Rapid #: -20060267

CROSS REF ID: **6176504**

LENDER: **AZS :: Main Library**

BORROWER: **HUL :: Widener Library**

TYPE:	Book Chapter
BOOK TITLE:	Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice
USER BOOK TITLE:	Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice
CHAPTER TITLE:	The Transformation of Tea Practice in Sixteenth-Century Japan
BOOK AUTHOR:	Slusser, Dale
EDITION:	
VOLUME:	
PUBLISHER:	Routledge
YEAR:	2003
PAGES:	59-80
ISBN:	9780415296878
LCCN:	
OCLC #:	
PATRON NOTES:	Thanks! EndNotes Accompanying Images/Plates Title/Verso Page(s)

Processed by RapidX: 1/5/2023 4:00:34 PM

2 The transformation of tea practice in sixteenth-century Japan

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The field of tea culture

The drinking of powdered green tea (*matcha*) became popular in the beginning of the fifteenth century as one element of opulent social gatherings held at the residences of the military elite. The Ashikaga Shogun and other high-ranking military lords, who had established Kyoto as their headquarters, did not limit the scope of their activities to politics, but soon began to display their power and riches in the cultural life of the capital as well. By the middle of the Sengoku period (1467–1568), tea had emerged within the sphere of warrior cultural pursuits as an elaborate ritual art that came to be practiced by a significant number of merchants, warriors, and noblemen over the course of the following century.

The development of tea culture is generally seen as a consonant progression toward a more spiritually profound practice, inspired by Zen Buddhism. This trend is often attributed to the "enlightened vision" of certain key figures. In contrast to the traditional interpretation, this chapter will propose an alternative thesis to explain the manner in which new aesthetic ideals developed.[1] Some studies have noted the political function of tea masters as messengers or even negotiators during the intimate atmosphere of a tea gathering and the advantages of social cohesiveness to be gained by such participation.[2] However, scholars have tended to ignore tea as a ritualized system of disciplined behavior in which the actions and beliefs of practitioners could be manipulated. In the following pages we will examine the early history of tea culture from its inception as a ritual art in the fifteenth century to its expansion in the late sixteenth century. The focus is on the complex relationships between the entrance of rich merchants into the field of tea, earlier the exclusive domain of military lords; struggles to define the legitimate practice of the art and the new modes of practice which were thus created; and, the shifting value of specific forms of capital, beginning with tea utensils and later including the ability to judge the quality of objects and skill in their ritual manipulation.

Contours of the field

During the Muromachi period (1334–1573), Kyoto's field of elite culture – which had once been the exclusive domain of the court aristocracy – expanded. Continuing a process that had begun several centuries earlier, many members of the aristocratic class were no longer able to secure the rents from their estates in the countryside. They had little choice but to offer their services as instructors in ancient art forms and ritual in exchange for financial assistance. Military leaders also supported such arts as Noh drama, which developed outside the court tradition, and carried them into the field of culture in the capital. These men hosted lavish gatherings, where participants collaborated in such social arts as linked verse (*renga*) poetry and games of object matching (*monoawase*), while enjoying food and libation amid elaborate displays of Chinese art objects. At times the drinking of bowls of tea was also included. These cultural affairs were held in specially constructed buildings, called banquet-room complexes (*kaisho*), where such architectural features as alcoves (*tokonoma*), divided shelves (*chigaidana*), and built-in writing desks (*shoin*) first appeared. Tea practitioners would later incorporate these elements in their tea room designs.

The aesthetic which dominated the decoration of these gatherings was "love for Chinese things" (*karamono-suki*). Objects such as Chinese paintings, lacquerware, ceramics, and bronze vessels were used to decorate the banquet-room complex and functioned as symbols of wealth and power. Not only the military and nobility coveted these objects. Some wealthy merchants also collected and became experts in connoisseurship. The Ashikaga shogunate gathered perhaps the most impressive collection; artifacts once part of this collection have remained some of the most highly valued pieces in Japan to the present day.

The owners of great collections of Chinese art generally entrusted the objects to the curatorship of a group of men who came to be known as the "companions" (*dōbōshū*). The term was used in the war-torn fourteenth century to refer to men who served on the battlefield by caring for the dying and dead. These individuals were characteristically members of the Ji sect of Buddhism, were of low social status, and adopted the Buddhist suffix *-ami* to their names. At the residences of the military elite the companions served in a variety of positions, from servants and clerks to curators and connoisseurs of Chinese art. The most famous of these curators are Nōami (1397–1471), Geiami (1431–1485) and Sōami (d. 1525), who are known to have been greatly respected for their knowledge of Chinese art.[3]

Curators such as the companions of the Ashikaga collection seem to have played a role in the early formation of tea ritual, in which tea was performatively prepared and served in front of the assembled guests. Among the compiled letters attributed to the priest Gen'e (1279–1350), we

find one such example of an early form of serving tea at the residence of a military lord. The assembled guests were first served sake, noodles and foods of the mountain and sea, and other delicacies before making their way to the second story of a lavishly decorated tea pavilion from which the moon could be viewed. The room had been decorated with Chinese paintings by Muqi and Zhang Sigong. Bronze vases, incense burners, tea jars, tea kettles and many other treasures were displayed on tables covered with golden brocades. The guests sat in chairs luxuriously draped with leopard skins. The host's son served sweets to the guests and then Chinese Jian ware (Japanese: *temmoku*) bowls were distributed. Next a "young man" with a kettle of hot water in his left hand and a tea whisk in his right moved from guest to guest in order of rank preparing tea. After this the guests enjoyed additional sake and later a tea judging contest (*tōcha*) was held.[4] Several other similar gatherings are recorded, such as when a Chinese embassy visited Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's (1358–1408) Kitayama residence in 1407 and when another Chinese embassy was entertained at the Muromachi compound of Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394–1441) in 1434.[5]

The servant who made the tea, quite possibly a specialist in the handling of tea wares, was thus granted a degree of interaction with the assembled elite guests. In the examples above many utensils were displayed, a minimum were used, and the actual procedures of preparing the tea itself were rather simple. By the middle of the fifteenth century, however, complex ritual tea-preparation procedures had developed centering around the use of a Chinese-made utensil stand (*daisu*).[6] These procedures were probably created by "companions" in conjunction with tea utensil merchants, influenced by rules for the handling of tea in temples as well as concepts of Chinese geomancy. Over time the tea specialist's duties came to include instructing others in the proper procedures to drink tea and handle the utensils, although it was not until late in the fifteenth century that warriors would study the ritual procedures to make tea. In this manner, tea specialists gained prestige by becoming ritualists and potentially teachers.

Shops specializing in tea utensils could be found in Kyoto by at least the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[7] By the mid-fifteenth century some merchants had gained sufficient wealth to collect the Chinese utensils needed to practice the new ritual art of tea. Merchants who concentrated on the sale of Chinese utensils seem likely to have been the first to practice the ritual, inspiring a trend among their peers. Unlike warrior leaders who enjoyed collecting tea utensils and drinking tea at banquets, these merchants prepared tea themselves in front of their guests. This important development is surely closely related to belief in the value of demonstrating ritual skill. In order to be acknowledged, the specialized knowledge that the complex ritual of tea constituted had to be demonstrated. Elite merchants did not duplicate the architectural structures or style of entertaining which were practiced by the military lords, but instead developed their

own mode of tea practice, known as the grass-hut (*sōan*) style of tea, in which they invited guests to partake of tea while manipulating the valuable objects they had collected.

