

THE JAPANESE TEA CEREMONY

AND CHRISTIANITY :

THE INFLUENCE EACH HAD UPON THE OTHER
DURING THE MOST IMPORTANT PERIOD IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEA CEREMONY - THE
CHRISTIAN CENTURY IN JAPAN (1549 - 1650)

BY

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to examine the meaning of the encounter between Japanese and Christian missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and how this meeting affected and was affected by the Japanese tea ceremony.

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter I deals with the structure of Japanese society at the time the Christian missionaries and Portuguese traders came to Japan. Chapter II describes the first meetings of Japanese and Europeans and their impressions of each other. Chapter III traces the development of the tea ceremony. In Chapter IV, Christian experiences with the tea ceremony are discussed. Chapter V contains a description of the universality of thinking of both Christians and Japanese. Chapter VI is a presentation of the author's concluding thoughts and possible suggestions for future study.

The major motivation for this thesis was the splendid experience which this writer enjoyed as a member of the Chado Urasenke (Urasenke School of Tea Ceremony) group of students that sailed to China in 1980 on the Nippon Maru to help promote friendship and understanding between Japan and China through the medium of the tea ceremony. The various lectures given on board, and the tea ceremonies and other activities enjoyed with the Chinese were such impressive experiences that the writer became more determined than ever to continue her study of the tea ceremony and, indeed, to make it an integral part of her life.

The writer's passion for tea was born of long experience with tea in the family home and the happiness and close family ties which resulted from frequent participation in the tea ceremony. When the writer recalls her experiences, the most impressive memory is of the way in which the tea ceremony so greatly enriched communication between members of the family and their guests, as well.

Another influential factor was when the British Broadcasting came to Japan in 1979 to film a television special called "Shipbuilding of Middle Class Vessels" in Japan, our family business, they found one of the answers to this question when they brought their cameras to our home one evening and observed the family together enjoying the tea ceremony. Their cameras caught the spirit of tradi-

tional culture and art embodied in Chado that is the foundation of the remarkable growth of modern Japan. Our Chado provided them with an excellent key for understanding today's Japan in that it is the embodiment of all that is vital and rational in Japan.

Japan, itself, has used the tea ceremony to teach some of its true values. For example, there have been many tea ceremonies conducted to raise money for refugees and for other efforts in support of peace, and since Chado is an activity capable of embracing the ideologies of all people, it can prove to be an ideal way in which to promote peace between nations.

The writer was selected as the first exchange student of the Urasenke Tea Ceremony Association and Seton Hall University. In this capacity, the writer has had many opportunities to introduce Japanese classical culture through tea ceremony. Through these experiences, the writer discovered that Americans have a deep interest in the traditions of Japan, as well as in its economic success. The wish to explain how Japan's economic success resulted from national values, which are based on artistic values, such as those of the tea ceremony, became the basic motivation for writing this thesis.

In regard to further study of the material in this thesis, the writer hopes to develop more and more techniques for making the values of the tea ceremony, which emphasize

the importance of the universality of human relationships, available to all the nations in the world. Having had the opportunity to practice Chado in Japan, China and the West, the author has become even more aware of this universality of the tea ceremony and its values, and believes that if nations can come together in harmony in the spirit of tea, so can they in all aspects of global relationships. It is the writer's prayer that the Way of Tea will become more and more useful in promoting world-wide peace by providing a viable opportunity for the exchange of understanding and friendship.

The Hepburn system of romanization is used throughout the thesis. Items such as the names of plants, for which the writer could find no English equivalents, are given in their romanized forms. Names of persons in Japanese are written with the surname first, followed by the given name, as in the Japanese style, with the exception of those names listed in the footnotes.

I would like to thank both the Urasenke Grand Tea Master, XV Hounsai Soshitsu Oiemoto, Dr. Barry Blakely, Chairman of Asian Studies and also Dr. John Young for providing me the opportunity to study at Seton Hall University.

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CHAPTER I

THE STRUCTURE OF JAPANESE SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF ITS ENCOUNTER WITH CHRISTIANITY

A. Modernization and the Arts

From the time that Portuguese traders and missionaries first came to Japan, beginning in the 16th century, the Japanese were forced to become aware of the existence of a western life-style and culture which was totally different from their own.¹ The sixteenth and seventeenth century was a time when Japan was emerging as a strong, united nation after a long period of civil war (1467-1568); it was also a time when detailed reports about the way of life in Japan were being sent back to Europe.² Inside the country, the Japanese people were trying to fill the spiritual and cultural void which was a result of the continual destruc-

¹Almando Maltince Janeira. Nanbanbunka-Toraiki. tr. by Matsuo Takiko (Tokyo: Saimaru-Sosho, 1971) p. 3.

²John Whitney Hall Japan (New York: Delacorte, 1970) p. 135.

tion of these disastrous wars. Christianity and the new western culture which was brought to Japan at this time appeared to offer some hope to the people.³

For the Japanese, the encounter with the western world was a meeting of two totally foreign cultures. This encounter not only brought a very different European religion, art and culture, but also was the most important factor in bringing unity to Japan, and it was indispensable for helping to bring about a great event in Japanese history -- modernization.⁴

This modernization was a nation-wide movement which transformed Japan through the adoption of western civilization and culture. The remodeling of a nation is impossible, however, if the people do not have the ability to accept, withstand difficulties and maintain the new state of the nation. In the case of Japan, that ability existed because of a national character which had been cultivated through many centuries by contact with Eastern cultures and religions. Among the many elements of this ability, the ones which involved spiritual strength were connected to Buddhism; individual and social ethics were based on the new Confucianism established in the Sung Dynasty; and there was a national sentiment based on metaphysics and Shinto.

³ Nishitani Keiji, "Zen to Kirisutokyo to Tetsugaku," Kyushubunka-ronshu (Tokyo: Heibon-sha, 1973) p. 479.

⁴ Janeira, p. 132.

Various kinds of arts flourished under the influence of Zen Buddhism. These arts included not only literature such as poems, haiku, plays, novels and literary criticism; painting, sculpture, architecture; Noh plays, dance and music, but also "art in life" which falls outside the category of the usual arts. This type of art included those such as flower arrangement, tea ceremony, calligraphy, judo, fencing, archery and so forth.⁵ Each of these "art in life" arts is characterized by the addition of the word "Do" (way or method) after their names. The "way of tea" (Chado) falls within this grouping of master arts or artistic "ways". "Do" (in the Japanese) and "Tao" (in the Chinese) may be seen as a spiritual technique for the attainment of self-transcendence and the realization of the Buddha-mind. These "do" arts involve a structure in which the artist progresses from mastery of rules and techniques by eliminating his own arbitrary will, to a breakthrough or self-transformation into a state called, in Buddhist terms, "Mu" (nothingness) or "Mushin" (no-mindedness) in which the enlightened master possesses free artistic creativity in his art and in his life. Thus, artistic ways are parallel to the religious way "Butsu-do" (the Way of Buddha) in that they are struc-

⁵Nishitani Keiji, p. 479, Theodore M. Ludwig, "The Way of Tea", A Religio-Aesthetic Mode of Life." History of Religions, XIII (1974), p. 34.

turally coordinated with the path of Buddhist realization; that is, the movement toward the nirvanic state through the negation of a false sense of "self". The artistic way is a translation of the Buddhist 'religious' vocation into the language and methods of the artist."⁶

These religious, ethical, philosophical and artistic values became the spiritual power that permeated the entire life of the Japanese, and as a result of their influence, a firm and strong middle class was educated and formed. The existence of this middle class prevented the adoption of a monopoly on western culture by the upper classes. At the same time, it also prevented colonization or semi-colonization by western countries.⁷

B. Transmission of Westernization

1. Adoption of Western Customs

One example of the wide-spread permeation of western culture can be seen in the case of Kyoto where prominent figures in society fanatically imitated Portuguese customs by wearing Portuguese clothes and carrying Portuguese swords. The Japanese also enthusiastically accepted Portuguese food and even today, some Portuguese foods are part of the Japanese daily diet. Some of the names of Japanese clothing also originated from the

⁶ Murai Yasuhiko, Cha no Bunka-shi (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1979), p. 202.

⁷ Nishitani Keiji, p.478

Portuguese.⁸ The adoption of these Portuguese customs indicates the depth of permeation of western culture in Japanese daily life.

Examples of this can be seen in the language as well. There are over four thousand Japanese words which originated from the Portuguese and among them, there are about one hundred fifty words which are technical words of the tea ceremony. In addition, phonetic transcriptions called "kana" which are written along the side of Chinese characters to show their meaning, were invented by the Portuguese and are still used today. The Portuguese also made significant contributions in the fields of science and the arts.

These encounters with people of the western world and the ensuing flow of European culture helped Japan to rapidly Westernize itself and thus to become one of the most highly developed countries in the twentieth century.⁹

2. Christianity and Western Concepts

When the missionaries arrived in Japan, the Japanese of that time found that Christianity was not only a new religion, but as mentioned above, also a religion from a culture drastically different from their own in regard to

⁸Janeira, p. 3.

⁹Ibid, p. 4.

its religious, ethical, aesthetic and other values. Yet the Portuguese missionaries converted more people during the fifty years of their mission in Japan, when the population of Japan was one-third of what it is today. than the number of people in the world who have been converted in the last one hundred years.¹⁰

Christianity neither settled permanently nor lasted long in Japanese soil. There were other things besides religion, however, that the missionaries brought to Japan. Fortunately, in Japan there were well-educated people to whom they could bring the basic values of European civilization and thus the Portuguese were easily able to introduce European culture to Japan. This influx of European culture was allowed by the Japanese based on the premise that no religious or political philosophy would be imported, but only desired scientific and technological matters. Nevertheless, the Japanese were influenced in many ways; and if the future of humanity ideally lies in the pursuit of universality of thinking and the progress of science and technology in an independent world, then it can be said that Japan was and is a symbol of this ideal. Japan is the only country in the world where the cultures of East

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 9, 10.

and West have been so effectively unified. This achievement is a symbol of the possibility of a new universality among the nations of the world which is premised on understanding and unification of the values of East and West, the improvement upon and melting together of various concepts and an accurate evaluation placed on the various products of these two civilizations.¹¹

3. Early Missionaries

It was Joao Rodrigues (1561-1633) and Luis Frois (1532-1997), two Jesuit missionaries who will be discussed in detail in Chapter III, who accomplished the very important work of describing and analyzing the phenomenon of the first encounter of the two cultures in Japan. In their writings, they described Japan to the world as a very promising country for missionary work because of the high cultural and educational level of the people. The level of culture which had existed from the Muromachi Period (1336-1573) and an artistic style which cultivated simplicity and elegance in literature, customs, tea ceremony and so forth must have been seen as being of very high quality even by those missionaries who were used to the dazzling culture of the Renaissance.

An early Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier (1506-1552), had also learned through his missionary experiences

¹¹Ibid, p. 11.

in Japan that the Japanese were very eager to acquire new knowledge and he proposed that therefore, any missionary who was going to be sent to Japan must be very well educated. All of these missionaries kept detailed records of their experiences in Japan. Their observations are more valuable than those found in Japanese records in that they described in detail the things which native Japanese would have ignored as being too ordinary and they also were able to observe Japanese culture with western objectivity. "This Island of Japan" by Rodrigues and "The History of Japan" by Frois, for example, are two works which are still extremely important today as documents which logically explain the essence of the tea ceremony for westerners and which provide us with excellent material on the history of the tea ceremony as well.

C. Societal Environment and the Tea Ceremony

The Muromachi-Sengoku Period (1336-1600), was a time when unity as a nation was lost and when the social order was greatly disturbed in Japan. When this disorder is observed from a different point of view, however, it can be seen that many distinguished personalities appeared on the scene, one might say as a result of this disorder, as was also true during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy. It was no longer traditional social status, but one's own ability that counted and it was not the superior-

subordinate relationship but self-interest which was the decisive factor. The destruction of tradition was one of the ways that humanity was liberated at that time. One other result of this upheaval, however, was that it caused much confusion, conflict and cruelty. "We have to tolerate the disadvantages of disorganization of the society and the apprehension which inevitably accompanies the active creation of a new society."¹²

Characteristic Japanese arts such as tea ceremony, Noh drama and renka (poetry) were all created during this chaotic period. This was also the time when the foundation was laid for the creation of later art forms such as the kabuki and joruri drama and it was in this later period (the end of the 19th century) that the practice of tea drinking was transformed into "Chado", the Way of Tea. Embodied in this Way of Tea is CHANOYU, commonly translated as "tea ceremony".¹³

In this thesis, the author will examine the relationship between the arrival of Christianity to Japan and the development of the tea ceremony, one of the "arts in life", which was a great spiritual support for the Japanese

¹²Watsuji Tetsuro, Sakoku (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1982), p. 268.

¹³Nishimura Tei, Kirishitan to Chado (Tokyo: Zenkoshobo, 1967), p. 4.

during the period of confusion that brought modernization to Japan. The author will also discuss the function of the tea ceremony as a universal "art in life" and how the tea ceremony was also of great value to the Christian missionaries since it afforded them the opportunity to communicate with the Japanese regardless of differences in religious belief, a value which is still inherent in the tea ceremony of today.

CHAPTER 2

FIRST ENCOUNTERS

A. Japan's First Encounter with the Europeans

The first Europeans to reach Japan were some Portuguese who landed on Tanegashima Island off the southern tip of Kyushu around 1543. One factor which brought the Portuguese to Japan was the policy of navigational exploration of Europeans during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was also a time when there was a great desire for oriental spices and other goods of the Orient. "Chipangu" (Japan) which had been introduced to the world in "Travels" by Marco Polo was probably an inviting target for those who had been trading with China for many years but had not yet had the opportunity to establish any sort of relationship with Japan.¹

The Portuguese arrival in Japan, however, was an unplanned event and was the result of the fact that a

¹ Fakuoka Yunesuco Kyokai, Kyushukaron-shu (Tokyo: Heibon-sha, 1973), p. 108.

Portuguese junk had accidentally drifted away from its original destination, China. According to the Japanese book, "Teppo - ki" (The Chronicle of the Arquebus) or "The Chronicle of Firearms" written in 1607 by Nanpo Bunshi, a Zen priest in Kagoshima prefecture, they arrived in August, 1543, but according to European records they arrived in August, 1542.² There is no hard evidence to support either date. In his book "Tratodos", published in Lisbon in 1563, Antonio Crato Dom, who was the governor-general of the Portuguese Moluccas, wrote that in 1542, three Portuguese who were traveling from Thailand to China by junk were blown off their course by a storm and landed on an island located at a northern latitude of thirty-two degrees. He assumed that this island was "Chipangu" and all of Europe believed that the wealthy and fabled "Chipangu" had been discovered.³

Although the islands were not the "islands of gold" that Marco Polo had written about, the Portuguese merchants soon discovered that these islands could provide large profits for their trade and soon many Portuguese

²"Teppo - ki" has been translated from the original text by Professor Kikuoka Tadashi.

³Okada Akio, Zusetsu Nippon No Rekishi No. 10, Tokyo: Shuei-sha, 1980, p. 546; Janeira, p. 5.

merchants began to arrive at the ports of Kyushu⁴ and some remained in Japan for several years.

According to the records of Yoshishige Otomo, who was a famous Christian feudal lord in Bungo, Portuguese merchants arrived in Kyushu in 1546. Among these merchants was Diogo Vaz de Aragao. Aragao stayed in Japan for five years. Jorge Alvares, the captain of a Portuguese ship, also visited Japan in 1546 and later made extensive notes about Japan. His reports constitute an important body of information about Japan written by a layman rather than by missionaries.⁵

The arrival of the Portuguese at Tanegashima, a small island off the coast of the southern tip of Kyushu Island, had a significant impact on Japanese history in the sense that it was Japan's first encounter with the European world. The Japanese world view before this time had been trilateral, the "world" being represented by Japan, China and India. Europe, located even further west beyond India, was a world of mystery to the Japanese. Even though fragments of European culture reached Japan through China, they had never before received a true picture of the western world. This isolation of the Japanese provides a strong contrast with China which, already by the Chin Dynasty, had achieved a cultural and economic exchange with Europe by

⁴Such as Yamakawa, Boozu, Akune, Hirado.

⁵Okada Akio, pp. 36, 48.

means of the Silk Road. For Japan, however, there was no "road" to connect them with Europe.⁶

B. The Motivation Which Brought the Europeans to Japan

The Japanese encounter with Europeans took on a new aspect in 1549 with the arrival of the Jesuit missionary St. Francis Xavier at Kagoshima. Xavier had been travelling through Ceylon and Malacca visiting missions supported by the Franciscan commissary. In 1547, when he re-visited Malacca, he met a Japanese man named Anjiro there (also known as Yajiro). Anjiro was a shipping merchant of the castletown of Kagoshima. He had committed a murder in the city and had escaped to a trading ship that was anchored southeast of the city in the port of Yamakawa. On board the ship of Captain Jorge Alvares, Anjiro was able to escape to Malacca. Alvares, who knew Xavier well, introduced him. Through Anjiro and Alvares, Xavier became familiar with many aspects of Japan and the characteristics of the Japanese people. Xavier was strongly convinced that missionary work in Japan would bring fruitful results. Through Anjiro, who was a highly-educated trader, Xavier received the impression that the Japanese were a very cultured people. From his own missionary experiences among the natives of India and Southeast Asia, he came to believe that missionary work in

⁶Fukuoka, p. 108.

Japan would bring about much better results because of Japan's advanced culture.⁷

There were other reasons why Xavier was attracted to missionary work in Japan. One was that Japan was not under the political and military domination of Portugal. In Portuguese colonies where the Portuguese authorities were in complete control, greed was thriving and self-indulgence was deeply ingrained. This situation was far different from Xavier's ideal. Another reason for Xavier's belief that Japan would be a fertile field for missionary effort was the fact that Islam had not reached Japan. Islam, a ferocious foe of Christianity, had a wide-spread influence over many Oriental countries and it was thus very difficult for missionaries to compete. While the Japanese had adopted Buddhism and also practiced their own traditional religions called "Shinto", it appeared to Xavier, that compared to Islam, these religions would be easier to break through.

C. Europeans' First Impressions of the Japanese

There were some characteristics of the Japanese which were often described in the form of reports written by Portuguese merchants and missionaries. Many reports stated that the Japanese were "very well-mannered" and noted the importance of etiquette in Japanese society. They also said that the Japanese "are very modest. They are as rational as

⁷Okada, p. 49.

the Spaniards. They are willing to learn more than any other nation ... and their etiquette is so good that one thinks they all grew up in the palace of a lord. If one attempts to write down all of the Japanese good points, there never will be enough paper and ink."⁸ Other reports were as follows:

There won't be any pagans who are comparable with the Japanese. They have good etiquette and generally they have no malice. They are serious people and they respect honor. Hunger isn't considered as shame. They respect honor more than wealth.

Poverty degrades people and causes vice, but the Japanese have a strong sense of shame and can tolerate extreme poverty. War makes people cruel, and a wicked religion corrupts all the virtues, but the Japanese follow the true thought and sense and therefore they have no greed or hatred which one often observes in other nations, and these facts make us Europeans amazed.¹⁰

Xavier, the missionary, was greatly impressed by the courage, simplicity, honor, manners and intellectual abilities of the Japanese, as well as by the high level of their culture. He wrote: "The Japanese are quite thoughtful and they are very interested in God and other knowledge." Toao de Lucena, a Portuguese trader wrote, "The Japanese have a lively intelligence, brilliant and reason-

⁸ Ibid., p. 48; Matsuda Kiichi, Nan ban-shiryō no Hakken (Tokyo: Chuo Koron Sha, 1977), pp. 28-29.

⁹ Matsuda Kiichi, Nan ban-shiryō no Hakken, pp. 28-29.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

able. Speaking of intellect, which is the most important thing for human beings, the Japanese have as high an intellect as the best European nation.¹¹

D. Japanese First Impressions of the Europeans

There are very few Japanese records of this event because the nation was at war and many valuable records had been destroyed by fire and so forth. However, the one record which survived, the "Teppo-ki", also included the "yaita fuki" (The Records of the Yaita Family"), in which a Chinese interpreter to the Portuguese noted that:

...these foreigners from the south-east are merchants. I don't know whether they know any etiquette. They drink wine from very large cups and never offer any to others. They eat with their hands and don't use chopsticks. They show all their emotions and have no self-restraint. They don't understand Chinese characters. They don't use money, they barter. They are not bad people.¹²

A ruling lord of Kagoshima wrote in a letter to the General of the Society of Jesus in 1562, "We would be very happy to have the Portuguese in our land, since they are nice people. We would give them no trouble and we would treat them in the best way possible. We have never seen people like them."

¹¹Ibid., p. 29.

¹²Janeira, p. 8.

Thus, the Japanese gradually came to see the Portuguese as frank, cheerful, intelligent and innovative. They were also strongly impressed by Portuguese weapons and hoped to be able to trade with them. However, the Japanese were not very impressed by European manners.

Both Japanese and Europeans soon realized that their manners and customs were completely different. Alessandro Valignano, a Portuguese missionary noted:

They also have rites and ceremonies so different from those of all the other nations that it seems they deliberately try to be unlike any other people. The things which they do in this respect are beyond imagining and it may truly be said that Japan is a world the reverse of Europe; everything is so different and opposite that they are like us in practically nothing. So great is the difference in their food, clothing, honours, ceremonies, language, management of the household, in their way of negotiating, sitting, building, curing the wounded and sick, teaching and bringing up children, and in everything else, that it can be neither described nor understood.

Now all this would not be surprising if they were like so many barbarians, but what astonishes me is that they behave as very prudent and cultured people in all these matters. To see how everything is the reverse of Europe, despite the fact that their ceremonies and customs are so cultured and founded on reason, causes no little surprise to anyone who understands such things. What is even more astonishing is that they are so different from us, and even contrary to us, as regards the senses and natural things; this is something which I would not dare to affirm if I had not had so much experience among them. Thus their taste is so different from ours that they generally despise and dislike the thing that we find most pleasing; on the other hand, we cannot

stand the things which they like.¹³

In spite of the difficulty of understanding the Japanese way of life, the European's attitude toward Japan was very different than was their attitude toward other Asian and South American countries where the Europeans were the conquerors and looked down on the native culture and were inclined to replace it with Christian cultures. In Japan, they were treated as guests and were welcomed. Probably, for the first time in the history of East-West intercourse, the Westerners had to treat Asians as equals.¹⁴ The Japanese, on the other hand, had already attained a high level of civilization, considered Europeans to be vulgar, and called them Nanban-jin (Southern Barbarians). Nevertheless, during a time of chaos and continuous warfare, and a time when Buddhism showed signs of materialistic corruption, the Christian missionaries' honesty, decisive attitude and definite beliefs strongly attracted the Japanese people.

¹³Michel Cooper. They Came to Japan (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), p. 229.

¹⁴Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Tea," (Collected Papers of University of Hawaii Conference on Tea Ceremony, 1982) p. 2.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEA CEREMONY

Tea drinking and Chanoyu are not at all the same thing. Drinking tea is a daily experience which, unlike the tea ceremony, can easily be done with a minimum of utensils: i.e., tea, hot water, tea bowls and so forth. We drink tea to satisfy our thirst -- at meals, at work and during our leisure hours. On the other hand, Chanoyu is dictated by many rules called "Sarei" and these rules differ from one tea school to another. Sarei is also the name given to the original tea ceremony that was practiced by the monks in the Zen temples and the term is still used to describe tea ceremonies in the Zen temples of today.

Okakura Tenshin, in "The Book of Tea" stated that "Teaism is a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful among the sordid facts of everyday existence."¹ Chanoyu has

¹ Murai Yashuhiko, Cha No Bunka Shi (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1979), i, ii and pp. 74-84.

also been described as the "art of everyday life."² However, the important thing is to recognize the historical fact that the form and fundamental rules of Chanoyu did not exist from its beginnings but rather, developed gradually throughout its long history and that the etiquette of tea from the time of its introduction from China has continued to change with the times.

A. Art and Religion

The master arts of Japan, one of which is the way of tea, express an integration of religious and aesthetic traditions in which art and religion are incorporated into the totality of life. "During most of Japan's cultural history, the relationship of art to life was understood in one of two ways. The first approach can be called "art for life's sake", an attitude which sees art serving some purpose in life outside of itself.... Early Buddhist art had this religious, ethical or even political purpose.... The other attitude toward art might be called "art for art's sake", in which art constitutes its own aim apart from the world of everyday life in a social context like the Kamakura period."³ Artists of this period (1185-1333) were alienated

² Okakura Kakuzo, The Book of Tea (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), p. 3.

³ Ludwig, "The Way of Tea," p. 32-33.

from society and its institutions and this situation was also characteristic of the aristocracy of that time.

During the Ashikaga period (1338-1573), the style of art was different from both of the above approaches. The tea master, for example, lived his art in his everyday life. "He had no art apart from life...and no life apart from art.... That is, life in its totality was fashioned into art."⁴ This attitude is called "life for art's sake". In medieval Japan, the master artist cultivated his art by making no distinction between his everyday activities, his use and enjoyment of everyday utensils or his position in the natural scheme of things. Nothing was more important than anything else and the aim was to accept everything as it was with an emphasis on effortlessness and purposelessness through which one could discover natural beauty. This philosophy of life was a Japanese style of Buddhism which developed under the influence of Chinese religious and aesthetic conceptions mingled with pre-Buddhist Japanese attitudes and was strongly influenced as well by indigenous Shinto religio-aesthetic sensitivities. "This natural affirmation of basic aesthetic and religious values was characterized, consequently, by the lack of dichotomy

⁴ Ibid, pp. 28, 33; and Kato Shuichi, Form, Style, Tradition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 151-152.

between fact and meaning, reality and illusion, art and religion."⁵

Shinto has always been the artist's way of life with its emphasis on mental and physical cleanliness and the pure and natural condition of all objects used in its observance. As a result, Japanese craftsmen had special religious rituals and formulas to follow.

From the sixth century on, the Japanese integrated the long and rich Mahayana Buddhist tradition into their own culture. In the Heian period (794-1185), these Buddhist tendencies were elaborated upon in the Japanese Tendai (Chinese, Tien-tai) and Shingon (Chinese, Chen-yen) schools of Buddhism. Kukai (774-835), the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan, taught that through the ritual and artistic use of the three mysteries inborn in men—that is body actions, speech and mind—one can attain Buddhahood. He also taught that "only through art could the profound meaning of these esoteric doctrines be experienced".⁶ Kukai was very important in the development of the master arts because of his conviction that nature, art and religion were one under

⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

Buddha. Thus, Buddhist art slowly was influenced by the Shinto affirmation of nature, and under Japanese Buddhists like Kukai and the poet Saigyō (1118-1190) art became nature itself, especially during the Kamakura and Ashikaga periods.

While Shinto affirmations and Buddhist symbolizations laid the foundation for the artistic way, it was the creative synthesis of the Chinese aesthetic tradition (especially its Taoist aspects) and the Chinese meditation, Ch'an Buddhism (which provided the master artists with their characteristic disciplines and techniques). The Taoist aesthetic tradition and Ch'an, which was the origin of Japanese Zen Buddhism were highly influential in the artistic culture of the Sung Dynasty of China and it was this Sung culture which arrived in Japan through the offices of Zen priests during the Kamakura period. These influences provided a strong basis for the maturation of Japanese artistic modes.⁷

In the ancient Taoist tradition, one can see the emerging "tao" ("do" in Japanese), or "the way". The "way" was perceived as an "uncarved block", as non-being, as natural, eternal, spontaneous and indescribable, at once the beginning of all things and the way in which all things pursue their course. Taoists developed characteristic

⁷ Ibid., p. 37.

methods of approach to this state of sympathy with their surroundings by focusing on intuitive knowledge and the necessary quiet through which one can return to the roots of his own being and therefore is able to become aware of the deep roots of all things. This "way" was very influential in the development of Chinese religio-aesthetic practices.

"Ch'an Buddhism fused the Taoist approach of intuitive knowledge and quiescence with the Buddhist metaphysic of egolessness and the universal Buddha-essence and it is this synthesis, which was originated in China and cultivated in Japan that provides the characteristic method of the Japanese master arts."⁸ The Zen Buddhists in Japan taught that the experience of enlightenment is superior to all doctrines and that the highest truth is inexpressible. They also emphasized that the real world is not negated and that one is not transformed magically to another realm by the experience of enlightenment: "...Rather, one's understanding of the world is transformed into a direct intuitive experience of the Buddha-reality".⁹

Theodore M. Ludwig, in his article, "The Way of Tea: A Religio-Aesthetic Mode of Life", offers a good summary of the important connection between religion and the master arts such as tea ceremony. He writes:

⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

The Japanese synthesis of Shinto, Buddhist and Taoist-Ch'an traditions which made up the religio-aesthetic culture of the medieval period had as its basic presupposition the conviction that all life and all natural forms are manifestations of the one essential reality... The Buddha-essence is present as a self-expressive creative subject. In other words, that which is expressing itself, and that which is expressed are identical. The master artist is one who practices his art as a disciplined method of realizing and expressing... For the "do" arts (like kendo, judo, chado), the ultimate goal is a transformation of the self into a realization that self is really Self, of the mind into a realization that it is Mind itself, of the subject-object thinking process into a realization that all is Subject.... Since the master artist makes his life into an artistic creation, his total life will exhibit the religio-aesthetic qualities of enlightenment.¹⁰

The medieval tea masters were good followers of this artistic "way" and the author will provide further discussion about this matter in the ensuing pages of this thesis.

B. History of Tea Drinking

Tea-drinking was a newly-introduced facet of Chinese T'ang Dynasty culture (600-900 A.D.) which was brought to Japan by Japanese monks at the beginning of the Heian period (794-1185 A.D.). During the reigning years of the Emperor Saga (809-823 A.D.), there suddenly appeared many written documents which mentioned tea-drinking among the emperor and his court aristocrats and monks. This was due to the influence of Japanese Zen monks like Saicho

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 40.

(767-822), Kukai (774-825) and Eichu. Saicho and Kukai went to China and returned in 805 and 806 A.D., respectively. Eichu went to China during the Nara period (710-794 A.D.) and came back after having spent thirty years in Chang-an.¹¹

The book, "Ch'a Ching" (written about 770 A.D.), by Lu Yu was the definitive book of the times for the Japanese and from this book, it is understood that tea-drinking was widespread in China. In his book, Lu Yu laid the groundwork for later developments by spelling out classifications of tea plants, preparations, utensils to use in preparing and drinking tea, together with the types of water to use. He also kept detailed historical records concerning tea, emphasizing its medicinal powers and the fact that it kept one from getting drowsy. It is clear that Lu Yu was promoting a rather well-regulated etiquette for tea drinking. For example, he stated that "one can omit some of the utensils if drinking tea outdoors, but if one of the twenty-four implements is missing in an aristocratic home in the city, tea cannot be prepared."¹²

The tea that Lu Yu most admired was the "brick tea" made of steamed tea leaves mashed in a vegetable oil

¹¹ Murai Yasuhiko, "Development of Chanoyu", (Collected Papers of the History of Chanoyu Conference, 1982), p. 3.

¹² The Culture of Tea, H. Paul Varley, quoted in George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith, ed., Warlords, Artists & Commoners. Japan in the Sixteenth Century (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1981), pp. 190-191.

paste, dried in bricks pressed in molds, broken up and pounded into powder, which was then stirred into boiling water and seasoned with salt. It was not until the twelfth century that the Chinese began to prefer a drink made of powdered fresh tea leaves, the equivalent of Japanese "matcha", stirred or whisked in hot water -- the kind of tea now used in the Tea Ceremony. That type of tea was superseded in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) by steeped tea, the Japanese "sencha", which is the common tea beverage used in Japan today. All three teas -- brick, powdered and steeped -- have been used ritually in both countries (and elsewhere in East Asia) in Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian temples as well as in Imperial Palaces and Chanoyu. Chado comes directly from the tea-drinking practices in Chinese Zen Buddhist temples.

To Eichu, with his thirty years in China, tea drinking and all that he saw in China, were brand-new exciting customs and when he returned to Japan he conveyed this excitement to the reigning Emperor Saga. The Emperor Saga's fascination with Chinese culture helped to popularize tea-drinking. He even made it an integral part of the court poetry meetings. Certain poems of that time mention tea along with the concepts of Taoism and aesthetics, but these concepts did not accompany tea for long. After the death of the Emperor Saga, the tea-drinking customs that had pre-

vailed at the beginning of the ninth century ended.¹³

1. Introduction of Powdered Tea to Japan

In the history of Japanese tea-drinking, the most significant event was the introduction of powdered tea from Sung dynasty China (1141-1215 A.D.) by the monk, Eisai at the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185-1333) in Japan. In his book, "Kissa Yojoki" ("An Account of Drinking Tea and Prolonging Life"), written in 1211, as one can see from the title, the author placed emphasis upon the medicinal values of tea and he combined esoteric Buddhist notions of healing with the advocacy of tea drinking:

Tea is the most wonderful medicine for nourishing one's health: It is the secret of long life.... The basis of preserving life is the cultivation of health, and the secret of health lies in the well-being of the five organs. Among these five the heart is sovereign, and to build up the heart the drinking of tea is the finest method.¹⁴

Eisai's book, however, did not deal with the spiritual aspects of tea that were so valued in the tea drinking of the early Heian period or those found in Lu Yu's book, "Ch'a Ching".

When Eisai returned to Japan in 1190 A.D., he planted tea groves in the Zen temples he established,

¹³ Glenn T. Webb, A Scoop For Delicate Threads. The Japanese Shin-Gyo-So System (Collected Papers of Chanoyu Conference), p. 3.

¹⁴ Varley, "The Culture of Tea," pp. 195-196.

claiming that tea was essential for the practice of Zen. In Buddhist history, Eisai holds the position of having been an important disseminator of the philosophy of the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism. The only connection between Zen and tea at that time, however, was that tea was used as a medicine or stimulant by the Rinzai and other priests, as it had been by the priests of the Heian period.¹⁵

In addition to Eisai, other priests also had experience with tea in China. The Tendai priest, Jojin, who had gone to Sung dynasty China with his seven disciples at the end (1011-1081) of the eleventh century, mentions having been offered tea while visiting the Emperor Shen Tsung (1068-1086) and that wherever he went, government offices or temples, he was served tea or given tea as a gift. The use of powdered tea was widespread in China at that time, and it is quite possible that the tea Jojin and his disciples were served was powdered tea. Unfortunately, Jojin died in China ten years later. While there must have been some disciples who returned to Japan with powdered tea before his death, it did not yet create a new fashion in tea-drinking.¹⁶

From Eisai's time onward, a long list of priests, representing every sect of Buddhism in Japan, began to form

¹⁵ Murai, Cha No Bunka Shi, p. 5.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

and thus create the historical record of this remarkable art form. In addition to the influence of the priests, however, there was also a connection with the military leaders within Japan. If the late-medieval shoguns of Japan's military establishment had not adopted Zen and tea, chances are good that there might never have been a "way of tea". Furthermore, if one of the truly great Japanese Zen priests, Ikkyu (1394-1481) had not spent his life introducing a Zen way of tea to the merchant community, tea would probably have remained basically Chinese in form and the pastime of only a select group of people. The tea practices of Ikkyu's disciple, Murata Shuko (1422-1502) and his other disciples (including the Shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa), formed the basis for the "way of tea" that was established in the sixteenth century by the merchant-class lay priests Takeno Jo-o (1504-1555) and Sen no Rikyu (1521-1591). This "way of tea" is called Wabi-cha which is, in fact, a synonym for chado, which will be discussed later.

