Tea. But in this gathering, the use of the large tea jar may also have been used as a stylistic element in order to emphasise the contrast between the austere and minimalist *wabi* style of the small tea-room and graceful and ostentatious *shoin* style of Tea.

In this tea gathering Rikyû seems to 'break the rules' of *chadô* (Section 3.2.4) by using a Chinese fresh-water container directly on the *tatami*, by using a Japanese *Raku* tea bowl to prepare thick tea (before this Chinese *tenmoku* tea bowls were usually used for this), by using *nakatsugi* as a tea-caddy (usually a *chaire* is used), and finally by his choice of a large tea jar in a small tea-room. The emphasis of this gathering was on the small space and the use of rough Japanese utensils. Colours were quite dark, black and green, like green tea in a black tea bowl or a green bamboo lid-rest used with other, mostly black, utensils. One exception allowed here was a Chinese blue-coloured fresh water container that was supposedly quite refined in appearance.

Rikyû's tea gatherings in his sixties were very different from those of earlier decades. First of all, the total number of entries for different items mentioned in the diaries used are as high as seventy-three which shows that Rikyû had gained the status of a Great Tea Master. It was more than twice as many as he had during his fifties, which was also rich in the variety of items used in the gatherings. The older Rikyû grew, the less he seemed to have similarities in his gatherings. It also shows that all these utensils were obtainable for him; he had the money and the eye for utensils. According to the sources used, he seems to have had some favourite items he used quite frequently, such as kettles called *unryûkama* and *ararekama*. He also preferred *Seto* ceramics that were mentioned for first time during his sixties, such as *Seto* tea bowls, *Seto tenmoku* instead of Chinese *tenmoku*, *Seto* fresh-water containers, and *Seto* waste-water containers. Tea-rooms were small two-and-three-*tatami* rooms. In addition, the *shoin* style of room is

⁷¹⁶ Nanpôroku, Kai, pp. 42-43. Rikyû's gathering dated in the sixth month thirteenth day, in the morning.

also mentioned once in *Sôtan Nikki*, in *Tenshō* eighteenth year (1590) ninth month, tenth day, about one month before his last recorded tea gathering.

The scrolls Rikyū used during this period were either *Rinzai* school Zen priests' writings (five times out of a total fifteen recorded gatherings) or famous Chinese pieces such as *Kidō* (虚堂智愚) or *Gyokukan* (玉石間). Most often (three times), he used the scrolls of *Kokei* (1532-1597), who was a *Rinzai* Zen priest in *Daitokuji* temple and Rikyū's Zen teacher. The priest *Kokei* is also mentioned as being the same person who gave the Buddhist name "Sen Rikyū" to *Sōeki* so that he could participate a tea gathering at the emperor's palace (only a Buddhist priest or a noble person could enter the emperor's palace and young *Sōeki* was neither) in 1585.⁷¹⁷ The two other times when Zen proverbs were used, they were also written by *Rinzai* school priests from China or the *Daitokuji* temple. An interesting detail is that the *teoke* fresh-water containers that Rikyū used so much during his forties and fifties were not found in the diaries of this later period. During his sixties, he used *Seto* or *Shigaraki* ware for fresh-water containers. The diaries also show that he used a *ro* hearth and *furo* brazier (fire stand) almost half and half which suggests, perhaps, that he followed the established custom of using a *ro* during the winter and a *furo* in summer.

Tea bowls that Rikyū favoured during this period were 'black tea bowls', which could suggest *Seto* or *Raku* (together these are mentioned five times). *Raku* is certainly mentioned once in the diaries used in this study. It was noted in *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Nikki Nukigaki* that in *Tenshō* fourteenth year twelfth month twenty-sixth day the tea bowl called *Kimamori*,⁷¹⁸ a famous red *Raku* tea bowl by *Chōjirō* was used. The use of Korean tea bowls remained almost the same, but the use of *tenmoku* tea bowls decreased. For example, no mention of *kensan tenmoku* can be found in Rikyū's sixties, even though he used them frequently earlier. However, *tenmoku* is recorded five times: once it was a Japanese *Seto tenmoku*, twice the *nuritenmoku* (a *tenmoku* without the golden/silver rim) was used, and twice just an ordinary *tenmoku*. The use of a Japanese *tenmoku* and *tenmoku* without a silver/golden rim shows a great step toward the more informal *wabi* style of tea, where all utensils are treated with equal respect. However, it is important to note that through his life Rikyū used the *tenmoku* bowls in a way similar to the use of a *tsurukubi* flower vase.

⁷¹⁷ *Kokei Sōchin* (1532-1597) was the 111th abbot of the *Daitokuji* temple, where Rikyū studied Zen. He had close ties with *chadō* already through *Nobunaga* and *Hideyoshi*. He also was the one who persuaded Rikyū to fund the construction work on the *Daitokuji* temple gate. This may have had fatal consequences later on. See *Tanihata* 1988, pp. 142-143. Rikyū's close ties with *Kokei* might have influenced the fact that he used his scrolls quite often in his Tea.

⁷¹⁸ *Kimamori*: For further information, see *Genshoku Chadō Daijiten*, s.v. *kimamori*.

One of the significant characteristics of this decade is Rikyû's use of a bamboo lid-rest (ten times) and bamboo tea scoop (five times). The bamboo tea scoop is mentioned only once in his forties, and the bamboo lid-rest is noted twice in his thirties. Rikyû seemed to prefer *shirifukura*, *enza* (Plate 7), and *hatsuhana*⁷¹⁹ thick tea-caddies. The new *sukidôgu* Rikyû introduced during his sixties were, among others, a calabash container for charcoal (*hyôtan sumitori*; see Plate 14)⁷²⁰ and Japanese baskets used as flower vases.⁷²¹

Tea in Rikyû's sixties was not only following a *wabi* style, using small tea-rooms and mostly Japanese, Korean or *Nanban* utensils, but it was also luxurious in a sense of using the *shoin* tea-rooms, famed scrolls (*Gyokukan* 玉石間), displaying large tea jars and using *daisu* with old bronze tea utensils as waste – and fresh-water containers, as well as using celadon items (*chidori kôrô*). According to the sources, Rikyû seemed to like the idea of having contrasting elements in Tea. For example, in *Tenshō* eighteenth year (1590) ninth month tenth day,⁷²² Rikyû used a *shoin* style room with *daisu* and old bronze utensils.⁷²³ Besides this the flower vase was also old bronze and the incense burner was celadon; but Rikyû used a green bamboo lid-rest, a black tea bowl and a *Seto* tea bowl, which are very modest and rough looking compared to the old Chinese *tenmoku* tea bowls. The diary continues that even though Hideyoshi disliked the black tea bowl Rikyû prepared tea in, that proves what a strong minded person he was. This gathering was very different from those arranged in the small tea-rooms where mostly simple and modest utensils were used.

Besides the above-mentioned *daisu* style of gathering, another formal gathering dated during Rikyû's sixties is given by Horikuchi. Although this gathering is not recorded in *Chadō Koten Zenshū*, but a transcription of this tea diary is found both in the storehouse of *Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō* and in Tokugawa Sōkei's private collections. The gathering was dated *Tenshō* sixteenth year (1588) ninth month and fourth day, in the morning, and it was an old style of formal *daisu* gathering. The brazier was of old bronze, as was the waste-water container (shape of the *gōsu*), fresh-water container, lid-rest (shape of the *gotoku*), the stand for the metal chopsticks for handling charcoal and the *hishaku* water scoop. The tea bowl was *tenmoku*, placed on the square tray and used in a very formal way. The tea-caddy for thick tea is Rikyû's favourite *shirifukura* (Broad Bottom). The hanging

⁷¹⁹ See pictures in Yamanoue Sōjiki exhibition catalogue, p. 79. (*hatsuhana*), p. 80. (*enza*), and in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 107 (*shirifukura*).

⁷²⁰ *Hyôtan sumitori*: made of a calabash which was originally used as a water or *sake* container, but in *chadō* is mostly used as a charcoal basket or flower vase. See picture in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 161.

⁷²¹ See pictures in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, pp. 98-100.

⁷²² *Sôtan Nikki*, pp. 256-257.

⁷²³ See picture of Rikyû's *daisu* in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 124.

scroll has a poem by Kidô (虚堂智愚), whose works are classified as famed utensils. This gathering is even more formal in feeling than the one found in *Sôtatsu Nikki*. It apparently was meant to be so, because the record says at the beginning that this gathering is in the old *daisu* style, which is not favoured by present day Tea practitioners doing a *wabi* style of Tea, and Rikyû did not like this attitude. The tea-room was, however, a four-and-a-half-mat room facing east. The *toko-noma* was four *shaku* (feet) wide, and there was a *tôko* type of shelf in the host place. The room also had a window facing north. The doorway faced east, and above it there were two windows giving light to the room.⁷²⁴ This gathering was seemingly a farewell party for the priest Kokei from *Daitokuji* temple, who was expelled by Hideyoshi to Shikoku.

4.4.2.1. Comments

Rikyû had clear periods of development in his Tea. The tea diary records show that many of the utensils Rikyû used were introduced to *chadô* by earlier Tea masters, Shukô and Jô-ô. Zen proverbs in scrolls were used already by Shukô,⁷²⁵ and the *tsurube* and *teoke* type of fresh-water containers, *mentsû* waste-water container, a bamboo lid-rest and bamboo tea scoops were all used already by Jô-ô. Jô-ô is also said to have introduced Japanese ceramics such as *Bizen*, *Iga*, *Shigaraki* and *Seto*, but *Raku* was purely Rikyû's innovation. Rikyû also introduced bamboo and basket flower vases, black-lacquered *natsume* (a wooden tea-caddy for thin tea) among other items. Even though many of the utensils Rikyû used in his Tea had already been introduced earlier by someone else, the items that were chosen by Rikyû were excellent pieces that only he could have chosen.

