1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF *CHADÔ*

This work is a study of philosophy and aesthetics on the notion of *wabi* in the Japanese Way of Tea, *chadô*. In the following, in order to understand the historical background and context of this study, a summary of the history of Tea is introduced.[1] This historical overview as an introduction, focuses on the *Muromachi-Momoyama* (1393-1602) period, the period of the Great Tea Masters Shukô, Jô-ô and Rikyû. To consider, in any detail, the historical development of the aesthetics of Tea beyond the limits of this period would broaden the scope of investigation far beyond my purpose. However, in order to explain the subject of this study, the philosophical and aesthetic aspects of *wabi* in the Way of Tea, some later sources (dated after 1602) have been seen as essential to the study.

People had been drinking tea long before 772 when the 8th-century Chinese sage, *Riku'u* (陸羽), wrote the Classic of Tea, *Chakyô* (茶經)[2] which contains information on the origins of tea, the tea utensils and on the etiquette of drinking, preparing and serving tea. According to *Chakyô*, tea came from Southern countries, and belongs to the camellia family. The first references to tea-drinking in Japanese records date to the early *Heian* period (794-1185) when Saichô (767-822), Kûkai (774-835) and other Buddhist monks went to China to study. The priest Eichû (743-816), who studied *Sanron* (*Mâdhyamika*) Buddhism in China and lived there for more than thirty years, brought tea back to Japan. The emperor of Japan at that time, Emperor Saga (r. 810-823), was highly interested in things Chinese: civilisation in general, customs, manners, poetry and, of course, tea, which he was served by Eichû during the imperial excursion to Lake Biwa. Thereafter, tea was served at imperial banquets, poetry gatherings and after Buddhist ceremonies. Emperor Saga even had a tea garden built inside the imperial palace for the use of the nobility.

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1 The summary is based on the studies of Murai Yasuhiko, *A Brief History of Tea in Japan in Chanoyu: the Urasenke Tradition* (1988) and Herbert Plutschow, *Historical Chanoyu* (1986). See Murai 1988, pp. 3-35. For further information on the history of Tea see, for example, Sadler 1962 (*Cha-no-yu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony*); Kuwata 1958 (*Nihon Chadô Shi*); Kuwata 1987 (*Chadô no Rekishi*); Kumakura 1990 (*Chanoyu no Rekishi*: *Sen no Rikyû made*); Tanaka and Tanaka 1998 (*The Tea Ceremony*); Sen 1998 (*The Japanese Way of Tea: From Its Origins in China to Sen Rikyû*).

2 Chakyô in CKZ 1, pp. 3-118. See the original classical Chinese version with Japanese translation and some comments on the text. See also Sen 1998, pp. 1-30.

When the *Heian* aristocracy lost interest in tea, the habit of drinking tea continued among the Buddhist monks for its medical properties and alertness in meditation. The priest Eison (1201-1290) from *Saidaiji* temple served tea while travelling on the Tôkaidô road to Kamakura trying to cure the sick by means of tea. Eison is considered the first to introduce tea to ordinary people.[3] He was also the first to serve tea to a large public gathering in 1281 for the celebration of deliverance from the Mongol invasion. This event, called *Ôchamori*, still takes place at the *Saidaiji* temple in Nara.[4]

The custom of drinking tea varied during each Chinese dynasty: the Tang dynasty preferred *dancha* tea balls, the Song dynasty preferred the powdered tea, while the Ming dynasty favoured the roasted green tea called *sencha* in Japanese. A new era in tea culture started when the priest Eisai (1141-1215), the founder of *Rinzai* Zen in Japan, introduced powdered tea (*matcha*) to Japan. Eisai wrote the two-volume treatise *Kissa Yôjôki*, 'Preservation of Health Through Drinking Tea', and it is said that he presented a copy to the *shogun* Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192-1219) in order to cure his hangovers with tea. Eisai brought some tea seeds from China and presented them to a temple in the northern part of Kyûshû. In 1207 he met the priest Myôe (1173-1232), who, like Eisai, was a typical medieval eclectic trying to unite various Buddhist teachings,[5] and gave him some seeds for planting tea at his temple, *Kôzanji*, in the hills Northwest of Kyôto. Myôe is said to have established ten virtues of tea and had them inscribed on a tea kettle, which are as follows: Tea has the blessing of all deities. It promotes filial piety and drives away evil spirits. Tea banishes drowsiness and keeps the five internal organs in harmony. It wards off diseases and strengthens friendship. In addition, it disciplines body and mind and destroys all passions, but gives a peaceful death.[6] Myôe is said have passed tea seeds to the powerful Konoe clan, who planted them in their lands in Uji, South-east of Kyôto, which established the famous *Uji* tea, highly esteemed even today, in Japan.

Once the cultivation of tea and the custom of drinking was established in Japan, two more factors from the Zen tradition contributed to the development of *chanoyu*, Tea as an Art: one is the Tea etiquette, *sarei*, and the other the Tea taste, *chasuki* (the style of serving tea and selection of the utensils used). The Tea etiquette is based on the monastic codes observed in Chinese temples. The Zen priest Dôgen[7] (1200-1253), who conveyed the *Sôtô* school to Japan, wrote what

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3 Plutschow 1986, p. 50. Eison also started the custom of serving tea to the *Shintô* deity *Hachiman*, a protector of *Saidaiji* temple and this ceremonial service takes place.

4 Sen 1998, pp. 80-82.

5 Plutschow 1986, p. 42; Sen 1998, pp. 75-78.

6 Plutschow 1986, p. 43. According to Plutschow, these attributes clearly reveal traces of various traditions: Shinto, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. He also sees them as a testimony to the cultural and religious eclecticism typical of the feudal period (1185-1868).

was probably the first monastic code in Japan called *Eihei Shingi*. Dôgen was so impressed by the use of ceremonial tea in Chinese Zen temples that he made this custom one of the strictly regulated ceremonial events in monasteries. The Tea taste at that time was based on the Chinese style of the formal tea service at the Zen temples. Ceremonies involved Chinese scrolls of the portraits and calligraphy of high priests, monochrome ink landscapes infused with Zen spirit, *tenmoku* tea bowls and other ceremonial articles. The tea gatherings, as well as the *waka* gatherings, took place in the large banquet halls (called *kaishô*) of the villas and palatial residences. Early *Muromachi* period *tatami* mats came into use as wall-to-wall coverings as did the custom of displaying Chinese art objects in the *toko-noma*. This new way of serving tea was called *shoin* style of *chanoyu*.

The *shoin* style of Tea became especially popular among the warrior class and Ashikaga *shoguns* who had shown a great interest in collecting famous pieces of Chinese Art. Collecting treasures from the continent became so extensive that connoisseur attendants called *dôbôshû* were needed to take care of evaluating the paintings and art objects imported from China. The *dôbôshû* were in charge of the displaying of the objects in a proper way. Those entrusted with such cultural affairs were, in general, artistically talented and discriminating men who were also on intimate terms with the shogunate.[8] They were allowed to add the suffix *ami* (from *Amida*) to their names, such as Nôami (1397-1471), Geiami (1431-1485), and Sôami (1445?-1525). This suffix often appears in the names of the famous *Nô* dramatists, such as Kanami (1333-1384) and Zeami (1363-1443?) who both enjoyed Ashikaga Yoshimitsu favour.

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7 It is noted that there is no direct connection between Tea, *chadô*, and Dôgen who was *Sôtô* school of Zen Master, since Tea, *chadô*, is usually connected with the *Rinzai* school of Zen. However, later in Chapter 2 I shall cite some of Dôgen's texts to show that ideas similar to those in Tea were also taught by Dôgen earlier. Even though there might not have been any interaction between different schools, these citations suggest that some of the central themes in Zen or in Tea were quite commonly recognised by the literati and cultural circles in the times of Shukô, Jô-ô and Rikyû. According to another theory, Dôgen would have even studied under Ikkyû, but there is not enough evidence to support this claim. Ikkyû, on the other hand, did not leave behind written teachings that could be used here. See Matsunaga and Matsunaga 1976, pp. 230-231, 233-235.

8 Varley 1986, pp. 110-111. See also Matsunaga and Matsunaga 1976, p. 134; Plutschow 1986, pp. 62-64. According to Matsunaga, the suffix *ami* derives from the '*Jishû Ami* Culture' which has its roots in the early 15th century. The founder of the school was the monk Ippen (1239-1289), and he called his group *jishû* (*ji* school). They were originally wandering monks, but by the 15th century they had received protection from the Ashikaga government, which founded temples, and in return for the Ashikaga shogunate, they started to perform rituals for the peace and prosperity of the nation. They held an important cultural role during the *Muromachi* period. In addition, *dôbôshûs* were attired as Buddhist priests and, were probably members of the *Jishû*. Plutschow remarks that *dôbôshûs* were mostly men of the lower classes and had to enter the priesthood in order to serve *shoguns* so intimately.

In *shoin* style of *chanoyu*, tea was prepared in an adjoining area and carried into the room where tea was served by the *dôbôshû* or servant. The *Kissa Ôrai* (a letter on tea-drinking from the 14th century) contains a description of tea serving in which the tea was prepared in the room on a small brazier. In the large *shoin* style of tea-rooms, two, three, or even five Chinese hanging scrolls were displayed with many other famous Chinese pieces of art, such as Chinese celadon and old bronze flower vases and *tenmoku* tea bowls. In front of the scrolls, a set of three tables, for incense, flowers and candle, was placed as they were in the temples for Buddhist ceremonies. This style was called *shoin chashiki no kazari* and the feeling and atmosphere in these gatherings was quite luxurious.[9]

By the 14th century tea was no longer the privilege of the nobility, clergy, and the warrior-class aristocracy, but became popular entertainment in *renga* gatherings where linked-verse was recited and tea-tasting competitions (*tôcha*) occurred. The purpose of the competitions was similar to that of wine-tasting: to identify tea from different growing areas. Eventually, to make these occasions complete social events, they were accompanied by food, *sake*, songs and dance with music and even gambling. With these tea contests (called *chayoriai*), tea began to loose its reputation as a medicinal herb and it became a vehicle of entertainment, much like the game of backgammon.[10]

According to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, Nôami's student, Shukô (1423-1502) is said to be 'the Founder of Tea', *Shukô kaisan* (珠光開山).[11] He is said to have been born in Nara and known by the birth name Murata Mokuichi Kengyô, which refers to a layman who trained carpenters. This suggests that Shukô may have been the chief of the carpenters at the *Tôdaiji* in Nara. At the age of ten, he entered the priesthood and became a monk of *Shômyôji* temple, which was connected to *Kôfukuji* temple in Nara. There he took the Buddhist name Shukô. Supposedly, he left this temple at the age of twenty because he neglected his priestly duties and was not attentive. One reason for retiring may be that meditative practices and scholarly reading had a soporific effect upon him.[12] After leaving *Shômyôji*,

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9 Kazue 1985, pp. 16-28. For further information, see also Kuwata 1987, pp. 22-23, and Nanpôroku, pp. 85-105. In *Nanpôroku*, the book called *Shoin* also contains illustrations on the *shoin* style of decoration.

10 Sen 1998, pp. 89-115. Sen explains in detail the course of the tea contests.

11 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 96. See also Hirota 1995, p. 65. Hirota writes that some historians see Shukô as more than "the founder" of *wabi* style of Tea. He was regarded by succeeding generations of merchant teamen as having legitimised their style of Tea, and elevated it to the level of the *shogun*. This makes Shukô as important a figure in the history of Tea as Rikyû was: Tea master to the ruler of the nation. For further information on Shukô and his life, see also Sen 1998, pp. 119-145.

12 Sen 1998, pp. 126-127. See also Kazue 1985, p. 52; Tanaka and Tanaka 1998, p. 35. Hirota 1995, p. 65. Sen mentions that he has not confirmed the mention of '*Shukô anshu*', at *Shinjûan*. He also mentions another explanation of Shukô's career as a priest. According to that,

Shukô wandered around the country, and finally, at the age of thirty, he started Zen meditation under Ikkyû (1394-1481) and settled down at *Shinjuan* temple in *Daitokuji*. Kazue Kyôichi writes that there is a mention, *Shukô anshu* (珠光庵主), which means hermitage master, cloistered Buddhist monk or even Tea master, in Ikkyû's death register of *Shinjuan*.

About Shukô's connections to Tea, *Yamanoue Sôjiki*[13] tells that Nôami reported that when Shukô turned to Tea in his thirties, he had good knowledge of the teachings of Confucius, and he owned several Chinese famed-utensils (*meibutsu*) which were highly respected at that time. He also started to use Zen-related ink scrolls in Tea.[14] Shukô had a lot of disciples studying Tea under his guidance. He believed that there is Buddhism (teachings of Buddha) within the Way of Tea. In accordance with this it is recorded in *Yamanoue Sôjiki* that the origins of Tea lie in Zen.

> 茶湯ハ禅宗ヨリ出タルに依テ、僧ノ行ヲ専ニスル也、珠光、紹鴎、皆禅宗也[15]
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> Tea has its origins in Zen. This is why the form of life of Zen monks has influenced Tea so much. All the masters of *chanoyu*, like Shukô and Jô-ô, all belonged to the Zen school.

