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Chanoyu and Christianity in the 16th Century Japan

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Poznań, 2014

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to show that among many stimuli that affected the development of *chanoyu* there were also those coming from Christianity. 15th and 16th century in Japan is known as *Sengoku*, or the Warring States period. Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu gradually unified Japan, hitherto divided into *hans*, and established centralized military government that ruled the country for the next three centuries of *sakoku* (national isolation), when Japan kept its ports closed for foreign ships. The period between 1549 and 1639 is often called "the Christian century in Japan", as it was the time of the most fervent missionary effort from European Catholics – the Jesuits (later joined, or challenged, by the Franciscans). It was also a time of development of *chanoyu* into a sophisticated art form it is now. Some researchers, pointing at apparent similarities between the *temae* (procedures for preparing tea) and Christian mass, propose that the Way of Tea has been influenced by the Christian rite. Either proving or disproving that claim requires detailed knowledge of both early Christian rite and old forms of *temae* (which, in spite of the best intentions and efforts to preserve their pristine form by traditional schools of tea, have been inevitably transformed and now differ from what they used to be; the division into subsequent tea schools must have further diluted the original forms of *chanoyu* - as there never was only one Way of Tea). The author of this paper does not dare to undertake such great a task; instead, he would like to look at documented points of convergence between the Christian missionaries and converts, and the Japanese pursuing the way of tea in the first half of a period often referred to as 'the Christian Century' in Japan (ie. from the first arrival of Jesuits in 1549 to the closing of the borders of Japan and surviving Christians going into hiding in 1639).

This paper is divided into three main chapters. The first follows the development of Buddhist temple tea into *wabicha*, and the gradual disengagement of *chanoyu* from its religious origin. The second examines the encounters of Jesuit missionaries with *chanoyu* and *chajin*. Finally, the third collects Christians involved with Sen no Rikyū – people that he knew or could have encountered. The last chapter of this paper attempts

to offer a conclusion about the possibility of influence that Christianity could have had on *chanoyu* based on the previously presented evidence.

The Hepburn system was used for romanization.

1.0 From Buddhist temple to a lowly hut - the development of *chanoyu* before 1549

1.1 Introduction of tea to Japan

The history of *chanoyu* in Japan is traditionally considered to begin when Myōan Eisai (Yōsai), returning from his study of Zen Buddhism in China in 1191, brought tea seeds and the custom of drinking powdered tea to his homeland.¹ It was peculiar to temples at first, as the beverage helped the monks stay awake during meditation. However, evidence exists of tea being known in Japan as early as Nara period; it comes from the era of Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701-56), who was present at a *Gyōcha*² 行茶 ceremony held in 792. The kind of tea brought by monks from Tang China was called *dancha* 団茶 or 磚茶. It came pressed in form of a roasted “brick”; pieces were chipped off and used as needed.³ The first evidence of tea's growing popularity is recorded in Heian period chronicle *Nihon kōki* (*Later Chronicle of Japan*, 840) – the event of Eichū 永忠 (743-816, a Japanese monk who studied in China for

¹ Although tea plant has been present in Japan for over three and a half centuries, as evidenced from the oldest tea plant growing in Sakamoto's Hie Shrine (Hiyoshi Taisha) at the foot of Mount Hiei. It is believed to have been brought from China by either Saichō 最澄 (767-822) or Kūkai 空海 (774-835). According to Varley, the latter was more likely to have brought it; he mentioned tea in his writings and poems, while sources pointing at Saichō are somewhat dubious. Regardless of who planted them, they were not used for production of tea, and therefore remain a curiosity irrelevant to the history of *chanoyu*. Varley, *The Culture of Tea: From Its Origins to Sen no Rikyu*, p. 191.

² The ceremony, held biannually in spring and autumn, consisted of a chanting of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* (*Daihannyakyō*) and serving the tea to priests.

³ It is widely believed that Tang Dynasty China tea, *dancha*, or the "brick" tea (ground, dried in a mould, roasted and finally re-ground just before use) described in the first treatise on the plant and the drink made thereof, *Ch'a-ching*, or *Chakyō* 茶經 (*The Classic of Tea*, 760-2) by Li Pu (jap. Rikū, d. 804), was quite different from Song Dynasty China *matcha* (powdered tea). Bardwell and Ellison suggest after Murai that from a careful reading of *Chakyō* “*dancha* and *matcha* might have been one and the same substance”, and what differed was the way it was prepared for consumption. Varley, *The Culture of Tea: From Its Origins to Sen no Rikyu*, p. 191.

over 20 years and returned to Japan with Saichō in 805) serving emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (785-842) tea in Bonshakuji temple in 815.⁴ During that period things Chinese were coveted, which could have been a factor when the Emperor, impressed with the beverage, ordered planting tea in central provinces (part of the annual crops was to be sent to court). Nonetheless, it was mostly imported from China.

1.2 Dwindling popularity and renaissance; emergence of Suki 数寄

As the attitude of the Japanese towards China and its culture changed, tea too began losing its appeal of novelty – especially after the temporary end to diplomatic relations between the two countries in 894. Although the plant remained recognized for its medicinal value, its popularity as a casual beverage dwindled. In 970 Ryōgen 良源 (912-985), the abbot of Enryakuji temple (founded by none other than Saichō himself) removed it from the ceremonial. It was considered merely a remedy for minor ailments until the drink was reintroduced in Kamakura period by Eisai, Rinzai Zen monk, who returned from a period of study in China bringing tea seeds and utensils for preparing it. He presented the seeds to Myōe 明恵 (1173-1232), priest from Togano'ō, who planted them in the rich soil of Kōzanji temple area and produced plants of quality not yet seen in Japan, surpassed only in the 15th century by tea from Uji plantations. Superior quality tea gave rise to the distinction of *honcha* and *hicha* (respectively high and low quality tea). This division was essential to *tōcha*, tea tournaments developed later, very popular with warriors.

In addition, Eisai wrote the first book about tea in Japanese language, *Kissayōjōki (Preservation of Health Through Drinking Tea)*, which, as *Azuma Kagami (Mirror of the East)*, a historical chronicle spanning years 1180-1266 relates, he presented to third Kamakura shogun, Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝. The shogun took to drinking tea regularly and soon other warriors aspiring to being cultured followed suit, creating a fashion among the warrior class. Tea became a luxurious amusement for warrior elite, who added an element of gambling to form *tōcha* 鬪茶, or *chayoriai* 茶寄

⁴ Sen, *Urasenke Chadō Textbook*, p. 85.

り合い - tea recognizing contests, described in *Taiheiki (A Chronicle of Great Peace)* and growing more popular and elaborate with time (to such degree that a need to control it by official decrees arose),⁵ also marking a further removal from Buddhist background. One can hardly imagine gambling contests taking place inside a temple, even considering the gradual loosening of monastic discipline eventually resulting in the open hypocrisy described in Jesuit reports from Japan.

In the Muromachi period tea was sold on the streets for one sen (*ippuku issen*), and thus the custom of drinking the beverage spread among commoners.

As the *chayoriai* developed in early 15th century, some people became particular about the utensils they used, and thus tea aestheticism was born. It took its name from *renga* 連歌 poetry aestheticism – *utasuki* 歌数寄 - and became known as *chasuki* 茶数寄. The people who acquired such refined taste in tea-related objects were called *sukisha* 数寄者. As shogun's military government began losing its power, merchants became the leading class in the pursuit of *suki* (and tea utensils), and around the beginning of the 16th century became the majority of *sukisha*.

The following three great tea masters have exerted immense influence on *chanoyu*. It was possible because of a complicated interplay of their mastery and the power to shape trends that they acquired through their relationships with men of power. After they gained recognition as true masters of *chanoyu*, they entered into a complex relationship as a protégée of a powerful lord who was both their student and patron. This legitimized their vision of *chanoyu*, and gave their opinion more gravity, further increasing the influence they had in the first place. Their *chanoyu* had also become widely known, and their opinion as beneficiaries of such patronage more sought after.⁶ It seems to have been a natural continuation of their ascent through the ranks of *sukisha/chajin*. As tea gained popularity and began to be used in politics,⁷ the power and the responsibilities they had increased, and in the opinion of the author of this paper *chanoyu* itself became further removed from its Buddhist origins, and simultaneously

⁵ Sen, *Urasenke Chadō Textbook*, p. 89.

⁶ See Kuwata Tadachika. "Men of Power and Their Tea Masters." *Chanoyu Quarterly* 14 (1976): 23-28.

⁷ See Bodart-Bailey, Beatrice M. "Tea and Politics in Late Sixteenth-Century Japan." *Chanoyu Quarterly* 41 (1985): 25-34.

associated more closely and informed by Zen as practiced by the majority of warrior class.