The struggle for autonomy

Yamanoue Sōji (1544–1590) in his *Record of Yamanoue Sōji* [*Yamanoue Sōji ki*] (*c.* 1589) credits Murata Shukō (also read Jukō, 1421?–1502) as the founder of grass-hut tea culture, the man who most influenced the beginning of a transformation away from the warrior style of tea.[8] Modern historians have repeated this claim, although a lack of documentary evidence makes it impossible to clearly determine Shukō's activities. Nevertheless, his place in the history of tea culture is assured by his *Letter of the Heart*, which provides important evidence of the introduction of new aesthetic ideals.[9]

Shukō is said to have been born in Nara, perhaps the son of a blind biwa-player priest, and at an early age entered the Buddhist temple of Shōmyōji.[10] The very humbleness of this account suggests to many scholars its validity, yet an equally strong argument can be made that he was said to have come from a poor yet culturally talented family to make his supposed influence on tea appear more disinterested and thus authentic. Before the age of thirty Shukō left the temple and moved to Kyoto where he somehow learned tea and became a collector and connoisseur of tea utensils.[11] He may also have been a dealer in utensils, which would help to explain how he was able to obtain the costly pieces in his collection.

In *Record of Yamanoue Sōji*, it is stressed that in Kyoto Shukō studied with the famous Daitokuji priest Ikkyū (1394–1481), from whom he received a calligraphic work by the Song dynasty Chan master Yuan-wu (J. Engo) in certification of his enlightenment. Sōji also claims that Shukō was employed by Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435–1490), the eighth Ashikaga Shogun, as a specialist in ritual tea at his Higashiyama villa (presently the Ginkakuji or Silver Pavilion) through the introduction of the "companion" Nōami, who Shukō taught his new style of tea practice. Yamanoue Sōji further states that, under the influence of Ikkyū, Shukō realized the potential for tea to become a discipline of spiritual attainment and perhaps ultimately Buddhist enlightenment and was thereby inspired to develop his new style.[12]

No other extant documents substantiate these claims. It is known that Nōami died before Yoshimasa retired to his Higashiyama villa, so it is unlikely that he introduced Shukō to Ashikaga Yoshimasa. Furthermore, the name Shukō does not appear in any of the documents related to either Yoshimasa or Ikkyū. Shukō does appear in later records of Daitokuji, however, which indicates that he probably did have dealings with the temple after Ikkyū's death, if not before. In addition, references to Shukō appear in the writings of the Noh master Konparu Zenpō (1454–1520)

and also in a letter from the *renga* poetry master Sōgi (1421–1502) to the incense expert Shino Sōshin (d. 1480).[13] It is therefore fairly certain that Shukō was active in artistic circles in Kyoto at this time, although his links to powerful figures such as Yoshimasa, Ikkyū, and Nōami are suspect.

Shukō wrote *Letter of the Heart* for Furuichi Harima (1452?–1508), commonly known by his Buddhist name of Chōin. The latter entered the temple of Kōfukuji when he was 13 and succeeded his father as the leader of a group of warrior monks (*shuto*) at the age of 23. From this position he later became a minor domainal lord in the town of Furuichi outside of Nara, and is known to have been a patron of Kōfukuji temple and various artists, possibly including Shukō. During the late fifteenth century the Furuichi family was also known to have held elaborate bathing parties which included the composition of *renga* and *waka* poetry, food, sake, and the drinking of powdered green tea. It is said that Chōin requested the letter from Shukō to assist in his practice of tea; it is very similar in form to a work on poetry in Chōin's possession. In 1646 the Nara lacquer merchant who then owned the letter, Matsuya Hisashige (1566–1652), brought it to the influential tea practitioner Kobori Enshū (1574–1647) for authentication. Enshū, himself a member of the samurai class, served as tea master to the Tokugawa government and played an important role in defining tea practice in the early seventeenth century. Enshū arranged for authentication of the letter from the head priest of Daitokuji. He then had this authentication mounted together with Shūko's letter as a hanging scroll.[14]

Letter of the Heart begins by proclaiming that in following the path of tea, the greatest errors are insolence, attachment to self, and the scorning of beginners. Next, it states the need to dissolve the line between Chinese and Japanese wares. Shukō is quick to condemn those "mere beginners," however, who use such native wares as Bizen and Shigaraki, claiming to be "advanced and deep." The ideal that was promoted was the "withered (*kare*), [which] means owning splendid pieces, knowing their savor fully, and from the heart's ground advancing and deepening so that all after becomes chill (*hie*) and lean (*yase*)." The letter concludes with another admonition to avoid insolence and the need for a "painful self-awareness."[15]

Although framed in statements expressing the sincerity and spiritual purity needed to practice the "way" (common injunctions in such writings), the force of the letter is an appeal to a new aesthetic that is expressed by combining Chinese and Japanese wares: the "withered," "chill" and "lean." Although this was new to tea culture, contemporaneous records show that such ideals were commonly expressed in the literary arts. "Chill" and "lean" were originally drawn from Chinese literature, and all three terms appear in works on *waka*, *renga*, and Noh. The mixture of Japanese and Chinese was also similar to the popular *wakan* form of poetry that alternated verses in Japanese and Chinese. Reference

to tea as a "way" (*michi*) was adopted from the literary world as well. The concept of "the way" had developed in poetry from the thirteenth century and had gradually broadened to include diverse activities ranging from singing popular ditties to tree climbing.[16]

Letter of the Heart represents the interests of a new group of tea practitioners, mostly wealthy merchants, struggling to define a new mode of tea practice. The merchants' wealth and corresponding power made it possible for them to practice tea; now they were attempting to change the contour of the field to express their social position and interests. The nature of the field, however, was such that only a limited number of changes could be made. The merchants had to choose a position within the field that would appear reasonable in the eyes of their contemporaries while imposing change on all practitioners.[17] Mixing a few pieces of native pottery into the ritual under the respected aesthetic ideal of the "chill" and "withered" satisfied both requirements. By relating tea practice to other established art forms through the use of this ideal, tea – as well as those merchants who practiced it – gained in prestige. Other records verify that it was indeed at this time that domestically produced ceramics began to be used in tea culture.[18] *Letter of the Heart* can thus be read as a statement of the merchants' strategy to establish themselves within the field.

This strategy had other advantages as well. In contrast to the aesthetic of banquet-room tea, in which exclusively Chinese wares were used, *Letter of the Heart* both promotes a new aesthetic and attempts to limit who can claim to understand it. The letter is quick to condemn "mere beginners" who try to use native pieces, before it has even elaborated on what mixing Chinese and Japanese wares was meant to express. The implication is that before one can use Japanese objects they must first own splendid pieces (*yoki dogu*) and savor them fully. The struggle to impose the legitimate definition of tea practice was also a struggle to define who could practice tea and what utensils they could use. The rarefaction of entry requirements served to increase the prestige of the art as well as the stakes involved. In promoting this new ideal, elite merchant tea practitioners were also trying to monopolize the power to consecrate objects for themselves.

