

5. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN JÔ-Ô AND RIKYÛ IN TASTE AND IDEAS OF *WABICHADÔ* REFLECTED THROUGH THE POEMS "*MIWATASEBA...*" AND "*HANA WO NOMI...*"

The aim of this chapter is to show the development of *wabi* from a term of literature to a term of *chadô* conveying philosophical and aesthetic values. Before becoming a term of *chadô*, *wabi* was widely used in classical Japanese literature, especially in poetry. First, the use and meanings of *wabi* in literature are discussed. Secondly, the sense of *wabi*, or the spirit of *wabi* in *chadô*, is examined through the poems by Fujiwara Teika and Fujiwara Ietaka. These poems are used in *Nanpôroku* to illustrate the sense of *wabi* of the Great Tea Masters Jô-ô and Rikyû. Next, metaphors associated with these poems in *chadô* are examined.

As shown in chapters 3 and 4 of this study, Jô-ô's influence was strong on the development of *wabichadô* as well as on the development of the sense of beauty in Rikyû's Tea. Jô-ô was an important teacher for Rikyû, passing on the philosophical and aesthetic aspects of the *wabi* style of *chadô*. Even though Jô-ô was not a direct student of Shukô, he was a highly educated man, well versed in literature and the arts. He learnt his Tea, and Shukô's heritage of Tea, from Shukô's disciples as well as from Shukô's literary legacy, such as *Kokoro no Fumi*. Shukô established the philosophical basis for the Way of Tea, but the actual procedures of *chadô* conveying both philosophical and aesthetic values were formed by Jô-ô and Rikyû. Therefore, this study emphasises the importance of these two Tea masters. By comparing their concepts of Tea, the development of the *wabi* style of *chadô* to the form in which it is known today can be followed.

5.1. THE USE OF *WABI* IN CLASSICAL LITERATURE

5.1.1. Review of Previous Studies

Previous studies in the field examining the word *wabi* in poetry focus on the historical development of the term, showing changes in the use and meanings of *wabi* from the time of *Manyôshû* to the poet Bashô. Two examples are Okazaki Yoshie's study *Bi no Dentô* (1942), and Tsutsui Hiroshi's study, *Wabi no Keifu: Kenkyû to Shiryô* (1969),⁷⁶⁷ which concentrate on classical literature up to the

⁷⁶⁷ For more details on these studies, see Tsutsui 1969, first part (*jô*), pp. 1-13, and second part (*ge*), pp. 11-22, and Okazaki 1940, pp. 140-214.

Middle Ages. Okazaki studies the meanings of *wabi* and *sabi* in literature as being two separate terms with different meanings, though very closely related. On the other hand, Tsutsui concentrates only on the meanings and the use of *wabi* without mentioning the term *sabi* in this context (see Section 1.2.1). Okazaki divides his study into five parts: *wabi* and *sabi* in *Manyôshû*, *wabi* in imperial anthologies, *sabi* in imperial anthologies, *sabi* in studies of poetry criticism, *renga* or *Nô* theatre, and last, Bashô's *wabi* and *sabi*. According to Tsutsui,⁷⁶⁸ *wabi* is used in classical poetry to signify one's dissatisfaction in love and passion (for example MYS in NKBT, poem no. 3116 or in KKS, poem no. 656). The feeling of *wabi* caused by difficulties in human relationships, Tsutsui divides into two: the feeling of *wabi* that comes from being estranged from society, or that arises when one shuns another's company (KKS, poem no. 50). Next, he examines the feeling of *wabi* arising from living a solitary life (KKS poem no. 985). Finally, Tsutsui considers the feeling of *wabi* arising from nature or from one's living surroundings and circumstances (KKS, poem no. 988). The structure in both studies is similar; however, Tsutsui's discussion does not go as far as Bashô in his study.

According to Okazaki, in *Manyôshû* most of the poems in which the word *wabi* is used are love poems describing desperate feelings, pessimism, feelings of sorrow or sadness, or describing one who feels hopeless or depressed, having hardships in one's life, or being dissatisfied with the circumstances of one's life. Okazaki stresses that *wabi* describes feelings and emotions and it has a strong sense of having difficulties or facing hardship in one's life, whereas *sabi* in *Manyôshû* is used rather to describe atmosphere or mood. Okazaki has found altogether seventeen poems in *Manyôshû* with the word *wabi*⁷⁶⁹ including variations such as, *wabi* in a compound word (*wabinaki*), as an adjective (*wabishi*) or as a verb (*wabu*).

In *Manyôshû*, the way of writing *wabi* varies from 和備 (*wabi*), 和夫 (*wabu*), to 惑 (*wabishiku*).⁷⁷⁰ But later on in classical literature, *wabi* is written either with *hiragana* syllables as わび, or with the Chinese character 侘 or 詫. Okazaki mentions that *wabi* and *sabi* do not differ greatly during this period. To be more precise, in the use of *wabi* the sadness or sorrowfulness is generally related to love affairs; but the use of *sabi* carries a broader sense concerning love, relationships of marriage partners or parents and children, friends, or even death, i.e., a variety of different occasions that belong to one's daily life. *Sabi* is also used to describe artistic or aesthetic values in nature, such as drifting showers (*shigure*), but this characteristic of *wabi* cannot be found in *Manyôshû*. Okazaki defines *wabi* as

⁷⁶⁸ Tsutsui 1969, p. 7.

⁷⁶⁹ Tsutsui 1969, p. 13. Tsutsui found 19 entries, but a computer search of returns 17 entries containing *wabi* in *Manyôshû* (the total number of poems in *Manyôshû* is 4500).

⁷⁷⁰ For example, in Kojiki *wabi* is also written as 和備. See NKBT 1, p. 103.

describing feelings and emotions in everyday life, whereas *sabi* is more a word for aesthetic values.

Next, Okazaki studies *wabi* and *sabi* in Imperial poetic anthologies. In *Kokin-wakashū*, *Gosenshū* and *Shūishū*, the word *wabi* is used often in its different variations. According to Tsutsui,⁷⁷¹ there exist altogether 124 entries (the total number of poems in these three anthologies together is 3888), but in *Goshūishū*, *Kinyōshū* and *Shikashū* the use of *wabi* decreases rapidly and only twenty-one entries (the total number of poems in these three is 2347) with the word *wabi* are found. In *Senzaishū* and *Shinkokinwakashū* the word *wabi* occurs only forty times (the total number of poems in these two is 3264), which is a slightly higher incidence than in the three previously mentioned anthologies.

According to Okazaki, in the Imperial anthologies the meaning of *wabi* becomes more delicate and subtle, even though the focus is still on love poems illustrating grief because of an unsuccessful love affair or not being loved, desperate feelings caused by the end of the love affair, or even being perplexed or embarrassed to the extent that one wishes to die. The aesthetic values of grief for unrequited love or in melancholy are found in poems during this period. Okazaki reminds us that the origins for the "aestheticization" of *wabi* in love poems can be found already in *Kojiki*, but in the Imperial anthologies this character became clearer. The feelings of love and grief, i.e., the feelings of *wabi*, were reflected in nature, such as the sounds of autumn winds in the dusk of evening when one waits for one's love who does not appear (KKS, poem no. 777). However, in this period *wabi* was used more widely than in *Manyōshū*, describing also various disappointments and hardships in life. The reason for desperate feelings or for grieving remains unclear in some poems, suggesting hardships in everyday life or in social conditions in general, such as poverty. According to Okazaki, this illustrates a kind of "tragic beauty" as found in the poem where one is alone and forgotten at the seaside of the Suma (KKS, poem no. 962). As shown earlier, this study does not concur with the idea of *wabi* as tragic beauty (Section 4.2.2) because the philosophical aspects of *wabi* suggest the absolute freedom of heart, and strong emotions, such as being tragic, do not include this idea (see below in this section for more details).

I would not go as far as to suggest that this poem cited by Okazaki is an expression of tragic beauty, but rather that it suggests the idea of being alone and forgotten or being in exile. Despite the reason for being alone, the most important point to note is that one has accepted the fact of being alone and is satisfied with

⁷⁷¹ Tsutsui 1969, p. 13. Tsutsui has made a table in which he gives the total number of the poems in *Manyōshū* and in every above-mentioned Imperial anthology listed separately. He comes to the conclusion that, in these sources the word *wabi* is used 204 times whereas the word *sabi* is found 143 times. Only in *Manyōshū* and in *Senzaishū* is *sabi* used more frequently than *wabi*.

one's life as such. Another important change in the use of *wabi* during this period is that *wabi* was adapted and used in poems describing the life of upper class people living in the capital, as found in poems by Ono Komachi (KKS, poem no. 938). The meaning of *wabi* changed, its focus moving to the straitened circumstances of everyday life as a whole. The spirit of *wabi* was no longer pessimistic but it came to mean a new *Way* of life and thinking that was born of difficulties, and also contained religious aspects. This made it possible to use *wabi* in a wide range of different kinds of poems.