The development of the aesthetic of wabi-cha can be roughly divided into three periods. The first extended from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century, and its leading exponents were Murata Juko in the fifteenth century, Takeno Jo-o and Sen no Rikyu in the sixteenth century and Kobori Enshu in the seventeenth century. Juko was in the service of the Ashikaga family (1579-1647), Rikyu in that of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, and Enshu in that of the

Tokugawa family. This was the period of "wabi" in the true sense of the word, and the period of "life for art's sake". In the case of these tea masters, the transformation of life into art was achieved under the patronage of despotic authorities and the tea masters were the "arbiters of taste" for their age and exercised a similar authority.¹⁷

2. The Growing Use of Powdered Tea

As mentioned earlier, powdered tea was introduced to Japan at the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185-1333). By the Middle Ages, it was still being served with very little change in Saho (the manner of making and drinking tea). Although it was practiced primarily in the temples by the priests, tea was gradually adopted by other parts of society, as well. One example of the use of tea by the common people was the practice of Obukucha, which is the offering of tea before a Buddhist altar to one's ancestors or can mean the actual tea ceremony itself. Tea was eventually even offered to Shinto gods during the late Heian period (around 800) when the unique fusion of Buddhism and Shintoism was prevalent. The tea gatherings, Obukucha, at the temples of Saidai-ji and Rokuharamitsu-ji originated from the tea served at banquets which ended religious ceremonies at the temples. The important thing to note is

¹⁷ Kato, Form, Style and Tradition, pp. 155-156.

that the practice of tea was disseminated by the temples, and because of their religious faith, this had a strong influence on the people.¹⁸

By the sixteenth century, tea was a part of the lives of Japanese of all classes. The drinking of tea was a common feature of social gatherings. Yet tea was more than just a beverage and more than just a mundane necessity of life. As the century began, the tea ceremony was emerging as an aesthetic ritual peculiar to the Japanese. By the century's end, that ritual had been codified into a type of cult. In late-medieval Japan, many aesthetically integrated forms of art and craftsmanship, including monochrome ink paintings, landscape architecture, ceramics, flower arrangement and the type of interior design and decoration used in the formal reception rooms (shoin) that was known as "shoin-zukuri", developed in close conjunction with the tea ceremony. Moreover, when the Japanese of that period used expressions such as "chanoyu" they meant not only the mastery of the tea ceremony but also the cultivation by tea masters of a connoisseurship and even a spiritual enlightenment that extended to the arts and culture in general, as well as to forms of social behavior.¹⁹ During the age of

¹⁸ Murai, "Development of Chanoyu", p. 5.

¹⁹ H. Paul Varley and George Elison, "The Culture of Tea", pp. 187-189.

unification in the late sixteenth century, when Nobunaga and later Hideyoshi seized control over large areas of Japan and restored political unity after more than one hundred years of civil war, there even emerged a distinct "politics" of tea since the religious and political leaders of this time were not only deeply involved in the study and practice of tea and Zen, but at the same time competed for power and wealth.²⁰ The full significance of these cultural developments cannot be understood unless it is viewed within such a broad historical context.

The development of the tea ceremony reached its peak in the sixteenth century under three great masters whose lives, careers and ideals span the century: Murata Shuko (Juko, d. 1502), Takeno Joo (1502-1555) and Sen no Rikyu (1522-1591). These three men established the traditional Chanoyu.²¹ Rikyu, in particular, was extremely influential and, in fact, often performed the tea ceremony with Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. It is important to realize, however, that Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, while attempting to modernize Japan, were still essentially medieval figures. This means that the Chanoyu of that period was still influenced by medieval thinking and customs.

²⁰ H. Paul Varley, "Art and Articles in the Culture of Tea", (Collected Papers of Chanoyu), p. 9; Beatrice M. Bodart, "Tea and Council: The Political Role of Sen Rikyu," (*Monumenta Nipponica*, Spring 1977) pp. 49-51.

²¹ H. Paul Varley, "The Culture of Tea", p. 188.

They maintained the same type of perilous relationship with authority as did Petronius, and like Petronius they were put to death when they failed to maintain that relationship. Their transformation of life into art was not the transformation of the life of the society. It was an undertaking possible only to particular individuals under particular circumstances -- to the specialists, that is, who were masters of the tea ceremony.²²

It was during the late Muromachi period (1336-1568) that the interpersonal qualities of Japanese cultural behavior were more fully revealed in the tea ceremony. Chanoyu was by far the most important manifestation of the human relations aspect of Japanese culture in the late medieval period. In Chanoyu could be seen the Japanese urge to create an aesthetic framework for communal cultural activity -- a setting within which to engage in social intercourse. In the process of shaping such an aesthetic setting for the tea ceremony, the Muromachi Japanese were also alert to the need to integrate all of its parts and features, from the architectural structuring of the space and the interior decoration to the exterior view of the landscape gardens and the natural surroundings beyond.

The two most distinctive aspects of Muromachi culture, then, were what may be called the social and the integrative, both of which were most completely manifested within the culture of tea. In that period, the culture of

²² Kato, Form, Style and Tradition, p. 155.

tea embodied the essence of Japanese aestheticism: an acute sensitivity both to the emotional ties that join people together and to the minute detailing of the environment within which human relations unfold. The tea ceremony may be understood as a ritualization of this awareness and sensitivity, and as a kind of re-creation in miniature of a hypothetical ideal Japanese pattern of behavior.²³

C. Requirements for Chanoyu

1. Sarei (Rules)

The most significant factor in the history of tea-drinking in Japan was the development of Chanoyu, a form of art established around the act of tea-drinking. Sarei was originally the name given to the type of tea ceremony practiced in the Zen temples and gradually Sarei (rules of tea) came to be the basic rules which dictated the correct actions involved in ceremonial tea drinking. It was in the middle of the fourteenth century, the beginning of the Muromachi period, when the original form of Sarei developed. The term Chanoyu also appeared around this time and was applied to the form of tea ceremony that began to be practiced by people outside of the temples. Sarei established the basic rules for Chanoyu, but it was Suki (aesthetic discrimination), Furumai (correct deportment) and

²³ Varley, "The Culture of Tea", p. 189.

the Chashitsu (tea-room), where the first tea ceremony was practiced, that gave Chanoyu the attachment to things or utensils.²⁴

There is a widely-accepted view that tea and Zen are inseparable as demonstrated by the words "chazen ichimi" (tea and Zen are one and the same.) However, most of the tea-drinking people throughout history, including those of old China, had no association with Zen. In Japan, as well, the history of tea-drinking developed from the beginning of the Heian period with no connection to Zen. Although the philosophy of "chazen ichimi" has no historical basis, the relationship between tea and Zen cannot be denied.

Chanoyu, however, was born at a time when Zen was accepted by the warrior class and when the form of tea gatherings was based on the Sarei of the Zen temples. Therefore, the rules for Chanoyu stem directly from the Zen Sarei.²⁵

D. Aesthetics of Chanoyu

1. Suki (Aesthetic Discrimination)

In the middle of the fifteenth century, those people who owned and loved various tea utensils exemplified the admiration of Chinese objects that had existed since the Kamakura period. During the time of the Onin-Bunmei War

²⁴ Murai, "Development of Chanoyu", pp. 7-8.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

(1467-1480), a big change in the concept of Suki was noted in "Kokoro no Fumi" by Murata Shuko.²⁶ There was an obvious trend away from the favoring of Chinese objects toward the preference for things Japanese and the development of a taste for simple and quiet things as embodied in the spirit of Wabi, as indicated in Shuko's comment that the words "to dissolve the boundary between Chinese and Japanese things," could now be replaced with the words, "from the Chinese to Japanese things". However, in studying the development of this aesthetic sense, it is important to remember, first of all, that one should not regard the preference for Chinese artifacts or the preference for Japanese artifacts as two very opposite attitudes. Even at that time, Chinese artifacts were recognized as perfect and gorgeous products in contrast to the crude and imperfect Japanese wares. Knowing, however, that many Chinese objects were used in Zen temples to display the concept of Zen, we cannot deny that there was an aesthetic in common between the two. Therefore, there was the capacity for the aesthetics of simplicity to develop from the long tradition of enthusiasm for Chinese objects.²⁷

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

The meaning of the term Suki was also changed. Prior to this time, it had simply meant the desire to own or love, but it came to include a sense of aesthetic values as well. The concept of the beauty of the imperfect gave new depth to the old attitudes which had only meant attachment to things. It was at this time that the beauty of the aesthetic arrangements necessary for Chanoyu became important.

2. Chashitsu -- The Tea Room

The change in aesthetics occurred not only with respect to the kind of tea utensils used, but also in the place where Chanoyu was practiced. One example, although not exclusively a tea-room, was the Shoin which was the re-creation by various tea masters of a small and simple mountain-type village in the middle of a large city. It was war time and these Shoin provided a place of refuge from worldly affairs, as well as a place to develop one's aesthetic sensibilities. The changing aesthetic taste of the people was not only influenced by the historical turbulence of the times, but also by the rapid development of the cities after the Onin-Bunmei War. A retreat in town, a small village in a huge city, offered a haven, an artificial space and time much sought after in the crowded conditions of everyday-city life. It was during this period that the concept of Chanoyu as a duplication of everyday life first

came into existence and was born of urban culture itself.²⁸

Rikyu, in order to simplify both the physical and material aspects of the tea ceremony, decreased the size of the tea-room to four and one half mats and this became the standard size. The hermits of ancient times lived and meditated in a four and one-half mat space. Their intent was to rise above the mundane trappings of worldly affairs and this became Shuko's and other tea masters' intent as well. Dojin was a Buddhist saint of that time who regarded all people as equal, regardless of their social status. Perhaps Yoshimasa, an Ashikaga shogun of the time, selected the name "Dojin"²⁹ for his own tea room with the idea that all people who participated in tea ceremony in his tea room were of equal status. Sumiaki, another Ashikaga lord, named his tea hut "Yamazato-an" ("Foot of the Mountain Tearoom") showing, again, the influence of the hermit concept. In one of his poems, he wrote about one of these villages in the mountains that had been re-created within the city. His poem embodies the feelings of those who favored the aesthetic sense of the old hermits and yearned for a quiet, lonely atmosphere within the hustle and bustle of a large city.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

²⁹ See Appendix illustration #22.

Proof that Chanoyu was a product of urban culture is seen in many records of tea gatherings in the sixteenth century. One of these records, the "Chakai-ki" ("Records of Tea Ceremony") not only offers a quantitative measure of the widespread diffusion of the tea ceremony among the general populace but is also noteworthy because it discussed the quality of the tea ceremony which was established through the development of the proper form known as chaji. This form included not only the Sarei, but also the type of garden, the tea-room and all other elements of which tea gatherings were composed.³⁰

3. The Aesthetics of Wabi

It took an additional century for the Soan style Chanoyu to develop. "Soan" is the name for a hermit's hut where the roof was made of leaves and all is modest and simple. In the meantime, Chanoyu's main practitioners changed from only those in the warrior class to those who were merchants. The time coincided with the development of enthusiasm for Japanese products and the early increase of interest in crude, imperfect beauty. It is important to remember that the development of the aesthetics of imperfect simplicity corresponded with the development of a desire to possess utensils. Therefore, the developing admiration for

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

the aesthetic of crude simplicity did not mean a dilution or abandonment of interest in material things. It indicated, rather, an interest in pursuing the true nature of things, or in other words, the intensification of enthusiasm.³¹

Wabi is a noun derived from the verb "wabu" (to pity) or the adjective, "wabishii" (dreary and lonely). Wabi was introduced to the world of Chanoyu and became its leading aesthetic principle, possibly because people had tired of an aesthetic based solely on the admiration for and the pursuit of material things. Wabi means the lack of material things, a taste for the simple and quiet. Not possessing things is wabi. However, if wabi means only non-possession, then aesthetics is not necessary. Wabi does not deny things. However, to embrace the spirit of Wabi means to challenge the true nature of things and to discover their true beauty or psychological function. Wabi is the beauty of crude simplicity and is the embodiment of the true Japanese sense of beauty.³²

The beauty of this imperfect crudeness is the beauty of restraint. In addition to an attitude of restraint toward material things, Wabi has also become a concept that embraces a certain mental attitude toward the

³¹ Murai, "Development of Chanoyu", p. 19.

³² Ibid., pp. 19-20.

tea ceremony, i.e.: "Ichigo, ichie" -- the concept that every tea ceremony is a "once-in-a-lifetime event", that every moment is precious for it may never come again, and that, therefore, our manners and interaction with fellow participants must be sincere, thoughtful, correct and so forth. This attitude toward others is expressed in the term, Furumai, which comes from the verb "furumau" which means to act, behave or deport oneself well with others. In the tea ceremony, it has come to mean the "entertainment" or "feast". Furumai is expressed in the manner that food is prepared for the guests and embodies the attitudes of the hosts and guests toward each other as well. As mentioned in the "Yamagami Soji,"³³ the ultimate purpose is to build an "ichi-za" which means a gathering of people. For the gathering to be comfortable it is necessary to sincerely do one's best with the knowledge that one might be able to meet their fellow guests only this once, even if they are people with whom one comes into contact on a daily basis. This, of course, is also the concept of "ichigo-ichie".

In conclusion, Chanoyu developed out of these pleasure-seeking gatherings and was based on the daily experience of drinking tea. In the course of its development, two things became important. One was the aesthetics

³³ The Record of Yamagami Soji, one of Rikyu's students

of Wabi and the other the concept of ichigo-ichie. Wabi became an aesthetic which was concerned with the relationship between people and objects. Ichigo-ichie concerned the relationship of people with each other. Once these two concepts had been incorporated into Chanoyu, one could say, at last, that Chanoyu was finally established, both in name and reality.³⁴

E. Tea and the Merchant Class

1. The City of Sakai

Sakai was viewed as a mighty and independent city capable of defying the petty barons who ruled Japan during the entire Middle Ages. It was the most important urban center aside from the capital of Kyoto. Sakai was a prosperous port city of Osaka prefecture, the chief city of Izumi province, and had gained its prominence as a center for the trans-shipment of estate rents to the home provinces and also as the outfitter for official embassies to Ming China. Sakai was also known as a "free city" -- the one town so wealthy that it could challenge the warrior class and defend itself from the turmoil of the last phase of the medieval period. Its "freedom" called to mind the free cities of Europe which grew up outside the feudal order and this freedom became one of the principal reasons for the collapse

³⁴ Murai, "Development of Chanoyu", pp. 20-21.

of the medieval world and the rise of a centralized feudal society.³⁵

Sakai's population was exceptionally large and affluent in comparison to most other cities of sixteenth-century Japan. However, through much of its history, it developed in a way that was typical of port towns elsewhere. It reached its peak of prosperity by equipping the Ming missions. Its autonomous institutions also had parallels in virtually every town and village of the warring period (1490-1600).

An examination of Sakai's council of elders reveals that its membership and functions were far from unusual. Several different terms were used in documents of the period to refer to the council, but the earliest and most common was the "Egoshu", literally, "the group that meets together". In terms of economic and social position, the members of the Egoshu were wealthy merchants of high standing in the community. Most of them belonged to families which entered foreign commerce when Sakai first began to equip the Ming missions, and so were dependent for their great wealth on their connections with the feudal lord Hosokawa.³⁶

³⁵ Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, p. 7; The City of Sakai and Urban Autonomy, V. Dixon Morris, quoted in Ellison and Smith, Warlords, Artists and Commoners, p. 24.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 36.

. The members of the Egoshu would not have been inclined to oppose the military class, for the source of their livelihood was the trade which was an integral part of the traditional tribute diplomacy of East Asia. It was essential for the Japanese to send envoys to China and these missions could only be legitimate if they bore the approval of the bakufu or its chief retainers.

Moreover, the Egoshu, as members of a former official class, enjoyed a social position which was basically equivalent to that of the warriors who were establishing the military domains of the Sengoku period. Foreign traders from the port cities were able to associate freely with the most powerful warriors as late as Ieyasu's time (early seventeenth century) (1603-1622).³⁷

The daily activities of the Egoshu in their operation of the government of Sakai remain a mystery. The details of the installation of new members of the council, their exact powers, the appointment and collection of taxes, as well as other matters can only be imagined. In any case, there were strong similarities between the Egoshu of Sakai and the councils of other cities and villages. In terms of the date of its founding, the number of members and their social backgrounds, and the functions that it carried out,

³⁷ Ibid., p. 38.

the Egoshu was a typical institution for local self-government in the medieval period.³⁸

In Sakai, the records describe members of the Egoshu as mediators between opposing armies and give those merchants credit for fending off hostilities. They were in constant contact with the warrior class not only as their quartermasters but also as their companions in tea ceremony. A mastery of ceremonial tea was an essential accomplishment for the chief Sakai merchants and they shared their knowledge with the warriors of several different clans. They were, therefore, in a good position to respond to requests that they serve as go-betweens for hostile armies. During the next few decades, the townsmen began to play a very active role in both tea ceremony and other kinds of interaction with the warrior classes.³⁹

2. Early Tea Schools

During the reign of Miyoshi Nagayoshi (Chokei) in (1523-1564), the foremost tea master in Japan was Takeno Jo-o. He is best-known today as the teacher of Sen no Rikyu, the greatest of all tea masters and the founder of the modern schools of tea ceremony. Jo-o, like his most famous student, was a native of Sakai, and he epitomized the

³⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 45.

merchants' relationship with the feudal lords. He learned his living as a supplier of armor to the military. It was to his advantage, therefore, to be on very good terms with Miyoshi Nagayoshi.

Nagayoshi, himself, referred poetry to tea as a pastime. As Donald Keene⁴⁰ shows, he was one of the patrons of Satomura Joha, the leading renga (a type of Japanese poetry) master of the day. His younger brothers, however, sat at Jo-o's feet on numerous occasions. Through him, they became acquainted with other Sakai merchants, including those who were members of the Egoshu. Tsuda Sotatsu and his son, Sogyu, who belonged to Sakai's wealthy Tennojiya family, and Imai Sokyū were all participants at these sessions. Although Jo-o was the most important, they were also the leaders of the tea world. Their several roles as tea masters, merchants and as Egoshu members were inseparable, for after they had taken tea they commonly discussed matters of business and cemented their ties to Miyoshi. As they had done in 1546, the Egoshu had easy access to the disputing warrior classes. As before, the tea ceremony gave them important access to the leaders of the time. Hisahide Matsunaga (1510-1577) was an even more ardent devotee of tea than Miyoshi and his collection of tea implements was widely

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 47.

known. One of his utensils, a tea container named "Tsukumogami" even attracted the attention of the Europeans of the day. Moreover, Hisahide and Miyoshi's lords were frequently mentioned as hosts and guests in the tea diaries of Sakai merchants.⁴¹

3. The Jesuits in Sakai

The Jesuit missionary Gaspar Vilela remained in Sakai because it was safe at a time when the provinces were embroiled in fighting. Sakai, Vilela felt, was unassailable because it was protected by the sea on the west and by deep moats that were kept full of water on the other sides. Internal tumults and quarrels were unheard of because the streets had gates with guards who would close them instantly if it were necessary. Offenders, therefore, had no avenue of escape because local officials would apprehend them immediately and bring them to trial.

Rodrigues described some of the reasons why Sakai became an influential center for developing new types of Chanoyu such as "suki".

This new way of cha-no-yu, which is called suki, originated in the famous and wealthy city of Sakai, the biggest and busiest trade centre of all Japan. Up to the time of Nobunaga and Taiko it used to be governed like a republic and did not recognize any outside authority for many years. For it was a very strong place and was like the court of Japan, and contained wealthy and well-

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 50.

to-do citizens and noble people who retired thither from various parts on account of the vicissitudes of war. Those of the city who had the means devoted themselves to cha-no-yu in a grand manner, and on account of the trade which the city had all over Japan and even outside the kingdom the best cha-no-yu pieces, after those of Higashi-yama Dono, were to be found there. As a result of the continual practice of cha-no-yu among its citizens, Sakai produced the most eminent people versed in this art.⁴²

When Rikyu came to Sakai he inherited a quite well-defined tradition of Chanoyu from such master as Shuko and Jo-o. It was Rikyu who brought the way of tea to its culmination as an integration of non-monastic Zen aesthetic attitudes and merchant-warrior sensitivities. Politically, Rikyu was recognized as one of Hideyoshi's most important followers. Throughout the centuries much has been written about Rikyu's great artistic talent and aesthetic achievements.⁴³ However, what is less known is his important role as a political negotiator. Of course, other tea masters who were influential merchants were also important but it was in his position as connoisseur of all Japanese arts and as host for Hideyoshi that Rikyu attained the level of the highest tea master.

Rikyu was born into a merchant family which owned a number of fish storehouses along the coast of Sakai. By

⁴² Joao Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1973) pp. 274-276; Tanaka Hiromi, quoted in (Collected Papers of Chanoyu), p. 2.

⁴³ Beatrice M. Bodart, "Tea and Counsel", pp. 51-53.

virtue of their commercial power, Sakai's wealthy merchants had managed to obtain a degree of independence and security for their city even in war-torn Japan of the early sixteenth century. Although the merchant class held the actual power, they were considered to be the lowest class in Japanese society. In contradiction of this unfavorable status, they patronized the Zen temples and entertained each other with Chanoyu. However, their manner of practicing Chanoyu was different from the more flamboyant style of the impoverished court in Kyoto and, in spite of their wealth, the Sakai merchants gradually established a more simple style of tea called "wabi cha".⁴⁴ In addition to their preference for simplicity, the Sakai merchants saw Chanoyu as a means of abolishing the distinction between commoner and noble, and emphasized the relevance of Chanoyu to the life of the commoner, realized the socializing and entertaining possibilities of Chanoyu and encouraged the discipline and self-refinement required of those who practiced this art.

Rikyu's wabi-cha was the perfection of those practices which had begun with Shuko, the Forerunner, and Jo-o, the Mediator. Murata Shuko and Takeno Jo-o had popularized the serving of tea in quiet and austere surroundings which resembled a

⁴⁴ Kumakura Isao, "Sen Rikyu, His Life-His Tea," (Collected Papers of Chanoyu) p. 2; Beatrice M. Bodart, "Tea and Council," p. 50.

hermit's hut and had tried to infuse the spirituality of Zen into this simple gesture of hospitality.⁴⁵

It is evident that there were two predominant styles of tea during this period: the Kyoto style practiced by the daimyo and the Sakai style of the merchant class. The two styles were co-existent and often influenced each other as they gradually developed. Both groups profited from their relationship. To the daimyo, the good will and friendship of the merchants was of utmost importance as the merchants furnished the necessary supplies and ammunition needed for their military campaigns. In addition, Sakai's merchants were in demand not only as traders but also as teachers of Chanoyu and were considered the arbiters of taste in matters concerning tea. Imai Sokyū, who was a famous tea master, the owner of ammunition factories and an influential member of Sakai's governing body and Tsuda Sokyū, a tea master and the head of the important Tennojiya merchant family, had strong bonds with Nobunaga. Although Rikyū's family was not particularly influential in the field of commerce, Rikyū became an important member of the entourage of Nobunaga and successive rulers of Japan. He appears to have not only concerned himself with matters of tea, but also acted as Nobunaga's secretary and highly trusted

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 50.

middleman.⁴⁶ After Nobunga's assassination in 1582, Rikyu continued his work and rose to great power under Hideyoshi's patronage. As Hideyoshi consolidated his military position, Rikyu was chosen to become "tenkagosado" (Tea Master of Japan). Six years later, on the fifth of April in the year of Tensho 14 (1586) Otomo Sorin, a territorial lord of northeastern Kyushu, described Rikyu's actual power in a letter:

Since we are in a position of always having to rely on the Saisho (Hideyoshi's half brother Hidenaga, the Lord of Mino) you should understand this well. I cannot fully describe in words the way in which Master Rikyu gave advice on this occasion and exerted himself on our behalf. Never will I be able to forget it. As it looks here, I believe that there is no one other than Soeki (Rikyu) who can say even a word to the Kampaku (Hideyoshi). In general it seems quite extraordinary. At any rate, it is absolutely essential that now and in the future we have deep-felt, unreserved, and intimate relations with Hidenaga and Soeki.⁴⁷

In his letter, Otomo added these words of the Saisho:

As everything is like this with the Lord of Mino, do not worry. Confidential matters are known by Soeki and public matters by Saisho. Therefore nothing evil will happen to you and we will keep you fully informed.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 51.

⁴⁷ Kuwata, Sen no Rikyu (Tokyo: Chuko-shinsho, 1976), p. 53; Nishimura, Kiristan To Chado, p. 192; Beatrice M. Bodart, "Tea and Council," pp. 56-57.

The letter also stated quite clearly that private and confidential matters were to be handled by Rikyu, while Hidenaga attended to official business. Rikyu was in a very good position to handle confidential matters. In his capacity as tea master he spent much time in Hideyoshi's presence and overheard many discussions to which people of official standing had no access. Furthermore, Rikyu had ample opportunity to be a party to many secret discussions since Hideyoshi was in the habit of making many military and political decisions in the privacy of the tea room. However, in addition to his political activities, Rikyu continued to perfect Shuko's ideal of the tea ceremony, until Hideyoshi's sudden outburst of anger in the second month of 1591. This incident will be discussed at a later point in this thesis.⁴⁸

4. Rodrigues and Suki

Just as there were two styles of Chanoyu during this period, there were also two types of tea men: political tea men and those who practiced Rikyu's style of wabi-cha. Rodrigues commented on the difference between tea-drinking for entertainment and political reasons and the practice of wabi-cha which he called "suki". He wrote in

⁴⁸ Bodart, p. 58.

fine detail about the origin and purpose of the new style of suki and compared it to other schools of tea such as the Higashiyama, that of the Sakai merchants, the Oribe and later the Enshu or Sekishu school. As a foreigner, he occasionally confused the characteristics of the different schools, but he wrote of them with great interest:

They continued to improve this way of Chanoyu more and more, and partly changed the ancient method of Higashiyama Dono by reducing some less essential things and then adding some others which they thought were opportune and in keeping with the purpose of the exercise.⁴⁹

In describing the new school of "suki", he wrote:

In this way they established another way which is called suki and is now in current use; its teachers are known as sukisha, the house where they entertain with cha as sukiya, and the items used therein as sukidoqu. Now this word suki came from the verb suku, which means to desire, to have an affection and inclination for something which pleases. Those who practiced cha-no-vu were also well versed in the subject, and when they changed something or added something new, they did not explain in words the reason for such a change and addition; for it is a rule of this art that its experts do not explain the reason and cause of the things which they do in this matter by words but by deeds only, for they leave everything to the consideration and reasoning of their pupils. In this way, the pupils may come to understand the reason through their own efforts by watching what the teacher does.

This is how the masters of the Zenshu sects teach their doctrine, and the followers of this art imitate them and say that they are doing this only out of suki, that is,

⁴⁹ Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, pp. 272-274.

because it seems good to them thus and it pleases them; from this they came to be called sukisha. This way of speaking is ordinary and common in Japan, for when a person does something peculiar and does not want to give any explanation for it, he says that it is suki, that it is his desire, that it pleases him and⁵⁰ thus appears to him good, and gives him pleasure.

It was Rodrigues' opinion that Japanese culture reached its finest development in "suki". He was not merely a superficial observer, but was obviously imbued with a deep admiration for tea and wrote with genuine enthusiasm and understanding about the practice of suki:

This art of suki, then, is a kind of solitary religion instituted by those who were supreme therein to encourage good customs and moderation in everything concerning the devotees of this art. This is in imitation of the solitary philosophers of the Zenshu sect who dwell in their retreats in the wilderness...

Apart from some general principles, they do not teach anything by word but rather by deed, and they leave everything else to the contemplation of each individual, until he understands the purpose and essentials of the art through his own efforts; he adapts anything merely incidental as he thinks fit and suitable, provided it does not go against the general rules of suki. The purpose of this art of cha, then, is courtesy, good breeding, modesty and moderation in exterior actions, peace and quiet of body and soul, exterior humility, without any pride, arrogance, fleeing from all the exterior ostentation, pomp, display and splendour of social life; instead, sincerity without any deceit as befits a hermit in the wilderness, honest and decent attire, with certain order, neatness and plainness in everything in use and in the house, in keeping with such a calling. For

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 272-274.

everybody respects those who profess this art and they have a reputation among the people for being men of wholesome customs, and they are esteemed and revered as such. They therefore gather in the said house to drink tea in order to perform these things concerning solitude, withdrawal, and contemplation of the utensils and everything in the house, and this moves them to nostalgia and a withdrawal in some way from public life, and to moderation in their external actions. This gathering and the other ceremonies carried out in an unpolished and rough way therein serve as an exercise of these things and as a setting for drinking cha. For this is the pastime of the hermitage and takes the place⁵¹ of the wine-drinking of solemn social gatherings.

Rodrigues went on to explain how Chanoyu was changing and improving:

The most eminent people of Sakai versed in this art formed the suki now in fashion by changing some of the less essential things of cha-no-yu. For example, they built the hut on a smaller scale than before because they were cramped by the straitness of the place, as the city is situated in a hot dry plain on the sea-coast, ...

So they entertained each other with cha in these small huts within the city itself and in this way they made up for the lack of refreshing and lonely places around the city; indeed, to a certain extent this way was better than real solitude because they obtained and enjoyed it in the middle of the city itself. They called this in their language shichu no sankyo, meaning a lonely hermitage found in the middle of the public square.

The people of Sakai insisted on two basic principles for Chanoyu:

The first of these was extreme cleanliness. The second was for each person to try to obtain,

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 274.

according to his means, some good items, both foreign and Japanese, or at least one, without paying any regard for their price and sparing no effort. For they declared that nobody can truthfully say that he is a suki man, that is, fond of something, or practice an art (for the word means this as well) if he allows himself to be overcome by difficulties and does not do everything possible, with the result that he fails to obtain what he so greatly desires.

Rodrigues described the ideals of suki:

Hence they have come greatly to detest in suki any kind of contrivance and elegance, any pretence, hypocrisy and outward embellishment, which they call keihaku in their language. For example, many hypocritical phrases of flattering compliments, praise and adulation towards superiors; the desire of a person to pretend to be a greater expert in everything that he does than his strength or ability warrant, and other things of this sort. Instead, their ideal is to promise little but accomplish much, to praise sparingly but achieve a great deal; not to show off their talents and powers; always to use moderation in everything; to take care that their customs, and even the manual things which they use, be substantial and solid without any deceit; finally, ⁵² to desire to eat by default rather than by excess.

Wabizuki

In the following quotation, Rodrigues contrasts the regular suki ("hon-no-suki") with another kind known as "wabizuki" and compares the purpose and benefits of both:

As we mentioned earlier, there are two kinds of suki. The first is called hon-no-suki, and this is the genuine and proper kind in which there must always be some costly item as the basis of the suki. But, as we have said, not every class of person can practise this way because of the heavy and excessive expenses involved. The other kind

⁵² Ibid., p. 277.

of suki is called wabizuki, and many people, even commoners of limited means, practise this. This is a poor suki, and in place of costly utensils they use similar cheap ones, thus trying after their fashion to imitate the genuine article and its purpose. But this manner of suki is very useful and serves a practical purpose, because, entertaining a person in this way does not involve so much expense as in the formal gatherings, and is moderate and does not have too much wine, sakana or many exquisite dishes. A guest, whatever his rank, is entertained soberly, honourably and becomingly at suki with less expense and without any pomp or ostentation, but with the greater love and courtesy which is to be found in suki. But both types of suki have the same purpose and benefits, because they both imitate the same thing and have the same end.⁵³

Rodrigues stated that suki has three essential features: (1) extreme cleanliness; (2) rustic solitude and poverty; and (3) the ability to recognize the natural proportion and suitability of things. He also noted that the true tea-master applied all his knowledge to things such as the reformation of obsolete social practices and the encouragement of new attitudes toward modesty and the avoidance of hypocrisy and ostentation.

In further describing the ideal tea master and the exacting requirements for such an office, Rodrigues listed several attributes which he must possess. He began his discussion with a brief description of this Suki No Osho (master teacher of the art of tea):

⁵³ Ibid., p. 292; See illustration #19-21.

Among those who practise the genuine suki, there is always one who surpasses all the others in every respect and as such is recognized and esteemed. The teacher and head of this religion or art is commonly called suki-no-osho, in imitation of the Zenshu (which this art imitates) whose head or teacher is called by this style or name, just as we would use the title "Doctor." You must know in this regard that all the liberal and mechanical arts usually have a teacher or head who surpasses the rest in that field, and everybody acknowledges him as such and submits to his teaching in it. Some of them are promoted and chosen by the king, who invests them with their authority; others are recognized as such by their superiority over everybody else⁵⁴ in an art, and are esteemed by the entire kingdom.

The "natural gifts and abilities suited to the office" are summarized below:

First of all, he must possess in his person and in his deeds the abilities and good customs mentioned above of those who possess this art, and he must possess them to a higher degree than other people and must be acknowledged as such. Secondly, he must be of a resolute, firm spirit and withdrawn from trifles and a multitude of things, after the fashion of a contemplative hermit in the desert. Thirdly, he must possess great discernment and an eye for proportion in the appearance of things, and he should know how each thing suits the place, the time and other special circumstances, for the same thing may be fitting at one time but not at another. He must also possess knowledge of the natural proportions of these natural and artificial things in various degrees, and by his long experience of them he should know about their hidden qualities. Fourthly, according to the time and circumstances, he must be able to invent incidental features which are in keeping with the purpose of suki, and to reject other things hitherto used; thus there is always variety

⁵⁴ Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, p. 281.

and change in these incidental⁵⁵ things so that they may not become...be renewed...

Rodrigues also wrote of the impact that "suki" made on Christians and their religious thinking:

For example, Takayama Justus was unique in this art in Japan and as such was highly esteemed. He was very famous for his Christianity and was twice exiled with loss of his property for love of the Faith; the second exile was to the Philippines where he died as a result of hardship, and it is thought that he did not lack the crown of martyrdom. He was wont to say, as we several times heard him, that he found suki a great help towards virtue and recollection for those who practised it and really understood its purpose. Thus he used to say that in order to commend himself to God he would retire to that small house with a statute, and there according to the custom that he had formed he found peace and recollection in order to commend himself to God.

This is enough about suki to understand why the Japanese think so highly of it and how the kingdom has benefited by the advantages resulting therefrom in customs and other features of social life.⁵⁶

Rodrigues, like Takayama Ukon and other missionaries who participated in "suki" were clearly impressed and influenced by the aesthetics and spirit of the tea ceremony:

Hence they have come to detest any kind of contrivance and elegance, any pretense, hypocrisy and outward embellishment which they call keikaku in their language...Instead, their ideal is to promise little but accomplish much; always to use

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 285.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 282.

moderation in everything; finally, to desire to err by default rather than by excess....The more precious the utensils are in themselves and the less they show it, the more suitable they are.⁵⁷

This, then, was the period during which Rikyu sought to develop the tea ceremony to its highest level and both Christians and tea men were able to meet together in the tea-room in the true spirit of Chanoyu. There is no doubt that Rodrigues was strongly affected by Rikyu's philosophy and it is significant that, in his later articles, Rodrigues introduced the term "suki" to mean Rikyu's type of tea ceremony instead of the term, Chanoyu.

Kaiseki (The Tea Banquet)

Valignano was another who was influenced by Rikyu's approach to tea and often used the "kaiseki" (the meal served during the tea ceremony) which had been much simplified by Rikyu, as a time to conduct his various missionary activities. Rodrigues described four types of these meals in chapter thirty of his book: The first type was called the "mitsu no shokudai" (three-food tray) banquet. This was because three formal food trays were placed separately before each guest. The second type was the "itsutsu no shokudai", or five-food tray banquet. The third, "nanatsu no shokudai" (seven-food tray banquet) was the most impressive and solemn meal, with seven food trays

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 277.

being served to each guest. This type of banquet was reserved for guests of noble rank and was an especially courteous treatment that denoted the host's respect for his guests. The fourth kind of meal that Rodrigues described was the part of the banquet reserved for the drinking of tea.⁵⁸

The first three varieties of banquets were perfected in the Muromachi era and consisted of full meals in which many kinds of foods were artistically arranged on either seven, five, or three table-like trays. According to Rodrigues, however, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, in the time of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, a change took place in the style of these meals due to the emergence of the tea banquet. The fourth style, he stated, first appeared in the days of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi and "in modern times it has become a fashionable type of banquet meal served high and wide." From his description, it can be seen that many modifications had taken place. Unnecessary and superfluous things were done away with and in altering the old style the new style reformed the general style of Japanese cuisine, from banquets down to ordinary meals. Rodrigues wrote:

To reform means that in reference to cuisine, the types of foods that had been served merely for

⁵⁸ Kumakura, "Sen no Rikyu", p. 20; Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, pp. 238-239.

artistic sake, or that were cold, have been omitted. Instead, amply prepared warm foods are served onto the trays at well-timed moments. Like their Chanoyu, its substance is in its quality.⁵⁹

As can be seen from Rodrigues' observations, the changing of the banquet-style meal into the simplified Kaiseki style was paralleled by the development of a simplified form of tea ceremony. Kaiseki is written with the Chinese characters meaning "heart/bosom" (kai) and "stone" (seki) and is a homophone for the original "kaiseki" which was written with the characters meaning "party" (kai) and "place" (seki). The name comes from the practice of Zen monks of carrying small heated stones next to their hearts (stomachs) in the folds of their kimono to help ward off hunger pangs.⁶⁰ This style of tea cuisine was the crowning accomplishment of Rikyu's wabi cha.