Chinese utensils, characterized by brilliant glazes, elegant forms, and technical perfection, were easily distinguished from Japanese wares in this period. The appreciation of Chinese utensils in general took no great training, although considerable skill was needed to distinguish between superior and inferior pieces. The relationship of these rare objects to wealth and power was transparent. In contrast to this, unglazed Shigaraki and Bizen ceramics were made in Japan and available for only a fraction of the cost of Chinese pieces. Merchant tea practitioners claimed that what was required to use and appreciate these native wares was an ability to evaluate them according to acknowledged canons, so-called "good taste," not wealth or power.

For native wares to be appreciated, a belief in both their symbolic and

economic value was needed; tea as a ritual provided an ideal atmosphere. The connoisseurship of utensils had always been central to tea practice, and the admiration and examination of art objects continued to play a central role in tea gatherings. Japanese utensils were used together with acknowledged Chinese treasures, thus gaining validation through the association of juxtaposition. The merchants now claimed authority to choose which objects could be used; the ritual itself insured the appreciation of Japanese utensils. This created enormous potential for merchant tea practitioners to "discover" native wares, create a belief in their value, and resell them at a vast profit.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century the new grass-hut mode of tea culture was practiced primarily by rich merchants, and these men formed a group which functioned in many ways like an elite club. Entrance into the practice of grass-hut tea was limited to those few who could obtain the necessary ritual objects, while more importantly, unlike banquet-room tea, full participation required that the movements of the ritual itself be learned so that the rite could be performed before others. Tea practice was not a body of writings to be discussed, but a set of movements of the body to be practiced. All of the seemingly small and insignificant actions of the practice combine to erase their artificial production and produce a misrecognition that allows a naïve, pre-reflexive compliance to be imposed. The imposition of a definition of the legitimate mode of tea practice requiring proficiency in the procedures granted experts control over the bodies and thus the beliefs of all who practiced the art. The appeal to a higher aesthetic ideal was in fact a struggle by elite merchant tea practitioners to employ a potent means of social control.[19]

The tea practice of the dominant military elite, in which Chinese utensils were displayed, reinforced a hierarchical definition of society in which the warrior leaders were distinguished by their wealth and power. In response, the merchants created grass-hut tea culture by positing the ideal of the "chill" and "withered." To gain a position of dominance within the field of grass-hut tea culture, proficiency in expressing this ideal using a limited number of Chinese utensils together with Japanese wares had to be demonstrated. The merchants, by presenting what they claimed was a purer and more profound form of tea culture, negated the style of using exclusively Chinese utensils and placed their "grass-hut" mode above that of the military lords. At the same time, the merchants arrogated to themselves the power to assign value, both real and symbolic, to simple native objects and tried to limit the manipulation of these objects as symbols of power. The practice of grass-hut tea was removed from the exclusive control of elite warriors, so that relationships of domination within grass-hut tea culture no longer strictly paralleled those outside the field but instead followed a relatively autonomous principle of hierarchization; the practice as such constituted a counter-ideology.[20]

Practice redefined

What were the actual changes that merchant tea practitioners made? In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, rather than the banquet-room style of architecture popular with military lords, merchant tea practitioners built six or four-and-one-half *tatami* mat sized rooms (approximately 9 by 12 and 9 by 9 feet respectively) of simple construction, often set alone in a garden at the back of the house.[21] This style of architecture was borrowed from practices popular in the larger cultural field of the period.

One example is the structure that Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), an influential court poet, constructed in 1502. Sanjōnishi purchased an existing six-mat building, had it moved to his estate, and rebuilt it as a four-and-a-half mat structure. His interest in the project is made clear by the ten entries in his diary beginning 6/2/1502, when he sent someone to inspect the building, through 8/16 when he celebrated the completion of the project by drinking sake in the new hut, called the "Corner Hut."[22] The building had such architectural features as a raised display area with a wooden floor (*oshi ita*), shelves, walls covered in paper or plaster, and a *tatami* mat-covered floor.[23] His diary suggests that the cottage was used for gatherings to compose poetry, and at least once for the display of a ceramic object he had recently acquired, an event which was attended by important members of the court.[24]

Evidence of a similar structure can be found in the diary of the *renga* poetry master Sōchō (1448–1532), where it is recorded on 8/15/1526 that Sōju (also read Sōshu) had recently built a four-and-a-half mat room and a six-mat room near some tall pine and cryptomeria trees at his home in the southern part of Kyoto.[25] Sōju was the adopted son of Shukō, and his rooms are also described in a work by the Middle Counselor Washinoo Takayasu (1485–1533) where he wrote, "Sōju's tea room is splendid. The atmosphere of a mountain dwelling it creates is most impressive. Truly, it is a hermitage within the city."[26]

It is noteworthy that not only merchants but also warlords and noblemen sponsored the construction of small, intimate gathering spaces. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, in their study of high–low oppositions in Britain from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries, point out:

> Each "site of assembly" constitutes a nucleus of material and cultural conditions which regulate what may and may not be said, who may speak, how people may communicate and what importance must be given to what is said. An utterance is legitimated or disregarded according to its place of production and so, in large part, the history of political struggle has been the history of the attempts made to control significant sites of assembly and spaces of discourse.[27]

In these small cottages within the city, noblemen, warriors, priests, and merchants met together to share in various cultural activities. As tea prac-

titioners appropriated these structures, they were indeed taking "control of significant sites" where, through the ritualized procedures of tea culture, they could influence the discourse, bodies, and beliefs of elite participants.[28]

Many military lords and wealthy merchants sought in tea culture the marks of civility and culture. These Japanese counterparts to the "Booby Squires" of Britain were in part drawn to tea by the relative ease of entry into the field. Compared to the vast knowledge of canonical writings required for proficiency in the highly regarded art of poetry, wealth was all that was needed to purchase utensils and practice tea. As competence in the actual procedures of tea came to be required in grass-hut tea culture, however, practitioners were forced to make a considerable investment of time. In the small rooms for tea there were undoubtedly concepts introduced which could not be expressed in a larger more public forum. Practitioners selected and arranged less utensils in the new, small tea rooms, for example, one or two scrolls, an incense container, a flower vase, and perhaps a writing set. Practitioners still used Chinese utensils, but they preferred objects of less refined beauty, such as ash-glaze Jian ware bowls and celadon pieces with a cloudy glaze. Domestically produced flower containers and waste water jars were increasingly used in place of Chinese ones, though a substantial collection of Chinese utensils was still required.[29] Overall a quality of restraint came to be seen as elements not strictly related to the drinking of tea were removed.