Finally, Okazaki studies *wabi* and *sabi* during Bashô's times and states that because of the development of *chadô*, these two terms, especially *wabi*,⁷⁷² were related more to Tea than to the poetry, and furthermore that they were influenced by Buddhist ideas. The meaning of *wabi* in *chadô* also underlines Bashô's idea of *wabi*. One of his characteristics of *wabi* was an emphasis on the rural aspects of *wabi*, including the notions of finding satisfaction in dissatisfaction and finding luxury in poverty. In other words, according to Okazaki, for the first time *wabi* possessed positive values. In general, Bashô connected his use of *wabi* generally to poverty and travelling.⁷⁷³

5.1.2. Use and Meanings of the Word *Wabi* in Poetry

This study is based on the realisation that *sabi* is rather a term of literary studies and *wabi* is a term of *chadô*. However, before *wabi* became a *chadô*-related term describing some distinctive aesthetic and philosophical aspects of Tea, it was used in classical literature. Therefore, the groundwork for this study was to examine the use of the word *wabi* in classical literature and especially in poetry. The frequent usage of *wabi* in *Kokka Taikan* is acknowledged: the term is found 4946 times in poems and 195 times in other parts of the book. However, *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* provided most of the material used in this study. It is also noted in this study that after *chadô* had developed into an art form, the term *wabi* came to possess different meanings in poetry and in Tea, and these developments are examined in this chapter.

⁷⁷² The idea that after Bashô *wabi* became a term of *chadô* and *sabi* remained a term of poetry is found also in Karaki's work called *Chûsei no Bungaku in Karaki Junzô Zenshû*, vol. 5 (1967), p. 105. See also Kugimoto 1969, p. 145. For further information, see Kugimoto 1969, pp. 145-158. Kugimoto also includes *wabi* and *sabi* with those ideas that have influenced the aesthetic values in literature, but considers *sabi* as describing especially aesthetic values in literature. The word *wabi* is mentioned only a few times in his study and is related to Rikyû.

⁷⁷³ About the meaning of *wabi*, see also Hirota 1995, pp. 82-87. Hirota focuses his study of *wabi* on Sôgi's poetry, Kenkô's texts, and on the poem by Ariwara no Yukihira, "wakura-bani..." (in KKS, poem no. 962; found also in the *Nô* play *Matsukaze*).

Both Okazaki's and Tsutsui's studies have been a great help for this study, which seeks to understand the use of *wabi* in classical literature and especially in poetry, even though Okazaki's way of studying *wabi* and *sabi* together, and calling *wabi* a "tragic beauty" are not wholly in accord with the conclusions of this study. Based on the sources used for this chapter, it becomes evident that *wabi* expresses one's inner feelings and in order to attain this state of mind, the expressions of *wabi* have to be reflected or sensed through one's self, and therefore it clearly has quite a subjective nature. It is impossible to give only a few definite meanings for the word *wabi* in literature or in *chadô* because its meaning is so heavily dependent on the context. Next, some of the most common meanings of *wabi* and its development into the term of *chadô* will be examined through selected poems from classical literature.

A majority of the poems where *wabi* is used are love poems and the word has been used to describe *moments of despair*, such as in the following poem by Ômiwa no Iratsune found in *Manyôshû*:

さ夜中に	In the depth of night
友呼ぶ千鳥	a sound of the plover crying for a friend.
もの思うと	Being deep in thoughts
わびおる時に	during this moment of <u>feebleness</u> ,
鳴きつつもとな ⁷⁷⁴	it cries with its whole heart.

One's deep and sorrowful feelings are reflected in nature with the images of midnight and a plover crying desperately. It also describes *solitude and longing to love and to be loved in return*. The plover is used as a seasonal image, a word for winter or very late autumn that is considered in *chadô* to be a season when the feeling of *wabi* deepens.⁷⁷⁵ The range of feelings *wabi* describes in love poems is extensive: It describes sorrow, grief, or misery. In some poems desperate feelings caused by unsatisfactory love even lead to inviting death. Absolute grief and passionate love are illustrated in the following poem by Motoyoshi no Miko (890-943) in *Shûiwakashû*:

わびぬれば	This much <u>grief and sorrow</u>
今はたおなじ	makes everything insignificant.
なにはなる	Even if I have to
身をつくしても	destroy this body of mine;
あはむとぞ思ふ ⁷⁷⁶	I still want to meet you again.

⁷⁷⁴ Shinpen Kokkateikan CD-ROM-han, *Manyôshû*, second volume, poem no. 621.

⁷⁷⁵ Tsutsui finds this to be first of all a love poem where the images of nature illustrate one's desperate feelings for love. These two acts, one's feeling sad and blue and the plover's crying heartbreakingly for a friend happen simultaneously, strengthening each other's meaning. Tsutsui 1969, p. 5.

In this poem, *wabinureba* means the *ultimate grief and sorrow because of an unsatisfactory love affair*. One has grieved for one's love so much that now, at this moment, it does not make any difference anymore whatever might happen. Then the poem speaks in metaphors that, even if it resulted in self-destruction, one would be ready for anything if one could meet, even just once, one's true love again. One feels absolutely broken and finished like the floating remains of a boat after a shipwreck, and therefore, if meeting one's love would even demand that one commits suicide, it does not matter anymore; it could not be worse.

In some poems *wabi* describes general *melancholy* over circumstances without any specific reason, such as in the following poem by an unknown poet found in *Manyôshû*:

なぞ鹿の	I wonder why deer
わび鳴きすなる	are crying so <i>sadly</i> .
けだしくも	Is it because of thickly
秋野の萩や	scattering leaves of clover
繁く散るらむ ⁷⁷⁷	on the autumn fields?

In a tone similar to the poem of Motoyoshi no Miko given above, this poem also has the seasonal aspect of late autumn and withered leaves which refer to the melancholy spirit of *wabi*. The feeling of *wabi*, in this context *sadness* or *melancholy*, is stimulated by the beauty and sadness of nature in autumn, the feeling of reaching an end, dying and withering away, such as the autumn leaves, and all this is strengthened by the sorrowful cry of a deer. Tsutsui classifies this poem as signifying the sense of solitary life, and moreover, as being a love poem. Tsutsui finds two interpretations for the meaning of this poem: describing one's feelings for the death of a wife and the sorrow this loss has caused, or dissatisfaction with one's married life.⁷⁷⁸ This possibility is not denied, even though in this study it is believed that the poem describes sad feelings in general and unspecified melancholy caused by the season, nature and the moment as such.

The following poem by Ono Komachi in *Kokinwakashû* is chosen to illustrate the third meaning of *wabi* in poetry: *to feel a failure in one's life*.

⁷⁷⁶ Shinpen Kokkatakaihan CD-ROM-han, Shûiwakashû, first volume, poem no. 766.

⁷⁷⁷ Shinpen Kokkatakaihan CD-ROM-han, Manyôshû, second volume, poem no. 2158.

⁷⁷⁸ Tsutsui 1969, p. 6. See also Okazaki 1940, p. 142. Okazaki classifies also this poem as being a love poem and telling about one's dissatisfaction with married life. Or, it can even be interpreted that the clover refers to the wife herself and the scattering leaves of clover as a metaphor for the wife's passing away.

わびぬれば	At the moment of <u>despair</u>
身を浮草の	I feel myself like
根をたえて	a floating weed without roots.
誘ふ水あらば	If water would invite me
いなむとぞ思ふ ⁷⁷⁹	I would go without hesitating.

This poem contains desperate feelings caused by *the hardness of life in general*, which does not have to be connected with love affairs. One wishes that someone would come and offer companionship, or to give a hand for a new opportunity, for a new life. The poem describes one who is forlorn in the situation when one's *life did not go as one expected*: one feels totally alone, and moreover, one feels estranged from society.⁷⁸⁰ One wishes that something would happen and change this miserable situation where one has no options. If there were a chance for change upon which one could rely – one would definitely grasp an opportunity. The poem has a strong sense of not being able to affect the course of one's life, feeling powerless, drifting, having no one to turn to. One is not the master of one's life any more.

