CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

No. 78

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CHANOYU Quarterly

TEA AND THE ARTS OF JAPAN

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Chanoyu Quarterly is published by the Urasenke Foundation, Ogawa Teranouchi agaru, Kamikyō-ku, Kyoto 602, Japan. Four-issue subscriptions and single copies, respectively: Australia—A$35.00, 10.00; write Urasenke Foundation, 12/18-20 Henry Street, Gordon, N.S.W. 2072. Germany—DM60,00, 15,00; write Ulrich Haas, Zollhäusleweg 5, 78052 VS-Zollhaus. U.K.—£18.00, 5.00; write Urasenke Foundation, 4 Langton Way, London SE3 7TL. U.S.A.—$25.00, 7.00; write *Chanoyu Quarterly*, Urasenke Chanoyu Center, 153 East 69th Street, New York, NY 10021. Elsewhere—¥4,400, 1,100; write *Chanoyu Quarterly* at the Japan address above. Submit manuscripts and books for review to the Japan address. Available in microform from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, U.S.A.

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The names of Japanese and Chinese persons are written surname first, in accordance with the customary practice in these countries.

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Chanoyu is a synthesis of arts that gives expression to many aspects of Japanese culture. From its beginnings in the fifteenth century down to the present, it has been both catalyst and medium in the development of distinctive art forms. Under the guidance of Grand Master Sen Sōshitsu XV, the Urasenke Foundation seeks to encourage the further development of these arts and to promote a worldwide understanding of the spirit of chanoyu.

Autobiographical Essay — 8*

Resigning from 'Botchan'

Sen Sōshitsu XV

Because I am tall, I have to bend down somewhat to pass through the host's entrance in tearooms that are smaller than four and a half mats. The fact that I was a weak youngster too small for my age, but that I got as big as I am and built up my constitution owes to all the sports that I did after I got into junior high school.

Of these sports, the one I was most enthusiastic about was horseback riding. My father enjoyed horseback riding, and so he let me ride horses from the time I was a young child. Then, when I entered junior high school, I joined the riding club. In my fourth year, I inherited a horse named Chihaya from a senior student, and I went riding every day after school. Riding around on Chihaya was my joy in life.

As a college preparatory student, too, I was active in the equestrian club; however, the worsening state of the war meant that even the club's horses were drafted, and I was made to help train horses for the army. The horses were drafted from all parts of the country, and many of them were unruly and would bite, kick, and rear up, giving us trainers a difficult time. If a trainer happened to let go of a horse's rein, he would be beaten with a bamboo stick and made to prostrate himself on the ground. If he mounted up wearing spurs, he would get shouted at: "Horses are military equipment. How dare you possibly injure one!" Thanks to the difficulties I experienced, though, I came to understand a horse's personality and way of life, and I gained a grasp of the rhythm-matching that has to occur for man and horse to act as one coordinated body.

While I was in the navy, Chihaya was drafted for military use and died of illness at some unknown site, I was later told. After the war, when the world at large began to settle back down, I got another horse, and I participated in the National Athletic Meet on two occasions. Owing in part to this background of mine, I presently serve as President of the Kyoto Equestrian Federation, and Vice President of the Japan Equestrian Federation.

Another sport that I like, though not as much as horseback riding, is jūdō. I received the *godan*, or fifth-level rank in the upper division, from the

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

Kōdōkan (foundation for jūdō education). In junior high school, I first started practicing kendō (Japanese fencing), but I didn't like getting hit on the head, and so I switched to jūdō. My father scolded me for this, but I was diligent, and after the war I even participated in the prefectural preliminaries for the National Athletic Meet as a *shodan*, or first-level player in the upper division. I don't think that my technique ever actually reached the standards for fifth-level ranking, but I feel self-assured that my skill is or at least was sufficient to qualify for the second level.

I also swam, did track and field sports, and whatever other sport that happened to be available to me. This was because I thought I had to build up my body, and, at the same time, it came from a kind of stubbornness in me.

During junior high school, I very much disliked being called "botchan" (young master). My close friends did not treat me in any special way because I was the eldest son in the Sen family, but others viewed me as a different kind of person. Perhaps it was my imagination, but if, for instance, I was caught standing there and reading in the bookstore in front of school, I would be told, "The Sen botchan should not be doing that. Hurry on home." This kind of thing caused me to become seized by the uncanny notion that I had to tread through life bearing the burden of the Sen family history. And this is what probably made me involve myself in sports — something removed from Tea — and drove me to try to prove my own worth.

I was quite a rascal within my circle of friends, too, for I did not want to be seen as mild and effeminate. My school, Dōshisha Junior High, and Ritsumeikan Junior High were like cat and dog, fighting over almost anything. At Dōshisha, there was a spirited fellow known as "the man," who was captain of the track and field sports club, and who repeatedly flunked classes. Just knowing him was enough to keep you from getting bullied by others. Besides of course not wanting to be seen as mild and effeminate, I didn't want to be associated with the rational, intellectual type, so I tried to be tough and urbane. Though I caused Takahashi-sensei and my mother trouble sometimes, it was a case of "wise men don't court danger" when I was at the house, and when I was in front of my parents, I displayed a thoroughly obedient attitude. Nevertheless, I was relatively conscientious about my school work.

The History of the Kaiseki Meal

Tsutsui Hiroichi

The Way of Tea holds as its highest ideal the enjoyment of what is termed "*ichiza konryū*," the building of a once-only experience through the joining of host and guest(s) at a particular point in time and space, wherein the participants interact on a heart-to-heart level. Within this, the host's choice of the combination of utensils he will use and foods he will serve expresses his character as a person. When the guests recognize and appreciate the host's efforts and intentions, a deep rapport is realized.

During the age of the *kaisho* literary arts,[1] when the element of recreation constituted a major aspect of tea-drinking, as well as during the days of *shoin* tea,[2] which focused on the display and use of beautiful objects of Chinese origin, foods were served as a means to enliven the saké parties which generally were the highlight of the social gatherings where tea was drunk. However, after the development of the way of tea based on the wabi aesthetic, a totally different perspective came to the fore. Wabi-style tea, in its concern with probing the beauty of the rustic and unpolished, was to be realized by the activity of the heart. In accord with this, the kaiseki meal became extremely simplified, and became an expression of the heart. This is to say that the quantity of food served was no longer the primary concern.

Takeno Jōō (1502–55), one of the early figures in the movement toward the "wabification" of tea, recommended that "not more than one soup and three side dishes (*ichijū sansai*)[3] should be served, even if one has elite guests" (*Jōō Montei e no Hōdo*). From around this period, the

武野紹鷗
一汁三菜
紹鷗門弟への法度

1 *Kaisho* literally refers to the "get-together sites" built predominantly in the early fifteenth century as locations for the social gatherings, such as the tea-tasting competitions (*tōcha*), enjoyed by the upper echelons of society.

2 *Shoin* refers to the study rooms that represented the architecture of the fifteenth century Ashikaga elite; *shoin* tea was the formal style of tea service conducted in these rooms.

3 Although "*sai*" 菜 is literally vegetable, it is translated as "side dish" in this article, to convey the more common, looser interpretation.

Translated and adapted, by permission of the author, from the article "*Kaiseki Ryōri no Rekishi*" in the exhibition catalogue *Kaiseki Utensils* (Chadō Research Center and Raku Museum; Special Autumn Exhibition, 1993). All footnotes are by the translator.

kaiseki meal came to basically consist of one soup and three side dishes, and it came to reflect the changes in the seasons, to give consideration to the aesthetic harmony between the foods and the containers in which they were served, and to show a delicate artistic sense in the way the foods themselves were arranged in the containers.

本膳料理
精進料理

It is important to realize that the kind of meal described here, eschewing showy display and constituting an expression of warm hospitality, originated from the forms of meals called *honzen ryōri* (elaborate, formal meal of the upper social classes) and *shōjin ryōri* (vegetarian meal of Zen monasteries). The kaiseki meal arose out of tea's long association both with the lifestyles of the upper classes and the traditions of Zen.

Scanning the meal traditions of societies around the world, one realizes that they are usually based on the idea of host and guests sitting around a table and eating together. The host sits at a prescribed seat, the guest of honor sits to the host's side, and they enjoy cordial conversation during the meal while servants handle the serving of the foods. In such a scenario, the guests feel well fed when numerous kinds of special foods are served, and the host in turn views this as a matter of family pride. In the kaiseki meal connected with chanoyu, however, just one soup and three side dishes is regarded as ideal, and the guests never go home feeing dissatisfied at the fact that the host served such a small meal. The ability to satisfy the guests in this situation is due to the host's manner of hospitality. The host does not eat together with the guests, but devotes himself to serving them, and from this single-minded attention arises their feelings of satisfaction. It is not an overstatement to say that the meal served in chanoyu is essentially a matter of the "aesthetic of hospitality."

長闇堂記 久保利世
宗易　千利休

In the *Chōandō Ki*, written by Kubo Risé (a.k.a. Gondayu, Chōandō; 1571–1640), there is a satirical poem attributed to Sōeki [i.e., Sen Rikyū; 1522–91], which states in part:

> Entertain with farmer's soup and seasoned shrimp;
> it suffices for the host to do the serving.

This indicates that Rikyū emphasized the importance of the host himself serving the food, even if that food consisted of only one soup and one side dish.

One winter day, Rikyū had to make a trip to Kyoto from Osaka, and he thought of visiting a friend along the way, a rustic individual who lived in the backwoods area of Moriguchi. Informing a member of his house of his intention, Rikyū departed in the cold of the winter night.

Kaiseki is essentially a matter of the 'aesthetic of hospitality.' Photo by Tawara Junji.

On the way, thoughts of this friend whom he hadn't seen in some time drifted through his mind, and he quickened his pace. Arriving at the friend's place, he found there was a thatched hut built to the back of some aged-looking trees, and that the structure had a very charming atmosphere. As he waited to be shown in, he was acutely impressed by this. When the master of the house — his friend — appeared, the latter seemed extremely surprised to see Rikyū, and, as they mutually expressed their joy at the reunion, Rikyū followed him down the garden path and into the tearoom. After a little while, Rikyū heard some noise coming from the garden. Looking through the lattice-work window, he saw his friend knocking citrons down from a tree with a long pole. Rikyū thought to himself that his friend was preparing to fix some homemade food to entertain him with, and so, while he waited, he amused himself with thoughts of the unpretentious hospitality he would receive. Just as he had guessed, his friend entered the room with a flask of saké and the citron prepared with *miso* (soybean paste). As they whiled away the time talking of various things, Rikyū thought that this indeed was the spirit of wabi. The next thing he knew, however, his host informed him that something had just been delivered from Osaka, and offered him some plump *kamaboko* (steamed fish paste). When Rikyū saw this, he was left cold by the thought that the hospitality thus far had been devised. He told his host that he remembered something he had to do, and, though his host implored him to stay, he quickly took his leave.

茶話指月集 久須見疎安

The above anecdote is related in the *Chawa Shigetsu Shū* [Tea Stories Pointing to the Moon], written by Kusumi Soan (1636–1728), who appends the summary comment: "The notion behind wabi is that one should make do with what one has, and should not serve inappropriate things."

Ever since Rikyū perfected the wabi way of tea, it has been considered that the food served at a tea gathering, in its purest sense, should be just enough to stave off one's hunger. This is apparent from the term "kaiseki" itself, which refers to the heated stone that Zen monks used to place in the front folds of their robes to ease their hunger pangs, and, according to the *Nampō Roku*,[4] was expressed by Rikyū as follows: "There is enough shelter when the roof does not leak, and enough food when it keeps one from starving."

南方録

Just what does Rikyū mean by "[There is] enough food when it keeps one from starving"? The *Nampō Roku* also contains this passage:

4 The *Nampō Roku*, or literally "Southern Record," is basically a compendium of Sen Rikyū's teachings concerning the Way of Tea. The basic core of material for this work consists of notes compiled by a Zen monk and follower of Rikyū's named Nambō Sōkei (n.d.). Approximately a century after Rikyū's death, Sōkei's notes were uncovered and given form as the *Nampō Roku* by Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655–1708).

> Food for serving in a small sitting area should be limited to one soup and two or three side dishes, and the saké, too, should be of a light amount. To make a show of the food in a wabi environment is inappropriate, and, of course, the combination of strong and light foods should be considered, just as one considers combinations of other things for chanoyu.

This 'just sufficient' ideal for the kaiseki meal is where the "kaiseki" of the Zen monks — the warmed stone — became linked with the tea meal, as I shall explain further on.

Before the Advent of Kaiseki

Let us see what the form of meal called *honzen ryōri*, also referred to as *shichi-go-san ryōri* ("seven-five-three cuisine"), was like.

七五三料理

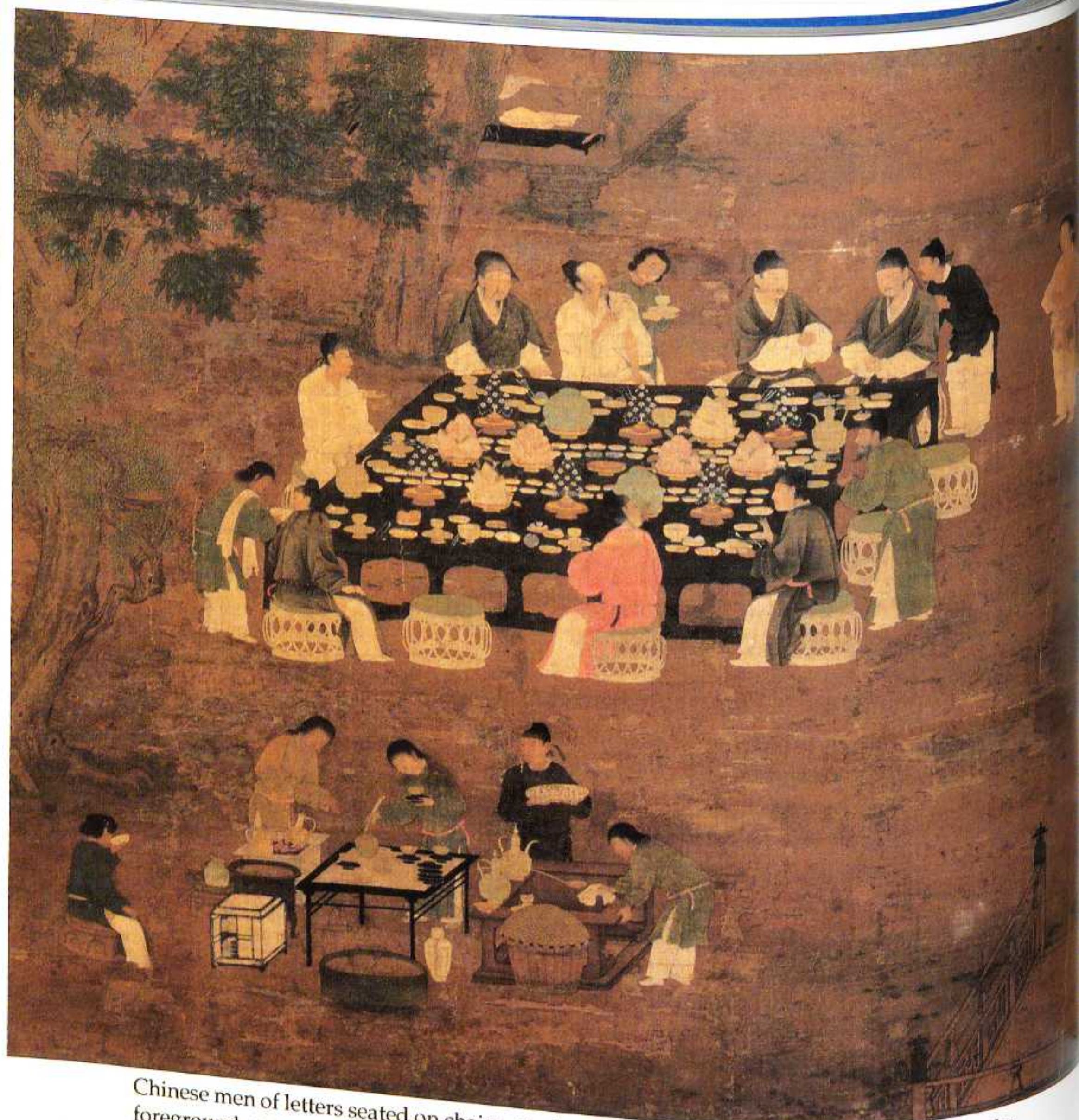
The official banquets held by the Heian-period aristocracy were known as "great feasts" (*daikyō*), and, because the food was spread out on tables, the manner of cuisine has been referred to as "table cuisine" (*daiban ryōri*). Depending upon the number of guests, there were different categories of tables: long tables, "cut" tables, and small tables. The use of a table was the convention when more than two people were participating in a formal meal. On the other hand, the meals of the Heian-period aristocracy taken in private circumstances were served on flat trays, trays with legs, pedestals, and the like.

大饗 台盤料理

According to the *Wamyōshō* [Chinese-Japanese Dictionary, early 10th c.], the so-called table cuisine was introduced to Japan from China, and involved the use of tables and chairs. Dried foods, seasoned raw foods, "hollow container items" (*kubokimono*), soups, fruits, and Chinese-style pastries (*tōgashi*) would be placed together, and each person would have chopsticks and bowls readied in front of them, with which to take these. They would flavor the foods with vinegar, salt, *hishio* (a kind of bean paste), and saké contained in four respective containers. Hence, though the manner of the meal reflected the influence of Tang-dynasty China, the content was uniquely Japanese. One might say that the table-cuisine banquets were Japanese style banquets incorporating Chinese style etiquette.