Shifting boundaries

Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, the field of tea culture continued to turn toward greater simplicity. Tea practitioners further reduced the number of objects displayed and increasingly replaced Chinese utensils with Japanese as well as rare Korean and South Asian ones.[30] At the same time the popularity of tea continued to spread throughout Japan, apparent in the *Record of Tennojiya*, a diary of tea gatherings hosted and attended by four consecutive generations of the Tsuda merchant family of Sakai. In the first part of the work, written by Tsuda Sōtatsu (1504–1566) between 11/1548 and his death in 1566, the popularity of the tea culture is apparent. Appearing in the diary are merchants from the cities of Sakai, Kyoto, Osaka, and Hakata, as well as from the prefectures of Yamato (present day Nara prefecture), Harima (Hyōgo), Ōmi (Shiga), Ise (Mie), Echizen (Fukui), Mino (Gifu), Awa (Tokushima), Suruga, Hizen (Nagasaki), Bungo (Oita), and Satsuma. Sōtatsu also shared tea with such domainal lords as Hatakeyama Takamasa (d. 1576) from Kawachi, Ikeda Nobuteru (1536–1584) from Settsu, Saitō Toshimasa (1494–1556) from Mino, Matsunaga Hisahide (1510–1577) from Yamato, and the powerful lord Miyoshi Chōkei (1523–1564) who controlled parts of Awa, Settsu, Kawachi, and Izumi (modern Osaka prefecture). In 1559 even such

high ranking courtiers as the former Chief Minister of State (*Kanpaku*) Kujō Tamemichi and former Major Counselor (*Dainagon*) Kuga Harumichi visited Sōtatsu's home for tea.[31] Merchants, warriors, and even noblemen built teahouse complexes and met regularly to perform tea. Although the earlier style continued to be practiced, by the mid-sixteenth century grass-hut tea had become firmly established as the predominant mode.

Modern scholars of tea have frequently pointed to the mixing of merchants and warriors at tea gatherings as evidence of the ideal of equality in the new cultural matrix of grass-hut tea. It should be noted, however, that a large number of the merchants of port cities like Sakai had once been lower-level samurai who were assigned by their lords to handle shipments for the fief. Over time these men developed private trading businesses and became independent merchants. Many domainal lords had also been lower-ranking members of the samurai class who, when their commanders had moved to Kyoto, had stayed behind in the country and developed local ties that allowed them to grasp the reins of power.[32] Although the two groups were quite different in regard to military strength, the similarity of backgrounds contributed to an ease of social intercourse. It was not, in other words, as dramatic a mixing as is sometimes conveyed.

Sitting in the same small room and sharing tea culture would have naturally led to a certain degree of camaraderie, although it is not possible to know exactly how "equally" individuals were treated. It can be argued that for elite merchants, sharing the practice of grass-hut tea culture with military lords and noblemen provided the opportunity to try to appear to be their social equals. We must not, however, confuse equality in the elite field of tea with the modern ideal of egalitarianism. Above all, ritual has the power of "instituting a lasting difference between those to whom the rite pertains and those to whom it does not pertain."[33]

Collecting power and ritualizing legitimacy

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, many domainal lords were successful in consolidating their territory into larger holdings. This was particularly true in the case of Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), who brought relative political stability to the area around Kyoto and Sakai. This had a profound effect on many aspects of Japanese culture, including tea. After gaining military control, Nobunaga continued to strengthen his position by other means. One of his techniques was to arrogate the semblance of legitimacy through association with the emperor and Shogun, two traditional sources of authority.[34] His collection of famous tea objects, particularly those that had once been in the Ashikaga collection, provided one source for this association.

When Nobunaga occupied Kyoto in 9/1568, Matsunaga Hisahide submitted to Nobunaga and presented him with a famed eggplant-shaped tea

caddy. This Chinese object was purported to have been owned by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408), and subsequently purchased from the Shogun's collection by Shukō for the price of ninety-nine *kan*.[35] The name of this piece, "Tsukumo" was written with the characters for ninety-nine (*kyūjūkyū*), while the reading was taken from a poem in the famous *Tales of Ise*.[36] The Asakura warrior family later purchased the caddy for 500 *kan*. Next the Kosode merchant family bought it for 1,000 *kan*. It then entered Matsunaga's collection and finally Nobunaga's.[37] In a similar example, the Sakai merchant and tea practitioner Imai Sōkyū (1520–1593) visited Nobunaga in the capital and presented him with two famous tea utensils: a tea leaf storage jar named *Matsushima*, which had once been in the Ashikaga collection; and an eggplant tea caddy ostensibly once owned by Takeno Jōō.[38] This pattern of presenting famous objects to Nobunaga would be repeated many times in the following years, as Nobunaga applied his considerable skill in the manipulation of symbols of power to the field of tea culture.

Although Nobunaga seems to have had little interest in tea before entering Kyoto, he quickly realized the potential uses of the art. In 1569 he declared that he would begin collecting Chinese utensils and famous objects, as he had no lack of precious metals or rice. This is known as his "famous-utensil hunt" (*meibutsu-gari*).[39] In Kyoto he confiscated several famous objects from merchants, warriors, and temples, including a tea caddy named "Hatsuhana" (literally "first flowers," which refers to plum blossoms), formerly in the Ashikaga collection.[40] In 1570 he extended the hunt to Sakai, where he obtained four other famed pieces.[41] In addition, Nobunaga continued to add to his collection by confiscating utensils from defeated enemies as well as obtaining unsolicited gifts from individuals who sought his favor.[42]

After being "presented" with the requested utensil, Nobunaga customarily paid the owner what was considered to be a fair price for the piece. Records indicate how one such exchange, in which confiscation was disguised as a gift through the use of middlemen, took place. At midday on 12/20/1574, Tsuda Sōgyū (d. 1591) invited Imai Sōkyū to tea. His real purpose was to show Sōkyū a letter bearing Nobunaga's vermilion seal requesting a tea bowl named "Matsumoto," named after its former owner, the mid-Muromachi period merchant Matsumoto Shuhō. It was in the collection of Sumiyoshiya Sōmu (1538–1603). The two men discussed how to obtain the "gift" and decided on a price of five thousand *kan*, a considerable sum. Sōgyū borrowed the money from two other merchant families, received the bowl from Sōmu and then presented it to Nobunaga.[43] Merchants such as Sōgyū who were involved in Nobunaga's tea practice and utensil collecting also played major roles in outfitting his troops with supplies. Serving Nobunaga undoubtedly provided merchant tea practitioners with ample opportunities for profit, both symbolic and economic.

Nobunaga not only gathered famous utensils but also gave them away,

upon occasion even returning them to their original owners. This movement of valued tea utensils through sometimes circular consecration cycles of gift giving provided another means, at times more expedient than military force, for Nobunaga to exercise control through a form of "generosity" that cultivated both dependency and indebtedness.[44] The eggplant-shaped tea caddy once owned by Jōō is a good example. As mentioned above, Imai Sōkyū initially presented Nobunaga with the caddy. Nobunaga later returned the caddy to Sōkyū, who then, after Nobunaga's death, presented it to Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598). Hideyoshi later returned it to Sōkyū, and his descendants eventually presented the tea caddy to Tokugawa Iemitsu (1603–1651). Likewise, a round tea caddy once owned by Shukō was presented to Nobunaga, who later returned it to its earlier owner, Tsuda Sōgyū.[45]

Nobunaga also used tea utensils to control members of his own status group. He is known, for example, to have rewarded victorious generals with gifts of famous objects. He is also thought to have decided who among his warrior forces was allowed to host formal tea gatherings, as stated in a letter in which Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) expresses the appreciation he felt for receiving this honor from Nobunaga in 1582.[46]

Changing ideals and preserving autonomy

Nobunaga's vast collection of tea utensils and his political manipulation of practitioners threatened the influential position of merchant followers of grass-hut tea. He and other powerful domainal lords created the largest collections of their day, in the process limiting the use of collected objects by others. Although Nobunaga did not own all of the famed pieces, he had made it clear that he could obtain virtually any piece he wanted. Famed utensils still functioned as symbols of power, yet the extensive collections that Nobunaga and his like amassed greatly reduced their value as symbolic capital. Tea practitioners thus had to reformulate the relative value of specific forms of capital, which they did through the creation of the *wabi*, or rustic, mode of tea practice. In tea culture the *wabi* ideal was expressed through the use of only a few Chinese utensils contrasted with primarily Japanese wares: an aesthetic that again had been borrowed from the literary field.[47] Practitioners of the *wabi* mode emphasized the simple and the quotidian, using rustic tea rooms as small as only two *tatami* mats (approximately 6 by 6 feet) and placing tea utensils directly on the mats rather than on stands. A new mode of practice was created in which the quantity and importance of famed utensils were further decreased, effectively devaluing the capital that the military lords were able to control. Using this ideal, merchant tea practitioners could restore their share of symbolic capital, stressing that "less is more" and thereby making a virtue of necessity.