In some poems the word *wabi* is used as a compound word 'a *wabi* person' (*wabihito*) meaning *a hopeless person or someone who feels a failure in his life in one way or another*, such as in the following poem by Henjō (816-890) in *Kokin-wakashū*:

わび人の	Only a <u>hopeless person</u>
わきてたちよる	would choose a tree
木のもとに	to rest under which offers
頼むかげなく	no sheltering shadow just
紅葉ちりけり ⁷⁸¹	scattering autumn leaves.

This poem illustrates that one has *lost one's faith* in life and faces hardships even in the simplest things such as choosing a place to rest. For this *wabi* person, a tree offers neither shelter, repose, nor delight to enjoy the beauty of autumn leaves. Scattering autumn leaves may also be understood to be a metaphor for weeping over one's disappointments.

Later, in classical poetry, *wabihito* (a pitiful, hopeless person) came to mean a *poor person*, such as in the following poem by Dōshō (who lived in the *Kamakura* era) in *Rengashū*:

⁷⁷⁹ Shinpen Kokkateikan CD-ROM-han, *Kokinwakashū*, first volume, poem no. 938.

⁷⁸⁰ The idea of being estranged from society is also noted by Tsutsui (1969, p. 10). Okazaki writes that this poem describes straitened circumstances in one's life in general. It contains no pessimism but rather it symbolises one's personal escape from a troublesome situation. See further Okazaki 1940, p. 170.

⁷⁸¹ Shinpen Kokkateikan CD-ROM-han, *Kokinwakashū*, first volume, poem no. 292.

わびひとの	A <u>poor person's</u> clothes
薄き衣の	are thin as a cicada's wings.
いかならむ	In his life also,
蟬のおりはえ	not a single day passes
なかぬ日はなし ⁷⁸²	without continuous crying.

This poem gives an image of a *poor person* (*wabihito*) whose worn-out clothes are as thin and transparent as a cicada's wings. Similarly, the cicada continues its constant crying day after day, and the difficulties and hardships that this poor and pitiful person has to bear are never-ending.

After the development of *chadô* in the *Muromachi* period, the use of *wabi* in poetry and literature changed, incorporating more philosophical values adapted from the Way of Tea. The ideas of *chadô* strongly influenced Bashô's poetry⁷⁸³ as shown in the following poem found in *Bashô Bunshû*:

わびに絶えて	Enduring <u>poverty</u> in life
一炉の散茶	I prepare fire on the hearth
気味ふかし ⁷⁸⁴	and enjoy the profound touch of Tea.

According to Okazaki, this poem belongs to Bashô's earlier production and he finds a strong appreciation of rural life and the *wabi* style of modest Tea.⁷⁸⁵ In this poem, clear suggestions of *chadô* are expressions such as, *wabi ni taete*, *enduring poverty in life*, which refers to the *asceticism or living in insufficiency and enduring all the hardship it brings*. It gives an image of life in Zen monasteries in its material simplicity but strong spiritual richness (see Section 2.3.5). The expression *ichiro* (the hearth) suggests a modest rural form of life, living in solitude and spending a quiet life. The hearth type of the fireplace (*ro*) is adapted to Tea from the old Japanese style of farmhouses where the *irori* style of fireplace, cut in the floor, was used for cooking and keeping the room warm (see Section 4.2.2). This expression may also refer to the year-ending tea gathering (the so-called *kuchikiri* tea gathering) when a large tea jar (*chatsubo*) for next year's tea leaves is opened and the new tea is served for the first time. The season is winter, which also refers to the *wabi* style (see Section 2.3.4). The word *sancha* (ground tea) refers, without a doubt, to the powdered tea used in *chadô*.

Another change in the use of *wabi* in poetry was that the word *wabi* took on positive values instead of the negative expressions it conveyed earlier in classical literature. *Wabi* was no longer a word to express one's grief for lost love in its

⁷⁸² Rengashû, p. 80, verses 20-21.

⁷⁸³ Both of the Bashô poems cited below are also studied by Kurasawa and Okazaki. See Kurasawa 1992b, pp. 229-230; Okazaki 1940, pp. 205-207.

⁷⁸⁴ Bashô Bunshû: Inaka no Kuai, no. 21 (NKBT 46, p. 291).

⁷⁸⁵ Okazaki 1940, p. 205.

numerous variations, but came to mean luxury, 'heart's richness' in insufficiency and in an ascetic form of life. This aspect is suggested in the poem with the image of submitting to one's fate of living a poor life and all the hardship it entails. And moreover, the expression *kimifukashi*, literally deepening feeling or sensibility but here translated as 'enjoy the profound touch of Tea', refers to the idea that, if one is able to bear or to overcome all these difficulties and hardships in everyday life, one shall move toward the profound understanding of the true meaning and the sense of beauty in *chadô*.

In the following example, containing the preface to a Bashô *haiku* poem found in *Bashô Kushû*, the word *wabi* is used in various meanings and combinations.

月をわび、身をわび、拙きをわびて、わぶと答へむとすれど、
問ふ人もなし。なほわびわびて、
侘てすめ月侘齋がなら茶歌⁷⁸⁶

This wistful moon, this miserable body of mine and the poverty of my mind – I would answer I am feeling sad but there is no one to ask me. Falling deeper into melancholy – In this modest dwelling, the moon and the poems are like Nara tea gruel.

In the preface to the poem, the word *wabi* is used in a sense similar to that in earlier classical literature, expressing *wistfulness*, *melancholy*, *loneliness*, and *the feeling of inadequacy*. In the poem, on the other hand, *wabi* is used as a *chadô* related term. The expression *wabitesume* (modest dwelling) refers to the *ascetic form of life or living in insufficiency*, similar to the meaning of *wabi* cited earlier above in Bashô's poem, but also as accepting one's life as such in a positive way. In this poem, Bashô plays with the words by writing that the moon is sad as is the poor man's rice gruel, and in a similar sense, one's poems are poor. The person in the poem seems to be a poor man living in a modest dwelling and having only rice gruel for dinner. One is also living in solitude having no visitors, also referring to a *wabi* style of living or to a *wabi* person. An obvious reference to *chadô* cannot be shown, but it can be interpreted that a modest dwelling and the expression *chauta*, literally 'tea song', meaning rice gruel, can also be taken as a reference to *chadô*.

Before the development of *chadô*, the word *wabi* was used in classical literature and poetry mainly in negative expressions describing grief, sorrow, sadness over something, as well as miserable feelings caused by unsatisfactory circumstances of love affairs: not being loved by someone one adores, being betrayed or

⁷⁸⁶ Bashô Kushû, poem no. 487. In the note to this poem, it says that the foreword, 'This wistful moon, this miserable body of mine and the poverty of my mind – cause feelings of sadness...' can be found in the book called *Ichiyôshû* (1681) and refers to the poem by Ariwara no Yukihira in *Kokinwakashû*, poem no. 962: わくらばに問ふ人あらば須磨の浦にもしほたれつゝわぶとこたへよ。

forgotten. *Wabi* was also used to describe a poor person, a pitiful person, or the feelings and circumstances when one feels like a failure in one's life. *Wabi* expressed melancholy over the circumstances caused by oneself or one's surroundings. It also contained romantic nuances signifying wistful feelings.

The great change in the use of *wabi* in classical literature came through the development of *chadô* and the use of *wabi* in Bashô's poetry. In Bashô's poetry, *wabi* refers to the modest and humble form of life in solitude, such as the ascetic life of Zen monks in their monasteries. For the first time in literature, *wabi* seemed to possess positive values expressing the highest state of mind which is attained through ascetic (spiritual) training. The highest state of mind was explained in this study (see Section 2.3.5) as being a priceless jewel hidden in one's heart referring to the Buddha nature of a man. This idea is equivalent to the idea of the absolute freedom of heart where all acts become natural and one is able to accept all things as such (see sections 2.3.6 and 2.3.7).

Bashô refers to these ideas in his poems, for example, with the images of an enduring, modest life and deepening sensibility to appreciate the true meaning of Tea. In addition to deep philosophical values, *wabi* also expressed aesthetic values. However, this study does not wholly agree with Okazaki's statement that *wabi* expresses "the tragic beauty".⁷⁸⁷ Being tragic refers to a tumult of feelings, such as feelings of sadness, confusion, loss, or even annihilation. As shown in this study (Chapter 2), *wabi* means possession of the *wabi* mind(heart) – the Buddha-mind. This state of mind emerges in the ultimate state, in the absolute freedom of heart, where worldly feelings in any possible form do not exist. Furthermore, this state of mind is also the basis for every form of *wabi* as beauty, and therefore, *wabi* cannot be an expression of "tragic beauty".