倭名抄 窪器物 唐菓子 醤

Unlike these "great feasts" which constituted the formal, ceremonial banquets of the imperial family and aristocracy, the meals of the governmental administrators and citizens, as depicted in various late-Heian-period and Kamakura-period picture scrolls, consisted of foods



Chinese men of letters seated on chairs, at a large table, enjoying an outdoor banquet. In the foreground, servants prepare tea to serve them. Painting by Emperor Hui Zong. Northern Song dynasty, 12th c. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

arranged on dishes placed on pedestals or flat trays. It is thought that meals eaten on non-formal occasions were of this nature, regardless of the individuals' social level. The pedestals and flat trays seen here became the individual meal trays (*meimei zen*) that took root in Japanese cuisine. 銘々膳

The Kamakura period was when the seat of the military government was transferred from Kyoto to Kamakura and the warrior class overpowered the aristocracy. The style of meals eaten by the Kamakura warriors, however, borrowed from the "meal tray" (*shokuzen*) style 食膳

Kasuga Gongen Genki-e [Miracle Story of Kasuga Gongen], left-hand portion of Section Two of the Thirteenth Scroll. Dated 1309. In this scene, servants are preparing a meal and arranging the foods on a pedestal type meal tray. Imperial Household Collection.

used in normal daily life by the aristocracy. Again, in the Muromachi period, when the political and cultural arena moved back to Kyoto, the old customs of the warrior families, which had been influenced by the manners of the aristocracy, became organized, and the Ogasawara and Ise families came to hold special positions as the two authorities on etiquette. At some point in time during the course of these events, warrior-class families that specialized in the art of cooking came into existence. These "cuisinier families" (*hōchō ke*) included such lineages as the founders of the Ōkusa tradition of culinary art, begun by Ōkusa

小笠原
伊勢
庖丁家
大草流

大草公次 進士流 細川晴元 四条流 藤原山陰 園部流

Kimitsugu (dates unknown), who served as chef for the Ashikaga Shōgun's family; the Shinshi tradition of culinary art, which arose from the cuisinier Hosokawa Harumoto (1514–63), who carried on the tradition of the Shijō school which was founded by the Heian-period nobleman Fujiwara no Yamakage, and which was affiliated with the culinary style of the nobility; and the Sonobe tradition of culinary art. Through these developments, the style of banquet meal called *honzen ryōri*, which represented the formal cuisine of the warrior class, became established.

尺素往来 一条兼良

In the *Shakuso Ōrai* [Brief Miscellany] attributed to the man of letters, Ichijō Kanera (1402–81), we find the following passage describing a *honzen ryōri* meal:

> A main tray, additional tray, and third tray with large soup, small soup, cold soup, foods from mountain and sea/garden and pond; indeed, cuisine of a hundred flavors.

The most orthodox form which this style of meal took was the *shichi-go-san-zen*, or "seven- five- and three-tray" meal.

There are two manners of interpreting the meaning of "seven- five- and three-tray," both of which are difficult to dismiss. The first holds that the ceremonious serving of three courses of foods (a "handing-over" tray of food [*hikiwatashi-zen*], a tray holding various ingredients cooked in broth [*zatsuni-zen*], and a tray holding a bowl of clear soup [*suimono-zen*]) to accompany the formal saké rounds (*shikisankon*) would be followed by the main, *honzen* part of the meal (in its most proper form, consisting of seven trays of food), and the expression "seven- five- and three-tray" derives from the fact that the trays respectively held seven, five, and three varieties of dishes.

引渡膳 雑煮膳 吸物膳 式三献

貞丈雑記 伊勢貞丈 飯 湯漬 きやら 献

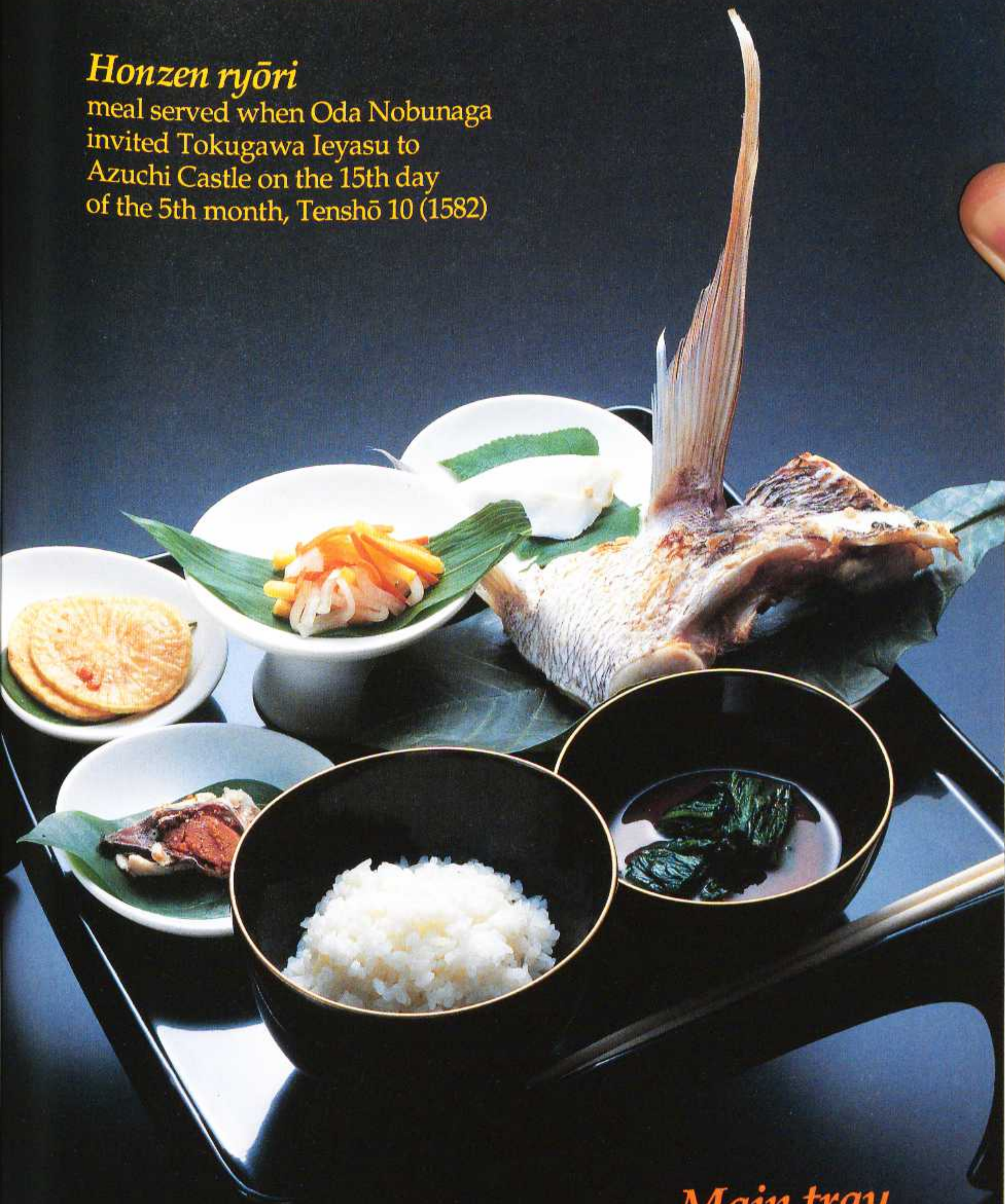
The second possible interpretation of the expression appears in the Edo-period work entitled *Teijō Zakki*, [Teijō's Miscellaneous Notes], written by Ise Sadatake of the Ise school of traditional etiquette. He explains that the "seven" refers to the maximum of seven trays of foods to go with either regular cooked rice (*meshi*) or rice with hot water (*yuzuke*); the "five" refers to the five different servings of foods to go with the formal saké rounds; and the "three" refers to the maximum of three trays of "simple" (*kiyara*) items. According to this, the expression refers to the number of trays of food. The fact that Sadatake erroneously confuses "trays" with "saké rounds" (*kon*), however, must be pointed out.

四季草

A late-Edo period work entitled *Shikisō* [Seasonal Grasses], about cooking, further developed this theory of Sadatake's. According to this

Honzen ryōri

meal served when Oda Nobunaga invited Tokugawa Ieyasu to Azuchi Castle on the 15th day of the 5th month, Tenshō 10 (1582)



Main tray

pickles, *namasu*, octopus
gibel sushi, broiled sea bream
rice, soup with greens

Supervisor Tsutsui Hiroichi
Food Preparation Araki Shigeo
Photography Nimura Haruomi

Second tray

abalone in the shell, *uruka* (salted smelt entrails and roe)
futoni (identity unclear; represented here by eel and burdock root roll)
eel from Uji river, conger eel
sea bream soup, cold ascidian soup

Third tray

spiral shellfish, broiled fowl
kasame (a type of seaweed)
sea bass soup, soup with yam bine

Fourth tray

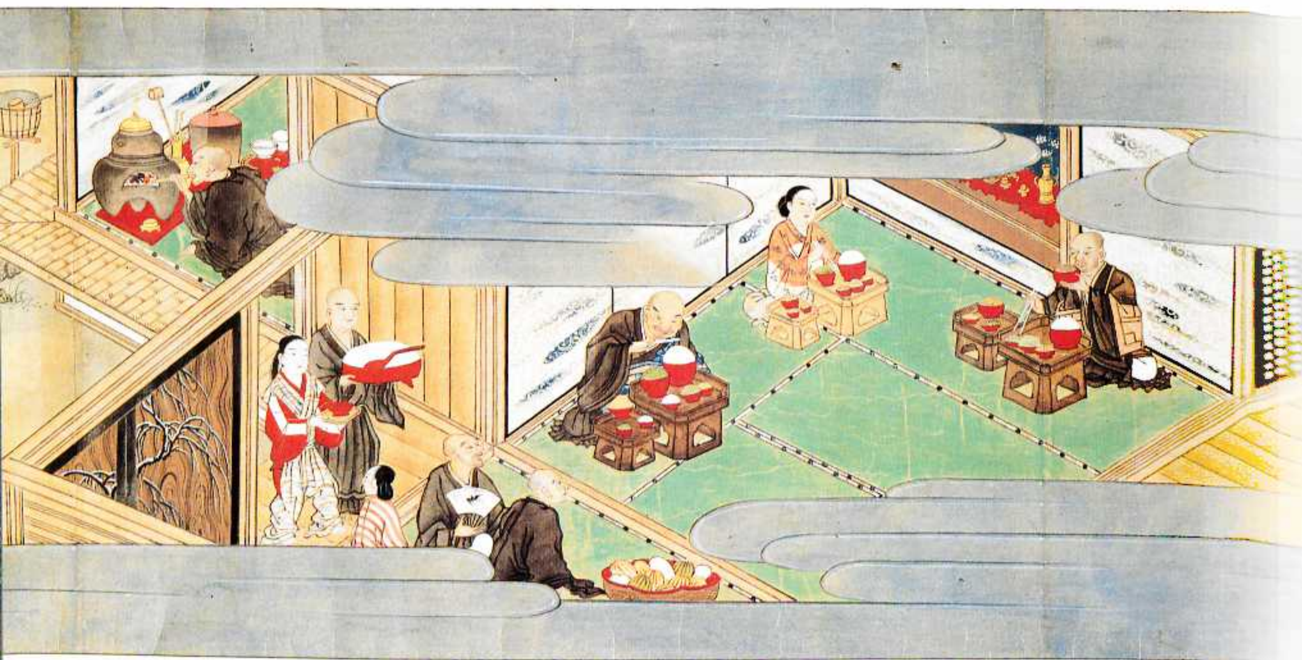
shiitake mushrooms, dried squid roll
shikitsubo (thought to refer to a seasoning pot; here represented by citron containing miso)
gibel soup

Fifth tray

shaved tangle, harvest fish sashimi
sashimi shōgazu (ginger-vinegar relish for the harvest fish sashimi)
wild duck soup

Desserts

paper flowers (for decoration)
persimmons from Mino
candied beans
yarahimoro (probably a kind of mochi, as represented here)
tangle



Scene from Scroll One of the 16th c. work entitled *Shuhanron Emaki* [Picture Scroll on the Debate over Saké and Rice]. In this scene, monks and a page are being served a formal meal. Each has two raised trays of foods, the main tray holding a huge bowl of rice, one soup, and three side dishes, in the 'vegetarian meal' (*shōjin ryōri*) style. Private collection. Photo courtesy of the Chadō Research Center, Kyoto.

work, the expression "seven- five- and three-tray" should be used to refer to the number of dishes served during the three courses: seven dishes for the *honzen* or "main" course, five for the second course (*ni no zen*), and three for the third course (*san no zen*). 本膳 二の膳 三の膳

The term "*honzen*" was originally a general expression for the *shichi-go-san-zen* meal arrangements that represented the formal cuisine of the Muromachi-period warrior-class families. In time, however, it saw a shift in usage, whereby "*honzen ryōri*" came to refer to a certain style of food service that included the three courses of foods which accompanied the formal saké rounds, and an array of dishes served following the main course.

Apart from this variety of cuisine, there was the development of a variety called *shōjinmono* (lit., "abstinence things"). This term, "*shōjinmono*," specifically refers to vegetable dishes, as opposed to the term "*gongiri*," referring to dishes made of finely chopped fish or poultry. As the procedures for making meatless foods took root in Zen temples, the style of meal based on such Zen-temple eating practices became condensed into the form of meal called kaiseki that was part of the wabi style tea referred to as *sōan-cha*, held in rustic, thatched tea huts (*sōan*). 精進物 五寸切 草庵茶

The Beginnings of Kaiseki Cuisine

The *Matsuya Kaiki*, a record kept by three generations of the Matsuya family of lacquerers in Nara — Hisamasa, Hisayoshi, and Hisashige — over a period of 117 years, represents the earliest tea-gathering record (*chakaiki*) in history. It commences with the year 1533 (Tembun 2). At this time, the man who initiated *sōan-cha*, Murata Shukō (also read Jukō; 1423–1502), was no longer alive; the next important figure in chanoyu history, Takeno Jōō, had reached the age of thirty and was awakening as a 'tea man' (*chajin*); and, in the Shimogyō area of Kyoto, merchants were building and enjoying what is described as "mountain retreats within the city." Furthermore, a standard form had been established for tea functions, and *sōan-cha* had become widespread.

松屋会記
久政 久好 久重
村田珠光

The first kaiseki recorded in the *Matsuya Kaiki* appears in the entry regarding a morning gathering given by Jūshiya Sōgo (dates unknown) in Kyoto on the 12th day of the 9th month, 1537. It reveals that the individual trays that were brought in to the guests had, in the front section, a bowl of rice and a bowl of soup with greens, and, in the back section, grilled salmon and shellfish with the shell attached. A separate serving of freshwater herring *namasu* (type of dish using uncooked ingredients flavored with vinegar-and-waterpepper dressing) was brought in as the *hikimono* (food following the grilled food), to altogether make one soup and three side dishes. After this, three varieties of dessert (*kashi*) were served.

十四屋宗伍
鰣
引物
菓子

It becomes clear from this that the kaiseki food tray was a simplified version of the "first meal-tray course" (*ichi no zen*) of *honzen ryōri*. Our modern-day kaiseki food tray has on it a rice bowl and soup bowl, as well as a *mukōzuke* — a dish of food literally "placed on the far side" of these. In the case of Jūshiya Sōgo's kaiseki described above, although it is regrettable that we do not know what kind of ware they were served on, lacquer ware or ceramic ware, there were two dishes placed on the far side of the tray: a dish of grilled salmon, and a dish of shellfish. Besides these, the only other dish of food for the meal itself was the *hikimono* consisting of fish *namasu*. Jūshiya Sōgo, a townsman of Sakai city, is said to have been Takeno Jōō's tea mentor. What this means, then, is that even prior to Jōō's admonition pertaining to serving no more than one soup and three side dishes, the trend to consider this as the most appropriate menu format was already starting to spread among the townsmen of Sakai.

一の膳
向付

The *hikimono* served by Jūshiya Sōgo corresponded to the fifth tray seen in *honzen ryōri*. Generally, the *hikimono* in present-day kaiseki consists of from one to three types of food arranged in a bowl, which the host brings in to the guests and the guests themselves take portions of

by passing the bowl around. There is no particular rule regarding this, however; the *hikimono* is served as a complement for the saké, and is something that the host decides upon. Because of this, the *hikimono* course has had more freedom about it, as compared with the fundamental food-tray course itself, which can consist of only two dishes in addition to the rice and soup.

According to the *Matsuya Kaiki*, Hisamasa was invited to a gathering given by a person named Yoshirō in Kyoto on the day after the above-described gathering hosted by Jūshiya Sōgo. In the past, it had been construed that this "Yoshirō" referred to the childhood name of Sen Rikyū, and so the host of this gathering was Rikyū, age fifteen at the time. It seems wiser, however, to regard this Yoshirō as having been a separate individual. This notwithstanding, let us consider the menu that was served on this occasion. A dish of salted fish, and another one of freshwater herring *namasu* appeared on the far side of the tray; grilled sweetfish was served for the *hikimono;* and there was another soup, having sea bass in it. Hence, the meal consisted of two soups and three dishes. It might be added that, as the second soup consisted of a clear broth, it may have been served in a shallow, covered bowl (*hira-wan*) instead of the usual kind of soup bowl.

与四郎

In a work on cooking entitled *Ryōri Monogatari* [Cooking Stories], published in 1643 (Kan'ei 20), freshwater herring (*ame*) is given as an ingredient for the dishes referred to as *namasu*, for serving seasoned with vinegar, for grilling, or for soup. The use of this ingredient, a fish available from Lake Biwa nearby Kyoto, was a pattern seen in the kaiseki of Kyoto, and this seems to suggest that the desire was to utilize locally available ingredients in a dish that was prepared with as much care and sincerity as possible. In other words, instead of the predilection for rare delicacies such as migratory fowl — wild goose, crane, swan, and the like — that we see in the days of *honzen ryōri*, the matter of primary consideration was the quality of one's hospitality.