1.3 Murata Shukō 村田珠光

The first important – perhaps legendary⁸ – event in the development of *chanoyu* was the introduction of Murata Shukō (also Jukō, 1421 or 1423-1502) to shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1436-90). It was the first example of a relation between a tea master and a politically powerful person (although Yoshimasa had by then already resigned from the post of shogun and pursued life of art in Higashiyama), a kind of alliance that continued to shape the development of *chanoyu* until over a century later, and allowed such people as Takeno Jōō and Sen no Rikyū to flourish and exert influence in the world of Tea, as well as politics. Shukō was supposedly a pupil of Nōami 能阿弥 (1397-1471; *shoin* 書院 style creator – based it on lavish *tōcha* surroundings; devised a way of using *daisu* 台子 - a *tatami*-wide shelf unit). He began his tea training as a student of Ikkyū 一球 (1394-1461), a famous monk from Daitokuji temple.

His style of tea was under a strong influence of Zen Buddhism (he is said to have been trained in Shōmyōji in Nara), and could be described as *shin* 真 - the most formal style.⁹ He had a fondness for the quiet and simple, and introduced Japanese wares such as Bizen 備前 or Shigaraki 信楽 to *chanoyu*. Up until that time tea was prepared with expensive utensils imported from China, so it was an entertainment only for those wealthy enough to afford such rare items. In the only extant document that can

⁸ Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu*, p. 67-70.

⁹ See also Sen Sōshitsu XV. “Four and One-Half Mats.” *Chanoyu Quarterly* 22 (1979): 5-6. The division into three levels of formality – *shin*, *gyō* 行 and *sō* 草 - permeates the world of *chanoyu*, from movements, through utensils to *temae*. If we use tearoom and *tokonoma* 床の間 as an example realization of successful masters’ ideas (Shukō, Jōō and Rikyū), each of them could be characterized respectively as *shin*, *gyō* and *sō*. It is therefore the author’s opinion that the evolution of tea led to the simplification of the procedure and informing it with meaning. One could argue it effectively led to uncovering the vital core of a tea gathering: the communion between the participants. Sparse environment of tearoom reduced to bare essentials and devoid of outside signs of wealth underlines the connection between the host and guests, and shifts focus from material riches to spiritual values.

be traced back to Shukō, the famous "*Kokoro no fumi*" (*Note on Heart's Mastery*) the author expressed concepts of "chill" and "withering" that led to the redefinition of *wabi* 侘び concept.¹⁰ Another focal point concerns the use of both Chinese and Japanese utensils.

For the entertainment of his guests Shukō favored a small four-and-a-half-mat room he created, with *tokonoma* the full size of one *tatami*, and *tokokamachi* 床框 (the bottom front wooden crosspiece in the alcove) lacquered black.¹¹ These changes signify a turn away from ostentatious wealth and showiness of *shoin*-style tea, and invite a more spiritual attitude in Tea.

This change in artistic taste was crucial to the popularization of tea among the merchant class, who in turn could have moved Tea further towards secularization.¹² However, Shukō himself was possibly the first to hang a Zen scroll during a tea gathering - thus emphasizing the relationship between the Buddhist philosophy and Tea.¹³ Furthermore, some sources attribute to him the famous saying *Cha Zen ichi mi* 茶禪一味, *the taste of Tea is the taste of Zen*.¹⁴

The spirit of Shukō's aesthetic sense is probably best summed up in his own words: *tsuki mo kumoma no naki wa iya nite soro*,¹⁵ "Even the moon, if not obscured by clouds, is not to my liking." Perfect beauty that commands attention has no need for any

¹⁰ Hirota, *Heart's Mastery*, p.7.

¹¹ Indeed, *Namporoku* states that the "four-and-one-half mat room was Shukō's creation". Since before him, when guests were received in *shoin*, vast rooms as big as eighteen mats, tea was prepared in a separate place and served from the back, much like it is still served during big tea events, where the host prepares two or three bowls for the first guests. When it was first prepared in the same room where the guests were sitting, it was behind *byōbu* - folding screens, and despite the change, the space was still perceived as separate.

¹² Hata, *Sen Rikyū, Last Man of the Middle Ages*, p.48.

¹³ Kuwata, *Men of Power and Their Tea Masters*, p. 24.

¹⁴ According to Omotesenke website

<http://www.omotesenke.jp/english/list2/list2-3/list2-3-4/>, Takeno Jōō received these words from Dairin Sōtō 大林宗套 (1480-1568), while Urasenke Textbook notes it a number of times with Sen Sōtan's name 千宗旦, whom the phrase is also attributed to in *Chadō Koten Zenshū* by Tankōsha. In Tanihata's *Chanoyu jimbutsu shi* the phrase appears in Shukō's entry.

¹⁵ 「月も雲間のなきは嫌にて候」

<http://www.omotesenke.jp/list2/list2-2/list2-2-1/> retrieved on May 13, 2014.

contribution from audience. Such beauty, represented by Chinese wares, is complete in itself. It is not engaging, and therefore less interesting than something apparently imperfect, requiring the beholder to actively seek beauty against the flaws that become points of appreciation. Using such items creates a certain void to be filled by those present in that particular moment. It is a way to draw beauty out of the participants in the communion of a tea gathering.

The most interesting development of Shukō's tea lies in, as Hioki notes, what "the tea-historian Kuwata Tadachika 桑田忠親 believes the most important aspect of Murata Jūkō's way of tea [-] the establishment of 'equality among people' in the space of the tea ceremony. [...] At the time of Jūkō, to entertain guests in a tearoom and to display treasured tea wares belonged to the opulent lifestyle of aristocrats. For the Zen monks, tea drinking was integrated with their religious life. Blending the two traditions, the early tea masters developed a new form of tea sharing, which did away with the ostentatious, high-class luxury taste from the courtier's tea, while at the same time they got rid of religious exclusiveness from the monastic way of tea."¹⁶

1.4. Takeno Jōō 竹野紹鷗

Takeno Jōō (1502-1555) was an aesthetic successor to Shukō, although unlike him, he didn't receive training in a Zen temple. He grew up in Sakai 堺, as a son of an arms dealer. At a young age he moved to Kyoto to study *renga* poetry, and around the same time started learning *chanoyu* from teachers based in Shimogyō,¹⁷ Fujita Sōri 藤田宗理 and Jūshiya Sōgo 十四屋宗伍. His talent and a close connection to Miyoshi 見好 family, who controlled the central government until the time of Nobunaga, allowed him to reach the position of a highly regarded tea master.¹⁸

He developed the *sōan* 草庵 style of tea, the tea in a thatched hut, taking Shukō's *yojōhan* 四畳半 (four and a half mat tearoom) and applying his own ideas to

¹⁶ Hioki, *Silent Dialogue and "Teaism"*, p. 9.

¹⁷ Area in Kyoto, south of Imperial Palace.

¹⁸ Miyoshi Yoshikata was a tea master from Sakai, closely related to Tsuda Sōgyū 津田宗及 (d. 1591), another grand *chajin* of the period. He, his younger brother Yasunaga, and cousin Masanaga studied with Jōō. Kuwata 1976, p. 25.

the tearoom design. Clay walls, bamboo pillars, thinly lacquered *tokokamachi* of a smaller *tokonoma*, and *shōji* 障子 (paper sliding door) completely covered with paper were among the innovations he introduced to create a humble *sō* style tearoom, the expression of *wabi* style in architecture. It moved even farther away from the *shoin* style of tea. Instead of using *daisu* – a direct descendant of the temple style tea, he designed his own shelf unit, *fukurodana* 袋棚, and used it instead. It can probably be said that he established *wabi* as an aesthetic that has later become one of the most striking aspects of Japanese art and sensibility, far removed from the lush temple interiors.¹⁹

Takeo Jōō's sense of *wabi* is said to be best expressed by a poem by Fujiwara Sadaie 藤原定家 (1162 - 1241):

*Neither flowers nor maple leaves
Near the reed-thatched hut
That stands alone by the shore.
Twilight in autumn.*²⁰

Once Jōō's tea was established and recognized, a new tea master emerged among the merchants of Sakai. His name for the first time appears in *kaiki* 会記 (a tea gathering record) when he was barely fifteen, and by the time Japan is ruled by Oda Nobunaga he is already a renowned master that goes by the name of Sen Sōeki 千宗易.

¹⁹ Hirota, *The Wabi of Takeo Jo-o*, p. 7.

²⁰ 見渡せば花も紅葉もなかりけり浦のともやの秋の夕ぐれ

2.0 The Jesuits and Tea²¹

In this chapter we will look at some of the various accounts of *chanoyu* written by the Jesuits, and try to show how and why it came to be a part of the missionaries' life. Basic information relevant to the relations between the Jesuits and the Japanese that in the opinion of the author are important from the perspective of this paper are also included.

To a reader familiar with the suspicion the Jesuits were regarded with for their paramilitary origins and contemptuous attitude towards pagans it may be a surprise to learn that in Japan their approach was not based on a sense of superiority and attempts to “civilize”, but respect of and adaptation to the local customs. To a large extent this difference comes from the missionaries identifying the most promising policy for the missions, but, in the case of a number of prominent Jesuit officials, also seems to come from a genuine delight and admiration for the Japanese people.

