

3. PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECTS OF *WABI* IN *CHADÔ*: GREAT TEA MASTERS JÔ-Ô AND RIKYÛ

3.1. INTRODUCTION: JÔ-Ô'S NOTION OF *WABI* IN *CHADÔ*: PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECTS

In the history of *chadô*, and especially of *wabichadô*, usually three persons are mentioned: Shukô (1423-1502), Jô-ô (1502-1555), and Rikyû (1522-1591). Shukô is said to be the founder of Tea, formalising the philosophical background for Tea as a Way. Jô-ô studied Tea under Shukô's disciples and carried the idea further, emphasising the aesthetic values of Tea. Finally, Rikyû, Jô-ô's disciple, developed it into the form which is followed today. In this chapter, I shall focus on the impact of Jô-ô and Rikyû, who can be said to be the most important persons in the development of *wabichadô*. I also discuss Shukô's main ideas of Tea and his relationship with Jô-ô in order to clarify the development of *wabi* as a philosophical and aesthetic concept in the Way of Tea.

In Section 3.1.1, I shall focus on a comparison of *Eigataigai* with *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, i.e., the similarities in the teachings in *chadô* (*Yamanoue Sôjiki*) and in poetry (*Eigataigai*), as well as similarities with the teachings of Shukô in *Kokoro no Fumi*. *Eigataigai* is important for an understanding of Jô-ô's Tea because Sanataka's lecture on *Eigataigai* has been said to have made a deep impression on Jô-ô. Through it he understood the true meaning of *chadô*. *Yamanoue Sôjiki* is an essential source in transmitting the styles and ideas of Tea of the Great Tea Masters; Shukô's *Kokoro no Fumi* also can be presumed to have had a considerable impact on Jô-ô's Tea. Through Sôgo and Sôchin, Shukô's idea of *wabichadô* was conveyed to Jô-ô (Section 3.1.2). Finally, in Section 3.1.3, I introduce some of Jô-ô's precepts for his disciples regarding the Way of Tea, based mainly on a study of *Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto*, *Mata Jittei no Koto* and *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*.

3.1.1. 'Heart in Old and Mind in New': The Influence of *Eigataigai*

For Jô-ô, to study *Eigataigai* meant studying teachings of the great masters of poetry. Through *Eigataigai*, Jô-ô also realised the true meaning of Tea. He turned from poetry to Tea studies, and later, became a Master of Tea himself. Therefore, in order to understand Jô-ô's idea of Tea, studying *Eigataigai* is essential and should not be ignored. This is confirmed in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, which reports:

紹鷗 卅年マテ連歌師也、三条実隆逍遙院殿詠歌大概之序ヲ聞、茶湯ヲ分別シ、名人ニナラレタリ、是ヲ密伝ニス、印可ノ弟子伝ルラルル也²⁹⁶

Jô-ô was a teacher of *renga* poetry (linked verse) until the age of thirty. After listening to Lord Sanjô Sanetaka's lecture on *Eikataigai*'s introduction, he changed to *chanoyu* and become a Great Master. He [Jô-ô] included this explanation in his secret teachings and it was passed on by an authorised disciple.

Since there no longer is information available on what Sanetaka (1455-1537) said in this lecture, how he interpreted or understood the introduction of Teika's *Eigataigai*, or how Jô-ô understood Sanetaka's explanation, I have chosen the following two passages from *Eigataigai* as the most representative of the texts making an impression on Jô-ô. This selection is based on the similarities between *Eigataigai* and *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, along with the assumption that some parts of *Yamanoue Sôjiki* may be rewritten texts by Jô-ô,²⁹⁷ that further confirm the claim that the following citations from *Eigataigai* may be the ones that led Jô-ô to an understanding of the true meaning of *chanoyu*. These citations from *Eigataigai* are the following:

情以レ新為レ先 求人末レ詠之心詠レ之 詞以レ旧可レ用 詞不レ可レ出三代
集先達之所レ用新古今古人歌同可レ用レ之 風体可レ效堪能先達之秀哥 不レ
論古今遠近見宜哥可レ 效其体²⁹⁸

Let your mind accept the new try to compose poems that haven't been made yet but use words of old one should not use words later than was used in Sandaishû (Kokinshû, Gosenshû, Shûishû), yet Shinkokinshû is also an appropriate one. General appearance learn from the superior songs of the old great masters this is not a matter of age. Learn style (appearance) of poem by reading great poems of the masters.

和哥無師匠 只以旧歌為レ師 染心於古風 習詞於先達者 誰人不レ詠之哉²⁹⁹

Originally there are no teachers in (*waka*) poetry. Old poems are the only teacher. One should enter wholeheartedly, deep into the world (atmosphere) of the old great poems and study the use of words by Masters. After doing this anyone can create good poetry.

In comparison, *Yamanoue Sôjiki* says that,

²⁹⁶ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 98.

²⁹⁷ This is also noted by Kuwata (1956a, p. 125), who states that parts of the text may be additions by Jô-ô or Rikyû. However, similarities among *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, *Eigataigai*, and *Jô-ô Ibun: Mata Jittei no Koto*, suggest more by Jô-ô.

²⁹⁸ *Eigataigai*, p. 114. A work by Fujiwara Teika completed during 1213-1219. *Eigataigai* is said to express Teika's ideas on poetry from later years. The Chinese characters 旧, 為, and 体 are written in the text with old characters which were not available to me. See, e.g., Kangorin, characters no. 2970, 4458, 7615.

²⁹⁹ *Eikataigai*, p. 115.

茶湯ノシヤウ習ハ古ヲ專ニ用ヘシ、作意ハ新キヲ專トス、風体堪能ノ先達ニ習ヘシ、其時代ニ逢ヤウニ思案スヘシ、³⁰⁰

In learning the methods (means) of *chanoyu*, using the *old* is important; in creativity the importance is in the *new*. General appearance: learn from the great masters and combine these in the present time. These are the matters to consider.

The similarities between these two sources are obvious: both of them teach that means or tools should be 'old', but mind, or creativity, should be in the 'new'. The foundation for studies as well as the general appearance (*fûtei*) or style (form, *su-gata*) should be learnt from the old masters with great talent ('use words of old'), such as Shukô or Teika. In other words, one can learn two things by studying great masters: a style and a general feeling. And both of these should be combined in the atmosphere of the present time. To give an example from the world of Tea, this means according to Jô-ô that, firstly one should study carefully old Chinese masterpieces, their history and their use. After knowing them thoroughly, one is ready to cultivate one's own creativity, the so-called 'skilled eye' (Section 3.1.3.2), such as creating a new style of serving tea or handling and combining utensils, or even a new style of the tea-room. Besides a sound knowledge of the old masters, one has to possess a heart, sensitivity for arts, and refined taste to become a Master of Tea. According to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, in the practice of Tea Jô-ô also emphasised the old style and studying the old masters by owning more than sixty famous Chinese utensils. Besides these old pieces, he also created many new tea utensils, and it is said that most of the utensils in Tea were chosen by the skilled eye of the master Jô-ô (Section 4.3).³⁰¹

The concept of 'no teacher' in the second passage from *Eikataigai* cited earlier is also found in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*:

総別、茶湯ニハ、昔ヨリ以来無書物、唯古キ唐物ヲ多ク見覺テ、上手茶湯者ト毎々參会シ、作分ヲ出シ、昼夜茶湯ヲスク覺語ガ則師匠也、³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 94. See also Jô-ô Ibut: Mata Jittei no Koto in CKZ 3, p. 30. A similar sentence can be found also in this source: 茶湯仕様の義、習は古を専に用べし、作意は新しき事を専となす、風体は堪能の先達に任べし、その時代に合う様に分別すべし、 The methods (means) of *chanoyu* are: in learning, using the 'old' is essential, but in creativity the importance is in the 'new'. General appearance learn from Great Masters and combine these in the present time.

³⁰¹ Notice also similarities with *Tsukuba Mondô* (1372) on writing and studying *renga* poetry where beginners are said have to study the style and the use of the words from the old masterpieces such as *Manyôshu* or *Ise Monogatari*, and study under the guidance of a master. Firstly, one should study the style of the old *rengas*, put one's heart into them and study continuously from dawn to sunset in order to be able, finally, to compose the kind of poem one intended at from the beginning. *Tsukuba Mondô*, pp. 85-86, 93-94.

³⁰² Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 105.

Generally speaking, in *chanoyu*, from the past until the present, there have been no written texts. Only to look at old Chinese utensils several times, to participate often in tea gatherings of skillful Tea persons, to exert one's creativity, and to be ready to prepare Tea from dawn to evening – these are the teacher.

Moreover, in comparison with *Chakimeibutsushû* by Sôji, a postscript to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, it can be shown that the information is more or less similar in all of these three sources:

総別茶湯ニハ從昔以來無書物。又無師匠。唯古キ唐物ヲ多見テ。
昼夜茶湯ヲスク覺語。是師匠ナリ。³⁰³

Generally speaking, in *chanoyu*, from the past until the present, there have been no written texts. And also no teachers. Only to look at old Chinese utensils several times, and to be ready to prepare Tea from dawn to evening – this becomes a teacher.

Eikataigai says that there is no teacher in poetry and *Yamanoue Sôjiki* says that there are no teachings in Tea. Similarly, in *Chakimeibutsushû* it is said that there are no written texts nor teachers in Tea. Learning without a teacher takes place when one enters the atmosphere of old poems or style of *chanoyu* and studies by observing the great masters. This is the only teacher one needs. In these citations, the word teacher does not refer only to the concrete person, but also to the old style of the great masters.

Kazue seems to find the first citation from *Eigataigai* introduced in this study neither very remarkable nor important. But, as in this study, he notes that the word *kokoro* (情) is used to express the poets' new and great ideas. Kazue emphasises the second citation, which states that there are no teachers in poetry, and explains that in the arts, the role of the teacher is to show a starting point, or to lead a student in the right direction, and in the end, a student should even exceed their teacher's ability to exert his own influence and personality in arts. According to Kazue, for Jô-ô this challenge was to combine the *shoin* style of Tea, i.e., the most formal style of Tea, with the Shukô's rough style which can be considered as being a first step toward the *wabi* style of Tea.³⁰⁴ Kazue's choice of the word "to exceed", "to go beyond" one's teacher, is not entirely in accord with this analysis. I shall be showing later in this study that Jô-ô did not so much exceed his teacher Shukô; but rather, he followed Shukô's idea of *chadô*, but took it in new directions.

But, as regards the philosophical ideas of rough *wabi* style of Tea, Shukô was apparently more advanced than Jô-ô. This statement is based on the passage found in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*³⁰⁵ which states that Jô-ô's style of Tea presents the proper

³⁰³ *Chakimeibutsushû*, p. 500.

³⁰⁴ Kazue 1985, pp. 100-101, 110.

³⁰⁵ *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, p. 99.

style: it is like the cherry blossoms of Yoshino when full bloom has already passed and the summer has passed, too. Jô-ô's Tea is like the autumn moon and crimson leaves. On the other hand, Shukô's Tea is described as being like mountains covered with snow. According to this, it seems that Shukô's Tea was more advanced in the spirit of austere *wabi* than Jô-ô's Tea (see also Chapter 5). The emphasis in Jô-ô's style of Tea is on a chill and withered style whereas Shukô emphasises the use of contrasting elements (Section 3.2.1).

In contrast to Kazue, Kuwata pays attention only to the first citation of *Eigataigai*: have your mind in the new, but use words of the old; learn the style of composing poems from the old great masters. He interprets this passage as expressing the importance of practice (style of learning) and creativity in poetry as well as in Tea. Kuwata continues by saying that it was not only Teika's *Eigataigai*, but also his poetry that influenced Jô-ô's idea of Tea.³⁰⁶ As an example of this, he mentions Teika's poem in *Nanpôroku* "When I look around...", but does not mention the other poem by Teika found in *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*, "The world without falsehood and lies..." (Section 2.3.4), which can be considered of equal importance.³⁰⁷

Besides the presumption that both of these citations from *Eigataigai* are equally significant in explaining the influence of *Eigataigai* on Jô-ô's philosophical aspects in Tea, I would like to consider the following two important factors in these citations: the idea of 'no teacher' and the two different characters for *kokoro*: 心 and 情.³⁰⁸ The first *kokoro*, 心, in this context, is more spiritual in meaning than the second. It conveys a meaning similar to the word *wabi kokoro*, the *wabi* mind, i.e., heart, spirit, or soul introduced in Chapter 2. In other words, the general atmosphere, or the spirit of the poems should sink through one's heart, so that one truly feels and understands them deep in one's heart. Therefore, for a

³⁰⁶ Kuwata 1958, p. 116; Kuwata 1987, pp. 69-70.

³⁰⁷ See also Narukawa 1983, pp. 54-55; Kumakura 1990, p. 130. Narukawa seems to agree with Kuwata's opinion on practice and creativity in Tea, as does also Kumakura who writes that the spirit of poetry is in finding something new, a way of looking at things or feeling (taste) that has not been used before. Yet the words one uses should be old, elegant, and refined. Also in *chanoyu*, while using old utensils one should have one's mind in the new – being ready to create something original.

³⁰⁸ Konishi 1991, pp. 41, 194, 200, 230. Konishi writes that in *waka* and *renga* poetry *kokoro* (心) means spirit or essential nature (*hon'i*). He also explains that there are two kinds of *kokoro* (in poetry): emotional (the speaker's or poet's range of feelings) and conventional (based on mutual agreement unconnected to a poet's individual feelings). Emotional *kokoro* is again called subjective *kokoro* and conventional *kokoro*, objective *kokoro*. About Teika's *kokoro* Konishi writes that "he objectivized the subjective *kokoro* and enters the objective *kokoro* to grasp it again at a deep level of awareness. Since Teika's concept of *kokoro* cannot be explicitly expressed, he embeds his poetry with clues that will aid a reader in gaining a deeper understanding of the poetic object." Similarly to Konishi, I also consider the word *kokoro* to contain a deeper meaning than just mind. It includes the meanings of mind, heart, spirit and even soul.

good poet, not only a talent for using words but also spirit, *kokoro*, is needed, meaning that one needs also to possess a delicate sensibility for poems (an invisible eye to the heart of poetry).

Nishio Minoru writes that from the combination of words (*kotoba*) and heart (*kokoro*) arises the form (*sugata*) of literature. Later on he clarifies his statement by concluding that the "form of poetry (*sugata*) is the result of the transformation from the heart into the words."³⁰⁹ The initial requirement and perhaps most important factor is to possess heart, the spirit (*kokoro*) for poetry. In addition, another important factor is an ability to use words skillfully. However, in good poetry heart (*kokoro*) and words (*kotoba*) should be in balance. A good example of the importance of this balance can be found in the preface to *Kokinwakashû* where, commenting on the poet Ariwara no Narihira, it is stated that "there is plenty of heart (*kokoro*) in his poems but the words are insufficient", and on Funya no Yasuhide that, "he uses words masterfully (skillfully), but there is no heart."³¹⁰ The other concept for *kokoro* (情) is understood in this study and in this context to suggest the meaning of mind, and more precisely the creative mind, having an impact or effect on something, describing the outer appearance or features of an object, its beauty or taste (*omomuki*). Through these meanings, *kokoro* expresses a kind of feeling in the arts.

Teika's idea of good poetry contains four notions: a combination of heart or soul (*kokoro* 心), words (*kotoba*), and general appearance (*fûtei*), which is another expression of (*sugata*). Finally, after mastering these three, a creative mind (*kokoro* 情) referring to one's own personality as well as to one's ability to introduce new ideas, is needed. All of these are needed to write good poetry. In Tea, the same combination is required. But, instead of the words one uses the old styles of serving tea with the type of tea utensils which have become established in the use of Tea.

Another notable factor is the concept of 'no teacher' in Tea and in poetry, which suggests the idea of Buddha nature³¹¹ as well as the fact that all the answers exist already in one's heart (sections 2.3.5 and 2.3.6). It may also suggest the master-disciple relationship in which the teachings are transmitted orally. This means that learning should happen through one's own experience by watching and touching, i.e., by using one's senses and not only by studying theories from books, similarly to what was taught in the *Lotus Sutra*: persons who have great wisdom shall immediately understand the truth (teachings) when they hear it. This is called

³⁰⁹ Nishio 1967, pp. 108-110.

³¹⁰ *Kokinwakashû* 1981, p. 100.

³¹¹ Compare this to Ryôjinhisho, p. 68: "It is a great pity if one does not know that this body of ours has originally been together with three appearances (bodies) of Buddha as well as the Buddha nature." For more details, see Section 2.3.5.

having 'a jewel' hidden in one's heart (Section 2.3.3). In this sense, Shukō's *Kokoro no Fumi* ends with the sentence, 心の師とハなれ、心を師とせされ³¹² 'Be the master of your heart – do not let heart be your master'. First and foremost, one's own effort is important – without someone's having an aspiration for studies, no teacher can teach that person. Secondly, the studies of style or technique (studying words and forms of old poems, or old famous utensils in Tea, entering the atmosphere of old poems, or participating in tea gatherings) are necessary. One cannot reach the style of a master only by having heart. And finally, one's own creativity is needed. Hence, the purpose of a teacher is to show the direction, but one must find the way by oneself. Being one's own master means that studies should start and answers should be searched for inside one's heart as is also taught earlier in the *Lotus Sutra*, not outside of oneself.

It was also found in *Nanpōroku* earlier in this study (Section 2.3.6) that "all the answers are already in our hearts".³¹³ The heart is one's best teacher and therein all the answers will be found. This is not to suggest that all hearts would be good hearts, but those hearts that aspire to study and practise self-discipline, they will know the truth when they hear it (the *Lotus Sutra*, see Section 2.3.3). The idea of 'no-teacher' is one of the central themes in Zen philosophy in which the importance of a teacher or set doctrines is not emphasised. In *Shōbōgenzō*, Dōgen describes this as the true nature of things:

あるいは経巻にしたがひ、あるいは知識にしたがうて修学するに、無師説独悟するなり。無師独悟は、法性の施為なり。³¹⁴

No matter whether one follows the scripture or the practical knowledge, but in studying something, one becomes enlightened alone without a teacher. Becoming enlightened alone without a teacher is an act of the true nature of things.