Yamanoue Sôji reports that Nôami suggests that it was from Zen master Ikkyû's (1394-1481) influence that Shukô connected *chanoyu* and Zen. It is also an interesting coincidence that Shukô started his Zen studies at the same age as his Tea studies, suggesting the close relationship of Tea and Zen. Shukô was the first one to call Tea 'a Way'. His work *Kokoro no Fumi* starts with the sentence 此道、第一わろき事ハ心かまんかしやう也[16] "The worst thing in this *Way* (of Tea)

Shukô was a priest in *Kômyôji* and at the age of twenty-five or so, he went to Kyôto and built a hut in the Sanjô area where he studied flowers under the guidance of Sôami (probably Nôami). Nôami supposedly introduced him to Ashikaga Yoshimasa and later on he become a famous authority on Tea. After leaving the priesthood, Shukô built a tea-house near Rokujô Horikawa and started living in there. In the historical records of that time, there is no mention of Shukô. Therefore, the historians argue about whether Shukô really existed or not. Kazue, however, believes there is enough evidence to support the fact that he did exist. According to Hirota, historical investigation has failed to uncover the name of Shukô in documents in which it might have been expected to occur. He mentions examples such as the records of Nôami and the later *dôbôshû*, or those of Ikkyû, who mentions the Nô master Zenchiku in his *Crazy Cloud Collection.*

13 Yamanoue Sôjiki, pp. 51-52.

14 See also Sôtan Nikki, p. 175. In *Sôtan Nikki* it says that Shukô studied Zen under *Daitokuji*'s Zen master Ikkyû. Shukô also received from him a famous writing scroll by Engo (1063-1135) that was a very important piece of art for Shukô. However, the exact nature of Shukô's relationships to Nôami and Ikkyû can only be conjectured. The scroll *engo* is also mentioned in Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 52.

15 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 95.

is being conceited and obstinate." Tea gatherings, until Shukô's days, were in the Chinese style of displaying utensils (*karayôzashikikazari*) or tea tasting competitions, *cha-awasekai* or *chayoriai*, in which food, sweets, rice wine and, of course, many different kinds of tea were served in addition to various other amusements.[17] But, for Shukô, Tea was more than having fun: it was *the Way* containing deep philosophical values.

Later on, through the support of Nôami, Shukô became Tea master to Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435-1490) who seemed to enjoy the Art of Tea. He amassed a great collection of the famous Chinese utensils. During these years, *chanoyu* became very popular among people in Nara, Kyôto, and Sakai.[18] Horikuchi Sutemi[19] writes that Shukô also studied *ikebana*, *renga* poetry, and even learnt about tea-room decorations from Nôami and, supposedly, about incense and painting, too.[20] Concerning *chadô*, Shukô began to use a *daisu* shelf that was given as a present to *Shôfukuji* temple from Song China.[21] In general, Shukô used many Chinese uten-

16 Shukô Furuichi Harima Hôshi Ate Isshi in CKZ 3, p. 3. In CKZ this letter is called *Shukô Furuichi Harima Hôshi Ate Isshi*. However, the name *Kokoro no Fumi* is commonly used when the philosophical content and the aesthetic values of the letter are emphasised. For this reason, in this study, too, the name *Kokoro no Fumi* is preferred in the text, but *Shukô Furuichi Harima Hôshi Ate Isshi* in the references. On the name of *Kokoro no Fumi*, see Hirota 1995, pp. 195-197; Engel 1964, p. 280; Stanley-Baker 1990, p. 148. Engel states that Shukô created the famous principles of harmony, respect, purity and tranquillity well known in the world of Tea today. However, no evidence to support this claim is found in the classical sources used in this study. According to Stanley-Baker, these four principles are by Rikyû, but this claim also cannot be shown to be true. Generally, researchers do not know the origin of these principles and it may be assumed that they are created after the Great Tea Masters Shukô, Jô-ô, and Rikyû by their unknown disciples.

17 Horikuchi 1951, pp. 23, 89.

18 Yamanoue Sôjiki, pp. 51-52, 95. See Hirota 1995, p. 65. Here Hirota states that actually Nôami died before Yoshimasa retired to Higashiyama, which makes it unlikely that there would have been a direct connection between Shukô and Yoshimasa.

19 Horikuchi1951, pp. 84-85. Horikuchi does not believe those two three pictures would be painted by Shukô even though it is commonly believed so.

20 About Shukô, see also Hirota 1995, pp. 63-66; Etô 1992, p. 173, and p. 189, note 3; Ramirez-Christensen 1994, p. 196, and p. 426, note 21; Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 53. Hirota presumes that Shukô learnt connoisseurship and rules of *Nô* theatre, and perhaps even ink painting from Nôami, and from Ikkyû he adapted the idea of Zen into Tea and the development of the austere quality of chill in *chadô*. He mentions also that *Nô* master Komparu Zempô (1454-1520) is recorded as quoting Shukô, and the *renga* master Sôgi (1421-1502) mentions Shukô's name in a letter to the incense expert Shino Sôshin (d. 1480). Etô mentions also that Shukô seems to have cultural (*renga*) connections to Shinkei's disciple Sôgi, as well as to Kensai (1452-1510) and Nôami's family. Ramirez-Christensen mentions that warrior-priest and minor *daimyô* Furuichi Chôin (1452-1508) from Nara was the recipient of Kensai's notes on Shinkei's teachings (*Shinkei Sôzu Teikin*). The same Chôin was also the recipient of Shukô's letter, *Kokoro no Fumi*. *Yamanoue Sôjiki* confirms Shukô's connections to Nôami by saying that "this book (refers probably to the *Shukô Isshi Mokuroku*) is based on what Shukô has heard while studying (Tea) under Nôami".

21 Sen 1998, p. 129.

sils and appreciated their beauty in his four-and-a-half-mat tea-room, promoting the idea of 'tying a praised horse to a thatched hut'[22] in his Tea. Shukô illustrated his aesthetic sense in Tea also with the saying 'moon without clouds is not interesting'[23] and with the idea of chill and withered describing the highest state of beauty in Tea, which the beginners should not try[24] (see Section 3.1.2). Shukô also showed also interest for things other than Chinese, such as Japanese *Bizen* and *Shigaraki*, to be used in Tea in tasteful combinations together with the old Chinese fame-utensils. There is not much information surviving on Shukô's tea gatherings to help describe the nature of his Tea in practice, but it may be assumed that his idea of the new austere style of Tea, had already taken form[25] and later Jô-ô and Rikyû continued developing the idea further and through them various expressions of *wabi* beauty were established.

Shukô's connection with the literary circles of that time and his interest in poetry is suggested by a story in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*[26] about the famous tea jar and the poet Shinkei (1406-1475). According to the story, Shinkei was asked to write a poem (*hokku*) by a *shogun* based on a famous tea jar named *sutego* (abandoned child). This large jar for one year's supply of tea leaves (*chatsubo*) had an unusual white glaze on it, giving the impression of early winter frost. Since it was used at the first tea gathering of the year (*kuchikiri*, gathering of 'opening the mouth' of the tea jar), Shinkei responded with the following poem:

ササカシケ	Shrunken leaves of bamboo
橋ニ霜ヲク	and frost covering the bridge;
晨カナ[27]	Just when the dawn breaks.

Since Shinkei and Shukô were contemporaries, they may have even known each other through *chanoyu* or *renga* poetry as this story about the tea jar and the poem suggests. Shukô's literary legacy is limited to the works called *Otazune no Koto* and the letter called *Kokoro no Fumi* (*Furuichi Harima Hôshi Ate Isshi*), in which

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22 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 101.

23 Murai 1988, p. 14.

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

25 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 99. See also the *Fushinan* version of *Yamanoue Sôjiki* (an unpublished copy), p. 26. According to Yamanoue Sôjiki, Shukô's Tea was like trees in December covered with snow in the distant mountains, which is the ultimate expression of the austere *wabi* style in the aesthetics of Tea.

26 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 56.

27 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 56. See also Ramirez-Christensen 1994, p. 195. This is variant of the *hokku*: 笹かしけ 橋に霜 ふるやまじかな "Bamboo grass shriveled, and a bridge gripped in frost: the mountain trail." Ramirez-Christensen also mentions this *hokku* and its variant in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*. She explains Shinkei's minimalist aesthetics or aesthetics of reduction. The *hokku* also refers to the Buddhist truth of impermanence and emptiness.

Shukô established the philosophical ground for the idea of Tea as a Way (*michi*).[28] His name is also mentioned with *Chanoyusha Kakugo Jittei* in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*.[29]

During Shukô's times, Tea was still very much in the *shoin* style, displaying famed tea utensils the Ashikaga *shoguns* had collected (*Higashiyama Gomotsu*). The tea activities were mostly limited to Kyôto, but by the *Tenmon* era (1532-1555) Tea was practised also by the wealthy merchants in the city of Sakai, in present-day Ôsaka prefecture. There, the *sôan* style of Tea, the 'Tea of the little tea-room', became more popular. This new aesthetic appreciation of the "city hermits" was also recognised by the Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues (1561-1633) who writes in *Historia da Igreja do Japão* (*This Island of Japan*) as follows:

> So they entertained each other with *cha* in these small huts within the city itself and in this way they made up for the lack of refreshing and lonely places around the city; indeed, to a certain extent this way was better than real solitude because they obtained and enjoyed it in the middle of the city itself. They called this in their language *shichû no sankyo*, meaning a lonely hermitage found in the middle of the public square. This manner which they introduced came to please all those who performed *cha-no-yu* more than *cha-no-yu* itself.[30]

Rodrigues has noted that this new style of Tea was not only serving tea in a certain manner, but having deeper philosophical and even religious meanings similar to Zen.[31] This new style of Tea which followed the hermit's simple form of life was continued by Jô-ô (1502-1555).

Jô-ô was a descendant of Takeda *daimyô*, a feudal lord, from Wakasa province, i.e., the present Fukui prefecture. Jô-ô's grandfather, Nakakiyo, died in the *Ônin* war (1467-1477); hence, his son Nobuhisa, Jô-ô's father, was orphaned.

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28 Konishi 1991, pp. 146-151. Konishi explains *michi* as an artistic vocation that is one of the most significant ideas of the Japanese Middle Ages. He divides the artistic vocation into five components: specialization, transmission, conformist ethics, universality, and authority. Specialization denotes a special skill, and this skill was acquired through units called *ie* (family, house, school), and through these hereditary houses the skill was transmitted from generation to generation, from master to disciple. The same kind of method is still used in Buddhist training (denial of creativity in one's youth and following precisely one's teacher), and in traditional arts like *chadô* or *Nô* theatre. Conformist ethics denotes the oral transmission and the secret practices implied by it. Specialization, transmission, and conformist ethics also contain the idea of authority in the forms of the master-disciple relationship, as well as the strict denial of one's own insignificant ideas in order to attain a higher dimension of freedom. The last component, universality, Konishi explains as a cosmic view according to which an all-encompassing, universal truth dwells even in the tiniest, humblest of entities. Konishi calls this the formative process of the *michi* ideal.

29 See Hirota 1995, pp. 200-201.

30 Cooper (transl.) 1973, p. 276. Translated and edited texts from the *Historia da Igreja da Japão*.

31 Cooper 1973, pp. 272-273. Rodrigues writes that this art of *suki* (*cha-no-yu*) is a kind of solitary religion encouraging good customs and moderation in everything. Even though they imitate the Zen they do not practice any superstition, cult or special ceremony related to religion.

Nobuhisa wandered around various prefectures in Japan, and finally decided to change his name from Takeda (武田) to Takeno (武野). Kuwata Tadachika introduces an interesting theory that the reason for changing his name was that he retired from the *samurai* service, i.e., he retired from the warrior class and became an ordinary citizen. When a warrior retires it is called *geya* (下野) in Japanese meaning literally retiring from public life. By changing his family name, Nobuhisa seems to play with the words: as *samurai* Takeda retires he becomes Takeno.[32] This is an interesting opinion, but still this explanation seems to be quite far-fetched. The reason for changing his name from Takeda to Takeno can be read from the poem Nobuhisa composed describing the changing of the family name:

たね［種］まきて	The seeds were sown
おなじたけだ［武田］の	to the fields of the samurai. ［Takeda］
末なれど	Even though the origin is the same
あれ［荒］てぞ今は	now, it has become a wasteland
野となりにける[33]	and turned into a wild field.

The poem describes that how ancestors sowed the field, took good care of it and made it flourish. But now this field is ruined and has become a waste land, a wild field. Similarly, the dictionary meanings of *takeda*, cultivated rice field of the warrior/*samurai*, has turned into *takeno*, a wild field of the warrior/*samurai*. With this poem Nobuhisa probably wanted to say that he was not able to fulfil the expectations that his family name presumed and did not deserve the name Takeda.

Nobuhisa settled down in Sakai and made his living by doing leather work. He married a daughter of the priest Nakabô of *Kôfukuji* temple on Kyûshu island. She a was very religious person. To become pregnant, she went to Yoshino to pray for an embodiment of *Shaka* (Buddha), called *Zaô Gongen*, a mountain-dwelling *Shaka* who had chosen an ascetic form of life, a kind of lifestyle admirable also for a religious priest's daughter. She spent some time in Yoshino praying and finally, in 1502, gave birth to a baby boy known by the name of Jô-ô. Jô-ô is known by many other names. His birth name was Yoshino Shôkikumaru, according to the place where he was born. He also carried the surname of his father, Takeno, and was known by the common names Nakamura or Shingorô. Jô-ô is his Tea name which he took at the age of thirty-one when he decided to concentrate on practising the Way of Tea.[34] In his later years, Jô-ô was also known by the name Daikokuan after the tea-house called *Daikokuan* he had built

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32 Kuwata 1987, p. 67. In the name Takeno, the last Chinese character is the same as in the word *geya* (下野), used for a *samurai* who retires.

33 Kuwata 1958a, p. 115.

34 Kuwata 1958a, pp. 115-117.

at the *Ebisudô* shrine[35] in Kyôto. Even though Jô-ô is known by many names, it is not recommended to use these names together but to use them separately as Jô-ô or Daikokuan, or Takeno Shingorô. Therefore, the combination of Takeno Jô-ô is not the best choice, because in this combination the common name is combined with his Tea name, which is frequently used. In this study the name Jô-ô is preferred.