料理物語

In the very early period of the development of wabi-style tea, the foods that were served were even more simple than the meals described above. The *Uso Shū Shikan Sho* [Crow and Rat Collection in Four Volumes; an anonymous mid-sixteenth century work pertaining to chanoyu], contains a verse stating that in the earliest days there was no rice-based meal served at all. Although a question remains here as to just what time in history "the earliest days" refers to, if we cull through the *Matsuya Kaiki* for mentions of such rice-less menus, we come up with the following:

烏鼠集四巻書

Tembun 2 [1533], 3rd month, 20th day: noodles (*muginawa*)

Tembun 6 [1537], 2nd month, 10th day: noodles (*udon*)

Tembun 11 [1542], 4th month, 3rd day: kudzu noodles (*suisen*), jellyfish with broth (*shiru kurage*), desserts — roasted chestnuts (*yakiguri*), *yōkan* (dish made of steamed mashed beans), potato spuds (*imonoko*)

Tembun 11 [1542], 4th month, 6th day: thin noodles (*sōmen*), shellfish (*tsuheta*), clear soup (*suimono*)

Tembun 11 [1542], 4th month, 8th day: noodles (*kirimugi*), accompanying serving of sea-bream roll (*hikisoe taimaki*)

Tembun 13 [1544], 2nd month, 20th day: noodles (*udon*), clear soup

Tembun 13 [1544], 2nd month, 23rd day: dumplings (*suiton*), accompanying serving of jellyfish (*hikisoe kurage*)

Tembun 13 [1544], 2nd month, 24th day: *yōkan*, clear soup, wheat gluten (*fu*)

Tembun 21 [1552], 10th month, 21st day: noodles (*udon*), vinegared item (*sushi*), braised matsutake mushrooms (*yaki matsutake*)

Between the years 1533 and 1553, the *Matsuya Kaiki* contains records of twenty-eight gatherings. Among these, there are the nine mentions of food menus indicated above, plus seven other descriptions of meals. Of the seven meals, four consisted of one soup and three side dishes; one consisted of one soup and four side dishes; and the remaining two consisted of two soups and three side dishes.

Abruptly, from the year 1555 (Kōji 1), however, a change takes place in the menus. For instance, on the 29th day of the 2nd month of that year, at a gathering of five guests hosted by a man named Sōchin in Nara, the following foods were served: 宗陳

rice, codfish soup, squid, abalone, *namasu* of mixed fresh fish from Sakai
desserts —"something roasted" [pounded rice], kaya nuts, kelp

intermediate round: steamed rice-flour dumplings with filling (*manjū*), baby sweetfish

last round: cold noodles (*hiyamugi*), clams

First, there was one soup and three side dishes, and three kinds of desserts; then a subsequent, "intermediate round" (*chūdan*) of foods; and then another subsequent, "last round" (*godan*). 中段 後段

Let us take a look at the other gatherings attended by Matsuya Hisamasa in 1555. Hisamasa records the menus as follows:

2nd month, 30th day; to Jūchin's; [seven guests]
rice, soup with potato-vine stems, layered kelp, and, on a rectangular *oshiki* (flat tray), arrowhead bulb, lichen, lotus
hikimono: wheat gluten, mustard, greens
last round: *sōmen* noodles

3rd month, 12th day; to Agemakiya Genshirō's; [four guests]
rice, codfish soup, grilled salmon, squid
second course (*ni no zen*): sea bream and ark shell in the shell, on lacquered *oshiki*; soup with poultry
planed *oshiki* with carp and *tsubeta* shellfish on it
intermediate round: kudzu noodles, crab
last round: steamed barley, clams

12th month, 16th day; to Seijun's; [two guests]
rice, soup with fernbrake, tōfu, rolled kelp
desserts — roasted *mochi* (steamed, pounded rice), kelp
another soup: poultry
hikimono: carp
intermediate round: kudzu noodles, accompanying seafood
last round: *sōmen* noodles, broth with clams and squid

巻屋源四郎 To comment on the food service at Agemakiya Genshirō's gathering, it is noteworthy that, instead of the legged trays used in *honzen ryōri*, a 折敷 lacquered *oshiki*, or 'flat tray,' and a plain wooden *oshiki* were used. Another point of interest is that no dessert was served.

Regarding the *godan*, or "last round" of foods, the *Uso Shū Shikan Sho* explains that if one entertains guests from afar or guests who enjoy saké, once the meal and then the usual tea are over, it is recommend- 肴 able to serve some saké together with a small amount of tidbits (*sakana*) before sending the guests away. It further says that a person owning two famous utensils might serve a last round of foods after the usual meal and tea if he is then going to show the guests the other famous utensil, but one should refrain from serving a last round of foods if the guests are not particularly fond of saké, or if the guests are there for a morning or an evening gathering. These admonitions were probably issued because the serving of *godan* had become a kind of fad.

Now, regarding the *chūdan*, or "intermediate round," the fact that this followed the serving of the desserts seems to indicate that the ini-

tial foods were meant to constitute a meal, and the intermediate round of foods was meant to accompany saké.

A passage in the section entitled "*Kaiseki no koto*" [About Kaiseki] in the *Yamanoue Sōji Ki*, written in 1588 (Tenshō 16) by Sen Rikyū's disciple, Yamanoue Sōji, states that it is fine to have the standard form of menu — that is, a meal of one soup and three side dishes — any number of times, but that once or twice every ten times, one should include a rare menu, and members of the younger set who own famed utensils can even include a rare menu three or four times. The expression "rare menu" (*mezurashii shitate*) here could refer to the quality of the ingredients, but it is more likely that the number of dishes was the issue of greater concern. For a meal of only one soup and three side dishes, one meal tray plus the *hikimono* was sufficient, but, if a greater number of foods were served, more food trays had to be added.

山上宗二記

The *Yamanoue Sōji Ki* also informs us that, "Until a decade before Jōō's time, there were around two or three food trays decorated with gold and silver." The above menus exemplify that even after Jōō's time, however, it was not unusual for a second and even a third food tray to be brought out, and so it might be better to understand Yamanoue Sōji's statement as meaning that two or three food trays were the norm before Jōō's time.

With the distillation of wabi-style tea, however, the serving of one soup and three side dishes — that is, one kind of soup, some fresh ingredients flavored with vinegar (*namasu*), something else served on a shallow dish (*hirazara*), and some broiled food (*yakimono*) — became the basic rule.

Sen Rikyū's World

As the pattern for tea functions became established, the food served at those functions was initially simply referred to by the expression "get-together (*kai* 会) seating site (*seki* 席)," and then different characters came to be used for writing this, changing the meaning to "bosom-pocket (*kai* 懐) stone (*seki* 石)." Let us inquire into just when this change came about.

Early works on chanoyu, such as the *Uso Shū Shikan Sho* and the 1564 work entitled *Bunrui Sōjimboku* [Classified Information on Tea], include various explanations regarding tea gatherings. The characters they use when referring to these tea gatherings are the ones for "get-together seating site," as, for example, in the following passage from the *Bunrui Sōjimboku*: "As for conversation at the 'get-together seating

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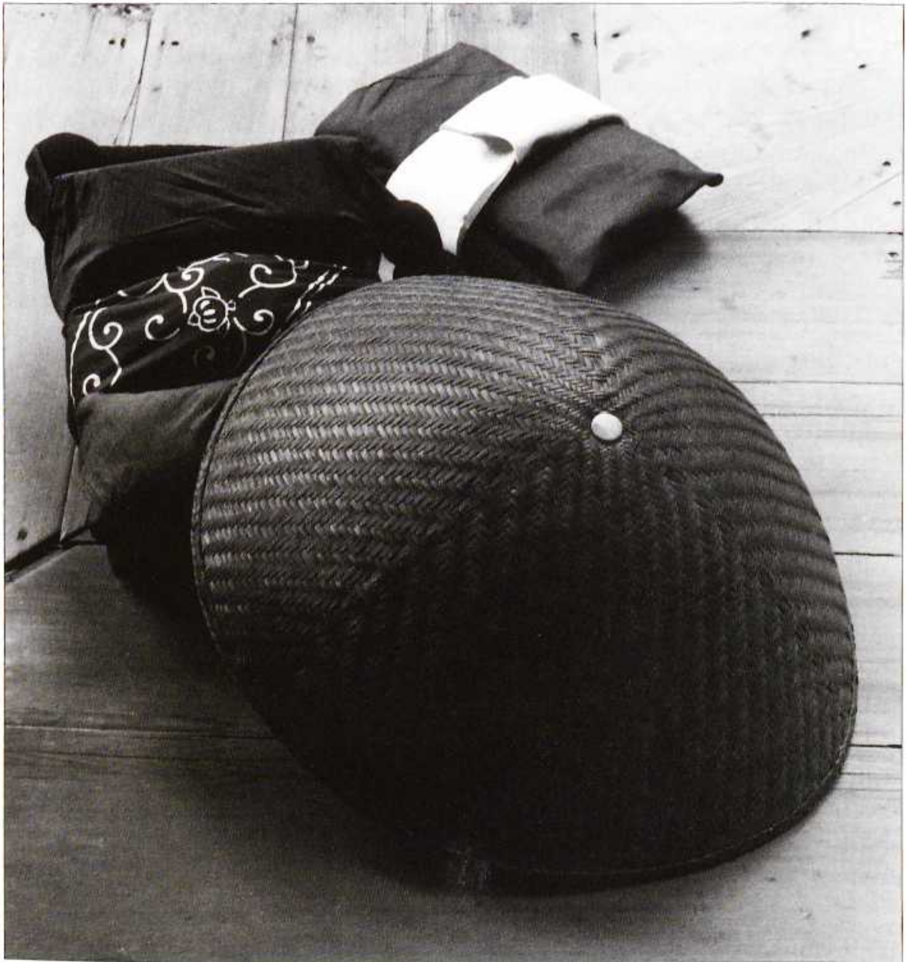

Photo by Tsuchimura Seiji

site,' one should talk about the cold or hot temperature that day, the brightness or darkness of the weather, the wind, rain, flowers, moon, and so forth." The expression "kaiseki" in this case literally referred to the site of a tea gathering.

In the same work, there appears the expression *"kaizen kashi,"* or 会膳 "dessert for the meal at a gathering," which tells us that the term *kaizen* was used to refer to the meal served during tea gatherings. Tea people during the early days of the Way of Tea, however, were loose in their usage of tea terminology, and so we also find the above-mentioned "get-together seating site" expression used in reference to the meal. Not only is this the case in the passage quoted earlier from the *Jōō Montei e no Hōdo*, but we also find this writing of "kaiseki" used in the 江岑夏書 *Yamanoue Sōji Ki*, as well as in a work entitled *Kōshin Gegaki* [Kōshin Sōsa's Summer Writing], which dates to the year 1662. In fact, in docu-

Shōjin ryōri meal served at Myōshinji temple on the occasion of the annual memorial of the dharma emperor (Hōō-ki). Typical of a meal served to monastery guests, it consists of one soup and three side dishes, in addition to the rice. The tray lies flat on the tatami, and the ware is of red lacquer. Photo by Tsuchimura Seiji.

ments dating from after Rikyū's time, the appearance of this expression is almost always in reference to the tea meal.

Up to this point, we have briefly traced how the food served during the early days of the Way of Tea developed as a simplification of *honzen ryōri*, the style of cuisine that acted as its precedent. Of the various concepts which were adopted into this 'tea meal,' allowing it to develop into a style of food service suited to the wabi mode of chanoyu, the vegetarian-meal concept of Zen temples played an important role, and this is where Sen Rikyū exerted particular influence on the development of the tea meal.

Chanoyu first became linked with Zen when Murata Shukō underwent Zen training under the priest Ikkyū of Daitokuji temple. Thenceforth, a great number of tea practitioners one after another underwent Zen training, but, among them, it was Rikyū who specifically linked

the philosophy of Zen to chanoyu. This is exemplified in the following passage from the *Nampō Roku*:

> Rikyū said that chanoyu of the small room is above all a matter of practicing and realizing the way in accord with the Buddha's teaching. To delight in the splendor of a dwelling or the taste of a sumptuous meal belongs to worldly life. There is enough shelter when the roof does not leak, and enough food when it keeps one from starving. This is the Buddha's teaching and the fundamental intent of chanoyu.[5]

If we accept the statements in the *Nampō Roku* as fact, then Rikyū is the person who incorporated the Zen temple meal etiquette into chanoyu. The *Nampō Roku*, in a section regarding "tea functions using dining stands" (*handai no chaji*), states that dining stands just like the ones used in Zen temples to serve three to four people at once are used to serve food in the tearoom. It says that "When Jōō and Rikyū invited monks from Daitokuji or Nanshūji to tea gatherings, they occasionally brought out a dining stand."[6] Continuing on, it says that a room of one-and-a-half mats is too small for it to be possible to put out a dining stand, and it is generally best to use one in a four-and-a-half mat room. The food served when using a dining stand is explained as follows:

飯台の茶事

> First the host carries the dining stand in and wipes it clean with a cloth. He then puts the shaped rice (*mosso han*) in rice bowls, covers them, and places them on top of soup bowls. In this manner he lines up, on a tray, as many services as there are guests, carries them in, and raises them to the dining stand. The soup, he serves from a soup pitcher. Vegetables are served from either a pot or a bowl, whichever suits the appearance of the particular dish. Saké should be finished with one or two rounds, drunk from the lid of the rice bowl.[7]

The term *mosso han* appearing in this explanation refers to rice measured out for individual servings using an implement called a *mosso*.[8] As an interesting sidelight, I venture to say that the present-day

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5 Tr. Dennis Hirota, *Chanoyu Quarterly* no. 25, p. 33; slightly altered.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 38; slightly altered.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
8 This implement is used in Zen monasteries.

kaiseki custom of serving rice in a certain shape — in the case of the Urasenke chanoyu tradition, a straight shape referred to as "*ichimonji*" (shape resembling the character for "1"), and, in the case of the Omotesenke tradition, a rounded shape — represents a vestige of the use of the *mosso* in this kind of tea where dining stands were used. Be this as it may, it is apparent that the meal served when using a dining stand was intended as a light meal. In fact, the above *Nampō Roku* section goes on to say that just one soup and one or two side dishes should be the limit, and that it is unnecessary to serve any dessert to go with the tea. Further on, the section also says that the foods should be limited to meatless, vegetarian dishes.

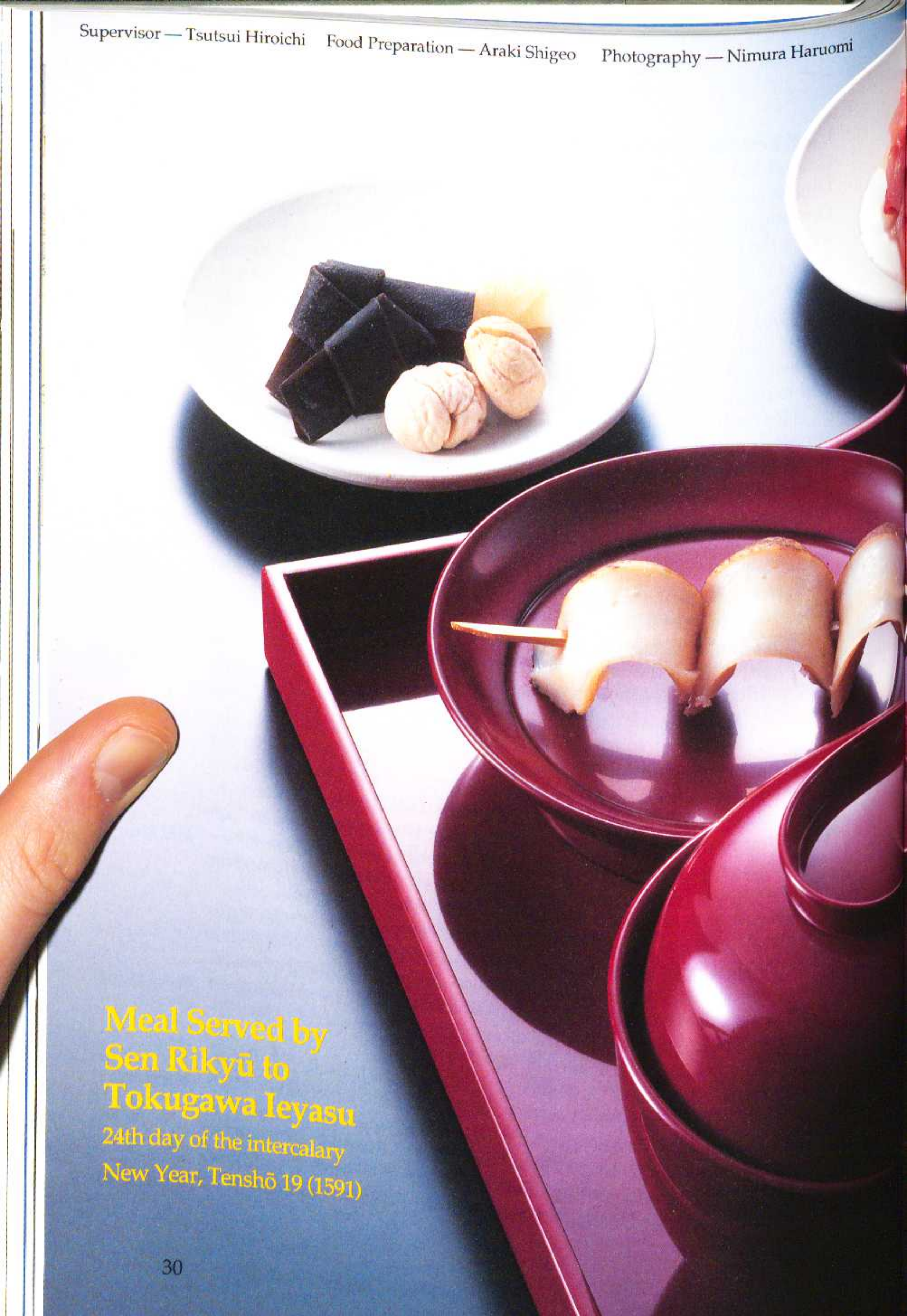
This influence of Zen vegetarian eating practices on the meals served in chanoyu gave rise to the occasional writing of the word "kaiseki" using the characters for the warmed stone placed by monks in the front folds of their clothing to ease hunger pangs. As far as can be gathered from looking through old tea documents, the earliest instance of the use of these characters to write "kaiseki" appears in the "*Sumibiki*" [Crossed Out with Ink] section of the *Nampō Roku*. Supposedly, this section of the *Nampō Roku* is so called because, when Nambō Sōkei showed the section to Rikyū, Rikyū crossed it out with ink because it contained secret transmissions that were not to be made public. Together with the section entitled "*Metsugo*" [Posthumous], it can be regarded as reflecting the influence of the man who uncovered the original texts and gave them their shape as the *Nampō Roku*, Tachibana Jitsuzan (*see* note 4), more strongly than any of the other sections. The "*Sumibiki*" passage in question states: "Upon adding charcoal to the fire, the kaiseki (懐石) should be brought out." We are also told how this Buddhist term for the warmed stone used by monks in training to ease their hunger pangs came to refer to the small meal eaten at Zen monasteries at night — the sparce meal also called *yakuseki* or *tenshin* — and how it was considered an apt term for wabi-style tea. It gained an additionally interesting touch in the wabi context, we are told.