Becoming enlightened means returning to the essential nature of things, i.e., to the original Buddha nature, and because this Buddha nature already exists in everyone, a teacher is not necessary (see Section 2.3.5). The concept of 'no-teacher' does not literally mean without a teacher, but that 'the self' becomes one with the

³¹² Shukō Furuichi Harima Hōshi Ate Isshi, p. 4. In note 15, it states that we should be masters of our heart and should not let the heart be the master. The sentence refers to the Zen saying, 心を種として心を種とせざること. Let the heart be your seed – do not let the seed become your heart.

³¹³ *Nanpōroku*, p. 17. See the explanation of the sentence かの花紅葉我心にある above in Section 2.3.6. Compare also with Suzuki 1934, p. 13. Suzuki explains this idea by saying, "If I am asked what Zen teaches, I would answer, Zen teaches nothing. Whatever teachings there are in Zen, they come out of one's own mind." Suzuki does not mean that there is nothing Zen can teach us. But Zen does not teach us with a system based on intellectual analysis or logic. Zen teaches us moral and ethical rules by which to conduct our everyday lives to reach the goal of ultimate knowledge, which is universal by nature.

³¹⁴ *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. 1: Hosshō, p. 94. See also Cleary 1986, p. 38.

teacher as an inseparable pair and the existence of a teacher vanishes physically even though it exists spiritually in one's heart.³¹⁵

3.1.2. From Proper Style, *Shôfûtei*, toward Chill, Lean and Withered

In *Nanpôroku* it is said that Jô-ô learnt Tea from Shukô's disciples Sôchin and Sôgo. Therefore, even though he was not Shukô's direct student, to have a better understanding of Jô-ô's philosophical background of *wabichadô*, Shukô's influence should not be forgotten.

宗易ノ物ガタリニ、珠光ノ弟子、宗陳・宗悟ト云人アリ、紹鷗ハ此二人ニ茶湯稽古修行アリシ也³¹⁶

In stories from *Rikyû* it says: persons called Sôchin and Sôgo were Shukô's disciples. Jô-ô studied *chanoyu* from these two persons.

Yamanoue Sôjiki also supports the claim that Jô-ô can be said to be the follower of Shukô's style of Tea:

珠光ノ蹟目宗珠、宗悟、善好、藤田、宗宅、紹滴、紹鷗也³¹⁷

Sôgo, Zenkô, Fujita, Sôtaku, Jôteki and Jô-ô – they all have continued Shukô's tradition.

These two passages strongly suggest that Jô-ô studied Tea under Shukô's disciples, which supports the claim that they conveyed Shukô's idea of Tea to Jô-ô. The meaning of teacher, as described in *Eigataigai* in the previous section, leads us to the conclusion that the teachings of Shukô, as well as *Eigataigai*, can be considered to be the old great masters' of Tea for Jô-ô. Therefore, I consider it to be essential to compare the contents of *Eigataigai* and *Yamanoue Sôjiki* (Section 3.1.1) with Shukô's *Kokoro no Fumi*. This comparison helps us to reach a deeper understanding of the nature of Jô-ô's Tea as well as of the development of *wabichadô* in general.

According to *Eigataigai*, to study the use of words from the masterpieces of poetry (詞は旧きを以て用ゆべし), to be able to sense, to enter wholeheartedly into the world of poetry (心を古風に染め), and to study the general appearance, the form, or the style of poetry from poems of the great masters (風体は堪能の先達の秀歌に効ふべし), all of these three factors can be considered to establish a foundation, or to be a kind of necessary preparatory work

³¹⁵ Compare this with the idea that a student is a reflection of a teacher, which was explained in *Yamanoue Sôjiki* using the metaphor water reflecting in a container. For more details, see Section 2.3.6.

³¹⁶ *Nanpôroku*, p. 4.

³¹⁷ *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, p. 52.

for studies. *Kokoro no Fumi* calls this preparatory work 'the preparation of the heart', *kokoro no shitaji* (心の下地):

冷え枯ると申て、初心の人体か備前・信楽物などをもちて、人もゆるさぬたけくらむ事、言語道断也、かるると云事ハ、よき道具をもち、其あちわひをよくしりて、心の下地によりてたけくらミて、後までひへやせてこそ面白くあるべき也。³¹⁸

Speaking about chill and withered, as a beginner one should not use [handle] such utensils as *Bizen* and *Shigaraki*, in order to show that one has reached a higher level – this is something so unforgivable that words are not enough to describe it. Withered means to own great (famed) utensils and to understand their beauty and prestige. In accordance with this preparation of the heart it becomes possible for one to move toward a higher state of beauty, and again to move all the way through the beauty of chill and lean. For the first time, in this state, one will discover [create] something interesting.

Shukō seems to be familiar with the poetic ideas of the time (using the terms *kare*, *hiekare*, and *hieyase*).³¹⁹ Moreover, based on the similarities in context and expression between *Shinkei's Sōzu Teikin* and *Shukō Kokoroni Fumi*, such as the use of the expressions "chill" and "withered", it is possible that Chōnin (alias Furuichi Harima, a recipient of Shukō's letter) had shown a copy of *Shinkei's Sōzu Teikin* to Shukō and had asked for similar instruction in the Way of Tea.³²⁰

Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen also sees a connection with Shinkei's poetry and *wabi* aesthetics. They both convey the idea of the Buddhist truth of impermanence and emptiness. She continues that the idea of cold describes the quality of a poetry that is pure expression, a poetry beyond the dichotomy of subject and object. On the other hand, cold also means purified diction shorn of all ornaments. In Shukō's idea of beauty this pure expression (cold), i.e., the highest state, would be 'chill, lean and withered', conveying ideas similar to Shinkei's poetry: the impermanence, solitude, coldness and modesty in outer appearance.³²¹

The ambiguity of the cited passage of *Kokoro no Fumi*, as well as the difficulty of giving an exact and detailed explanation for the words *kare*, *hiekare*, *takekurami*, and *hieyase*, can be seen in many other interpretations of the citation. For example, Hirota translates the passage 人もゆるさぬたけくらむ事 as "without having gained recognition from anyone, they assume the airs of being far advanced and seasoned",³²² in showing a masterly use of the words. He takes

³¹⁸ Shukō Furuichi Harima Hōshi Ate Isshi, p. 3.

³¹⁹ Rimer and Yamazaki 1984, p. 262, and *ibid.*, pp. xx-xxi. According to Rimer, the teachings of *Nō* were not shared with other actors outside the family, or with the public, in any form. This means that Shukō could not be aware of the use of the similar expression of *takekurami* illustrating 'the stage of high advancement' ('the prefect freedom') in *Nō*.

³²⁰ Hirota 1995, p. 196.

³²¹ Ramirez-Christensen 1994, pp. 194-196.

takekuramu as meaning something that is "elevated", "matured" (seasoned) and "past prime", "steeped in knowledge and experience".³²³ On the other hand, Hirota suggests the interpretation "without having gained recognition from anyone" for the word *yurusanu*, which can also mean being 'unforgivable' according to its dictionary meaning as suggested in this study. The difference between these two translations lies in the nuances of whether the beginners who have not gained the recognition of anyone think of themselves as being more advanced in Tea (Hirota), or whether the behaviour of beginners who attempt to show themselves to be more advanced than they are is unspeakable (this study). According to the text, both translations are possible. I would also like to address the problem of translating the words, *nochi made* (後まで) which Hirota translates apparently as "thereafter", referring to the "very ground of one's heart and mind" (*kokoro no shitaji*) and *takekuramite*, meaning that *after* reaching this state one is able to bring out the beauty of 'chill and lean'. But, could *nochi made* not also be understood as a final end or the ultimate state of 'chill and lean' (*hieyase*)? The idea is that, after reaching this ultimate state one's Tea becomes truly fascinating.

Horikuchi interprets the words 'chill and withered' (*hiekaruru*) and 'chill and lean' (*hieyaseru*) to mean the same thing, and furthermore, that they mean the same as Shinkei's words 'cold, lean and withered' (*karekashikete samui*). He also sees an equivalence with Shukô's use of the word *takekuramite* (written with the Chinese character *takenawa* or *ran*, meaning "rise high" or "be advanced") and Shinkei's use of the word *taketakaku* (written with the Chinese characters "long" and "high") in the books *Sasamekoto* and *Oinokurikoto*.³²⁴ For Horikuchi, *takekuramite* refers to the highest state of the heart and the highest state of learning³²⁵ similar to 'chill and lean' (*hieyase*) in *Kokoro no Fumi*.³²⁶

³²² Hirota 1995, p. 198. Hirota translates the passage cited above as follows: "These days, however, mere novices, thinking to exemplify the 'chill and withered' (*hiekaruru*), procure pieces from [the rural kilns of] Bizen and Shigaraki, and without having gained recognition from anyone, they assume the airs of being 'far advanced and seasoned'; it is unspeakably absurd."

³²³ Hirota 1995, p. 356 (see note 102).

³²⁴ Horikuchi 1951, pp. 93-95.

³²⁵ A similar idea is introduced also by Kuwata 1958, pp. 83-85. Kuwata translates *takekurami* as to "become skillful" in something, which is quite close to a literal translation of the word. He refers to the process of how a beginner gradually grows more and more skillful and attains the status of a master. Kuwata reads the words 'chill and withered' (*hiekaruru*) and 'chill and lean' (*hieyaseru*) as equivalent to the idea of *wabi* in *chadô*. Being *equivalent* to the concept of *wabi* is quite a strong impression. Would it not be rather better to say that they express a kind of sense or taste of *wabi* in *chadô*?

³²⁶ Etô 1992, pp. 172-173. Etô cites also the above-given part of *Kokoro no Fumi* in his study to explain "Shukô's idea of *hiesabi*" (chill and lonely / desolate), which he connects with the book called *Sôgi Shôgakushô*. In this book, Sôgi, Shinkei's disciple, explains that beginners should not use words like *hiesabi* (chill and lonely / desolate), *karetaru* (withered), *samuki*

Haga finds two main ideas in the cited passage of *Kokoro no Fumi*: chill and withered (*hiekare*) that refers to the plain and modest style of beauty and highest state in art (*ran'i*), and *wabi* beauty that means beauty that is created by a virtuous master, or the artistic style that this kind of person can attain. Haga goes even further by asserting that the beauty of *wabi* is a virtuous master's idea of beauty. He describes Shukô's idea of *wabi* as being more like an innate, personal feeling or self-consciousness rather than being the driving impact that created the foundation for the general attitude of *wabicha*.³²⁷ Haga makes a good point here: the beauty of *wabi* seems to describe the beauty of the Great Tea Masters and how they understood it. Beginners should not even try to achieve it. This is also supported by the fact that Shukô established the philosophical basis for Tea and showed the direction for *wabi* aesthetics even though it was not commonly practised during Shukô's times. Most of the aesthetic values and expressions of *wabi* beauty in Tea were created by Jô-ô and finished by Rikyû. I see Shukô as a founder of Tea and especially as the founder of the idea of *chadô* as containing philosophical aspects in addition to the entertaining aspects, rather than being a creator of *wabichadô* as a whole.

Another different interpretation is offered by Kazue who argues that the preparation of the heart (*kokoro no shitaji*) refers to the condition of the heart where beautiful is beautiful and good is good, and furthermore, that the concrete indication of this state is expressed by chill and withered (*hiekare*) and chill and lean (*hieyase*). He considers that these words refer to the essential *dignitas* of the human being or to the state of fundamental nothingness in which the beauty in objects comes out naturally. In Kazue's words, *kokoro no shitaji*, means the same as the state of fundamental nothingness or the true nature.³²⁸ But, would it not rather be called an indication of the Way to attain the goal, than being the final goal itself? In other words, it means preparatory work in order to attain the highest state in style: true mastery.

One of the most detailed studies of *Kokoro no Fumi* is by Kurasawa, who discusses the deeper meanings of the text by citing, e.g., Shinkei's and Zeami's texts in his book, *Geidô no Tetsugaku*.³²⁹ Kurasawa considers the words chill and withered (*hiekaruru*), withered (*karuru*), and chill and lean (*hieyaseru*) to be ex-

(cold), or *hieyase* (chill and meager) – these are expressions for advanced poets. One should, however, keep in mind that these texts have similarities, but they are not identical, and one should be careful not to draw hasty conclusions. Etô also connects Shukô and Shinkei because of the similarities with the book *Shinkei Sôzu Teikin* containing Kensai's (Shinkei's disciple) notes on Shinkei's teachings, where the word *karabi* (withered) is used in a similar context as in Sôgi's text.

³²⁷ Haga 1997, pp. 57-58.

³²⁸ Kazue 1985, pp. 74-76.

³²⁹ Kurasawa 1983, pp. 115-157.

pressions of form or appearance (*sugata*), and that the word *takekuramu* expresses the mind(heart), *kokoro*. Kurasawa states that chill (*hie*) and lean (*yase*) are very close to each other in meaning. He considers them to express something cold, iced,³³⁰ aged (*sabiru*), pure,³³¹ something simple, quiet and modest.³³² He quotes Shinkei's words in *Hitorigoto* to explain the practical uses of these key expressions:

又、氷ばかり艶なるはなし。刈田の原などの朝、薄氷ふりたる檜皮の軒などのつらゝ、枯野の草木などに、露霜の氷たる風情、面白くも、艶にも侍らずや。³³³

...Nothing is more graceful than ice. Early morning's thin layer of ice on the stubble fields, eaves of the aged cypress roof fringed with ice, or frozen dew upon grasses and trees of a withered meadow. Isn't it charming and elegant!

Even though the words chill (*hie*) or lean (*yase*) are not used in this example, the cited text well illustrates the feeling and the spirit of chill and lean, and it also describes those feelings and images considered in this study as belonging to the beauty of *wabi*. Furthermore, Kurasawa explains withered (*kare*) to be something dried³³⁴ or rough in a vigorous and masculine way. He also sees a connection with the stages of practice where chill and lean (*hieyaseru*), and *hiesabiru* in Sôgi's text *Hakuhatsushû* and in Shinkei's text *Sasamegoto*, and withered (*kareru*) are the highest stages, which beginners should not attempt to carry out. Beginners should start from gentle, warm, beautiful and proper styles. In other words, the learning process advances from gentle (*yasashii*) to chill (*hie*), and finally into withered (*kare*), which means the same as *hieyase* and *hiekare*. Kurasawa also pays attention to the word *takekurami*, which he uses in the form of *takekukumi*.³³⁵ He explains that it possesses two meanings: it can refer to the highest state of the heart, or it can refer to the form or learning process.³³⁶

³³⁰ *Hitorigoto*, in Kodai Chûsei Geijutsuron, p. 469: 氷ばかり艶なるはなし... 'Nothing is more graceful than ice.'

³³¹ Shinkei's *Sasamegoto*. In Kurasawa 1983, p. 117: 水晶の物に琉璃をもちたるやうにといへり 'It could be described as setting lapis lazulis on the crystal...'

³³² Zeami's *Hanakagami*. In Kurasawa 1983, p. 118: 心より出来る能... 'Nô that comes straight from the heart...'

³³³ *Hitorigoto*, p. 469. In this study, the cited passage is translated so that the comma is placed after the word *usukôri* (薄氷), which seems another possible alternative. Therefore, the words *asa* (朝) and *usukôri* (薄氷) can be read as a genitive phrase 朝の薄氷, 'early morning's thin layer of ice'.

³³⁴ *Shinkei Sôzu Teikin*. In Kurasawa 1983, p. 121: 初心の時、枯びたる方を好むべからず候。正しく美しくすべし...五尺のあやめに水をかけたるよう... As a beginner, one should not lean towards the withered styles... one should [rather] cultivate the correct and beautiful style... like sprinkling the water for five-*shaku's* long iris'...

³³⁵ Kurasawa prefers the Chinese character *take* meaning "the height of": see *Kangorin*, character no. 8340.

Kurasawa interprets the next part of *Kokoro no Fumi*, 'Withered means... to move all the way through the beauty of chill and lean. For the first time in this state one will discover something interesting' (かると云事ハ…後までひへやせてこそ面白くあるべき也), that only the *simply (plain) withered* things are not yet fascinating enough; they have to be withered through an intermediation of chill and lean to be interesting. Moreover, the passage 'this is something so unforgivable that words are not enough to describe it' (人もゆるさぬたけくらむ事), he interprets that people with an objective mind do not accept that the chill and withered form of *chanoyu* is used by beginners. Even though beginners may think they are doing Tea at this high state of true heart or mind (*jikishin*), this is only their arbitrary view; Actually, they have not even come close to that stage. Kurasawa also agrees that the expression, great and famed utensils, *yokidōgu*, refers to the famous Chinese utensils used in Tea during Shukō's time.