In 1525, at the age of twenty-four, Jô-ô left Sakai and went to Kyôto to start studying classical literature and poetry under the guidance of Sanjônishi Sanetaka, a famous scholar.[36] According to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*,[37] Jô-ô studied and taught poetry for the following six years. After listening to Sanetakas's impressive lecture on *Eigataigai* (a work on poetry by Fujiwara Teika), Jô-ô decided to concentrate on studying *chadô*.[38] Later on, he became a Master of *chadô*. According to Kazue,[39] Jô-ô also studied *waka* poetry, *ikebana*, and incense among the other popular forms of art at the time. We know with certainty that Jô-ô studied Tea under Fujita Sôri[40] and Jûshiya Sôchin and Sôgo.[41] Sôri and Sôgo lived at the time of the civil wars and Sôchin was also their contemporary, living during the *Muromachi* period.[42] In addition to being highly educated both in literature and in the traditional arts, Jô-ô also studied Zen under Dairin *Sôtô*[43] in *Daitokuji* (*Rinzai* Zen). Jô-ô died unexpectedly in 1555, on the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month at the age of fifty-four, supposedly of an unknown illness.[44]

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35 Note the connection with the deities of good fortune such as *Ebisu*, the deity of commerce, and *Daikoku*, the God of wealth, and *Mahakala*, the God of five cereals.

36 Kuwata 1958b, p. 16. See also Sen 1998, p. 149. Sen mentions that before Sanetaka, Jô-ô had studied poetry under the *daimyô* Ôuchi from Yamaguchi.

37 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 98. According to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, until the age of thirty, Jô-ô was a teacher of *renga* poetry (linked verse).

38 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 98. See also Sen 1998, p. 151. Sen writes that Sanetaka gave Jô-ô a copy of *Eikataigai* in 1530 twenty-first day of the third month and two days later Jô-ô returned it with presents of fowl and salted fish. He was, however, too late to be received. A copy of Sanetaka's diary is found, for example, in Toda 1969, p. 39.

39 Kazue 1985, p. 99. See also Kuwata 1987, p. 68. Kuwata mentions also that Jô-ô seems to have enjoyed studying many things and that he studied various traditional forms of art, but he does not define them in detail.

40 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 97. 下京藤田宗理目利也、紹鴎始ノ坊主 . On the same page (note 16), the word *bôzu* is explained as a teacher of Tea.

41 Nanpôroku, p. 4. 宗易ノ物ガタリニ、珠光ノ弟子、宗陳・宗悟ト云人アリ、紹鴎ハ此二人ニ茶湯稽古修行アリシ也、

42 Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *Jûshiya Sôgo* and *Sôchin*. Or Kadokawa Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *Jûshiya Sôgo* and *Sôchin* and *Fujida Sôri*.

43 Tanaka and Tanaka 1998, p. 83.

44 Kuwata 1987, pp. 71-72; Sen 1998, p. 148. Kuwata continues that another explanation for the early death of Jô-ô was that he was ordered to commit suicide by Oda Nobunaga, but he does not believe in this explanation himself. According to Sen, Jô-ô died of natural causes which is also accepted in this study.

This study considers Jô-ô to be an outstanding person in the development of the *wabi* style of Tea. Jô-ô wrote down his ideas of *wabi* Tea in a letter called *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi* (Section 1.6.1) and simplified the display of the utensils used in Tea. The book called *Yamanoue Sôjiki*[45] (Section 1.6.1) indicates that *chanoyu* was rapidly becoming a form of art with the masters of Tea. For example, *wabi* 'Tea men' were defined as being those who own no utensils but embody the qualities of aspiration and creativity and have gained some merit. The book also says that Jô-ô owned many famous utensils, and that most of the utensils used in Tea were chosen by the skilled eye of the Tea master, Jô-ô. Mostly because of the activity of Jô-ô, Tea became so popular that Yamanoue Sôji wrote in his diary that a person who does not practice Tea can hardly be called a human, and furthermore, that all the *daimyôs* and townsmen from Nara, Kyôto and Sakai are devoted to Tea.[46] The Chinese famed-utensils were highly valued during Jô-ô's times, but in addition, new tea utensils were created or chosen to be used in Tea. This was an important step in the development of the *wabi* style of Tea continued by Jô-ô's disciple Rikyû.

The warlord Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) conquered Kyôto in 1568 and toppled the Ashikaga shogunate. The major change in Tea was that he employed merchant class Tea masters from Sakai as resident Tea advisers (*sadô*) known as "Three Sakai Masters". These were Imai Sôkyû (1520-1593), Tsuda Sôgyû (d. 1591), and Tanaka Sôeki (1522-1591), better known as Sen no Rikyû. It is a matter of contention whether this was his gesture to secure economic support in the rich autonomous port of Sakai,[47] or just because he was highly interested in Tea. Whatever the truth is, for Nobunaga, Tea was a powerful political tool: since the utensils acquired great value, Nobunaga saw the potential of using them as a means for gaining wealth, and thereby power. For this reason, Nobunaga wanted to control the Tea men and the circulation of the precious utensils. Nobunaga also rewarded his generals with tea utensils and thus kept tea within his immediate political interests.[48]

Rikyû was born in 1522. His childhood name was Tanaka Yoshirô and his father, Tanaka Yohei, was a merchant operating a fish warehouse in the Imaichi district of Sakai. According to *Senke Yuishogaki*, Rikyû's grandfather was Tanaka Yoshikoyo, the second son of Satomi Tarô Yoshitoshi, a warrior of Seiwa Genji clan. His other grandfather is reputed to have been Sen'ami who was Ashikaga Yoshimasa's *dôbôshû* (connoisseur attendant). The family name *Sen* is presumably inherited from Sen'ami's family.[49] Rikyû's family history shows that his family

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45 Yamanoue Sôjiki, pp. 52-54, 93. See also this study, Section 3.1.3.4.

46 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 52. See also Sen 1998, p. 160.

47 Murai 1988, pp. 19-20.

48 Plutschow 1986, pp. 103-106.

was politically significant, being closely connected to the ruling political powers of the time. This explains his later close connections with Nobunaga and Hideyoshi.

Rikyû started to study Tea with Kitamuki Dôchin at the age of six. Later on, Dôchin introduced him to Jô-ô, who became his Tea teacher when Rikyû was eighteen.[50] At the same age, Rikyû also received the name Sôeki from his Zen master Dairin Sôtô. Rikyû is known by the names of Hôsensai and Fushin'an. It has been said that Rikyû hosted his first tea gathering at the age of sixteen and thereafter his reputation as a Tea practitioner grew gradually. He served as a 'Tea advisor' (*sadô*) for Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582). After Nobunaga's death, he advised Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), who had become a Tea enthusiast and a close associate of Rikyû through the auspices of Nobunaga.[51] On the seventh day of the tenth month in 1585 Hideyoshi offered tea to Emperor Ôgimachi (1557-1586) in the *Gosho* palace in Kyôto. Rikyû's participation in this event as Hideyoshi's Tea advisor sealed his importance as a leading figure in the world of Tea. For the occasion, Sôeki was renamed with the Buddhist name Rikyû Koji, 'a layman who puts keenness to rest', and thenceforth was known by this name.[52]

In 1587 by order of Hideyoshi, Rikyû and two other Tea masters, Imai Sôkyû (1520-1593) and Tsuda Sôgyû (d. 1591), organised the Great Tea Gathering at the Kitano Shrine[53] in Northern Kyôto. There Hideyoshi displayed three sets of famed utensils and his Golden tea-room. Opposite Hideyoshi's glorious Tea display, Rikyû set out his very modest combination of tea utensils. The Great Kitano Tea Gathering was the largest ever seen in Japan. Hideyoshi invited everyone, from Japan and abroad, who had something to do with Tea to this gathering at the Kitano shrine on the tenth day of the tenth month in 1587 to participate in this event. And he meant everyone, even the poorest Tea practitioners owning just a kettle but no tea leaves. Hideyoshi did not accept 'no' for an answer.

In 1591, Hideyoshi ordered Rikyû to commit traditional suicide, *seppuku*. On the thirteenth day of the second month of 1591 Rikyû was banished from Hideyoshi's palatial mansion *Jurakudai* and two of his disciples, Furuta Oribe

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49 Sen 1998, p. 35.

50 Sen 1998, pp. 161-162.

51 Murai 1988, p. 20. See also Sôkyû Takaiki, p. 390. In the gathering on *Tenshô* eleventh year (1583) the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month, is recorded "*chadô* Sôeki" (茶堂宗易) showing that at least at the age of sixty-two Rikyû was already Hideyoshi's Tea advisor.

52 Sen 1988, p. 36; Tanihata 1988, p. 142; Kuwata 1943, pp. 68-69; Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *Kokei Sôchin*. In more detail, see Kuwata 1943, pp. 64-71. In some sources he is said to have been renamed by the emperor and in other sources by *Daitokuji*'s priest Kokei. According to Kuwata, researchers have not agreed who gave the name Rikyû, but the priest Kokei is the most probable. Kokei is also mentioned by Tanihata and Genshoku Chadô Daijiten.

53 Kitano Daichayu no Ki, pp. 3-8.

(1544-1615) and Hosokawa Sansai (1563-1645), came to see him off from Kyôto.[54] About ten days later Rikyû was called back to *Jurakudai* to commit the *seppuku*. Researchers cannot agree as to the reason for this command but one explanation is that Hideyoshi got angry because Rikyû's statue was placed on the top of the main gate of the *Daitokuji* temple,[55] and perhaps, Hideyoshi, the great warrior leader of Japan, did not want to enter the temple under his attendant's feet. The reason for the order to commit suicide remains unsolved. Rikyû died on the twenty-eight day of the second month in 1591, close to the age of seventy.[56]

Rikyû combined the precepts on the philosophy and aesthetics of Tea taught by the 'old masters' Shukô and Jô-ô before him and developed the idea of austere *wabi* style of Tea into the form known even today. Rikyû's tradition of *chadô* is recorded in *Nanpôroku*, which is said to be written by the priest called Nanbô Sôkei on the one-hundredth anniversary of Rikyû's death. The best known of Rikyû's innovations to Tea were small tea-rooms, smaller than four-and-a-half-*tatami* rooms, such as *Taian* (Waiting Hut), and the *Raku* ceramics that he created in collaboration with the potter called Chôjirô.

According to *Nanpôroku*, Rikyû was afraid that the true meaning of Tea would be abandoned in less than ten years and after this, forgotten. He truly believed that just when the most essential spirit of Tea has faded, people would believe it is flourishing; however, the essence of Tea would no longer be meaningful. Rikyû doubted that the truth would be different: when this point is reached, Tea would become just a vulgar amusement. Rikyû saw this process during his own time and felt sad about it.[57] Whether this prophecy has come true or not is left to each individual's interpretation. Rikyû is often claimed to be responsible for all the rules currently existing in Tea, but the historical records show that more than one person was involved in this process.[58] After Rikyû's death, his grandson Sen Sôtan divided the Rikyû heritage of *chadô* among his three sons and this marked

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54 Murai 1988, p. 23. See also Tanaka and Tanaka (1998, p. 48) according to whom none of Rikyû's more than 3000 students saw him off when he left Sakai because they did not want to face the same end, and therefore, denied having been closely associated with him.

55 For more details, see Kuwata 1943, p. 170-192; Karaki 1989, pp. 119-121. Research has not come to an understanding of the reasons that lead Hideyoshi to command Rikyû's *seppuku*. Kuwata finds three possibilities: Hideyoshi's request for one daughter of Rikyû's, that Rikyû was Christian, and the wooden statue on the main gate of *Daitokuji*. Karaki (1989) also states three reasons: the question of Rikyû's daughter, the wooden statue, and that Rikyû made a lot of money by selling his tea utensils which irritated Hideyoshi. These four possibilities are the most familiar ones.

56 Sen 1988, pp. 35-36. See also Kuwata 1943, p. 10. In some sources it is said that Rikyû was at the age of sixty-nine when he died, in other sources age's of seventy, seventy-one, or even seventy-four are given. According to Rikyû's death poem, he died in 1591 at the age of seventy according to the Japanese way of counting years. See Section 3.2.4.

57 Nanpôroku, p. 267. See also Sen 1998, p. 176.

58 Tanaka and Tanaka 1998, p. 48.

the beginning of "the three *Senke*": *Mushanokôjisenke*, *Omotesenke* and *Urasenke* traditions of Tea as well as the institualisation of Tea. These three *Senkes* still exist in Ogawa street in Kyôto.

1.2. SUBJECT OF THE STUDY

In this study, my aim is to examine the concept of *wabi* in *chadô* (the Way of Tea), i.e., the philosophical and aesthetic values of *wabi* thorough *chadô*-related classical literature. This study tries to answer the following questions: Is there, properly speaking, a specific concept of *wabi* in *chadô*? If so, what kinds of *wabi* are there and why? How has *wabi* developed into its present form or forms? And, why is there a specific kind of *wabi* in *chadô* that does not exist in literature or poetry?[59]

By studying the Tea-related classical sources, it can be shown that there exists a specific idea of *wabi* in *chadô* expressing its various philosophical (Chapter 2) as well as aesthetic (Chapter 6) nuances. Seven characteristics describing the idea of *wabi* as a philosophical concept are found in the *chadô*-related classical literature used for this study. With the selection and interpretation of these texts, this classification is proven possible, but it is not claimed that this is the only possible alternative or method. Another study might use different passages from selected sources and examine them from a different point of view. Thus, these classical Japanese texts offer scholars numerous fascinating areas of study and points of departure for interpretation. The classification is not simply created; all these terms describing *wabi* as philosophy and aesthetics already exist in classical literature; they just need to be found and analysed.