Not all of those utensils which are known to have been owned by Rikyû, such as the bamboo flower vase called *shakuhachi*,⁷²⁶ could be found within the diaries used in this study, but it is recorded nine times in *Rikyû Hyakukaiki*. Doubtless even more diaries and other records existed than those known today, and it is also possible that all the utensils used were not recorded in these that we do have. Sometimes the tea diaries contain only a few notes about the utensils used, such as in *Sôkyû Takaiki Eiroku* thirteenth year (1570) eleventh month eighteenth day gathering, where only a kettle, a fresh-water container, and a tea bowl were mentioned. It is certain that some other utensils not mentioned here were needed for serving tea, even though they are not recorded.

⁷²⁴ For further information, see Horikuchi 1951, pp. 170-181. See also *ibid.*, pp. 187-188, note 2, where the origins of the record are briefly discussed.

⁷²⁵ Genryûchawa, p. 409.

⁷²⁶ See picture in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 95, and Hamamoto 1988, pp. 52-53. *Shakuhachi* is also mentioned in Genryûchawa. See Section 4.2.1.2 in this study.

Another important innovation by Rikyû is the construction of a small tea-room with two, three, or even one mat plus *daime tatami*, with a small crawl-in entrance called *nijirikuchi*. The most famous of these is *Taian* (Waiting Hut; see Plate 4) at Myôkian, which is a two-mat room with a *tokonoma*. *Taian* is only about ten square meters in area and the height of the room is only 1.81 meters. In architecture Rikyû's innovations are (besides the *nijirikuchi*): a special technique of making wall corners, the *shitajimado* window, and the size of the doors and windows in general in a small room, as well as the use of earth colours such as in *Taian*.⁷²⁷

A distinctive feature in Rikyû's sixties was his use of many different styles of utensils, using elements of contrast to emphasise the beauty of each piece. He combined tea utensils of a rough and simple *wabi* style alongside such luxurious items as famed Chinese pictures on scrolls, or utensils for formal use such as items made of old bronze. In *Nanpôroku*, Rikyû teaches about combining things in the following way:

小座敷の道具ハ、よろづ事たらぬがよし、少の損シも嫌ふ人あり、一向不得心の事也、今やきなどのわれひゞきたるハ用ひがたし、唐の茶入などやうのしかるべき道具ハ、うるしつぎしても一段用ひ来り候也、サテ又道具ノ取合ト申スハ、今焼茶碗ト、唐ノ茶入、如此心得ベシ、珠光ノ時ハイマダ物ゴト結構ニアリシダニ、秘蔵ノ井土茶碗、袋ニ入テ天目同前ニアシラハルハニハ、カナラズナツメ・今焼ナドノ茶入ヲ出サレシトナリ、⁷²⁸

In the little tea-room it is even better if one does not have enough utensils (all the possible utensils available). Those who dislike utensils with little cracks or damage do not actually have any understanding whatsoever. However, one should avoid using contemporary ware with cracks or damage, but utensils such as an excellent Chinese tea-caddy for thick tea (*chaire*) even if it may have been mended with lacquer, can be used. Concerning combining utensils, one should combine a contemporary tea bowl with an old Chinese tea-caddy. During Shukô's times all the utensils used were excellent pieces, but it is said that Shukô put the Korean *Ido* tea bowl, his treasure, into a brocade bag and handled it the same way as the Chinese *tenmoku* tea bowl would have been handled, and at the same time he used a wooden *natsume* type of tea-caddy, or just an ordinary contemporary ceramic tea-caddy for thick tea (*chaire*).

Even though Rikyû himself owned many utensils, he did not display them in a way that showed pride in owning them. The general atmosphere throughout Rikyû's tea gatherings was modest and he had clear periods when the basic utensils he used were mostly the same.

⁷²⁷ For further information, see Hayakawa 1995, pp. 7-37. It contains an excellent selection of pictures of *Taian*.

⁷²⁸ *Nanpôroku*, p. 10. See also Hirota's translation (Hirota 1995, p. 226). The translation given in this study differs in the interpretation of the word *gatashi* which Hirota translates as "...difficult to use..." following the dictionary meaning. This expression could also be understood as being a polite way of saying that something should not be done.

Another important piece of information this citation contains is that one should not desire new things to replace the older ones that had been broken or damaged. However, things repaired have to be somehow very special, such as an old piece with a long history, or in some other way an extraordinary and valuable utensil for its owner. Rikyū emphasised that all utensils used should be handled equally and gives an example of Shukō, who treated the Korean *Ido* bowl with the same respect as the famed Chinese pieces, combining this with an ordinary *natsume* or tea-caddy for thick tea (*chaire*). This shows that even an ordinary item such as a Korean tea bowl, which was originally made for food and as an everyday kitchen utensil, can be special or a treasure if it is skillfully made.

In his later years, Rikyū seems to reach the point when he could 'break' the old rules of *chadō* and practises the kind of Tea he liked most without thinking of whether it is *wabi* style or formal style. Finally, in his sixties Rikyū found his own style of *chadō* – he practised both the rough and austere *wabi* style as well as the luxurious *shoin* style, both of which can be manifestations of *wabi* if one possesses the right state of mind, the *wabi* mind (see Chapter 6). Rikyū's becoming Hideyoshi's Tea advisor at the age of sixty-two might also have influenced this development of his Tea,⁷²⁹ just as Rikyū had influenced Hideyoshi's taste in Tea. Hideyoshi liked luxurious things such as the Golden tea-room or famed utensils and, being his Tea advisor, Rikyū could not avoid them. However, it cannot be claimed that all the luxurious items Rikyū owned or used were due to Hideyoshi's influence. As the tea diaries show, Rikyū also liked a luxurious or refined style of Tea himself, but not to such a extent, perhaps, as Hideyoshi. He used one or two pieces here and there during the different segments of the tea gathering. On the contrary, Rikyū's personality and style of Tea had a definite influence on Hideyoshi and his taste in Tea.

The idea of contrasting elements is visible in the following passage of *Nanpōroku*, in which Rikyū emphasises the idea of using utensils that are balanced with one's outer appearance:

道具ノ似

合タルガヨキト、休、常ニノ玉ヘリ、休ハ大男ナルユヘ、イカニモシヲラシク小形ナル物ガ似合タリ、大坊主ニ大道具ハ、フツヽカニテ数奇ノ心ニアラズ、老人ナドハ、ウルハシクウツクシキ道具ヨシ、ワビ過テハサワヤカニナキモノ也、⁷³⁰

Rikyū always said that to use utensils that suit oneself is appropriate. For Rikyū who was a big man, the small utensils suited well. A big man handling big utensils looks only unrefined and silly and it surely does not express the *suki* heart. An old person should choose utensils that are elegant and beautiful. If the sense of *wabi* is emphasised too strongly, one will lose the sense of freshness.

⁷²⁹ Sōkyū Takaiki, p. 390.

⁷³⁰ Nanpōroku, p. 284.

Again, the idea of polarity, i.e., big and small or rough and refined is stressed. This citation contains an unwritten suggestion that for a young man, utensils being rough or even austere is appropriate. One should avoid overdoing the *wabi* style in choosing utensils because it causes a lack of freshness and the impression will be poor and shabby. This again can be compared with the information based on Rikyû's tea diaries: while young, Rikyû used quite rough and simple utensils, but in his later years he chose beautiful pieces such as celadon flower vases or celadon incense burners, *chidori kôro* and *Kôchi ware*⁷³¹ of *hotei*, as well as a Gyokukan (玉石間) picture scroll. The use of large tea jars in his later years may also have a connection to this subject. However, in general it can be said that Rikyû did not favour celadon and in the classics only a few examples of their use is found.⁷³² The use of elegant and refined old bronze utensils occurred quite often in the tea diaries during Rikyû sixties. In RH and in NK, which were both supposedly recorded in Rikyû's later years, a similar tendency is seen: becoming aged himself, Rikyû started to use beautiful utensils such as Mokkei's (牧溪) picture scroll, Teika's scroll, or the Picture of a Sparrow, all of which are more soft and sensitive in feeling than the Zen words he also preferred.

The selection of Rikyû's incense containers included many especially beautiful items, such as a container having a shape of sparrow or wild duck (the latter is *Kôchi ware*), Chinese carved incense containers (*gurikôgo*), old bronze incense container called *hoya*, or an incense container made of mother-of pearl.⁷³³ In addition to these, the use of an ivory tea scoop or a tea bowl with a picture is found. It can be imagined that all of these were beautiful objects, some of which were decorated and colourful. The use of beautiful objects, which for the most part were also famed tea utensils, supports the claim that one should practise Tea that naturally fits one's form of life and social circumstances. The aged Rikyû had gained a high social status and had become wealthy enough to purchase these utensils, and moreover, he had connections that made this possible. This might be one reason for the luxurious style of Tea Hideyoshi practised.

⁷³¹ *Kôchi ware*: *Kôchi* is a type of ceramics having bright green, yellow and dark brownish colours. The name of the ceramics refers to the part of the former empire that was later part of Indochina. Today it is part of Vietnam. After Vietnam became independent in the 10th century, this part was called Annam or *Kôchi* by the Chinese.

⁷³² See, for example, Imai Sôkyû Chanoyu no Nikki Nukigaki, p. 38: at Rikyû's gathering in *Tenshō* fourteenth year (1586) twelfth month sixteenth day, *Chidori kôrô* was used. Or, Kitano Daichayū no Ki, p. 6: at Rikyû's gathering in *Tenshō* fifteenth year (1587) tenth month first day, a celadon flower vase was used. Or, Sôtan Nikki, p. 256: at Rikyû's gathering in *Tenshō* eighteenth year (1590) ninth month tenth day, the square type of the celadon incense burner was used. Rikyû's rare use of celadon ware is also noted by Stanley-Baker 1990, p. 149.