Based on all these previous interpretations of the cited passage from Shukō's *Kokoro no Fumi*, I have come to the conclusion that the terms chill and withered (*hiecare*) and chill and lean (*hieyase*) are best considered as two different expressions of form (style), and *takekurami* is an expression of the highest state of mind or for the learning process, describing an advanced style, where the beauty of chill and withered (*hiecare*) also exists. This is not, however, just a *plain* idea of chill and withered (*hiecare*) that arises from this state. Rather, we may say that withered has broken through the chill and lean (*hieyasetakare*). In *chadō*, 'the preparation of the heart', i.e., the preparatory studies (*kokoro no shitaji*) include owning and handling excellent utensils, understanding their beauty, history, and the ways of using them. It also means preparing one's heart for understanding deeper and subtler senses of beauty. Shukō calls preparation of the heart "withered" (*kare*). In practice, preparation of the heart refers to the studying of the

³³⁶ Kurasawa 1983, pp. 126-129, 141-150, 350-354 (see also note 21). Rimer and Yamazaki 1984, pp. 120-122. Kurasawa compares this to Zeami's *Kūi* (notes on nine levels): the flower of the upper three levels, the middle three levels, and the bottom three levels. He also compares it to the *Sasamegoto*, in which the three states of styles in learning are the following: *hieyase* (chill and lean), *kare* (withered), and *yasashi* (gentle). Kurasawa uses the word *takekukumi* instead of *takekurami* that is used in the CKZ manuscript of *Shukō Furuichi Harima Hōshi Ate Isshi* used in this study. The core of Kurasawa's explanation is that *take* carries the meaning of "cold and withered" and *kukumi* has the meaning of "being added". He divides the explanation of *takekukumi* into two: heart (*kokoro*) and form (*sugata*). In the meaning of heart, it means trueheartedness or absolute state of heart. Kurasawa bases his statement on Zeami's work *Shikadō: Ran'i no koto*. Kurasawa's idea of *takekukumi* as a form describes the beauty of withered which arises from the ultimate state of chill and lean. Moreover, he also connects this with the idea of 色即是空・空即是色 "Form is nothing but emptiness. Emptiness is nothing but form." (Kurasawa's reference book is Zeami's *Yūgakushūōfūken*.) Kurasawa mentions a connection to Shinkei's *Sasamekoto* where the similar term *taketakaki* is used as well as to Teika's *Waka Jittei* where *chōkōtei* (*taketakashi*) is used to describe the heart of lofty style.

Chinese masterpieces (*karamono*), the famed utensils which were commonly used in Tea at the time Shukô lived. They are called 'good' or 'excellent' utensils, *yokidôgu*, in the cited passage.

After mastering the stage of withered, i.e., the preparatory studies, one's sense or taste of beauty deepens, its subtle senses become clearer in one's heart, something which is expressed in the text with the word *takekurami*, たけくらミ, in its metaphorical meaning.³³⁷ One will attain a higher state of the heart similar to that explained in Chapter 2 about the *wabi* mind, *wabi kokoro*, which was elucidated with the words *jikishin*, *shôjiki*, and *makoto*. From here on, one will go even further (to exceed or to break through) toward deeper understanding of the beauty of chill and lean (後まで冷え痩せ), and finally reach the state of chill and withered (冷え枯れ), i.e., withered beauty emerging from the ultimate state of chill and lean (冷え痩せた枯れ). To explain this more in concrete terms, after mastering the use of famous Chinese utensils, after understanding the glory and beauty of them, and mastering the formal style of making Tea using Chinese ware, one is able to understand the beauty of Japanese ware, such as *Bizen* and *Shigaraki*. This beauty of *hiekare* (*hieyaseta kare*/ chill, lean, and withered) in the ultimate state is what is truly interesting. It is seen as essential to separate *plain* withered beauty (枯れ) and the *subtle* beauty of withered (冷え痩せた枯れ) realised in the ultimate state. In this context, 'plain withered' refers to the preparatory studies, and 'subtle, deepened withered' refers to one's creativity, personality, influence on *chanoyu* which finally exists in the ultimate state.

Eigataigai explained a similar idea, encouraging the use of the words of *old*, but keeping one's mind in the *new*. Here, studying the use of the words of the great masters stands for the preparatory studies and to have one's mind in *the new* refers to the final state, where for the first time, creativity and one's own approach to poetry take place.³³⁸ In *chadô*, a creative person with the ability to discover new utensils suitable for Tea is called a person with 'an advanced eye for beauty' (*mekiki*). In general, a person with *mekiki* is a genuine connoisseur of art, someone

³³⁷ The word *takekurami* is used here to indicate a special state of heart(mind). As a state of mind it explains deep feelings, a kind of thickening awareness of things. Yet it can also mean the highest state. Opposite to the meaning of heart, it can also refer to the appearance (outer form) of things. According to note 9 of the original text, it is used as a synonym for *yûgen* beauty (Shukô Furuichi Harima Hôshi Ate Isshi, p. 4.). *Yûgen* again describes the beauty of quiet darkness: there is something dim, mysterious, still noble or refined. In this respect the term *takekurami* has similarities to *taketakashi* used in poetry and also in Teika's *Waka Jittei*. (See Kurasawa 1983, pp. 129-131; Maeda 1957, pp. 57-60. For more details, see Maeda 1957, pp. 57-91.) describing something lofty and mysterious, 'the heart' (Teika) or the learning process (Shinkei *Sasamekoto*). I assume that the word *takekurami* does convey the idea of describing the highest style, lofty, as well as something mysterious and elegant in the same way as the term *yûgen* is used in *Nô* theatre.

³³⁸ See Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 91. The idea of *mekiki* is discussed in more detail in Section 3.1.3.2.

with the creativity to adopt new things and who has excellent taste in choosing them. Moreover, the utensils chosen with one's personal taste and with a creative mind are called *sukidōgu* which include Japanese, Chinese, Korean or other foreign utensils used in Tea. In Shukō's time, all but famed Chinese utensils belonged to the group of *sukidōgu*, and beginners definitely were not to use them. Shukō explains that there are beginners who use Japanese ware which have the spirit and appearance of chill and withered (*hieikare*), such as *Bizen* and *Shigaraki*, in an attempt to show that they have reached a higher understanding of the beauty of *hieyasetakare* in *chanoyu*. They believe that they have understood the true heart of these utensils, but this is just an illusion. According to Shukō, this behaviour is unspeakable.

Concerning *sukidōgu*, I would like to discuss another important part of Shukō's *Kokoro no Fumi*, where he offers advice on combining Chinese and Japanese utensils.

和漢之境をまきらかす事、肝要々々、用心あるへき事也³³⁹

...to dissolve the boundaries between things Chinese and Japanese is important, but it has to be done with care.

This sentence may be understood as an admonition that one should not try to dissolve the boundaries between the use and combination of things Chinese and Japanese. This is vital and one has to be careful with it. If so, the sentence means that differences between Japanese and Chinese utensils have to be kept clear, and if they are combined, this has to be done with extra care, such as using only a few (one or two) Japanese utensils beside the Chinese. Or, it may be interpreted in the sense that one should not make a distinction between Japanese or Chinese things, but rather pay attention to the dissolution of this boundary line. In this case, the sentence suggests the need to consider the new and interesting possibilities that these combinations of native and Chinese utensils provide. Both of these possibilities have their point and they both can be illustrated by Shukō's saying:

珠光ノ云レシハ、葦屋ニ名馬繫タルカヨシト也、然則、籠相ナル座敷ニ名物置タルカ好シ、風体猶以テ面白也³⁴⁰

³³⁹ Shukō Furuichi Harima Hōshi Ate Isshi, p. 3.

³⁴⁰ Yamanoue Sōjiki, p. 101. Kodai Chūsei Geijutsiron: Zempō Zōdan, p. 480. Note Rimer and Yamazaki 1984, p. xxxvii, where Yamazaki writes: "The point of the aesthetics of *wabi* was summed up in the words of Rikyū (1521-1591), the greatest of the Tea masters, as "a fine steed tethered in a thatched shack". This statement is a factual mistake. As shown above, this is said by Shukō not by Rikyū. Yamazaki also does not mention the source of the citation. Yamazaki explains Shukō's idea of *wabi* by saying "I do not like the moon without clouds". It seems that Yamazaki refers to Zen master Komparu Zempō's work Zempō Zōdan, in which it says: "The moon not glimpsed through rifts in clouds holds no interest."

Shukô has said: it is good to tie a praised horse to a straw-thatched house. In other words, it is good to use famed utensils in a modest tea-house; this creates a feeling in general of interesting appearances.

This citation supports the claim that the differences between Japanese and Chinese things should be kept clear because the combination of very different utensils makes the general atmosphere of the gathering interesting. It may also be interpreted that one should use native and Chinese things together without any distinction, making the occasion interesting. Kumakura Isao and Horikuchi explain the passage from *Shukô Kokoro no Fumi* cited earlier that one should use things of Japanese and Chinese in harmony without making any distinction. But they both also see a possibility that Shukô's saying contains a precaution not to lean towards using too many Japanese utensils in Tea.³⁴¹ Hirota and Kurasawa also admit the importance of using native Japanese utensils in harmony with famed Chinese one, but do not find any warning in the sentence. Rather, they take the sentence as an encouragement for engaging one's heart in dissolving this boundary between Japanese and Chinese utensils. According to Kurasawa, Tea practitioners should try to free themselves from the habit of classifying utensils into groups, but instead to handle all utensils with due respect.³⁴²

At first glance, I also considered this cited sentence from *Shukô Kokoro no Fumi* as containing a warning; it is important to use Japanese and Chinese utensils together in harmony, but this has to be done with care. In this respect, the sentence emphasises the idea using contrast skillfully in Tea. Later on, after rethinking the matter, I agree with Hirota's and Kurasawa's explanation that it conveys no pre-

³⁴¹ Kumakura 1990, pp. 109-111; Horikuchi 1951, pp. 88-90 (see also p. 104, note. 9). Kumakura explains this further that one should be free from the "world of utensils" – to get rid of the desire to own them. With no addiction to utensils, one will be able to see the "heart's flower", i.e., the heart's utensils, among those good utensils without making a distinction between famed Chinese and Japanese, or between expensive and cheap utensils. Similarly, Horikuchi also sees a possibility of a warning in this sentence: one should use Japanese and Chinese utensils in harmony, but be very careful in this.

³⁴² Hirota 1995, p. 198; Kurasawa 1983, pp. 112-113. For other interpretations of the cited passage of *Shukô Furuichi Harima Hôshi Ate Isshi*, see Kuwata 1958, pp. 83-85; Narukawa 1983, pp. 19-20; Mizuo 1971, p. 83; Tsutsui 1992, pp. 202-203. Kuwata interprets the sentence 和漢之境をまきらかす事 to mean that 'without making any distinction between Chinese and Japanese things', one should collect good utensils, Japanese and Chinese, and to understand the true pleasure of owning such rare utensils. Then, finally, the spirit of *wabi* that arises from the bottom of one's heart is the true *wabi* spirit. Kuwata also sees that the feeling of calmness and modesty is important. Narukawa claims that 'chill and withered' (*hiekare*) and *takekuramu* are synonyms meaning something 'plain and simple'. This statement would need more explanation. The word *takekuramu* he credits to Teika and Shinkei, but does not mention that the word (*take*) was also used by Zeami (*ran'i*). On the other hand, Mizuo connects *takekurami* to the feeling and charm of *sabi* (lonely, desolate) without any closer explanation. Tsutsui writes that 'chill and withered' (*hiekare*) and 'chill and lean' (*hieyase*) express the ultimate state. In Tea they come to mean the balance in setting out Chinese and Japanese utensils or any other kind of graceful and simple utensils.

caution, but rather an encouragement to devote one's heart to becoming free from these boundaries and valuing utensils used in Tea as they are. The first suggestion focuses on merely aesthetic values, and the latter on more philosophical values.

From an aesthetic point of view, the custom of using Japanese utensils, or so-called favoured utensils (*sukidôgu*: these include Japanese, Chinese, Korean or other foreign tea utensils) increased at the end of the *Muromachi* period through Shukô's disciple Sôshu and later on through Jô-ô and Rikyû. And the custom of combining informal and inexpensive *sukidôgu*, such as Japanese *Bizen* and *Shigaraki* ceramics, with the formal, famous and expensive Chinese utensils could be said to have begun in Shukô's style of Tea. Even though Shukô's Tea was obviously quite different from *wabichadô*, which evolved with Jô-ô and Rikyû, Shukô took the first step toward the *wabi* style of Tea: he owned things other than Chinese which had an informal spirit. They were rough and plain compared to the old Chinese utensils.³⁴³ Combining famed Chinese utensils with the rough Japanese utensils does not diminish the value of the famed utensils, but rather the striking contrast stresses the beauty of the famed utensils and makes them both look more interesting. Philosophically, Shukô is said to have formulated the philosophical basis for Tea as a Way, which supports the second explanation (Hirota and Kurasawa). However, in Shukô's case, his philosophical and aesthetic impact cannot be wholly separated, and therefore I think both of these explanations are correct.

To return to the original citation from *Kororo no Fumi* discussed in this section ('Speaking about chill and withered, as a beginner...'), Kurasawa's idea that the studying process advances from gentle (*yasashi*) to chill (*hie*) and finally into withered (*kare*) is also to be found in Jô-ô's *chadô* examined in this study. To explain this in more detail, I shall quote the following passage from *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, explaining Jô-ô's proper or correct way (*shôfûtei*) of serving Tea, which has similarities to Kurasawa's idea of *yasashi*:

会席ノ事、種々ニ毎度替ル也、正風体ナルハ日々幾度モ可然、珍シキ方術ハ十度ニ一度カ二度カ、名物持ニテ若キ出仕ノ衆ハ三度モ四度モ珍敷方術イタス也、物ヲ入テ匱相ニ見エルヤウニスルカ専一也³⁴⁴

³⁴³ Yamanoue Sôjiki, pp. 87, 65, 64. See also Kuwata 1958, p. 104. For example, 珠光タキ [抱] 桶、珠光鍋釜、珠徳竹茶杓. *Shukô dakioke*: fresh-water container made from thin metal. It is so-called *Nanban mono*; in *chadô* this usually means utensils from South-east Asia (see Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 87, note 4.). *Shukô Nabekama*: kettle for boiling water which has the shape of a cooking pot (this has a modest feeling compared to other kettles used in Shukô's time, like *Shinnari* (pictures in *Genshoku Chadô Daijiten*, s.v. *nabekama* and *shinnarikama*). *Shutoku*: tea spoon. This particular tea spoon is made from bamboo and carved by Shukô's disciple Shutoku (see Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 64, note 3). According to Kuwata, Shukô made a sketch and Shutoku carved it and finally Shukô named it *asaji*: shallow grass.

³⁴⁴ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 93. Another version in Jô-ô *Ibun*: *Mata Jittei no Koto*, pp. 28-29.

About the *kaiseki* meal, one should change and use different things every time. However, the proper style [the correct way] is appropriate every day and all the time. One should not display rare things more than two or three times out of ten. A young host who owns renowned utensils can raise the number of gatherings to three or four where rare utensils are used. Most important is to set things out so that they look very modest.³⁴⁵

Even though this citation is about *kaiseki* (a light meal for tea gatherings), it describes extremely well Jô-ô's general attitude toward *chanoyu*. This proper way, *shôfûtei*, of preparing Tea is something that one cannot practise too much. It is the basis of studies. When this is combined with Kurasawa's idea of the learning process, the proper way, *shôfûtei*, would come to mean the state of *yasashi* (gentle) in learning. The same is described in *Eigataigai* and *Yamanoue Sôjiki* with 'to use the words of old' and in *Kokoro no Fumi* with 'the preparation of heart', to own great (famed) utensils and to understand their beauty and prestige.

In the second state, which Kurasawa calls *hie* (chill), one is allowed to use some rare utensils or rough *wabi* style Japanese utensils like *Bizen* or *Shigaraki*. In *Kokoro no Fumi*, this was explained above as 'to dissolve the boundaries between things Chinese and Japanese', which I explained to mean that combining Chinese and Japanese, i.e., famed utensils and rough-looking Japanese utensils is vital. However, in this stage of learning it has to be done with extra care (Jô-ô's ability of combining Japanese and Chinese utensils in his tea gatherings I shall discuss later in Section 4.3). This kind of chill beauty is also to be found in Teika's poem "*miwataseba...*", in which the flowers and crimson leaves refer to the famed Chinese pieces and the dusk of the autumn evening conveys the idea of chill (see Section 4.3.1).

In the final state, what Kurasawa calls *kare* (withered), is consistent with Jô-ô's Tea in the sense that in general, things should be set out in such a way that they look modest or rough (籠相). The following passage from *Yamanoue Sôjiki* supports this claim:

心敬法師連歌ノ語曰、連歌ハ枯カシケテ寒カレト云、茶湯ノ果モ其如ク成タキト紹鷗常ニ云ト³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ Notes to text: *Kaiseki*: Literally it means "a warming stone" (懷石) used in Zen monasteries to keep warm in cold weather. Tea masters have used this word to describe a light meal served at the beginning of a gathering (to serve a light meal that is just enough to be like 'a little warming stone' in the stomach to keep hunger away). For more details, see Sadler 1962, pp. 52-54. *Sosô*, 籠相, is translated as modest but it also has a meaning of roughness or ascetic simplification. This word is often used in describing *wabi* kind of beauty in *chadô*. This study considers that Jô-ô used the word *sosô* in a sense similar to creative mind (作意は新しき事 [in creativity the importance is in 'new'], and 目聞 [connoisseurship]), because things looking modest, rough, or plain were not common in Jô-ô's times; they were new interesting looking things.

³⁴⁶ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 97.

Renga master Shinkei says, *renga* poetry should be cold, lean and withered, Jô-ô has always said that, in the same way *chanoyu* should become like that in the end.

Jô-ô's goal in Tea was to attain the state of 'cold, lean and withered', *karekashikete samui*. But before reaching this state, it is important to learn the proper way of preparing Tea (*shôfûtei*). Jô-ô's idea of learning the Way of Tea by steps from proper to rare and to creative is indisputably correct. And this idea again is similar to the one presented in *Eigataigai*, which encourages one to have an open mind in order to introduce something new to poetry. *Kokoro no Fumi* describes this final state as chill and withered, (冷え枯れ), and, as shown in this study, this means withered beauty that emerges from the absolute chill and lean (冷え瘦せた枯れ). Consequently, Shukô's idea is similar to Jô-ô's final goal in *chanoyu*: to reach the state of cold, lean and withered.