2.1 Francis Xavier and Jesuit attitude to the Japanese

It is worth noting that during the first meeting between Francis Xavier (1506-1552) and a Japanese runaway from Kyushu, Yajirō (or Anjirō), that took place in Malacca in 1547, the Japanese made such a favorable impression on the future saint that the Jesuit became convinced that Japan is where he must go next. In his letter from Cochin Xavier writes that “if all the Japanese are as eager to know as is [Yajirō], it seem to me that this race is the most curious of all the peoples that have been discovered.”²² On August 15, 1549, Xavier with two other Jesuits and Yajirō landed in Kagoshima in Kyūshū, in Bungo province. The island nation was clearly different from

²¹ The information about the lives of missionaries contained in this chapter come from Cieslik's *Early Jesuit Misionaries in Japan* series, unless stated otherwise.

²² Francis Xavier in a letter to Rome, 20 January 1548, in *Letters*, 177, quoted in Cunningham, *A Glorious Failure*, p. 27.

peoples Jesuits had to work with in India. Xavier's impression was most favorable:

By the experience which we have had of this land of Japan, I can inform you thereof as follows, - Firstly the people whom we have met so far, are the best who have as yet been discovered, and it seems to me that we shall never find among heathens another race to equal the Japanese.²³

Later reports were written in a similar tone:

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 honour. Hunger isn't considered as shame. They respect honour more than wealth.²⁴

The strategy the Jesuits meant to employ from the very beginning was to reach out to the highest overlords and obtain permission to preach, and convert them if possible – in hopes that their subjects would follow suit. This is indeed what happened with Ōtomo Sōrin 大友宗麟 (1530-1587) and Ōuchi Yoshitaka 大内義隆 (1507-1551), two daimyō from Bungo province, albeit for reasons economical and political rather than religious. The Japanese craved foreign goods, and the common conviction was that presence of missionaries will bring Portuguese ships to ports, and converting to Christianity was a part of the effort to ensure their presence in one's domain. However, Xavier had his own plans, and left Bungo for Miyako (modern day Kyoto) as soon as he could.

His first attempt to receive an audience from the “king of Japan” in 1551 failed miserably because of his shabby attire and lack of knowledge about the proper conduct. He realized that were the mission to bear fruit, the Jesuits had to adjust to the country they lived in. The second time Xavier came to Kyoto, he was adorned with orange silk robes - the garments worn by Buddhist monks – and brought lavish gifts. This was the first step towards the policy later spelled out in one of *Sumarios* by Alessandro

²³ From a letter of F. Xavier quoted in Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, p. 37.

²⁴ Matsuda Kiichi, *Nanban shiryō no Hakken*, p. 28-29, quoted in Teraoka, *The Japanese Tea Ceremony and Christianity*, p. 16.

Valignano, the first Visitor to India and Japan.

In 1559 brother Gaspar Vilela (1525-1572) managed, with help from Ōtomo Sōrin, to receive an audience from shogun, which resulted in a notice from the latter that permitted the Jesuits to teach Christianity unhindered. The following years brought more conversions in the Kinki region, among them young Ukon “Don Justo” Takayama, a future disciple of Sen Rikyū.

In 1580 the cession of Nagasaki allowed the Jesuits to use the port and was the beginning of their involvement in the trade with Portugal – an inevitable step if the missions were to continue. It is worth noting that by the end of 1581 Jesuit presence in culture centers and everyday life of the Japanese was not uncommon: at that time brother Organtino Gnechi-Soldo (1533-1609) was residing in Azuchi as the superior for Miyako area.²⁵

2.2 Alessandro Valignano

Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606) was the first Visitor to Asian provinces of the Society of Jesus, a person of strong character and opinions, who to a great extent shaped the strategy of Jesuits in Japan. As a young man, he quickly ascended the ranks of the Society of Jesus. The friendship and great trust of Father General, Mercurian that he enjoyed allowed him to defend the choices he made against conquistador attitudes of the Spanish and Portuguese brothers, and develop Francisco Xavier’s approach to teach Christian faith in the vernacular. Previously dominating mindset was that of contempt and condescension. “Pagans” were not expected to become Christians only, but to become Europeans. Valignano seemed to have been aware of this issue even before he left for India in 1574, and had 40 men chosen and prepared under his supervision precisely in order to avoid this harmful attitude.²⁶

Valignano seemed fully aware that if the mission were to succeed, they had to quickly train native priests that will teach in the vernacular, and adopt the local customs. By the time he arrived in Japan, there were far too few *padres* to reach the numerous converts, and their command of the language left much to be desired. He expressed his

²⁵ Varley, *Tea Culture in Japan*, p. 332.

²⁶ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, p. 35-40.

opinion in *Sumario de las Cosas de Japón*, written in 1583, based on what he had experienced himself, what other Jesuits living in Japan told, and what the Japanese advised him.²⁷ He must have realized the value of tea utensils and their importance in conduct, if not in politics. Oda Nobunaga was using them as more than a currency: they were given as a reward and a precious symbols of his favor, just like land or income of rice used to be given to warriors who proved their worth in battle. Thus tea utensils became symbols of one's personal culture and prestige. One can wonder whether the Jesuits were fully aware of the role that these items served when they were presented the treasures by their hosts. Valignano wrote:

It is no less astonishing to see the importance that they attach to things which they regard as the treasures in 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 o 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 know 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 that 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 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 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 paid 9,000 silver taels (or about 14,000 ducats) for it, although I would certainly not have given two

²⁷ Ibid. p. 63-67.

farthings for it. One of our Christians showed me as a 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.²⁸

Luís Fróis wrote the following passage about tea utensils:

There is a custom among the noble and wealthy Japanese to show their treasures to an honoured guest at his departure as a token of their esteem. These treasures are made up of the utensils with which they drink a powdered herb, called *cha*, which is a delicious drink once one becomes used to it. To make this drink, they pour half a nutshell of this powdered herb into a porcelain bowl, and then adding very hot water they drink the brew. All the utensils used for this purpose are very old – the iron kettles, the porcelain bowl, the vessel containing the water to rinse the porcelain bowl, the tripod on which they place the lid of the iron kettle so as not to lay it on the mats. The vessel containing the *cha* powder, the spoon used to scoop it out, the ladle to draw the hot water from the kettle, the hearth – all those make up the treasures of Japan, just as rings, gems and necklaces of precious rubies and diamonds do with us. There are experts who evaluate such utensils and act as brokers when they are bought. Best quality *cha* costs about nine or ten ducats a pound and is drunk at gatherings at which the host, according to his means, shows off his treasures. These gatherings are held in special houses, which are used only on such occasions and are kept wonderfully clean.²⁹

Part of the effort to adapt to the Japanese custom was the inclusion of *chanoyu*³⁰

²⁸ Quoted in Cooper, *They Came to Japan*, p. 260-62.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 262-3.

³⁰ At the time the word *chanoyu* was apparently used in the meaning of a room where tea was served.

and a resident *dōjuku* (a Japanese lay priest; a person capable of properly serving tea) in every *casa*. Josef Franz Schütte paraphrases the instructions of Valignano's *Advertimentos and avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues de Jappão (Comments and notes about the attire and language of Japan)*:

In all the houses there should be a special room near the entrance door for the preparation of the *chanoyu*, the ceremonial tea, for in accordance with general custom, entertainment with the *ocha* (tea) could not be omitted even in mission stations. There the tea attendant, the *chanoyusha* (a *dōjuku*, or one of the house staff), was to be continuously on duty; he had to have a good knowledge of this office, especially in places where many distinguished people called.³¹

As Masubuchi supposes, it is unlikely that Valignano would have recognized the importance of *chanoyu* on his own; in fact, he proposes that it might have been Takayama Ukon or other Christian *chajin* who suggested the inclusion of *chanoyu* into Jesuit compounds.³² Furthermore, Hioki notes that [Valignano's] interest lay mainly in the aspect of tea that was not directly related to modern *chanoyu* (although it may have been known by that same name at the time), that is the customary way of receiving guests. (Hioki 2013, p.5) This serving of tea is much different from a *chaji*, a tea gathering organized for its own sake for a handful of guests. However, the presence of a tea-server in the Jesuit premises points to the two things: the importance of tea for the proper conduct in everyday life in Japan – in other words, the existence of a tea culture – and the recognition and adaptation of that culture by the missionaries. This also suggests that the connection between Tea and Buddhist philosophy was not overtly present in some of the forms that this tea culture had taken, and there was no argument against Christians practicing *chanoyu*.

2.3 João Rodrigues

João Rodrigues (1561-1632) was one of the most prominent Jesuits with documented ties with the world of Tea in the 16th century. His writings on tea are most knowledgeable and show an insight that must have come from a keen interest in the art.