⁷³³ For Rikyû's incense burners, see Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, pp. 69, 231.

Rikyū warned of overdoing the *wabi* style of tea because of the danger that Tea would become only an expression of poverty and shabbiness. That is why he preferred beautiful tea utensils for contrast as he became aged himself. Even as his Tea became lighter in outer appearance during his later years, 'the heart of the Tea', the spirit of the gathering, which is usually suggested in the choice of the hanging scroll, became deeply philosophical in content. This is understood, for example, with the extensive use of *Rinzai* Zen words on scrolls, as well as Kokei's writings. Rikyū emphasised the philosophical aspects of Tea by saying that a hanging scroll is the most important item in Tea. In *Nanpōroku*, Rikyū describes the meaning of scrolls as follows:

掛物ほど第一の道具ハなし、客・亭主共ニ茶の湯三昧の一心得道の物也、
墨跡を第一とす、其文句の心をうやまひ、筆者・道人・祖師の徳を賞翫する
也、俗筆の物ハかくる事なき也、されども歌人の道歌など書たるを被掛る事
あり、四畳半にも成てハ又一向の草庵とハ心もち違ふ、能能分別すべし、⁷³⁴

No utensil is more important than a hanging scroll. It is placed there for both the guests and the host, to reach the state of *samādhi*,⁷³⁵ through concentrating on *chanoyu*, and leading them to the realisation of awakening. The most important scrolls are calligraphy by Zen monks: one should venerate the true heart of the words written there and admire the virtue of the writer, the practitioners of the Way, and of the earlier Masters. One should not hang the works of an ordinary layman in the *tokonoma*, but sometimes poets' works on the Way are used. If the tea-room is four-and-a-half-*tatami* mats, which differs very much in feeling (or spirit) from an ordinary little thatched-hut tea-room, one needs to be even more careful in choosing a suitable scroll.

According to this passage, the hanging scroll, and especially those containing Zen related words, should be like guidelines or act as a stimulus on the Way to attain the enlightenment, *satori*. Further, this *satori* is reached by concentrating wholeheartedly on what is written on the scroll. Concentration not only concerns the scrolls but also all the actions carried out in Tea. However, no other utensil used in the tea-room possesses this kind of philosophical value as a means to attain the state of *satori*.

⁷³⁴ Nanpōroku, p. 10.

⁷³⁵ Warder 1970, pp. 89-90. In Buddhism concentrating on something fully by withdrawing one's thought from distraction is called *samādhi*.

4.5. ANECDOTES EXPLAINING RIKYŪ'S IDEA OF *WABICHADŌ*

In the following, some anecdotes not previously mentioned in this study are introduced in order to clarify Rikyū's persona as a Great Master of Tea as well as his idea of *wabichadō*. Some of the stories are quite amusing, some of them sarcastic but they show that Rikyū was quite an eccentric personality, being quick-tempered but very resolute in his ideas of *wabi* in *chadō*, as well as being a true Master of Tea with an extraordinary sense for beauty.⁷³⁶

The first citation is from *Nanpōroku* and it deals with the 'art' of walking with *geta* shoes:

露地の出入ハ、客も亭主もゲタヲハクコト、紹鷗ノ定メ也、草木ノ露フカキ
所往来スルユヘ、如是、互ニクツノ音、功名不功者ヲキ、シルト云々、カシ
ガマシクナキヤウニ、又サシアシスルヤウニモナクテ、オダヤカニ無心なる
が功者トシルベシ、得心ノ人ナラデ批判シガタシ、宗易コノミニテ、コノ比
[頃]、草履ノウラニ革ヲアテ、セキダトテ、当津[堺]今市町ニテツク
ラセ、露地ニ用ラルハ、此事ヲ問申タレハ、易ノ云、ゲタハクコト今更アシ
キニハアラズ候ヘトモ、鷗ノ茶ニモ、易トモニ三人ナラデ、げたを踏得タル
モノナシト鷗モイハレシ也、今、京・堺・奈良ニカケテ、数十人ノスキ者ア
レトモ、ゲタヲハク功者、ワ僧トモニ五人ナラデナシ、⁷³⁷

Entering the *roji*, both the guest and the host shall wear special wooden sandals called *geta*. This is Jō-ō's rule. Because *roji* is a place where trees and plants are covered with dew and one needs to pass it when entering and leaving the gathering, it is said that wearing *geta* sandals helps to distinguish from the sound of the footwear the skillful and less-skillful Tea person. The sound of the skillful person is not noisy or stealthy steps, but rather calm and quiet like the steps of one who has reached the heart of detachment (*mushin*). One who lacks the true understanding of Tea is not capable of making this judgment. In these days, Rikyū favoured straw-footwear with bottoms made of leather. They were called *sekita*. When Sōkei inquires about this new footwear that Rikyū had made at the city of Imaichi in Sakai, and used in the *roji* path, Rikyū answers, "to wear *geta* footwear [instead of *sekita*] is definitely not wrong. However, Jō-ō has already said that there are no more than three persons including Rikyū and Jō-ō himself who are capable of wearing *geta* skillfully. Today, in Kyōto, Sakai, and Nara there are about ten devotees of Tea and no more than five of them, including you, Sōkei, who can wear *geta* footwear skillfully..."

This citation shows the importance of reaching the state of *wabi* mind, the absolute freedom of the heart and the true understanding of Tea. Whether a person has attained this desirable state can be heard from one's footsteps: an unskillful person will walk like a thief but a skillful person will walk so that the sound he makes is calm, sure and tranquil. The sound of the footfall does not limit one to

⁷³⁶ The book called *Stories from a Tea-room Window* (1982) contains some of the same anecdotes used in this study, and several others not used here, and it, along with Dennis Hirota's book *Wind in the Pines* (1995), has been an aid in the translations.

⁷³⁷ *Nanpōroku*, pp. 6-7.

wear *geta* only in the *roji*, but this is also appreciated if one can make proper sounds while walking inside the tea-room wearing *tabi* socks. In this sense, walking and how it is emphasised is similar to *Nô* theatre, where a simple way of walking is an expression of concentration and mastery: the center of gravity is rather low, one keeps the feet in contact with the *tatami*, and steps must be firm and the mind calm. It sounds easy but is quite difficult to put into practise.

Originally wearing *geta*, wooden footwear, prevented feet getting dirty or wet in the *roji* path. Later, straw footwear called *sekita* was designed by Rikyū (used in Tea even today) and the citation above suggests indirectly that *sekita* footwear were mostly for beginners and *geta* for those who could walk properly with them, i.e., for the Masters. Of course, *geta* were used by everyone but wearing them also reveals whether the person is skillful in Tea or not, because the sound of the *geta* is noisier than the sound of the *sekita* and if an unskillful person walks wearing *geta*, the sound may be disturbing and even unbearable.

With this story Rikyū shows that a real Master of Tea has to be able to walk in a proper way, too. It means being skillful in every single matter concerning Tea and mastering even natural skills such as walking and sitting and making them a part of the Art of Tea. For mastering Tea as an art, one also has to master one's body and self. Furthermore, to become a Master of Tea, one must become 'a master of the heart' as noted in Shukō's *Kokoro no Fumi* (see Section 3.1.2). Becoming 'a master of the heart' leads to mastering other things naturally. However, this is the most difficult step towards the status of a master.

The next citation is also from *Nanpōroku* and shows the need for delicate sensitivity and for aesthetic values to become a Great Tea Master.

易云、雪の会ハ何とぞ足あと多くならぬやうに心得べし、飛石のうへハかり水にてそゝとけすべし、手水鉢の水ハ入らずしてハかなハぬ事なれば、見よきやうに水をかけてけすべし、但、手水鉢の石、又ハ其辺の木どもに景気おもしろく降つミたるにハ、其まゝ置て、手水は腰掛に片口にて出すもよし、⁷³⁸

Rikyū says, on the gathering of a snowy day one should try to be careful not to leave too many footprints [on the ground]. On the top of the stepping stones, water shall be poured carefully to melt the snow only from the stones. On every occasion, the water basin, *tsukubai*, must be filled with water and to make it easier to see, snow should be melted away around the water basin by using the water. But, when the snow has fallen deep into the water basin and on the trees nearby making a fascinating scene, it is better to leave the snow as it is. Then it is better to place the *katakuchi* pitcher in the waiting arbour (*koshikake machiai*) for washing water.

The story teaches that Tea is not only preparing tea in the right way and correct manner, but possessing an overwhelming artistic sensibility that overlooks nothing – not even the beauty of the snow. On a snowy day *roji* should be left as

⁷³⁸ Nanpōroku, p. 9.

untouched as possible to protect the sense of purity, and therefore, one needs to be careful to avoid making footprints. On any occasion one should try to maintain the feeling of purity and naturalness in the *roji* path. As understood from the citation, rules and teachings in *chadô* show the general direction but everyone has to consider carefully different possibilities based on the fact that every occasion is unique and no absolute rule can be given.

The following citation continues the discussion of the tea gathering on a snowy evening.

雪の夜会にハ、露地の燈籠ハ凡とぼすべからず、雪の白きにうばはれて見所なく光うすし、但露地の木だち・様子によりて一向にも云がたし、⁷³⁹

In the evening gatherings when the snow has fallen, as a general rule one should avoid using stone lanterns in the *roji* path. Because of the white snow the light is not seen clearly and light becomes wan. However, depending on the arrangement of trees and the appearance of the *roji* path, it is difficult to speak unconditionally.