Concerning Chapter 2, '*Wabi* as a Philosophical Concept', one may argue whether various documents covering the span of nearly three hundred years can be used to explain the same philosophical concept of *wabi*. The answer depends on how we understand the term *wabi*. If *wabi* is understood to be described in one single term, then all the other elements would become synonyms for this description of *wabi*. However, this is not what I wish to show in this study. I see *wabi* to be an entity of different and various elements each of which contributes a different nuance to the whole just like pieces in a puzzle. The concept of *wabi* may be seen to be partially cumulative – each new meaning of the word retains connotations and nuances assigned to it earlier, although these may come to be thoroughly

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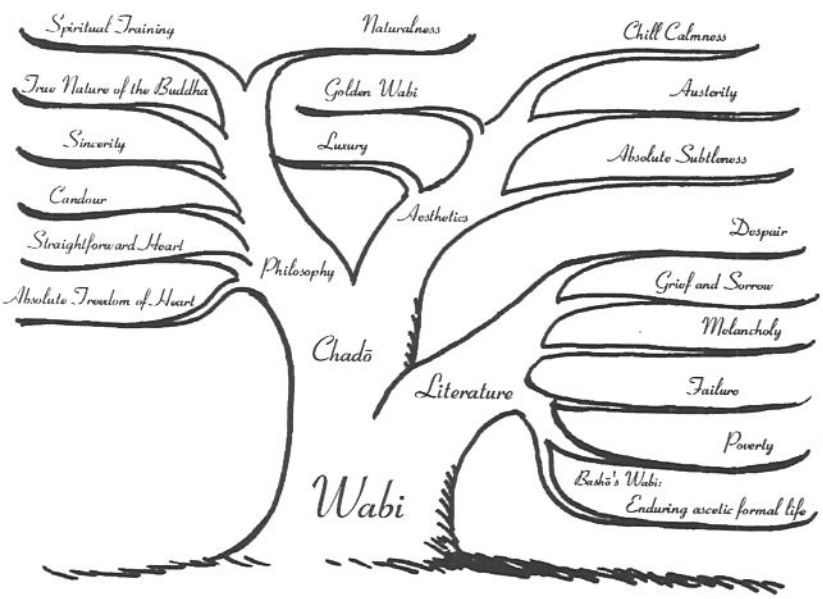
59 Unfortunately, in order to adhere to the theme, I need to restrict myself from studying the use and meanings of *wabi* in poetry in depth or examining related ideas in *Nô* theatre through Zeami's text. These are questions to which I will return in my following study concerning the idea of spiritual training in traditional Japanese arts, in which I focus on poetry, *Nô* and *chadô*.

reinterpreted in a new light; thus for example, poverty, a condition deplored in earlier literary texts, may become an attitude of the aesthetics of asceticism. I could also have approached the theme from a historical perspective in order to show how the notion of *wabi* has changed through these three hundred years.

Tea-related classical sources possessing philosophical value, and in addition generally recognised as such, are not abundant. Within these sources, *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*, *Nanpôroku* and *Zencharoku* (see Section 2.1) are the most representative. Therefore, I think that actually the selection of texts has not led me to the result of seven characteristics of *wabi*, but rather they were the result of my way of understanding and interpreting their content. Since we do not have any commentary for the texts by the authors, all the later interpretations of the texts reflect our own understanding of the subject. Nevertheless, all the sources used describing the notion of *wabi* and its philosophical aspects were written in the Japanese Middle Ages, which in the studies of literature and the arts may also include the *Edo* period.[60]

Essentially, *wabi* is not an outer feature, but an inner feeling that grows from the object. Therefore, many different kinds of things can actually possess the *wabi* spirit, not only rough-looking objects. This study intends to show that *wabi* beauty is actually like a tree with many of branches and that all these forms of *wabi* have existed side by side from the beginning.



60 Nishio 1967, p. ii.

1.2.1. *Wabi* and *Sabi*

The reader may wonder why the word *sabi* is not discussed in this study, although it is at times used together with *wabi* as a pair: *wabi-sabi*. The study is based on the realization that there are two concepts of *wabi* that should be kept separate from each other: the idea of *wabi* in literature, e.g., as used in classical poetry and the idea of *wabi* in *chadô* containing specific philosophical and aesthetic values that do not exist in literature. In classical poetry *wabi* and *sabi* are studied as a pair of closely related terms which clarify and intensify each other, but in *chadô*, when the philosophy and aesthetics of Tea is discussed, the word *wabi* should be used alone. The use and the meaning of *wabi* in literature has influenced the development of *wabi* in *chadô* and, therefore, the general meanings of *wabi* and the use of the word *wabi* in classical literature are introduced briefly later in this study (see Chapter 5). All the passages and poems with the word *wabi* found in *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* were analysed and arranged in chronological order to study the developments in the meaning and use of the word *wabi*.[61]

The differences or the equivalences between the terms *wabi* and *sabi* are points of argument among researchers. For instance, Heinrich Engel[62] and Suzuki Daisetsu[63] study them as a pair: *wabi-sabi*. Suzuki, however, finds a slight difference in them: *sabi* applies more to the individual objects (objective) and *wabi* refers to life in poverty and insufficiency (more subjective and personal). He continues by stating that in some ways, "*wabi* is *sabi* and *sabi* is *wabi*; they are interchangeable terms".[64] Suzuki also finds that tea utensils are never qualified as possessing "*wabi* taste", they are described as having "*sabi* taste". But, this study intends to prove just the opposite: tea utensils are generally said to possess *wabi* taste in Tea classics (Section 4.2.1). In *chadô*, *wabi* and *sabi* possess different meanings which can be understood, for example, from the book called *Chakimeibutsushû*[65] where those who want to advance in their Tea studies, i.e., in order to become masters of Tea, 'should be courteous, strive to excel (attempt to rise

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61 During the course of the study, based on the use of the word *wabi* in the classics, Kokkataikan, a list of ca. 5000 entries of *wabi* is recognised for further research on the subject. Shinpen Kokkataikan, CD-ROM version.

62 Engel 1964, p. 284.

63 Suzuki 1988, pp. 27-28, 284-285. Suzuki does not give a clear definition to the terms; in some sentences he lets a reader understand them as a pair (Suzuki 1988, pp. 27-28) and in others he finds differences between them (pp. 284-285). In the index the Chinese character 詫 (deceive) is given for *wabi* instead of the character 侘 that is used for the idea of *wabi* studied here. This is most probably a typographical error.

64 Suzuki 1988, p. 285.

65 *Chakimeibutsushû* in Zokugun Shoruijû, vol. 19, p. 494. This is also noted by Sen 1998, p. 156.

higher in one's Tea studies), practise *sabi*, practise *wabi*, and be creative'. It is not explained what it means to 'practise' *sabi* and *wabi*; however, the sentence shows that these terms were used separately possessing separate meanings (as shown also in this study) not as a pair, *wabi-sabi*. Based on my understanding of these two terms, I would suggest that in this context *sabi* means 'living in solitude' and *wabi* suggests 'being satisfied with little', i.e., leading an ascetic life or living in poverty (in lack of material goods), but being satisfied with one's life as such.

As shall be shown latter in Section 4.2.1.2, the word *wabi* is more frequently used to describe the outer appearance of the tea utensils than is the word *sabi* as Suzuki claimed above. One exceptional use of the word *sabi* describing tea utensils instead of *wabi* can be found in *Chawashigetsushû*:

> 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、[66]
>
> Rikyû 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 a big utensils to be used along with small pieces.

In this example, the word *sabite* is used as an opposite of great and valuable utensils or luxurious tea utensils, meaning something modest and 'aged'. It is, indeed, used in a manner similar to the way that *wabi* is usually used in *chadô* related classics. Here, however, these great and valuable utensils may refer to the Chinese Ming dynasty porcelain and ceramics imported in great quantity to Japan and used in *chadô*. So they were considered to be quite 'new' and 'shiny', but also possessing significance in being so valuable, and therefore, *sabite* also means something 'aged' and not valuable. This is quite an exceptional use of the word *sabi* referring to the tea utensils. Usually, concerning the aesthetic values of the tea utensils, the word *wabi* is preferred. For example, in the same source it states that the 'essence of the tea utensils lies in the idea of *wabi*'.[67] In the book *Genryû-chawa*, the history of the development of tea utensils is described, pointing out how certain types of utensils have changed. The *wabi* style is always described last, being the opposite of the famed Chinese pieces.[68]

Tanikawa Tetsuzo admits that the word *sabi* is not used as frequently as the word *wabi* by Tea practitioners, even though he thinks that *sabi* is a 'purer' term of

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66 Chawashigetsushû, p. 212. See also Hirota 1995, pp. 256-257. Hirota translates this in a different way, combining light things with the stately (like light poppy seeds with heavy chestnuts). However, the result is the same in Hirota's translation and in the one given here. This anecdote of Rikyû emphasises the idea of skillful use of contrast in Tea.

67 Chawashigetsushû, p. 209.

68 See, for example, Genryûchawa, p. 416. Or this study, Section 4.2.1.

aesthetics than *wabi*.[69] He writes: "In the world of *chanoyu*, *sabi* is grasped wholly from the standpoint of contemplation of the nature of thing or place. *Wabi* implies a circumstance or a mental attitude. This can include a man who is in such a circumstance or who has such a mental attitude, as well as describing the nature of a thing or a place."[70] Tanikawa concludes that "*sabi is purer than wabi as an aesthetic because it involves the contemplation of an object for its own sake*."[71]

But, Dennis Hirota does not compare these two ideas. In his research, he focuses on the idea of *wabi* in *chadô*; the concept of *sabi* is not emphasised.[72] Karaki Junzô, on the other hand, presents very strong opinions about *wabi* and *sabi*. Like Tanikawa, he thinks that *sabi* is a higher expression of aesthetics than *wabi*. According to him, *wabi* lacks the idea of vanity (*mujôkan*); the idea of impermanence or changeability (*kyorai*) of all things. Karaki admits that Tea and Zen are closely related but sees *wabi* as the opposite of Zen, which is based on the lack of emptiness. He wonders why *chadô* did not surpass the idea of *wabi* to take one step further toward the idea of *sabi*.[73] Karaki apparently bases his argument on the writing of *sabi*: it can be written with the Chinese characters 淋 or 寂 and they are both pronounced as *sabi*. The first character means solitude and loneliness, which is a typical meaning of *sabi* in literature. The second character has the same meaning even though the Chinese character used has a separate meaning of *nirvâna*, the great death or the enlightenment. This does not, however, necessarily change the meaning of the word *sabi*, loneliness and solitude, in classical literature. The claim that *wabi* lacks the idea of vanity or impermanence is also not justified. For instance, in *Nanpôroku*, *wabi* is described as emerging from the crystal clear, immaculate world of the Buddha which definitely also conveys the Buddhist ideas of vanity and impermanence (Section 2.4.6).

Kazue[74] makes a clear division: *sabi* is a term of literature and *wabi* is a term of *chadô*. *Sabi* as a term of literature is extensively studied because of Bashô's

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69 Tanikawa 1981, pp. 35-50. Tanikawa gives an example from *Sankaikô*, *Chadô Shiso Densho*: "the utensils that have the nature of *sabi* (*sabimomo*) are made with gourds" (ibid., p. 45). This reference could not be confirmed. But if correct, this would be a rare example in which the term *sabi* is used referring to the quality of a tea utensil.

70 Tanikawa 1981, p. 48.

71 Tanikawa 1981, p. 48.

72 Hirota 1995, pp. 80-92.

73 Karaki 1989, pp. 34-37; see also pp. 181-183. See also Kuwata 1958, p. 176. Kuwata also considers *sabi* to be more important than *wabi* by claiming that the beauty and philosophy in *chadô* lies in the idea of *sabi*, i.e., *sabi* contains both luxury and its contrasting idea of *wabi*.

74 Kazue 1985, p. 11. See also Tsutsui 1969, p. 1; Mizuo 1971, p. 11; Yanagi 1989, pp. 123, 148-150, 184. Tsutsui also keeps the terms *wabi* and *sabi* separate and he considers that *wabi* did not have a specific meaning before *chadô*. He does not ignore the meanings of *wabi* in classical literature but rather sees the influence of these meanings on development of *wabi* beauty in Tea. Mizuo also focuses on *wabi*, not *wabi-sabi*, but sees that the terms *sabi* and

poetry where he uses the term *sabi*. *Wabi* as a term in *chadô* is, unfortunately, not studied as much, and consequently has been combined with the idea *sabi* and used as a pair, *wabi-sabi*. Hisamatsu Shinichi also connects *wabi* with *chadô*. He writes that the beauty of *chadô* arises from the distinctive features of *wabi* beauty. He does not even discuss the topic of whether these two terms should be considered as a pair; to him the beauty of *chadô* lies in the idea of *wabi*.[75]

Researchers do have various opinions on *wabi* and *sabi*, but no answer is satisfactory to everyone on their meanings. After studying other researchers' interpretations on *wabi* and *sabi*, and based on the classical sources studied during this research, it can be argued that *wabi* is a metaphysical concept.[76] It is a concept beyond normal theoretical and logical explanation, and therefore, it may seem to some researchers even meaningless to explain. *Wabi* as a 'metaphysical concept' means here that it is abstract and it is sometimes even unduly theoretical, as shown in Chapter 2 where *wabi* as a philosophical concept is studied. Moreover, *wabi* means something supernatural and rare, and therefore, it needs to be understood in a kind of 'meta-mind', meaning 'higher consciousness', such as that reached in the Buddhist *nirvâna*, i.e., in the state of enlightenment. Therefore, empirical experiences for a deeper understanding of *wabi* are essential. The concept of *wabi* is understood through the true realisation of the nature of reality, the true understanding of being and accepting life as it is, and moreover, through the true 'knowing'. These are closely related to the Buddhist ideas of being and the true knowing which become possible in the ultimate state of the mind when one has become one with the Buddha heart (*hotoke kokoro* or *busshô*, see 2.3.5). *Wabi* is, above all, the philosophical concept of the idea of *kokoro*, mind(heart) in Japanese philosophy. Thus, through this philosophical sphere the concept of *wabi* can be explained as an aesthetic concept describing the sense and presence or style (*fûtei*) in *chadô*, as in this study, but also in Japanese aesthetics in general.