³¹ Quoted in Hioki, *Silent Dialogue and "Teaism"*, p. 13.

³² Masubuchi, *Chanoyu to Jūjika*, p. 27.

By the time he was fifteen, he left his native Portugal and traveled to Japan through India. He reached Kyūshū in 1577 and was active in Bungo area for eight years, at some point fighting alongside Ōtomo Sōrin – a local Christian *daimyō* – against Shimazu forces in 1578.³³ In December 1580 he entered the Jesuit novitiate in Usuki, and the following year moved to St. Paul's College in Fumi (present day Ōita), where he stayed for several years, as a student and later a lecturer – all the time deepening his knowledge of Latin, humanities and philosophy, and perfecting his Japanese in conversation with Fabian Fucan (1565-1621) and others. His excellent command of the language earned him the nickname "the Interpreter".

In 1587 Satsuma forces invaded Bungo, and the missionaries fled to Yamaguchi on Honshū, where they learned of Hideyoshi's first anti-Christian edicts – not immediately enforced, and perhaps meant as a warning. The Jesuits continued their work in Hachirao, protected by another Christian *daimyō*, Arima “Protasius” Harunobu 有馬晴信 (1567-1612).

When Valignano and the four young envoys sent to Rome in 1582 returned to Nagasaki in 1590, he attempted to receive an audience from Hideyoshi as the Viceroy of India, and in spite of the edicts prohibiting Christianity succeeded, possibly owing to Rodrigues' influence (who was also chosen to interpret during the meeting which took place in Kyoto on March 3, 1591). The ruler took a liking to the Interpreter - undoubtedly the result of his fluent Japanese and a passion for the country's culture. Hideyoshi asked him and one of the young Japanese envoys to visit again the next day, and the two spoke till late in the night.³⁴ Some scholars suggest that it was only natural that Hideyoshi would enjoy the company of a good conversationalist that was not involved in the politics, and Jesuits' military background would provide a natural connection with the ruler. Interestingly, Teraoka writes that Rodrigues met Takayama Ukon, Furuta Oribe, Oda Uraku and Sen no Rikyū.³⁵ However, given that Sen Rikyū committed suicide in Hideyoshi's Jūrakudai villa in Kyoto on the 21 April that year (according to Gregorian calendar) and before that had been exiled to house arrest in his residence in Sakai on the thirteenth day of the second month Tenshō 19 (March

³³ Cieslik, *Early Missionaries in Japan* 7, p. 1.

³⁴ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, p. 71, Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, p. 153.

³⁵ Teraoka, *Japanese Tea Ceremony (...)*, p. 123. Also see Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 119.

13, 1591), it is rather unlikely, though not entirely impossible, that they met during the ten days from Rodrigues' first visit to Hideyoshi's court to Rikyū's leave to Sakai, or even before that. Afterwards, Rodrigues was a welcome guest at Hideyoshi's and Nobunaga's court. According to Cooper, he almost certainly knew Takayama Ukon and Gamō Ujisato, both of whom were included in the group of Rikyū's seven disciples.³⁶

After the stay in Kyoto, Rodrigues returned to his studies in Nagasaki, but he had at times been summoned or sent to plead the Jesuit cause with Hideyoshi, often succeeding. During one such trip he got acquainted with Tokugawa Ieyasu. In 1593 he joined father Organtino in Kyoto.

A record quoted in Cooper's *They Came to Japan* describes an audience with Hideyoshi in 1593. The passage ends with these words: "After [the audience] 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 which they call *cha*."³⁷ From this short passage it follows that the Jesuits were invited to a small *chakai* or even *chaji* that most likely took place in the famous portable golden tearoom (*ogon chashitsu*) of Hideyoshi's design (it was destroyed after the demise of Hideyoshi; replica can be seen at MOA Museum in Atami).

He had been ordained in Macao in 1594, and accompanying the newly appointed Bishop for Japan, Peter Martinez, he returned to Nagasaki in August 1596. The new superior managed to get an appointment with Hideyoshi, who on that occasion (in Fushimi, November that year) invited the party to a tea gathering.³⁸ An official audience was an indicator that the anti-Christian edicts would not be enforced, and the ban on Christian presence in Japan was lifted.

After Hideyoshi's death on September 18, 1598, Tokugawa Ieyasu, member of the "Committee of Five", an elite group of warriors selected by Hideyoshi himself, remembered the Interpreter and even tried using his influence to lure Portuguese traders back to the ports of Japan.

³⁶ Cooper, *The Early Europeans and Chanoyu*, p. 19.

³⁷ Cooper, *They Came to Japan*, p. 112.

³⁸ Cieslik, *Early Missionaries in Japan* 7, p. 3-4.

The notes on tea that Rodrigues made – four chapters on tea as a herb, *suki* and *sukisha*, tea gatherings and the underlying philosophy – are a proof that the *chanoyu* the Jesuits were acquainted with was not restricted to the welcoming of guests with a bowl of tea in a room called *chanoyu*, but they were active participants in the developing *chaji*, a form of tea gathering that is now the essence of *chanoyu* practice. He describes it at length in a chapter of his account of Japan (Chapter 34: How Guests Are Entertained with *Cha* in the *Suki* House), where he guides the reader through a tea gathering. His astonishing description contains insightful and description of guest etiquette and complete sequence of events taking place during *chaji* that might as well describe a modern day tea gathering.³⁹ The accuracy of Rodrigues’s description of the use of tea in his *Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan (History of Church in Japan)* is such that it is perhaps worth quoting at some length:

This famous and celebrated tea comes from a small tree or rather bush, which some people have erroneously supposed to be the sumach shrub. It is the same size as and somewhat similar to the myrtle bush and bears leaves all the year round without shedding them, although its leaves are slightly bigger and are green on both sides. Its new leaves, which are used in the drink, are extremely soft, tender and delicate, and a slight 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 grown, all the vineyards and fields in which tea is cultivated are covered over with wooden frames bearing mats made of corn stalks or rice straw. They are thus protected from damage by frost from February onwards until the end of March when the new leaf begins to bud.

They put the green powder thus ground into a small, finely varnished canister or in some earthenware vessel which serves for the same purpose. One or two spoonfuls of the powder are taken out with a small cane spoon, especially kept for that purpose, and emptied into a porcelain vessel. And then on top of the powder they pour hot boiling water (which they always keep ready) and stir softly and carefully with a special cane whisk. Thus everything is dissolved and no lumps are left, and it looks just like green water, for that is the colour of the powder.

As seen on the above excerpt, Rodrigues’ description is quite detailed and he writes about the subject with evident fascination and surprising expertise. His account is

³⁹ See *João Rodrigues’s Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, chapters 32-35.

an evidence that the Jesuits were keen observers when present at tea gatherings, and that they had chances to participate in such events.

2.4. Luís Fróis' and Luis Almeida's accounts

Luís Fróis (1532—1597) was clearly impressed with what he saw in Japan, and he gave it an account in his letters, reports and *History of Japan*. Although Valignano writes to the General that Luís Fróis "is much inclined to describe things fully and at length, and to be careless about checking whether or not everything he says is true, and in choosing what to put down and what not", explaining that he had taken the liberty to edit the annual letters dealing with the years 1586 and 1587 that Fróis had written, Fróis, comments snidely that "(...) for all my years here I would not be able to give Your Paternity such complete information about Japan, and with such detail and precision, as I believe Father Alexandre Valegnano has provided, and for him to do this a mere two years' stay sufficed."⁴⁰

Some of the records written by Frois describe tearooms and tea gatherings: in his *History of Japan* he wrote that a *chashitsu* (tearoom) at the residence of a Christian tea master "Soy Antão" was "a clean space that provides people earthly calmness so that the Japanese Christians, as well as the pagans, greatly admire that space. A priest celebrated the Eucharist there and the Japanese Christians gathered there."⁴¹ In a report from Gifu castle, we can read that "[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. (...) After this Nobunaga took Laurengo and myself, accompanied by only two or three of his intimate courtiers, to show us the *zashiki* of *cha*, and gardens of strange design."⁴² Although he doesn't write about *chanoyu* as much or with detail equal to Rodrigues', he is also known to have been present at a number of tea gatherings.

Luis d'Almeida gives the earliest account of formal tea gathering in a letter

⁴⁰ Quoted in Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, p. 39, footnote 41.

⁴¹ Hioki, *Silent Dialogue and "Teaism"*, p. 14.

⁴² Quoted in Cooper, *They Came to Japan*, p. 133.

written at Fukuda on October 25, 1565, commenting on the value of tea utensils:

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. On one side was a sort of cupboard such as is usual here, and right in front of a hearth of black earthenware about a yard in circumference, that shone 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 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 such things. My companion informed me that the kettle had been bought by Sancho,⁴³ as a great bargain, for six hundred ducats, but that it was worth much more.