Rikyû really enjoyed the beauty of the snow, and according to this cited passage, he thinks that the light that snow reflects is enough during the evening gatherings held in the winter. In general, Rikyû preferred natural light. In the evening gatherings, moonlight is the best and if there is no high and thick foliage, the natural light from the snow should also be enough. These citations demonstrate that Rikyû preferred first of all naturalness and the feeling of purity. He seemed to prefer darkness more than the overwhelming light of the glittering snow and stone lamps. Warnings to be careful not to leave too many footprints in the snow and to avoid the use of stone lanterns whenever possible, also show that he gently guided his guests to total concentration and control over their bodies and movements, and also toward the enlightenment. Darkness is another way of promoting these senses and the goal of reaching enlightenment; in the dark *roji*, where the only light is given by the snow, all one's senses will be vigilant and one will sense things that would otherwise be almost impossible to see or hear. The use of darkness as an effective way to strengthen one's senses, being 'truly awake', could be understood as a form of Rikyû's sense of minimalism in beauty. He wanted to keep everything simple and to avoid embellishments. Whenever something could be reduced he did it, such as the size of his tea-rooms, the number of famed utensils used in Tea or the intensity of the light.

The next citation shows that Rikyû also wanted partly to cover (to obstruct) the beautiful view to the sea from his *roji* in Sakai City:

利休、堺の路次は海ミへ候てよき景なり、それを利休、海のかたを植かくしト、ミへぬや、にして、少斗手水などつかひ候所よりミへ候やうにとり候也、景にて合点ある事也、宗祇発句に、

⁷³⁹ Nanpôroku, p. 9.

海すこし庭にいつミの木の間かな
といふ句を利休愛して常に吟し、路次を作りしと也、⁷⁴⁰

There was beautiful scenery all the way to the sea from Rikyū's tea-house at Sakai city. Rikyū did not like it so much, and therefore he planted trees to obstruct the view of the sea and to hide the scenery. However, while using the stone water basin (*tsukubai*) one could catch a glimpse of it behind the trees. This is also how the construction of the *roji* should be understood. In a poem by Sōgi (1421-1502), it says:

Only a touch of sea / floating gently into the garden / behind the trees

Rikyū loved this poem and he kept it as a guideline for making the *roji* path.

One can imagine how charming the view from Rikyū's *roji* path all the way to the sea must have been in his tea-house at Sakai city. However, Rikyū seems to consider it to be too perfect, perhaps in catching the guests' interest and disturbing the calmness of their mind, causing excitement, which is against the essential meaning of *wabichadō*. The essential meaning of *wabichadō* does not lie in perfect things nor in great moving feelings but rather in insufficiency and the absolute freedom of the mind. In practice this means that one does not have to see the sea; it is enough if one knows it is there, conveying the idea of being satisfied with insufficiency. Absolute freedom of the mind is attained when one no longer has any desire to see the sea or to experience pleasures of this world, but is satisfied with things as they are. One does not have to see the sea with one's own eyes: it is enough to see it through the eyes of one's heart. This is also one form of having reached the absolute freedom of the heart.

This story of Rikyū is similar to Kenkō's *Tsurezuregusa*, in which he writes about people admiring only the full moon and cherry blossoms in full bloom.⁷⁴¹ Kenkō criticises people who only wait to see the cherry blossoms in full bloom or the full moon in autumn. He raises a question: would not the moon be more beautiful beneath the clouds and the cherry blossoms lovelier when scattering away in the mild spring breeze. Similar to the full moon in Kenkō's story, Rikyū wants to show that rather than wishing for an unhampered view of the sea, one should be able to appreciate the beauty and charm of the scenery where the sea is seen through the branches of the trees.

The following story continues the theme of evening gatherings and introduces the role of flowers:

夜会に花を嫌ふこと、古来の事なりしを、紹鷗・宗易吟味のうえへ、夜会に花によりていけ申二極りし也、凡色の花ハいけず、白き花不苦、其いけ申花品々、其外燈花といふ事口伝殊勝の故実也、燈花を称する事ハ伝祝儀にも心ある事也、⁷⁴²

⁷⁴⁰ Sekishū Sanbyakukajō, p. 255.

⁷⁴¹ *Tsurezuregusa*, pp. 231-235 (Chapter 137).

From the times of old, there has been a custom of avoiding the use of flowers in the evening gatherings. Jô-ô and Rikyû, having had close discussion on this, decided that in the evening gatherings, too, flowers can be used. However, one should not use colourful flowers, but rather white flowers. Several kinds of flowers are accepted. Besides this, there exists an oral transmission of praiseworthy old manners concerning the 'flowers of the flames'. Especially in celebrative gatherings, one should consider very carefully whether these 'flame flowers' suit the occasion.

The suggestion of using white flowers instead of colourful flowers is understandable because in times of old, the tea-rooms were quite dark and in the dim room one could not see different colours clearly. White flowers possess a kind of natural glow that colourful flowers do not possess. *Nanpôroku* says that several kinds of flowers are accepted, but as a general rule flowers with a strong smell, plants with fruit, or flowers with a name of unpleasant connotation, such as bones (*kôbone*) that gives an image of death, a negative character of personality as cockscomb (*keitô*), or even prostitute (*gorô*), should be avoided.⁷⁴³

Concerning unpleasant connotations, one should be careful in using the 'flame flowers' even though they are used on celebrative occasions because they are also used as an omen to gain some material (economic) profit in old beliefs and money is one of the unfavourable themes in the tea-room. This example transmits the deep sensibility for another person's feelings found in Japanese culture and manners of Tea. Then, too, it strengthens the impression that Rikyû was careful never to give even a hint of unpleasant connotations inside the tea-room, confirming that Tea masters must consider carefully every single act and object in the tea-room.

The next story deals with the theme of light and darkness. The meaning of the change of light during the tea gathering plays a very essential role: the first half of the gathering is dark and the second half of the gathering is light. *Nanpôroku* explains this as follows:

数奇屋ニテ、初座・後座ノ趣向ノコト、休云、初ハ陰、後ハ陽、コレ大法也、初座ニ床ハカケ物、釜モ火アイ衰へ、窓ニ簾ヲカケ、ヲノマ一座陰ノ体ナリ、主客トモニ其心アリ、後座ハ花ヲイケ、釜モワキタチ、簾ハツシナド、ミナ陽ノ体ナリ、如此大法ナレドモ、天気ノ晴クモリ、寒温暑湿ニシタカイテ変体ヲスルコト、茶人ノ料簡ニアリ、⁷⁴⁴

In the tea-room there is a special flavour for the first half (*shoza*) and the latter half (*goza*) of the gathering. Rikyû says that the first half of the gathering is called *in* (*yin*) and the latter *yô* (*yang*) and this is the general rule. During the first half, the hanging scroll is put up in the *tokonoma*, the kettle is boiling gently and the windows are cov-

⁷⁴² *Nanpôroku*, p. 7. 'Flame flowers' (燈花) contains two Chinese characters fire or light (*tô*) and flower (*ka*) and it means the leftover (cinder) of the burnt heart of the candle that recalls the shape of an imaginative flower.

⁷⁴³ For the forbidden flowers, see *Nanpôroku*, p. 7, or Hirota 1995, pp. 222-223.

⁷⁴⁴ *Nanpôroku*, p. 212.

ered with the reed screens (*sudare*). All these things are done to promote the feeling of *in* (*yin*) in the gathering, and both the host and the guest should reach this spirit (heart). During the latter half of the gathering (*goza*) the flowers are set, the kettle is boiling nicely, the *sudare* screens are taken away and so forth. All of these acts are done for the feeling of *yō* (*yang*). These are general rules but one has to think of different ways of carrying out the gathering depending on whether the weather is fine or cloudy, cold or warm, or very humid. This is something that all devotees of Tea must consider for themselves.

This citation indicates Rikyū's fascination with the darkness. Even though there is a change from dark to light, *chadō* could, in fact, be called a beauty of darkness. Small tea-rooms are built in a way that direct sunshine never shines into the tea-room. Therefore, even in bright sunshine, inside the tea-room it is quite dark, and the first half of the gathering that is said to be dark is actually even darker than the second half of the gathering. One can hardly see. That makes the occasion very different from those in Western countries, where it would be considered rude to make one's guests sit in a dark room. Concerning this, Sei Shōnagon writes about the beauty of darkness in *Makura no Sōshi* as follows:

あそびは夜。人の顔見えぬほど。⁷⁴⁵

Music is best in the evenings. And people's faces when you cannot see them clearly.

One reason for the fascination with darkness is, of course, that there were no modern effective lamps available at that time. Moreover, the tea-room architecture does not even try to make the room as light as possible (compared to the *sukiya* style of architecture, such as in *Katsura Rikyū* or *Shūgakuin* where the windows can be a kind of panorama view of the garden) because the light disturbs the feeling of tranquillity. Small tea-rooms are built to be dark: windows can be many but they are small (and they may even face north) and have a bamboo lattice in front of them. The doorway is a small *nijiriguchi* style of crawl-in entrance, and the colours of the materials are dark earth-colours (brownish). Dark has a quieting effect; it calms the mind and heart and helps concentration, and makes it easier to attain the enlightenment, which in Tea means attaining the ultimate state of mind which both the host and the guests should be able to reach. In this state, the host and the guest reach mutual understanding and there exists no force to please or entertain. One becomes honest and frank and attains absolute freedom from earthly affairs, and naturalness in all acts. One attains the state where one is free to accept oneself and everything else as such. The dark sensitizes all the senses and one will experience things and feelings in a deep and unique way.