Taian, an extant two-mat room in Yamazaki said to have been designed

by Rikyū and built around 1582, is the most famous example of a tea room in the *wabi* style. In addition to its size, other significant features include a smaller alcove, fewer windows so that the interior is darker than earlier tea rooms, and a special crouching entrance (*nijiriguchi*) that forces guests to bow down to enter the room.[48] Hideyoshi is believed to have had five tea rooms at his Osaka Castle, which he occupied in 1583. One of these was two mats in size. Rikyū reportedly had a room of only one-and-one-half mats, the smallest known example.[49]

The institution of the use of smaller tea rooms was a major development in tea culture. Participants in these new rooms were in such close physical proximity that feudal hierarchies could not have been strictly upheld. The host would invite one, two, or possibly three guests to his small rustic tea room, where in the dim light of the paper lattice windows he would serve a meal and ritually prepare tea. Within these spaces relationships of relative equality between the participants were objectified, thus divisions and hierarchies broke down, and the result demonstrated an alternative to the dominant hierarchy of the military rulers.

The structuring power of the field

In 1576, Oda Nobunaga rewarded his vassal Toyotomi Hideyoshi for his military accomplishments with a scroll painted by the admired Chinese artist Muqi. In 1577, Nobunaga presented Hideyoshi with a well-known kettle from his own collection. In this same period, Hideyoshi began to have dealings with tea practitioners, the beginning of his studies in tea culture. When Nobunaga was assassinated in 1582, Hideyoshi emerged as the new leader of Nobunaga's vassals. He thereby gained control of Nobunaga's territorial holdings, as well as his collection of tea utensils. In his tea practice we find evidence of the multi-layered structures of the field of tea culture.

Hideyoshi's first known tea gathering occurred on 10/15/1578, while he laid siege to the castle of Bessho Nagaharu (1558–1580) in Harima (modern Hyōgo prefecture). The Sakai tea practitioner Tsuda Sōgyū assisted him, and they used utensils such as the Muqi scroll and kettle he had received from Nobunaga, a handled bucket for a water jar, the "Forty Koku" tea leaf jar,[50] a Jian ware tea bowl for thick tea, and a style of Korean tea bowl said to be in Shukō's taste for thin tea.[51] Pieces were added to Hideyoshi's collection on 12/22/1581 at Azuchi Castle when he was granted twelve famous utensils from Nobunaga's collection, and again on the twenty-seventh when he received eight additional pieces.[52]

In 1583, the year after Nobunaga's assassination, Hideyoshi held an exhibition of utensils at his castle in Osaka. Rather than showing exclusively his own treasures in the style of Nobunaga, he invited five merchant tea practitioners, including Sen Rikyū and Tsuda Sogyū, to display pieces from their own collections. Of the approximately forty utensils used, the majority were Hideyoshi's.[53]

On 3/8/1585 Hideyoshi held a tea on an unprecedented scale and put his collection on display at Daitokuji temple in Kyoto. In typical fashion, he mixed the old warrior tea mode of displaying large quantities of objects with the grass-hut style of more intimate, participatory tea. Rikyū and Sogyū used Hideyoshi's utensils to make tea in rooms nearby. They served tea first to priests of Daitokuji, then to warriors in attendance, next to Sakai tea practitioners, and finally to all others.[54] Hideyoshi also personally prepared and served tea to guests, presumably as many as one-third of the 150 who attended. This act indicates the degree to which Hideyoshi accepted the grass-hut value of demonstrating skill in ritually manipulating the utensils of tea culture as necessary to his own tea practice.

On 10/7/1585 Hideyoshi was promoted to the office of Chief Minister of State (*Kanpaku*). In the same year he took the unprecedented step of holding a tea gathering in the imperial palace for the emperor and courtiers. While his motive may have amounted to nothing more than self-promotion, the gesture both brought attention to tea and increased its legitimacy. Following traditional custom, he used all new utensils to serve the emperor. Next, Rikyū made tea for the courtiers in a neighboring room using a stand and Hideyoshi's famous utensils. The number of nobles who attended that day was so great that he continued to serve tea throughout the afternoon until early in the evening. Hideyoshi performed tea for the emperor again in 1586 using his famed golden tea house. This structure was constructed in complete disregard for the *wabi* aesthetic. It consisted of a three-tatami mat room almost completely gilt in gold. He also commissioned various new utensils, also gold, to serve the emperor. Imperial precedent ruled out the use of famous objects, so Hideyoshi went to the furthest opposite extreme to procure valuable new tea wares. After using it at the palace, Hideyoshi set up his golden tea room at Osaka Castle. He frequently showed it to visitors, and on occasion brought it with him on his travels; it served as physical testimony to Hideyoshi's relationship to the emperor.[55]

In contrast to such ostentatious tea gatherings, Hideyoshi also held numerous smaller teas in the *wabi* mode in this same period. When entertaining visitors Hideyoshi often hosted *wabi* gatherings, preparing tea himself or instructing one of his assistants to do so. He used a few special famous utensils from his collection at these gatherings, along with assorted Japanese wares. Hideyoshi thus used *wabi* tea practice to impress his visitors with both his utensils and his skill in manipulating them, thereby employing the ritual setting to profit from the symbolic negation of power/riches and encouraging such needed values as intimacy and mutual trust.

Hideyoshi often held grass-hut and *wabi* tea gatherings with merchant tea practitioners. Examples include a gathering in Yamazaki in the fall of 1582, shortly after Nobunaga's death, in which the guests were Rikyū, Sōkyū, Sōgyū and Yamanoue Sōji. After moving into Osaka Castle in

1583, Hideyoshi hosted a gathering on 7/2 for Rikyū and Sōgyū, and then daily for a week beginning on 7/7. At the opening of a two-mat tea room in Osaka Castle on 1/3/1584, Hideyoshi made tea for Rikyū and Sōgyū. In the first month of 1585, Hideyoshi traveled to the hot baths at Yūshima with Rikyū, Sōgyū and Yamanoue Sōji, where they held many gatherings together.[56] In 1587 Hideyoshi spent several weeks in the company of tea practitioners in Hakozaki. During this time Sōgyū hosted Hideyoshi in a tea room in the style of a salt-making hut, while on another day Hideyoshi made tea for the merchant tea practitioners Kamiya Sōtan (1551–1635) and Shimai Sōshitsu (1539–1614) in a three-mat hut. Later Sōtan hosted Hideyoshi in a two-and-one-half-mat hut thatched with miscanthus.[57]