墨引
立花実山
薬石 点心

The *Nampō Roku*'s use of this Buddhist set of characters to write "kaiseki" did not cause an immediate changeover to these characters. Many tea documents thereafter continued to use the other characters. For example, in the *Hosokawa Chanoyu no Sho* [Hosokawa's Writing on Chanoyu], published in 1868, the other characters are used in this passage: "At the time of the kaiseki (会席), if there are items one is not going to eat, one should leave them completely untouched." Again, in the 1746 work entitled *Chadō Shoku'u Den* [Transmissions of Oda Uraku on the Way of Tea], those characters appear in this passage: "The items for the kaiseki should depend upon the guests." Even after the establishment of the iemoto system, this trend continued. In a work entitled *Chawa Shō* [Tea Story Digest], written by Yokoi Tansho, who was a dis-

細川茶湯之書
茶道織有伝
茶話抄 横井淡所

Supervisor — Tsutsui Hiroichi Food Preparation — Araki Shigeo Photography — Nimura Haruomi



Meal Served by Sen Rikyū to Tokugawa Ieyasu

24th day of the intercalary New Year, Tenshō 19 (1591)

skewered abalone, dish of blended ingredients
rice, grilled-miso soup
hikimono — carp tossed with dressing
desserts — *funoyaki* [similar to a crepe], kelp, chestnuts
(note: the *Rikyū Hyakkaiki*, in which this
menu appears, gives no mention
of the ware in which the desserts
were served. For this reproduction
of the menu, an unglazed
earthenware plate is used.)

ciple of the seventh-generation head of the Omotesenke house, 如心斎天然 Nyoshinsai Tennen (1706–51), there is a section entitled "*Cha no Kaiseki no koto*" [About the Tea Kaiseki]. The section itself deals with points to remember when serving a meal, but the section title still uses the characters for "get-together" and "seating site."

It is possible to theorize that the use of the Buddhist characters for "kaiseki" occurred, as spurred by their use in the *Nampō Roku*, when special emphasis was being placed on the spiritual aspect of the meal. 茶話真向翁 One clue for this is found in a work entitled *Chawa Mamuki no Okina* [Old Man Facing Tea Stories Straight On], written by a disciple of 藪之内竹心 Yabunouchi Chikushin (1678–1745; fifth generation head of the 関竹泉 Yabunouchi chanoyu tradition), Seki Chikusen, and published in 1803. In this work, Chikusen states:

> One should use the term "bosom-pocket stone" when writing about a chanoyu meal. Although there are those who find this term difficult to understand and who therefore write it "get-together seating site," and there are also those who find this unamusing, too, and therefore denote it with such expressions as "cuisine on the menu of the meal for the gathering" (*kaizen kondate ryōri*), it should nevertheless be written "bosom-pocket stone." The characters for this have Zen as their basis.

速水宗達 喫茶指掌編 Hayami Sōtatsu, in his 1824 work entitled *Kissa Shishō Hen* [Edited Pointers on Tea Drinking], explains as follows:

> Chanoyu is not a matter concerning food, so [the food served] is not called "cuisine" (*ryōri*). Because it is the serving of a bowl of rice [i.e., some food] to temporarily stave off hunger, it is written "mysterious stone" (*kaiseki*; 怪石) or also "bosom-pocket stone" (*kaiseki*; 懐石), borrowing from the *mondō* (Zen question-answer) about "the eastern bank and the Buddha's compassion." Saying so, however, compared with Sōeki's [i.e., Rikyū's] era, since everything nowadays is a matter of uniqueness, this tends to lend uniqueness to it.

井伊直弼 By the time of Ii Naosuke (1815–60), who served as Elder Statesman during the closing days of the Tokugawa Bakufu, and who expressed the notions of "the singularity of each encounter" (*ichigo ichie*) and "solitary contemplation" (*dokuza kannen*) in chanoyu, the ground had been laid for the use of the Buddhist characters as a matter of course.

And in present times, we take it for granted that "kaiseki" written with those characters refers to the cuisine served at tea functions.

As we saw earlier, this 'tea meal' started as a simplified *honzen* meal, and, together with the distillation of tea based on the wabi aesthetic, it became the basic rule for it to consist of one soup and three side dishes. This basic rule, however, did not apply to all occasions. Rather, it applied to the kaiseki enjoyed by tea people inclined toward wabi, who made use of small rooms for their tea gatherings. It seems that the format for the meal differed between tea people who possessed Chinese (*karamono*) utensils[9] — who the *Yamanoue Sōji Ki* labelled 'chanoyu agents' (*chanoyu-sha*) — and 'wabi-inclined' (*wabi-suki*) people who possessed no famed utensils, and that there was a difference drawn between whether the site for the gathering constituted a small room or a spacious one. This is evident from a passage in the *Uso Shū Shikan Sho*, explaining the mode in which to entertain an honorable guest who is the owner of one or two famed items. The passage is as follows:

茶湯者 侘数寄

> The tea service should be in the formal style (*shin*), and as for the meal, too, there should be two to three items on the main food tray, two or three other courses served on trays with legs, a light soup, a cold soup, and later a dish to accompany saké (*hikisai*).

真

The "formal style" of tea service would involve the use of a *daisu*, a rather large stand on which the utensils would be displayed. On the other hand, a wabi tea room would preclude use of a *daisu*. For such a room, one soup and a maximum of three side dishes, and a light serving of saké, was recommended. This meant that one should refrain from serving overly 'done up' meals in a small, simple environment. The evolution of the cuisine served at tea gatherings, hence, was influenced by quite a wide range of factors.

Once this cuisine began taking definite shape, as explained above, the one to set its course as a meal truly suited to the wabi ideal was Rikyū. This is related in a work entitled *Genryū Chawa* [Stories Pertaining to the Origins of Tea], as follows:

源流茶話

> In ancient times, the nobles had two or three soups, but after Rikyū revised things, the wealthy and the noble,

9 The term *karamono*, or literally "Tang item," denotes a fine and extremely highly-prized tea utensil imported from China during the Ashikaga period. A special, formal setting was considered necessary for the use of such a 'treasure,' and owners of such pieces commanded special respect. The greatest of the "famed items" (*meibutsu*) used in tea were inevitably *karamono*.

> too, had just one soup and three side dishes, or one soup and two side dishes, and, for wabi, one soup and one side dish, so that, without numerous items, the matter of eating things liked and disliked was terminated.

Even after the *sōan-cha* way of tea had been established, circles centering around individuals such as the warriors Miyoshi Chōkei (1523–64), Matsunaga Hisahide (1510–77), and Oda Nobunaga ((1534–82) still enjoyed tea gatherings where the food was little different from *honzen ryōri* and featured second and third food trays. As wabi tea was developing, however, the trend towards limiting the foods to one soup and three side dishes, regardless of whether the guest was a special person, also existed. Yabunouchi Chikushin, author of the *Genryū Chawa*, explains in the above-quoted passage that it was Rikyū who perfected the concept.

In the *Matsuya Kaiki*, Rikyū makes his appearance under the name Sōeki in an entry for a tea gathering held on the 27th day of the 2nd month, 1544 (Tembun 13), when he would have been twenty-two years old. At the tea gathering which he held in his hometown of Sakai on this day, inviting a monk named Ejun 恵遵 and Matsuya Hisamasa, the record states that he served the following:

> rice; soup with tōfu and wild horsetail; wheat gluten;
> udo (L., *Aralia cordata*)
> *hikimono*: jellyfish
> three desserts: kaya nuts, chestnuts, and dried octopus
> (*kumotako*)

Let us inquire into the form of dishes he possibly served using the gluten, udo, and jellyfish. The 1643 *Ryōri Monogatari* lists the usages of these three ingredients as follows:

> Gluten: soups, simmered dishes (*nimono*), sashimi,
> skewered and grilled, various tidbits
> Udo: *namasu*, blended with dressing (*aemono*),
> plain, pickled (*kōnomono*)
> Jellyfish: one-pot dishes (*nabemono*), *namasu*, clear
> soups

One might imagine that Rikyū served the gluten skewered and grilled, blended the udo with some kind of dressing, and made the jellyfish into *namasu*.

Rikyū's serving of such a menu at the outset of his life as a tea person gives us a good preview of his later, thorough-going inclinations

toward wabi. There are only eighteen other menus of his recorded thereafter in such works as the *Matsuya Kaiki, Tennōjiya Kaiki, Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Kakinuki*, and *Sōtan Nikki*.[10] Of the eighteen menus, six included two soups. As for the number of side dishes, one included four side dishes, but all the others stayed within three.

天王寺屋会記
今井宗久茶湯書抜
宗湛日記

There is a tea-gathering record commonly known as the *Rikyū Hyakkaiki* [Record of One-hundred of Rikyū's Tea Gatherings], which covers the period from the eighth month of 1590 to the first month of 1591, the month before Rikyū's death. Although there are some questions as to its reliability as a reference source, each copy of it differing slightly in its information on the tea gatherings, the version included in the *Chadō Koten Zenshū* [Complete Collection of Chadō Classics, (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1956)], which records eighty-seven tea gatherings given by Rikyū during that short span, helps clarify what kind of kaiseki Rikyū perfected for wabi tea. Of the eighty-seven menus, only four involved the serving of a second course, and these all were meals served when the powerful warrior Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–98) was the guest. Furthermore, although a second course was served on these four occasions, the foods altogether included two soups and two side dishes on one occasion, two soups and three side dishes on two occasions, and one soup and five side dishes on the other occasion.

利休百会記
茶道古典全集
豊臣秀吉

For example, at a morning gathering held on the 3rd day of the 9th month (1590), where Rikyū invited Hideyoshi and two others, he is said to have brought out rice, soup with *nattō* (fermented soybeans), and eel *namasu* on legged, cedar trays, and to have followed this with a second course consisting of something blended with dressing, grilled sea bream, and duck soup. Thus, altogether the menu featured two soups and three side dishes. Then, as it was noon when the tea ended, Rikyū served lunch in a spacious room. This could be called a kind of "last round." The foods he served at this time were, first, rice with hot water, skewered abalone, grilled *miso* in a gold gilt bucket, something blended with dressing, and vegetable soup — in other words, one soup and three side dishes. He also served a second course consisting of eel and *kamaboko*. This was not a kaiseki-format meal, but was a regular lunch, one could say. Even at such gatherings where Rikyū's guest was Hideyoshi, it appears that Rikyū's inner intention was to adhere to as wabi a mood as possible, and, all-in-all, he rarely went beyond two soups and three side dishes.

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10 These four works — the *Matsuya Kaiki* used as the chief source of information in this article, as well as the *Tennōjiya Kaiki* [Get-together Record of the Tennōjiya Mercantile House], *Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu Kakinuki* [Imai Sōkyū's Chanoyu Excerpts], and *Sōtan Nikki* [Diary of Kamiya Sōtan] — consist of notations on the particulars of the tea gatherings attended by their authors, and are regarded as the four most important sources of information regarding the tea gatherings of the period.

I theorize that one of the things that Rikyū may have deliberated about during his later years was the matter of the form of the kaiseki; that is, the question of what foods to place on the food tray. Possibly, it was Rikyū who originated the custom of placing the rice, one soup, and just one side dish on the food tray, as we do today, as opposed to the rice, soup, and two side dishes that had been the standard format. In Rikyū's case, however, there was no rule that the side dish should be *namasu*; sometimes he served something grilled, and sometimes he served something blended with dressing. Also, the thought that one should refrain from serving grilled foods at a morning tea gathering was not an issue.

古田織部正殿聞書

By the time of Furuta Oribe (1544–1615), a standard had arisen regarding the types of dishes to serve. The *Furuta Oribe-no-sho dono Kikigaki* [Notes on Things Heard from Lord Furuta Oribe] contains a passage regarding side dishes to put on the food tray. Summed up, it recommends serving either one dish of *namasu* or one dish of boiled foods on the tray, and it ends with the comment: ". . . to put out a tray with two side dishes on it lacks etiquette."

After Rikyū

We have thus far seen how, together with Rikyū's development of the wabi way of tea, a certain style of cuisine took shape for serving at tea gatherings. After Rikyū, the wabi way of tea was succeeded by his sons Shōan (1546–1614) and Dōan (1546–1607), as well as by such men as Gamō Ujisato (1556–95), Takayama Ukon (1553–1615), Hosokawa Sansai (1563–1645), Oda Uraku (1547–1621), and Furuta Oribe — representative daimyō tea enthusiasts who were followers of Rikyū — and, through this, it witnessed a new kind of development. Accordingly, kaiseki cuisine also began to witness change.

Among the daimyō tea enthusiasts who carried on Rikyū's tea tradition, if we limit our discussion to their attitudes pertaining to kaiseki cuisine, it was Furuta Oribe who adhered most strictly to the 'spirit' of Rikyū's kaiseki. The world of tea after Rikyū, represented by Oribe, Hosokawa Sansai, and Oda Uraku, and then Kobori Enshū (1579–1647), Kanamori Sōwa (1584–1656), and Katagiri Sekishū (1605–73), entered the age of "daimyō tea." Coinciding with this, kaiseki too experienced a move away from the notions which Rikyū had emphasized. Oribe alone, however, must be regarded as having been of the same mind as Rikyū. To further comment on this, it can be said that Oribe even advocated a more wabi style of kaiseki than did Rikyū.

This is supported by his statements recorded in the *Furuta Oribe-no-sho dono Kikigaki*: "It lacks etiquette to serve a second food tray," and "It is not good to serve two soups," and by the fact that hardly any instances of his having served a second food tray can be found in records of his tea gatherings. Thinking in terms of the trends of the post-Rikyū period, it is possible to also say that Oribe was more thorough-going in his wabi than was Rikyū. As compared with Rikyū's precisely formed tea, Oribe liked the beauty of things that were not precisely formed, and he incorporated new sensibilities into his ceramics and tearooms. Through these, it was he who built the foundations for the age of daimyō tea. Nonetheless, as far as his kaiseki is concerned, he adhered to Rikyū's wabi tea from start to finish.

Knowledge about Oribe's tea can be gathered from the *Matsuya Kaiki* and also the *Oribe Densho* [Transmissions Pertaining to Furuta Oribe], included in the *Chadō Shiso Densho* [Transmissions Pertaining to the Four Forefathers of the Way of Tea].[11] After Oribe began living at his estate in Fushimi, having succeeded Rikyū as tea director for Hideyoshi, Matsuya Hisayoshi and Matsuya Hisashige visited him on numerous occasions. One such occasion was the 11th day of the 9th month, 1597 (Keichō 2), when Nakanobō Gengo, Ozaki Kichisuke, and Hisayoshi paid him a visit. When they arrived, Oribe had just finished his duties at the castle and returned home. Hisayoshi's account of the meal shows it to have consisted of one soup and two side dishes — a grilled citron brought in with the rice and soup, and broiled eel and pickles brought in separately as the *hikimono*. The single "dessert" was some burdock root. Hisayoshi's comments tell us that Oribe made the foods himself.

織部伝書
茶道四祖伝書

Another occasion was the 20th day of the 11th month in 1601 (Keichō 6), when Hisayoshi again visited Oribe with two others, including the chief priest of Saibukuin temple. The *Matsuya Kaiki* records the menu as follows:

> rice with grated taro (*tororo*); fish-head cartilage *namasu* having chestnuts, thin strands of white kelp, and sea cucumber in it; grilled salmon, unskewered, and having the roe on top
> separate: Japanese pepper and daikon radish pickles on a "*hassun*," and shaved dried bonito and grilled *nishi* (kind of small, spiral river shellfish) in a side-dish container (*saiire*)

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11 The *Chadō Shiso Densho* is a four-volume work edited by Matsuya Hisashige (1566–1652), the last of the three generations of the Matsuya family whose accounts of tea gatherings make up the *Matsuya Kaiki*.

in lacquered stacked boxes (*fuchidaka*), desserts: *yuba* (soybean-milk film); kudzu dumplings

The bowl of rice with grated taro, the container of *namasu*, and the dish of grilled salmon were placed on the individual food trays and brought out, and then the *hassun* with pickles on it and the container of grilled shellfish were brought out. Altogether, then, there were four side dishes. The term used for the *hikimono* container, "*hassun*" ("eight *sun*"), probably stemmed from the fact that the container was that size (approximately 24 cm). Although we cannot tell if the *hassun* or the other container referred to as *saiire* were ceramic, wooden, or lacquered, the above is the earliest appearance of the name "*hassun*" in a tea document.

八寸

When one of Oribe's guests that day, the chief priest of Saibukuin temple, later invited Oribe and Hisayoshi to tea on the 13th day of the 12th month, the food tray that was served had on it a bowl of rice, a bowl of soup containing tōfu, potatoes, and daikon radish, and also a dish of grilled citron and a dish of gluten. The term "*hassun*" appears here, too, as the dish on which some other foods were next brought in. The *hikimono* that followed — burdock root and parched kelp — was served in a two-tiered container. Later, it became the rule to serve grilled foods and pickles in such a *hikimono* container, but this rule had not yet arisen.

Another entry in the *Matsuya Kaiki* pertains to a night-time gathering held by Oribe on the 8th day of the 9th month, 1611 (Keichō 16), at his new residence, which was still under construction, near Shijō-Horikawa in Kyoto. He invited six guests, including Funakoshi Gorōuemon, Inoko Takumi, Hisayoshi, and three others, and the meal he served consisted of rice, soup, *namasu*, and *hikimono* of small grilled sea bream, grilled poultry, and half-dried bonito. The "dessert" consisted of chestnuts and tree-ripened persimmons. Afterwards, he served noodles.