Another reason for keeping the tea-room quite dark is to achieve contrasting elements, dark-light which we have shown to be one principal element in Tea. Also, luxurious tea utensils look more beautiful in a dim tea-room where the

⁷⁴⁵ *Makura no Sōshi*, p. 249 (Chapter 214).

shades of darkness soften the colours and tone down the lines of decoration.⁷⁴⁶ Further, dark supports the formal feeling or even the sacred feeling that comes from the mysterious darkness and quiet in the first half of the gathering when thick tea is served. In contrast, during the second half, when thin tea is served, the tea-room is made light by taking the *sudare* screen away giving way to a feeling inside the tea-room that is more informal, energetic and lively. During the second half more discussion is carried on; contrasting with the quiet and calm atmosphere during the serving of the thick tea, the atmosphere becomes more relaxed and strengthens the feeling of togetherness. During the first half, everyone tries to find freedom from secular matters, they turn to question their hearts, but during the second half after this state of mind is attained, the host and the guest share this ultimate state of mind. They will be able to give something to the others because all the effort is no longer needed to gain something for themselves, and this makes it possible to enjoy the gathering even more deeply and uniquely.

Dividing the tea gathering into first and second halves also shows that the rules concerning how tea is served were established to some extent during Rikyû's times; sometimes it is even claimed that Rikyû alone was responsible for this. According to the classical sources used for this study, it can be shown that this is not the whole truth: Jô-ô, among other Tea masters, has also influenced how the rules and regulations were formed.⁷⁴⁷ Concerning rules and regulations, in the following citation the differences between formal thick tea and informal thin tea are explained in more detail:

ウスチャハ心ヲ草ニシテ、手前ヲ真ニト心得ヌラハ、龜末ナキモノ也、コイ茶ハ心ヲ真ニ、手前ヲ草ニト心得ヘシ、惣テコイ茶ノ手前ハ元来仕方真ノモリツケ、ウスチャハ草ノモリツケナルユヘ、コイチャ草ニト思ヘハ、手前サヘテホトヨキモノ也、コレニテ両様可得心、尤一ツモノ名物ナト、カルタ々シク、アシラヘト云ニハアラス、能修行スレハ、ヲノツカラ埒明モノ也、秘蔵名物ナト、心ハ真ニシテ、手前ハ、イカニモ思切テ、無造作ニアツカフカヨキ也、ヲノレヲノレ取アツカヘハ、チケテ見クルシキモノナリ、草庵ノ本心ニモカナハス、本心ヲ以テカヤウノコト得心せヨト、休モ被レ申シ也、⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁶ Similarly, in *Tsurezuregusa*, Kenkô says that ornaments and rich colours in things and in materials, such as *kimonos*, are their best in the night. *Tsurezuregusa*, pp. 326-327 (Chapter 191). See also Tanizaki 1975, p. 22, and pp. 31-31. In these chapters, Tanizaki describes the beauty of gold in statues of the Buddha, in brocade, or in lacquer work (*makie*) with gold and silver decorations. Tanizaki mentions that the shadows somehow wrap around these items, softening the lines and colours of the decorations. See also Sei Shônagon: *Makura no Sôshi*, pp. 312-313 (Chapter 302). Similarly, Sei Shônagon praised the beauty of a Japanese *kimono* in the winter moonlight.

⁷⁴⁷ Tanaka and Tanaka 1998, p. 48.

⁷⁴⁸ Nanpôroku, pp. 368-369. A similar idea is also found in Nanpôroku, p. 264: 易ノ云、コイ茶ノ手前ニ一段ト草アリ、ウス茶ノ手前ニ極眞アリ、此差別ヨク々得心ス

Thin tea (*usucha*) should be prepared with a humble mind [informal mind] but the style of preparing tea should be carried out with the most respectful manners [formal way] and practicing tea like this causes that the result is not coarse. Thick tea (*koicha*) should be prepared with the most respectful mind [with a formal mind] but the style of preparing tea should be humble [informal]. The style of preparing thick tea has been originally formal and thin tea informal, and therefore, if one thinks of thick tea being informal [by nature] one will succeed in preparing tea with a good style. Both the style of preparing thick tea and thin tea must be understood in this manner. Important famed utensils especially should not be handled too lightly. By practising hard, one will naturally attain understanding of the meaning of this. If one handles a very rare and valuable famed utensil, it is good to maintain the feeling of a formal heart [full of respect] but yet to prepare tea with a decisive manner and handle utensils with ease. If one handles utensils with uncertainty [nervously and cautiously], one's way of preparing tea becomes small and timid [unpleasant to look at], too. This is also against the true heart [essential nature] of the small tea-room. Rikyū also said that these things should be learnt from the true mind(heart).

In this citation, contrasts are found between the mind and the act. Thick tea should be performed with a humble mind and thin tea with lofty mind because the style of serving thick tea is sublime and the style of serving thin tea is more casual. If a formal style of thick tea is served with a lofty mind, the result becomes too sublime and too noble. On the other hand, if more informal thin tea is served with a humble mind, the result is too casual and ordinary. To maintain the balance, these contrasting styles and states of mind have to be reconciled. The citation shows that for Rikyū, Tea was not a ritual nor a ceremony that should be carried out with a holy spirit and stiff behaviour. Nor was it for him just an entertainment party in order to amuse the guest. For Rikyū, Tea seems to be something between these two: it is an aesthetic occasion giving an opportunity to enjoy art pieces and the artistic creativity of a skillful master having deep philosophical values at its base. The citation also illustrates how important the nuances were for Rikyū. Rikyū claimed that it was not enough if one could serve tea in a proper style, but that this act must also be carried out with the right state of mind. All acts are considered means to attain this ultimate state of mind and the tea-room itself is considered to express the pure world of the Buddha, where the 'Tea enlightenment' becomes possible. A skillful host will easily find a proper way of serving tea for each occasion, and this emphasises the idea that every gathering is unique and cannot be carried out twice in the same way. Rikyū's idea of naturalness is also emphasised in this citation by saying that besides maintaining the proper state of

ヘシ、時ニヨリ 所ニヨル コトナリ、カロ キヤウニテ、秘事也ト云々 'Rikyū says, thick tea (*koicha*) should be prepared in an informal way (or feeling) and preparing thin tea (*usucha*) should be done in a most formal way. One needs to consider carefully and truly to understand the difference between these two things. There are changes in style [of preparing Tea] depending on the time and place. This may seem easy to carry out but it contains essential secret information [of the procedure of *chanoyu*].'

mind, one should be able to act naturally. True naturalness becomes possible in the ultimate state of mind (see in more detail sections 2.3.7 and 3.2).

The following story also concerns the importance of possessing the special kind of mind for *chadô*, being always prepared at heart to welcome guests which is vital for a *wabi* Tea practitioner.

宗易、花の此、さる侘を伴ひて東山へまいられ、ミちにて、其方宿に釜をしかけて出られたるやと問れたれば、今日ハ早朝より御供申により、しかけ申さすと答フ、いや、さやうのたしなミにて侘がならうか、是よりかへりて、しかけておじやれ、晩に誰かよろうもしらすといふ、⁷⁴⁹

In the spring when the cherry blossoms were blooming, Rikyû left for the Eastern Mountains with one *wabi* Tea person. On the way, they started to talk and Rikyû asked his companion whether he left the kettle ready before leaving the house, where to the *wabi* Tea practitioner answered, 'No I did not because I left the house so early in the morning to accompany you.' Rikyû said, 'O how dare you think of practicing the *wabi* style of Tea with that attitude! Go straight back to your house and set the kettle on the fire. You never know if someone will pay you a visit in the evening.'

Rikyû was very definite in his ideas of *wabichadô* and he did not hesitate to correct his disciples. One of the principles is that a *wabi* Tea person should always be ready to welcome guests. Being prepared not only concerns the practical preparations needed for serving tea, such as having a kettle on the fire, the tea-room cleaned, and flowers in the *tokonoma*, but also being ready in one's heart. Being ready in one's heart means that Tea is no longer just rules to follow or a play to act but it has become a part of one's everyday life (Section 3.2.2) in a state where one has reached the absolute freedom of the mind.

Earlier in this study (Section 2.3.1) a similar idea was introduced citing *Zen-charoku*, in which it says that one needs to aim for the 'absolute preparedness of the heart' or toward 'self-discipline' in doing things. This is reached when the lack of freedom becomes absolute freedom, insufficiency becomes fully satisfactory in every respect, and finally unpreparedness turns into being fully prepared both in body and in mind. To give an example, it is not the same if one has cleaned the house against one's will or full of anger because one is ordered to do so, as it is if one had cleaned the house with pleasure and satisfaction. The result in both cases might be a clean house, but in the latter case one has not only carried out the orders in the course of everyday life but also completed them with the right spiritual attitude. It is not the same if one just follows orders and acts as taught; one must fulfill all the rules with one's heart and every act must come from one's sincerest spirit (Section 2.3.4).⁷⁵⁰ The *wabi* person in this story seems to follow

⁷⁴⁹ Chawashigetsumû, p. 210.

the idea of *wabi* like a role in a play and it has not yet become a part of his everyday life. Rikyū wanted to correct him and show that he still lacks in spiritual training and he must practice harder.