Wabi in *chadô* philosophically describes a specific state of mind (and is related to Zen), and aesthetically defines a specific sense and presence of *wabi* in tea utensils or in a tea-room (see, e.g., *Genryûchawa*). The word *sabi* is used in Tea-related classical texts generally to express a serene or tranquil feeling of place or circumstances, with a connotation of solitude or loneliness. Further, it may be

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shibumi include the idea of *wabi* (compare Yanagi's idea on *wabi* above in the text). Yanagi, on the other hand, considers *wabi* and *shibusa* as being one and the same thing. He does not mention *sabi* in this context, but he writes that these peculiar adjectives *shibui*, *wabi*, and *sabi*, refer to the hidden beauty, the rough beauty. Yanagi states that there is no exact English counterpart to the adjective *shibui* (with the noun *shibusa*) but nearest would be 'austere', 'subdued', and 'restrained'. *Shibusa* refers to the spirit of poverty in the word beauty.

75 Hisamatsu 1987, p. 15.

76 Peacocke 1999, pp. 345-351, on the meaning of "concept", as well as The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy, s.v. *concept* and *metaphysics*.

argued that *sabi* is more a term of *fûtei*, describing the style of Tea as well as the sense and artistic effect of objects. *Wabi*, however, may be used similarly to *sabi* illustrating *fûtei*, a specific style of *wabi* style of Tea (sense and presence in objects) but it also explains a certain state of the mind(heart) called *wabi kokoro*. And furthermore, through this *wabi* mind(heart) various kinds of *wabi fûtei* can be discovered (Chapter 6), whereas *sabi* basically refers to the sense of 'chill and withered' in objects. For example, in Shinkei's *Sasamegoto*, the word *hiesabi* (chill and desolate) is used to describe the highest style or the spirit in poetry and this is basically the same as *sabita fûtei*, the sense of *sabi* in objects, which has no Buddhist or deep philosophical connotations in this context.[77] This is the most common use of the word *sabi* in classical literature, no matter which Chinese character (寂 / 淋) for *sabi* is used. For these reasons it is not felt that the two terms should be ranked against each other, nor is it found necessary to attempt to answer which one of them is a purer expression as is done in some other studies (such as Karaki 1989).

1.3. PREVIOUS STUDIES IN THE FIELD

One of the most important studies to introduce the Japanese Way of Tea to Westerners was Okakura Kakuzo's (alias Tenshin) *The Book of Tea* which he wrote in English and which was published in Boston in 1906. Okakura is said to be a linguistic genius; he had a good knowledge of Chinese classics and he was deeply interested in arts.[78] In Okakura's book "mind speaks to mind"[79] – he speaks of the spirit in Tea rather than describing it in action and paints images of the dark-dim tea-room or the flower arrangements in the *tokonoma* in front of our eyes in a charming and unique way. For Okakura, Tea was "a work of art".[80] He also describes the Tea schools and explains the influence of the Tea masters in the field of art. About the appreciation of the tea utensils, Okakura writes that "We classify too much and enjoy too little."[81] The appreciation of the tea utensils should be based on one's individual taste (*mekiki*, see Sections 3.1.2 and 3.1.3.2), as it was for the Tea masters, but nowadays there is too little true feeling left: people want only expensive and fashionable items. Okakura's definition of imperfect beauty, leaving something purposely unfinished for the imagination to complete,[82] has raised the question of the nature of imperfect beauty. For Okakura,

77 See also Kurasawa 1983, p. 124.

78 Sen 1989, pp. 15-16.

79 Okakura 1989, p. 97.

80 Okakura 1989, p. 43.

81 Okakura 1989, p. 104.

82 Okakura 1989, p. 66, 75-76.

true beauty is discovered only by one who completes the incomplete in one's mind.

In contrast, Hisamatsu Shinichi writes in his book called *Chadô no Tetsugaku* (1973) that the beauty of asymmetry (imperfection) is reached by exceeding the state of symmetry and therefore, for Hisamatsu, asymmetry is a negation of symmetry. He includes asymmetry as one of the seven characteristics of *chadô* and in the beauty of *wabi* as well.[83] Even though Okakura does not mention the word *wabi* in his book, he discusses the beauty of *chadô* in a manner similar to Hisamatsu. Hisamatsu describes Tea culture (*chadô bunka*),[84] Zen arts in general,[85] and *wabi* beauty[86] as following seven characteristics: asymmetry, simplicity, austere sublimity (or lofty dryness), naturalness, subtle profundity (or deep reserve), freedom from attachment, and tranquillity. Hisamatsu does not base his classification on any particular classical text or written information directly. His seven characteristics are the result of many years of study of Chinese and Japanese sources on the subject of Tea (*chadô*), and arts in general. This classification is his own, created through his experiences and knowledge not found in the classical sources. Hisamatsu gives examples of *wabi* beauty, such as *Nô* costumes[87] and Tôhaku's painting "Maple",[88] which are both in gorgeous colours. He finds that the *Shôkintei* tea-house in Imperial Villa, *Katsura Rikyû*[89] has aspects of these seven characteristics even though it is a *shoin* style of tea-room, not a traditional *wabi* style of little tea-room. None of these examples present Zen art or *wabi* as we usually conceive them, i.e., monochrome ink paintings, either Chinese or Japanese, with ample empty space for one's mind to wander. Or, as a little thatched-hut tea-house. Hisamatsu does not claim that all minutely detailed colourful works contain the spirit of *wabi* but, according to him, some of them do.

Similarly, Kurasawa Yukihiro has also made an interesting suggestion that one form of *wabi* beauty would be a "Golden *wabi*" (*ôgon no wabi*), an opposite of the austere *wabi*. He mentions that Hideyoshi's Golden tea-room and Tôhaku's painting, "Maple", present this characteristic of *wabi* beauty. In contrast to Hisamatsu, Kurasawa bases his classification on the two poems found in *Nanpôroku* (see Section 5.2) describing the spirit of *wabi* in Tea. In the article *Wabi no Ôgon no Bi* in *Nagomi*, Kurasawa writes that Jô-ô's *wabi* proceeds from the luxurious (flowers and crimson leaves) to the rough style ('the thatched hut at the seashore'),

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83 Hisamatsu 1973, p. 62.

84 Hisamatsu 1973, pp. 61-69.

85 Hisamatsu 1971, p. 29. For further information, see Hisamatsu 1971, pp. 28-38.

86 Hisamatsu 1987, pp. 53-55.

87 Hisamatsu 1971, p. 102.

88 Hisamatsu 1971, pp. 65-67.

89 Hisamatsu 1971, pp. 75-76.

i.e., it is the "going *wabi*". Rikyû's *wabi* proceeds from the state of 'not-a-single-thing', i.e., from the rough style ('far-away mountain village' and 'the thatched hut at the seashore') to the ultimate state of 'the first green of the spring beneath the snow', i.e., it is the "returning *wabi*". Kurasawa explains that 'far-away mountain village' and 'the thatched hut at the seashore' are *negations* of luxurious things, and furthermore, that 'the first green of the spring beneath the snow' is the *negation of negation*, and therefore, it actually affirms the original luxurious and gorgeous beauty described in the poems with 'flowers and crimson leaves' or 'cherry blossoms in full bloom'. This is what he calls the revival of luxurious beauty, which includes golden *wabi*.[90] In other words, Jô-ô's *wabi* focuses on the negation of luxurious beauty. Rikyû's *wabi* admits the existence of luxurious *wabi* as being a revival of luxury, but still not of the same nature as Jô-ô's luxury. Kurasawa emphasises that *wabi* beauty is not based on the contrast of ideas such as poverty and luxury, but comes into existence in the pure word of the Buddha (*Nanpôroku*, see Section 2.3.2 in this study), without duality.

Okakura's idea of imperfect beauty, as well as Hisamatsu's seven characteristics of *wabi* as beauty have influenced researchers' opinions on the nature of *wabi* in Tea. In previous studies other than these, *wabi* is primarily considered to be an aesthetic idea describing a beauty of poverty or a Zen-influenced idea of living in seclusion and accepting insufficiency as it is. The outer form of *wabi* in utensils is described as being plain, rough or asymmetrical.[91] The connection of the idea of *wabi* with the poverty or living in insufficiency cannot be denied. Already in *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*[92] it is stated that the origins of the idea of *wabi* lie in the form of life of the goddess *Amaterasu Ômikami*, who is said to be the first great Tea person in Japan because of her modest form of life. She could have everything she wanted: a house built from gold, silver, and precious gems. Instead, she chose to live in a thatched hut, ate unpolished rice and lived a modest and quiet life. Seemingly on the basis of this story, in previous studies *wabi* is usually described as being rough beauty, though this is only one expression of *wabi* as beauty.

To mention some other main studies in the field, Dennis Hirota's study *The Wind in the Pines: Classic Writings of the Way of Tea as a Buddhist Path* (1995) contains an extensive introduction of the theme, examining *wabi* and related ideas by binding them with general historical or social events. Hirota finds similarities with Shinkei's aesthetic thoughts on poetry (e.g. *Shinkei Sôzu Teikin*) and in early

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90 Kurasawa 1996, pp. 36-39. See also Kurasawa 1992a, pp. 120-121, the chapter called *Wabi no Hon'i*.

91 See, for example, Mizuo 1971 (*Wabi*); Yoshimura 1984 (*Wabi no Zôkei*); Kazue 1985 (*Wabi. Wabicha no Keifu*); Suzuki 1988 (*Zen and Japanese Culture*).

92 Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi, p. 18.

teachings of *wabicha*, such as Shukô's *Kokoro no Fumi*. Jô-ô's *wabi* ideal he enters from *Wabi no Fumi*, but illustrates it with numerous examples from Sôgi's poetry as well as examples from *Yamanoue Sôjiki*. In Rikyû's legacy of Tea, Hirota emphasises the meaning of Zen and focuses mainly on the *Zencharoku* and *Nanpôroku*. In the end, he focuses our attention on the Pure Land Buddhist perspective for the study of Rikyû and gives numerous examples from different classics from *Rikyû Ichimai Kishômon* to Nishida Kitarô. Hirota's study is thorough and has excellent notes on certain documents containing valuable information. In masterly choice of words in Hirota's translations show that he is also well-schooled in Western philosophy and religious ideas.

Yanagi Sôetsu studies the idea of *wabi* in his book, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty* (1989), mainly from a craftsman's point of view, carrying a strong Buddhist tone. For Yanagi, the beauty in folk-crafts occurs accidentally through the other strength (*tariki*), such as Korean or Song China pottery. Yanagi does not agree with Okakura or Hisamatsu on the nature of imperfect beauty. For him the beauty in *chadô* is like the Buddhist idea of beauty: being freed from the duality of perfect and imperfect. Further, Yanagi considers the word *wabi* to be a term of the literati and claims that the idea cannot be demonstrated in a physical sense; it must be conveyed by the formless spirit. The full comprehension of the idea of *wabi* would be too much to ask of all people and, therefore he explains *wabi* using the related term *shibui* ('austere', 'subdued', 'restrained') which is used in the daily vocabulary of the common people.[93] Yanagi's ideas on the nature of Japanese beauty are very interesting, though I think his idea of *wabi* is very different from the concept of *wabi* in classical literature or in *chadô*, the focus of this study. Apparently being aware of this, Yanagi chooses not to use the term *wabi* but prefers the term *shibui* instead which is well-suited to his idea of beauty in crafts.

Narugawa Takeo (1983) studies the concept of *wabi* in his book called *Sen no Rikyû: Cha no Bigaku* through the Great Tea Masters Shukô, Jô-ô and Rikyû. He studies the moral-philosophical teachings of these three Tea masters and discusses the styles of Tea and the sense of beauty in Tea. Narugawa seems to use the word *wabicha*, *wabi* style of Tea, which is similar to the concept of *chadô* in this study, describing the art and the philosophy of Tea in general.

Yoshimura Teiji approaches the concept of *wabi* in *Wabi no Zôkei* (1984) from its origins in poetry, to Shukô, Jô-ô and finally to Rikyû. The focus of his study is in concrete examples of tea-rooms, *tokonoma*, and *roji* and the expressions of *wabi* in them, based on his personal impressions and experiences with Tea. Yoshimura underlines that he intends to show what *wabi* is in concrete

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93 Yanagi 1989, pp. 121-127 (about *wabi*, *shibui*, and the idea of imperfect beauty); pp. 132-134 (about two ways *jiriki* and *tariki*); pp. 147-151 (about *shibui*); p. 184 (about *wabi*).

objects, because for him *wabi* is not a philosophical idea. Yoshimura's statements on the nature of *wabi* contradict each other; he continues and explains that '*before becoming a philosophical concept*' it was used to refer to concrete facts in things.[94] This is a difficult dilemma in Yoshimura's study: he denies that *wabi* is a philosophical concept and yet confirms it. Yoshimura writes that the idea of *wabi* in Tea cannot be taken as a philosophical notion nor as an expression of emotions, because notions do not have a form. But *wabi* has a form, as described in Fujiwara Teika's poem "*miwataseba...*". When this kind of *wabi*, which could be expressed in concrete terms, was abstracted and subsequently again explained in concrete terms, we end up with the problem of whether this is still *wabi*.[95]

Yoshimura's study is not theoretical – it is about the expressions of *wabi* in concrete objects and forms based on the notion of the heart (*kokoro*) and intuition. Yoshimura's statement that *wabi* expressed concrete things or forms before becoming a philosophical concept differs from the notion of *wabi* developed in this study. For example, by studying the use of *wabi* in classical poetry (Section 5.1) we find the opposite: *wabi* was a very ambiguous term expressing one's deep emotions rather than a specific describing something concrete. It seems more likely that *wabi* got its form (*wabi* was used to express specific aesthetic values in objects and in Tea in general) after becoming a term of *chadô* (see chapters 4 and 5).