It seems that Funakoshi at this time thought about the fact that it was nearly the time of year for the *kuchikiri* (unsealing of the leaf-tea storage jar) — an auspicious tea event celebrated like New Year's — and asked Oribe if, on that occasion, he would be serving one of the many cranes that he had. Oribe replied that, yes, he had many cranes, but they were not of any use for a *kuchikiri* tea gathering. His very words are said to have been as follows: "A *kuchikiri* is to be done with grilled *miso*, but it is alright to have crane on relaxed occasions" (*Kissa Shishō Hen*). Crane was one of the most deluxe ingredients used in *honzen ryōri*, and the fact that Oribe chose not to use it at a *kuchikiri* tea gathering, but, rather, to use grilled *miso*, tells us how strongly he was inclined towards wabi.

口切

喫茶指掌編

Oribe's tea-gathering records were compiled by the pottery researcher Suzuki Hancha (1894–1965) and Katsura Matasaburō into a work entitled *Furuta Oribe Chakaiki*. Of the thirty-four gatherings where kaiseki menus are mentioned, one can count nineteen wherein Oribe served one soup and three side dishes, five consisting of one soup and four side dishes, six consisting of one soup and two side dishes, and one each wherein he served two soups and five side dishes, one soup and five side dishes, one soup and two side dishes plus a "last round" of foods, and grated-taro rice with four side dishes. This reveals that, whereas Rikyū's wabi sensibility involved the number of side dishes that he served, Oribe's involved the number of soups. In other words, Rikyū strove not to serve more than three side dishes, while Oribe's notion was to serve no more than one soup. Following the aforementioned statement in the *Furuta Oribe-no-sho dono Kikigaki*, where he is quoted as saying "It is not good to serve two soups," he goes on to suggest that if one insisted on serving two kinds of soup, it was alright if one prepared the two kinds and served the second kind when refilling the bowls for the second helpings, but, in terms of orthodox style, it was improper to serve two kinds of soup. This difference between Oribe and Rikyū's admonitions is fascinating.

古田織部茶会記

In addition to Oribe, two other individuals who carried on the "one soup and three side dishes" format advocated by Rikyū were Rikyū's sons Shōan and Dōan. The first tea gathering of Shōan's to appear in the *Matsuya Kaiki* took place in the 8th month of 1590 (Tenshō 18). Hisayoshi was the only guests, and he records the menu as follows:

少庵 道安

> rice; soup with greens; *namasu*; *iriko* (possibly referring to tiny parched sardines or dried sea cucumber)
> *hikimono*: carp with warmed saké over it
> dessert: wheat gluten

The following day, Hisayoshi and Shōan were invited to a gathering by Rikyū, at which Rikyū served grilled-*miso* soup, skewered abalone, and gibel *namasu*. This was a very 'Rikyū-like' wabi menu.

As for Dōan, there is only one recorded instance of a tea gathering held by him. This gathering, where Hisayoshi was the only guests, took place on the 12th day of the 10th month, 1603 (Keichō 8). The menu is listed as having consisted of the following:

> rice; soup; grilled salmon in *itome* (container with fine-line design)
> following this: various kinds of *namasu*
> two desserts: roasted *mochi* (steamed, pounded rice); fresh chestnuts

As exemplified above, Oribe, Shōan, and Dōan together acted as the main pillar in preserving the wabi style of kaiseki perfected by Rikyū. Thus, Rikyū's wabi kaiseki was able to be passed on to Rikyū's grandson, Sōtan (1578–1658), who was even more thorough-going than his predecessors in his practice of wabi. On the other hand, however, daimyō tea enthusiasts — most actively, those who were followers of Rikyū and are known as his "Seven Sages"— were bringing about new developments in the world of tea. More specifically, while on the one hand the 'Rikyū-like' kaiseki was being kept alive by Oribe and the Sen family, on the other hand there was a resurgence of the kind of tea gatherings wherein the meal was the central attraction, which for some time had faded away. Let us look, for example, at when Kamiya Sōtan (1551–1635) of Hakata[12] was invited to a gathering held by Yakushiin Zensō (1525–99) in Kyoto on the 11th day of the 3rd month, 1594 (Bunroku 3). Kamiya was first shown into the *shoin* — a formal reception room featuring built-in shelves on which beautiful objects were displayed — where he was entertained with food and drink. On the main food tray, which was lacquered, there were black-lacquered bowls. The items served consisted of the following:

宗旦

神谷宗湛

薬師院全宗

> rice; soup with greens; grilled salmon; gibel *namasu*;
> foods blended with dressing
> second course on a large platter: tōfu with miso, topped
> with shaved bonito
> *kamaboko* and pickles served subsequently

Following this meal, the site was transferred to the tearoom, and the tea part of the entertainments took place.

Extravagant meal presentations had nearly disappeared from tea diaries during the years which coincided with Rikyū's final years. However, within just a short while after his death, they began to reappear, as seen here. This resurgence was particularly noticeable among a certain group of daimyō. As examples, let us look at Hosokawa Sansai and Kobori Enshū.

細川三斎

小堀遠州

When Hideyoshi decided to place Rikyū under house arrest, many of Rikyū's disciples shied away from paying Rikyū a visit, for fear of retribution from Hideyoshi. Under such circumstances, however, Oribe and Sansai went to see Rikyū off as he boarded the boat which would take him down the Yodo River to his house in Sakai. Furthermore, Sansai cherished and never parted with the keepsakes which Rikyū had given to him — the Amidadō kettle, a black Raku-ware teabowl named *Hachihiraki*, made by Chōjirō, and a stone lantern. The

12 Kamiya Sōtan's tea diary is the *Sōtan Nikki*. See note 10.

stone lantern, in particular, was so dear to him that he carried it along with him when he traveled, and arranged that it would be used for his gravestone. As for Sansai's chanoyu teachings, it is possible to learn about them from works written by Ichio Iori (1599–1689)[13] and his chanoyu lineage. Actual records of Sansai's tea gatherings, however, are only to be found in the portion of the *Chadō Shiso Densho* that deals with Sansai, or in the *Matsuya Kaiki*.

一尾伊織

Within these two records, the first appearance of a tea gathering of Sansai's occurs on the 2nd day of the 7th month, 1634 (Kan'ei 11), well over forty years after Rikyū's death. The gathering took place at Sansai's residence at Karasuma in Kyoto, and the guests were the resident priest of Tōdaiji temple, together with Matsuya Hisashige. The menu was as follows:

> rice in container made of gold and silver speckled lacquer (*nashiji*); soup with matsutake mushrooms and potato; dish of *namasu*
> second course: on a large platter — *iwatake* lichen, konjak jelly (*konnyaku*), and amaranthus with *miso*; soup with *mozuku* seaweed
> *hikimono*: grilled salmon trout; tōfu with walnuts on top; sweet smelt sushi, shrimp
> Tidbit: seaweed
> black-eyed peas in *itome* container
> desserts: *uzurayaki* (kind of confection made of grilled *mochi*); burdock root cut in about 5 *bu* (1.5 cm) lengths

Compared with the meals that Rikyū, Oribe, Shōan, and Dōan served, as we saw earlier, this was quite an unthinkable array of foods. Notice should be taken of the fact that all of the gatherings thereafter hosted by Sansai included extravagant meal presentations.

On the 5th day of the 10th month, 1637 (Kan'ei 14), Hisashige was invited to Sansai's new residence at Yoshida in Kyoto. In his record of the event, he sketched a diagram of the sitting room, noted the characteristics of the *roji* garden, and recorded details about the utensils that were used. Apparently, when Sansai came in to greet the guests, he said, "I remember that Gensan (i.e., Hisashige) will not have poultry" (*Chadō Shiso Densho*). He receded, and the food trays were carried in. The trays were about 30 cm in size, were made of cypress, had unrounded corners, and had legs. Vermillion bowls were placed on

13 Ichio Iori, a chanoyu student of Sansai's, effectively established the Sansai school of chanoyu, and was the founder the Ichio chanoyu lineage.

them, and the foods consisted of rice, soup, *namasu* on contemporary dishes, and various kinds of pickles. The soup listed on the menu shows it to have contained duck and *shimeji* mushrooms or a thick slice of daikon radish. When second helpings of soup were served, Sansai instructed that a half a slice of daikon radish be placed in Hisashige's, because Hisashige did not want poultry. Since Hisashige was the shrine priest of Hachiman Wakamiya Shrine, his custom was to refrain from eating poultry.

Following this course, a shallow platter containing grilled, fresh salmon with garnishes was brought out for the *hikimono,* and a two-tiered box was brought out containing *kamaboko,* which rested on the wooden board on which it had been made, and scrambled tōfu. On top of this two-tiered box was a small tray containing black sesame seeds and a spoon with which to take the tōfu. This was further followed by a pot of stewed skylark. Hisashige's pot, however, had shellfish in it.

Hisashige notes, "There could hardly be a meal as difficult as this day's, consisting of three different forms of a single dish — vegetarian, fish, and poultry." No doubt he was considering the hardship of the cooks who had to prepare something different especially for him.

Sansai is then quoted as having said that it was fine to leave foods that one found difficult to eat. "During Rikyū's day, since there were only one or two side dishes, it is said that nothing was left uneaten. However, since large numbers of dishes are served now, it is not necessary to eat everything," he explains. This goes far in explaining how extravagant the meals had gotten compared to Rikyū's day. The 1626 *Sōjimboku* also states the same sort of idea as expressed by Sansai, supporting the fact that this was the general consensus of the period.

Kobori Enshū, who was born in 1579 (Tenshō 7), hosted a gathering at his residence in Fushimi on the 24th day of the 2nd month, 1599 (Keichō 4), when he had just turned twenty years old. The *Matsuya Kaiki* record of this shows that he invited four guests, including Matsuya Hisayoshi, and served them the following wabi meal of one soup and two side dishes:

> rice; soup with whiting, wild chrysanthemum,
> fernbrake, and *shiitake* mushrooms; ark shell
> broiled in the shell
> following this: simmered wild goose
> desserts: chestnuts; burdock root

After the Tokugawa Shōgunate won complete military control over the nation in 1615 (Genna 1),[14] Enshū became teacher of the art of tea

[14] This total seizure of control, which marked the beginning of the long period of peace

to Shōgun Tokugawa Iemitsu. In his kaiseki, there surfaced characteristics quite different from the characteristics seen in the kaiseki of Rikyū and Oribe — characteristics which, rather, were comparable to the tea style of the daimyō class.

On the 22nd day of the 12th month, 1646, Matsuya Hisashige participated in a tea gathering held by Enshū at his estate in Fushimi, the area south of Kyoto over which Enshū had been appointed magistrate. According to Hisashige's record of the menu, in the morning he was served a full meal in a small sitting room. The main tray, made of cedar and having legs, had on it rice, soup containing various ingredients, and a shallow dish of steamed poultry, lotus root, and potatoes. The chopsticks were made of cedar and were round, he mentions. The *hikimono* consisted of a variety of pickles, plus shellfish grilled in the shell served together with fresh shellfish, and also a bowl of soup containing white fish. This was followed by a second tray, having on it a helping of *konowata* (sea cucumber entrails). For the second *hikimono,* there was white tōfu smothered in ground black sesame, and burdock root with soy sauce poured over it. Furthermore, skewered broiled poultry and salted salmon were served on a thin board (*hegiita*). This was followed by a broth, and the meal ended with several desserts. Altogether, this made it a meal of two soups, nine side dishes, and one broth.

In the evening, following the actual "tea" part of the gathering that day, a last round of foods was served in a large room. Among the dishes at this time, there were pickles, porridge of sago starch with white sugar sprinkled on it, and soup with potatoes, daikon radish, and tōfu in it.

The recorder of the above menus, Hisashige, was the third generation in the Matsuya family to carry on the *Matsuya Kaiki* record started by Hisamasa and then passed to Hisayoshi. Hisashige's portion of the record starts in 1604 (Keichō 9), but contains very few notations regarding menus until the first year of the Kan'ei era, 1624. Looking at the menus recorded thereafter, we find that from the year 1633 there is a gradual increase in meals which include a second food tray. Or, even though a second food tray is not mentioned, seven or eight items are included as *hikimono*. Oribe had admonished, "It lacks etiquette to serve two food trays," but now that the daimyō style of tea had taken the fore, it was considered natural to have a second food tray. Of course, the number of foods far surpassed the number recommended by Rikyū, but the thoughtful attention given to the preparation of those foods followed Rikyū's tradition.

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maintained by the Tokugawa Shōgunate, occurred once Tokugawa Ieyasu destroyed the headquarters of the Toyotomi party in Osaka Castle, an event referred to as the "military seizure of the Genna era" (*Genna Embu*).

片桐石州 Records of the tea gatherings of Katagiri Sekishū, who succeeded Enshū as official tea teacher of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, also occasionally appear in the *Matsuya Kaiki*. They reveal that his kaiseki were elaborate meals that well represented the style of tea of the daimyō class. His skill at creating kaiseki meals was highly reputed, and, according to the *Meiryō Kōhan* [Illlustrious Examples],[15] the quality that made his cuisine remarkable was its lightness. Others had difficulty in trying to copy this quality, and once, when Sekishū was asked what his secret was, he replied:

明良洪範

> If one wishes to bring out the flavors of dishes, the first thing is to make heavy foods, and the light foods coming forth from those heavy ones will be tasty. If one attempts to make them light from the start, it becomes crude and cannot be served to guests.

This is to say that, by thinking that kaiseki food is different from *honzen* food and trying to make the kaiseki foods light from the start, they will end up being unpresentable to guests. The care required in preparing a kaiseki meal is far greater than that required to prepare a *honzen* meal of even the most proper makings, he thus tells us.

The lesson that Sekishū taught was that, with the coming of the age of daimyō-style tea, the more elaborate the meals became, the more vital it was to preserve the spirit held by Rikyū. This was attributable to the fact that he believed that kaiseki, of all the forms of cuisine, should exist as the one most abundant in spiritual quality.

On the other hand, also, there were the children and disciples of Sen Sōtan who, while the meals served in the context of daimyō-style tea were becoming increasingly elaborate, preserved the rule formed during the time between Takeno Jōō and Rikyū, that "food is enough if it keeps one from starvation." For example, several tea gatherings by Miyake Bōyō (1580–1649), who was one of Sen Sōtan's four closest disciples, are recorded in the *Matsuya Kaiki*, and we find that on the 23rd day of the 2nd month, 1648 (Shōhō 5), he served a meal consisting of rice, soup with greens, shellfish in the shell, a *hikimono* of grilled sea bream and shaved, dried cod fish, and just one dessert of *kawatake* mushrooms.

三宅亡羊

藤村庸軒 Another of Sōtan's four closest disciples, Fujimura Yōken (1613–99), was born into the Hisada family of Ōmi province, and was adopted into the family of the Jūniya kimono dealer located at Nishinotōin in Kyoto. He could be described as a representative townsman-class tea

[15] A forty-volume collection of anecdotes about the first five Tokugaawa shōguns and retainers in their service during the period 1600–ca 1680.—cf. Kōdansha Encyclopedia of Japan.

person. Yōken left a record of twelve tea gatherings which he hosted between 1681 and 1696, included within a collected work entitled *Bōgyū Chakaiki*. The entry for the 5th day of the 12th month, 1683 (Tenna 3), shows that he served a meal consisting of rice; one soup having greens, *yuba*, and thinly sliced mushrooms in it; a colorfully-patterned porcelain saké cup containing chopped sweet smelt; a shallow dish of cooked duck and Japanese parsley; a *hikimono* of pickles served in a colorfully-patterned porcelain bowl, and broiled *kamaboko* and burdock root with *miso* in a tiered box. This amounted to one soup and four side dishes. In addition to the rice and soup bowls on the flat food tray (*oshiki*), a deep dish and a shallow one, as influenced by the eating ware used in Buddhist meals and customarily used in the "four-bowl" format of kaiseki ware since the time of Rikyū, were utilized. Yōken departed from the standard four-bowl set, however, by using a porcelain deep dish and shallow dish as opposed to the standard lacquer ware.

旁求茶会記

Another individual who promoted the meager, wabi form of kaiseki was Sōtan's Zen master, Seigan Sōi (1588–1661), who left a work entitled *Seigan Zenji Chaji Jūhachikajō* [Zen Master Seigan's Eighteen Points for a Tea Gathering]. In a passage subtitled "*Nanashi Chanoyu*," or "Nameless Chanoyu," he describes what he considers the epitome of kaiseki, as follows:

清厳宗渭
清厳禅師茶事十八ヵ条

> One has some food before the tea — neat bowls set ever so nonchalantly on a *yamaoshiki* [type of flat food tray]. One soup and one side dish, pickles, salted Japanese pepper, cedar chopsticks, then a new course, a large bowl and change of soup, placing out of saké with the guests serving themselves, the host coming in and asking to make sure there has been enough saké, whereafter he provides hot water, and there is one kind of dessert, with a wooden pick having the bark attached to it ... in this, there is nothing outstanding.

The kaiseki cuisine of the Edo period was thus to continue developing along two paths: the wabi path as seen above, and the elegant daimyō-style path described earlier. It was only natural, however, that as the economy of the townsmen of the Genroku era (1688–1704) strengthened, the meager one soup and two or three side dishes came to be exceeded, even by those at the center of the Sen lineage. There is a work concerning kaiseki cuisine entitled *Chanoyu Kondate Shinan* [Chanoyu Menus Pointing South; 1696], the most representative work of Endō Genkan (dates unknown), who wrote many books regarding the Enshū tradition of tea. Its opening paragraph states:

茶湯献立指南
遠藤元閑

> In cuisine for chanoyu, the coordination of things (*toriai*) is considered most important. For instance, if one is to make a fine soup, one should make the boiled dish unimpressive, and the whole menu — from the things for the *hassun* to the broiled dish, the blended food, the sashimi, the *namasu*, the clear soup, and even the tidbits — should be decided on the basis of the efficiency of their combinations. If one indiscriminately chooses only astute items for the meal, it will diminish the pleasure of the tea. Though in the old days there was an age when overly unimpressive things — brown rice, quick soups, broiled salted sardines placed out on a *yamaoshiki* — were considered amusing, and chanoyu also enjoyed popularity, now that it is the era of Nagahisa's rule, people have developed pampered tastes, so that with the old kind of foods people tend to think poorly of chanoyu. Nonetheless, if one does not skillfully coordinate things, the cuisine will be in discord.