In some passages or verses, such as in *Tsurezuregusa* or in *Nanpôroku*, the word *wabi* is not used, but such passages are often given as examples to express aesthetic or philosophical values that the idea of *wabi* is considered to possess in *chadô*. From *Tsurezuregusa* the following passage is given:

Are we to look at cherry blossoms only in full bloom, the moon only when it is cloudless? To long for the moon while looking on the rain, to lower the blinds and be unaware of the passing of the spring – these are even more deeply moving. Branches about to blossom or gardens strewn with faded flowers are worthier of our admiration.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁷ Okazaki 1940, p. 169. See also Engel 1964, pp. 282-283.

⁷⁸⁸ Translation by Donald Keene (1981, p. 115). See also Mummyôsho in NKBT 65, p. 87. Here Kamo no Chômei writes about the beauty of the autumn sky without colours, hearing no voices. A person who is only waiting to see the autumn flowers and crimson leaves does not find this scene interesting. This kind of beauty has to be understood through "ears" of the heart, not only visually.

This passage points out that the moon behind the clouds, cherry blossoms just before full bloom, or afterwards when blossoms scatter away, possess another kind of beauty. The passage does not neglect the value and the beauty of finely finished refined objects which may be skillfully decorated or be gorgeous in colours (the full moon and cherry blossoms in full bloom). This kind of beauty is understood and admired by a large public and their aesthetic values are widely recognised. The statue *David* by Michelangelo, which is almost more beautiful in every sense than any human being can possibly be; or the painting *Mona Lisa* by Leonardo da Vinci with her milk-white, luminous skin and the mysteriously calm smile on her face; or the painting *Maple Tree* by Kanô Eitoku (1543-1590),⁷⁸⁹ being minutely decorated and rich in colours, are all expressions of perfect and beautiful – a beauty without clouds. All of them represent a kind of *hyper-beauty* in their nonworldliness. Kenkô encourages us to seek another kind of beauty, a kind of *indirect beauty* which gives an image of a beautiful object, yet leaving something hidden or suggested but not visible. To see and understand this kind of beauty, the observer must be sensitive and train one's eye to see the beauty in objects that are not generally considered beautiful. This kind of beauty, as well as *wabi* beauty, is always experienced through one's own personal feelings, and therefore, it may convey some strong emotions, such as sorrow, wistfulness, or excitement. It may also contain some mysterious power, enticing the observer into its sphere of influence and making traditionally non-beautiful objects look beautiful. In this sense, beauty is a mystery. It is dependent on the occasion and the place. The rough and unfinished-looking, austere *wabi* style of utensils used in *chadô* or the architecture and materials of Japanese tea-rooms are good examples of this category of beauty. The following citation from *Tsurezuregusa* explains this idea further:

Somebody once remarked that how sad indeed it is that the thin silk of a scroll gets so easily torn! Ton'a replied, "It is only after the silk wrapper has frayed at top and bottom, and the mother-of-pearl has fallen that a scroll looks beautiful." This opinion demonstrated the excellent taste of the man. People often say that a set of books looks uncharming if all volumes are not in the same format, but I was impressed to hear the Abbot Kôyû say, "It is typical of the unintelligent man to insist on assembling complete sets of everything. Imperfect sets are more attractive." In everything, no matter what it may be, uniformity is undesirable. Leaving something incomplete makes it interesting, and gives one a feeling that there is room for growth.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁹ See picture in Mason 1993, pp. 258-259.

⁷⁹⁰ Tsurezuregusa, p. 143. Based on Donald Keene's translation, *Essays in Idleness: The Tsurezuregusa of Kenkô* 1981, p. 70. In the original text it says: 「羅の表紙は、疾く損ずるがわびしき」と人の言ひしに。Keene has translated the word *wabishiki* as "not satisfactory" which emphasises the feeling of disagreement more than the feeling of sadness one's unsatisfactory behaviour causes. See also Saito 1997, pp. 377-383; Tsutsui 1969, p. 20. Both citations given here from *Tsurezuregusa* are also mentioned by Saito in her article, even

In this citation, the word *wabi* is used as an adjective *wabishiki* (わびしき), which I would translate as 'pitiful' or 'sad', emphasising the feeling of sorrow or regret because the silk of the scroll becomes so easily worn out and damaged. Kenkô disagrees with this line of thinking and shows that sometimes objects which are worn out or damaged may contain even higher aesthetic values than new and perfect objects. In this citation, Kenkô praises the beauty of aged objects and the patina they possess, which I referred to as an 'indirect' beauty above. For Kenkô this represents excellent taste. The indirect beauty in the worn-out scroll lies in the awareness that this item was a masterpiece, but with the passage of time its beauty has changed, and has become more profound, more mature. They possess another kind of beauty which it is not possible to find in a fresh new object. Beauty does not vanish – it only changes its form. It has several forms: sometimes it can be rough, having a strong spirit of austerity or rusticity, or it may convey contrasting qualities, such as beauty and ugliness, small and massive, and each of these are expressions of a special kind of beauty.⁷⁹¹

The above-cited passage from *Tsurezuregusa* also points out the aesthetics of incomplete sets or odd numbers, which is still strong in modern Japanese society where the number of a 'set' is five,⁷⁹² whereas in Western countries it is always an even number (4, 6, 8, 10, etc.). On the other hand, 'a set' in Western countries means that one has, for example, six similar coffee cups while a Japanese person would choose more likely a set of five different kinds of cups. In *chadô*, an ability to combine various kinds of tea utensils with good taste is a highly admired skill because in Tea, sets are not preferred in all items used (see sections 3.1.1 and 4.2.1). This may also have a connection to the idea of *suki* (数奇) in *chadô* (see Section 4.2.1.3), describing extraordinary and new utensils the Great Tea Masters

though she does not mention the word *wabi* but uses these citations to describe the aesthetics of imperfection and insufficiency. Since in previous studies in the field, the word *wabi* is often translated as "irregular", "rough", or "imperfect" beauty such as in Yanagi's study (1989) or in Haga's study (1982), and based on the sources used in this study, as well as citations Saito also uses in her article, I presume that she discusses the beauty of *wabi* in *chadô*. To describe the beauty of *wabi*, Tsutsui also cites both citations from *Tsurezuregusa* given here.

⁷⁹¹ Compare this to Zeami's ideas in *Fûshikaden*, "Items concerning the practice of the *Nô* in relation to the age of the actor", illustrating that every age has its own personal beauty, "a flower", to flourish. One of his central ideas is that the flower blooms in one's imagination. Compare this also to Zeami's work, *Kyûi*, in which he poetically describes stages of beauty in one's performance from peerless charm to the art of broad mastery, and to the way of crudeness and leadenness. See more details in Rimer and Yamazaki 1984, pp. 4-9, 29-31, 120-122.

⁷⁹² Historically the number five was also used, e.g., in the *goningunmi*: In 1597 Toyotomi Hideyoshi established a 'Five-man-group' system consisting of five households of *samurai* to preserve order in towns and in the country. This system became more popular under the *Tokugawa* period in Edo. For details, see Sansom 1961, p. 338.

favoured and started to use as their favoured utensils. The word *suki*, when turned around, reads *kisû* (奇数), 'an odd number'.⁷⁹³ The use of odd numbers in Tea also conveys the idea that 'the incomplete is more interesting' as already stated by Kenkô. Another kind of 'incompleteness' can be found in the asymmetrical forms of the *wabi* style of tea utensils which are mostly rough and have an unrefined or unfinished sense in their appearance (see Chapter 4). All of these qualities, being aged, rough or having a lack of uniformity, completeness, or perfection make the piece more interesting because it stimulates one's imagination. After one has attained the higher state of mind, one does not consider complete-incomplete, perfect-imperfect as opposite terms, but realises that in true beauty they both exist and if not, the result is uninteresting and insignificant.⁷⁹⁴

Why was *wabi* chosen to describe specific kinds of aesthetic and philosophical values in *chadô*, but not *sabi*? They are closely related terms, as recognised by other researchers, such as Okazaki (see sections 5.1.1 and 1.4.1). One answer for the development of the use *wabi* in *chadô* might be in the slightly different uses of these two terms, *wabi* and *sabi*: *Wabi* and *sabi* possess similar meanings such as sadness, poverty and loneliness. *Wabi* also expresses the severity of living in poverty or in solitude which was seen as one's destiny, and one did not struggle against it, but rather accepted the straitened circumstances as such (see Sections 5.1.2, as well as 2.3.1, 2.3.5, and 2.3.6). This leads to the Buddhist idea of living in insufficiency in order to attain the highest state of mind, the Buddha-mind, and therefore, as a term of *chadô*, *wabi* is closely related to Zen and other Buddhist ideas.