Moreover, if the idea of the learning process from the proper style to the chill, lean and withered is studied in relation to the metaphors in Teika's poem, "miwataseba..."³⁴⁷ the flowers and crimson leaves (*hanamomiji*) come to mean the proper style, *shôfûtei*, or can be interpreted to mean the proper way of beginners. It can also be read to mean the gentle way of the beginners (*yasashii/utsukushiku tadashiku*). The 'dusk of autumn evening' evidently refers to the second state of chill (*hie*). The last, and ultimate state of a 'thatched hut at the seashore' (*ura no tomaya*) refers to withered (*kare*). However, the final goal of the studies, a 'thatched hut at the seashore' (*ura no tomaya*), shows how far Jô-ô wished to go, i.e., the state of cold, lean, and withered (*karekashikete samui*), but due to his untimely death at the age of fifty-four, he was not able to complete his work on the *wabi* style of *chadô*. (I will take up this theme in Chapter 5.)

3.1.3. Jô-ô's Precepts for Disciples

3.1.3.1. Respecting old utensils and having no desire for new ones

As already mentioned earlier in Section 3.1.1, Jô-ô emphasises the idea of using the tools of the old and keeping one's mind in the new. Jô-ô teaches that, first of all, Tea students have to become connoisseurs of art in general and train their eye to distinguish good from bad. After this foundation is established, one should find or create something new and interesting. Jô-ô emphasises the importance of combining old and new skillfully, because studying the old is essential for the development of the new (creative mind).

Jô-ô's *Wabi no Fumi* comments on this as follows:

³⁴⁷ Nanpôroku, p. 16: 見渡せば花も紅葉もなかりけり 浦のとまやの秋の夕暮. See also Section 2.3.6 in this study.

ふるきを不捨、新しきを不求といふところ肝要にて候³⁴⁸

Do not throw away the old and do not desire the new. This is vital to success.

Here Jô-ô advises one to take good care of the old utensils, not to throw them away even if they get old or broken. In this sentence old utensils does not mean only old famed Chinese utensils, but all kinds of old things in general. If one desires new things to replace the old, one will just learn a bad habit, the wrong attitude for a Tea practitioner, and this is not good for successful learning. Jô-ô admonishes against careless consumption. Jô-ô's principle may also warn about over-doing things: One should let things happen naturally without any force and free oneself from the notion of old and new and value tea utensils as they are. Concerning this matter, Jô-ô teaches in *Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto* that it is extremely inappropriate to practise utensil-focused Tea.

道具を専に茶の湯いたし候は甚だ不宜事³⁴⁹

It is extremely inappropriate to let one's *chanoyu* be concentrated on the tea utensils.

Even though Jô-ô was a Great Master of Tea and owned many famed tea utensils, he had a modest attitude toward them (Section 4.3). He criticises an attitude of being engaged in Tea just for collecting rare or famed utensils and displaying them at gatherings. Comparing this with the passages found in *Eigataigai* (see Section 3.1.1) or with Teika's poem " *miwataseba...*", it seems that Jô-ô did not deny the importance of owning Chinese masterpieces or famed utensils and understanding their beauty. However, in the end he sees it essential to go further, to go deeper, in order to see and understand another kind of beauty, the beauty of the modest and the simple, in utensils. Jô-ô warns against the admiration of utensils just because of their famous origins because this creates utensil-focused Tea. Tea utensils should be admired for their own qualities, meaning that even utensils without the name and fame, or utensils of low price can also be excellent pieces. The true nature of Tea is not in the utensils but in the mind and right attitude (Chapter 2).

Before Jô-ô and during his time, Tea involved the display of famous Chinese utensils and their importance was already emphasised in Shukô's *Kokoro no Fumi*, in which it says that one should own great (famed) utensils and understand their beauty and prestige. This is the foundation for Tea studies, what Shukô called preparations of the heart and Jô-ô the proper style (see Section 3.1.2). Even though studying the proper style is considered essential, Jô-ô warns against the desire to own and purchase more and more utensils. Jô-ô clearly admires the idea of insufficiency in Tea and, rather than desiring new utensils, he encourages his

³⁴⁸ Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi, p. 18.

³⁴⁹ Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto, p. 50.

disciples to look for the utensils that others have thrown away and see if there is still something suitable to be used in Tea.³⁵⁰

3.1.3.2. Connoisseurship

As regards the idea of the creative mind (see Section 3.1.2), Jô-ô emphasises the ability to see beauty or to have an eye for beauty, what he calls *mekiki*. In *Jô-ô Ibun: Mata Jittei no Koto* Jô-ô explains this skill as follows:

目聞

茶湯道具の事は不及申、目にて見る程の物の善悪を見分、人の調る程の物をしほらしく数寄に入て好事専也³⁵¹

Connoisseurship

It does not concern only tea utensils. It is an ability to distinguish [to know] what is good or bad in all kinds of things that might attract our eye, as well as using meekly [unassumingly] things others have made as one's favoured utensils and enjoying them. These things are essential.

In previous studies in the field, researchers' opinions on the cited passage vary. Nishihori explains word *shiorashiku* as "content of taste". It seems that he uses it in a way similar to that in the dictionary: "humble", "admirable", "elegance", "delicacy", or "sweet". He also suggests a possible interpretation as spontaneous or natural development of things (the logic of matters), or that it can refer to new, interesting-looking things.³⁵² In this study, too, the word *shiorashiku* is considered to refer to new, interesting-looking things and one should, without prejudice, meekly use these as one's favoured utensils (or in the *wabi* style of Tea).

On the other hand, Hirota explains *shiorashiku* as follows:

The word "unassuming" [*shiorashii*], originally meaning to bend or lean, implies a posture of reserve and respectful attention, of regard for things and of modesty in relations with others. Its wide usage in Jô-ô's times perhaps reveals the influence of the attitude of merchants towards members of the nobility. It was used to express a quality of appealing gentleness in *renga* and other arts...³⁵³

In this sense *shiorashiku* comes close to the idea of modesty which Jô-ô describes with the word *tsutsushimi fukaku* (慎しみ深く)³⁵⁴ "being truly (deeply) discreet"

³⁵⁰ Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto, p. 50. The sentence reads as follows: 数奇者は捨てたる道具を見立て茶器に用候事、況んや家人をや、

³⁵¹ Jô-ô Ibun: Mata Jittei no Koto, p. 27.

³⁵² Nishihori 1956, pp. 31-33.

³⁵³ Hirota 1995, p. 90. Hirota's translation is based on the *Yamanoue Sôjiki: Mata Jittei no Koto*, which is given later in this section.

³⁵⁴ Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi, p. 17.

or modest in behaviour, appearance, or in the feeling toward objects (Section 2.3.3).

Jô-ô underlines three points in the cited passage: the virtue of distinguishing good things from bad is not limited only to utensils used in *chanoyu* but includes everything possible. It is an ability to appreciate, adopt, and enjoy things others have made. The translation of '...using meekly [unassumingly] things others have made as one's favoured utensils and enjoying them...' (しほらしく数寄に入て), needs more explanation. The word *shiorashiku* is understood here to mean "modest", "honest", or "frank", but also, e.g. in this context, "meek" or "gentle". The word *shiorashiku* is used to describe a person's attitude or true feelings, as Hirota has explained. The passage continues, 'using as favoured utensils' (*suki ni irete*), and the meaning of the whole passage is as follows: unassumingly [meekly or gently] using the utensils [others have made] as one's favoured utensils. The word *suki* is not used in its dictionary meaning, "to like" in this context but as a reference to the *wabi* style of Tea and utensils used in it (Section 4.2.1.3). In *chadô*, *suki* means favouring something or liking, preferring something. It also expresses one's own personal taste and even creativity and, in some contexts, *suki* may be interpreted as synonymous with the word *wabi*, especially when connected to the word utensil (*dôgu*), signifying the special kind of aesthetic value in utensils. To be more specific, the *suki* group of utensils of that time actually included *wabi* utensils, or utensils that were not famed Chinese pieces, but were used in *chadô* because of the creativity and skilled eye of the Great Tea Masters. Therefore, this group may contain utensils of Chinese, Korean, South-east Asian, or Japanese origin.³⁵⁵ *Suki* is also used in the combination *wabisuki* describing a *wabi* style of Tea person³⁵⁶ or even *wabi* style of Tea in general (for more about *suki*, see Section 4.2.1.3).

A similar passage can also be found in *Yamanoue Sôjiki* entitled *Meaki*.

目明

茶湯道具ハ云ニ不及、何ニテモ、見ルホドノ物善悪ヲ見分ケ、人ノ
誂物ヲシオラシク数寄入テ始事専一也、目利ニ嫌フハ、ムマキニ似ル
物ヲスク目利ヲ嫌フ也³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 67: 紹鷗備前物ノ面通、… 数奇道具也 . Translation is given below when this passage is cited in the main text.

³⁵⁶ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 53: 胸の覚悟一、作分一、手柄一、此三箇条ノ調タルヲワビ数奇ト云々 Translation is given in Section 3.1.3.4. *Suki* referring to the *wabi* style of the *chadô*, see Zencharoku: Suki no Koto in CKZ 10, pp. 300-303.

³⁵⁷ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 91. Compare with Jô-ô Iibun: Mata Jittei no Koto, p. 27. In *Jô-ô Iibun: Mata Jittei no Koto*, this is explained differently; the title is *mekiki*, while in *Yamanoue Sôjiki's* version (CKZ) it is titled as *meaki*. Also, the explanation of *mekiki* contains more information than in *Jô-ô Iibun: Mata Jittei no Koto*.

Connoisseurship

It does not concern only tea utensils. It is an ability to distinguish [know] what is good or bad in all kinds of things as well as using meekly [unassumingly] things others have made as one's favoured utensils and enjoying them. These things are essential. As far as artistic connoisseurship is concerned, favouring things because they resemble excellent pieces is disliked.

The main differences between these two passages are in the title, *mekiki/meaki*, and in the use of the words "to buy" or "to procure" (調る) utensils and "to order" (誂 [あつらえる]) utensils, that is to have some utensils made for one's own use. It can be assumed that the Chinese character *hajime* (始), "to begin", in this passage is a copying error and was probably meant to be written as *suki* (好), to "like" or to "favour" as in the earlier citation. The last sentence of this citation, 'As far as artistic connoisseurship is concerned, favouring things because they resemble excellent pieces is disliked', cannot be found in the *Jô-ô Iibun: Mata Jittei no Koto* version of this passage. *Jô-ô* emphasises creativity as a mean of introducing something new and interesting into Tea. Furthermore, the word *mumaki* (in modern Japanese *umaki*), "excellent", is used to describe famous or fine pieces. In the *Sonkeikaku* version of *Yamanoue Sôjiki*,³⁵⁸ instead of using *mumaki*, the word *musaki* (*musai*) is used, meaning the "lack of ability". If the word *musaki* is used, the meaning of the sentence changes to 'as far as artistic connoisseurship is concerned, utensils looking unskillfully made (made by an ungifted person) are disliked'. *Jô-ô* offers a criticism that utensils resembling masterpieces should not be valued because of what they copy, but because the copy is good as it is. Nor, that artificial and unskillful utensils should be valued because of who has made them, but because the quality of the work of art is good or not. An unsuccessful piece of art is a failure whether it is made by a master or by an ungifted person.

Last, the question: are *mekiki* and *meaki* to be understood as conveying different meanings? Hirota translates them differently, calling *mekiki* connoisseurship and *meaki* illuminating discernment.³⁵⁹ This suggests that *meaki* is an ability to distinguish good utensils from bad, to possess a sharp-eye for things and objective (realistic) judgement of matters. *Mekiki* concerns more precisely the arts in general, to have an eye for art. Tsutsui Hiroichi agrees that these two terms have similarities, but gives several examples from *Yamanoue Sôjiki* where the words *mekiki* and *meaki* are used in different contexts. Based on these examples,³⁶⁰ he comes to the conclusion that *mekiki* refers basically to the general ability of Tea

³⁵⁸ Fushinan *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, p. 19; *Sonkeikaku's Yamanoue Sôjiki*, p. 19. Unpublished manuscripts. *Fushinan* is the name of one of the tea-rooms in *Omotesenke*.

³⁵⁹ Hirota 1995, p. 89.

³⁶⁰ *Yamanoue Sôjiki* (pp. 96, 98) on *mekiki*: 一 下京宗悟、…目キカヌナリ、小道具数多所持、善キ道具無。一 辻玄哉ハ紹陽ノ一弟子、…但、目モキカス、茶湯モ天下一ノ下手也、… And *ibid.*, pp. 53-54, on *meaki*: …名物一種一種目明習大事在之…当時千万ノ道具ハ皆紹陽ノ目明ヲ以テ被召出ル也…

practitioners and *meaki* to one's personal abilities and taste. Moreover, Tsutsui has noted that *mekiki* is used to express an ability to distinguish whether the utensil is genuine or counterfeit, whereas *meaki* describes a person who possesses a creative impulse, such as Rikyû (but it may also be an unknown person).³⁶¹ Tsutsui's notion of the difference between these two terms is interesting, and with the given examples from *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, he shows that a distinction in the use of these two terms is possible. In some dictionaries *meaki* is said to be a higher expression than *mekiki* (Daijirin), but basically the two words refer to quite the same thing (Nihon Kokugo Daijiten). In this study, I take these two terms to refer more or less to the same thing without making a significant distinction between them.³⁶²

3.1.3.3. Natural serenity

The idea of naturalness is one of the main themes in Jô-ô's idea of *wabi* in *chadô*. In *Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto* he writes about natural and artificial as follows:

淋敷は可然候、此道に叶へり、きれいにせんとすれば結構に弱く、佗敷せんとすればきたなくなり、二つともさばすあたれり、可慎事³⁶³

Serenity (sabishiki) is appropriate. Going on this Way [of Tea], doing things beautifully, causes the result to be weak. Doing things so that they look poor (meagre/*wabishiki*), makes the result shabby. Both of these two give the feeling of *artificial serenity (sabasu)*, and that should be avoided.

Nishihori explains the sentence, 淋敷は可然候 (*serenity, sabishiki*, is appropriate), more in its concrete meaning: "lonely" or "desolate". He reads the sentence so that even a poor and desolate life can be satisfactory, and connects this attitude to the honest and straightforward mind (similar to the idea of *shôjiki* introduced in *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*), or to the idea of destiny in the sense that through the troubles of the mundane world one will come to understand the true meaning of the Way (of Tea). This does not mean that one has to force oneself to lead a sad and desolate (*sabi*) life or to try to look poor or meagre (*wabi*); it means not rejecting this state of mind and considering the restrictions that come with it as being natural.³⁶⁴ For Nishihori, suffering seems to be inevitable in order to bring out something new, which means in Jô-ô's case, the *wabi* style of Tea. Nishihori's reasoning has a point: To be satisfied even with the lack of material goods or to

³⁶¹ Tsutsui, 1987, pp. 293-294.

³⁶² The word *meaki* is used only in the CKZ version of *Yamanoue Sôjiki*. In all other versions, such as the *Fushinan* and *Sonkeikaku* versions of *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, the passage cited is titled *mekiki* as in *Jô-ô Ibun: Mata Jittei no Koto*. Therefore, it may be claimed that there is no remarkable difference in the use and meanings of these two terms.

³⁶³ Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto, p. 51.

³⁶⁴ Nishihori 1956, pp. 59-60.

find freedom in lack of freedom, were descriptions of *wabi* also introduced in *Zen-charoku* (Section 2.3.1). This contains the idea of accepting things such as they are, naturally. And, in the end, after one has attained the state of *wabi* mind(heart), all acts become natural, which is also the conclusion of this study in describing the *wabi* mind(heart).³⁶⁵

Hirota translates the passage from *Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto* as follows:

To have the spirit of *inner solitariness (sabi)* is fitting; it accords with this way [of tea]. When one seeks to perform with beauty, it becomes mere finery and turns effete; when one seeks an air of *wabi*, it becomes shabby. Both [beauty and *wabi*] are present in disclosing the solitariness of things. Be attentive to this.³⁶⁶

His translation of the sentence, 淋敷は可然候, as "to have the spirit of inner solitariness (*sabi*) is fitting; it accords with this way of Tea", points to the dictionary meaning of *sabishiki* referring to a state of mind that indicates solitude, as also defined by Nishihori. Another interesting point is his translation of the sentence, 二つともさばすあたれり, as both beauty and *wabi* being present in the solitariness of things. This gives the impression that Hirota takes the words *sabishiki* and *sabasu* both to mean inner solitariness.

The word *sabishiki* (淋敷) here apparently has a phonetic equivalence with the word *sabishiki* (寂しき): The first one means "lonely", "solitary" or "desolate" and the latter one emphasises the feeling of "quietness" or "tranquillity". The latter character given to the word *sabishiki* is also used for *nirvâna*, "to die" (especially when a monk dies). I suppose that in this context, because of the meaning of the passage, the word *sabishiki* is used in the sense of "serenity" or "tranquillity" (寂しき) because it is more natural to consider that the aesthetic values of the beautiful and the poor may more convey the feeling or sense of calmness than of loneliness, which I connect more to places than to an object. For example, beautifully decorated utensils can also possess a sense of calm similar to some rough and simple utensils. Or, a beautiful tea-room may convey the feeling of calm similar to a modest thatched-hut at the sea shore, which may also possess the feeling of loneliness. However, making things look beautiful or meagre on

³⁶⁵ See also Kazue 1985, p. 136. Also in *Genshoku Chadô Daijiten*, vs. *kirei sabi*. Similarly to Nishihori, Kazue also connects *sabishiki* to its literal meanings of "lonely", "isolated", and to the idea of a heart of seclusion (see below). He continues that "beautiful *wabi*" is weak, on the other hand, "stiff *wabi*" looks shabby; neither is natural (*sabi*), but artificial (*sabashi*) by nature. Kazue's idea of "beautiful *wabi*" (*kirei wabi*) seems to share similarities with Kobori Enshû's (1579-1647) idea of "*kirei sabi*", beautiful *sabi* (see Murai 1988, p. 25.), but these terms are not wholly interchangeable in this context.

³⁶⁶ Hirota 1995, p. 211. See also Sen 1998, p. 155. Translated by V. Dixon Morris. His translation of the opening sentence is quite similar to Hirota's: "One should lead a secluded life and feel *sabi*..." The general meaning of this translation does not differ so much from the other given here.

purpose causes a feeling of artificial serenity. This passage refers to the idea that both beautiful and *wabi* are artificial if the effect they produce is contrived and not natural.