Kazue Kyôichi also approaches *wabi* from the point of view of the Great Tea Masters Shukô, Jô-ô and Rikyû in his book called *Wabi: Wabicha no Keifu* (1973). He explains the beauty in Shukô's Tea as 'cold and withered', Jô-ô's beauty as *wabisuki* and Rikyû's Tea being 'an ideal *wabicha*' (*wabi* style of Tea). In the last chapter he discusses the moralistic and aesthetic values of *chanoyu*. As in this study, Kazue does not speak about 'Shukô's *wabi*', but about Shukô's idea of beauty in Tea. According to Kazue, both *wabi* and *sabi* are Japanese ideas of beauty which are difficult even for modern Japanese to understand and explain. Kazue thinks that no other word would be more ambiguous in meaning than *wabi* and it is impossible to explain in other words. The philosophical roots of *wabi* lie in the *wabi* style of Tea (*sôan no wabi cha* / '*wabi* style of Tea of the thatched hut'), and through understanding the spiritual and moral history of *chanoyu* it becomes possible to understand *wabi* as aesthetics.[96]

In the book called *Wabi* (1971), Mizuo Hiroshi studies first the meanings of *wabi* in classical literature. Secondly, he focuses on the aesthetic values of the idea of *wabi*, exploring its development and manifestations in Japanese culture. Mizuo seems to understand *wabi* in its traditional sense as being something rough, humble and even poor, being unlimited and expressing the eternal beauty of na-

94 Yoshimura 1984, p. 202.

95 Yoshimura 1984, p. 12.

96 Kazue 1985, pp. 8-11.

ture.[97] According to Mizuo, the concept of *wabi* has developed from the idea of *wabi* mind(heart), *wabikokoro*, to the concrete characteristics of the sense of *wabi* in objects, then to *wabi* in aesthetic practice. The concept has evolved from philosophy to aesthetics, from the idea of naturalness to artificiality, from freedom to the intentional, and from Jô-ô to Rikyû.[98] In a sense similar to Mizuo, I would rather see the development of *wabi* as an evolution: in classical literature *wabi* was used to express a certain sentiment or mood (*kokoro*), then, after becoming a term of *chadô*, it acquired more philosophical and aesthetic meanings, which are closely related and dependent upon one another, as they both evolved quite simultaneously in *chadô*. I would rather describe *wabi* as developing from formal to informal, from artificial to natural, from philosophy (Shukô) to aesthetics (Jô-ô), and finally to Rikyû. He combined these two *wabi* as a philosophical and an aesthetic concept and sought absolute freedom in both of these respects. After Rikyû, *chadô* became more artificial and, perhaps, more superficial. Mizuo considers *wabi* as a deeply religious-moralistic concept occurring in the state of enlightenment, but leaves this statement open to closer study. The central theme in Mizuo's study is that the idea of *wabi* is an expression of naturalness and *shibumi* (astringent, sober) in Tea, and in this respect he approaches Yanagi's idea of *wabi*.[99]

Suzuki Daisetsu has also approached *chadô* and the concept of *wabi* in *Zen and Japanese Culture* (1988). He writes that *chadô* is not just tea-drinking, but cultivates what might be called "psychosphere", or the inner field of consciousness. According to Suzuki, *chadô* is based on the idea of poverty and emptiness, and therefore *wabi* is nothing more than aesthetic appreciation of absolute poverty.[100] For Suzuki the spirit of Tea is 'being alone' which he explains through poems by Teika and Ietaka (Section 5.2). He studies the spirit of Tea by focusing on the four principles of: harmony (*wa*), reverence (*kei*), purity (*sei*), and tranquillity (*jaku*). The first two he explains as being social or ethical, the third physical and psychological, and the fourth spiritual or metaphysical. Suzuki explains the sense and style of Rikyû and the other Tea men with anecdotes (see Section 4.5 in this study). The four principles Suzuki uses to explain the nature of Tea are not used in this study because their origin cannot be proven. As shall be shown later in this study, the central ideas in Tea are repeated several times in different classics. However, these four principles cannot be found in any of the Tea-related classical sources used for this study, which leads us to suppose that they have been taken into use quite recently to explain the Heart (*kokoro*) of Tea.[101]

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97 Mizuo 1971, pp. 131-133.

98 Mizuo 1971, p. 139.

99 Mizuo 1971, pp. 186-196.

100 Suzuki 1988, pp. 295-296.

1.4. OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

In Chapter 2, *wabi* as philosophy is studied through examples from Tea-related classical literature, and based on these observations the classification's of *wabi* as a philosophical concept are introduced. Next, the philosophical aspect of *wabi* in *chadô* is studied through the Great Tea Masters Jô-ô and Rikyû. This study focuses on Jô-ô's impact on the development of the *wabi* style of Tea, which is based on Shukô's Tea and brought to its culmination later by Rikyû. For a deeper understanding of Jô-ô's idea of *wabi* and its related philosophy, it is considered essential to study Fujiwara Teika's *Eigataigai* and Shukô's *Kokoro no Fumi*: *Eigataigai* because it is said in the classics that after listening to Sanetaka's lecture on *Eigataigai*, Jô-ô understood the true meaning of Tea; Shukô's *Kokoro no Fumi* is essential because he was the 'Old Master of Tea' for Jô-ô even though Jô-ô did not study directly under his guidance but under his disciples. Combining these two sources and explaining Jô-ô's *wabi* as a philosophical concept through them is the new approach of this study to the subject. In part three, Rikyû's philosophy of *wabi* is introduced. The main sources for discussion are *Nanpôroku* and *Yamanoue Sôjiki*. Rikyû's philosophical background for the idea of *wabi* is more influenced by Zen Buddhism. He, too, respected the works and studies of the old masters of Tea, but he kept a distance from them in order to create something of his own. In a philosophical sense, his aim was to become free from all obstructions in order to attain the highest state of the heart i.e., absolute naturalness.

The first two sections of the research focus on *wabi* as a philosophical concept. Thereafter, concrete and visible forms of *wabi* are studied by introducing a

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101 The following studies concerning *chadô* in general which were available for this study have been examined: James Henry II Holland, *Allusion, Performance, and Status: The Social and Aesthetic World of Elite Practitioners of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (1997); Jennifer L. Anderson, *An Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* (1991), and Julia Nakano-Holmes, *Furuta Oribe: Iconoclastic Guardian of Chanoyu Tradition* (1995). Unfortunately, I could not get the dissertation called *The Tea Cult in History* (1985) by Robert W. Kramer, though this book might have been a great help in this study because Kramer has discussed the teachings of *Nanpôroku* and several other educational texts in his dissertation. Generally speaking, the approach of the above-mentioned studies is very different from that introduced here. They focus on the ethnographic, anthropological or historical accounts of *chadô*, rather than emphasising philosophical and aesthetic aspects of Tea based on the primary sources, i.e., Tea-related classics. Therefore, these studies could not provide the desired information on the concept of *wabi* in *chadô* even though they certainly provide valuable information for the specialist in the fields of anthropology, ethnography and history. And the following studies in the field are also noted as existing, even though they are not used in this study: Barbara Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of Tea Ceremony* (1992); Barbara Mori, *Chadô (Tea Ceremony) in Japan and in Hawaii: A Symbolic Intractionist Analysis of Intra- and Cross-cultural Transmission, Adaptation and Change* (1988); Brenda Murphy, *Japanese Artistic Aesthetics in a Non-Japanese Mode: Chanoyu into Western Music* (1993).

set of characteristics of *wabi* as an aesthetic concept. Through examples from classical sources, *wabi* in the tea utensils, tea-house and the *roji* path is studied. Using tea diaries (*chakaiki*), Jô-ô's as well as Rikyû's sense of *wabi* in the tea utensils, tea-rooms, and the *roji* path is discussed. In Chapter 5, the use of the word *wabi* in classical poetry (before the term *chadô* was associated with it) is presented as an introduction. The poem, "*miwataseba...*" by Fujiwara Teika and the poem "*hana o nomi...*" by Fujiwara Ietaka are interpreted for the metaphoric meanings referring to *wabi* they contain. *Nanpôroku* states that these poems represent Tea Master Jô-ô's and Tea Master Rikyû's concept of *wabi*.[102] However, the word *wabi* is not used in these poems. The philosophical aspects and concrete characteristics of *wabi* are combined and Jô-ô's *wabi* and Rikyû's *wabi* are compared using Teika's and Ietaka's poems. The discussion of differences in their philosophies and concrete forms of *wabi* is also based on these poems.

Finally, I examine the question of whether more than one form of *wabi* beauty exists, beyond the sense of rough beauty as *wabi* is understood in previous studies. By comparing Jô-ô's and Rikyû's concept of *wabi*, it can shown that at least two forms of *wabi* exist: the austere and the luxurious. But, a closer examination shows that there exist even more forms of *wabi*. *Wabi* also contains the beauty of 'chill calmness', such as the image of the sunset in the late autumn, or the beauty of 'delicate gentleness' hiding vitality, such as the image of the young green sprouts in early spring trying to find a way through the snow. The beauty of chill and withered, such as the image of the black tree branches in mid-winter is yet another aspect of *wabi*. This study also addresses the questions: Where did these different forms of *wabi* come from?, How did they develop? and Why was the particular concept of *wabi* in its aesthetic and philosophical meanings associated with *chadô*, even though it does not exist in classical poetry and literature?

1.5. METHOD AND MATERIALS OF THE STUDY

The primary source material for this study is *Chadô Koten Zenshû* ('Complete Collection of Tea Classics', published by Tankôsha in 1956). In addition, other literary sources are used to clarify the ideas in the citations analysed. Unfortunately, the original books of the classics were not available. Therefore, this study relies on the available editions of the original works (such as *Chadô Koten Zenshû*). Some texts used in this study appear in English for the first time. The study also uses unpublished manuscripts of *Yamanoue Sôjiki*.

The selection of classical texts was made based on their shared, similar or closely related contents. For example, explanations of *wabi* as a philosophical

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102 Nanpôroku, p. 16.

concept or descriptions of its aesthetic values appear in the texts most frequently. Certain selected texts illustrating *wabi* as a philosophical concept (Section 2.1) are exceptions. Only a few such texts exist, but they were written by highly educated Tea practitioners who were also very well aware of the poetic terms and discussion of that time as well as being familiar with Zen, leading us to the conclusion that in these text's every word counts and nothing can be overlooked. Consequently, the chosen texts are studied extensively and thoroughly; they are collated and analysed during this research project. The primary concern of this study is not to establish a definite textual tradition of Tea classics, nor to engage in a discussion of their historical significance or traditions of interpretation. As an investigation of the philosophical and aesthetic ideas expressed in these texts, the study focuses primarily on the actual content of the discussed sources. The analysis is based on these selected original texts as such, translated in connection with the study, drawing on empirical studies, and on experience in Tea.

1.5.1. Classical Sources

1.5.1.1. Nanpôroku

Researchers do not know very much about the history of *Nanpôroku*, but Suzuki Daisetsu emphasises the meaning of it saying that *Nanpôroku* is "the most important, almost sacred, textbook on the Art of Tea."[103] *Nanpôroku* is said to have been written by Nanpô Sôkei who was the head priest of *Shû'unan* in *Nansôji* temple. There is no definite information indicating whether a person called Nanpô Sôkei ever lived (nor was there any mention of Sôkei in the classical texts used in this study, except in *Nanpôroku*). Apparently Sôkei was a disciple of Rikyû (1522-1591) who wrote down what he heard and saw while studying Tea under Rikyû. *Nanpôroku* contains seven chapters altogether, yet the original texts written by Sôkei have not been found. The last, the seventh chapter of *Nanpôroku*, was completed on the twenty-eight day of the second month in 1593, two years after Rikyû's death.[104]

The oldest copy of *Nanpôroku* is by Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655-1708) from Hakata city, Kyûshû island. In the autumn of 1686 on the way to Edo, he was told that there was a person in Kyôto who had five books of Rikyû's secret teachings. He managed to copy these five books by December of the same year. He finished copying the last two of the total of seven books by the twenty-second day of the first month of 1690.[105] Hisamatsu is very firm in his opinion that the name of the

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103 Suzuki 1988, p. 283.