One may argue that *sabi* also has philosophical values based on Buddhist ideas such as tranquillity, *jaku*, which is another reading for *sabi* if it is written with the Chinese character (寂). This character, *sabi*, refers to the death (*nehan*), quietness, and liberation from earthly passions and is very similar to the meaning of *wabi* as a philosophical concept as it is understood in *chadô* in this study (Chapter 2). Nevertheless, the meaning of the word *sabi* does not differ so much whether it is written with the Chinese characters 寂 or 淋, or with *hiragana* as さび. Preferring the writing 寂 (*sabi*) and emphasising its Buddhist connotations sometimes seems to be more a stylistic than a philosophical matter. In describing aesthetic values, these two terms also are connected to each other. *Sabi* is used as a synonym for *hiesabi* or *hie* (chill) as an aesthetic expression in feeling and in style, which is also one expression of *wabi* as an aesthetic concept (see sections 3.1.1 and 6.2.3).

⁷⁹³ Mentioned also by Kumakura 1987, pp. 161-162.

⁷⁹⁴ A similar idea is given in Zeami's *Kyûi*, "the way of crudeness and leadenness" in Rimer and Yamazaki 1984, p. 122.

Wabi, however, is used with much wider connotations than the term *sabi*, both philosophically (see Chapter 2) and aesthetically (chapters 4 and 6). *Wabi* can be used in explaining various kinds of aesthetic expressions, forms, appearances and styles (*fûtei*) of Tea which are born naturally, if and only if, they are born through the *wabi* mind(heart) (see Chapter 6). The importance of *kokoro*, mind(heart) is understood through realisation that the word *sabi* is not used in classical poetry and literature to describe a person as *wabibito*, a poor person who leads one's life like a hermit, which is a very typical use of *wabi*. Therefore, *wabi* is more closely related to personal experiences through one's heart. If the *wabi* heart does not exist in these expressions of beauty, they are not the expressions of *wabi* examined in this study, but are just expressions of simple poverty.

5.2. ANALYSIS OF POEMS: THE STUDY OF METAPHORS IN "MIWATASEBA..." AND "HANA WO NOMI..."

In *Nanpôroku's Oboegaki*, the poems by Fujiwara Teika and Ietaka are given to illustrate the sense of *wabi* of the Great Tea Masters Jô-ô and Rikyû. The word *wabi* is not mentioned in either of these poems, but in *Nanpôroku* it is said that these poems best represent the spirit of *wabi* in their *chanoyu*. Next, their hidden meanings are explained through metaphors and these poems are interpreted in order to explain the differences between Jô-ô and Rikyû and their philosophical and aesthetic ideas in *wabichadô*.

According to *Nanpôroku*, the following poem by Teika is said in to illustrate Jô-ô's sense of *wabi* in Tea:

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

And the following poem by Ietaka is said to represent Rikyû's idea of *wabi* in *chadô*:

花をのみ	For those waiting only for cherry blossoms,
待らん人に	I wish to show
山ざとの	early green of the spring
雪間の草の	stretching through snow
春を見せばや ⁷⁹⁵	in a faraway mountain village.

⁷⁹⁵ Nanpôroku, p. 16.

The metaphors of Teika's poem have been considered earlier in this study (see sections 2.3.6 and 4.2.3), but its meaning will be studied here in more detail in order to attain a deeper understanding of it in comparison with Ietaka's poem. *Nanpôroku*⁷⁹⁶ says that these two poems convey the idea of the true nature of Tea, and Nanpô Sôkei (the author of the book) explains the metaphors of these poems in the following manner: The flowers and crimson leaves refer to the *shoin daisu* formal style of Tea. After one has carefully concentrated on these flowers and crimson leaves (*shoin daisu* style of Tea), one will attain the state of 'not-a-single-thing', which in Teika's poem means 'a thatched hut at the seashore'. Those who do not know 'the flowers and the crimson' leaves cannot start living in 'a thatched hut', but after looking at them time after time, one is able to choose to live in the lonely and modest hut at the seashore. Thereafter, the true spirit of Tea arises.

Concerning Ietaka's poem, *Nanpôroku*⁷⁹⁷ says that those who wait impatiently from morning to evening, expecting the flowers of the mountains and far-away villages to burst into full bloom do not understand that the flowers (and the 'crimson leaves') exist already in our hearts. These persons are only able to enjoy the colours they see with their own eyes. Both the 'faraway mountain village' and the 'thatched hut at the seashore' refer to the modest dwelling in solitude and to the ultimate state of absolute freedom in one's heart (see Chapter 2 and especially sections 2.3.6 and 2.3.7). When spring has passed, and autumn, too, the flowers and the crimson leaves will finally be covered with snow and 'the far away mountain village' will become a place of 'not-a-single-thing', signifying a humble place in solitude similar to the 'thatched hut at the seashore'. Furthermore, as explained earlier in this study (see Section 2.3.7), in the state of 'not-a-single-thing', all acts (behaviour) expressing spontaneous (unpretended) feelings arise naturally here and there. The landscape which is covered with a blanket of snow during the winter is renewed with energy when beautiful spring weather comes and the first green of spring pushes through here and there from beneath the snow. So, in this way, nature is 're-born' again every spring naturally without any artificial aids.

The metaphors of 'flowers and crimson leaves' and 'the autumn evening' in the poem "*miwataseba...*", are supposed to convey the sense of luxury and the sense of chill calmness in Jô-ô's Tea. Moreover, 'the thatched hut at the seashore' is an allegory of an austere sense of *wabi* Jô-ô wished to reach in the end. Jô-ô based the studies of Tea on knowledge of the formal style of preparing Tea (*shôfûtei*) and on his careful examination of old masterpieces ('flowers and crimson leaves'). Knowing the old is considered to be an important step of preparatory studies in order to understand the true meaning, the essence, of the *wabi*

⁷⁹⁶ Nanpôroku, p. 16. See also Hirota 1995, pp. 233-235, and his translation of the cited excerpt from *Nanpôroku*.

⁷⁹⁷ Nanpôroku, p. 17.

style of Tea: the humble and modest Tea of 'the thatched hut' (or 'far-away mountain village'). This also contains an allusion to Zen by saying that 'the thatched hut at the seashore' and 'the far-away mountain village' come to mean the ultimate state of 'not-a-single-thing', i.e., the site of the enlightenment. Jô-ô taught the same with the saying that 'first and foremost, the devotee of Tea must possess the mind of seclusion...' (see Section 3.1.3.4). Jô-ô's style of Tea moved from the formal *shoin* style of Tea (*shôfûtei*) toward the more modest *wabi* style of Tea (*urano-tomaya*), and in order to understand the beauty of *wabi* one must possess the mind of seclusion and attempt to reach the state of absolute freedom of heart from earthly desires to attain the pure world of the Buddha.

Concerning the tea utensils, Jô-ô emphasised the importance of studying the old masterpieces and understanding their beauty to be able to understand the beauty of *wabi* in utensils. Studying the old masterpieces also means training one's eye to be able to distinguish good utensils from bad and to choose new utensils to be used in Tea. This is called the skilled eye (see Section 3.1.3.2) and thereafter, one is ready to create something new and interesting in Tea. Even though Jô-ô created many new and interesting items to be used in Tea, such as Japanese ceramics, bamboo ware, and some everyday utensils that he adapted to be used in *chadô* instead of the old, famous Chinese utensils (see Section 4.3), the focus of his Tea still reflected his great respect and study of the Old Great Masters, as well as respectful use of the great famed utensils. This made his Tea stable by nature and caused a lack of vigour, energy and vitality, the great change, because he could not set himself free from the old masters and their teachings. In the poem, the sense of stability was suggested in the image of the autumn evening when the flowers and crimson leaves have been scattered away. On the contrary, Jô-ô wished to reach the ultimate state of chill, lean, and withered toward which his Tea was moving, however, this ultimate state was not completely attained.