Later in the same year, on the first day of the tenth month, following a victorious campaign in Kyūshū, Hideyoshi held what was perhaps the largest tea gathering of all time, the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering.[58] Here, perhaps more than at any other time, the combination of the seemingly contradictory elements of grand display and *wabi* tea culture in Hideyoshi's tea practice are apparent. For this event Hideyoshi had sign boards posted at all the major crossroads in Kyoto as well as throughout the Kansai area and along the seven major roadways which issued an open invitation for all tea practitioners to come. This announcement provides important evidence as to the state of the field of tea culture at the time as well as Hideyoshi's position within the field. The most significant points are:

> Item: It is ordered that, weather permitting, a tea gathering will be held in the forest at Kitano for a period of ten days beginning on the first day of the tenth month. All of the Kampaku's famous objects, without exception, will be placed on display. This event is being held so that devotees of tea culture can view the collection.
>
> Item: Devotees, whether they are military attendants, townspeople, farmers, or others, should come, and each should bring a kettle, a well bucket for use as a water jar, a drinking bowl, and either tea or roasted and powdered rice tea-substitute.
>
> Item: Since the seating will be in a pine field, two mats should suffice for each person. *Wabi* persons, however, may use either mat covers or coarse straw bags.
>
> Item: In regard to what has just been said, the Kampaku has made these arrangements for the benefit of *wabi* persons. Accordingly, those who do not attend will henceforth be prohibited from preparing even tea-substitute. This prohibition will extend also to persons who visit those who do not attend.

> In addition: Lord Kampaku has declared that he will personally prepare tea for all persons who attend, not only those from distant places.[59]

Hideyoshi's unquestioned political dominance and his massive collection of utensils allowed him to exert tremendous influence in the field of tea culture. At the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering, all practitioners of any social status were not only invited to come, but threatened with prohibition from practice if they failed to appear. The recommendations for those participating (a kettle, tea bowl, well bucket to use as a water jar, and a two-mat enclosure) served to limit everyone except Hideyoshi himself to an austere display of utensils.

The display of Hideyoshi's utensils did not strictly follow the *wabi* ideal, although a number of austere utensils did appear. Hideyoshi's golden tea room was assembled in the shrine hall and two additional three-mat rooms were constructed to each side. In each of these rooms a formal stand and utensils from Hideyoshi's collection were displayed. The display included extremely famous utensils such as a gourd-shaped tea caddy and the painting *Temple Bell in Evening* by Yu Qian (previously in the Ashikaga collection), and some austere objects such as a Bizen waste-water receptacle once owned by Jōō. Outside, an additional four rooms of four-and-one-half-mat size were arranged, in which Hideyoshi, Rikyū, Sōgyū, and Sōkyū prepared tea during the event. Again, Hideyoshi's utensils were exclusively used in these four rooms. Along with famed pieces such as the *Hatsuhana* tea caddy that Hideyoshi had received from Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), a Bizen cylindrical vase made an appearance. In the other rooms, treasured Chinese pieces, a Japanese Bizen water container, bamboo lid-rests, and bent-wood waste-water receptacles were used.[60] There were as many as 1,500 tea houses constructed on the grounds of Kitano Shrine for this event, although some were of such simple construction that they seem to defy the appellation of "house."

On the morning of the first day, the golden tea room and flanking rooms with their various displays of famed utensils were open to be admired. Groups of guests were chosen by lottery to be served tea in the four rooms outside. Hideyoshi and his assistants served 803 bowls of tea that morning. In the afternoon, Hideyoshi toured the grounds and observed the utensils and tea rooms that had been assembled by the various participants.[61] He is reported to have stopped at just two sites. The first was at the enclosure of Ikka, who had come from Mino (modern Gifu prefecture) to attend. He had made his "tea room" by hanging straw mats from a cluster of small pines and spreading sand on the ground as well as arranging roof tiles around a fire pit. Hideyoshi drank his only bowl of tea, actually tea substitute, here. Later he paused where Hechikan, a descendant of the prosperous Sakamotoya merchant family of Kyoto, had erected a large parasol to shade where he sat ready to serve tea.[62]

Hechikan had a tea hut in Yamashina, to the east of Kyoto, and was praised by later tea practitioners as an exemplary tea practitioner.[63] Late in the afternoon Hideyoshi reached the huts of the noblemen that were grouped together to the east of the shrine. Hideyoshi seems to have left the event that day in high spirits, yet during that night the word spread that the event would not continue the remaining nine days as planned. The official reason for the sudden cancellation was an uprising in Kyūshū.[64]

Many historians have been greatly troubled by the apparent contradiction between Hideyoshi's involvement in grandiose displays of his famed utensils such as the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering, and his interest in *wabi* tea culture. Perhaps the simplest resolution is to cast Hideyoshi as an ignorant interloper who merely exploited tea culture for self-aggrandizement; who loved the ostentatious gold tea room and never understood the "profound beauty" of *wabi*. Those historians who place Hideyoshi in this role often credit the involvement of Rikyū to explain the time Hideyoshi spent in his small tea room practicing *wabi* tea culture.[65] To occupy a dominant position within the field of tea culture, however, one had to struggle to gain this position by using the rules of the game as they had been established. All tea practitioners, including Hideyoshi, were restricted to a limited number of possible position-takings by the structures of the field. Moreover, within the field, the strategies which could be employed were closely related to the relative value of specific capital as defined by the legitimate mode of practice, namely the *wabi* style of tea culture.[66]

The *Record of Yamanoue Sōji*, a document contemporaneous with the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering, offers evidence as to what types of capital were required to hold a dominant position in tea at this time. The following definitions of tea practitioners, listed from lowest to highest position, are given.

> One who gathers a collection of old and new Chinese utensils and devotes himself to the artistic display of famous objects is known as [a practitioner of] "elite warrior tea culture" [*daimyō cha*]. One who is skilled in both judging the value of utensils and tea culture, and makes his way in the world by instructing tea practice is known as a tea person [*chanoyu sha*]. One who does not own even one [famed] utensil, but incorporates the three qualities of resolution, creativity and skill, is known as an admirer of *wabi* [*wabi suki sha*]. One who owns Chinese utensils, can judge the value of utensils, is skilled in tea culture, has the three above qualities [of resolution, creativity and skill] and aspires to a deep understanding of the way [*michi*] is a master [*meijin*].[67]

These categories of tea practitioners indicate that to reach the dominant position of "master" within the field one had to exhibit various qualities, or types of capital, which included the possession of Chinese utensils,

taste, skill in the ritual procedures of tea culture, and "a deep understanding of the way." It should be noted that the possession of Chinese utensils was the only one of these qualities that could be simply purchased by those with sufficient wealth. All of the others qualities, which defy precise definition, constituted forms of capital that could be gained only by consensus of the members of the field, and viewed from outside the field of tea culture, can be seen as almost completely arbitrary.[68] It is in fact the seemingly arbitrary nature of assignment of this capital, which did not follow the dominant hierarchy of the field of power, that maintained the relative autonomy of the field.