This passage shows that in the Genroku era, as the merchantile economy strengthened and the flow of currency was brisk, kaiseki cuisine also became showy. It is also an interesting document for the fact that it reveals what sorts of foods were served during this period in history. It seems possible to say that the kind of kaiseki we enjoy in present times began to take its shape during the Genroku era.

Translated by Gretchen Mittwer

The Essence of Japanese Beauty

Itoh Teiji

Wabi
Tranquil Simplicity

The refined and elegant simplicity achieved by bringing out the natural colors, forms, and textures inherent in materials such as wood, straw, bamboo, clay, and stone, as well as in artifacts crafted from them like earthenware, tile, handmade paper, and lacquerware, and in textile fibers like hemp, cotton, or silk — this is the core of *wabi*. Wabi may describe beauty in nature untouched by human hands, or it may emerge from human attempts to draw out the distinctive beauty of materials. While eschewing decoration, contrivance, or showiness, wabi treads the fine and precarious line between beauty and shabbiness. To discover wabi, one must have an eye for the beautiful, yet it is not an aesthetic understood only by the Japanese of old, but a quality that can be recognized by anyone, anywhere, who is discriminating and sensitive to beauty.

Sabi
Patina of Age

Beauty that treasures the passage of time is *sabi*, echoing the original meaning of the word: rust or patina. Objects or constructions created from organic materials and used in daily life are of course beautiful when they are brand new. But sabi describes the new and different phases of beauty that evolve in the course of their use and enjoyment, and the conviction that the aesthetic value of things is not diminished by time, but enhanced. The wear and tear of daily use, lovingly repaired and attended to, does not detract, but adds new beauty and aesthetic depth. Indeed, sabi is at its ultimate when age and wear bring a thing to the very threshold of its demise. Appreciation of sabi confirms the natural cycle of organic life — that what is created from the earth finally returns to the earth and that nothing is ever complete. Sabi is true to the natural cycle of birth and rebirth.

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Suki
Subtle Elegance

Originally expressing attraction, fascination, and curiosity, *suki* is aesthetic adventure beyond conventional standards, delight in the unusual, curious, or idiosyncratic. Initially, suki seems to have expressed an idea of beauty that was heretical and unorthodox. The shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori (1399–1441) was a patron of the arts known for his revolt against old and established aesthetic rules. His salon was receptive to bold and new ideas that were to become firmly established in the sixteenth century as what we might describe as "subtle elegance." Many today are devotees of suki, the pursuit of beauty in unconventional forms and guises, but their search continues to be faithful to the quality of subtle elegance, which circumscribes the ageless essence of suki.

There may be no Japanese capable of giving a definitive definition of *wabi*, *sabi*, and *suki*, perhaps because they represent concepts that are almost wholly dependent on context. Those who try to explain wabi, sabi, or suki always seem to "beat about the bush," offering hints and helpful examples, but more often than not becoming tangled up in contradictions. The problem is that our attempt to plunge into the "bush" and bring these concepts out into the open tend to do little to demystify them. Still, it would be a mistake to conclude that therefore most Japanese do not really understand the meaning of these terms. The dilemma that we face is that our grasp is intuitive and perceptual, rather than rational and logical.

If we look up the word "suki" in the dictionary, for example, we find that its origin is in the verb still used by contemporary Japanese for "like," and that it has a number of meanings: love or fondness for the opposite sex, for one's parents, things, or activities; indulgence in pleasure, sexual infatuation, or illicit love; to fall in love in the ordinary sense; to be attracted to and absorbed in a hobby, art, or other pursuit; to act or create freely, unbound by traditions or social customs; and fascination with strange or curious things, customs, or arts. A sort of perceptual consistency is all they share. Suki is the kind of word that defies clarification save in a particular context. It is therefore far more meaningful to approach not only suki, but wabi and sabi as well, in the contexts in which they are used to describe design, texture, or human behavior, and let one's imagination be the guide to understanding.

"*Watashi wa shirayuri ga suki*" is an example of the first meaning: "I like white lilies." The term *suki no hito* is usually used in the fourth meaning, one who is devoted to culture — a connoisseur or person of taste — and who is therefore looked upon favorably by others. A *suki-mono*, on the other hand, is a licentious person or one who indulges in promiscuous or eccentric hobbies or tastes, or who has a fondness for unusual or odd activites or ways. Such a person would not be thought well of from the point of view of orthodox culture. Nevertheless, the meaning even of this word may be slightly changed in the context of a particular conversation. For example, if you were a man talking with a good friend, you might tease him by calling him a *suki-mono*, meaning in a quite friendly sense that he is enviably handsome and popular with women.

The same is true with wabi, which is a noun created from the adjective *wabishii*. This word, too, has a number of meanings. At least two of them share a certain perceptual consistency, although from a logical point of view, they seem to contradict each other: 1) a person, way of life, or thing that looks wretched, poor, or miserable, and 2) a person, way of life, or thing that appears simple, elegant, and tranquil. In order to understand where wabi stands among these various meaning of wabishii, we have to examine the word in context. A typical example might be the sentence, "Some years ago, his wife passed away and he is living a *wabi-zumai* (wabi life)." The image conjured up, at least for me, is of a man living by himself without any companionship who eats his meals alone and has few visitors. Others might imagine a different sort of wabi-zumai, but it is nevertheless likely to be of a sad, lonely, and rather dismal existence.

Quite another version of the wabi life — exemplary of utter simplicity and tranquility yet imbued with refined taste and nobility of spirit — was that of the early medieval period literary recluse, Kamo no Chōmei (1155–1216), known for his contemplative diary, *Hōjōki* [Account of My Hut]. In 1156, more than three centuries of peace and sophisticated culture came to an end as power struggles shattered the civilized life of the capital city of Kyoto. Until then, the city had not known violence or murder, but suddenly turmoil and suffering were everywhere, enveloping the imperial family, the nobles, and the samurai elite. Devastating famines and fires gripped the city for the following three decades. Chōmei's diary, written in the early part of this tumultuous time, describes how one disaster followed another and how during this time seven hundred people died of starvation daily. One poignant passage tells how infants sometimes perished while suckling at mothers' breasts that no longer offered sustenance.

Chōmei was the son of the head of the old and respected Shimogamo Shrine in Kyoto. At about the age of forty, he cast aside worldly pursuits and became a recluse, moving to a small hut in Hino in the foothills of the mountains of Uji, southeast of Kyoto. His abode was a single room about three meters square, where he slept, ate, and studied. The structure had a

thatched roof and was cold and drafty in winter. His kitchen was probably a simple hearth housed under the extended eaves at the back, and his toilet an outdoor privy, all in all rather crude and uncomfortable.

Chōmei was not among the wealthy of his time, but neither was he ever totally impoverished. He was a man of respectable family and letters, whose poetic talents earned him respect in literary circles at an early age. He was not employed in a government post or any other kind of work, but he did not starve. The wabi life for him, obviously, was something different from the poor, miserable, and dismal existence of the ordinary Kyoto townspeople.

Indeed, small and simple as his abode may have been, he wrote poetry and played the lute, absorbing himself in contemplations on the meaning of life; he was, in fact, engaged in the forging of a whole new direction in culture. No doubt he had friends who thought his talents wasted and were convinced that he would have become a wealthy and powerful man if he had taken a government post. However, had he gotten embroiled in the power struggles of his day, he might not have made the important contribution he did to the advance of Japanese culture. He was and is respected precisely because he placed himself apart from the centers of power and lived in an unobtrusive fashion removed from the conflict between the contending sides. Chōmei set an example for the aesthetic of wabi that left a lasting imprint on Japanese culture.

Discovery of New Value

Civil wars, for all the chaos and suffering they inflict, often prove to be turning points, perhaps because they are not only the result of power struggles and changes in rulers, but also the expression of changes in the social structure and of a transition to new values. The chaotic times of Kamo no Chōmei ultimately subsided with the establishment of the Kamakura regime in 1185 which pacified the country for a century and a half. Civil war erupted again in the fourteenth century and abated with the emergence of the Ashikaga shōgunate in 1333, but by the latter half of the fifteenth century, the country was torn again by constant warfare among local chieftains competing for power and territory. During these turbulent centuries, however, the power of the local leaders was rapidly coalescing, and wealthy merchants were doing a flourishing business in direct or indirect collaboration with these members of what was to become the new ruling class.

The creation of a robust new culture to replace the effete, court-centered taste of the past was carried forward by these two groups of upstarts, rural warrior families and mobile city-based traders. They

discovered among the cultures of heterodox or outcast groups in society — the entertainers who wandered the countryside in bright-colored kimono performing exotic dances, and *yūjo* (female entertainers-cum-prostitutes/courtesans), with their gaudy dress and elegant hairstyles — a completely new scale of aesthetic values. Starting in this period of civil war, the warrior and merchant elite refined and improved upon the innovations of these outsiders, developing a genuine popular culture that was to flower in the age that followed. The new culture was to become part of the identity of the new ruling class, and it was to prove convenient to their political ambitions as well.

The medieval women of pleasure, low as their social status might have been, did enjoy certain advantages in such a time of transition. The majority had considerable potential earning power, and were in a position to take advantage of opportunities to bypass the ordinary routes of social mobility, for example, by marrying into a wealthy or even aristocratic family. In addition, since they were social outcasts to begin with, they did not have to abide by the numerous and stringent rules of the day that governed nearly every detail of the lives of the common people. Being unbound by the framework of established cultural traditions allowed them, for better or worse, to engage in artistic and cultural innovation. It was during the latter half of the sixteenth century, when this new ruling class emerged to overthrow the old, and new structures of government were set in place, that these women began to assert their identity. It was expressed in a way that was attractive to people in all walks of life, featuring colorfully designed kimono, elegant hairstyles, and smart ways of dressing. They even made distinctive ways of walking a statement of style, and became, in our contemporary sense, the originators of new and original fashions.

The fashions created by the women of pleasure attracted not only the common people, but the newly emerged power stratum of provincial lords (*daimyō*), whose fascination with the new styles is reflected in the folding screen paintings they commissioned. One of the best known is a screen passed down by the Ii family, lords of the Hikone domain (present-day Shiga Prefecture). The screen, which has been designated a national treasure, depicts these women, in their fanciful costumes and hairstyles and displaying numerous ingeniously designed accessories, on a gold background. It was executed in delicate brushwork of a decadent style. Of the meanings of suki described above, the screen exhibits only love of pleasure and creative freedom. All the other meanings of the word were ignored. In this way, those at the cultural vanguard of the new age picked out from the fabric of existing culture the threads from which they proceeded to weave a new and distinctive aesthetic.

The warlord leaders and wealthy merchants of the sixteenth century brought the cultural ferment to a peak. They combined the culture of the

old aristocracy and the Ashikaga shōguns (who despite their warlord origins had embraced court taste) with that of farmers (which centered around annual rituals), as well as foreign cultures that filtered into Japan from other parts of East Asia. From these diverse elements they developed a unique aesthetic symbolized by the concepts of wabi, sabi, and suki.

The creators of the new culture naturally chose selectively from the various meanings of wabi, sabi, and suki, from time to time adding original and singular meanings of their own. They had to or they would not have succeeded in creating a value structure for the new composite culture. Their achievements crystallized in the culture that evolved around chanoyu, or the "tea ceremony." Chanoyu, which in the thirteenth century had consisted of little more than drinking medicinal herb tea, became by the sixteenth a literal conglomerate of the cultures of the past. Devotees of chanoyu were accomplished in the proper ways of writing letters, the formal etiquette of greetings, appreciation of the arts, arrangement of flowers, design of chanoyu architecture and gardens, preparation and arrangement of food and sweets, proper manners for all occasions indoors and outdoors, acceptable topics of conversation, and many other skills.

Unlike the chanoyu arts of today, in the sixteenth century it was not permissible to imitate others in the way a party or gathering was held, the style of the ceremony, or in the design or combination of tea utensils used. Those who copied others were looked down upon as lacking in originality or creativity.

The discovery of novel tea caddies was one example of the pursuit of this *de rigueur* originality. Ordinary farmers, merchants, and artisans were poor and did not drink green tea — then a costly item — but a brew made from steeped scorched wheat (*mugikogashi*), sometimes flavored with a small amount of some herb or soybean powder. This mixture was usually kept in cheaply made earthenware pots, but there was a quality about these pots that embodied the wabi-sabi aesthetic and was quick to catch the eye of aficionados of tea. The story of one such tea utensil which became famous in the world of chanoyu and was given the name "Yama-no-i" (lit., mountain well), illustrates the chanoyu cult of originality.

In the year 1581, a low-ranking samurai named Inazu Chūbei, who was passing through the castle town of Kameyama (in present-day Kyoto Prefecture), stopped to rest at a townhouse along the road. The woman of the house served him a cup of hot mugikogashi. As he sipped the brew, Inazu spied next to the woman the small pot (*kotsubo*) in which she kept the scorched wheat mixture. It was reddish brown earthenware with a glossy black glaze around the shoulder that dripped down the sides of the pot. The effect of the dripping glaze, though completely accidental, was striking. Inazu, captivated by the shape and effect of the shiny black glaze against the unglazed red clay, was overcome with the desire to have the pot for his own. He asked the woman if she would let him have it.

The townswoman was much flattered that the samurai would be so desirous of what was to her a cheap item. The vessel, no bigger than a man's fist, was of the sort commonly made by anonymous craftsmen for miscellaneous household purposes. But pottery in those days was all handmade, and no two pieces were ever made exactly in the same shape, color, or design. To Inazu the pot was not simply a container for tea but a work of art, so when he asked the woman what price she would ask for it, he fully expected to pay an amount suitable to a work of art — certainly more than what he carried in his purse at the moment. But the woman, knowing nothing of the aesthetics of chanoyu and only that the pot was a crudely made household item, firmly refused to accept any payment. She insisted that it was enough if the samurai really liked the pot and would treasure it.

It soon became clear that a gulf in values separated the thinking of the townswoman and the samurai. The samurai declared that he was no beggar and would not countenance taking the pot for free. But the townswoman had her pride as well: the pot was not the kind of thing for which she could claim a high price in good conscience. The exchange over the pot, which had begun in quiet tones, escalated into a loud dispute. Neighbors gathered to find out what was the matter, and finally a man offered to mediate. All that had to be done, he said, was for the samurai to hand over all the copper coins he had in his purse, and for the woman to give him the pot. That would satisfy the samurai by divesting him of all the money he had in his purse, as well as the woman because the amount was only 70 *mon*, the equivalent of only about two thirds the average daily wages of a craftsman. Such was the gap in values between the samurai class and the common people; for those whose lives were poor and meager to begin with, there was nothing exquisite or inspiring about coarseness or simplicity. For the new elite of society in the process of turning a whole new page in cultural history, however, wabi and sabi meant tranquil simplicity, the patina of loving use and age, and the fascination of beauty resulting from accidental creation — all qualities that readily presented themselves in the small pots found in rural homes.

At first, Inazu enjoyed his new possession in private, delighted with its shape and design, but eventually he could not resist the desire to share his pleasure with others, and showed the little pot to Murai Yasuyuki (1550–1612), a senior counsellor to the lord of Inazu's domain. Murai eventually purchased it from Inazu, and he, too, secretly treasured it for a time before he began to show it to his friends and eventually to his master, Hosokawa Tadaoki (a.k.a. Sansai; 1563–1645), lord of the domain.

Hosokawa Tadaoki was famous as a connoisseur of tea caddies in which the powdered green tea used for chanoyu was kept. He later showed Murai's tea caddy to another provincial lord, Furuta Oribe (1544–1615), who was also a famed tea master and connoisseur of tea wares, and asked

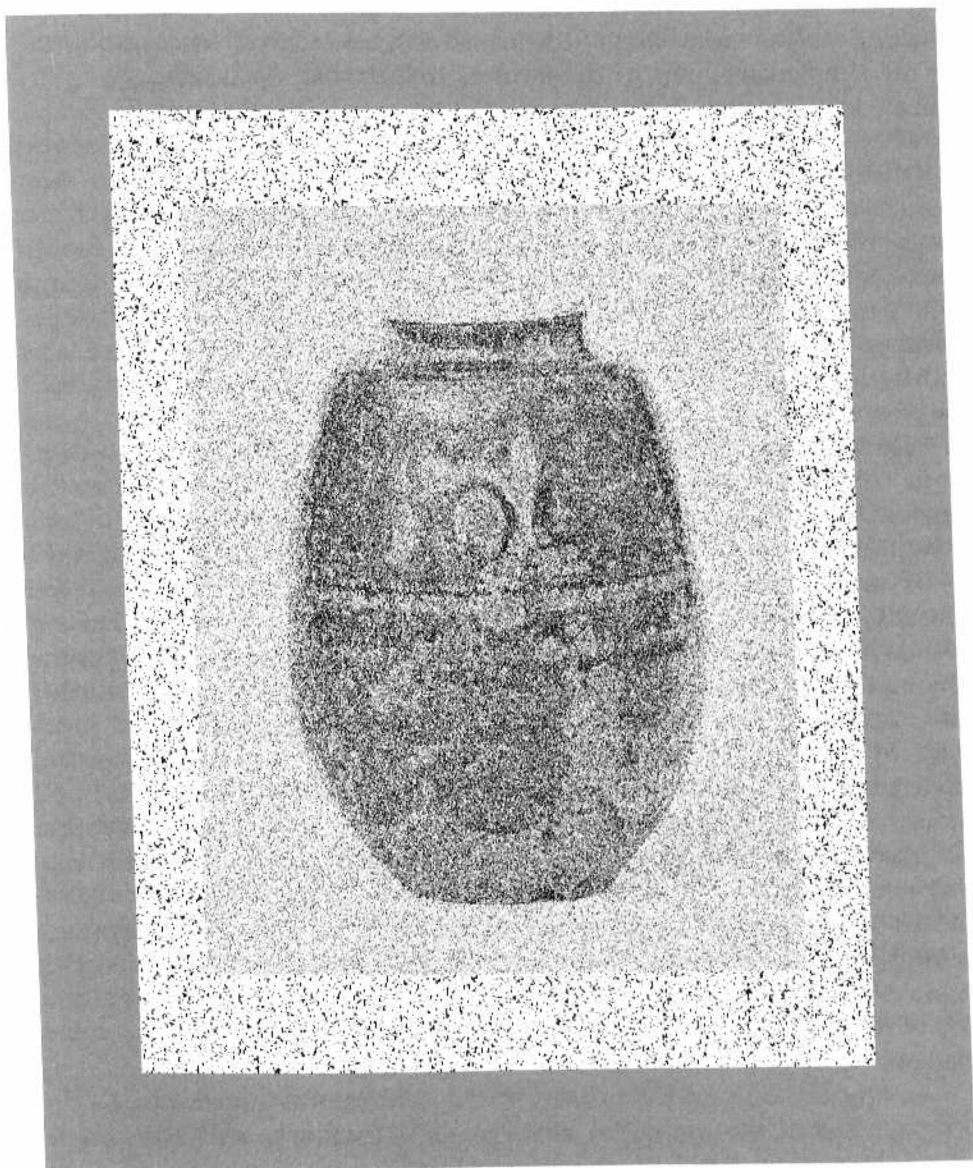
for his expert appraisal. Furuta pronounced it an outstanding piece such as he had never seen before, and with that the little pot became an authorized "tea caddy" according to the rigorous standards of the chanoyu of the day. An ivory cap and a brocade sack were made for it, and even a name bestowed upon it: "Hitoyo" — literally meaning "life," but also connoting something of rarity. The name evokes an eighth-century poem that goes, "Rare is the one who lives to seventy years" (in those days few survived to the age of seventy), as well as the 70 *mon* with which the caddy had been purchased from its original owner.