The next citation shows that Rikyū disliked people who were not honest and frank, those who pretended to be something they were not:

森口といふ所にひとりの侘あり、利休とする人なりければ、いつす茶をたへんと約す、ある冬のころ、大阪より京へのほるに、かの侘をこゝろさし、夜ぶかに出て尋たれば、亭主よろこび迎へ、休内に入ル住居いとわひて心にかなふ、やゝありて窓のもとに人の音なひしけるをミレハ、亭主行灯に竹竿を持そへ出て、柚の樹のしたに行灯をおろし、竿にて柚を二つはかりとりて内に入ぬ、休打ミるより、是を一種の調菜にしつるよと、侘のもてなし一きハおもしろく思ふに、あんのこことく柚味噌にしたゝめだす、酒一獻過て、大阪より到来すとて、ふくらかなる肉餅を引ク、休さてハよべよりしらすものありて、肴もとゝのへ侍るのこそ、始めわさとならぬ体にミせつるハ、作りものよと興さめて、酒いまたなかばなるに。京に用事あれハまかるとて、いかにとむれとも聞も入レすのほりぬ、されハ、有合たりとも、にけなき物ハ出さぬかよきなり、⁷⁵¹

In the place called Morikuchi there lived a poor Tea practitioner. This person was an acquaintance of Rikyū and he had invited Rikyū to come over to have a cup of tea someday. On one winter day, when Rikyū was on his way from Ōsaka to the capital [Kyōto], he remembered these kind words of the poor devotee of Tea (person devoted to the *wabi* style of Tea) and since the evening had already darkened he decided to pay him a visit. The host welcomed Rikyū delightedly and guided him into the tea-room. Rikyū was satisfied in seeing the truly *wabi* style of the humble dwelling. After a while, they heard sounds at the window like someone who would like to come for a visit. The host took the lamp with handle and bamboo pole (the end is cleaved into a fork) and went outside. He set the portable lamp under the lemon tree, picked up two Chinese lemons using the bamboo pole, and returned into the tea-house. Rikyū followed these happenings and wondered what kind of food the host might prepare from the lemon and found this *wabi* Tea practitioner's way of hospitality very interesting. Just as Rikyū had thought [it would happen], the *miso* soup (bean paste soup) with lemon was served, and after the first round of *sake*, a beautifully round boiled fish paste, delivered all the way from Ōsaka, was carried in. Rikyū understood that someone had informed the host of his coming already the evening before, and therefore, the host prepared fish and other delicacies to be served for Rikyū. Everything that had looked so honest and unpretentious showed to be false. Rikyū was disappointed and even though he had had no more than a half of the served sake, he said, 'cause I have things to do in Kyōto I shall stay no longer', and left. No matter how hard the others tried to make him stay Rikyū took no notice. Even though *wabi* means to use whatever one has on hand, one should not use things not suitable for the *wabi* style of Tea.

⁷⁵⁰ In the *Book of Tea* there is a story about Rikyū and Sōan (see 4.2.3) in which Rikyū had asked Sōan to clean the *roji* path and no matter how carefully Sōan cleaned it was not clean enough for Rikyū. With this story, Rikyū teaches that too much cleaning disturbs the natural feeling, but also that it is not the act, but the spirit in which the act is carried out that is important.

⁷⁵¹ Chawashigetsushū, pp. 205-206.

This story shows that Rikyû was quite a short-tempered man and once he got angry, nothing could change his mind. When Rikyû thought that he was misled by the host, he did not bother even to be polite and to stay until the gathering was over, but he left causing quite a stir. Rikyû got angry because the host was not sincere. The *wabi* Tea practitioner's behaviour did not reflect the idea of being always prepared to welcome a sudden guest because he intentionally prepared welcoming Rikyû with delicacies. He wanted to please the famous Master of Tea, even though, according to the principles of *wabichadô*, he ought to try to show hospitality in a way that 'a heart is not aware its being a heart', i.e., in a truly natural way (see Section 2.3.7). For a *wabi* Tea man it means accepting things as they are, finding even 'the insufficiency sufficient', and not desiring more.

In this story Rikyû teaches that one should practise Tea in a way that fits one's life,⁷⁵² even though one may have by chance some delicacies in the house, one should never serve something that stands against the sense of *wabi*. Rikyû's criticism was that the *wabi* practitioner's actions were not honest and sincere to the idea of *wabi* in Tea because he wanted to be better than he was, and therefore, showed dissatisfaction for the insufficiency of the modest *wabi* style of Tea and life. This indicates that this *wabi* person had not realised 'the freedom in lack of freedom', but rather he was still attached to the things of this world.

Rikyû not only admired things of perfection, but he could also find beauty in broken utensils, as is shown in the story about a leaking bamboo flower vase called *Onjôji* (Plate 18a):

宗易園城寺の筒に花を入れて床にかけたるを、ある人、筒のわれめより水のしたよりて畳のぬれけるをみて、いかゞと申されたれば、易、此水のもり候か命なりといふ、⁷⁵³

One Tea person looked at Rikyû, who had set flowers into the bamboo flower vase called *Onjôji* and hung it to the *tokonoma* pillar. The water was dripping from the crack onto the *tatami* making it wet and the Tea practitioner asked Rikyû about this. Rikyû answered that, 'in these water drops exists the soul of the flower vase'.

Rikyû's companion seems to be concerned about the leaking flower vase, that the dripping water would dampen the *tatami* and damage it. However, for Rikyû the dripping water gave a special sense of beauty to the vase, representing for him the *soul* of the vase. According to Rikyû, items of little damage were not necessarily unsuitable for use, and in some cases the crack might even create or deepen the true spirit and sense of beauty in the utensil. Usually cracked tea utensils, such as tea bowls, were repaired with gold⁷⁵⁴ or lacquer, if they were somehow remarkable

⁷⁵² See Section 4.2.2: comments, and Section 4.2.3: story about middle gate in different schools of Tea.

⁷⁵³ Chawashigetushû, p. 206. See also Mori and Mori 1982, pp. 40-41. This book has a longer version of the story. See picture of *Onjôji* in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 96.

pieces for the owner, or in the case of famed utensils. Fine bamboo flower vases might also be repaired with rivets but this did not make them waterproof.

The next story is about the ceramic tea-caddy, *chaire*, that was nothing special before it was broken, but repairing it gave it an interesting look. Some examples where the tea utensils were intentionally broken can also be found in the classics. However, these examples need careful examination to see whether they really express a kind of aesthetic value or whether they convey something else, for example about the personality of the Tea person.

雲山といへる肩衝、堺の人所持したるか、利休など招きて、はしめて茶湯に出したれば、休、一向気にいらぬ体也、亭主客帰りて後、当世休か気いらぬ茶入おもしろからすとて、五徳に擲ち破けるを、傍に有ける知音の人もらうてかえり、手づから継て茶会を催し、ふたゝひ休にミせたれハ、是でこそ茶入見事なれとて、ことの外称美す、よて此趣キもとの持主方へいひやり、茶入秘蔵せられよとて戻しぬ、⁷⁵⁵

One Tea man from Sakai owned the *katatsuki* (shouldered) type of the tea-caddy for thick tea called Cloudy Mountain. He invited Rikyū and some other people to the tea gathering, where for the first time he used this tea-caddy for thick tea, but Rikyū paid hardly any attention to it. After the guests had left, the host was very disappointed and murmured that if Rikyū does not like this piece it is worth nothing, and broke the *chaire* on the iron stand of the hearth. An acquaintance of the host saw this and gathered all the broken pieces of the *chaire*, took them home and repaired it himself. After awhile, Rikyū was again invited to a tea gathering by this Tea practitioner, where he showed Rikyū the repaired *chaire*. 'What a marvelous *chaire*!' Rikyū said and praised the beauty of the piece. This Tea person told the original owner what Rikyū had said about the *chaire* and returned it, expressing the hope that he would take very good care of the tea-caddy.

According to Saito Yuriko, the aesthetics of imperfection and insufficiency comprises two types of utensils: accidentally and intentionally broken objects.⁷⁵⁶ At first glance, this story seems to belong to Saito's second group of intentionally broken things, conveying the idea of the beauty of imperfection, but actually the *chaire* was neither accidentally broken, because the host broke it in anger, nor

⁷⁵⁴ *Ōido chawan, Tsutsuizutsu*; see picture in Kumakura 1991, p. 28.

⁷⁵⁵ Chawashigetsumū, p. 219.

⁷⁵⁶ Saito 1997, pp. 377-385. According to Saito, this special kind of aesthetic value can be explained with the aesthetic value of contrast and by emphasising the imagination. The main emphasis in Saito's article seems to be on damaged or broken tea utensils, referring to the aesthetics of imperfection. But, is it really the crack, the act of breaking tea utensils, that makes them interesting, or rather the skillful repair giving a special spirit to the utensil which makes it look interesting? The word *wabi* is not mentioned in Saito's article even though the content is very close to the idea of *wabi* studied here. Examples in the classics where tea utensils were intentionally broken are not so many and anecdotes, especially concerning Rikyū, do not always have to mean that they express the sense of *wabi* in *chadō*, but rather express his personal preference for imperfection or his philosophical ideas behind *wabi-chadō*.

intentionally broken, because the host did not break it in order to make it more interesting.

In this story, the host broke the ceramic *chaire* because Rikyû showed no interest in it, but after being skillfully repaired the tea-caddy became interesting looking and even Rikyû praised its beauty. This does not mean that all damaged, broken, or repaired pieces contain a special kind of aesthetic value, but rather that tea utensils should not be praised because of their fame or name. All the famed utensils or Chinese pieces do not have to please the aesthetic taste of everyone; some of them might even look quite ordinary. Therefore, in some cases, famed utensils without any special features might look even more fascinating when repaired. The repair may give them aesthetic interest or create some interesting patterns on the surface of the object. However, it should be kept in mind that the repaired item has to be somehow special to the owner, or to be an old, famed Chinese item to be worth repairing (see Section 4.4.2).

Rather than showing that in Tea damaged items possess aesthetic value, this story illustrates that Rikyû disliked those devotees of Tea who wanted to please him just because he was a famous master of Tea. They purchased rare tea utensils to display before Rikyû, thereby gaining merit for themselves as being someone with such good taste that Rikyû himself would praise it. Rikyû's silent criticism of such Tea practitioners' behaviour can be read between the lines – tea utensils should not be praised because of their name. Because of these practitioners, Tea was moving too much toward the utensil-centered Tea that Rikyû disliked very much.