The artificial is the opposite of the natural. The word *sabishiki*, translated in this context as tranquillity or serenity, is used in the text for doing things naturally, as opposed to the word *sabasu*, artificial. *Sabishiki* also contains the idea of a modest and discreet feeling in the objects and in the overall atmosphere of *chadô*. Jô-ô seems to use the word *sabishiki* outside its literary connotations to describe something that is naturally serene or tranquil, *sabiru*; something that tries to make things artificially serene or tranquil is called *sabasu*. The difference between the use of *sabishiki* and *sabasu* is supported with the following passage from *Sekishû Sanbyakujô*:

茶湯さひたるハよし、さはしたるハあしき事… さひたるは自然の道理也、さはしたるハ拵へものなり³⁶⁷

In *chanoyu* having [the feeling of] serenity naturally is good, but making [the feeling of] serenity artificially is bad... *Sabitaru* means the sense of naturality, but *sabashitaru* means artificial things.

The text continues with a statement that in everything concerning *chadô* – the *roji* path, the tea-house and the utensils – the idea of naturalness is emphasised. Also, combining old and new, or using famous and nameless utensils together is seen as essential (see Chapter 4). This confirms that the interpretation given here of Jô-ô's use of the words *sabihiki* (natural serenity) and *sabasu* (artificial serenity) is possible.

Therefore, I presume that the word *sabasu* can also be considered as a transitive verb expressing the idea of "making [things] do something", in this context, making things look serene or tranquil on purpose. Based also on the information in *Sekishû Sanbyakujô* (cited earlier), I take the word *sabishiki* to refer to natural serenity or natural tranquillity and, *sabasu* to be a transitive form of the verb *sabiru* in the sense of making things look serene or tranquil on purpose, being artificial by nature. This leads to the conclusion that the words *sabishiki* and *sabasu*, are not used in the same sense in this context. The word *sabasu* indicates artificial serenity when things are made to look either beautiful or shabby (*wabi*-like). However, in things serene, both beautiful and *wabi* are present: new and old, famous and ordinary utensils are used together to reach the balance between the objects and the whole occasion. This combination brings out the feeling of serenity naturally.

³⁶⁷ Sekishû Sanbyakujô, p. 232. It is also an interesting coincidence that Katagiri Sekishû (1605-1673), the author of the cited passage, is given as one possible author for Jô-ô's *Wabi no Fumi*. Similarities between Jô-ô's text and Sekishû's text are obvious. See also Genryûchawa, p. 428. Here these words are being said by Rikyû (see Section 3.2.3).

In this respect I finally end up with a conclusion similar to Hirota's, but I arrive at it from a different perspective: Jô-ô's precept first defines (natural) serenity as being something one should seek, and he continues by explaining what it is not, the sense of artificiality. By doing so, he leaves space for the reader to complete the incomplete, i.e., to find out what is then (natural) serenity.

3.1.3.4. Mind of seclusion

Jô-ô emphasises the mind of seclusion, referring in this way to the quiet and modest form of life. *Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto* states the following:

数寄者といふは隠遁の心第一にわびて、仏法の意味をも得知り、和歌の情を感じ候へかし³⁶⁸

A devotee of Tea, first and foremost, should possess a mind of seclusion, to have this wabi mind, to know (understand) the teachings of Buddha, and to have sensibility for the feelings of *waka*.

Nishihori also seems to interpret the text so that the word *wabite* comes after the comma as done above,³⁶⁹ but Hirota interprets *wabite* as a reference to "the dwelling in spare and tranquil detachment (*wabite*)".³⁷⁰ On the other hand, both Kazue and Narukawa Takeo find moralistic advice in the sentence as well as a criticism of luxurious Tea.³⁷¹ I would like to direct attention to and discuss in more detail the following three points of the citation: *sukisha* (devotee of Tea), *inton no kokoro* (a mind of seclusion) and *wabite* (*wabi* mind).

First of all, the term 'devotee of Tea', *sukisha*, refers to a *wabi* Tea person, one who according to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, does not own any famed utensils but has devoted one's life to *chadô*, has creativity, and has earned some merit. This is also called a *wabi* style of Tea person, *wabisukisha*:

目利ニテ茶湯モ上手、数奇ノ師団ヲシテ世ヲ渡ルハ茶湯者ト云、一物モ不持、胸ノ覚悟一、作分一、手柄一、此三箇条ノ調タルヲ佗数奇ト

³⁶⁸ *Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto*, p. 51.

³⁶⁹ Nishihori 1956, pp. 58-59. Kurasawa also suggested this interpretation in a personal letter of March 31, 1998.

³⁷⁰ Hirota 1995, p. 211.

³⁷¹ Kazue 1985, pp. 134-136; Narukawa 1983, pp. 70-71. Both Kazue and Narukawa divide the contents of *Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto* into three themes: moralistic advice, criticism of luxurious Tea (utensils, food, tea-room), and the description of an ideal human being (Tea person). Kazue explains 'the heart of seclusion' so that one should carry out this heart-of-seclusion principle in one's everyday life by living in isolation, enjoying tea, and thereby, finally, understanding the meaning of cold and withered. When living in seclusion, the teachings of the Buddha are essential and are required especially in order to understand the spirit of poetry.

云々、唐物所持、目利モ茶湯モ上手、此三箇モ調ヒ、一道ニ志深キハ名人ト云也³⁷²

One with a skilled eye for the advantages and disadvantages of utensils, who is good in *chanoyu*, and who leads the life of a Tea teacher is called a Tea person (*chanoyusha*). One who does not own even one famed utensil but who has devoted one's life to *chadô*, has creativity, and has gained some merit, is called a *wabi* style of Tea person, (*wabisukisha*). One who owns famed Chinese utensils, has a skilled eye for utensils and is good in *chanoyu*, and also possesses the three above-mentioned qualities and who also has profound goals and purposes in this Way is called a Master of Tea (*meijin*).

Hence, according to *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, devotees of Tea are divided into three groups: Tea practitioners (skilled eye, good in *chanoyu*, teacher), *wabi* Tea practitioners (no famed utensils, life devoted to *chadô*, creativity, merit) and masters of Tea (famed Chinese utensils, skilled eye for utensils, life devoted to *chadô*, creativity, merit, profound aspiration).³⁷³ Based on this information, I assume here that the word *sukisha*, devotee of Tea used in *Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto*, refers to the *wabi* Tea practitioner (*wabisukisha*).

The concept of *inton no kokoro* (隠遁の心) 'a mind of seclusion' in this study means a quiet form of life, enjoying things other than material pleasures as described in *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*.³⁷⁴ (See 2.3.7.) In this state, an absolute freedom from the secular world and a calmness of heart is attained, and consequently, satisfaction with life as it is. In other words, *inton* (隠遁) refers to the form of life similar to that of Zen monks when they retire from this world and enter monasteries to spend a quiet and ascetic life (for details, see 2.3.6 and 2.3.7). But the sentence, 'first and foremost possess a mind of seclusion' emphasises the state of mind (spirit or heart), and only thereafter the idea of living in seclusion.

³⁷² Yamanoue Sôjiki, pp. 52-53.

³⁷³ Fushinan Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 1-2; Sonkeikaku Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 2. In *Fushinan's* and *Sonkeikaku's* manuscripts, Tea persons are divided into four groups. In addition to the three groups already mentioned, there is the group of warrior Tea persons, *daimyô chanoyu* (*Fushinan*) or *dai'i chanoyu* (*Sonkeikaku*), i.e., Tea persons who collect old and new Chinese utensils and display them as famed utensils used for the most formal style of Tea. See also Hirota 1995, p. 74. Hirota's translation of the cited passage from *Yamanoue Sôjiki* describing different types of Tea persons is actually very similar to the one presented in this study. He translates the three categories as "Tea master, practitioner devoted to tea in the mode of *wabi*, and renowned master". The most important point is that the translation makes a clear difference between these two masters of Tea. However, Hirota's translation lacks the sentence 此三箇モ調ヒ '...and also possess the three above-mentioned qualities...', which refers to the three qualities mentioned for the *wabi* Tea person: life devoted to *chadô*, creative, and with some merit. This sentence is essential in describing the qualities the great masters of Tea (*meijin*) should possess and maintain in their everyday lives and in *chadô*.

³⁷⁴ *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*, p. 17: 閑居して物外をたのしみ居る所へ、知人とぶらひ来て、茶たてもてなし、何かたと花を生てなぐさみ候すがたにて候 ... , Tea means living a quiet life and enjoying things other than material pleasures, if a friend visits you, make him tea, wish him welcome warmly with hospitality. Set some flowers and make him feel comfortable.

In Japan one who lives in this world but has the mind and form of life of a monk is called *shichû no in* (市中の隠): 'hidden in the city' or 'a city monk' (see Introduction: city hermits). Nishihori also mentions the connection to the idea of 'city monk' in his bibliographical notes on this part on the text. He continues that it not only means to escape to the mountains and live in seclusion, but also to return to the city and still maintain this heart of seclusion.³⁷⁵ A similar idea is also exhibited in the last story of *Ten Oxherding Pictures* where the master Hotei returns home and shares what he has with others.³⁷⁶ In the same way, the aim of learning is no longer only to gain something for oneself but turns into the aim of giving to others. The state of mind Hotei has attained, empty-mindedness, *mushin*, means detachment from the 'self' and things of the mundane world in general, which again is compatible with the idea of 'a mind of seclusion'. In Tea the mind of seclusion is put into practice by the choice of place for tea-rooms; even being in the city, they are built so that the outside world cannot break in, nor is their existence to be seen from the street.

The sentence continues, 'to have a *wabi* mind, know (understand) the teachings of Buddha, and have sensibility for the feelings of *waka*' (わびて仏法の意味をも得知り、和歌の情を感じ候へかし), saying that all of these three qualities are needed for a Tea practitioner. Although the grouping of the words in the manuscript is different from that used in this study, for the readability of the passage I assume that the proper place of the comma should be before *wabite*, not after it. This changes the meaning such that, to understand the teachings of the Buddha and the very heart of poetry, first of all one must possess 'the mind of seclusion', the *wabi* mind.³⁷⁷

3.1.3.5. Wholeheartedness

One distinctive feature of Jô-ô's precepts for a disciple is that they are quite practical by nature, concerning utensils used, general atmosphere of the tea gathering, or the importance of a skilled eye as I have discussed them above in previous sections. Behind all of these, one uniting feature is the notion of mind (*kokoro*). In *Jô-ô Montei e no Hatto*, Jô-ô teaches that all acts concerning Tea should come from the bottom of one's heart.

³⁷⁵ Nishihori 1956, p. 58.

³⁷⁶ For more details, see, for example, Suzuki 1935, pp. 150-171; Hirota 1995, pp. 297-347; Yanagida 1992, pp. 177-264.

³⁷⁷ Compare similarities with *kozashiki no chanoyu...* and *wabi no hon'i...* in Section 2.3.6. In order to understand the true meaning of *wabi*, one has to take the teachings of the Buddha as guidelines for everyday life, as is suggested in this citation that 'the mind of seclusion', *wabi* mind, teachings of Buddha and sensibility for *waka* are needed for the true Tea person.

茶湯ハ深切に交る事³⁷⁸

When doing *chanoyu*, communication should be done from the bottom of one's heart.

Jô-ô teaches that when one practises *chanoyu*, all of the communication, whether verbal or non-verbal concerning the manners, rules, or the hospitality, everything concerning Tea should be done earnestly and wholeheartedly from one's true heart. This conveys an idea similar to the one in *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*,³⁷⁹ where Jô-ô focuses on the importance of heart (*kokoro*) in Tea by teaching that no act should be separated from the heart whole and entire, emphasising the feeling with which one should devote oneself to Tea wholeheartedly, both physically and spiritually. Physically, the heart means the attitude or the state of mind in which the acts are to be carried out, such as carrying the water, setting flowers and preparing the tea. Spiritually, the heart refers to the mind one has to possess in order to practise and understand the *wabi* style of Tea, as explained in Chapter 2. Jô-ô explains further that this state of mind applies also to the hospitality in the state where "the heart is not aware of being the heart", meaning that a host should not seek ways of pleasing guests on purpose, but try to reach this mutual understanding naturally without any force, artificial politeness, or any ingratiating behaviour. This *kokoro* suggests the more concrete features, the spirit in Tea, such as selecting utensils to be used or the meal served. From this state of mind emerges true nature, and through it one reaches the desired state, the highest state of the sublime heart, unintentionally. This *kokoro* is philosophical in nature and it is used to describe the highest state of *wabi* mind as I explained in sections 2.3.5 and 2.3.7. Jô-ô's main teaching here is to point out the aim of attaining the highest state of heart(mind) where the true nature of a man exists. In this state, all acts become natural without any force. To be more precise, Jô-ô describes the qualities of this *kokoro* in *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*³⁸⁰ as being something honest and frank in the sense of being truly (deeply) discreet, selfdenying, and of not being arrogant. To devote oneself to the practice of Tea, deeply from the bottom of one's heart, means the same as being honest and frank (*shôjiki*), i.e., doing things with and from a true, sincere heart.

³⁷⁸ Jô-ô Monte e no Hatto, p. 50. See also Hirota 1995, p. 210. Hirota translates the sentence similarly as "Chanoyu is a matter of deep and incisive relationship" to illustrate that relationships between the host and the guests should be deep and keen.

³⁷⁹ Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi, p. 17. For details, see Section 2.3.7. The cited text reads as follows: 師へよく聞き置き候に一つとして心はなるる所作はなし。是も心と心のつかぬ所にもてなす心を本性と云ふなれば、我しらずによきところに叶ふところが奇妙とも云ふべきなり。 Interesting in this citation are the different uses of the word *kokoro*: The first word *kokoro* suggests one's mind(heart) and it is philosophical in nature. The second also suggests one's mind, whereas the third *kokoro* suggests the recipients mind. The second and third *kokoros* are more practical referring to the concrete acts in Tea. The fourth *kokoro* may refer to one's heart (spirit or attitude) or to someone else's who has reached the ultimate state, and is philosophical in nature.

³⁸⁰ Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi, p. 17. See also Section 2.3.3.

3.1.3.6. *Once-in-a-lifetime-meeting*

The spirit of Tea does not rest only upon the utensils used, nor in the right state of mind, such as *wabi* mind, nor in the human relationships separately, but in the realisation that every occasion occurs only once as it is here and now, and therefore Jô-ô calls tea gatherings

一期一度の参会³⁸¹

one-time-one-occasion-meeting.

The saying refers to the unique nature of the Way of Tea, the idea of transience that no gathering can be repeated exactly even though the same host and guests may come together once again, the same utensils be used, the same food and same tea served; every meeting is still unique and it happens only once in a lifetime.

Later, Ii Naosuke (1815-1860) changed these words a little and wrote down one of the best-known sayings in *chadô*:

茶湯の交會は、一期一会といひて、たとへハ幾度おなし主客交會するとも、今日の會にふたゝひかへらざる事を思へハ、實に我一世一度の會也。³⁸²

Gatherings of *chanoyu* are called 'once-in-a-lifetime-meetings'. For example, even though the host and the guests have met many times and will meet again, today's gathering cannot be repeated. The gatherings in Tea, they truly are once in a lifetime occasions.

These words became famous as being said by Ii Naosuke but there is no doubt that the origin of the idea is in Jô-ô's writings. Nishihori³⁸³ also stresses the fact that even though the host and the guests would meet several times, each meeting is unique; it happens only once. And everything should happen with a deep, mutual respect. According to Nishihori, this kind of simple and sincere attitude is not self-evident in the world of Tea, and he presents an interesting opinion concerning the disagreement between Jô-ô and Rikyû. He states that, according to Sôga's (Takeno Sôga, 1550-1614) postscript to *Yamanoue Sôjiki* (Nishihori does not, however, refer particularly to any specific part of the book and in the CKZ copy of the book, this was not found), Rikyû did not like Jô-ô's style of trying to solve all the problems of the world with "Buddhist prayers for mankind". Nishihori explains this in the passage found in the *Yamanoue Sôjiki* version of *Mata Jittei no Koto*,³⁸⁴ where it says that Rikyû disliked the idea of 'once-in-a-lifetime-meeting' that Jô-ô established as a guideline for his disciples.

³⁸¹ Mata Jittei no Koto, p. 29.

³⁸² Chanoyu Ichieishû, p. 331. Similarly in Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 93.

³⁸³ Nishihori 1956, pp. 43-45.

³⁸⁴ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 93. See also similar interpretation by Tsutsui 1987, p. 331.

The main interest here is the translation of the sentence, "At the present time this was disliked by Rikyû"³⁸⁵, which Nishihori interprets as the whole idea 'once-in-a-lifetime-meeting', was disliked by Rikyû. However, could the sentence cited above not also be translated as 'at the present time, Rikyû dislikes this'? The passage in *Yamanoue Sôjiki* continues by explaining how the essence and the meaning of Tea as well as the meaning of 'once-in-a-lifetime-meeting' has changed in the present time, and it is the tense as well as the changes in Tea that are disliked by Rikyû, not the idea of a 'once-in-the-lifetime-meeting'. Nishihori has not paid attention to the word *tôji* (当時), present time, except by referring to Rikyû, which seems a rather unlikely reading, considering how the passage continues. However, Nishihori supports his theory with another part of *Yamanoue Sôjiki* where it is explained what skills the Tea Masters should possess³⁸⁶: they should be good in traditional forms of arts like *Nô*, dance, and poetry, which were all especially appreciated by Jô-ô. Last on the list, 'the sword' is also mentioned, which Nishihori seems to understand as a reference to the "sword of wisdom" (*riken*: see Section 3.2.4). If so, this indicates that Rikyû tried to solve things using more practical means and that Rikyû was a more practical man. He understood the problems of the real world better than Jô-ô, who lived more in an ideal world surrounded by the pleasures of traditional arts and Buddhist teachings.