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

⁴³ Sancho most likely means Sanga Hōki no Kami Yoriteru, vassal of Miyoshi Nakayoshi, the castellan of Sanga fort (modern-day Daitō, Osaka Prefecture). Teraoka, however, identifies him as Hibiya Ryōkei. Teraoka, *The Japanese Tea Ceremony and Christianity*, p. 78.

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 prices.⁴⁴

These accounts provide information about Jesuit encounters with *chanoyu* and people who pursued this pastime, and it follows that Tea was one of the areas of keen interest for the Jesuits, who were often introduced to Tea by Christian converts. As evidenced by Hideyoshi's use of tea gatherings and his *chatō* for political purposes, *chanoyu* has been often unrelated to religion. As Hata puts it, "[i]t would be quite incorrect that the tea of such famous and great men of tea as Rikyū, Jōō, etc. had only the humble spirit of *wabi* as we associate it with *sōan* tea today. Their tea was primarily to entertain and to further political or social designs."⁴⁵ Yet for its practitioners it certainly had the capacity to become a path towards spiritual development.

⁴⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, p. 53.

⁴⁵ Hata, *Sen Rikyū, Last Man of the Middle Ages*, p. 53.

3.0 Sen no Rikyū 千利休 and Christianity

In the following chapter we will consider the Japanese Christian adepts of *chanoyu*, especially the *kirishitan daimyō* who have been in direct contact with Sen Rikyū, as well as the activities of the Jesuits in Sakai and Kyoto. Although nothing can definitely prove a direct influence that Christianity could possibly have had on the development of *chanoyu*, an inspection of sources can show that in the time when tea culture was undergoing great changes, representatives of Christian as well as Buddhist thought were often present in tearooms. Given that Christianity was at the time an element of popular culture, it is quite impossible that its presence in everyday life of the Japanese went unnoticed by *chajin* – including, of course, Sen no Rikyū himself.

3.1 Rikyū, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉

In the Sengoku period, Sakai was a politically independent merchant town where in 1522 Tanaka Yojirō 田中与次郎 was born a son of a fishmonger. He later became known as Sōeki, and eventually as Sen no Rikyū.

Sen no Rikyū is arguably the most celebrated *chajin* in tea history, widely credited as the father of contemporary Way of Tea. His innovations have built on the developments of Shukō and Jōō, and completed the evolution of *wabi* aesthetic and *sō*-style tea. He created a tearoom as small as one mat and three-quarters; his taste for the simple and austere was realised in a black *raku* 楽 teabowl made by a roof-tile maker. Because of his talent and ever-growing fame he reached a position of great importance in both the world of tea, and politics. It was a blessing and a curse: as he gained power, his position became more precarious. After a sudden and unexplained change of mind in February 1591, Toyotomi Hideyoshi ordered him to end his own life. The exact reasons

for such turn of events are not to be known. Many stories are told, some even boldly suggesting that Rikyū was himself a Christian. In her commentary to Asahi Shimbun's article raising the subject of such possibility Mindy Landeck quickly dismisses the notion with a short „not bloody likely“. Even though Rikyū was most likely not a Christian, there certainly were people close to him who were.

It was Rikyū who finally rejected the *kaisho* tradition of display and established restraint, simplicity and even severity as the new orthodoxy of the cult of tea. For this Rikyū has been canonized as the greatest of the masters, and his *wabi* ideal praised as the perfect attainment of the state of Zen. Yet the urge to withdraw from the cares of the world to a simple, hermitlike existence in a grass hut had already become a venerable tradition independent of Zen, centuries before Rikyū adopted grass thatch for his tearoom and long before Shukō studied with Ikkyū.⁴⁶

Elison concludes that “the most critical aspect of Rikyū's approach to tea appears to have been his devotion to what he conceived as the spiritual basis of cha-no-yu in medieval Buddhism.”⁴⁷ The idea is clearly expressed in Nambōroku, where the author has Rikyū saying that tea in the thatched hut is an ascetic practice congruous to the laws of Buddha. However, this “devotion” did not exclude Christians from pursuing *chanoyu*. In fact, as we shall see later, some of Rikyū's closest disciples were Christians, most notably Takayama Ukon – the only one who chose his faith over Hideyoshi's command and lost his position – but kept his head, perhaps partially owing to Rikyū's influence. His second wife, Sōon (d. 1600) was a Christian. They married around 1578, about five years after Sōeki was given the post of *chatō*. Although there aren't many documents left that would mention her, she is widely credited as the maker of the *fukusa* that is in standard use today, and *ōtsubukuro*, a type of pouch to wrap a tea-container in. Moreover, she is said to have been well versed in tea, and her influence on the art is possibly bigger than a number of utensils. The one of the ways of folding the *fukusa*, *fukusa sabaki* is sometimes credited to her – if that truly is the case, a notion that there's the sign of the cross hidden in the way it's folded that the author heard quoted in Japan does not seem completely nonsensical.

⁴⁶ Varley, *The Culture of Tea*, p. 207.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 217.

In the environment in which Rikyū lived, Christianity was an everyday presence. After the Jesuits arrived in Osaka in 1583, Christianity became somewhat of a fad among the ladies in Osaka castle – the very same castle that Rikyū seems to have been the caretaker of, as professed in his letter to Shibayama Gennai, dated 22 August 1585 (quoted in): „I am taking good care of [Osaka] Castle“.⁴⁸ According to Fróis, five or six of Christian ladies in waiting were attendants to Hideyoshi and his wife. Some of them went on to become catechists, like Kyōgoku Maria (d. 1618), so one has to assume that they were committed to their faith and were able to receive teachings from the missionaries where they lived. They were also known to visit Osaka church.⁴⁹

He has on one occasion helped Ōtomo Sōrin, a Christian *daimyō* from Kyūshū, one of the first important supporters of Jesuits in Japan. In 1586 Ōtomo traveled to Osaka to seek help in his struggle for dominance in Bungo region. First he's reported to have sent Hideyoshi a famous *chashaku* (a teascoop) that belonged to Jōō, and after being received by Hideyoshi, he was served tea by none other than Rikyū. According to letters he wrote to his retainers, his efforts would have been for naught had Rikyū not mediated with the overlord.

It is important to notice that in spite of his position as *chatō* Rikyū might not have been completely free to officially express his aesthetic ideas. Plutschow notes that "[i]n feudal Japan, the arts were often subject to restrictions imposed on them by 'official' tastes, something we can call the feudalization of the arts. They could not develop or change freely lest they lose their patron and hence their legitimacy. Once a new style was recognized and patronized by a leader, it fell under political control from which it could not escape until political change freed or killed it."⁵⁰ This must have resulted in tensions between the patron and his protégée, and might have been a factor in the reasons behind Rikyū's suicide.

3.2 Hibiya “Diogo” Ryōkei - Christian chajin from Sakai

Francisco Xavier first visited Sakai in 1550 with Juan Fernandez and Bernardo,

⁴⁸ Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu*, p. 87

⁴⁹ Kitagawa, *The Conversion of Hideyoshi's Daughter Gō*, p. 13.

⁵⁰ Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyū*.

a Japanese convert from Hirado/Yamaguchi area,⁵¹ when Rikyū was 28 and already established as an experienced *chajin*, his first appearance in *Matsuya Kaiki* tea-record in 1537. They had a letter of recommendation to Hibiya Kudō (possibly written by one of his business associates from Kyūshū) who provided them with another letter of introduction that gave them a place to stay in the capital, where the missionaries wanted to ask for audience with the Emperor – an attempt that failed abysmally. It wasn't until October 1559 that Jesuits returned to Sakai, when a rumor that monks from Mt. Hiei were interested in the doctrines of new religion reached the missionaries. In response, Cosme de Torres dispatched a party that included Gaspar Vilela and three Japanese converts. They stopped for three days in a house of a relative of a recently baptized woman they met on the way, Ursula from Sakai.

The Hibiya family remembered the visit and in 1561 invited missionaries to their house. Vilela was sent to Sakai by Torres in August that year and visited the Hibiyas. He and a Japanese convert, Laurencio, remained in Sakai for a year and actively propagated their doctrine. The progress was not impressive, as the merchants hesitated "to embrace the Christian faith for fear of losing their reputations among their fellows..." as one missionary noted, and the crop of the year yielded only forty conversions.

Next visit brought two important figures in the history of Japanese Jesuit mission: Luís Fróis and Luis d'Almeida arrived in Sakai in December 1564. Hibiya Ryōkei (son of Kudō), whose family was baptized during their stay, welcomed them lavishly, and the following year introduced Almeida to *chanoyu*.⁵² Ward writes that "[a]s a tea connoisseur, he belonged to the circle around [...] Rikyū."⁵³ Allegedly Sōeki's house was only two hundred meters away from Hibiya's, and Imai Sōkyū's is said to have been as close as fifty meters away.