Prior to the development of wabi cha, tea cuisine consisted of the formal food trays mentioned above and the procedures of the tea gathering were quite similar to the formal Chanoyu procedures of later times. However, the meals were not quite the same as today's "kaiseki" style since kaiseki, before Rikyu, was basically a drinking party.

Wabi-cha reached its zenith during the time of the

⁵⁹ Kumakura, Sen no Rikyu, p. 20.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

two masters, Takeno Jo-o and Jo-o's student, Sen no Rikyu. Jo-o taught that "although the Kaiseki may be novel, to be appropriate to Chanoyu it should not exceed a single broth and three side-dishes." It was Rikyu, however, who actually carried out Jo-o's dictates and he taught, in the "Nanboroku,"⁶¹ that only just enough food and shelter -- and tea -- epitomized both the way of the Buddha and the way of tea.

Rodrigues' records, in chapter thirty-one of his book, showed just how complicated the banquet-style tea was compared to the kaiseki style which developed later. He wrote a very long description describing the three tables which were placed in front of each guest, the correct order in which one must eat the rice, fish, bird and so forth. He also described the wine which was served at the end of the meal and the exact protocol for drinking it.

Then, to mark the end of the meal, hot water is brought in and poured into the rice bowls of all the guests, although in China cha is used instead. They sip this quietly and unhurriedly; any rice remaining in the bowl is mixed with this warm water, and they drink all this swill. If the water is very hot, they do not blow on it (not, for that matter, do they blow on the shiru), and for this reason they usually take only a little so that it may cool quickly. After everybody has drunk the hot water, they put the hashi back in their place on the large table.⁶²

⁶¹ Refer to Chapter 5, "Tea Mind", p. 3.

⁶² Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, p. 248.

Rodrigues also noted that it was customary to provide at least three, five, or seven different kinds of fruit as dessert and went on to finally describe the conclusion of the elaborate banquet:

When the guests have finished eating the fruit, the servants remove the trays and take them inside, and everybody goes out on to the veranda which overlooks the garden of flowers and trees in front of the room. Before washing their hands, they once more clean their teeth with their left hand, covering their mouth with their right. They then go to wash their hands in a secluded place, where they find the water and everything neatly prepared; for the very noble guests the water is brought to the room along with a towel and a lacquered basin and pitcher, richly gilded after their fashion. In winter all the guests are provided with hot water for their hands.⁶³

Later, in chapter thirty-four we can see just how simplified the procedures had become.

When this is done, he takes the vessels inside, sweeps a little with a large feather, then returns to the house and tells the guests that it is now time to eat in order to drink the cha. He goes inside and with his own hands brings out the tables and beginning with the senior guest, he puts one in front of each person. The table is most neatly arranged and set out with rice and vegetable shiru and two wholesome dishes. Then he brings the second table with shiru made of some prized bird or fish and other food. The quantity of the food is such that it can be eaten without any superfluity; hence there are not many dishes, but only two or three. A bowl of rice is at hand for each guest to take what he requires. The host then retires inside, closes the door and leaves the guests to eat. Then in due course he brings out a glazed jug with a spout containing hot wine, and also cups for each one. He places it in front of the guests for each one to take and drink what

⁶³ Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, p. 249.

he will, and does not press them to drink more. When everybody has declined, he collects the wine, takes away the second course of shiru and then, in conclusion, brings hot water and each guest takes as much as he wishes.

When this has been done, he takes the tables one by one inside and then brings out a small quantity of some suitable fruit as dessert on a separate plate for each guest, and then retires inside. When they have eaten the fruit, the guests collect the salvers and place them aside near the service door; then they leave the house, close the door and go into the wood to wash their hands⁶⁴ and mouths in preparation for drinking cha.

The outstanding characteristic of Rikyu's Chanoyu was wabi. This sense of wabi has some aspects in common with Christian thinking. It is, of course, very difficult to find actual records of the link between Christianity and wabi-cha, but through an examination of the "Nanboroku" which was a record that Rikyu's students kept, the author will try to make this spiritual relationship clear in chapter five of this thesis.

F. Daimyo-Cha and Christianity

After Rikyu's death in 1591, his disciple Furuta Oribe (1544-1615) took over the leadership of Chanoyu. Oribe in no way followed Rikyu's dictates and his Chanoyu was totally different from Rikyu's wabi-cha. Perhaps because he was a samurai, he practiced instead the grand tea of the lords known as daimyo-cha.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 290.

Kobori Enshu and Katagiri Sekishu who followed Oribe were also members of the samurai class and practiced daimyo-cha. These men were the founders, respectively, of the Enshu and Sekishu schools of tea. Kobori Enshu not only displayed a special talent for the tea ceremony but was also famous for his calligraphy, landscaping and other traditional arts. Among the famous tea gardens which Enshu designed were the Hojo South Garden in Nanzen-ji temple, the Kohoan Jikinyuken South Garden in Daitoku-ji temple, and so forth. The tea garden in Juko-in designed by Katagiri Sekishu was also noteworthy. Rikyu was also well-known as a landscape architect and he is famous for his gardens Kohoan Bozen and Shinjuan no Roji. It is interesting to note that during Rikyu's time, landscape architects devoted about sixty percent of their attention to practical matters of design and about forty percent to overall aesthetics. Furuta Oribe, and others of his period, attached a different value to the importance of aesthetics and the proportions between the two were reversed, with sixty percent of their attention being focused on aesthetic matters and forty percent on the practical.⁶⁵

The outstanding characteristic of the tea style of Oribe and those tea men who followed him was evidenced by

⁶⁵ Tanaka Hiromi, "History of the Way of Tea" (Collected Papers of Chanoyu), p. 19.

the bright and open style of their tea rooms which were much larger than in Rikyu's time and contained many more windows. We can see a good example of this change in architectural style in one of Oribe's favorite tea rooms, En-an.⁶⁶ It had a total of ten windows which seems to indicate that tea men of that era preferred a bright, cheerful atmosphere in which to conduct the more gaudy style of daimyo-cha. This architectural trend can also be seen in the tea rooms of Hasso-an and the Sarumen chashitsu (tea-room).

In addition to the increase in size and brightness, there was a much more important feature of the En-an tea-rooms of Oribe's time which reflected the social mores of the period. This feature was the double sliding door that was set up to divide the tea-room into one area for guests and one for their retainers. Oribe and his followers lived in the Tokugawa era when everybody's place in society was firmly fixed and where social discrimination which took into account minute differences in rank and status was prevalent. Under such social conditions, Oribe's style was gladly adopted by the samurai class and there was no effort made to establish equality among the participants in the tea ceremony as there had been in Rikyu's time.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ See Appendix illustration #25 (Enan).

⁶⁷ Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, p. 217.

Oribe was first mentioned formally in a listing of public and social tea ceremonies in an article describing Hideyoshi's Great Tea Ceremony at Osaka Castle in October of the eleventh year of Tensho (1584). After Rikyu's death, Hideyoshi asked Oribe to be his head tea master and allowed him to revise Rikyu's style of tea and to develop and improve daimyo-cha. By the time of "Sekigahara no Eki" (the Battle of Sekigahara) in 1600, Oribe was already well-known for his skill as a tea master and in the fifteenth year of Keicho (1611) he attained his highest prominence as tea master and teacher for the shotgun Hidetada.⁶⁸

It is well known that Oribe was a Christian daimyo. Another Christian daimyo, Takayama Ukon was his brother-in-law, the husband of his younger sister. According to Christian religious law, only people of the same religion were permitted to marry and the marital connection with Takeyama Ukon is added proof that Oribe was indeed a Christian. There is some uncertainty, however, as to his real Christian name. Although in some records his name was listed as Francis, this has not been established as a definite historical fact. There were many Christians among his relatives such as Tsuchiya Soshun, Nakagawa Hidemasa and his younger brother Hidenari. It is noteworthy that the

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 223.

family crest of the Nakagawa family contained a Christian cross.⁶⁹

As mentioned before, the outstanding characteristic of Oribe's tea style was its cheerfulness. Daimyo-cha was a real departure from Rikyu's dark and subdued wabi-cha. Instead of emphasizing "Mu" (nothingness) in one's present life and the philosophy of accepting things as they are without a desire to change them in the future, the new daimyo-cha with its roomy brightness and lavishly decorated tea utensils seemed to indicate that one could indeed have hopes for the future. While Rikyu's tea attached importance to human sensibilities and a life of retirement in a rural atmosphere, Oribe's tea attached importance to freedom of individual will. In his "Book of Suki", Oribe emphasized this freedom of will which is clearly a Christian rather than a Japanese philosophy.⁷⁰ In the fourth year of Keicho, (1600) certain Christian works that were published about the Japanese also noted that without freedom nothing was of value even if one had a great number of material things. This concern for freedom of will had never been found in Japanese philosophical history before the coming of Christianity.

⁶⁹ See Appendix illustration #54; Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, p. 215.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 226.

Christians also left their mark on the tea ceremony in more concrete terms. There were many Oribe tea utensils which had some markings related to Christianity such as pictures of Europeans, European words and the sign of the cross. This tendency toward using European-type symbols to decorate tea utensils was not, however, an example of Japanese acceptance of Christianity but rather was evidence of their interest in things foreign and, therefore, exotic.

Father Fernando G. Gutierrez, S.J. also wrote of both the avid participation of missionaries in the tea ceremony and the Japanese use of Christian symbols in decorating their tea utensils:

The mission century coincided with the Momoyama period (1573-1615) when the tea ceremony reached its highest point of development. Valignano laid great stress on the need for missionaries to appreciate this pastime and ordered that every major Jesuit residence should possess a fully-equipped tea room where the ceremony could be performed with all due decorum to honor distinguished visitors. Some of the more experienced missionaries knew a great deal about this subject. Moreover, some of the leading Christians were renowned for their skill and perception in this aesthetic pastime; in particular, Takayama Ukon distinguished himself in his discernment of the aesthetic values related to the art, and no less than three of the seven famous disciples of the celebrated master sen no Rikyu (1520-1591) were Christian.

Various tea utensils bearing Christian symbols are still preserved from this period, and examples of such chawan or "tea bowls", may be found in the Osaka collection. One is made in the Oribe-yaki style and bears a single white cross against a black background as its only decoration. Another

is an example of the raku-yaki style, one of the most typical in the tradition of Japanese tea ceremony ceramics. It bears a tall elongated cross as its sole decoration and possessed great sober beauty in accordance with the Japanese shibui aesthetic.⁷¹

In both chapters four and five, there will be further investigation of both the influence of Christianity upon the tea ceremony and the tea ceremony's influence upon the Christians in Japan.

⁷¹ A Survey of Nanban Art, Fernando G. Gutierrez, quoted in Michael Cooper, The Southern Barbarians (Tokyo: Kodansha-International, 1971), p. 205.

CHAPTER 4

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THEIR ENCOUNTERS WITH THE TEA CEREMONY

A. First Observations

The first Europeans who referred to the Japanese custom of drinking tea seem to have been Portuguese merchants who had spent a few months in Kagoshima in 1546, three years before the Portuguese missionaries arrived in Japan. Jorge Alvares, one of these merchants, wrote an interesting and perceptive report upon his return from India to Japan:

While in Japan the Japanese ate sparingly, their staple diet being rice. They drank an arrack made from rice; and there is also another drink which both the nobles and ordinary people take. In summer they drink barley water and in winter water mixed with herbs, although I never learnt what these herbs were. Neither in the winter nor in the summer do they drink cold water.¹

Tea was known by the expression "hot water" in Europe for many years after this report.

¹ Michael Cooper, They Came to Japan, p. 191.

The first missionary who encountered tea on at least two occasions was probably St. Francis Xavier; one was at an audience granted him by the lord of Satsuma and the other at the home of an influential merchant, Hibiya Ryokei in the city of Sakai. In January of the twentieth year of Tenmon, while traveling to Kyoto via Sakai by boat, he became friendly with someone who gave him a letter of introduction to Hibiya and when he arrived in Sakai, he visited Hibiya's house. The person who served tea to Xavier might have been a Mr. Kudo who was the father of Hibiya, a Christian convert who had been later christened by Gaspar Vilela in the fourth year of Eiroku (1562). The reason why Xavier and his companions might have been served tea was reported by Luis Frois (1532-1597), another missionary:

Among distinguished and wealthy Japanese it is the custom that if they wish to show special favour to a guest, they bring out their particular treasures for him to see before his departure. These are the utensils and necessary articles for drinking a certain powdered herb called cha.²

Juan Fernandez (1526-1567), a member of the group of missionaries travelling with Xavier, wrote, in 1561, how Damien, a young Japanese convert, helped around the Jesuit residence:

This Japanese has many jobs in the residence, and he has the task of always having a kettle of hot water ready, which he gives to all the visitors and to those in the residence who want it. This

² A.L. Sadler. *Chanoyu* (Rutland, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 6th 1982), p. 90.

is the custom of the country. This task requires that the man who does it must always be neat and polite on account³ of the dealings he has to have with everybody...

Two other Europeans wrote as follows:

John Saris: "The ordinarie drink of the common people is water, which with their meats they drink warme."

Arthur Hatch: "Their ordinary drink is water, and that is made most times hot."⁴

When Luis Frois reported about the eating etiquette of Japan in 1565, he wrote:

They used to read certain books written of duties and ceremonies appertaining unto banquets... Winter and summer they drink water as hot as they may possibly abide it.⁵

It was on the first of January, 1565, when Luis Frois and five others started out from Bungo on the island of Kyushu. They arrived at Sakai on January 27th and Luis de Almeida, S.J. (1525-1584), one of the party, reported in a letter of the twenty-fifth of October, "They drink a powdered herb, called cha, which is a delicious drink once one becomes used to it." Almeida wrote this letter in a

³ Michael Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Tea" (Collected Papers of Chanoyu), p. 3.

⁴ Michael Cooper, They Came to Japan (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), pp. 190, 192.

⁵ Ibid., p. 192.

report written during the twenty-five days he remained in Sakai because of illness. His hosts took care of him with a kindness that he felt could never have been matched even in his parents' home. On the day before he left for Limori, he was treated to a ceremonial banquet with tea and was shown the family's precious tea utensils. Not only the tea utensils, which were very expensive and much esteemed even at that time, but also Chanoyu itself made a very deep impression on Almeida. He described the tea ceremony, tea utensils and tea room in detail.⁶ His report is an important source of material about the Chanoyu of the Muromachi period and read as follows:

It is customary with the noble and wealthy Japanese, when they have an honored guest who is on the point of leaving, to show him their treasures as a sign of esteem. These treasures consist of the utensils they use in drinking a certain powdered herb called cha, which is very pleasant to those who are accustomed to drink it. Their way of doing so, is to grind half a handful of the leaves of this herb in a porcelain bowl, after which they drink them infused with very hot water. For this purpose they use some very old iron kettles, as also the vessels wherein they put the water to rinse the porcelain bowl, and tripod whereon they put the lid of the iron kettle so as to avoid placing it on the mats. The caddy in which they place the cha leaves, the spoon which with they scoop them, the ladle with which they take the water from the kettle, and the stove -- all these utensils form the jewelry of Japan, in the same way as rings, necklaces, and ornaments of magnificent rubies and diamonds do with us. And they have experts who appraise these utensils, and who act as brokers in selling or buying them. Thus they give parties to drink this herb (of which the

⁶ Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, pp. 262-264.

best sort costs about nine or ten ducats a pound) and to display these utensils, each one as best as his wealth and rank will allow. These parties are given in special houses, only used on such occasions, which are marvels of cleanliness.

On the next day at nine o'clock they sent a message for me, and a Japanese Brother, and another man who looks after all our affairs in Japan, (Cosme Kozen) a rich man and a very good Christian. They led me behind some of his apartments, through a small door by which a man could just enter comfortably; and passing along a narrow corridor, we ascended a cedarwood staircase, of such exceptional cleanliness that it seemed as if it had never yet been trodden upon by human feet. We emerged into a courtyard measuring a few square yards, and passing along a verandah, entered the house where we were to eat. This place was a little larger than the courtyard, and appeared to have been built by the hands of angels rather than of mortal men. Like the most highly-polished mirror, strange to say, in spite of its jet-black hue. Upon it there stood a pleasingly fashioned kettle, placed on a very curiously wrought tripod. The ashes on which the glowing charcoal lay, looked like finely ground and shifted eggshells. Everything was exquisitely clean and set out with such order as to be beyond description; and this is not perhaps so remarkably setting that on these occasions they concentrate their attention only on such things. My companion informed me that the kettle had been bought by Sancho, as a great bargain, for six hundred ducats, but that it was worth much more.

(Sancho was the Christian name of Hibiya, Ryokei.) The

report continued:

When we had taken our places, they began to serve the repast. I do not praise the food, for Japan is but poorly provided in this respect; but as regards the service, order, cleanliness, and utensils, I can confidently affirm that nowhere in the whole wide world would it be possible to find a meal better served and appointed than in Japan. Even if there should be a thousand men eating, one never hears a single word spoken by any of those who serve it, everything being carried out in an incredibly orderly manner. When dinner was over, we all said grace upon our knees, for such is the good custom among the Japanese Christians.

Sancho with his own hands made and served the cha, which is the powdered leaves I spoke of. Afterwards he showed me, among many others of his treasures, a small iron tripod, little more than a span round, on which they put the lid of the kettle when it is taken off. I took this in my hand, and it was so worn with age in parts, that it was soldered in two places where it had broken through sheer decay. He told me that this was one of the most valuable of its kind in all Japan, and that it had cost him 1,030 ducats, although he personally considered that it was worth much more. All these things were kept in fine damask and silk bags, each in its valuable little box. He told me that he had more of these treasures, but could not show them just then for they were stored away in a place where it was not easy to get at them, but that he would show us them if we came again. Nor is the worth of these things to be wondered at, since here in Kyoto -- there is a man who has an earthenware caddy for the cha leaves valued at thirty thousand ducats. I don't say it would necessarily be sold for so much, but it is quite likely that many princes would give ten thousand for it. These kind of vessels frequently fetch between three and five thousand ducats apiece and are often bought and sold. Some of their swords likewise fetch similar pieces.

A Portuguese merchant, Bernardino de Avila Giron wrote of his encounter with tea in his travel book, "Kingdom's Country Japan"):

In 1595 at the castle of Arima Harunobu. We were guided to the room called cha no yu to welcome the guests. There were some utensils to make tea in the corner of that room. Tea is a kind of dry herb..."⁸

Avila Giron wrote about the tea ceremony much in the same way as did Almeda and Luis Frois. His reports of

⁷ Cooper, They Came to Japan, pp. 194-195

⁸ Ibid., pp. 196-198

table etiquette, drinking manners and the entertaining of guests give us an excellent understanding of these early customs.

I will not praise Japanese food for it is not good, albeit it is pleasing to the eye, but instead I will describe the clean and peculiar way in which it is served. Usually each person eats at his own table. These tables are generally square in shape, measuring two spans either way; some are completely flat, while others stand on four short legs, about two fingers long, with a ridge, also about two fingers in height, running along the sides. This table is called an oshiki and is varnished either black or vermillion. On top of it are brought four small bowls, made of wood and fashioned on a lathe, and these are varnished more delicately than the table. The largest one could hold a good pint of wine and actually contains the other three bowls, each fitting into the next. The largest one is called a goki and within it is brought the rice, covered by the third vessel, called a kasa; in the second bowl, or kowan, they bring the soup, or shiru; and this in turn is covered by the fourth bowl, or hanashi.

A page, or maid, brings this table and places it in front of the master so that the goki of rice is on his left and the shiru on his right. The Japanese do not use chairs but seat themselves on the tatami, just as women sit on an estrade. Two clean sticks, or hashi, as thick as a quill and about a span and a half in length, are placed on the table. They take these up with four fingers and eat with them, and a child of four summers can remove the bones of a sardine with them. On top of this table there is sometimes a saucer or two with some sakana or dainty morsel. Everything is cut up so that there is no need to touch the food with the hands. If they bring other dishes, they place them in front on the tatami. All these plates and dishes are served but once, except for the rice and shiru, which are offered three times because this is the food which fills and satisfies hunger, and moreover it is eaten hot.

There is also a certain order in the way of eating for you may not begin where you please. You must first take the sticks in one hand and tap the table with their points in order to adjust them properly. Then you must raise the goki and take three morsels of rice, and then you must put the bowl back on the table, back on the table, I say, and nowhere else. Then you take the kowan (or bowl) of shiru, drink a little, and then put it down. You next lift up the goki once more, take two morsels of rice and then put the bowl down again. Then once more the kowan and one or two mouthfuls of shiru; then for the third time you raise the goki of rice and take one morsel. And then, if you so wish, you may sip the shiru and help yourself from all the other available dishes until you can no more or there is nothing left.

The servants always remain on their knees, closely observing what is required at table, and before either the rice or the shiru is entirely consumed they take the goki and fill it with rice; and they remove the kowan on a varnished wooden plate and go to the kitchen to get more shiru. Although it may not appear so, this kitchen is always close to the zashiki where the meal is taken. About halfway through the meal, along comes a page with hot wine in a flask, but does not pour it out unless the diner holds out his cup, which, in Japan, may be no other than the bowl which covered the rice. And if there are guests present, they pay each other compliments as to who shall be served first and who shall drink less. This wine is made from rice and is very stout and wholesome. A Fleming told me that it was undoubtedly better than the beer of his country, and I certainly believe this, because beer is made from barley whereas this wine is made from excellent polished rice.

Giron also had a chance to observe other Japanese drinking customs and eating customs.

First of all you must know that the sakazuki is the cup from which they drink. Fashioned on a lathe, it is made of wood, finely varnished either a black or a tawny colour; the brim is gilded and there is a branch or a bird engraved

⁹ Ibid., pp. 194-195

in gold on the inside. It is washed but not dried, and thus still wet it is placed upside down on a table especially made for the purpose or on a tray of white wood.

After the guest has entered, the master of the house makes a sign, at which the pages comes and first of all bring sakana, or something to eat with the drink, on a small table or dish. This sakana is usually fruit or raw shell-fish, either salted or fresh, and is placed at the top of the room (or zashiki); than another, or the same, page brings the sakazuki and the wine. Falling on his knees, he waits until his master gives the sign; then he comes with the sakazuki and kneeling in front of the guest he gives him the cup. And although the guest may be as noble as the master of the house (or even more so), he may not drink, but must needs take up the cup with the table just as it comes, raise it above his head, lower it and give it back to the page, bidding him to carry it to his master. Even though it may be sent back to him again, he must on no account be the first to drink.

Now after the host (let us say that he is a tono or noble) has drunk, the guest receives the cup and placing his hand first of all on his head and then lowering it to the tatami, he takes the sakazuki and once more raises it above his head; then he kisses it and places it on the tatami. He next bows to the tono and then taking hold of the cup once more he again lifts it above his head and receives the wine. And then looking at the tono, he says: Tabemasuru, which means, I drink. His host replies: Omesare, omeshi wo kikoshimosare. But if the tono wishes to honour him greatly, he will either bow his head a little and not reply, or he will stretch out his left hand.

The sakazuki is held with both hands with the thumbs resting on the brim. After drinking a little, the guest puts the cup down and asks the tono to accept his sakazuki. But he must be at least equal in rank to do this; if he is not, he does not put it down, but asks for more wine in order to finish. Then the tono bids them bring the sakana and if he wishes to honour the guest he himself takes the sakana with the

sticks and serves it to him; but if not, they place it before the guest and he helps himself. Now if it is fruit, such as sliced pears or any other fruit, it is eaten with the fingers; but if it is fish, boar or shell-fish, it is eaten with the chopsticks. And if it is fruit, it is taken with the fingers of the right hand assisted by the left hand in such a way that the hand either remains underneath or touches the wrist. If it is fish, shell-fish or boar, it may not be picked up with the fingers but the palm of the right hand. Then raising it above the head, the guest must eat at least half of it and the rest he may put away in his bosom (we foreigners put it in the pocket), but he must not put it down in front of him.

After he has eaten the sakana, the guest raises the sakazuki and asks the servants to pour him more wine, but they will not give him any more until he has drunk all that is in the cup. He must drink this and then he may have some more; and if it is fitting to ask the tono to drink, he will do so. But if not, he will make a sign to the page to take the sakazuki away, or if there is another guest present, he will give it to him. If the tono wishes to honour him and orders the sakazuki to be brought back, the guest must thank him heartily and is then obliged to drink once more; and if he is not careful, he will be made to drink so much that he will not be able to rise.¹⁰

The above lengthy quotation describes an etiquette that has many things in common with the meals served today in connection with tea ceremonies. It may also have been the origin of a school of etiquette (Ogasawara) which has many branches all over Japan and specializes in teaching Japanese men and women the traditional forms of Japanese etiquette even today. Giron also emphasized the neatness

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 196-198.

and cleanliness of the Japanese way. At the same time, we must not forget that one reason for this emphasis may have been because Europe at that time was very un-clean and un-neat!

We can see that the early reports of Giron and others were very important in increasing European understanding of certain Japanese customs. There were many misunderstandings, of course. For example, reports by missionaries about Japanese drinking "hot water" were constantly reaching Europe and it is possible that some Europeans might have thought that this was the sole drink of Japan and did not realize that the Japanese also enjoyed sake and so forth. It is readily understandable that they called tea "hot water". A foreign guest might not notice the tea powder being spooned into his cup and would see only the boiling water being added. In any case, the hot, clear beverage may well have struck the foreign palate as so much hot water with some slight flavouring added. As mentioned before, in 1565 this "hot water" was first called "tea" by the missionary Luis de Almeida, when he noted that there was "a certain boiled herb" which is called 'cha', which is tasty to anybody getting used to drinking it. As the missionaries became more knowledgeable, their later reports offered Europeans more and more information about Japanese culture.

B. Recognition of the Cultural Function of Tea

In 1579, Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606) arrived in Nagasaki. Appointed the official visitor to the Jesuit missions in Asia at an early age, Valignano was commissioned to inspect the work of the missionaries and implement changes in policy and organization whenever he saw fit. He wrote a report to his superiors which showed that he clearly recognized the difference in culture between Japan and Europe.

They also have rites and ceremonies so different from those of all the other nations that it seems they deliberately try to be unlike any other people.¹¹

On October 28, 1583, he cited the following instances of contradiction between the European and Japanese way of life:

White, which with us is a festive and cheerful color, is a sign of mourning and sadness with them, whereas they like black and mulberry as gay colors. Our vocal and instrumental music wounds their ears, and they delight in their own music which truly tortures our hearing. They cannot stand the smell of incense, benzoin and such like things. We remove our hats and stand up as a sign of politeness; contrariwise they remove their sandals and squat down, for to receive guests standing up would be the height of rudeness. We admire golden hair and white teeth, whereas they paint theirs black. We mount a horse with the left foot first, they with the right. They put tripods on their braziers, with the feet in the air and the circular ring at the bottom. They think it an

¹¹ Ibid., p. 229.

unhealthy thing to give hens, chickens, sweets to sick people, and almost everything we do; they give them salted or raw fish, limes, sea snails, and such like bitter or salty things, and they have found by experience that these are in fact good for them. They never bleed the sick, and the purges they give them are all sweet smelling and mild, and in this way they have much the advantage of us, since ours are very harsh and bitter. Their women before they conceive go very loosely girt about the waist in a flowing dress, whereas when they conceive they tie themselves so tightly around the waist, that it looks as if they would burst; so that when they are on the point of giving birth, they look smaller and less big-bellied than they did before they conceived. If they do not bind themselves round so tightly, they often miscarry or abort.¹²

Valignano was quick to understand that if Christianity was to take deep and permanent root in Japan, the missionaries would have to adapt themselves to local customs and social usages. He advocated that new arrivals should not only be learned and virtuous, but dignified in their behaviour, "since the bonzes of Japan are distinguished by their dignity and gravity."¹³ It is worth noting that, unlike Vilela, Frois and most of his confreres, Valignano frequently held up the Buddhist priests as models to be followed in deportment and general behavior. The great importance of language study was also stressed.

¹² Boxer, "Christian Century in Japan", p. 77.

¹³ Michael Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Chanoyu", p. 38; Boxer, "Christian Century in Japan", p. 83.

He insisted that missionaries should receive a thorough language course so that they could learn to speak correct and elegant Japanese.

Foreign tea drinkers soon began to realize the important role that tea played in Japanese etiquette. Valignano, who encouraged missionaries to adapt themselves to Japanese customs and manners, placed tea-drinking firmly in the Jesuit's sphere of activity.

Valignano, as the religious superior of all the Jesuit missionaries in Japan, was authorized to issue any directives that he saw fit for the good of the mission. He refused to tolerate the missionaries' lack of direct experience with Japanese customs. He insisted on the necessity of each individual missionary adapting to the Japanese way of life, and, thus, his great achievement was the encouragement of assimilation on the part of all the missionaries. Valignano was influenced in deciding on this policy by the Kyushu daimyos, Arima Harunobu (1612) and Otomo Yoshishige (also known as Sorin). He obviously took this advice, especially from the Christian daimyo Otomo Yoshishige, before committing his thoughts to writing about his experiences to his superiors. Nevertheless, his writings displayed a truly remarkable perception on the part of a European who had been in the country for only two years.

A subject greatly emphasized by Valignano was the Chanoyu -- the art of taking tea. He ordered that all the Jesuit residences should possess their own "Chanoyu," a term used by the Europeans to denote not only the actual ceremony but also the place where it was held. His directives specifically stated that all Jesuit residences in Japan were to have a "Chanoyu" (using this term in its apparently current meaning of a tea room), as well as a "genkan" (entrance) and "zashiki" (parlor) in pure Japanese style, because without such rooms guests would be subjected to many "discourtesies and affronts."¹⁴ In addition, all Jesuit residences were required to have their Chanoyu kept clean and in good order. It was further required that a "dojuku" (a caretaker/receptionist) or some other person be in continual attendance in the Chanoyu. This person was to know something about Chanoyu, especially in places where a large number of upper-class people were liable to come and go. There were to be two or three types of "cha", one of very good quality and the other of a lesser sort, in keeping with the rank of the people who came to visit. The man in charge of this Chanoyu was not to be employed in manual labor, but should instead, have occupied himself in

¹⁴ Michael Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Tea", p. 4.

reading, writing, or grinding "cha" and doing other things connected with Chanoyu. As soon as a person of quality or a messenger arrived, the dojuku was to immediately inform the priest or brother in charge of dealing with Christians and then he was to stop everything else in order to welcome and entertain the visitors and to receive their messages without making them wait.¹⁵

Again and again, Valignano stressed the importance of conducting such gatherings with fitting decorum, pointing out that "one of the principal ways of entertaining people is cha, and the Japanese highly esteem the neatness of the Chanoyu in which visitors are received."¹⁶ At a later date, a list of thirty-four utensils needed for the performance of Chanoyu was drawn up and distributed for the use of Jesuit residences through the country. The Japanese technical terms for all of these articles were given. Some of the terms are no longer in use, but others are still employed to this day, e.g. "mizusashi" (water jar), "chawan" (tea bowl), and "hibachi" (hearth).¹⁷

There are about one hundred fifty words concerning tea in the Portuguese-Japanese dictionary ("Nippo

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁷ See pp. 126-127 of this chapter.

Jisho" in Japanese) which was published by the Jesuits in Nagasaki in 1603-1604. This clearly shows the editors of the dictionary regarded tea as a very important facet of Japanese culture. In this dictionary, "Chanoyu" is defined as "the place where the water for cha is heated and prepared for drinking," with the definition followed by the two terms, "chanoyu-jo" (tea room and its surroundings) and "chanoyu no ma" (tea room).¹⁸ Thus, it appears that at this time Chanoyu referred to the place in which tea was drunk and not to the tea-drinking practice itself. However, all the elements which have been discussed above that comprise Chanoyu ("hot water") -- the tea room, the utensils and the etiquette used at this time were the origin of today's "tea ceremony", chado.

C. Early Missionaries and Their Experiences With Tea

Under Valignano's influence, the Jesuits continued to take a keen interest in "hot tea". Luis Frois was one of those who felt strongly attracted to the pastime. As Frois had worked for many years in and around Kyoto and met ruling generals like Nobunaga and Hideyoshi on a number of occasions, he was particularly well-versed in the procedures and spirit of Chanoyu.¹⁹

¹⁸ Michael Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Tea", p. 8.

¹⁹ Michael Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Chanoyu", p. 40.

In March of the twelfth year of Eiroku (1569 A.D.), Frois was sent to do missionary work in Kyoto by Wada Koremasa, one of Nobunga's daimyo. Kyoto was one of the cities where missionaries were permitted by Nobunaga to live and work. In Kyoto he lived in the house of an enthusiastic Christian named Soi, and when he arrived, he was immediately led by Soi to the tea room and served tea; he stayed in Soi's home for twenty days. At that time, merchants preferred to do business in the most prosperous neighborhoods of both Kyoto and Sakai and Soi was a rich merchant who did business in Sákai. Frois had many opportunities to mingle with the upper strata of society in both cities and had many chances to participate in Chanoyu. As mentioned before, Frois had been an honored guest, along with Almeida and others, at a Chanoyu conducted by Hibiya Ryohei, an important merchant and Christian convert, in Sakai in October, 1565. In a report written in April of the twelfth year of Eiroku (April 24, 1569), he wrote of his visiting Nobunga at Azuchi Castle. His purpose for this visit was to show his appreciation for Nobunga's various favors such as permission ("shuin-jo") for a tax-free license for the Church, the protection of all missionaries and their property within their territories and so forth.²⁰ Nobunaga welcomed him with

²⁰ Watsuji Tetsuro, Sakoku, p. 121.

Chanoyu and he was honored to be served tea twice from the very same tea bowl which Nobunga himself used. He was also given as a souvenir, a square wooden box containing the famous "kaki" (persimmons) of Mino.²¹

This was by no means the only occasion on which Nobunaga treated Frois with the greatest familiarity, laying himself out to please the Southern Barbarian in a manner which astounded his Japanese retainers, who went in the greatest awe of his capricious, haughty, and despotic temper. For the remaining thirteen years of his life, Nobunaga displayed a consistent liking and admiration for the strangers from the West, of which he gave practical proof many times. The reasons for this have often been discussed by Japanese historians, and his motives were doubtless rather mixed. But it seems to me that Sansom has put his finger on the principal one, when he points out that Nogunaga was an autocrat who could not afford any intimacy with his vassals, and would thus probably enjoy relaxing in the company of men of strong character and high attainments from whom he had nothing to fear. The Jesuits, whether by instinct or by training, had many characteristics which appealed to the military cast of mind...

There was also another bond between them in their common hatred of Buddhism, although the reasons for their common dislikes were grounded on different principles. Nobunaga was a militant agnostic -- if not an atheist -- and his hatred of the bonzes sprang from purely political motives, since they had shown²² an annoying tendency to support his opponents.

Frois wrote of his impressions about Azuchi Castle as follows:

²¹ Kawasaki Momota, Kaiso no Nobunaga (Tokyo: Chuo Koron sha, 1983), p. 32.

²² Boxer, "Christian Century in Japan", p. 64.

On top of the hill in the middle of the city NOBUNAGA built his palace and castle, which as regards architecture, strength, wealth and grandeur may well be compared with the greatest buildings of Europe. Its strong and well constructed surrounding walls of stone are over 60 spans in height and even higher in many places; inside the walls there are many beautiful and exquisite houses, all of them decorated with gold and so neat and well fashioned that they seem to reach the acme of human elegance. And in the middle there is a sort of tower which they call tenshu and it indeed has a far more noble and splendid appearance than our towers. It consists of seven floors, all of which, both inside and out, have been fashioned to a wonderful architectural design; for both inside and out, I mean, inside the walls are decorated with designs richly painted in gold and different colours, while the outside of each of these stories is painted in various colours. Some are painted white with their windows varnished black according to Japanese usage and they look extremely beautiful, others are painted red, others blue, while the uppermost one is entirely gilded. This tenshu and all the other houses are covered with bluish tiles which are stronger and lovelier than any we use in Europe; the corners of the gables are rounded and gilded, while the roofs have fine spouts of a very noble and clever design. In a word the whole edifice is beautiful, excellent and brilliant. As the castle is situated on high ground and is itself lofty, it looks as if it reaches to the clouds and it can be seen from afar for many leagues. The fact that the castle is constructed entirely of wood is not at all apparent either from within or without, for it looks as if it is built of strong stone and mortar.