104 Hisamatsu 1956, pp. 455-456, 459, 461-462.

105 Hisamatsu 1956, pp. 456-463. See also Hirota 1995, pp. 215-216.

book, *Nanpôroku*, should be written with the Chinese characters 南方録 "Records from the South", not with the characters 南坊録 which change the meaning into "Records of Nanpô (Sôkei)".[106] Hirota states that the latter spelling is sometimes used in copies post-dating Jitsuzan's copy of *Nanpôroku*. According to Hirota, the present name *Nanpôroku* (南方録) "Records from the South" was given by Jitsuzan's Zen master Kogai of *Shôfukuji* temple in Hakata, and that the name has connections with the Chinese classic Scripture of Tea, *Chakyô* (茶經), by the Tang dynasty poet called Riku'u (陸羽).[107] The connection between *Chakyô* and *Nanpôroku* can be read from the very first line of the book, in which it says that tea is a wonderful plant and it comes from the Southern countries (茶というものは南方にできる嘉木である).[108]

Nanpôroku consists of seven books (chapters): 1) *Oboegaki* (Memorandum), 2) *Kai* (Tea gatherings hosted by Rikyû), 3) *Tana* (About using shelves), 4) *Shoin* (About the formal [large] tea-room), 5) *Daisu* (The shelf used in the formal way of preparing tea), 6) *Sumibiki* ('Brushed over with ink': Detailed rules of Tea), and 7) *Metsugo* (After the death; words of Rikyû written down after his death). The first four books contain Rikyû's sign (*shomei*) indicating that he has corroborated the writings. The fifth book, *Daisu*, similar to the first four books, has Rikyû's sign but also contains his own autograph. The sixth one, *Sumibiki*, does not have Rikyû's sign because Rikyû was against saving this book. He brushed over the book with ink before handing it back to Sôkei. The reason for this was that the book contained a secret transmission and was too detailed in information. Still this book is considered, without any doubt, to be one of the original books of the *Nanpôroku*. Hirota[109] writes that all of the first six books have Rikyû's seal (sign), even the book *Sumibiki*. The seventh book, *Metsugo*, does not have Rikyû's sign because Sôkei finished it three years after Rikyû's death (1593). In *Nanpôroku*, Sôkei says that he was weeping while writing this last chapter,[110] which apparently shows how closely he was associated with Rikyû. In addition to these seven books, two reference books have been accepted as part of *Nanpôroku*. These reference books are called: *Hiden* (secret transmission) and *Tsuika* (addition, supplement), and they were written by Jitsuzan's disciple Meisetsu (d. 1745). Sometimes even more than nine books (the original seven books and the two reference books) are included in *Nanpôroku*, but because the reference books were written more than a hundred years after Rikyû's death, the problem of validity

106 Hisamatsu 1956, p. 456.

107 Hirota 1995, p. 361, note 124.

108 Chakyô, p. 3.

109 Hirota 1995, p. 215.

110 Nanpôroku, p. 323.

arises.[111] The two reference books written by Meisetsu were included in the version of *Nanpôroku* used in this study.[112]

1.5.1.2. Zencharoku

Zencharoku (Records of Zen and Tea), published in 1828 in Tôkyô, is said to be the work of Jakuan Sôtaku. It contains altogether ten books: 1) *Cha wa Zendô o Mune to Suru Koto* (The true meaning of Tea lies in the Way of Zen), 2) *Chaji Shugyô no Koto* (Tea as a Way of Spiritual Training), 3) *Chai no Koto* (The spirit of Tea), 4) *Chaki no Koto* (Tea utensils), 5) *Wabi no Koto* (*Wabi*), 6) *Henka no Koto* (The meaning of changes), 7) *Suki no Koto* (*Suki*), 8) *Roji no Koto* (*Roji*), 9) *Taiyû no Koto* (The substance [essence] and the phenomenon [action, function]), 10) *Muhinshu no Cha no Koto* (Tea of No-guest and No-host).

At the beginning of *Zencharoku*, it states that it is written by "Jakuan Sôtaku from Tôkyô".[113] According to Shibayama Zenkei, Jakuan seems to have been a Zen monk associated with the *Daitokuji* temple in Kyôto.[114] Shibayama has studied the historical records of *Daitokuji*, but could not find any mention of Jakuan. The same year *Zencharoku* was published, Sen Sôtan's (1578-1658) work *Cha Zen Dôichimi* (Tea and Zen have the same taste) was also published.[115] Sôtan's work has only five chapters, but the titles are almost identical with chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, and 8 of Jakuan's *Zencharoku*, and the content is the same. The similarities between these two works have raised the question of which one of them was written first. If *Cha Zen Dôichimi* was written first, then it is possible that Jakuan used it and wrote five more chapters of his own. If *Zencharoku* was written first, then Sôtan, or somebody else under Sôtan's name, chose those five chapters from the *Zencharoku* and compiled them to publish a special edition. According to Shibayama, it is not possible to give a definite answer to this question at the moment.[116] This speculation on the origins of *Zencharoku* is not relevant to this study. It is enough to know that the contents of *Zencharoku* and the *Cha Zen Dôichimi* are similar and the said five chapters of *Cha Zen Dôichimi* can be found in *Zencharoku*, too, under a different book title.

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111 Hisamatsu 1956, pp. 458, 460-461.

112 For details about the origins and history of the *Nanpôroku*, see Hisamatsu 1956, pp. 458-475; Hirota 1995, pp. 215-217, 361-362, and notes 124-126.

113 Zencharoku: Cha wa zendô o mune to suru koto, CKZ 10, p. 279.

114 Shibayama 1956. For detailed information about *Zencharoku*, see Shibayama 1956 and Hirota 1995, pp. 261-262.

115 Shibayama 1956, p. 318.

116 Shibayama 1956, p. 312-314.

1.5.1.3. Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi

The letter called *Wabi no Fumi* is generally believed to have been written by Jô-ô (1502-1555). Toda Katsuhisa says that Jô-ô wrote *Wabi no Fumi* in 1555, just before his death, and that he left this letter to his disciple Rikyû (1522-1591) as a last precept for the Way of Tea.[117] According to Kuwata, *Wabi no Fumi* was written on the fifth day of the tenth month by Daikokuan (alias Jô-ô), and it was addressed to Sôeki (alias of Rikyû).[118]

Jô-ô's letter on *wabi* starts with the definition of the word *wabi*. Then he explains the meaning of a *wabi* style of life or *wabi* style of *chadô*. Jô-ô emphasises the philosophical concept of the mind(heart), *kokoro*. Next he gives a concrete example of the *wabi* style of life and states that the roots of the idea of *wabi* lie in the deity Amaterasu Ômikami, who was the finest Tea practitioner in the world. Then he continues by explaining the tea utensils and their use. Jô-ô ends his letter of philosophical pondering with the difficulty of explaining the concept *wabi* in concrete terms, and states that "a person who has not found one's essential self cannot grasp it [the true meaning of *wabi*]."[119]

The same text is also included in the book called *Sekishûryû Hiji Gokajô*.[120] Kuwata states that *Wabi no Fumi* was probably written by someone other than Jô-ô, and that this person has interpreted Jô-ô's idea of the Way of Tea very well. Hirota concurs with Kuwata's opinion that *Wabi no Fumi* is almost certainly not the work of Jô-ô. He bases this on stylistic criteria: Jô-ô was also a great poet, but the text in *Wabi no Fumi* lacks incisiveness. Hirota reminds us, that since the teachings of Tea were transmitted orally, the letter might have been recorded by a later practitioner of Tea.[121] Despite all this speculation about the origins of the text, Hirota finds similarities in this letter and the other information concerning Jô-ô. *Wabi no fumi* is generally known as a work of Jô-ô, but Katagiri Sekishû (1556-1615) is also mentioned as a possible author of the work.[122] Still, this is all speculation. The fact is that we do not know exactly who wrote *Wabi no Fumi*. The classical sources used here call the book the *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*, and this name is also used in this study. The purpose of this study is not to try to find an

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117 Toda 1993-94, part 1, p. 2. Toda also studies other alternatives concerning the authorship of this book. For detailed information, see ibid. pp. 2-3.

118 Kuwata 1956b.

119 Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi, p. 18: 本来物のなき人は手に入りかね可申. For the other alternative translation, see Hirota 1995, p. 209.

120 The origin of this book is unknown. See Toda 1993-94, part 1, p. 2.

121 Hirota 1995, p. 207.

122 Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *Wabi no Fumi* and *Katagiri Sekishû*. In the bibliographical notes to *Sekishû Sanbyakukajô*, Izuyama (1956, p. 352) writes that Sekishû wrote the *Wabi no Fumi* in 1661.

answer to the question concerning the originality of these sources, but rather to examine the philosophical ideas of *wabi* they present.[123]

1.5.1.4. Yamanoue Sôjiki

Yamanoue Sôjiki is a diary of the Tea master Yamanoue Sôji (1544-1590) who was said to be one of the leading disciples of Rikyû. Sôji lived in the Southern mountains of the city of Sakai, and therefore he was called *yamanoue*, 'on the top of the mountain'. The book *Yamanoue Sôjiki* was completed in 1588[124] and is said to be one of the most reliable books on Rikyû's Tea written during the time when he was still alive. The first mention of Yamanoue Sôji is found in *Tsuda Sôkyû Chanoyu Nikki*, in *Eiroku* eleventh year (1568), and after that his name is mentioned frequently. Yamanoue Sôji writes in his diary that he studied under Rikyû for almost twenty years,[125] and upon Rikyû's recommendation he also became Hideyoshi's Tea advisor (*sadô*). One of the well-known manuscripts of *Yamanoue Sôjiki* is *Chakimeibutsushû*, which is dated 1588 second month twenty-seventh day, and is also used for this study.[126] Two unpublished manuscripts of *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, one named *Fushinan Yamanoue Sôjiki* and the other *Sonkeikaku Yamanoue Sôjiki* are also used in this study in order to show differences between various versions of the book.

The importance of *Yamanoue Sôjiki* lies in the fact that it contains secret teachings of Shukô, Insetsu, Jô-ô and Rikyû. It is a historical document which introduces Shukô's style of Tea, provides valuable information on the famed utensils, and elucidates the essence of the spiritual side of Tea. Some of the parts of *Yamanoue Sôjiki* were supposedly replenished by Jô-ô and Rikyû, such as *Chanoyusha Kakugo Jittei* (Ten points of attention for the practitioners of Tea). It also contains comments by Sôji himself, found in *Shukô Isshi Mokuroku* (Shukô's one page catalogue).[127] Sôji wrote this book especially for beginners, not for advanced Tea students.[128]

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123 The book *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi* can be read either in its philosophical or, as Toda does, in its concrete meanings (see Toda 1993-94). In this section, the philosophical meaning of the text is focused on.

124 Yamanoue Sôjiki, pp. 106, 110. The present copy has two dates: one is *Tenshô* seventeenth year (1589) second month and the other is *Tenshô* sixteenth year (1588) *shôgatsu* (first month) twenty-first day.

125 Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 53.

126 Kuwata 1956a, pp. 117-122. Kuwata also introduces two other manuscripts of *Yamanoue Sôjiki* not used here.

127 Kuwata 1956a, pp. 124-125.

128 Yamanoue Sôjiki, pp. 122-126.

The book contains an introduction which records that the tradition of Tea was handed down from Shukô to Sôju, Insetsu, Jô-ô and to Rikyû, and to Rikyû's disciple Sôji. This is followed by a list of the famous tea utensils, which also includes one special category of *wabi hanaire*, *wabi* style flower vases. This catalogue of the tea utensils is generally considered part of the original core of Sôji's record.[129] After that comes 'Ten points of attention for the practitioners of Tea' (*Chanoyusha Kakugo Jittei*) and 'Ten further points of attention' (*Mata Jittei*). The latter part of the diary contains remarks on *chadô* in general, and notes about the Tea practitioners and the tea-rooms.

1.5.1.5. Other classical sources used

In addition to the above-mentioned classical sources, several other sources from the *Chadô Koten Zenshû* are used, such as:

Genryûchawa written by Yabunouchi Chikushin (1678-1745), which was meant to be an introductory book of Tea for beginners. This book transmits the Rikyû style of Tea. *Sugiki Fusai Densho* was written by Sugiki Fusai (1628-1706) who started his Tea studies at the age of fifteen under Sôtan (1578-1658), Rikyû's grandson. Fusai studied Zen at *Daitokuji* temple in Kyôto and was famous for his *wabi* tea-scoops (*chashaku*). He was also a productive writer.[130] *Chawashigetsu-shû* was published in 1701, but it is generally accepted as being the work of Sôtan. Sôtan wrote down stories (anecdotes) about Rikyû which were compiled into the book called *Chawashigetsushû*. Sôtan's anecdotes on Rikyû give a vivid picture of the Tea master as teacher and practitioner.

Sôjinboku, published in 1626, is a book in three parts: rules for the host and guests, about preparing Tea (*temae*), and displaying utensils on the *daisu* shelf. The author of the book in unknown. The first two parts are said to transmit Furuta Oribe's (1544-1615) style of Tea (this fact provides a connection to Rikyû because Oribe was one of the seven disciples of Rikyû), and the third section is related to the warrior style of Tea in the *Muromachi* period. *Chôandôki* was written by Kubo Gondayû, a *wabi* Tea man from Nara whose Tea name was Chôandô. He lived from 1571-1640, leaving his diary, *Chôandôki*, as a legacy for his descendants. The first copy was made in 1740.[131]

Chanoyu Ichieishû[132] was written by Ii Naosuke (1815-1860) who was also a skillful politician and central figure in opening Japan and settling the treaty of

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129 Hirota 1995, p. 200.

130 For further information about the book, see Suzuki Hanza 1956, pp. 187-196.

131 Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *Kubo Gondayû* and *Chôandôki*. For further information, see Satô 1956, pp. 385-394.

132 For more information, see Fuji 1956; Plutschow 1986, pp. 188-190.

friendship and trade between Japan and the United States of America. Naosuke was serving as an Elder in the military government and was also a signer of this treaty on the Japanese side (even though the results of these treaties were not so successful). He was assassinated at the age of forty-six by *Satsuma* clansmen who opposed the treaties. In his book, Naosuke teaches that *chanoyu* is not just a form of art studied on certain occasions but it affects every moment of one's life. He calls Tea a skill of mastering one's heart. The book contains deep philosophical teachings on Tea as well as concrete advice on how to life one's live as a man of Tea. It includes instructions on how to clean the *roji* path or tea-room, how to combine tea utensils, how the charcoal is to be arranged during the tea gathering. Naosuke stresses the idea of "once in a lifetime": that every moment in Tea and in life as well, is unique and happens only once. Therefore, every moment is a moment for cultivating one's mind(heart).

The book called *Hosokawa Chanoyu no Sho*[133] contains the teachings of Hosokawa Sansai (1563-1645), who was also a well-known warrior and poet. He was one of the seven disciples of Rikyû and the author of several literary works. The book was published in 1668 and it is composed of three chapters: about preparing Tea, choosing utensils for the gathering (*toriawase*), and about guest manners and utensils. The book was completed by Sansai's disciple, Ichio Iori (1602-1689) and is based on the notes he made while studying under Sansai. The last of my sources is a book called *Senrin*, whose author is unknown, dated 1612.