Jô-ô's sense of Tea moved in a straight line from point A to B, from *shoin* to *wabi* style, from the use of famous Chinese utensils to the rough Japanese ceramics and other simple, rustic utensils. His Tea was calm and stable like the autumn moon and the thatched hut at the seashore. On the other hand, there is luxury and abundance, 'the flowers and the crimson leaves', and the negation of it, the poverty and simplicity, 'the thatched hut'. The negation of the flowers and crimson leaves does not mean that they have not existed. In the poem, the image of the flowers and crimson leaves remains very strong even though they are not mentioned again in the last two lines of the poem, which conveys an image of the thatched hut at the seashore. The use of negation in the poem makes Jô-ô's sense of beauty seem so traditionally Japanese: it resembles the feeling and atmosphere of the *Nô* theatre where the beautifully decorated brocade costumes are used in the dim light emphasising the admiration of the beauty of darkness or the praise of shadows,

such as the description in Tanizaki Junichirō's book, *In'ei Raisan*, of the beauty of *yōkan* on a black lacquer tray.⁷⁹⁸ The beauty of the darkness in Japanese tea-rooms or in temple architecture is calculated, as they are built so that the rays of the sun never reach the inside of the building (heavy roof and *shōji* papers covering the windows). However, in Jō-ō's sense of beauty there exists richness in darkness; the richness of colours and forms of the various 'flowers and autumn leaves'. Even though they are not seen clearly in the twilight, all this luxury exists in the darkness. The darkness also softens and simplifies the aggressive power of the luxury of rich colours and various forms, diminishing any sharpness and making them calm and tranquil – laying them in shadows.

The beauty of darkness or the praise of shadows is connected to the idea of chill, which conveys the ideas of calmness and silence, such as in *Nō* theatre where the actors move silently, controlling carefully every part of the body on stage, and the chorus singing reminds one more of chanting monks.⁷⁹⁹ Chill refers to the autumn and to the shadows. Darkness is also 'cold' or 'chill' as it is chill inside the tea-room before the fire is made to boil the water, just a few moments before the guests enter the tea-room. Concerning the morning and the noon gatherings, it is always surprising how violently light strikes the eye when one leaves the tea-room. The evening or midnight gatherings are made for praising the full moon or the first snow in the winter, and on these occasions the tea-room is even darker than otherwise. The idea of 'chill' in Jō-ō's Tea may also refer to the formality, to the formal style of Tea or the admiration of the old masterpieces that are rather distant, too. It may refer to 'withering', to the end, the death of nature and through this the ultimate state of chill, lean and withered, which was also the goal of his Tea (see Section 3.1.2). Jō-ō's idea of chill conveys the idea of shadows and dimness as well, such as the expression of 'the dusk of the autumn evening' used in Teika's poem, which seemed to fascinate him.

Rikyū's sense of *wabi*, which was explained through Ietaka's poem (*hana wo nomi...*) was very different from Jō-ō's. Rikyū also recognised luxurious beauty, i.e., beauty of 'the flowers', such as the cherry blossoms in full bloom, but his sense of luxury differed from that of Jō-ō. Rikyū accepted that there exist those who only wait to see the cherry blossoms in full bloom, the full moon, or the beautiful autumn colours just when they are at their best. He did not wholly deny their beauty but he discovered something even more beautiful, something that is not recognised by everyone. There were those who only admired the cherry blossoms in full bloom or, in *chadō*, those who only admired the great and famous

⁷⁹⁸ Tanizaki 1975, pp. 23-24.

⁷⁹⁹ Tanizaki 1975, pp. 32-36. Tanizaki praises the beauty of *Nō* theatre; the sense of calmness, the mystery of darkness which brings the best out of dull-lustre brocade costumes. This is only possible in the old style of dark, dim *Nō* theatres.

utensils. This is a kind of beauty that is easy for everyone to see and to understand because this beauty was praised so much (flowers and crimson leaves). For those, especially, Rikyû wished to show the early green of the spring in 'a far-away mountain village', i.e., the sense of modesty in luxury. In Ietaka's poem describing Rikyû's sense of *wabi*, 'the far-away mountain village', i.e., the ultimate state of 'not-a-single-thing', are synonymous with the 'thatched hut at the seashore' in Teika's poem describing Jô-ô's sense of beauty in *chadô*. However, this is the point where Jô-ô's idea of *wabi* in *chadô* reached its highest state, Rikyû's sense of *wabi* continued even beyond this state, all the way to the state of 'early green of the spring, stretching through snow', referring to the ultimate state of chill, lean and withered, which Jô-ô also wished to reach in his Tea.

Rikyû's sense of beauty in Tea was more ascetic in comparison to Jô-ô's Tea ('the early green of the spring stretching through the snow'). Rikyû went beyond the ultimate state of 'not-a-single-thing' in order to show minimalist beauty, or the "beauty of revival" as Kurasawa⁸⁰⁰ puts it. Kurasawa has found quite a suitable phrase to describe Rikyû's sense of beauty in Tea. It may be called a beauty of revival because in Rikyû's sense of beauty, the full bloom of cherry blossoms is over, the summer has passed, and the autumn, too. Faintly, the leaves of the tree have withered away and the branches have become lean. Finally, after the winter, the early-spring comes as it always does and makes nature bloom again. In this sense the spring conveys the idea of the revival of nature. This turning point from winter to early winter-spring, is the focus of Rikyû's sense of beauty. Even though it may be called a revival of nature, it does not refer to nature in full bloom, such as the cherry blossoms or the new green on the mountains in May, it is more ascetic, more minimalist and more suggestive. He wanted the observer to look at the first, tender green plant, this small and single sprout that has found its way through the snow. In a way this could be called a revival of luxurious beauty, but it is still not the same kind as Jô-ô's luxury in Tea. Jô-ô's luxury, being like 'flowers and crimson leaves' or 'cherry blossoms in full bloom', was rich and famous, such as the rare Chinese scrolls or the celadon and old bronze utensils. However, there exists no record that Jô-ô's famed utensils would have been multi-coloured, such as the porcelain of the Ming and Southern Song Dynasties in China, which was also admired in Japan during Jô-ô's times, and therefore, it may be assumed that Jô-ô had recognised their beauty. Jô-ô's luxury lay in the noble grace of the utensils and is described using negative expressions. Rikyû's luxury was more direct, more active and more visible, such as Ming dynasty *sometsuke* (blue and white) tea bowls, *tenmoku* tea bowls and the carved red lacquer stands (for *tenmoku* tea bowls) and trays.⁸⁰¹ These items were the opposite of his black

⁸⁰⁰ Kurasawa 1996, p. 38. For more details, see *ibid.*, pp. 36-39. See also Section 1.3 in this study.

Raku tea bowl, which exemplified Rikyû's sense of *wabi*, as being more modest and austere than Jô-ô's.

These two poems also show the difference in the notion of naturalness⁸⁰² between Jô-ô and Rikyû. For Jô-ô naturalness consisted both of luxury and modesty, but it was born through the negation of luxury. The existence of luxury is not denied, but rather the conventional form of how we conceive it, such as flowers in full bloom or colourful autumn leaves. In Jô-ô's sense of naturalness, both of these existed but the appreciation of dim calmness diminished the sharpness of the luxurious objects as well as the contrast between luxury and roughness (a humble hut at the seashore) in his Tea. Rikyû's sense of naturalness, according to Ietaka's poems, suggests more the freedom for naturalness without negation. It is more like reduced luxury, and therefore, the focus of his preference for the natural was in the sense of subtle modesty, or minimalism in luxury.

The idea of quietness or tranquillity is present in both of these poems but in different ways: Jô-ô emphasised the meaning of shadows and darkness combined with the idea of chill calmness. Rikyû's beauty was subtle in its minimalist and ascetic nuances, even though it conveyed the idea of light that did not exist in Jô-ô's beauty. Rikyû's focus was in the spring that suggests the light, energy, vitality, continuity, revival of nature and reduced luxury in beauty. All of these convey the strong images of activity and austerity, whereas Jô-ô's sense of beauty was described through the image of autumn, which is more stable and emphasised the feeling of an end. Jô-ô's calmness was chill, Rikyû's was cold and austere. Moreover, Jô-ô's sense of *wabi* beauty was tranquil and introspective whereas Rikyû's sense of *wabi* was more lively and extroverted. Despite all the energy and liveliness that spring represents, Rikyû's spring was tranquil in a different way: it was ascetic, definitely modest, and as delicate as the first touch of green beneath the snow.

In *chadô*, the differences in the idea of calmness and tranquillity are best illustrated by the use of tea utensils of these two Tea masters. In Jô-ô's Tea, the sense of chillness was suggested in his use of the famous Chinese pieces which are gracefully noble and distant, such as the use of Chinese celadon. The idea of calmness and the ultimate state of 'not-a-single-thing' (*urano tomaya*) is empha-

⁸⁰¹ Sullivan 1984, pp. 175-178, on the porcelain and lacquer ware of the Southern Song dynasty; *ibid.*, pp. 214-222, on the Ming dynasty. See pictures in Chanoyu no Utsuwa, pp. 18, 38, 47, 99, 84, as well as pp. 88-89, 109, 128, 120, 141, and p. 124; in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, pp. 39, 69, 71, 138-139; or Tôjiki, pp. 162-174, 204-272. *Tôjiki* contains also pictures on Yuan and Northern Song dynasty porcelain (see Sullivan 1984, pp. 172-175, 195-197).