To one side of the castle Nobunaga built another separate palace, although the buildings are linked by corridors of great perfection and elegance. There are many attractive and fine gardens, which differ from ours in practically every respect. The wealth of the apartments, the artistry and workmanship, the excellent wood, the general neatness, the matchless and distant view commanded by all these places -- all this caused great admiration.

The entire fortress is encircled by towers built upon those great stone walls and within each of them are alarum bells and guards on duty day and night; all the principal walls are covered from top to bottom with iron wrought with much skills. There was a stable above wherein there were no more than five or six horses; but it was a stable only in name because it was so clean and well kept that it seemed rather to be a fine chamber for the diversion of nobles than a place to lodge horses. The four or five youths who looked after it went about dressed in silk and carrying daggers in gilt sheaths. He also had 35 shaven men who did no other work save walking around and sweeping with their brooms and cleaning all these houses an hour before daybreak; this they did with as much care and perfection as if each day were a solemn festival, because the thing which pleased him most and to which he always paid attention was this extreme exterior cleanliness.²³

In Azuchi Castle, Frois saw many small paintings which were in perfect harmony with the aesthetics of Chanoyu and which were revered by sixteenth century connoisseurs of tea. Nobunaga, a fervid collector of "meibutsu" (tea treasures), owned at least three of Yu-Chien's "Eight Views":

There are eight famous lonely places, called "hakkei" or "eight views", both in Japanese and Chinese tradition, and these scenes are often painted and much admired.

The first scene is a certain famous place with the clear autumn moon reflected in the water; they go out on autumn nights to gaze at the moon in a sad, nostalgic mood. The second view is of a valley or remote wilderness where a hermitage bell, rung at sunset or at night, is heard

²³ Cooper, They Came to Japan, pp. 134-135.

sounding softly from afar. Third, rain falling quietly at night in a certain lonely spot. Fourth, a ship sailing back from the distant high seas toward the land. Fifth, the sight of a lovely fair in certain mountains. Sixth, fishing boats returning together from the sea at sunset. Seventh, flocks of wild birds landing with their leader in a certain place. Eighth, snow falling on a high place in the evening or during the night. All this is in keeping with their temperament and makes them feel very nostalgic and quietly lonely.²⁴

One of these paintings, "Evening Bell From a Distant Temple", had been acquired about 1570 and was used in a number of important Chanoyu sponsored by Nobunaga throughout the succeeding decade. "Evening Bell" was the most prized of Yu-Chien's "Eight Views". The ownership of a painting depicting this celebrated tea treasure greatly enhanced Nobunaga's prestige as a collector of valuable objects. It was through the search for and ownership of such objects that he developed a strong liaison with the powerful merchants involved in Sakai tea society.

Frois also had an encounter with "hot tea" when he visited one of the palaces on the grounds of Gifu Castle which was under construction at Mt. Inaba. He wrote of his impressions as follows:²⁵

²⁴ Cooper, The Southern Barbarians, pp. 120-121.

²⁵ Watsuji, Sakok, p. 135.

Beyond the balconies are five or six splendid gardens, all of them mezurashii, that is to say, full of novelties. Some of them contain ponds with water about a palm in depth wherein different kinds of fish swim about. The bottoms of the ponds are lined with small pebbles and sand as white as snow, while every kind of sweet-smelling flower and plant grows on the living rock in the middle. Water is channelled down from the mountains and is led through pipes to some apartments where pretty fountains play, and as much water as you could wish for is piped off elsewhere for washing hands and other household purposes.

The first floor contains the apartments and chambers of the queen and her ladies-in-waiting, and these rooms are even finer than those on the ground floor. All of them are hung with brocade tapestries, and there are many balconies, some overlooking the city, others facing the open country with all the music and beauty of birds that you could desire in Japan. On the second floor are to be found the zashiki of cha; these are rich and luxurious apartments where they take a powder called cha. These rooms are very quiet and not a sound is to be heard in them; their exquisiteness, perfection and arrangement are quite beyond my powers of description for I simply do not possess the necessary vocabulary as I have never seen their like before. The balconies of the second and third floors command a view of the city and the recently built houses of the principal nobles and gentlemen, who leave the palace through wide streets without mixing with people other than palace officials and servants.

After this Nobunaga took Lourenco and myself, accompanied by only two or three of his intimate courtiers, to show us the zashiki of cha, and gardens of strange design. Returning to the zashiki on the ground floor, he called for a certain dwarf, who was brought to him in a basket. He was a very small dwarf with a big head and voice, and sumptuously dressed; he was ordered to sing and dance, and thus provided no little entertainment to those of who who were watching. From there Nobunaga led us to some other balconies of the first hall, and seating

himself he offered us the preserves and other food which were laid out there. And with that he bade us farewell for that afternoon.²⁶

During the Chanoyu, Frois was served by Nobunaga's sons Nobutada and Nobukatsu. Following Nobunaga's instructions, Nobukatsu served tea first to Frois, then to Nobunaga and then to Laurenceo, who had accompanied Frois.

Nobunaga's motives for practicing Chanoyu were often more politically than aesthetically motivated. In the Heian period, the person who could not write a poem was not recognized as a true human being. In Nobunaga's time, and later in the time of Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, the person who did not know Chanoyu was considered "garbage", i.e., someone who had not attained the requisite intellectual and cultural level and aesthetic sense and financial status of a true human being. Those who practiced Chanoyu were the people to know Nobunaga used famous tea connoisseurs such as Tsuda Sokyū, Imai Soku and Sen no Rikyū and paid them five hundred koku (out of respect for their eminence) to conduct Chanoyu at Azuchi Castle. He cultivated the acquaintance of missionaries and invited them to build a seminary at Azuchi where they could teach Christianity and educate new missionaries and he often invited them to Chanoyu. At these tea gatherings, he showed off

²⁶ Cooper, They Came to Japan, p. 133.

his famous "chaki" (tea utensils) that had been collected at Sakai in the first year of Genki (1570), as well as many others in his possession. Tea utensils were valued in the same way as Europeans valued jewels and ownership indicated power, money and therefore indicated the ability to discover where, how and from whom one could collect these valued objects.²⁷

Missionaries wrote of Nobunaga: "He was extremely wealthy, and desirous not only of being unrivaled by any other ruler but of surpassing them all." Everyone agreed that he was the strongest, richest and most "blessed" ruler of Japan -- "blessed" because he won most of his battles and rich because he had a huge collection of expensive things from India, the latest and rarest objects from China, enough power and money to collect anything from anywhere in the world, and an enormous amount of gold and silver in his treasury.

Nobunaga collected, or was given, many rare and beautiful things including priceless swords, splendid saddles for his horses and so forth. His favorites, however, were tea utensils. Even when he built a splendid castle and gave a mountain of treasures as well as the two territories of Mino and Owari to his first son, Nobutada,

²⁷ Haga, Koshiro, "Sen no Rikyu" (collected papers of Chanoyu), p. 112; Karaki Junzo, Sen no Rikyu (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1970), pp. 51-53.

he kept the tea utensils for himself. This does not mean that he was a "suki-chajin" (a master expert or true connoisseur of the tea ceremony). Everything and everyone connected with Chanoyu was used as a tool to give the impression that Nobunaga was a cultivated and powerful ruler.²⁸

Hideyoshi's attitude was far different; he was very devoted to Chanoyu. He made his feelings clear in an admonishment to his nephew Dainagon Hidetsugu:

You should do your best to follow my wise advice as much as you can, but there are a few things that you should not follow. Although I achieved the best and highest position by my skillfulness in spite of my poor and lowly birth, there are several²⁹ bad habits. Never follow these bad habits.

He confessed to one of his "bad habits":

People must be moderate in their desires. But I willingly pay too much attention to Chanoyu as I do to hunting.³⁰

Nevertheless, Hideyoshi also used Chanoyu as a political tool. For example, when he wanted to impress the reigning feudal lords with the wealth and status of

²⁸ Kawasaki Momoto, Kaiso no Nobunaga, pp. 3, 14; Karaki, Sen no Rikyu, p. 53.

²⁹ Kawasaki Momoto, Hideyoshi to Bunroku no Eki (Tokyo: Chuo Koron sha, 1979), p. 60.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 60-61.

Hidetsugu, whom he had named as his successor, he made sure that Hidetsugu owned a great number of things (which he sent him) including "very beautiful and expensive tea utensils for Chanoyu which are Japanese treasures."³¹

Hideyoshi's most flagrant display of wealth and power was demonstrated at the Grand Kitano Tea Ceremony which was held in Osaka in 1587. He had decreed that a grand tea ceremony was to be held in the forest of Kitano for ten days during the tenth month of the lunar calendar, weather permitting, and stated that:

...he would exhibit there all of his famous tea utensils without leaving any out; that all connoisseurs of the art of tea, regardless of their social standing, ought to attend; that improvisation on the part of the guests was to be the order of the day and that the customary niceties of rank need not be observed; that this command performance was not limited to Japanese devotees of tea but was meant to include even those from China; that whoever failed to attend would in the future be enjoined from entertaining friends even using a substitute for tea, and that he would personally serve tea to practitioners of "wabi-cha".³²

Hideyoshi was sincere in his proclamation; he wanted to share one of his principal pleasures with others, regardless of their status. In fact, a great variety of guests attended the party:

³¹ Ibid, p. 62.

³² Kuwata Tadachika, Zeami to Rikyu (Tokyo: Shibundo, 1978), pp. 64, 65, 83; Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, p. 73.

Patricians, equestrians (samurai) and thorough pedestrians (lower-class samurai), priests, merchants and eccentric tea men evidently found it difficult to resist an invitation which stated, in effect, "Come one, come all, but you had better come."³³

Hideyoshi, however, clearly was not motivated to extend the culture of tea to the populace at large. Hideyoshi's governing impulse, like that of Nobunaga, was the desire to display his wealth and his cultivation, which were manifested by his precious tea utensils.

What was performed at Kitano was far from a "democratic" show. That even such an innocuous-seeming art as the tea ceremony could be used to enhance one's political power is evident from Hideyoshi's threat to prohibit the use of even a tea substitute to all those who had not heeded his invitation. The grand spectacle at Kitano is but one example of the showiness which so affected Hideyoshi's approach to the tea ceremony. It may also be the best example of his penchant for ostentation, even more so than his famous "golden tearoom".³⁴

In the fifteenth year of Tensho (1588), when Frois and a group of Portuguese missionaries led by Father Gaspar Coelho visited Hideyoshi at Osaka Castle, Frois

³³ Nishimura, Kirishita to Chado, p. 73; Haga Koshiro, "Sen no Rikyu", pp. 187-192.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 206-220.

asked to see Hideyoshi's "ogon no kumitate chashitsu" (a prefabricated and movable tearoom where everything was made of gold) and which was his prized possession. The components of this "golden tearoom" were kept in boxes in the "Tenshukaku" a building on the castle grounds. The tearoom was a three-mat room designed by Maeda Geni (Soko) and made by a gold artisan of Sakai. Everything was gold: the walls and the decoration shelf which were made by a special method called "nashiji" (a gold-sprinkled lacquer-work) and, of course, all its tea utensils. Even the very famous tea utensils such as the "Furo," "Marugama", "Hishakutate", Kansuguchi", "Chairo Natsume", "Shihobon", "Futaoki", "Higashi Chawan" and so forth were made of gold. In the "Tamon-in Nikki" the "golden tearoom" was described as a "...zashiki (parlor) which was easy to transport from place to place and easy to reconstruct." A Christian daimyo and tea practitioner named Konishi Kosa was the custodian of all of Hideyoshi's tea utensils including the "golden tearoom".³⁵

1. The Politics of Tea

Christian Daimyo such as Kosa, Konishi Yukinaga (+1600), Takayama Ukon (1553-1615) were able to be very

³⁵ Haga Koshiro, "Sen no Rikyu", p. 74; Kuwata Tada-chika, "Zeami to Rikyu", pp. 152-154; Kuwata Tadachika, "Zeami to Rikyu", p. 50.

helpful to the missionaries because of the success of their activities on behalf of Hideyoshi. For example, Hideyoshi gave them generous allotments to build churches or holy buildings in their territories and permission to freely support many missionary activities.

Along with Kosa, Takayama Ukon was considered to be one of the greatest Christian Daimyo and tea masters of the times. He belonged to Rikyu's tea school along with other Christian daimyo such as Makimura Chobei, Gamon Ujisato and Seta Oribe. The missionaries wrote that Takayama Ukon "used to give his undivided attention to the "hot water" which Japanese drank with powdered tea leaves, "during the period when he was in Nagoya and that while there he often invited the chief warriors of Nagoya to join him. After he had been in Nagoya for about two months, he negotiated a peace settlement between Hideyoshi and himself in the tea room which indicates the necessity for and the importance of a place where high-ranking officials and members of the nobility could meet in peace and privacy.³⁶

A fascinating aspect of Chanoyu during the age of unification in the late sixteenth century was the

³⁶ Kawasaki Momoto, "Hideyoshi to Bunroku no Eki", p. 80.

emergence of what may be called the politics of tea. Tea was pursued as a form of politics in at least three important ways: (1) Tea masters were used as envoys, go-betweens and the like; (2) tea gatherings became meeting places for bringing people together and perhaps even served as settings for diplomatic negotiations; and (3) fine tea utensils were used to reward allies and to seduce or appease enemies.

One of the earliest practitioners of the politics of tea was Matsunaga Hisahide (1510-1577). He conducted what was probably the first "famous article hunt" in which he sought to collect, by either open force or implied threats, fine tea utensils from temples, merchants and others in the two cities of Sakai and Nara.³⁷ In 1568, when Hisahide submitted to Nobunaga, he sent his famed tea caddy, the "Tsukumogami" as a token of his good faith. In return, he was allowed to retain his control over Yamato province. "Tsukumo" literally means "ninety-nine", and "kami" ("gami") means "hair". The name was taken from a poem in the "Ise Monogatari":

The lady with thinning hair...But a year short
of a hundred....

This tea caddy had been discovered by Murata Shuko (1422-1502) and became part of the collection of the Shogun,

³⁷ H. Paul Varley, "Art and Articles in the Culture of Tea" (Collected Papers of Chanoyu), p. 9; Nishimura Kirishitan to Chado, pp. 19-21.

Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435-1490). Later, it passed through various hands and was purchased by Echizen Asakura Tarozaemon (+1475) for 500 kan and later by Fuchu Kosodeya of Echizen for 1000 kan. At the time of the province-wide uprisings in Echizen, the caddy was placed in the keeping of the Fukuro-ya in Kyoto. It was reportedly lost in the Lotus Sect rebellion in the capital, but was found by Matsunaga Hisahide who kept it in his possession for twenty years before giving it to Nobunaga. Unfortunately, it was subsequently destroyed at Honnoji when Nobunaga was burned to death in 1582.³⁸

At the same time that Hisahide submitted to Nobunaga, Imai Sokyū, who was a wealthy merchant and tea master, called on Nobunaga and presented him with two famous tea treasures, "Matsushima no Tsubo" and "Joo no Nasu". "Matsushima" was a jar that could hold seven kind of tea leaves. It had more than thirty projections all over its surface. Matsushima, in the Oshu region, is an area with many beautiful pine-covered islands. This jar was named "Matsushima" because it had a number of protusions that closely resembled the islands of Matsushima. "Matsushima" was one of the items in the collection of the eighth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa but was lost for a long

³⁸ H. Paul Varley, "Art and Articles in the Culture of Tea", p. 10.

time when, along with the rest of the collection, it was dispersed among many owners. Eventually it came to belong to Miyoshi Sozo and was subsequently sold by Sozo's son, Uemon Tayo Miyoshi Masakatsu to Takeno Joo. Later, it came into the possession of Imai Sokyū who gave it to Nobunaga. Sadly, it too was lost in the Honnoji fire.

The "Jo-o Nasu" was also a tea caddy which had belonged to Matsumoto Shuko. It was later sold to Insetsu for 120 kan and he in turn sold it to Joo for 600 kan. After Takeno Jo-o died, Imai Sokyū obtained the caddy, but the true owner was Takeno Soga and while Soga and Sokyū were disputing its ownership the caddy was given to Nobunaga. Ten years later, Nobunaga gave it to Sokyū and Sokyū subsequently gave it to Hideyoshi.³⁹

The tremendous value that tea utensils held for the tea enthusiasts of the time is further illustrated by a famous story about Nogunaga and Matsunaga Hisahide. In 1577, Hisahide rebelled against Nobunaga and found himself under attack on Mount Shigi at the border between Yamato and Kawachi provinces. Defeat was certain, and Hisahide was left with no alternative but suicide. Before killing himself, however, he took the kettle called "Hiragumo",

³⁹ Varley, "Art and Articles in the Culture of Tea," p. 12; Karaki Junzo, Sen no Rikyu, pp. 47, 49; Haga Koshiro, "Sen no Rikyu", p. 83.

which Nobunaga greatly coveted, and smashed it to bits.⁴⁰

There were other ways in which the rulers of Japan used Chanoyu for political control. Nobunaga's "tea politics" can be observed in his relationships with his vassals. He strictly forbade them to hold formal or public tea ceremonies until they had received authorization from him. As an example, in 1576 Nobunaga rewarded Hideyoshi for all his efforts in the building of Azuchi Castle by allowing him to hold his first tea ceremony.

Hideyoshi was certainly a true devotee of tea by the time he succeeded Nobunaga in 1582, and he wasted little time in implementing tea policies far more grandiose than those of this predecessor.⁴¹ During the Momoyama period, tea men had an important role as political and economic negotiators. Hidenaga, Hideyoshi's half-brother, noted:

Confidential matters are known by Soeki (Rikyu) and public matters by the saisho (Hidenaga)...I never will be able to forget it. As it looks here, I believe that there is no one other than Soeki who can say even a word to the Kanpaku Hideyoshi.⁴²

⁴⁰ Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, pp. 20-21.

⁴¹ Haga Koshiro, "Sen no Rikyu", pp. 110-113.

⁴² Bodart, "Tea and Counsel", p. 57; Kuwata Tadachika, Zeami to Rikyu, pp. 54-55.

There is but one example of how Rikyu and other tea men had a chance to become involved in social or political matters both in and out of the tea room.

It is also clear that missionaries had many opportunities to meet with Rikyu and other tea masters of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. By means of various reports written by missionaries and other Europeans, it can be seen how often they did have a chance to experience Chanoyu. These reports will also reveal the very important role that Chanoyu played in helping to develop good relationship between the Christians and the Japanese:

Lourenco Mexia, S.J., who was born in Olivenca, Portugal and entered the Society of Jesus in 1560, wrote the following observation:

The Japanese have such innumerable ceremonies that nobody knows all of them and they have many books which deal with nothing but these ceremonies. They make use of seven or eight just to drink a little water and they have more than thirty regarding the use of the fan; and there is an infinite number regarding their way of eating and sending fits and their social dealings. They have no other learning³ or study save this and the study of the language.

Francesco Carletti was born in Florence in 1572 and in 1594 set out with his father visiting the West Indies, Manila and Japan (1597-1598). His observations concerning tea drinking were:

⁴³ Cooper, They Came to Japan, p. 264.

There is a certain leaf which they call cha or tea which grows on a plant somewhere similar to the box-wood tree, though different from it in having leaves three times as large, as well as being evergreen, and in producing a scented flower something like the damask rose. Of these leaves they make a powder, and this after being put in hot water, which they keep always on the fire for the purpose, they drink, more as a medicine than for pleasure, as it is of a somewhat bitter taste. But it leaves the mouth in a pleasant condition and has other good effects on those who drink it. It is of considerable service to those who suffer from weakness of the stomach and is a marvellous help to digestion. It is specially valuable as a means of removing and checking vapours and preventing their going to the head. And in fact, drunk after meals it has the effect of preventing sleep. Consequently it is customary to drink it directly after a meal, and particularly when one feels the effects of having drunk too much wine. The custom of drinking this cha is so general and widespread among Japanese, that it is almost impossible even to enter anyone's house without its being offered in a friendly way and as a matter of politeness, as they are accustomed to honour their guests in this way, much in the same way as in the countries of Flanders and Germany one is offered wine.⁴⁴

St. Pedro Bautista Blaquez, O. F. M., was born in San Esteban in the Diocese of Avila and was sent to Japan in 1593 as ambassador to the Phillipines. He described the audience that he had with Hideyoshi in Nagoya in 1593:

They had placed an interpreter for us by his side, and this fellow remained kneeling with his chest touching the floor while he listened to the king's remarks so that he could translate them for us. And this he did, although it was not

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 199.

necessary as I had arranged for Brother Fray Goncalo to listen very attentively to everything the king said; he did so and understood all that was said. The people there had told us not to resist the king but to obey him, otherwise he would send an army to Manila. However, I had no wish to heed their warnings and ordered Fray Goncalo to ask leave to speak to the king and to communicate to him what I had already told him; I further told him to speak in a loud voice so that everyone might understand that we were not pledging him our obedience. He was granted leave to speak, and sitting on a mat he drew a little nearer to the king and spoke with such charm and freedom that the bystanders were filled with astonishment, because not one of them would have dared speak to the king in such fashion. He won the king over completely and told him that he should remember the letter he had sent to Luzon; in that letter he had not asked for obedience but friendship, and Harada, his ambassador, had made this clear.

The king replied that this was true but that he had thought they would not keep their word with him; for that reason he had waged war against the kingdom of Korea and wished that we of Luzon should render him obedience. The Brother answered that we were Christians and that there would be no breaking of promises on our part; but as for obedience, we owed this only to God and our king. And as confirmation of our promise and our friendship, we, the four religious, would remain in his realms and we wished to have him as our father. To this the king replied that he was well pleased and wished to provide us with food and accommodation, and that he desired our friendship he added that they should write to him from time to time and he would also do the same. With this he ended the audience, in which the Brother's words had been well received.

After this they took us to a chamber completely lined with gold plates and on his orders we were given food to eat with gold utensils -- even the chopsticks were of gold. And at the end of the repast they gave us a delicate drink called

"cha". Then the king came in and sat next to me, and taking hold of the girdle which I wore around my waist he flipped himself over the shoulders with it. Then he spoke for a short while with Fray Goncalo about the state of our holy religion.⁴⁵

Luis Frois, S.J. was born in Lisbon and arrived in Japan in 1563. For the next thirty-four years, he sent a constant stream of news back to India and Europe through hundreds of letters. In his "History of Japan" he wrote an interest contemporary account of Chanoyu:

Among distinguished and wealthy Japanese it is the custom that, if they wish to show especial favour to a guest, they bring out their particular treasures to him to see before his departure. These are the utensils and necessary articles for drinking a certain powdered herb called Cha, which is not only agreeable to the taste of those who are used to it, but also good for their health. And all the utensils needed for this are as it were the jewellery of the Japanese, regarded just as rings, gems, fine necklaces, pearls, rubies and diamonds are with us. And there are also jewellers among them who are very experienced in their knowledge of these things and their value, and who act as agents in buying and selling them, appraising them according to either their material, their shape or their antiquity. So when they invite you to partake of this herb, and the best quality costs some nine or ten cruzados the pound, and show you their famous treasures, they first of all give you a banquet according to their means. And the place where this is done is a special room that is used only for these solemnities, and the cleanliness, good disposition and order of everything is wonderful.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.112

Now the next day at nine in the morning they sent a messenger for me and I went with a Japanese Brother and another, a wealthy man and a good Christian, who looked after all our affairs, called Cosme Kozen. We were led along by the side of the living-rooms and then through a little door big enough for one person to enter easily. Then through a straight narrow corridor and up a flight of steps made of cedar, that gave one the impression that it was the first time anyone had ever trodden there, and everything of such perfect workmanship that it was impossible to describe it. We then reached a court and then a wider corridor giving on to a room where we were to be served with a meal. It was little larger than the court and to my eyes appeared very remarkable. On one side of it was a sort of cupboard as is usual here, and immediately beside this was a hearth of black colour about a yard in circumference, that shone like the brightest mirror, strange to say, in spite of its pitch-black hue. On it there stood a kettle of pleasing shape on a very beautiful tripod. The ashes on which the glowing charcoal lay looked like finely ground and sifted eggshells. Everything was exquisitely clean and set out with such order as to be beyond description, and this is not perhaps so remarkable seeing that on these occasions they concentrate their attention only on these things. The charcoal is not that which is generally used, but is brought from a long distance and cut up with a handsaw in such a manner that it kindles very quickly and so continues for a long while without going out or emitting smoke. The kettle, so one of my companions told me, Diogo our host had bought by a very fortunate chance for six hundred cruzados, but its value was much greater.

We sat down on the painfully clean mats that had a surface of the finest texture, and then they began to bring in the food. I don't recommend this food at all, for Japan is a very sterile land, but the service, the order, the cleanliness and the utensils were all worthy of admiration. And I consider it absolutely certain that nowhere can a meal be served with such spotless cleanliness or better order and etiquette than in Japan. So also when there are

many people at a meal you do not hear a single word from those who serve it, but all goes off so smoothly and correctly that it is astonishing.

After the meal we knelt down and thanked our Lord God that the Japanese Christians had such good customs. Then Diogo prepared the Tea and served it with his own hands. This is the powder I spoke of, and it is put into a porcelain vessel with hot water. Then he showed me among many other treasures that he had there a tripod, little more than a span round, on which he placed the lid of the kettle when he took it off. I took it in my hand. It was of iron, and so worn with age in many places that it showed signs of having broken through and been repaired in two. He told me that he had more of these treasures, but could not show them now as they were stored away in a place where it was not easy to get at them, but that he would show us them if we came again. However, the value of these things is not so remarkable, for there is in Miyako a lord named Sotai (Matsunaga Hisahide) who has a vessel of pottery no bigger than a pomegranate that is used for this powder-tea, which is said to be worth twenty-five or thirty thousand cruzados. It is called Kukumugami. I don't say it could be sold so much, but it is quite likely some Prince might give ten thousand cruzados, and they are quite often bought and sold. But they are not sold in any public place, for then they would fetch nothing. One must go to the owner and ask him with much ceremony whether he will be so gracious as to sell the vessel. And these⁴⁶ people consider some swords as equally valuable.

In an earlier quotation on p. 93 of this thesis, Frois wrote about Azuchi Castle. In this account, Frois described Osaka Castle and its tea houses:

⁴⁶ A.L. Sadler, Cha no Yu (Rutland, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 6th, 1982), pp. 91-92.

Hideyoshi chose this place to build another new city, palace and fortress because the site is one of the best in the whole of Gokinai (these are the kingdoms around Miyako), and these new buildings are incomparably finer than those of Azuchiyama in which Nobunaga displayed his power and magnificence. First of all Hideyoshi built a large and spacious castle with a high keep in the middle and with houses, walls and battlements, each of which is similar to the keep as regards its exits and entrances, for the gates and doors are plated with iron. He and his officers and closest friends have their quarters and dwelling in their castle, and here he keeps his treasure, as well as large supplies of weapons and provisions. All this is built within the walls and moats of the former castle, but all the original parts have been strengthened with keeps and bulwarks, which are just as beautiful, large and skillfully constructed as the new buildings. And in particular, he purposely had the donjon done out in gold and blue so that it might be seen from afar and better display his pride and arrogance.

The new fortress has a courtyard in which there is an excellently contrived niwa, or garden, wherein the four seasons of the year are reproduced with its unhewn rocks, trees, shrubs, greenery and many other natural things. Nearby in a convenient spot there are two zashiki which are used as a kitchen and a delightful house for cha-no-yu, and the beauty of the adjoining gardens adds great charm to the scene. And in a high place on the other side they have built sumptuous and lovely zashiki, decorated with gold, which look down on the many green fields and pleasant rivers below. These zashikis are adorned with a great variety of paintings depicting scenes from nature and events in the ancient histories of Japan and China.

Further observations about Chanoyu may be found in the book Hideyoshi by Adriana Boscaro:

47 Cooper, They Came to Japan, p. 135.

There were during the four centuries in which the cult was most practiced only six acknowledged high-priests. These were Shuko, who taught the cult to Ashikaga Yoshimasa; Jo-o who initiated Oda Nobunaga; Sen-no-Rikyu, preceptor of the Taiko; Furuta Oribe-n--Jo, who taught Hidetada, the Second Tokugawa Shogun; Kobori Yenshu-no-Kami, who did the same for Iemitsu, and the teacher of Tokugawa Ietsuna, Katakiri Iwami-no-Kami. Four cardinal virtues are said to have constituted the basis of Shuko's system; urbanity, courtesy, purity and imperturbability (Kwa-kei-sei-jaku). The tendency of the cult, says Captain Brinkley, "was to combine aesthetic eclecticism of the most fastidious nature with the severest canons of simplicity and austerity...."

Among the principal percepts connected with the cult is one which orders that anyone who disapproves of his surroundings when he has reached the pavilion should leave the place so, as not to disturb the harmony of the party; another forbids social tittle-tattle, a third condemns flattery and deceit of every kind during the performance, and a fourth limits the time of the ceremony to four hours....

Following the teaching of this cult, the essence of which was the worship of simplicity, rudeness and even uncouthness of shape, the ... were wont to attach enormous value to ... or rusty things and to porcelain imperfectly manufactured. Flaws and oddities became the rage. So that things were often taken out of the dust heap, wrapped in brocade and kept in gold lacquer boxes on account of their possessing some peculiarity of shape or defectiveness or construction. Thus the abnormal was worshipped and the normal despised. Everything elaborate or beautiful was discredited....

In fact, throughout the whole range of Japan's ethics and aesthetics the influence of the tea cult may be clearly traced. To it she owes much of the delicate grace and extraordinary refinement of detail that distinguish her art products; to it she owes much of the repose of manner, elaborate courtesy, and studied imperturbability of demeanor that characterise

her social intercourse; to it she owes a widely diffused exercise of the art-critical faculty; and to it she owes an impulse of generous patronage which contributed immensely to the progress of all her art industries. But to it also must be attributed a conservatism which cramped the genius of her artists; a false standard which confused beauty and Anarchaism, and an influence which contributed largely to the formation that constitutes a distinct blemish in her character.

Through their frequent participation in Chanouy, the missionaries not only had a chance to observe Japanese customs, manners and aesthetic sense which differed from those of Europeans but also were able to compare the difference between what Europeans and Japanese regarded as materialistically valuable. Alessandro Valignano, S.J., wrote:

It is no less astonishing to see the importance that they attach to things which they regard as the treasures of Japan, although to us such things seem trivial and childish; they, in their turn, look upon our jewels and gems as worthless. You must know that in every part of Japan they drink a brew made of hot water and a powdered herb, called cha. They greatly esteem this drink and all the gentry have a special room in their houses where they make this brew. The Japanese for hot water is yu and the herb is called cha, so they call the room reserved for drinking it cha-no-yu. This drink is the most esteemed and venerated thing in the whole country and the principal nobles take special pains to learn how to make it. Sometimes they will make it with their own hands to show special affection and hospitality towards their guests. Because of the importance they attach to cha-no-yu, they highly prize certain cups and vessels which are used in this ceremony. The principal utensils are a kind of cast-iron pot (which they call kansu) and some small iron

48 Adriana Boscaro, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 1563-1598
(Tokyo: Sophia University, 1975), p. 1 appendix.

tripods, used merely as a stand for the lid of the pot when the cha is being brewed.

They also have a kind of earthenware bowls from which the cha is drunk; the cha itself is kept in containers, in big ones to store the herb all the year round and in small ones to keep the herb after it has been ground ready for use, and it is this powder which they use to make the drink. Among these vessels is a certain kind which is prized beyond all belief and only the Japanese can recognize it. Quite often one of these vessels, tripods, bowls or caddies will fetch three, four or six thousand ducats and even more, although to our eyes they appear completely worthless. The king of Bungo once showed me a small earthenware caddy for which, in all truth, we would have no other use than to put it in a bird's cage as a drinking-trough; nevertheless, he had paid 9,000 silver taels (or about 14,000 ducats) for it, although I would certainly not have given two farthings for it. One of our Christians showed me as part of the treasure of the City of Sakai one of these iron tripods, which had special worth for it had been repaired three times; he has bought it for 900 taels (or about 1,400 ducats) although I myself would not have given more for it than for the caddy of the king of Bungo.

The surprising thing is that, although thousands of similar caddies and tripods are made, the Japanese no more value them than we do. The prized pieces must have been made by certain ancient masters and the Japanese can immediately pick out these valuable items from among thousands of others, just as European jewellers can distinguish between genuine and false stones. I do not think that any European could acquire such an appreciation of these cha vessels, because however much we may examine them, we can never manage to understand in what consists their value and how they are different from the others. In the same way, a piece of paper with a painting of a little bird or a small tree done in black ink will be bought and sold among them for three, four or ten thousand ducats if it is the work of a recognized ancient master, although it is quite worthless in our eyes.

They value no less their katana, or swords, and the other weapons which they use. Here there seems to be greater justification because a good sword is prized in any country. However, they go to extremes here as well for they spend three, four or six thousand ducats on a katana. I once saw some very valuable swords and amongst others one which the king of Bungo showed me; he had bought it for 4,500 ducats, yet it carried neither gold nor ornamentation but only a blade of pure iron. When we ask them why they spend so much money on these objects, which of themselves are worthless, they answer that they do it for the same reason as we buy a diamond or a ruby for a great price, a thing which causes them no less astonishment. They add that buying expensive jewels is no less foolish than the custom, which we criticize in them, of buying such things at similar prices. Indeed, they declare that the things that they buy and treasure at least serve some purpose and thus their desire to give so much money for them is less reprehensible than the conceit of Europeans who purchase precious stones which serve for nothing.⁴⁹

Valignano was clearly instructed in the Japanese contempt for jewelry and precious stones, and their corresponding craze for ceremonial tea utensils (chadogu), when Otomo Sorin, daimyo of Bungo, proudly showed him a small jar for which he had paid 9,000 taels in silvers. Valignano observed acidly that "...it was only fit for a water jar in a bird's cage, and that he personally would not have given three farthings for it."⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Cooper, They Came to Japan, pp. 261-262.

⁵⁰ Boxer, The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650, p. 77.

Valignano was not the only one who informed the world about the unbelievable value of tea utensils in Japan. In 1565, Almeida wrote about several tea utensils such as "Fujikobu no Gotoku" (a small iron tripod), "Nyudogumo Gama" (an iron kettle) and "Tsukumogami" (a tea caddy).⁵¹

"Fujikobu no Gotoku" was recorded in the "Senkashu", a book which listed famous tea treasures. Fujikobu was owned by Hibiya Ryokei; later it became the possession of Kojimaya Dosatsu who was one of the wealthy merchants of Sakai. It had been repaired and since the repaired area looked like a wisteria branch (fuji), from then on it was called "Fujikobu no Gotoku", the "wisteria" tripod.

"Nyudogumo Gama" ("summer cumulus cloud tea kettle") had also been in Ryokei's possession. Later it became the property of Sakuma Uemon and then Taga Shinzaemon. It also was recorded in the "Senkashu," (a collection of poems).

Luis Frois, writing in the tenth year of Tensho (1583), reporting about Nobunga's death, did not omit the fact that more than sixty famous tea treasures had been lost with him at the Honnoji fire. Among those lost were

⁵¹ Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, pp. 12-19.

"Matsushima" and "Mikazuki."⁵² In the thirteenth year of Tensho (1585), when Otomo Sorin (Yoshishige) sold his tea treasures to build the church in Usui, Frois reported that he had sold the "Nitari Karamono Nasu", a tea container, and the "Nita Katatsuki", a tea cup. The "Nitari Karamono Nasu" was a tea container which closely resembled, in both appearance and cost, the "Tsukumogami."⁵³ Therefore, it was called "nitari" (resembling). King Francisco (Otomo Yoshishige) lost his wealth after the people of the four territorial lords of Buzen, Chikugo, Chikugen and Higo rose in rebellion and refused to obey his son, the Prince Yoshimune. In order to raise money he ordered that one of his utensils, "Nittakata-tsuki," very highly prized in those days, should be sold in the City of Sakai. Frois wrote:

This was a small glazed porcelain cup shaped like a pomegranate, and it was used to hold certain leaves ground into a powder, which they drink with hot water on every occasion.