In 1586 the three branches of Hibiya family were the only Christians in Sakai. Luis d'Almeida became good friends with Hibiya Ryōkei when the Jesuit fell ill and was nursed back to health in the house of the merchant. As Murai reports, "when he was about to leave, Ryōkei brought out a number of tea utensils which he proudly showed

⁵¹ Murai, *Chanoyu and the Early Christian Missionaries (...)*, p. 27.

⁵² Cieslik, *Takayama Ukon*, p. 30; Teraoka, *The Japanese Tea Ceremony and Christianity*, p. 91.

⁵³ Ward, *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century*, p. 38.

the missionary." We can read about the tea drinking customs and tea aficionados in Almeida's notes dated October 1565 (quoted in the previous chapter of this paper). From sources such as *Matsuya Kaiki* and *Tennojiya Kaiki* we can learn that Hibiya Ryōkei was a well-known tea connoisseur, whose tea gatherings were frequented by tea people of such standing as, for example, Tsuda Sogyu.⁵⁴ Masses were celebrated at his house until a church was built in Sakai in 1585 – only to be demolished two years later.

3.3 Rikyū Shichitetsu⁵⁵ - the seven disciples of Rikyū

One group of prominent daimyō that was close to Rikyū has come to be known as Rikyū Shichitetsu: the seven sages (disciples). The list is tentative, as the group of seven was not formal and Rikyū most certainly had more students; moreover, it was established during the first half of the 17th century, as related in Matsuya family record of tea gatherings they attended, *Chadō Shiso Densho* [Transmissions pertaining to the Four Pioneers of the Way of Tea]. Quoting Sen Sōtan, Matsuya Hisashige wrote: "The group of seven are: Kaga no Hizen [Maeda Toshinaga], Gamō Ujisato, Hosokawa Tadaoki [Sansai], Furuta Oribe, Makimura Hyōbu, Takayama Nambō [Ukon], and Shibayama Kemmotsu." Another source, *Kōshin Gegaki* [Kōshin's Summer Writing] lists the seven disciples as: "Number 1 - Lord Gamō of Hida; Number 5 - Seta Kamon; Number 3 - Lord Hosokawa of Etchū, meaning Sansai; Number 2 - Takayama Ukon, meaning Nambō; Number 6 - Lord of the Fifth Ran, Makimura Hyōbu (Masakichi); Number 7 - Lord Furuta Oribe (Shigenari); Number 4 - Lord Shibayama Kemmotsu."

Names that appear in both lists are Gamō Ujisato, Hosokawa Sansai, Furuta Oribe, Makimura Hyōbu, Takayama Ukon and Shibayama Kemmotsu, who, save for Makimura, also formed the core of another group of seven: *daisu shichininshū* – the daimyō allowed to learn the procedures for making tea using *daisu* (a large shelf unit - the most formal, oldest way of serving tea), a privilege granted by Toyotomi Hideyoshi himself.

All of the people included in Rikyū shichitetsu were daimyō, and skilled warriors; "adept in military affairs" is how they were described in *Kōshin Gegaki*.⁵⁶ This should be

⁵⁴ Murai, *Chanoyu and the Early Christian Missionaries (...)*, p. 34.

⁵⁵ Also *Rikyū Shichininshū*, or *Rikyū deshishū shichininshū*.

⁵⁶ Murai, *Rikyū's Disciples*, p. 12.

hardly surprising. Even though Rikyū himself came from a merchant family, ever since 1573, when he became *chatō* for Oda Nobunaga, he must have had ample opportunity to meet people from upper echelons of Sengoku society.

The seven were said to have been above average in their comprehension of Tea; Furuta Oribe has become the leading expert on *chanoyu* after the untimely death of Rikyū: he was offered the post of main *chatō* and accepted it. The seven disciples were almost certainly not a tight-knit group, though there are extant records showing that some of them have attended tea gatherings together.

In his short essay "Christianity and Chanoyu", Sen Soshitsu XV writes that "most of the feudal lords who are listed among Sen Rikyu's 'seven disciples' - such men as Takayama Ukon, Furuta Oribe, Hosokawa Sansai, and Oda Uraku - were 'Christian feudal lords' (*Kirishitan daimyō*)"⁵⁷. In fact, Murai notes that all of the shichitetsu were either Christians or supporters of this religion: "The second characteristic that comes to mind when we look at the line-up of members is that they were all either devout Christians, such as Takayama Ukon, or the were strong sympathizers of Christianity. Evidence shows that Ukon personally converted Gamō Ujisato and Makimura Hyōbu to the religion, and the others also became sympathizers either directly or indirectly through Ukon. This indicates that the seven men were closely acquainted(...)."⁵⁸ Tanihata writes that indeed, Makimura Hyōbu, Gamo Ujisato, Oda Uraku and others were friends of Ukon and also tea practitioners and "it has been a matter of common debate whether Rikyu himself was a Christian (...)."⁵⁹

Every now and then the debate resurfaces. As recently as February 2014 Asahi Shimbun ran a sensationally titled article "Sen Rikyu - was he a Christian?"⁶⁰ As Murai notes, however, "nothing has yet come to light to prove that he was".

When Rikyū was leaving Jūrakudai residence after being banished to Sakai, the two people that dared see him off were Oribe and Sansai. Murai argues that those two must have been the closest to the man himself and should "be regarded as central figures among Rikyū's disciples."⁶¹

⁵⁷ Sen, *Christianity and Chanoyu*, p. 1.

⁵⁸ Murai, *Rikyū's Disciples*, p. 13.

⁵⁹ Tanihata, *Chanoyu Jinbutsu Shi* p. 93.

⁶⁰ 『キリスト教徒だった？千利休』朝日新聞デジタル, published 3 Feb 2014, accessed 7 Feb 2014.

⁶¹ Murai, *Rikyū's Disciples*, p. 34.

Takayama Ukon 高山右近 (1552-1615)

Christened at twelve as 'Justo', he was the first son of Takayama Hida no Kami, who was baptized by Gaspar Vilela, taking the name 'Dario'. When Valignano was in Japan in 1581, Ukon organized an Easter procession of as many as 10,000 people to show his dedication to Christian faith.

It is not known when he and Rikyū first met. Perhaps it happened early through his Christian friends in Sakai – most likely the Hibiya family, who according to Elison were the only Christians in Sakai. Their friendship developed, and "[i]n early 1591, Ukon attended Rikyū's tea gatherings three times (once as a sole guest), only a few weeks before the master's enforced suicide in April," notes Cooper to show how close the two were.⁶² Cieslik quotes Sōtan saying that it was Ukon who was his favorite disciple, which opens the discussion for whether the two discussed Ukon's faith and how it ties in with his *chanoyu*.⁶³

After Oda Nobunaga was betrayed and killed by Akechi Mitsuhide, it was Takayama Ukon who defeated the rebel generals in Yamazaki. He paved the way to power for Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and was his loyal friend and comrade in arms. In 1586-87, he fought with Hideyoshi in the Kyūshū campaign. Soon after he was exiled, because he would not renounce his faith when Hideyoshi issued the first anti-Christian edict. His politic career was finished, but since then he refined and perfected his *chanoyu*, which helped him persist in Christian faith. "He was wont to remark, as we several times had heard him, that he found *suki* a great help towards virtue and recollection for those who practiced 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 statue, and there according to the custom that he had formed he found peace and recollection in order to commend himself to God."⁶⁴

Ukon was Oribe's brother-in-law, married to Furuta's younger sister. He also convinced Oribe to become Christian.⁶⁵

Oda Uraku 織田有楽 (1547-1622)

Youngest brother of Oda Nobunaga, he is better known for his achievements in *chanoyu* rather than politics. After his brother has been betrayed by Akechi Mitsuhide,

⁶² Ibid. p. 308, n. 2.

⁶³ Cieslik, *Takayama Ukon*, p. 28.

⁶⁴ *Rodrigues's Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, p. 308.

⁶⁵ Teraoka, *The Japanese Tea Ceremony and Christianity*, p. 70.

he fled and with Imai Sōkyū's help retired to Sakai, where he practiced tea. Later he supported Hideyoshi and served as one of his advisors. Probably acquainted with Rikyū since the time of Nobunaga's rule, their first recorded meeting was in 1585. He built Joan, one of the three national treasure tearooms.