I agree fully with this explanation of 'the sword'. But this does not have to indicate disagreement between Rikyû and Jô-ô, just differences between them. After all, it must be kept in mind that all this is written by a third person, Yamanoue Sôji, and reflects more or less his opinions and interpretations about what was said or done. This also concerns the earlier interpretation of a 'once-in-a-lifetime-meeting'³⁸⁷ in which Jô-ô teaches that Tea should be a 'once-in-a-lifetime-meeting', that one should not discuss the affairs of this world in the tea-room, such as religious and family matters, another's property or personal character, and that tea should be prepared with a tranquil heart. Jô-ô also teaches that everyone in the tea-room should be treated with equal respect. Even if the sentence is interpreted

³⁸⁵ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 93. The whole citation reads as follows: 客人フリ事、在一座ノ建立ニ、条々蜜伝多也、一義初心の為ニ紹鷗ノ語伝ヘラレテリ、但、当時利休嫌ルル也、端々夜話ノ時云出サレタリ、第一、朝夕寄合間ナリトモ、道具ヒラキ、亦ハ口切ハ不及云ニ、常ノ茶湯ナリトモ、路地ヘ入ヨリ出ルマデ、一期ニ一度ノ会ノヤウニ、亭主ヲ可敬畏、世間雑談無用也、

³⁸⁶ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 94: 茶湯ノ師ニ別テ後、師ニ用ル覚悟ハ、一切ノ上、仏法、歌道併能、乱舞、刀ノ上 After parting from one's master of *chanoyu*, virtues that the [new] master should possess are above everything else. As in the teachings of Buddha, the Way of poetry, *Nô* or dance, and swordmanship... Nishihori bases his theory upon the words 刀ノ上. In *Fushinan's* manuscript it says 刀ノ上左: the endings 上 and 上左 are honorific. In *Sonkeikaku's* manuscript it says 刀ノ上古 seems to be a printing mistake. See also Tsutsui 1987, p. 336.

³⁸⁷ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 93.

as Nishihori does, it is unlikely, considering the cultural and philosophical background of *chadô*, that Rikyû would use such a strong expression as dislike about his own teacher. This is, after all, Yamanoue Sôji's opinion.

The idea of 'once-in-a-lifetime' also indicates the impermanence of things and the nature of time having its root already in the teachings of Nâgârjuna³⁸⁸ who claimed that through the comprehension of impermanence one can enter the state of *sûnyatâ*, emptiness, as state which is also attained in the ultimate state of Tea. About time, Nâgârjuna teaches that "the only mode of existence that time has is as a set of relations among empirical phenomena. Apart from those phenomena and those relations, there is no time."³⁸⁹ In Tea also, the idea of 'once-in-a-lifetime' confirms the concept of impermanence. One should try to reach the state of 'no-time', leave everything concerning this world outside the tea-room and concentrate for the moment and occasion right here and now. To be able to do this, one should seek the state of no-mindness, the absolute freedom of the heart. In this sense the tea-room symbolises both 'the other world' that exists outside our everyday life and empirical phenomena spiritually, since it is said to symbolise the pure world of the Buddha (Section 2.3.6), and in concrete matters being as plain and empty in construction, decoration and furniture as possible (sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3).

Jô-ô's philosophy of *chadô* can be summarised in the following themes: the tools for learning should be old but the mind should be open for new things. Then, general appearance or style should be learnt from the great, old masters. Teika in poetry and Shukô in *chadô* were philosophically important masters for Jô-ô. Jô-ô also emphasised the idea of a skilled eye (*mekiki*), being a real connoisseur of art and being able to distinguish utensils suitable for Tea. It became possible to attain these dispositions through the careful study of Tea. In everything, what is natural is appropriate, and what is artificial is inappropriate. Another important factor is the Buddhist influence in Jô-ô's philosophy of *chadô*. As in *Montei e no Hatto*, Jô-ô writes that, a 'devotee of Tea should first and foremost possess the mind of seclusion'. Jô-ô advises his disciples to practise Tea earnestly with a sincere heart and to keep in mind that every meeting takes place only once in a lifetime.

³⁸⁸ Venkata Ramanan 1971, p. 149.

³⁸⁹ Garfield 1995, p. 257. Garfield also mentions in the footnote that Nâgârjuna's concept of time was the foundation for Dôgen's later analysis of *Uji*, Being Time (see Cleary 1986, pp. 104-106). Dôgen says in the text *Uji*, Being Time, that time of being means time is already being, in other words, all being is time. Dôgen continues that each thing of this whole world is an individual time.

3.2. RIKYÛ'S IDEA OF WABI IN CHADÔ: PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECTS

Even though there are many studies of Rikyû as a Tea person, of the historical facts behind the development of his *wabi* style of Tea, and of his tea utensils, the philosophical aspects behind his tea have not been studied in depth. According to an anecdote in *Zuiryûsai Nobekami no Sho*,³⁹⁰ Rikyû learnt from Jô-ô the aesthetics of Tea: the tradition of using, arranging and combining different kinds of tea utensils, Japanese and foreign, in good taste. This not only concerns tea utensils but also the construction of the *roji* path and tea-house. Concerning the ability to adapt new utensils to Tea, Jô-ô can really be said to be a leading figure (see 4.3 and 4.4). But, concerning the philosophical background of Tea, Tea as a Way (*michi*), Rikyû followed the tradition of Shukô. Since there are not many literary remains of Shukô's works on Tea, Rikyû's philosophical notions in *chadô* need to be examined through Jô-ô, who studied Tea from Shukô's disciples. Even though it sounds very simple and clear, it is difficult to keep these two domains, aesthetics and philosophy, separate from each other. Both Rikyû's aesthetics and philosophy convey ideas from Shukô and Jô-ô. Sometimes it may be difficult to specify which came from whom, and it may be argued whether it is so important to know the difference, or whether perhaps it is enough to understand their role in the development of Rikyû's *chadô*. Rikyû also learnt the importance of Zen in order to attain a deeper understanding of Tea from Shukô and Jô-ô.

3.2.1. The Essence of Tea Lies in Everyday Acts

In *Nanpôroku's Oboegaki* Rikyû teaches that Tea in the little tea-room, *wabi-chadô*, is first of all following the teachings of the Buddha and is based on devotion to spiritual training in order to attain the Way.³⁹¹ This means that, first and foremost, one should keep the rules and the teachings of the Buddha in one's mind, be aware of them, and to use them as guidelines in one's life. Therefore, one should not desire prosperity in this world, such as a luxurious house and form of life, but be satisfied if the house does not leak and the food keeps one from starving (compare with *Zencharoku* Section 2.3.1). Following the teachings of the Buddha also involves devoting oneself to spiritual training to be undertaken in everyday acts such as carrying water, collecting firewood, boiling water, preparing

³⁹⁰ *Zuiryûsai Nobekami no Sho*, p. 110: 伝ハ紹鷗ニ得申、道ハ珠光ニ得申と申上ル (*Zuiryûsai* [1650-1691] was 5th Iemoto [Grand Tea Master] of *Omotesenke*).

³⁹¹ *Nanpôroku*, p. 3: 小座敷の茶の湯は第一仏法を以って修行徳道する事也... 'Tea in the little tea-room is, first of all, to follow teachings of the Buddha, to devote oneself to ascetic training in order to attain the Way...' For more details, see Section 2.3.6.

tea, offering it to the Buddha, serving it to others, and finally also having some tea ourselves. There is nothing more to know.

Without a doubt, Rikyū emphasises the idea of modesty and dignity as it is expressed in Shukō's *Kokoro no Fumi* below:

此道、第一わろき事ハ心かまんかしやう也³⁹²

The worst thing in this Way [of Tea] is to be conceited and obstinate.

いか様のでとり風情にても、なけく所、肝要にて候、たゝかまんかしやうかわりき事にて候、又ハ、かまんなくてもならぬ道也³⁹³

No matter how elegant and refined one's sense of Tea may be, it will be spoiled with too much grieving over one's shortcomings. This is a crucial point and needs to be considered carefully. Remember that self-satisfaction and self-attachment are inappropriate manners, but without any self-esteem at all, the Way remains unattainable.

Avoiding the feelings of self-satisfaction and self-attachment refers to modesty and humility in all everyday acts and behaviour. No matter how skillful one is in Tea, knowing manners and having the taste to select utensils are important. If one is conceited and obstinate, it diminishes the beauty and attraction of one's Tea. On the other hand, if one has no dignity at all, one cannot attain the Way, become one with the Buddha mind(heart). Tea is not to be done with the utensils but with the heart.

Furthermore, by saying that a luxurious house and a taste for delicacies are only pleasures of the mundane world, Rikyū seems to make a clear distinction between the concepts of the secular world (*zokusei*) and the world of the Buddha (*Bussekai*): a luxurious life with a taste for delicacies belong to the pleasures of the secular world, whereas a simple and modest form of life that even may look materially poor refers to the life in 'another world', in a pure 'world of Buddha'. Similarly in *Nanpōroku* the essence of *wabi* was described emerging from the crystal clear and pure world of the Buddha.³⁹⁴ Therefore, one should 'sweep away the dust of the heart' before entering the tea-room that symbolises 'the other world'. The word 'dust' mainly refers to the actual cleaning emphasised in *chadō* as well as in Zen monasteries, something taken to be conducive to enlightenment. In Zen monasteries, not only cleaning but all day-to-day activities are strictly regulated. For example, of the 90 or more chapters of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō*, nearly a third explain the regulations of everyday monastic activities, such as meditation, prayer, study, sleep, dress, having meals, and bathing.³⁹⁵ Nowadays in Tea, too,

³⁹² Shukō Furuichi Harima Hōshi Ate Isshi, p. 3.

³⁹³ Shukō Furuichi Harima Hōshi Ate Isshi, p. 3.

³⁹⁴ *Nanpōroku*, p. 264: サテ又作ノ本意ハ… 'And furthermore, the essence of *wabi*...' For details, see sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.6.

³⁹⁵ Collcutt 1981, p. 148.

all acts are regulated: how to serve tea, clean, handle utensils, and walk, as well as the contents of discussion in the tea-room. As practised in Zen monasteries, Rikyû also stresses the importance of cleaning in Tea. He adds that, if all these acts of everyday life are done wholeheartedly (straight from one's heart), there is no need to explain the rules of Tea in detail. This resembles Dôgen's ideas about washing: "all these actions express the right Dharma of the Buddhas and Patriarchs of the three eras"³⁹⁶, meaning that the teachings of Buddha are everywhere, even in the act of cleaning. Paul Williams also cites Dôgen that "...all is sentient being, all beings are (all being is) the Buddha nature..."³⁹⁷ It is not claimed here that all sentient beings have Buddha nature, but more widely, that sentient being refers to everything. Moreover, in everything is the Buddha nature in the sense that the Buddha nature is not only in human beings but also in all things and actions.

Rikyû teaches that the essence of Tea lies in a simple and modest form of life or in everyday acts and in carrying them out with a pure heart. This becomes synonymous with the teaching of the Buddha and spiritual training, which in Tea leads to absolute naturalness and in Zen to *nirvâna*. In this absolute state of the heart, all acts become natural and everything becomes one with the Buddha nature. Differentiating the meaning of the absolute state of the heart in Tea and in Zen is important. Even though Rikyû speaks about the teachings of the Buddha and the pure world of the Buddha, these concepts should not be taken and understood in the context of *chadô* as they are understood in Zen. Rather, these are metaphors referring to a certain state of mind in which all everyday acts are carried out, and to a simple and modest form of life leading to the absolute naturalness in everything, not literally devoting oneself to Buddhist studies.

The materials in *Nanpôroku* suggest that Rikyû's Tea was ascetic and strongly influenced by the idea of poverty in Zen Buddhism.³⁹⁸ Rikyû seems to point out the idea that, better than being rich in material things but poor in spirit, is to be rich in spirit and poor in material respects. Things that may seem materially poor and plain can yet be rich in the Way (spiritual richness). Rikyû followed this principle in his Tea by favouring small and humble tea-rooms (smaller than four-and-a-half mat rooms) and Japanese tea utensils instead of the famous Chinese objects, preferring dark, earth-colours, such as grey and brown (Section 4.4). Above all, Tea should be done with a pure heart in order to attain the Way, i.e., to become one with the Buddha nature; to find one's treasure of the heart.

³⁹⁶ Collcutt 1981, p. 148.

³⁹⁷ Williams 1989, p. 114.

³⁹⁸ As similarly as expressed in *Shôdôka*, p. 45: 窮釈子 口称貧 實是身貧道不貧貧則身常被縷褐道則心藏 無價珍 'I am a poor disciple of Buddha. You can call me poor, but actually I am poor only in my body. In the Way – I am not poor at all. For being poor means that I always wear rags. The Way means that I have a priceless jewel hidden in my heart.' See Section 2.3.5.

With regard to the essence of *chanoyu*, Rikyū teaches as follows in his poem found in *Nanpōroku*:

茶ノ湯トハ
只湯ヲワカシ
茶ヲ立テ
ノムバカリナル
本ヲ知ベシ³⁹⁹

Chanoyu is nothing but
just boil the water,
make some tea, and drink it.
This is the essence
that must be known.

The message is simple: after all, Tea is nothing more than preparing a cup of tea and drinking it. The essence of Tea lies in everyday acts. With this poem Rikyū teaches also that the simplest things are also the most difficult ones (see Section 3.2.3); after devoting oneself wholeheartedly to studying Tea and to spiritual training, one will attain the ultimate state, i.e., return to the sources.⁴⁰⁰ Philosophically, this poem conveys another important message: the word *moto* also suggests also the heart, *kokoro*, and the essential nature of the human being, *honshō*. The most important thing in Tea, the foundation of Tea, is to know the heart of Tea. In this sense Tea has strong philosophical meaning (Chapter 2).

3.2.2. From Heart to Form: From *Wabi* Style to *Shoin* Style of Tea

Jō-ō's concept of Tea is based on a careful study of the old masters, which he called the preparation of the heart or the proper style (*shōfūtei*). After mastering the proper style, one is ready to bring something new and inventive into one's Tea. According to Jō-ō, learning should proceed from form to heart, or from formal *shoin* style to rustic *wabi* style. However, Jō-ō's disciple, Rikyū, turned this idea around. Rikyū saw that learning Tea should start from *wabi* style, and from there on, move toward the formal *shoin* style. Tea should be learnt first with the heart, and thereafter, one may study and truly understand the proper form of Tea.

³⁹⁹ Nanpōroku, pp. 319-320. Here the word *moto* (本) is used but in the *Rikyū Hyakushu* the word *koto* (事) is used instead (Rikyū Hyakushu, p. 121). In some translations a poem with the latter Chinese character (*koto*) is also supposedly used. As an example of this a translation by Saya Thrasher (in Murai 1988, p. 2): "Tea is naught but this. / First you make the water boil, / Then infuse the tea. / Then you drink it properly / That is all you need to know." Exactly the same translation of the poem that Thrasher used can be found also in Sadler 1962, p. 102. The word *koto* is also used in the translation of Hamamoto (1984, part 4, p. 39): "...*koto to shiru beshi*", "Know that chanoyu / Is just a matter / Of heating water, / Preparing tea, / And drinking." Again in Hamamoto 1984 (part 4, p. 30), it is in the form of ...*mono to shiru beshi*, "Know that chanoyu / Is a matter of just / Heating water, / Preparing tea, / And drinking."

⁴⁰⁰ Return to the source: see Hirota 1995, pp. 299-347. In *Ten Oxherding Pictures*, describing the learning process, the ninth picture, and its explanation, concerns the theme of Returning to the Source. In this context this could be understood as becoming one with the Buddha nature, or that the end and the beginning are the same in learning. See also Section 2.3.6.

Without any heart, the proper form is just an empty shell (see the connection to Shukô's teaching in *Kokoro no Fumi*, Section 3.2.1). The idea of the heart as a basis for all learning was emphasised in *Nanpôroku* by claiming that, if the host and the guest possess the attitude of the straightforward heart, they will understand each other without having to explain the rules of *chadô* in detail.⁴⁰¹ This supports the claim I introduced earlier, that for Rikyû learning should proceed from heart to style.

Learning with the heart could be called the right spirit for practising Tea, which leads to the idea of spiritual training in Tea. Even though Rikyû's methods for attaining the Way were different from Jô-ô's, Rikyû did not overlook the teachings of the old master. He just placed the learning of them in the later stage in the learning process of Tea and understood the meaning of them differently. According to the following passage from *Nanpôroku*, Rikyû seems to understand the admonitions, i.e., the rules of Tea, of the old masters as 'a stairs' for learning:

台子ヲハジメ、諸事ノノリ・法度ハ百千万也、古人モコノニ止ッテ、コレヲ茶ノ湯ト心得ラレタルト見ヘテ、ヲノ々法式ヲ大切ニスルコトノミヲ秘書ニシルシヲカレタリ、易ハ、其法式ヲ階子にして、今少高キ所ニモ登リタキ志有テ、大徳、南宗ナトノ和尚タチニ一向問取シ、旦夕、禪林ノ清規ヲ本トシ、カノ書院結構ノ式ヨリカネヲヤツシ、露地ノ一境、浄土世界ヲ打開キ、一字ノ草庵ニ畳敷ニワビスマシテ、薪水ノタメニ修行シ、一碗ノ茶ニ眞味アルコトヲヤウヤウホノカニヲボヘ候ヘトモ⁴⁰²

There are a hundred thousand rules and regulations concerning Tea, and among them *daisu*⁴⁰³ ranks first. Ancient masters also confined themselves to these [rules and regulations] and considered these to be the true meaning of *chanoyu*. Thinking that all the rules are important, they marked down only these into the secret records. Rikyû says that the rules are like stairs: I possessed an ambition of going a little bit higher and earnestly questioned priests of Daitokuji or Nanshûji temples. From morning to evening I maintained the rules of Zen and made them as a foundation [for the various rules of Tea]. I simplified the rules and regulations concerning the formal style of serving Tea (*shoin* style), discovered the land of Buddha in a *roji* garden, and carried the idea of *wabi* to its culmination in the two-mat room thatched hut. I devoted myself to ascetic training by collecting the firewood and carrying water. And finally, I reached the realisation that the true taste exists in one bowl of tea...