Faxiba Chicugendono (Hideyoshi) lord of the greater and more important part of Japan, heard about this precious jewel and he yearned to obtain it for it was a very famous piece in Japan. He gave him fifteen thousand crowns for it, and to show his special favor, he ordered that the money should be carried over land, via

⁵² Ibid., pp. 24-26.

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

the kingdom of Yamaguchi, to Bungo, which is a very long route.⁵⁴

Not only such historical tea treasures as those mentioned about but also other useful utensils such as "ruson tsubo" (Luzon jars) were very expensive and highly valued. The "ruson tsubo" were made in China, imported from the Philippines and were very useful for keeping tea leaves fresh. In the 1590's, Francesco Carletti⁵⁵ reported about these "ruson tsubo":

In the morning, before we set foot on the land, ministers of justice came by command of the governor of that region, so as to search among all the sailors, passengers and merchants for certain earthenware vases that often are brought there from the Philippine Islands and other places in that sea. By order of Japan, these must, under pain of death, be shown by anyone who has them, as the King wishes to buy them all. Who ever would believe it? . . . Those vases are often worth five, six, or ten thousand scudos each, though ordinarily one would not say that they were worth a giulo, and the reason is that they have the property of preserving unspoiled -- and for nine, ten, and twenty years -- a certain leaf that they called cha. . . .

But, to return to the above-mentioned cha, besides the many special properties that they attribute to it, they say that the older the leaf is, the better it is. But they have great difficulty in preserving it for a long period and keeping it in its prime condition, as they do not find containers, not even of gold, or silver or other metals, which are good for this purpose. It seems a superstition, and yet it is

⁵⁴ Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Tea", p. 13.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

true, that it is preserved well only in the aforesaid vessels made simply of a clay that has this virtue. . . . These vases generally are found among those which they have made at a value of three or four soldi each, and many merchants have become rich on them, especially those who have profited from carrying some of the ones that have the virtue, or it may be a superstition, of preserving the cha. And it is the truth that the king of this Japan and all the other princes of the region have an infinite number of these vases, which they regard as their principal treasure, ⁵⁶esteeming them more than anything else of value.

D. Rodrigues

Joao Rodrigues (1561-1634), also reported about these "ruson tsubo" in his book, "This Island of Japan." Unfortunately, most Europeans, including Rodrigues found it impossible to discern exactly wherein lay their intrinsic worth.

Joao Rodrigues was born in Sernancelhe in northern Portugal and sailed to the East while still a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age. He arrived in Japan in 1577 and entered the Jesuit Order. He achieved such proficiency in Japanese that he acted as interpreter when Valignano was granted an audience by Hideyoshi in 1591. From that time on, he made frequent visits to court acting as spokesman for the Jesuit missionaries and as interpreter for the delegations of Portuguese merchants. Therefore, during his thirty-three years of living in Japan as both interpreter

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

and missionary he had many opportunities to meet the leading personalities of his time such as Hideyoshi, Tokugawa, Takayama Ukon, Otomo Yoshishige Konishi Yukinaga and Maeda Munehisa. He also met such great tea masters as Sotan, Furuta Oribe, Hibiya Ryokei, Oda Yuraku and Sen no Rikyu. Most of the people with whom he had contact were Christians.⁵⁷

According to many records, especially those of Valignano, Frois, or Nishimura Tei, a Japanese tea enthusiast, missionaries seemed to report about Chanoyu so often not only because of their interest in a different culture but also because the manner in which Chanoyu was conducted could serve as a guide to missionaries in their various proselytizing activities. This attitude is clearly seen in both Valignano's statements and in Rodrigues' book, "This Island of Japan". For example, in Valignano's treatise entitled "Advertimentos e Avisos", written in October, 1581, he spent many pages on Chanoyu, gave a very detailed description of it and stressed the importance of observing Japanese customs and etiquette as closely as possible:

It is very important to understand that if things are not done in Japan in the way that they (the Japanese) are accustomed to, it often

⁵⁷ Cooper, "The Southern Barbarians," p. 119.

happens that, far from being welcomed, they (visitors) are exposed to rudeness and bad manners. It is therefore necessary to pay much attention to this point--for example, to invite guests to drink and then to offer them bad wine or cha is rude and not a courtesy And so it is necessary to always have at hand good wine and good cha for visitors, and to pay⁵⁸ much attention to these and other similar matters.

In the fifth section of The Rules for Missionaries in Japan by Valignano, concerning rules for "dojuku" (caretaker/receptionist) he wrote:

Let them be well instructed and let them learn and observe the customs and catangues (sic) of Japanese good breeding, not only in their dealings with the Father, Brothers and other people of the residence but also with outsiders, treating everybody⁵⁹ with the respect and courtesy due to his station.

He should see to it that there is a man in the chanoyu who is both virtuous and skilled in that office. He should keep his house very clean, and the dogu of chanoyu and the different types of cha in good order. The chanoyu should not be a place for entertaining ytazuramonos (sic) who go there to drink and pass the time, talking about idle and unbecoming matters. Rather, its purpose is to welcome honored Christian visitors with edification and profit for their souls, as is only fitting in our residence. He should see to it that the chanoyuxa observes his rules well.

He should rise when the morning bell rings, light the andon of the chanoyu, and put charcoal in the furo in order to heat the water, and then make his prayer while it is getting light.

⁵⁸ Matsuda Kiichi, Nanban Shiryo no Hakken, pp. 147-148; Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, p. 30.

⁵⁹ Kiichi, Nanban Shiryo no Hakken, pp. 147-148; Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Tea," pp. 5-7.

When the sun has risen and there is enough light by which to do it, he should carefully sweep all that pertains to him. With hot water he should wash the cama and the other chaa (sic) utensils. He should see to the furo just as it ought to be, and inform the man whose job it is to bring the water.

He should take care to check whether he has enough powdered chaa for two or three days, and if he has not, then he should advise the person whose job is to grind it if he cannot do it himself.

He will have all the dogus according to the list that they give him, and whenever the cleaning cloths, such as the chaquin 茶巾, zoqin 雑巾, and fucusamono 袱紗物, as well as the cloth strainer, are torn or dirty, he will inform the person in charge so that he may provide.

He should give chaa to all the visitors in keeping with their station and with the order given by the Brother, but he will not give chaa to those who are forbidden; instead, he will tell them not to enter or not to stay therein.

At night, in accordance with the order given him by the Brother, he will put all the dogus in good order and see to the fire so that no disaster may occur.

He will keep an inventory of all the dogus entrusted to him, so that, in conformity with this list, he may pass over everything when somebody else is appointed to take over his office. He will also have a public notice on which the following items are written:

Quinsey 禁制

Nobody will touch the chanoyu or its dogus without the official's permission.

Nobody will remove hot water for another purpose without permission, or take some of the fire to light another one elsewhere.

Nobody will remove the dogus belonging to the chanoyu without permission.
 Nobody will do any saicuin the chanoyu house, nor place there any dogus not belonging to the chanoyu.

Nobody will sleep in the chanoyu without permission of the Brother Guestmaster.

The dojucus will not take their rest there, nor will any menial enter the zaxiqi.

There will be no games of go or xogui, nor will there be any talk about unfitting things.

No woman will stay there longer than it takes to deliver a message, ⁶⁰ nor will she remain there talking a long time.

The tea utensils deemed absolutely necessary for Chanoyu were listed by Valignano as follows:

		<u>English</u>
Cama 釜	Kama	Iron Kettle
Mizusaxi 水指	Mizusashi	Metal Brazier
Mizucoboxi 水指箱	Mizukoboshi	Water Pitcher
Futa Uoqui 蓋	Futaoki	Water Basin
Tansu 箆箱	Tansu	Lid Rest (Kettle)
Chauã 茶碗	Chawan	Cabinet with
Naccume 3 dai 粟3台	natsume	Drawers
Chaxen 茶筴	Chasen	Tea Bowl (cup)
Fixacu 柄杓	Hishaku	Lacquered Tea
Chaxacu 茶杓	Chashaku	Caddy
Chaquin 茶巾	Chakin	Tea Wisk
Fucusamono 袱紗物	Fukusa Mono	Water Ladle
Sumitori 炭斗	Sumitori	Tea Scoop
Vozumitori 大炭斗	Ozumitori	White Linen Cloth
		for Cleaning the
		Tea Bowl; silk
		napkins for wiping
		Tea Utensils
		Charcoal Scuttle
		Large Charcoal
		Scuttle

Fibaxi	火箸	Hibashi	(Pair of) Tongs
Camasuye	火釜	Kamasue	Kettle Rest
Cha Vsu	茶臼	Cha Usu	Tea-grinding Mill
Suyeuoque	茶臼桶	2 Sueoke	Wooden Water Tub
Chaccubo	茶壺	Chatsubo	Tea Canister
Chavataxi	茶渡	Chawatashi	Tea Passing Equipment
Voguchi	大口	Oguchi	Large-mouthed container
Tetodai	手火燈台	Tetodai	Portable Lampstand
Today	火燈台	Today	Lampstand
Andon	行燈	Andon	Paper-covered Lampstand
Xuroboqui	棕櫚帚	Shuroboki	Hemp Broom
Faiyre	灰入	Haire	Ash Container
Faisucui	灰搨	Haisukui	Ash Scoop
Ficaqui	火搨	Hikaki	Fire Poker
Zoquin	雑巾	Zokin	Floor Mop
Suino	水囊	Suino	Water Filter
Mizubixacu	水柄杓	Mizubishaku	Water Ladle

Another example of the importance the missionaries attached to Chanoyu is found in Rodrigues' book "This Island of Japan." In his book, he devoted six chapters to Chanoyu, one chapter each about the architecture of the tea room and etiquette, as follows:

Chapter 12: On Japanese Methods of Building.

- (9) The House Called Suki, where they give cha to the guests to drink.

Chapter 31: Their Manner of Inviting Guests to Banquets

- (1) The Wine and Hot Water Served in the Banquet, and the Fruit and Cha at the End Thereof.

Chapter 32: Their Manner of Entertaining With the Drink of Cha, and a Description of Cha and

of this ceremony so highly esteemed by the Japanese.

- (1) The Qualities of Cha
- (2) The Way in which the Chinese and Japanese Prepared Cha and Give it to the Guest to drink.

Chapter 33: The General Way in Which the Japanese Entertain with Cha.

- (1) The Origin of this Cha Meeting and the Reason why the Vessels Used Therein Have Reached Such A Price.
- (2) The Modern and Current Way of Chanoyu called Suki, and its General Origin and Purposes.
- (3) The Great Expenses Involved in Suki, and the People Who Mainly Practise it.
- (4) The Heads and Teachers of Suki Called Suki-no-osho.

Chapter 34: How Guests Are Especially Entertained With Cha in the Suki House.

Chapter 35: The End to Which They Aspire in Suki, and the Benefits which follow therefrom.⁶¹

One of the original methods that the missionaries used to convert the Japanese was to convince stud-

⁶¹ Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, pp. 7-10; Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, pp. 30-32.

ents of Buddhism in Eizan or Bando to turn to Christianity. This procedure had been used by Francis Xavier with some success. Later, Cosme De Torres and Lourenco went to Kyoto in the twenty-third year of Tenmon (1555), and in the second year of Eiroku (1560) Vilela Gaspara went to Kyoto at the invitation of a Tendai Abbot at Mt. Hiei who was curious to learn about the Christian "sect". They met great opposition from the Mt. Hiei monasteries which had traditionally been suspicious of new sects and their work was further frustrated by Nobunaga's attacks on these monasteries. They gradually realized that they had to change their methods and the choice of people whom they wished to convert. They discovered that it was wise to seek the support and protection of those in power and through those in power, to spread their message to the common people.⁶²

Chanoyu provided an excellent opportunity for making close contacts with the ruling aristocracy and the tea room became an ideal place for all sorts of secret negotiations. Obviously, it was necessary for the missionaries to be able to communicate in Japanese and so learning the language was required. Rodriquez recommended

⁶² Nishimura, Kirishitan to Chado, p. 33.

that one way to study was to learn the special words of Chanoyu:

Through these studies, when dealing with refined and cultured persons the Jesuits will understand what is being said and will speak, whenever necessary, even in sermons, without using unseemly words.⁶³

Chanoyu was also useful to the missionaries because it brought them into contact with members of the nobility and the wealthy merchants who were Japanese Christians and the tea room came to be used not only for political but also for spiritual activities:

MASS CELEBRATED IN A TEA-ROOM

"At this time, while Nobunaga was in Miyako, an uncle of the King of Mikawa (Tokugawa Leyasu), a Captain of three thousand men, had taken up his quarters in our church, so that the Father could no longer stop in it. So he went to live in the house of an old Christian, a man of some consequence named So-i Antao, and there stayed a hundred and twenty days. The Father felt great affection for him and his sons, and he on his part, to give the Father further proof of his joy and contentment, took him into his Cha-no-yu room, which the Japanese, both Christian and non-Christian, regard with the greatest reverence, as its purity is their greatest refreshment on earth. And there the Christians assembled and the Father said Mass."⁶⁴

As a result of all the complicated interrelationships and interactions, both Chanoyu of that age and

⁶³ Joseph Moran, "The Well of Japanese Undefined", p. 286, Monumenta Nipponica, 1975.

⁶⁴ Sadler, Cha no Yu, p. 92.

missionary activities were improved. Many Europeans, especially Valignano, recognized the special role that proper etiquette played in drinking tea and also understood that this custom involved far more than a display of informal friendship and hospitality. This can be clearly seen in the strict rules that he issued regarding the tea room in missionary residences and "the prohibition of unseemly talk and behavior therein."⁶⁵ Frois reported that traveling missionaries would often celebrate mass in the tea room of a local Christian, thus indicating the exclusive and quasi-sacred character attached to the place. Missionaries were not only interested in the political and religious uses of tea but also in its practical uses. Avila Giron Bernardino reported that Valignano, in 1601 had also described the usefulness of Chanoyu in health or medical matters and regarded the tea room as a social gathering place.⁶⁶ This attitude allowed the missionaries and their Japanese converts to participate, with good conscience, in a traditional and thoroughly Japanese aesthetic pastime and thus enhanced the popularity of Chanoyu. Christian teaching had often been accused of being devisive and even subversive as regards Japanese society, but in tea drinking Christian and non-Christians could come together in a harmony of spirit without any religious discord.

⁶⁵ Matsuda, Nanban Shiryo no Hakken, p. 144, 148.

⁶⁶ Cooper, They Came to Japan, pp. 194-198.

When Europeans first encountered Chanoyu it was merely tea-drinking and the entertaining of guests and it is natural that their views of Chanoyu were very superficial in the beginning. However, through the efforts of Rodrigues and others, it grew to be regarded as a very special event held in a very special place for various aesthetic, political, religious and social activities. It was Rodrigues, in his book "This Island of Japan" who first began to call Chanoyu, "tea ceremony".⁶⁷

Chanoyu developed from its inception by Shuko and its further development by Jo-o into the perfected form of "wabi-cha" of Rikyu. Rodrigues was much impressed with Rikyu's style of tea. In his book "This Island of Japan", he wrote a great deal about information he had obtained from the "Yamagami Sojiki" (The Journal of Yamagami Soji). Yamagami Soji was one of Rikyu's students and a great tea master and his writing seem to have had a strong influence on Rodrigues. Rodrigues was also associated with Rikyu's seven disciples, of whom five were Christian, and various other tea men such as Yamagami Soji.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Tea", p. 17.

⁶⁸ Okada, "Kyokai-shi Zadankai", p. 69.

Rodrigues probed deeper and deeper as he tried to explain this ethos of Japanese culture, the drinking of tea. The author has already quoted several articles of his in the previous chapter of this thesis. Here, again, the author would like to introduce more of Rodrigues' material to show how well he was able to understand the essence of tea from the foreigner's point of view. In chapter thirty-two of "This Island of Japan", Rodrigues observed that the Japanese attached greatest importance to the act of honoring or entertaining a guest in the best way possible. He also commented on the fact that the tea utensils used were regarded as more valuable than gold, silver and other treasures in Europe:

The custom of drinking cha among the Chinese and Japanese is common throughout the whole kingdom and is one of the principal courtesies with which a guest is entertained. Indeed, it is the first and most usual thing with which they begin to entertain and divert a guest and, finally, with which they bid farewell to him.

The first thing with which they usually entertain a guest in the above-mentioned nations is cha, and it is offered not only once but many times when it is not served solemnly, as the Japanese are accustomed to do. They pay their compliments and courtesies with it and thus entertain the guest, and while they are conversing it is often produced in order to raise their spirits and pass the time with this wholesome diversion. Its use throughout China and Japan is so common that in China they always keep it prepared and hot (as thus it is drunk) for ordinary guests, while for nobles they make tea especially in a very short time. In the same way the Japanese always keep hot water ready in a special place in order to entertain their guests whenever they may arrive.

Although these nations have placed much of their elegance and etiquette in this cha and it is a very famous drink, nevertheless it has so far been but poorly described and understood. So we shall deal with this subject sufficiently for the reader to understand what sort of thing it is, its wholesome properties and the way in which they entertain with it in general, as well as another special way practised by the Japanese with cha. They attach the greatest importance to this and regard it as the supreme way of honouring and entertaining a guest however noble he may be, even the Lord of . . . and so highly do they esteem it (cha) that they regard this, rather than gold, silver and precious stones, ^{as} their principal treasure and precious jewels...⁶⁹

Rodrigues went on to explain what tea actually was and how the Japanese grew it. He noted that the best tea of Japan was produced at Uji (south of Kyoto), and that this was the type of tea used in Chanoyu:

Its new leaves, which are used in the drink, are extremely soft, tender and delicate, and frost may easily make them wither away. So much damage can be done in this way that in the town of Uji, where the best tea is produced, all the plantations and fields in which this cha is grown are covered over with awnings or mats made of rice straw or thatch. . . .

Although it is grown throughout nearly all the kingdom both in China and Japan, nevertheless the excellent and highly esteemed cha of the nobles, the wealthy and gentry, is cultivated in a few places in certain parts of one Chinese and one Japanese province or kingdom, and it is from here that it originates and is distributed throughout the country. This is the cha used for important guests, in the houses of the lords and the ceremony of cha-no-yu; no value is attached to the inferior type used by commoners throughout the kingdom, nor does this sort figure in formal etiquette...In Japan the best is grown only at a

⁶⁹ Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, p. 250.

town called Uji, three leagues from the court of Miyako, whence it is taken to all parts of the kingdom.⁷⁰

Rodrigues gave a very detailed description of how tea leaves were prepared for use in making tea:

Now this is the way of preparing the cha leaf in China and Japan to make it fit for serving as a drink. When the new leaf has been gathered, they first of all cook it in the steam of a certain solution made up of water, wine and other ingredients until it is sufficiently softened. They have some wooden stoves or grates set up like deep trays or lidless boxes, eight or more spans in length and half that in width. They pour very clean, fine and sifted ash into these, and place lighted charcoal inside and cover it with the ash; in this way they produce a slow gentle fire which slowly roasts but does not scorch. Above these stoves they make cane grills, which do not receive much heat, and they cover them with a certain kind of thick paper made for this purpose; on top of this they tip the cha, already cooked as we have said, and there it roasts gently. . . .⁷¹

He further described how tea was usually sorted into four types according to the delicacy of the tea, how cha was distributed to the lords and its costs.⁷²

After the cha has been thus prepared and graded, they pour it into jar until there is none left. Then each merchant notifies his customers the day on which they can come or send somebody to collect the cha in their caddies. This they do with great solemnity, bringing their gifts personally if they should happen to be in Miyako at the time, or else sending their agent who have already been stationed there for this very purpose. But nobody does this until

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 251; see illustration #1 in appendix.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 253-254.

⁷² See illustration #2-8, in appendix.

the cha of the Lord of Tenka and his family has been collected so that thereby they may show him their respect, and this is the ordinary law.⁷³

Rodrigues was clearly able to see the differences in the way in which Chinese and Japanese prepared tea and served their guests:

The way in which they nowadays prepare cha in Japan and give it to guests to drink is different from the method employed in China. For the Chinese do not drink the actual cha as do the Japanese, but boil the clean water in a clean earthenware container, which is used only for this purpose so that it may not smell of anything else. They then pour the hot water from this kettle into another earthenware pot.... They tip a little, about half a handful, of the roasted cha leaves, into this hot water in the container....

The action of the hot water soon brings out of the goodness and strength of cha, and the water is coloured a clear bright golden yellow like pale wine. They then pour it into delicate porcelain cups suitable for this purpose. They place as many of these porcelain cups on a tray or a small table as there are guests (including in this number the host, who always drinks with them), and offer them thus to the guests so that they may drink. The Chinese do not observe any particular ceremony in this, nor do they drink in a special place reserved for entertaining with cha, but use the ordinary and usual room where they receive their guests....

As they take the cha, they observe their etiquette and bowing among themselves, just as they do when they receive wine. They are seated in their chairs, but courtesy demands that they all rise to their feet when they receive the porcelain cup of cha. Thus they take it together at the same time from the tray, and after

⁷³ Joao Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, p. 255; see illustrations #9-12.

drinking they all replace the cups together on the same tray. Good manners require that they rise to take the cha at least the first time they drink; but afterwards each guest can take the cha seated in his place, observing great politeness towards the others. When a person in China invites important guests to drink cha formally, it is brought out three times in succession; each time there is a new or different fruit or sweet in the cha for the ⁷⁴ greater entertainment and honour of the guests.

Rodrigues wrote of six qualities of cha that were very good for one's health:

Its first and principal property is that it greatly helps to digest food and it brings relief to the chest stuffed with too much food; it helps to digest and make the food⁷⁵ descend, and this greatly eases the stomach....

Its second quality is that it greatly drives away sleep, much reduces and disperses the vapours of the head, checks the fumes of excessive wine which rise to the head and thus also relieves headaches; it is very helpful to those suffering from migraine and pains in the stomach, the back and the joints. So it is useful to people who study or have to conduct or discuss business⁷⁶ at night as it helps them to keep awake....

Thirdly, it is naturally weak and is conducive to coolness more than to warmth; hence it is refreshing and brings down the temperature in a fever. As a cordial it eases the heart and relieves melancholy. The scent of excellent cha is greatly pleasing, and when a lot of it is drunk very strong, it leaves in the throat a very mellow taste which lasts quite a long time. Because of its cooling nature, it is included among the antidotes against poison.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 256.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 257.

Fourthly, it greatly helps to evacuate all superfluous material through the urine; people who drink a lot of it urinate very often, not indeed in a painful way but rather as a relief.⁷⁷ It has various other advantageous properties....

Unlike water, it does not upset the stomach but rather settles it; it is also a singular remedy against phlegm because it is desiccative by nature.

In the fifth place it is very good against the pain caused by the stone and stranguary, because it causes much frequent urination and purges anything superfluous, and so does not let any material from which the stone can form collect inside. For this reason the stone is extremely rare among the Chinese and Japanese, and indeed only the name of this ailment exists among them.

In the sixth and last place, they say that it is good for chastity and continence because it has the quality of restraining and cooling the kidneys; through the urine it purifies and purges them of any superfluous food not needed for the body's nutrition. Hence in Japan there is a famous story about this in a collection of tales⁷⁸ and it concerns a bonze and a rustic peasant...

Rodrigues continues with this comparison of Chinese and Japanese methods and at the end of this chapter he writes of a very important change of attitude toward tea, i.e. at that time the Japanese began to call tea ceremony "suki" instead of Chanoyu.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p 258.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 3, p. 16

In ancient times the Japanese used to drink cha prepared in the same way as in China, whence this drink was introduced; even now it is drunk in some parts of Japan by peasants and lowly people, and is known as senjicha, that is, boiled cha. But as time passed they began to drink the actual cha, grinding first of all the dry or roasted leaf into green powder like fine flour in small black stone mortars; these are extremely well fashioned and are made for this purpose, and are called cha-usu, that is, cha mortar. They then pour this green powder thus ground into a finely lacquered small box, or into certain little earthenware caddies which serve the same purpose, and take the powder out with a cane spoon used for this purpose. They ladle out one or two spoonfuls of this powder into a porcelain cup and then pour in boiling hot water which they always keep ready for this. They mix it delicately and subtly with a small bamboo brush which they have at hand for this purpose; this dissolves the powder and are lumps, and the result looks like green water, the same colour in fact as the cha powder. In this way the actual cha is drunk and as such brings about its natural effects, mentioned above, with greater strength and efficacy than does boiled cha.

As this use of cha is so common and ordinary throughout the Japanese kingdom, the gentry, all the nobles, lords and monasteries of bonzes have in their houses a special place where there is a stove with a charcoal fire always burning. There will also be a cast-iron kettle in which there is always very clean hot water for cha, vessels of cold water to cool it, porcelain cups with their salvers for drinking, and all the other things needed to prepare the cha. These include the box or caddy or cha powder, the bamboo spoon, the cane brush for mixing, the mortar to grind the cha, a table or cupboard to store all this; there is a special person who is present there all the time and has the office of preparing cha for guests.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, 260-261; see illustrations #13-14.

In Chapter 33, Rodrigues wrote of the special manner in which the Japanese drank tea at gatherings where social distinctions among the guests were forgotten:

The Japanese have another special manner, which the Chinese lack, whereby they entertain guests of whatever quality and rank, even the Lord of Tenka himself; in this way ordinary people of inferior rank, yet of gentle birth, who practise this manner of cha may invite any lord or noble to it, and he may not decline on account of the status of the person who invites him unless he has some prior engagement. For in this manner of entertainment and etiquette, no attention is paid to rank either by the host or by the guest, for both the nobles and people of lesser standing who practise this art are regarded as equals whilst engaged in it. Hence lords and nobles invite people who are not of their rank to come and drink cha, and they themselves are invited by such people.⁸¹

Another fact of tea ceremony which Rodrigues wrote about was the purpose for which people gathered for tea and the values embodied in the tea ceremony:

It is a secluded and solitary exercise in imitation of solitary hermits who retire from worldly, social intercourse and go to live in thatched huts and give themselves over to the contemplation of the things of nature. So this gathering for cha and conversation is not intended for lengthy talk among themselves, but rather to contemplate within their souls with all peace and modesty the things that they see there (without their praising the host for them) and thus through their own efforts to understand the mysteries locked therein. In keeping with this, everything employed in this ceremony is as rustic, rough, completely unrefined and simple as nature made it, in keeping with a solitary and rustic hermitage. Thus the house and path

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 263.

leading to it, as well as all the utensils used therein, are all of this kind...⁸²

Rodrigues described the erementical nature of the Japanese which gave rise to the custom of "inkyo", or retiring to a quiet and peaceful life. He wrote of how Ashikaga Yoshimasa retired to Higashiyama in Kyoto where he built a small house for drinking tea which had an alcove in which he would place a vase of flowers and a black-ink drawing. Yoshimasa became an arbiter of taste in this matter with many admirers and imitators.⁸³

The Japanese are in general of a melancholy disposition and nature. Moved by this natural inclination they take great delight and pleasure in lonely and nostalgic places, such as woods with shady groves, cliffs and rocky places, solitary birds, torrents of fresh water flowing down from rocks, and in every kind of solitary thing imbued with a natural artlessness and quality. All this fills their souls with this inclination and melancholy, producing a certain nostalgia.

Hence they are much inclined towards a solitary and erementical life, far removed from all worldly affairs and tumult. Thence arose their custom of inkyo; that is, they hand over during their lifetime their house, estate and public affairs to their heirs and take a house for themselves where they lead a quiet and peaceful life, withdrawn from all worldly business and disturbance. They shave their head

⁸² Ibid., p. 264.

⁸³ See Illustration #15.

and beard, and exchange their secular clothes for religious and sober dress.⁸⁴

Rodrigues offers a description of how many admirers were won over to Yoshimasa's type of tea gathering and how it came to be called "Chanoyu".

He used to take noble guests, to whom he wished to show special welcome and favour, to this cha hut, and there prepare the cha with his own hands and give it to the guests; he would drink with them, and show them the various items obtained from foreign kingdoms and the order which he observed in using them. Thus this goodly pastime won the approval of all who witnessed it, especially those who had performed inkyō and were freed from public life, and they began to imitate him. Each of them built a similar house especially for cha in his own home, and likewise sought and tried to collect the vessels and utensils necessary and suitable for it.⁸⁵

It was not difficult to introduce this method with ease, for the custom of entertaining guests with cha was extremely ancient in Japan; so people could not reject this modern way when they saw that it was developing the ancient usage into a new manner of entertaining guests, a new culture, a new etiquette and a very wholesome pastime suitable for a gathering to drink cha. So they easily became addicted to this, and its principal inventor was this Higashiyama Dono, a person highly respected and esteemed by all. This, then, is what was called then and subsequently cha-no-yu, and those who performed it cha-no-yu-sha, the house cha-no-yu-zashiki and the vessels and utensils cha-no-yu-dōgu.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 265.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 269, see illustrations #16-18.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 270

Rodrigues went on to discuss in great detail the new etiquette which placed so much value on the tea caddies, kettles, cups and vases associated with Chanoyu:

Hence it came about that cha-no-yu items began to have great value among those who practised the ceremony; for with the passing of time the number of such things decreased while the number of people searching for them increased, and items which could be becomingly and suitably used in the ceremony were foreign and rare. Thus the wealthy did not consider the cost when they found a good piece, while people who possessed such an item so highly prized⁸⁷ in that they would not part with it at any price.

Among the very valuable cha-no-yu items which are always used and are inseparable from this art, the first place is taken by those called katatsuki; these are small foreign earthenware caddies, glazed on the outside, the largest being half a span in height and less than a span in circumference. In the second place come those called matsubo, which are caddies of the same earthenware and also foreign, and are used to preserve the cha leaf; they contain three, four, five and even six caddies of cha. In the third place are the ancient cast-iron kettles of a certain special shape, in which they warm the water for cha. In the fourth place are the ancient foreign earthenware and porcelain cups, from which they drink cha. In the fifth place, the panels of paintings and Chinese letters executed by certain painters and calligraphers. In the sixth place, the vases made of copper, earthenware and other materials, in which they place flowers and roses for decoration. In the seventh place, certain vessels which are used for the charcoal; these are made of metal, earthenware or various other materials, while some consist of large gourds cut through the middle.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 271. For an example of one of the highly valued "katatsuki," see illustration #18.

In addition to light cost of tea utensils, it was also very expensive to conduct Chanoyu, or "Suki" (an interchangeable term). Rodrigues mentioned below noteworthy a proper Chanoyu.

In the first place, the people who practice this suki are usually rulers, lords of territories and vassals, and rich and landed nobles because, firstly, as has been mentioned in addition to the very costly caddy, or even caddies, in which the cha leaf is preserved and which they all possess, they must also have some other esteemed item, foreign or Japanese, to use in the cha meeting within the said house. This would include, for example, the small caddies in which to keep the ground cha, or a prized kettle, or a panel bearing a picture or some famous letters. These form, so to speak, the basis of the suki which they practice and, as has been said, they cost a great deal of money; some people even have many of them for different occasions.

Secondly, the house itself is small and a dozen spans square; the largest has four and a half mats laid down, while others, eight span in length, have three mats, and there are even smaller ones of one and a half mats. They are made of rought wood, have clay and wattle walls and are thatched on the outside; the inside of the roof is made of old reeds smoke-dried with age. Although, however, it might seem that the building of such a place would cost nothing, it is incredible how many hundreds of cruzados are spent only on its construction, on the suitable materials for which they search in different places with much labour and expense, and on working and adjusting the wood with indescribable skill by special carpenters who do only this kind of work. They spend such a great deal of time, even months, in perfecting only the house, laying down the mats, coating the walls with clay, and fastening the reed latticework with osiers, that indeed a beautiful wooden house could be built and completely finished much more quickly. This, then, is the small house of those people who practise the art properly.

Thirdly, they spend more than a trifle on the hut's own special offices, such as the kitchen and others, and on the excellent utensils reserved for this place alone, and the greatest cleanliness is observed in everything.

Fourthly, they spend much money on the white cedar tables which are ordinarily used when they eat; they are employed only one and are always changed. It may happen that for much of the year gatherings for cha are held twice daily in the same house. There is also the tableware which is changed at each step and appears with various devices; although very rough, it is also costly and is good for nothing after it has been used.

Fifthly, there is the expense of laying out the wood and the path leading to the hut, for they search in remote areas for a special type of tree of certain fashion and shape to plant there, for any tree whatsoever will not do. This costs a great deal of money until the trees take root and the wood^g looks as if it sprang up there quite naturally.

Rodrigues seemed somewhat puzzled by the seeming contradiction between the great cost of "Suki" and the apparent poverty of "Wabi-Suki":

Now it might seem to everybody hearing about it from afar and not seeing it with his own eyes that the poverty thus described is a barbarity in people of such great honourable excellence, and that it just does not make sense. For everything used in suki is rough and mean; for example, the house made of rough and old wood covered with straw and old reeds; earthenware caddies and vessels badly made with an artlessness and naturalness which seem to make them more ugly; earthenware cups to drink from; an earthenware stove; an old iron kettle or pot; a path paved with rough stones; a basin made of the same material with water for the hands; wild fruitless trees, and a wood with the ground covered with

89 Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, pp. 278-279.

an atmosphere of age; and many other things, all of them rough with no visible trace of splendour which might delight and please the senses.

For this reason it will not be out of place to say something about the great expenses occurred in suki and the reason why only lords and very wealthy and well-to-do people can practise it in its fullness. For you must know that suki is practised generally throughout the kingdom by all those who devote themselves to it in some way or other, even though poorly; for instead of the rich and expensive items which we mentioned, they use other native ones which are similar as regards form but not as regards price and esteem in the genuine suki. This way is called wabizuki, and is a kind of poor suki which imitates, in so far as it is possible, the purpose of the genuine suki. But not every sort of person can practise the true and proper suki because it involves a great deal of expense in various things, and consequently⁹⁰ wealth and ample means are necessary for this.

In Chapter 34, Rodrigues gives us a very detailed description of the rigid etiquette of tea, including the invitation, proper dress, procedures for entering the tea house and the actual tea ceremony itself:

Because the cha house is small there is no room for many people to assemble together therein, invite only one, two, even three and at most four persons. They send them a brief and polite letter saying that they wish to entertain them with cha (they call this kai, that is, to gather together for this purpose), and that it would be a great honour for them if they deigned to come; they inform them of the day and the hour, the house it is held either in the morning, or at midday or in the afternoon. The person thus invited replies in the same manner, thanking the host for his kindness in inviting him to cha and saying that he will come without fail. Before he attends this gathering, he goes in person to thank the host for having invited him to drink cha, but if he is very noble in rank he does this by letter.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 278

At the appointed hour on the day each guest robes himself neatly and becomingly; lay people shave a part of the head, while bonzes and those who have performed inkyō shave the head and chin. Wearing new stockings, they proceed to the private gate and entrance to the woods; outside in front of this gate there is a swept terrace which, together with the walls, has been recently sprinkled with water for the sake of freshness. The gate is so small and low that a person can enter only by stooping down. In front of the gate there is a rough clean stone where the guest changes his sandals before entering the wood, so as not to soil the stones of the path, for they are sprinkled with water and are very clean.

Up to this point the gate has been locked from within, but now the master of the house comes, opens it and thrusting only his head outside bids the guests welcome. He closes the gate without locking it and then retires inside his house by another special path through the wood reserved for his use; at this stage he neither enters nor leaves the little cha house. Once he has withdrawn, the guests open the gate, enter and then lock it again from the inside. They sit there in an arbour for a short while, relaxing and gazing at the wood. Then as they walk along the path through the wood up to the cha house, they quietly contemplate everything there -- the wood itself, individual trees in their natural state and setting, the paving stones and the rough stone trough for washing the hands. There is crystal-clear water there which they take with a vessel and pour on to their hands, and the guests may wash their hands there if they so wish; in wintertime hot water is made available on account of the cold. They now approach the closed door of the small house; this is set somewhat above the ground and is just large enough for a person to pass through provided he stoops. They remove their fans and daggers from their sashes and deposit them in a kind of cupboard placed there outside for that purpose. Then they open the door and leaving their sandals here they all go inside, observing in the mean-while due etiquette as to who shall enter first. The host is not present, and the place is empty except for some cha utensils.⁹¹

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 287-288.