⁸⁰² About Jô-ô's idea of naturalness, see sections 3.1.3.3 and 3.1.3.5. About Rikyû's idea of naturalness, see Section 3.2.3. On the general idea of naturalness, see Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy, s.v. *Neo-Taoism* and *Juan Chi*.

sised by the use of rough Japanese style ceramics and everyday utensils. Moreover, in the humble surroundings, meaning a small, dim tea-room with dark walls and paper-covered windows, simple and rough Japanese style ceramics, and even luxurious utensils will look calm and modest. Jô-ô also brought out the sense of chill calmness by favouring darkness more than light. For this reason, he set his tea-room facing to the north (windows facing to the north), whereas Rikyû built his tea-rooms facing to the south.⁸⁰³ Rikyû's chill calmness was the opposite; it refers to ascetic simplicity (first green beneath the snow) and the ultimate austerity in surroundings (mountain hut and his one-and-a-half-mat tea-room).

The utensils Rikyû favoured also expressed the feeling of 'early spring': they were small and delicate. Some famous Chinese utensils he used possessed a modest and calm feeling and did not demand attention. Some of them were even so ordinary looking that an inexperienced guest who did not know their origins and history, would not, perhaps, recognise them as being famed utensils. Rikyû preferred dark colours, so-called earth-colours, in his tea utensils, tea-rooms and cloths. These utensils possessed the feeling of silence, such as Rikyû's *shirifukura chaire*, a tea-caddy for thick tea.⁸⁰⁴ Concerning the utensils, the sense of the 'early green of the spring' was not in the light, as may be assumed. Instead, it existed in the idea of minimalism in his Tea, such as the frequent use of small Chinese thick-tea containers called Rikyû *Shiribukura* or *karamono nasu chaire* called *Mossô*⁸⁰⁵ rather than in any sense of luxury in his Tea. Successfully chosen famed utensils were modest in appearance and he combined them tastefully with Japanese style ceramics. According to Rikyû's tea gatherings (4.4.2), during his sixties Rikyû used many famed Chinese utensils, which suggests the revival of the use of luxurious tea utensils, but Rikyû's luxury was a different kind from Jô-ô's. If Jô-ô's utensils were delicate and subtle, Rikyû's utensils also had these qualities, but they conveyed a sense of energy, vitality and power, such as in the black *Raku* style of tea bowl called *kamuro*, which was said to be one of his most cherished utensils.⁸⁰⁶

The idea of learning *chadô* is also to be read from these two poems. Jô-ô emphasised learning from the old, great masters ('flowers and crimson leaves'), and thereafter would emerge an ability to be able to create something new and interesting in one's Tea ('thatched hut at the seashore'). Jô-ô emphasised learning

⁸⁰³ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 100. Notice the similarity with the story that Buddha's head pointed to the north when he died. Jô-ô who had studied Zen, was presumably aware of this connection. See also Sen 1998, pp. 168-169. Sen writes that, even though Rikyû's tea-room faced south, he planted trees and shrubs outside making the tea-room isolated from the light. With this act Rikyû hoped to intensify the spirit of *wabi*.

⁸⁰⁴ *Shirifukura*: See picture in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 107.

⁸⁰⁵ See pictures in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, pp. 106-107.

⁸⁰⁶ *Kamuro*: See picture in Sen no Rikyû – The 400th Memorial, p. 151.

'the proper style' (*shōfūtei*) which he considered to be the basis for the studies of *chadō* and for art in general (see Section 3.1.2). Rikyū turned around Jō-ō's idea of learning: He recognised that studying old masters or old masterpieces was essential for Tea studies, but considered the beauty of famed and luxurious utensils was difficult to understand for beginners, who easily admire things that are appreciated by others without contemplating carefully what is truly beautiful in them. Therefore, Rikyū suggested that one should start the studies of Tea from 'the mountain village', referring to the *wabi* style of Tea, and little by little to move toward the studies of the formal *shoin* style of Tea. After mastering these two styles, it becomes possible to reach the ultimate state of chill, lean and withered (early green of the spring), and moreover to understand the true beauty of luxurious utensils (flowers). Only then would one be able to understand the beauty of the objects themselves, not because they are luxurious or appreciated by others, but because they are beautiful in their decoration and rich colours, and admirable because they are skillfully made. This is like a new revival of the use of luxurious utensils.

The concept of a revival in Rikyū's idea of learning is connected to the idea of absolute freedom from the old masters and their teachings leading to a true understanding of both austere and refined beauty. Being revived means that something must have come to 'an end', must have 'died'. In a similar sense, Rikyū states in his death poems the necessity to kill 'the Buddha and the Patriarchs' (see Section 3.2.4) in order to attain absolute freedom of mind. Thereafter, the Buddha nature arises in the essence of Tea, and the true beauty in *chadō* emerges. It provides the chance for change – the state where something new will be born naturally.⁸⁰⁷ This leads to the *Ten Oxherding Pictures* (see sections 2.3.6, 3.1.3, and 3.2.4) which teach us that learning is like a circle that needs to be passed around. The eighth picture of the *Ten Oxherding Pictures* describes an empty circle, which is an allegory of the state of no-mindness.⁸⁰⁸ In the learning process it describes a big change in the studies: Passing through the circle of learning one returns to the starting point and enters once again the circle of training but this time with an enlightened heart. Outwardly, everything looks as it has always been,

⁸⁰⁷ Sen 1998, p. 164. According to Sen, these two poems signify the difference between the mood of late autumn to early winter. For Jō-ō the thatched hut at the seashore referred to "the realm of emptiness" while Rikyū's mountain village did not; for it had its "grass of spring in the snow".

⁸⁰⁸ Hirota 1995, pp. 334-338. According to Hirota, an empty circle is used to symbolise the state of "not-a-single-thing" or "vast emptiness". It is an expression of Zen to point to the Buddha nature or true reality instead of using words. Hirota writes: "The empty circle, in its negation of all that we cling to, is also the realm of things as they are, where there is nothing lacking, nothing superfluous. There is not a single thing, and at the same time, heaven and earth, the whole universe, is boundlessly full. Thus, there is no need for inscription to go along with the circle, and any inscription is appropriate".

but deep inside one's heart has changed. Just as in the two poems we have discussed, the spring comes again; now the focus is not on the cherry blossoms in full bloom, but on the single delicate green plant beneath the snow. This is, of course, a matter of appearance but more than that it emphasises the inner spirit that causes the change in the mind of the observer and in the feeling of an object. Through this experience, learning will change from self-benefit into benefiting others and Rikyû did, indeed, work hard to make the practice of Tea possible for ordinary people, not only for the upper class.

A similar conclusion on the senses of Tea of the Great Tea Masters can be reached through the following passage found in *Yamanoue Sôjiki*:

紹鷗ハ五十四ニテ遠行、茶湯ハ正風体盛リニ死去也、物ニタトヘハ、
吉野ノ花盛ヲ過テ、夏モ過、秋ノ月、紅葉ニ似リ、引拙ハ十月雨此ノ
木葉乱ルハニ似リ、七十にて死去、珠光ハ八十二テ逝去ス、雪ノ山カ、…
宗易茶湯モ早冬木也、平人ハ無用也⁸⁰⁹

Jô-ô passed away at the age of fifty-four when the proper style (*shôfûtei*) was flourishing in his *chanoyu*. Concrete examples of this [*shôfûtei*] are when the full bloom of the cherry blossoms in Yoshino has passed, and when the summer has passed, too. It resembles the image of the autumn moon and crimson leaves. Insetsu's *chanoyu* is like the falling leaves in the drifting showers. He died at the age of seventy. Shukô passed away at the age of eighty and his Tea was, perhaps, like the snowy mountains... Sôeki's *chanoyu* was already like the trees in the winter. Beginners should not practise it.