Hirota's translation differs in the interpretation of the opening sentence, "There are a hundred thousand rules and regulations governing the *daisu* and other aspects of tea."⁴⁰⁴ Apparently Hirota interprets *hajime* as 'including' (including *daisu* and the

⁴⁰¹ Nanpôroku, p. 264: 主客トモニ直心ノ交ナレバ... More details in Section 2.3.2.

⁴⁰² Nanpôroku, p. 265.

⁴⁰³ Murai 1988, p. 11. *Daisu* is a Chinese style of lacquered stand for serving tea and displaying tea utensils, and it is used in the most proper (highest) style of Tea.

⁴⁰⁴ Hirota 1995, pp. 236-237.

other ways of preparing tea, the rules are numerous...). This is definitely correct. But perhaps *hajime* could also be used in the sense of 'the most important thing', 'the origin', or 'the root', as suggested in this study. This interpretation is supported by a passage found in *Nanpōroku's Oboegaki* which says that, 'the foundation of *chanoyu* lies in *daisu*...' (茶湯は台子を根本とする...),⁴⁰⁵ which supports the claim that *daisu* is the most important, the basis, but also the most complicated comprising many rules.

Rikyū seems to imply in this passage from *Nanpōroku*, that learning the rules, the form of the old great masters, should not be the foremost aim of Tea studies. One should not expect to copy every single thing and every saying of the old masters, but rather to see these rules as guidelines to attain the Way, one's own Way, in *chadō*. In the world of Tea, as in Zen monasteries, there are numerous rules for the practitioners on how to conduct their everyday life. Similar to Dōgen's explanation of the meaning of the regulations in Zen, Rikyū explains in this citation that the importance of rules is that they tell how and why things should be done.⁴⁰⁶ But by only following the rules, one will not attain the true understanding of Tea, or, as in Zen, the true nature of the Buddha, which is again gained through acts and through understanding how and why the rules are followed. Mastering the rules is not the same as understanding the true meaning of Tea: rules are like means or tools for attaining the ultimate goal; they are not the truth. This is often misunderstood, Rikyū criticises.

For Rikyū rules are like 'stairs' or 'tools' for studies which, step by step, lead toward the final goal. Rikyū explains this further and says that because he had an ambition to go higher, to devote his life to the Way of Tea in order to understand the true meaning of Tea, he studied with famous Zen priests and questioned them. Furthermore, by succeeding in complying with these rules in everyday life (this refers to a modest and ascetic form of life, such as in the Zen monasteries), it becomes possible to attain the absolute state of the heart without a desire for the pleasures and luxury of this world.

In the world of Tea this means that the foundation of Tea is in the *wabi* style of Tea, and therefore, Rikyū simplified the rules of the formal *shoin* style of Tea. He discovered the land of Buddha in the *roji* path and in the *wabi* style of Tea and through them the ultimate state of the modest thatched hut with a two-mat room. He realised that all acts in one's everyday life are acts of training in the terms of Zen (the idea comes close to the idea of *shukke*, see Section 2.3.5), and finally, through all this, he found the true taste of tea in one cup of tea. This means that finally, little by little, through all these acts, Rikyū reached an understanding: The true meaning of Tea is to be found in the very simplest things, such as preparing a

⁴⁰⁵ Nanpōroku, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁶ Collcutt 1981, p. 148.

cup of tea or in normal, everyday acts – not in rules. According to Rikyû, rules should be learnt so that following them becomes natural and free from the hindrances of the mind (intellectual reasoning).

Similarly to Jô-ô, Rikyû considers that the foundation consists in proper style, in learning the great masters or studying the *shôfûtei*, the proper style, i.e., the *shoin* style of Tea. But for Rikyû the learning of Tea seems to be a two-layered process. First, one needs to learn it with the heart, and after that one needs to learn the form. In studying the form one should keep in mind the rules of the old masters and move from the *wabi* style toward the *shoin* style. Even though Rikyû also considers the *shoin* style as the foundation of Tea, he teaches it after mastering the simpler *wabi* style. Concerning the study process, Rikyû moves from simple to difficult, from *wabi* to *shoin* and reverses the learning process that Jô-ô had taught earlier. This can be seen in the following citation from *Nanpô-roku*:

易ノ云…セメテハ、書院台子ノ法ヲ習フベキト云人ニ、不知ト云テ不
教、草庵ノコトバカリヤスヤスト傳授シテ、カネナドヲモ不云、大カ
タヲ量ノ目数ニ覺ヘサセ、炭ツグ次第ヨリ、コイ茶、ウス茶、只一通
リニシテ、ワビノ心ヲ何トゾ思ヒ入レテ修行スルヤウニサヘ仕立タラ
バ、其中、十人・廿人ニ一人モ、道ニサトキ人ハ道ニ入ベキカ、道ニ
入ホドノ人ニテダニアラバ、其時、望次第、台子ヲモ得心サセテ、⁴⁰⁷

Rikyû says... At least for those who wish to learn the rules of *shoin daisu*, [I answer] because I do not know them [rules], I cannot teach them. I will instruct students with ease only in *sôan* style of Tea; I will not even tell them the rules in detail. The main rules I will make them remember by the mesh of the *tatami*. After being taught how to arrange the charcoal, I will teach them roughly [only one way] how to make thick tea and thin tea. Then they must contemplate over and over again the mind of *wabi* and doing ascetic practices. Some day, when the preparatory studies are mastered, if there is even one person among ten or twenty persons who has understood the true meaning of the Way, and should enter the Way, or one who could enter the Way, at that time, I will answer their wishes and teach them the *daisu* style of Tea...

For Rikyû, in the beginning, teaching rules is not important. It is more important to concentrate on the spirit of *wabi*, to possess the right state of mind. Besides this right attitude, Rikyû emphasises remembering rules naturally: learning with the body ('by the mesh of the *tatami* mat'). After one has learnt Tea by heart, it becomes possible to understand the rules intellectually. For Rikyû, learning is moving from the body (learning by repeating the acts several times and by watching others practising) to the spirit (*wabi* mind[heart]) and only then to the understanding (intellectual/logical mind). According to Rikyû, rules can be taught only if a person possesses the *wabi* mind and leads an ascetic life, like the monks in Zen monasteries. However, the most important factor is the *wabi* mind. This

⁴⁰⁷ Nanpôroku, p. 266.

shows that Rikyū was more realistic and practical in his attitude to the learning process while Jō-ō was more philosophical and abstract (Section 3.1.3.6).⁴⁰⁸

3.2.3. Concept of Naturalness

Rikyū criticises those who try to please another person, not from a pure heart but because of learnt manners, in order to meet with general acceptance, or to gain some merit; for instance in a case where a person tries to please a respected Tea master. According to Rikyū, the intended aim to please another is artificial and inappropriate. But if one succeeds in pleasing another without any such intention, then the true way of pleasing comes naturally. In *Nanpōroku*, this is discussed as follows:

客・亭主、互ノ心モチ、イカヤウニ得心シテシカルベキヤト問、易ノ云、イカニモ互ノ心ニカナフガヨシ、シカレトモカナイタガルハアシ、得道ノ客・亭主ナレバ、ヲノヅカラコゝロヨキモノ也、未煉ノ人互ニ心ニカナハウトノミスレバ、一方、道ニチガヘバトモトモニアヤマチスル也、サレバコソ、カナフハヨシ、カナイタガルハアシ、⁴⁰⁹

How should the spirit (mood) between a guest and a host be understood as being satisfactory? Sōeki answers: it is certainly good to have a match of hearts (minds), but [intentional] aiming to reach a match of hearts (minds) is bad. A host and guest who have attained the ultimate state of the heart (mind) [i.e., the Buddha-mind], will reach the preferable state [of hearts] naturally. When an inexperienced person is only seeking for a match of hearts (minds), it just leads the wrong way and to misstep by each. That is why having a match of hearts is good, but the desire to achieve a match of hearts is bad.

A mutual understanding, the match of hearts between the host and the guests, is important, but this match should be reached naturally without an attempt to coerce these feelings. That is, in *chadō* one should not try hard to achieve another's acceptance, or to use utensils and serve food which are known to be preferred by the guests, but to practise Tea with the utensils one owns and which are the most suitable for the occasion as well as for the season. However, this becomes possible only for those who are able to practise Tea from a true heart, with a sincere heart, meaning a host and a guest who have attained the state of *satori* (得道ノ客・亭主). In this study *satori* is described as the ultimate state of the mind, the Buddha-mind which can be attained through spiritual (ascetic) training, living a

⁴⁰⁸ Kurasawa explains that Rikyū's Tea is moving from the *sōan* style of Tea into the *daisu* style of Tea and backwards. Notes on Kurasawa Yukihiro's lecture on *Nanpōroku* (*Nanpōroku wo yomu*) at Kōbe University, December 12, 1996. See also Hirota 1995, p. 238. Hirota's translation differs in the word *hitōtōri* which he interprets as "one method", which is slightly different from the meaning given in this study.

⁴⁰⁹ *Nanpōroku*, p. 5.

simple life in solitude (see sections 2.3.7 and 3.1.3.4). It follows that in this absolute state of heart(mind), all acts become natural.⁴¹⁰ A similar idea of naturalness is explained in the following citation from *Genryûchawa*:

利休の云、さひたるハよし、さはしたるハあしゝ⁴¹¹

Rikyû has said: having [the feeling of] serenity naturally is good, but imposing [the feeling of] serenity artificially is bad.

These words of Rikyû actually refer to the story of a middle gate (*chûmon*; see Plate 2) in the *roji* path, but they can also be understood as a being a general rule in his Tea. He further explains that things looking old and modest can actually be made to look old on purpose (Section 4.5, an anecdote about the middle gate). However, this does not fulfil the idea of naturalness in *chadô*, nor does it possess the spirit of *wabi* (as explained in Section 4.2.3). Letting things happen naturally is good. Likewise in *chadô*, all acts should come from the bottom of one's heart without falsehood and lies (see sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4).⁴¹²

In *Nanpôroku*, Rikyû illustrates that the idea of naturalness is conveyed by the simplest thing. For instance, in the summer one should convey the feeling of coolness and in the winter the feeling of warmth.

…易コタヘニ、夏ハイカニモ涼シキヤウニ、冬ハイカニモアタゝカナルヤウニ、炭ハ湯ノワクヤウニ、茶ハ服ノヨキヤウニ、コレニテ秘事ハスミ候由申サレシニ、問人不興シテ、ソレハ誰モ合点ノ前ニテ候トイハレケレバ、又易ノ云、サアラハ、右ノ心ニカナフヤウニシテ御覽セヨ、宗易客ニマイリ御弟子ニナルベシト被申ケル、⁴¹³

Rikyû answers: "In the summer try to bring out the feeling of coolness, in the winter the feeling of warmth: set the charcoal so that water will boil and make a delicious cup of tea – these are all the secrets to tell", he said. A person who asked about this grew

⁴¹⁰ Compare the passage of *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi*, p. 17: 一つとして心はなるる所作はなし。是も心と心のつかぬ所にもてなす心を本性と云ふなれば、我しらずによきところに叶ふところが奇妙とも云ふべきなり 'There is no act to be separated from the one mind. This means also hospitality in the state where "the heart is not aware of being the heart", in other words this can be called the true nature of the heart, through which we will reach the desired state unintentionally. This state should also be called the highest state of the sublime heart.'

⁴¹¹ *Genryûchawa*, p. 428. See in detail, Section 3.1.3.3.

⁴¹² I introduced a similar idea in Section 3.1.3 when describing *Jô-ô's* idea of *wabi* in *chadô*. Since most of the sources used in this study are from the 16th century and collected by the disciples or by other Tea persons who admired the work of the Great Tea Masters Shukô, *Jô-ô* and Rikyû, it is difficult to say anything definite and exact about their origins. However, it can be argued that it is logical to expect that the tradition of Tea was transmitted chronologically from Shukô to *Jô-ô* and further, to Rikyû. This being the case, the teaching of naturalness, for example, can be considered to be a teaching of *Jô-ô* which was transmitted to his disciple, Rikyû (see Section 3.1.3.3).

⁴¹³ *Nanpôroku*, p. 8.

ill-humoured, "That is what anyone knows!", he replies. Sōeki continues, "If it is so, please show that you can fulfil these expectations, and, if you can, I will become your guest and I should (even) become your disciple."

Rikyū teaches that the simplest acts are the most difficult to perform naturally, such as in Tea setting the fire so that water will boil or walking on the *tatami* mat in a way that the sound of the *tabi*-socks is pleasing. The sense of coolness is promoted in Tea, for example, by the choice of tea utensils and sweets: in summer wide and shallow bowls are preferred as well as sweets that give a sense of coolness.⁴¹⁴ Being aware of the season at hand, or even being a little in advance of the season, is an important idea in Tea. With the selection of the food served, the utensils used and the theme chosen for the gathering, such as enjoying the cherry blossoms, the new green of the early summer, or the crimson leaves of the autumn, or the full moon gatherings, the host will convey beautiful images of the approaching season or the season at hand. In winter tea gatherings, the sense of warmth is promoted by using high and narrow bowls, or serving, for example, steamed main sweets (*omogashi*).⁴¹⁵ During the winter, sweets are usually of *manju*, or *kinton* type conveying a feeling of warmth both by the colours and the names of the ingredients used. Everything one does should be as natural as breathing, so that one should not even think about anything.

This kind of true naturalness, the unintentional naturalness, can be illustrated by the following poem by Jien (1155-1225) and the explanation following it, which is found in another part of *Nanpōroku*:

思ハシト思フモ物ヲ思フ也思ハジトダニ思ハジヤ君
 …コノカネヲワスレ、事ヲワスレタク思フ内ハワスレガタク、イツノ
 ホドニカ天然トワスル、時至ル…⁴¹⁶

To think that / I will not think / is still thinking. / Don't think / even of not-thinking!⁴¹⁷
 ...about forgetting these rules: if you wish to forget things, while thinking of them it is

⁴¹⁴ E.g., sweets made of white beans covered with *kanten* (written with the Chinese characters "cold" and "heaven", 寒天). The sweets, such as *mizubotan* (water peony), are named to give a sense of coolness, and the transparency of *kanten* gives the image of crystal-clear water.

⁴¹⁵ Tea practitioners enjoy the beauties of the season: sweets have poetic names, such as *Shiba no Yuki*, 'Snow on the Brushwood', or *Ohanabira*, 'Flower Petal' (referring to the camellia blooming in mid-winter). In winter the sweets are usually *manjū* made of sweet red beans, *azuki*, and covered with *mochi*, which usually has a burnt decoration on the top. Another typical sweet during the winter is *kinton*, which is made of finely ground white sweet beans and sweet red beans.

⁴¹⁶ *Nanpōroku*, pp. 322-323.

⁴¹⁷ Suzuki 1988, p. 112. Another translation of the poem is by Suzuki and goes as follows: "To think that I am not going / To think of you any more / Is still thinking of you. / Let me then try not to think / That I am not going to think of You." In this study, however, it is suggested that the stress is on thinking and on the confusion of too much thinking, not on "you" which emphasises the meaning of a love poem.

difficult. But before you realise, the time will come when the rules are forgotten naturally...

The poem suggests that you should not be thinking over various matters all the time – don't think too much! Similarly, when one studies the rules of Tea one should not think too much. Trying hard to remember makes it difficult to remember. Things should be learnt so that they come naturally. In practising Tea, even the thought of acting naturally makes acting already unnatural, as when thinking, 'I am breathing now' when one breathes. As soon as one is not even thinking of acting naturally, the true naturalness will arise spontaneously. In traditional forms of art, such as *chadô* or *Nô*, this is a result of long time studies and discipline – becoming one with the form of art.⁴¹⁸ Rikyû seems to make a difference between the words *shizen*, naturalness, and *tennen* innate naturalness which includes the idea of spontaneity. Rikyû's naturalness is the latter: innate naturalness where all acts are unartificial and spontaneous, because he seems to prefer using *tennen* instead of *shizen*. *Tennen* also conveys the idea of supernaturality, that something is not made by a human being but by heaven, and therefore it can only come true in the ultimate state of the mind(heart).⁴¹⁹

The book called *Chawashô* provides another point of view on Rikyû's idea of naturalness:

利休茶事修行之功にて、自然と茶の常に成たる也、こしらへてはならぬ事也、稽古ハたゞ心静まる様ニ工夫すへし、業ハなる物なれとも、茶事ハ心地の修行にして、その場に遊ぶ事安からず、たゞ年を重て心を用れハ、氷の解る様に相わかる物也、⁴²⁰

Rikyû says that mastering *chaji* training means that nature and Tea become one; there is nothing artificial. Practices mean only that one should manage to attain calmness of heart, yet the means of training are everywhere. Tea means training one's heart; feeling free to enjoy the occasion. When years have passed and one has done Tea with the heart, one shall understand this [as naturally and imperceptibly] as the ice melts.

In *Chawashô*, Joshinsai (1706-1751) speaks in metaphors. The word *chaji* means tea gathering as a whole with *kaiseki* serving both thick tea and thin tea, not just a cup of tea.⁴²¹ However, in this context, the word is used to mean *chadô*, the Way of Tea in general. Mastering Tea (*chadô*) means that the practice of Tea and nature become one. In this citation the word *shizen*, naturalness, is used instead,

⁴¹⁸ For more details, see Section 2.3.4 on Bashô's saying about bamboo's and pines.

⁴¹⁹ *Tennen* was also used in *Oboegaki* of Nanpôroku, see Section 2.3.7.

⁴²⁰ *Chawashô*, p. 265. *Chawashô* was written by the seventh Grand Tea Master of *Omotesenke* Joshinsai Sôsa and edited by Kawakami Fuhaku (1716-1807) who also commented on the original text. *Chawashô* is said to transmit the *Senke* style of Tea: teachings of Rikyû to his grandson Sôtan and all the way to the Joshinsai. For details, see Horinouchi 1957, pp. 270-276, and Genshoku Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *Chawashô* and *Omotesenke*.