Gamō Ujisato 蒲生氏郷 (1556-95)

Born in Nakano castle in Hino. At thirteen he was sent as *hitojichi* (a kind of hostage) to Gifu castle, where he caught the eye of Nobunaga and probably met Rikyū for the first time. Married to Nobunaga's daughter, Fuyuhime, in 1570. Gamō family remained loyal to Nobunaga after his death in Honnōji temple, a fact that Hideyoshi later recognized and put his trust in Ujisato. On his way to Kyoto after the battle of Shizugatake Hideyoshi stopped at Nakano castle and was served tea; also, Ujisato's younger sister was given to him as a concubine. In 1584 Gamō was awarded a fiefdom in Matsugashima in Ise. In the Grand Kitano Tea Gathering, he was seated at the *seki* for high-ranking military men hosted by Rikyū. At the time many daimyō were experimenting with Western clothes and ideas, and in 1585, under the influence of Takayama Ukon, Ujisato was baptized as Leao. Two years later, given the choice of loyalty to Hideyoshi or God, he immediately chose the former. Even though he isn't prominently featured in tea gatherings records, extant correspondence between him and Rikyū suggests that he was active in the tea world of his times. He was in possession of several *meibutsu dogu*. One of them was Raku Chōjirō's *Hayabune* tea bowl - a hint at the similar taste to that of Rikyū. In fact, along with Hosokawa Sansai and Shibayama Kemmotsu he always agreed with Soeki in matters of taste. After Rikyū's suicide, Gamō took his adopted son Shōan to Aizu Wakamatsu to weather the storm. According to *Nippon nenpō* by Organtino, on his deathbed, Ujisato reaffirmed his Christian faith in the presence of Takayama Ukon.

Furuta Oribe 古田織部 (1544-1615)

"From a letter which Rikyū wrote, Oribe and Rikyū knew each other very well," quotes Nakamura in his article about Oribe. There are two extant letters from Rikyū to Oribe, written in the year before the former's suicide.

Oribe was said to have been gifted with a discerning eye for *chanoyu* from early on, though he did not take up tea seriously until his later days. From the writings he left, we can learn that he had good knowledge of both Rikyū's ways and how things were being done before him. Some important inventions in *chanoyu* are attributed to

Oribe. Among these are such things as filling the thick tea container with only as much tea as required for the guests, and devised the way of scooping out tea from a natsume, which Rikyu was said to have admired and is now generally adopted.

After Rikyu's death in 1591, he was slowly gaining prominence as a warrior first, and a *chajin* second. Rikyu himself purportedly answered Hosokawa Sansai's question about who should replace him with Oribe's name. He was, however, a controversial figure. Rumor had it that he didn't know proper tea etiquette, yet he was already known as tea master in 1600.⁶⁶ Even in the *Hosokawa Sansai Chanoyu no Sho* from 1668, Oribe is described as 'inadept and a poor connoisseur, only able to rise to fame because there was no real master left and the general decline was such that in comparison to his contemporaries even Oribe seemed like an accomplished tea master. Given the fact that after Rikyū's death, despite the polarized views of the public opinion of his tea, Furuta Oribe was the person who carried on the legacy of Sen Rikyū and took his place as the greatest living tea master, it seems only fitting that he, if anyone, should be the one to incorporate elements of his faith into the practice of chanoyu. Moreover, he was said to have "a strong sense of design" and his tea was thought very original, as opposed to Sansai's faithful adherence to Rikyū's teachings, which earned him the description of being "not a bit unique."⁶⁷

From other inventions and preferences of Oribe that we know of (such as a double-tier sword rack at the entrance to the tearoom or a separated space for host's attendants) we can conclude that his tea was oriented at warriors. He is also known to have incorporated Namban, that is Southern European elements into *chanoyu* (shapes and patterns for ceramics).⁶⁸

According to Nakamura, "[u]nder Rikyū, the practice of *wabi* tea was firmly established and it remained for Oribe to make the service of tea conform to the social position of the samurai class."⁶⁹ Therefore it can be said that Rikyū was a representative of merchant class tea, and Oribe was catering for warrior class tastes. Such distinction explains the differences between their styles and attitudes. Where Rikyū was introducing humility and equality among guests, Oribe brought back social hierarchy to the tearoom. Design of his tearoom, Ennan, attests to that. It contains *shōbanseki* 相伴

⁶⁶ *Tamonin Nikki*, after Nakamura, *Furuta Oribe and Ennan*, p. 11.

⁶⁷ Murai, *Rikyū's Disciples* p. 34.

⁶⁸ Murai, *Furuta Oribe*, p. 44.

⁶⁹ Nakamura, *Furuta Oribe and Ennan*, p. 10.

席, a special space for host's attendants separated from the main tearoom. While Rikyū's two-mat tearoom did away with any distance between host and guest, Oribe's *sanjōdai* (three and three quarters mat) tearoom brought it back into tea. The idea of total connection was rejected with the rise of samurai class to prominence. On the one hand, the *shōbanseki* allowed the host to invite more guests (and Oribe had one time invited thirteen), and on the other could be used to further emphasize the social distinctions: if the tatami mat was removed, attendants to the main guest would sit at a cedar wood floor.

Furuta Oribe was suspected of conspiring against Ieyasu, and was made to commit suicide in 1615, at the age of 72.

4.0 Conclusion

Chanoyu or *Chadō* - the Way of Tea – like many other *dō* in Japanese culture – *shodō* (the Way of Writing), *kyūdō* (the Way of the Bow), *aikidō* (the Way of Harmony [Combining Forces]), *shugendō* (lit. the Way of Discipline and Testing) – is not just an art, but a philosophy, a “way” of life (although it was only in the 18th century that it was codified into a “path”). *Cha Zen ichi mi*, or “Tea and Zen have the same taste” is a famous saying that explicitly shows that *chanoyu* and Zen Buddhism are closely related. The phrase points to the close connection that is at the root of *chanoyu*: the tea plant itself was brought to Japan by Buddhist monk Eisai 栄西 (1141-1215), and was present in the temple life for a long time since. However, “the tea ceremony in the Zen temple did not directly develop into the practice of tea as we know it. It took nearly three centuries for the *wabi*, *sōan*, or grass-hut form of tea to develop.”⁷⁰ As warriors ascended to power, they found Zen philosophy to be the most appealing for them, as it fitted neatly with samurai ideals: disregard for life, readiness to die at the master’s order, and at the same time – perhaps because of that – experiencing and enjoying life to the fullest in the knowledge that it may end at any moment. The warriors took to Zen and simultaneously, perhaps to counterbalance the tensions of their perilous life-style, they welcomed *chanoyu* as a refining, aesthetic occupation removed from their everyday life that helped relieve the stress by offering respite in the silent tearoom. Hata suggests that it was quite natural for warriors to take a liking to tea, “because they were generally of peasant origin with a custom of drinking tea”.⁷¹ The tearoom became a sacred ground, where no one had to keep their guard high, because swords were not allowed in a tearoom. It was then that secular Tea and Zen began to converge in the practice of warriors, who naturally found the connection between the two, and their Zen-informed set of values was expressed through their *chanoyu*. Similarly, the time when the Way of Tea underwent the most significant changes was the time when the

⁷⁰ Hata, *Sen Rikyū, Last Man of the Middle Ages*, p. 51.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 51. “During this long period also, Zen as a way gradually permeated the society of the time. The ubiquity of Zen became a characteristic of Muromachi culture and of this the practice of tea became the prime example. In this sense, tea and Zen are not one, as a taste for Zen is different than Zen itself.”

warrior class was on the rise. In the discussion of the roots of modern-day *chanoyu* three names inevitably come up: Murata Shukō, Takeno Jōō and Sen no Rikyū. These three men arguably started and completed the process of simplifying Tea by moving it away from the luxurious *shoin* rooms to a thatched hut, and choosing Japanese wares over lavish and perfect Chinese utensils. *Wabi cha* was refined and gained significant following under Sen no Rikyū in the latter half of the 16th century – incidentally, also the period of fervent activity of Jesuits in Japan. Some of the Christian *daimyō* occupied positions close to the successive shoguns, who employed none other than Rikyū as their *chatō/sadō*, that is their private advisor and aesthetic expert on *chanoyu*. Raising the question of Christian influences on *chanoyu* is inevitable. An article from February 2014 published in Asahi Shimbun contains a suggestion that Rikyū himself might have been a Christian. One of Urasenke's promotional short movies compares elements of a *temae* (the procedure of serving tea to guests using particular utensils) to those of Catholic mass. While it is most likely impossible to say with complete certainty that some elements have indeed been influenced by Christian rite, we can definitely affirm that the situation in the latter half of the 16th century allowed room for such influence. The attitudes of believers – some of whom have been devout Christians and tea practitioners close to Sen no Rikyū – could have informed their tea, just as Zen did for the Buddhist *chajin*. The basic aspects of tea philosophy, such as *Wa Kei Sei Jaku*, can be said to carry universal values and have similar import to all people, regardless of race, nationality or religion.