If Hideyoshi sought a dominant position in the field of tea culture, as he seems to have done in other fields, he could not rely simply on grand displays of famous objects, but also had to exhibit his taste, skill in the ritual procedures, and a deep understanding of the art. At Kitano, when he displayed his collection and made tea in the morning, and then in the afternoon stopped and admired some of the more extreme examples of *wabi* tea culture present, he was performing his accomplishments, and thus his dominant position, for the entire assembled community.

Hideyoshi had entered the field of tea culture during the 1570s. During his rise to power he collected Chinese as well as native wares and gained proficiency in the rituals of tea, and he continued to demonstrate his interest until his death. Hideyoshi, like other tea practitioners, acquired a disposition through the *habitus* of tea culture to follow the logic of the field. This included a belief in the relative value of the various forms of specific capital.[69] Hideyoshi was forced to play by the rules of the game, and ultimately it was a game he could never win, because *wabi* tea culture as a relatively autonomous mode of practice was structured in a manner which was fundamentally opposed to the dominant principle of hierarchization on which Hideyoshi's political power was based. Indeed, it was through this requirement of engagement in the *wabi* mode that the art of tea culture was able to resist the dominant principle of hierarchization that powerful warlords such as Hideyoshi sought to impose, allowing both the field of tea culture and tea practitioners to preserve some measure of autonomy.

Conclusion

As the tea ritual was modified by practitioners of various social groups, the earlier warrior style of tea gave way to the grass-hut and finally *wabi* styles, as well as mixtures of these three modes of practice. Within these new styles, the requirement of specific forms of capital, including skill in judging utensils and their ritual manipulation, together with the wealth certain merchant tea practitioners were able to amass, served to break down the earlier relationship between owning tea utensils and the superior power of dominant military lords. The leading figures within grass-hut and

wabi tea culture were not those who dominated society. It was not merely those removed from the center of power, however, who practiced grass-hut and later *wabi* tea culture, for by the early sixteenth century the neat division between warrior tea/political rulers/hierarchization and grass-hut tea/elite merchants/counter-ideology had shifted, as engagement in the grass-hut mode was imposed on all tea practitioners who sought recognition within the field.

To understand the contradictions seen in tea gatherings held by certain warlords, it must be realized that practice of the grass-hut mode of tea culture was required for dominance *within the field* of tea culture, while at the same time this mode opposed the dominant hierarchy of the military lords *outside the field* of tea culture. When military lords such as Hideyoshi sought recognition within the tea world, tension between these elements of the grass-hut mode were certain to appear, as we have seen above. This conflict between grass-hut tea and the dominant hierarchy could only be resolved by creating new and different modes of practice, which is what occurred at the beginning of the seventeenth century as tea culture fractured into different social groups and styles.

Notes

1 In considering these issues, the concept of the "field of cultural production" as developed by Pierre Bourdieu, has been a particularly useful model. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford University Press, 1990); *The Field of Cultural Production* (Columbia University Press, 1993); *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 1984).

2 Beatrice M. Boddart, "Tea and Counsel: the Political Role of Sen Rikyū," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 32.1 (1977): 50–74; Theodore M. Ludwig, "*Chanoyu* and Momoyama: Conflict and Transformation in Rikyū's Art," in Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao (eds), *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), pp. 71–100.

3 For a discussion of the *dōbōshu* see Richard Stanley-Baker, "Mid-Muromachi Paintings of the Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1979), pp. 139–151 and 154–163; see also H. Paul Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama: Social Change and Shogunal Patronage in Early Modern Japan," in John Whitney Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (eds), *Japan in the Muromachi Age* (University of California Press, 1977), pp. 188–191.

4 Gen'i, "Kissa ōrai," transcribed in Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, Yokoi Kiyoshi, and Narabayashi Tadeo (eds), *Nihon no chasho*, vol. 1 (Heibonsha, 1971), pp. 122–125; also vol. 2 of Sen Sōshitsu *et al.* (eds), *Chadō koten zenshū* [hereafter cited as *CKZ*], 12 vols (Tankō Shinsha, 1956–1962), pp. 176–179.

5 Respectively "Nokitoki-kyō ki," in Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku (ed.), *Dai Nihon shiryō* 7–9 (Shiryō Hensanjo, 1943), p. 125; and "Manzai Jugō nikki," as cited in Nakamura Toshinori, "Early History of the Teahouse II," *Chanoyu Quarterly* 70 (1992): 36.

6 Although no records of how the *daisu* was used are available, the highest level procedures of tea culture today, extremely complex movements which are transmitted orally, use a *daisu* and are said to have been preserved from this time. The *daisu* is a large stand with a base board and one shelf on which all

the other utensils rest. The other utensils include a kettle and brazier; a *kaigu*, a set of matching bronze utensils which include a *mizusashi* (water jar), *kensui* (waste water receptacle), *futaoki* (lid rest) and *shakutate* (ladle stand), a Chinese tea caddy (tea container), and a Chinese tea bowl.

7 Moriya Takeshi, "The Mountain Dwelling Within the City," *Chanoyu Quarterly* 56 (1988): 18.

8 "Yamanoue Sōji ki," in *CKZ*, vol. 3, p. 11. There are several extant versions of the text dating from 1588 to 1590. For a discussion of this document in English, see Tanihata Akio, "Men of Tea: An Evaluation by Yamanoue Sōji, Part 1," *Chanoyu Quarterly* 28 (1981): 50–51.

9 The authenticity of the letter is not certain. However, the majority of tea historians today make frequent reference to the letter as a reliable source. For the complete text and commentary, see "Kokoro no fumi," in *CKZ*, vol. 3, pp. 1–24. For a traditional account of the letter with a complete English translation see Dennis Hirota, "Heart's Mastery: *Kokoro no fumi*, The Letter of Murata Shukō to His Disciple Choin," *Chanoyu Quarterly* 22 (1979): 7–24.

10 "Kokoro no fumi," in *CKZ*, vol. 3, p. 11.

11 Ibid.

12 Yamanoue Sōji, "Yamanoue Sōji ki," in Hayashiya, *Nihon no chasho*, vol. 1, pp. 140–143.

13 "Kokoro no fumi," in *CKZ*, vol. 3, pp. 12–17; and Hirota, "Heart's Mastery," p. 11.

14 "Kokoro no fumi," in *CKZ*, vol. 3, pp. 4, 8; Hirota, "Heart's Mastery," p. 7; Murai Yasuhiko, "The Development of *Chanoyu*: Before Rikyū," in Varley and Kumakura, pp. 19–20.

15 Hirota, "Heart's Mastery," pp. 9–10; "Kokoro no fumi," in *CKZ*, vol. 3, pp. 3–6.

16 For a concise discussion of *michi*, see Kon'ishi Jinichi, "Michi and Medieval Writing," in Earl Miner (ed.), *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature* (Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 181–208.

17 See Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production," *Logic of Practice*, pp. 66–67; "The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods," *Media, Culture and Society*, 2 (1980): 262; *Distinction*, pp. 30–32.

18 Akanuma Taka, "Wabi no chaki – shikisai no hensen," *Tankō* 8 (1993): 26–27.

19 For a discussion of the relationship between belief and the body, see Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, pp. 67–69.

20 This concept of "relative autonomy" within Bourdieu's field theory should not be confused with concepts of art as an "autonomous realm" removed from relations of power, but rather considered an attribute of values or ideals which oppose the dominant principle of hierarchization. See Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 319–320.