On his deathbed in 1612, Murai Yasuyuki bequeathed the prized tea caddy to his lord, Hosokawa Tadaoki. Later, Tadaoki passed it on to a beloved adopted daughter who gave it, in turn, to one of Tadaoki's grandchildren, Hosokawa Toshitaka. While in the possession of Toshitaka, the tea caddy's name was changed to "Yama-no-i," which comes from a poem by the Zen priest Takuan (1573–1645):

Asaku mo yoshi	The well is shallow
Mata kumu hito mo araji	And no one else draws from it,
Kore ni koto tariru	But I am content
Yama no i no mizu.	With the water of the mountain well.

The name suggests the satisfaction Toshitaka felt when he took into his hand this small container with its unusual history beginning in the shadowy recesses of a townhouse in an unsung town, as well as the beauty of wabi and sabi to be found in a rude-looking vessel that most people would pass by without ever noticing.

More than a century later, Matsudaira Fumai (1751–1818), the renowned tea master and then lord of the Matsue domain in western Honshū, became determined to obtain the Yama-no-i tea caddy and, through the services of a curio dealer of Kyoto, arranged to buy it from the Hosokawa family. It is said that its price at that time was somewhere between 350 and 500 *ryō*, an amount then equivalent to the income of a carpenter over three or four years. It is still today known as one of the finest tea caddies, and is often included among the examples shown in illustrated encyclopedias of famed tea utensils. The fact that the price of the tea caddy rose from the pouchful of copper coins paid for it by Inazu to the pile of gold coins exchanged for it by Matsudaira Fumai shows that the wabi-sabi-suki aesthetic had become widely established by the latter part of the eighteenth century.



Creation of New Works

The establishment of a new aesthetic cannon in the late medieval period was accompanied by the rare occurrence of abstract nouns emerging from what had always been adjectives. At first wabi, sabi, and suki could only be *discovered*, as in the case of the Yama-no-i tea caddy. They were found in the simple dwellings of the farmers that dotted the landscape, epitomized in neglected stone lanterns overgrown with moss or in simple bowls and other household utensils used by the common folk. But it was not long until the new ruling class of the sixteenth century and their wealthy merchant collaborators began to apply these new aesthetic values as the standards for the *intentioned* creation of chanoyu utensils, handicrafts, tearooms and cottages, homes, gardens, even food and sweets, and, above all, manners and etiquette. Wabi, sabi, and suki were further refined and further diversified within the worlds of art, architecture, and garden art. Today their meaning extends to the creation of objects which reconstruct or revive traditional beauty.

The evolution of wabi, sabi, and suki illustrates the advent of indigenous concepts of abstract beauty for the first time in sixteenth century Japan. Until then, objects of artistic value, either of a secular or religious character, had essentially been those of the advanced civilization of China.

In ancient times, the Han people of the vast Chinese empire viewed ancient Japan as a mere speck of a country with a tiny population located somewhere off its eastern coast, a "barbarian" people incapable of posing any sort of military threat. The Japanese, however, assiduously studied and improvised on Chinese culture. It might have been difficult for Japanese to thoroughly understand the philosophical and intellectual underpinnings of Chinese civilization and imitate it in its entirety, and indeed they did not attempt to do so. They were above all selective, and not afraid of misunderstanding or distortion, so they did frequently misinterpret what they borrowed. No doubt their mistakes were often deliberate. They strove to assimilate what they imported into indigenous culture in accordance with their own preferences. The development of Japanese culture was a process of creating a variation of imported culture and of refining it. Japanese were inhabitants of a small island country and made no attempt to imitate the massive scale of Chinese culture.

Among the bravest innovators in the cultural vanguard and in the development of the aesthetics of wabi, sabi, and suki was the much-revered Sen Rikyū (1522–91). He was a wealthy merchant of Sakai, a city on the coast of Osaka Bay that was Japan's only free port at the time. Rikyū was a close associate of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98), the warrior leader of lowly beginnings who rose to the supreme seat of power in 1582 and became a patron of the arts and culture until his death. Starting out as

a purveyor of fine tea utensils, Rikyū eventually became an accomplished and authoritative tea master, art guru, and initially trusted adviser to Hideyoshi, but in the end he was ordered to commit *seppuku* (honorable death by suicide). The reason for this cruel sentence is not known, but seems to have been political in motive. It is thought that Rikyū had become an obstacle, perhaps because he had too much insider information about the power struggles within the Toyotomi regime and of the bureaucratic apparatus of government.

Rikyū's knowledge of inside secrets and political intrigues and his demise may have had nothing to do with his contributions to the new culture, but there were those who were eager to link the suicide to Rikyū's role in the cultural avant garde. This illustrates the tremendous impact of his activities. Among his detractors was the priest Eishun of Nara. Eishun represented the bastion of classical taste which took Chinese culture as its standard, and to him and other devotees of beauty according to traditional cannons, Rikyū and his kind were nothing but heretics in the halls of high culture. In 1591, hearing how Rikyū had performed suicide at his home in Sakai, Eishun recorded in his diary: "Rikyū was the worst of all charlatans. Any man who has performed as many evil deeds as he has deserves to be made to commit suicide!"

No doubt Eishun's reaction was provoked in part by the challenge Rikyū represented to orthodox aesthetics. As a pioneer of the new culture, Rikyū acted as an appraiser of teabowls and other vessels obtained from rural farmhouses and other obscure places, and he was known for finding among them pieces declared to be outstanding works of art according to the aesthetic of wabi, sabi, and suki. He even collected an appraisal fee from the owners of such works. Rikyū also had artisans make, according to his specifications, utensils that could only have appeared dull, crude, or odd in the eyes of most people, and sold them as art objects at high prices. No doubt those who respected Rikyū's art thought of those items as the epitome of wabi, sabi, and suki, but for others, like Eishun, the art objects certified by Rikyū were worthless.

Sometimes, however, the heretics of one age become the authorities of the next, and their ideas or achievements become widely established in society. Wabi, sabi, and suki, too, though as abstract and elusive as ever, were to emerge in the centuries that followed as the core of the orthodox aesthetic.

Even today, the meaning of wabi, sabi, and suki continues to be best revealed within context. The significance of this was impressed upon me by an encounter in the city of Yamagata in northeast Japan with the 87-year-old grandmother of the old and respected Kashiwakura family. Mrs. Kashiwakura lives in a spacious and richly appointed mansion and is obviously very wealthy. But she told me, "Expensive goods or prestigious brand goods are not things that anyone who possesses a noble spirit and a

personal philosophy of life cares about. Anyone who has money can buy expensive clothes, splendid goods, and accessories made of gold, silver, or fine jewels. But you cannot see anything of your true self in such things."

She believes that the most reliable badges of human character are the small items people carry on their person. Such items are unobtrusive and rarely seen by others except when a person is away from home. In the case of the lady of the Kashiwakura family, it was a small wallet that held thin pieces of rice paper. The rice paper was of the kind originally used by artisans to separate sheets of gold leaf. Mrs. Kashiwakura indulged her particular brand of suki by using these sheets as a sort of facial tissue. When traveling, she would pull this wallet out of the folds of her kimono sash and extricate a sheet of tissue to dab her face.

One only saw the paper or the wallet for the briefest moment, and it was not the kind of item that many would spend much money on. But Mrs. Kashiwakura believes that inconspicuous personal items of this kind are the true measure of wealth, both economic and spiritual. She had the wallet made by an artisan of a neighboring prefecture from a piece of antique kimono fabric. The design was simple and functional, the material old and mellow, and the pattern distinctive of her own particular preferences — to her it literally breathed wabi, sabi, and suki. When it was completed, she was very pleased and told the craftsman that since she was to be the one to use it, she would be the one to judge its price. Based on her evaluation of its quality in terms of wabi, sabi, and suki, the price she gave it must have been quite high, for this was no mere business transaction but an expression of her personal philosophy and aesthetic. Unlike the samurai and townswoman of the sixteenth century, fortunately, Mrs. Kashiwakura and the artisan soon reached an understanding on the price, for the concepts of wabi, sabi, and suki had become part of the dominant language of Japanese aesthetics in the intervening centuries.

Wabi, sabi, and suki today are facing new challenges. The first is their reexamination and reinterpretation, and, of course, the results differ from one person to another. The second is the discovery of new manifestations of wabi, sabi, and suki based on the new materials and products resulting from modern civilization. One contemporary architect made the interior walls of a tearoom out of thick glass panels with sand between them — a modern version of the walls of the traditional tearoom which are covered with a plaster of sand and earth. Opinion is divided over the resulting effect, but it must be said that this is the sort of experiment which has to be carried out by someone sometime.

Third, Japanese artisans today are the products of postwar education and the rapidly globalizing physical and social environment of modern

civilization. They are engaged in creative work that draws not only on indigenous traditions, but also on Western civilization from ancient times to modern and the cultures of earlier peoples from all over the world, and their approach is individualistic, in contrast to the tradition-centered approach of artisans in the past. This individualism is perhaps essentially human and holds the potential for universality. Their creations are part of an experimental stage, the direction or outcome of which no one can foretell. It is possible that the younger generation of artists may bring the concepts of wabi, sabi, and suki out of the shadows of traditional mystique. The risk is that in doing so, they might succeed only in turning what was once beautiful in its elusiveness into something vulgar by its exposure.

Whatever turn culture takes in the future, we can be sure of one thing: the people of the Japanese archipelago at least will never summarily discard the old concepts of wabi, sabi, and suki nor the works of art that express them. For modern Japanese, like their forebears, know only *cultural addition*. Ever faithful to historical continuity, they are loath to completely abandon that which was once treasured in their culture, so the old and new cultures will continue to both clash with and influence each other.

Temae — **Tea Procedure**

Furo Nagaita
Sō Kazari, Gozumi

Within the context of a full, formal gathering (*chaji*), the *gozumi* temae is conducted after the koicha temae, to replenish the charcoal and ensure that there is plenty of hot water in the kama for the usucha that follows. When this series of temae is being conducted using a nagaita with *sō kazari*, or "full display," of utensils, at the end of the koicha temae the nagaita will be in the state it should be for the gozumi temae. That is, if it is the furo season, the furo-kama will be on the left-hand side on the nagaita; a mizusashi will be on the right-hand side; a display-type hishaku and pair of display-type hibashi will be in a shakutate toward the center rear, and a kensui with futaoki in it will be in front of the shakutate (see above photo).

The other preparations for the temae concern the sumitori, haiki, and mizutsugi. Except for the fact that the hibashi are displayed in the shakutate on the nagaita, these are readied exactly as for a standard furo gozumi temae. Note, however, that a katakuchi mizutsugi, as opposed to a koshiguro, is recommended for nagaita temae.

As for the temae itself, the basic elements — the actual replenishing of the charcoal, the dusting of the furo, and so forth — are no different from standard furo gozumi. The major procedural distinctions between a nagaita *sō kazari* gozumi temae and a standard gozumi temae concern the handling of the hibashi. Because the hibashi are part of the nagaita display, they must be removed from and returned to the shakutate on the nagaita. Before being returned to the shakutate at the end of the temae, they are dusted off with the habōki. Furthermore, during the temae itself, the hibashi tips are never placed on the tatami. Rather, the hibashi are reheld for use. These special techniques are the same as those employed in the nagaita *sō kazari* shozumi temae, presented in *Chanoyu Quarterly* issue no. 77. The following guide presumes the reader's thorough familiarity with the standard furo gozumi temae, as well as with the furo nagaita *sō kazari* shozumi temae.

Photos courtesy of Tankōsha Publishing Co., Kyoto.

(1)

Sit just outside the closed sadōguchi, with sumitori placed to the side away from the guests. Open the door, and bow together with the guests (1).

(2)

Pick up the sumitori, proceed to the temae tatami, sit in front of the mizusashi, and place sumitori on tatami in front of the mizusashi (2). Return to the mizuya.

(3)

Hold haiki with the right hand (hereafter, R), proceed to the temae tatami, sit diagonally facing left, rehold haiki with the left hand (hereafter, L), and place it in the rear left corner of the temae tatami (3).

(4)

Shift sitting position to face the furo, take habōki from top of the sumitori with R, and place it diagonally to the right front of the sumitori (4). [Note: the angle of the habōki at this time is more acute than usual, to allow for the kama to be placed as far up on the tatami as possible in step 10.]

(5)

Take kōgō from sumitori with R, set it briefly on L palm, and place it to the left front of the nagaita with R (5).

(6)

Close the kama lid with R (6). (As governed by the usual rules, the fukusa may be used for this. If it is, return it directly to your obi afterwards.)

(7)

Take the kan from the sumitori with R, hook them onto the kama (7), and lean them on the kama shoulders.

(8)

Take kumi kamashiki (hereafter, kamashiki) from sumitori with R. In order to turn the underside up, hold edge with L, turn kamashiki over left to right, and regrasp it with R above L (8). Place kamashiki in front of the sumitori and habōki with R.

(9)

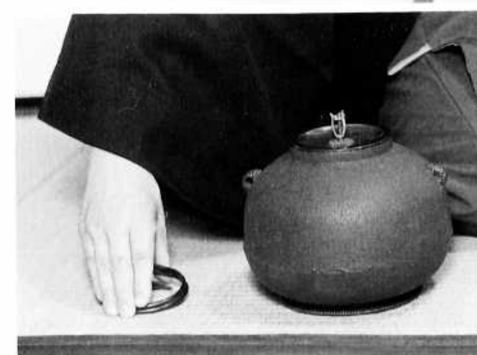
Shift sitting position a knee's breadth forward (9).

(10)

Lift kama off of the furo and set it on the kamashiki (10). Temporarily lean kan on kama shoulders.

(11)

Shift sitting position to face the kama. Drag kama together with kamashiki so that they rest on the halfway point of the temae tatami half-mat (11).



(12)

Remove kan from kama, put them together, and place them to right side of kama (12).

(13)

Shift sitting position to again face the furo, hold habōki with R, and conduct first dusting (*shobaki*) of the furo (13). Return habōki to the right front of the sumitori, this time placing it at a natural angle.

(14)

Place fingertips of both hands on tatami. With L remaining in this position, remove hibashi from the shakutate with R (14), and bring them around the kensui and out of the nagaita.

(15)

Supporting the hibashi underhand near the middle with L, bring them parallel to your knees, and rehold them for use with R (15).

(16)

Arrange the remaining embers in the furo, and add fresh charcoal as needed (16).

(17)

Bring the hibashi parallel to your knees, support them underhand near the middle with L, hold them overhand near the handle ends with R, and place them in the sumitori with R (17).

(18)

Pick up habōki with R, conduct second dusting (*nakabaki*) of the furo (18), and return habōki to its place on the tatami.

(19)

Shift sitting position to face diagonally toward the left, hold haiki with L, rehold it with R, and shift sitting position to again face the furo. Place haiki in front of your knees (19).

(20)

Take the haisaji with R, and with the aid of L, rehold it closer to handle center. Scoop a small amount of the white wisteria ash from the haiki (20).

(21)

With L bracing R wrist, place the scooped ash into the crescent-shaped cut made in front of the ash in the furo during the shozumi temae (21).

(22)

Return the haisaji to the haiki (22). Then pick up haiki with R, shift sitting position to face diagonally toward the left, rehold haiki with L, and place it in its original position in rear corner of the tatami. Shift sitting position to face the furo.

(23)

Pick up habōki and conduct final dusting (*gobaki*) of the furo (23). Then return the habōki to its original position across the top of the sumitori.

(24)

Pick up the kōgō with R, and place it on L palm. Remove lid and place it in front of your right knee. Take the hibashi overhand from the sumitori with R and, with the aid of L, rehold them for use with R. Place incense in the furo (24) and, again with the aid of L, regrasp the hibashi overhand near handle ends with R, and return them to the sumitori.

(25)

Replace the lid onto the kōgō, hold kōgō with R, and place it on the *kōgōdai* sumi in the sumitori (25).

(26)

Take hibashi from sumitori with R. Keeping them pointing forward, grasp them underhand near the handle ends with L. Pick up habōki with R and, bringing the hibashi over the sumitori, dust off their upper sides in two strokes (26). Turn hibashi over and dust off this side in one stroke. Return habōki to top of sumitori.

(27)

Again pointing the hibashi forward, take them near the handle ends with R and, supporting them underhand near center with L (27), swivel them so they are parallel to your knees, and regrasp them underhand near handle ends with R.

(28)

Place L fingertips on tatami, and return hibashi to shakutate with R, following the same path as when they were removed from the shakutate (28).

(29)

Shift sitting position diagonally to the right. Pick up the kan with R, hook them onto the kama, and drag kama together with kamashiki to the spot where they were originally placed on the tatami (29).

(30)

Remove the kan from the kama, put them together, and place them to the right of the kama (30).

(31)

At this point the main guest asks to view the contents of the furo. Bow and acknowledge the request (31).