The most important tea diaries used in this study are *Tennôjiya Kaiki* (1548-1590), which was kept by the Tsuda family from Sakai, and *Matsuya Kaiki* (1533-1650), which was kept by the Matsuya family from Nara. These 'tea diaries', among others, are used later in this study to explain the Great Tea Masters Jô-ô's and Rikyû's senses of Tea. Some other classical sources, such as *Ryôjinhishô*, *Shôdôka* and *Keitoku Dentôroku* are used in this study to clarify the meaning of the subjects discussed. *Ryôjinhishô* is a collection of verses from the end of the 12th century; most of them are about travelling. *Shôdôka* (証道歌) was originally a Chinese book of long songs (poems) from the Tang dynasty that is said to be the work of Yôka Genkaku (永嘉玄覚).[134] *Keitoku Dentôroku* (景徳伝灯録) was originally Chinese. It was compiled in 1004 and belongs to the Zen tradition of Chinese Buddhist literature. Other sources used are mentioned in the sections below.

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133 For further information on the book, see Iguchi 1956.

134 It contains Zen-related songs that are important especially for the *Sôtô* school of Zen in Japan. It is noted that the tradition of Tea is usually related to *Rinzai* Zen, but this source is cited to illustrate that ideas similar to those in *chadô* were also recognised by the literati and cultured persons having no direct connection with Tea.

1.5.2. Translations

All translations from Japanese into English are mine when not indicated otherwise. The most important quoted translations used are by Dennis Hirota who has translated many Tea-related classical texts which are compiled in the book *Wind in the Pines: Classic Writings of the Way of Tea as a Buddhist Path* (1995). Hirota's translation has been a great help in interpreting the classical texts. It is also realised that the kind of detailed study needed for a dissertation is not always a fair use of his translations, considering that Hirota's texts are edited for a smoothly readable style for the general public, not addressed specifically to the specialist.

Sometimes it is difficult to find exactly the right word for a purely Japanese term, and therefore, classical texts do not always have only one correct translation. When necessary, an alternative translation is given in parenthesis. Consequently, the text may be cumbersome to read and understand, but it is hoped that these alternative expressions clarify the meaning of the terms. First, the translation by the author is given in as literal a form as possible. Next, other researchers' opinions and translations of the cited passage are introduced and discussed in order to show alternative interpretation's. After that, I shall explain and analyse the key terms from the cited classical text and its translation in more detail. The translations and interpretations by the author are not the only ones possible. It is not claimed that they present the only correct interpretation. They present my point of view on the subject in this context and at this point in time.

1.5.3. Main Japanese Terms Used

One Japanese term that occurs a number of times in this study is *chadô* (the Way of Tea). However, in the Tea-related classics the term *chanoyu* ('tea and hot water' or 'hot water of tea') is often used instead. Kurasawa explains *chadô* as being part of *chanoyu*. The word *chanoyu* has been used since the 16th century (late *Muromachi* period) and it incorporates the practical aspects of Tea, such as preparing tea and the customs related to the drinking and serving of it. *Chadô* also has the same meaning as the word *chanoyu*, yet it has a deep spiritual (philosophical) meaning as well. According to Kurasawa, *chadô* has two meanings: one meaning is *chanoyu*, the way and manners of serving and drinking tea (Tea as an art) in order to reach a deeper and higher state of mind. He calls this a Way from Tea to Heart. But, there is another Way from this deeper and higher state of mind back to the Tea, which he calls a Way from Heart to Tea.[135] The latter underlines the

135 Kurasawa 1988, pp. 210-212.

importance of the philosophical aspects of Tea. The word *chadô* is today more commonly used than the word *chanoyu*. Therefore, this study assumes that the word *chadô* contains both these meanings; the original meaning Tea as an Art (*chanoyu*) and Tea as a Way (*chadô*), the latter one emphasising the philosophical aspects of Tea. The word *chadô* is used when the concept of Tea is studied generally, not connected to the cited passage. The word *chanoyu*, if mentioned in the cited passage, is used also in the interpretation and explanation of the passage to maintain the coherence of the text. The meaning of *wabichadô* differs from *chadô*, so that *chadô* is a general term describing the philosophy and the art of Tea, whereas *wabichadô* emphasises the *wabi* style of Tea practised in a small, humble hut with a modest attitude and with a special state of mind (Chapter 2).

If the word *Tea* occurs in the text with a capital letter it refers to the Way of Tea conveying aesthetic and philosophical aspects to be separated from the normal drinking of tea. The English translation, "Tea Ceremony", for *chadô* or *chanoyu*, used frequently in previous studies, is not preferred in this study because it is too suggestive of a religious rite, a ceremony, which Tea, after all, is not. Tea is not a ceremony held for the guests but once-in-a-lifetime occasion to enjoy good company and beautiful pieces of art together with food and an excellent cup of tea. Furthermore, to be able to enjoy all this in all respects, one should possess a certain state of mind in order to 'see beauty' or in order to be a connoisseur of the Art of Tea knowing calligraphy, flowers, ceramics, lacquer work and gardening, among other arts.

The word *wabi* is used as such without translation. In the classics, the most common way of writing it is using the Chinese characters 侘 and 佗, or it is written with *hiragana* syllables: わび (see more in details, Section 5.1.1). The dictionary meaning of *wabi* refers to 'the quiet taste without any luxury or adornment', 'enjoying a tranquil and peaceful life', or a specific concept in *chadô* and in poetry. *Wabi* means also 'being discouraged or disheartened', 'disappointment', 'despair', 'loss of hope', 'a broken heart', having a hard time', or 'to think bitterly on things'.

The meaning of the word *kokoro* (心) differs depending on the context: Explaining *wabi* as a philosophical concept, the word *kokoro* is used in the meaning of 'mind(heart)' indicating the 'soul', 'spirit', or 'the true self' of the human being. But to explain *wabi* as an aesthetic concept, the idea of *wabi* is translated to the 'spirit of *wabi*' or 'the sense of *wabi*' in utensils, i.e., the sense and presence of *wabi*. Other explanations of the word *kokoro* are given in parentheses if necessary. For the concepts describing *wabi* as philosophy (Section 2.3), one dictionary translation is given. Because the meaning of these terms is not explainable concisely in a few words, the various meanings and nuances these concepts contain

are explained in the text, and in addition, the Japanese word is used to make the text clearer and more comprehensible.

Concerning the tea utensils, specific names of tea utensils describing the shape or the methods used to make items, are given in the text in their Japanese form and explained in the footnotes (see details, Section 4.2.1). Some other Japanese terms, such as *suki* (Section 4.2.1.3) and *roji*, 露地 (Section 4.2.3), meaning a path-like garden leading to the tea hut are also used as such and explained in the text.

1.5.4. On Writing and Transliteration

Western names are given in a Western style, with first name followed by surname, but Japanese names are given in the Japanese style, surname first and then the given name (e.g. Abe Masao). The historical persons, such as Jô-ô and Rikyû are called by their Buddhist names as they are known at present without the family name or common names (birth names). Romanized Japanese words are given in the Hepburn system: an apostrophe is used when a syllable break occurs (if there is a possibility of misreading), and long vowels are shown with a circumflex (^). One exception is the writing of Jô-ô: here a dash is used instead of an apostrophe for the readability of the word (see e.g., the genitive form: Jô'ô's and Jô-ô's). In the text the Great Tea Masters with capital letters refer to Shukô, Jô-ô and Rikyû. Otherwise it means the masters of Tea in general.

The Chinese names and words are given, without exception, in their Japanese spelling and the Chinese characters are given in parentheses after the word. This is done because the Chinese transliteration system varies so much in different studies. Some Chinese classics which already have an established translation for the name in English, such as the *Analects*, are first introduced in Japanese, with the Chinese characters in parentheses and followed by the English name. Thereafter only the English name is used.

In the classics, duplication is shown by a vertical line that is slightly curved and open to the left and reminiscent of the *hiragana* character *ku*. This kind of duplication line is used when written in the Japanese style, i.e., vertically from right to left, but this style of writing was not used in this study for technical reasons. Therefore, in the cited passages from the classics, duplication is shown by writing the word two times. Some of the classical texts cited in this study were written in the so-called *kanbun* style (classical Chinese) but this style of writing is not used in this study for technical reasons, and therefore, the words are given in the same order they appear in the text. The key terms for the analysis are under-

lined both in each classical citation as well as in the translation in order to make it easier for the reader to follow detailed discussion on the subject.

As a general rule, single quotation marks ('...') are used when I cite my own translation of the classical text used in this study and double ("...") if other scholars' words are cited. However, if only the English translation is given in the text without the Japanese citation, I use double quotation marks to show that it is a citation.

1.6. ON THE TYPES AND MANNERS OF TEA GATHERINGS

In our time, there are two kinds of tea gatherings: *chakai* ('tea gathering') and *chaji* ('tea event'). A *chakai* is an informal tea gathering without a *kaiseki* meal. It is usually comprised of only the serving of thin tea (*usutcha*), but sometimes a little lunch box is also served. One difference between the two is that *chakais* are held for a large public. A *chaji* is a formal tea gathering with a *kaiseki* meal, followed by thick tea, thin tea, and a formal procedure of setting charcoal into the fireplace in front of the guest. This usually takes about four hours. *Chaji* starts when all of the guests have arrived and, after the gathering, they all leave together. More informal *chakais* do not have these strict rules: people come and go quite freely. Next I shall introduce the types and the basic course of the formal tea gathering (*chaji*).

There are more than one-hundred-and-forty different ways of preparing tea (including *furo* and *ro* seasons with all variations), and with each the style of serving tea or the utensils used vary. The basic sixteen are for beginners, the next four are for the advanced students and the most honoured styles of preparing tea are taught after mastering the two lower categories. Sometimes they focus on the display of a special or rare tea utensil or incense. There are seven different categories of time when these gatherings may be held during the day: They can be held during the morning (*asa chaji*), noon (*shôgo chaji*) or in the evening (*yobanashi chaji*), depending on the season and the weather. Or, tea gatherings may be held 'after the meal' (*hango chaji*). They may be 'no-time-tea' gatherings (*fuji chaji*), meaning a spontaneous gathering which is given on short notice or impulse, or a 'viewing the tracks-gathering' (*atomi chaji*) which is requested by guests having heard that the tea gathering is being held and wishing to see the utensils used. The earliest tea gathering is called 'dawn tea' (*akatsuki no chaji*), which is served at four a.m.[136] The most basic type is the noon gathering, usually starting at twelve o'clock.

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136 For more in details on different styles and types of tea gatherings, see Anderson 1991, pp. 100-106.

When a host invites guests for tea he usually sends an invitation letter to the first guest, i.e., the main guest, who then invites the accompanied guests (1-3 persons). The main guest replies politely and indicates with whom he is going to share and enjoy this rare occasion. After arriving, the guests gather together in the waiting room where some refreshing drink, water from a famous well, for example, is served in order to sweep away the dust of the road from the guests' throats. In the *tokonoma* of the waiting room something suitable for the occasion, for example, a piece of art, is displayed and viewed. After a while the guests are asked to move to the waiting arbour at the *roji* garden and wait until the host comes to greet welcome them silently. The host returns to the tea-room, makes the final preparations and waits for the guests to enter the tea-room. First charcoal is set into the fireplace (*shozumi*) and the meal is served (*kaiseki*). This is called the first half of the gathering, *shoza*, and the room is dimly lit. In the *tokonoma* there is a scroll, usually of Zen proverbs, suitable for the season and the occasion. After the meal's main sweets (*omokashi*) are served, the guests move back to the waiting arbour in the *roji* to relax their feet and, perhaps, to go to the toilet. Meanwhile the host prepares the tea-room for tea; he cleans the *tatami* mats, exchanges flowers for the scrolls in the *tokonoma* and takes away the bamboo rattan blind from the windows, making the tea-room light. After these preparations the host calls the guests back by striking the gong and the thick tea (*koicha*) is served followed by the dry sweets (*higashi*) and thin tea (*usutcha*). This is called the second half of the gathering, *goza*. After the tea, the tea containers, tea scoop and the bag for the thick tea container are viewed more closely and their beauty is admired. During the first half the discussion in the tea-room is kept to a minimum: the silence is deep. The sound of the boiling water, the tea scoop clinking on the tea bowl, or the sound of tea being whisked creates kinds of rhythms in the 'music of silence'. During the second half the main guest discusses with the host the utensils used, the meal served, and everything else concerning to the occasion here and now. No other subjects, such as 'how is your family', or 'is the business going well' are included in the polite Tea courtesy and manners. The tea gatherings may look very strict and regulated to beginners, or to those who are not familiar with them, but actually they 'free' the guests to enjoy the gathering when they know what is asked and when. One is freed from speculation and worrying 'should I ask this or that in order to be polite'.

Studying Tea is studying courtesy and manners. It also gives an excellent education on the art utensils used: for example, scrolls, ceramics and lacquer work. Students should be able to tell where these utensils came from, who has made them and if they have any poetic names, or what the story behind them is. In addition to all this 'art education' of Tea studies, Tea practitioners need to study how to make sweets and how to prepare a *kaiseki* meal for the guests. They need

to train their skills in using the utensils and food and to be able to bring out some seasonal peculiarities during the gathering. Tea is not just the preparation tea but a kind of microcosm of Japanese arts, culture, and manners.[137]

137 I studied Tea at the *Urasenke* school in Kyôto for one year from 1989 to 1990. During my studies at Kôbe University from 1994 to 1997, I continued my Tea studies at the *Urasenke* in the Saturday-group, called ICI, for the entire three years. Before returning to Finland in May when the new green leaves where at their best, I was able to give a 'farewell *chakai*' in the tea-room of *Kôzanji* temple in Takao, Kyôto, for my teachers and friends in Japan. Since 1990 I have introduced Tea in Finland by making several tea demonstrations for the Japanese embassy in Finland as well as for the greater public in open events. I have also lectured on Tea in universities, schools, various academies and on special occasions.