This passage cited from *Yamanoue Sôjiki* contains similar information on the Great Tea Masters as discussed earlier above based on the poems by Teika and Ietaka. In the passage above, too, Jô-ô's Tea is described as being luxurious, and yet containing the sense of chill darkness. Secondly, Insetsu's⁸¹⁰ *chanoyu* is described as being one step advanced toward the style of chill, lean and withered, resembling almost bare branches of trees in the early winter showers, which bear the poetic name *shigure*. These drifting showers usually occur in the tenth month (in the modern calendar, November) which was also described as a *wabi* month in *Jô-ô Wabi no Fumi* (Section 2.3.4). This gives a deeper image of chill and withered toward the state of lean, but it should be kept in mind that Insetsu lived nearly twenty years longer than Jô-ô, and therefore, his style of Tea had enough time to develop toward the desired state. Shukô, who passed away at the age of eighty, had already attained the state of chill, lean and withered even though he lived before Jô-ô and Insetsu, and his Tea was said to be like the mountains covered with snow. Everything is withered because of the winter, and winter suggests the sense of chill, the ultimate leanness with the image of distant snowy

⁸⁰⁹ Yamanoue Sôjiki, pp. 99-100.

⁸¹⁰ Kadokawa Chadô Daijiten, s.v. *Insetsu*. Tea master Tori Insetsu lived during the *Higashiyama* period and was, presumably, one of Shukô's contemporaries. According to the classics, he owned many famed utensils.

mountains. In midwinter when the bare and lean trees stretch their branches toward the sky, the image is austere and strong, like the brush strokes of Sesshū (1420-1506)⁸¹¹ in his ink painting called *Winter*.

*Chakimeibutsushū*⁸¹² differs concerning the cited passage from *Yamanoue Sōjiki*. There, Shukō's Tea is described being as being like 'the winter trees in the last month of the year in the distant mountains' (…極月冬木ノ雪ノ遠山…). The sense of ascetic austerity is even more strongly emphasised than in the previous description of Insetu's Tea. Also, Shukō's sense of Tea, being like a snowy mountain, is not questioned as it was in the citation from *Yamanoue Sōjiki*. Rikyū's *chanoyu* is said to resemble Shukō's Tea, being like the trees in early winter. Since it is said that it was already like the trees in the winter points to the fact that Rikyū was still living when this book was written (*Tenshō* sixteenth year, 1588) and suggests that we do not know where and with what kind of Tea he will conclude his years. In other words, Rikyū's Tea was the most advanced in the ascetic and austere *wabi* style to which the Tea masters aspired.

It is noteworthy in this cited passage that Shukō is claimed to have reached the ultimate state in Tea, as Rikyū also did later. However, this study emphasises Shukō's importance as a founder of Tea (*chadō*) who had a great influence on the philosophy of Tea. Concerning the aesthetics of Tea, the focus is on Jō-ō who created many new and interesting utensils to be used in Tea, such as Japanese ceramics, bamboo lid-rests and a wooden well-bucket to be used as the fresh-water container. However, the outer appearance of Shukō's Tea is still quite unknown. *Yamanoue Sōjiki* mentions sixteen items that are said to have been owned by Shukō, among them the large tea jar called *Shōka*, a tea-caddy for thick tea called *Akita chaire*, and Shukō's ash-green celadon tea bowl, as well as his *haigatsuki* (ash-covered) *tenmoku* tea bowl which exists even today.⁸¹³

In this passage cited from *Yamanoue Sōjiki*, it is suggested that Shukō's tea is like 'the trees on the snowy mountains in the last month of the year', coming closer to the description of the sense of Rikyū's Tea, which is described as being like 'trees in the winter'.⁸¹⁴ They both create an image of cold and lean branches of

⁸¹¹ Yoshino and Nakashima 1994, pp. 27-28. See the picture of Sesshū's landscape in winter there.

⁸¹² *Chakimeibutsushū*, p. 500. In this text, the word *gokugetsu* (極月), meaning December, is actually written as *gokume* (極目), but this is most probably a writing mistake. In Fushinan *Yamanoue Sōjiki* (p. 26), Chinese characters 極月 are used. *Sonkeikaku*'s version reads this passage quite similarly to CKZ.

⁸¹³ See pictures in *Yamanoue Sōjiki* exhibition catalogue, pp. 40, 78, and Sen no Rikyū, *The 400th Memorial*, p. 39. For more details about the nature of Shukō's Tea, see Horikuchi 1951, pp. 106-136.

⁸¹⁴ In previous studies, such as Mizuo 1971, the *Higashiyama* style of Tea is considered to be formal in style, Shukō's Tea "semi-formal" and Jō-ō's Tea already modest *wabi* style. Or, like Horikuchi (1951) who already classifies Shukō's Tea as belonging to the *wabi* style of

a tree in white snowy mountains. The feeling is austere and plain; however, the difference lies in the season: Shukô's season is winter, the last month of the year, which is cold, dark, ascetic and merciless in far away mountains. It is like the two poles of black and white without shades of grey, such as his saying 'it is appropriate to tie a praised horse to the thatched hut'.⁸¹⁵ But Rikyû's season is late winter, a step toward the spring, and even though it conveys similar ideas to Shukô's Tea, it has an energy and vitality, which Shukô lacks. It touches on the revival of nature, the delicate and subtle element (new green) which softens the austere picture of snowy mountains. This is missing in Shukô's sense of Tea. Shukô's and Rikyû's senses of *chadô* were also alike in their idea of emphasising the beauty of one single object. For Shukô this meant the beauty of contrastive elements, while for Rikyû it was a minimalist beauty or the suggestive beauty of rare utensils.

Shukô's sense of *wabi* is based on the realisation of the contrast between elements, Jô-ô's on negative expressions, and Rikyû's on the idea of absolute freedom from both of these. However, Shukô's and Rikyû's senses of Tea also have similarities: They both possess the feeling of something special, something vital being used in a rough and rustic setting, such as a beautiful horse beside a humble thatched hut, or a first shoot of green in the middle of the snowy mountains. At first glance, they both look like they do not belong to 'the thatched hut' or to 'the snowy mountains', that they are there by accident. But on the other hand, a thatched hut does not diminish the beauty of a praised horse, nor does austere and snowy nature detract from the beauty of the first flower, because they are beautiful as they are. The beauty is in the object and sometimes contrasting elements in the surroundings may strengthen its beauty, as is found in these examples.

In Tea, the idea of minimalist beauty, emphasising the beauty of one single object, or the idea of contrastive elements are shown in Rikyû's use of famed Chinese utensils. He seems to prefer only a few famous utensils, using them together with rough and simple Japanese utensils, which strengthens the delicate and subtle beauty of a famous object. The famed Chinese utensils were like the stars of the gatherings. However, Rikyû also arranged luxurious gatherings using a

Tea. Opposed to these, this study considers that the idea of *wabi* has developed from formal to informal style, from *shoin* to *wabi* style, and this transformation has happened gradually from Shukô to Jô-ô and finally to Rikyû. However, it is not claimed here that Shukô's Tea did not have rustic elements in its times, but raises a question: can Shukô be called a founder of *wabi chanoyu*, or just a founder of *chanoyu*? In this study, Shukô is considered to be, most of all, the founder of Tea as a Way. It seems more like Kazue puts it, that Shukô opened the Way to the *wabi* style of Tea (Kazue 1985, p. 94).

⁸¹⁵ Yamanoue Sôjiki, p. 101. See also Karaki 1989, p. 25. Karaki claims that 'the praised horse' refers to Shukô himself and 'the thatched hut' to the humble dwelling where this person with the beautiful appearance lives. For him, living in the humble dwelling seems to be like a play for the wealthy Tea masters.

shoin style of tea-room and bronze utensils with a formal feeling (see Section 4.4.2), which according to him, could be done after mastering the rough and simple *wabi* style of Tea (see earlier in this section about the studying process). The difference between Shukô and Rikyû is that Shukô's 'praised horse' suggests the contrast of the luxurious and rough utensils used together in the dark-dim modest tea-room, while Rikyû's 'early green of the spring' points to the use of a few small and modest famed utensils which Rikyû chose for his *chadô*. However, without Jô-ô, and later on without the influence of Rikyû, too, so many different forms of *wabi* beauty (Chapter 6) would not, perhaps, have been discovered and the sense of *wabi* beauty may have remained as an expression of the cold and austere style in Tea.

By comparing these two poems by Teika and Ietaka, the differences in Jô-ô's and Rikyû's Tea, in its aesthetic values and in its learning process have been demonstrated. Jô-ô's Tea was more luxurious, more classical Japanese in its formality and inwardness, whereas Rikyû's Tea was more ardent, more vital, and more austere. He admired subtle and suggestive senses of beauty which were not apparent to everyone's eye. Even though Jô-ô stressed the importance of learning the proper style, he admired the state of chill, lean and withered in his Tea, which was finally fulfilled by his disciple Rikyû in his own individual way. It remains a mystery whether the result would have been different if Jô-ô had reached this desired state of chill, lean and withered himself.