Not connected to this particular story, but based on a similar example, Saito considers that intentionally and accidentally damaged items used and praised in *chadô* are both forms of "imperfect beauty".⁷⁵⁷ She cites a story from *Nanpô-*

⁷⁵⁷ Saito 1997, p. 378. See also Nakano-Holmes 1995, pp. 62-63, 210. Nakano-Holmes writes that, while Rikyû preferred simplicity, rusticity and tranquillity in his *chanoyu*, Oribe preferred bold and colourful. Oribe exaggerated and transformed the *wabi* aesthetic features such as irregularity and imperfection in order to seek 'a perfect imperfection'. According to Nakano-Holmes, Oribe's unrestrained expressions and even comical interpretations of *wabi* aesthetics may, at times, appear as if they were meant to make fun of Rikyû's *chanoyu*. As Nakano-Holmes also points out, the basic difference between these two tea masters were that Rikyû sought naturalness and Oribe sought a kind of free form made artificially. In this study it has been well-established that one feature of *wabi* as a philosophical concept, in addition to beauty, is naturalness (on naturalness, see sections 2.3.7, 3.1.3.3, 3.2.3, and 6.2.4), and therefore, it may be asked whether "Oribe's *wabi* style" exists as Nakano-Holmes claims. Or, are Oribe's works only one expression of imperfection similar to Saito's intentionally damaged items? However, as shown in this study all imperfect and damaged items do not possess the spirit of *wabi*; they have to be born through the *wabi* mind(heart), the absolute freedom of the heart, the Buddha nature (Section 2.3). These two types of utensils introduced by Nakano-Holmes (*oribe yaki*) and Saito (intentionally damaged items) do not fulfill these requirements. They are just expressions of artificial (作為) imperfection, and

*roku*⁷⁵⁸ in which Jō-ō, on the way to the tea gathering, finds a perfectly-shaped flower vase with handles (suggesting the Chinese style of flower vase). Meanwhile, Rikyū had also noticed the same flower vase and purchased it. The following day he invited Jō-ō for Tea and Jō-ō discovers that the flower vase lacks its other handle. Jō-ō is very surprised to notice that Rikyū had thought the same thing as he had, that the vase would look even more fascinating if it had only one handle. Saito seems to consider that damaged or broken utensils would, as such, contain higher aesthetic values, and therefore, in *chadō* tea utensils that were also intentionally damaged should be included in the group of "imperfect beauty".

I wholly agree with Saito's idea that accidentally broken items convey the spirit of imperfect beauty, such as a *Yaburebukuro* fresh-water (Broken Sack) container which was broken during the firing. But I have come to a little different conclusion concerning the use of intentionally broken utensils in Tea. This story could also be understood to mean that breaking the utensil does not, as such, increase its aesthetic value, but if the breaking is done skillfully, the result might be even more fascinating than the original unbroken item. By this, I mean the difference between the concepts of an *artificial imperfection* (作為), as Saito seems to understand it, and a *creative imperfection* (作意).⁷⁵⁹ These can also be described in terms of plain imperfection vs. subtle imperfection (see also 3.1.1 about plain withered vs. subtle withered).

This story, as well as many of the intentionally broken items in Tea, belong to this latter group of 'creative imperfection'. The perfect flower vase was for Rikyū like a beautiful piece of art having no life because it was made for looking at and praising its beauty, like art pieces in museums, not for actual use. Therefore, Rikyū caused a little damage to the vase (perfectly under his control) in order to avoid the overprotection of the perfect piece of art and the result was even more fascinating. In this case, the story illustrates Rikyū's practical ideas in the *wabi* style of Tea as well as his extraordinary sensitivity to beauty. Breaking things intentionally is against Rikyū's philosophical ideas concerning Tea, such as the examples of the thick tea-caddy called Cloudy Mountain (see above) or the aged *sarudo* style of gate in the *roji* path (4.2.3) shows. These demonstrate that Rikyū truly disliked things that were made on purpose to possess the spirit of *wabi*, but if the cracked or slightly damaged piece became more suitable to be used in Tea, this was acceptable. Even though most of the tea utensils were art pieces, they were to be used. Moreover, tea utensils should not be praised because of their origin and name but just for what they are (see Section 3.1.3.2).

therefore, it is not suggested in this study that they be considered expressions of the spirit of *wabi* in tea utensils.

⁷⁵⁸ Nanpōroku, pp. 283-284.

⁷⁵⁹ For the concepts of *sakui* (作為 / 作意), see Sections 4.2.3 and 2.3.7.

Even though Rikyū was against the idea of pleasing guests on purpose, he also seemed to choose the utensils according to the interests his guests might have, which can be understood from the following citation from *Chawashigetsushū*:

休、やゝもすれは、今日の客は京衆しや、肩衝に茶をとれ、明日ハ堺の人し
や、棗に茶をはけといふ、⁷⁶⁰

Rikyū had often said that for today's guests who are from Kyōto, I shall choose *kata-tsuki chaire*. But for tomorrow's guests from Sakai, I shall choose a wooden *natsume* instead.

There is no special reason why Rikyū would choose the ceramic tea-caddy for thick tea (*chaire*) for the guests from Kyōto and wooden *natsume* for the guests from Sakai. The tea-caddy for thick tea is more highly respected than thin tea-caddies, just as is thick tea compared to thin tea. Therefore, it can be argued that, because the center of power and cultural activities, including *chadō*, were at that time in Kyōto (Kyōto was the capital), guests from Kyōto were served tea from the rare *chaire*. Sakai, on the other hand, was originally the city of merchants and even though merchants were wealthy, they were not socially as highly respected as, for example, warriors or nobles. This is in accord with Rikyū's idea that everyone should practise Tea that suits one's own social class and form of life (see Chapter 4.2.3, a story about different kinds of middle gates in *roji* path, or 4.4.2, on the utensils that suit one best). However, more likely, the choice of tea containers might not have had any connection with the cities the guests were from, but was perhaps only related to the guests' personal taste. Nevertheless, this passage gives interesting information that utensils used in Tea were chosen according to the guests invited.

Earlier in this study it is stated that, in *chadō*, artificial is inappropriate and a host should not try to please one's guests on purpose, but rather to practise Tea in a way that 'a heart does not know it is being a heart' (for more details about Jō-ō's idea of naturalness, see sections 2.3.7, 3.1.3.3, and 3.1.3.5). Rikyū also taught concerning naturalness (Section 3.2.3) that it is good to attain the match of hearts unintentionally and in this sense both Tea masters, Jō-ō and Rikyū teach a similar idea of naturalness, using different words. At first glance, the citation above seems to be in contrast to the principles of these teachings, but it may be read also that, Rikyū has already attained the desired state of mind where all acts have become natural in an unintentional way, and therefore, he is able to choose suitable utensils to be used in different kinds of gatherings with different kinds of guests. Meaning that he chose the valuable *chaire* for the guests from Kyōto who were able to appreciate, by their cultural heritage, its beauty as such, without just seeing

⁷⁶⁰ Chawashigetsushū, p. 206.

an expensive and valuable item as perhaps the more money-oriented merchants would. By choosing an ordinary wooden container, *natsume*, for guests from Sakai, Rikyū also had a lesson for them that inexpensive tea utensils can also be beautiful and valuable as such.

The following passage from *Chawashigetsushū* illustrates Rikyū's appreciation of using contrasts in *chadō*:

休、 数奇に出す道具ハ、栗に芥子をませたるやうに組合するは巧者と也い
ひし、
附 是レ重々敷道具ニ、サビテ軽キ物又大小ヲ組合スカ好ト云ナルベシ、
昔シヨリ肩衝ノ茶入ヲ出スニハ、薄茶ハ棗、丸壺ニハ中次、雲龍ニ盥
ノ水指、大風炉ニ小板、勿論ノ事、古織ノ細口ノ釜ニ小フリナル柄杓、却テ
取合スト云レシモ亦此意なり、⁷⁶¹

Rikyū says that a skilled Tea person's selection of utensils in Tea is like combining chestnut with mustard.

Comment: This means that with valuable significant utensils, the modest and ordinary utensils should be chosen, as well as big utensils should be used with small pieces. From long ago, with the 'shouldered' (*katatsuki*) type of tea-caddy for thick tea (*chaire*), a *natsume* [rounded body] is chosen for thin tea, similarly with the round-bodied tea-caddy (*marutsubo*) for thick tea a cylindrical style of tea-caddy for thin tea (*nakatsugi*) is used. Again with the *unryū* type of kettle [long and slender body], a *tarai* type of fresh-water container is chosen [low and shallow body], or with a large fire brazier a small board beneath, of course. Koshoku [Furuta Oribe] combined the *hosokuchi* kettle [narrow and slender] with a *hishaku* like a small sword [small and short], which is also in accordance with this teaching.

The skillful use of contrast in the objects and the place is important to emphasise the beauty of the objects used.⁷⁶² This rule concerns everything in *chadō*: the colours, the shapes, the size and the materials. However, the ability to combine things with taste is attained through hard work to train one's eye to distinguish good from bad. This is something that beginners cannot do and it needs extensive practice and careful study of the works of the old great masters (see Section 3.1.1). Rikyū, however, taught otherwise: after a careful study of the rough *wabi* style of *chadō*, one is able to understand the beauty of the luxurious or the famed utensils (see Section 3.2.2). No matter which way one chooses, one must master them both to be able to combine things in Tea skillfully with taste.