21 "Kadoya," also read "Sumiya." Moriya, "The Mountain Dwelling Within the City," pp. 7–21.

22 Takahashi Ryūzō (ed.), *Sanetaka-kō ki* (Zokugun Shoruishō Kanseikai, 1980), vol. 4, part 1, pp. 22–52; vol. 6, part 2, pp. 210, 226–227.

23 Nakamura Toshinori, "Early History of the Teahouse," part 1, *Chanoyu Quarterly* 69 (1992): 9–10.

24 The entry merely states, "*chawan-biraki* [first display of *chawan*]." At this time the term *chawan* was sometimes used for pottery in general so it is not clear if this was, in fact, a tea bowl. "Sanetaka-kō ki," Daiei 6/2/19 and Daiei 3/12/6 respectively: Takahashi, vol. 6, part 2, p. 156; vol. 6, part 1, p. 103.

25 Nakamura, "Teahouse," part 1, pp. 11–12. Also Moriya, "The Mountain Dwelling Within the City," p. 10.

26 *Nisui ki*, entry for Kyōroku 3 (1530)/9/6 as cited in Nakamura, "Teahouse," part 1, p. 12.
27 Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 80.
28 For further discussion of the relationship between the body and belief see pages 25–26 above as well as Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, pp. 66–79.
29 Akanuma, "Wabi no chaki," p. 27.
30 Ibid., p. 28.
31 Tanihata Akio, "Wabicha no hatten to Sakai no chajintachi," *Tankō* 8 (1993): 107–108.
32 For information of the development of these merchant and warrior groups in the city of Sakai see V. Dixon Morris, "Sakai: The History of a City in Medieval Japan," (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1970), pp. 38 and 45.
33 Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 117.
34 Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570–1680* (Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 26–27.
35 Roughly equivalent to 1,000 copper coins.
36 For the complete poem see Iwanami Shoten, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 9 (Iwanami Shoten, 1957), p. 146.
37 Tsutsui Hiroichi, *Yamanoue Sōji ki o yomu* (Tankōsha, 1987), pp. 259–260. This tea caddy was lost with Nobunaga in the Honnōji fire.
38 Morris, "Sakai," pp. 190–193.
39 Kuwata Tadachika (ed.), *Shinchō kōki* (Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1965), p. 95.
40 Ibid., pp. 95–96. A total of six pieces were "received" by Nobunaga. In addition to the *Hatsuhana* tea jar that had been owned by the Kyoto Daimonjiya family, these are: a *kabura nashi*-shaped vase from Ikegami Jyokei; the *Fuji nasu* tea caddy from Yūjyōbō; a bamboo tea scoop; a painting of geese; and the *Momosoko* vase from the Emura family.
41 Kuwata, *Shinchō kōki*, p. 101. The four pieces are: a painting of sweets from Tsuda Sōkyū; the *Komatsushima* tea jar from the Rakushiin; a ladle stand from Aburaya Jōyū; and a painting of a bell from Matsunaga.
42 One way to prevent Nobunaga from taking a *meibutsu* was to destroy it. While under siege by Nobunaga in 1577, Matsunaga Hisahide, before taking his own life, destroyed a famed kettle to prevent Nobunaga from obtaining it. Paul Varley and George Elison, "The Culture of Tea: From Its Origins to Sen no Rikyū," in George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith (eds), *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1981), pp. 327–328, n. 59.
43 Yonehara Masayoshi, "*Chanoyu*," in Okamoto Ryōichi (ed.), *Oda Nobunaga jiten* (Shin Jinbutsu Oraisha, 1989), p. 328.
44 For a discussion of such cycles see Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, pp. 125–126.
45 Ikeda Iwao *et al.* (eds), *Chadō bijutsu kanshō jiten* (Tankōsha, 1980), pp. 146 and 182 respectively.
46 There is some debate among scholars as to whether Nobunaga did actually control the practice of tea by his generals. It should be noted that Hideyoshi's letter, the major piece of evidence to support this claim, was written after Nobunaga had died and may have been simply another of Hideyoshi's many strategies for legitimization. See the letter from Hideyoshi to Okamoto Jirozaemon no Jō and Saitō Benba no Suke, Tenshō 10/10/18 as cited in Tanihata Akio, "Nobunaga no meibutsugari to ochanoyu goseidō," *Tankō* 9 (1993): 96.
47 For a discussion of the development of *wabi* see Haga Kōshirō, "The *Wabi* Aesthetic through the Ages," in Varley and Kumakura, pp. 195–230.
48 Nakamura Masao, *Chashitsu to roji, Book of Books, Nihon no bijutsu* 19

(Shōgakukan, 1972), p. 174; Itō Teiji, "Sen Rikyū and Taian," *Chanoyu Quarterly* 15 (1976): 9.

49 Ludwig, "*Chanoyu* and Momoyama," pp. 86–87; *Nihon no chasho* 1, p. 174.

50 *Shijū-koku* or "forty *koku*," so named because it was once exchanged for a piece of land which produced this quantity of rice annually.

51 Tanihata Akio, "Tenkajin Toyotomi Hideyoshi to chanoyu no kakudai," *Tankō* 10 (1993): 93–94.

52 Kuwata, *Shinchō kōki*, Tenshō 9.12.22 (1581) as cited in Tanihata, "Tenkajin Hideyoshi," p. 94.

53 Tanihata, "Tenkajin Hideyoshi," p. 96.

54 Tanihata, "Tenkajin Hideyoshi," pp. 96–97. Ludwig, p. 83.

55 Ludwig, "*Chanoyu* and Momoyama," pp. 85–86.

56 Ibid., pp. 84–85.

57 Ibid., pp. 88–89.

58 For the following discussion I have borrowed extensively from Louise Allison Cort, "The Grand Kitano Tea Gathering," *Chanoyu Quarterly* 31 (1982): 15–44.

59 Translation by Paul Varley, slightly modified, in Kumakura Isao, "Sen no Rikyū: Inquiries into his Life and Death," in Varley and Kumakura, pp. 39–40. For the original text, see *CKZ*, vol. 6, pp. 3, 36.

60 *Matsuya kaiki*, in *CKZ*, vol. 9, pp. 132–134; *Genryū chawa*, in *CKZ*, vol. 3, pp. 474–477; *Kitano ōchanoyu nikki*, *CKZ*, vol. 6, pp. 4–7.

61 Cort, "Kitano Tea Gathering," p. 35; Tanihata, "Tenkajin Hideyoshi," pp. 98–99.

62 *CKZ*, vol. 3, p. 360.

63 *CKZ*, vol. 3, p. 467.

64 *Tamonin nikki*, entry for Tenshō 15.10.4 as cited in Cort, "Kitano Tea Gathering," pp. 36–38.

65 For a brief overview of some of the views by major tea historians on Rikyū and Hideyoshi see Ludwig, "*Chanoyu* and Momoyama," pp. 91–93.

66 Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 312–313.

67 The original text with commentary appears in Tsutsui, *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, pp. 22–23. I have also borrowed from the translation given in Elison, "The Culture of Tea," pp. 204–205.

68 For a discussion of the manner in which this consensus was derived, see Christy Allison Bartlett, "The *Tennōjiya kai-ki*: The Formative Years of *Chanoyu*" (MA thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1993), pp. 28–36.

69 For a discussion of *habitus* see Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, p. 53.