⁴²¹ See Introduction (Section 1.6) on the course of the tea gathering.

focusing on the meaning of the nature of Tea as an art. In *chadō* the seasonal peculiarities are taken into account in the selection of utensils or flowers used, as well as in the meal served. The construction materials for tea-rooms are also as natural as possible, made of earthen walls and unpolished middle-pillars. In *roji* there is no gardening in the sense that plants and flowers would be arranged into certain groups or shapes as in Western gardening. Evergreen plants without flowers are used, giving an atmosphere of being in the depth of the forest (sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3).

On the other hand, *shizen* is used here as a synonym for *tennen* in *Nanpōroku*, meaning that after practising over and over again, one becomes one with nature and attains a state of naturalness where the results of the practices are easily obtained. Nothing artificial takes place in any act or behaviour, and Tea becomes as natural as everything in nature. In the second half of the cited passage Rikyū emphasises the importance of the heart in Tea: first and foremost one should attain the state of tranquillity, the calmness of the heart. Because the Way of Tea is a way to train one's heart, i.e., to follow a spiritual training through which one will attain the state where all acts become natural, Tea becomes one with one's essential nature (see Section 2.3.7). At the end of the cited passage Rikyū says that one shall understand the meaning of this after several years of practising as naturally as the sun's rays melt the icicles when spring comes.

Furthermore, the idea of naturalness is close to the idea of easiness, described in the following passage also from *Chawashō*:

利休老人申置れしハ、茶之湯ハ古木を二ツニ割たる様なるへし、其境にいたらぬ者ハ、青竹を割たる様成へしとそ、是、其趣意之極談と聞へ侍る、古木の場ハ茶事修練之上に己と手ニ入事なれば、ここに不論、其青竹を割たる様とは、是修業を場にして、萬是等之趣をもって工夫有へき事也、⁴²²

Old Rikyū says: *chanoyu* should resemble an old tree split in two. A person who has not reached that state is like a green bamboo split in two. I was told that this is the secret teaching of the meaning of Tea. After practising Tea over and over again, one naturally attains a style of Tea resembling an old tree. There is nothing more to say. A green bamboo split in two means that one should concentrate on studies, try all the means of studying and be innovative.

It remains unclear what Joshinsai really means with the metaphors of old tree and green bamboo, but, according to the text, beginners are like green bamboo. If you cut the green bamboo it splits straight and easily until the next knot of the bamboo. This part is a little hard to cut but when broken it splits again easily until the next knot. These metaphors may mean that beginners are very straight. They follow the way as the teacher advises without being confused by various questions

⁴²² Chawashō, p. 256.

concerning their studies. They are straightforward and sure about everything. Everything still looks black and white without shadows, but in this single-mindedness they do not get lost from the way. The old tree is just the opposite. It is hard to cut neatly; it always changes direction, and line of the cut becomes uneven. This means that the masters of Tea do not (have to) follow the rules of Tea literally; they can go their own way. Everything concerning Tea and studies in general is not so simple and straight anymore. However, in this state all acts have become natural, and they are able to perform their own style of Tea, which may be different from their teacher's Tea. To attain naturalness in all acts, one needs to study hard, no matter whether one is a 'green bamboo' or an 'old tree', because every age has its own beauty and skill which needs to be taken care of to get it to flourish. Similarly, if the master stops practising, after some time he will not be a master anymore. Art is continuous practising, a never-ending work to occupy one's life.

3.2.4. 'Killing both the Buddha and the Patriarchs': Absolute Freedom of Heart

On the twenty-eighth day of the second month in 1591, Hideyoshi ordered Rikyû to commit traditional suicide (*seppuku*).⁴²³ In *The Book of Tea*, Okakura describes Rikyû's last moments at length:

On the day destined for his self-immolation, Rikiu invited his chief disciples to a last tea-ceremony. Mournfully at the appointed time the guests met at the portico. As they look into the garden path the trees seem to shudder, and in the rustling of their leaves are heard the whispers of homeless ghosts. Like solemn sentinels before the gates of Hades stand the grey stone lanterns. A wave of rare incense is wafted from the tea-room; it is the summons which bids the guests to enter. One by one they advance and take their places. In the tokonoma hangs a kakemono – a wonderful writing by an ancient monk dealing with the evanescence of all earthly things. The singing kettle, as it boils over the brazier, sounds like some cicada pouring forth his woes to departing summer. Soon the host enters the room. Each in turn is served with tea, and each in turn silently drains his cup, the host last of all. According to established etiquette, the chief guest now asks permission to examine the tea-equipage. Rikiu places the various articles before them with the kakemono. After all have expressed admiration of their beauty, Rikiu presents one of them to each of the assembled company as a souvenir. The bowl alone he keeps. "Never again shall this cup, polluted by the lips of misfortune, be used by man." He speaks, and breaks the vessel into fragments.

The ceremony is over; the guests with difficulty restraining their tears, take their last farewell and leave the room. One only, the nearest and dearest, is requested to remain and witness the end. Rikiu then removes his tea-gown and carefully folds it upon the mat, thereby disclosing the immaculate white death robe which it had hitherto concealed. Tenderly he gazes on the shining blade of the fatal dagger, and in exquisite verse thus addresses it:

⁴²³ Rikyû Koji Densho in Chadô Shiso Densho 1933, p. 14.

Welcome to thee,
 O sword of eternity!
 Through Buddha
 And through Daruma alike
 Thou hast cleft thy way.
 With a smile upon his face Rikiu passed forth into the unknown.⁴²⁴

Okakura describes beautifully and emotionally Rikyū's last moments and the story ends with Rikyū's famous death poem. The historical validity of the passage is not the focus here, but rather the meaning and information conveyed in Rikyū's death poems, the Chinese style of poem as an introduction followed by the *waka* poem. In the text above, Okakura quotes only the *waka* poem.

Rikyū left behind two so-called 'last poems' before his death. The first is in the Chinese style and the second is a *waka* poem cited by Okakura above. We need to look at these two poems are studied in more detail to explain Rikyū's philosophical notion of absolute freedom.

人世七十
 カイ 希 咄
 吾這宝劍
 祖仏共殺

Seventy years of life
*Katsu!*⁴²⁵
 With this sword of treasure
 I shall kill both the Buddhas and the Patriarchs!

提ル我
 得具足の
 一太刀
 今此時ぞ
 天に抛

I shall raise it to my hands
 the only sword of mine
 that I have gained.
 And now, I shall
 fling it to the sky!

First of all, I would like to discuss the meaning and the translation of *katsu!*, which is written in the classical text above as カイ 希.⁴²⁶ In some other sources, for instance in *Chawashigetsushū*,⁴²⁷ this is written with the Chinese characters:

⁴²⁴ Okakura 1989, pp. 131-133. See also Inoue 1984, pp. 31-33.

⁴²⁵ Suzuki 1988, p. 66. The second line of the poem カイ 希 is translated here as '*katsu*' but according to Suzuki these meaningless sound symbols are usually written as '*katsu!*', '*kâtz!*', '*kwâtz!*', '*blitz!*' (in German), or '*ho!*' (in modern Chinese). Suzuki says that *Rinzai* Zen distinguishes four kind of '*kwâtz!*': the sound of the sword of *Vajrarāja*, the sound of a lion crouching, a sound of a pole or a bundle of shading grass, or a sound that serves no purpose whatever.

⁴²⁶ Sen no Rikyū – The 400th Memorial, p. 2. According to the picture of the scroll, the word *iki* should be written with the Chinese character where the character for 'power' (力) is inside the square. However, this character was not available to me. The interpretation of the poem is based on the picture of Rikyū's death poem called *yuige*, made for a hanging scroll. See also, for example, Rikyū Koji Densho, p. 14. Here, this poem is read differently: 人世七十 (力) 希、咄 吾這寶劍、祖仏共殺 提る我得具足の (ッ) 太刀 今此時ぞ 天よ (なげう) (ッ) .

⁴²⁷ *Chawashigetsushū*, p. 225. For further information on the origins of the book see, Hirota 1995, pp. 246-247; Awakawa 1956, pp. 245-252.

力囿希咄 (*riki i ki totsu*). This is different, though it is pronounced in the same way, from the character used in Rikyû's poem according to the picture of the scroll in *Special Exhibition: Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial* (1990). Haga writes that this passage is explained in *Hekiganryoku* so that the Chinese character 力 and an empty square are separated into two different characters and pronounced *riki i ki* (力 / square / 希). If the Chinese character *ka* is written so that the first character (力) is inside the square, as in Rikyû's poem, it is actually pronounced as *kuwa* (this pronunciation was used before the *Edo* period), changing the pronunciation to *riki ka ki*. Later on, the pronunciation *riki i ki* was commonly used also for the combination characters, such as 𠄎, 囿, 圉, or the Chinese character 力 inside a square, in the classical sources, without changing the original meaning of the character.⁴²⁸ The picture of Rikyû's letter shows that he used the latter one, and therefore, it is correct in this context. The Chinese character 希 (*ki*) used in this combination is only used as a word ending to emphasise the meaning of the word preceding it. These kinds of words imitating sounds are used in Chinese poetry and Buddhist verses to fill out the necessary number of syllables. Haga also reminds us that it is used in Zen to describe the sound that one emits unconsciously when one attains enlightenment suddenly.⁴²⁹

Haga connects the sword of treasure to the special sword used in *seppuku*, or it might refer to Rikyû himself, as it is believed in this study, through Kokei's⁴³⁰ (1532-1597) words: 'thirty years of running without a break – I have had enough!' (三十年飽參の走). The word 'hōsan' (飽參) is normally written with the Chinese characters 放參 meaning those few free hours that Zen monks have in the morning and in the evening in the monastery. The character used in Kokei's saying means literally "get tired of" or "have enough" of something. The last passage of the poem, 'kill both the Buddhas and the Patriarchs' refers to absolute freedom of heart. Rikyû's poem quotes the following poem by Chinese Zen master Rinzai Gigen (臨劑義玄, d. 867, the founder of the *Rinzai* school):

Kill everything that stands in your way. If you meet the Buddha, kill the Buddha. If you meet the Patriarchs, kill the Patriarchs. If you meet the *arhats* [those who have attained nirvana] on your way, kill them, too.⁴³¹

⁴²⁸ Haga 1997, pp. 324-331. *Hekiganryoku* is Chinese collection of *kōans* from the Song dynasty. See also Hisamatsu 1973, pp. 328-329. According to Hisamatsu, the origin of this character combination is in *Unmonkōroku*. The Chinese character 力 inside a square are actually the result of combination of the two separate characters, a square and the 力 used in *Unmonkōroku*.

⁴²⁹ Haga 1997, p. 327.

⁴³⁰ Kokei was the head priest of *Daitokuji* temple (*Rinzai* school), who gave the Buddhist name 'Rikyû' to Sōeki in order for him to enter the Imperial Palace tea gathering with Hideyoshi in 1585 when Rikyû was 35 years old.

⁴³¹ Anderson 1991, p. 47. This is also mentioned by Blyth 1960, p. 34.

Hisamatsu comments on Rikyū's death poems by saying that, 'kill the Buddha, kill the Patriarchs' indicates the fundamental formlessness (non-existence) of the self, or the self-awareness of formlessness. Since this is called the real Buddha, the objectively considered physical form of the Buddha is, after all, no Buddha at all. In other words, the Buddha is self-awareness, and self-awareness comes to mean the formlessness of self-awareness.⁴³² Kurasawa comments on the passage, 'kill the Buddhas and kill the Patriarchs', that in some sources it is explained to indicate Rikyū's anger toward Hideyoshi, but more probably it refers to absolute self-liberation, which he describes with the word *yuge*,⁴³³ meaning the state of perfect freedom from the detachments of this world in the Buddhist philosophy. The word *yuge* is widely used in Zen-related texts, such as *Dentōroku* or *Mumonkan*,⁴³⁴ and also in Taoist philosophy where *yu* expresses the idea of absolute happiness achieved through a higher understanding of the nature of things. In *chadō* this means absolute naturalness in all acts and behaviour in Tea.⁴³⁵

Keeping these three explanations in mind, the sword of treasure may also refer to Rikyū himself, his Tea and his teachings in general. In the end, Rikyū encourages us to kill the Buddha, the Patriarchs, and his own teachings (his life-work for Tea), too, in order to attain absolute freedom. In Hisamatsu's words, the 'self of no-form', the state of *satori*, which again represents the formless self or self-awareness, i.e., the original self. This means that Rikyū desired absolute freedom of the heart as well as freedom from all obstacles to the true Tea, but perhaps he also wished to be free from Hideyoshi's orders.

Similarities with *Ten Oxherding Pictures*⁴³⁶ are obvious. Rikyū was a kind of oxherd (later in the story an oxherd changes into master Hotei) who goes through all the stages of the path of learning (observance of rules, breaking through, and freedom) in order to attain the absolute freedom, and finally returns to the village. In the ultimate state, Hotei returns home and starts sharing with others his food and everything he owns and knows. In this story, the path of learning is described as being twofold: first one studies for oneself, and in the end one starts sharing with others. Sharing with others also means that one re-enters the circle of the path of learning, but this time not for gaining something for oneself but for sharing one's knowledge with others. Hotei went among the people and shared everything he owned and Rikyū did the same. He also spread the modest *wabi*

⁴³² Hisamatsu 1973, pp. 34-35. See also Hisamatsu 1971, pp. 48-50: "The fundamental subject of Self-Awareness".

⁴³³ Bukkyōjiten, s.v. *yuge*. See also Fung 1966, pp. 104-105.

⁴³⁴ *Mumonkan* contains Zen texts and it was written in 1228 by the *Rinzai* school Zen priest Mumon.

⁴³⁵ Kurasawa 1992b, p. 232.

⁴³⁶ See Hirota 1995, pp. 299-347.

style of Tea among the common people and created new tea utensils available to everyone. He stood behind his idea of the austere *wabi* style of Tea and in order to transmit it to the later generations he was forced to commit suicide because of the continuous tension with the de-facto ruler Hideyoshi. Therefore, it may be argued that there is no *one reason* or *explanation* for Rikyû's suicide, but it was rather the result of a many-sided misunderstanding as well as of problems between Hideyoshi and Rikyû.

Seventy years of life: Rikyû had his *satori*, attained *nirvâna* and absolute freedom. He had had enough. These two poems by Rikyû have power, vitality, and energy: he kills the Buddhas and the Patriarchs, and lifts the sword of treasure and flings it to the sky! Rikyû's poems show the impermanence of everything, yet they convey the idea of a new start and continuity. This power and vitality can be seen in Rikyû's sense of *wabi* in tea utensils and in general appearance, or even in the feeling of his Tea as a whole (see Chapter 5). Although, it remains a mystery what Rikyû really meant with these verses, they can still be said to express Rikyû's philosophy of the *wabi* style of Tea in a wide sense.⁴³⁷

The following passage in the *Yamanoue Sôjiki* also strengthens the idea that Rikyû considered it essential to attain absolute freedom, this formless self-awareness, in order to create something new and interesting.

宗易ハ名人ナレハ、山ヲ谷、西ヲ東ト、茶湯ノ法ヲ破リ、自由セラレ
テモ、面白シ⁴³⁸

Sôeki says that becoming a master of Tea, one needs to turn mountains into valleys, West into East; one must break the rules of chanoyu and try to attain freedom in order to create something interesting.

These lines by Rikyû contain ideas similar to those conveyed in his death poems. At a certain stage in the path of learning, one needs to stand against one's teacher claiming 'West to be East' or 'mountains to be valleys'. A similar idea was introduced in *Yamanoue Sôjiki* where the secret transmission of Jô-ô, Dôchin, and Rikyû on the stages of learning was explained.⁴³⁹ According to this passage,

⁴³⁷ For further information, see Kazue 1985, pp. 156-157; Narukawa 1983, p. 124; Karaki 1989, pp. 127-129; Kuwata 1943, p. 161. Kazue considers that *katsu!* symbolises *satori* and the whole poem symbolises attaining absolute freedom: a freedom from the duality of the mundane world (life-death). Narukawa mentions these verses also, but refers to a Kazue's interpretations. Karaki finds an interesting connection to a similar poem which reminds us of Rikyû's Chinese style of verse, but which has one extra passage describing a thin, bony person who has lost his energy. This last passage stands in opposition to Rikyû's poem. For Kuwata, Rikyû's verses indicate that it was not easy (these seventy year of life) to go earnestly and firmly toward the knowledge of great wisdom.

⁴³⁸ *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, p. 102.

⁴³⁹ *Yamanoue Sôjiki*, p. 95. Here it says that from forty to fifty one's opinions differ from the teacher's as the west differs from the east. Compare also with Nanpôroku, p. 8, where it

opposing one's teacher takes place in one's forties. Breaking the rules is an important factor in attaining absolute freedom; in finding one's true self, the Buddha nature. Finally, at this point one's Tea becomes fascinating. This is one of the major differences between the philosophy of Jō-ō and Rikyū: Jō-ō respected the great masters before him, and keeping their teachings in mind, he found it essential to create something new in Tea. Rikyū also respected his teachers and rules of *chanoyu*, which he considered to be the basis or the steps for study. But he also found it important to keep a distance from one's teacher and to break all the rules in order to create something really new and interesting. Jō-ō never did go so far as to leave the teacher and break the rules, but that was the direction in which he also wished to go, knowing that in the end *chanoyu* should be like that. Unfortunately, Jō-ō passed away early, at the age of fifty-four, while Rikyū lived longer, to the age of seventy. If Jō-ō had lived as long as Rikyū, Tea today would doubtless be much different.

says that 'in summer try to bring out the feeling of coolness and in winter the feeling of warmth...' These examples may also suggest the preference for contrasting ideas in Rikyū's Tea, which is more evident in his choice of utensils.