Flowers are important in *chadō* and there are many stories about them. The following story shows that Rikyū was not only a skilled Tea master but also that

⁷⁶¹ Chawashigetsushū, p. 212. Note that *sabi* and *karumi* (plain, simple, somber) are both aesthetic terms even though they are used here in a different context. For details, see Kuriyama 1992, pp. 190-208 (on *sabi*) and pp. 255-268, (on *karumi*).

⁷⁶² See also Section 4.4.2.1, where Rikyū says that one should always choose utensils that fit oneself. A big man should have small utensils or an elderly man should use beautiful utensils. In this citation also the idea of using contrasts is emphasised.

he had an extraordinary eye for beauty and an innate ability to master difficult situations elegantly with taste:

春の此、秀吉公、大きな金の鉢に水を入れて床になをさせ、傍に紅梅一えた置せらあれ、宗易に花つかうまつれと仰らる、御近習の人々、難題かなと囁れけるを、宗易、紅梅の枝さか手に取り、水鉢にさらりとこき入れたれハ、開きたると蕾とうちましり、水上に浮ミたるが、えもいはぬ風流にてぞ有ける、公、何とぞして利休めをこまらせうとすれとも、こまらぬやつしやとの上意御感斜ならず、⁷⁶³

One spring, Hideyoshi had filled a large metal container with water and placed it in the *tokonoma* with a branch of a plum tree next to it. He asked Rikyū to arrange the flowers. Hideyoshi's attendants whispered among themselves about its being a difficult task, but Rikyū took the branch of the plum tree in a back-hand grip and drew carefully the branch through his hand, knocking off the flowers. The sight of the plum flowers, some of them being already opened and some of them being still buds, mixing together and floating on the surface of the water looked so elegant that it was beyond description. Hideyoshi, seeing this, says: 'no matter how much I tried to put that fellow Rikyū into a difficult situation, I did not succeed'. Hideyoshi said this without any bad feelings (being displeased).

Rikyū was a very gifted Tea master with elegant taste, who also had a sense of the occasion. He was resourceful and had an ability to achieve an aesthetically refined result. The water basin in the story was most probably silver, because if it had been bronze the combination of red plum blossoms and quite dark bronze container would not be the best. The charm of the red flowers would be best enhanced in a silver container in which water also reflects beautifully. Arranging only one branch of the plum flowers tastefully in the shallow vase is difficult because in 'flower arrangement' for *chadō*, called *chabana*, no stands whatsoever are used, and the flowers should be arranged in a way so that they look as they do naturally in the fields. Rikyū solved this problem by scattering the plum buds and flowers, making them float on the surface of the water similar to the scenery in late spring, which is called in Japanese *hanafubuki*, 'a flower drift', flowers falling in the wind. This must have been a beautiful sight, especially if the container had been silver. It gives an image of a lake (water in the container) and the moon (silver container) and along the lake the plum tree scattering its buds and flowers on the lake in the gentle spring breeze.

Rikyū's morning glory tea gathering is well known and it illustrates his aesthetic values in *wabichadō* and that Rikyū did not have any need to please others on purpose:

⁷⁶³ Chawashigetsetshū, p. 207. See also Hirota 1995, p. 253. In Hirota's translation the metal flower vase is said to be bronze. This would be the natural expectation because most of the metal items during that time were old bronze. However, in this context it does not seem to be the best choice.

宗易、庭に朝顔ノ花みことにさきたるよし太閤へ申上る人あり、さらは御覽せんとして、朝の茶湯に渡御ありしに、朝かほ庭に一枝もなし、尤無興におほしめず、扱、小座敷へ御入あれハ、色あさやかなる一輪床にいけたり、太閤をはしめ、召つれられし人々目さむる心ちし給ひ、はなハた御褒美にあつかる、是を世に利休かあさかほの茶湯と申伝ふ、⁷⁶⁴

Someone told Hideyoshi that in Rikyū's garden the morning glories were blooming beautifully. Hideyoshi wanted to see the flowers and he left to go to Rikyū's house for the morning gathering. After arriving there, Hideyoshi was displeased to find out that there was not even a single morning glory left in Rikyū's garden. He entered the tea-room and there was just one beautifully bright-coloured morning glory in the *toko-noma*. Hideyoshi was the first to enter the tea-room, followed by his attendants. He looked at the flower and for the first time his eyes were opened to the real beauty of a morning glory and he praised the way the flower was put in the container. Ever since this gathering is known as Rikyū's morning glory tea gathering.

This story gives an impression that Rikyū was irritated by the fact that people always wanted to see something extraordinarily and marvelous in order to be able to experience the deep touch of beauty in their everyday life. This time their interest was in Rikyū's garden, which was said to be full of morning glories, and Hideyoshi also became interested and wanted to see this rare scene.⁷⁶⁵

Rikyū's act of cutting all the flowers is similar to the story in Kenkō's *Essays of Idleness*, introduced earlier in this section with the story of Rikyū's *roji* path in the city of Sakai. The story of Rikyū's morning glory tea gathering teaches that things do not have to be perfect or at their best to be admirable or beautiful, like thousands of flowers in full bloom or the perfectly round moon in a cloudless sky. Perhaps Rikyū wanted to show how one morning glory can be even more beautiful than a whole gardenful of flowers. If there is only one flower, one will look at the beauty of this particular flower, but if there are many of them one will look at the beauty of the whole scene and not see the single flower. Another reason might be that Rikyū wanted to show how easily people admired things others admire, without bothering to look at the object as it is. Rikyū seems to teach that one does not need a number of items (a lot of tea utensils, flowers, or several tea-rooms), but only one skillfully selected piece is enough.

The story may also illustrate Rikyū's fascination with minimalist beauty, the idea of creating the maximum effect with the simplest and fewest elements possible. As shown earlier in this chapter, the utensils Rikyū favoured had hardly any

⁷⁶⁴ Chawashigetsushū, p. 211.

⁷⁶⁵ Seidensticker 1978, pp. 348-359. Morning glories came from China to Japan during the *Nara* period and it was originally known as a medicinal herb (laxative and diuretic). The morning glory became a widely popular flower grown in gardens during the late *Edo* period. The morning glory appears already in *The Tale of Genji* containing a book called *Asagao*, The Morning Glory. *Asagao* was the name of the highest priestess of Kamo who causes disappointment to Genji by turning him away. It says in the note to the text that the name *asagao*, morning glory, derives from this chapter.

decoration; they were rough looking, and his tea-rooms were small, humble, and austere. Putting one morning glory in the *tokonoma* can be said to express the minimalist idea of beauty by forcing a guest to look at a single flower, thereby maximising the effect this flower could have on the guest. The story illustrates the idea of contrasting ideas strengthening the beauty of one particular item, such as using one Chinese masterpiece together with ordinary Japanese pieces, which were not considered to be so valuable at the time. Rikyû emphasised the idea of contrasting elements in combining small pieces with the big ones, square with round, and beautifully decorated beside the rough and austere. In this story, the idea of contrasting elements is also carried out simply by putting one small flower into the large *tokonoma*. This act contains a spiritual message; one flower expresses the sense of modesty and tranquillity emphasised in *chadô*, against the energetic liveliness of a mass of flowers or the luxurious style of Tea. With this simple act, Rikyû pointed out that humbleness and contrasting elements exist in the spirit of *wabi*.

The last anecdote about Rikyû concerns the very essential principle of *wabi-chadô* that, after all, *wabi* means not owning any famed utensils (see Section 4.2.1.1).

さる田舎の佗、休へ金子一兩のほせて、何にても茶湯道具求て給ハれと也、休、この金にて、残らす白布を買ってつかハすとて、佗ハ何なくとも、茶巾だにきれいなれハ、茶ハのめるとそいひやりける、⁷⁶⁶

A poor *wabi* style of Tea practitioner from the countryside sent one *ryô* in gold to Rikyû and asked whether Rikyû could purchase any kind of tea utensils for him with this money. Rikyû spent the whole amount of money on white cloth and sent it back saying, 'in *wabi* style of Tea, even though one owns nothing, if one has only a clean white cloth for wiping the bowl, one is able to drink tea.'

A *wabi* Tea practitioner wanted Rikyû to choose fine utensils for him because Rikyû had a skilled eye for tasteful tea utensils. He sent a large amount of money to Rikyû to purchase good tea utensils, which alone is against the idea of *wabi* in Tea. First of all, a *wabi* Tea person should not possess so much money and should not have worldly desires to own more and more tea utensils, or to show dissatisfaction with life as it is. He wanted to have the advantage of knowing the famous Tea Master Rikyû, and therefore Rikyû did not buy him any utensils, except for white cloth used to wipe tea bowls. With this act, Rikyû probably wanted to remind this *wabi* Tea practitioner that the essential heart of *wabichadô* is to keep all the basic things clean and new, such as white cloth for wiping the bowl, wooden chopsticks for serving the sweets. This is already considered to be enough luxury in *wabichadô*. Concerning the utensils used in Tea, one should use

⁷⁶⁶ Chawashigetushû, p. 208. The same story can be found also in Genryûchawa, p. 427.

whatever is available. The *wabi* Tea practitioner in this story seems to have understood the meaning of *wabi* to be in outer features, but not the true *wabi* mind, and therefore, his acts did not come from the true heart. One is not satisfied in all respects with the humble *wabi* style of Tea and life, but rather has desires to gain worldly pleasures, precious tea utensils, and by them also to gain the respect of other devotees of Tea. All of these are against the ideal *wabi* mind in Tea.

These stories about the great Tea master, Rikyū, reveal that he was extremely strict and meticulous concerning the rules and principles of *wabichadō*, so that the starting and ending point of his Tea was in the proper state of mind(heart). The citations also show that even though mastering this might not sound difficult, it is actually the most challenging task in studying Tea.