As presented above, there is ample evidence of Christians – both Europeans and Japanese converts – taking keen interest and pursuing the way of tea. Tea culture was adopted by the Jesuits as part of the decorum and code of conduct, but there were among them some who recognized that there is more to it than meets the eye. *Chanoyu* has served many purposes. Hata writes that “[t]he singular purpose of the tea ceremony lies in the occasion it provides for the gathering together and the sharing of a moment in time. It gives an opportunity to eat and drink together and provides peaceful enjoyment regardless of what philosophies may lie deep within its understanding.”⁷² That is why it was possible for the Jesuits to have a tea space in their compounds, and for Takayama Ukon to deepen his understanding of Christianity by his tea practice. The simple yet profound message endorsed by Sen no Rikyū that underlies *chanoyu* philosophy is that

⁷² Ibid. p. 47.

everyone is equal and treated with uttermost respect and dignity. Stripped down to its bare minimum the Way of Tea is *wabicha* – the simple serving of food and tea for a small group of people. It’s cultivation and celebration of human relationships and human beings that they are in the tearoom. It is this aspect of *chanoyu* that both Hata and Hioki recognize as perhaps the most crucial – the creation of a space for a peaceful gathering, the creation of community, expressed in the phrase *ichiza konryū* - founding an assembly (the spirit of community) that appears in *Yamanoue no Sōjiki (The Record of Yamanoue Sōji)*. Varley also questions the validity of equating Tea with Zen: “There’s no denying that *wabicha* has, from Shukō’s time on, become deeply infused with Zen. But in the tea ceremony, as in so many areas of Muromachi culture, this is not because Zen was able independently to generate the creation of new art forms. Rather it is because Zen found in medieval Japan a civilization that was highly receptive to it and one that it could aid in giving formal definition to new aesthetic and spiritual values already evolving among the Japanese. The *wabi* aesthetic of humbleness, simplicity, and suggestion may indeed have accorded with the Zen attitude toward life, since it implies the reduction of human environment to one of basic naturalness, free of all the unnecessary, distracting contrivances with which man clutters his existence. But this aesthetic ideal was not automatically transferred – like a piece of calligraphy – from Zen into *wabicha*, far less was it ”transmitted from mind to mind” between a Zen master and a disciple of the tea cult, from Ikkyū to Shukō. Rather, it took the whole of the sixteenth century to develop and be codified.⁷³

Based on the evidence of Christians in the immediate vicinity of Sen Rikyū during the time of his greatest influence and activity, it can be concluded that his *chanoyu* was inevitably informed by both Buddhist and Christian thought, as nowhere else were the two allowed to coexist more peacefully than in the dialogical space of a tearoom⁷⁴. Christian influence is not nearly as pronounced as Buddhist, but his friendship with Christian *chajin* (including his wife), and the extant tea utensils bearing the sign of the cross are a definite proof that claims to Buddhist exclusiveness for the underlying philosophy of *chanoyu* cannot be considered true. The fact that most extant sources about Rikyū’s tea have been compiled nearly hundred years after his death suggests that they might be more representative of the time they were written down in,

⁷³ Varley, *The Culture of Tea: From Its Origins to Sen no Rikyu*, p. 206.

⁷⁴ See: Hioki, *Silent Dialogue and “Teaism”*.

when Christianity was banned from Japan. In face of the evidence of Jesuit involvement in Japanese high society and their interest in *chanoyu* during Rikyū's most critical period of activity, one cannot help but wonder what information about the possible Christian influence on tea remains excised or was never recorded. *Chanoyu* in itself is after all but a kettle made of universal values that has the potential to be filled with any spiritual meaning by the practitioners themselves – as they have done for centuries.

Abstracts

Throughout the history of *chanoyu*, the Japanese Way of Tea, the relationship of Tea and Zen Buddhism has been often emphasized. The development of *chanoyu* has seen the disengagement of the two, as tea became more secular, developing into tea recognition contests, *suki*, and eventually *wabicha* in the sixteenth century. Takeno Jōō, Murata Shukō and Sen Rikyū have had a tremendous impact on the development of *chanoyu*, driving it further away from monastic environment and at the same time introducing a profound spiritual aspect into their practice.

After the arrival of Jesuits in Japan in 1549, Christians have come into contact with *chanoyu* and the missionaries and converts alike pursued the pastime, which raises concerns about a possibility of an influence of Christian philosophy on the Way of Tea. Various accounts left by Alessandro Valignano, João Rodrigues, Luís Fróis and others prove that missionaries were active in their learning of *chanoyu* and gained detailed knowledge about the tea culture.

Many of the closest disciples of Sen Rikyū, such as Takayama Ukon, Gamō Ujisato, Hosokawa Sansai or Furuta Oribe were Christians, as was his second wife. These facts increase the possibility of Christianity as one of the philosophies informing *chanoyu*'s spiritual fundamentals. There are also extant tea utensils adorned with the sign of the cross.

Even though it is impossible to decisively say that Christianity had an immediate influence on *chanoyu*, it was present in everyday environment of Sen Rikyū in the time of his most fervent activity and therefore, through exposure and influence of his Christian friends, can be said to have had at least an indirect influence on the practice of *chanoyu*.

Streszczenie

W historii Drogi Herbaty często podkreśla się jej związek z buddyzmem Zen, jednak w trakcie jej rozwoju często nie był on oczywisty: w miarę jego postępu, Herbata i Buddyzm oddalały się od siebie; Herbata stawała się bardziej świecka, ewoluując w konkursy herbaciane, *suki*, i ostatecznie w wieku szesnastym przybierając formę *wabicha*. Takeno Jōō, Murata Shukō i Sen Rikyū mieli ogromny wpływ na rozwój *chanoyu*, odchodząc od klasztorów i równocześnie prowadząc tę sztukę w kierunku rozwoju duchowego.

Po przybyciu Jezuitów do Japonii w 1549 roku, chrześcijanie zetknęli się z *chanoyu* i zarówno misjonarze, jak i japońscy chrześcijanie zajmowali się tą dziedziną sztuki. Można zadać sobie pytanie, czy zatem chrześcijaństwo nie miało wpływu na rozwój Drogi Herbaty. Zapiski pozostawione przez wielu misjonarzy, przede wszystkim Alessandro Valignano, João Rodriguesa i Luísa Fróisę dowodzą, że Jezuici byli żywo zainteresowani kulturą herbaty i z zapałem oddawali się nauce tej sztuki, zyskując zadziwiająco dokładną wiedzę na ten temat.

Wielu spośród najbliższych uczniów Sen no Rikyū, t.j. Takayama Ukon, Gamō Ujisato, Hosokawa Sansai czy Furuta Oribe było chrześcijanami, podobnie jak jego druga żona, która wywarła istotny wpływ na *chanoyu*. Zwiększa to prawdopodobieństwo, że chrześcijańska filozofia mogła mieć znaczenia dla tworzenia się duchowych podstaw Herbaty. Oprócz tego istnieją jeszcze utensylia herbaciane ozdobione znakiem krzyża.

Mimo, że jest niemożliwym udowodnienie, że chrześcijaństwo miało bezpośredni wpływ na Herbatę, poprzez jego obecność w codziennym otoczeniu Sen no Rikyū w czasie jego największej aktywności oraz licznych przyjaciół chrześcijan, można stwierdzić, że istniał niebezpośredni wpływ chrześcijaństwa na kształt Drogi Herbaty, która sama w sobie może być napełniona dowolną treścią przez zajmujących się nimi ludzi.

2014年6月30日

卒業論文要旨

16世紀日本におけるキリスト教徒と茶人の関係

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「茶禅一味」というセリフの通り、茶の湯は一般に仏教と関係があると考えられることがあるが、16世紀の歴史を見ると茶人の中にはキリスト教の信者もいたと言う。従って、茶の湯は必ずしも宗教的なものとは言えないことが考えられる。

そこで、本論文は、茶の湯と宗教、とくにキリスト教との関係を検証することを目的に増淵宗一『茶道と十字架』（1996年）をはじめとする先行研究を参考にしながら、16世紀に日本で布教していたイエズス会の宣教師の文献に書かれた茶の湯に関する記述とキリシタン茶人の関係ある記録を整理し考察を加えてみた。そして、茶の湯そのものは宗教と直接関係がなく、茶人は大切にしている真価を自分の茶の湯に入り込むと言えようとしたものである。

本論文は（序論、結論および）六章からなる。第一章では仏教との関係がいつでも強くなかったと示すため16世紀までの日本におけるお茶の歴史をまとめた。第二章ではイエズス会のローマへの報告および手紙から宣教師が茶の湯の体験し、それを興味を持ち、そしてその人と茶の湯との関係を示した。第三章では千利休はキリシタン大名と茶の湯を通して関係を示した。第四章では道具や現代の茶道の要素がキリスト教の影響という可能性を調査した。

本研究から茶の湯の歴史の中では仏教徒もキリスト教徒の茶人もいったとことが明らかになった。さらに、千利休が茶道を開発していた時期では流行のキリスト教が日常生活につれて茶の湯に影響があったと考えられる。

本論文の作成にあっては、指導教官のマチエイ・カネルト先生をはじめ、裏千家みどり会の先生の皆様、寸心会の杉本宗えん先生、宗う先生と宗意先生、みどり会の同級生、ピック・ペイッコ他、多くの方々に貴重なご教示・ご協力を賜りました。真心より御礼申し上げます。

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