(32)

Shift sitting position all the way to face diagonally left, pick up the haiki with L, hold it with R, and take it to the mizuya (32). (The guests in turn go to the temae tatami to view the furo and utensils.)

(33)

Sit just outside the sadōguchi with the katakuchi — having a damp, folded chakin on its lid — in front of your knees. Wait for the guests to finish viewing the furo and utensils (33).

(34)

When the last guest has returned to his seat, carry katakuchi to the temae tatami, sit facing the kama, and place the katakuchi to the right. Take the chakin from the katakuchi lid and place it on the kama lid. Using both hands, remove the katakuchi lid. Turn it upside-down as though flipping a page from left to right (34), and place it in front of your knees.

(35)

Take the chakin and use it to grasp knob of kama lid and place the lid in the katakuchi lid. Then transfer chakin to L, hold katakuchi handle with R, support katakuchi spout with L holding chakin (35), and pour water into the kama. Place katakuchi down in former position, and wipe spout with the chakin. Rehold chakin with R, and use it to return the kama lid to the kama.

(36)

Touching knob of kama lid with L, wipe the lid in two strokes with R chakin (36).

(37)

Rest L hand on lap, and wipe the body of the kama in the usual manner with chakin (37). Then place the chakin in the upside-down katakuchi lid, and use both hands to place the lid on the katakuchi. Pick up katakuchi and return it to the mizuya.

(38)

Reenter the tearoom, sit in front of the furo, pick up the kan with R (38), hook them onto the kama, and lean them on the kama shoulders.

(39)

Shift sitting position a knee's breadth forward, lift the kama onto the furo (39), and lean the kan on the kama shoulders.

(40)

Pick up the kamashiki with R. In order to flip it over, bring it to a vertical position above your knees, hold it below R with L (40), and regrasp opposite edge with R. Place the kamashiki in the sumitori.

(41)

Adjust the kama so that it sits straight, remove the kan, put them together, hold them with R, and place them in the sumitori (41).

(42)

Shift sitting position a knee's breadth backward, and set kama lid ajar with your bare fingers (42).

(43)

Shift sitting position sideways to the right to sit at center of the tatami. Pick up the sumitori (43) and exit the tearoom.

(44)

Just outside the sadōguchi, turn to face the tearoom, sit, and place the sumitori to the side away from the guests. Bow together with the guests to end the temae (44), and close the sadōguchi door.

Book Reviews

Transformation, Miracles, and Mischief: The Mountain Priest Plays of Kyōgen. *By Carolyn Anne Morley.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Series no. 62, Cornell University, 1993. xi + 229 pp., including notes, glossary, and bibliography. US$11.00.

Carolyn Anne Morley's new book concerning the *yamabushi* or "mountain priest" character in medieval classical kyōgen (one-act comic skits traditionally performed as interludes between the serious dramas of noh) is a feast of history, myth, and humor, spiced with acute personal observations. Following an appetizing introduction of the historical mountain priest and development of kyōgen acting, eight translated scripts are offered for delectation.

The first half of the book is a scholarly analysis of the development of kyōgen characterization, particularly the written texts, over six hundred years. The legendary mountain priest character is described based upon documentary evidence and noh plays in which he appears. Then the author demonstrates how expected patterns are modified in kyōgen, and the explosive effect of this. Throughout, Morley's literary analysis is laced with apt observations of contemporary performances.

Kyōgen comedy is simple and pungent, without a bitter aftertaste. It is often called "the good laughter of good men," tickling but never offending audiences as it pokes gentle fun at the foolish foibles that are only too human. The butts of the jokes deserve our laughter, but not our hatred. Over the course of its history, the amateurish, unsophisticated skits were refined under the protection of the shōgunate. Regaining its popular touch in the post-war years, kyōgen continues to speak to the sensibilities of the common man.

The repertoire of two hundred-odd plays that remain is rather limited in roles — cowardly husbands and shrewish wives, lazy but clever servants and their proud lords and masters, quack doctors, cowardly thieves, weak gods. There is not the specialization that is found in kabuki; all roles can be played by any actor, for they are all versions of the same Everyman.

The mountain priest character that Morley focuses on is one of the most colorful, and ambivalent, characters in kyōgen. In a sense, kyōgen

audiences are able to have their quack and taunt him too. Dressed in his unique robes, a conch shell on his hip, chanting and dancing with a fierce determination that comes of stoic submission to cold waterfalls and long fasts, the stage mountain priest appears to be a veritable holy man. But by seeing through this image — his beads are not holy ones but imitations; he is hungry, thirsty, and sleepy — we can enjoy the contrast between the mountain priest's projected image and real self. He is a cowardly lion in priest's clothing, and we enjoy seeing his puffed-up righteousness exposed to reveal his empty center. When he is actually called upon to divine or exorcise, there is a mesmerizing quality to the way he rubs his beads together and chants "Boron, boron" — only the magic backfires, and he is left to pick up the pieces.

Morley's study traces the context out of which the mountain priest, and the kyōgen version of this character, emerged. The mountain priest held a potent fascination for the medieval citizenry, who lived in an age when everyone knew where his or her respective place was in society, and movement up or down the social ladder was rare. This fabled mountain ascetic was capable of miraculous, sudden transformation. He could fly like a hawk, or reveal himself as a disguised *tengu* demon. He could pray birds down from the sky, walk on fire or swords, become invisible. He had the power to divine the source of misfortune and illness and then to cure it, and so was called upon to heal the sick from his abode on the outskirts of villages, or in mountain hermitages, or en route to pilgrimage sites.

It is not surprising that the kyōgen actor should seize onto the mountain priest as an object of mimicry. The actor was also capable of miraculous transformations into the roles of servants, masters, wives, shysters, and even gods. And kyōgen plots revolved on transformations — a wife disguises herself as a servant, a servant as a ghost, a master as a demon. The mountain priest returned this flattering imitation, becoming a charismatic performer when demonstrating his power through bristling, martial dances of stamps, leaps, and shouts, and amusing himself in his winter mountain retreat with performances of noh and kyōgen. Mountain priests were admired by kyōgen actors as fellow travellers, performers, and storytellers; but mountain priests could also be pompous braggarts, easily parodied, whose mumbo-jumbo deserved some good-natured deflation.

And so the mountain priest plays of kyōgen translated here reveal an ambivalent portrait of both a pious fake and awesome holy man. In *Owls* and in *Mushrooms*, the mountain priest's prayers not only fail to control infestations, but exacerbate them. In *The Shinto Priest and the Mountain Priest*, the mountain priest loses a prayer contest, and in *The Crab*, he becomes a helpless victim of pincers. In *Sacroiliac*, the mountain priest proves to be an inept practitioner, and is further unmasked as a thirsty,

thieving trickster in *Persimmons*. In *The Lunchbox Thief*, his powers of divination unmask a petty robber, but the unmerciful punishment which he administers to the robber does not fit the minor crime. Only in *The Snail* — when a servant, noting the mountain priest's characteristic black cap, furry pom-poms, and conch shell, mistakes him for a snail — is the priest seen in a favorable light, as he mischievously leads the angry master and foolish servant hopping and dancing helplessly off stage, chanting a nursery rhyme.

Morley manages to capture the aggressive and pretentious flamboyance of the mountain priest, as well as his childish petulance. The plays read well, and give a vivid impression of character. Stage directions and notes, including variant endings, are of great benefit to prospective performers. The inclusion of photographs and drawings (the latter not credited) help the uninitiated imagine the plays in performance. This book should be of great interest to actors, medieval scholars, and serious students of comedy.

Jonah Salz
Noho Theatre Group
Kyoto

Spirit and Symbol: The Japanese New Year. *By Reiko Mochinaga Brandon and Barbara B. Stephan.* Honolulu, HI: Honolulu Academy of Arts with University of Hawaii Press, 1994. 144 pp., including select bibliography, and index. US$34.00, cloth; US$20.00, paper.

This book, the first of its kind in English, is based on research conducted for an exhibition, which was held at the Honolulu Academy of Arts in 1993, on folk crafts and decorations associated with the Japanese New Year. It is a well-designed and well-written work which offers a glimpse of Japan and its tremendous diversity, unified by a coherent theme.

The text is divided into four sections, each of which provides a different view of this multi-faceted subject. In the opening section, Brandon begins by discussing the belief in *kami*, Japanese gods, and *toshigami*, the god of the New Year. She explains the meaning and function of the myriad decorations which serve to welcome and invoke the blessings of the *toshigami*, who descends to earth during the New Year season. By interspersing childhood recollections in her discussion of the various New Year's customs and related decorations, the author not only describes the form of the celebration, but also conveys the special feeling which many Japanese have for the New Year.

In the second section, Stephan discusses the history and meaning of various decorations, particularly *shimenawa*, or sacred ropes. Her research into the history and meaning of *shimenawa* is thorough, and includes a discussion of the use of similar ropes in other parts of Asia. Stephan also provides detailed information about ubiquitous decorations such as *kadomatsu* (arrangements of pine and bamboo placed at gates and entrances), *kirigami* (cut paper decorations), and *miki no kuchi* (a decoration placed in the mouth of sacred saké containers).

In the third section, Enbutsu Sumiko writes about *Koshōgatsu* (literally, "small new year"), a rapidly-disappearing ancient agricultural observance held around the fifteenth of January. Her section provides insight into deeply-felt customs which have traditionally been of vital importance to agricultural households. The rites have two purposes: to pray for a bountiful harvest, and to divine the will of the gods. Enbutsu explains how the *Koshōgatsu* decorations, a form of imitative magic, conjure up an image of abundant crops to invoke the blessings of the gods.

In the last section, Ian Reader presents an essay which is not wholly compatible in its tone and content with the other sections. It is primarily based on Reader's personal observations of the public, visible side of the New Year's observances, particularly in urban areas. The level of his scholarship, as seen, for example, in the scarcity of primary sources in his end notes, is unfortunately not of the same caliber as that of the other writers. His contribution, although interesting as a sociological essay, should not have been allotted over a quarter of the text space, since it contributes little to an understanding of the New Year's decorations either as manifestations of the Japanese spirit or as symbols of religious feeling.

Highlighting the text is the beautiful graphic design work of Dana Levy, who has created a visual poem by rigorously arranging the color, shape, and subject of the various photographs to create a rhythm that carries the eye through the book. His use of a consistent and spacious grid ties the graphics and text together and provides a solid foundation for a variety of page compositions. The layout focuses attention on the photographs, thereby spotlighting the creative energy which transforms simple materials into objects of beauty.

Overall, this book fulfills an important role in introducing the myriad aspects of the Japanese New Year to a non-Japanese audience. Those familiar with Japanese culture, however, will recognize that the book deals basically with Japanese popular and agrarian customs and rituals. Although the authors themselves make no claims of comprehensive coverage, perhaps a few lines could have been added to place the contents of the book in the full context of the New Year's observances. There are topics — no doubt beyond the scope of the exhibition and this book — of at least as much importance as *shimenawa* and *Koshōgatsu*

which are given only cursory mention in the text. These include such topics as the rituals and customs of the imperial court and their influence on popular culture; food and the arts related to serving the New Year's meal; and New Year's symbolism as expressed in the fine arts and performing arts.

Also, while the scope of the subjects illustrated in the book has been expanded in an effort to be more comprehensive, the text basically remains tied to the original focus of the exhibition, namely *shimenawa* (sacred ropes) and *kirigami* (cut paper decorations). This results in a discrepancy between the number of subjects appearing as photographs and the number of subjects explained in the text. Greater coordination between the four essays could have provided a more balanced coverage of all topics, prevented unnecessary repetition, and eliminated subjects not directly related to the overall theme.

These details, however, do not detract from the authors' achievement, and the book succeeds in showing how, in Brandon's words, ". . . simple materials, laboriously transformed into various sacred articles, express intimate form of worship."

Bruce Hamana
Editor, *Urasenke Newsletter*
Kyoto

Wabi-Sabi for Artists, Designers, Poets & Philosophers. *By Leonard Koren.* Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 1994. 95 pp. US$14.95.

This unpretentious book, bound in a dirt-brown paper cover, might easily become drowned and lost if placed amid the other books on one's bookshelf. It is hardly a book that can be swept aside and ignored, however, for between those simple covers lies a rare kind of insight into one of the most intriguing concepts in the realm of Japanese culture and aesthetics. "'Material poverty, spiritual richness' are wabi-sabi bywords," says the author (p. 59), and one might say that this book, similarly, is like a monk carrying a jewel within his tattered robes.

Leonard Koren has given great thought to the concept of wabi-sabi which we hear of so often, but which seems to be so abstract and elusive as to defy any simple and plain explanation. This lean and humble book represents his attempt to defy the seemingly 'indefiable,' and though he concedes that "wabi-sabi is not easily reducible to formulas or catch phrases without destroying its essence" (p. 9), this book is the result of his efforts to present an intellectually acceptable study of the concept.

"Wabi-sabi is *the* quintessential Japanese aesthetic" (back cover), but Koren sees it as having, perhaps, become an "endangered species," and his motivation for creating the present work is his concern for "saving it." Says he, in the opening section of his Introduction, which begins with the words, "The extinction of a beauty": "Admittedly, the beauty of wabi-sabi is not to everyone's liking. But I believe it is in everyone's interest to prevent wabi-sabi from disappearing altogether" (p. 8). Thus Koren has taken the personal initiative to do something toward this end, by spelling out his thoughts on the subject, and attempting to explain wabi-sabi in rational, concrete terms.

The title, *Wabi-Sabi for Artists, Designers, Poets & Philosophers*, shows that the author is targeting the book at a fairly specific kind of audience, the kind of people whose work it is to develop and give expression to aesthetic concepts, and by the same token, those with the practical means to prevent an aesthetic concept — in this case, of course the wabi-sabi aesthetic — from dying out. That audience could well include us all, for who amongst us does not to some extent fit at least one of these descriptions — artist, designer, poet, philosopher. At the very least, that audience must include all sincere practicers of chanoyu, in that a 'tea person' is necessarily an artist, designer, poet, and philosopher all at once.

Koren's book will no doubt rouse the interest of tea practicers everywhere, because of the 'food for thought' it provides regarding what, according to him, was "once . . . the acknowledged centerpiece of tea" (p. 8). Unfortunately, as I will explain later, the book also contains statements which tend to spoil the author's better intentions — that is, his desire to foster a deep appreciation of the wabi-sabi aesthetic so that it will not be totally and irretrievably washed away under the forces of 'institutionalization,' 'modernism,' or whatever else. Let us first, however, take a look at the basic structure of the book.

In attempting to place the wabi-sabi aesthetic into perspective, Koren first provides a discussion of its "History of Obfuscation." Here, he offers his ideas as to why wabi-sabi has existed as such an elusive concept. He follows this with an enumeration of the qualities characterizing wabi and sabi, as well as a break down of the similarities and differences between "modernism" and wabi-sabi. The easy-to-follow lists which he has devised paint a succinct picture of what wabi-sabi is and isn't, and this is where the book is particularly unique. "A Brief History" then gives a nutshell overview of developments which have taken place in chanoyu, where wabi-sabi "reached its most comprehensive realization" (p. 31) but then, ostensibly with the advent of institutionalized tea practice, "was well on its way to becoming its opposite: slick, polished, and gorgeous."

In the second portion of the book, the author moves into a discussion of "The Wabi-Sabi Universe," where he provides further insight into various facets of this aesthetic realm. In chart form, he distinguishes these facets,

and the concepts upon which they are founded, as follows:

> Metaphysical Basis — Things are either devolving toward, or evolving from, nothingness
> Spiritual Values — Truth comes from the observation of nature; "Greatness" exists in the inconspicuous and overlooked details; Beauty can be coaxed out of ugliness
> State of Mind — Acceptance of the inevitable; Appreciation of the cosmic order
> Moral Precepts — Get rid of all that is unnecessary; Focus on the intrinsic and ignore material hierarchy
> Material Qualities — The suggestion of natural process; Irregular; Intimate; Unpretentious; Earthy; Murky; Simple

Whether or not wabi-sabi constitutes a comprehensive aesthetic "system" remains a question in my mind. Nevertheless, an aesthetic of any sort must be based upon certain concepts, and Koren has done well in trying to identify those which form the essence of the wabi-sabi aesthetic — at least those which he perceives as such, and which he has been bold enough to offer in this book, despite his awareness that the concept of wabi-sabi is "full of thorny issues for the Japanese intellectual" (p. 10).

The large print in muted grey, together with Koren's keen-edged style of writing, also add to the overall impression that one receives of just what wabi-sabi is. A number of full-page monochrome photographs have also been included, as examples of the wabi-sabiness of objects. However, it requires a careful reading of their captions, supplied at the end of the book, to appreciate the author's message, and even so, several of the illustrations are not good or tasteful examples of the wabi-sabi aesthetic ideals, in the opinion of this reviewer.

In poor taste, for sure, are statements made in the section where Koren informs us of how "a rational understanding of wabi-sabi has been intentionally thwarted" ("A History of Obfuscation," pp. 15–18). In the paragraph on the iemoto system in particular, we read: "Obscuring the meaning of wabi-sabi, but tantalizing the consumer with glimpses of its value, was the most effective means of iemoto-style entrepreneurism." Not only is such a comment irrelevant to a discussion of the wabi-sabi aesthetic, one senses here, as well as in other related statements scattered through the book, a kind of ax-grinding on the part of the author. This verbal eruption probably stems from his passion for the beauty of wabi-sabi, and earnest desire to resuscitate not just it but also the decaying cultural identity of Japan.

Neither wabi or sabi, nor the modern blend of these, are aesthetic concepts exclusive to chanoyu. And their potential to stand in opposition to, and screech the brakes on, "the accelerating trend toward the uniform digi-

talization of all sensory experience" (p. 8), and bring us — that is, all of mankind — in touch with the beauty in natural things, seems to be something that the author strongly believes in, or he would not have written this book basically directed at an English-speaking, international audience.

In reading the book, this reviewer also perceived that the author, at the same time, believes in the prowess of chanoyu to make the best of this potential, for the betterment of people everywhere. Nuances of this appear here and there in the text, and readers involved in chanoyu should find this both a boon and a challenge.

Henry Seisen Mittwer
Tenryūji Temple
Kyoto