Rodrigues further described how the guests inspect all the aesthetic arrangements in the tea room such as flowers, paintings and so forth. After this inspection, the ceremony begins:

When everybody has finished his inspection and has squatted on his knees, the host opens an inner door, enters the little house and thanks his guests for having come to his retreat, while they return him thanks for having invited them. Then they converse gravely and modestly on wholesome topics for a short time, until the host rises and fetches the charcoal and the ash in special containers along with a suitable copper spoon. He takes the kettle from the stove, places it to one side and begins to put on more charcoal. All draw near to watch him put on the charcoal for it is done in a special way; only a little is used and each piece is laid next to another, and fine ash is poured around to obtain a pleasing effect. The charcoal is made from a certain wood which immediately kindles and does not throw out sparks; it is round in shape, as it was naturally thus before it was skillfully cut up with a saw, burnt and made into charcoal. He next replaces the kettle and again pours water into it, and puts it on the fire so that it may come to the boil. A small quantity of delicate perfume prepared for the purpose is placed in the ash, and although it does not burn, the heat of the fire ⁹² makes it give off a pleasant smell in the house.

After the meal the guest leave the tearoom and go outside to the courtyard wash their hands and mouth in preparation for drinking tea:

As soon as they have gone out, the host locks the door from inside, sweeps the little house with his own hands, changes the flowers and put in fresh ones of another kind. When all is ready he opens the door slightly and retires, thus giving the guests to understand that they may enter.

⁹² Ibid., p. 289; see illustration #19

After they have washed their hands and mouths, the guests enter the house again and once more, just as before, they inspect everything placed there, including the utensils for serving cha. Then in deep silence each one sits down again in his place. The host now appears and asks if they wish to drink cha. They thank him and say that they do. He comes out with the necessary vessels, and should he own a small valuable caddy he brings the ground cha inside it, enclosed within a silken bag. Then in their presence he takes off the bag and puts down the small caddy, and washes and cleans the cups. He then puts the cha into the cup with a cane spoon; having put in a spoonful of the powder he says, "Your Honours had better drink this cha weak for it is very poor stuff." But the guests beg him to make it stronger for they know that it is excellent when drunk thus. So he puts in as much cha as is needed, and with a suitable jug he draws off hot water from the kettle and while it is still very hot he pours it on top of the powder. He next stirs it with a small cane brush and places the cup on the mat in front of the guests; they then pay each other compliments as to who shall be the first to drink. The senior guest begins first and takes three sips before handing it to the second guest, and thus the cha goes round until they have finished drinking.

Rodrigues noted that there was a special building for drinking tea since tea drinking occupied such a special place in Japanese society. He described the tea house in some detail. It is noteworthy that Rodrigues also observed that all social distinctions were forgotten during tea ceremony and that any lower-ranking person could invite lords and nobles to drink cha in his tea house:

Among the social customs of this kingdom, that of meeting to drink cha is the chief and most esteemed among the Japanese and is the one in which they most show their excellence. So

93 Rodrigues, This Island of Japan, pp. 290-291.

they spare no pains in the construction of the place where they give cha to their guests; this is a special building, with a path or entrance leading to it and with various other things suitable to the purpose of this custom. In general this purpose is the quiet and restful contemplation of the things of nature in the wilderness and desert. Hence all the material of this place is entirely adapted for this purpose and for eremitical solitude in the form of rude huts made quite naturally with rough wood and bark from the forest, as if they had been formed by nature or in the usual style of those people⁹⁴ who dwell in woods or the wilderness. . . .

Various things are considered in the construction. The first is the site, which must be next to the palace or house and within the same compound. The second is the entrance and path where the guests enter on the way to the suyika. As far as the site allows, this entrance must be in a solitary and quiet place, set away from the street and the ordinary business of the house. The entrance gate is a very small, narrow, and low door, through which a person can enter by bending down. Inside this entrance or door there are wooden seats like benches at the sides, where the invited guests sit down and wait while everything is being prepared within. Near this spot to one side there are some toilets, very rough but spotlessly clean, with a pool of water and stepping-stones; there is also a certain kind of coarse sand there with a wooden shovel,⁹⁵ and everything is freshly sprinkled with water...

The cha house is usually very small of three or four mats, sometimes of only one and a half, according to the preference of each person. The wood is rough and still has its bark as if it had come straight from the forest. Sometimes the wood is very old and worn, and

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 105.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 106.

only where it joins other pieces of wood is it skilfully worked. Below the above-mentioned cupboard there is a small door in the corner of the hut where they enter inside; it is of a height and breadth which will fit a person who is seated or squatting. Light enters the little house through windows in various places; there are also rough and of woven reeds. The exterior of the house is completely and skilfully thatched, while the roof or ceiling inside is also made of straw or coarse woven reeds like a mat, and is smoke-dried to show its age and lonely poverty. In the place of honour there is a kind of recess let into the wall with a step at the bottom; here they hang an ancient picture or an old maxim written in ancient letters by an admired writer, or place a flower in a vase, so that it⁹⁶ may be contemplated by the guest as he enters.

From Rodrigues' writing we can see that European understanding of Chanoyu greatly improved as time went on. One excerpt particularly, gives us a clear picture of the accuracy of his perceptions:

Hence they have come to detest any kind of contrivance and elegance, any pretense, hypocrisy and outward embellishment, which they call "keihaku" (frivolity) in their language... Instead their ideal is to promise little but accomplish much; always to use moderation in everything; finally, to desire to err by default rather than by excess... The more precious the utensils are in themselves and the less they show it, the more suitable they are.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 107; see illustration #21.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 277.

CHAPTER 5

TEA AND CHRISTIANITY ("TEA MIND" - BIBLICAL MIND")

A. Similarities and Contrasts in Symbols and Concepts

In previous chapters, we have discussed the observations and experiences of such Christians as Valignano, Rodrigues and so forth with the tea ceremony. Just as the tea ceremony itself went through a number of phases in the slow process of its development, so did Christian attitudes toward and understanding of the nature and purpose of the tea ceremony. Valignano, for example, seems to have emphasized the political aspects of tea which made it a valuable vehicle for practical missionary activity. Rodrigues, in contrast, was impressed by the spiritual and aesthetic aspects of tea and the understanding exhibited in his writing was a great improvement over that shown by Europeans who had thought that the ceremony involved only "hot water". It must be remembered, however, that men like Valignano and Rodrigues were, nevertheless, foreigners and although they meticulously described the historical and scientific aspects of tea, they

occasionally formed inaccurate opinions when it came to tea's aesthetic function. Rodrigues, for example, seems to have misinterpreted some of the things he saw as so beautiful and remarkable about tea, such as in the way he described the "shichu no yamazato" (the mountain retreat in the city) or his depicting the tea ceremony as a means of "entering into Buddhism" (enlightenment). He seems to have taken these particular tea practices rather more seriously than their practitioners since, in reality, the Japanese who practiced tea in these retreats were scarcely impoverished mountain hermits but rather daimyo or merchants who used tea as an escape from the trials of everyday life, for political purposes, or as part of an accepted social etiquette.¹

Rodrigues was particularly knowledgeable about Rikyu's wabi-cha with its Zen emphasis on being one with nature and he found some similarities between Christianity and wabi which have been discussed earlier in this thesis. Edwin O. Reischauer, writing in modern times, also writes of some Buddhist and Christian similarities which are embodied in wabi-cha.

The popular Buddhism of Kamakura times (1185-1333) had come to resemble Christianity in a number of ways through its emphasis on a single saving deity (Amida), the portrayal of heaven, hell, and the narrow path to salvation, the stress on faith, the

¹ Okada Akio, "Kyokaishi Zadankai," Jan. 1966, pp. 54-63; Dec. 1965, pp. 128-141.

display of religious zeal in public preaching and chanting, and in many forms of popularization already mentioned. And it became an important organ of the intellectual and cultural² life of the lower classes in the coming centuries.

Reischauer also writes of the similarities that exist in Christian and Zen thinking which can be found in the Oribe-style of tea ceremony:

It was in Zen, perhaps, that the main contrast between Christian and Buddhist behavior is best illuminated. For while the attainment of enlightenment was to some extent like the "sudden conversion" of medieval Christianity, its consequences were less public and social. The enlightened individual was given no mission of social service, but rather the capacity to live life existentially without anxiety or "attachment". It was this quality which became so attractive particularly to the warrior aristocracy. For if Zen through mental discipline created men of self-understanding and self-reliance, it produced³ men of action and strong character as well.

The popularity of Chanoyu among the Christian daimyo and samurai seems not to be accidental but inevitable and the Christian samurai of the Oribe School of Tea were able to combine the Zen concepts of simplicity and individualism with Christian concepts of freedom. They did not practice chado as a mere hobby or an intellectual pastime that was unrelated to their religion, and their conversion to Christianity was probably due to the fact that their spirit was in some way altered by contact with

² Hall, Japan, p. 98.

³ Ibid., p. 100.

the spirit of Christianity. Christianity, therefore, was not just something which had been imported from a foreign country but was rather another step taken toward their own spiritual development. As Christians, they maintained their Japanese identity and the tea ceremony developed under the inevitable requirements of the Japanese way.⁴

Tea ceremony was greatly influenced by the religions of Shintoism and Buddhism, and it was Zen Buddhism, in particular, that seemed to have many elements in common with Christianity. It was the incorporation of all these religious elements which had a distinct impact on the development of the tea ceremony. Perhaps these religious elements were not completely unrelated to each other.⁵ Oyama Hiroshi has written that Christianity is a religion which has its roots in the Orient:

The spirit of Christianity, the special essence which was hidden in the genuine article, is to be discovered in the Western tradition, having grown in Western Christianity under contact with Oriental thought.⁶

Through Japanese and Christian encounters such as the tea ceremony, both groups had the opportunity to incorporate each other's philosophy into their own thinking and this

⁴ Nishimura Tei, Kirishitan to Chado, pp. 224-227.

⁵ Sakabe Yoshio, Seisho No Kotoba To Cha No Kokoro (Kyoto: Tanko-sha, 1976), p. 5.

⁶ Ibid., p.5

re-discovery of Christian truth gave new light to the Japanese spiritual tradition.

In this chapter, the author will compare the "tea mind" of Rikyu (as described in the "Nanboroku" which is a journal written by a student of Rikyu and which might be called the "bible" of tea) and the "Biblical mind" or Christian way of thinking. Just as Sakya (Buddha) did not write the Sutra (Buddhist scriptures) by himself, and just as Confucius did not write the Analects single-handedly, neither Christ compose the New Testament nor Rikyu, the "Nanboroku". These documents were all written by their disciples after their death, but nevertheless, they contain the essence of the thinking of these great teachers.

One would hardly think that the Nanboroku provided every detail of the insights into the meaning of Rikyu's wabi-cha, any more than one would consider that the insights of the Gospel of St. John convey all the details of the teaching and life of Jesus of Nazareth. (See John 20:30 and 21:25.) But it must be recognized in both cases that the system of interpretation stems from the needs and experiences accumulated in nearly a century of living tradition in drastically changed circumstances, and thus one can hardly expect more than an echo of the very words (*ipsissima verba*) of the master. Perhaps the lines were drawn rather too tightly by the Nanboroku in the contrast between wabicha and its antithesis; in the contemporary tea records Rikyu appears more complex and his art more all encompassing.

⁷ Theodore M. Ludwig, "Chanoyu and Momoyama" (Collected Papers of Chanoyu), p. 2.

The "Nanboroku" tells us that Rikyu, in his heart, reject the elegant Shoin style of tea ceremony with its display of formality and riches and that he taught, in contrast, that only just enough food, shelter and tea epitomized both the way of Buddha and the way of tea. In the ensuing sections, the author will cite further interpretations from both the Bible and the "Nanboroku" which will serve as examples of some of the common features of Japanese and Christian thinking.

1. The "Narrow Gate"

It is interesting to note how the "Nanboroku" and the Bible describe physical things which symbolize the similarity of thought and philosophy of both "tea mind" and "biblical mind". In the Bible, for example, there are several references to a "narrow gate":

Enter through the narrow gate. The gate that leads to damnation is wide, the road is clear, and many choose to travel it. But how narrow is the gate that leads to life, how rough the road, and how few there are who find it. (Matthew - 7:13-14).

Jesus said, "Try to come in through the narrow door. Many, I tell you, will try to enter and be unable." (Luke 13:24)

In the "Nanboroku", the "gate" and its function is described as follows:

A gate on the path leading to the tea room plays an important role in the way of tea. The size and the bearing of the gate is of no comparison to gates of a

mansion, a manor, or even that of an ordinary house. It is a plain gate made of bamboo or branch wicker-work. Functions one usually associates with a gate, such as to give privacy and protection from intruders, does not apply to this simple gate, which can be easily opened with a push for peering in or for entering the path. For a guest arriving at the gathering who seeks the way of tea, the gate functions to assist him collect his inner thoughts and emotions as he is led through it by the path.

The path, called roji, which leads through the gate is not merely a passageway to the tea room. With each step of the dotted stepping stones, through the tranquility of the water-splashed trees and shrubs, a guest further collects his feelings. It can be said that the gate, pure and simple at a glance, is the border between two different lives; the mundane life of the outside, and, guided by the roji,⁸ the life inside, beyond everyday worldly matters.

Thus, the gate is used to promote a guest's awareness of the passage from the usual to the unusual, and from the worldly to the otherworldly. The significance of the gate corresponds to the meaning of the "narrow gate" mentioned in the Holy Bible. Even if the gate is used merely to

⁸ Sakabe Yoshio, Seisho No Kotoba To Chan No Kokoro, pp. 58-59.

escape from everyday responsibility, that in itself has some purpose. (The Bible also refers to a place of retreat.) In other words, the ideal of the Way of Tea is to be able to enter into a state of other-worldly enlightenment.⁹

As stated above and in other tea classics such as the "Zen Charoku" entering the gate is a step in reaching enlightenment. These references make clear that once through this passage, one overcomes the mundane, gains true value by renouncing worldly values and gains freedom of mind by rejecting worldly restraints.

When participating in the tea ceremony, a guest may not enter the tearoom carrying a large package, a gift, or other worldly belongings because the roji is narrow and the gate is small. This narrowness is a reminder to the guest that an over-abundance of worldly emotions cannot be brought into the tea room. A low stone water basin called a "tsukubai" is placed near the entrance of the tea room and it is there that the guest must stoop low in order to wash -- a gesture which serves to humble him; and further, a guest burdened with worldly belongings would not be able to stoop down to reach the tsukubai, let alone to rinse his hands and mouth. Worldly

⁹ Ibid., pp. 61-62.

belongings means not only things one can touch and see, but also worldly thoughts and state of mind. The gesture of rinsing, therefore, symbolizes the purification of the mind as well as the body, and is similar in action and purpose to the use of Christian holy water. By causing the guest to cast off worldly thoughts and to purify his mind, the Way of Tea places every guest at an equal level. In addition, each guest is further humbled when he enters the tea room by having to crawl through a low, small opening called a "nijiri-guchi" (a miniature entrance which is only two and one-half feet square). This gesture of lowering the head and crawling signifies his high regard for others.¹⁰

In the Bible, there are several quotations which describe the "narrowness of entry" into the life of a proper Christian:

Another time a man came up to him and said, "Teacher, what good must I do to possess everlasting life?" He answered, "Why do you question me about what is good? There is One who is good. If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments." "Which ones?" he asked. Jesus replied, "You shall not kill; you shall not commit adultery; you shall not steal;..." "Honor your father and your mother; and love your neighbor as yourself. The young man said to him "I have kept all of these; what do I need to do further?" Jesus told him, "If you seek perfection, go, sell your possessions, and give to the

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 70-71.

poor. You will then have treasure in heaven. Afterwards, come back and follow me. Hearing these words, the young man went away said, for his possessions were many. (Matt. 19:16-30, Luke 18:18-30, Mark 10:17-22)

Jesus said to his disciples: "I assure you, only with difficulty will a rich man enter the Kingdom of God." When the disciples heard this they were completely overwhelmed and exclaimed, "Those who can be saved." Jesus looked at them and said, "For man it is impossible but for God all things are possible." (Matthew 19:16-26)

The Bible also contains further references to humility:

My son, conduct your affairs with humility, and you will be loved more than a giver of gifts. Humble yourself the more, the greater you are, and you will find favor with God. For great is the power of God and by the humble He is glorified. (Sirach 3:17-19) (Ecclesiasties)

Try to come in through the narrow door. Many, I tell you, will try to enter and be unable. (Luke 13:24)

Jesus also taught that one must search for the "narrow gate" and the right way by stating that he is both the gate and the way (road).

Truly, I assure you: whoever does not enter the sheepfold through the gate but climbs in some other way is a thief and a marauder. The one who enters through the gate is shepherd of the sheep; the keeper opens the gate for him. The sheep hears his voice as he calls his own by name and leads them out. When he has brought out all those that are his, he walks in front of them, and the sheep follow him because they recognize his voice. They will not follow a stranger; such a one they will flee, because they do not recognize a stranger's voice. (John 10:1-5)

Even though Jesus used this example, his followers were not able to grasp what he was trying to tell them and so he explained again:

My solemn word is this: I am the sheepgate. (I am the door for the sheep.) All who came before me were thieves and marauders whom the sheep did not heed. I am the gate (door). Whoever enters through me will be safe. He will go in and out and find pasture. The thief comes only to steal and slaughter and destroy. I came that they might have life and have it to the full. I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep. (John 10:7-11)

I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father but through me. (John 14:6)

And also he did not allow anyone to carry any goods through the temple. (Mark 11:16)

2. Equality

Upon entering the tea room, the social position of the guests is never questioned, nor is there any disparity in the social standing of guests and host. All participants are disciples, seeking and walking along the same path. A participant may be placed at the principal position in the tea room but no one is to be distinguished by manner of service and all participants are on an equal footing. The existence of the "nijiri-guchi" and the prohibition against swords in the tea room stressed the Way of Tea's esteem for equality. The "Nanboroku" mentions this need for equality in the tea room and states

that any distinctions between high and low should be eliminated.¹¹

The Bible also refers to this concept of equality.

My brother, your faith in our glorious Lord Jesus Christ must not allow for favoritism. Suppose there should come into your assembly a man fashionably dressed, with gold rings on his fingers, and at the same time a poor man in shabby clothes. Suppose further that you were to take notice of the well-dressed man and say, "Sit right here, please," whereas you were to say to the poor man, "You can stand" or "Sit over there by my footrest." Have you not in a case like this discriminated in your hearts? Have you not set yourselves up as judges handing down corrupt decisions? Listen, dear brothers. Did not God choose those who are poor in the eyes of the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom he promised to those who love him? Yet you treated the poor man shamefully. Are not the rich exploiting you? They are the ones who hail you into the courts and who blaspheme that noble name which had made you God's own.

You are acting rightly, however, if you fulfill the law of the kingdom. Scripture has it, "You should love your neighbor as yourself." But if you show favoritism, you commit sin and are convicted by the law as transgressors. (James 2:1-9).

3. Time

In both the Bible and the rules governing the Way of Tea, can be found the necessity for an awareness of the importance of time. In the Bible, there is an excellent example from Matthew concerning this matter:

¹¹ Sakabe, pp. 106-107; Sen Soshitsu, Cha no Shintai (Kyoto: Tankosha, 1980), p. 183.

The reign of God can be likened to ten bridesmaids who took their torches and went out to welcome the groom. Five of them were foolish, while the other five were sensible. The foolish ones, in taking their torches, brought no oil along, but the sensible ones took flasks of oil as well as their torches. The groom delayed his coming, so they all began to nod, then to fall asleep. At midnight someone shouted. "The groom is here! Come out and greet him!" At the outcry all the virgins woke up and got their torches ready. The foolish ones said to the sensible, "Give us some of your oil. Our torches are out." But the sensible ones replied, "No, there may not be enough for you and us. You had better go to the dealers and buy yourselves some." While they went off to buy it the groom arrived, and the ones who were ready went into the wedding with him. Then the door was barred. Later the other bridesmaids came back. "Master, Master! they cried. "Open the door for us." But he answered, "I tell you, I do not know you." The moral is: keep your eyes open, for you know not the day and the hour. (Matthew 25:1-13)

In the Way of Tea, time also holds an important position. Three of the seven rules which Rikyu developed for tea ceremony, show that, for tea enthusiasts, time is a revered part of the Way. These three rules are as follows: (1) "Do everything ahead of time;" "Prepare for rain;" and "Give those with whom you find yourself every consideration."¹²

The Bible also contains passages which emphasize the necessity for being prepared and ready for a time of importance:

¹² Sen Soshitsu, Cha no Shintai, p. 152.

Let your belts be fastened around your waists and your lamps be burning ready. Be like men awaiting their master's return from a wedding, so that when he arrives and knocks, you will open for him without delay. It will go well with those servants whom the master finds wide-awake upon his return. I tell you, he will put on an apron, seat them at table, and proceed to wait on them. Should he happen to come at midnight or before sunrise and find them prepared, it will go well with them. You know as well as I that if the head of the house knew when the thief was coming he would not let him break into his house. Be on guard, therefore, The Son of Man will come when you least expect him. (Luke 12:35-40)

Among the "seven times ceremony" for tea (one of the seven forms of entertainment during the tea ceremony) is a ceremony called "tea for the unexpected", an impromptu tea which is used for welcoming and entertaining unexpected guests. Being able to conduct this type of tea ceremony indicates the host's ability to respond to any occasion with composure. He must be able to make the guest feel welcome and even under these unexpected circumstances, must be willing to prepare tea and serve a small meal.¹³

Many aspects of the Way of Tea, such as the splashing of water on the roji, filling the tsukubai, checking the fire in the brazier and boiling water in the kettle must all be undertaken with the arrival time of the guest in mind. Guests, too, must show their consideration

¹³ Sakabe, Seisho No Kotoba To Cha No Kokoro, p. 119.

for their host by being on time and punctuality is a necessity for tea ceremony. Even the allocation of the amount of time taken in the various steps of tea preparation itself is practical and without waste and the concept of the interval or spacing between the steps is also important.¹⁴

4. Food

What place does food preparation hold in a tea ceremony? Partaking of a meal is not the objective but only one part of the tea ceremony. The "Nanboroku" states that "a meal should be just sufficient to satisfy hunger" and Jo-o in Chapter Twelve of his book states that "Kaiseki (is) a meal not to exceed a bowl of soup and a dish of vegetables, even for a rarely seen guest." In other words, meals should never be the main event of the tea ceremony, since the function of the tea ceremony is to raise one's consciousness of other worldly ideals while still keeping in mind one's worldly position. It was felt that the purpose of the Way would be lost if too much emphasis were placed on the preparation of meals during the practice of an austere tea such as wabi-cha.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 119-120.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 140-141.

5. Materialism

Just as an emphasis on food has no place in the tea ceremony, emphasis on the value of tea utensils is also improper. In the "Nanboroku" this is stated quite clearly:

Neither beauty, rareness, nor preciousness make a utensil for the Tea of Zen -- only to those with pure heart and soul does the utensil for Zen come to be itself. To handle a pure mind as a utensil is the Zen way of tea. The tea utensil is worthless if it is used for its beauty or its fame.¹⁶

This statement is a reflection of the value that a pure, clean mind is vastly more precious than something that can be seen visually.

In the Bible, through the story of Martha and Mary, Jesus teaches that one should not expect too much and that one must know what is truly important and of real value:

On their journey Jesus entered a village where a woman named Martha welcomed him to her home. She had a sister named Mary, who seated herself at the Lord's feet and listened to his words. Martha, who was busy with all the details of hospitality, came to Him and said, "Lord, are you not concerned that my sister has left me to do the household tasks all alone? Tell her to help me." The Lord in reply said to her: "Martha, Martha, you are anxious and upset about many things; one thing only is required. Mary has chosen the better portion and she shall not be deprived of it." (Luke 10:38-42)

¹⁶ Sen Soshitsu, Cha no Shintai, pp. 173-174.

In another chapter of Luke (12:15-29), Jesus taught the people about greed, wealth and what was really worth acquiring:

Then he said to the crowd, "Avoid greed in all its forms. A man may be wealthy, but his possessions do not guarantee him life."

He told the crowd a parable in these words:

There was a rich man who had a good harvest. "What shall I do" he asked himself. "I have no place to store my harvest. I know!" he said. "I will pull down my grain bins and build larger ones. All my grain and my goods will go there. Then I will say to myself: You have blessings in reserve for years to come. Relax! Eat heartily and drink well. Enjoy yourself!" But God said to him, "You fool! This very night your life shall be required of you. To whom will all this piled-up wealth of yours go? That is the way it works with the man who grows rich for himself instead of growing rich in the sight of God."

He said to his disciples: "That is why I warn you, do not be concerned for your life, what you are to eat, or for your body, what you are to wear. Life is more important than food and the body more than clothing. Consider the ravens: They do not sow, they do not reap, they have neither cellar nor barn -- yet God feeds them. How much more important you are than the birds! Which of you by worrying can add a moment to his lifespan? If the smallest things are beyond your power, why be anxious about the rest?

Or take the lilies: they do not spin, they do not weave; but I tell you, Solomon in all his splendor was not arrayed like any one of them. If God clothes in such splendor the grass of the field, which grows today and is thrown on the fire tomorrow, how much more will He provide for you. O weak in faith! It is not for you to be in search of what you are to eat or drink. Stop worrying. (Luke 12:15-29)

6. Water and the Serving of Others

The first and most fundamental action of the tea ceremony takes place at the waters of the tsukubai in the roji. The "Nanboroku" states that the host himself must carry water by the bucketful and fill the tsukubai to its brim no matter how cold or hot the day may be. It adds further, that the water must not appear stagnant and the tsukubai must seem always to be freshly filled so that it brings a feeling of refreshment to the guests. The roji is to be watered three times during the ceremony: just before the guests arrive; before the Interval ("Nakadachi") which occurs after a meal when the guests come out to the roji for a rest; and lastly, when the guests depart after the ceremony. The timing for this watering is difficult but, nevertheless, it shows the host's love and depth of consideration for his guests. Proper watering is also considered to be evidence of purity and faithfulness.¹⁷

Purity of heart is also discussed in Matthew 5:8, where one's pure attitude toward all things means that all relationships must be ordered to the service of God. "Single-hearted" or being intent on one's purpose may be a more appropriate term for purity of heart in

¹⁷ Nakamura Naokatsu, Nanboroku (Osaka: Naniwa-sha, 1978), pp. 36-37, 76-77.

in regard to the tea ceremony. There are a few other chapters in the Bible which indicate an attitude which is quite similar to that of tea enthusiasts such as Matthew 5:1-10, Luke 15 and Luke 5:31-32.

Concerning the quality of water, the life of tea ceremony, which is used in preparing tea Rikyu stated:

Water for tea ceremony must be the water of dawn, whether it is for use at the Morning, Midday, or Evening tea ceremony.¹⁸

His statement not only reflects Japanese Buddhist thinking, but also that of Lu Yu in China who made a similar statement in his "Cha Ching" (the first book written about tea) that "river water is better than well water, but mountain water is the best." Rikyu's statement also teaches us a philosophy of service to and for others which is inherent in the Way of Tea: by rising early to fetch water, one prepares himself for the day mentally and spiritually; and that by appreciating and realizing the preciousness of water brought in after such labor, one learns to appreciate and not be wasteful of other materials. Similar statements are also made in the "Cha Ching".¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 76-77.

¹⁹ Sakabe, Seisho No Kotoba To Cha No Kokoro, pp. 100-101.

In the Bible, Jesus teaches that people did not come to be served but to serve:

But Jesus summoned them and said to them, "You know how those supposed to govern the Gentiles lord it over them and their great men exert authority over them; but this is not your way. Instead, whoever wants to be great among you will be your servant, and whoever wants to be first among you will be everyone's slave. For even the Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve and to give His Life as ransom for many. (Mark 10:42-45)

Many excerpts about water and the proper attitude toward the service of others are found in the Bible:

Jacob's well was there. So Jesus, wearied by His travel, sat down just as He was by the well. It was about noon. A Samaritan woman came to draw water, to whom Jesus said, "Let me have a drink," for His disciples had gone off into the town to buy food. The Samaritan woman said to him, "How is this that You, a Jew, should ask me, a Samaritan woman, for a drink?" For Jews do not associate with Samaritans. Jesus answered her, "If you knew God's gift and who really asked you...you would have requested Him and He would have given you living water." The woman said to Him, "Sir, you have no rope and bucket and the well is deep. Where do You get that living water? You surely are not superior to our father Jacob, who gave us the well; and he and his sons and his cattle drank from it?" Jesus answered her, "Whoever drinks from the water will be thirsty again; but whoever drinks the water I shall give him will never thirst again, but the water I shall give him will become a well of water within him that bubbles up for eternal life. (John 4:6-14)

The water discussed in both the "Nanboroku" and the Bible might also be seen as a humanitarian "moisture of heart" for those unfortunates who are "thirsty" and whose hearts are like a desert.

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7. Flowers

A single wisp of a flower in a tea room can teach us many things. According to the "Nanboroku", flowers for the tea ceremony must not be the usual greenhouse-grown flowers arranged lavishly in an elaborate vase. Flowers should be appropriate to the season, not showy in form of color and should not have an overly strong aroma. The beauty of "chabana" (flowers for tea ceremony) should be a natural beauty as though they were blooming quietly in a field, on a hill, or along a road and these flowers should give the beholder the ability to seek true beauty and presence of mind.

There are four disciplines of purity to be followed when arranging flowers for tea ceremony: "With pure mind, arrange pure flowers in a pure bamboo vase filled with pure water." In his Seven Rules, Rikyu stated that one should "arrange the flowers as they are in the field." In other words, a flower's natural beauty and the precious life that lies within each flower expresses the high ideals which one encounters in the Way of Tea. Such a concept is also mentioned in the "Nanboroku": "It is well to arrange flowers lightly."²⁰

²⁰ Sen Soshitsu, Cha No Shintai, p. 1-2.

In the Gospel, Jesus urges his followers to appreciate simple and beautiful things like the lilies of the field and stresses that one should simplify his life and put his trust in God:

I tell you therefore, do not worry about your living, -- what you are to eat or drink, or about your body, what you are to wear. Is not life more important than its nourishment and the body than its clothing? Look at the birds of the air, how they neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns, but your heavenly Father feeds them. Are not you more valuable than they? Furthermore, who of you is able through worrying to add one moment to his life's course? And why worry about clothes? Observe carefully how the field lilies grow. They neither toil nor spin, but I tell you that even Solomon in all his splendour was never dressed like one of these. But if God so clothes the grass of the field that exists today and is thrown into the furnace tomorrow, will He not more surely clothe you of little faith? Do not, then, be anxious, saying "What shall we drink?" or "What are we to wear?" (Luke, Matthew 6:25-34)

8. Equality and Humility -- Washing the Feet of Another

By now it should be clear that the Way of Tea does have many religious aspects. It is not merely a hobby for the idle nor one of the credentials for a proper marriage which is sought after by some young Japanese women.

Through following the Way of Tea, one learns to humble himself and to discipline his mind. This self-discipline, a sense of equality of men and proper awareness of the needs of others enables him to follow the accepted

practice of first offering tea to his ancestors, then to those around him, and lastly to himself.²¹ In the "Nanboroku", it is mentioned that even Rikyu himself regularly carried the water to the tsukubai and filled it.²² This practice is symbolically similar to the practice of washing the feet of another in the Bible. There is a discussion of this practice in John 13:1-17 as follows:

Before the Passover Feast, Jesus, aware that the time had come for Him to leave the world to go to the Father, showed His own who were in the world that He loved them to the end. At supper time, when the devil had already put the purpose into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray Him, Jesus, conscious that the Father had placed everything into His hands and that He came from God and was going to God, rose from the table, laid aside His Robe and, taking a towel girded Himself. Then He poured water into the basin and began to wash the feet of the disciples and to dry them with the towel with which He was girded.

In the following section, Jesus taught his disciples that it was important for them to care for one another.

So He came to Simon Peter, who said to Him, "Lord, You are going to wash my feet?" Jesus answered him, "Just now you do not understand what I do, but you will know later on." Peter said to Him, "You shall never wash my feet." Jesus replied, "If I do not wash you, you are not sharing with me." Simon Peter said to Him, "Lord, not only my feet but also my hands and my head." Jesus said

²¹ Ibid., p. 287

²² Nakamura, Nanboroku, p. 18.

to him, "A bathed person does not need to be washed, except his feet, but is completely cleansed; and you are cleansed, but not all of you." For He knew who His betrayer would be....

After washing their feet and taking their garment, He sat at the table again and said to them, "Do you understand what I have done to you? You call me "Teacher" and "Lord", and rightly so, because I am. Then if I your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you surely ought to wash one another's feet. For I have set you an example so that you might do just as I did to you.

I assure you with all truth, a slave is not superior to his master nor one who is sent to the one who sent him. If you know these teachings, blessed are you if you practice them. (John 13:1-17)

In Mark 10:42-42, the idea of the importance of serving others and caring for their needs is treated in the following manner:

Jesus also summoned them and said to them, "You know how those supposed to govern the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exert authority over them; but this is not your way. Instead, whoever wants to be great among you will be your servant, and whoever wants to be first among you will be every one's slave. For even the Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve and to give His life as a ransom for many.

Uoki Tadakazu, a professor of theology at Doshisha University, has outlined some of the common values of Christianity and the Way of Tea as follows:

A. Jesus Christ lived peacefully in the loving home of Mary and Martha and enjoyed the company of friends in his way. (John 12:1-11) This corresponds to enjoying the tea ceremony.

B. The Way of Tea enjoys the gifts of nature in the same way as the Christian teachings of

the lilies of the field and the birds in the sky that is described in Matthew 6:25-34.

C. Friends gather in the name of the Lord to pray for an everlasting peace. (Matthew 18:20)

D. To appreciate and to respect others is to see grace in the gatherings of disciples.

E. To see good in the imperfect is to see good in a sinner.

F. To find enrichment in poverty is to find enrichment in the Lord's Way.

G. The bitter taste of tea is a symbol of the existence of God's love in a bitter life.

H. A host gains disciples by serving others through the Way of Tea. (See Mark 10:42-45)

I. Tea is teaching without divinity, an enjoyable training and is a form that celebrates nature.

Rikyu used four concepts to express his way of tea: WA, KEI, SEI and JAKU. Wa is the complete harmony of all elements; its definition includes sincerity. Kei gives a sense of profound reverence toward all things, and is used by tea men to identify characteristics of humility and respect. Sei contains the thought of orderliness in life, cleanliness and purity. Jaku means tranquility, calm. These four are essential to tea.²³

The above concepts which are essential for the "tea mind" may also be viewed as being essential to the "Biblical mind". Purity and cleanliness of soul and body, respect for one's fellow man and reverence for nature, proper humility and the willingness to serve others, acceptance of one's lot yet the striving for righteousness, recognition that all are

²³ Rand Castile, The Way of Tea (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1971), p. 24.

equal -- these are all elements of both the "Way of Christianity" and the "Way of Tea".

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

It is evident from the material presented in this thesis that Christianity did have an influence on the Japanese tea ceremony during the most important period of its development. It is also to be noted that knowledge of and participation in the tea ceremony also influenced the Christian missionaries and the manner in which they conducted their activities in Japan.

Religion, ethics, philosophy, the arts are all interwoven into the fabric of any society. In participating together in the tea ceremony, Japanese and Christians both benefited. Although missionaries have often been accused of being devious and even subversive as regards Japanese society, in tea drinking, Christians and non-Christians could come together in a harmony of spirit without any religious discord. Okakura Tenshin wrote of the ideal of teaism that "...the whole ideal of Teaism is a result of (this) Zen conception of greatness in the

smallest incidents of life. Taoism furnished the basis for aesthetic ideals, Zennism made them practical."¹ It is this author's belief that the ideal of teaism which embodied elements of the native religions of Japan and those of Buddhism, was further enhanced by the inclusion of various Christian values.

From its early beginnings in the 1600's when tea was merely a way in which one entertained guests, tea drinking has retained its traditional values while gradually developing in response to changing times. Michael Cooper, the noted Jesuit scholar has written:

Even more than 350 years ago, foreigners clearly showed their admiration for Chanoyu and their sympathetic understanding of the art. It is a hopeful indication that men can transcend national and cultural barriers, and learn to appreciate the esthetic values of an alien culture. And it is remarkable that of all the different branches of Japanese culture, the early Europeans of three centuries ago appeared to find Chanoyu the bridge which best spanned the gap between Oriental and Occidental ways of thought. If that was true in the sixteenth century, it is surely even more relevant today when there is an even greater need to unite, rather than separate, peoples of different cultural backgrounds.

It is this author's belief that the tea ceremony is today, as it was in the time of the early Christians in Japan, the perfect place for people of all beliefs to meet.

¹ Okakura Tenshin, The Book of Tea, p. 29.

² Cooper, The Early Europeans and Chanoyu, p. 50.

APPENDIX



1. The tea plant (from Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan ... 1690-1692*)



ルソン茶壺

1A. Luzon tsubo

A formal tea vase imported from the Phillipines

2. The process of growing and processing tea leaves at Uji, Kanbayashi family in the middle of the Edo period.



3. Boiling the tea leaves



4. Chilling the tea leaves

製茶工程絵図 (一) (江戸時代中期 宇治 上林氏蔵)
 上 煎下(おいた)葉をかけて湯光をさえぎる。中 茶葉
 をせいろうで蒸す。下 蒸した茶葉を団扇で冷やす。

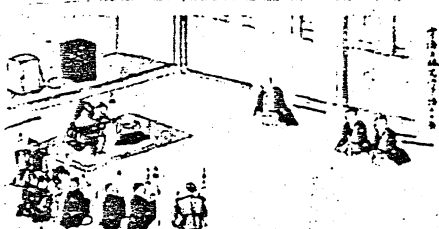


5. Singing while drying the tea leaves
6. Counting and weighing the tea leaves
7. Checking the quality of the tea leaves

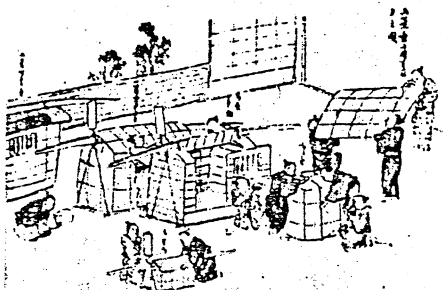
製茶工程絵図(二)

上 歌をうたいながら釜夜焙炉(はいろ)で乾かす。中 茶の貝目をはかり量に入れる。下 茶葉のよしみしを見る。

These illustrations depict the manner in which tea producers make preparations for carrying the tea to such important persons as the shogun and so forth



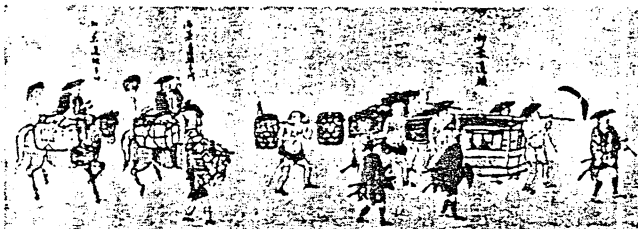
9. The special manner in which the Kanbayashi family puts the tea leaves into tea containers in preparation for their trip.

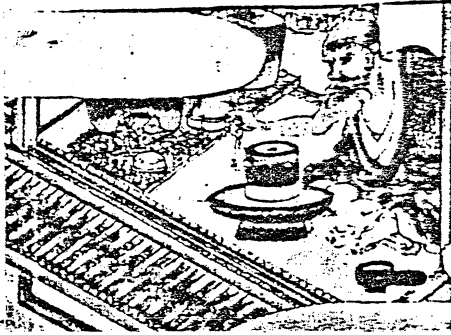


10. Readying money and other necessities for the trip.

11. Following the shogun or daimy's guide to Edo with their tea.

12. Placing the tea in the warehouse after arriving in Edo.

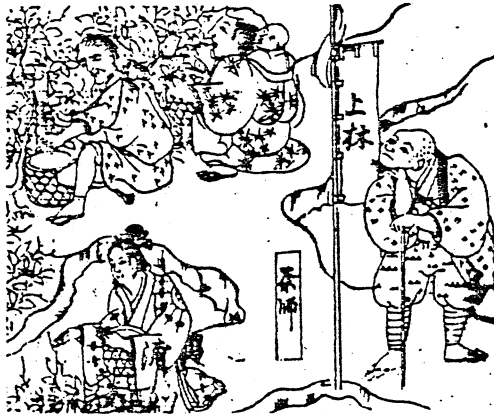




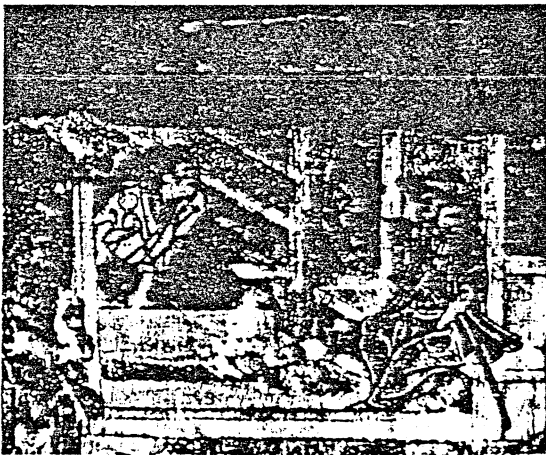
13. Using a stone grinder to make powdered tea from tea leaves.

茶臼で碾く(酒版論)

8



茶師 (『人倫訓蒙図彙』)



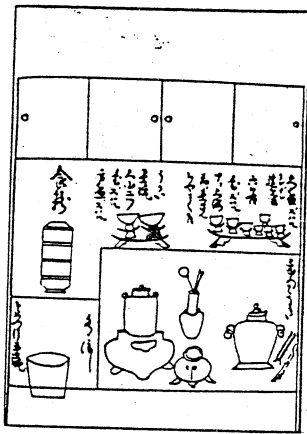
14. The tea house

茶屋 (洛中洛外図屏風 国立東京博物館蔵) これは煎茶であろう。

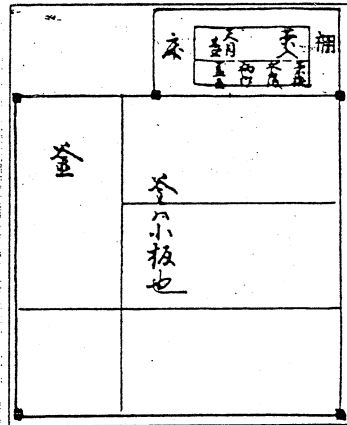
15



Ginkaku-ji, Kyoto



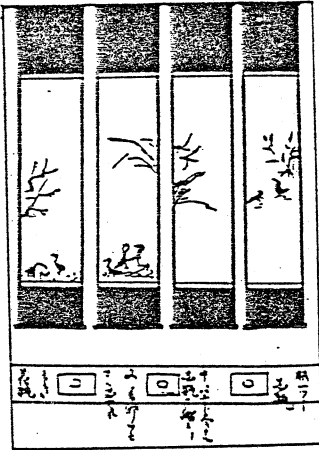
茶湯棚
 (『君台観左右様記』 東京国立博物館蔵)



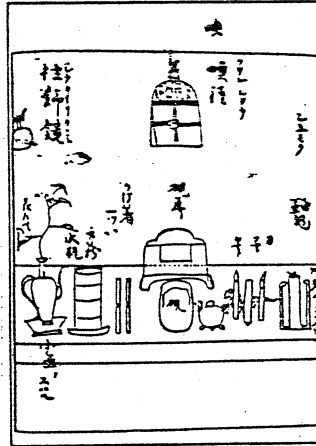
床の上に棚飾を置いた茶室図
 (相阿弥「茶伝書」 東京国立博物館蔵)

16. A shelf for holding tea utensils.

17. A kazaridana (a shelf for decorative objects) in the Tokonoma.

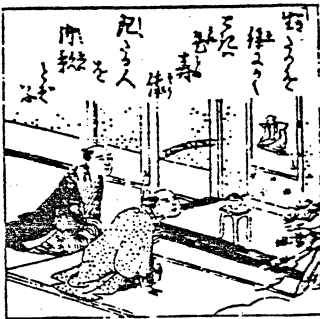


床(押板)飾 (『茗台観左右横記』)



附書院飾 (『茗台観左右横記』)

19

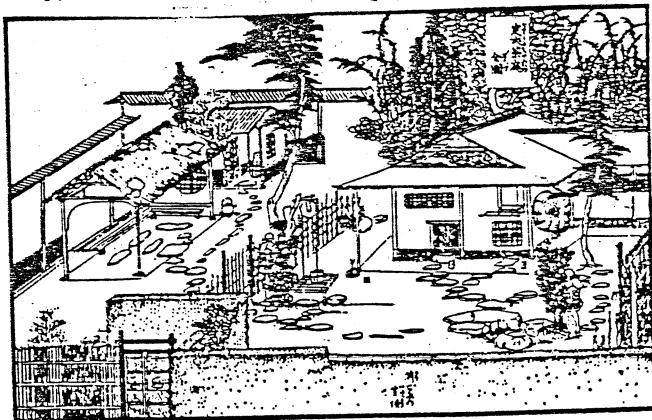


Guest looking at the tokonoma

18. Left : Toko kazari
The manner of decorating
the tokonoma.

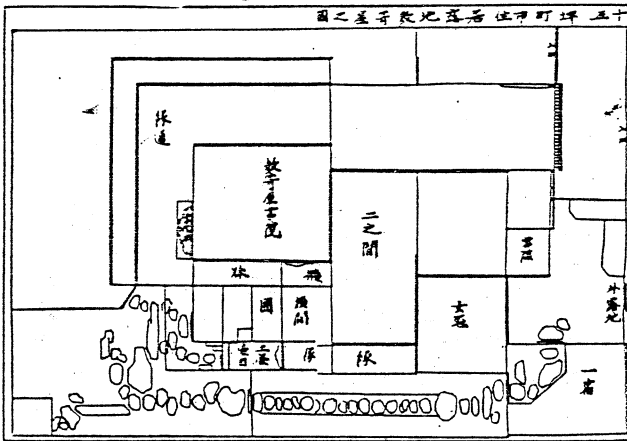
Right : Shoin kazari
The manner of decorating
the shoin.

20 A traditional tea house and garden



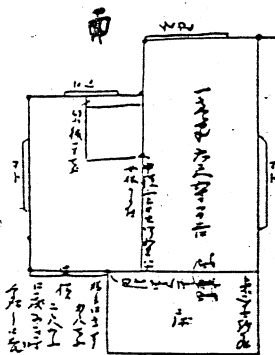
Tearooms designed by Rikyu in the city of Sakai

21. A wabi-style tearoom

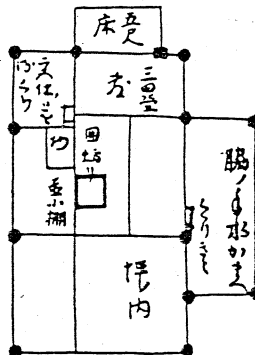


利休作「堺町市住居地寄置茶室之圖」(『古今茶道全書』元禄七年刊)

22. Left : A very small tearoom the size of one tatami-mat. (about six feet long by 2½ feet wider)



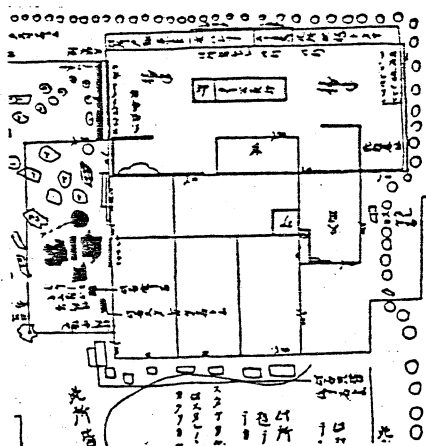
一畳大目の図
(利休好み『宗全指図概』)



三畳大目の図
(『山上宗二記』)

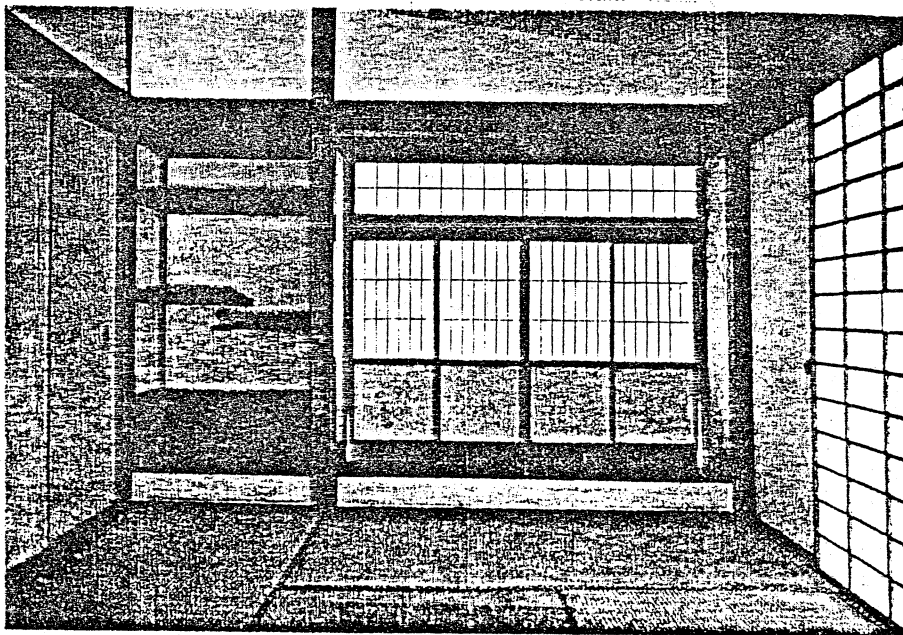
Right :
right :
A three-mat tearoom

23. A suki tearoom of the early Edo period.

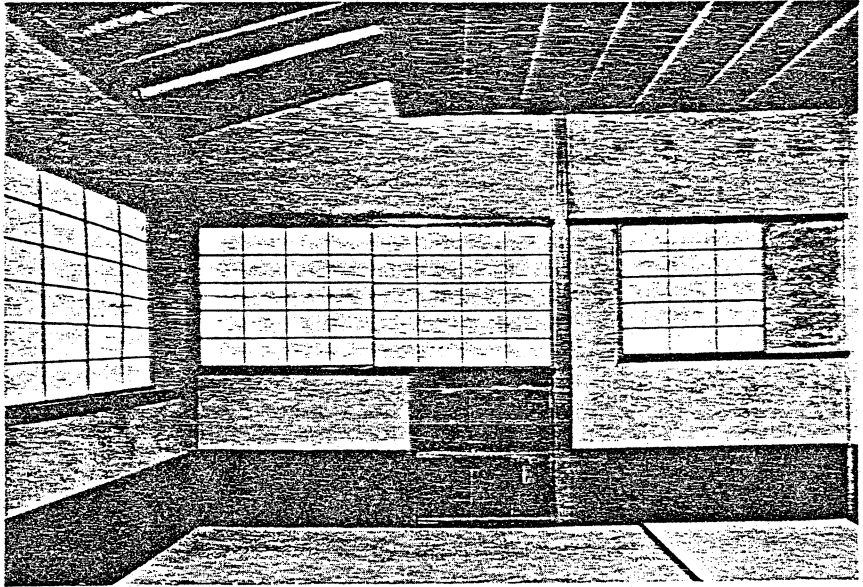


江戸時代初期の数寄屋図に見る勝手(堀口拾己氏蔵)
茶室の後方にかなり広い勝手が付加され、中央に炉を設け、
水を洗すハシリを始め棚や押入などが片側に並んでいる。
(中村)

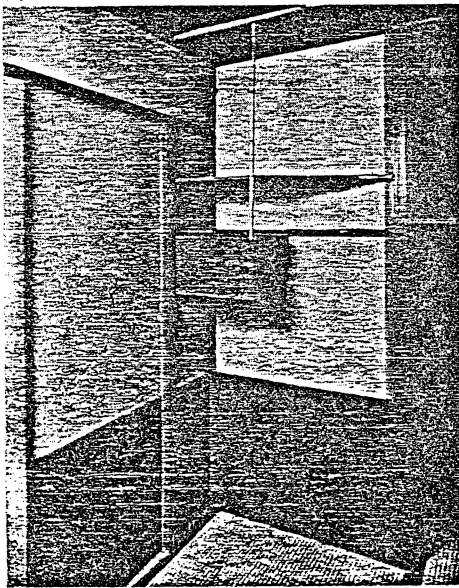
24. Dojinsai



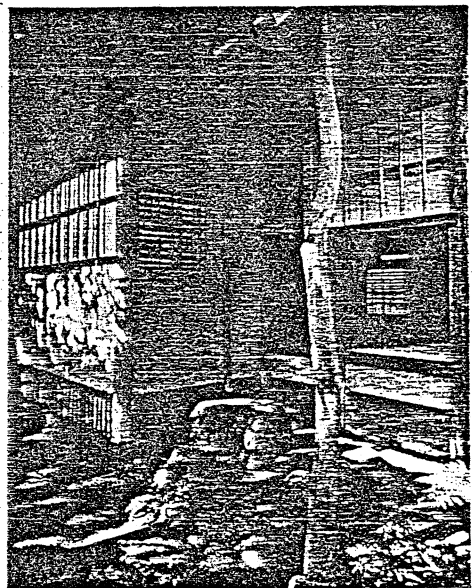
25. Daimyo-cha tearooms



八窓庵茶室内部 17世紀初 - 奈良国立博物館構内

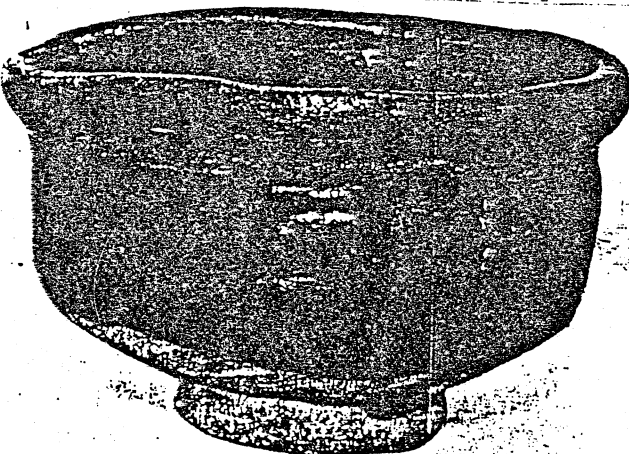
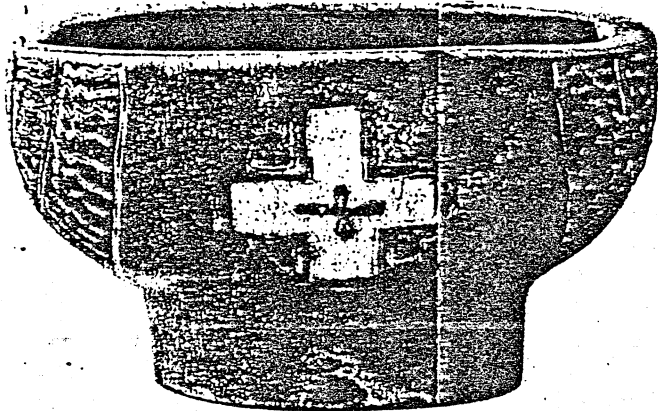
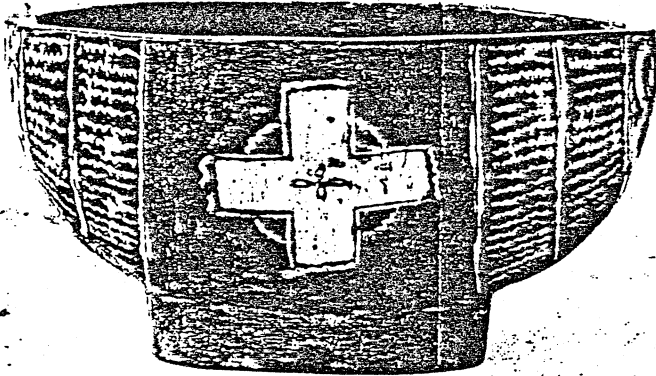


燕庵勝手仮置棚 1830ころ-35 京都 藪内家



Enan 燕庵入口付近 1830ころ-35 京都 藪内家

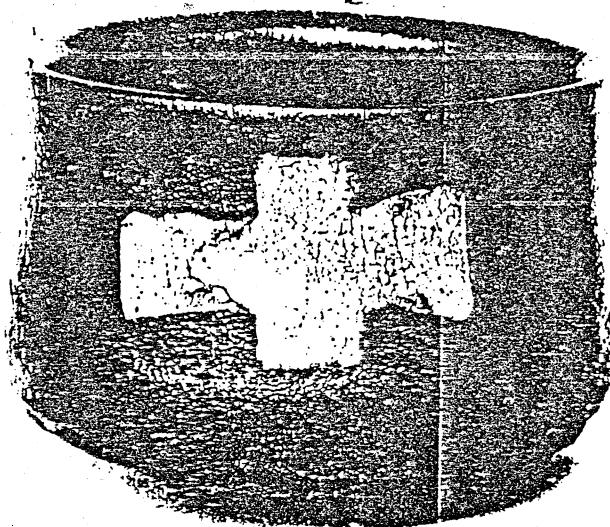
26. Tea bowl with cross



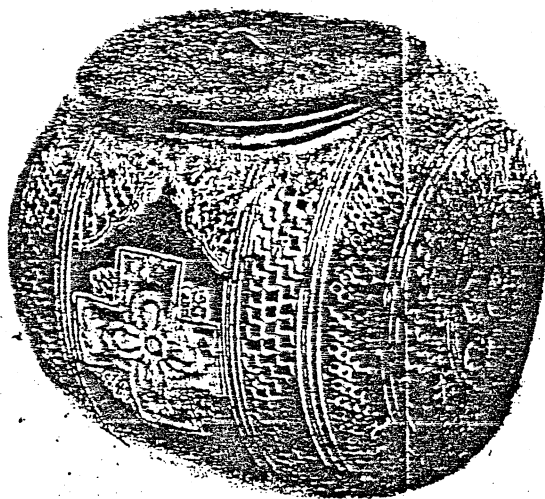


27. Black Oribe-style tea bowl with cross

Tea bowl decorated
with cross. Height 8.6 cm.,
diameter of mouth 12 ×
11.2 cm.; Nanban Bunka-
kan, Osaka.

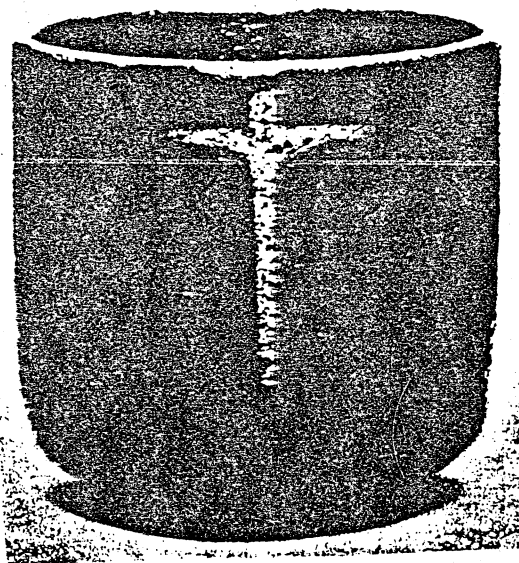


28. Water container with cross

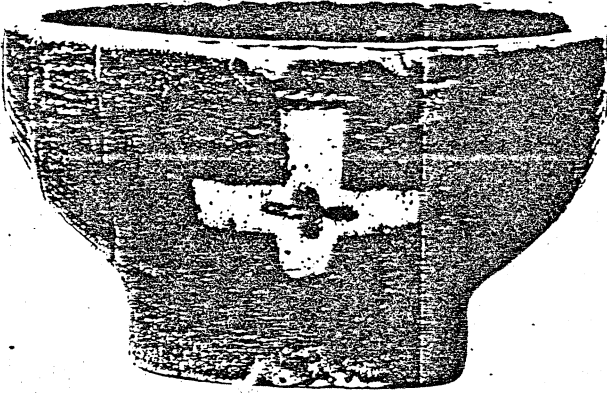


十字文水指 織成不異次通氏

29. Tea bowl decorated with cross. Height 10 cm., diameter at mouth 10 cm.; Nanban Bunka-kan, Osaka. Some of the Christian daimyo were masters of the tea ceremony, and Alessandro Valignano encouraged the Jesuit missionaries to practice the art. As a result there are still extant today various tea bowls bearing Christian insignia.

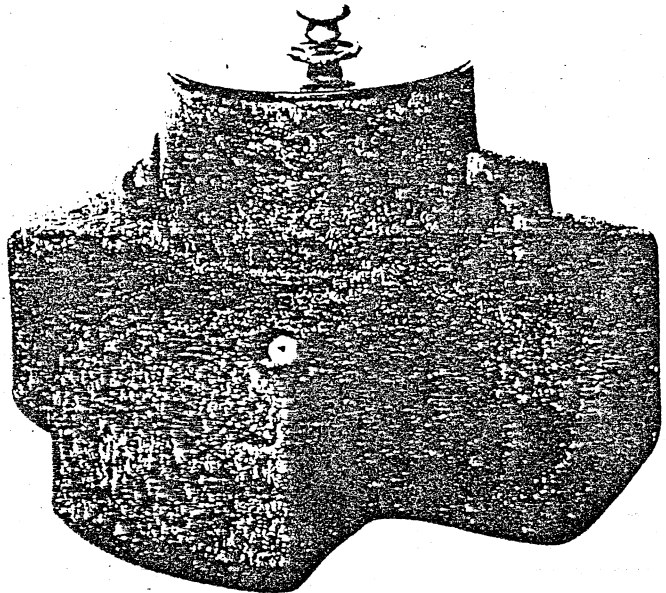


30. Bowl for sweets with cross



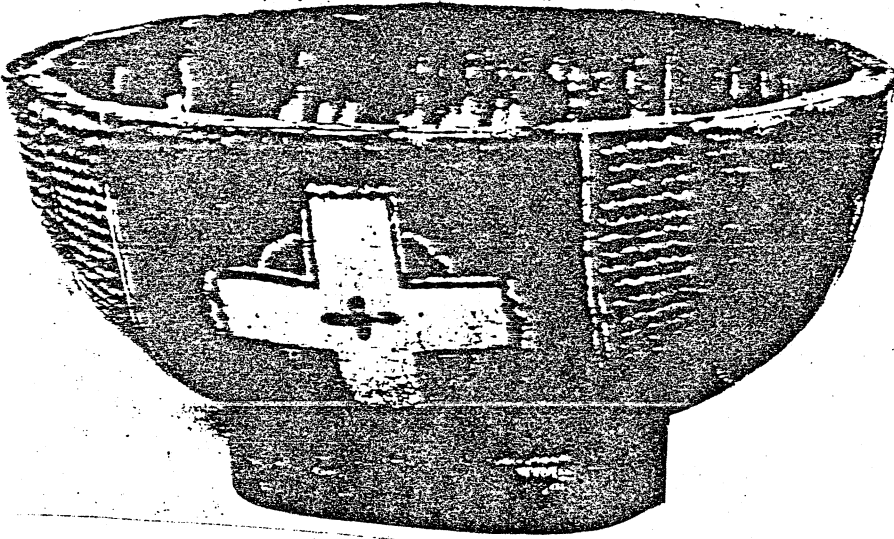
甜菓器 (模代庄傳) 針手依文字上

31. Kettle in the shape of a cross

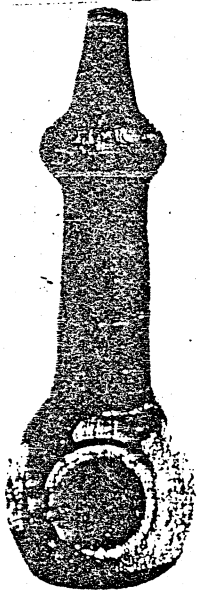


煎茶器 (自印正淨院傳) 釜字上

32. Bowl decorated with cross. Height 9.5 cm., diameter of rim 20×15.8 cm.; Nanban Bunka-kan, Osaka.



33. Western-style pipes used during meals of a formal tea ceremony



烟管 (横部插)
京極氏藏

34. Candlestick figures dressed in western clothing



(總部藏) 臺灣人模南
亞兵一號(亞兵)神

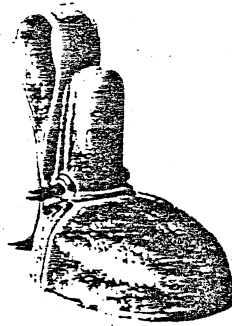


南亞人用燈 (總部藏)
軍官模(亞兵)神

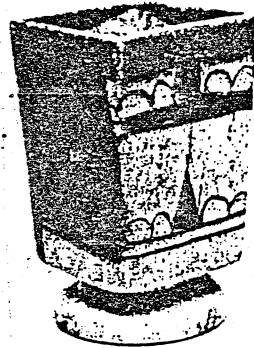




35. Incense utensil with cross



四角十字香爐(慶安三年在銘)
京都正倉院藏

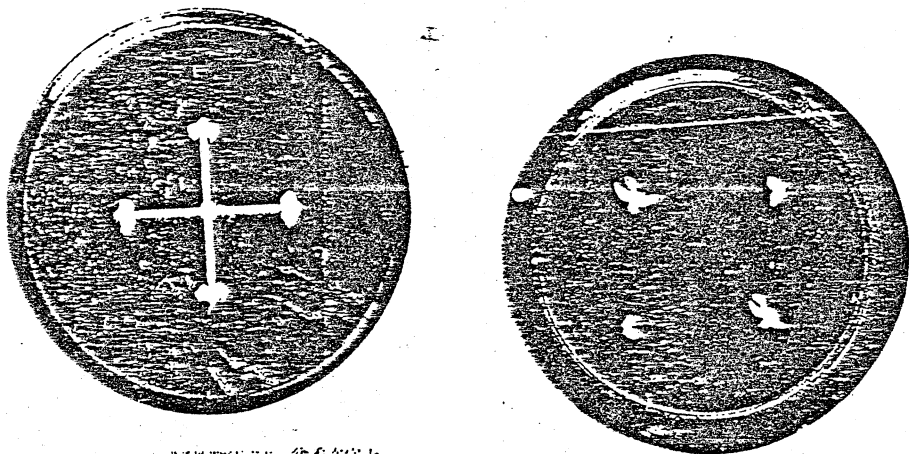


向附(極細機)
京都正倉院藏

36. Western-style table ware used in the tea ceremony

37. Candlestick. Height 24 cm.; Nanban Bunka-kan, Osaka. This amusing figure is wearing the baggy *bombacha* type of trousers, so often featured in the *Nanban* screens.

38. Incense tray with cross

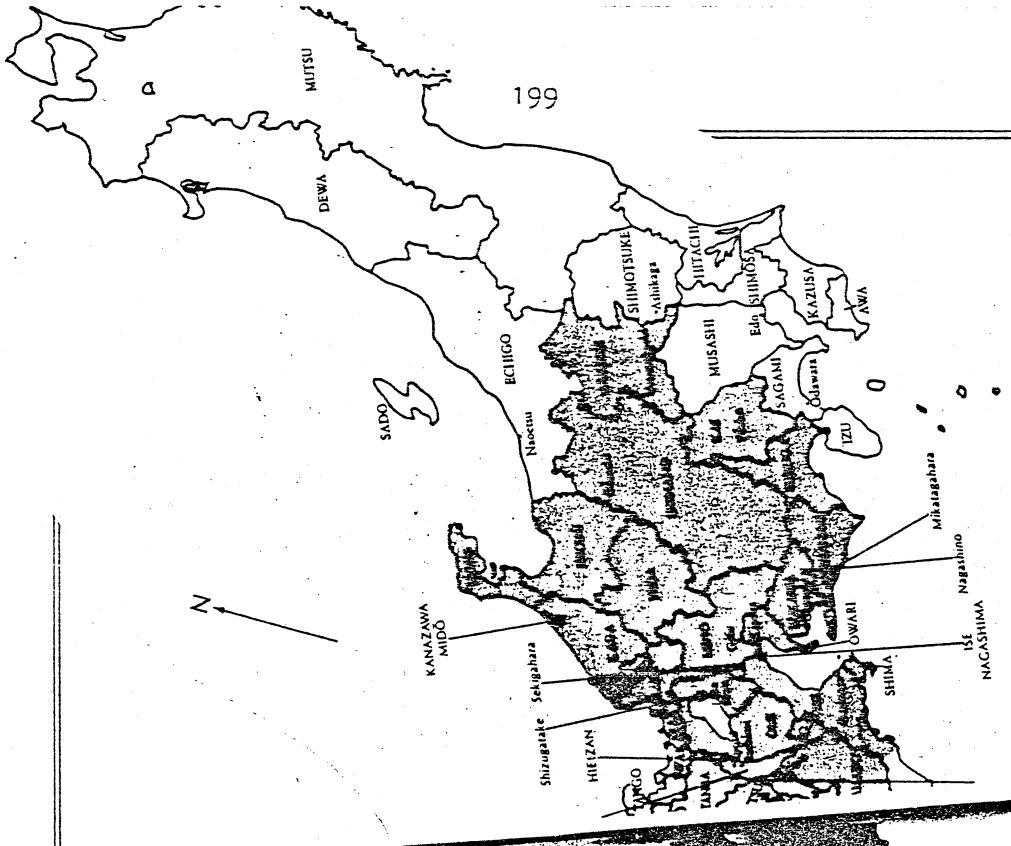


大英博物馆藏 徐存公字十

39. Kettle lid with Portuguese words



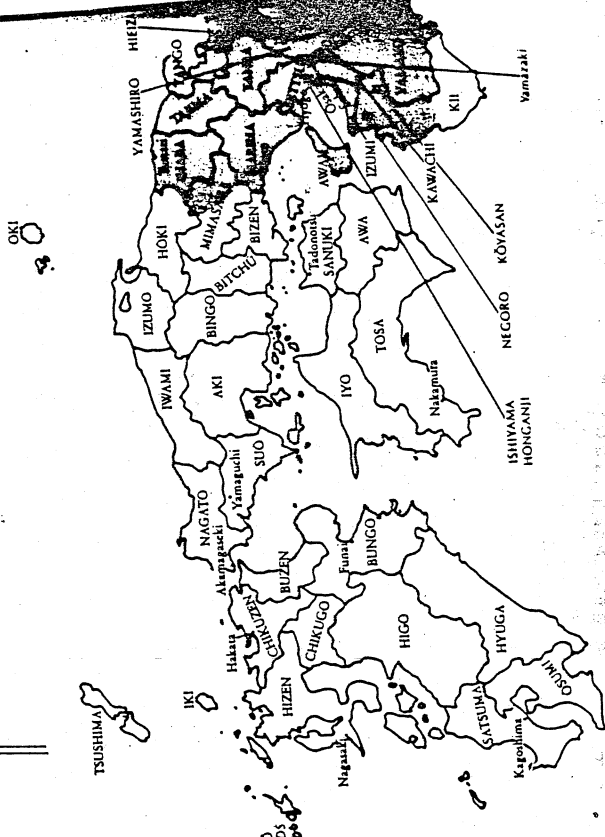
大英博物馆藏 徐存公字十



40.

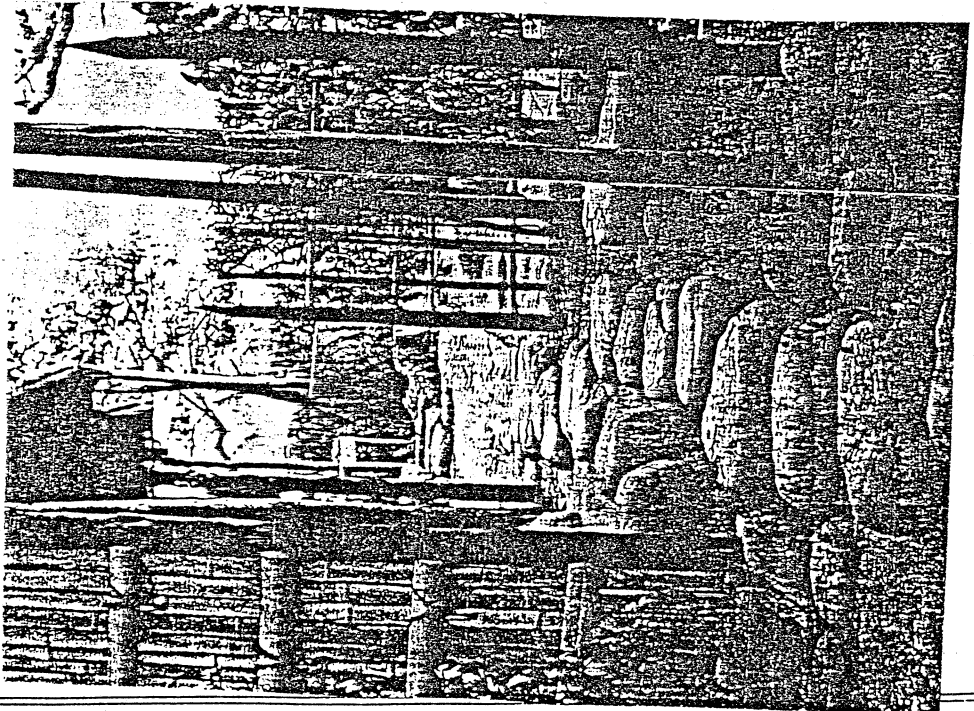
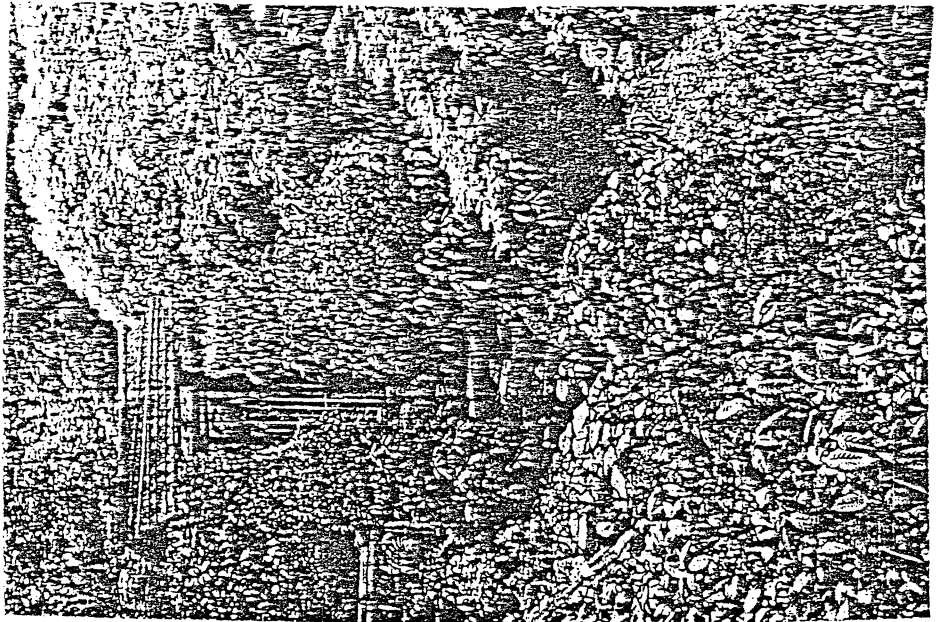
MAP OF JAPAN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- The Tenka, Oda Nobunaga's realm, as his death in 1582
- ⊕ Headquarters of major Buddhist organizations
- x Sites of major battles

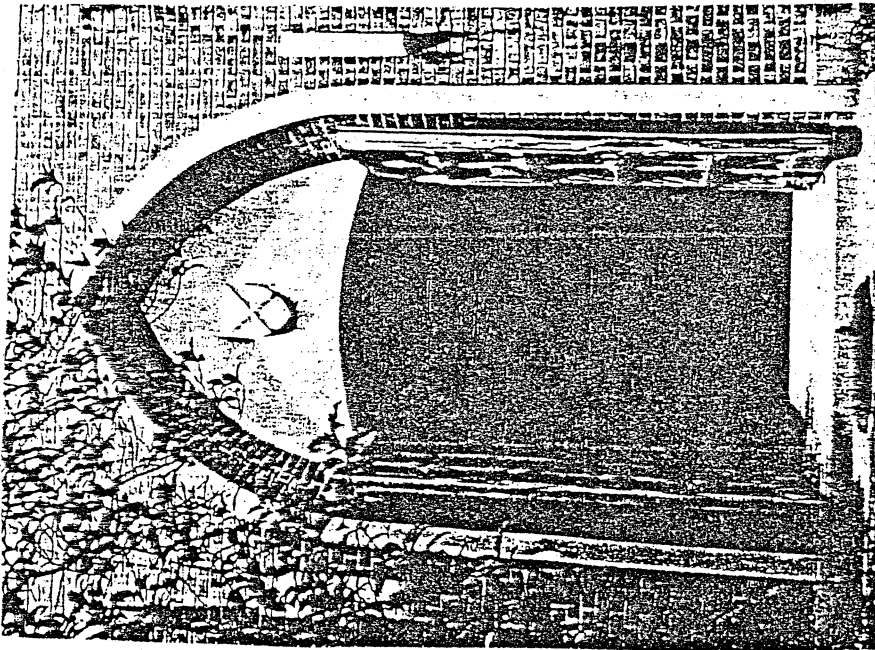
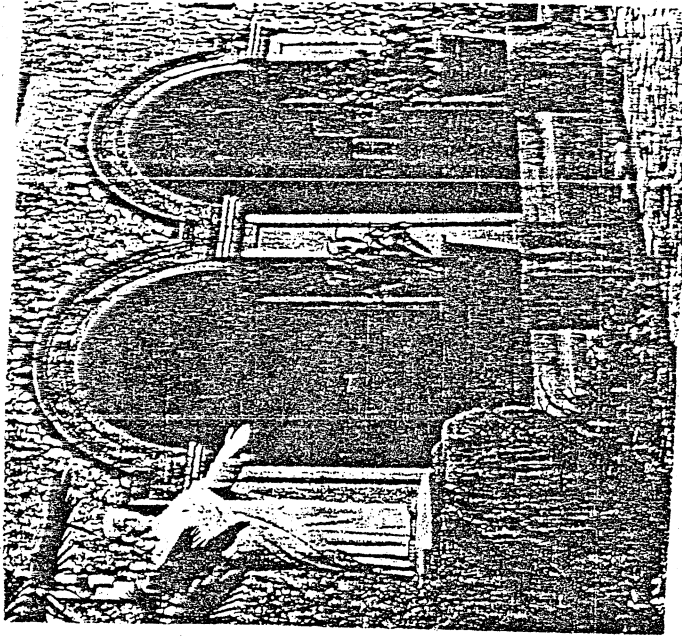


TANEGASHIMA

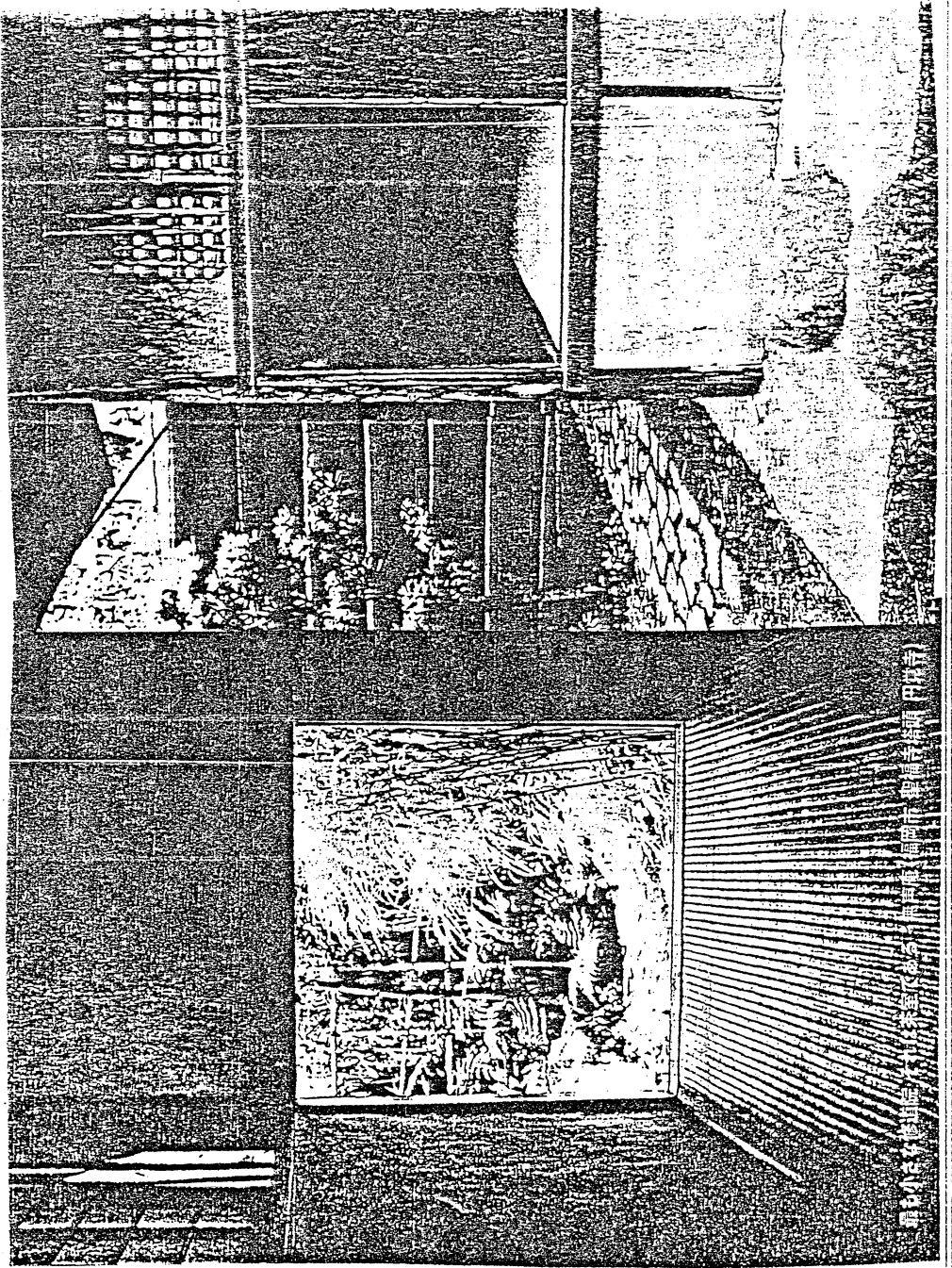
41. Roji, leading to the tearoom, and its narrow gate.



42. Entrance gate of Japanese church



43. Nijiriguchi, The narrow gate.

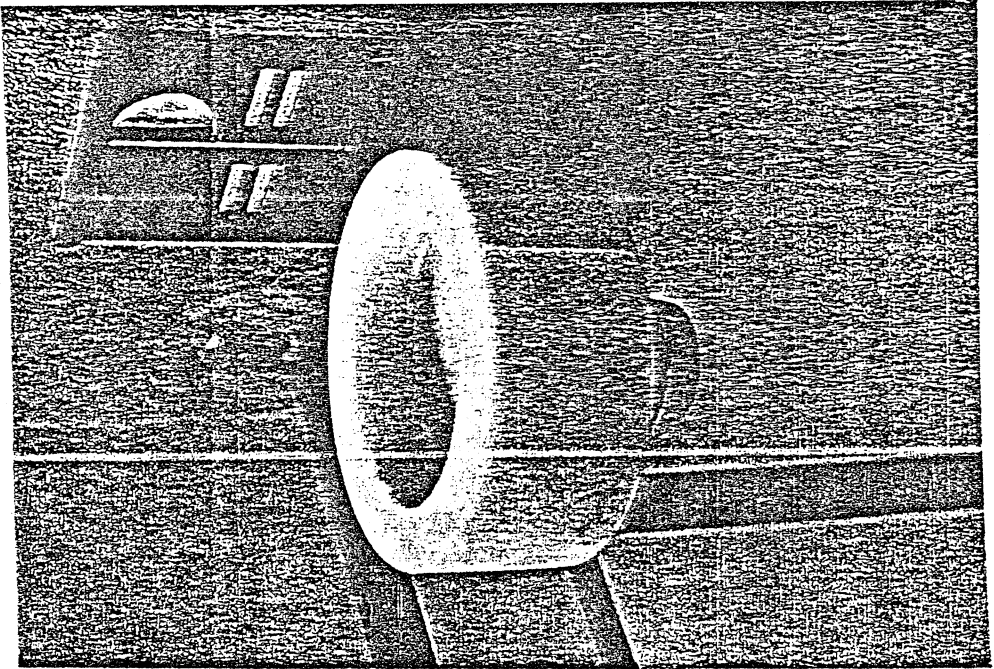


44. The Tsukubai

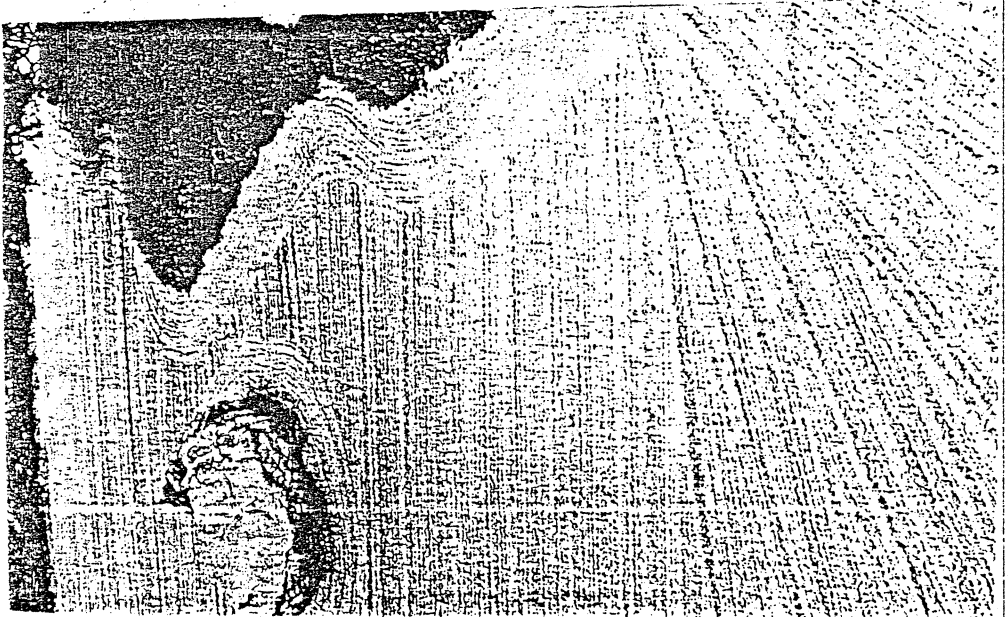


水場之石造 嵐村照(京都 阿蘇)

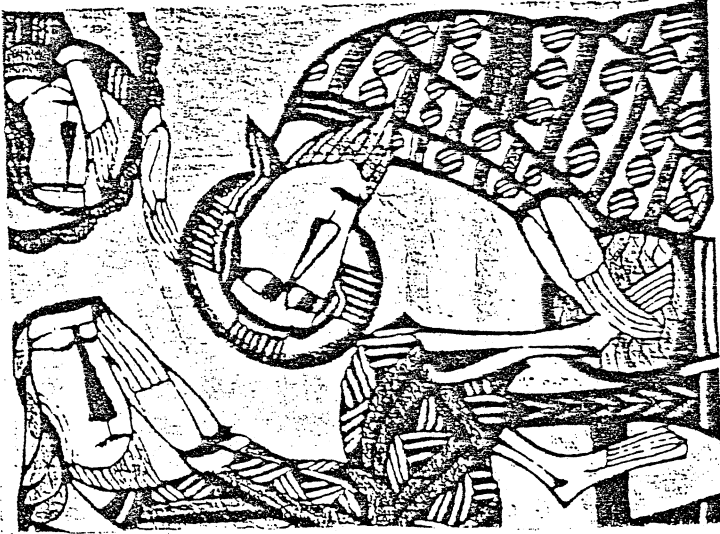
45. A vessel for Holy water in a Japanese Catholic church



46. White stone roji, The pure way

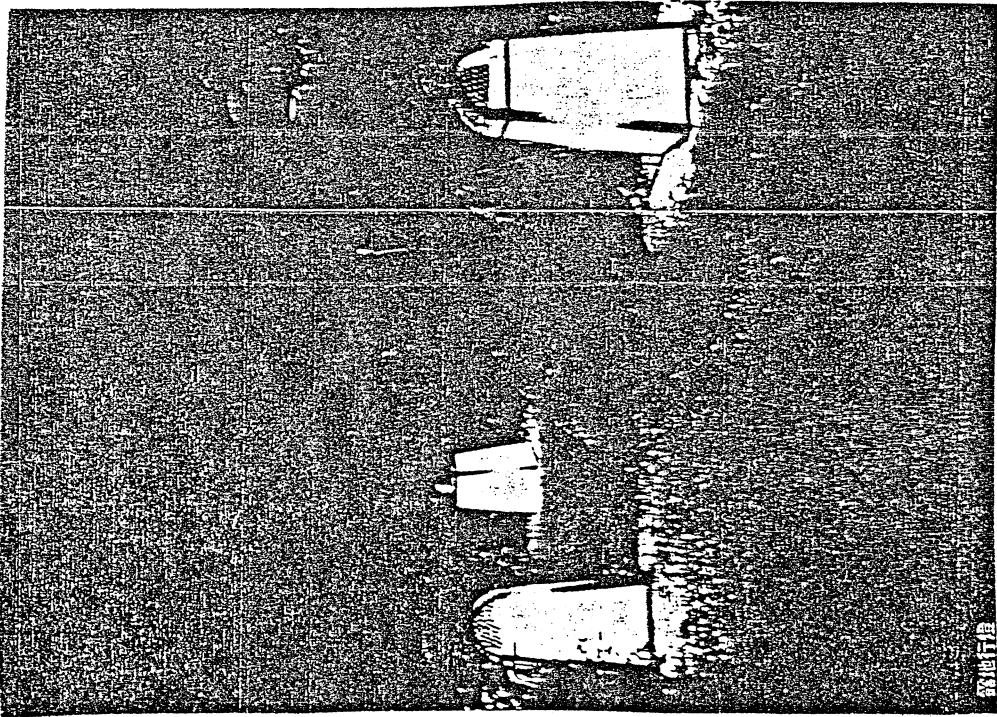


47. Christ washing the feet of his disciples.



型染版画 渡辺信雄作

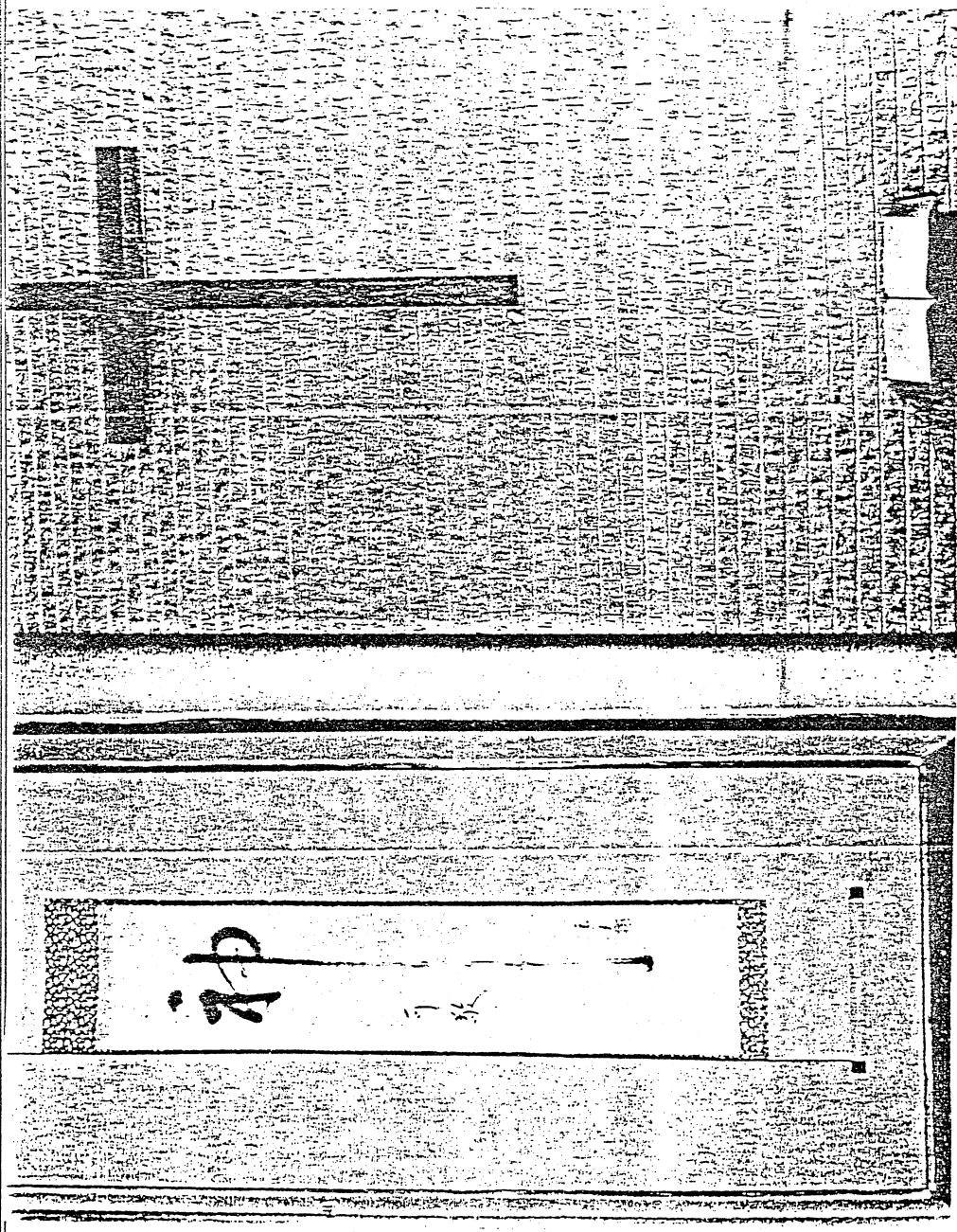
48. Lighting the way to the tearoom



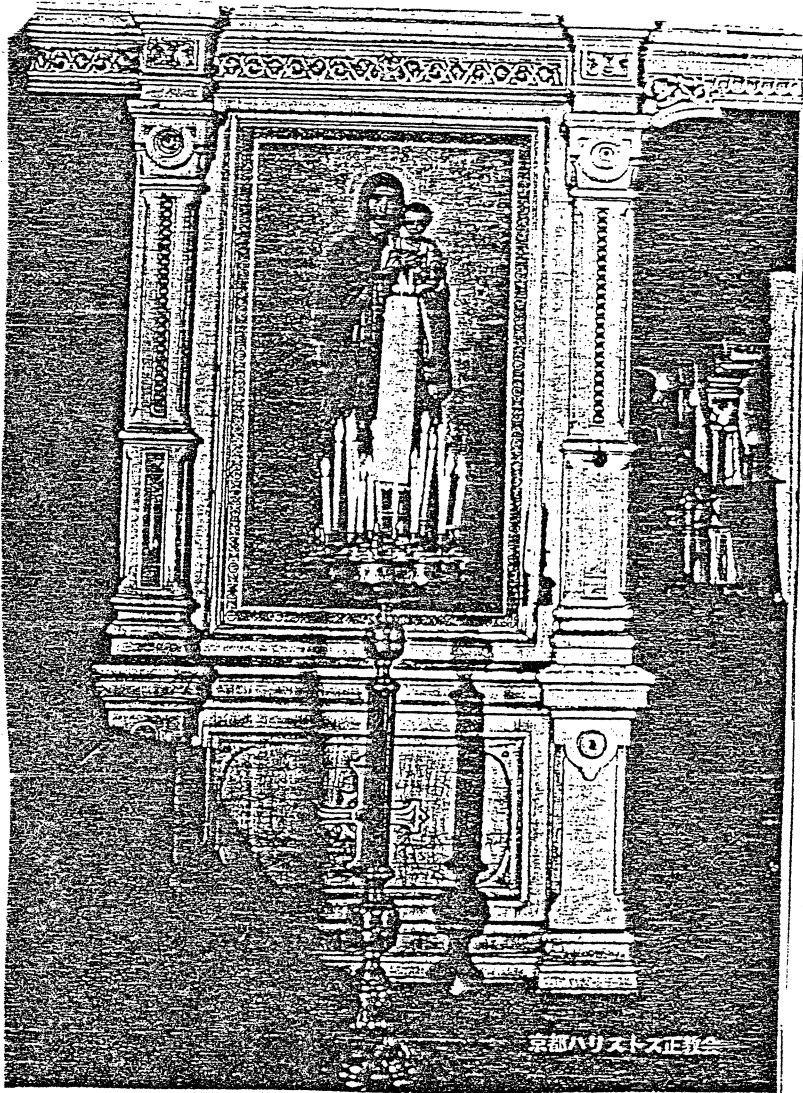
渡辺信雄作

49. Christian symbols

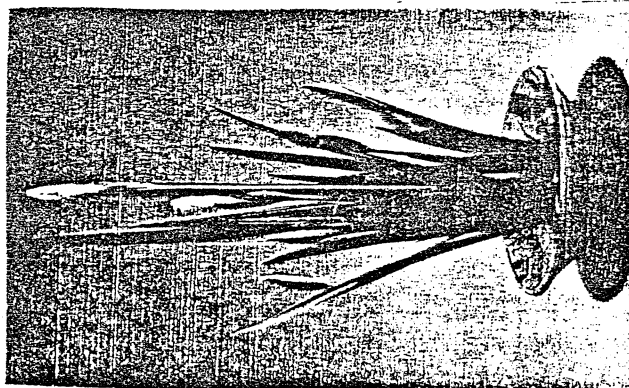
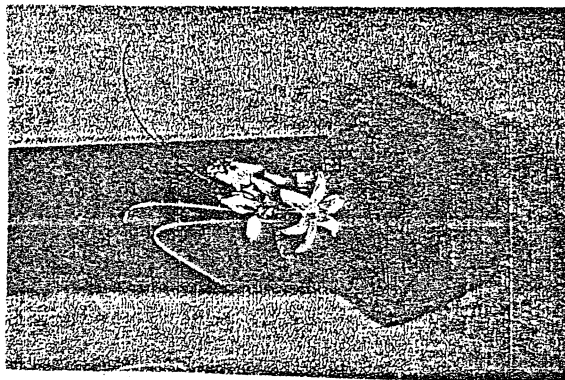
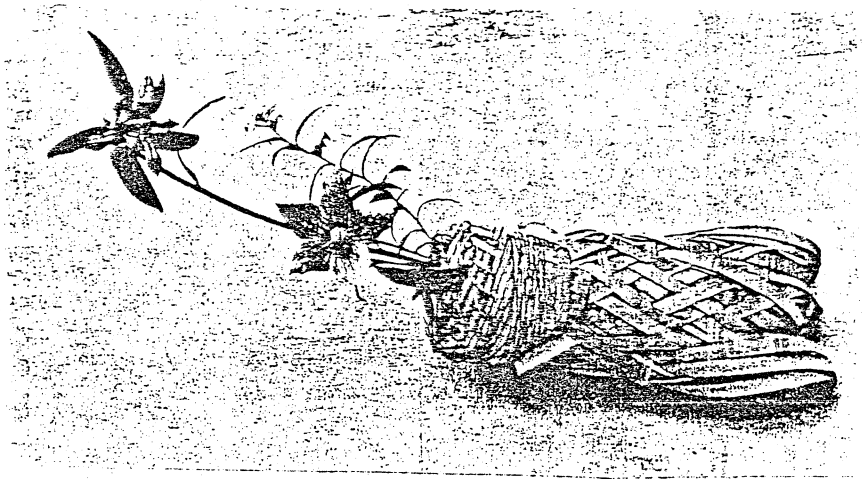
50. A hanging scrol with symbol of God in the Tokonoma
of the tearoom



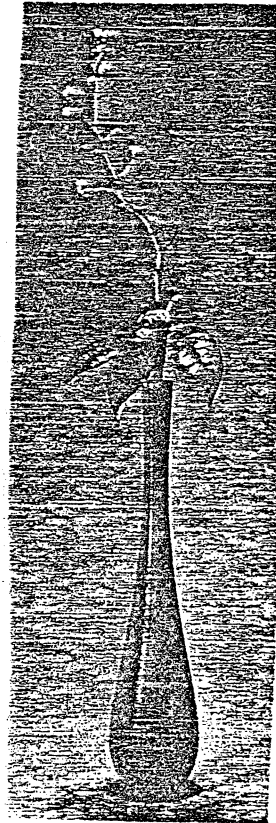
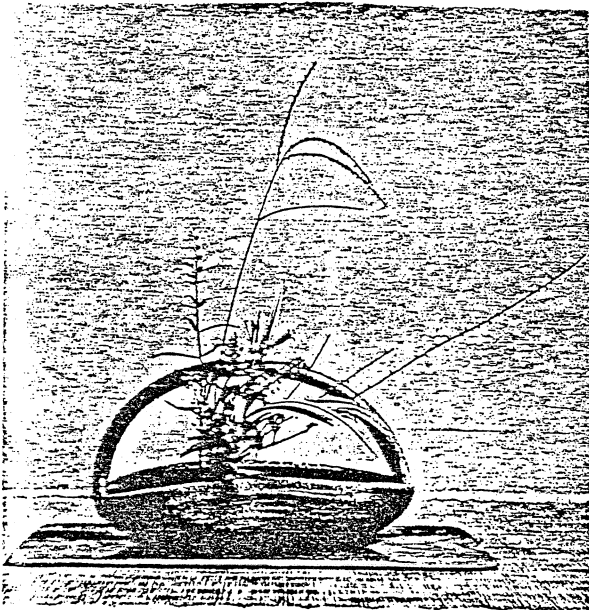
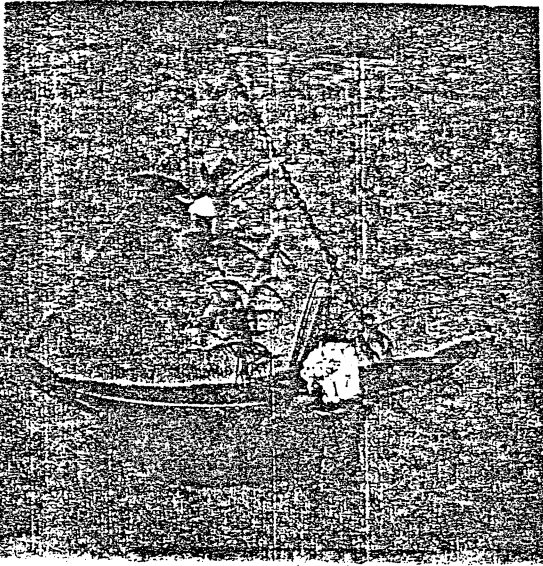
51. Candlelight in church



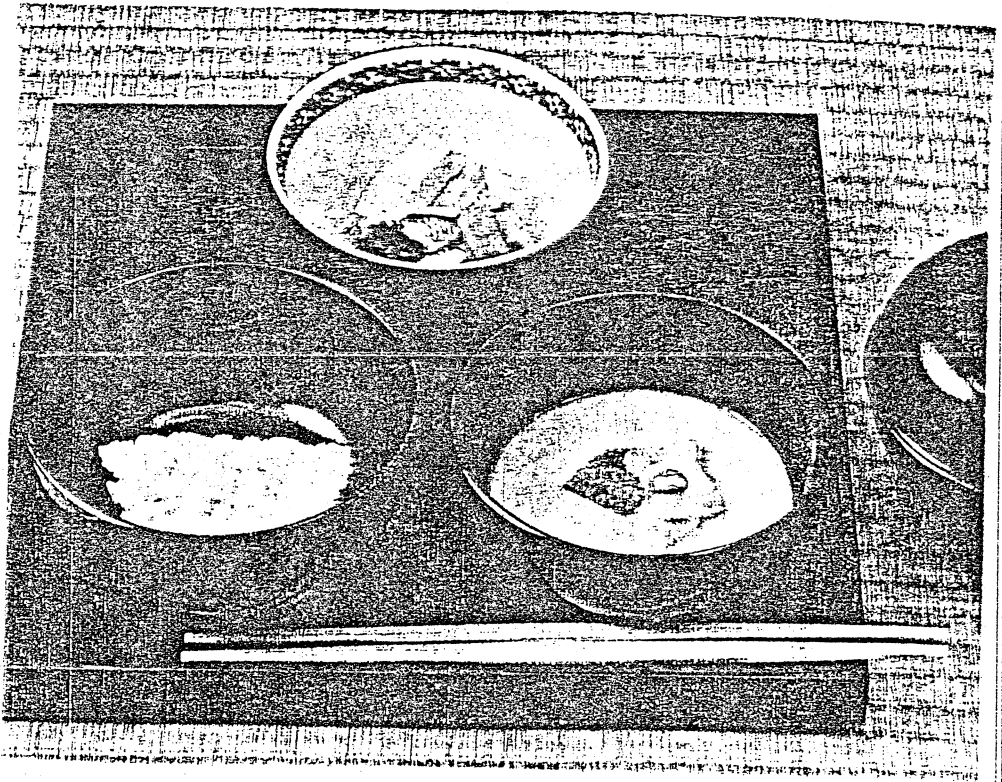
52. Flower arrangements for tea ceremony.



52 A. Flowers for tea ceremony arranged naturally as if still growing in the field.

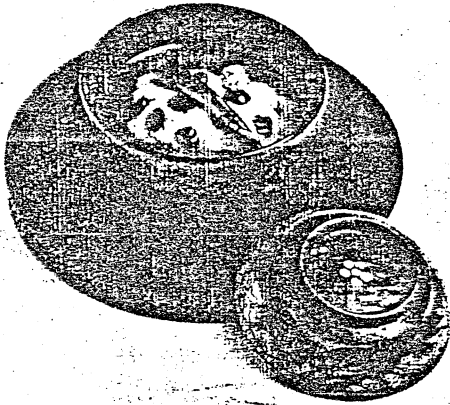


53. Meals for tea ceremony

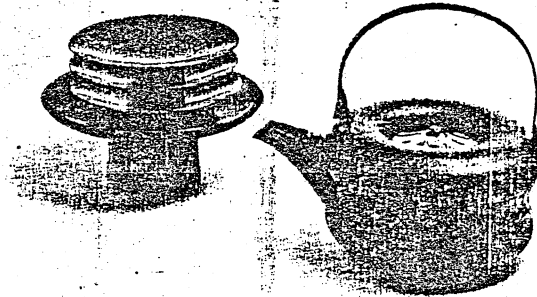


The *oshiki* set with the *meshi wan* and *shiru wan* of plain black lacquered wood, and a *mukozuke* of porcelain with decorations of underglaze blue and red enamel with designs of gold. The food in the *mukozuke* is raw sea bream with a type of seaweed. The soup is *miso shiru* with raw rice cake and gourd shavings.

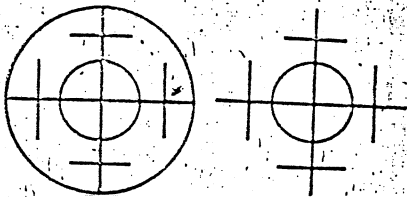
53 A. Meals for tea ceremony



The *shamori* containing the *nimono*; the covered wooden bowl with red and gold lacquered designs of clouds and bamboo. The food is a cube of a kind of sea bass covered with grated giant white radish, studded with mushroom and steamed, set in a clear soup.



An iron *kunnabe* with a design of *shippo*, and with a porcelain lid. The red lacquered wood *hikihai* are supported on a plain black *haidai*.



54. Family symbol of Nakagawa.

本政家川中るえみくに像蓋源所寺城若

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